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HISTORY & ANTHROPOLOGY

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Kim Chi, K-Pop, and Taekwondo: The Nationalization of South Korean Martial Arts

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Abstract
Background. Forrest-Blincoe is a 4th dan black belt master in Tang Soo Do which he has studied in the United States and Korea. He has also studied Taekkyon in South Korea.[1] During this time, he has been interested in the official histories of these martial arts in contrast with documented histories (which often differ significantly). Both Forrest and Forrest-Blincoe are trained anthropologists. Forrest specializes in symbols and national identity, and has published extensively on the anthropology of movement and dance.
Problem and Aim. The martial arts Taekwondo, Tang Soo Do, and Taekkyon have competed within Korea for some time to represent Korean culture, and Korea has used martial arts as an export as one component in its drive to gain legitimacy as a world power competitive with its more powerful neighbors of China and Japan. This paper examines the process of using martial arts as symbols of Korean national identity.
Methods. The authors use both analysis of historical texts and anthropological fieldwork. Available sources are explored in as much detail as possible (especially linguistic), challenging several common beliefs about the martial arts' origins and evolution.
Results. Historical sources paint a murky picture of the history of Korean martial arts, obscured by early practitioners, and not completely understood by recent scholars.
Conclusions. This paper goes beyond showing that Korean martial arts have roots in China and Japan (which is generally acknowledged), to emphasize that they have become distinctively Korean over time, evolving in their own special ways in Korea, and, thus, becoming legitimate exports as symbols of Korean national identity and individuality.

Introduction

The three names in the title of this article are probably the first things that come to Westerners' minds when they think of South Korea (or simply Korea) and its culture. Kim chi, a type of spicy fermented and pickled cabbage, is ubiquitous in Korean cooking, and has become emblematic of Korean food in restaurants, and even finds its way into travel blogs [Eat Your Kimchi 2017]. K-Pop, or Korean Pop has been exported to the West, as well as other Asian countries via the internet and social media as part of the "Hallyu" or "Korean Wave" of media exports which includes Korean popular music, movies, and television shows [Lie 2015; Nye, Kim 2013]. Every year Korea sees millions of tourists visiting for the purpose of going to concerts, fan signings, or to see the sets of some of their favorite television shows. Even industries that are completely separate from television or music, such as tea farming, have seen an increase in tourism because one mountain on which tea is grown was used as the set for various television programs and movies [Hong 2007]. The martial arts have also become a part of the Korean Wave through Korea's national sport, and most popular martial art: Taekwondo. Today there are large

[1] This paper focuses on South Korea as a nation, but we try to be careful to distinguish between Korea as a whole, and South Korea in particular. Strictly speaking, the term "Korea" should refer to the peninsula as a whole, and "South Korea" to the current nation. Much of the history of the martial arts in Korea involves the peninsula as a whole, but the history becomes separated into the martial arts of the North versus those of the South after the Korean war. However, in popular and nationalist discourse, "Korea" and "South Korea" are frequently used interchangeably. It is not our intention to blur the distinction or the history. When we use the term "Korean" in relation to the history subsequent to the Korean war we are primarily referring to the nation of South Korea.

numbers of Taekwondo schools throughout the country, and internationally, that are affiliated with one of three major organizations: the Korean Taekwondo Association (KTA), the International Taekwondo Federation (ITF), and the World Taekwondo Federation (WTF) [Burdick 2015: 18]. For absolute beginners and travelers too, there are even special classes sponsored by the Ministry of Culture, Sport and Tourism just for tourists [Korean Tourism Organization 2017]. What connects Kim Chi, K-Pop, and Taekwondo is that they have been chosen by the South Korean government (either explicitly or implicitly) as symbols of Korea, and have been exported internationally in order to anchor the claims of the country that it is a world power.

Whereas in the beginning of the country's history (separate from North Korea), the government used the export of manufactured goods to boost the economy, including cars and construction equipment in the case of Hyundai, or electronics in the case of Samsung and LG [Seth 2016: 415-418, Hwang 2010: 230-234], today the main export is culture, and a significant money maker is tourism. One recent example of the power of tourism comes from the 2010 G-20 summit where it was reported that interest in South Korea had increased almost 17% since the previous year in part because of the interest in media exports. This increased interest has also grown outside Asia since the 2012 release of "Gangnam Style" by K-Pop singer Psy. So, while electronics and cars still remain a major source of income for the Korean government, in the past seven years Korea has been attracting sales through entertainment media portrayals of the country [Nye, Kim 2015]. Whereas foreigners looking to buy a new Samsung phone or Hyundai car may not immediately conjure up a specific image of Korea, but think of them as generically "Asian," when they watch K-Pop or Taekwondo they more than likely do, even if the image is not particularly precise or accurate. The benefit of using media images for Korea to promote exports is that they are saying specifically, "These things are not Japanese, not Chinese. Korea is a world-class competitor too."

Korea is only the latest East Asian country to use media to promote national legitimacy within the international community, following Japan and China, who also have pushed for true globalization. Until the past two decades, globalization and modernization effectively meant Westernization, meaning that in order for a country to be seen as culturally legitimate internationally, it essentially had to follow Western cultural practices. Starting in the late 19th Century, when China, Japan, and Korea were overpowered by the military might of British, European, and U.S. forces the governments of these three countries decided that they needed to reform in order to keep pace with the new Western colonial presence. This reform can be seen no more dramatically than in the Meiji Reformation in Japan, wherein almost all Japanese cultural practices including dress, music, education, and technology were abandoned as "backward," and replaced by new Western forms. Though colonialism throughout most of East Asia officially ended in 1945 after World War II, the war devastated the economy of East Asian countries so much that they had little presence on the world stage, and so it was the West that continued to dominate the processes of globalization. In the 1960s and '70s Hong Kong, martial arts movies became popular in the U.S. and also started the first wave of interest in Asia and Asian martial arts. However, it was not until the 1990s, with the popularity of Japanese animation in the U.S. that Asian countries started to push back against the equation of globalization with Westernization. Later, Korean television shows, and now music, gained an international following, and portrayed emotions and situations that, while modern, were still uniquely Asian.

In the field of martial arts, South Korea has exported two other styles besides Taekwondo for the purpose of lending legitimacy to the government (by purportedly exemplifying the individuality of Korean culture and the strength of Korea throughout history), namely Tang Soo Do, and Taekkyon [American Tang Soo Do Association 2017; *cf.* Hwang 1992; Byrne 2001; Young 2016]. Together with Taekwondo, these three martial arts have sought to gain legitimacy for themselves and Korea in various ways. Taekkyon has been named a UNESCO intangible world heritage, and was the first (and until Capoeira's recognition in 2014 the only) unarmed martial art to gain that status [Moenig 2017: 13; Young 2016; UNESCO 2017]. Tang Soo Do, claimed by the Korean government as Korea's "traditional martial art," is famous for being the first martial art that actor Chuck Norris studied during his time in the US air force [Byrne 2001; Burdick 2015; Young 2016; American Tang Soo Do Association 2017]. Taekwondo has gained favor with the Korean government, originally due to its close connection to the military, and the presidency. Whatever the method, all of these styles have applied to the government for recognition as martial arts, and have competed with each other to be used as the prime symbol of Korea and Korean nationalism [Burdick 2015: 27-32; Young 2016; Moenig 2017: 13].

The connection between martial arts and the government is nothing new. In East Asia in general for hundreds of years the governments were split into literary, and military factions. Despite this split, martial arts have been used as a way of either exploring the structure and problems of government, or as a way of changing the government, even within literature. So, for a long time, martial arts have been used in one way or another as symbols of the nation and culture of Korea [Hwang 2010:110-112; Lin 2015; Seth 2016: 190-194]. In this paper we seek to explore the different ways in which Taekwondo, Tang Soo Do, and Taekkyon have competed

within Korea to represent culture, and how Korea has used martial arts as an export to gain legitimacy as a world power, competitive with its more powerful neighbors of China and Japan.

This paper is, at heart, an anthropological analysis of the use of martial arts for the purposes of Korean nationalism, both internally and externally, but before we can explore that avenue it is necessary to delve into the history of Taekwondo, Tang Soo Do, and Taekkyon, both because there is still a certain amount of confusion concerning their origins and development that we hope to clarify, and because their origins and evolution have often been obfuscated by promoters with a nationalist agenda to obscure their ties to other nations, particularly China and Japan, from whom they are trying to dissociate. On the surface it would not seem to help the nationalist cause to say that Taekwondo, Tang Soo Do, and Taekkyon have roots in China or Japan, yet a faithful historical analysis shows that this is clearly the case. We do not wish to dwell too heavily on the minute details of the history or to separate out the mythical histories of the martial arts from the evidence-based ones, but rather to explore how martial artists have used both kinds of histories to promote their arts domestically and internationally. What we do wish to show is that despite historical influences from other east Asian cultures, Taekwondo, Tang Soo Do, and Taekkyon have evolved into martial arts that are distinctively Korean. To be as accurate as possible in the historical analysis we have consulted the original primary sources, inasmuch as they are extant, in the original Korean, Japanese, and Chinese, which some previous scholars have sometimes failed to do and, therefore, misinterpreted, or else exaggerated the claims in the data.

Historical Background

Martial arts in Korea have always been culturally vital, and have had long-standing connections with the government and with China [Byrne 2001; Burdick 2015: 18-19, 28; Young 2016; Henning 2017: 1-5]. The earliest word for the class of unarmed striking martial arts in Korean is Subak (수박) – first used some time between 1418 and 1450 CE – derived from the Chinese word Shǒu bó (手搏). In China Shǒu bó, or sometimes in earlier writings simply Bo, was the word used originally to describe a system of striking, and probably throwing, techniques used in the Chinese military to train soldiers, in part to aid in armed combat training. Eventually, this system was also practiced by commoners, and was performed as a sport at important annual festivals [Burdick 2015: 20; Henning 1999: 319-320; Henning 2010: 27; Henning 2017: 2-3; Young 2016]. By the Han Dynasty (206 BCE – 220 CE), and the start of Korea's history, this system was so highly developed that there was even a six-chapter manual (no longer extant) on how to learn it, and the *Book of Han* makes a clear distinction between Shǒu bó and wrestling [Ban 2002; Henning 2017: 1]. In Korea, based on murals in the Three Kingdoms Period (57 BCE – 668 CE) Koguryŏ royal tombs (now in China and North Korea), we know that they too placed high value on various martial skills such as horsemanship, wrestling, and possibly striking sports [Chun 1975; Hwang 2010: 8-9; Seth 2016: 190-194; Burdick 2015: 18; Young 2016; Henning 2017: 1; Moenig 2017: 14]. So, when the Chinese government set up a commandery in what is now North Korea, the Koguryŏ people may have learned Shǒu bó and mixed it with their own martial arts to create Subak. Unfortunately, we cannot be entirely sure of the relationship between Shǒu bó, and Subak, because the earliest and most complete manual on military training in China and Korea comes as late as the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644 CE) in China, corresponding to the Chosŏn Period (1392–1897 CE) in Korea [Qi 1935; Kim 2000; Lorge 2016; Henning 2017: 2].

The connection between martial arts and the government can be seen in the dual levels of governments throughout East Asia. During the Tang Dynasty in China (618-907 CE) the civil service examination system was implemented ostensibly in order to try to create a more egalitarian society. Through this system, government positions were theoretically awarded based on merit on the exams, instead of through hereditary bloodlines, and these positions were split into literary and military posts. Korea soon adopted the same system, and the practice was used until the modern era in both China and Korea [Hwang 2010: 71-74; Lin 2015; Seth 2016: 144-147]. In Japan, the rise of the Samurai class during the Kamakura period (1185–1333 CE) created a similar divide between the Imperial government, and the Shogunate, or military government. Having been personally granted his title by the Japanese Emperor, the Shogun was effectively granted imperial political authority, and thus could rule on an approximately equal footing with the Emperor. What is also important to note is that in Japan, and even more so in Korea, the influence and control over the government that either of the factions wielded changed throughout history. The Shogunate in Japan held a long rule over the government until the restoration of the Emperor in the Meiji Period (1868–1912 CE) [Walker 2015], and complex factionalism in Korea meant constant fluctuations between military and literary controlled governments that still continues today [Hwang 2010: 82-88; Seth 2016: 158-162].

Even within philosophy, and literature in China, Korea, and Japan, there are many examples of cultural value placed on martial skill coupled with literary ability. In China some of the earliest examples of this emphasis come from *The Art of War* (5th C. BCE), and the ideas of Mohism which stress that physical power is not always enough to win battles: you also need strategy and a virtu-

ous heart [Mozi 2003; Lin 2015; Sunzi 2017; Fraser 2016]. Similarly, in Chinese literature there is the tradition of the Wǔxiá novels (and later movies), wherein wandering martial artists help to expose societal and governmental problems in order to change the government. The most famous of these books is *The Water Margin* (1589 CE), which tells the story of 108 martial artists of various styles, who, like Robin Hood in the West, use their skills to help protect the commoners and to change the government regime. They can do so because they are all branded outlaws and so can have no social standing within the government. By virtue of this classless status they are free to help people using virtuous martial skill [Shi 2010; Lin 2015; Kang 2016; Robbins Digital Library Project 2017].

In the earliest stories, started by Sīmǎqiān (145–86 BCE), the wandering martial artists may have solved governmental problems in a way that contrasted with methods used by wandering literary scholars such as Confucius. But by the time of *The Water Margin,* these two ways of solving government problems were united in characters such as Sòngjiāng, the leader of the outlaws who is eventually given three Heavenly Books on military strategy [Shi 2010; Dalia 2016]. Though written much later than the Wǔxiá novels in China, a similar book in Korean Chosŏn literature is *The Story of Hong Gildong*. As in *The Water Margin*, this book tells of a man named Hong Gildong who was the son of a government official, and who is cast out of his house in part because of his status as an illegitimate child. He also joins a group of bandits who use their martial arts skills and magic to help the commoners, and the kingdom, until they leave Korea to set up a separate island kingdom near China [Kang 2016]. Finally, in Japanese literature the Gunki-monogatari (War Tales), the most famous of which is *The Tale of Heike* (1330) all place a strong emphasis on the importance of the literary warrior or *urawashii*. In this case even the Chinese character for *urawashii* (斌), which means "refined," "gentle," and "elegant" in Chinese, is (from left to right) the combination of the characters for literature/culture, and military [Tyler 2014].

In the modern era, when South Korea was recovering from the effects of World War II and the Korean War, martial arts played a key role in the efforts to boost nationalism and the economy. During the 1950s there was a major rise in nationalism as the first president, Syngman Rhee, tried to stabilize the government as well as show national strength. One result of this was that all the major schools of Japanese-influenced martial arts in South Korea held a conference to unify into one organization. Once unified, this organization performed demonstrations in several countries around the world during the 1950s and 1960s [Burdick 2015: 32-33; Moenig 2017: 51-54]. During the 1970s some of the biggest companies in Korea, such as Hyundai and LG, started a major export campaign to boost the economy [Hwang 2010: 230-234; Seth 2016: 415-418], and it was also during this time that Taekwondo, and Tang Soo Do got their first significant foothold in the United States and Canada. So, from the country's beginning, martial arts have been used as a means of showing cultural and national identity, and power among its neighbors.

Martial Arts as the Face of Korea

Taekkyon

With the exception of Ssirŭm, Korean wrestling, Taekkyon is the oldest surviving martial art in the country with a recorded history dating back to 1798 (though there are references that potentially place it earlier). Originally it was probably part of the class of martial arts called Subak, but then as Subak masters became more specialized the martial art broke into smaller schools and only Taekkyon remained practiced into the Chosŏn period and later. In form it looks nothing like any other modern Korean martial art or any other martial art worldwide except Brazilian Capoeira. Delamont *et al.* [2017] note that many of the flowing circular movements of Capoeira and its musical accompaniment make that martial art hard to classify because of its resemblance to dance. In addition, they also say that linguistically practitioners also see connections between Capoeira and other games using the word "play" to describe the action of doing Capoeira. Some of these resemblances to dance, and play (see below) are also a prominent feature of Taekkyon [Young 2016; Moenig 2017] Many of its techniques resemble traditional Korean or northern Chinese dance with their emphasis on smooth, flowing, circular stepping, kicks, sweeps, and grabs, and in classical times was probably done with musical accompaniment [Moenig 2017].

Also in contrast to the sharp strikes of Taekwondo or Tang Soo Do, one of the author's (Forrest-Blincoe's) teachers often told him that the method of kicking in Taekkyon is like a fluid push. Many proponents of Korean martial arts, including that teacher, also claim that Taekkyon is the direct predecessor to all other modern styles in the country [Chun 1975; Hwang 1992; Burdick 2015: 19-21; Young 2016; Henning 2017: 6-7]. Though probably a descendant of a Chinese-influenced style of martial arts, proponents also claim that it is the only "pure" Korean martial art because it possesses little to no clear resemblance or historical link to any style outside Korea. Because of these arguments Taekkyon was awarded national treasure status in 1983, and in 2011 became the first martial art to be awarded UNESCO World Heritage status [Young 2016; UNESCO 2017].

Despite such recognition from the government, Taekkyon is not very widely practiced in Korea. Whereas there are countless schools for Taekwondo around the country, even in Seoul there are only two schools that

teach Taekkyon. The two major centers for learning Taekkyon are Busan, and the small city of Chungju in central Korea, and even in those cities there are only a few schools [Young 2016]. So, to bring more popularity to the martial art and to Korea, a couple of programs have been introduced to attract foreigners to see and learn Taekkyon. Insadong in Seoul is known for being a center for "traditional culture" and the area attracts many tourists because of its old-style tea houses, temples, parks, and performances. At most times the performances are limited to music and dance, but on Thursdays, and Saturdays they also include martial arts demonstrations. One of the two Taekkyon schools in Seoul is located in this area, and in addition to putting on demonstrations every week also has special classes (starting in April) for tourists to wear the uniforms, and learn some of the basics of the martial art. The founder of the school has also been featured in magazines, and internet shows as one of the biggest promoters of Taekkyon in Korea [Kyulyun Taekkyon Association 2017]. Chungju also holds an annual world martial arts festival where Taekkyon, and Taekwondo are the main representatives of Korean martial arts. The purposes of the festival are to showcase the variety of martial arts from around the world, and to indicate the variety and history of martial arts within Korea, in principle showing that Korean martial arts are equal to all of the others invited [Good Chungju 2017]. In actual fact, some of the bigger Taekkyon organizations in the world are located outside Korea. Though the most famous school is in the US, Taekkyon is now practiced in ten countries around the world including its home country [World Widae Taekkyon Organization 2017].

Taekwondo

According to some authors the word Taekwondo was first coined in 1955 during a conference of Korean martial arts masters that eventually led to the founding of the KTA [Chun 1975; Burdick 2015: 29-31]. It is generally described as a mixture of Taekkyon, and Japanese Karatedo. One of the founders of the martial art, General Choi Hong Hi, originally learned the basics of Taekkyon, and later Karatedo during the Colonial Period in Korea – before separation of North and South (1910 – 1945). He was later imprisoned as part of the resistance army at the end of World War II, and it was in prison that he decided to make a martial art that was "superior in both spirit and technique to Japanese Karate." [Choi 1993: 1, 39]. When he was released, he started his own school, and shortly thereafter, he got a prime opportunity to realize his dream during the Korean War. At the time, there were not many martial arts instructors to help teach the Korean soldiers, and, partly because of that and partly to promote his martial art, General Choi gave a demonstration for the President, who handpicked him to teach martial arts to the Korean army. Many soldiers taught by General Choi went on to win significant victories, not least because of their training. This helped strengthen his school's favor with the government.

After the Korean War, there were still several styles of martial arts competing with Taekwondo to be the primary Korean martial art, the most important of which was Hwang Kee's Tang Soo Do Association [Chun 1975; Hwang 1992; Burdick 2015: 27, 31-32]. However, after four years, in an attempt to gain political favor for his martial art, and to gain acceptance into the Korean Amateur Sports Association (KASA), Hwang Kee chose to merge his association with General Choi's to create the KTA. Due to political disputes over Choi's support of the military government started by Park Cheung-Hee, though, Hwang Kee left the KTA, and became one of its biggest opponents trying to weaken the KTA, primarily by sowing discord among its head instructors. Although the sources do not say what methods he used to oppose the KTA we do know that Hwang Kee's resistance to the KTA was met with considerable backlash from the KTA, which included legal battles and vandalism, until he moved to the United States. However, the KTA had considerable support from the Korean government and by 1964 it was included in both the KASA and the Korean Athletic Association.

At the same time that the unification of martial arts schools was concluding, the KTA put on a major demonstration tour around the world, ultimately resulting in the creation of the International Taekwondo Federation (ITF). At about this time as well, former Minister of Education, and highly regarded nationalistic historian Yi Seon Geun helped to gain further recognition for Taekwondo by publishing the now mythical history of the martial art [Moenig 2016]. He interwove the traditions of Taekkyon, Tang Soo [Do], Kongsu [Do], and Taekwondo together, claiming that Taekwondo was the last descendant in a long history of martial arts and spirit. He also emphasized that the new martial art was full of "Hwarang Spirit," a Korean counter to the Japanese "Bushido ethos," and a popular marker of specifically South Korean military power. As we have discussed, the demonstrable history of Taekwondo shows it to be a development of Japanese Karatedo, and does not have any firm historical links with Subak, or the Hwarang as told in the "official history." However, in order to gain recognition as a strictly Korean heritage, the martial art's history needed to be embellished with symbols of Korean strength in part to appeal to the government, and, later, the world.

The final split with the KTA occurred when General Choi, along with the ITF headquarters, decided to move to Canada in the 1970s. The president of the KTA opposed moving its headquarters, so the two organizations broke apart, and the ITF's position in Korea was replaced by the World Taekwondo Federation (WTF) [Burdick 2015: 33-34]. These splits away from the KTA seem to show the same type of factionalism that has

been a part of Korean politics and nationalism since the Chosŏn Period. Apart from the actual movements of the various styles, this political infighting is probably one of the most prominent features of modern Korean martial arts. What is also interesting to note is that General Choi's split from the KTA, and Hwang Kee's move to the US happened in the same year, and only one year after the founding of the American Tang Soo Do Association (ATA) [Byrne 2001; Burdick 2015: 33]. In short, Taekwondo rose to popularity mainly through the military's and the government's approval during military rule, then later by touring around the world as a symbol of Korean nationalism and strength. Today it is the national sport of Korea, and General Choi has even used Taekwondo tours to help repair relations between North Korea, and South Korea in the hope that one day they will reunite. Taekwondo is also a part of the school curriculum in Korea, and one of the definitive books about Taekwondo history and techniques was written by a professor of the Youngsan Taekwondo department [Moenig 2017]. The martial art also still plays a major role in the military because every man over eighteen years old must serve two years of military service and part of the basic training is in Taekwondo [Moenig 2017: 24]. So, within Korea, male citizens have no choice but to be exposed to Taekwondo, and in 2000 the sport gained even more popularity internationally through its introduction as an Olympic sport, and the Korean government is currently applying to have Taekwondo recognized as a UNESCO Intangible World Heritage like Taekkyon had been in 2011 [Burdick 2015: 33; Moenig 2016]. Today, in most of the world, the term "Korean martial arts" is more or less synonymous with Taekwondo.

Tang Soo Do

In Korean, Japanese, and Chinese even the name Tang Soo Do (당수도, 唐手道) has a complicated history, and meaning. Originally written using the Chinese characters meaning "Tang Hand Way" (referring to the Chinese Tang Dynasty), Tang Soo Do, or earlier Tang Shou in China, was the name for a class of southern Chinese martial arts. Some of these martial arts, including Fujian White Crane style and Shaolin boxing, were the predecessors of Okinawan, and later Japanese, Karatedo (Kongsudo in Korean). However, when Okinawan Tode (also using the characters for Tang Shou) was introduced into Japan in the 1920s, one of the founders changed the "Tang" character to the character for "empty." He did this because the characters could be pronounced the same way and so could avoid loss of meaning, but would help dissociate the martial art from its earlier Chinese influences [Burdick 2015: 30-31; Moenig 2017: 43]. Hwang Kee, the founder of Tang Soo Do, started his formal martial arts training in Manchuria during the 1930s in Japanese Karatedo and what he called Kuksul, a name which also has a complicated meaning. Kuksul comes from the Chinese word Guóshù (National Arts), which was the name that the Chinese Nationalists used for martial arts after the 1920s instead of the now common "Wǔshù" [Burdick 2015: 27; Young 2016]. Complicating matters a little further is that in China, Guóshù is also used to refer to a variety of activities originating in China, and with a long enough history to have been crafted into an art form such as dance, Chinese calligraphy, and tea ceremony. So Kuksul refers not simply to one style of martial arts but a class of martial arts, similar to the use of the words Subak and Shǒu bó [Henning 2010: 26-27, 2017: 2-3]. Similarly confusing things, the Shotokan school of Karatedo, one of the largest in the world, was founded the same year that Hwang Kee started his martial arts training in China [Moenig 2017: 39]. So, taking all of this information into account, Hwang Kee probably studied a predecessor to modern Karatedo in China, though what it was, and its national origins are still unclear. When he returned to Korea, he studied an old unnamed book (probably the *Muyedobot'ongji* – 무예도보통지 – a military training manual based on the Ming Chinese *Jì xiào xīnshū*), and by adding elements from that book he tried to link his martial art with those of ancient Korea [Burdick 2015: 27; Young 2016].

In 1953 Hwang Kee started his own martial arts organization and named his style Tang Soo Do in a double effort to create a link between his martial art and Chinese styles, and to distance his style from Japanese Karatedo [Moenig 2017: 43]. By 1960 Tang Soo Do had been characterized by the Korean government as "the traditional Korean martial art," and also later changed its name to Subakdo to strengthen the link between it and Subak, and to obscure connections to any country outside Korea [Hwang 1992; Byrne 2001; Burdick 2015: 27]. When Hwang Kee split from the KTA he became a major critic of Taekwondo, but faced so much backlash that he decided to move to the US along with some of his family, to start teaching there. At the same time that these events were happening in Seoul, Chun Sik Kim, founder of the International Tang Soo Do Federation (ITF) taught Tang Soo Do to American soldiers at Osan Air Force base [Tang Soo Do World 2017]. Some of these soldiers would later return home to teach martial arts in the United States including the founder of the ATA, Grandmaster Byrne, where Forrest-Blincoe got his own start in the martial arts in 1996. At the time that Byrne began the ATA, Asian martial arts were gaining a significant following in the West through numerous Hong Kong Kung Fu movies (Wǔxiá in Chinese), and books such as *Shogun*, and the *47 Ronin story* [Whalen-Bridge 2014]. Koreans were no less eager to be represented, and Tang Soo Do practitioners gained fame in Chinese movies alongside Bruce Lee and other movie stars. In the US, Tang Soo Do was also promoted with the style's earlier label of a "traditional" martial art and philosophical way of life, in contrast to Taekwondo which gained

popularity as a fighting sport [Hwang 1992; Byrne 2001; Moenig 2017]. Throughout Forrest-Blincoe's training in the martial art, Tang Soo Do was described by his teachers as having a history much longer than Taekwondo, and having stronger historical links to older styles. Those teachers were proud of the fact that Tang Soo Do stayed separate from Taekwondo during the unification of the KTA, a process that was described with similar gravity as the Colonial Period or the Division of North and South Korea.

Because Tang Soo Do was said to be more philosophically oriented than sport oriented, it was described as more "pure" or "authentic" than Taekwondo, and similarly akin to "traditional" Japanese and Chinese martial arts. In this way, Tang Soo Do was promoted in the West at a time when not many people were well acquainted with Asian martial arts in general, and, much less, Korean martial arts in particular. When Forrest-Blincoe started training, the details of the martial art's history had become a little blurred over time, but the allure of Asian fighting arts remained, especially with the rise in popularity of Japanese animation. Similarly, the idea of "purity" and historical "authenticity" remained because Forrest-Blincoe's teachers were only one or two generations removed from Hwang Kee. However, this type of promotion works only in the West precisely because of the cultural and physical distance from Asia. Thus, even though Tang Soo Do has gained popularity in the US and Europe, it is almost unheard of in Korea where there are still only nine schools in the whole country, most of them owned by the same instructor [Tang Soo Do World 2017]. In short, then, while Taekwondo gained popularity outside Korea through its fast-paced, dynamic sparring competitions, Tang Soo Do promoted itself in a slightly more mystical way with its connections to the "Far East." It used vague or even "secret" links to classical martial arts styles to promote itself, and always emphasized its difference from Taekwondo, further painting Korea as a country with a rich and diverse martial arts history and culture. And though there is a wide variety of martial arts in Korea today, their development is not always as simple, or as old as they are presented by the founders of various organizations.

Martial Arts as Representative of Korean Culture:

Despite the different ways that the three martial arts described above have used to gain legitimacy for themselves and Korea, in all three cases it is difficult to measure how much they each represent Korean culture and traditions. For the most part, these martial arts were started and codified during a time when the South Korean government was in its early stages, and when nationalism was allowed to be openly practiced for the first time in 35 years [Hwang 2010: 173-176; Burdick 2015: 29; Seth 2016: 228-229; Young 2016], Nationalism permeated every sphere of life, the most clearly visible of which was literature, including periodicals, written in the Korean alphabet, Hangeul. Koreans in the modern era have always been proud of their alphabet in part because it is one of the rare East Asian writing systems that had little or no influence from Chinese [Hwang 2010:68-69; Seth 2016: 190-194]. Another effect the introduction of Hangeul has had is to disguise the origin of words in Korean, because unlike in the Japanese system, a reader cannot easily discern visually the etymology of individual words. The names of the modern martial arts in Korea served a similar purpose, as did the attempts to link modern martial arts to historical ones. Koreans have always tried to diminish, obscure, or erase the cultural influences from China, or Japan in such ways as claiming ownership of Chinese holidays, and even rewriting history books [Hwang 2010: 151-153].

Chinese and Koreans have long fought over the national origin of a holiday known as the "Dragon Boat Festival" some of the traditions of which date back to before Korea was unified as a country. The Korean nationalist history book, *A New Reading of History* [Sin 1908], is famous for recording only the history of the peninsula, even going so far as to virtually wipe out any mention in Korean history of a Chinese man, Jī zi (Korean name Kija) who before then was recognized as highly influential in Korean societal development [Hwang 2010: 151-153]. There is also a pagoda in the National Museum of Korea the description of which states that it is decorated with pictures from *Journey to the West*. But, whereas the pagoda was built in 1348 CE, the author of *Journey to the West* was not even born until 1500 CE. Where Korea and China or Japan have similar cultural elements, Koreans insist on a difference between the two elements, but almost never give a very clear explanation of the differences. They may also try to seek out historical domestic practices that were similar to those of their neighbors in order to claim equality as nations with Japan and China [Hwang 2010: 79-81; Seth 2016: 94].

One commonly cited example of this search for a Korean counterpart to Japanese martial philosophy is the "Hwarang Spirit," which was first used by Shin Chae-Hong, as a Korean equivalent to the "bushido ethos" of the samurai and was later heavily promoted by Yi Seon geun, another nationalist historian. Although primarily a religious group, some of the Hwarang did help the Silla military in unifying the peninsula, though little more is known about them, particularly their specific code of ethics. Nonetheless, during his time working for the Ministry of Military propaganda, Yi promoted the Hwarang as a symbol of South Korean military strength in contrast to both the Japanese, and the North Koreans who traced their legitimacy through the Koryeo dynasty [Moenig 2016]. It was in this atmosphere that most of the existing Korean martial arts were founded, even though the majority were a mix of Korean and Japanese martial arts, which in turn were heavily influenced by Chinese styles. But as South Korea tried different ways to first

become politically stable, and then economically competitive, especially with North Korea, it used nationalism to strengthen its image in the world. And so, it sought to augment the importance of native cultural practices, and diminish the significance of other countries’ influence [Hwang 2010: 79-81; Seth 2016: 94].

Despite evident foreign influences, some elements of Korean martial arts are quite distinctively Korean cultural practices, even if in unconventional ways. It may be difficult to find “pure” native cultural practices because of the presence of so many foreign elements, but it is precisely this mixture of multiple cultural influences that make them unique to Korean culture. Though K-pop or Taekwondo may have roots in Japanese music or Asian martial arts, today they have been mixed with other styles to create something new and recognizable. Kim Chi is recognizable today not only because it is a pickled or fermented cabbage dish, but because it is a *spicy* fermented cabbage dish. The bright red color of the pickling agent in Kim Chi comes from chili peppers, a New World crop. So historically, while people in Korea may have made some sort of pickled cabbage dish similar to German sauerkraut or Dutch coleslaw in the past, the modern version of Kim Chi did not develop until the introduction of chili peppers from the Portuguese in the late 17th Century CE [Hwang 2010: 142-146]. And while there are disputes with Chinese people concerning whether or not Kim Chi evolved from Chinese Pàocài (a similar spicy fermented cabbage dish), the ingredients and method of preparing the dish have been refined enough over time as to become unique to Korea. K-Pop, was originally modeled on, and spurred by the popularity of Japanese idol groups such as Arashi, and AKB48, but due to its incorporation of US hip-hop styles, distinct fashions, and intensive training programs it too has become distinguishable as Korean, even to foreign children. Partly due to the influence of Japanese popular music in Korea, and the popularity of some Korean singers in Japan, K-Pop was modeled in form and name on Japanese popular music idol groups. So, in order to boost sales in Korean and Japan, some of the biggest music production companies in Korea including SM Entertainment and JYP Entertainment embarked on massive training programs for singers. These programs included using Japanese-style idol groups trained in US influenced hip-hop dance styles and songs all with Korean lyrics fused together to form modern K-Pop [Lie 2015].

In the same way, the three martial arts styles covered in this paper may have originated or been influenced by earlier Chinese and Japanese styles, but have developed into something new and unique to Korea. Taekwondo today is physically characterized by a heavy reliance on fast, high, and diverse kicking techniques, and very little use of hand strikes. Though originally developed from the Karatedo kicking system which was already highly developed by the time Taekwondo was founded, as the Olympic competition rules developed for sparring, the kicking system for Taekwondo needed to develop even further. Rewards for knockouts, especially resulting from kicks to the head, spurred the development of shorter fighting stances than in Karatedo, and an emphasis on speed of techniques rather than raw power [Moenig 2017: 116-117]. Hwang Kee’s manual for Tang Soo Do also includes anatomical and physical diagrams of the techniques in the martial art, which although almost identical to Taekwondo are still a move away from the techniques of Karatedo in an effort to maximize force when striking or kicking [Hwang 1992].

A kind of halfway point between Karatedo and Taekwondo, Tang Soo Do remains separate from both, in its insistence on learning new techniques through forms instead of sparring, and as being practiced as a lifestyle instead of a sport, (as in Karatedo), while still expanding on older techniques to make full use of the human body. The case of Taekkyon is interesting to note, because, while we do not have any accounts of how it was developed or performed exactly in classical times, in modern times it is being pushed further away from its Chinese influences by the same forces, and sometimes people, key to the changes made in Taekwondo kicks. So, while the other two styles may have been nationalized in a push to differentiate themselves from Japanese styles, Taekkyon has inadvertently been almost ultra-nationalized due to its influence from other Korean styles. Taekkyon had developed naturally from earlier martial arts in classical times, so it was originally practiced in the absence of formal martial arts organizations, or strict rules for matches. However, since its revival in the modern era, several formal organizations for Taekkyon have been founded (sometimes by former Taekwondo practitioners), which have introduced kicks from Taekwondo, and an official set of rules for competitions [Cho, Moenig 2012].

Another important way in which the Korean martial arts reflect their country is in the politics of martial arts organizations. Factionalism, has been a major problem in Korean government since almost the beginning of the country’s history [Seth 2016: 158-162], becoming most apparent in the Chosŏn period, about which historians have the most information, and which has had the most lasting impression on Korean identity [Lie 2015]. While in the beginning of the Koryŏ period (935–1170 CE) different clan leaders fought for power and legitimacy in claims to the throne, in the later part of the Koryŏ (1170–1392) there were several disputes for primary political power between the literary and military divisions of government. During the Chosŏn period, although the literary division of government had regained control of political affairs, there were still major ideological divides within the aristocracy. At the beginning of the new dynasty these divides were caused primarily by disputes over the right to the throne, but

over time the aristocracy became split over political policy and interpretation of Neo-Confucian ideals for government. These disputes often had severe consequences for officials whose policies were not effective, including banishment and execution. The legacy of this type of factionalism in government is either a hostile, or (to an outside observer) chaotic political atmosphere in the modern era [Hwang 2010: Chapter 23; Seth 2016: Chapter 13]. As we have already mentioned, Park Cheung-Hee led a military coup of the government in 1960, which ended only when he was assassinated by the KCIA (Korean Central Intelligence Agency) and replaced by a more democratic president [Seth 2016: 433-435]. Even in the most recent presidential election, there were fifteen major candidates from different parties, which is symptomatic of a lack of political unity in the Korean government. Just as the Korean federal government has a long history of dispute and ideological separation, so do the governments of martial arts organizations, and that cannot be seen more clearly than in the multitude of organizational disagreements and divisions of martial arts schools. Even in the West, differences of opinion or goals can frequently lead to schools or organizations being divided, and this is especially true in Tang Soo Do [American Tang Soo Do Association 2017].

This trend in Korean martial arts of organizations dividing over differences of opinion (sometimes resulting in new styles) stands in direct contrast to certain methods of conflict resolution in Japanese and Chinese martial arts internationally. Hatsuki Aishima, studying Karatedo practitioners in Egypt notes that when instructors teach new forms to students, they strictly adhere to the standard movements and patterns set by the World Karate Federation (WKF). They do this in order to join in the same movements performed around the world, and thereby be included in the global community. Rather than putting up barriers to inclusion based on ethnic, national, or ideological lines the Egyptian practitioners seek to gain legitimacy by attempting to make their practice identical to that of other international schools and thus figuratively equating their country with others [Aishima 2017]. Chinese styles also have a history of evolving through innovations to technique, and disagreements even within the same school. In Singapore, it was common for various masters of one style to sit in a teahouse and critique portrayals of their martial art in film as well as the development of their style. There was no animosity between the masters, and it was understood that it was through these and similar interactions that the martial art progressed [Farrer 2011]. Koreans however tend to be very clear in drawing distinctions between their own cultural practices and those of their neighbors particularly in the martial arts. In sum, the Korean martial arts are representative of Korean culture, however there are some important aspects to keep in mind when determining the extent of this representation.

Taekkyon Today

One of the first known references to Taekkyon comes from a bibliography-style book called the Chaemulbo (c.1798) which states: "Byeon and Subak are Byeon, Gangnyeok is Mu and all these are similar to today's Taekkyon" (卞 手搏爲卞 角力爲武 苦今之탁견). The two interesting things to note about this quote are that, except for the last phrase, this quote is identical to the definition of Shǒu bó in the second-century *Book of Han* [Ban 2002; Henning 2010: 26, Henning 2017: 1; Moenig 2017: 30], and that the name of the martial art is written in Hangeul. This quote is just an early example of one of the predecessors to Korean nationalist thought whereby Koreans wanted to dissociate from Chinese or Japanese influence based on their own cultural habits. Even in later references to the martial art, using Chinese characters, it is not clear if the word Taekkyon is a native Korean word, or borrowed from the Chinese word Taigen. It is also not entirely clear from the historical record how exactly Taekkyon is related to Subak, even though most proponents claim that there is a direct historical link [Henning 2017: 6-7, Moenig 2017: 13-33]. Even if the different styles in the class of Subak did split apart due to increasing specialization, one would expect to find references to other classical descendants, but even those references are missing. One recently rediscovered reference to Taekkyon establishes a continuity in the use of fighting for entertainment between Subak and Taekkyon, but no description of how they are physically related. The *Koryeosa*, or *History of Koryeo,* contains the earliest Korean references to Subak, one of which describes the events of a Subak tournament held to entertain one government official [Henning 2017: 2, Koryeosa 2017]. ("顧左右曰: "壯哉! 此地可以*肄兵!" 命武臣爲五兵手搏戲盖知武臣缺望欲因以厚賜慰之也. 賴恐武臣見寵遂懷猜忌大將軍李紹膺雖武人貌瘦力羸與一人搏不勝而走賴遽前批紹膺頰卽墜階下王與群臣撫掌大笑林宗植李復基亦罵紹膺.) (Gù zuǒyòu yuē: "Zhuàng zāi! Cǐdì kěyǐ*yì bīng!" Mìng wǔchén wèi wǔ bīng shǒu bó xì gài zhī wǔchén quē wàng yù yīn yǐ hòu cì wèi zhī yě. Lài kǒng wǔchén jiàn chǒng suì huái cāijì dà jiàng jūn lǐ shào yīng suī wǔrén mào shòu lì léi yǔ yīrén bó bùshèng ér zǒu lài jù qián pī shào yīng jiá jí zhuì jiēxià wáng yǔ qún chén fǔzhǎng dà xiào línzōngzhí lǐfùjī yì mà shào yīng.)

A similar reference to Taekkyon is found in the 1852 CE collection of poetry called the *Yuktangbonch'ŏngguyŏngŏn* (육당본청구영언), an expansion of the *Chinbonch'ŏngguyŏngŏn* (진본청구영언), published in 1728 CE [Cho 2012, Cho Personal Communication 2017; Hwang 2013; Kim 2017]. Poem 742 of the *Yuktangbonch'ŏngguyŏngŏn* describes how poet Kim Min Sun (1776–1859 CE) enjoyed doing Taekkyon for sport between the ages of 10 and 25 years old [Hwang 2013; Cho Personal Communication 2017]. ("少年 十五 二十時에 /하던 일이/ 어제론 듯 속곰질 뛰움질과 /

씨름 탁견 游山하기/ 小骨 쟁긔 投錢하기/져기 차고/ 鳶날리기 /酒肆靑樓 出入다가 /사람치기/ 하기로다-김민순"). (sonyeon sib-o isibsie /hadeon il-i/ eojelon deus soggomjil ttwiumjilgwa /ssileum taggyeon yusanhagi/ sogol jaeng-gui tujeonhagi/jyeogi chago/ yeonnalligi /jusacheongnu chul-ibdaga /salamchigi/ hagiloda-gimminsun)

Unfortunately, due to the fragmentary nature of Subak references in general, and Taekkyon references before the 20th century, it is difficult to determine how the martial arts were physically performed, much less to determine a direct lineage between the two. Though some authors have claimed that the Koryeosa has as many as eight references to Subak, in examining the text we were only able to identify three. Similarly, because the second generation of Taekkyon masters could not complete their training before World War II and the Korean War, the martial art that is practiced today is incomplete. The last Chosŏn king did commission a training manual for Taekkyon before the Japanese occupation, but that too is lost [Young 2016]. Some authors go so far as to claim that Taekkyon was not even considered a martial art in classical times, but more of a fighting game. These authors cite the fact that Subak matches were known as Subakhi, the latter word being a combination of Subak, and hi, in Chinese Xi (戏), and that the Korean verb used to mean do Taekkyon was Nolda (놀다). Both words are difficult to translate into English concepts, as are the Japanese and Chinese verbs that denote the same action (asobu 遊ぶ and wan 玩 respectively), due in part to the way they are used in those languages, and the connotation of their translation in English. Though the most common translation for the three verbs is "play," these words are used to mean an action that is done for pleasure, rather than practical purposes, and can include activities not generally considered "playing" in English including eating, travel, reading, and talking over coffee. In translating "xi" then, these same authors use the word "game" probably as the most natural word to associate with "play," and while "game" is a valid translation, it is only a partial one. Xi can also be used to refer to any sort of viewed entertainment including theater dramas and even practical jokes. So, while in a very broad usage of the word "play" can encompass many of the activities listed above, it does not quite encapsulate the full range of connotations of the original Asian words. For example, the Japanese ethnologist, Hatsuki Aishima, when talking in English about Egyptian Karate uses the word "play" to refer to the action of doing Karate, while simultaneously emphasizing that the martial art is a way of life. [Aishima 2017]. Critics of Taekkyon also argue that the martial art gained more popularity and attention only after being declared a UNESCO Intangible World Heritage, and acquiring formal competition rules from former Taekwondo and Karatedo practitioners [Cho 2012; Ouyang 2016]. Perhaps one day if more references to the martial art can be found, the historical connections will be strengthened and easier to determine. However, some of those records are in what is now North Korea, so gaining access to them for now is virtually impossible.

Taekwondo and Tang Soo Do

In the previous discussions about Taekwondo and Tang Soo Do we have yet to explore the fact that the conference of martial arts masters that led to the founding of the KTA was in fact a meeting of Kongsudo practitioners [Chun 1975; Burdick 2015: 21]. During the Colonial Period, Koreans were forbidden from practicing martial arts, which had some serious consequences for the development of Korean martial arts. The first was the near extinction of Taekkyon, but for a few people practicing in secret, probably with the help of the training manual commissioned just prior [Burdick 2015: 20-21; Young 2016]. The second consequence was that in the same way that many Koreans were forced to travel to Japan for higher education, they also had no choice but to go to Japan for higher education and to learn martial arts [Hwang 2010: 184-190; Burdick 2015: 21-23; Seth 2016: 314-315; Young 2016]. So, it is not surprising that most modern martial arts are a mixture of Karatedo and Korean styles. Even more importantly, at the time of founding they probably had Japanese names as well. We have already discussed the complicated history of the word Tang Soo Do, but also at the time of founding, Taekwondo was almost exactly the same in form and content as Karatedo except for one set of forms [Burdick 2015: 27-29]. One story that is frequently told is that even though Koreans were forbidden from practicing martial arts they continued to do so by disguising different styles as dance. This depiction is understandable in the case of Taekkyon, which has many dance-like movements, but not for Tang Soo Do, which is so similar to Shotokan that Forrest-Blincoe sometimes surprised his teachers in the latter when he insisted that he was a beginner. Most Tang Soo Do practitioners too, insist that Taekwondo is a younger martial art developed from the former, when in fact both martial arts at their founding were probably independent, but derived in part from the same Japanese styles. Even today, when Forrest-Blincoe practices Taekkyon, his teacher uses the names Kongsudo, Tang Soo Do, and Taekwondo interchangeably when referring to Forrest-Blincoe's previous martial arts training.

The other problematic element in these two martial arts arises through the attempts to link these styles with historical ones. The two most commonly used sources to make an argument for a historical connection to older martial arts are the *Muyedobot'ongji*, and in artistic depictions. Collected in 1790, the *Muyedobot'ongji* includes much of the same material as the Ming *Jì xiào xīnshū* (1561 CE), with only limited original material [Qi 1935; Kim 2000; Young 2016; Henning 2017: 4] There is only

one chapter on unarmed fighting, and neither book references Subak, Shǒu bó, or Taekkyon [Qi 1935; Kim 2000]. So even though it may display some of the same techniques that were present in Korea and China at the same time, it is not possible to demonstrate that the styles were uniquely Korean, or how they relate to the modern martial arts [Moenig 2016; Young 2016]. Furthermore, even if the fighting styles in the *Muyedobot'ongji* were used as a basis for some techniques in modern martial arts, without extremely precise detail it is incredibly difficult to completely replicate physical movements learned from a book alone. Similarly, in the Koguryŏ tomb paintings, though it is clear that two people are engaged in some sort of fighting, it is not clear what type of fighting they are doing, or how exactly the movements relate to Subak or other martial arts today [Burdick 2015: 20; Young 2016; Henning 2017: 6]. Also in art there are the guardian deity statues outside tombs which resemble unarmed combat stances. However, these figures are old Buddhist symbols that occur throughout Asia, and were originally depicted with spears, so they cannot be said to be unique to Korea, or representations of unarmed combat [Young 2016; Henning 2017 :2].

Finally, there is the problem that there are often no scholarly or relevant sources to follow on the history of the martial arts apart from the writings of the founders themselves. Because they wanted to promote their martial arts, both within and outside Korea, their accounts are not always entirely reliable. These founders often hid, changed, or added to their accounts of their martial arts' histories in order to strengthen their position in the retelling of events [Burdick 2015: 37]. One example from Forrest-Blincoe's training comes in the story of how Hwang Kee separated from the KTA. In Tang Soo Do schools in the US and in Korea the instructors say that Hwang Kee deliberately and continuously stayed separate from Taekwondo because he wanted his art to remain more "traditional," rather than develop into a sport [Byrne 2001; American Tang Soo Do Association 2017]. The fact that Hwang Kee joined his organization with General Choi's to form the KTA [Chun 1975; Burdick 2015: 31-32], and the fact that he soon separated due to disagreements over leadership, and association with the military government of Korea is never mentioned. Also, because there are few other historical sources, followers of any one style have little choice but to believe the accounts of their teachers, which makes it even more difficult to find a full version of the historical events.

Other Martial Arts

While there are many other styles of martial arts in Korea, such as Hapkido, Hwarangdo, and Ssirŭm, none of them has become very well-known outside of Korea [Hwang 2013; Young 2016]. Ssirŭm is very popular as a Korean sport especially for tourists and on television, and there are many straightforward historical references to the style. Yet it is almost completely unknown in the West. Some of the paintings in the Koguryŏ tombs very clearly show wrestling matches [Chun 1975; Hwang 2010: 8-9; Seth 2016: 190-194; Young 2016; Henning 2017: 1], and from the Chosŏn period several paintings depict wrestling, including the earliest picture we have of Taekkyon [Young 2016; Moenig 2017: 18]. Similarly, Ssirŭm is mentioned in the *Yuktangbonch'ŏngguyŏngŏn* along with Taekkyon as a similar sporting pastime [Hwang 2013]. Kim Hong-Do a painter famous for straying away from the classical themes of landscapes and birds made a painting of Ssirŭm even before the Chaemulbo reference to Taekkyon [Hwang 2010: 113-114]. Ssirŭm has similarities to Sumo in Japan, and Mongolian wrestling, but there are also features such as dress, and technique that make it distinctively Korean. Possibly its lack of use as a modern military skill can account for its relative lack of notoriety in the West, but when compared with Sumo this is only part of the answer. Probably the most plausible explanation is that the visibility and popularity of Taekwondo in Korea so far outstrips the other martial arts that they have no chance of becoming popular internationally.

Conclusion

Within Korea, three martial arts have gained enough popularity and status to become representative of Korea's diversity and strength internationally. They have been exported to the West either as the result of divisions in martial arts organizations [Hwang 1992; Byrne 2001; Burdick 2015: 32-34], or in an effort to preserve older styles [Young 2016]. Also, it is precisely because they were exported, that these three martial arts have become symbols for Korea internationally. The kicking system, and stances of Taekwondo, underwent transformation in response to changes in Olympic competition rules, and the specifically Korean mythical histories surrounding Taekwondo and Tang Soo Do were used to market the martial arts and are now taken as fact by students. Students of Taekkyon and Taekwondo who are intrigued by these histories are also willing to visit Korea in order to experience "authentic" training in the martial arts' country of origin. These students take part both in the growing phenomenon of martial arts tourism, and the same processes that drive travelers to attend K-Pop concerts, and eat Kim Chi at their source. Taekwondo is now the most representative Korean martial art with more than 70 million practitioners around the world, and its recognition as an Olympic sport along with Japanese Judo, and Chinese Wŭshù [Burdick 2015: 18]. Taekkyon has enjoyed a great revival since the 1940s when only three practitioners were left in Korea after World War II [Young 2016]. Tang Soo Do is still known in the West

by its designation as Korea's traditional martial art, and because of its association with movie stars and even video games [Byrne 2001; Mortal Kombat Online 2017; Tang Soo Do World 2017]. Though all of these styles are not "purely" Korean in the sense that they were born and bred only on the Korean peninsula, but, have evolved from, and retain, influences from Chinese or Japanese martial arts, they have, nonetheless, become distinctively Korean martial arts over time: it is their particular mixture of foreign and domestic cultural elements that is unique to Korea. The lack of availability of historical references to older martial arts, especially those now located in North Korea, and the lack of private North Korean martial arts schools, makes comparative study of old and modern styles difficult [Burdick 2015: 26]. Also, because the current popularity of Taekwondo overshadows that of any other Korean martial art, only these three styles have become symbols for Korea throughout the world.

Cultures worldwide use special symbols such as particular foods, items of clothing, music, dance, and so forth to establish their unique identities. Yet, a little digging shows that all of these items have complex histories and points of origin. Many are not even especially old. Yet all are claimed to be ancient, longstanding, indigenous products by nationalists who wish to display their cultural uniqueness and difference from other, surrounding, cultures, actual historical records notwithstanding. Korea is no different in this regard. Its popular "Korean" martial arts are demonstrably not uniquely home grown, nor especially old. But we can say that they have become distinctively Korean over time, evolving in their own special ways in Korea, and thus are worthy exports as symbols of national identity and individuality.

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Romanization Reference:

Note that when romanizing Chinese words the authors have used the Pinyin system (with tone marks), and for Korean words we have used the McCune-Reischauer system, except where words have a standard spelling in English. For Taekwondo, Taekkyon, and Tang Soo Do, we have chosen to use these spellings because in the case of the first two they are the standard English spelling, and in the third case because it is the most widely used internationally. Otherwise, here are some important transliterations from Chinese and Korean. For Japanese we use kanji for convenience because it meshes with Chinese, and the transliterations use the Hubert system.

Romanization	*Chinese*	*Korean*
Shǒu bó/Subak	手搏	수박
Taigen[2]/Taekkyon	托肩	택견
Taekwondo	跆拳道	태권도
Tang Soo Do	唐手道	당수도
Karatedo	空手道	공수도
Guóshù /Kuksul	国术	국술
Wǔshù/Musul	武术	무술
Jī zi/Kija	箕子	기자
Urawashii	斌	

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[2] This entry is a little complicated as indicated in the body of the paper. The correct Pinyin for the Chinese characters is Tuō jiān which, if pronounced that way, means "shoulders." The other set of Chinese characters used to write Taekkyon historically is 卓见. Etymologically this spelling does not make sense in Chinese because it means "excellent opinion," or brilliant idea." These problems are created by using Chinese characters to represent Korean words phonetically.

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37. *Martial Art*, Via Media Publishing Company, Santa Fe NM, pp. 14-54. ** Michael A. Demarco Editor

Kim Chi, K-Pop i Taekwondo: Nacjonalizacja południowokoreańskich sztuk walki

Słowa kluczowe: Korea, *taekwondo*, *tang soo do*, *taekkyon*, nacjonalizm

Abstrakt

Tło. Forrest-Blincoe ma tytuł mistrza, jest posiadaczem czarnego pasa i 4 dana w stylu *Tang Soo Do*, który studiował

w Stanach Zjednoczonych i Korei. Studiował on także *Taekkyon* w Korei Południowej. W tym czasie interesował się oficjalną historią tych sztuk walki, która często znacznie różni się od udokumentowanej historii.

Zarówno Forrest, jak i Forrest-Blincoe posiadają wykształcenie antropologiczne. Forrest specjalizuje się w symbolach i tożsamości narodowej, a także opublikował wiele prac dotyczących antropologii ruchu i tańca.

Problem i cel. Sztuki walki *Taekwondo*, *Tang Soo Do* i *Taekkyon* od jakiegoś czasu rywalizowały w Korei o reprezentowanie koreańskiej kultury, a Korea używała sztuk walki jako produktu eksportowego i jednego z komponentów w dążeniu do zyskania uznania jako światowej potęgi konkurującej ze swoim mocniejszymi sąsiadami tj. China i Japonią. Niniejszy artykuł analizuje proces używania sztuk walki, jako symboli koreańskiej tożsamości narodowej i koncentruje się na Korei Południowej jako kraju. Autorzy starali się zachować ostrożność, aby odróżnić Koreę jako całość, a zwłaszcza Koreę Południową. Ściśle mówiąc, termin „Korea" powinien odnosić się do półwyspu jako całości, a „Korea Południowa" do obecnego narodu.

Metody. Autorzy wykorzystują zarówno analizę tekstów historycznych, jak i antropologiczną pracę w terenie. Dostępne źródła są badane tak szczegółowo, jak to tylko możliwe (zwłaszcza językowe), kwestionując kilka powszechnych przekonań na temat pochodzenia i ewolucji sztuk walki.

Wyniki. Źródła historyczne malują mroczny obraz historii koreańskich sztuk walki, utajony przez wczesnych praktyków, i nie do końca zrozumiały przez współczesnych uczonych.

Wnioski. Artykuł ten nie tylko pokazuje, że koreańskie sztuki walki mają korzenie w Chinach i Japonii (co jest powszechnie uznawane), podkreślając, że z biegiem czasu stały się wyraźnie koreańskie, rozwijając się w szczególny sposób w Korei, a tym samym stając się legalnym produktem eksportowym będącym symbolem koreańskiej tożsamości narodowej i indywidualności.