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**“Pilgrimage in Service of Mission in the Context of the
Contemporary Korean Church”**

A Thesis by

Min-Hwi Kim, Diocese of Suwon

Presented to

The Faculty of the

Jesuit School of Theology

Of Santa Clara University

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requirements for the degree of

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Committee Signatures

Prof. Eduardo Fernández, S.J, Director

Date

Prof. Hung Pham, S.J, Reader

Date

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Acknowledgments

The initial inspiration towards this thesis comes to me from my seminary days. At that time, I was not particularly motivated by the notion of pilgrimage, not having yet actively participated in one. I was graced to make one as a deacon, however, to both Israel and Jordan, not knowing what I would experience in these sacred places. After that journey, working as a newly ordained priest in a parish, I found myself going to pilgrimage sites within my own Diocese of Suwon every Monday, slowly realizing the power of such encounters, especially in terms of their deeper meaning and how they might be related to the mission of the Church in our modern era.

During my licentiate coursework at the Jesuit School of Theology in Berkeley, I explored such connections, particularly in an introductory course to missiology which I took in the Fall of 2017 with Dr. Eduardo Fernández, SJ, one in which I explored the relationship between Church, mission, and cultures. I also took a course on art and pilgrimage with Dr. Kathryn Barush which expanded my knowledge specifically around pilgrimage as practiced throughout history. Little by little, I came to see the close relationship between this sacred practice and mission, one which I have tried to articulate in the thesis which you now hold in your hand.

As I pen these words, I am feeling much gratitude to God for the many people, too many to list, who have supported me throughout my studies so far, expressing concern for my wellbeing and keeping me in their prayers. I, in turn, pray for them and commit myself to do the same. A special thanks goes to my thesis committee, my above mentioned director and advisor, Dr. Fernández, as well as Dr. Hung Pham, also a member of the Society of Jesus. I also wish to express my gratitude to my bishop, his excellency, the Most Reverend Mattias Iong-Hoon Lee, the other bishops, as well

as Fathers Han of San Jose, Father Kim of San Francisco, and my dear friend and colleague, Father Ryu. Thank you from the bottom of my heart!

Introduction

There is a saying that life is a pilgrimage. This journey is also echoed through Vatican II's statement that "The pilgrim Church is missionary by her very nature, since it is from the mission of the Son and the mission of the Holy Spirit that she draws her origin, in accordance with the decree of God the Father."¹ As such, a pilgrimage is an expressive act of desire to engage spirituality on a practical level, and "a journey to a special or holy place as a way of making an impact on one's life with the revelation of God associated with that place."² Our faith does not consist of an ideological or utopian world that exists only in our heads, but is instead an expression of practical, ethical action that explores the signs of the times amidst the realities of postmodernism³ and post secularism.

The Korean Catholic Church has been on a difficult road to meet and experience God. In 1784, Lee Seung Hun was baptized in China, taking the name of Peter, and with that the Korean Church began. Even after four great persecutions, the Korean Church never gave up her efforts to practice the faith. It is no exaggeration to say that the Korean church of today owes its existence to the many unnamed martyrs, of whom many were lay.

¹ Vatican Council II. Ad Gentes [Decree On the Mission Activity of the Church]. Vatican Website. Accessed March 21, 2017.

http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decree_19651207_ad-gentes_en.html.

² Craig Bartholomew and Robert Llewelyn, "Introduction" in *Explorations in a Christian Theology of Pilgrimage* ed. Craig Bartholomew and Fred Hughes, xii.

³ According to Michael Paul Gallagher, "the postmodern is not only a current of thought but a lived condition of culture today, and indeed that this latter aspect is of particular relevance for religion and theology. In other words, postmodernity can be described as having two wings, one of existential lostness and one of 'reconstructive' exploration of new frontiers.": Michael Paul Gallagher, *Clashing Symbols* (Paulist Press, New York, 2003), 99.

Since 2011, the Bishops' Conference has designated 111 holy sites throughout the country and conferred blessings on those who pilgrimed to these holy sites. This led to a certain pilgrimage 'boom'. The Bishop of the Missionary of the Episcopal Church and the Bishop of the Holy Land pilgrimage (Chairman Kim Sun-tae) presented a blessing to the organizers who pilgrimed to all 111 of the Holy Places listed in the "Catholic Church Pilgrimage in Korea" on December 12. On this day, 433 believers received blessings. As a result, a total of 2,664 persons received the blessing. A total of 1,215 people was awarded the blessing year in 2017.⁴ In this way, it can be seen that this ministerial approach to pilgrimage in the Korean Catholic is yielding good fruit.

The Catholic Church in Korea is researching how to integrate theology and spirituality of pilgrimage into mission, pursuing the unity of theory and practice.⁵ Pilgrimage is an embodied ritual, so the theology and spirituality of pilgrimage must also come out of a concrete practice. In the pilgrimage we undertake, the external pilgrimage to the holy place and the inner pilgrimage are not separate, but are rather complementary. The Korean Catholic Church is actively developing and revitalizing the ritual of outward and inward pilgrimage.

The Korean Catholic Church has practiced pilgrimage as a part of the faith life of the church community, even as it is seen as an option, not a requirement. This work will argue that the Korean Catholic Church should link pilgrimage with a variety of programs within this context. In particular, it should develop a pilgrimage program

⁴ 가톨릭신문 [Catholic Newspaper], 제 3075 호, December 25, 2017.

⁵ 이기락 [Gi-rak Lee], 신앙생활과 성지순례 – 순례 사목을 중심으로 [*Religious life and pilgrimage- Focusing on Pastoral Pilgrim*], 가톨릭신학과사상, [Catholic Theology and Thought] Vol. 57, 2006.9, 129-151.

for young people to help them locate themselves within Korean church history and also within their communities in the long history of God's providence.

In this sense, the goal of pilgrimage is not to abolish the relevance of church's political, historical, or doctrinal contexts, but to restore its identity as a pilgrim community and to strengthen its evangelical mission as a community of churches. In other words, the theology and spirituality of pilgrimage will provide dynamism to the Korean church. This dynamic community can only be called an evangelical community when it truly is God's salt, leaven, and light in the world.

In order to approach the crisis and opportunity of today's postmodern church situation in a missionary and communicative manner, I will study pilgrimage to these sacred sites and present this unique pilgrim spirituality as a paradigmatic transformation of the new mission and method of evangelization. The purpose of this dissertation is to consider pilgrimage, which is one of the various popular devotional acts, as an important phenomenon of the new evangelization. Hence, I will explore not only some Catholic studies from other parts of the world, but also the unique spiritual pilgrimage spirituality and its corresponding mission dimension that have been created through the spiritual phenomenon of Asian pilgrimages active in Catholic churches in East Asia.

This dissertation has four main objectives which underscore its significance to the field of missiology: (a) to examine what pilgrimage is from historical, biblical, and church viewpoints, and to provide its relevance for mission today; (b) to re-establish the relationship between pilgrimage and tourism as this form of popular devotion has unfolded throughout human history; (c) To help the reader understand the unique pilgrim spirituality of the Korean Catholic Church; and (d) as a local

church in the world church, to better orient the future direction of this ministry and spirituality, not only in Korea but also in other parts of a world church.

In this work, the first chapter looks at the definition of pilgrimage sites and the meaning of the place where the pilgrimage is taking place, approaching this from historical, biblical, and ecclesial perspectives. First, I deal with the history of pilgrimage to the shrines of the Korean Catholic Church. Second, I present pilgrimage to these holy lands through the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments' *The Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy-Principles and Guidelines*. Third, I describe how it is that, from historical and biblical points, pilgrimages are deeply related to the human journey which has to do with salvation, engaging memory, penitence, liturgy and sacraments, and popular devotion. Lastly, I demonstrate how it is that pilgrimage is related to mission, one embodies by an intrinsic desire to live a life of faith.

The second chapter is more focused specifically at pilgrim spirituality in conjunction with the definition of pilgrimage in the early Church, the Middle Ages, and the Second Vatican Council. Furthermore, I examine pilgrimage, in light of pilgrimage spirituality, tourism, and theology, highlighting the theological restructuring act which enables the reader to re-illuminate Christian testimony and life.

In the third chapter I explain how the establishment of pilgrimage to the sacred places of by the Korean Catholic Church has produced legacy of faith that has been handed down through the faith of the martyrs and the myriad of ancestors of a faith witnessed by worship and service to God. Based on these spiritual aspects, I describe how these sacred places have grown through pilgrimage, a pilgrimage often focused around persecution and martyrdom.

Furthermore, I explore the activities of the Suwon Diocese for the promotion of pilgrimage. In particular, for example, guide books which assist the pilgrim in walking to these sacred places in the precincts, *Didimgil*, make the pilgrimage more enriching. A treatment of modern parish movements to promote the veneration of these saints and martyrs accents their continuing relevance and connection with the grassroots. This chapter is not without its description of more concrete ways of doing pilgrimage, such as that done physically walking, one done with a leader, and the creation of resources to assist pilgrims in furthering their relationship with a God who invites us to participate in mission. Some of my major learnings round out the work.

Chapter 1

Pilgrimage as Evangelization

Pope John Paul II issued the following message on September 21, 2001, to the regular session of the Pontifical Council of Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments:

You have chosen public devotion to be the core theme of the regular plenary session, in preparation for proper guidance. Public devotion is an expression of faith that embraces the cultural elements of a particular environment while expressing and inspiring the emotions of believers in a vibrant and effective way. The true form of popular devotion, expressed and spread in various forms, is rooted in faith. Therefore, we must acknowledge and encourage the goodness of public devotion. The correct expression of popular devotion does not contradict the center of holy liturgy, and those who regard it as a natural religious expression are encouraged by faith, which brings them closer to the celebration of the holy mystery.¹

Through his *Sanctuarium in Ecclesia*, the Apostolic Letter of the Holy Father in the form of *Motu Proprio*, transferring competences for Shrines to the Pontifical Council for the Promotion of the New Evangelization, Pope Francis has pointed to the continuing pilgrimage processions throughout the world today as a clear sign of the simple and humble faith of believers. Through various pilgrimages to the communion with God, the faithful are experiencing the passage of saints. As such, these various types of pilgrimages are very important phenomena of evangelization.²

As seen above, pilgrimage is deeply rooted in the Christian tradition and, therefore, without the experience of pilgrimage, it is impossible to understand its

¹ Pope John Paul II, Extracts from the address of His Holiness Pope John Paul II to the Plenary Meeting of the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments (21 September 2001), section 4. Vatican website, accessed September 24, 2017, http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccdds/documents/rc_con_ccdds_doc_20020513_ver_s-direttorio_en.html.

² Pope Francis, Apostolic Letter of the Holy Father Francis in the form of *Motu Proprio*, transferring competences for Shrines to the Pontifical Council for the Promotion of the New Evangelization (11 February 2017), Vatican website, accessed September 24, 2017, http://w2.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/motu_proprio/documents/papa-francesco-motu-proprio_20170211_sanctuarium-in-ecclesia.html.

essence. Also, consider how many of the Jewish-Christian traditions have evolved through pilgrimage. Abraham, called the Father of faith, showed no signs of being static. He developed his relationship with God through a strange journey that left his homeland behind, obedient to God's call. The same is true of the Israelites who, through their journey of 40 years of pilgrimage in the wilderness, were able to deepen their identities and relationships with God.

In the New Testament, the image of Jesus Christ was the very image of the pilgrim. Jesus always stayed on the journey of pilgrimage as a man who had no place to lay his head (Luke 9:58). Following Jesus meant traveling with him, and the story of the two disciples of Emmaus, who later recognized the resurrected Jesus Christ, raises questions for us about the changed life of post-pilgrimage: What is Jesus doing now?³

On the basis of these meanings, we have been able to read the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments' *The Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy-Principles and Guidelines*. This is an important and necessary document on the pilgrimage of the Shrine. How does pilgrimage appear in this directory? What is the meaning of the place where it takes place? How does pilgrimage unfold throughout the Bible? To answer these questions in this chapter, I will briefly address some of its historical, biblical, and ecclesial elements-

Before turning to the directory, I would like to explain my own context of why pilgrimage can be associated with evangelization. To do so, I must introduce the deep history of the Korean Catholic Church to which I belong as a diocesan priest, as we have a tradition of traveling to shrines.

³ Frederick Herzog, *God-walk: Liberation Shaping Dogmatics* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1988), xxiii.

History of Pilgrimage to the Shrines of the Korean Catholic Church

Since the death of the first Christian martyr Yi Seung-Hun in 1791, the Korean Catholic community had held them in high esteem. At that time and after, many believers kept relics of martyrs, such as clips of their hair, diaries from prison, and so on, based on an admiration of their faith which took them even to the point of martyrdom. These martyrs, consequently, became role models as they found their faith by reading their biographies.⁴

This devotion to the martyrs was encouraged by the work of the French missionaries who had been studying their lives since 1838. After the Persecution of 1866, the petition for the beatification of 26 martyrs was formally filed, and before this request could be granted, the Korean Church underwent even more persecutions, particularly that of 1839 and that of 1846.

On July 5, 1925, when the 79th martyred persons were beatified, the official devotion took on new strength in local parishes, and before the 100th anniversary of the martyrdom of the Persecution of 1839, the movement spread to become a movement of the entire Church. The Korean Catholic Martyr Committee, which was founded in 1946 as part of this devotion to the martyrs, purchased a place called ‘Sae-nam-teo,’ where, in 1955, they built an adoration tower.

On October 6, 1968, the 24 martyrs of the Persecution of 1866 were beatified. By then, each diocese was holding annual Eucharistic events commemorating the martyrs, events which grew in size. On September 21, 1969, The General Assembly of Catholic Bishop’s Conference of Korea unified the annual liturgical feast day of the 103 Korean martyrs beatification as September 26th. Since then, the Korean Catholic Church martyr devotion movement has become more active nationwide. The

⁴ *한국천주교회사 1 권 (Korean Catholic History 1)*, 한국교회사연구소 (Korean Catholic History Institute, November, 30, 2009), 302.

Suwon Diocese focused on the development of the prehistoric ‘Mi-ri-nae’ shrine as well as that of the ‘Cheon-jin-am’ shrine. The Jeonju diocese dedicated itself to the development of the ‘Chimyeongjasan’ shrine, while the Daejeon diocese developed the ‘Darakgol’, ‘Haemi’, and the ‘Solmoe’ shrines. In addition, the Daegu Archdiocese, the Masan Diocese, and the Jeonju Diocese fostered the devotion of the martyrs through the building of more shrines.

Partly as a result of this nationwide martyr devotion movement, canonizations were held in Seoul on May 6, 1984, and these 103 Catholic persons were solemnly declared saints. As a result, the Catholic Church in Korea has a large movement of the veneration of martyrs. The shrines developed in this way are regarded as important by the Catholic Church of Korea. Thus, shrines were built in the places where these saints were martyred.

Similarly, the Korean Church actively sought the beatification and canonization of the 124 martyrs of the 1801 persecution. This request was granted with Pope Francis’ beatification of them in Seoul on August 16, 2014.

As more martyrs come to light and their beatification and canonization is sought, there will undoubtedly be more shrines dedicated to them, places where the faithful can journey on pilgrimage to venerate and imitate them.⁵ Thus, the Korean Catholic Church is a holy church built by the blood and sweat of pilgrims, and the spirit of remembering countless martyrs who died following Jesus Christ. In this sense, we need to look at pilgrimage from various points of view. What constitutes then, pilgrimage to a shrine, and what is the relationship between pilgrimage and mission?

⁵ 문화체육관광부 (Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism), 한국 천주교 문화유산 실태조사 및 활용방안(Catholic Cultural Heritage in Korea), December 2012, 145-148.

Pilgrimage to the Holy Land

Chapter 8 of the *Directory* provides a broad understanding of pilgrimage to shrines of leading popular devotions of believers through a four-pronged approach to pilgrimage to the shrine. In particular, it clarifies the concept of the shrine and explains the characteristic features of the holy place pilgrimage.⁶

Section 262 defines the principles for pilgrimage as follows: "In accordance with Christian revelation, the risen Christ is the supreme and definitive sanctuary (cf. John 2: 18-21; Ap 21:22) around which the community of the disciples gathers. In turn, that community is the new dwelling place of the Lord (cf. 1 Pt 2: 5; Eph 2: 19-22)".⁷ Also, symbolic meaning is revealed through section 263: "Shrines, like churches, have enormous symbolic values: they are icons "of the dwelling places of God among men" (Ap 21,3) and allude to "the mystery of the Temple" which was fulfilled in the Body of Christ (cf. John 1, 14; 2, 21), in the ecclesial community (cf. 1 Pt 2, 5) of the faithful (cf. 1 Cor 3, 16-17; 6, 19; 2 Cor 6, 16)."⁸

Let us look at the specific meaning of the pilgrimage to the shrine.

⁶ Ana Maria Pineda, R.S.M, "Shrines and Pilgrimages", in *The Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy: Principles and Guidelines: A Commentary*, ed. Peter C. Phan; contributors, Robert Brancatelli ... et al. (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2005), 151.

⁷ Pope John Paul II, *Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy Principles and Guidelines*, section 262, Vatican City, December 2001, accessed on September 24, 2017, http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccdds/documents/rc_con_ccdds_doc_20020513_ver_s-direttorio_en.html.

⁸ Pope John Paul II, *Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy Principles and Guidelines*, section 263, Vatican City, December 2001, accessed on September 24, 2017, http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccdds/documents/rc_con_ccdds_doc_20020513_ver_s-direttorio_en.html.

General Features and Concepts of Pilgrimage

First, the general characteristics of pilgrimage can be summarized as follows:⁹

- (1) Holiness of the place of pilgrimage
- (2) A personal or collective movement or pilgrimage to the place
- (3) The purpose of pilgrimage in order to obtain some material or spiritual good

Also, in the universal sense, the shrine is a 'holy place' because the present, or related, holy word that is proclaimed there. Furthermore, sacraments (such as confession) received there are sacred.

How can we explain the concept of shrine¹⁰ specifically? Let us look at this point through the story of Jacob (Genesis 25: 19-36: 43). The Jacob fable emphasizes that the Lord, as the God of his ancestors, intervenes in the work of God's people, Israel, to lead their tangled history to God's will. The story of Jacob's trickery on his brother Esau is that God will walk beyond the guilt of humanity with God's highest freedom and walk to the end of God's original path. Also, the word of the promise that Jacob heard from God in Bethel, "Behold, I am with you and will keep you wherever you go" (Genesis 28:15) later articulated to Moses and Joshua, it is also the word promised to Israel.

Let us then explain the concept of holy place through the story of Jacob's dream in Bethel (Genesis 28: 10-22). In this dream, Jacob stands on the ground with a stairway, and its top reaches the sky, with the angels of God looking up and down. He has the feeling that he is in some fearful place, and this place where he is now is "the house of God. This is the gate of heaven (Genesis 28:17)." Jacob's confession

⁹ Ian Bradley, *Pilgrimage: A Spiritual and Cultural Journey* (Oxford: Lion, 2009), 17.

¹⁰ Ana Maria Pineda defines the concept of shrine as follows: "The shrines are understood as sacred places where God dwells among the people. The faithful may legitimately turn to the Blessed Mother and to the saints for assistance. The harmony between the shrines and the beauty of their surroundings reflects divine beauty. There are places of conversion, where the faithful are invited to consider engaging in works of charity and mercy and to follow Christ." See Pineda, *op. cit.*, 158.

indirectly suggests that this is a holy place, though it may not be able to explain specifically the place of humans within it. In any case, the place of holy for Jacob in this dream is where God meets humans, "the gate of heaven."¹¹ Here God promises to bless and protect the faithful Jacob (people), and Jacob (the believer) promises to regularly pilgrimage this place to God and dedicate gifts to God here (28:22).

Thus, the story Jacob dreamed in Vettel emphasizes that God is no longer in a different world, one in which the realm between God and humans is broken. Quite the contrary, the reality is now one embodied by a God determined to in care for this world and its inhabitants. The story of Jacob's struggle with Angel (Genesis 32: 23-33), similarly, asserts that when the Lord cares for humans, this same Lord provides opportunities to actively obtain God's blessings and salvation. In addition, this story has a Jacob, wrestling with God, who is consequently purified and transformed by the grace of God.

The Israelites pilgrimaged to Jerusalem for various reasons as well as occasions. Through the prayers of Solomon in 1st Kings, we can indirectly see the purpose of their pilgrimage (1 Kings 8: 31-43). Concretely, why did the people of Israel pilgrimage to the Holy Land? Looking back at the history of the Old Testament's testimony and practice of pilgrimage, the Hebrews visited the to acknowledge God's sovereignty, to receive grace from God, or to seek God, and to consult with God about certain problems. In addition, in these scriptures, Israel learned through pilgrimage the teachings of the prophets, wrestled with the temptation

¹¹ Jaime R. Vidal, "Pilgrimage in the Christian Tradition", in *Pilgrimage*, ed. Virgil Elizondo and Sean Freyne (London: SCM Press; Maryknoll: Orbis, 1996), 36.

to seek something other than God, and to sing a song of gratitude for God's mercy in daily life.¹²

Historical Pilgrimage

One of the characteristics of human beings is the restriction of 'time' and 'space.' We humans try to overcome and transcend time by pilgrimage to holy places (space) and by celebrating festival.¹³ We Christians have practices of faith, such as by participating in sacraments and other devotions which provide a form of purification (conversion). Another aim is to become more Christ-like.¹⁴ In this sense, the history of pilgrimage can be summarized as "the history of the act of following Christ," because Jesus Christ is a model of a faithful pilgrim who sought to practice the will of the Father throughout his life.

In the Old Testament and in Judaism, festivals, temples, and pilgrimages¹⁵ are closely linked to the worship of God. They memorialize an important monumental event of the past and memorialize it in the liturgy, experiencing that God is always with them, as in the past.¹⁶ For the Christians, whose 'ancestors in the faith' are the Jewish people, the longings found in the Old Testament are fulfilled in the life of

¹² Ian Bradley, *Pilgrimage: A Spiritual and Cultural Journey*, 25-27.

¹³ Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 24-25.

¹⁴ Virgil Elizondo, "Pastoral Opportunities of Pilgrimages", in *Pilgrimage*, ed. Virgil Elizondo and Sean Freyne, 107.

¹⁵ Pilgrimage, one of the essential phenomena found in all religions, is specifically a human attempt to return to a place of holiness, the source of life. In this sense, the places of divine manifestation – both east and west – are not only associated with temples, but also with flowing holy water, hills, caves, or even trees.

¹⁶ Gordon McConville, "Pilgrimage and 'Place': an Old Testament View" in *Explorations in a Christian Theology of Pilgrimage*, ed. Craig Bartholomew and Fred Hughes (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 17.

Jesus.¹⁷ Now, the faint representations introduced in the Old Testament were realistically realized in Him. If the temple had previously represented the presence of God, He now reveals His presence by His personhood: "I did not see the temple there. Because the Almighty Lord God and the Lamb are the temple of the city" (Revelation 21:22). If the festival had previously been a re-creation of the fundamental event, then it is now the ultimate fundamental event. If pilgrimage had previously expressed the will to see God, now he is God in itself: "Whoever has seen me will soon have the Father" (John 14:9). Therefore, Christ is the prototype of our new life, the way we should really walk: "I am the way, the truth, and the life. No one can go to the Father without my intercession" (John 14:6).¹⁸

Traditionally, the Church teaches that pilgrimage is a journey of repentance.¹⁹ In fact, those who leave for pilgrimage desire deep spiritual change and begin with a strong desire to renew from their internal imperfection, specifically from the state of sin they are in. This repentance reveals God's graceful act of 'renewing humans' all the time, and this repentance reveals human's total "surrender" to God. The process of repentance leads to the realization of God, the "absolute truth," and makes humans subordinate to the absolute teaching of God, thereby inviting them to participate in the kingdom of God.

In fact, the history of the pilgrimage within the church is long and inspired by the stories of the Bible at the same time. Rather, it would be more accurate to say that

¹⁷ Pope Paul VI, *Nostra Aetate* [Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions] OCTOBER 28, 1965. Vatican Website. Accessed on November 29, 2017. http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_nostra-aetate_en.html.

¹⁸ 가톨릭 평화방송·평화신문 (Catholic Pyeonghwa Broadcasting Corporation), Vol 1014, sec. 26, April 12, 2009.

¹⁹ John Inge, "Pilgrimage", in *The New Westminster Dictionary of Christian Spirituality*, ed. Philip Sheldrake (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), 493.

the history of pilgrimage in Christianity is rooted in the biblical time and space of the Old Testament and the New Testament, and that this has gradually developed in the tradition of the Church.²⁰ The history of this pilgrimage is a history that has embraced diversity and richness in the development of Christian spirituality through the centuries. In this perspective, we can think of three great stages or phases in the history of Church pilgrimage, which are embodied in three biblical-spiritual categories: the recollection of the events that underpin Christianity, the repentance of the unfaithfulness of the contents of this memory, and the participation in sacraments and devotional ceremonies to remember and re-internalize fundamental events.

Believers who had followed the 'path' of Jesus of Nazareth from the earliest days of Christianity were eager to return to the original places where the events took place in order to participate in the events addressed in the Gospels. Among these early pilgrims, the phenomenon began to occur, simply "to visit these places" and "to live a new history of salvation" than "to live."²¹ In other words, this meant walking through a spiritual journey through cleansing and illumination that characterizes the pilgrimage of Christ.

The new pilgrimage began to be inspired by the renewal of the Christian life in the individual and the community, along with other forms of spiritual renewal, such as the 'modern devotion' and the Protestant Reformation. New independent forms emerged that revealed the movement of the religious center, from the abbey or monasteries to the new type of holy sites. These sacred places became more specialized in terms of worship and practice of faith as they were differentiated.²² This

²⁰ Ian Bradley, *Pilgrimage: A Spiritual and Cultural Journey*, 23-29.

²¹ Gordon McConville, *op. cit.*, 26-27.

²² Diana Webb, *Medieval European Pilgrimage, c.700-c.1500* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave, 2002), 171-173.

topic will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2 in the spiritual aspects of the pilgrimage.

Pilgrimage from a Cultural Point of View

During the life of Jesus, pilgrimage was already a well-known religious devotional act, and in the A.D 20, the number of people who journeyed to Jericho was also increased by Herod's king. At the same time, pilgrimage had a new political and social aspect. The Jerusalem pilgrimage included not only the Jews living in Palestine but also Jews scattered in other countries. They maintained strong spiritual, cultural, religious, and emotional ties with their homeland, the origin of their blood and faith. Thanks to their pilgrimage to Jerusalem, they renewed a strong sense of belonging with their community, frequenting their places of faith, and having the strength and vitality needed to cope with and overcome the difficulties of everyday life in foreign lands.²³

The pilgrims also experienced many religious, social, and cultural experiences through the encounters and exchanges with the Jews, residents, and even Gentiles from various countries and various classes; these experiences enriched their knowledge.²⁴ By sharing their culture, customs, and traditions, as well as by exchanging information, they were able to receive great help in the realm of faith as well as throughout life, after returning to their hometown. As the number of pilgrims from Jerusalem to Galilee increased among various classes, from various countries and from various nations, these religious and cultural exchanges continued.

²³ Kenneth Cragg, "Jesus, Jerusalem and Pilgrimage Today" in *Explorations in a Christian Theology of Pilgrimage*, ed. Craig Bartholomew and Fred Hughes, 5.

²⁴ Paul Post, "The Modern Pilgrim: A Christian Ritual Between Tradition and Post-Modernity" in *Pilgrimage*, ed. Virgil Elizondo and Sean Freyne, 7-8.

Jerusalem as a pilgrimage site had a powerful influence, not only in the religious sphere but also in political and social terms, and developed into a venue to exchange the unique culture and morality of the place. The cultural aspects of the pilgrimage to the shrine, in connection with social and cultural influences accompanying these pilgrimages, can be seen in more detail through the image of Jesus Christ.

Christ and Culture

H. Richard Niebuhr refers to all the processes of human activity and all the results of its activities as culture, or civilization, in accordance with common language conventions. According to Niebuhr, culture is a "second artificial environment" in which humans forcefully overturn on natural things. It consists of language, customs, ideology, beliefs, traditions, social organization, crafts delivered, technical development and value. Accordingly, the essence of culture has four important characteristics: (1) Culture has a social character. Culture is a social heritage that people receive and hand over. Therefore, social life is always cultural; (2) Culture is human accomplishment. Culture is a product of human mind and hand. Therefore, the gift of nature can and can be received without human intention or conscious effort, but the gift of culture can never exist without struggling on the part of the recipient; (3) Culture, a human achievement, is designed for any purpose. Culture is therefore a world of values. The value associated with human achievement is primarily a value for the human being; and (4) the characteristic of all cultures is pluralistic. The value of the culture that human beings seek is not one, but many.²⁵

How does Jesus look at culture? Niebuhr distinguishes five ways in his representative book, *Christ and Culture*: (1) Christ against culture; (2) Christ of

²⁵ H. Richard Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper, 1951), 32-39.

culture; (3) Christ above culture; (4) Christ with a paradoxical relationship; and (5) Christ of culture. But strictly speaking, rather than explaining the relationship between "Christ and culture," that is, how Christ relates to culture, Niebuhr describes the relationship between "the artist and the culture."

In explaining "Christ Against Culture" (Chapter 2) Niebuhr says, "In the first Gospel we contrasted the new and the contrary laws," but here Niebuhr does not quote the words of Jesus.²⁶ In explaining "Christ Above Culture" (Chapter 4) Niebuhr quotes Jesus as saying: "Do not think I have come to abolish the law or the prophet. I came not to abolish, but to come to perfection." (Mark 5: 17-19). "Give Caesar's to Caesar, and God's to God" (Mark 22:21).²⁷ In explaining "Christ the Transformer of Culture" (Chapter 6) Niebuhr quotes Jesus' prayer about his "concern for the little flock" that

I have revealed the name of the Father to these people whom the Father has chosen from the world to give to me. These were the people of my father who gave it to me. So they kept my father's words ... I wish for them. Not for the world, but for those whom the Father has given to me. Because they are the people of my father ... They do not belong to the world as I do not belong to the world (John 17: 6, 9, 16).²⁸

Thus, according to Niebuhr, Jesus would have to consider that, in some cases, he was confronted with culture, in some cases he was in culture, and in some cases he was transforming culture. Then, we must conclude that Jesus took different positions according to circumstances. This conclusion seems to represent a pluralist viewpoint that not only the culture, but also the Christian's gaze on culture, is subject to change. In a "Concluding Unscientific Postscript" (Chapter 7), Niebuhr 's typical answers to

²⁶ Ibid., 47-48.

²⁷ Ibid., 123.

²⁸ Ibid., 205.

his suggestions were "neither extension nor refinement of study could bring us to the conclusive result."²⁹

Therefore, Niebuhr makes existential observations on the relativity of culture with its values, include faith. However, in the final sentence of "being determined in the light of the fact that the world of culture (human achievement) is in the world of grace (the kingdom of God),"³⁰ Christ, who embraces culture, criticizes and transforms it, therefore making it more complete. The point here is that Jesus, in some ways, is also a product of his culture. Therefore, since the practice of pilgrimage was an important part of his culture, he and his family, also participated in it. In terms of contemporary times, what is the ultimate purpose of pilgrimage, and what kind of connection might it have to mission?

Pilgrimage and Mission

The *Directory* mentions shrines as being places of evangelization, "The mercy of Christ is transmitted to the faithful as an invitation to follow Christ, as an exhortation to perseverance, as a reminder of the demands of justice, as a word of consolation and peace. Shrines are also often concerned with the church's missions."³¹

Martin Robinson points out that very few books describe the relationship between pilgrimage and mission, so that pilgrimage can be a spiritual witness for Christians.³² In the end, pilgrimage provides an important motif rendering a reference

²⁹ Ibid., 231.

³⁰ Ibid., 256.

³¹ Pope John Paul II, *Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy Principles and Guidelines*, section 274, Vatican City, December 2001, accessed on September 24, 2017, http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccdds/documents/rc_con_ccdds_doc_20020513_ver_s-direttorio_en.html.

³² Martin Robinson, "Pilgrimage and Mission" in *Explorations in a Christian Theology of Pilgrimage*, ed. Craig Bartholomew and Fred Hughes, 170.

point for mission as a journey of faith. While he suggests that there is no clear and immediate connection between pilgrimage and mission, he nonetheless suggests six factors concerning this practice: (1) medieval Christianity was quite familiar with it; (2) connections with the New Testament are not so explicit; (3) there existed different purposes of mission on the part of early pilgrims; (4), the external activities did not outweigh the inner and spiritual aspects emphasized; (5) while Christianity is often manifested communally, pilgrims accent a certain independent posture especially if done by one's self, and (6) it is an example of a person's own form of practicing a popular devotion.³³

Robinson points out that this ancient practice preceded the Old and New Testaments:

Pilgrimage has a long history in the ancient Near East among Semitic peoples; they are as old as the sacred shrines uncovered by archaeologists. To these various cultic centers, the common man carried a part of the fruits of his land and livestock to offer it to the gods in homage and thanksgiving . . . Some of the Canaanite open-air shrines were merely converted to the use of the Yahwistic cult, e.g. Sichem, Bethel, and Mamre.³⁴

It can be seen that pilgrimage to the shrine was done on the human level of ancient ceremony and thanksgiving, rather than the missionary factor of seeking new conversions to the faith. On the other hand, if mission is focused on building a community that follows God through Jesus Christ, the pilgrimage focuses on the independence of the pilgrims themselves. Also, if pilgrimage to the Holy Land is emphasized in relief from the individual's healing and suffering, mission emphasizes the purpose of sharing the partnership in God's mission.³⁵

³³ Ibid., 170-174.

³⁴ Ibid., 170-171.

³⁵ Ibid., 172.

How can we reconfigure the relationship between this complex pilgrimage and mission? Robinson defines the relationship between pilgrimage and mission through three elements relating to the Supreme Being: The Call of God, the Encounter with God, and, the Beckoning God.

The Call of God

Robinson emphasizes that through the call of Abraham in the Old Testament, all of us are first called by God, “The road is an unknown road, walked in faith. While not strictly pilgrimage, the stories of Abraham's call, the exodus wanderings and the exile are biblical themes which are linked with the actual and spiritual pilgrimages.”³⁶

Such a call, the life to live as a believer in God, requires a journey of pilgrimage. The traditional church always emphasized being "dispatched."³⁷ It was Abraham's pilgrimage to the land of Canaan, where he was called by God to lead the people of Israel to Canaanite territory, beginning with a God who engages humans in mission and then continues to be faithful. Pilgrimage and mission continue along the journey of eschatological hope in imitating and witnessing God.³⁸

The Encounter with God

Pilgrimage and mission ultimately share the purpose of experiencing God.³⁹ The encounter with God can be experienced through various genres under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit: through reading and meditating on the Bible, by participating in the faith events of the church community, through official liturgy, and various devotional practices in the institutional church. Before mission begins, it must

³⁶ Ibid., 174.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., 175.

³⁹ Ibid.

be precisely aware of its true nature. Many reflecting on previous ages in which the missionaries collaborated with the colonialists, find themselves today in a type of crisis of confidence.⁴⁰ Mission is not a quantitative growth that simply increases the number of people who believe in God by baptizing. The true nature of mission is to convey the personal experience of encounter between God and humanity. As Robinson elucidates: The challenge of mission in such a new landscape does not call for a complete re-imagining of the mission of the Church and what it means to the Church. The Church in the west is being called to a new kind of pilgrim journey, one in which many new discoveries will have to be made. Entering into pilgrimage, becomes a call to reflection, to invitation to ask profound questions, to use the journey to consider our origins and our destination. Mission is related to pilgrimage to the extent that it helps to provide an encounter which enables the believer to experience God personally.

The Beckoning God

In Matthew 28, which contains what has often labeled as the “Great Commission”, Jesus, before ascending to the Father, says to his disciples, “. . . do not be afraid. Go and tell my brothers to go to Galilee; there they will see me” (Matthew 28:10). This statement reminds us of the prophetic proclamation expressed in the first chapter of the Gospel: “They shall name him His Emmanuel” (Matthew 1:23). This name can be translated as ‘God means to be with us’ (Cf. Acts 7:14). God is not separate from us, but with us.⁴¹

Our being is a pilgrimage. People who are motivated by human hope are also attracted to an unknown world, a desire to explore a world beyond them. As in the

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid, 176.

Bible in the stories of pilgrims and other travelers, our soul is a traveling soul. In uncertainty, pilgrimage and mission are enriched by God's invitation. Jesus' command to go to Galilee continues to be experienced today. Basil Hume describes the questions correctly answered by the pilgrims:

While on the road we cannot help wondering about God. What is God like? What does God want for us? What does God expect of us? And sometimes we ask whether God exists at all. So many of our fellow pilgrims have decided that there is no God; others just go through life doubting or not knowing. But the important questions still require answers. What happens after death? Nothing? Has life no meaning? Are we only part of an absurd situation devoid of sense and meaning?⁴²

As Hume points out, it is not only pilgrims who are looking for God, but God is also looking for us.⁴³ When pilgrimage embraces mission and mission embraces pilgrimage, the uncertainty causes God to listen to the voice that invites us to God's place. Furthermore, the journey of Jesus and his disciples from Jerusalem to Galilee is repeated in the pilgrimage undertaken for mission.

Conclusion

The motif of pilgrimage as related to shrines, one of the most popular devotions in the Korean Catholic Church, examines the relationship between pilgrimage and mission. The resurrected Christ is the greatest temple and the Lord dwells in this community. The pilgrimage originating from popular devotion defines the presence of the Lord's salvation as a mystery of the temple expressed through the Church community.

The history of the church is the following of Christ. We Christians are trying to become more like Christ by participating in sacraments and devotional activities through purification. These dynamic acts of faith are repeatedly carried out through

⁴² Hume as quoted in *ibid.*, 177.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

the following three elements: contemplating the history of salvation, participation in sacramental and devotional ceremonies, and doing penance for the ways in which we have not responded to this offer of salvation and in this way, allowing ourselves to be invited back to God's path of life.

In order to understand the history of church pilgrimage, one must pay attention to the cultural elements altered by time and place. Pilgrimage at the time of Jesus was a complex phenomenon that included not only religious acts of worship and remembrance, but also social and cultural exchanges of people from various countries. In this context, Niebuhr suggests a transformation of culture. That is, Jesus Christ, who positively responded to culture through "embracing culture, criticizing, transforming, and completing culture,"⁴⁴ redefines the relationship between himself and culture.

Finally, through the three elements described, The Call of God, The Encounter with God, and The Beckoning God, pilgrimage's relationship to mission unfolds. In the Judeo-Christian tradition, God's people were invited to walk in the ways of the Lord. Pilgrimage appears again and again in the Old Testament, such as that Abraham, and in the New Testament in Jesus and the apostle Paul. Abraham, the father of faith, was the first prophet to lead the people of Israel to the land of Canaan, through God's call, and Jesus, along with his disciples, in a subsequent mission, journeys with them from Jerusalem to Galilee.

In scripture, significant events that experience God through Jesus Christ are mainly on the road. The disciples of Jesus come to know him as he travels with them, starting with a small village at a remote border, to a journey to Jerusalem, the capital city. After experiencing the appearance of Jesus on the road, Paul spent the rest of his

⁴⁴ H. Richard Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, 190-192.

life traveling the Roman Empire. As the revelation of Jesus happens “on the way,” the *'Christologia viatorum'* or *'Christologia viae'* on the journey is also valid. Moltmann expresses the following: "I no longer try to think of Christ as a static person, a person with two natures or a historical person. I am trying to grasp him dynamically, in the movement of God's work with the world."⁴⁵ The next chapter focuses on the spiritual aspects behind the great pilgrimage which continues throughout all of human history.

⁴⁵ Jurgen Moltmann, *The Way of Jesus Christ: Christology in Messianic Dimensions* (Fortress Press, 1993), xiii.

Chapter 2

Pilgrimage as a Spiritual Journey

Thinking of a certain place as a sacred place is a phenomenon that is universal in human religious experience, from ancient times to modern times. There is a human need to designate and set a place apart as something unique and holy. In most religions, a sacred place means a building, such as a church or a temple, or a specific place where events of past religious significance occurred. Certain places acquire sacredness through the symbolic process of reflecting the world view of a particular religion. Therefore, just as religious expressions about sacred places are very diverse, so ways of defining the sacredness of spaces also vary.¹

In Christendom, Bethlehem, the Jordan River where Jesus was baptized, the Garden of Olives where Jesus prayed the night before he died, and the hill of Golgotha on which Jesus was crucified, are examples of recognizing a specific place as sacred.² In addition, place where people were visibly welcomed into Christianity, where they received the gift of healing, or where their remains were found, became pilgrimage sites.

In this sense, it is necessary to pay close attention to the journey of pilgrimage in Christian history and to see the spiritual point of view that pilgrimage has in the church. I will first look at its history throughout the centuries beginning with the early church, noting the main pilgrimage sites of the Middle Ages, and bringing us up to the

¹ Lynne Hume, "Creating sacred space: Outer Expression of Inner Worlds in Modern Wicca," *Journal of Contemporary Religion* 13, no. 3 (1998): 310.

² 조현범 [Hyun – Beom Cho], *성스러운 공간 [Sacred Space]*, 종교다시 읽기 [Re-reading the Religion], 한국종교연구회 [Korean Religious Studies Society], 1999, 260-263.

Second Vatican Council and its aftermath in the modern age. I will explore briefly the spirituality behind pilgrimage and then compare it to practices which could be better described as tourism.

The recent study of pilgrimage is proceeding in a very different direction from previous research trends, based on the analysis of the modern pilgrimage phenomenon. David Sopher points out that the movement of a wide range of people can have significant economic and religious implications.³ Victor Turner also notes that pilgrimage is an "organism" composed of various aspects of sacredness, people of all walks, various religious goals, relationships, rituals, values, customs, and secular amenities, such as accommodations or markets.⁴ Since Turner, the study of pilgrimage has paid attention to the socio-cultural and economic aspects of pilgrimage, in addition to the religious meaning, even birthing new vocabulary such as religious and pilgrimage tourism.

Global trends of the modern tourism industry can be characterized around what constitutes culture in this day and age. Cultural tourism shapes individual culture through research, exploratory, artistic, and cultural trips, participation in festivals and cultural events, visits to historical sites and monuments, nature, or folklore. Culture can be viewed as all the actions which satisfy various human needs, such as increasing meetings.⁵ In order to satisfy this human, cultural tourism departs from the ordinary and moves the participant to explore new objects, historical sites, and cultural and artistic expressions with specific lifestyles or phenomena. In this way,

³ David Sopher, *Geography of Religions* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1976), 52.

⁴ Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 22.

⁵ 문화관광부 [Ministry of Culture and Tourism], 한국 문화콘텐츠관광연계 프로그램 개발방안 [Development plan for linking cultural tourism contents in Korea], 문화관광부 [Ministry of Culture and Tourism], 2006, 23.

heritage tourism is classified as cultural tourism, one which uses traditional and historical culture as a resource, and a new type of popular culture tourism, which uses cultural contents in a more modern and popular form.⁶

Ian Reader points out the importance of the involvement of priests and religious authorities in creating deep meaning in pilgrimages. Church attendance in Europe is falling, but holy sites worthy of tourism are often viewed as mission opportunities. Clergy and religious authorities not only encourage pilgrims to revitalize their religious traditions, many of which are no longer in vogue, but to also take advantage of ancient practices such as pilgrimage, all the while creating new pilgrimage routes, some of which are attracting new believers.⁷ For example, the act of renewing the pilgrimage destination of Lourdes in France has given Catholic authorities more of a relevant role in modern secularized times. St. John Paul II, similarly, pilgrimaged to Catholic holy places in order to strongly encourage others to do the same.⁸

In examining, therefore, the history of traditional pilgrimage in the church, it cannot be denied that pilgrimage bears a close relationship with sightseeing. In particular, it is impossible to exclude tourist factors from pilgrimage routes as they engage other regions. In the relationship between pilgrimage and tourism, the common elements being migration and encounter, to the extent that they bring together people and unfamiliar environments, a certain theological restructuring takes place, one which through the practice of pilgrimage, puts Christians in touch with the testimony of their ancestors in the faith around these holy lands. It is therefore

⁶ Greg Richards, "Production and Consumption of European Cultural Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 2 (1996): 261-283.

⁷ Ian Reader, "Pilgrimage Growth in the Modern World: Meaning Implications," *Religion* 37 (2007): 218-219.

⁸ Ian Reader, *op. cit.*, 218-221.

necessary to briefly outline the practice of pilgrimage in Church history, its spirituality and finally, its relation to tourism.

Brief Survey of the History of Pilgrimage in Christian Tradition

Early Church

The early Christian community maintained Jewish traditions during certain periods.⁹ Pilgrimage to Jerusalem or climbing a temple is a simple example. And perhaps the Jerusalem community seems to have visited the temple to commemorate Jesus' passion and resurrection. However, after the persecution, the double destruction of Jerusalem and the construction of a new city, the tradition of visiting Jerusalem seems to have disappeared.¹⁰

In the words of John's Gospel, the early church was more focused on spiritual liturgy than on holy ground. This atmosphere can be expressed by borrowing an angel's words from the gospel of Luke, "Why are you seeking the living among the dead? He was not here, but risen again (Luke 24: 5-6)." In other words, Jerusalem at that time had to be told about Jerusalem – the heavenly Jerusalem – because it was destroyed, like Jesus' prophecy, and was no longer a holy temple. So the term "pilgrim," in the second and third centuries, meant a believer going to a place to pray.

There were people who traveled to Palestine at the time. In the second century, there was a gathering of information to identify places where the gospel evolved and was transmitted, such as the *Melition de Sardes of Alexandria* and the bishops of *Origenes* of the third century, as scholars commenting on the Bible, they wanted to

⁹ Sean Freyne, "Jesus the Pilgrim," in *Pilgrimage*, ed. Virgil Elizondo and Sean Freyne (London: SCM Press; Maryknoll: Orbis, 1996), 25-26.

¹⁰ Peter Walker, "Pilgrimage in the Early Church," in *Explorations in a Christian Theology of Pilgrimage*, ed. Craig Bartholomew and Fred Hughes (Aldershot; Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 75.

consider these religious pilgrimages, although they did not take the pilgrim's appearance because they were in a period of persecution while visiting the Palestinian territories.¹¹

In the 4th century, the situation was completely reversed. Not only did Christianity become a legally recognized church, but it also received the protection of the emperor and proclaimed as the religion of the empire at the time of Emperor Theodore (379-395). The victory of the church appeared in the architecture of the cathedral in several holy places. These holy places were places associated with Jesus' life, or with the apostles, or places shown in the Old Testament, as well as with martyrdoms at the time of persecution, or places where the martyrs' remains were placed. All these places became subjects of interest to many believers, whether near or far, and pilgrimage became active.¹²

The first of the holy sites was a biblical holy place, mostly in Palestine. There were already many places of Jewish people who were performing sanctifications, such as the place where Abraham made a covenant with the tombs of many prophets, and the place where Joshua crossed the Jordan. Christians who called themselves new Israel made these holy places of the Old Testament their own. However, their real concern was focused on specifying the exact locations associated with the life of Jesus Christ. They paid much more attention to visiting places – where miraculous bread was made, the mountain of temptation, the place of ascension, etc. Also, they were interested in relics, such as troughs, crucifixes, tools of suffering, clothes of Jesus or Mary, and, as such, things used in sacraments became more intense.¹³

¹¹ Ian Bradley, *Pilgrimage: A Spiritual and Cultural Journey* (Oxford: Lion, 2009), 30-31.

¹² Peter Walker, *op. cit.*, 81.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 33.

Of all the holy places, the pilgrimage place that is still visited the most to this day is Jesus' grave. At the beginning of the 4th century, the exact place of the tomb was unknown. It was a scramble in Jerusalem, which began around 135 *Aelia Capitolina* (Jerusalem), and the Emperor Adrian of Rome replaced it with pagan shrines. In 325, the Council of Nicaea claimed that the bishop of Jerusalem had to find Jesus' grave.¹⁴ The emperor's help was absolutely essential to discover the tradition of the Jerusalem believers and to build a temple. After the grave was found by the patronage of the emperor, there was a great reaction, and the emperor ordered the royal architect to build the cathedral with public funds and by sending his mother, Saint Helena, to the Palestinian territories.¹⁵

In addition to building a majestic and brilliant cathedral at the grave, biblical relics were also excavated. The crucifixion site and the stairs from the trial of Jesus were revealed to the public and spread pilgrimage to the Palestinian territories. Not only did Golgotha reconstruction revitalize pilgrimage, but there was also another reason. At that time, there were more people in the intellectual circle reading the Bible and trying to visit the holy places in the Bible. At the same time, the excitement of those who pilgrimed to the Palestinian territories also played a part. Among them, Saint Jerome, who lived in Jerusalem for more than 30 years and was the greatest biblical scholar and author of the day, wrote letters to Rome about the Holy Land, inspiring pilgrimage.¹⁶

¹⁴ Peter Walker, *op. cit.*, 77.

¹⁵ Ruth Barnes, "Relatives in Faith: Pilgrimage in Judaism, Islam and Christianity," in *Pilgrimage: The Sacred Journey*, ed. Ruth Barnes and Crispin Branfoot . . . (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2006), 29.

¹⁶ Martin Robinson, *Sacred places, Pilgrim Paths: An anthology of pilgrimage* (London: Marshal Pickering, 1997), 13-14.

Pilgrimage to the Palestinian territory became a pilgrimage place, not only for the New Testament but also for the Old Testament. The number of pilgrims to Egypt, where there were many hunters, was not small. Books, such as *The Life of Antonio* by Athanasius, introduced the lives of the monks, and those who pilgrimed to the Palestinian provinces turned to Egypt and visited the fathers of Ishmael to receive their teachings. However, the road was said to be too steep and dangerous. Until the 6th century, Rome did not have the same importance as the holy land, but the tombs of the apostles Peter and Paul and the catacombs became important pilgrimages. During the persecution era, the fathers visited and, after the liberty of Christianity, pilgrimage to Rome also increased.¹⁷

In addition to biblical holy places, there were places of pilgrimage in various parts of each province; these were the tombs of martyrs. More specifically, these were where the bodies of the martyrs were buried or the remains moved. These pilgrimages were usually attempted by a priest or an important figure of the province, to celebrate the feast of the martyr and induce the devotion of the public. At that time, it was necessary to create pilgrimage sites where popular devotions could take place, as there were many places for pagan gods. Not only did the martyrs inspire the faith of believers, but the tombs of hermits and monks also became pilgrimage sites, as descendants of the martyrs.¹⁸ Also, local bishops and priests made dedicated chapels to angels, among which there were many devoted to Saint Michael, the Archangel. Therefore, it can be said that pilgrimage places spread all over the world.

¹⁷ James Harpur, *The Pilgrim Journey: A History of Pilgrimage in the Western World* (Katonah: BlueBridge, an imprint of United Tribes Media, 2016), 25.

¹⁸ Paul Walker, op, cit., 84-85.

Medieval Ages

A common phenomenon in all religious cultures is that people visit a holy place of worship, and thank God for blessing them or for blessing them through the saint of the holy place.¹⁹ The further development and increase in Christian pilgrimage became possible when there were many people who had faith in Christ. Therefore, after many people converted, the number of pilgrims grew. The tombs of martyrs, of those who witnessed the tombs of Christ, and of the apostles became pilgrimages, as did many tombs of people who were not martyrs but who spread the fragrance of holiness.²⁰ The tomb of Saint Martin of Tours was the most famous pilgrimage site in the 4th century.²¹ In addition, pilgrimage has become a common phenomenon as there are places to pilgrimage in all provinces and countries.

In western Europe, from the beginning of the 8th century, the veneration of relics became popular. At that time, illiterate believers could not participate in liturgical prayers. The Carolingian dynasty mandated Sunday obligations, but there was no interest in confession, and nobles, bishops, and priests neglected their spiritual duties, so people with little or no formal education looked to the veneration of the saints as a sign of God's presence among them. It was forbidden, however, to separate or transfer their remains.²²

¹⁹ Craig Bartholomew and Robert Llewelyn, op, cit., XII.

²⁰ James Harpur, *Sacred tracks: 2000 Years of Christian pilgrimage*, (London: Frances Lincoln, 2002), 62.

²¹ Martin (316-397), a bishop of Tours, succeeded in evangelizing the rural areas by removing idolatry from the parish, preaching the gospel through theology and writing. In 397, he was not a martyr, but an ascetic, a pastor, and holiness spread widely, and people pilgrimaged to his grave.

²² 구본식 [Bonsik Gu], 가톨릭교회의 성지순례 [Pilgrimage of the Catholic Church], 가톨릭 사상 [Catholicism], 대구가톨릭대학교 가톨릭 사상연구소 [Catholic Thought Institute, Catholic University of Daegu], 49.

Therefore, in order to go to the shrine, pilgrims risked great danger, not to mention, also incur expense. However, from the 8th century, as the need arose, false relics appeared. At the same time, given the danger of going to these places, the relics that had been in them were distributed to less dangerous locations. Jerusalem, then under Islamic control, presented even more challenges. Rome, furthermore, proved to be too far away for some pilgrims. Therefore, as relics became more distributed throughout a larger region, there was no longer the urgency to go to Jerusalem or Rome to venerate them.²³

As the demand for relics, whether authentic or not, increased, new martyrs from Germanic nations provided a new source. The shrines where the remains were taken then became pilgrimage sites for the area and, consequently, became places of prayer. Despite the difficulty, the pilgrimages to Jerusalem did not stop. With the start of the Carolingian dynasty, political stability ensued, so travel increased once again became more secure, leading to more pilgrimages.

In particular, Rome became the center of pilgrimage for various reasons, including the martyrdom of the apostles Peter and Paul and numerous other martyrs, leading to a feeling of these being in very holy cities. In the eighth century, Rome, despite the plundering of barbarian patrols, did not destroy its basic urban architecture and so had the appearance of a much older city. Rome was a sacred place where the apostles had lived and a place where saints and priests wanted to pilgrimage, and so the nobles built up a group and pilgrimed with their servants. Although the purpose of the trips was to pray, the pilgrims walked keeping a pace and took the form of an *ad limina* pilgrimage as an opportunity to celebrate the Emperor's Coronation ceremony

²³ Ibid.

in the Lateran Cathedral.²⁴ The Carolingian dynasty tried to make the pilgrimage to Rome easy from anywhere in Europe. Not only did the monarchs of other countries allow them to pass through their territories, crossing borders, but also from the 6th century onwards, lodges were built along the boulevards, which were mostly associated with monasteries.

The pilgrimage for mission should be seen as a pilgrimage of another character.²⁵ By the 8th century, the dynasties of Lombard had built many lodgings in their estates which were used by pilgrims. Charles and his successors rebuilt the old war-ruined lodgings and built new ones where they were needed. The safety of the pilgrimage was ensured, and with new lodgings, this pious practice greatly expanded. However, due to the invasion by people from northern Europe, the political instability within Europe came back and the trip again became difficult. Subsequently, medieval pilgrimage became active in the 11th century.²⁶

Major Pilgrimage Sites in the Middle Ages

The time between the 11th and 12th centuries was a very important period in the history of Christian pilgrimage.²⁷ While the big holy sites were receiving international attention, a small holy land network of the provinces was created, and these holy sites were overflowing with large groups of pilgrims and with special

²⁴ The practice of the so called *Visitatio ad limina apostolorum* developed naturally from the beginning of the Church in the First Century and was later more formally defined. In order to be recognized as an apostolic authority, the bishop visited Rome, the traditional martyrdom and burial location of the apostles Peter and Paul, and the residence of the Holy Father (Ibid., 50).

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid., 51.

²⁷ Ruth Barnes and Crispin Branfoot, *Pilgrimage: The Sacred Journey* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2006), 34.

pilgrims. At the same time, the concept of pilgrimage had been created and affected for quite a long time, and it was time to protect pilgrimage by law.

Overall, the expansion of western Europe contributed to the defense against Islamic forces. The *Reconquista*, for example, or “reconquest”, which began in Spain at the end of the 10th century, succeeded in returning Spain to Christian rulers and uniting it in 1492 under the Catholic kings, Fernando and Isabela. Sicily was redefined in the Mediterranean Sea, and in the middle of the 11th century it became possible to go to the Near East through there, thus enabling pilgrimages to the Holy Land. Political expansion also led to economic expansion, increased travel, and external contact. This development of the means of passage, among them, passage by sea, thus helped to increase the practice of pilgrimage.²⁸

Another factor affecting the practice of pilgrimage is that European Christianization, to the extent that it had occurred in previous centuries, ended. Scandinavian conversion had taken place in the 12th Century, and from the 11th Century onwards, a large number of northern Europeans pilgrimed. At the end of the 10th Century, the Hungarian conversion brought about the ground passage of the journey which made it easier to pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The motivation for pilgrimage varied from one person to another, but religious motives can be generally summarized in three ways. For one, pilgrimage places enhanced the sense of encountering Jesus, the Blessed Mother, and the saints. Secondly, hope for a miracle healing played a role, and finally, pilgrims wanted to repent of their sins.²⁹

²⁸ Ruth Barnes, “Relatives in Faith: Pilgrimage in Judaism, Islam and Christianity” in *Pilgrimage: The Sacred Journey*, ed. Ruth Barnes and Crispin Branfoot (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2006), 40.

²⁹구본식 [Bonsik Gu], op. cit., 51.

The spread of pilgrimage was also closely related to abuses around legitimate veneration of relics, especially for financial gain. For obvious reasons, during this period, Europe was full of people seeking to acquire the remains of saints. These relics were acquired from tombs, sometimes stolen, sometimes purchased. In the Thirteenth century, this scandalous market reached its climax and the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 condemned it, but the practice did not cease to exist.³⁰

Jerusalem

The purpose of this pilgrimage was to visit the places of the Lord's crucifixion and to follow the footsteps of Jesus, a great desire for pilgrims. Despite the dangers involved, however, people continued to make it. This pilgrimage, from the end of the 11th Century to the 13th, is parallel to the Crusades.³¹

During these two centuries, the pilgrims and crusaders were so close together that it was not easy to distinguish them one from the other. The most important factor was the passion to pilgrimage to Jerusalem, until the early Crusades were formed. At the time, Jerusalem was the most important place in spiritual and imaginative Europe. Not only because of the relationship between the heavenly Jerusalem and the earthly Jerusalem, but because of the proliferation of a certain millennial eschatology, did the trip to Jerusalem acquire an eschatological meaning, that is, related to the end times. This practice sought to promote a renewal of faith and a return to early church practice, one in which the holy city featured prominently.³² This internal factor opened the way to Asia, and the pilgrimage of Jerusalem reached its peak.

³⁰ Ibid., 52.

³¹ Jaime R. Vidal, "Pilgrimage in the Christian Tradition", in *Pilgrimage*, ed. Virgil Elizondo and Sean Freyne (London: SCM Press; Maryknoll: Orbis, 1996), 41.

³² Philippe Baud, "Pilgrimage and Literature," in *Pilgrimage*, ed. Virgil Elizondo and Sean Freyne (London: SCM Press; Maryknoll: Orbis, 1996), 60.

From the end of the 10th Century, the number of pilgrims to Jerusalem then, began to increase. During the first period, between 980 and 1010, France, Germany, England, and others were on the list of those who traveled to the heavenly city. The period of from 1010 to 1020, saw, for the first time, a decrease due to persecution by Caliph Al Hakim, as well as the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in 1010.

The pilgrimage that stalled since the news of persecution resumed in 1025, due to two events. The first was the pilgrim 's travel route. Until then, the route to the sea was unique, but then the continental land route through the cities of the Danube, Constantinople, Asia Minor, and Antioch was pioneered. This occurred because the Hungarian King Stephanus converted and allowed pilgrims to pass through Hungary, and at the same time, the sea lanes through Italy became a dangerous passage through the settlement of the Normands in Italy. The second event was that the pilgrimage began to be grouped, and more than one hundred participants started traveling together. Among them, a group from 1025 to 1026 had more than 700 people gathered from all over Europe, including nobility, monks, peasants, and even the Normands.

Between 1040 and 1054, the postwar domestic war of King Stefano of Hungary occurred, and the safety of the trip became a problem. The pilgrimages stopped again due to the danger of pirate ships and the war of the Byzantine and Normandy principals. However, from the middle of the 11th century until the Crusades took place, pilgrimages continued.³³

In 1054, Libert, the Bishop of Cambra, organized a pilgrimage of three thousand people and went to the Holy Land in Jerusalem. From 1065 to 1066, 9000

³³ 구본식 [Bonsik Gu], op. cit., 53.

people made pilgrimages to the Holy Land. A number of bishops participated in these groups. These large pilgrimages are also called the first crusade.³⁴

Overall, pilgrims from Germany comprised the largest number, followed by Italy, France, England and Spain. Spain was more enthusiastic about going to Compostela. The pilgrimage of Jerusalem with the Crusaders ushered in a new era. The birth of Christians in the Holy Land made pilgrimage much easier. After the first Crusaders conquered Jerusalem and the tomb cathedral was rebuilt between 1130 and 1149, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem peaked. Because the Crusaders called themselves pilgrims, it was difficult to distinguish them in writing. Regardless of the Crusaders, European lords wanted to visit Jerusalem. However, pilgrimage there once again declined in the 13th Century. The greatest reason for this was the increased risk of Jerusalem losing Palestinian territory by the Sultan, Saladin. In 1244, Jerusalem was completely lost and efforts to improve the safety of the pilgrims continued, but even until the 14th century, negotiations for security were not properly conducted.³⁵

Rome

As the early pilgrims of the Middle Ages increased, Rome became the most popular place for pilgrimage, and the spirit of the pilgrimage to Rome revived in the first years of the 1300s. However, during the third and fourth centuries, Rome was relatively unpopular as a pilgrimage site.³⁶

As the pilgrimage of Compostela dramatically advanced, Rome lost its position as the only sacred place in Europe with apostolic remains. Another factor for

³⁴ 구본식 [Bonsik Gu], op. cit., 54.

³⁵ 구본식 [Bonsik Gu], op. cit.

³⁶ James Harpur, op. cit., 91.

its decline was the situation in Rome at this time, as its nobility was divided into emperor and pope, in a period of struggle over authority. Rome was occupied and devastated many times. This was the time when by Emperor Henry IV, brought the Normans and the German Emperors to invade several times, and the monarchs in conflict with Rome hindered the pilgrimage to Rome.

As Rome became a more politicized city, it became less attractive as a holy place. At the same time, the decrease of the pilgrims gradually led to the disappearance of travelers' accommodations, and pilgrimage gradually declined. However, the charm of Rome did not disappear. The centralization of the organization of the church and the growth of the authority of the pope became greater during the Nineteenth Century, when Pope *Innocent III* and many clergymen participated in *ad limina* visits. Some went to Rome to get the Pallium, and others to seek the pope's help, at times materially. From another point of view, the pope required that the bishops or certain penitents come to Rome in order to receive the forgiveness of particular reserved sins.³⁷

Although the popularity of Rome as a pilgrimage site had been declining over the years, to medieval pilgrims, Jerusalem and Rome were still the greatest sacred sites. They were also associated with political and economic importance. Rome was important, not only as the capital of the Roman Empire, but also as the center of Christianity. The past construction of roads by the Romans facilitated travel. These roads were built, not only to connect the Italian peninsula but also to bring the East closer via the European roads. The *Via aurilia*, for example, was a road that connected all the way up to the Alps.³⁸

³⁷ James Harpur, op. cit., 96.

³⁸ 구본식 [Bonsik Gu], op. cit., 56.

One can see the changes concerning pilgrimage in guides from the early Middle Ages about the city of Rome. In the twelfth century, a new one called *Mirabilia Urbis de Romae* emerged.³⁹ It emphasized the amazing things of Rome, explaining its history and making it suitable for lay people, apostles, pilgrims, and even simple travelers. The most widely known of these was *Descriptio plenaria totius Urbis*, "A General Guide to Rome."⁴⁰ It presented a menu of the many attractions available to the person who came to Rome. For example, there were the seven churches, the basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul, the Lateran Cathedral, along with the St. Mary's and St. Sebastian's on the Via Appia, the tombs of the two great apostles, as well as other churches and catacombs, especially in the thirteenth century. The popes named assigned churches to ambassadors, which consequently brought more pilgrims.

The pilgrimage routes became larger and wider than before, but when it came to traveling from the north, it was a problem to cross the Alps. However, with the opening of the Saint-Gothard Pass in the 13th century, it made travel from Germany and Central Europe much easier.

Compostela

There are four routes to the ancient city of *Compostela* in Spain, and these roads merge in an area called *Ruente la Reina*. The first road passes through Saint-Gilles, passing through *Montpellier*, *Tolosa*, and *Les Ports d'Aspe*; the other way goes through *Santa Maria di Le Puy* through *Santa Fede di Conques* and *San Pietro di Moissac*; the third road passes through *Santa Maddalena di Vezelay*, *San Leonardo di*

³⁹ 구본식 [Bonsik Gu], op. cit.

⁴⁰ 구본식 [Bonsik Gu], op. cit.

Limosino and *Perigueuxx*; and the last road passes through *San Martino do Tours*, *San Ilario di Poitiers*, *Saint-Jean d'Angely*, and *Bordeaux*.⁴¹ This pilgrimage map is a very old one from the Middle Ages, "Compostela's Guide to the Pilgrimage of the Apostles James" (*Guida del Pellegrino di San Giacomo di Compostela*). This guide also includes an introduction to the Holy Land and other pilgrimage sites. These provided certain places which could serve as breaks during trips through the incorporation of various routes, with numerous recommendations for stopover places.⁴²

The origins of respect for the Apostle James the Great in Spain are unclear. A local story says that James came to preach the gospel to Spain. There is no proof or documentation, but around the year 800, when the relics of Compostela were unearthed, rumors of the relics of James spread very quickly.⁴³ In the meantime, only those from the Spanish provinces had been pilgrims, but around 950, non-Spanish pilgrims began to come. About 980 the Muslims invaded the Christian manor, and in 997 the Compostela was taken down, the cathedral was destroyed, and many believers subjected as slaves. However, from the beginning of the 11th Century, the situation improved. With the collapse of the Caliph of Cordoba, Catholic Spain was aided in many ways by France. For example, French knights participated in the wars, and French monks helped renew monasticism in Spain. Similarly, pilgrimage to France increased.

So it is not surprising that the number of French people in Compostela is the highest among foreign pilgrims. From the middle of the 11th Century, the number of pilgrims from England, Italy, and Germany increased, while those from France

⁴¹ Ruth Barnes, op. cit., 34.

⁴² James Harpur, op. cit., 102.

⁴³ James Harpur, op. cit., 100.

declined.⁴⁴ Well-known people of the time went on pilgrimage, for example, *Baudoin of the Guines* and Archbishop Siegfried. By the end of the 11th Century it was clear that Compostela had become a pilgrimage place after Rome, and the 12th and 13th centuries were the golden age of the Compostela pilgrimage. European monarchs made pilgrimages, and from the middle of the 12th century, guidance was given to the guardians of the lord of Barcelona, and a pilgrimage guide was created.⁴⁵

Modern Era: Vatican II

In the final document of the Second World Congress on the Pastoral Care of Pilgrimages and Shrines, “And He Went in to Stay with Them”(LK 24: 29)," which was presented at the Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People-Archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela (Spain)⁴⁶, a pilgrimage theology emerges from the Gospel story of the two disciples on the road to Emmaus.⁴⁷ In a subsequent lecture, this theology around pilgrimage is extended from four stages to six: "Departure – Journey - experience - Arrival - communion– Return" Here I introduce the six-step pilgrim schema.

'Two disciples to Emmaus' (Luke 24: 13-35)

⁴⁴ James Harpur, op. cit., 101.

⁴⁵ James Harpur, op. cit., 102.

⁴⁶ Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People-Archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela (Spain), Final Document of II World Congress on the Pastoral Care of Pilgrimages and Shrines “And He Went in to Stay with Them” (LK 24:29), Santiago de Compostela, September 27-30, 2010, 2010.9.30. Accessed December 18, 2017. https://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/letters/2010/documents/hf_ben-xvi_let_20100908_compostela.pdf.

⁴⁷ 박문수 [Moon-su Park], “순례 신학과 순례 영성” [Spirituality of pilgrim and theology of pilgrimage] (paper presented at the annual meeting for the Catholic Academy for Korean Culture, Seoul, Korea, October 14, 2017), 6.

This story is in the form of two pilgrims who are on their way to find the answer to the questions of life that are deeply in their minds. The disciples, who are going from Jerusalem to Emmaus, were very saddened by the past events that were incompatible with their expectations and which could not reasonably be explained. These resurrected Christ comes near them and reveals himself, going into the house with them and breaking the bread, "Their eyes were open and they recognized Jesus" (Luke 24: 31). So they hurry back to Jerusalem to inform the apostles.

The story extends to three movements, "Walk, Stay, Go Back" and so on, in six stages.⁴⁸

One. "Jesus went near and walked with them" (Luke 24: 15)

"Pilgrimage is a fundamental and core experience of the conditions of the believer, a *homo viator*. Man walks toward the source of all good, toward the fulfillment of all good. A man who moves into his own being, his body, mind and intellect, realizes that he is a pilgrim for eternity seeking God."

Two. "Jesus explained to them the account of you throughout the Bible" (Luke 24: 27)

People go on a pilgrimage when they meet a special (or difficult) situation that makes them question their existence in life. "The longing for happiness in the soul finds the answer in Christ, and the human suffering is meaningful when we are with Him. His most gracious purposes with His grace are also perfected."

Three. "... .. Jesus took bread and praised it, then took it and gave it to them." (Luke 24: 30)

The pilgrimage has a clear and ultimate goal. "Unlike a wanderer who does not have a final destination, the pilgrims always have a purpose, although often not

⁴⁸ Ibid.

clearly perceived. We meet God through Christ. We will find the answer to all our aspirations in Him."

Four. "Stay with us, for it is nearly evening and the day is almost over. " (Luke 24: 29)

Pilgrimage is a school that can promote effective socialization and experience concrete brotherhood. Pilgrimage is also a meeting place for hospitality and reunion.

Five. "They also went through the road I talked about work" (Luke 24: 35)

The pilgrim sees many returning to God and sees her/his brothers and sisters at the pilgrimage site. The pilgrim feels that she/he can repeat what she/he has experienced in her/his daily life, but how devoted to each one of them return to their own siblings depends on the qualitative level of the personal encounter with Christ.

For a pilgrimage, a stay in a pilgrimage, a return to daily life (a return), there must be two movements and continuity that walked and stayed before. 'Return' is not just about going back. The pilgrimages change the pilgrims somehow. This experience will affect the return to everyday life, therefore the 'return' is also part of the pilgrimage.

Six. "God's co-worker " (1 Cor 3: 9)

Like Christ who goes to Emmaus, we are also called to be with people of the same time period. The last step is to perform the best way to live according to the calling of each person in her/his life, that is, to perform the apostolate.

These six stages are repeated each time one leaves for a new pilgrimage. But this is not a simple repetition but a spiraling up, as the pilgrim goes deeper into oneself, allowing himself or herself to rest in God's presence.

Spirituality of Pilgrimage

The Second Vatican Council defines the Church as 'God's people', and one of its attributes is called the '*Ecclesia viatorum*.'⁴⁹ The pilgrim church is 'walking on the earth.'⁵⁰ God's people on pilgrimage is a declaration that the church is no longer in a position to look and see the world as *perfecta societas*, the Church of the Sinai, as in the Middle Ages. It is also a determination that the church herself will live as being in process, being humble as Jesus was humble.

The church 'in process' means knowing the goal, but acknowledging that she does not have all the answers but is herself on a journey. To reach the goal is "to be inspired as a new motive to seek the future city by looking at the lives of faithful Christians (cf. Heb 13, 14: 11, 10), and at the same time, we must learn to be in perfect harmony with Christ, the safest way to reach holiness."⁵¹

The 'safest way' in this uncertainty, darkness, and fear is that we meet in our journey of life (and the journey that the church pilgrims of the world take) in learning and practicing according to the lives of Christians who have already lived a holy life. In this attitude, with the people of God, together with their joy, hope, sorrows, and mourning, they see dimly their answers. When the church is conscious of walking the pilgrimage together, believers are bound together and our loneliness standing on the road alone is healed.⁵²

⁴⁹ Vatican Council II, *Gaudium et Spes* [Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World], Vatican Website, Accessed December 20, 2017.
http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Vatican Council II, *Lumen Gentium* [Dogmatic Constitution on the Church], Vatican Website, Accessed December 20, 2017.
http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19641121_lumen-gentium_en.html.

⁵² Richard Littledale, *Journey: The Way of the Disciple* (Authentic Media Inc, 2017), 47-49.

The spirituality of pilgrimage reminds us that the meaning of life is not simply to set our sights on the end of the journey but also to pay attention to the middle of the itinerary, with the realization that it can be discovered and rediscovered from the very beginning. Thus it is not about simply arriving at the destination, but also realizing that, with the decision to embark upon the journey, this process goal is already moving to fruition.⁵³

Pilgrims discover their weaknesses amidst the journey of pilgrimage. However, the discovery and recognition of this weakness is a condition for accepting God's grace and activity. In walking that way, God becomes one's companion, at every step of the journey, not just at the destination. At the same time, this enlightenment deepens at the target point.

The spirituality of pilgrimage is to live every day in the pilgrim's posture one returns to everyday life after pilgrimage. In fact, all of life is a daily pilgrimage. Everything is uncertain from the moment one opens one's eyes to the moment of sleep. In this manner, this attitude of constantly being a pilgrim, one who walks a learned safe path, one moves not only to nightly rest, but that of eternal life. So the pilgrimage is not to go away but to live in a humble place, to wake up from 'here now.' This daily cycle is not a mere repetition, an act which leads to boredom but a spiral rise for unity with God, so everyday life becomes a time and place for great pilgrimage. Such is the liturgical life of the church whose life also cycles through one year. The liturgical year means that the life of the church is a continuation of ordinary life. This is the true goal of the pilgrimage to live well, embodying the holy life.

In spite of material and economic prosperity, as already predicted from the viewpoint of prosperity, our minds are strongly experiencing a confusion of values, an

⁵³ Ibid., 113-122.

increase in the resulting "crisis of the soul" (crisis of belief). In this respect, many people seem to have a very private and emotionally individual faith, just like the New Age movement, as a kind of 'popular religion' that seeks to break away from organized religion and find a so-called 'cafeteria-style spirituality.'⁵⁴ In other words, they can say that they believe in a spirituality that does not belong to any religious group. Russell Chandler, in his book *The Racing Toward 2001* (1992), considers three areas (1) communication and technology; (2) family and society; and (3) spirituality, of which the last is the most important.

In this context, American religious sociologist Robert Wuthnow sees that the great value crisis that the United States is experiencing today stimulates people to pursue transcendence. In other words, the quest of new spirituality, as well as the 'spirituality of pursuit,' which means 'seeking' the holy moment 'personally,' has been a transcendence within a certain holy place; it is replacing the spirituality of dwelling.⁵⁵ In short, Wuthnow believes that in the US today, religious experience has become a matter of personal preference. This is key for the ambiguous relationship between pilgrimage and sightseeing. It is said that the human aspiration of the spirituality of seeking to experience transcendence created the phenomenon of the 'dailyization' of tourism, emphasizing secular meaning along with the pilgrimage of the holy places.

Pilgrimage and Tourism

As we have seen in the historical flow above, the pilgrimage and holy place developed dynamically together with politics, economy, culture, religion and

⁵⁴ Russell Chandler, *Racing Toward 2001: The Forces Shaping America's Religious Future* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1992), 191-198.

⁵⁵ Robert Wuthnow, *After Heaven: Spirituality in America Since the 1950s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 102.

international situations. Therefore, the quest for Christian pilgrimage should not be viewed only as a religious or spiritual phenomenon, but should be approached from a multifaceted and dynamic perspective.

Before a theological discourse on pilgrimage, it is necessary to ask two important questions: Can we see pilgrimage as a religious ceremony? What is the relationship between pilgrimage and tourism? These questions are relevant to the tendency to look at pilgrimage negatively and are matters to be addressed in order to restore the precious tradition of pilgrimage.

A debate among sociologists has surfaced about the relationship between pilgrimage and tourism. Divided between two main categories, scholars who advocate homogeneity claim that pilgrimage and tourism are essentially the same, even if the pilgrimage is a religious ceremony and tourism, a secular rite. As they both leave the routine as a rite of passage and experience liminality, they assert that both have basically similar functions that reaffirm identity. The Turner couple best represents this position, claiming that "if a pilgrim is a half-traveler, the traveler is a half-pilgrim."⁵⁶

On the other hand, scholars who claim the heterogeneity of pilgrimage and tourism tend to see the purpose and motivation of these in the dichotomy of performance. Cohen sees pilgrimages as "trips to the sacred center" and sightseeing as "journeys to the exotic surroundings." He sees pilgrimages as trips for religious, political, or cultural purposes and tourism as secular.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Victor Turner and Edith Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 20.

⁵⁷ Erik Cohen, "Pilgrimage Centers: Concentric and Excentric," *Annals of Tourism Research* 19 (1992): 33-50.

However, this debate tends to generalize pilgrimages and tourism with complex and diverse characteristics. The direction and outcome of the controversy will be different, depending on how to define the pilgrimage or tourism from a certain point of view. Additionally, the boundary between pilgrimage and tourism is so vague that it is not easy to clearly define or separate the relationship between the two.

In the Middle Ages, the Holy Land was a place of grace, and pilgrimage to that place was considered an act of repentance. In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council recognized the Confession of Faith and considered pilgrimage a means of confession and grace.⁵⁸ Of course medieval churches forbade the public from worshiping sacred things that the church had not sanctioned, or worshiping nature in accordance with dreams or fantasies, but the ritual of pilgrimages that had the function of repentance was taking root.⁵⁹ The tradition and culture of pilgrimage had to have such characteristics because it grew up in the soil of medieval meritocracy, indulgences, confession, veneration of sacred objects, hope for good fortune, and a certain mysticism.⁶⁰

It is certainly beneficial to reclaim the challenge aspects of traditional pilgrimage, the first step of which is recognizing that although the pilgrimage is a limited experience for today's pilgrims, something can happen if the pilgrim's world comes into contact with other worlds. It would be helpful to recall the anthropologist

⁵⁸ Diana Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (London: Hambledon and London, 2000), 141.

⁵⁹ 설혜심[HyeSim Sul], 중세 유럽에서의 순례의 대중성 분석[Analysis of the popularity of pilgrimage in medieval Europe], 영국 사학회[British History Society] 제 1 권 1997, 114.

⁶⁰ The Catholic Church itself seems to have had many worries about the immorality and dysfunction of pilgrimage. One example is the Chalons Council in 813. "The Chalons council in 813 is Priests who neglect the duties of the priesthood, believing that they can wash away sin only through pilgrimage, a lay person who believes that sin is destroyed only by frequent pilgrimage, a person who is afraid of companions on the pretext of protecting his companions, a poor person who is motivated by a pilgrimage for a better begging, etc." – Jonathan Sumption, *The Age of Pilgrimage: The Medieval Journey to God* (New Jersey: Hidden Spring, 2003), 395-396.

Victor Turner's concept of liminality, which refers to a situation in which a person exists between several worlds. The boundary can create space for a new kind of relationship, as much as it has the potential to challenge the existing system, even for the sacred.⁶¹

The concept of border thinking by literary writer Walter Mignolo explores what happens when people are confronted with each other in various worlds, by pushing this boundary experience to the next level. The issue of power is especially important here, because those on the outskirts of the border are in the best position to be able to see both from a new perspective and thus challenge the present situation.⁶²

Pilgrims who are willing to move closer to the outskirts will have the opportunity to share this alternative view. Traditionally, the place of pilgrimage was far away, so the possibility was higher. The pilgrims exploring distant places that people do not often see were more likely to encounter the hybrid side. Hybridity refers to a fused identity that combines dominant and repressive aspects of a person's life, a typical example of a colonized people who have been pressured by the ruling system.⁶³ This experience of pilgrimage promoted a greater mix of social classes, one in which rich and poor used the same streets and hopefully broadened their social horizons, often exposing wealthier people to those less fortunate, and in this way, having the potential of drawing them closer to God.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Ellen Badone and Sharon R. Roseman, *Approaches to the Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism in Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 3.

⁶² Walter Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Design: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges and Border Thinking* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

⁶³ For more on the concept of hybridity, see --- Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).

⁶⁴ Badone and Roseman, *Approaches to the Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism.* "In *Interesting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism*, ed. Ellen Badone and Sharon R Roseman, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 3.

One of the important challenges of pilgrimage is not only to leave close family and friends, but also to give up recognition of familiar religious communities. It challenges the idols we have created. God tells us to go on a journey that reflects the struggle of life. Of course, leaving a familiar place is not just an act of dismantling. According to sociologist Sigmund Baumann, medieval performers were told, "The pilgrimage route to God was a sort of self-construction exercise."⁶⁵

If so, what are the challenges that tourism brings to the pilgrimage? As the tourism industry expanded, the so-called 'religious tourism' also increased. Religious tourism is an area where tourism problems can be seen more clearly, while sharing many opportunities and problems. By dealing with this issue, I hope that we can open new opportunities to transform and bind all areas of tourism. Today, popular forms of religious tourism are immersion courses that are mainly provided by mission trips and seminaries. In order to explore the potential of such a trip, one has to deal with the fundamental problems that are currently emerging. Geographer David Harvey describes the curse caused by the postmodern situation in this way, "Travels, including virtual and surrogate travel, are meant to broaden our minds, but there are a lot of passages that end up boosting our prejudice."⁶⁶

In this context, how can we imagine a religious journey differently? Tisdale Weights raises an important question, "How can I grasp the otherness of others, but can they break down their subjectivity and merge them into mine, or do not make

⁶⁵ Zygmunt Bauman, "From Pilgrim to Tourist-Or a Short History of Identity," in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (Los Angeles: Sage, 1996), 21.

⁶⁶ David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1990), 351.

them an exotic hitter? "⁶⁷ Then he warns, "You cannot think of the social environment of another person as your own. You must go there and be there."⁶⁸ The first step is to slowly and carefully put aside one's social position, for which patience is necessary. This practice is probably the most difficult lesson for religious travelers who often invest money and effort on long-distance trips.

To find a more constructive travel model, it is necessary to understand the challenges posed by modern large-scale tourism. As the communications scholar Phaedra C. Pezzullo states, "The journey itself is invasive and ignorant of the surrounding environment. Tourists make garbage, take resources, destroy tourist sites or at least transform them, and encourage local communities to literally sell themselves and commercialize their culture."⁶⁹ As an ecological point of view, digging sharply, if the toxicity is taken as a metaphor, the problem of tourism can be regarded as a mountain. "Tourism is toxic. Tourism contaminates the people and the places where it occurs. Tourism corrodes. Tourism is offends. Tourism is exploits. In a sense, some might even conclude, tourism kills." At some point, we can conclude that tourism is even killing to the extent that it can overlook ecological and other issues. As we have seen; there is also a risk of corrosion in religious tourism.⁷⁰

Is there any way that tourism can be linked to pilgrimage? Pezzullo's toxic tourism theory encourages us to focus our attention when it is desirable. A desirable case is when you participate in tourism with more good motivation such as fun,

⁶⁷ Susan Thistlethwaite, "Beyond Theological Tourism: Mentoring as a Grassroots Approach to Theological Education," in *Beyond Theological Tourism*, ed. Susan B. Thistlethwaite and George F. Cairns (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1994), 6.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁶⁹ Phaedra C. Pezzullo, *Toxic Tourism: Rhetorics of Pollution, Travel, and Environmental Justice* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007), 1-2.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

mutual negotiation, difference, public mind, social and environmental change, education, etc.⁷¹ Short-term intensive trips or missions can be seen as being in the right direction as most travelers have positive motives. It is only after this point that self-critical work can begin.

Short-term intensive travelers are shocked when they recognize the toxicity of their environment, for example when However, it is only with this kind of shock that it becomes possible to have solidarity, not a compromise, as only resistance and transformation of the property will change the journey. This kind of solidarity extends to a range of relationships, not only between travelers and locals, but also with those in the country with whom religious people need to be more serious. This includes immigrants, homeless people, people suffering from economic injustices, victims of 'everyday fascism,' and those who are oppressed because of race, politics and sexual orientation.⁷²

In order for travel to be an act of resistance, one must realize that it is essential to understand God, and to meet others on the road, for the sake of the world and the church. This encounter is an opportunity to experience God's novelty as recorded in the Bible, in a relationship of imbalance and tension.⁷³

In this sense, travel is not only a theological resistance act, but a theological restructuring act that allows us to re-illuminate the Christian testimony and life. By now, the problem of static theology has become clear. Static theology, which does not move toward meeting other people or the world, is a theology that cannot be moved

⁷¹ Ibid., 3.

⁷² It should be remembered that German fascism sponsored by the Nazis killed more than six million Jews, including socialists, Communists, Labor party officials, gays and lesbians, gypsies, and the disabled.

⁷³ Frederick J. Ruf, *Bewildered Travel: The Sacred Quest for Confusion* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), 4.

toward meeting God. Those who do not recognize or positively associate with others do not recognize the relationship with God and cannot establish it positively. In other words, anyone who cannot respect and love others will be unable to respect and love God. Theology on the road stops the self-centered static theology.

Thus, theology on the road helps to overcome the static approach of contributing to the maintenance of the status quo or the danger of commoditizing certain places and subjects. But not every trip or move is useful. In the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus talks about easy and difficult paths. (Matthew 7: 13-14) John Wesley commented on this paragraph and asked the audience this question, "Are there many wise, wealthy, strong, or noble people traveling on the same path as you? Even if you look at it, you can see whether the way you are going is the way to life."⁷⁴ There are things that people who travel on the easiest road of the world miss. It is easy to miss rich travelers, large travelers, even religious travelers of the present age. It is a life that does not destroy itself and others.

Conclusion

The tradition of pilgrimage to visit Jerusalem following the tradition of the Jews from the early Church era continued. In the 4th century Christianity became increasingly concerned about pilgrimage. From then onwards, "Pilgrim Trips of Bordeaux," "Trips of Egeria," and "Pilgrimage to Paula" showed great interest in the pilgrimage at that time and as Christianity became a world religion, pilgrimage became increasingly important. Throughout this time, additionally, the establishment of what constituted holy sites of pilgrimage was influenced by political and administrative factors.

⁷⁴ John Wesley, "Upon Our Lord's Sermon on the Mount, Eleventh Discourse," in *The Bicentennial Edition of the Works of John Wesley*, ed. Albert C. Outler (Nashville: Abingdon, 1984), 1:672.

The Medieval Era was a very important time for pilgrimage culture and history. The Muslims, whose religion began in the 7th century, conquered the neighboring nations of the Mediterranean and expanded their territory at an alarming rate. After a group of Muslims entered Spain in 711, the entire Iberian Peninsula was put under the rule of Islam in 718, and the *Reconquista*, the “reconquest” from the perspective of the Christians, was completed in 1492. In the frequent wars with Islam in Europe, before the formation of nation states, the Middle Ages seemed to be unstable in politics, economy, culture, and religion. Rather, at this time, the culture of pilgrimage began to bloom, and medieval cities were formed and developed by the increase and flow of the pilgrims. It would not be an exaggeration to state that the spirituality of pilgrimage became the driving force of the nationalist restoration movement.

Based on what we have seen so far on the nature and spirituality of pilgrimage, this pious practice is not a ritual which be encouraged or abolished by solely political, historical, governing, or doctrinal circumstances. As a biblical and traditional rite, we have observed that pilgrimage includes very important contents in the life and mission of the church. In particular, the theology and spirituality of pilgrimage in the context of the Korean Catholic Church makes it possible to restore its identity as a pilgrim community and help her realize how to live as a pilgrim, in a wilderness-like world.

The theology and spirituality of pilgrimage have the potential of providing dynamism to the Korean Catholic Church, which is struggling to move away from a more static state which focuses on faith without action, and going toward faith and actions that practice faith-in-acts and acts-in-faith (*Communitas peregrina*). This dynamic community must be able to more fully fulfill the role of being light and salt in the world, thus helping to extend the Kingdom of God. Chapter 3, accordingly, will

then explore the missionary characteristics of the 14 Holy Sites of the Suwon Diocese, as well as the practices of pilgrimage encountered there.

Chapter 3

Suggestions for Pilgrimage as Mission Activities

Since the late 1990s, given an increase in Korean Catholics making pilgrimages, the official Church has strongly encouraged this and other forms of popular piety. There is a renewed interest in reading the Bible, but even more popular are pilgrimages to holy sites where the faithful were martyred and buried. As a type of rite of passage, visits to these holy places help shape the modern believer, especially young people. Ironically, in Korea, the unique cultural heritage of Catholicism has popularized pilgrimage sites where the two interests of the religious and secular are integrated.¹

I was reminded of pilgrimages when I read an article in the Korean Catholic newspaper about a father and son who were planning to visit the 14 sacred sites of the Suwon Diocese, in an effort to improve their relationship.²

Such pilgrimages clearly contain much spiritual value and missional significance. Especially, in my home Diocese of Suwon, they provide not only a lesson in the history of the region, but also a type of spiritual experience, even for the non-believer.

¹ 한국 천주교 문화유산 실태조사 및 활용방안 [“Actual Condition and Utilization Plan of Korean Catholic Heritage, Ministry of Culture”], 문화체육관광부 [Government Office of Sports and Tourism], 2012, 8.

² 아들 바오로와 함께 하는 한국 천주교 성지순례 8 [“Pilgrimage to the Catholic Church in Korea with Son Paul” Number 8]: http://news.casuwon.or.kr/news/?act=bbs&subAct=view&bid=News&page=21&order_index=no&order_type=desc&list_style=gallery&seq=15110. Accessed 4/4/2017.

For what reason were this father and son taking part in a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in Korea? What would they gain from the pilgrimage? What will the Father experience about his Son through it?

The Korean church has many great martyrs from the early church days. This is a great challenge for all our believers who are living out of the dimension of being proud of the Church and, at the same time, trying to emulate the exemplary life of those martyrs today. Moreover, the present age is a time when the faith of our martyrs, who have been forgotten for many years, and the spirit of their martyrdom are even more necessary.

To the present generation, to whom only visible material values are regarded as best, who regard the faith life as merely a hobby, and who treat God only as a person in a mythical mythology, the martyrs still witness the whole body. However, the interest we have shown to our martyrs is insufficient. It is true that they have been regarded only as objects of believers' daily lives and free church-based academic study, or as a subject of temporal reverence. It is not important to identify any historical facts pertaining to the martyrs themselves, and it is unnecessary to have a temporary, external reverence or an expression form of the present. Of course, such efforts are important, but the most important goal is to realize their spirit of martyrdom in our lives today.

In this sense, before discussing pilgrimage to Korea, we must look at the unique martyrdom movement that Korea has in its pilgrimage and how the martyr faith movement of Korean Catholics has been expressed historically.

I will examine the ideological basis of the Korean martyr movement and examine its characteristics and modern significance, based on such considerations. Also, I present some of the prospects of the martyrdom movement and its challenges.

Finally, I explore the missionary characteristics of the 14 Holy Sites of the Suwon Diocese, as well as the practices of pilgrimage.

Martyrdom

Before looking at the martyrdom movement, it is necessary to clearly define the meaning of 'martyrdom.' The term martyr means "action to give life for the religion of which one believes"³ or "death for the faith,"⁴ and is derived from the Greek word "*μαρτυ*," which means "witness." Originally, the words 'martyrdom' and 'martyrs,' '*μαρτυριον*' and '*μαρτυ*,' simply meant testimony and witness, but their meanings essentially changed as these words were accepted into Christianity; martyrdom is not merely a testimony, but a testimony of faith through bloodshed.

Therefore, Christian martyrdom is strictly a concept that includes three elements, that is, to be called martyr, the person must actually be killed, death must be brought about by those who hate the Christian faith and truth, and death should be voluntarily accepted to defend the faith and truth of Christianity.⁵ Martyrdom did not simply mean the evidence of faith through external bloodshed. From the time of the Gospel, the broad meaning of martyrdom, that is, to live thoroughly the commandments of the Lord and the evangelical life itself, was also seen as martyrdom. Although it was not the martyrdom of shedding of blood, those who had abandoned many things to accomplish their faith were already recognized as martyrs in the Church's long tradition. The martyrs of the martyrs, the martyrs of the bloodless, or

³ 이희승 [Lee Hee-seung], 국어대사전 [Korean Dictionary (서울 Seoul: 민중 서림 Min-jung seo-rim, 1981)], 1738.

⁴ 한국가톨릭대사전 [Korean Catholic Encyclopedia], [서울 Seoul: 한국교회사연구소 Korea Church History Institute], 1989, 696.

⁵ 가톨릭대사전 [Korean Catholic Encyclopedia], 696-697.

the many mature saints who came to be known as the white martyrs – all of these were martyrs in the broad sense.

In the end, martyrdom is a physical negotiating by one who devotes his or her life for faith, and includes both spiritual and exploitative martyrdom, which faithfully abandons God's life and faithfully lives a life, even if blood is not shed.

What is the spirit of martyrdom? While there is no precise definition, the term refers collectively to all faiths, beliefs, and the exemplary lives that martyrs devote to God. It is the martyrdom of living a life that gives up much for God, a life that gives up even life, and so resembles Christ.

Only for the Glory of God (1 Cor 10: 31)

The most fundamental part of the spirit of martyrdom can be heard in the words of Paul, "Only for the glory of God." Martyrs always lived for God and lived in a circle that made a fundamental commitment to God, devoting everything to God. But physical death, an extreme trial, is nothing but a martyr's life in the world for such a glory of God. Whether or not they lost their lives by persecution, their hearts and their witnessing lives for God did not change. It is the very foundation of the spirit of martyrdom, whether in life or death, to live in all things for the glory of God.

"I have negotiated with foreigners for my religion and for my sake, for I am dead for the sake of the kingdom, and eternal life is about to begin to happen to me."⁶

Abandonment:

"Whoever wishes to come after me must deny himself, take up his cross, and follow me." (Matt 16: 24)

Whatever it is we give up, martyrdom is impossible without sacrifice. Indeed, many martyrs abandoned much of their desires, and even their most precious lives, to

⁶샤를르 달레 [Charles Dallet], 순교자 김대건 신부에 관한 기록 [A record of the Martyr Father Andrew Dae-gon Kim], 한국천주교회사 [Korean Catholic Church History] 2, 119.

follow God's glory and God's will. Martyrs sometimes even gave up his/her intention to go beyond martyrdom. One Korean martyr, Yang-yup Choi, declared, "If I had done so with my own will, I would have entered the whole of my Joseon Dynasty or I would sit on the branches of heaven, but I will not do what I want, but just as God wills."⁷ It is a life of faith that abandons much for God's sake and abandons much to follow God's will, and the attitude of such a faith is a characteristic of the martyrdom, even if he or she does not die outwardly.

Resembling Christ

The first and fundamental aspect of martyrdom in early Christian literature is the Master and the Lord, 'imitating and following Christ.' Jesus is the excellent martyr of God and the prototype of the martyr.⁸ The martyrdom of the disciples, who shed blood and looked like the teacher who was willing to die for the salvation of the world, is considered to be the best evidence of grace and love in the church.⁸

Thus, the disciples of Jesus Christ realized that they were the closest to and the closest followers of Christ. So they followed the path and encouraged others to do so as well. But this martyrdom is an act of imitation of Christ, not only because the martyr's suffering resembles the passion of Christ, but also because the martyr's attitude resembles his posture and love.⁹ The martyr Kyung-eun Lee proclaimed,

⁷ 최양업 신부 서간집 [A collection of letters of Yang-yup Choi] [서울 Seoul: 한국교회사연구소 Korea Church History Institute], 1984 임충신, 최석우 역주 [ed. Chung-Shin Im, Seok-woo Choi], 83.

⁸ 성서신학사전 [Bible Theology Dictionary] [광주 Gwangju: 광주가톨릭대학: Gwangju Catholic University], 1984, 322.

⁹ 박재만 [Jae-man Park], 순교 영성의 재발견을 위한 시도 [Attempts to Rediscover the Spirit of Martyrdom], 사목 [Ministry] 제 155 호, 1991.

"Then I thought to myself, 'Jesus Christ has gone on the way with the cross, why am I afraid to walk this way?'"¹⁰

Understanding the Spirit of Korean Martyrdom

Before examining the characteristics of Korean martyrdom, we should first examine the question of whether there was a spirit of martyrdom in the Korean church. Perhaps it was the spirituality of the Paris Foreign Missions Society or the follow-up in the churches that were prevalent in Europe at the time. The church was affected, of course, but likely not affected entirely by the outside because there were already many martyrs long before the missionaries arrived. Also, in the most important path of life and death, without any conviction and consciousness it would not have been impossible to reach a martyrdom decision merely from the outside world.

In other words, even though Catholicism was imported from the outside, it is obvious that the Korean martyrs were drawing from a spirituality which had been nurtured by traditional Korean beliefs. Therefore, I believe that Korean spirituality, especially martyr spirituality, was cultivated over a long period of faith life, one which had come initially to Korean soil through books, not missionaries. It will be necessary, therefore, to examine how our martyrs could now accept the martyrdom of Christianity on any soil as their martyr spirituality and as an absolute value.

The Thought of Loyalty and Filial Piety (忠孝思想)

In Confucianism, if a person is not obedient to one's parents, he/she cannot be called a son/daughter¹¹ nor be considered a human being.¹² The fundamental spirit of loyalty and filial piety dictates that one does not forget the

¹⁰ 샤를르 달레[Charles Dallet], 순교자 이경언의 편지 [Letter of the Martyr Kyung-eun Lee], 한국천주교회사 [Korean Catholic Church History] 2, 144-145.

basics of how he/she came to this world and how one receives continuous grace.¹³

Confucian thought emphasizes the repayment of grace through memorial services and through sacrifice to the parents and ancestors, who are the unconditional sources of love and grace for our most precious lives.

The Confucian Society of the Joseon Dynasty was the basic structure of the family order. The relationships enabled the continuous existence of the family through the succession of the family system. Therefore, the ethical standards and the religion of the aristocracy constituted the strongest rule for the relation of the parent and the child, and loyalty was its basic moral code, like a religion. If a relationship had a dear (affection) meaning, the relationship was strong and was accepted strictly.

Catholic believers, however, understood the Lord of Heaven as the Creator of all things, and the Absolute as transcendent of the king and parental authority. Therefore, the Lord of Heaven was called the King or God of all things of Heaven and Earth, and even if one broke the order of one's superiors or parents, the belief of the Lord of Heaven could not be broken. According to the Confucian understanding of the Joseon Dynasty, people were protected by the virtues of the King. But in Christianity, all of life was made by the grace and power of the Lord of Heaven.

¹¹ 孟子 [The Discourses of Mencius], 離婁 [Li Lou] 上, 28: "不得乎親 不可以爲人, 不順乎親 不可以爲子" [He considered that if one could not get the hearts of his parents he could not be considered a man, and that if he could not get to an entire accord with his parents, he could not be considered a son. By Shun's completely fulfilling everything by which a parent could be served, Gu Sou was brought to find delight in what was good], <http://ctext.org/mengzi/li-lou-i>. Accessed 2/5/2018.

¹² 孝經 [The Classic of Filial Piety], 五刑章 [Filial Piety in Relation to the Five Punishments]: "子曰 五刑之屬三千, 而罪莫大於不孝" [The Master said, "There are three thousand offenses against which the five punishments are directed, and there is not one of them greater than being unfilially]. The Classic of Filial Piety, also known by its Chinese name as the Xiao jing, is a Confucian classic treatise giving advice on filial piety, that is, how to behave towards a senior such as a father, an elder brother, or ruler, <http://ctext.org/mengzi/li-lou-i>. Accessed 2/5/2018.

¹³ 최기복 Ki-bok Choi, 유교의 상례에 관한 연구 [A study on the tradition of Confucianism] [서울 Seoul: 성균관대학교석사학위논문 Sungkyunkwan University, Master's thesis, 1979], 133-134.

Therefore, the object of the thought of loyalty and filial piety changed toward God.¹⁴ The Lord of Heaven was the father of all humans and the master of all creation, so how could one betray God? He who is the father of all of us will not betray anyone.¹⁵ The martyr Kyung-eun Lee declared, "He is the highest king of all the world, the Father. He created the earth, the heavenly Father, the man, and everything else ... He who does not serve his father, and the people who do not serve his king, are ineffective."¹⁶

In the end, Korean martyrs deepened their awareness of God in a cultural climate that respected loyalty and inspired them to testify and practice their faith. In other words, they could accept the somewhat exotic and unfamiliar Lord of heaven as natural and extremely natural to their values of loyalty.¹⁷

Fidelity (節概)

For the sake of the right thing, a stance that does not bow down is called fidelity, which was also accepted as one of the important values in the Confucian social order of the time. This spirit of fidelity, which is implied in the words, "Loyal servants do not serve two kings, and sincere wife do not serve two husbands" (忠臣不事二君 烈女不便二夫), was widely known at the time. The fact is that this

¹⁴ 김정수 [Jung Soo Kim], *어제의 한국 천주 신앙 [Yesterday's Korean Quanzhou Faith]* 전망 [Prospects] 1988, No. 81, 89.

¹⁵ 샤를르 달레 [Charles Dallet], *순교자 권 데레사의 심문 내용 [The contents of the interrogation of the Martyr Teresa]*, 한국천주교회사 [Korean Catholic Church History] 2, 93-94.

¹⁶ 샤를르 달레 [Charles Dallet], *순교자 이경언의 편지 [Letter of the Martyr Kyung-eun Lee]*, 146-147.

¹⁷ 조광 [Kwang Cho], *박해 시대의 하느님 인식 [Recognition of God in the Age of Persecution]*, 사목 [Ministry] 1989, No. 124, 26-27.

quote originally in Chinese dating back to the Age of Chinese Warring States, emphasized the subservience of servants and women.¹⁸

In addition, the spirit of fidelity was somewhat narrow and blindly understood in later generations. Indeed, not only for the right thing but also for the one who does not change or bend the decided mind – that is, not just for the righteous, but for righteousness itself – it was also recognized as a righteousness. There is no doubt that the spirit of this fidelity has also influenced the martyrdom of our martyrs.

Moreover, our martyrs, who regarded the truths of Christianity as absolute truths and who regarded the greatest value of following and practicing God's righteousness, somehow tried to keep fidelity to God; the opposite was perceived as sin. The martyr Kwang-ok Kim asked, "Do not the loyalists serve the two kings, and the sincere wife not follow the two husbands? Do you think officer will break your command, or will you betray your king?"¹⁹ For the martyr Tae-bo Shin, "If there are those who serve the king and are in adversity, and who break the king's order, he will be a coward. When all is good, only follow the truth, and if difficult times are taken, I will act in accordance with my beliefs."²⁰ Therefore, in the midst of tortured persecution, in the moment of torture, and in the face of death, the martyrs were able to defend their faithfulness without defying a single determination to God.

¹⁸ 故事名句名言事典 [The Words of Wisdom], [서울 Seoul: 평범사 Pyeongbeom company], 1984, 561-562.

¹⁹ 샤를르 달레 [Charles Dallet], 순교자 김광옥의 증언 [Testimony of the Martyr Kwang-ok Kim], 한국천주교회사 [Korean Catholic Church History] 1, 517.

²⁰ 샤를르 달레 [Charles Dallet], 순교자 신태보의 편지 [Letter of the Martyr Tae-bo Shin], 한국천주교회사 [Korean Catholic Church History] 2, 127.

Death for Righteousness

Our martyr ancestors, for the most part, sacrificed their lives for their beliefs, values, and the good of society, and were officially designated as men and women to be imitated and praised by subsequent generations. Of course, such beliefs, values, and the goods of society differ depending on the time and place. But what is important is that these people devoted themselves to an important life and kept their creeds and beliefs.

There are many examples in our history and tradition: loyalists who devoted their lives to kings, children who devoted their lives to parents, women who lost their lives trying to preserve their dignity, etc. In other words, for the sake of righteousness, they were willing to devote even their lives. Moreover, they regarded such acts of faith as the completion of righteousness.

Such deaths were already recognized as the practice of the noblest virtue, which had dominated the spirit world of our ancestors, long before Catholicism was introduced. Thus, our martyrs, who accepted Christianity as truth, were willing to devote their lives to witness God's eternal righteousness, according to this traditional pattern. They regarded the sacrifice of life as an important virtue amid the secular and temporal values that were limited by a particular area and a particular age. It was a very natural thing to be martyred in order to be considered human. Moreover, for our martyrs, dying for God's truth was taken for granted because of the promise of the afterlife.

Characteristics of the Martyrdom of Korean Martyrs

The martyrs in Korea deepened their awareness of God within the cultural climate in which they respected their loyalties. Now, let us look in more detail at how our martyrs were able to practice the traditional values of Korea and the Christian love affair, as filial piety and brotherhood.

Filial Piety as a Love of God

Our martyrs never saw God's love and filial piety as anything else but a more fundamental and absolute filial piety. Moreover, the duty of obeying one's physical parents is even more important than being obedient to a heavenly king. (天地大君) As a way of practicing this filial piety (孝), the Confucian family largely referred to three things: body conservation; filial piety to make their parents feel mentally comfortable or to obey the will of the parents (養志); and gaining in worldly fame.

Filial Piety as Body Conservation

In the Book of Filial Duty (孝經), "The body of human, hair and skin are all received from their parents, so dare not to offend this," as it is "the beginning of filial piety."²¹ In other words, one's body is inherited entirely from one's parents, so that he/she who has begotten should cherish the body and see that it is the beginning of filial piety, so that no harm is done.

At first glance, it seems that this is not at all consistent with the martyrs. The truth is that martyrs were people who had boldly dared their lives, rather than saving their bodies. But this is only a narrow interpretation. The important thing in the

²¹ 孝經 [The Classic of Filial Piety], [開宗明義章 The Scope and Meaning of the Treatise] "身體髮膚 受之父母 不敢毀傷 孝之始也" [The Master said, our bodies - to every hair and bit of skin - are received by us from our parents, and we must not presume to injure or wound them. This is the beginning of filial piety], <http://ctext.org/mengzi/li-lou-i>. Accessed February 5, 2018.

preservation of the body is that because the body is inherited entirely from the parents. Also, our martyrs were also deeply aware that their existence was something that could not be decided at their own discretion because they were created by God, and the importance of life was felt more than anything else. The martyr Jae-haeng Lee said, "He encouraged the family members to say, 'We must each be prepared to die, but if we can do as much as we do not know what the will of the people is, we should avoid the persecutors.'"²²

However, the martyrs were not entirely afraid of sacrificing their life and body to practice filial piety, but rather saw it as the completion of the filial piety for God. The martyr Moon-woo Lee encouraged, "Put your faith in the heart of Jesus in your heart, and repay your love with love unto the Lord, and give your life for repayment."²³ As well, the martyr Yak-jong Jung asserted, "Do not laugh at us, for it is natural for human to come out of the world, our crying will turn into joy, and your joyful laughing will turn into a real pain, and do not smile."²⁴

Filial Piety as a Life that Obeys the Will of Parents (养志)

Filial Piety, as a life that obeys the will of the parents (养志), is not only to ensure that there are no inconveniences in regard to food and shelter, but also to

²² 샤를르 달레 [Charles Dallet], 순교자 이재행에 관한 기록 [Records of the Martyr Jae-haeng Lee], 한국천주교회사 [Korean Catholic Church History] 2, 176.

²³ 샤를르 달레 [Charles Dallet], 순교자 이문우의 편지 [Letter of the Martyr Moon-woo Lee], 한국천주교회사 [Korean Catholic Church History] 2, 536.

²⁴ 황사영 [Sa-young Hwang], 순교자 정약종에 관한 기록 [A Record of the Martyr Yak-jong Jung], 배론 성지 [Baeron Holy Ground], 20.

encourage people with joy to receive the will of the parents with diligence.²⁵ In other words, it is that which keeps doing and keeping things well and it is very prominent in our martyrs. Korean ancestors had understood everything in the will of God, and practiced their righteousness and tried to follow God's will. "Paul Kim said, no matter how much the Father does such extreme work, I cannot break the commandment of our Father in heaven to follow his commands."²⁶

"We are victorious for our salvation, whether we are adversity or a cop, or everything as a providence of the earth."²⁷

"Why do we need to be grieved like this? If you believe in your loving providence, why is it that you have a sad mind?"²⁸

Filial Piety as Gain in Worldly Fame

Filial Piety, as a rise in worldly fame, is to receive and honor your own name, and to glorify the name and give glory to the parents. As well, the martyrs treasured obedience to one's parents and family and in this way, they would reveal their glory and reverence them. As we have already seen at the beginning of this chapter, it is a well-known fact that one of the greatest hallmarks of martyrdom is acting "only for the glory of God." Our martyrs considered it their highest honor to practice the righteousness of God and to give glory to God. In the words of the martyr Do-gi Lee,

²⁵ 論語 [the Analects of Confucius], 爲政 [Wei Zheng] 7 ; 孟子 [the Discourses of Mencius], 離婁 [Li Lou] 1, 20. <http://ctext.org/mengzi/li-lou-i>. Accessed February 5/2018.

²⁶ 샤를르 달레 Charles Dallet 순교자 쉰 바오로에 관한 기록 [A record of the Martyr Paul Kim], 한국천주교회사 Korean Catholic Church History 2, 192.

²⁷ 샤를르 달레 [Charles Dallet], 순교자 김종한의 편지 [Letter of the Martyr Jong-Han Kim], 한국천주교회사 [Korean Catholic Church History] 2, 80.

²⁸ 샤를르 달레 [Charles Dallet], 순교자 최경환의 증언 [Testimony of the Martyr Kyung-hwan Choi], 한국천주교회사 [Korean Catholic Church History] 2, 431.

"To die for the sake of the Lord is to assure eternal glory to his soul."²⁹ For after all, "what is human born to this world?" The greatest doctrine of human is to honor the Lord, save his soul."³⁰

Brotherhood

In Confucianism, Filial Piety (孝) and brotherhood (悌) are not different, as respecting brotherhood is the diffusion and expansion of filial piety.³¹ Moreover, Yak-yong Jeong emphasized brotherhood and filial piety as not being separate.³² Our martyrs also said that as a reason to love humans, every person must be a brother because he/she is a child of the heavenly kingdom, emphasizing that human beings should not love because of talents and virtues, but love because we are all the same created creatures of "human beings."³³ The followers of the time were taught that every human should be loved as God saw them, and that loving or hating or loving a human is like loving and hating the family, brothers and sisters.

In the center, there was always love for God and a spirit of filial piety. So the martyrs were able to comfort each other in difficult situations or persecution, and even in moments of prison and torture. In the end, as Filial Piety (孝) and brotherhood were

²⁹ 샤를르 달레 [Charles Dallet], 순교자 이도기의 증언 [Testimony of the Martyr Do-gi Lee], 한국천주교회사 [Korean Catholic Church History] 1, 402.

³⁰ 샤를르 달레 [Charles Dallet], 순교자 김종한의 편지 [Letter of the Martyr Jong-Han Kim], 77.

³¹ 최기복 [Gi-bok Choi], 朝鮮朝에 있어서 天主教의 廢祭毀主와 儒教祭祀의 根本意味 [The Role of the Lord and the Confucianism in the Joseon Dynasty], 韓國教會史論叢 [The History of the Korean History], 85-87.

³² 최기복 Choi, Ki-bok, 조선조 천주교회의 제사 금령과 다산의 조상제사관 "Prohibition of sacrifice of the Catholic Church of Joseon Dynasty and Perspective on ancestral sacrifices of Yak-yong Jeong," 한국교회사논문집 Korean Church History, 169-170.

³³ 조광 Kwang Cho, "조선후기 천주교회사 연구" "A Study on Catholicism in the Late Joseon Dynasty" (서울: 高大民族文化研究所, Seoul: Korea University Institute for National Culture 1988), 107.

the same, our martyrs also recognized that the love of God and the love of human were not different, and so they loved people based on the love of God. Jong-han Kim gave this analogy, "If you love the body, you will soon love your head, and if you love the Lord of Heaven, you will love people, and if you love people, you will also love the Lord of Heaven."³⁴

The strict observance of Filial Piety (孝) and brotherhood in Confucian society at that time is a well-documented fact. In fact, it has been maintained so strictly, even to the current date, that it has now come under a certain suspicion. Our martyrs naturally sublimated this rigorous spirit of conscience into the spirit of Christian love, and by virtue of such filial piety, lived in practice of God's love and human love. That is, based on the love of God and the love of neighbor, the martyrs lived in the practice of brotherly love, which was the life of witness. Even in difficult situations, they happily helped and comforted each other so that despite the persecution, the number of believers did not decrease.

Simplicity

One of the hallmarks of spirituality that stands out in our martyrs is simplicity. We can see minds endowed with simplicity everywhere in the letters and books of our martyrs. The martyr Jeong-ok Kim explained, "Catholics are very passionate, cheerful and aggressive in nature, regardless of gender. They are neither weak nor cowardly, they are as loyal as the Chinese, and also are honest and simple. And, once converted, it is absolute in his command."³⁵ "This small persecution, which is done separately,

³⁴ 샤를르 달레 [Charles Dallet], 순교자 김종한의 편지 [Letter of the Martyr Jong-Han Kim], 80-81.

³⁵ 김정옥 [Jeong-ok Kim] as quoted in 박해기 선교사의 한국관 [Korean Perspectives of Missionary during the of persecution], 한국교회사논문집, [Korean Church History], II, 717.

makes it difficult for us to carry out our affairs, but it is our enthusiasm for our believers to recall the joyful days of our first communion, all that can please the missionary's heart in their vivid faith, faithfulness, sincere repentance, spiritual joy, holy meditation, tears, and words which give us abundant comfort."³⁶ Even Jesus said that we are to "unless you turn and become like children, you will not enter the kingdom of heaven" (Matthew 18:3). Therefore, by looking at simplicity, unstructured features that appear in children, we will see why innocent and free composition is needed on the path of Wisdom and how our martyrs practiced it.

First, generally, children firmly believe whatever they say. Our martyrs also firmly believed and followed God, even though it was not easy to believe in the temporal contexts of all the commandments and truths. Based on God's commandments, and on simple but solid and absolute faith, martyrs were able to boldly give their lives for God.

Second, children, in the best of circumstances, are not afraid of their parents. Our martyrs felt God's presence in their daily lives and therefore did not fear anything from God, who always leads human beings to good. These martyrs did not run from poverty and suffering in their lives, nor torture or prison, because of the protection of God at every moment, including at death. Kyung-hwan Choi admonished, "Take courage, brethren, see that the angel of the Lord grasps the one with the gold in his hand, and counts all of your steps, and that our Lord Jesus Christ stands before you, and takes the cross and goes forth to Golgotha"³⁷ The martyr Moon-wood Lee asked

³⁶ 샤를르 달레 [Charles Dallet], 순교자 다블뤼 주교의 편지 [Letter from the Bishop of the Martyr Daveluy], 한국천주교회사 [Korean Catholic Church History] 3, 202-203.

³⁷ 샤를르 달레 [Charles Dallet], 순교자 최경환의 증언 [Testimony of the Martyr Kyung-hwan Choi], 422.

rhetorically, "Why do you need to be nervous in front of the Lord, who knows all things?"³⁸

Third, children convey a sense of joy, even about trivial matters. These martyrs remained thankful and pleased to live because they firmly believed in God's promise of the Great Lordship to protect them. Judging from the values and judgments of their time, martyrs were able to appreciate God and praise God, even in their disastrous circumstances and to be happy with their daily life. The martyr Kyung-eun Lee praised, "Even if all my body is turned to lips, how can I have enough of the praise of the Lord?" I pray that you, my Lord of Heaven, give thanks to the Lord on my behalf."³⁹

There were many prisoners in the jails, some from nobility, but all despised by the then Korean government. Kim, who was amazed when he saw Peter Seok-ji Hwang's death and the holy joy overflowing in his face, asked himself: "Why does this old man feel delight, rather than being afraid of death?"⁴⁰ In the end, as in the case of the children, God, who is the Lord of Heaven, was the most fortified and restful place for our martyrs. The martyrs were able to reach martyrdom, which is the pinnacle of Christian perfection, because they firmly believed in God's word and God's protection, with a simple heart of a child, and lived a total life of joy with God.

In a complex, fragmented, and pluralistic world, having simple beliefs like children may seem foolish. Moreover, in the present era where theology has developed but faith is declining, one may condemn such beliefs as a blind and

³⁸ 샤를르 달레 [Charles Dallet], 순교자 이문우의 편지 [Letter of the Martyr Moon-woo Lee], 533.

³⁹ 샤를르 달레 [Charles Dallet], 순교자 이경언의 편지 [Script of the Martyr Kyung-eun Lee], 153.

⁴⁰ 샤를르 달레 [Charles Dallet], 한국천주교회사 [Korean Catholic Church History] 2, 199.

fanatical. But what, then, is our belief in our confession? Is the object of our faith surely God?

Without a simple mind like a child, we cannot have a firm faith in God. Only when there is a pure innocent mind can we accept the truth revealed by God as absolute truth. Only when we have a pure and innocent mind can we rely on God's providence, in which comfort and peace can be enjoyed. Without a pure innocent mind, other virtues of Christianity, such as humility, gentleness, and so on, are not possible. "The poor are the poor, and the kingdom of heaven is theirs" (Matt 5: 3). The poor are the same as the children, and also possess innocent hearts.

The Desire of the Kingdom of God

Another prominent feature of our martyrs was the desire for the kingdom of God and this was their greatest motivating force. In other words, the present age is a passing house, and the human being is a stranger who will leave someday, so that one should live for a more eternal heaven. Therefore, the meaning of the temporal and physical body is only given as a preparation for the afterlife and eternal life. Seong-jip Jang declared, "It is better for me to freeze and hunger than to sin in the same way again, and I will be able to enjoy eternal happiness in heaven after death by being well tolerated by the passing bitterness of the world."⁴¹

Our martyrs not only ruled out the present age and aimed for the afterlife, they also completely excluded the body and focused on the soul; they found something more fundamental and eternal. In other words, the martyrs realized that the life of the world was finite within human limits, that is, the body and death, so they inevitably longed for God's promised heaven and eternal life.

⁴¹ 샤를르 달레 [Charles Dallet], 순교자 장성집의 증언 [Testimony of the Martyr Seong-jip Jang], 한국천주교회사 [Korean Catholic Church History] 2, 416-417.

Today, it is true that many criticize these future-oriented martyrs who longed for God's kingdom. Hoping for the kingdom of heaven is an outdated thought, like the remnants of a somewhat uneven and obscure spirituality. There is, of course, a great contribution to the active contemporary theological interpretation of eschatology. With the notion of place and time, and the expressions of "already but not yet" incompleteness, Christian eschatology was changed anew. But what should be noted here is that this modern interpretation of eschatology does not deny the afterlife. Rather, it was intended to present a more comprehensive and active Christian eschatological theory by giving it a new interpretation.

However, the believers of the present age have been distrustful of the future, adding their own interpretations to these modern theological interpretations. In fact, many believers aim only for the heaven of the heart, a temporal heaven, ignoring the afterlife. What are the hopeful believers in today's world living for? The spirituality of Christianity can be distinguished in two major ways: The eternal-oriented enduring spirituality and the incarnated spirituality. Although there are some differences in strength, depending on the times, both spiritualities have always existed. According to the emphasized spirituality, the salvation of perspective also appears differently. In other words, personal salvation is emphasized at the time of an emphasis on the apocalyptic spirituality, and spiritual salvation is emphasized at the time of an emphasis on incarnational spirituality. There is one thing to note here, that apocalyptic spirituality and incarnational spirituality are not opposing concepts but rather complementary ones. In fact, there has never been a time in which only one spirituality existed, and excluded the other.

But what about us today, living in modern times? Rather, due to temporal thinking and materialism, apocalyptic spirituality emphasizes only incarnational

spirituality. We know that our incarnational spirituality is not enough, but our goal is going to wrong direction for God's heaven. Though heaven and hell are doctrines to believe, the eschatological spirituality is being pushed back from our faith. But there is one thing to keep in mind, and that is that Christianity is always bound to be inward-looking. It is only in the relationship with the afterlife that the meaning is given to it. It is the same today, and the Vatican Council supports this thinking. "Human beings are oriented toward the divine, subordinate to it, to see what cannot be seen, to action, to contemplation, and of the temporal, to the city of the afterlife we are seeking."⁴²

Traditionally, Christianity has expressed heaven as home. In a sense, living in the modern world are people who have lost their homelands. In any circumstance, this initial place of dwelling, that which can give us strength, courage, and hope, will also pass away and we can embrace a vision that is looks to eternity. There is a great difference in the quality of life from the life of hoping for heaven and the life which is not desiring. Our martyrs lived in the hopes of heaven, so they did not lose their joy, even in difficult circumstances. Because God firmly promised heaven, the martyrs realized that life itself is the journey to that place, and thus were able to taste heaven in the midst of their difficult environments. As well, because martyrs hoped for the kingdom of heaven, they were always awake and prepared. We must today think deeply about what we hope to live in our world.

⁴² Vatican Council II, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* [Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy] Vatican Website, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html. Accessed February 10, 2018.

Some Suggestions for Martyrdom Spirituality

I briefly reviewed the background of martyr spirituality and the characteristics and modern significance of Korean martyr spirituality. Now, based on this research, I will look at challenges and prospects today.

Study of Martyr Spirituality

The Catholic Church of Korea has made many qualitative and quantitative developments over the last century, and now different Church officials are making efforts to evangelize well into this twenty first century. This aim is, of course, a very encouraging and natural thing for the Church to do, but is there nothing that needs to precede or at least accompany these efforts? The Catholic Church in Korea has suffered many large and small persecutions since the beginning of the Church's history, and has many martyrs who testified to their faith amid cruel persecution. This is the proud heritage of the Korean Catholic Church and many believers wished to acknowledge the greatness of our ancestors in the faith who provide us with this exemplary witness. Through active study of this Church's history, the promotion of pilgrimages, and constant prayer, with the grace of God, this ecclesial community came to rejoice in the canonization of 103 saints in 1984.

A continuous study of the spirituality of the martyrs is needed. It is absolutely necessary to establish a professional institution to study the spirituality of martyrs for the development of Korean spirituality, and not solely as a part of the study of church history. We must study the great martyrdom and thoughts of our martyrs and constantly suggest ways to revive it today. That is to say, we need to interpret the spirituality of the martyrs in ways that are suitable for children, adults, monks and other religious, and for the clergy, to inspire their own martyrdom at all levels of the Church.

Spirit of Martyrdom in Everyday Life

In the modern day era which is not witnessing the persecution of Christians as in former times, one asks what these martyrs mean for us today. How should we embrace and practice these martyrs' spirituality and spirit of martyrdom today?

Today, although we have no physical persecutions, we must acknowledge a certain internal persecution which has always existed. Persecution by my desires, persecution by my will, and persecution by a certain unrighteousness in society have been constant. God's will and my will, God's good and my desire, and the tendency to sin are constantly causing persecution in our inner worlds. Which do we choose? Do we not run the constant danger of, to a certain extent, apostatizing amidst these difficult challenges to faith?

As we have already seen, the Church has appreciated the bloodless martyrdom of daily life, from the time of early church. In other words, living out the Lord's commandments and evangelical life was also seen as martyrdom. The center of martyrdom is not the physical life. Even without an act of sacrificing one's life, a life of abandonment for God is the core of martyr spirituality. When we live our faith in such a position, the life that resembles Christ will become a life that enters eternity. Today, in the absence of external persecution, martyrdom is a daily commitment, a renouncing of one's desires and tendencies to sin. In other words, it is a life of martyrdom in one's daily life, a life of faith that thinks of God first in everything, empties much space for God, and gives up much for God.

It is not enough to speak of "sacrifice" solely as something done to one's person, especially if it ignores the person's initiative and agency. After, all, who is the sacrifice for? How is it a gift? Instead of simply speaking of sacrifice, it is more helpful to speak of the "spirit of martyrdom." This expression emphasizes a more

active and purposeful, working definition. In the sense of devoting all our lives to God, day in and day out, not in accordance with our will, but in accordance with God's, there must be a surrender, or a type of "martyr spirit", one in which false desires are gradually let go. When we do this, we can all become martyrs in everyday life, as descendants of these holy and ancient martyrs.

A Timeless Evangelical Witness

The truth of Christianity transcends time and place. Of course, there will be differences in the ways of expression and recognition, according to time and place, but the truth of Christianity, if it is to remain true to its founder, can never be changed if it is to embody gospel values. So what do our martyrs, a hundred years behind us, mean to us today and to what did they testify? Is it true that our martyrs still bear witness to our faith, in the flow of time and in the changes of society as a whole?

In fact, it is difficult to jump over a wall of a hundred years. Clearly, throughout society, things have changed and evolved so far that we cannot even compare them. In this context, martyrs are simply to be vaguely respected, just like mythical figures or other great characters of history. But there is one thing one should not forget – the martyrs are constantly witnessing their faith to us, today and beyond.

Our martyrs, indeed, lived in indescribable affliction. They suffered all kinds of hardships for only one reason, believing in God. But they lived happily in joy, even willing to accept death with joy. In order to give greater glory to God, the martyrs remained firmly loyal to God's goodness and lived to fulfill God's will in his/her own way. They always desired the kingdom that God promised, and practiced their virtues to be worthy of it, and lived transcending time. They were able to live much happier lives than we do today, because they lived in a spirit of martyrdom, trusting God in

everything, even in very painful situations. Thus, we need to feel closer to our martyrs. To do so, it is necessary to look deeply into the reality of modern metaphysical evil posturing. We need to deeply understand what martyrs are witnessing to us, beyond the ages.

As studied above, Korean Catholics must confess that we have inherited a wealth of faith in believing and witnessing God, through the martyr faith movement of our ancestors. Let us look at the current status of these types of holy land pilgrimages found in the Korean Catholic Church today.

Overview and Current Status of Pilgrimage in Korean Catholic Church:

Creation of the Sacred Place of Korean Catholic Church

As was demonstrated earlier, as within the larger Christian tradition, the Korean Catholic Church often built shrines around the places connected with the lives of martyrs. The Korean Catholic Church put the focus of the 200th anniversary commemoration on the martyrs, emphasizing these through "testimony" and "poetry." After the canonizations of 1984, similarly, the Church strengthened the role which these sanctuaries fulfilled in its ritual life.

Honoring the martyrs in Korea meant discovering and preserving the places and stories where these holy men and women gave their lives, particularly as French missionaries entered the country. Bishop Imbert discovered and recorded some martyrs' activities in 1801. In 1846, Bishop Ferreol arranged for the records of more. In 1866, the records of even more martyrs, victims of persecution, were accented by Bishop Blanc, who in the 1880s appointed two priests Mutel and A.P. Robert as judge and narrator respectively, describing the actions of the martyrs, engaging witness and

relatives.⁴³ As a result, in 1885, Bishop Mutel published '*Chimyeong-ilgi*', *A Record of Martyrs' Deaths*, which became more utilized in the practice of martyrdom. This work meant the beginning of the Korean Catholic Church's testimony and protest movement. As a result of this autonomous movement, martyrdom gradually developed into a legitimate movement.⁴⁴

It was only after beatifications on July 5, 1925 that a martyr movement in Korea Catholicism was officially launched. From then on, the martyrdom movement was organized in each parish, and before the centennial anniversary in 1939, all church-level martyr movements met resistance on the part of Japanese authorities. The Korean Catholic martyrs once again came into the limelight on September 16, 1946, the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the martyrdom of Fr. Andrew Dae-gon Kim.

In 1956, a pilgrimage site was created for the Korean Catholic martyrdom. The martyrdom movement committee of Korea purchased the Jeoldusan site in the Seoul Archdiocese and built a memorial hall and a monument for observing the 100th anniversary of the persecution of 1866.⁴⁵

⁴³ 김유신 [Yoo-shin Kim], 남한산성 성지의 성역화 조성 과정과 의의 [The Process and Significance of the Harmonization of the Sacred Place in Namhansanseong, 교회사학 [Church History], 수원교회사연구소 [Suwon Church History Research institute], 1 호, 2004, 300-301.

⁴⁴ Marcus proposes that the modern day Church should look back to the development of 4th century Christian sainthood, one which engaged a strategy of establishing through community consciousness its relation to persecuted people, martyrs, and saints (R. A. Marcus, *How on Earth Could Places Become Holy? Origins of the Christian Idea of Holy Place*, Journal of Early Christian Studies, Vol. 2, no. 3, 1994, 20.) The Korean Catholic martyr movement played a role in the development of Korean Catholic identity. Therefore, the creation of this holy land of Catholicism in Korea can be explained within the framework of Marcus' discussion.

⁴⁵ 최석우 [Seok-woo Choi], 성지 개념 [Concept of Shrine], 신학전망 [Seok Woo Choi], 57 호 1982, 35-36.

Since then, the movement has been promoted actively in each region and in each parish, with rituals, exhibitions, and pilgrimages to holy places.⁴⁶ The movement has also led to the realization of data gathering and research activities, centered around church history research institutes in each diocese, as well as the establishment of memorials and memorial churches.

Thus, the creation of the sacred places of the Korean Catholic Church has grown in line with the tradition of martyrdom. Most of the pilgrimages are concentrated around deaths associated with martyrs. Therefore, the development of this holy land led to efforts to collect relics or artifacts from the martyrs' graves. In particular, the martyr's tomb became an indispensable holy site, as it was impossible to honor the martyr without a piece from the gravesite, no matter how small. For this reason, some parishes even began to actively share remains with neighboring parishes. This led to the creation of new Catholic religious sites.⁴⁷

The remains of the French missionaries Siméon-François Berneux, Simon-Marie-Just Ranfer de Bretenières, Louis Beaulieu, Poulitier, Petit Nicholas, Pierre-Henri Dorie, and Wesemil, were moved to Yongsan Seminary in 1899. The bodies of Imbert, Maubant and Chastan were removed to Myeongdong Cathedral in 1901.⁴⁸ In 1901, Dae-gon Kim's body was reinstated in Yongsan theological school.⁴⁹ Since then,

⁴⁶ 송기인 [Gi-in Song], 한국가톨릭 교회의 순교자 현양운동, 한국가톨릭 문화활동과 교회사 [Martyrs Movement in the Korean Catholic Church, Korean Catholic Cultural Activities and Church History], 한국교회사연구소 [Korean Church History Institute], 1991, 435-439.

⁴⁷ 최석우 [Seok-woo Choi], *op. cit.*, 35-36.

⁴⁸ 샤를르 달레 [Charles Dallet], 한국천주교회사 [Korean Catholic Church History] 2, 426. 각주 103 번.

⁴⁹ 오기선 [Gi-seon O], 김대건 신부 유해 이장록 [Record of the relics of Father Dae-gon Kim], 사목 [Ministry], 49 호, 1977, 84-88.

103 martyrs who died in the three persecutions of 1839, 1846, and 1866 were beatified and their relics were divided and distributed to various parts of Europe. In the case of the relics of the priest Dae-gon Kim, most of his bones were placed in the school instead, and his mandible was placed in Mirinai where the relics of Dae-gon Kim was moved. Other relics were distributed to hundreds of churches and monasteries across the country. Thus, the grave of the saint itself became a pilgrimage place as a sacred place, and the relics from the grave became an opportunity to create other new sacred places through their distribution.⁵⁰

The discovery of the tombs of the martyrs in this way and the construction of churches to venerate them, or the division of their relics and the construction of new churches on the basis of their relics, were important ways in which Catholic holy sites spread throughout Korea.⁵¹ Therefore, the burial of these martyrs was the creation of Catholic sacred places. In conjunction, Catholics have actively promoted sanctification by developing and repairing sacred sites and historical sites in connection with many scholars and officials through the martyrdoms.

Catholic holy sites are often created around a specific subject. As such, the Sacred Place Committee is organized around the priest of the church near a site, and a prayer meeting or pilgrimage is held at the parish level. In addition, events are organized for the veneration of saints and martyrs, including reciting martyr prayers and celebrating saints' feast days. If there is an investigation at the church history research institute or diocese, the Church purchases the land at the parish level and installs relics and monuments to lead the pilgrims. If the diocese approves, a priest

⁵⁰ 김윤성 [Yoon Seong Kim], *조선후기 천주교 성인 공경에 나타난 몸의 영성 [Spirituality of the Body in the Apostolate of Catholicism in the Late Joseon Dynasty]*, 서울대 박사학위논문 [Doctoral Thesis, SNU], 2003, 101.

⁵¹ 최석우 [Seok-woo Choi], *op. cit.*, 33-34.

dedicated to the sacred place will be dispatched, and a rectory or office will be established accordingly. At this stage, the sacred place is can possibly become a parish or simply remain a shrine.

Status of Sacred Places in Korean Catholic Church

The Catholic Pilgrimage Center in Korea is mainly concerned with the history of the Korean Catholic Church, which was most unusually and spontaneously started. In addition to the Stations of the Cross, there are 14 places to pray or meditate on events, as well as places that are given new meanings today.

Form of pilgrimage	number
Secondary station	3 (0.9%)
Cemetery	18 (5.5%)
Parish	13 (4.0%)
Birthplace and hometown of saints	7 (2.1%)
Place of Martyrdom	49 (14.9%)
Faith Community	2 (0.6%)
A house of retreat	167 (50.9%)
A holy place compound	39 (11.9%)
Etc.	30 (9.1%)
Sum	328 (100.0%)

Table 1 Pilgrimage Patterns of Korean Catholic Church

Source: 한국천주교성지순례 [*Pilgrimage in the Catholic Church in Korea*], 한국천주교주교회의, [Catholic Bishops' Conference of Korea], 2013

According to two different sources, the number of pilgrimage sites in Korea is 328, which is divided into: secondary station (community gathering for praying without priest), a saint's grave, parish, birthplace and hometown of a saint, place of martyrdom, faith community, a retreat house, a holy place compound. Among these, there are: 168 places (50.9%) are houses of retreat, 49 places (14.9%) of martyrdom, and 39 sites (11.9%) of holy place compounds. By region, there are: 59 places (18.0%) in Gyeong-gi Province, 41 places in Seoul (12.5%), 34 places in Chung-cheong-nam-do (10.4%) and 30 places in Gyeong-sang-buk-do (9.1%). In this way, we see that the sacred places of martyrdom and the tombs of the martyrs occupy the majority of the sacred places of the Korean Catholic Church.

As a result, Korean Catholic sacred places include places where martyrs and saints were born or were active, as well as places related to their deaths. As such, we can recognize that the concept of the Korean Catholic sacred place is very broad. If so, what are the characteristics of the Korean Catholic holy place?

Characteristics of Sacred Place in Korean Catholic Church

Sacred person and sacred places

The sacred place of Korean Catholicism was formed not in the text center, the Bible center, but in the tradition of the veneration of saints.⁵² Thus, sacred places are formed in close relationship with saints, especially saints' remains and relics. The

⁵² 이진구 [Jin-gu Lee], 기독교의 이상 인간형, 육체적 순교와 순교 개념을 중심으로 [Christian ideal humanoid, focusing on the concept of physical martyrdom and martyrdom], 종교와 문화 [Religion and Culture], 7 호, 2001, 318.

history of Korean Catholicism consists of persecution, and the martyrs' remains and tombs were especially important and were recognized as places of religious power. Thus, parts of the body of a saint or martyr were considered to be valuable as the central holders of the Church and were signs of the continuity of the faith with martyrs who had devoted their lives to their beliefs. These remains were often believed to possess special powers to heal people.⁵³

In Europe in the 20th Century, relics played an important role in popular and religious life. Many important churches had a list of the relics they possessed and acquired them as gifts or exchanges with other churches. The relics contained not only parts of the bodies of the martyrs but were also various objects including shoes, clothes, blood, and so on. This tradition was especially important in the Roman Catholic Church, where the placing of the martyr's relics within the altar was the custom of forming a new altar.⁵⁴

The special treatment and care of the relics of saints is an extension of the admiration of saints and an axis of the veneration of saints. Throughout martyrdom or extraordinary virtue, the saint's relics remain in the memory of the believer's community, even after death. The Latin '*reliquae*,' translated as "that left behind" is derived from the Latin '*reliquere*' meaning "to be left behind" and refers to things left behind after the death of a saint, such as the body, bones, ashes, etc.⁵⁵ Through these remnants associated with death, saints become alive, mentally as well as materially and physically, in the memories of believers. In other words, by seeing and touching the relics of the saint, many Catholics see the sanctity by directly seeing and touching

⁵³ Douglas Davies, *Christianity*, in Jean Holm eds., *Sacred Place* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1994), 41.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁵⁵ John S. Strong, "Relics," *ER* 12, (1987): 275-282.

the reality of the divinity, and communicate with the saint through concrete and direct physical senses.

Thus, the veneration of Catholic saint relics is more developed than in any other religion. This veneration traces its roots back to the middle of the 2nd Century, times when Christians kept alive the memory of such holy people as Polycarp who was killed at the height of persecution in Rome, his body later being venerated. The practice spread throughout the Middle Ages and began to dominate the religious minds of westerners throughout the medieval era. In this situation, as Catholic entered the Joseon Dynasty in Korea, beliefs and practices related to the relics of saints were also introduced. Moreover, the French missionaries, who directly influenced the Catholicism of the Joseon Dynasty, were from the countryside where there was a strong tradition of venerating saints. Also, the Chinese writings and the Hangul writings that the believers encountered were full of stories about martyrs, and the relics of the saints were dealt with and the relics of their miracles.⁵⁶ In addition, the relics of saints functioned as the central symbols of the sacred buildings, in the interior of the church building and the mediator of the holiness experienced in Catholic sacred places. Pierre Maraval categorizes the process of establishing a sacred Christian place: first, a drawing from the tradition; second, a dependence on empirical facts; third, a reliving of the initial inspiration; fourth, the collection and arrangement of relics; and fifth, the bringing together of several saints into one shrine.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ 김윤성 [Yoon Seong Kim], *op. cit.*, 101.

⁵⁷ As cited 최화선 [Hwa-seon Choi], *고대 후기 그리스도교 순례에 관한 연구 4-6 세기를 중심으로* [An Anthology of Post-Christian Pilgrimage, Focusing on the 4th and 6th Centuries], 서울대학교 박사학위논문 [Ph.D. Thesis, Seoul National University], 2005, 29.

In summary, the sacred places of Korean Catholicism are centered around martyrdom, based on the tradition of martyrs and saints, that is, the tradition of the veneration of saints, and relics that the majority of new sacred places have encountered through discovery. Let us now look at the activities of the Diocese of Suwon in Korea to promote pilgrimage to this geographical center of Korea.

Current Status of the Sacred Places in Suwon Diocese and Ministries for Promoting Pilgrimage

Status of Sacred Places in Suwon Diocese

There is a total of 14 such sacred places (Euni, Gusan, The Shrine of Our Lady of the Rosary of Namyang, Namhansanseong, Danna, Mirinai, Songol, Surisan, Suwon, Yanggeun, Onong, Yodang, Juksan, and Chonjinam) in the Diocese of Suwon.⁵⁸ The Euni shrine is the childhood home of the priest Andrew Dae-gon Kim, the first priest in Korea. Dae-gon Kim was born in Solmoe in Chung-cheong province in 1821, moved with his family to Yong-in to escape persecution. This was the place where he learned his faith and cultivated his dream of a vocation to priesthood. In addition, Euni shrine is the place where Dae-gon Kim was baptized and made his first communion, and from where was sent to Macau as a seminarian at the age of 15.⁵⁹

Gusan shrine, in which the hill surrounding the village resembles a tortoise, is a historic site where many martyrs were born in the era of persecution, including Sung-woo Kim, Anthony. Around 1830, Sung-woo Kim entered the faith. In 1836, when the priest Pachipico (baptismal name) arrived in Korea, Sung-woo Kim taught

⁵⁸ 수원교구 내 성지 [Sacred Places in Diocese of Suwon], http://www.casuwon.or.kr/bbs/?pid=intro&sid=1_3. Accessed February 13, 2018.

⁵⁹ The Sacred Place of St. Andrew Dae-gon Kim, <http://www.euni.or.kr/>. Accessed February 13, 2018.

him the customs of Korea. In 1849, Sung-woo Kim had been arrested at the time of persecution in 1839 and was finally released, was held back with his family and was tortured and martyred at the age of 47 in the following year.

Relics of Sung-woo Kim were brought by his descendants to the Gusan Shrine, where they lived for generations and established a mausoleum, which is one of the places where the traces of persecution remain the clearest in our country. It is also a precious place for a Church whose history of martyrdom and traditional beliefs have been preserved by the community for over 200 years.⁶⁰

The Shrine of Our Lady of the Rosary of Namyang was a site of martyrdom during the persecution of 1866. On October 7, 1991, the shrine was dedicated to the Virgin Mary on the Feast day of the Virgin Mary and was declared the first sanctuary in the Korean Catholic Church. It is also a place where believers who have inherited the faith of the martyrs, who endured the violent persecution with the rosary in their hands until the last moment of death, can come and pray at any time. In the shrine, there are 20 stages of rosary beads scattered throughout. The rosary is made of stone, each bead with a diameter of 0.7m and is placed at a distance of 4.5m, so the pilgrims can touch the rosary with their hands and walk the rosary. Afterwards, the Namyang Virgin Mary statue welcomes the pilgrims with a beautiful and compassionate appearance of a Korean mother. This statue is a unique design in which the young Jesus is holding onto his mother, as all who are entrusted to Our Lady. Additionally, the Shrine of Our Lady of the Rosary of Namyang, one of the eight most beautiful places in Hwa-seong, boasts striking scenery.⁶¹

⁶⁰ 구산 성지 [Gusan Shrine], <http://www.gusansungji.or.kr/>. Accessed February 13, 2018.

⁶¹ The Shrine of Our Lady of the Rosary of Namyang, http://www.namyangmaria.org/index_en.htm. Accessed February 13, 2018.

Dannae shrine is home to Eun Jung Paul (1804-1866) who was martyred in Namhansanseong during the persecution of 1866, and to his relics. Dan-cheon-ri is a historic faith community that has been associated with Catholicism since 1784, when the church was established in Korea. Dannae Village (Dan-cheon-ri) and Dong-san Village (Dong-san-ri), two of the oldest faith communities in Korea, mark the places where Dae-gon Kim did his pastoral work. They are also sacred places to venerate five martyrs including Moon-woo Lee who was arrested and martyred at I-cheon. Most of the martyrs venerated here are family martyrs, and so Dannae the shrine is managed as a sacred place for pilgrimage for the sanctification of the family.⁶²

In the persecution of 1801 and 1839, the believers, many of whom had had to flee, lived on making pottery and/or working in remote farms. At night, the light seemed like the Milky Way and so it was called *Mirinai* (Korean for the 'Milky Way'). In 1846, the relics of Fr. Andrew Dae-gon Kim, the first priest in Korea who was martyred at the time of persecution, were buried in Mirinai and became important in the church. In that place are the tombs of Dae-gon Kim, his mother Ursula Go, the third Bishop of the Joseon Dynasty, and Bishop *Ferreol*. In 1976, the relics of 17 unnamed martyrs scattered in the Yong-in area of Suwon province were transferred to the prestart cemetery of Diocese of Suwon in the prefecture. One of these bodies was found to be Saint Yoon-II Lee, who was martyred during the 1866 persecution. In the Mirinai, there is the Korean Martyrs 103th Memorial Church, the Korean Blessed 79th Memorial Hall, and the sacred bones of Fr. Andrew Dae-gon Kim.⁶³

⁶² 단내 성지 [Dannae Shrine], <http://dannae.or.kr/xe/Martyr>. Accessed February 13, 2018.

⁶³ 미리내 성지 [Mirinai Shrine], <http://www.mirinai.or.kr/>. Accessed February 13, 2018.

Songol shrine is the faith community in Gwang-gyo Mountain. The village seems to have formed in 1839, when the believers who lived their faith in the persecution era moved to Seoul, near the persecution. It was the place where French missionaries first entered the country, learned the Korean language and customs, prepared for missions, and also retreated and rested. Songol is not a martyrdom place, but there are many martyrs among the believers who lived in Songol. Especially in Songol, there is a veneration of the priest Pierre-Henri Dorie and the priest Pierre Aumaitre. Fr. Dorie spent most of his time in Korea and was arrested and punished. Fr. Pierre Aumaitre was arrested and martyred entire area of Suwon Diocese, including Songol.

In 1966, in veneration of the 100th anniversary of the martyrdom of Fr. Dorie, two stone crosses were made with the millstone used by his parents. Based on the cross, a monument venerating the martyrdom of Fr. Dorie was established. In Songol, there is one memorial house for Fr. Dorie and one for Fr. Aumaitre.⁶⁴

The Suwon shrines were listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1997. It was proclaimed a Catholic sacred place and sanctuary in 2000. With the Suwon Hwa-seong Fortress, including the Suwon castle ruins, the entire compound is a cultural heritage and sacred place. The shrine venerates the spirit of martyrdom of the seventy-eight martyrs who were killed in Suwon Hwa-seong during the persecution era, as well as the numerous unnamed martyrs.

During the Korean War, Fr. Eung-young Shim venerated the holy martyrdom of Suwon and built the Suwon church, the first Gothic church, which was destroyed in the war and is currently being restored. The first private elementary school in Suwon,

⁶⁴ 한국천주교성지순례 [*Pilgrimage to the Catholic Church in Korea*], 한국천주교주교회의, [Catholic Bishops' Conference of Korea] 2013. 98.

which was built by Fr. Shim, is currently used as a culture and art space called the Polly Gallery. A giant stone rosary, which was designed by Jung Yak-Yong and is shaped like a willow, has been laid out to form a beautiful path planted with wild flowers.⁶⁵

Yanggeun is where Seung-hoon Lee Peter practiced the Catholic faith after baptizing Yi-Byok and Cheol-Sin Kwon, the founding ancestors of Korean Catholicism, in Seoul, after being baptized himself in Beijing in 1784. In addition, the Catholic faith was spread from Chungcheong-do to Jeolla-do, and the main actors of the Catholic foundation were engaged in the massacre for two years while serving as priests. Therefore, Yanggeun is called the cradle of the Korean Catholic Church.⁶⁶

Onong shrine was blessed on September 15, 1987 by Bishop Angelo Nam-Soo Kim and was proclaimed as a memorial sanctuary to venerate and mourn the ancestors who were martyred during the persecution of 1795 and 1801. In that place, there were seventeen martyrs in particular, including Fr. James, who was killed in the persecution of 1801, and Wan-sook Gang Columba, a female lay leader. These seventeen martyrs were beatified by Pope Francis on August 16, 2014. Onong Shrine was declared a youth sanctuary in 2007, after the 20th anniversary of the establishment of the sacred place and actively operates retreat programs for youth and young adults.⁶⁷

Yodang Shrine is known as a faith community built by believers evacuating from Seoul and Chungcheong provinces during the persecution of 1801. It was connected with Gabae-ri and Eun-ji, two small towns. In addition, the geographical

⁶⁵ Ibid., 102.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 104.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 106.

characteristic of the place where the waterway is open is due to the inflow of seawater, and seemingly served as a bridgehead of the mission route linking Chungcheong province with the Gyeonggi-do inland and Seoul. In addition, it is thought that many believers from there were martyred in the persecution of 1839 and 1866. Among those who were born or martyred in the sacred place of Yodang are St. Joseph Ju-gi Jang, St. Stephen Kuk-ka Min, responsible for the church's finances, and St. Andrew Haw-gyong Chong. The shrine is also associated with St. Andrea, who escaped persecution and later helped Bishop Laurent-Marie-Joseph Imbert flee for his life.

Juksan Shrine is a place dedicated to the life and martyrdom of one of the four persecutions of Catholics in 1866. Juksan, which is on a major road separating Chungcheong, Jeolla and Gyeongsang provinces, also serves as a junction point, and was equipped with its own Dohobu (one of the local administrative agencies of the Koryô period) early on in the Joseon Dynasty. There were 25 martyrs whose names were revealed in the diary and testimonies of the dead. In addition, many without names were dragged to their place of death, now called Juksan. This sacred place, which had previously had borne the name of Ijinteo, because it was where the Chinese barbarians had camped, now also became known as the "Forgotten Town," after the persecutions of 1866.⁶⁸

Finally, Chonjinam Shrine was the home of the founding fathers of the Korean Catholic Church, including Seung-hoon Lee, Il-shin Kwon, Ha-Sang Chong, and Chul-shin Kwon. From 1779 to 1784, it was the birthplace of Korean Catholicism. In addition, the tombs of some founders, such as Yi-Byok, Cheol-shin Kwon, Il Shin Kwon, Seung-hun Lee, and Yak-jong Chong, are enshrined in Chonjinam. In the

⁶⁸ 죽산 순교 성지 [Juksan Martyrs Shrine], <http://org.catholic.or.kr/juksan/>. Accessed February 13, 2018.

cemetery of the founder of the Joseon Dynasty are the tombs of the ancestors such as Yak-jeon Chong, Lee Seok, and the immediate family of their founding ancestors.⁶⁹

So far, I have briefly described these sacred places found in the Suwon Diocese. Now I shift my focus to give a brief account of some of the pastoral activities that Suwon Diocese pursues to promote pilgrimages.

Ministries to Promote Pilgrimage to Suwon Diocese

Didimgil

In 2013, as part of the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the Suwon Diocese, the *Didimgil*, a guide to the "Walking Pilgrimage of Suwon Diocese", which includes all these sacred places, was established. It outlines 75 paths which connect the sites, each being set up in such a way that pilgrims can walk up to 30km per day. It provides information about the specific sites and that necessary for walking, such as length, time required, difficulty level, departure and arrival place, and rest places. "I would like to encourage young people struggling with physical or mental ailments to go on these pilgrimages," said Father Gun-bok Lee, the priest who works in the pilgrimage ministry.⁷⁰

Bishop Yong-hoon Lee of Suwon Diocese explains, "The Suwon diocese's sacred places were developed for promoting age appropriate spiritualities around the martyrs. For example, at the historical place of the first Korean Catholic community, Chonjinam, one can find a shrine to the Blessed Mother and a separate shrine for youth . . . It is expected that by publishing the *Didimgil*, the number of pilgrims will

⁶⁹ 천진암 성지 [Chonjinam shrine], Chonjinam.org/#. Accessed February 13, 2018.

⁷⁰ 가톨릭 평화신문 [Newspaper of Catholic Peace Broadcasting Corporation], No. 1120, June 5, 2011.

increase." He adds, "I hope that people visiting either in families or in groups will be moved to find out more about Catholicism and come to further love themselves and their neighbor by coming here walking on foot."⁷¹

In order to encourage pilgrimages, found in the *Didimgil* guide, the Suwon Diocese bestows on the pilgrims a special blessing documented with a certificate and gift. In order to celebrate the publication of the guide, the Suwon Diocese's Youth Bureau held an opening ceremony in March 2010 which featured the research team who had collected and documented the necessary information. In the future, the diocese will continue to develop the pilgrimage route and publish revised supplementary editions.⁷²

Movement for the Veneration of Martyrs

In 1982, the commemorative committee preparing for the 200th anniversary of the Korean Catholic Church in 1984 underwent ongoing discussions and preparations, raising the need for the study of the martyrs of the early persecutions. In addition to the study of the early martyrs at Chonjinam, and the veneration for the 5 people of the early lay leaders of the Korean church, including Augustine Yak-jong Chung, in December 1995, Fr. Byeong-Yeol Kim (now retired priest of Suwon), along with Fr. Min-gu Yoon, proposed to push for a full-scale beatification/canonization movement of parish-related martyrs. In December 1995, Yoon and Kim received an official letter of approval from Bishop Nam-su Kim and began their research work regarding eight martyrs, including Fr. James Mun-mo Ju, Paul Yoo-il Yun, James Yu-ho Yun, Agatha Jeom-hye Yun, Lucia Un-hye Yun, Barnabas Kwang-su Jeong, Sabah Ji Hwang,

⁷¹ 수원교구 인터넷 신문 [Diocese of Suwon, Internet Newspaper] 2011-04-22, <https://m.blog.naver.com/PostView.nhn?blogId=icasuwon&logNo=40127805721&referrerCode=0&searchKeyword=%EB%94%94%EB%94%A4%EA%B8%B8>. Accessed February 14, 2018.

⁷² Ibid.

Mattias In-gil Choi. Since then, the campaign for the promotion of beatification has been conducted mainly by the Committee for the Promotion of Beatification and Canonization and has been researched and studied for each sacred place.

From 1997, the Korean Church began work on the God's servant of 124 people, including parish-related martyrs. As a result of the decision to unify the work of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of Korea, all of the procedure for beatification and canonization approved in 2000 by the Holy See, by a special committee for the bishopric, actively promoting the veneration of Martyrs. The Committee of Beatification and Canonization of Suwon Diocese also continues research and data collection, and held a symposium on its role as a founding member of the Korean Church. In addition, the committee has been publishing books on the beliefs and lives of martyrs, and will publish educational comic books aimed at young people in the future.

Record Related to the 31st God's Servant in the Diocese of Suwon

In the place where the Catholic faith through the study of the science of Heaven became the background and the origin of the Korean church, Chonjinam Shrine has venerated the relics of Yak-jong Chung, whose remains were moved from Banwol-myeon, Hwa-seong on October 31, 1981. Along with this, various research data related to Yak-jong Chung and the Korean Catechism, '*Jugyoyoji*' written by Yak-jong Chung, are distributed through a website, which is available in 8 languages so that the world learn about its history.⁷³

Surisan Shrine venerates St. Francis Kyung-hwan Choi, his wife, and the mother of Maria Seong-rye Lee, the mother of Fr. Thomas Yang-eop Choi. In

⁷³ 천진암 성지 [Chonjinam shrine], <http://www.chonjinam.org/eng/>. Accessed February 13, 2018.

addition, the historical significance, such as the renewal of their roots in the sacred place, is highlighted at the site, the birthplace of the faith of Joseph, the servant of God, Jang Thomas. Along with this, Yanggeun Shrine built a monument to Peter Cho Suk, Teresa Kwon and Agatha Jeom-hye Yun, and erected a sculpture entitled "Eternal Ladders" on the nearby Yanggeun Island. Additionally, the shrine holds a martial arts convention every year, and has developed courses for a walking pilgrimage, so that pilgrims can learn the spirituality of martyrs.⁷⁴

Walking Pilgrimage

The Sacred Pilgrimage Route of the Archdiocese of Seoul, which was declared an official pilgrimage course on September 2, 2013, hosts holy and historic sites in Seoul, on two courses and according to the themes: 1) The Way of the Word (The Catholic University of Korea); 2) The Way of Life (Ga-hoei Dong Catholic Church - This site can be found on the web page holyplace.catholic.kr).

The 13-year-old pilgrimage route to the sacred places of the Suwon Diocese, which has been the pilgrimage of mostly young people, is especially designed to revitalize the spiritual life of youth. The *Didimgil*, which was first compiled in 2011, consists of 75 sections connecting 14 sanctuaries in the Suwon Diocese, so that believers can freely perform pilgrimage to the sacred places. It is possible to make a pilgrimage by utilizing this booklet published by Suwon Diocese Youth Bureau. The Jeju Diocese is in the process of establishing its own pilgrimage route in cooperation with the local community.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ 한국천주교주교회의 시복시성주교특별위원회 [Special Episcopal Commission to Promote Beatification and Canonization]. http://www.koreanmartyrs.or.kr/bbs/board_view.php?bbs_code=bbsIdx8&sub_code=&bbs_number=794&page=31&keycode=&keyword=&c1=&c2=. Accessed February 13, 2018.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

Pilgrimage with Leaders

Jeonju Diocese, in cooperation with local governments, has established a qualification process for religious cultural heritage commentaries, and has provided 151 guides to provide pilgrimage guidance services to pilgrims. The commentators stay in the holy places and can guide or accompany the pilgrims in various ways. Those who want information can apply at Jeonju Diocesan Commentary Social Cafe⁷⁶ or contact the Jeonju Diocese. The Daegu Archdiocese certifies the "Sacred Sites Guidance Volunteer Association" and cultivates volunteers. Also, martyrdom is the central theme of the Hanti shrine of that archdiocese, which is an active pilgrimage site. In all the sites, there are professional guides for the pilgrims and, as there are many foreign pilgrims, they have volunteers who can speak English and Japanese, as well as Korean.

Self-Development Program of Sacred Places

There are many programs in the sacred places, such as retreats, tours of the sacred site itself, or programs that focus on the "pilgrimage." The Suwon Shrine offers a 'moonlight pilgrimage' on the first Friday of every month at 7:30 pm. This program, which is held at Suwon Hwa-seong, not only memorializes the story of a martyr in a beautiful night setting, but also allows those who cannot come during the day to pilgrimage to the sacred place.

The Sunggasan Shrine, which is located in a mountainous area, offers a "pilgrimage to the hill," so that pilgrims can meditate on the lives of their faithful ancestors, while climbing the sacred mountain sanctuary, which had seven faith communities. Pilgrimages to sacred places using vehicles also attract attention.

⁷⁶ Please see cafe.daum.net/jeonjudioc.guide.

Yanggeun Shrine runs the 'pilgrimage on the river,' which allows the pilgrim to experience the life of the ancestors who went to the Namhan River by boat while enjoying the unique atmosphere. Located near a railway station, Baeron Shrine contracted with the National Railroad and are currently looking for a sacred place to use the rented trains to make 'train pilgrimages.' There is also a program of Gongseori Church which allows pilgrims to ride bicycles to the holy place.⁷⁷

Some Final Suggestions for Pilgrimage

This journey to God, these pilgrimages to these holy places, is a process, one which physically involves the body. In Korea, this practice provides a valuable opportunity to grow in what has been described as the spirituality of martyrdom. What are some ways of promoting the true meaning of this pilgrimage? Of course, there are many, but we must not forget that the most important is an inner preparation or disposition. It is necessary to meditate on the life of our spiritual ancestors, to look back on their lives, to walk with this heritage of faith, and to examine ourselves as believers, and therefore be open to where God is inviting us.

'Walking' is a great way to help with this inner preparation process. In modern society, where transportation has been heavily developed, the value of walking has often been lost. Recently, however, walking has once again become popular, partly because of the concern for one's well-being and healing. It is a biblically rooted, traditional, effective way, one which actively engages one's feet, to mediate and experience a special connection to God and God's martyrs, our ancestors in the faith. In addition, as the pilgrimage programs is demonstrating, youth are also being invited to actively partake of its riches.

⁷⁷ 가톨릭신문 [Catholic Newspaper], 제 2862 호, September 15, 2013.

If one is accompanied on the pilgrimage by a leader who can explain the meaning of these sacred places, one can deepen one's understanding of spirituality. A pilgrimage to a sacred place with guides who have received specialized training not only provides a concrete and vivid story about the place, but also aids in the journey's reflection and prayer life. The programs prepared by these facilitators are designed to help the pilgrim feel and experience the meaning of each sacred site in a more systematic way. As Father Byung-Jo Choi, secretary of the Korean Subcommittee on Pilgrimage Pastoral Affairs comments, "Pilgrimages to these holy sites connect and lead me closer to God."⁷⁸

⁷⁸ 가톨릭신문 [Catholic Newspaper], 제 2862 호, September 15, 2013.

Conclusion

In the mission aspect of the Catholic Church, pilgrimage is loved by many pilgrims and tourists to visit 'sacred places,' not only in Korea, but also around the world. In order to examine the implications of these pilgrimages on the church and the world today, I have studied pilgrimage through all three Chapters.

In Chapter One, I reviewed the definition of the pilgrimage site and the significance of the place where the pilgrimage takes place, and approached historical, biblical, and ecclesial pilgrimages through Scripture. The pilgrimage site of the Catholic Church means a 'sacred place' in the universal sense. In the history of the Bible and in the history of pilgrimage, the site refers to a sacred place where the Hebrews came to the grace of God, called God, or discussed problems with God.¹ More specifically, the pilgrimage site: 1) is not a place to be chosen by humans but a place where God reveals Godself; 2) is a place of everyday life, but also a special space created by ritual; and above all 3) it has relevance to a specific area, but it has a universal characteristic that is acceptable to everyone.² From ancient times, humans have sought worship and gratitude in the place where the special power of the gods is found, and the related ritual continues to this day. In this sense, the concept of the pilgrimage of the Catholic Church is also the same as other religions. But the only distinction is that for the Hebrews, the history of the pilgrimage is stronger because

¹ 이기락 [Gi-rak Lee], 신앙생활과 성지순례- 순례 사목을 중심으로 [Religious Life, and Pilgrimage - Focusing on Ministry for pilgrimage], 가톨릭신학과사상 [Catholic Theology and Thought], 57 호, 2006, 130.

² 허남진 [Nam-jin Heo], 한국천주교 성지의 창출과 특성 [Creation and Characteristic of Korean Pilgrimage sites], 종교 연구 [Religious Studies], 49 호, 2006, 57.

the believer believed that the presence of God was monotheistic and always present with the always-chosen people.³

From a historical and biblical point of view, the pilgrimage is the result of a historical act following Christ overcoming and transcending time and space, through unity with God by pilgrimaged in a given time. That is because Jesus Christ is a model and a prototype of a faithful pilgrim who sought to practice God's will throughout his entire life. The church traditionally reveals that the pilgrimage is a journey of repentance. In the history of the church pilgrimage, there are the three key elements of biblical and spiritual pilgrimage: 1) a memorial of the events underlying Christianity; 2) a repentance for the unfaithfulness that forsakes the memory of faith in the experience of God; and 3) the participation in sacramental and devotional ceremonies, which are pre-ordained to internalize and reinforce the last remaining faith.

The relationship between pilgrimage and mission can be interpreted as being closely related to the human journey toward ultimate salvation. In other words, pilgrimage is not simply something magical and automatic, but rather, at its best, it engages the deeper faith life, feelings, and call to conversion in our relationships with God, community, and self. While naturally pilgrimage includes a desire for comfort, having ones basic needs met, and furthermore, on occasion, a deep desire for a miracle, it also provides and an escape from daily life to find something deeper, something more gracious. Pilgrimage is ultimately an opportunity to further strengthen the practical values of true faith, such as creativity, solidarity, and participation. Furthermore, the experience of pilgrimage through faith is not a

³ 구본식 [Bon-sik Gu], 가톨릭교회의 성지순례: 기원과 중세기의 순례를 중심으로 [Pilgrimage to the Holy Land of the Catholic Church: Focusing on the Pilgrimage of the Origin and the Middle Ages], 가톨릭 사상 [Catholicism], 27 호, 2002, 38.

temporal phenomenon, but rather the result of a desire to create a more original and grace-filled essential life of faith.

In Chapter Two, I explored the history of pilgrimage as a confession of faith, following the journey of seeking God unfolding in the flow of humankind as history. In addition to the definition of the pilgrimage of the early church, the Middle Ages, the Second Vatican Council, specifically, it was discussed that today's pilgrimage is not only a journey in the religious sense, but something in which the tourism factor is increasingly emphasized.

The origins of sacred pilgrimage are not clear, but there are many instances of them in the Hebrew scriptures such as those around *Pesah*, *Shavout*, and *Sukkot*, ones which could take places several times a year, or at times to Jerusalem, which functioned as a place of sacrifice, one's crops and livestock sometimes being offered. Since then, pilgrimages have come into the Christian arena, not only in the sense of adoring God, but also in acts of repentance, in acts of respect for saints, in acts of spiritual grace, or in gratitude for grace, and pilgrimage has been transformed into acts of perseverance and prayer. The early church pilgrimed mainly to Palestine, where Jesus Christ had lived. After that, the pilgrimage to Rome was painted with the blood of many martyrs. From the 8th Century onwards, the custom of pilgrimage belonging to believers came into being, and pilgrimage parties were organized. In the Middle Ages, major pilgrimage sites, such as Jerusalem, Rome, and Compostela, began to emerge. Through the documents of the Second Vatican Council, the church is defined as the people of God and one of its attributes is the 'Pilgrimage Church' (*Ecclesia viatorum*). The pilgrimage has a variety of purposes, but the most important is that we are walking the Way to Jesus Christ, and it does not stop until the end of our journey to God.

In today's diverse society, Robert Wuthnow claims a "spirituality of pursuit" is needed to meet and reconcile divine beings that transcend human limitations. This means that the pilgrimage has not only a religious meaning but it has also increased secularized tourism. In this regard, I pointed out the ambiguity of pilgrimage and tourism through the claims of Turner and Cohen on pilgrimage and tourism. In other words, if the pilgrim is a half-traveler, then the traveler is a half-pilgrim on a trip to the sacred center, and a trip to exotic surroundings. According to Turner's argument, pilgrimage has a great impact on meeting and experiencing divine beings. It allows us to see only the relationship between myself and the divine other, in a heterogeneous space that maintains distance from the present system, away from the boundaries of real life.

On the other hand, the impact of tourism on pilgrimages is also related to the increase in travel and religious tourism that cannot be denied. The communication scholar Pad La Perle encourages us to focus our attention when it is desirable. A desirable case is a case of participation in tourism with more good motivation such as fun, mutual bargaining, difference, public spirit, social and environmental change, education and so on. Traveling means meeting other people, not being static, but a phenomenon that is impossible without continuous movement towards others and other places. This is a theological restructuring act that allows tourism to be an act of theological resistance and an illumination of the Christian testimony and life.

In Chapter Three, I rediscovered the fact that many ancestors who had believed and witnessed God through the inherent martyrdom movement of the Korean Catholic Church had withdrawn their heritage of faith, and discussed that the martyr faith is the foundation of the pilgrimage to the Catholic Church in Korea. In other words, many unnamed martyrs, saints, and faith ancestors of Korea lost their noble

lives for loyalty ideology, incarnation, righteousness, and cultural and customary values prevalent in the Joseon Dynasty. Through these values, our ancestors of faith left their hearts, simplicity, and desire for the kingdom of God as a legacy of faith in the Korean Catholic Church. Therefore, I suggested the spiritual proposal of the pilgrimage of the Korean Catholic Church, the continuous study of martyr spirituality, the cultivation of martyrdom in daily life, and emulating the life of those who witnessed faith.

Based on these spiritual aspects, I confirmed that pilgrimage has grown through the pilgrimage sites of the Korean Catholic Church, as well as the veneration of the relics, which are composed of "persecution" and "martyrdom." In addition, I reviewed the activities of the Suwon Diocese in the promotion of the pilgrimage to the sacred places. In particular, *Didimgil*, the brochure for the walk pilgrimage to sacred places in the Diocese, makes the pilgrimage more enriching. The martyrs' movement also examined the fact that the sacred places, some of them in parishes, sponsored prayer and activities to keep alive the memory and continual presence of the martyrs, as manifested by beatifications and canonizations.

Finally, in the proposal for the pilgrimage of the sacred places, I presented various ways of participating in the pilgrimage to the sacred places by dividing it into the walking pilgrimage, the pilgrimage with the leader, and the self-program of the pilgrimage itself, to better prepare and participate in the pilgrimage to God.

All Christians are pilgrims individually, as believers. The pilgrimage's spiritual goal is "to follow Christ" (*Sequela Christi*), which is specifically expressed in repentance. "The pilgrims walking on the ground journey increasingly internalize the Word of Christ, increasingly conforming their lives to the journey of following Christ, and becoming like the pilgrimage Christ, the best model they should

resemble."⁴ The pilgrimage for evangelistic repentance leads the pilgrim to be more like Christ, the Savior of humankind, and to reconcile with all of humanity as a prerequisite for genuine reconciliation with God. Repentance means accepting the Son Jesus Christ, who came to this world for the salvation of humans, and this faith should be expressed in concrete actions such as justice and love practice in life. "The believers who participate in the pilgrimage should know with joy and hope that they will be able to give themselves up to stronger faith and affection. This experience of faith urges them to put themselves out more and more on their journey toward holiness."⁵ Therefore, all those leading the pilgrimage should encourage the pilgrims to be more open to relationships with other believers and to witness the experience of salvation through pilgrimage. "In fact, it is nothing more than a clergy who guides believers through the fellowship of faith and love, and through the intense faith experience of 'pilgrimage,' to spend time together in repentance, reconciliation, and purification."⁶

Finally, I would like to end with the words of St. Alphonsus Ligouri on the type of retreat disposition the pilgrim should embrace: "Enter with all your heart. Stay alone. Come out for others!" (*Intrate toti, manete soli, exite alii*). Hence, life for the Christian is a journey, one traversed from the wilderness of Canaan all the way to Jerusalem, a journey of strangers, yet one made together, all of us as *Viator*, walking the Way.

⁴ 까를로 마짜 [Carlo Mazza], *순례 영성, 순례와 그리스도인의 삶* [[Spirituality of Pilgrimage, Pilgrimage and Christian Life], 가톨릭 출판사 [Catholic Publishing House], 정인숙 역 [ed. In-Sook Chung], 2005, 266.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 268.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 271.

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