

TRANSACTIONS



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Korea Branch

Volume 87 – 2012

COVER: The seal-shaped emblem of the RAS-KB consists of the following Chinese characters: 權 (top right), 域 (bottom right), 菁 (top left), 莪 (bottom left), pronounced Kŭn yŏk Ch'ŏng A in Korean. The first two characters mean “the hibiscus region,” referring to Korea, while the other two (“luxuriant mugwort”) are a metaphor inspired by Confucian commentaries on the Chinese *Book of Odes*, and could be translated as “enjoy encouraging erudition.”

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of the
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
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An Unsung Korean Hero in Central Europe: The Life and Work of the Multi-Talented Scholar Han Hŭng-su (1909-?)¹

Jaroslav Olša, jr. & Andreas Schirmer

In August 2013 Austria's capital city Vienna will almost certainly be visited by thousands of Korean tourists. But 77 years ago Korean arrivals in Vienna were so rare that one is tempted to celebrate the discovery that in August 1936 one rare bird from this "colonized" nation made his way to the former capital of the bygone Habsburg empire as a precious piece of information in its own right. But there is much more about the story that began with this arrival.

The name of the Korean was Han Hŭng-su and he came not as a tourist but as a prospective student. Although he did not intend to stay for so long, this then 27-years old young man had turned 39 when he was welcomed back in his home country by his wife and already grown-up sons. After two years in Vienna and one in Berne, he earned his Ph.D. at Fribourg (Switzerland). He was hired by the Museum of Ethnology in Vienna but soon started to commute between Vienna and Prague. From 1945 onwards his sole place of residence was Prague, where he became a catalyzing force behind the creation of Korean studies in what was then

¹ The main aim of this text is to give an outline of Han Hŭng-su's life and achievements while introducing a part of his, until now, unpublished English-language text on Korean megalithic culture dated ca. 1940. As our article is only a digest, the text knowingly lacks full quotations of the archival sources and literature. The detailed study, including bibliography of published and unpublished works by Han Hŭng-su, is to be found in Schirmer/Lewarh (eds.): *Koreans and Danubians. Informal contacts till 1950*. Wien: Praesens [forthcoming].

Czechoslovakia. While working in Prague, Han succeeded in obtaining the highest academic recognition at the University of Vienna, a “Habilitation” that in his case meant teaching credentials for the subject “cultural history of East Asia.” He authored, in German, a history of Korea and had it published in Czech; he translated and edited hundreds of pages of Korean literature into German and Czech and vice versa; and he wrote numerous articles for the general public in support of Korean independence and the emerging separate North Korean state, as well as academically on Korean and East Asian history and culture.

Han Hŭng-su was one of the numerous Korean intellectuals who supported North Korea, and he used the first really good opportunity to go to Pyongyang. Since it was not about just going there but about an invitation that would guarantee him an adequate living, finding the financial means for the journey and for an orderly dispatch of his materials took three years until this occasion opened up. During the subsequent four years in the newly established DPRK, he managed to become the highest ranking person in charge of all North Korean museums and historical sites. But like many others who opted for the North, his swift rise turned into a sudden fall when he was purged around the end of the Korean War. And despite all his former activities and his considerable bulk of publications, he ended up a “forgotten man”, not only in both Koreas but also in Central Europe.

Until very recently, many of the biographical facts as well as the many achievements of this capable and hard-working Korean scholar, who in different historical circumstances could have become a noted historian and the leading archaeologist of his nation, were veiled in mist. As not much was known about him for sure, there was a regular supply of “legends” and hear-say mixed with accidentally acquired hard facts. Even such basic information as Han Hŭng-su’s date of birth, the dates and places of his stay in Europe etc. were often incorrect.² The same applied to assessments of his work – some knew about Han’s older Korean texts on prehistory but as a rule had no idea whatsoever about the fact that this

² E.g. the North Korean Resource Center of the National Library of Korea stores biographical references of Han Hŭng-su in their database, but not even his date of birth is given correctly. The main mistakes are: “1936: studies abroad in Czech, 1939: as Prague is occupied by Germany, he moves to the East” (retrieved July 2012). Similar mistakes are found in various articles, where one can read that Han Hŭng-su graduated in Vienna or Prague (actually: Fribourg) or that he lived in Czechoslovakia since the 1930s (actually: he went to Prague in 1942) etc.

same man had also authored a book on history of Korea published in Czech, or that he was an early translator of Korean fiction into German. Maybe the full scope of his work is still not fully uncovered.

Three years of occasional studies in archives in Austria, the Czech Republic, Japan and Switzerland and the re-discovery of long-forgotten manuscripts and notes, some hundreds of unorganized pages, were a crucial starting point for thorough research. All in all, there are unpublished texts by Han in the university libraries or archives in Vienna, Leiden, Groningen and Fribourg, and even in such an “improbable” place as the archive of the former East German Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Against the backdrop of this much richer horizon the authors venture to present a new picture of this outstanding Korean personality.

Han Hŭng-su was born on 29 September 1909 into a wealthy family in Songdo (now Kaesŏng). He spent seven semesters at Sophia University³ in Tokyo in 1930-36 and then left for Europe. When he arrived in Austria in 1936, he was, despite his young age, not a novice but already a committed young researcher and the author of articles for the leading academic journal *Chindan hakpo* and of essays and other contributions to the leftist intellectual journal *Pip'an*. His travel from Korea to Vienna was an educational journey, as he stayed in Moscow, Warsaw and Cracow, visiting museums and meeting local scholars. He described this in a travelogue that was published in six installments in the *Chosŏn Ilbo* in March 1937, and also in letters sent to his friend Yi Pyŏng-do (1896-1989), then editor of *Chindan hakpo*, who was so impressed that he decided to publish part of it.

Having spent his first two years at the University of Vienna, Han moved to Switzerland, a move that in some way was related to the “Anschluß”, Hitler’s incorporation of Austria into Germany in March 1938. In Switzerland he attended the University of Bern (1938-39) and a year later he received his Ph.D. at the University of Fribourg. Seemingly very determined, he pursued his dream and became an accomplished scholar whose teachers were leaders in their respective academic fields, a *crème de la crème* of German-speaking archeologists and ethnographers, such as the German Wilhelm Schmidt, Austrians Oswald Menghin and Hugo Obermaier or the Swiss Otto Tschumi.

³ Nothing is known about Han’s stay in Japan. Sophia University was approached by the authors in 2012, but no evidence about his studies was found.

Han Hŭng-su met other Koreans living and working in Europe. His closest contact became another archaeologist: To Yu-ho (1905-82), nowadays often dubbed the “father of North Korean archaeology”, who had arrived in Vienna earlier and whom Han saw as his “older brother”. They shared similar interests and most probably had close relations for many years. Han Hŭng-su might also have met another later-to-be-important Korean archaeologist, the first director of Seoul’s National Museum, Kim Chae-wŏn (1909-1990), who had earned, in 1934, a Ph.D. in Munich and lived in Belgium till the outbreak of World War II.

With World War II in Europe taking over the whole continent, Han Hŭng-su’s situation became complicated. Eager to go back home, he sent “18 boxes of books” to Korea in preparation for an overland journey back to his home country via the Trans-Siberian railway. But two days before he could embark on that trip, that he had already booked, Germany attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941. With no chance of getting to Korea overland anymore, Han traveled from Switzerland to Stettin (now Szczecin, Poland) to recover the boxes with his valuable belongings. Probably on his way back from there, around the turn of 1940/41, Han seems to have stayed for a couple of weeks or months in Berlin. According to a quite reliable source he could no longer stay in Switzerland, being prohibited because of “contacts with the Swiss Communist party”. If this is true, his unwilling departure from Switzerland could be the reason why his excellent dissertation on megalithic culture in Korea, written in German, remained unpublished, although there are hints that it was prepared for printing.

Thus, in August 1941, Han Hŭng-su settled back in Vienna and started his employment at the prestigious *Museum für Völkerkunde* (Museum of Ethnology) two months later. According to contemporary documents, Han was praised for being an “extraordinarily efficient worker, both museum-wise as well as academically” and also “a model in terms of discipline”. In conclusion, he was even labeled as “indispensable” for the Museum since he was the “only expert of the Chinese, Korean and Japanese languages and scripts”. It is thus not surprising that his habilitation thesis was accepted by the University of Vienna in 1946 (formally the whole process was finalized only in 1947), and it was printed in the newly founded, soon to be prestigious, journal *Archiv für Völkerkunde*. By then, Han had already left Vienna for Prague, the capital of the liberated Czechoslovakia.

He came to Prague due to a shortage of experts on the Far East in Central Europe during World War II. From 1942 Han Hŭng-su was

“shared” with the *Orientální ústav* (Oriental Institute) in Prague. Han’s life during the war can be, roughly at least, reconstructed on the basis of documents preserved in archives in Vienna and Prague. At first he was employed in the Museum of Ethnology via a “work-contract”, thus not as a regular employee. A very similar arrangement was made with the Oriental Institute.

Thus, Han Hŭng-su regularly commuted, from 1942 onwards, between Vienna and Prague, and he was even given an extra allowance to do so. He served as scientific adviser for the preparation of a representative exhibition on Japan which finally opened in February 1943 in the *Uměleckoprůmyslové museum* (Museum of Applied Arts) in Prague. By that time he had become an integral part of a group of Orientalists working there. He gained the respect of leading Czech Sinologist Jaroslav Průšek (1906-1980), a driving force behind the Oriental Institute. Průšek saw Han as a great asset to widen the scope of the Oriental Institute’s research on the Far East. In Prague, Han met also other people interested in Korea, its culture and history, and started courses on Korean language. The fact, that he has (along with Průšek) taught Japanese and Chinese is remarkable enough. But that he even taught Korean (in a country then occupied by the ally of Japan) before Korea’s liberation, a period known as the darkest of those “dark” days in Korean history, a time, when in Korea itself next to nothing was allowed to be published in Korean, is really extraordinary.

As a rule, Han Hŭng-su went to Prague once every month for two weeks, as he also started working for the *Náprstkovo museum* (Náprstek Museum) cataloguing there its Asian collections. And there was another reason why he more and more preferred Prague to Vienna, as he there had a colleague with whom he established a very special relationship: Huberta Algermissen (1903-1997). Han lived in her house and she was at least his closest friend if not companion. Algermissen also served as Han’s German-language editor, and thus was instrumental for Han as he pursued his various ambitions.

But it was only after the liberation of both Czechoslovakia and Austria that Han Hŭng-su could start working freely and he published instantly and passionately in favour of the Korean and North Korean cause. While still teaching and working at the Oriental Institute, Han contributed popular articles on Korean culture and history to various Czechoslovak magazines as well as more academic articles to the then established and still existing Oriental Institute’s periodical *Nový Orient*. During a mere three years, Han published (with the significant help of his

Czech and German friends and colleagues) an altogether quite astonishing number of texts, usually short essays, in Czech, all of these based on drafts written in German and edited and sometimes translated into Czech by Huberta Algermissen (aka Kimová⁴).

Maybe the significant Czechoslovak interest in Korea provided Han with the motivation to work on his main achievement of this period, a more than fifty thousand words long, concise history of Korea, written in German and finalized some time around turn of 1947/48. It is not strictly a chronological history, but rather a social and cultural history, as a significant part of every chapter narrates not only historical events, but also offers an introduction to daily life and social structures. Moreover, information on contemporary Korean culture and arts is also given. Alas, Han Hǔng-su did not find a German-language publisher and so his book only appeared in Czech translation under the title *Korea včera a dnes* (Korea Yesterday and Today, 1949, exp. 1952). As this was the very first – and for many years the only – book on the history of Korea, it was widely used in Czechoslovakia well into the 1960s. Han never had the satisfaction of seeing an edition of the original German text, but one typescript served as a welcome reference tool for East German diplomats, the proof of this being the worn copy that was found in the archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic.

In parallel to his other activities, Han Hǔng-su pursued another goal – the promotion of Korean literature abroad. In 1947 he succeeded in publishing a tiny book, *Zwölf Monatsgeschichten und andere Volkserzählungen aus Korea*, with Korean folk tales retold by him in German. Han could even have published much more, since he left a number of unpublished translations, more or less ready for publication. Among the hundreds of pages of manuscripts now available to the authors, there are almost 200 pages of translations from Korean into German. One special bundle of six short stories has even a hand-written cover sheet with a table of contents that is headed by the overall-title “A Small

⁴ After divorce from her German husband, the troubled Huberta Algermissen needed to gain a status that would allow her to stay in post-war Czechoslovakia, and under these circumstance Han arranged, we have reasons to assume, a marriage of convenience with his Korean friend Kim Kyung-han. As she wanted to hide her German connection she adopted her second husband’s name and thus started using the name Huberta Kimová, and simultaneously also various variants, such as Ertie Algermissen, Ertie Kim(ová) and even a pseudo-Korean name (“Kim Yn-ai”).

Selection of the Modern Korean Literature”. The collection would have needed some more editing, but was not far off the mark.⁵

Although German was the medium he used, Han strove for the promotion of Korean literature among the Czechoslovak audience. It may be assumed that he was in some way behind the publication of the Czech collection of Korean tales *Démantové hory* (The Diamond Mountains, 1947). The stories contained here were retold by Vlasta Hilská (1909-1968), a Czech Japanologist and the wife of Průšek, whom Han also briefly taught Korean. But the most important contribution in this field was a joint work with his best disciple, Alois Pultr (1906-1992), a translation of the modern Korean classic novel *Taeha* by Kim Nam-ch’ŏn. It saw two different Czech editions under the title *Proud* (1947, 1950), becoming the first modern Korean novel ever translated into any European language.

All this was possible only due to Han Hŭng-su’s zeal and five years of hard work as the first teacher of Korean language in Prague. For his Czech students, a group that comprised already accomplished linguists as well as novices, Han even prepared a sort of a Korean textbook, which was mimeographed (no surviving copy has been traced as yet), and became a basic source for Pultr’s own Czech-language Korean textbook *Učebnice korejštiny* (1949, exp. 1954), later on translated into German. Without Han Hŭng-su, Korean studies in Prague would never have been established so quickly (Prague’s Charles University is proud of being the second European university to have started a fully-fledged Korean studies program as early as in 1950).

⁵ The selection contains some moderate examples of what became the North Korean style of social realistic didactic literature, but it also contains two veritable gems. One is the masterful short story *Memilggot p’il muryŏp* (When the buckwheat blooms) by Yi Hyo-sŏk [Lee Hyo-seok], written in 1936, which still holds a firm place in Korea’s history of literature as an all-time favourite of critics and readers alike. But even more interesting is Han’s translation of another significant work of Korean literature. It is the short novel *Haebang chŏnhu* (Before and after the liberation) written by one of the most beloved Korean writers at that time, Yi T’ae-jun and published in August 1946. The German translation thus was made very soon after publication and it is fair to say that at that time no one translated a comparably important piece of Korean literature as fast as Han. Also of interest is the fact that during the translation process some very telling “adjustments” were made (e.g.: in the original mention is made of three North Korean generals; in the translation only Kim Il-Sung’s name is left).

While in Europe, Han Hŭng-su remained in contact with his homeland and after the end of World War II, he was in touch with people in South as well as North Korea, and even some individuals in the United States. It seems that no correspondence from that time has survived, but the publication of the Czech translation of *Taeha* was immediately covered in at least two dailies in Seoul, *Maeil sinbo* and *Chayu sinmun*, and Han's own articles clearly show that he was well aware of the developments in both parts of the divided Korea. Thanks to his contacts, he attracted to Prague a few more Koreans. A friend from Vienna, the architect Kim Kyung-han (1912-?), joined him in 1945 but left for the United States in 1946. Two more Korean Americans followed suit. Alice Hyun (1903-1956?) left her job for USAMGIK and travelled via Prague, where she spent a couple of months in 1949 teaching Korean at the Oriental Institute, to Pyongyang, there joining her close friend Pak Hŏn-yŏng and working as his assistant until they were both purged. Han Hŭng-su also arranged a scholarship for Alice Hyun's son Wellington Chung (1927-1963?), who studied medicine and stayed in Czechoslovakia until at least the late 1950s. The last Korean whose stay in Prague was in some way organized by Han was Harold W. Sunoo (b. 1918), who – while teaching– completed his PhD at Charles University in Prague in 1950. On his return to the United States he was questioned by the *Committee on Un-American Activities* disclosing a.o. some details about his cooperation with Han Hŭng-su.

Not much is known about the last stage of Han Hŭng-su's life in North Korea. He travelled via Moscow, but he would not have made it to Pyongyang, had he not been financially supported by noted writer Jarmila Glazarová, who was a cultural attaché at the Czechoslovak embassy in Moscow and published a short article about their meeting. Han Hŭng-su was at first teaching at Kim Il-sung University (probably at the sociology department, in July 1948), but with the support of local friends, he swiftly rose through the ranks. He was helped by To Yu-ho, who was already well established, and assisted presumably by such important dignitaries of the regime as Kim Nam-ch'ŏn, then the influential secretary of the *Korean Federation of Literature and Art*, and Pak Hŏn-yŏng, leader of the Domestic faction, whose close friend Alice Hyun was then in Prague. In November 1948, Han received promotion to the chairmanship of the newly established *Commission for the Preservation of Cultural Property*, which was under the direct supervision of the DPRK's cabinet of ministers. From then on, Han became the crucial personality in the field of archaeology and prehistory in the DPRK. Not only did he publish four

academic articles, but he also tried to establish a North Korean heritage preservation system and was involved in the establishment of new museums and in archaeological research. But all these activities were soon halted by the Korean War.

Immediately after the occupation of Seoul by North Korean forces, Han Hŭng-su seems to have travelled with a few colleagues to visit the local museums. At the end of 1950 he was most probably, like many other important North Korean figures, in the safe harbor of Beijing and he returned to Pyongyang not later than in spring 1951.

As for the few following months, we know of three Europeans who left some information about him. The first meeting took place in May 1951, when Han Hŭng-su sent a letter to his friend Huberta Kimová. Through the good services of Miluše Svatošová (1909-?), the Czechoslovak member of the pro-North *Commission of the Women's International Democratic Federation for the Investigation of Crimes Committed in Korea*, Han also most probably enclosed a 27-page long German-language manuscript covering the recent developments in Korea from 1948 to 1951, which was later translated into Czech and published in the 2nd edition of his book on the history of Korea.

Approximately at the same time, Han met the Hungarian journalist Tibor Méray (b. 1924), author of no less than five books on Korea in Hungarian (all published in 1952), who spent fourteen months on the peninsula as a war correspondent. And the very last time that Han is mentioned in an available contemporary source is in April 1952. Earlier in that year, the Austrian communist, lawyer and university professor Heinrich Brandweiner (1910-1997) visited the DPRK. Han accompanied this Austrian, showing him some recently discovered archaeological sights as well as the destructions caused by American bombings. Both Europeans, Brandweiner as well as Méray, describe Han as an outstanding expert on Korean culture; they mention his great language skills (although both seem to have communicated with him only in German) and also his unique knowledge of Europe and its culture and history.

There is no direct or indirect mention of Han Hŭng-su after that. As intellectuals of geographically Southern origin began to be placed under government scrutiny and as attacks on cosmopolitanism and “old intellectuals” were aiming at people with backgrounds such as his, Han might have come on the radar. According to credible sources he engaged in a divisive academic debate with To Yu-ho that left him with the blame of “representing the bourgeois viewpoints”, a verdict that sealed many a fate. At any rate, there are various indications that Han’s “disappearance”

means that he was one of the many victims of North Korean purges of that time.

Thus ended the career (and probably the life) of this outstanding man. Maybe he was relocated to a school at Kangye, where he died soon afterwards, as is stated in a not very reliable North Korea Research Centre database. Libor Pecl (b. 1934), the very first Korean-speaking Czechoslovak diplomat, who served in Pyongyang in the second half of the 1950s, knew Han's books, but never met him. Pecl only noted that Han and his friends had disappeared and "it was not wise to search for them. Nobody knew them or had ever heard about them."

The authors would like to extend their thanks to Koreanists Miriam Löwensteinová and Zdenka Klöslová, archaeologist Lee Ki-seong, and historians Karel Sieber and Gabriele Anderl for sharing various information and sources.

Selected bibliography of published works by Han Hŭng-su

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His keen interest in Han Hŭng-su was triggered in a seminar by Prof. Chun Kyung-soo at Seoul National University in 2008. Confronted with three addresses where Han lived in Vienna, Schirmer realized that this was the same man as the author of that mysterious collection of Korean folk-tales printed by a Viennese publisher in 1947, spotted from time to time at a flea-market, and also the same man as the author of that puzzling typescript on the Korean Stone Age stored in the small Korean-Studies library that he had been responsible for from 1999 to 2004.

From: The Neolithic Culture of Korea With Special Regard to the Megalithic Culture

Han Hŭng-su

This text is a portion of a rough English translation of the unpublished German-language Ph.D. thesis that Han Hŭng-su submitted to the University of Fribourg (Switzerland) in 1940. The 65 pages long typescript of this translation contains numerous handwritten corrections and is stored in the library of the Department for East Asian Studies of the University of Vienna. Its title page was lost, but somebody has added a handwritten note with the title: “The Neolithic Culture of Corea with special regard to the Megalithic Culture by Hung-Soo-Han.” [sic!] In a different writing style the year “1940” is added.

Next to this typescript another one is stored. It is an evaluation of Han’s findings. James Hoyt, an American pioneer of Korean Studies, published this in 1948 in the respected review, The American Anthropologist Volume 50, Issue 3, pages 573–574, July-September 1948, under the title “Some Points of Interest from Han Hung Su’s ‘Studies on Megalithic Culture of Korea’.” Interestingly, Hoyt claims that he is reviewing the Korean article which was published by Han in Chindan hakpo in 1935. Han’s thesis, that was written in German and submitted to the University of Fribourg in 1940, is not mentioned. In fact, Han’s thesis for Fribourg was probably far less accessible than the Korean article. However it is striking that these two typescripts are stored next to each other. And there are indications that Hoyt used this English text as his starting point.

Chapter II. Megalith-Culture

History of Research

For the very first time Megaliths were referred to in a note of the classical author I Sang-Guk, who reported that, while traveling through the district Gumma-gun in South Korea in the 3rd year of the Sind-schong-era of the Koryŏ-empire (1200 A.D.), he had visited a “Dsisök” (Supported Stone,

i.e. Dolmen). He also mentioned that this stone was built by wise men in primeval times (1). Since then nobody has taken up the Megalith matter until foreign archaeologists came to Korea. While on a journey in 1885 the British consul in Seoul W. R. Carles happened to see such a Dolmen near Potschen in the province Kanguondo and mentioned it in the description of his travels (2). This note was of no archaeological or ethnographical importance whatever, but later on caused the British explorer W. Gowland to travel from Japan to Potschen in order to investigate the Dolmen. His report gives full details regarding them. According to his opinion the Dolmens were built by the aborigines (ancestors?) of the to-days Koreans (3). As a foreigner he was not in a position to get particular ethnographical information, perhaps because of difficulties in understanding the language or other troubles. The British authoress I. L. Bishop was also writing about the Korean Dolmen in her book of travels (4). The American orientalist H. B. Hulbert takes it for granted that the Korean Dolmen are prehistoric graves (5). H. G. Underwood interprets the Korean Dolmen as altars of the primeval gods of nature (6), while C. Clark in his book "Religion of ancient Korea" takes them as religious monuments of the Korean aborigines (7).

This is the first news we got about the Korean Dolmen from European explorers, but they have not been real specialists.

Scientific exploration of Megaliths was only begun by the researches of the Japanese prehistorian R. Torii. In the year of 1909 he made in the zone of Korea and Southern Manchuria numerous prehistoric discoveries, amongst them Menhirs, Dolmen, Stone-cases and other sepulchres. On his successful exploring tour he also could classify the various types of Dolmen, e.g. the South Korean "Goban kata" ("Go" – cardtable-shape) and the North Korean "Hokora kata" (Shrine-shape) (8). He occupied himself mostly with the Dolmen and later on translated his book regarding his Korean findings into French in order to enable European experts to read it (9). He was the first to qualify the Korean Dolmen as a sepulchre of the Stone-age man. The archaeologist T. Sekino, who in the year of 1909 was exploring Naknang and Kuryo-sepulchres in the name of the Korean government, and a year afterwards in the name of the Governor-General of Korea, also directed his attention to the Dolmen and Stone-cases, but could not differentiate distinctly Megalithic sepulchres from historic ones (10).

In the year of 1917 R. Torii had found again Stone-cases in a shell-pile near Kimhäi, and for the first time started the question regarding relations between shell-piles and stone-cases (11).

The German explorer Andreas Eckardt, who was very much interested in Korea, did not neglect the question of Megaliths either. In his work "History of Korean Art" he explicitly determined the Dolmen to be a prehistoric sepulchre (12). In 1933 the Korean ethnologist Son Jin Tai in the ethnographic journal "Minzoku gaku" published a very valuable report about Dolmen, yet without expressing his opinion regarding their relation to Megalithic culture (13). In 1935 the archaeologist R. Fujita reported in detail about Dolmen, Stone-cases and Stone-pile graves (14). I myself had discovered Stone-cases and Menhirs in various districts of Korea in the year of 1935 and published in the same year an essay regarding classification and geographical distribution of Megalithic monuments in Korea. The Viennese ethnologist Alexander Slawik had published in his dissertation "History of Korean Culture" a map giving details regarding distribution of Korean Dolmen, which though not quite precise, is very valuable (16). Detailed reports of other explorers working in the same sphere are not yet available.

It seems peculiar that one group of explorers, dealing with Megalithic monuments, bestowed the fullest attention to Dolmen, while the others hardly took them into their consideration. This might be caused by the fact that, owing to their shape, many Dolmen attract more attention than other Megaliths. Besides this was mentioned mostly by the explorers from abroad for whom the thorough investigations were practically impossible. For this reason Korean Megalithic culture has not yet been made sufficiently explored.

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Monuments of the Megalithic Culture

1. Menhirs

Menhirs usually vary in height between 2 to 4 meters. They occur solitary or in groups, and show neither inscriptions nor engravings on their surface. Their number is not considerable but they are scattered over a large territory.

There may be a relation to other Megalithic monuments because there was found a group of Menhirs near many Dolmen not far from Yenbaikun in the province of Huanghaido.

Therefore, most probably, also in Korea menhirs and dolmen belong to the same period. The Yenbaik group of menhirs is placed on a hill quite near to the hut of a village tutelary deity. Menhirs I and II, each 3.60 meter in height, are standing side by side at a distance of 10 metre. About 50 meters apart is menhir III, 4.60 meter high. The stones are rather decayed. The originally large pieces of rock are rounded and one very often finds the broken off tops lying near them. According to ocular evidence of an old man in the neighbouring village, menhir II is inclined 20 degrees compared with its former position, and menhir I is said to have been twice as high as at present. 50 years ago the stone broke and one can still see the broken pieces on the ground, menhir III is split vertically but has not collapsed.

Among the Korean menhirs there are some quite special specimen. The menhir near Tsanggukmen in the region of Daäiryon (Central Korea) for instance shows a peculiar form which suggests the presumption that there existed a Phallus cult. Moreover near Tungkou (Manchuria) by the side of the river Y a l u, which forms the boundary, there is a so called "monument" of the king Hotaiuang of Kokuryö (Ancient Korea), whereon the memory of a conquest-expedition of the king is perpetuated. It differs in shape from the other Korean monuments

of historical time, and is a rough block of stone, 7 meter in height, with a square base. While the top is unwrought, the sides are flattened down and show an inscription. Some of the explorers have proved that this ancient stone was once used as a monument in honour of the king who went there on a tour of inspection.

2. The Dolmen

The Dolmen is in Korea – as everywhere else – the predominant element of megaliths. According to their structure, but geographically as well, there are two categories of dolmen. In Southern Korea the dolmen is generally smaller than in the North, and also the size and number of supporting stones are not the same as in Northern Korea. As a rule the South Korean dolmen has 5 supporting or carrying stones, which enclose a hollow space below the coverstone. This is always coarse and bulky. But there are varieties of this type in South Korea. The dolmen of Täigu in the province Kyöngsangdo for instance have no real supporting stones, the coverstone only lying on a heap of rubble-stones, so that the dolmen has no closed over ground-chamber at all, while the burial place is underground, below the heap of rubble. As a rule the interior space forms a more or less rectangular chamber or a rectangular stone-case, both bedded in rubble-stones. The latter form is nothing but a combination of dolmen and stone-case grave, or better a transition from a dolmen to a tumulus. Often several stone-cases are placed beneath the South Korean dolmen (1). This type of dolmen exists also in Japan. As to accessory findings in South Korean dolmen, there are among others: Polished stone-daggers, Stone-arrow-heads, axes, Stone-knives, Spear-heads and rests of ceramics.

The South Korean Dolmen are not only found singly but often in rows. In the plain near Täigu many dolmen are placed, in groups of 3-4 each, in a long straight N/S/ line of 4 km in length. A similar row of dolmen can be seen at the coast near Suntschen in the province of Tsenanamdo.

In North Korea only the standard-dolmen occur, i.e. the dolmen consisting of 5 stone plates, called “Kokora kata” (shrine form) by R. Torii. The several dolmen of this zone vary in size and are made of granite or gneiss. Upon two opposite, usually rectangular, plates of stone (supporting stones) is placed a big cover-stone. The space below is closed on both sides rectangularly by two end-stones. These end-stones are usually a bit smaller and thinner than the two supporting stones, and are not meant to close the interior space against the outside but towards the

inside (see table 15 and 17). The end-stones have often been demolished by inquisitive people. So, many dolmen look like open huts or – in case both end-stones are missing – like covered passages. Such dolmen occur very often in North Korea. The area of distribution of this dolmen-type is much greater than that of the first. It covers the whole North-western Korea and the South of Manchuria, above all the dolmen of Chaimu-che'ng in South-Manchuria is identical in shape to the dolmen of Unyul in North Korea.

The dolmen of North Korea – like the ones in South Korea – occur often in groups or in rows. Near Suntsen-men in West Korea for instance more than 40 big and small dolmen are scattered irregularly about the hilly country. Near Kangdong in the province Penan-namdo there can be seen more than 100 bigger and smaller dolmen over an extent of 360 meter. A similar row of dolmen occurs also in the district of Itschengun along a river in the NS-direction. Small groups of dolmen are near Daidonggun, Tsunghua, Mängsan (in the province Pengando), Anak and Bäitschen (in the province Huanghai-do). It's interesting that the rows of dolmen are nearly always placed in the North-South direction.

The dolmen row of Anak is quite remarkable by its length. Situated in a hilly plain in NS-direction, it comprises 6 groups, scattered about a stretch of ca. 1000 meter.

The first group shows a triangle of medium sized dolmen. Dolmen 1, the biggest, is already dilapidated, but the cover-stone and the supporting stones let us suppose that there was a square closed space beneath the cover-stone. 200 meter southwards of dolmen 3 there is another dolmen, and several blocks of stone in the vicinity make it probable that other similar structures existed there in days past. Such blocks of stone and ruins occur also between the various groups. It seems most likely that all the 6 groups were once connected by a small row of dolmen or stones, which later on were demolished or put away by peasants. 150 meter southwards of the second group is the third one, consisting of one big and four smaller dolmen. The dolmen of this group have collapsed and their end-stones are gone already. The fourth group (IV), 100 meter southwards of the third, is composed of 6 main dolmen and 3 rather dilapidated small dolmen in a straight line. Our chain of dolmen then follows the foot of a hill to the Southwest, crossing at the same time the present public highway. Now we reach the fifth group (V) on the Western slope of the hill mentioned. There again are 4 dolmen in a straight line. Behind this hill the row of dolmen turns again NS-wards and ends in the last, the sixth group. It is noteworthy that this last group with

its 3 dolmen forms an equilateral triangle, just in the same way as the first group.

It is not quite certain yet whether in the dolmen the corpses were buried in squatting or stretched out posture, but some of the dolmen are that small that their inner space does not exceed 1:1.5 meter, which leads to the conclusion that these structures were meant for burying squatted or burned corpses. It has been ascertained by me that most of these small dolmen were destroyed and ravaged, so that only a few stone-tools and no relics of men could be found. Therefore no particulars can be given as to the way of burying. On the other hand the big dolmen, especially in North Korea, has room enough for a stretched out man, and even 2 corpses.

The giant dolmen even seems to have been a mass-grave. We have an example for that in Indochina. M. Parmentier reports from Xuanloc of a collective burying dolmen with a handle on the top-stone for the purpose of opening the dolmen when new corpses were put in (2). As to sizes of dolmen we presume that they depended of the dignity and importance of the deceased. The "hole for the soul" or decorations of any kind are unknown with Korean dolmen.

3. Stone-case Sepulchres

The stone-case, like the dolmen, consists of several stone-plates, but they are sunk into the ground in shape of a crate. Both ends are made of one plate each, the long or side-parts are made of 2-3 stone plates each. The cover-stones consist of several plates, while the bottom is paved with pebbles. The size of the stone-case is up to 2 meter in length, 1 meter wide and 1 meter deep. Generally the case is covered by earth only, sometimes by rubble or boulders. It seems that stone-cases were used as single-graves only. They are found in shell-piles in South Korea, but also together with dolmen and pithoi (clay coffins). It seems probable that in Korea the stone-case, as the more recent form, has replaced the typical dolmen. In Yenbäik, in the province of Huanghaido (Middle Korea) I had found, together with big dolmen, several small dolmen, of which some were partially and some completely covered with earth. Likewise J. T. Son reports from West Korea about such stone-case sepulchres found together with dolmen (3). According to reports from K. Kayamoto (4) and R. Fujita (5) there were found near Täigu in South Korea 3 stone-cases side by side beneath a dolmen. This is only a matter of combination or a transitional form from dolmen to stone-case sepulchres. When digging out a shell-pile near Kimhäi in the province of Kyongsangnamdo (South Korea) K.Kayamoto discovered a group of stone-cases. The place of the finding

lies on the Southern slope of a hill and covers an area of 39:46 meters, comprising 5 stone-cases, a stone wall of 24 meter with 4 steps, 3 pithoi, a small place bordered with clay, and one big dolmen. The stone wall lies in EW-direction, crossing the slope of the hill, and shows a step. 30 meters northwards of the wall, on the upper step, is the dolmen and next to it there are 3 pithoi, which are placed more or less along the wall. The question whether these stone-cases were used for burying corpses in squatted or stretched out posture or for burned corpses cannot be solved either, because on account of previous pilfering of the graves contents could not be examined. By all means the smallest stone-case is not big enough for a stretched out corpse, because its internal dimensions are but 60:100 cm. Therefore I take it that they were used – in the same way as the small dolmen – for burying burnt corpses. There are similar examples in Japan. In Hokkaido (Yesso) was found a small stone-case in a shell-pile, whose interior was filled with partly burned fragments of human bones and ashes (6). It's interesting that here the burial ground, a stone-case sepulchre, is distinctly separated by a step in the wall from other burial structures, from the pithoi and dolmen. The reason for this is unknown, but also here a chronological relation between dolmen, pithoi and stone-case sepulchres is possible, because the stone-cases and pithoi are deposited in the same stratum of culture below shell-piles. Their being so close together can hardly be supposed to be accidental.

The accessory findings comprise 2 polished arrow-heads of stone, 2 perforated beads of crystal from a pithoi, 2 copper-swords, 1 copper-plate in shape of a ski and 1 pot.

In a wood near Sorungri, in the province of Kaisông, 2 stone-case sepulchres were discovered. Both seem to be robbed already, as their end-stones have been opened. These stone-cases consist of 5 thick stone-plates, namely of a cover-stone and 4 side stones. In case Nr.1 only one, severely damaged skull was found. It is impossible to date these cases, but in consideration of their exact execution they seem to belong to a more recent period than the stone-cases mentioned above.

Burying in stone-case sepulchres was the common way for burials up to historical time, when the dolmen had disappeared already for a long time (about the end of the stone-metal age).

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Geographical Distribution of Megalithic Monuments

1. The Menhir

There are not many menhirs on Korean soil. They occur in South Korea next to Suntsen, in the province Dschenlanamdo, in Central Korea in the provinces Kangwondo and Kyongido. Mostly they occur single but in West Korea next to Yenbäk, in the province Huanghädo, they are arranged in a group. Localities are named after them, and all over the country names of places referring to them are still in use, e.g. Sun-dol (Ibamri), Sünban (Ibsükri), all meaning "standing stones". In the official Korean register of places there are more than seventy such names. When I was travelling about Korea for studies' sake I could state that there are still menhirs in these places or that there have been some formerly. In fact many menhirs have been removed but the places where menhirs had stood kept the names "Sünbau" or "Ibsokri". In both the Northern provinces, Hamkyongnamdo and Hamkyong-bukdo, menhirs are absolutely unknown.

2. The Dolmen

With exception of the two provinces mentioned above dolmen occur all over the country, and quite a lot of dolmen are in the provinces Huanghädo and Pyengamdo. The big standard dolmen is found only in the Northern provinces and the small irregular one mostly in South Korea. The areas of distribution of these two dolmen types are divided by the river Hang-gang. The South Korean dolmen is found in Japan, too, while there is no proof for the existence of the North Korean type. On the other hand in Southern Manchuria only the North Korean type occurs. So far there could not be stated any dolmen in China. The difference between the North and South Korean dolmen leads to the conclusion that in ancient times there lived two different native tribes in Korea, differing also in the

way of burying their dead, it seems that in Korea riversides, hilly and flat landscapes were preferred for building menhirs and dolmen. All over Korea exist names of places like Gön-dol, Tsisökri, Tängsökri etc., all meaning "supporting stones" (dolmen) though there are no more such constructions left at present. In the same way as the menhirs also the dolmen have been frequently demolished by settlers in order to clear the ground for agricultural work or in order to get cheap building material for new houses or bridges. So for instance lately the dolmen of Tschashin-ri, one of the biggest in Korea, was used for constructing a bridge. No one will ever know how many such megalithic monuments have been destroyed in the course of time.

3. The Stone-case sepulchre

It frequently occurs in shell-piles. Its area of distribution is great and reaches from Northern China to Japan. Especially in Kyuschu it can be distinctly seen that the stone-case sepulchre is of South Korean origin. The greatest number of stone-case sepulchres was found in South Korea next to Kimhäi, Tschang-wòn and Buyò, in Central Korea next to Kaisòng, Pung-duk, Pyengsan and Bäitschen, in North-West Korea next to Yong-gang, An-nak and Sain-men, in East Korea next to Tsengsòn.

Objects of Megalithic Culture found

Almost all the findings of the Neolithic and Stone-metal period are related to the Megalithic culture. As we have shown above in our short survey the Korean Megalithic culture took birth at the time when the economic and social conditions had attained their characteristics and final form by the settling down of the Late-stone-age man. It seems quite conceivable that already during Late-stone-age various tribes had come to Korea by different routes bringing with them different cultures. The settling down has then helped considerably to intermix the tribes and their cultures. Thus in Korea various types of ceramics and stone and stone utensils have been found higgledy-piggledy in various strata and localities. Therefore it is not easy to tell which findings belong especially and exclusively to the Megalithic period, but we can at least ascertain the findings which conceivably are in direct or indirect relation to Megalithic graves.

Stone Utensils

In dolmen, stone-case sepulchres and shell-piles have been found as well

as stone arrow-heads, daggers, spear-heads, knives and axes.

1. Stone Arrow-heads:

There are two types: one with stem and one without. The arrow-heads with stem are classed in another two sub-groups, the one with short and the other with long stems. The long stemmed arrow-head is called “willow leaf arrow-head”, owing to its shape. It is long (sometimes 18 cm) and two-edged with a rhombiform transverse section. The short stemmed one has no exactly regular shape. Its transverse section is round or rhomboid. Rarely, it has a groove. The arrow-head without stem is generally flat, shorter and with a less sharp point. The arrow-heads of the Megalithic age are – almost without exception – made of highly polished slate.

2. Daggers

They are made of sediment stone and are beautifully shaped. In the centre of the handle there is all-around a deep groove, also the blade shows often a groove.

3. Spear-heads

There are also two kinds, with and without stem. The transverse section is flat and rhombiform. The material is slate. The length varies between 15 – 20 cm.

4. Stone-knives.

The stone-knife usually is 5-8 mm thick, flat and always highly polished. It has sharp edges and generally two holes, which most probably were used for putting on a handle by way of a string. The length of the stone-knife is ca. 10-15 dm.

Japanese explorers generally call it “Ishi hotscho” (stone kitchen knife) but do not think that it was used for cutting meat, but more probably – to judge by its shape – as a sickle. R. Heine-Geldern shares my opinion (1). R. Morimoto takes it that these stone-knives were not exactly “sickles”, used for cutting rice stalks, but only tools for “plucking” ears. Should this hypothesis be correct the purpose of the two holes, meant for fixing a handle, would be inexplicable. Such edges as shown on the on the stone-knives would not be necessary for cutting a thin rice stalk. Besides one should bear in mind that even the primitive rice cultivating peasant of our days does not neglect the rice stalks, because the straw is for him of almost the same value as the ears. It is used as fodder for his oxen, as material for thatching his roof, for making mats, ropes, shoes, and for

heating his stove. Therefore it seems improbable that the Neolithic peasant, who was technically of a certain standard, would have used nothing but the ears of the rice plant. Stone-knives are found all over Asia, from China to Japan and even to Indochina. The stone-knife is considered as the “attribute” of agricultural culture in the Neolithic time, and it was certainly used already in the Yang-shao-culture period ca. 3000 B.C., when rice was cultivated already. Moreover it occurs all over Asia where rice is grown, and its shape remained unchanged during the Stone-metal age.

5. Shoulder-axes

The shoulder-axe is generally made of gneiss and roughly executed, 30 cm in length and 20 cm wide, consequently twice or thrice as large as the common axe. Therefore we have to take it on no account as an axe in the customary sense of the word, but – to judge by its shape – as an utensil for ploughing or as a hoe. In my opinion it was fastened to a shaft. The question how such gneiss implements were used to cultivate the hard earth can be answered as follows: One has to bear in mind that the ground of a rice field, which must be continually kept under water, is not as hard as dry earth, so that it can be loosened and dug up easily by a mere stone spike or even by a wooden spike.

For rice cultivation, which takes place only on irrigated soil, quite a different technique is used than otherwise. Violent hoeing would damage the tiny rice stalks, which makes the rice cultivating peasant use utmost care in ploughing or hoeing his field. Also the Korean “drawn-plough”, used there up to now, serves the same principle.

There are usually wanted three persons for its use; one takes the shaft of the plough, cutting the earth by pushing it forward, while on each side a person has to pull a rope.

Most probably the so called shoulder-axe was the implement preceding the “drawn plough” and it occurs here again that the present form is only an improved continuation of Late-stone-age types.

6. Axes

They are made of gneiss or greenstone. As to shape there are flat-axes, cylindrical axes and notched axes.

Ceramics

In South Korean dolmen and stone-case sepulchres also occur red-coloured ceramics which can be dated as late-neolithic. This type of

ceramics is also known as originating from the shell-pile next to Ung-gi (North Korea) and was found in Manchuria and Japan, too.

Metal Utensils and Weapons

From stone-case sepulchres we bronze spear-heads, bronze swords, bronze bells (currency), ancient Chinese bronze coins etc., all undoubtedly imported from China. The stone-case sepulchres next to Uy-non in North Korea contained even implements and weapons made of iron.

These types of implements were found by J. Andersen in China and ascertained to be of ancient Chinese make (2).

Beads of Rock-crystal

They have been found in the stone-cases next to Kimhäi in South Korea. They are also no native products but most probably have been imported together with other Chinese goods. Beads of the same material also occur in South-Manchurian shell-piles and stone-case sepulchres.

Relation between Pithos-grave (clay-coffin), Shell-pile and Stone-case sepulchres

To the sphere of Megalithic culture also the pithos-grave belongs, because it occurs in the same shell-piles. The pithos was known in the shell-pile of Tongnäi already since a long time, but only when a second identical pithos was discovered in the shell-pile next to Kimhäi in South Korea, the question of the relation between shell-pile and pithos was raised. K. Kayamoto recently, in 1935, searched again next to Kimhäi a shell-pile which was dug up already before by K. Hamada and S. Umehara, and where the important ancient Chinese coins "Huo-chüan" were found (3). K. Kayamoto discovered there in a place of 46:39 meter a 30 meter long stone wall with 4 steps. At the same time he found, together with a dolmen and several stone-cases, two beads of rock-crystal, originating from a pithos. At this place altogether 3 Pithoi had been dug out, all of them broken.

Also in Manchuria the occurrence of rock-crystal beads and "Huo-chüan" was notorious already. S. Harada searched through many shell-pile graves in Mu-Yang-ch'eng, next to Lao-t'ieh-shan (South Manchuria), and there also found pithoi together with rock-crystal beads and "Huo-chüan" (4).

By these parallel findings in Korea and South-Manchuria the close connection between pithoi and shell-piles was still more elucidated.

To judge by the findings, one may take it for granted that pithoi and stone-cases belong to the end of the Stone-metal period. Also the relation between shell-piles and Megaliths, that is not yet quite clear, is elucidated in some way by the occurrence of stone-cases in shell-piles which at the same time contain pithoi and are placed next to dolmen. As to Korean shell-piles there is no reasonable doubt that they all belong to the Late-stone age, respectively to the Stone-metal age. Regarding the character of accessory findings they are rather uniform:

The same types of ceramics, the same shapes of axes (cylindrical, notched and shoulder-axes) occur almost in all the Korean shell-piles, e.g. in Yupan, Ung-gi (North Korea), Yangsan and Kimhai (South Korea).

This seems to point to the fact that these graves are synchronic, and the occurring of stone-cases in shell-piles tells us that the stone-case grave man is identical with the shell-pile man. This leads to the conclusion that the pithos-grave, the stone-case grave and the shell-pile are chronologically connected, while the position of the dolmen seems not yet be quite clear. Certainly also the dolmen is related in some way to the stone-case grave, placed in the shell-pile. The occurring of stone-cases in shell-piles is also known in Japan. There, next to Moyori in Hokkaido, a small chamber, constructed of five blocks of stone, was found in a shell-pile. Inside it was filled with human bones and remnants of ashes. Accessory findings were Ochotsk-ceramics and a bone-axe.

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Origin and Chronology of the Korean Megalithic Culture

As mentioned above, we may take it for granted that the ancient Chinese bronze coin "Huo-chüan", found in a shell-pile near Kimhäi in South Korea, belongs to the Han-period (Ancient China 206 – 221 A.D.). The ancient Chinese historiography Han-schüi (1) informs us that the usurper

Wang-Mang, after the usurpation of the throne, had coined money and so these coins have been called “Wang Mang’s huo-chüan”. This political event took place in the year 7 A.D.. Wang-Mang ruled during 18 years until 25 A.D., and during this time that coin probably came to Korea. At approximately the same time (since 400 B.C. – 17 A.D.) there existed three comparatively developed tribe-states in South Korea: Ben-han, Tsin-han and Ma-han, and therefore this epoch was called Sam-Han epoch (Three-Han epoch). The word “Han” does not mean the same as in ancient China. Towards the end of South Korea’s Sam-Han epoch the ancient Chinese colonisation period began in North Korea (108 B.C. – 513 A.D.), the Nak-nang period, which developed a quite peculiar culture, very much influenced by the already high-class ancient Chinese culture. This culture produced works of very high-grade art which hold their own in comparison with other ancient works of art. Of course also in South Korea the influence of the Nak-nang culture – respectively of the Chinese culture – must have been very strong. So we realise that Korea was absolutely in “historical time” when the ancient Chinese coin “Huo-chüan” was imported there. Furthermore we have seen that in the same shell-pile near Kimhäi, where “Huo-chüan” was found, three different kinds of burial types (dolmen, stone-case and pithos-graves) have been stated. Of course it would be a mistake to believe that all of them are of the same time and the same origin. The Kimhäi shell-pile belongs to the end of the Late-stone-age, i.e. to the end of the Korean dolmen period.

K. Kayamoto reserves his opinion very carefully and avoids making – on account of the different types of ceramics in the shell-piles – too far reaching conclusions as to the statement that shell-piles, stone-cases and pithoi are chronologically united. He believes the pithos to be the prehistoric type of the “Ya-yoi” type, and the red-coloured ceramics, occurring in graves of historical times, to belong to the “Saamguk” type (historical time) (2).

In fact the concurrence of pithos and stone-case in one and the same shell-pile brings forth a different problem, similar to the occurrence of different types of ceramics in the same shell-pile. It would be conceivable that then there lived two different tribes at the same place, whose burial-modes were different, but it may be doubted whether in this case both parties would have used peacefully one and the same home for their dead. It also might be possible that the pithos-grave was used for the two-step burying system. On the other hand one could suppose – on account of the pithos’s small volume – that the pithos was to serve for burying children. In the ancient ceremonial book “Li-chi” we can find the

following wording: "In the Tschou period (1122-256 B.C.) a child which dies before having reached its eight years was buried in a clay-coffin...". Provided this Chinese "clay-coffin" was really identical with the one from Korea, one could suppose that this manner of burying was also spread over Korea together with many ancient Chinese elements (coins, beads of rock-crystal etc.). But it cannot be said with certainty whether the Korean clay-coffin was exclusively used was burials of children, as the clay-coffins of the "Sam-guk" period as well as the Japanese and South-Manchurian clay-coffins, all of which belonged to historical times, were made for children and grown up people. We may take it for granted that the Korean clay-coffin was in fact of Chinese origin, because traces of the clay-coffin were first of all found in the ancient Chinese historical literature – also in Manchuria and North China (Hopei) – and second of all, in the Tschankiang region of South China the clay-coffin is in use even to-day.

On the other hand the stone-case sepulchre was certainly not of the same origin, but more likely Tungusian, because this burial system was entirely unknown to the ancient Chinese. Moreover in the Nak-nang period the chamber graves were built of wood or tiles while at the same time stone-case sepulchres occur in Manchuria, Korea and Kyushu. We therefore can assume that the stone-case sepulchre in Korea is more ancient than the clay-coffin.

The dolmen seems to be of a still earlier date than these other two. First and foremost this is corroborated by the fact that bronze-objects never occur in dolmen but frequently in stone-cases and shell-piles. As pointed out before, the dolmen in South Korea are much more primitive than the ones in North Korea. Besides, their traces cannot be followed farther than to Southern Manchuria. The dolmen is quite unknown in Mongolia, in China and Siberia, while it can be traced southwards through Japan, Hokkaido (Jezo) and Indochina to Southeast Asia and India. This leads to the conclusion that the Korean dolmen does not come from the North, from Siberia. We have to look for its field of origin in the countries southwards of Korea.

R. Heine-Geldern already reports about Megaliths in Assam and West-Burma in Southeast Asia, and discussed three ways which might have been taken by the Southeast Asian Megaliths, when immigrating the region of India and Southeast Asia:

- 1) Via Siberia or Central and East-Asia to Further India,
- 2) From Asia Proper via Iran by land to India, and
- 3) From Asia Proper or North Africa by sea to South-India.

Moreover he points out that one might accept it as true that the dolmen in Southeast Asia come from Further Asia, because they frequently show the so called "hole for the soul" (4). In fact the so called "hole for the soul" appears also on Palestinian dolmen (5). Therefore his second way is the most probable. In case the megalithic culture – as R. Heine-Geldern asks himself – has wandered some way from the North via Siberia to Further India, the Korean megalithic culture must have come the same way. The non-existence of megaliths in Siberia makes this assumption improbable. The reverse – that the Korean megaliths are of Southeast Asian origin – seems to be more conceivable. According to all of R.Heine-Geldern's specifications we may suppose (until further information) that the Korean megaliths come from Southeast Asia. In Japan, the South-eastern neighbour of Korea, the number of megaliths is still very limited, but so far this country has not yet been searched very intensively. According to G. E. Smith the East-Asiatic megalithic culture belongs, together with others, to the "Heleolithic culture", which in his opinion is closely connected to sun-worship (6).

G. F. Scott Elliot also shares the opinion that the Japanese megalithic culture was an annex to the megalithic culture, expanded from Mexico to Mesopotamia (7). The Japanese Megaliths are generally supposed to belong to the metal-age, and especially the megalithic grave in Jesso was ascertained as being of the iron-age (8). In any case, therefore the Japanese Megaliths may be supposed of a much later date than the Korean ones. At present there cannot be said more about the Korean Megalithic culture. As to their particular elements they seem to differ in their ways.

As cultural elements, worth mentioning here, stone implements, ceramics and bronze-articles are to be taken in account, but they still need to be qualified chronologically.

Shoulder-axes, cylindrical axes and stone-knives are, as stated above, the implements of the Late-stone age. They may be considered to belong to the dolmen period together with the most ancient type ceramics, the "non-ornamented ceramics". Highly polished stone-daggers, arrow-heads and various stone-clubs, show that arms and weapons were of a great importance at this time. The great number of dolmen and stone-cases of the Later-stone-age in one and the same place let us think of mass burials of killed warriors. The ceramics grow much more refined. Finally the findings in stone-case sepulchres of the stone-metal age, i.e. bronze wares, beads of rock-crystal, coins (imported from China) and the red-coloured ceramics of the later Megalithic period, belong to the stone-case

sepulchre age.

Conform to this development of the Megalithic graves, the Megalithic culture of Korea is to be classified in three stages: I. The early dolmen stage, II. The medium dolmen stone-case sepulchre stage and III. The later stone-case sepulchre stage. This would be the “relative chronology” of the Korean Megalithic culture. Though, as stated already at the beginning of this chapter, the occurrence of ancient Chinese coins enables us to date the end of the Korean Early stone-age and of the Megalithic period, the ascertaining of the “absolute chronology” of the Megalithic culture's specific stages is very difficult. The “Huo-chüan” cannot serve for an “absolute chronology”, because the origin of the megalithic culture is not clear and because at present time it is impossible to fix exactly the beginning of the Korean Late stone-age. On the other hand in the Korean history the time of the foundation of the empire Tsosòn (Korea) by the legendary king Dan-gun is mentioned to be in the year of 2317 B.C. The author of the *Samgukyussa* (the chronicle of ancient Korea) Il-Yon (464 A.D.) writes as follows: “4000 years ago Uang-Gum (king) Dan-Gun laid the foundation of the capital of the empire in the Asa valley and called the empire Tsosòn...” (9). The historiographer Baik Namun has proved already by painstaking linguistical and ethnographical researches that the Dan-gun age was the transition period from horticulture to agriculture (10). It is quite conceivable that, according to the general norm, also in Korea the agricultural stage was identical with the Late stone-age, and that just during the Dan-gun period the Neolithical culture was dominant. But the date 2317 B.C. cannot simply be considered as correct, because there does not exist any written chronicle of this time in Korea, and because the author of the “Samguk-yussa” is not able to give any convincing documents for this date. In spite of this uncertainty as to the “absolute chronology” we may yet assume that the Korean Late stone-age began not later than the Dan-gun epoch. Moreover, provided the Dan-gun epoch corresponds more or less to the middle of the Late stone-age, the beginning of the Korean Megalithic culture could be about 2000 B.C.

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Chinese Vernacular Narratives in Chosŏn Korea: Hangŭl Translations and Women's Literature

Emanuel Pastreich

Introduction

In Korea, educated women of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries enjoyed their own literary universe. Through the reading and recitation of extended narratives describing the use of propriety to resolve complex family conflicts, women had, to paraphrase Virginia Woolf, a “room of their own,” in which they could participate in their own forms of public and private discourse. Although many women in Yangban families could read literary Chinese, they expressed themselves primarily in the *hangŭl* script—and took pride in that language as their own.

There has been much confusion as to the nature of women's discourse in *hangŭl*, in part because of the last fifty years' imperative to uncover a vital *vox populi* in Korean narratives not written in literary Chinese⁶. But although these women's texts were an alternative to literary Chinese, their structure and vocabulary were literary, too. Higher-class women's extended novels and epistolary traditions in *hangŭl* were a far cry from popular *hangŭl* novels such as the *Tale of Hong Kildong* (*Hong*

⁶ One representative collection of essays on pre-modern literature that places tremendous stress on the centrality of writing in Korean language over that in literary Chinese is *Hanguk kojŏn sosŏl yŏngu* [studies in the classical Korean novel] (edited by Yi Sangtaek and Sŏng Hyŏngyŏng). Seoul: Saemunsa, 1983. More recently Cho, Tong-il of Seoul National University has written a six volume *Hanguk munhak tongsa* [comprehensive history of Korean literature] that embraces this vision of the critical centrality of writing in Korean language. See especially volume two: *Chungse esŏ kŭndaero ūi yihaeng kimunhak* [the evolution of narrative from the medieval to the modern, 173-255. Seoul: Jisiksanŏpsa, 1995, 173-255.

Kil-tong chŏn) or the *Tale of Chunhyang* (*Chunhyang chŏn*). The latter novels were circulated for a broad late eighteenth-century audience in *pang-kak bon* (坊刻本) printed editions and feature linguistic characteristics of vernacular speech. In contrast, the narratives in *hangŭl* copied by, and in some cases written by, gentry women were not the result of the flowering of the vernacular among commoners. The gentry women's narratives were written by hand in a meticulous script, as opposed to the roughly-carved typesetting of *pang-kak bon* novels. And the texts feature extended passages that are simply transliterations of Chinese character phrases and would have been quite illegible to a reader who did not already have a sophisticated command of literary Chinese. In short, these *hangŭl* narratives were meant for readers with a deep understanding of classical Chinese.

The *hangŭl* narratives that women read can be divided into three groups, with considerable variety in content. One group of extended narratives entirely in *hangŭl*, such as the *Romance of the Banquet for Moon Viewing* (*Wanwŏl maengyŏn* 玩月會盟緣), focused on family propriety issues. Another group of novels survive in both a *hangŭl* and a literary Chinese version, such as *Records of Events that Manifest Goodness and Inspire Virtue* (*Changŏn Gamŭirok* 彰善感義錄) and *Dream of the Nine Clouds* (*Kuunmong* 九雲夢). Finally, a third group is composed of *hangŭl* translations of Chinese vernacular narratives.

This paper focuses on the last category of narratives, *hangŭl* translations of Chinese vernacular narratives, because despite their clear impact and their importance in introducing new themes, new expressions, and a general visibility and legitimacy for vernacular expressions, Korean literary study has not treated them as an important genre⁷. In general, they also have not been well preserved, with the exception of the Naksŏnjae Collection, and thus are a major, but largely invisible, factor in the evolution of Korean narrative.

Despite the relative invisibility of the Chinese vernacular

⁷ For example, Choe Wonsik's study *Hanguk kŭndae sosŏlsa ron* [A consideration of the history of the Korean modern novel] provides an extremely insightful consideration of the modern novel, but makes no mention of the existence of these translations of Chinese vernacular into Korean that were widely circulated from the eighteenth century. See especially his chapter "1920nyŏndae sinsosŏl ūi unmyŏng" [the fate of the "new novel" in the 1920s] in *Hanguk kŭndae sosŏlsa ron* [A consideration of the history of the Korean modern novel]. Seoul: changjak kwa pipyŏng sa, 1985, 306-316.

narrative and women's narrative in Korean literary history, some indications suggest that translations of Chinese vernacular narratives were a primary impetus for the development of new literary genres and foreshadowed the Korean novel's emergence in the late nineteenth century. For example, the scholar Hong Huibok translated the contemporary Chinese vernacular novel *Jinghuayuan* into Korean under the title *The Greatest Masterwork in Korean Language: A New Translation of Jinghuayuan*⁸. In the preface to this translation Hong argues forcefully that *hangŭl* narratives written for women have legitimacy as a genre and that the introduction of new literary content into these novels through the translation of Chinese vernacular narrative was a strong impetus for their further perfection. Hong's defense of *hangŭl* narrative is articulated, and perhaps could only be articulated, in the preface to the translation of a Chinese vernacular narrative.

In this paper we will consider the *hangŭl* translations of Chinese vernacular narratives represented by surviving texts from the Naksŏnjae Pavilion Collection of Changdeok Palace, as well as anecdotal references to *hangŭl* translations of Chinese narrative found in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century letters and diaries. It can be claimed that these translations of Chinese vernacular narrative opened a literary space in Korea that had far more expressive potential than the standard prescriptive narratives read by Korean gentry women, such as *Lienüzhuan* (列女傳). In addition, vernacular Chinese narratives treated topics that *hangŭl* novels avoided, such as merchants' chicanery, warriors' prowess, and the romance of the boudoir, making them the most avant-garde literary genre in Korea. The conservative milieu of Chosŏn Korea permitted such problematic topics to be treated within the context of translations, even if they could not be introduced into original Korean novels.

As well as providing fresh ground for Korean expression, surviving translations of Chinese vernacular narratives are a gold mine of Korean vernacular usages, often vernacular usages that cannot be found elsewhere. Although Korean indigenous *hangŭl* novels, such as *Kuunmong* or *Changsŏn Kamŭirok*, were written entirely in the *hangŭl* script, they are essentially transliterations of classical Chinese expressions and contain very few passages in vernacular Korean. Such Korean narratives present clear moral topics and avoid descriptions of daily life.

⁸ *Jeil ki-ŏn Kyŏnghwa sinbŏn*. 第一奇諺: 鏡花新繡. Redacted in *Jeil ki-ŏn Kyŏnghwa sinbŏn*. Pak Chae-yŏn, ed. Seoul: Kukhak jaryowon, 2001.

By contrast, *hangŭl* translations of Chinese vernacular narratives include many extremely vernacular Korean passages because the original's vernacular quality forced the translator to write in a far more vernacular, and occasionally far more vulgar manner than was the custom.

1. The Significance of Translated Chinese Vernacular Narratives for Korean Gentry Women

The translations of Chinese vernacular narratives were not considered as proper literature in the Confucian universe. They were read in the women's quarters and were felt to lie far outside the threshold of the mansion of literature. They were, however, central in the development of a linguistic space that was both based in the Korean language and literary in character—a development that would be critical in the late nineteenth century, when Koreans attempted to create a literary narrative, the new novel, in the *hangŭl* script that could represent Korea's move toward modernity.

Of course, the gentry women who read the translations of Chinese novels in their free moments should not be understood out of their historical context, or from the perspective of later novelists who struggled to create a Korean nation by writing Korean novels. Nevertheless, the fact that a sophisticated Korean literary narrative was incubated in the women's quarters, before the encounter with the West, is of profound significance for Korea's literary history and has been largely ignored.

It is difficult to be certain of the exact date of transmission, or the range of circulation, of the original Chinese vernacular narratives that survive in various private libraries all over Korea. Despite several public prohibitions, vernacular Chinese narratives appear to have been quite widely, if furtively, read by Koreans. The translations into Korean of Chinese vernacular narratives that survive in the Naksŏnjae Collection⁹ are meticulously copied in accordance with the strict aesthetics concerning the physical appearance of gentry women's readings. As a whole, these carefully transcribed translations are undated, without any indication as to the translator or the scribe, and are of obscure origin. The translations are, without exception, in manuscript form.

The fact that the circulation of Chinese vernacular fiction

⁹ Most surviving translations of Chinese vernacular narrative are preserved in the Naksŏnjae Collection.

translations was limited to manuscripts does not preclude the possibility of a wide audience, one that extended beyond gentry women. Most likely a large informal network existed, through which professional translators or other underemployed scholars received payment to render Chinese fiction into Korean, and those narratives were then recopied by female readers both inside and outside of the palace.

Certainly, circumstantial evidence implies that in the eighteenth century, both *hangŭl* narratives' popularity, and the demand for new genres were increasing. Lending libraries appeared in Seoul that offered both original Korean narratives and translations of Chinese vernacular fiction to a growing readership. By the middle of the eighteenth century, gentry women are reported to have sold their hairpins and other valuables to pay for the latest novels from these lending libraries¹⁰. So popular were these works that Ch'ae Chegong 蔡濟恭 (1720-1799), in his preface to a version of the *Four Books for Women* (女四書), notes that reading popular novels had become a major social problem: women whiled away their days in reading popular novels while neglecting their household work¹¹.

References to the circulation of Chinese vernacular fiction in *hangŭl*¹² translation among women appear from the late seventeenth century, and the emergence of these translations parallels the rise of extended Korean language narratives. The rise of Korean extended narratives and of Korean translations of Chinese vernacular narrative were related parts in the development of a *hangŭl* narrative field. Although the original Korean narratives do not employ the same vernacular expressions, they did develop complex plots and extended narratives as a result of exposure to Chinese vernacular narrative. The formal complexity of the Chinese vernacular novel was a major impetus that led to complex novels like *Romance of the Banquet for Moon Viewing* (Wanwŏl maengyŏn 玩月會盟緣). Such an evolution in the narratological complexity of Korean novels has no precedent in the heuristic texts like *Lienŭzhuan* that first inspired the composition of extended Korean narratives.

¹⁰ Chŏng Pyŏng-sŏl, *Wanwŏlhoemaengyŏn yŏngu* (Seoul National University Department of Korean Language and Literature, Ph.D. dissertation, 1997), 144-45.

¹¹ Ch'ae Chae-gong 蔡濟恭. *Pŏn-am sŏnsaeng munjip* 樊巖先生文集, *juan* 33, *Yŏsasŏsŏ* 女四書序. Seoul: Kyŏng-in munhwasa, 1994. Seoul: Kyŏng-in munhwasa, 1994.

¹² The standard term pre-modern texts employed for *hangul* is *ŏnmun* 諺文, or "vernacular writing."

The surviving references to *hangŭl* narratives from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries do not attempt to distinguish between Chinese vernacular fiction in translation and original Korean *hangŭl* narratives. Female readers certainly distinguished between the translations of Chinese vernacular narratives and Korean extended narratives in that the style and content are so different, but from the point of view of the male intellectuals who referred to these texts, they appear to be essentially the same genre¹³. Most original Korean narratives written in *hangŭl* were set in China, mostly in the Song Dynasty, so they do not present themselves as foreign¹⁴.

We may consider the references to the circulation of *hangŭl* narratives in the letters sent by Queen Inhŏn 仁宣王后 (1618-1674) to her daughter Princess Sungmyŏng 淑明公主 between 1652 and 1674¹⁵. These letters are representative of other similar references to Korean translations of vernacular Chinese narrative in correspondence from the time between aristocratic women.

In one letter, Queen Inhŏn expresses her intention to send a *hangŭl* translation of the *Jiandeng xinhua* story *Lŭyiren zhuan* 綠衣人傳 to the Princess. In another letter, the Queen says that she has already sent along a copy of the novel entitled *Habuk Yi Changgun chŏn*¹⁶ for her daughter to take along as part of her trousseau. In the third letter, she asks that her daughter drop by in person the next day to pick up a translation of *Shuihuzhuan* that her daughter wished to show to a friend.

The letters serve as datable references to the circulation within

¹³ In some cases a surviving Korean narrative may be in fact the translation of a Chinese narrative that has been lost in China.

¹⁴ Interestingly, most novels set in Korea were written in literary Chinese, not *hangul*.

¹⁵ Queen Inhŏn served as King Hyŏnjong's 顯宗 (1641-1674) main consort. The following references are found in Im Hyŏng-t'aek. "17 segi kyubang sosŏl ūi sŏngnip kwa Ch'angsŏn kamŭirok," [Ch'angsŏn kamŭirok and the establishment of novels for gentry women in 17th century Korea] in *Tongbanggakji* 東邦學志 vol. 57 (March, 1988), 103-170. The original letters are reprinted in *Ch'inp'il ōngan ch'ongnam* (ed. Kim Il-gon), letters #56, #57, and #102. Kim Il-gon 金一根 *Ch'inp'il ōngan ch'ongnam* [Anthology of manuscript hangul letters]. Kŏnguk University, 1986.

¹⁶ Im Hyŏng-t'aek does not indicate whether or not he believes this text to be an original Korean story. Judging from the title, it does not appear to be a translation of a Chinese novel.

the mid-seventeenth century royal court of *hangŭl* translations of such works of popular Chinese fiction as *Shuihuzhuan* and *Jiandeng xinhua* alongside original Korean narratives such as *Habuk Yi Changgun chŏn*. Such Chinese vernacular narratives as *Shuihuzhuan* were read by women in the court, even though *Shuihuzhuan* relates the adventures of bandits. Interestingly enough, no Korean translation of *Shuihuzhuan* survives among the *hangŭl* translations preserved in the Naksŏnjae Collection. This, the sole source for most Korean translations of Korean Chinese vernacular narrative, appears to be quite incomplete.

Queen Inhŏn wrote another letter to her daughter after the Princess had married and left the security of the palace, suggesting that perhaps such marriages played a role in transmitting vernacular narratives throughout Korea. The relations between close family members permitted the transmission of such narratives, which were not produced or distributed through publishers. The letters make it clear that by the seventeenth century, a hundred years before the earliest surviving manuscripts of such translations, vernacular Chinese narratives in Korean translation were no longer a novelty, but rather quite a familiar genre.

All surviving records concerning Chinese vernacular narrative in translation and Korean original *hangŭl* narrative indicate that both were regarded as essentially the same genre and gendered as female. In this respect, the development of popular fiction in Korea contrasts sharply with China and Japan, where, although increasing literacy among women may well have been a factor behind vernacular fiction's growth, it was widely read, commented upon, edited, and printed by men. From the beginning, China and Japan had a significant—and visible—male audience for vernacular fiction. In contrast, although Korea had male readers, they rarely made themselves heard.

The scholar Pak Yŏng-hŭi has uncovered several intriguing dated records concerning the function of Korean translations of Chinese vernacular narrative within the family¹⁷. Citing family memoirs written in literary Chinese by male members of the Andong Kwŏn family who resided in Seoul, she demonstrates that women were transcribing *hangŭl* translations of *Sanguozhi yanyi* as early as 1635¹⁸.

¹⁷ Pak Yŏng-hŭi. "Changp'yŏn kamun sosŏl ūi hyangyu chipdan yŏngu" [a study of the social groups who appreciated long family chronicle novels] in *Munhak kwa sahoe chipdan* [literature and social groups]. Seoul: Chipmundang, 1995, pp.319-335.

¹⁸ Most likely, far more references to *hangul* narratives exist than those that have

The first passage Pak Yŏng-hŭi cites is an inscription written by Kwŏn Sŏp 權燮 in 1749 that was originally affixed to a long-lost *hangŭl* translation of *Sanguozhi yanyi*. The inscription, entitled “Notes affixed to the end of a manuscript copy of *Sanguozhi* transcribed by my grandmother,”¹⁹ was later transcribed and preserved in a collection of his writings, *Oksogo* 玉所稿 (Drafts of Jade). Kwŏn Sŏp relates how, when his father had fallen ill, the wife of one of his uncles took the manuscript out of the house and subsequently lost two of the three volumes. Kwŏn Sŏp ordered his eldest grandson to carefully rebind the surviving volume transcribed by his grandmother²⁰, which presumably contained this inscription, and place it in the ancestral shrine. He concludes with this remark: “If there should happen to be an unfilial grandson in the many branches of our family, let the head of that particular household take this volume and assiduously preserve it. Such an action would be most appropriate.”²¹

If we assume that the grandmother (Ham-byeong Yissi) copied the *Sanguozhi yanyi* in her youth, then a manuscript copy of *Sanguozhi yanyi* must have already been available for her to transcribe around 1630. Oddly, this military romance, so different from the tales of female chastity written for female readers in Korea, was preserved as a relic embodying the matriarch’s spiritual presence.

Although this translation of *Sanguozhi yanyi* was likely produced with a female audience in mind, the family’s treatment of it implies that it was so valuable as to require loving repair and being set in the ancestral shrine. Handwritten manuscripts played a critical social function for women in *yangban* families. For young women, an essential part of coming of age was to transcribe manuscripts in elegant *hangŭl* script, a process meant to imbue moral and cultural sophistication. Mothers expected their daughters to practice writing *hangŭl* with the brush as part of their education, alongside cooking and sewing. These novels exist only

been uncovered in contemporary diaries.

¹⁹ “Che sŏnjobi susa Samgukji hu” 題先祖妣手写三国志後.

²⁰ Ham-byeong Yi-ssi (咸平李氏, 1622-1663).

²¹ See Oksogo 玉所稿, Chapjŏ 雜著, *juan* 4. (1749); “Che sŏnjobi susa Samgukji hu” 題先祖妣手写三国志後 [notes affixed to the end of a manuscript copy of *Sanguozhi* transcribed by my grandmother], by Kwŏn Sŏp 權燮, in *Munhak kwa sahoejipdan*, in Pak Yŏng-hŭi. “Changp’yŏn kamun sosŏl ūi hyangyu chipdan yŏngu” [a study of the social groups who appreciated long family chronicle novels] in *Munhak kwa sahoe chipdan* [literature and social groups], 322.

in manuscript form, not only because Korea lacked the technology to print, but also because their transcription was considered an essential part of a woman's training before marriage²². Narrative manuscripts were not disposable texts, as was the case in Japan, but rather a manifestation of inner cultivation, regardless of whether the narrative's actual content was ethical prescription.

Kwŏn Sŏp does not suggest that an unfilial grandson should read this translation of the *Sanguozhi yanyi*, but rather that he should borrow this book because it is imbued with the matriarch's efficacious spirit. The inscription itself is a relic imbued with spiritual power. Only in the context of such moral efficacy could the world of woman's writings be made visible to the educated male, resulting in a literary Chinese comment about the female world that provides us a window on a lost world²³.

In another entry in Kwŏn Sŏp's *Oksogo* under the heading, "A record of the division and redistribution of manuscripts transcribed by my mother"²⁴ (1749), Kwŏn Sŏp records how the *hangŭl* narratives left by his mother were divided up and passed on to each of her daughters and daughters-in-law, including a daughter who had married out of the family. The hope expressed was that "the future generation of each branch of the family will assiduously preserve them." The texts included in the collection held by Kwŏn Sŏp's mother included *So Hyŏn-sŏng nok* 蘇賢聖錄, *Hanssi samdaerok* 韓氏三代錄, *Xiayi haoqiuzhuan* 俠義好逑傳, 趙丞相七子記, *Sŏlssi Samdaerok* 薛氏三代錄, and *Samgang haerok* 三江海錄. *So Hyŏn-sŏng nok* and *Hanssi samdaerok* are Korean *hangŭl* narratives from the late seventeenth century. *Chosŭngsang ch'iljagi*, *Sŏlssi Samdaerok*, and *Samgang haerok* are most likely *hangŭl* narratives that do not survive.

Xiayi Haoqiuzhuan 俠義好逑傳, best known as *Haoqiuzhuan* (Tale of Perfect Marriage Matches), is an early Qing *caizi jieren* (tale of scholar and beauty) narrative that was translated into Korean in the late seventeenth century. *Caizi jieren* tales relate how young men and women

²² Im Hyŏng-t'aek, "17 seji kyubang sosŏl ūi sŏngip kwa *Ch'angŏngamŭirok*," 103-170.

²³ Some letters and diaries written by women in *hangŭl* survive, but compared with the amount of writing in literary Chinese that is preserved, their numbers are few.

²⁴ *Oksogo*, Chapjŏ, *juan* 4 (dated 1749). "Sŏnbi susa ch'aekja punpaegi" 先妣手写册子分排記 [a record of the division and redistribution of manuscripts transcribed by my mother], reprinted in *Munhak kwa sahoejipdan*, 322.

manage to achieve happy unions by overcoming massive obstacles set in their way by social circumstances and the opposition of parents and others. Such novels are much closer to the actual experience of gentry women than military romances and had immense appeal because they dealt with the primary issue of social propriety, or *li* (*ye* 禮 in Korean), so central to the daily lives of women in China and Korea.

Kwŏn Sŏp's mother Yongin Yissi 龍仁李氏 (d. 1712) collected many indigenous Korean *hangŭl* narratives. *So Hyŏn-sŏng nok* and *Hanssi samdaerok* relate the family saga of the So and Han families, respectively. These multi-generational family sagas, which extend for hundreds of pages, are part of a distinctly Korean narrative genre, independent of the Chinese narrative tradition. In *So Hyŏn-sŏng nok*, the plot is built around the efforts of the protagonist So Hyŏn-sŏng to maintain order in his family and pass on his moral influence to future generations in the face of poverty, the jealous bickering and scheming of concubines and wives, and difficult children. Though these Korean extended narratives were much influenced by Chinese morality books, they are extended tales that focus on a single family.

A survey of Korean *hangŭl* novels shows that the development of morally ideal figures is a distinguishing feature that stands in contrast to Chinese narrative. The content of these novels was constrained by the means by which they were transmitted from mother to daughter as a form of moral instruction. The ideal women portrayed in Korean narratives were meant to serve as models for those young women when they were suddenly immersed in the contradictory world of married life without any previous experience with the opposite sex. They were not meant to be realistic portrayals of female psychology, but rather to present different archetypes of virtuous women from which readers could draw models.

Chŏng Pyŏng-sŏl notes the structural similarities between Korean *hangŭl* narratives and the all-important genealogies, *chokbo* 族譜, which were guarded by upper-class Korean families²⁵. *Hangŭl* family sagas are built around distinct family units which are supported by marriages and presented in chronological order. A summary of a Korean family saga would look distinctly like a genealogy. Although the contents of such *hangŭl* narratives as *So Hyŏn-sŏng nok* and *Hanssi samdaerok* parallel the genealogies in literary Chinese transmitted by men, the Korean *hangŭl* narrative served a function beyond simple entertainment

²⁵ Private correspondence.

within the family structure: over generations it transmitted notions of female virtue and identity.

Another valuable insight into the transmission of *ŏnmun* translations of Chinese literature can be found in the preface written around 1695 by Cho T'ae-ok 趙泰億 (1675-1728) to a translation of *Xi Zhou yanyi* 西周演義 (better known as *Fengshen yanyi*, The Investiture of the Gods). Cho T'ae-ok's mother transcribed this translation around the middle of the seventeenth century. Cho's description presents a vivid picture of the importance the family attached to the translated Chinese novel. He writes:

My mother once transcribed a copy of *Xi Zhou yanyi* in *hangŭl* that extended for ten and some-odd volumes. It so happened that one volume was missing, leaving the set incomplete. My mother constantly expressed her dissatisfaction with this state of affairs.

After putting up with this situation for some time, she was finally able to obtain a complete set from a collector, from which she then proceeded to copy down the missing volume so as to fill in the gap. Not long after my mother completed the set, a woman from the neighborhood stopped by the house. She entreated my mother to let her read the series. My mother lent her the whole set on the spot.

At a later date, that same woman arrived at our doorstep. Apologizing fervently, she explained, "I am most respectfully returning the books I borrowed. Only I am afraid I lost one volume somewhere on the road during my walk back. Although I searched everywhere, I was unable to find it. My crime is deserving of death." My mother quickly forgave her, asking where exactly she had lost the book. But now the set for which she had previously taken such pains to find and copy the missing volume was once again incomplete.

My mother much regretted this turn of events. Two years later, during the winter, my wife lodged temporarily at the foot of South Mountain. She took ill, and in the idleness of her forced convalescence she asked for books to read from another female relative with whom she resided. That relative presented her forthwith a single volume. When she saw it, she immediately recognized it as the very volume my mother had transcribed by hand. She then asked me to take a look at it; it was none other than that volume.

Thereupon, my wife made more detailed inquiries as to the provenance of that volume. Her relative related that she had obtained the volume from a certain family member, who had previously bought it from a certain person in the same village. That person, in turn, had picked it up on the road. My wife told her in detail how the volume had come to be lost, and asked that it be returned. Her relative, finding the story equally amazing, promptly

returned the volume.

Thereupon, the set which had been incomplete was once again complete. Is this not a most unusual turn of events? If that volume had been left too long by the road without being picked up by someone, it would have been stomped on by horses and cattle and splattered with dirt and mud. Not a single scrap of it would have ever been recovered. If that volume had been picked up by someone who did not enjoy reading books, then it would have brought him no pleasure and would not have been treated with care. It would likewise have become frayed and broken, maltreated and ruined. In the end it would have been used to paste over some hole in the partition between rooms.

How much of a difference there is between what happened and a fate of being stomped on by horses and cattle or splattered with dirt and mud? But by good fortune, the volume avoided such a fate. Picked up by a loving collector, it was put away with care.

Now if that volume had been put in a collection at the far ends of the earth, far out of our reach, although that volume would have remained unharmed, I would not have had the chance to see it again. Would that not have been a great loss? That volume managed to avoid being left by the roadside to be stomped on by horses and cattle and splattered with dirt and mud. It was picked up by someone, but did not end up in the hands of one who does not enjoy reading books. In the end a loving collector picked it up and put it away in her collection. Not only that, but it did not end up in the collection of someone at the far ends of the earth, far out of our reach. It was picked up by a relative of my wife.

Through a series of twists and turns, it finally came back to our home. How can this be anything other than Heaven's decision not to let my mother's fine calligraphy end up lost or destroyed? Lost for three years, it was recovered in a single morning. Can you possibly say fate played no role? How marvelous! How marvelous! It cannot go without being recorded. Respectfully I recorded above the details of that volume's loss and recovery²⁶.

Although possession of a translation of *Xi Zhou yanyi* was not sufficient in itself to warrant special pride, the possession of such novels was of considerable value. The great concern Cho's mother takes in preserving her manuscript set reveals that it was by no means a disposable

²⁶ The original passage by Cho T'ae-ok 趙泰億 (1675-1728) is entitled "Ŏnsŏ sŏju yŏn-ŭi pal" 諺書西周演義跋 (transcribed in *juan* 42 of a manuscript edition of his collected works). Pak Chae-yŏn dissertation, p. 236. Pak Chae-yŏn. "Chosŏn sidae Chungguk sosŏl pŏnyŏkbŏn ŭi yŏngu: Naksŏnjaerŭl chungsim ũro." Ph.D. dissertation, Hankook University of Foreign Studies, 1993.

commodity. Nor, however, was it absolutely impossible to find another edition, as she eventually does in the possession of a collector²⁷. It seems that this collector was a man who took an interest in various antiques, including women's writing. When a woman from the neighborhood borrowed the set of manuscripts and then lost one volume, once again leaving the translations incomplete, the expression employed for her, "a woman of the back alleys,"²⁸ suggests that she was of much lower status. The entire anecdote is built around family lineages, including a comparison with the wife's family. When Cho's wife asks the relative with whom she is staying for reading material, the relative immediately presents her with the single volume of *Xi Zhou yanyi* that her mother-in-law had previously lost. From this scrap of information we can infer that not all homes, even among those of roughly the same social status, had extensive collections of *hangŭl* translations²⁹. The passage suggests that if not for this book, the house would not have had any reading material in *hangŭl* at all.

The passage also implies that throughout Seoul a larger community of women read these texts. Educated men also had an awareness of, and respect for, female writing, although that respect was born not of the translations' contents, but rather from an emotional/spiritual association with the mother. It is not clear whether Cho ever read this book, or merely inscribed a preface.

Yet despite passages such as the one above, which provide many vivid details about the social context of these translations, what we know about that context remains sketchy. The Naksŏnjae translation of *Pingyaozhuan*³⁰ is the only translation of Chinese vernacular narrative that was dated by the woman who transcribed it. The inscription on the last page relates how the transcriber first copied three *juan* of the translation in 1835, then agreed to undertake the transcription of the whole book in response to the request of a beloved niece. Illness forced her to stop her work on the transcription for seven months in 1837, but she finally finished in 1838. Although nothing is known about the *Pingyaozhuan*'s original translator or the exact date of its actual

²⁷ *Hogoga* 好古家.

²⁸ *Ryŏhangnyŏ* 閭巷女.

²⁹ Of course Cho T'ae-ok may have adapted the story for his own convenience; perhaps he even desired to give a negative impression of his wife's family

³⁰ Pak Chae-yŏn dissertation, 281. The affixed Korean title is *P'yŏng-yogi* 平妖記.

translation, the document suggests that transcription by women was part of daily life.

Pak Chae-yŏn notes that numerous transcription errors in surviving Naksŏnjae works indicate frequent recopying of texts. He also points out that these errors were perpetuated in the twentieth century when handwritten manuscripts and *panggakbon sosŏl* (woodblock-printed novels) were abridged and published for mass consumption as *ttokchibonddokjibon sosŏl* (also known as *yukjŏn sosŏl*, “six-penny novels”) by book merchants such as Pak Kŏn-hoe 朴建會 and Ko Yu-sang 高裕相.³¹

Panggakbon were privately printed woodblock editions of texts produced before the late nineteenth century’s introduction of modern printing techniques. It is assumed that the printing presses of *yangban* lost during the chaos of the Japanese and Manchu invasions ended up in the hands of merchants who then began printing, for a general audience, primers for classical Chinese and Confucian texts, editions of which survive from the middle of the seventeenth century. The ownership of the printing presses and the means of distributing woodblock editions remain obscure³². The wide circulation of *hangŭl* narratives in *panggakbon* editions was first recorded by Hong Hŭi-bok in the 1840s, although they certainly existed earlier.

In general, there was considerable opposition in Korea to the publishing of popular narratives, or even of the collected works of famous scholars. A remarkable number of texts remained in manuscript format until the twentieth century, in significant contrast to Japan and China. Part of the reason lies with the perceived ethical value of the handwritten text in the Korean context. In the case of women’s readings and writings, as Im’s article details, the remarkable emphasis on calligraphy itself as a part of the ethical training of girls and women, as opposed to the contents of the narratives, made the very act of reading and copying virtuous and by extension, suggested that merely buying a printed version was not³³.

³¹ Pak Chae-yŏn dissertation, 259. Pak Chae-yŏn describes in detail the transcription errors to be found in the Naksŏnjae manuscript translation of *Sun Pang douzhi yanyi*.

³² See *Kuk-ŏ kungmunhak sajŏn*, 255. Seoul Daehakkyo dong-a munhwa yŏnguso (Seoul National University Asian Culture research Institute). *Kuk-ŏ kungmunhak sajŏn*. [Dictionary of Korean language and literature] Seoul: Singu munhwasa, 1989.

³³ Im Hyŏng-t’aek, “17 seji kyubang sosŏl ŭi sŏngip kwa

To purchase and read a cheap printed copy of a novel such as circulated in the early nineteenth century, the *panggakbon* novels, suggested a lack of pedigree and cultivation. Unlike Japan and China, as well as France and England where a large female readership for rather arch and formally complex novels in printed format had emerged by the seventeenth century, in Korea the novels read were either Chinese novels printed in China that had been imported or manuscript versions of Chinese novels in translation or Korean novels in *hangŭl* or literary Chinese. Printed editions of vernacular Korean fiction did not make inroads with the upper class until the very end of the nineteenth century. The anonymous *panggakbon* novels printed on a large scale between 1850 and 1910 were intended for a far less educated audience³⁴.

2. The Translations in the Naksŏnjae Pavilion

The so-called Naksŏnjae translations³⁵ are a collection of

Ch'angsŏngamŭirok,"12-125.

³⁴ For a detailed analysis of *Panggakbon* and their circulation in Seoul, please refer to Yi Chang-hŏn's Ph.D. thesis, "Kyŏngp'an *panggakbon* sosŏl p'anbon yŏngu," unpublished dissertation, Seoul National University, Department of Korean Language and Literature, 1995. Hong Hŭi-bok's introduction to *Cheil kiŏn* remains the earliest reference to commercial publishing of popular fiction in Korea. Yi Chang-hŏn "Kyŏngp'an *panggakbon* sosŏl p'anbon yŏngu" [Research on editions in Seoul of woodblock printings of Korean popular novels] Ph.D. thesis. Seoul National University, Department of Korean Language and Literature, 1995.

³⁵ The Naksŏnjae Collection was first introduced into the scholarly world in 1940, through Yi Pyŏng-gi's *Chosŏn-ŏ munhak myŏng-jŏ haejae* [Summaries of outstanding literary works of the Chosŏn Kingdom]. Seoul, Chungang munhwa hyŏphoe, 1940. The first English-language extensive survey of the original Korean narratives and some of the *hangul* translations of Chinese narrative came in the form of W. E. Skillend's survey with brief annotations entitled *Kodae sosŏl* (1968) Skillend, W. E. *Kodae sosŏl: A Survey of Korean Traditional Style Popular Novels*. London: University of London, 1968 and Chŏng Pyŏng-uk's *Naksŏnjae mungo-bon kungmun-sŏjŏk haejae* (1969). The latter covers 113 texts assumed to be Korean original works and over thirty translations from the Chinese. Chŏng Pyŏng-uk. *Naksŏnjae mungo ŭi chŏngni wa haeje* [Organization and explanation of the Naksŏnjae Collection]. Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 1969. Unfortunately, this survey fails to distinguish which works

surviving Korean translations of Chinese vernacular narrative, was that were originally stored in the Yŏn-gyŏngdang 演慶堂 Pavilion of the royal palace and then moved to the Naksŏnjae Pavilion³⁶ of the royal palace in 1929. The collection is now held in the Han'gukhak chung-ang yŏn'guwŏn (the Academy of Korean Studies). The Naksŏnjae pavilion subsequently served as the private residence for King Kojong (reigned 1864-1906) and was occupied by the last Korean king, King Sunjong (reigned 1907-1910), who continued to reside there even after the Japanese annexation of Korea. His consorts remained there after his death in 1926. In contrast to the Royal Library of Confucian studies, the Kyujanggak, which was established by King Chŏngjo in 1776 as the centerpiece for his rectification of scholarly learning, the Naksŏnjae Collection consists of *hangŭl* manuscripts for women's informal reading. Those texts include both translations of Chinese popular fiction and original Korean novels.

Pak Chae-yŏn advances two possible sources for these undated and anonymous works. One possible source is a massive project to translate Chinese texts into Korean language, overseen by the scholar Yi Chŏng-t'ae, that was initiated in 1884 by the order of King Kojong. Among other works, Chinese novels are said to have been rendered into Korean. Almost nothing is known of the exact process by which those texts were translated or who participated. If this translation project was a source for some of the surviving translations, no documentation survives³⁷. The other possible explanation for these translations' creation is that they were produced by impoverished scholars in the provinces, and by professional translators outside of the palace, for pay. Then professional book-lenders, or *sech'aekjŏm* 貰冊店, introduced the translations to the palace. That process most likely went on, also undocumented, during the

specifically originated in the Naksŏnjae Collection and which come from other Royal collections.

³⁶ The Naksŏnjae Pavilion was built in 1847 for the use of the Royal consort of King Hŏnjong (reigned 1835-1849) née Kim.

³⁷ See Pak Chae-yŏn. "Chosŏn hugi chungguk t'ongsok sosŏl ūi chŏrrae wa pŏnyŏk munhakhŏk suyong" [The transmission to Korea of Chinese vernacular novels in the late Chosŏn Kingdom and their translations: the literary reception in *Kyŏngsan Sa Chae-dong paksa hwagap kinyŏm nonch'ong Hanguk sŏsa munhaksa ūi yŏn-gu* [Feststrift on Korean narrative and literature for Professor Sa Chae-dong on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday]. Seoul: Chungang Munhwasa, 1995, pp. 1569-1589.

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Most of the translations were likely produced for lending libraries in Seoul whose audience consisted of *yangban* women and palace ladies. The nature of these lending libraries is mentioned in a preface to the *Nūsishu* 女四書 (*Four Books for Women, Yŏsasŏ*) by Ch'ae Chegong 蔡濟恭 (1720-1799)³⁸. Most of the translations are of remarkable quality and suggest a deep familiarity with the Chinese spoken language. The only indication of such activity by translators is the record indicating that the scholar Yi Sang-hwang (1763-1840) bought a large number of Chinese vernacular novels in China and then asked the translation bureau's professional translators to translate them into Korean³⁹.

Pak Chae-yŏn's survey of the Naksŏnjae Collection reveals at least eighty-three distinct works of fiction, of which sixty-seven are long narratives in *hangŭl* extending for over five *juan*⁴⁰. Cho Hŭi-ung positively identifies thirty-three translations of Chinese originals and eleven works likely to be the translations of Chinese novels, but not yet positively identified⁴¹.

Based on secondary references such as those given above, we can assume that a far greater range of Chinese novels in Korean translation were circulating in Seoul during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than is represented by this collection. Many works may well have been so common in translation that there was no incentive to preserve them within the palace library—and thus they vanished. Moreover, there may well have been a female audience for Chinese vernacular narrative that read the original texts and therefore did not require Chinese translations at all.

³⁸ Chae Che-gong 蔡濟恭, *Pan-am sŏnsaeng munjip* 樊巖先生文集, Seoul: Kyŏng-in munhwasa, 1994, *juan* 33.

³⁹ *Chung-guk sosŏl hoemobŏn*, 159. Pak Chae-yŏn. *Chung-guk sosŏl hoemobŏn* [Illustrations of Chinese Novels], 159. Chunchŏn: Gangwon University Press, 1993.

⁴⁰ See Pak's "Chosŏn hugi Chungguk t'ongsok sosŏl Chŏrrae wa pŏnyŏk munhak" in *Kyŏngsan Sa Jaedong Hwagap kinyŏm nonch'ong*, 1572. The forty-nine narratives from the Naksŏnjae Collection identified positively as original Korean narratives have received considerable scholarly attention, to the almost total exclusion of the translations from Chinese, which make up the majority of the collection.

⁴¹ See appendix for a list of the Chinese vernacular narratives contained in the Naksŏnjae Collection.

The genres represented in the translations offer a few clues as to the Korean reception of Chinese narrative. For example, the Naksŏnjae Collection has few *huaben* short story collections, and contemporary Korean writings have few references to the *huaben* collections. Perhaps the experiences of the merchants and their families portrayed in the *huaben* collections were sufficiently alien and the habits described so vulgar as to make them unappealing to gentry women. And yet, for all their violence, military romances and histories are well represented, suggesting that their compelling portrayals of the rise and fall of individuals and nations made them intriguing reading.

The importance of the examination system as implemented during the Chosŏn period (1392–1897) assured that these texts were accessible and understandable to Korean readers, and in particular, the emphasis on the resolution of familial conflict through the use of propriety gave the novels considerable appeal.

Caizi jiaren novels and *tanci* ballads were not popular in Japan, where the audience for Chinese vernacular fiction seems to have remained largely male, even for Japanese translations. Significantly, Japanese literary criticism's profound influence in Korea and China in the early twentieth century may have been responsible in part for Chinese literary criticism's dismissal of the *caizi jiaren* tradition. This vital tradition was shunted aside when Lu Xun reordered the Chinese canon in his influential study *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilüe* 中國小說史略⁴², the critical work that established the familiar divisions of the Chinese tradition in the 1920s. Not until the 1990s were even the most famous of *caizi jiaren* typeset in China for a modern reading audience. Although *caizi jiaren* may have been a significant genre, the scholars who wrote pre-modern China's literary history did not feel it was worthy of mention.

The most striking aspect of the Naksŏnjae Collection is its preponderance of *Honglouloumeng* sequels. Given that *Honglouloumeng* itself was first published in Japan in 1895 using Koda Rohan's remarkable translation, and that none of the *Honglouloumeng* sequels have been published in Japanese, the collection's importance is clear. Only in Korea did this novel have such appeal. *Honglouloumeng*'s presentation of intricate personal relations between women and their servants most likely was read in wealthy families and spoke to the women of the palace. Yet because

⁴² Lu Xun 魯迅. *Zhongguo xiaoshuo shilüe* 中國小說史略, in *Lu Xun quanji*, volume 9. Beijing: Zuoqia shuwu, 1948.

Honglouloumeng and its sequels contain many salacious scenes that would have raised eyebrows among women in Korean society, its centrality in the collection is also perhaps a bit surprising.

In addition, according to Pak, several narratives in the Naksŏnjae Collection are clearly translations of Chinese fictional narrative, but for which the original Chinese text has not been identified, and may well have been lost in China (titles supplied in Korean reading): *T'aewŏnji* 太原志; *Nakch'ŏn tŭng-un* 落泉登雲; *Okho bingsim* 玉壺冰心⁴³.

The Naksŏnjae Collection also contains four novels that can be identified as *caizi jiaren* romances. Although these are most likely translations of a Chinese original which has not yet been identified, their linguistic style and themes are close enough to Korean fiction that we cannot rule out the possibility that they are original Korean narratives: *Yong-irok* 靈異錄; *Raksŏng biyong* 洛城飛龍; *Ch'ŏngbaek-un* 青白雲; *Namgye yŏndam* 南溪演談.

Min Kwan-dong has identified twenty additional Chinese narratives in Korean translations from the Chosŏn period that survive outside of the Naksŏnjae Collection. Significant books that survive in translation, which Min Kwan-dong identifies but the Naksŏnjae Collection does not include, are *Jinghuayuan* 鏡花緣, *Shuihuzhuan* 水滸傳, *Xi Han yanyi* 西漢演義, *Dong Han yanyi* 東漢演義, *Haoqiuzhuan* 好逑傳, *Yujiaoli* 玉嬌梨, and *Xiyouji* 西遊記⁴⁴.

It is not clear exactly why the extensive Naksŏnjae Collection does not include translations of the most famous vernacular novels, *Shuihuzhuan*, *Xiyouji*, and *Jinpingmei*, or why the only surviving translations of those works so clearly products of the nineteenth century. Pak Chae-yŏn speculates that in the eighteenth century, translations of the *Shuihuzhuan* were so commonplace that there was no need for the palace collection to preserve them. If that were the case, it would further indicate such translations' widespread circulation. Partial translations of

⁴³ See Pak Chae-yŏn's article "*Chosŏnhugi Chungguk t'ongsoksoŏl chŏrrae wa pŏnyŏkmunhak*," *Kyŏngsan Sa Jaedong Hwagap kinyŏm nonch'ong*, 1574.

⁴⁴ Min Kwan-dong, 130. This list presents only major works not included in the previous list. Min Kwan-dong, "Kungnae chungguk kojŏn sosŏl ūi panbon ch'ulp'an pŏnyŏk sanghwang" [the state of translation and publication for translations and adaptations of Chinese traditional novels in Korea]. Seoul: privately published monograph, 1995.

Shuihuzhuan and *Xiyouji*⁴⁵ do survive outside of the Naksŏnjae Collection.

The Naksŏnjae Collection's focus on *caizi jiaren* novels and *tanci* narratives such as *Zhenzhuta*, to the exclusion of more famous *huaben* stories and historical romances, suggests that this collection represents fiction generally associated with a female audience. Many *tanci* were written by women. By contrast, the Chinese novels that define the literati vernacular novel, such as *Jinpingmei*, the start stories of Feng Menglong or Li Yu, or *Rulinwaishi*, are completely absent from this collection. Large numbers of *literati* novels survive in their original Chinese printed editions throughout Korea, suggesting that they enjoyed a wide readership among educated Koreans who had no need for translations.⁴⁶

The late-Ming Dynasty *huaben* collection *Xingshiyan* 型世言.形世言⁴⁷ was lost in China but was preserved in Korea in the Naksŏnjae Collection⁴⁸. Chinese records of this phantom collection were all that existed until Pak Chae-yŏn successfully located the Korean translation in the Naksŏnjae Collection, and the original Chinese edition, which had been preserved, but not catalogued, in the Kyujanggak library. Korean readers appear to have translated a broad range of Chinese narratives including many that have not received much attention since that age.

The question remains, whether the Naksŏnjae Collection is representative of the Chinese narratives that were read in Korean translations, or of the interests of a small number of palace women. The records mentioned in this paper suggest that even from before the earliest surviving text in the Naksŏnjae Collection, there existed a considerable body of Korean translations of Chinese narratives. But those works have vanished, seen as unworthy of preservation. In the case of the *Honglounmeng* translation preserved in the Naksŏnjae Collection, the sole surviving manuscript's good condition suggests that it was not widely circulated. A certain number of translations, particularly those made in the

⁴⁵ Three *juan* of a printed translation of *Xiyouji* produced in Ansŏng presumably during the nineteenth century survive in the collection of the noted scholar Kim Tong-uk. See Min Kwan-dong, 135.

⁴⁶ For an extensive listing of Chinese works that survive in collections throughout Korea, see Pak Chae-yŏn's dissertation, 557- 587.

⁴⁷ *Xingshiyan* is attributed to Mengjue daoren 夢覺道人 of Hangzhou.

⁴⁸ *Xingshiyan* and its Korean translation are treated in detail in Pak Chae-yŏn's dissertation (23-49).

late nineteenth century, were commissioned by the palace for internal use, but the other translations come from a larger body of translations and were most likely brought into the palace.⁴⁹

To use an analogy, we can only speculate about what creatures may have existed in prehistoric times. Although we can make reasonable guesses as to the morphology of those animals whose skeletons happened to be preserved by some accident, we cannot be as certain whether those animals are representative of the general population of animals living before humans. Most of the animals of those times appeared and disappeared without a trace. Perhaps the Naksŏnjae Collection functioned something like the La Brea Tar Pits, that oozing mass of oil that trapped and preserved the bones of saber-toothed tigers and giant sloths. The collection preserves Korean translations of Chinese vernacular fiction that would have otherwise ended up as scrap. It survived only because such books were preserved in the palace⁵⁰. But how much we can infer from that rare window into the reading of women in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is a difficult question.

3. The Language of the Naksŏnjae Collection Translations

As a whole, the language employed in the Naksŏnjae translations is polished and the translations are quite accurate. The translations fluently render Chinese idiomatic expressions and make an effort to employ Korean vernacular expressions to represent unfamiliar Chinese phrases. We can infer that the translators who produced these translations were familiar with the finer points of Chinese vernacular usage, and, significantly, that the readers also expected a precise literary rendering. These translations of Chinese vernacular novels are far more polished as literary works than the printed versions of *Chunhyang chŏn* or *Honggildong chŏn* that circulated at the time. The uniformity of style among the translations suggests that by the nineteenth century, or earlier,

⁴⁹ Both Pak Chae-yŏn and Chŏng Kyu-bok hold that *hangŭl* translations of Chinese vernacular fiction were widely circulated.

⁵⁰ Koreans placed great emphasis on the preservation of the *hangŭl* translations transcribed by women. It is not certain why, if such an attitude prevailed in the seventeenth century, more texts were not preserved. It is possible that the attitude toward texts shifted in the nineteenth century as vernacular fiction was published as a commodity, with the result that previous handwritten manuscripts lost their novelty.

the translation industry had already reached a high level of sophistication. For the most part, the errors that can be identified in the translations are due not to mistranslation but rather to mis-transcription from preexisting manuscripts⁵¹.

Without exception, the translations are written entirely in *hangŭl* script and without the use of Chinese characters⁵². Although many Chinese phrases are translated into vernacular Korean, a striking number of Chinese expressions are transliterated into *hangŭl* according to the Korean pronunciation of the Chinese characters. Many of these phrases are long and their length appears rather unwieldy. It remains a mystery why so many Chinese expressions, extending to as many as seven or eight characters, were rendered directly into *hangŭl* as an agglutinative clump without any attempt at translation. For the most part, such transliterations are incomprehensible to modern readers. It is possible that many long Chinese phrases were quite commonly used in Korean storytelling, and perhaps even conversation, making these clumps of Chinese familiar to Korean readers.

Many Chinese terms transliterated in the narratives are not obvious to this reader. The female Korean reader would have had to have had a substantial command of the Chinese language in order to read these works in Korean. The rendering of such passages in *hangŭl* was not because of an ignorance of Chinese characters that required translation. Rather, there was a deep stylistic, even ideological, distinction between female-gendered *hangŭl* writing and male-gendered writing in Chinese. *Hangŭl* narrative formed a parallel literary universe of female readers, not a simplification.

Because Korean syntax differs significantly from that of Chinese, especially vernacular Chinese, a syntactic transformation is necessary to produce a smooth translation. As a whole, Chinese syntax follows a subject-verb-object order, whereas Korean syntax follows a subject-object-verb order.

The language of the translations of Chinese vernacular narratives generally differs significantly from that used in translations of literary

⁵¹ The translation of the *Xingshiyan* collection of Chinese *huaben* tales bears the mistakes indicative of repeated re-copying, suggesting that it was most likely not originally commissioned for the palace, but translated privately. Pak Chae-yŏn dissertation, 35.

⁵² A practice in marked contrast with the translations of Chinese narratives into vernacular Japanese at the same time in Japan.

Chinese. Original Korean novels of the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries tend to follow more closely the language found in the translation of literary Chinese narratives into Korean. This literary style of Korean employs Korean syntax while retaining a large number of Chinese loan words, even Chinese verb-noun phrases in transliteration. The language employed in Korean narratives, not translations, is of an intermediate nature, closer to literary Chinese in many respects and at some distance from the spoken language. Mixing literary Chinese vocabulary and Korean syntax created a Korean language that felt to the reader like literary Chinese. Original Korean novels are so full of literary Chinese vocabulary, and even Chinese kinship terms, that they cannot be taken as a representation of how Korean was actually spoken. Korean novels written in *hangŭl*, although the habits described are clearly Korean, are almost all set in China and employ in transliteration numerous literary Chinese expressions that would have been quite alien in actual Korean conversation.

In contrast to indigenous Korean narrative, however, the Naksŏnjae translations employ fluent colloquial translations of Chinese passages that are unencumbered by classical Chinese vocabulary. Vernacular Korean expressions are employed to render highly colloquial spoken passages in the original Chinese text. Often, these vernacular Chinese passages forced the translator to use extremely vulgar language, and are the only surviving records of common vernacular expressions. When the translator ran into highly vernacular passages in the Chinese narratives he or she translated, he or she was forced to employ a highly vernacular Korean language to render the Chinese original. The result of such translation was the writing in *hangŭl* of highly vernacular Korean passages for the first time. Translation pushed the envelope for literary expression in vernacular Korean. Narratives composed in Korean by Korean authors, by contrast, tended to be essentially classical Chinese narratives rendered in a *hangŭl* format, lacking highly vernacular language.

Pak identifies most of the Naksŏnjae Collection's translations from vernacular Chinese as products of the eighteenth century, on the basis of their archaic usages of *hangŭl* script. With a few notable exceptions, the Korean translations have removed the poetic passages from the Chinese originals⁵³. The translations also have removed the

⁵³ Pak Chae-yŏn dissertation, 35. A notable exception is the translation of *Sun Pang douzhi yanyi*, which gives the poems in the original Chinese with a Korean

closing teasers that exhort the reader to continue reading on into the next chapter to find out the resolution of a particular dramatic scene in full swing.

A short description of the high-quality Korean translation of *Chanzhenyishi* will give some sense of these translations' linguistic features. First, the mannerist aspects of vernacular fiction that are not essential to the narrative are eliminated. Poems and doggerel in the Chinese narratives, introduced by such phrases as "There was a poem giving proof" (*youshiweizheng* 有詩為証), "There was a poem celebrating this that said:" (*youshicandao* 有詩贊道), or "it was none other than" (*zhengshi* 正是 or *danjian* 但見), have been completely eliminated from *Chanzhenyishi* and most other translations. The notable exception to the rule is the poetry composed and exchanged by the characters within the novel. In this case the poems are transliterated in *hangŭl*, but no Korean translation is supplied. Most likely the poems' meanings were obscure for most readers in such a format.

So also, *Chanzhen yishi* eliminates the Chinese storyteller tradition's standard markers of orality, such as *qeshuo* 却說 (so then let us speak of) or *huafen liangtou* 話分兩頭 (the narrative divides at this point), although not consistently so. The Korean translation keeps *qeshuo*, and in fact, it had become a convention in indigenous Korean narrative as well as an indicator of a shift in the narrative's subject⁵⁴.

A noteworthy exception to the Korean translations' general

translation below. Most likely the distinction was one of readership. As noted by Ch'oe Nam-sŏn, *hangul* fiction had three different levels of readership in Korea, for both original Korean works and translations from Chinese. The highest level included the readership for the meticulous translations of *Honglouloumeng* and *Chanzhen yishi* that survive in the Naksŏnjae Collection. In the case of the surviving *Honglouloumeng* translation, the entire Chinese text is reproduced with the proper Chinese pronunciation indicated in *hangul*, suggesting a readership with an interest in spoken Chinese language. A vernacular Korean translation is supplied at the bottom of the page. The careful translation of the poems in *Sun Pang douzhi yanyi* implies that it also was intended for a sophisticated readership. Ch'oe Nam-sŏn, *Chunhyang-chŏn, Suhoji, Ongnumong*. Seoul: Hyun-amsa, 1974

⁵⁴ When I mention the appearance of these Chinese signifiers of orality, such as *huashuo* in translations of Chinese fiction as well as Korean original fiction, I am referring to their appearance in *hangŭl*, not as Chinese characters. Their most obvious narrative purpose was not denoting orality, but rather demarcating a shift in the narrative's topic.

elimination of the term *hwasŏl* can be found in the first chapter of the Naksŏnjae translation of the fantasy *Yaohuazhuan*⁵⁵. In fact, the Korean translation adds the expression *hwasŏl*, even though the Chinese equivalent, *huashuo*, does not appear in the original! Evidently *hwasŏl* had become such a natural part of the Korean narrative lexicon that it was inserted as a stylistic element to denote a change in the narrative's topic without concern for the original Chinese text.

Chanzhen yishi eliminate the author's comments at the close of the chapter, which either sum up the events for the reader (known as a *zongping* 總評), judge those events, or most often, attempt to stimulate the reader's excitement about the installment to follow.

As in most of the Naksŏnjae translations, the chapter headings (*huimu* 回目 in Chinese), often humorous couplets that paraphrase the contents of the chapter, are merely transliterated into *hangŭl*. For example, for Chapter 21 of *Chanzhen yishi*, the chapter heading consists of the following couplet: "After the heavenly scriptures are stolen, Yuan sends out his generals; Sorcery is dispelled and the evildoers punished in the old temple." The Chinese original is "*Qie tianshu hou Yuan qian jiang; Po yaoshu gucha zhuxie*" 竊天書後門遣將 破妖術古刹誅邪. The Korean rendering of the chapter heading (is *Chŏl ch'ŏnsŏ hu wŏn kyŏnjang; P'a yosul koch'al chusa*. For the Korean reader of the time, the transliteration of the Chinese sentence would have been at least as hard to figure out as the above Romanization in pinyin without the Chinese characters would be for a reader familiar with the Chinese language.

Pak Chae-yŏn also notes various examples of abridged Chinese originals, and occasionally of substantial expansions and elaborations in the Korean translations. In one notable example, a twenty-four-character phrase in chapter 38 of *Chanzhen yishi* is expanded to over 1,500 words in the Korean translation. The Korean translations include several other similar examples of expansions, although uncertainty about which Chinese edition was translated makes further speculation difficult. Pak does not raise the serious possibility that in the eighteenth century an alternate version of *Chanzhen yishi* may have been circulating that served as the model for this translation, but has since been lost⁵⁶.

Chanzhen yishi has no shortage of mistranscribed Chinese words (most likely the fault of the transcriber, not the translator) and a few

⁵⁵ Pak Chae-yŏn dissertation, 326.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 186.

mistranslations. It also includes many examples of Chinese character compounds properly belonging to the vernacular register that are merely carried over in Korean transliteration and not translated into Korean. Pak gives such terms as *laocheng* 老成 (Korean: *nosŏng hada*, *honest and reliable*) and *shengli* 生理 (Korean: *sengni hada*, *commerce*) as examples of Chinese vernacular usage⁵⁷. At the same time, many vernacular Chinese sayings and idioms are translated into fluent vernacular Korean, rather than being transliterated⁵⁸.

Conclusion

Korean translations of Chinese vernacular narratives formed a widely read genre of narrative in Korea from the seventeenth through the nineteenth century. Those narratives are a critical missing link in the evolution of Korea's narrative history without which we cannot appropriately assess how the modern novel emerged. That is to say that the "new novels" of the late nineteenth century were not simply adaptations of Western or Japanese narratives, but rather a continuation of the style, the diction and to some degree the content found in the translations of Chinese novels into Korean. The style of the modern novel does not have precedent elsewhere in the Korean narrative tradition. Although Chinese vernacular narratives

⁵⁷ Ibid., 185.

⁵⁸ *Chanzhen yishi* includes passages in which transliteration would have worked well but where the passage is translated into Korean. The commonplace Chinese phrase "*xueli songtan*" 雪裏送炭, meaning "to send coals to someone in the middle of the snow," and by extension, "to help out a friend in need" (*Chanzhen yishi*, chapter 2) is translated into Korean as "*nunsok ūi sut ponaem kat'ayŏ*," "like sending coal in the snow." Since the expression's connotations are not self-evident, the Korean version is a literal translation which requires either that the reader already be familiar with the Chinese expression or that he infer its meaning. Not one single Chinese word survives in the Korean rendering, although the transformation of the verb *ponaeda* into the substantitive *ponaem* suggests that the phrase is not a representation of natural spoken Korean speech, but a somewhat artificial translation. In his analysis of the *Pingshan lengyan* translation, Pak Chae-yŏn cites a series of examples of both the smooth, seamless translation of Chinese sentences into Korean and the final translation's retention of Chinese vocabulary (357).

were not clearly identified as being different from Korean indigenous narratives in the commentaries on narrative that survive from the period, they were stylistically quite distinct. These translations feature more vernacular expressions than original Korean narratives and treat a far more varied set of topics and characters as well.

The standard genealogy of Korean narrative contrasts the Chosŏn narratives *Kuunmong*, *Honggildong chŏn* and *Chunhyang chŏn* which represent a traditional Korean perspective with the “new novels” of Yi Haejo and the “modern novels” of Yi Kwangsu, which represent a more realistic approach to narrative. If we take these translations of Chinese vernacular narratives to be a genre of Korean narrative, which they were from the perspective of Korean readers of the time, then that genre features the greatest diversity of linguistic expressions, plots sequences and characters and is the clear forerunner of the modern novel.

Chinese narratives were popular in Korea precisely because they offered what the indigenous narrative did not. The broad reception of Chinese vernacular narratives was the first quest for a culture and literature that could serve as an alternative to the classical Chinese tradition. In the first case, however, Korean readers turned not to the literature of England or Japan, which was virtually unknown, but rather to the vernacular tradition of China itself. The very concept of a vernacular narrative that deserved the attention of intellectuals was tied directly, as is made clear in the writings of Hong Hŭi-bok, to the reception of Chinese vernacular narratives.

What is most fascinating about this literary evolution is that Chinese vernacular narrative, with its unprecedented stylistic features (which were not explicitly identified as “foreign” by readers), found its most ready audience among women. The drive to create a literary narrative in the Korean vernacular language started with the translations for this readership. By contrast, other Korean literary works, whether *sijo* poetry or the narrative *Kuunmong*, can be characterized as the projection of literary Chinese conventions onto Korean language. These texts as a register remain classical even as they are written in *hangŭl* script.

Those gentry women readers chose to express themselves in *hangŭl* script not because they were illiterate in Chinese. A cursory reading of these translations reveals that many contain the transcriptions of Chinese expressions that would have been impossible to understand for someone without a strong training in Chinese. Rather *hangŭl* itself formed a separate intellectual and cultural realm inhabited largely, but not exclusively, by women.

Those *hangŭl* writings had a moral authority for women, whether classical or vernacular Chinese was the source for the translation. That script also allowed for a literary space that had far more breadth than Chinese language as it was practiced in Korea. When writing in *hangŭl*, the same narrative could swing from the sublime to the vulgar to great effect. Korean authors, however, did not take advantage of this potential inherent in *hangŭl* in their novels. Korean authors writing in *hangŭl* chose without fail to recapitulate literary Chinese narratives such as *Lienŭzhuan* in *hangŭl* narratives rather than experimenting with the full range of vernacular Korean.

It was rather in the translations of Chinese vernacular narratives into Korean that we find the earliest recordings of highly vernacular Korean expressions and also in such translations can we identify a body of narratives that can be considered as vernacular but still retained a claim to the literary. Those pre-modern translations of Chinese vernacular narrative deserve proper appreciation for their impact on what would become the modern Korean novel.

APPENDIX

Translations of Chinese works preserved in the Naksŏnjae Collection:

Chinese *Huaben* collections:

Gujin qiguan 今古奇觀

Xingshi yan 形世言

Historical and martial romances:

Da Tang Qin Wang cihua 大唐秦王詞話 (title of the Korean translation: *Tangjin yŏn-ŭi* 唐晉演義)

Da Ming yingliezhuan 大明英烈傳

Da Song zhongxing tongsu yanyi 大宋中興通俗演義 (title of the Korean translation: *Mumokwang chŏngch'ung-nok* 武穆王貞忠錄)

Bei Songzhizhuan 北宋志傳 (title of the Korean translation: *P'uksong yŏn-ŭi* 北宋演義)

Sanguozhi tongsu yanyi 三国志通俗演義

Fengshen yanyi 封神演義 (title of Korean translation: *Sŏju yŏnŭi* 西周演義)

Cang Tang Wu Dai yanyi 殘唐五代演義

Zhonglie Xiaowu yizhuan 忠烈小五義傳

Zhonglie xiayizhuan 忠烈俠義傳

Hou Shuihuzhuan 後水滸傳

Sun Pang douzhi yanyi 孫龐鬥志演義

Courtroom Drama:

Baogongyanyi 包公演義

Honglouloumeng and sequels:

Honglouloumeng 紅樓夢

Bu Honglouloumeng 補紅樓夢

Honglouloumengbu 紅樓夢補

Honglou fumeng 紅樓復夢

Hou Honglouloumeng 後紅樓夢

Xu Honglouloumeng 續紅樓夢

Caizi jiaren Romances:

Pingshan lengyan 平山冷燕

Xueyuemei zhuan 雪月梅傳

Xing fengliu 醒風流

Yaohua zhuan 瑤華傳

Yinfengxiao 引鳳簫 (title of Korean translation: *Imp'ungjo* 麟鳳韶)

Zhenzhuta 珍珠塔

Kuaixinbian 快心編

Romances of the Fantastic:

Chanzen yishi 禪真逸史 (title of Korean translation: *Sŏnjin ilsa* 仙真逸史)

Pingyao zhuan 平妖傳

Nüxian waishi 女仙外史

Narratives for which the Chinese original has not yet been identified

T'aewŏnji 太原志

Nakch'ŏn t'ung-un 落泉登雲

Okho bingsim 玉壺冰心

Yong-irok 靈異錄

Raksŏng biyong 洛城飛龍
Ch'ŏngbaek-un 青白雲
Namgye yŏndam 南溪演談

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Mountain Tourism and Religious Heritage Sites: A Fresh Paradigm

David A. Mason

Sustainability, especially meaning low-carbon-footprint and ecologically-focused, is now the common and key watchword for all development planning in the Republic of Korea, by mandate of its previous President Lee Myung-bak and what appears to be a general public consensus on the importance of those values. This applies to all contemporary tourism development projects, plans and future prospects. We are enjoined to envision a new paradigm for South Korea's tourism development, one of "green" environmentally conscious "eco-tourism" that introduces less carbon and other waste products into the environment natural world biosphere. Ideally, this will focus upon making effective use of the cultural and destination site assets that the nation already possesses but has not sufficiently exploited for attracting increased tourism visits.

This paper therefore advocates a turn in national tourism policy towards both adventure tourism in the form of hiking South Korea's beautiful mountains. and religious tourism in the form of Temple-Stay and other programs of visiting and experiencing this country's vast and diverse wealth of sacred spiritual sites. We are indeed fortunate that these two types of tourism are easily combined into one sustainable ecotourism package, as Korea's greatest Buddhist temples and other religious institutions are located within many of its best mountainous areas.

It is common for all countries to attempt to create and develop new tourism attractions based on previously existing geographical features and cultural traditions, transformed as necessary to appeal to their domestic and targeted international tourist markets. Mountains regarded as sacred by national religious traditions are frequently used for tourism development in this way (Cooper 1997 and Bernbaum 1990). For nations

in the middle stages of construction of their tourism industries such as the Republic of Korea (hereafter “South Korea”), it is not often that an entirely new such major tourism attraction is identified and developed. The process of doing so while maintaining sufficient standards of sustainability necessarily involves the participation of a wide variety of stakeholders, whose interests often overlap and even contradict each other (Cater 1995). The larger the destination’s geographical area and the wider its social/cultural/religious scope, the number of institutional and public stakeholders involved and/or concerned and the complexity of their interacting interests will obviously exponentially increase (Sanwal 1989).

Religious and pilgrimage tourism is the fastest growing type of tourism around the world in this decade, as travelers increasingly seek to visit not only the holy places of their own religion but also the most famous sacred sites of other religions and spiritual traditions, in personal quests for mutual understanding, personal spiritual growth or religious-path advancement and more vivid, deeper and more interesting experiences (UNWTO 2007). Although it is difficult to speak exactly because governments do not often differentiate this sector in their statistics, it has been estimated that global tourists involved in pilgrimages of some kind numbered up to 250 million per year at the end of the last century, (Jackowski 2000); by now that rate must surely be significantly higher. This phenomenon offers a high level of added value to existing national tourism programs, as the religious aspects are integrated with more conventional tourism offerings (Vukonic 2002).

Gonzalez and Medina provide a good example of the theoretical and practical value of this with their detailed description of how the revival of the old medieval pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela has engendered a dramatic reassessment of the notion of tourist potential that has turned parts of the heritage that used to be neglected into valuable assets, and altered the way the architectural heritage of Spanish cities is perceived and preserved; a change in outlook that has affected both the local population and the political and economic authorities, becoming an important source of economic growth in Spain and symbol of renovated local identity (2003).

South Korea, however, has paid very little attention to this burgeoning sector (except for the 2002 government-assisted development of its privately-operated Buddhist Temple-Stay program), not putting any noticeable research, development and publicity efforts into it. It has therefore been missing out on the opportunity for increase tourism visits

and revenues potentially available from greater exploitation of the nation's many rich and ancient religious-heritage assets.

As scholars have attempted to elucidate the concepts of and characteristics of modern travel motivated mainly by religious-experience intentions, cultural geographers have argued that religious tourism has become closely connected with and integrated within leisure-holiday, adventure and other types of cultural tourism (Rinschede 1992). All different kinds of tourists are now interested in including religious, spiritual and pilgrimage factors into their domestic and international journeys, and religious tourism is clearly a major and growing sector despite the resulting increasing difficulty in differentiating spiritual pilgrims from other more common types of leisure and adventure tourists (Fleischer 2000 and Sizer 1999). Current tourists are tending and increasing rates to desire and choose non-standard, unfamiliar and "different", and even uniquely-personal religious and spiritual experiences as part of their otherwise-conventional or physically adventurous vacation trips, and this draws them towards internationally-known sacred sites (Fernandes and Rebelo 2008). Therefore, the United Nations World Tourism Organization has categorized (ibid.) the resulting recent wave of tourism with at least partial religious or spiritual motivations into three main forms:

- Pilgrimages at or nearby mainly touristic destinations;
- Religious and spiritual festivals, ceremonies and gatherings;
- Travel itineraries that lead along historic pilgrimage routes that are experiencing revival or include visiting significant sacred sites with buildings or monuments.

As there is this resurgent boom of religious pilgrimage and spiritual-motivated travel around the world of these three types, whether of traditional or modern/secular sorts, "increasing indications suggest that there is contest for access and use of sacred sites" involving a variety of stakeholders, some of hold these sites sacred and others with government-managerial or purely commercial concerns, who can be drawn either into cooperation or conflict (Digance 2003). These differing interests can be harmonized, and the conflicts reconciled, while pursuing the development of traditional religious holy sites as both new tourism destinations and places of modern spiritual experiences only if the management strategy is correctly pursued at the highest levels (Blain and Wallis 2007). In particular, the development of tourism destinations in mountainous areas,

normally chiefly concerned with ecological sustainability issues, becomes especially complex when the mountains are of high cultural significance, with a very strong and possibly differing religious interpretations of their scenic and cultural assets (Carr 2004). The process of maintaining sufficient standards of environmental sustainability necessarily involves the wailing in active participation of a wide variety of stakeholders, whose interests often overlap and even contradict each other (Cater 1995).

The present study focuses on an unusual case where a long-known but undeveloped large-scale geographical feature of South Korea has quite recently and almost spontaneously emerged as an entirely new multi-featured tourism destination which has strong potential for attracting large numbers of domestic tourists and a fair number of international visitors. This paper introduces it in the context of advocating the vast potential for combining its development with the existing (but yet smaller and more limited than it could be) Temple-Stay program. As introductory material it includes a brief overview of the history, geographical characteristics and cultural assets of this attraction, which is still unknown-of in the international tourism market.

The Korean term *Baekdu-daegan* designates the long mountain range that runs most of the length of the Korean Peninsula. Within the past twenty years a long-distance hiking trail along the crest of its southern half has been explored, developed and designated by a combination of local governments, National Forest authorities and civilian mountain hiking associations. This route is now linked together, apparently for the first time in Korean history, as a long-distance hiking trail that takes between five and ten weeks for trekkers to transverse. It is becoming comparable to internationally-known long-distance trekking routes such as the Appalachian Trail, California Coastal Trail and Sierra Crest Trail of the United States of America, the Inca Trail of Peru, the Great Wall Trail of China, the Milford Track of New Zealand's South Island and so on.

However, there is something unique about the Baekdu-daegan compared to those others. Besides spectacular views and beautiful natural scenery in long stretches of unspoiled forests and crags, it features many dozens of religious, cultural and historic sites which add dimensions of cultural-tourism potential to its fundamental base of adventure-tourism value. These sites along the way signify historic elements of or are sacred sites of Korean Buddhism, Shamanism, Nationalism, Daoism and Neo-Confucianism. It can be seen as a kind of a pilgrimage trail, like other traditional ones that have been popularly revived for modern religious

tourism in Europe, the Middle East, India and elsewhere. However, out of all the religious-pilgrimage trails in the world, only Korea's Baekdu-daegan offers such a variety of sites holy to such multiple and diverse religions, coexisting in harmony as part of the nation's cultural history.

The idea of hiking along the crest of the Baekdu-daegan (only the half in South Korea, for now) or at least major sections of it, is gaining in popularity; several books and websites are now devoted to this, and more people attempt it each year. This trail is increasingly known to the Korean public (for which mountain-hiking is an extremely common hobby), although it remains unknown to the international tourism industry and barely known even to the international residents of South Korea. The stakeholders in the emerging Baekdu-daegan hiking and pilgrimage trail represent a wide variety of South Korean national and local governments and agencies, and non-governmental associations, businesses and residential localities. The interests of these various stakeholders can already be seen to coincide and conflict in complex ways, and this paper is intended as a preliminary identification and analysis of these factors, as a basis for further research.

Written materials for reference towards this study were gathered from every available academic and commercial source, but they have proven to be few, as this topic is a new one that has so far had very little published about it, even in Korean. Some useful historical information about the concept, geographical reality and geomantic interpretation and reputation of the Baekdu-daegan was gathered from traditional Korean sources, previously collected (and sometimes translate into English) by other academic research. Most of the data and information used in this study was gathered from many years of fieldwork travel throughout Korea, and a careful examination of topographical and tourism maps published in Korea. For example, the author and his associates have actually hiked on the complete Baekdu-daegan Trail as it now exists in South Korea; one 10-week trekking expedition was conducted in the autumn of 2007, and other sites along the way were visited from 1999 through 2007. These years of fieldwork yielded a great deal of very useful information about every aspect of the current condition of the Trail, and many signs and monuments erected by local and national governments and private associations were photographed and translated into English in order to gain further insight.

1. Geographical Characteristics and Contemporary Cultural Features of the Baekdu-daegan

The Baekdu-daegan serves as the dominant divider of the Korean Peninsula into its distinct regions. It is an unbroken watershed-origin line, meaning that its crest never crosses any natural body of water (lake, pond, river or stream) and that its mountains form the origins of all of Korea's rivers; some 14 branches of it channel of them to the seas on the peninsula's seacoasts. The Chinese-character based name *Baekdu-daegan* literally means "White-head great-ridge", with *Baekdu* referring to Mt. Baekdu-san the perpetually-snowcapped extinct volcano on the border between Korea and China, highest mountain on the peninsula and considered the origin of the range; while *daegan* means a main-trunk mountain range, and is only used by the Koreans in this particular case. The ending point of this range is considered to be the *Cheonhwang-bong* [Heavenly-King Peak] of *Jiri-san* [Exquisite-Wisdom Mountain], which at 1915 meters in altitude is the highest summit on mainland South Korea, and only about 40 km from the southern coastline.

The Baekdu-daegan is around 1400-1500 km long, depending on in how much detail cartographers count the twists and turns along its crest. About 735 km of crest-trail is within what is now South Korea, from the DMZ down to Jiri-san, and most of that is accessible for hiking (with alternate routes for the sections within national parks that are not). It follows what is called the *Taebaek* [Grand White] Mountain Range by conventional geography along the east coast of the Korean Peninsula to Mt. Taebaek-san, and then it turns west and then south to follow what is otherwise conventionally called the *Sobaek* [Lesser White] Range down through the center of the peninsula's southern quarter, dividing Korea's major historic regions from each other. The Baekdu-daegan thus includes most (but not all) of Korea's highest peaks, and roughly half of its most sacred mountains. That the sources of all of Korea's major rivers are found along the Baekdu-daegan adds to its Daoist / Shamanic significance, and is a major factor in its having been considered a sacred landform for over 1000 years.

Table 1: The Most Sacred or Otherwise Famous Mountains along the Baekdu-daegan Range (listed from north to south along the line)

NAME	PARK STATUS	HIGH PEAK ON BDDG	NOTABLE FEATURES
Baekdu-san (North Korea)	National	2850 m	Highly sacred to Korean Shamanism and popular Nationalism, associated with Korea's foundation-mythology. Source of the Yalu and Tumen Rivers.
Geumgang-san (North Korea)	National	1638 m	Highly sacred to Korean Buddhism, with several important temple sites. Popularly said to be the most beautiful mountain-areas on the entire Korean Peninsula. A source of the North Han River.
Seorak-san	National	1708m	Highly sacred to Korean Buddhism, with several important temples. Popularly said to be the most beautiful mountains in South Korea; major tourism destination. A source of the North Han River.
Odae-san	National	1434 m	Highly Sacred to Buddhism, with several important temples; considered to be the Korean "residence" of Munsu-bosal (Bodhisattva of Wisdom).
Duta-san	County	1353 m	Famous for lovely scenery in valleys.
Cheong-ok-san	County	1404 m	One ancient temple on east slopes.
Taebaek-san	Provincial	1567 m	Highly sacred to Korean Shamanism and popular Nationalism, with several important shrines, because associated with Korea's foundation-mythology. Its <i>Sanshin</i> Spirits are famous, believed to be very powerful. Primary source of the Nakdong River and a source of the South Han River.
Sobaek-san	National	1440 m	Sacred to Korean Buddhism, with several important temples; considered to be the primary Korean "residence" of Biro-bul (Buddha of Cosmic Light).
Worak-san	National	1115 m	Remote mountain area, with main peaks and temples off the BDDG. Renown for scenery but only minor religious sites.
Songni-san	National	1058 m	Sacred to Korean Buddhism, with one important temple and several others. Popularly said to be one of the most

			beautiful mountains in S.K.
Hwangak-san	County	1111 m	One very famous Buddhist temple on east slope.
Deogyu-san	National	1507 m	Remote mountain area, 1614-m peak off the BDDG. Renowned for scenery but not for religious sites.
Jiri-san	National	1915m	Highly sacred to Korean Shamanism, Buddhism and popular Nationalism, with many important temples and shrines. Its <i>Sanshin</i> Spirit is famous for its powers. Outstanding natural features and very popular with hikers. Source of the Seomjin River.

Along the southern half of the Baekdu-daegan Range within South Korea, within 5 km of the hiking trail along its crest on either side, this research has found more than 100 religious sites. These include ten of the most famous and religiously-important Buddhist temples in the nation, and dozens of smaller temples on hermitages. Some of these monasteries offer travelers South Korea's burgeoning "Temple-Stay" tourism program operated by the Jogye Order, in which hikers of the Baekdu-daegan can stay over at the temple for up to 24 hours for a low fee, experiencing monastic life and viewing the local treasures (Jogye Order 2008). They are spaced apart so that in several sectors it is possible to stay overnight at one major temple and then hike 2-5 days on to the next one.

Also included along the range are dozens of significant shamanic shrines, some with buildings and some consisting only of stone altars, most of which are dedicated to Daoist-flavored veneration of the *Sanshin* spirits of the mountains they are on (Mason 1999). There are also several major Neo-Confucian Shrines (including the very famous Seosu Seowon Academy), at least one major Daoist-Nationalist shrine, a few Christian churches, and many other nationally-significant historical sites. For spiritually-oriented tourists it may be considered a pilgrimage trail, connecting so many temples, shrines and monuments of the four great Asian religious traditions: Buddhism, Confucianism, Daoism and Shamanism. In respect of this wide variety of different religious traditions available to view and experience along the way, and the density of the total religious sites, it can be said to be unique among the "pilgrimage trails" of the world.

There are now dozens of monuments (usually stone monoliths inscribed with Chinese characters and Korean text) along the way, mostly

erected by local governments within the past decade, proclaiming the identity and significance of these sites and the most significant natural features such as peaks and passes. Many of these monuments are valuable sources of historical and cultural information, as well as being amplifications of the natural scenery for the benefit of travelers. These have been supplemented by a series of trail-signs identifying the main Baekdu-daegan Trail routes, put up by both the Korea Forest Service and the various local governments, to guide hikers along the correct pathways.

2. The Baekdu-daegan Concept in Korea's Cultural History

The conception of the Baekdu-daegan as a continuous line that unites the nation and spreads a mystical kind of energy throughout it is a key concept of *Pungsu-jiri-seol* [Wind-water Wisdom-theory, the Korean system of Geomancy or *Feng-shui*]. The initial development of these systems of concepts of the Baekdu-daegan as the mountainous-spine-of-Korea is credited to Buddhist monk *Doseon-guksa* [Tao-Abundance National-Master, his posthumous monastic title] (826-898 CE, personal name Kim Yeon-gi). This concept is known to have been prominent in Korean thinking about the geography and spiritual character of their nation for the next thousand years (Yoon 2006, Kim Chun-il 1996 and Kim Yeong-gi 1999). Right on through the 20th Century and into the 21st the idea of the Baekdu-daegan has been believed by Korean traditionalists of all sorts (spiritual nationalists, Buddhists, Confucians, Shamanists, Daoists and even many Christians and those without membership in a religion) to be the source of their dynamic and essential life-energy. Its unimpeded clear flow is considered necessary for the birth and raising of heroic and virtuous citizens, and thus for the health, strength and prosperity of the Korean nation as a whole. Those who conduct spiritual practices at these special sites along the Baekdu-daegan are believed to have an advantage in attaining enlightenment and blessings, due to the strong "energy" infusing them.

3. The Modern Emergence of the Baekdu-daegan Hiking-Trail

These concepts of the Baekdu-daegan in the previous section belong to the Oriental version of the ancient and varied philosophical doctrines known as "Vitalism" and cannot be considered in any way "scientific". However, they are deeply ingrained in traditional Korean culture, and widely accepted in the popular consciousness of current society. This

makes them relevant and valuable for the development of cultural tourism along these mountains; many Koreans believe in them, and many international visitors probably find them charming or even personally meaningful, especially those who come to Korea for the purpose of roots-identity, religious or spiritual tourism. These ancient concepts can also now be observed among the intelligentsia leading public opinion in Korea to be transforming from ancient pseudo-scientific beliefs to a modern conceptions of the theoretical unity of the peninsula and nation, and the ecology of the wildest remaining areas of them. Many Koreans now can be seen to regard the Baekdu-daegan as a symbol of national unity, and hiking along it to be a personal gesture of basic patriotism and wishing for reunification.

The first claim of hiking the entire Baekdu-daegan within South Korea was made by a college student mountain-hiking association less than 20 years ago. In the past decade there has been a dramatic rise in Korean individuals and groups attempting to do this and accomplishing it (Bang 2006). Very few international residents or visitors have yet been involved at all, but many who are informed about it has expressed interest in participating. The past decade has also seen a flurry of activity and pronouncements concerning the Baekdu-daegan by various Korean government organs and civilian NGOs.

4. The Temple-Stay Program Operated by the Jogye Order of Korean Buddhism

The Jogye Order is the majority sect of Korean Buddhism, founded in 1200 CE and currently containing more than 70% of all the temples, the monks and the believing laypersons of South Korea. They own and operate most of the dozens of Buddhist temples along or nearby the Baekdu-daegan Trail, including a half-dozen out of the largest and most important monasteries of the nation; other smaller sects each have a few temples nearby the Trail. Around thirty of these monasteries of the Jogye Order currently offer Korea's unique "Temple-Stay" program (Jogye Order 2008) as a missionary and international-reputation-promotion effort mixed in with tourism opportunities, launched in early 2002, as a key achievement of the "Visit Korea Years 2001-2002" promotion-and-development project (for which this author worked) and other offices of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

The current paradigm mainly sees tourists traveling directly from urban areas to the temples for overnight stays that include educational

programs about Buddhist history, beliefs, practices, crafts and monastic life; and also some opportunities for genuine spiritual experiences through meditation and so on; and then returning to the urban areas. However, the new eco-tourism programs that this research envisions would have hikers along the Baekdu-daegan and similar long-distance mountain trails using Temple-Stays at great monasteries and smaller hermitages along the way as stopovers for one or more days and nights. During these events the trekkers would have opportunities for rest and refreshment, along with opportunities for cultural education and personal spiritual growth; in this way adventure-tourism of mountain hiking would be combined with pilgrimage experiences.

The Jogye Order has clear and serious concerns about both ecological and cultural sustainability as the Baekdu-daegan Trail becomes developed and promoted into an increasingly popular tourism destination, particularly over concerns that the atmosphere at their temples remains authentic and the forests on their surrounding grounds remain undamaged. However, they generally stand to gain many more visitors, which they do seem to desire for their religious missionary and promotional intentions, and so should support rapid development and promotion of the Trail, so long as the hikers are guided properly (in every sense). They are therefore excellent continuing partners for South Korea's tourism-development authorities in future projects to combine this kind of religious tourism with adventure-trekking through Korea's mountains such as the Baekdu-daegan Trail, into a fresh new pilgrimage-eco-tourism offering to the international traveling community.

5. The Role of Shamanic and Neo-Confucian Shrines Near the Trail

Korea's ancient and still-strong Shamanism maintains many shrines along or nearby the Baekdu-daegan Trail, mostly those devoted to veneration of the *San-shin* spirits of the highly sacred mountains that belong to the range (Mason 1999). They are far more shy and secretive than the Buddhist temples are, although this is partly due to their century of their practices and establishments being illegal, a condition that is now being ameliorated in many local areas. They have not in general been very welcoming of tourists stopping by their shrines, most particularly foreign visitors, for fears of 'ritual pollution' or even vandalism of the sacred sites. They don't have much interest in seeing the Baekdu-daegan Trail become a popular tourism phenomenon, unless it led to a significant rise in financial donations at their shrines, which cannot be anticipated.

Korea's Neo-Confucian shrines are less xenophobic but have been seen to share similar concerns in general. The fascinating unique shrines and the colorful shamanic and dignified Neo-Confucian rituals at them can be assumed to be of high interest to at least some of the hikers, particularly international clients, but this fondness will probably not be reciprocated. This group of stakeholders can wield relatively little social, financial or political influence with the other stakeholders described here, and so their generally negative viewpoint on tourism development and promotion will not count for much. Still, some sincere efforts should be made by the other stakeholders to ameliorate their concerns for the preservation of authenticity and privacy.

Neither these Shamanic nor Neo-Confucian shrines can be expected within the foreseeable future to offer accommodations, meals, educational programs or spiritual experiences to the hikers of the Baekdu-daegan Trail or other mountain areas. However, future development of such possibilities would be of great benefit to the realization of this overall vision of combining adventure tourism with pilgrimage-experience tourism into green low-carbon tourist attracting programs in Korea.

Conclusion

Effective leadership needed for an integrated national strategy of combining Baekdu-Daegan trail adventure tourism with temple-stay religious tourism as our new paradigm of sustainable ecotourism.

This project has identified the Baekdu-daegan Trail as a new religious-pilgrimage tourism destination-site for South Korea, in addition to the adventure tourism opportunities that the Baekdu-daegan range already offers, particularly within designated national and provincial parks. It has presented the existing geographical and cultural characteristics of the range and the trail, finding them noticeably dense in religious assets that tourists can visit and where they can enjoy spiritual experiences.

Due to the:

- nation-spanning size of the Baekdu-daegan region, and the sacred sites involved in the Temple-Stay program;
- the deep historical and cultural significance it holds for many citizens;

- the strong potential it represents for boosting the national tourism reputation;
- and the amount of potential tourist visitors and revenues;

the numbers and proportion of the residents of, authorities of and visitors to the peninsula who must be considered to be stakeholders involved are remarkably large in scale.

This indicates that, particularly considering Korea's long history of strong and centralized governmental control, only the national government operating from its highest levels of power will be able to set policies and insure their long-term implementation in such a way that all these stakeholder's interests and concerns are recognized and managed towards satisfaction in proper harmony with each other. This sort of leadership from the top level will be necessary to establish policy coordination between all the many different ministries and agencies that will in some way be involved, forcing them to cooperate harmoniously with each other to the extent necessary. Special committee or commissions including representatives of each of the civilian groups of stakeholders described in this paper may be appropriate to be formed under executive political leadership. Local control over sustainable development of sectors along the route, especially the sacred sites operated by religious groups, should be maintained within the context of national strategy.

It is becoming urgent that the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and the Korea Tourism Organization should take note of the emergence of the Baekdu-daegan as a religious-pilgrimage tourism attraction with high potential to boost both Korea's domestic and international tourism industries, as well as general national reputation as a beautiful and fascinating place to visit, and begin actively participating in the promotion of it and the strategic planning for its proper development. They should conduct proper research and take the leadership in developing a harmonious national strategy to accomplish this. The interests of many of these groups of stakeholders, such as the strong concern for ecological, social and cultural sustainability by several of the Korean government agencies, the local residents and service-providers, the associations of mountain hikers, and the national environmental NGOs should be satisfied along with the parallel imperative of promoting the reputation of the Baekdu-daegan and developing its Trail into a popular domestic and famous international tourism destination. Extensive research by independent scholars in conjunction with government specialists, and then

the exercise of strong central-executive national authority in order to create, coordinate and harmonize proper policy-solutions will clearly be needed in order to prevent any unnecessary conflicts and damage to the overall national project of developing and promoting this emerging destination into a major factor of Korean tourism, and a vital new contributive participant in the burgeoning global religious-pilgrimage tourism sector.

South Korea in a 21st-century enjoys a very strong civilian NGO environmental movement, led by large organizations such as “Green Korea United”. This group has in fact already held a symposium about the Baekdu-daegan at the beginning of 2006, attended by many kinds of concerned citizens on scholars and representatives of concerned government ministries and agencies, concerned with the extent of environmental degradation of all kinds along the range and calling for improved national strategy, extensive research and global publicity about the Baekdu-daegan and its rise in tourism activity (Cho Hui-eun 2006). The goal this symposium proclaimed was to have they Baekdu-daegan designated as a World Heritage Site by UNESCO, which still seems very far away from possibility, whether aiming for the natural list or the cultural list. These Korean environmental NGOs seen quite interested in promoting the reputation of the Baekdu-daegan and encouraging many people to visit and experienced it, but are also more concerned than most of the stakeholders with the problems of ecological restoration and sustainability. Their interests lie less with the developers and more with the environmental-regulatory government agencies, and are perhaps fairly similar to those of the many national and local mountain-hiking associations. Both the NGOs and the hiking associations should be enlisted to assist in the proper development of the new eco-tourism destination programs that this paper is advocating.

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The Birth of Korea's Advertising Industry and My Role in It

John Stickler

Chiang Kai Shek smiled at me across the conference room and said something to his interpreter seated next to him. The interpreter grinned and translated for me. "Funny," he said. "You don't look Korean." The other delegates to the Fifth Asian Advertising Congress, seated around the square room, chuckled and waited for my response.

It was November 1966 and we were gathered on the top floor of the imposing governmental building in downtown Taipei, in a modern equivalent of a Chinese royal audience hall. I was a delegate to this bi-annual advertising conference but, as the only one from Korea, I'd become by default the chief delegate representing the entire country. Considering that I'd only launched my fledgling advertising agency in Seoul a few months before, this was a great leap forward. The fourteen personages seated around the room with me, each one representing a different nation, were leaders in the advertising and publishing industries worldwide.

They appeared to listen attentively as I told President Chiang that advertising was a new field in Korea and that I was one of the pioneers in Seoul. I said that Koreans were impressed by the export progress demonstrated by Taiwan and Hong Kong and with modern marketing methods we would strive to follow their example. (South Korea's exports in 1965 were under US\$200 million—about half of Taiwan's and one-sixth of Hong Kong's.)

As the meeting ended, a photographer was brought in and we each had our picture taken shaking hands with the Generalissimo [*reproduced at the end of the article*]. If I'd known then what a tyrant he was, both in Taiwan and on the mainland, I wouldn't have been so obsequious. We then assembled for a formal group portrait.



As reported by the local *China Post*,¹ this conference was a significant event with total attendance exceeding five hundred. Heavyweights in the media world foresaw the significant role Asia, particularly East Asia, would play in the growth of the advertising industry and consequently international trade. Keynote speakers included James A. Linen, president of Time Inc., and L. Lew Callaway, Jr., publisher of *Newsweek*. Both were hosting luncheons for the entire assembly.

It wasn't until after checking into my hotel that I'd been advised I was the sole delegate from Korea and that involved playing a part in the opening ceremonies the following morning. The chief delegates were to line up in alphabetical order and march into the auditorium, each of us led by a Taiwanese Boy Scout carrying the flag of our nation and a Girl Scout with a placard naming the country. Then, instead of joining the audience, we were seated in a row facing the audience, just beneath the stage, behind the placard of our nation. I was relieved that we weren't expected to address the assembly.

The next morning, wearing a suit that I'd luckily brought with me, I joined the line and followed the prestigious march into the auditorium behind the South Korean flag. A band struck up some martial

¹ *China Post*, November, Nov. 5, 1966 p.4.

music and the attendees all stood as we entered the hall. The flag-bearers lined up in back of us and I took my seat behind the South Korea place card, trying to look as official as a baby-faced, 29-year-old American could. Seated next to me behind the Japan sign was Tsueji Hibino, president of Dentsu Advertising, at the time the largest advertising agency in the world. I was representing the smallest.

The key sponsor of the conference was the International Advertising Association, a worldwide organization based in New York City. I met their delegates attending the event and discussed the possibility of establishing an IAA chapter in South Korea.

On my way back to Seoul I realized that I'd been handed an unexpected opportunity to publicize my new business, S/K Associates Advertising, as well as to promote international advertising as an important component of export marketing. After doffing his ROK Army uniform, Park Chung Hee had been elected president just three years before and was hard at work on his first Five-Year Plan, to include full government support of international trade.

Armed with the press packet provided to each chief delegate, mostly 8x10 glossies of me playing my role, I introduced myself to some Seoul business reporters. Several publications picked up the story. I was never contacted by the Park administration, but I suspect that my little PR splash was noticed because of two things which subsequently did *not* happen. The photo of me marching down the auditorium aisle behind the Korean flag was never returned to me after it was published in the *Seoul Kyungje Shinmun*.² And two years later, in 1968, when I attended the Sixth Asian Advertising Congress convened in Singapore, I was not alone. Korea fielded a full delegation and, moreover, in a brief ceremony we received the charter of the International Advertising Association Korea Chapter.

(In 1982, on a plane flying back to Korea from the US, I noticed a small news item in the *Asian Wall Street Journal*. It reported that Hong Kong had just received its charter for an IAA chapter. "Ha!" I thought, "We beat you by fourteen years!")

The Early Years

In February 1964 I had taken my discharge from the US Army Korea Military Advisory Group, 8th Army Headquarters on the Yongsan

² *Seoul Kyungje Shinmun*, Nov. 17, 1966, p. 4.

compound in Seoul. I walked out of those gates jubilant at my new-found freedom but with no job, no prospects and no Korean language skills. Knocking on doors, I met Karl Bruce, another US Army alumnus living “on the economy.” Karl was tall and lean with dark hair and a black beard. He ran a translation service upstairs in a building near the US Embassy and the USIS. He looked very much like the oft-published photo of D. H. Lawrence. But I didn’t speak Korean and he wasn’t hiring.

Shortly after my call on him, he had been visited by another American, Mike O’Sammon, who was pulling out of Korea and selling his ad agency. Karl still had my resume on his desk, mentioning my advertising experience prior to being drafted, and thought maybe I could be of use. The Impact Advertising Agency, offered for sale at \$100, had two assets: an Olivetti portable typewriter and the Northwest Orient Airlines account. Karl bought it, hired me on a part-time basis, and together we set out to develop Korea’s first ad agency from scratch.

We built Impact Advertising until the end of 1965, when we amicably split the company. Karl took the incoming dollar business and I took the outgoing *won* business, representing two specialized trade publications: *The Importer* (later *Asian Sources*) and *Pacific Travel News*. Soon we became friendly rivals for new accounts as foreign businesses ventured into Seoul. I got the first foreign bank to open, Chase Manhattan, then SAS and Thai International Airlines, and the American Airlines’ Chosun Hotel. Karl picked up Caltex and Japan Air Lines.

It never occurred to us at the time, but we were starting at “square one” of what is now known as Korea’s “economic miracle.” In the early 1960s South Korea’s exports were primitive: iron ore, fish and seaweed, dry grasses for grasscloth wallpaper, and “Korean field mink” furs which were actually mouse skins stitched together. Manufacturing gradually gained traction: hand-knitted sweaters were upgraded to machine-knit sweaters and exported by ship for \$10 per dozen.

Both the magazines I represented were low circulation, and thus low cost, targeted to the particular industry. Korea was not yet ready for consumer advertising. *Pacific Travel News* went only to people active in the travel industry around the Pacific Rim: airline personnel, travel agents, hotel chain administrators, etc., all active members of the Pacific Area Travel Association. Many of them were in a position to send business to Korea. Once a year I contributed an editorial feature on the developments in Korea’s infant tourism industry.

The Importer, headquartered in Tokyo, had been founded by Ray Woodside, an early graduate of the Thunderbird School of International

Management in Phoenix, Arizona. With in-depth news reports on consumer products being manufactured in East Asia, combined with advertisements from those producers, it circulated only to actual importers, their names and addresses having been laboriously culled from export cargo manifests in Japanese and other Asian ports.

The Importer was unusual in that its circulation was both paid and controlled, i.e., you could not purchase a subscription unless you were an actual buyer. A US library, for example, could not subscribe. This was done to protect naive Asian advertisers who might end up sending out free samples of their products to self-described "importers."

When Ray died in 1970, his three American managers, also Thunderbird grads, could not reach an agreement with his Japanese heirs to continue the publication. They relocated to Hong Kong and launched a competing magazine with the same business model. They called it *Asian Sources*. I stayed with the Americans, who had become close friends, and continued selling, designing and writing advertisements for up-and-coming Korean entrepreneurs.

Advertising in Korea

Advertising in Korea at that time was not a noble profession. In fact, the term *kwango-jengi* was a pejorative, down there with butchers and *mudangs*. I learned not to hire sales people who had any prior experience selling ads because traditionally it was done with kickbacks. "Advertise in my magazine and I'll buy you a new suit." I had to turn the custom on its head. "Listen," I'd explain to the new salesman. "They are not helping you by buying an ad. *You* are helping *them* by bringing buyers through the door." It took a while for this to sink in, but as the mail brought serious inquiries, followed by hard-currency sales, the message got through. Soon we had convincing testimonials as to the real benefits of international export advertising.

Fortunately, the timing was perfect. In the 1960s and '70s Western importers realized that Japanese products were gradually becoming more expensive and they knew that Hong Kong and Taiwan could offer lower prices. The level of curiosity about Korea's prospective role in the export world was such that when a Korean advertisement appeared next to those from other Asian countries, it would generate a number of serious requests for samples and pricing.

Generally, we didn't keep in touch with our advertisers after their initial ad placement. They hooked up with buyers and didn't need us anymore. We were a matchmaking service. One early *Importer* advertiser

was an exception. A young man showed up who had inherited an old-fashioned brass-casting factory from his father. Using some Koryo dynasty technique, they sand-cast small items like ashtrays, bamboo pipe bowls and knickknacks. As I put together a one-third page ad cluttered with little color photos I wondered, “Who on earth would be interested in this stuff?”

But he was one of our first clients and we needed the business. Plus, he had the vision to realize that the world was his market and felt the urge to reach out. He ran his minimum of three monthly ads and we didn't see him again. Several years went by. In 1970 we moved from our low-rent Myongdong office into the new Chosun Hotel. One day the young man returned, just to thank us for making his dream come true. This time he was wearing a nice tailored suit and I noticed he now had a car and driver.

His ad with the brass pipe bowls had caught the attention of a manufacturer in Illinois. The American buyer had no interest in knickknacks, but did need someone who could produce small metal objects, specifically cake icing decorator tips. The company was named Wilton Industries. The young man proved that he could produce what they needed and a major investment followed. He was now running a profitable business and doing very well, thank you.

(Not long ago I had occasion to buy a cake decorator tip and recognized the name Wilton. I checked the package—remember, this is 40 years later—and sure enough, it read “Made in Korea.”)

Maybe not all the stories are as dramatic as that, but I know we helped many start-ups on the road to international trade.

It wasn't so easy for everyone. I made my presentation to one manufacturer. He looked at the magazine, studied the ads, and told me frankly, “Most of my output goes to one buyer in Japan. He retail packs my goods, exports them to the West, and makes a nice profit on my work. Would I like to bypass him and reach those buyers directly? You know I would. But if my Japanese buyer ever saw my ad in your magazine”—here he drew his fingers across his throat—“I'd be finished.”

Marketing Missionary

I called myself a marketing missionary, spreading the word about the efficacy of targeted media marketing. Traditionally, a Korean manufacturer would get permission from the government to make a trip to Europe or the US and receive some hard currency to cover the expense. (All dollars in the country at that time, by law, belonged to the

government and were required to be exchanged for *won*. Even as an American, the rule applied to me.)

An overseas trip cost thousands of dollars and a CEO or salesman could visit maybe ten or twenty prospects. This put the cost-per-prospect in the hundreds of dollars. I met a maker of men's dress shirts, "wy-shirsa" they were called. Each month he would send out ten sample shirts to companies he identified from directories available in the US Embassy commercial library. He said each shirt cost him \$6 to mail. My pitch was that with an advertisement in *Asian Sources* he could display his product to hundreds if not thousands of prospects for pennies apiece. Plus, when an inquiry came in he was dealing with someone already interested in his product, not a "cold call."

The Korean government never advertised itself, except through its commercial enterprises. Korean Air Lines was originally owned by the government and naturally it had to advertise. Before Walker Hill was privatized, it was government-owned and must have run some ads somewhere. (I was the first guest the night it opened to the swinging music of Louis Armstrong and wrote the first of many travel articles about Korea.³) I'm not sure either of them placed ads overseas, however.

There was one exception of which I am aware. One year in the 1960s the *New York Times* published a four-page section paid for by North Korea. Somehow I obtained a copy and was appalled by the wretched design. If ever a self-promotion piece backfired, this had to be a prime example. The front page had one B&W photo, a shot of Kim Il Sung right in the center above the fold. The caption read, "Our Glorious Leader Kim Il Sung." The rest of the page was dull grey type, too small to read comfortably. The whole package fairly shouted, "Totalitarian state!"

Let the Communist regime embarrass itself. What *was* totally disconcerting was when the South Korean government responded with an exact duplicate—a B&W shot of Park Chung Hee right in the center above the fold. The caption didn't read "Our Glorious Leader," but it might as well have. In 1973 I was involved in South Korea's first full-color, tabloid section in the *New York Times*⁴. It featured a lovely model wearing a blue satin *hanbok* on the cover and my full-page ad for the Korean Traders Association on the back.

³ John Stickler, "Korea's Sinless Tourist Lure," *San Francisco Chronicle*, Sept. 1, 1963.

⁴ *New York Times*, special section, Nov. 4, 1973.

Of course I didn't launch Korea's advertising industry. A thriving domestic advertising business existed before I strode out of the Yongsan compound in 1964. The Seoul newspapers were filled with display ads, primarily for pharmaceuticals and movie theaters as I recall, many of them quite artistically designed. At the same time, some companies in Seoul did not make the connection between advertising and the consumer, or business-to-business, sales. In December one would see "tombstone" ads in the papers containing Christmas greetings from major local corporations. I realized that these corporate types viewed print ads only as a way of thanking their loyal customers rather than stimulating more business; an oblique method of marketing at best.

My role was to assist in the introduction of overseas media into the marketing mix for export and tourism development. The Park government facilitated this by making the allocation of hard currency available, with a simple application to the central bank, for payment of ads placed in appropriate international publications. Never was one of our applications turned down, although on several occasions devaluation of the *won* resulted in the publisher receiving less than the dollar amount originally billed.

Competence Level

Around 1973 I realized that I had reached the ceiling of my competence. Although Karl Bruce and I were more knowledgeable about this market than anyone outside of Seoul, it was clear that if I were to advance to the next level I needed professional support. We had been using the written works of David Ogilvy, the British advertising guru, for guidance and to educate our Korean prospects. My mentor, Shin In Sup, even translated a key chapter of Ogilvy's best-selling book, *Confessions of an Advertising Man*,⁵ into Korean for an S/K handout. So I corresponded with Ogilvy & Mather in New York and was pleased to receive a positive response.

They paid the way for a young American entrepreneur in Kuala Lumpur to visit me in Seoul. He had accomplished with Ogilvy & Mather exactly what I was trying to do, entice them into his market and to merge with his business. He brought with him O&M's primary marketing tool, a set of video-and-slide presentations called "Magic Lanterns." They were divided into industries. I recall the ones on tourism and banking, presenting the most successful television commercials and print ads in

⁵ David Ogilvy, *Confessions of an Advertising Man* (Atheneum, 1963).

O&M's impressive experience. The caveat was that unless I could land a major account making it worthwhile for O&M to join forces with me in Korea, they would not be interested in this market.

The following year was spent setting up meetings with industry groups in Seoul for presentations of the relevant Magic Lantern. I must credit our energetic creative director Kim Byong Sob for doing all the legwork. The bankers enjoyed the show but clearly felt that no Brit from New York was going to tell them how to sell credit cards or savings accounts to Koreans.

The tourism sector was much more receptive. The problem was that those travel enterprises which could benefit from an international campaign were much too small to afford the services of Ogilvy & Mather, with two exceptions: the Korean government and Korean Air Lines. The Korean government, in the form of the Korea National Tourism Corporation, was too stingy to buy one ad, let alone a campaign (see below). But KAL, already active around the world (I had been invited on their inaugural flight from Seoul to Paris), was a viable prospect. And to my surprise and delight, they went for it.

The prospects were exciting. O&M would assume the marketing activities for KAL in the Far East as soon as KAL's contract with its Hong Kong ad agency expired. The current budget there was in the neighborhood of \$3-4 million. Subsequently, similar exchanges would be completed in Europe, Australia, and finally North America. Ultimately, the combined worldwide annual budget, all with O&M offices, could approach \$20 million. My imagination soared. What role would I play in this planet-encompassing enterprise?

To cement the deal, a self-important young British O&M vice president flew in to Seoul for meetings with KAL. I did not sit in on the contract signing, but our team wined and dined him and made sure he understood S/K's critical role in acquiring this account for Ogilvy & Mather.

Before leaving, the VP and I sat down for a nuts-and-bolts talk. "Here's how it is going to work," he said. "KAL doesn't need help in Korea with its Korean customers. They know they can handle the local market better than we can. Our value is throughout the rest of the world. Therefore Ogilvy has no incentive to come into Korea. I'm sorry to say we won't be joining forces with S/K," he went on, "but we do appreciate your hard work on our behalf over the past year. We estimate that a finder's fee for this account is worth \$40,000. You mentioned that you are the *Time* magazine advertising representative for Korea and we plan to be

using the Asian edition of *Time* extensively. Your commission on our KAL placements over the coming year will reach right around \$40,000.” Apparently they had already presented KAL with a full media plan.

My merger dream was crushed, but the \$40,000 promise was a nice consolation.

The White Paper

The other hurdle to inviting Olgilvy & Mather into Korea was the existing foreign exchange restriction. Not only were foreign investors expected to create jobs (a multi-million-dollar Gillette razor blade factory was rejected on the grounds that it was fully automated) but also limited on repatriating foreign exchange. Hard currency was still very precious. Service companies were not yet approved for foreign investment based on these parameters. Holiday Inn, Hilton and Intercontinental had been turned away in the early ‘70s for the same reason.

This was explained to me by one of the higher-ranked officials in the Economic Planning Board when I enquired prior to the KAL success, but he was open-minded. “The current regulations would have to be revised. If you wish this idea to be considered, why don’t you write a white paper explaining how Korea could benefit from the activities of an advertising agency here? We will distribute it through the Economic Planning Board and consider your recommendations.” He could not have asked for a more motivated, or prepared, scribe.

The completed report covered six sectors where the Korean government had failed in its marketing objectives: tourism, trade, banking, foreign investment, construction and politics. It was twenty pages long and contained one four-color illustration. I pulled no punches. Painful examples were plentiful.

The paper opened with a brief overview of South Korea’s waning international image (thanks to President Park’s increasingly tyrannical behavior) and stressed one of the basic principles of public relations: negative impressions, political in this case, cannot be overcome by rebuttals, which serve only to draw more attention to the original negative impression. Negative images must be overcome, outweighed by positive input, by good news from the other five sectors.

The first category where I urged reinforcement was tourism. After a page of analysis of Korea’s weak efforts to attract international visitors, I presented one case in which I had been personally involved: promotion of the 25th anniversary of the outbreak of the Korean War:

As a typical example of the failure of Korea's tourism program, let's look at the Korea Service Veterans Re-Visit Program. Planned by the government early in 1974, the program to invite American and other veterans who had served in Korea, was a brilliant idea and offered a wonderful three-fold benefit:

- A. Some 25,000 veterans and dependents would visit Korea and spend money here. An average of \$1,000 each would mean net foreign exchange earnings of \$25 million.
- B. Each visitor who leaves Korea after an exciting experience, as these veterans do, becomes a valuable salesman for future Korean tourism.
- C. The media publicity generated by these newsworthy visits, in foreign newspapers and magazines, is priceless PR for Korea, in both the tourism and political categories.

The groundwork for the Veterans Re-Visit Program was carefully done. Brochures were printed. The hotel and airline arrangements were completed. The Korean Veterans Association set up a schedule of receptions and tours for the visitors. And a tour wholesaler was appointed in Los Angeles to process the applications as they came in.

However, virtually no advertising was scheduled. It was as if a big party were planned, the food prepared, the transportation arranged, musicians and photographers standing by, but no invitations sent out.

By January of 1975 it became obvious that the target of 25,000 was too ambitious, so it was adjusted downward to 10,000. In February and March two ads were run in the AMVETS newspaper, the weakest of America's four veteran's publications. No travel trade ads were run to alert travel agents of the program and no consumer ads were run to announce the invitation to veterans.

By any measure, the program has been a failure. During the first six months, not once did KAL collect 77 veterans together in Los Angeles to qualify for the lowest group fare of \$630. The worst loss of face occurred on June 25th, the 25th anniversary of the North Korean attack; not one group of veterans was here to observe the occasion!

Not mentioned in the text was the fact that I had been requested by the Korea National Tourism Corporation to prepare a budget and a print media advertising schedule for this Re-Visit program a year in advance. I knew they were reluctant spenders so I had kept the cost down to some US\$30,000 for trade, military and consumer advertisements in US publications.

The paper continued with similar examples of major disappointments in the other fields. The foreign trade case study was another from my personal experience:

One of Korea's most successful manufacturers of electronic products is the Peninsula Electronics Company. Few people outside of the Korea Electronics Exporters Association have ever heard of it. The president of that company, Kang Bong Sik, set an unmatched record when he sold US\$1 million in clock-radios during his first six months of operation. His competitors in Korea were stunned at this achievement, but President Kang maintains that his sales are easy. He employed two tactics very unusual for Korea: he insisted on producing a top-quality product from the outset, and he advertised his product in an international trade journal.

Furthermore, his remarkable sales record was established without anyone from his company traveling overseas.

However, the unfortunate part of Peninsula's success story is that his beautiful clock-radio, which sold so well, bears a Japanese name. No, there is no Japanese partner in the company. On the contrary, the buyer is a German firm and they feel that their customers, the German consumers, will have more *confidence* in the product if it bears a Japanese label.

The brand name Sanwa is clearly evident in the attached copy of the four-color advertisement run in *Asian Sources Electronics* magazine.

That had to sting. The final two pages of the report mentioned the "most obvious selling points Korea has to offer, without contradiction, are its tourism attractions, its high-interest dollar deposit program, its dynamic international construction companies, its unique investment opportunities, and its high-quality export products." In closing, I offered my recommendations:

There are three steps that the Korean government can take to begin to benefit immediately from the power of strong advertising. These are:

- A. Private industry must be encouraged to begin advertising their products and services in the international markets. This can be done with tax incentives, allocation of dollars for the purpose of advertising overseas, or other means, just as the setting up of overseas branches is now encouraged.
- B. The government must begin to promote its own programs, such as tourism, investment and banking. Exports and construction could also be supported by the investment of government funds into "corporate-type" advertising campaigns. Naturally, these ads should be focused in those media which are read by influential business and government leaders.
- C. One or more leading international advertising agencies, with strong worldwide networks and good media connections, should be invited to open offices in Seoul to serve the leading Korean industries. Given substantial budgets and a free hand, these creative specialists can make rapid progress in shaping Korea's international image, not with propaganda, but with *truthful, hard-hitting sales messages*.

Obviously, "C" was an effort to smooth the way for Ogilvy & Mather to make an entree into Korea. "B" was a subtle endorsement of *The Financial Times of London*, for which I was then the Korea sales representative.

At my expense, fifty copies of the report were printed and distributed across Seoul, not only to the Economic Planning Board but to the offices of all the players mentioned. I heard that copies even went to the ROK CIA and the Blue House. I never received a single response.

Not long after Ogilvy & Mather signed their agreement with Korean Air Lines, I received a phone call from Tokyo. It was Charles D'Honeau, Far East sales director for *Time* magazine. He had appointed me advertising representative for Korea the year before and had published a full page ad we submitted for the Korea-made Ford Cortina in his new South Korea edition. If he hadn't yet received the KAL insertion order from O&M in Hong Kong, he was fully aware of it. This was about my \$40,000 payoff.

“John,” he said, “we have discussed the rep commission on this contract and I’m sorry to tell you it has to go to Mr. Lee.” Mr. Lee was the distributor for both *Time* and *Newsweek* (until *Newsweek* discovered this heinous split loyalty) who made sure the weekly issues cleared customs and were delivered to the local newsstands.

“But I’m your Korea rep!” I exclaimed. “I made the deal for Ogilvy!”

“Actually, you are our representative for foreign firms. Mr. Lee is responsible for Korean companies,” D’Honeau explained. This was news to me and totally unfair. My protestations were in vain and Mr. Lee enjoyed a generous unearned windfall.

The following year, in the summer of 1976, I turned S/K International Advertising Corporation over to my brother-in-law, Han Sang Suk, and relocated back to California with my family to start a new life.

Postscript

Within a year of settling down in Walnut Creek, California I received a call from a man I didn’t really recall. Mr. Kim remembered me, however, and my missionary work in Korea. He had a message for me.

“Mr. Stickler, I’m the ad representative for *Fortune* magazine in Seoul and I’m calling from San Francisco on my way back from New York City. I have just finished putting together the first Korea advertising section in *Fortune*. It cost \$80,000.” He told me how many pages it was and how many ads he had sold. After my years fighting for \$200 ads, that was impressive. “You know President Park holds a monthly meeting with the top business leaders in the country? Well, not long ago he told them all to start advertising in major publications. I just wanted to let you know I feel you left Korea a little too early. If you had hung on for one more year . . .” I congratulated him on his good fortune and wished him well in the future.

The first volunteer from Arizona to be selected by the US Peace Corps in 1961, John Stickler completed the seven-week training program for Philippines I at Penn State University. However, his draft board blocked his departure for Manila and conscripted him instead into the US Army. In 1963, as Private First Class, he was stationed in Korea for twelve months. Taking his discharge in Seoul early in 1964, he stayed on for twelve more

years, founding his own advertising agency and reporting the news for the CBS Radio Network from 1967 to 1976. He and his wife, fine artist Soma Han, have published two children's picture books on Korea: the prizewinning *Land of Morning Calm: Korean Culture Then and Now* (Shen's, 2003) and a folktale, *Maya and the Turtle* (Tuttle, 2012).



Russian Whaling in Joseon Korea

Robert D. Neff and Jeon Dong-Hun

Whaling has a long history in Korea but for the most part was nothing more than a local industry that provided whale flesh and products to the surrounding fishing villages. But in the late 19th century this changed when Korea was opened up to the West and foreign trade. In March 1883, Kim Ok-kyun was appointed commissioner to develop the country's southern islands and its whaling industry. By the end of the year Korea began exporting whale products mainly to Japan. According to a Korean Maritime Customs report, Fusan (modern Busan) exported US\$1,169 worth of whale bones and blubber while Wonsan exported 92 piculs (roughly 12,265 pounds) of whale bone worth \$800.¹

In early 1884, a newspaper reported that it was possible to easily catch at least 50 whales along the coast of Korea each month and that an unnamed whaling company was being organized [in Fusan] to take advantage of this great abundance.² It is unclear how successful the whaling company was but in 1890, a Korean fishing syndicate was established in Fusan and employed Japanese fishermen to hunt whales outside of its harbor. In just four months they managed to harvest 17 whales which were cut up and sold for about \$10,000. According to a trade report:

Much of the flesh was consumed locally as an article of diet, and the remainder was shipped to Japan, where it was either eaten or boiled down into oil. The latter process could not be advantageously done in Fusan on account of the high price of firewood. The twenty-two whale-boats and 256 men engaged in the industry used to proceed to sea each morning

¹ *The North China Herald*, October 15, 1884, pp. 414-420.

² *North China Herald*, April 16, 1884, p. 442.

at dawn and return at night, usually sculling both at sea and home. On sighting a whale two boats lowering between them a large net made of large rope, ranged themselves so as to closely encompass the whale, when the other boats advanced, and several harpoons were driven into the animal, the net was drawn tightly round it to secure its tail and to pin, as it were, the whale flippers to its side, and prevent it from diving or injuring the whalers in its frantic endeavours to escape.³

While Korea's fledgling whale industry appears to have begun in Fusan, the origin of its modern whaling industry can be traced back to Russia.

THE FIRST RUSSIAN WHALERS: 1870-1890

In 1861, Otto V. Lindholm, a 30-year-old Finnish-Russian, and two companions established a modest whaling company in the Russian Far East known as Helsingfors Whaling Company. Their operation was fairly primitive and was confined to the immediate vicinity of their base of operation but they managed to make a very good profit despite only harvesting 65 whales during their first nine years of business. By 1877 they managed to purchase a small steamship and extended their area of operation to the East Sea. Most of the whale meat and products were sold in Japan.

Although the company enjoyed the advantage of its superior logistical position (nearby Vladivostok), it was unable to compete financially with the other Western fleets – especially the Americans – and failed in 1885. But finances weren't the only reason for the company's demise.

In 1885, Akim Grigorevitch Didimoff (Dydymov), a former Russian naval officer, used his influence in the government to impede Lindholm whom he allegedly despised because of his Finnish ancestry.⁴ Didimoff wanted to be the first Russian to harvest one of his country's natural resources that had, until this period, largely been exploited by foreigners – some 40 American and Japanese whalers, each taking an

³ *London and China Telegraph*, November 7, 1891, p. 954.

⁴ Johan Nicolay Tonnessen and Ame Odd Johnsen, *The history of modern whaling* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1982), p. 131.

average 15 whales annually.⁵ When Lindholm's company failed to obtain the Russian government's support, Didimoff applied and received a 50,000 rouble (£5,000) grant and set up whaling operations at Gaidamak – about 180 km to the east of Vladivostok. Didimoff's operation was far more modern than Lindholm's.

In 1889, Didimoff bought the *Gennady Nevelskoy*, an 84-foot-long 42-ton modern whaling steamer built in Christiania, Norway. Didimoff realized that Norwegian whalers were the best in the world and that much of modern whaling owed its existence to Svend Foyn.⁶ Didimoff promptly hired Captain Foyn – a relative of Svend Foyn – and a 12-man-crew of Norwegians to bring the *Gennady Nevelskoy* to the Far East and to teach his Russian crew how to properly operate it. It was his plan that once his Russian crew was properly trained, he would send Captain Foyn back to Europe and bring back a second ship of similar design.⁷

The *Gennady Nevelskoy*, departed Christiania sometime in late July or early August and, steaming at about 10 knots, arrived in Shanghai only 57 days later. Its arrival caused a great deal of interest in Shanghai where some people had speculated that it was a new Russian gunboat – albeit, a very small one – but this misconception was soon put to rest. The ship, described as a “queer craft” and “little more than a good sized steam launch” did, however, “possess hidden possibilities.”⁸

Captain Foyn granted an interview to a reporter from *The North China Herald* (an English language newspaper in Shanghai) and told him that the ship had come all the way from Christiania and was bound for Vladivostok to engage in whaling. The reporter was amazed that such a “cockleshell had braved the winds and waves” from such a distant port and even the captain admitted that while passing through the Indian Ocean the decks were barely four and a half inches above the water-line and the decks were constantly flooded.⁹ But the captain was extremely proud of his speedy little ship.

⁵ *The Echo* (London), October 31, 1891, p. 2; *London and China Telegraph*, November 3, 1891, p. 936.

⁶ Svend Foyn (1809-1894), a Norwegian, is credited with pioneering modern whaling through the invention of his exploding harpoon.

⁷ “Whales and Whalers”, *North China Herald*, October 11, 1889, p. 454.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

The captain then went on to patiently explain the modern Norwegian equipment and techniques used to kill the whales and life aboard the ship.

According to him, the primary weapon was the harpoon gun which was about 5 inches thick, with a bore of 3 1/2 inches. "We use a charge of 24 grammes of powder [to fire the harpoons], which is sufficient for a distance of 15 or 20 fathoms," he explained.¹⁰ He further went on to say that the head of the harpoon had "a charge of gunpowder, which exploded by the breaking of a glass tube filled with nitro-glycerine, when the weapon hit the whale."¹¹ The whale line, a huge hemp rope nearly five inches in diameter and 400 fathoms long was "hung on a wire loop outside the gun. When we have struck a whale, we make steam after him so as to make the strain on the line as slight as possible, and when he is exhausted we can haul him in by means of a Foy'n's patent steam windlass."¹²

Life aboard the ship was extremely cramped. In addition to the crew, four boats had to be stowed along with an abundant supply of coal for the ship's engine. The ship burned three tons of coal daily but its bunkers were too small to hold all the supply needed so coal was often stored above deck in large bags.

After a short stay in Shanghai, the *Gennady Nevelskoy* resumed its voyage and arrived in Vladivostok on October 31, 1889.¹³ Almost immediately the ship was put to work and the first whale was killed on November 10, by a modern harpoon fired by Didimoff's own hand.¹⁴ The young cow blue-whale was killed near Wrangel Bay and towed back to Vladivostok where it was butchered. The whale meat, which was described as having the color and general appearance to beef, was deemed unfit for salting down due to its powerful smell.¹⁵ Afterwards he left the whale killing to his Norwegian and later the Russia crew. Judging from

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Johan Nicolay Tonnessen and Ame Odd Johnsen, *The history of modern whaling*, p. 131.

¹⁴ There is some question as to the date, a contemporary newspaper, *North China Herald*, claims it was on November 22. Johan Nicolay Tonnessen and Ame Odd Johnsen, *The history of modern whaling*, p. 131; *North China Herald*, January 3, 1890, p. 17.

¹⁵ *North China Herald*, January 3, 1890, p. 17.

contemporary newspapers in China and Japan, they were somewhat successful.

During the summer months the company hunted whales in the East Sea and along the Korean coast. Most of the whales caught along the Korean peninsula were cut up into blubber and flesh, salted, and then taken to Nagasaki where the Japanese consumers apparently could not get enough. Didimoff's company was more than willing to do its part to supply the Japanese with whale meat.

In January 1890, the *Gennady Nevelskoy* and its schooner/tender, *Nadejde*,¹⁶ arrived in Nagasaki, Japan with a large cargo of whale

¹⁶ The *Nadejde* was commanded by Friedolf (Fabian) Kirillovich Gek, (1836-1904), a Finn and a long time resident in the Far East who is credited with playing a key role in the establishment of the Russian whaling enterprise in the Far East. Contemporary newspapers often referred to him as Captain Hook which may be due to the violent death his wife suffered at the hands of Chinese bandits. While he was away in 1879, a band of Manchurian bandits – known as Hung Hu Tse or Red Beards, attacked his home on Sedemi Peninsula in the Russian Maritime Province and brutally hacked to death his wife and then hung her remains on a hook. His only child, a blond six-year-old boy, was abducted. Gek and a group of Korean settlers managed to track the bandits down to the Manchurian border and exacted revenge, rescuing many Korean hostages but of his son there was no sign. Apparently attacks upon Western families in the Russian Maritime Provinces were not that rare. Charles Cooper, one of the first American businessmen in Korea, suffered a similar fate when part of his family was murdered by the Red Beards. He was forced to leave Vladivostok after exacting revenge on countless numbers of Chinese – many, who may not have been bandits.

In later years Gek remarried and retired to his home on the Sedemi Peninsula. His Finnish-styled home was near the shore and the main gate was fashioned out of giant whale bones. Valery G. Yankovsky remembers his father telling him that the old captain used to go out and harpoon sleeping whales and, “pipe in hand, [transport] a carcass of a whale from the whaling boat. The whale would sit on the half-submerged huge black body of his prey, with a rowing boat towing him and his victim to shore.” Valery G. Yankovsky, *From the Crusades to Gulag and Beyond* (Sydney, Australia: Elliot Snow, 2007), pp. 6-7, 186 and 189; Robert D. Neff and Sungwha Chung, *Korea Through Western Eyes* (Seoul, South Korea: Seoul National University Press, 2009), pp. 295-302; Alexei Postnikov, “The Charting of the Eastern (Japan) Sea and Korean coasts by Russian Sailors in the Nineteenth Century” a paper presented at Kyunghee University, Seoul, Korea, 1999 viewed on May 22, 2011 at

http://geo.khu.ac.kr/seanames/files/1999_5th/1999_5_english.pdf.

blubber and bone taken from six large whales that they had caught off the coast of Korea. For this rich haul the company received seven or eight thousand dollars.¹⁷ Within four months, Didimoff's ships managed to catch 23 whales netting the operation 20,000 roubles (about 15,000 US dollars) in profit.¹⁸ By the end of 1890, seventy three whales had been taken from the northern Pacific and along the east coast of Korea.

But whaling is inherently a dangerous occupation and the seas around Korea were notorious for their storms. On December 30, Didimoff and *Gennady Nevelskoy* departed from a port in northern Korea bound for its homeport east of Vladivostok.¹⁹ The weather was most likely rough but not impossible but the ship only carried two days' worth of coal and this may have contributed to its loss. After a couple of days, when the steamer failed to appear, Captain Gek and the schooner *Nadejde* went out and sailed along the entire eastern coast of Korea in a futile search but Didimoff, the *Gennady Nevelskoy* and the 14-man crew were never seen again.²⁰ Gek would later honor the memories of some of the *Gennady Nevelskoy*'s crew by naming geographical features of Korea's coast after them.²¹

Didimoff's demise left the door opened for another Russian whaling company to establish itself – the Russian Pacific Whaling and Fishing Company. It was far more successful and played a somewhat more important role in Korea's history.

¹⁷ *North China Herald*, January 31, 1890 Page 108; *North China Herald*, March 13, 1891, p. 296; *London and China Telegraph*, March 17, 1890, p. 225; *The Rising Sun & Nagasaki Express*, March 25, 1891, p. 2.

¹⁸ Johan Nicolay Tonnessen and Arne Odd Johnsen, *The history of modern whaling*, p. 131; *The Echo* (London), October 31, 1891, p. 2; *London and China Telegraph*, November 3, 1891, p. 936.

¹⁹ *The Echo* (London), October 31, 1891, p. 2; *London and China Telegraph*, November 3, 1891, p. 936; *North China Herald*, March 13, 1891, p. 296.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ S. M. Velisov, Patov, Kuchman, Ioganson, Datson, Anderson, Polonin, Popov, Sidorov and Filimonov were said to have been members of the crew but not all of the names seem to be Russian. John Martin Crawford, ed., *Siberia and the Great Siberian Railway* (St. Petersburg, Russia: Department of Trade and Manufacturers Imperial Ministry of Finance, 1893), p. 141; Nikolai Komedvnikov, "Historical Russian sea names of the eastern coast of Korea", *The 14th International Seminar on Sea Names Geography, Sea Names, and Undersea Features*, p. 171.

COUNT KEYSERLING'S RUSSIAN PACIFIC WHALE FISHING COMPANY

The third Russian company, and by far the most profitable, was the Russian Pacific Whale Fishing Company – founded in 1894 by another former Russian naval officer, Count Otto Hugo Henry Keyserling.

Keyserling was the third son of a Russian noble living in what is now modern Lithuania. Aware that there was little chance that he would inherit any substantial estate, he entered the Imperial Russian Naval School in St. Petersburg in 1882 and became a commissioned naval officer in 1888 at the age of twenty-two. It was while serving with the Russian navy in the Far East that he became interested in whaling.²²

What sparked this interest is unclear – perhaps Keyserling had been acquainted with Didimoff and when the latter disappeared in December 1890, it left a void for anyone willing to take the chance. Keyserling was more than willing to take that chance.

Realizing that the Norwegians were some of the best whalers in the world, Keyserling was determined to learn their techniques but this was no easy task – the Norwegians jealously guarded their secrets. Through a friend's assistance, Keyserling was able to find employment as a sailor aboard a Norwegian whaling boat operating in the waters around Iceland. After learning as much as he could, he applied for and received from the Russian government a loan of 125,000 roubles (£12,500) in which he used to start the Russian Pacific Whale Fishing Company (RPWFC) in 1894. He was also granted a 21-year concession entitling him to operate in five different places along the Siberian coast – including Gaidamak, Didimoff's base of operations.²³

Keyserling then ordered two whale catchers, larger than normal, to be built at Akers Works in Christiana, Norway. Each of these 49-ton ships cost £5,000 to build and was 96 feet long with “triple expansion engines” and capable of steaming at about eleven and a half knots per hour. They were christened the *Georgie* and the *Nicolai*, and were captained respectively by Keyserling and J.B. Aulin. They arrived in Gaidamak in early 1895.²⁴ These ships joined the *Siberia*, a steam

²² Robert Henry Keyserling, *Count Otto Hugo Henry (The Whaler) Keyserling (1866-1944)*, p. 1, viewed on May 18, 2011 at www.box.net/shared/dsOorrm178

²³ Johan Nicolay Tonnessen and Arne Odd Johnsen. *The history of modern whaling*, p. 132.

²⁴ “Whaling on the Corean Coast”, *The Rising Sun & Nagasaki Express*, June 17, 1896, p. 2; *The London an China Telegraph*, August 5, 1896, p. 636; Robert

schooner used to process the catch, and had a very successful year - 84 whales caught and processed.²⁵

One of the first reports of the RPWFC and its successes appeared in the Japanese newspaper in late March 1896 when the *Nicolai* arrived in Nagasaki with a large shipment of whalebone which was sold in the local market.²⁶ In one week alone the *Nicolai* killed ten whales – including one 86 feet long.²⁷ Like the earlier Russian companies, the RPWFC systematically worked its way along the Korean coast and harvested large numbers of whales.

The small whale catchers – the *Nicolai* and *Georgi* – were equipped with a modern harpoon gun that fired explosive harpoons that, when imbedded in the whale, spread the harpoon's barbs – usually killing the whale quickly and ensuring that it did not drift away. According to a newspaper reporter who interviewed the crew:

“A boat is then launched and, if necessary, the animal is lanced until dead. It is brought alongside and secured by some curious looking India-rubber strops attached to the fore rigging and then towed in towards the coast to the steam schooner *Siberia* where the blubber is removed and ‘trying out’ operations conducted, while the captor rejoins her consort in search of fresh monsters of the deep.”²⁸

Of course, not everything went smoothly. One night, during heavy seas:

“One large whale was shot, appeared to be defunct, had a chain passed round his tail and strops around his middle, and was hauled up alongside, when he suddenly commenced to revive and raised such a commotion that the lines had to be let go and another explosive harpoon put into him for fear

Henry Keyserling, *Count Otto Hugo Henry (The Whaler) Keyserling (1866-1944)*, pp. 5-6.

²⁵ 수산업협동조합중앙회 한국 포경사 (Seoul, South Korea: 수산업협동조합중앙회, 1987), pp. 185 and 216; *North China Herald*, August 13, 1897, p. 299.

²⁶ *The Rising Sun & Nagasaki Express*, April 1, 1896, p. 3.

²⁷ “Whaling on the Korean Coast”, *The Rising Sun & Nagasaki Express*, June 17, 1896, p. 2; *The London and China Telegraph*, August 5, 1896, p. 636.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

that he would overset the little craft to which he was attached.”²⁹

Life aboard the ships, despite the dangers, could also be comfortable – as least if you were the captain or the gunner. When the *Nicolai* and the *Georgi* were at Nagasaki in June 1896 for an overhaul, a reporter for the local English-language newspaper, *The Rising Sun & Nagasaki Express*, toured the ship and wrote:

“The cabins aft remind one more of those of a gentleman’s yacht than of a whaler. They are upholstered in mahogany and Morocco leather, heated by steam, and supplied with every luxury and convenience possible, even to rich services of silver plate, each article fitting into a specially contrived receptacle. The ships’ instruments are also extremely excellent; sextants with electric sights, compasses by Sir William Thompson, and other appliances testifying to the care and money spent upon their equipment. A curious feature of both is that [everything] on one vessel is exactly duplicated on the other, even to the very pictures in the cabins, so that one could easily be puzzled as to which vessel he was in.”³⁰

Not only were the ships interesting to the journalist but so, too, were their crews. Russians commanded the ships, Norwegians were the gunners and the deckhands were all Koreans and Chinese – a truly international operation. It isn’t clear what language was used aboard these ships but undoubtedly it was a mixture.

The company’s operating expenses seems to be a little uncertain. According to one source, the monthly expenditures for one of the company’s ships operating in the Ulsan area in 1896 was roughly 200 won for 40 tons of coal, 20 won for machine oil, the ship’s captain and first officer received 70 and 50 won respectively. The wage for three harpooners was 80 won as was the cost of 4 deckhands. The cook received 35 won and the cost of provisions was an additional 200 won making a total of 735 won. Considering the company caught on the average 20 whales per month and that each whale was worth 1,000 won, this left it

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

with a huge profit.³¹ But the company didn't always manage to catch 20 whales per month. In fact, during the whaling season of 1896 (a period of six months) the company only managed to catch 56 whales.³²

Norwegian Hendrik G. Melstrom, one of the harpoon gunners was reportedly paid 125 roubles (£12.5) per month and given a further commission of 20 roubles (£2 pounds) per whale – regardless of the size or type – that he managed to kill. It wasn't a princely sum.³³ And, according to him, the average whale brought £175 in Japan and the largest sold for £700. The company was making a large amount of money – in 1896 earned \$398,697 (about £78,000).³⁴ This, however, was only the beginning and the company caught about 80 whales annually in 1897 and 1898.³⁵ According to the *Korea Repository*, in 1898, more than two million pounds of whale flesh (worth 112,940 yen) were exported to Nagasaki by the Russian whalers operating off the coast of Korea.³⁶ According to another source, the Russians exported to Japan 1,545,277 pounds of whale flesh, 281,202 pounds of bones and 68,841 containers of

³¹ Seung Kim, “The Whaling Industry and Social Aspect of Jangsaengpo in Ulsan in the End of The Daehan Empire and under the Rule of Japanese Imperialism” 역사와세계 제33 집 (June 2008), p. 7.

³² 수산업협동조합중앙회 한국 포경사 (Seoul, South Korea: 수산업협동조합중앙회, 1987), pp. 185 and 216.

³³ Morten Petersen worked for the Russians up until he was lured away by a rival Japanese company. According to his three-year contract, he received a monthly wage of 200 yen (the roubles and yen were worth almost the same in exchange) and a commission of 30 yen for every whale caught – regardless of size – unless it was a right whale in which case he received 150 yen. Considering the boat usually caught 60 whales annually, Petersen was making great wages – far more than he received with the Russians. Johan Nicolay Tonnessen and Arne Odd Johnsen, *The history of modern whaling*, p. 137.

³⁴ 수산업협동조합중앙회 한국 포경사, pp. 185 and 216; *North China Herald*, August 13, 1897, p. 299.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ A newspaper in Texas reported that more than 2 million pounds of whale flesh was exported to Japan in 1890 but this seems to be a typo and should have been 1898. “Russia Secures Whaling Ports”, *The Korea Repository – Local Edition*, Vol. 1 No. 8, March 30, 1899, pp. 1-2; “Whale Meat as Food”, *The Evening News*, (Mexia, Texas) September 13, 1899, p. 1.

whale oil.³⁷ Interesting enough, the Korean Customs Department reported that only 20,000 yen worth of whale meat was exported to Japan through the port of Wonsan.³⁸ This may have led to the troubles that the company soon found itself in.

THE CONCESSIONS

On November 1, 1898, the *Georgi* was seized near Chinpo Island, (Hamgyeong Province) by the Korean Imperial Maritime Customs service for illegally harvesting whales. The RPWFC argued that the vessel carried a Russian permit to hunt whales and demanded 34,445 yen in compensation for the illegal seizure. The Korean government counterclaimed that the RPWFC owed it 115,920 yen for poaching.³⁹

In mid-March 1899, the Russian Charge d'affaires and Consul General to Korea, Aleksandr Ivanovich Pavloff, demanded in an official note addressed to the Korean Foreign Office that the negotiations between the RPWFC and the Korean government were to be resolved within three days or he would personally represent the matter to Emperor Kojong.⁴⁰ But there was great opposition to granting the Russians a whaling concession. In a Privy Council, one councilor argued that granting this concession would allow other nations to seek similar concessions in Korea and that if they were not careful there would be no Korea for the Koreans. Another councilor suggested that not only should the concession be denied but all other previous concessions – those to the other foreign nations dealing with timber, railroads, mines and fisheries should also be cancelled. Others argued that Russia was “greedy for territory” and that it was the duty of the councilors “to defend the empire even tho Russia should turn her cannon upon us and we should die in numbers as in times of the cholera scourge.”⁴¹ The council voted for the concession to be refused. This, however, infuriated the Acting Prime Minister, for the government had already decided to grant the petition (it had been drawn

³⁷ 수산업협동조합중앙회 한국 포경사, p. 185.

³⁸ *Trade of Corea for the Year 1898*, No. 2132 (London, England: Harrison and Sons, 1899), p. 7.

³⁹ *North China Herald*, March 20 and September 4, 1899; *Newport Daily News*, April 3, 1899.

⁴⁰ *North China Herald*, April 3, 1899, p. 588.

⁴¹ “Russia Secures Whaling Ports”, *The Korean Repository – Local Edition*, Vol. 1 No. 8, March 30, 1899, pp. 1-2.

up a couple of years earlier but never ratified⁴²) and he asked the emperor to dismiss the councilors from their positions – which the emperor did.

On March 29, 1899, the Keyserling Whaling Concession was granted. The RPWFC was granted to select three plots of land, 700 feet in length and 350 in width along the coast at Cape Tikhmeneff (Jangsaengpo in Ulsan City) in South Gyeongsang Province, Seishin (Changshin) in Gangwon Province and on Chinpo Island – where the *Georgi* was seized. As part of his agreement he was allowed to construct building and erect machinery needed to harvest and process the whales. It was preferable that Koreans be hired to do the labor but in the event of strikes or unsuccessful workmanship, the company was free to hire workmen of any nationality that had treaty relations with the Korean government. The company agreed to pay 150 yen annually for each plot of land and during whaling operations to have one custom's employee present at each station and to pay the customs department 100 yen per month per employee. In addition, 20 yen would be paid as a tax on each whale – regardless of size – caught by the company off the Korean coast. The *North China Herald* dutifully reported the granting of the concession and then noted: "The Corean Government propose to raise a loan of 3 million yen from Russia and negotiations are now in progress through the Russian Minister."⁴³

In a report to his government, John Jordan, the British representative to Korea, wrote that the concessions "have undoubtedly a disintegrating effect upon the territorial independence of Corea" but argued that in his opinion Keyserling's concession was "an infinitely small abrogation of Corea's sovereign rights than do the various mining and railway concessions which have been granted to subjects and citizens of the United States, France, Germany and Great Britain."⁴⁴ Sir Ernest Satow, the British Minister to Japan, noted that "if Russia obtains grants of land for carrying on the whale fishery, Japan must secure corresponding concessions for her fishermen."⁴⁵ His observation proved correct.

⁴² John Jordan to the Marquess of Salisbury, No. 26, Confidential, April 25, 1899, *British Diplomatic Despatches*.

⁴³ *North China Herald*, June 20, 1899, p. 1104.

⁴⁴ John Jordan to the Marquess of Salisbury, No. 26, Confidential, April 25, 1899, *British Diplomatic Despatches*.

⁴⁵ Sir Ernest Satow to the Marquess of Salisbury, No. 67, Confidential, April 1899, *British Diplomatic Despatches*.

The RPWFC set up its stations at the indicated ports but it was at Jangsaengpo that it established the center of its operations. In 1901, the RPWFC's Chinese employees at Jangsaengpo constructed dormitories and a wooden bridge and then in the following year built a processing plant, coal storage and recreation facilities.⁴⁶

INNOVATION AND FAILURE

Sir Satow's prediction proved to be correct. In 1898, an Anglo-Russian whaling firm was established by the Nagasaki firm of Holme, Ringer & Co. The company had a single whaler, the *Olga*, and was not very successful. After only a couple of years of active whaling the company ended up leasing its ship to its Japanese competitor – Nihon Gyogyo.⁴⁷

In 1899, Nihon Enyo Gyogyo (Japan Ocean Whaling Co.) commonly referred to as the Ichimaru Kaisha, was established by Oka Juro and began whaling in early 1900 – its modern whaling vessel, the *Daiichi Choshu Maru*, commanded by Captain Morten Petersen – a Norwegian – had a fairly unsuccessful first season.⁴⁸

While modern sources indicate that the above companies were not very successful, the trade reports from Wonsan seem to indicate that they were:

“The whaling industry on the eastern coast of Corea has been prosecuted with success during the past year [1900]. Two Russian companies and one Japanese company are now engaged in this industry. To the Japanese company and one of the Russian companies certain privileges have been granted, the first-named being allowed to take whales anywhere on the coast within the 3-mile limit, while the Russian company is permitted to land captured whales at three stations on the coast, where the flesh and blubber are

⁴⁶ Seung Kim, “The Whaling Industry and Social Aspect of Jangsaengpo in Ulsan in the End of The Daehan Empire and under the Rule of Japanese Imperialism” 역사와세계 제33 집 (June 2008), p. 9.

⁴⁷ Johan Nicolay Tonnessen and Arne Odd Johnsen, *The history of modern whaling*, pp. 136-138; Arne Kalland and Brian Moeran, *Japanese Whaling: End of an Era?* (London, UK: Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2010), p. 53; *North China Herald*, December 11, 1901, p. 1115.

⁴⁸ Johan Nicolay Tonnessen and Arne Odd Johnsen, *The history of modern whaling*, pp. 136-138; *The North China Herald*, December 11, 1901, p. 1115.

prepared for export. The third company has received no special privileges, and conducts its operation from a treaty port.”⁴⁹

The following year, 1901, another report from Wonsan seems to indicate that the whaling companies were very successful – especially RPWFC:

“The whaling business in the Korean Sea in 1901 is reported to have been very prosperous. The amounts of the duties paid by some whaling companies to the Korean Government are as follows: - 1,532.95 yen by the Japan Ocean Whaling Company, 1,044.75 yen by Messrs. Holme, Ringer and Co. (British) and 3,565.95 yen by the Russian Pacific Whaling Company.”⁵⁰

But things weren't as rosy as the report seems to indicate. The Holme Ringer & Co., found it financially more advantageous to lease the *Olga* to their competitor, Japan Ocean Whaling Company, for a princely sum of 5,000 yen (US\$2,500) per month.⁵¹ The Japan Ocean Whaling Company was willing to pay this exorbitant price because it anticipated a good harvest but it had not taken into consideration Mother Nature. On December 2, 1901, the *Daiichi Choshu Maru*, floundered off the coast of Wonsan during a powerful gale and three crew members were lost.⁵² It was a tremendous loss to the Japanese company as it was its only modern vessel except for the leased-*Olga*. The company, however, managed to scrape together enough money to rent two identical Norwegian-owned ships – the *Rex* and *Reginia*⁵³ – paying the Norwegian company 10,000 yen (US\$5,000) per month for the ships.⁵⁴ It went on to become very

⁴⁹ *Trade of Corea for the Year 1900*, No. 2687 (London, England: Harrison and Sons, 1901), p. 15.

⁵⁰ “Korea”, *The London and China Telegraph*, January 13, 1902, p. 23.

⁵¹ This company was established in Nagasaki in 1898 but did so poorly during their first couple of years that by 1901 they leased out the *Olga* to their competitor. Johan Nicolay Tonnessen and Arne Odd Johnsen, *The history of modern whaling*, pp. 136-138; *North China Herald*, December 11, 1901, p. 1115.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ The *Reginia* was lost off the coast of Ulsan in December 1905 – fortunately there were no fatalities. *North China Herald*, December 29, 1905, p. 725.

⁵⁴ Johan Nicolay Tonnessen and Arne Odd Johnsen, *The history of modern whaling*, pp. 136-138.

successful and would rival the RPWFC until the latter's demise following the Russo-Japanese War.

With the introduction of the other two whaling companies, Keyserling sought to keep ahead of his competitors through innovation. In 1899, following the advice of August Sommermeyer, the company's engineer, Keyserling purchased a 3,643-ton British steamer for 156,000 roubles (£15,600) and rechristened it the *Michail*. It was Keyserling's intention to have the ship converted into the world's first floating factory steamship but almost immediately there were problems.⁵⁵ Finding a shipyard to do the conversion was not easy so the company took advantage of the lucrative freight rates and used the ship for nearly two years as a normal freighter netting a fairly large profit. The company's procrastination probably ended in 1901 after its whaling station on Gaidamak was destroyed by a fire and the *Michail* was sent to a Danzig shipyard in the winter of 1902/03 for conversion.⁵⁶

After its conversion in Danzig, the *Michail* was brought to the Pacific where it received its first whale on July 27, 1903. Within four months the ship had processed 98 whales into oil and guano with "a 40% higher utilization of the raw material than would be the case on shore." but it had fallen far short of its six-whale-a-day quota.⁵⁷

In 1903, C.E.S. Wakefield, the commissioner of customs at the Korean port of Wonsan, described the Russians as being very successful in their harvest of some 236 fin-back and humpback whales that had been attracted to the large shoals of herring, sardine and *myeng-tae* (Alaska pollack). He reported that the Russians "inaugurated a novel method of dealing with the carcasses in employing a factory steamer of over 4,000 tons burthen on which they 'tried out' the oil and reduced the mead to dust by means of elaborate machinery, for fertilizing purposes" but noted that their efforts were "said to have been unsuccessful, the machinery being insufficiently powerful."⁵⁸ He also speculated that "probably a smaller

⁵⁵ Ian Hart, "Appendix I, Modern Russian Whaling in the Far East", *Marine Fisheries Review*, Vol. 70 No. 2, 2008 (Seattle, WA: National Marine Fisheries Service, 2008), p. 56.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Johan Nicolay Tonnessen and Arne Odd Johnsen, *The history of modern whaling*, p. 133.

⁵⁸ C.E.S. Wakefield, Commissioner of Customs, *Korea, Imperial Maritime Customs Returns of Trade and Trade Reports for the year 1903* (Seoul, Korea: The Seoul Press, 1904), p. 163.

vessel would have fulfilled all requirements equally well.”⁵⁹ Even Sommermeyer had to admit that “the ideal was nothing like achieved.”⁶⁰

Prior to designing the floating factory, Sommermeyer had little practical experience in designing whaling equipment and thus made several mistakes. One of these mistakes was in regards to the rending machinery which had been patterned after machinery used to grind down horse bones. Whale bones are much longer and stronger than horse bones and have to be cut into smaller pieces and then boiled until they are soft enough to be ground down. This wasn't done on the *Michail* and caused the machinery to often break down.⁶¹

Melsom, the harpoon gunner, was not pleased with a lot of the innovations. He later claimed that the company “was extremely badly managed, had some difficulty in processing the catch, and the entire way this enterprise was managed was such a parody that [his] period spent in Russian service was far from encouraging”. He summed it up as “absolute chaos reigned.”⁶²

Despite Melsom's negative appraisal, the RPWFC was doing very well and soon had a capital of nearly 1.5 million roubles making it one of the largest Russian enterprises in the Far East. At Gaidamak there was a cannery that pickled fish and vegetables in tomato and natural sauces; a barrel factory that produced “barrels for salting of fish, caviar, beer, spirits and etc”; and a sawmill that produced “containers for every purpose including oil, soap, sweets, tea and etc.”⁶³

While the foreign whaling companies were enjoying good profits, Korea received very little in the way of duties collected on the whales harvested off of its coast. In 1903, Wakefield complained that the high number of whales harvested added very little wealth to Korea. Even though, for statistical purposes, each whale was judged to be worth 500 yen, Korea received only 20 yen in duties because the whales were caught by foreigners for foreign markets – namely Japan.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Johan Nicolay Tonnessen and Arne Odd Johnsen, *The history of modern whaling*, p. 134.

⁶¹ Robert Henry Keyserling (grandson of Count Keyserling), *Count Otto Hugo Henry (The Whaler) Keyserling (1866-1944)*, p. 1.

⁶² Johan Nicolay Tonnessen and Arne Odd Johnsen, *The history of modern whaling*, pp. 132-133.

⁶³ Robert Henry Keyserling, *Count Otto Hugo Henry (The Whaler) Keyserling (1866-1944)*, p. 5.

⁶⁴ C.E.S. Wakefield, Commissioner of Customs, *Korea, Imperial Maritime*

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

Keyserling's company had another source of income – a source that was kept relatively secret. In the closing months of 1903, few doubted that war would soon breakout in the Far East between Russia and Japan as both countries sought to place Korea within their sphere of control. It was the Russian timber concession along the Yalu River that proved to be the final straw.

The Russian government, in preparation for the likely war with Japan, secretly provided Keyserling's company with an annual sum of 50,000 roubles in exchange for the company sounding and charting Korean and Japanese waters.⁶⁵ And, in the event of war, the entire whaling fleet was to be at the disposal of the Russian navy. At the time, the whaling fleet consisted of the floating factory, *Michail*; the two whale chasers, *Nicholai* and the *Georgi*; a transport ship (name unknown), and eight small sailing schooners used to transport blubber and meat to Japan.⁶⁶

Keyserling's secret connection with the Russian government wasn't quite as secret as he may have thought. Angus Hamilton sarcastically declared that the "Pacific Whale Fishing Company, which, plying its trade off the coast of Korea, collects very valuable information of unsurveyed bays and unsounded anchorages, water-holes, coal-deposits, and currents – an occasionally catches a whale."⁶⁷

In late January 1904, Japanese papers reported that the Russians were using the whaling vessels "for reconnoitering service in the Corean Strait using Fusan as their home base."⁶⁸ Less than two weeks later the Russo-Japanese War began and Keyserling's entire whaling fleet – with the exception of the *Georgi* – was captured by the Japanese and its crews interned as prisoners of war.⁶⁹

Customs Returns of Trade and Trade Reports for the year 1903, p. 165.

⁶⁵ Johan Nicolay Tonnessen and Arne Odd Johnsen, *The history of modern whaling*, p. 134.

⁶⁶ "The Russian 'Pacific Whale Fishing Company,' of which a count is president, has 12 ships and during last year caught 70 whales." Homer B. Hulbert, ed., *The Korea Review* Vol. 3 (Seoul, Korea: The Methodist Publishing House, 1903), p. 317; Angus Hamilton, *Korea* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), p. 192.

⁶⁷ Angus Hamilton, *Korea*, p. 192; "Korea" *New York Times*, February 27, 1904.

⁶⁸ *North China Herald*, January 29, 1904, p. 164.

⁶⁹ Johan Nicolay Tonnessen and Arne Odd Johnsen, *The history of modern*

The *Georgi* made its way to Shanghai where it remained safe from combat but not from violence. Captain Zimenkoff and his wife, electing to live aboard the ship, released the crew but maintained a small Chinese staff to do the household tasks. One morning in mid-May, 1904, a Russian sailor went aboard the ship and, hearing a faint moan coming from the cabin, discovered Captain Zimenkoff mortally wounded – he died an hour later. His wife, discovered nearby in her bed, had already succumbed to her horrific wounds. Both appeared to have been attacked with a hatchet and possibly a knife – indicating that there was more than one assailant.⁷⁰

Although anchored next to the Russian gunboat, *Manjour*, and, in effect, guarded by its sentries, police suspected that robbery had been the motive for the attack. The Zimenkoffs were “said to have had a good deal of silver and other domestic valuables with them” but of this alleged treasure none was discovered aboard the ransacked vessel. Apparently the perpetrators of this horrible crime were never captured.⁷¹

POST WAR

The war proved devastating to not only the Russian government but also ended Russia’s whaling industry in Korea. Keyserling had lost over 1,000,000 roubles and was never compensated for the loss of his whaling fleet. He did, however, maintain his facilities at Gaidamak and, in 1906, managed to establish a steamship line operating out of Vladivostok that eventually possessed a fleet of ten ships.⁷² Once again, war – this time World War I – financially ruined him. His ships were used by the Russian Government with the assurances that they would be returned after peace was established – this never happened. The Russian revolution brought great change and unrest and Keyserling found himself living in Japan, China and finally Germany where he died in 1944.

whaling, p. 134.

⁷⁰ “Murder: Tragedy on the Russian Whaler,” *North China Herald*, May 20, 1904, p. 1054.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Robert Henry Keyserling, *Count Otto Hugo Henry (The Whaler) Keyserling (1866-1944)*, p. 5.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

The currency conversions were based upon trade reports and other various sources and those in parentheses are approximations.

WHALES CAPTURED BY THE RPWFC⁷³

1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903
84	56	80	80	188**	70	236	110*	110*

*According to the History of Modern Whaling, the company's average annual whale catch between 1895-1903 was 110 whales.

** The combined number of whales caught along the coast by the Japanese and Russian companies.

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⁷³ Chart made up using Trade Reports and the *Korea Review* 1903.

How the West First Learned about Korea

Brother Anthony of Taizé

The Earliest Reports

A lot of people know that the *Travels* of Marco Polo (1254-1324) include a reference to people from a region called “Cauly” or “Kauli,” which is the name often given to Korea in old Chinese-based accounts. They think this is the first European reference to Korea. They are probably wrong, for other Europeans had reached the regions to the north-west of China before him. One, William of Rubruck (c. 1220 – c. 1293) was a Franciscan missionary and explorer. His account is one of the masterpieces of medieval geographical literature. William accompanied King Louis IX of France on the Seventh Crusade in 1248. Then, on May 7, 1253, on Louis’ orders, he set out from Constantinople on a missionary journey that took him to the court of the Great Khan at Karakorum, where he was given an audience on January 4, 1254. On his return, William presented to King Louis IX a very clear and precise report, entitled *Itinerarium fratris Willielmi de Rubruquis de ordine fratrum Minorum, Galli, Anno gratia 1253 ad partes Orientales*. He lists names of people he saw at the court and it is generally thought that those he calls “Solanga” were from Manchuria or North Korea and “Muc” perhaps from Southern Korea. His mere mention of them cannot really be called an “account of Korea,” however.

Fernão Mendes Pinto and the Portuguese

The first Europeans to sail to India and then on as far as the countries of North East Asia were the Portuguese. On 8 July 1497 Vasco da Gama set out with a fleet of four ships from Lisbon. The fleet arrived near Calicut, India on 20 May 1498, then returned home, having established the route. Slowly, amidst terrible violence, Portuguese settlements were founded. The Portuguese State of India was established in 1505. After 1510, the capital of the Portuguese viceroyalty was transferred from Calicut to Goa.

In April 1511 the Portuguese reached Malacca in Malaysia, a major trading center, with Malay, Gujarati, Chinese, Japanese, Javanese, Bengali, Persian and Arabic traders. They conquered the city on 24 August 1511 and massacred the Muslim traders. Malacca became the strategic base for Portuguese trade expansion with China, Japan and South-east Asia. It was later captured by the Dutch in 1641. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to reach China by sea, arriving in Guangzhou (“Canton”) in 1514. They began trading in Ningbo around 1522, attacking and pillaging multiple Chinese port cities around Ningbo. They also enslaved people. In 1545 the entire Portuguese community of Ningbo were exterminated by Chinese but finally they were granted use of Macau as a base for trade in 1557. Another Portuguese base was on the island of Shangchuan, (where St. Francis Xavier died in 1552).

The first three Europeans known by records to have reached Japan in the year 1543 were the Portuguese traders António da Mota, António Peixoto and Francisco Zeimoto who arrived on a Chinese ship at the southern island of Tanegashima. If we are to believe his account, Fernão Mendes Pinto (1509 - 1583) was with them, although his book is not always strictly biographical, he also appropriates others’ stories. Some time before 1540, he claims, during very adventurous journeys, he and two companions boarded a Chinese pirate junk, which was cast by a storm onto the Japanese island of Tanegashima, just south of Kyushu; they gained the favor of a feudal lord, to whom he claims they gave the first European firearm to enter Japan, the Portuguese *arquebus* (snap matchlock). The weapon, immediately adopted by the Japanese and produced in huge quantities, was to have a major impact during the Japanese civil wars as well as the ensuing invasion of Joseon Korea. Known in Japan as the Tanegashima from the place of its introduction, it was later banned as uncivilized, and replaced by the traditional samurai sword.

In 1549, the great Jesuit missionary (Saint) Francis Xavier reached Japan, with other Jesuits, and a few years later Pinto writes that he met him there, witnessed his debates with Buddhist monks, and helped bring him back to Malacca. Later, after the death of Francis Xavier, Pinto brought other Jesuits to Japan and helped them establish their mission there.

The extraordinary story of Pinto’s adventures was written down by him in about 1569, after his return home to Portugal, but was only published in 1614, thirty years after his death in 1583, with the title *Peregrinação de Fernam Mendez Pinto*. A complete French translation

was published soon after. The book enjoyed great success in Portugal, and in Spain where it was translated in an elegant style, very different from the original which is deliberately simple and artless. Pinto's *persona* is a naive reporter, like Hythloday in More's *Utopia*. An English version, very much abbreviated (it has less than 100 chapters, compared to the over 200 chapters of the original) and with no account of the mission of Francis Xavier in Japan, appeared in 1653, during the Commonwealth under Oliver Cromwell, as *The voyages and adventures of Fernand Mendez Pinto, a Portugal*. It was barely noticed.

The adventures related by Pinto are so many and so hair-raising ("thirteen times made captive and seventeen times sold") that he has always been suspected of embroidering reality but the book is not simply the record of the memories of a man who had been in places that no European had ever seen before and who by miracle survived to go back home and write his memoirs. It borrows events from other books and contains, disguised within it, a radical critique and satire of the colonial and missionary enterprise in which Portugal was engaged. Time after time, the narrator (who is a fictional version of Pinto himself) gives examples of generous, kind behavior by non-Christian natives, and of violent, deceitful acts by the Portuguese. It was only recently, in 1992, that an English translation of the full Portuguese text was published and as a result, Pinto's book has never enjoyed the fame it deserves. Properly translated at the start, he might have rivalled Marco Polo's tales. Pinto does not mention Korea, it must be said. The following is taken from the 1653 English version.

From: *The voyages and adventures of Fernand Mendez Pinto* (1653)

Chap. XLIV. The great honour which the Nautaquim, Lord of the Isle, did to one of us for having seen him shoot with an Harquebuse; and his sending me to the King of Bungo; and that which passed till my arrival at his Court.

The next day the Chinese Necoda disimbarqued all his commodities, as the Nautaquim had enjoyed him, and put them into sure rooms, which were given him for that purpose and in three dayes he sold them all, as well for that he had not many, as because his good fortune was such that the Country was at that time utterly unfurnished thereof, by which means this Pirate profited so much that by this Sale he wholly recovered himself of the losse of the six & twenty Taels which the Chinese Pirate had taken from him; for they gave him any price he demanded, so that he confessed unto us, that of

the value of some five and twenty hundred Taels which he might have in goods, he made above thirty thousand. Now as for us three Portugals, having nothing to sell, we employed our time either in fishing, hunting, or seeing the Temples of these Gentiles, which were very sumptuous and rich, whereinto the Bonzes, who are their priests, received us very courteously, for indeed it is the custome of these of Iappon to be exceeding kind and courteous.

Thus we having little to do, one of us, called Diego Zeimote, went many times a shooting for his pleasure in an Harquebuse that he had, wherein he was very expert, so that going one day by chance to a certain Marsh, where there was great store of fowl, he killed at that time about six and twenty wild Ducks; In the mean time these people beholding this manner of shooting, which they had never seen before, were much amazed at it, insomuch that it came to the notice of the Nautaquim, who was at that instant riding of horses, and not knowing what to think of this novelty sent presently for Zeimoto, just as he was shooting in the Marsh, but when he saw him come with his Harquebuse on his shoulder and two Chineses with him carrying the fowl, he was so mightily taken with the matter, as he could not sufficiently admire it: for whereas they had never seen any Gun before in that Country, they could not comprehend what it might be, so that for want of understanding the secret of the powder, they all concluded that of necessity it must be some Sorcery; Thereupon Zeimoto seeing them so astonish'd, and the Nautaquim so contented, made three shoots before them, whereof the effect was such, that he killed one Kite, and two Turtle Doves; In a word then, and not to lose time, by endearing the matter with much Speech, I will say the Nautaquim caused Zeimoto to get up on the horses croupper behind him, and so accompanied with a great croud of people, and four Hushers, who with Battouns headed with iron went before him, crying all along the streets, Know all men, that the Nautaquim, Prince of this Island of Tanixumaa, and Lord of our heads, enjoyns and expresly commands, That all persons whatsoever, which inhabit the Land that lies between the two Seas, do honour this Chenchicogim, of the further end of the World, for even at this present and for hereafter he makes him his kinsman, in such manner as Jacharons are, who sit next his Person; and whosoever will not do so willingly, he shall be sure to lose his head. Whereunto all the people answered with a great noise; We will do so for ever.

In this pomp Zeimoto being come to the Pallace gate, the Nautaquim alighted from his horse, and taking him by the hand, whilst we two followed on foot a prety way after, he led him into his Court, where he made him sit with him at his own table, and to honour him the more, he would needs have him lodg there that night, shewing many other favours to him afterwards, and to us also for his sake. Now Zeimoto conceiving that he could not better acknowledge the honour which the Nautaquim did him, then by giving him his Harquebuse, which he thought would be a most acceptable present unto him; on a day when he came home from shooting, he tendred it

unto him with a number of Pigeons and Turtle-doves, which he received very kindly, as a thing of great value, assuring him that he esteemed of it more, then of all the treasures of China, and giving him withall in recompence thereof a thousand Tael in silver, he desired him to teach him how to make the powder, saying, that without that the Harquebuse would be of no use to him, as being but a piece of unprofitable iron, which Zeimoto promised him to do, and accordingly performed the same.

Now the Nautaquim taking pleasure in nothing so much as shooting in this Harquebuse, and his Subjects perceiving that they could not content him better in anything, then in this, wherewith he was so much delighted, they took a pattern of the said Harquebuse to make others by it & the effect thereof was such that before our departure (which was five months & an half after) there was six hundred of them made in the Country; nay I will say more, that afterwards, namely the last time that the Vice-roy Don Alphonso de Noronha sent me thither with a present to the King of Bungo, which happened in the year 1556, those of Jappon affirmed, that in the City of Fucheo, being the chief of that Kingdom, there were above thirty thousand; whereat finding myself to be much amazed, for that it seemed impossible unto me, that this invention should multiply in such sort, certain Merchants of good credit assured me that in the whole Island of Jappon there were above three hundred thousand Harquebuses, and that they alone had transported of them in the way of trade to the Country of the Lequios, at six several times, to the number of five and twenty hundred; so that by the means of that one, which Zeimoto presented to the Nautaquim in acknowledgment of the honour and good offices that he had done him, as I have declared before, the Country was filled with such abundance of them, as at this day there is not so small an hamlet but hath an hundred at the least; for as for Cities and great Towns they have them by thousands, whereby one may perceive what the inclination of this people is, and how much they are naturally addicted to the wars, wherein they take more delight, than any other Nation that we know.

In the years that followed the arrival of the Jesuits in Japan, Portugal and Spain competed for the right to preach and trade in the Far East, counting on the Pope to make the final decision. By 1600 Spain had also acquired trading and mission rights in Japan, but the Dutch and English were not far behind. The Portuguese and Spanish viewed them as pirates and treated the crew of any ships they captured with great harshness. The Jesuits in Japan sent back reports and letters regularly. These were then published and translated and they contain the first clear references to Korea, especially once the Imjin invasion began in the early 1590s.

The First Dutch Reports of China and Korea

Because of the deep conflicts and rivalries, religious, commercial and military, between the Catholic nations of Spain and Portugal and the Protestant lands including England and the Netherlands, the development of knowledge about and then contacts with the Far East in England mainly came thanks to two remarkable Dutchmen.

Dirck Gerritsz Pomp (also known simply as Dirck Gerritsz or Dirck China) (1544–1608), was born in the town of Enkhuizen, then went to Lisbon in 1555, to learn Portuguese and train as a merchant. In 1568 Dirk established himself as a merchant in Goa. He sailed to China and Japan at least twice, arriving in Japan on July 31, 1585 for his second visit there, on the *Santa Cruz* (which belonged to the German bankers the Fuggers and Welsers). He returned to Goa on the same ship, on his way back to the Netherlands. In Goa Jan Huygen van Linschoten (1563-1611) boarded the ship, having learned that the Archbishop he was serving had died during a journey back to Portugal. He seems to have learned in detail about Gerritsz's journey to Japan during the long voyage back to Europe (it forms the 36th chapter of Part 3 of his *Itinerario* after having first been published in 1595 in his *Reys-gheschrift*). It may well be that the information about Korea in the *Itinerario* (see below) also came from Gerritsz.

While Jan Huyghen was obliged to remain in the Azores for two years dealing with business involving a lost or damaged cargo of pepper, Gerritsz returned to Enkhuizen in April 1590. He composed an account of trade with China which was published in 1592 in Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer's *Thresoor der Zeevaert* ('Treasure of navigation'). In the summer of 1598 he joined a five ship Dutch expedition under admiral Jacques Mahu that was to either buy spices in the East Indies or head for China and Japan to load up with silver and silks etc. Mahu died during the voyage and Pomp received command of the *Blijde Boedschap*. Another of the five ships was the *Liefde* which alone finally reached Japan with far-reaching consequences (see below). Short of supplies, the *Blijde Boedschap* entered the port of Valparaíso in November 1599 and was captured by the Spanish. Five years later, in 1604, Pomp was freed. He went aboard a ship belonging to the Dutch East-India Company in 1606 and disappeared from history, presumably dying during the voyage home.

Jan Huyghen van Linschoten also seems to have originated from the town of Enkhuizen, certainly he returned there after his time in Asia. The honorific title 'van Linschoten' is one he seems to have given

himself in Goa, to improve his social standing. He had no connection with Linschoten and it is not known why he chose it. He left the Netherlands in 1580 to join his half-brothers in Seville. After spending some time in Portugal, one of his half-brothers got him a position as secretary to the newly appointed Archbishop of Goa, João Vicente da Fonseca. He and the Archbishop left Portugal on April 8, 1583. He spent about five years in Goa as Secretary to the Archbishop and during that time he avidly collected information, made copies of many secret maps and *roteiros / portolans* (navigation charts) and acquired other sensitive commercial information. Learning that the Archbishop had died in 1587, during a journey back to Portugal, he managed to leave Goa late in 1588 on the *Santa Cruz* where he found Dirck Gerritsz working as ‘constable.’

They arrived in the Azores on July 24, 1589, and he was obliged to spend the next two years there, negotiating with the local customs officials over a cargo of pepper that had been rescued from a wrecked ship from the fleet. During this time he composed his main works, the *Reysgheschrift* and the *Itinerario*. Arriving back home early in September 1592, the Amsterdam publisher Cornelis Claes first published the *Reysgheschrift van de navigatien der Portugaloyers in Orienten* in 1595; the text was then included in the larger volume published in 1596 under the title *Itinerario: Voyage ofte schipvaart van Jan Huyghen van Linschoten naar Oost ofte Portugaels Indien ... 1579-1592*. In this volume, which was soon translated into a variety of languages, Linschoten shared the commercially sensitive information he had had access to in Goa, thereby giving Dutch (and other) merchants information on Portuguese sea-routes to the Far East. It includes a short description of Korea, the first ever published.

In June 1594, Linschoten sailed in the first expedition headed by Dutch cartographer Willem Barentsz, hoping to discover a route to China passing to the North of Siberia (north-east passage). He was also on the second expedition in 1595 but did not join the disastrous third, in 1596-7 when the crew had to spend the winter camping on the ice and Barentsz died.

The *Itinerario*, which played a key role in shaping Dutch colonial expansion, was a huge success. Following the first Dutch edition (1596) were a German and an English edition in 1598, a Latin edition (1599) and a number of French editions (1610, 1619, 1638).

Mentions of Korea in the English edition, *John Huighen Van Linschoten, His Discours of Voyages Into Ye Easte & West Indies*:

(1.) Book 1, Chapter 26: Of the Iland of Iapan Page 48

A little beyond Iapon under 34 and 35 degrees, not farre from the coast of China, lyeth another great Island called insula de Core, whereof as yet there is no certaine knowledge, neither of the greatnesse of the countrie, people, nor wares that are there to be found.

(2.) The Third Book [begins page 307], The Navigation of the Portingales into the East Indies, containing their travels by Sea, into East India, and from the East India into Portingall, also from the Portingall Indies to Malacca, China, Iapon, the Ilands of Iava and Sunda, both to and fro, and from China to the Spanish Indies, and from thence backe againe to China, as also of all the coast of Brasilia and the Havens thereof.

[Chapter 30 begins on page 361] The 30. Chapter. The course together with the description of the Iland of Canton, with all the coasts, havens, and pointes of the kingdom of China, to Liampo & Nanquín, with the situation and stretchings of the same. [The following quotation begins in the 2nd column of page 372]

At the end of these Islands there lyeth two islands together, whereof the Channell that runneth betweene them hath a verye good harbour, it is called Lepion, they lie close by a great River, which is much inhabited and frequented by Marchaunts and other people. In this Haven of Lepion the Iapons doe often Trafficke: from the end of this Island along by the sea coaft the land is low and bankey ground, for that a mile from the land it is but a fadome and a halfe deepe, being hard stones. The people of ye country passe over it with nailed barkes, with pitched orloopes, two peeces, sailes of reeds or mats, in an iron dreg with sharpe teeth. This coast reacheth Northeast to foure and thirtie degrees, where there lieth a great river that commeth from Nanquyn, within the mouth or entry hath an Island that is inhabited by many people, both horse and footemen. This Island maketh the river to haue two mouthes or entries, from thence forward the land reacheth North North East, and by East, and comming to that part which lieth Southeast, there the land hath an end or point, and by that meanes it maketh a great creek. From this point forward, the coaft runneth North again, after turning again Northwestward : Into the which coast those of Iapon do ordinarily come to Trafficke with the Countrey people called Cooray, and there you have Havens and harbors, having a kind of small open paeces of woven worke, which the Iapons fetch from thence, whereof I am certainly informed, as also touching the navigation unto that land by pilots that have sailed and searched cleane through it,

as followeth. From this point of the Creeke of Nanquyn twenty miles Southeastward there lyeth certaine Islands, at the end whereof on the east side, there lyeth a very great and big Island much inhabited, as well by horse as footemen. These Islands by the Portingales are called, As Ilhas de core, but the great Island Core is called Chausien, on the Northwest side it hath a small Creeke, wherein there lyeth an Island, which is the Haven but it is not very deep. There the Lord of the country hath his pallace and is continually resident. Five and twenty miles Southeast from this Island lieth the Island of Goto, one of the Islands of Iapon, which lyeth from the point of the Creeke of Nanquyn East and by North, to seaward sixtie miles, or somewhat more. This instruction I had from a Nobleman of Portingale, called Pero da cunha, that hath seene and travelled through all the Countrey, having by him all advise serving for the purpose, as being of great experience, having arrived and stayed in the Countrey aforesaid by tempest and stormy weather against their wils, minding to sayle to Iapon, and from thence againe to the aforesaide Island of Goto, the Islands lying from this island towards the land betweene them, and close about them all over, are many riffes and stones. The instruction of the creeke of Nanquyn I had from an expert Pilote borne in the lande of Algaive in Spaigne, that lost his Shippe upon the Sands that sticke out from the River of Nanquyn, having runne round about all this Creeke with a Barke, and hee saide that being being within when the sunne rose, it came from over the land, and that from the river of Nanquyn there ranne some sands and droughts, reaching southward to two and thirty degrees, and to the middle way of the Goulfe of Iapon. Here endeth the description of the furthest part that the Portingales have sailed, along by the Coasts, lands, and Islands of the kingdome of China, being that part thereof which at this day is knowne and discovered.

The Next Generation: Richard Hakluyt

Meanwhile, the Portuguese had also gained a foothold in China, starting with Macao. One of the West's earliest printed accounts of China was *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costumbres del gran reyno de la China* by Juan González de Mendoza (c. 1540 – 1617), first published in 1585. This remained an important source of knowledge about China until Ricci's account *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Societate Jesu* was published in 1615. The deep enmity between the Catholic South of Europe and the Protestant lands to the North was soon brought to the region, where it manifested itself in rivalry over trading rights more than over religion, since the early Protestant travellers were not much interested in missionary work.

It was in 1600 that a Dutch ship first reached Japan, initiating a commercial relationship that was to last throughout the centuries of

Japan's isolation. The story of this ship, the *Liefde*, shows the enormous danger of travel at this time. The only survivor of a fleet that originally consisted of five ships, it arrived alone in Japan. Two ships failed to pass the Straits of Magellan, one sank in a Pacific Ocean typhoon, and one was 'eliminated' by the Portuguese in Indonesia. In April 1600, after more than nineteen months at sea, the *Liefde* with a crew of twenty sick men (out of an initial crew of about 100) arrived off the island of Kyūshū, Japan. Among the survivors were the *Liefde*'s captain, Jacob Quaeckernaeck, and treasurer, Melchior van Santvoort, as well as the pilot, the Englishman William Adams (1564 - 1620). They soon met Tokugawa Ieyasu, the daimyo of Edo and future Shogun, who took a strong liking to Adams. Incidentally, Adams' story served as inspiration for the very popular recent novel *Shogun* by James Clavell. As a result, Adams became a very influential samurai, settled permanently in Japan, and tried to help open trade with England while the Dutch sailors, with Adams' help, later obtained permission to set up trade between Japan and the Dutch East India Company. This broke the Portuguese monopoly and the rights granted to the Dutch in 1609 were the basis for the lasting Dutch presence in Nagasaki throughout the following centuries. Adams maintained contact with England, where he had left his wife and children, and his letters are remarkable human documents.

Apart from the individuals who made such journeys, another major factor in making the distant countries of East Asia known was the development in northern Europe of a widespread interest in maps of remote areas among people who would never leave home. Where the Portuguese and Spanish used hand-drawn charts for actual journeys, Gerardus Mercator (1512-1594) and Abraham Ortelius (1527 - 1598) first created the printed "Atlas" and developed maps that corrected older maps on the basis of the latest discoveries. These were often highly ornamental products, designed for use by educated people who would view them in the comfort of their study.

Equally important was the development of published accounts of great explorations. The Englishman Richard Hakluyt (1552-1616) in particular was an avid collector of Spanish and Portuguese maritime materials and, using Ramusio's *Navigazioni et Viaggi* as a model, he published the first edition of his *Principal Navigations* in 1589. This single volume mainly dealt with English navigational records. In 1589, Hakluyt sponsored Robert Park's translation and publication of Mendoza's *Historia: The history of the great and mighty kingdom of China and the situation thereof*. Subsequently in 1595, Hakluyt first introduced Linschoten's *Voyages*

(*Itinerario*) to English publishers and supported William Phillip's English translation of the work from the Dutch original. This particular book provided the English public with their first detailed (if inaccurate) information about Korea. In 1601, Hakluyt himself translated Antonio Galvao's *The Discoveries of the World*. In 1598, Hakluyt published the first volume of the much fuller second edition of *The Principal Navigations*. Volume 2 followed in 1599, and volume 3 in 1600. This last volume contained the first extended accounts of Korea, in translations of letters written by Jesuits stationed in Japan.

The following much more substantial text about Korea, based on contemporary letters written by Jesuits living in Japan, is found in Volume 3 of Richard Hakluyt's *Navigations*, from page 854

Three Severall Testimonies

Concerning the mighty kingdom of Coray, tributary to the king of China, and borthering upon his Northeast frontiers, called by the Portugales Coria, and by them esteemed at the first an iland, but since found to adjoine with the maine not many dayes journey from Paqui the metropolitan citie of China. The more perfect discovery whereof and of the coast of Tartaria Northward, may in time bring great light (if not full certaintie) either of a Northwest or a Northeast passage from Europe to those rich countries. Collected out of the Portugale Jesuites yeerely Japonian Epistles dated 1590, 1591, 1592, 1594, &c.

The first testimony containing a resolute determination of Quabacondono [= Hideyoshi] the great Monarch of all Japan, to invade and conquere China by the way of Coray, being a country divided from the Iles of Japan onely by an arme of the sea about twentie leagues broad, and abounding with victuals and all other necessaries for the maintenance of the warres. Out of the Epistles of father Frier Lewis Frois, dated 1590. [Cheong Sung Hwa notes this as being basically a translated excerpt from Fr. Frois's annual letter of 1590]

Quabacondono having subdued all the petie kingdomes of Japan, in the yeere of our Lord 1590 (as father Frier Lewis Frois writeth in his Japonian Epistles of the foresaid yeere) grew so proud and insolent that he seemed another Lucifer; so farre foorth, that he made a solemne vow and othe, that he would passe the sea in his owne person to conquere China : and for this purpose hee made great preparations, saying, that since hee is become Lorde of all Japan, he hath nothing now to doe but to conquere China, and that although he should end his life in that enterprize, he is not to give over the same. For he hopeth to leave behinde him hereby so great fame, glorie, and renowne, as none may be comparable thereunto.

And though hee could not conquere the same, and should ende his life in the action, yet should he alwayes remaine immortall with this glory. And if God doth not cut him off, it is thought verily, that hee will throughly attempt the same. And for his more secure passage thither, he is determined to leave behinde him two Governours (after his maner) in the parts of Miaco with the administration of Finqua; and of those of his Monarchie he saith that he will take with him all the great Japonish Lords, or at the least all his principall subjects, and leave in his dominions such guard and garisons as shall seeme best unto him. And so having passed the winter, he meaneth to come to these partes of Ximo, for from hence he is to set forth his armie, & to passe to the land of Coray, which the Portugales call Coria, being devided from Japan with an arme of the sea. And although the Portugales in times past thought, that it was an Ile or Peninsula, yet is it firme lande, which joyneth unto the kingdome of Paqui. And he hath now stricken such a terror with his name in the countrey of Coray, that the king thereof hath sent his ambassadors hither to yeelde unto him a kind of homage, as he required; which ambassadors are now in the city of Miaco. And by this Peninsula of Coray he may passe with his army by land in fewe dayes iourney unto the citie or Paqui, being the principall citie where the king of China hath his residence. And as the Chinians be weake, and the people of Japan so valiant and feared of them, if God doth not cut him off in this expedition, it may fall out according to his expectation.

[III. page 855] But whatsoever become of China, it is held for a certaintie, that his comming will cause great alterations in these partes of Ximo, especially in this kingdom of Figen, wherein are the pryncedomes of Arima and Omura, and all the force of our Christianity : and he told Don Protasio when he was with him once before, that he would make him a great man in China, and that he would remoove these lordes, and deliver their governments unto lordes that were Gentiles; which would be the ruine of all this Christianitie; neither should we have any place wherein to remaine. For, as it is the custome of Japan in the alterations of estates and kingdomes (which they call Cuningaia) to remoove all the nobilitie and gentry, and to leave onely the base people and labourers, committing them to the government of Ethnicks, wee shall hereby also leese our houses, and the Christians shall be dispersed with their lords; whom sometimes he handleth in such sort, that he giveth them nothing to susteine themselves, and so they remaine with all their followers, as men banished, and utterly ruined.

The second Testimonie containing the huge levies and preparations of Quabacondono, as also his warres and conquests, and the successe thereof in the kingdome of Coray. Together with a description of the same kingdom, and of their trafficke and maner of government : and also of the shipping of China, Japan, and Coray, with mention of certaine isles thereunto adjacent, and other particulars very memorable. Out of the Epistles of the aforesaid Father Fryer Luis Frois dated 1591, and 1592. [Cheong Sung Hwa terms this a compilation of translated excerpts from Frois's Annual Letters of 1591 and 1592, published in Rome in 1595]

About this time Quabacondono determining to put his warre against China in execution, assembled sundry of his nobles and captaines, unto whom he declared his intent; who, albeit they were all of a quite contrary opinion, yet all of them without any pretense of difficulty approved his determination. For he had given out that he would not abstaine from this warre, although his owne sonne should rise from death to life and request him; yea whosoever would moove any impediment or difficulty in that matter, hee would put him to death. Wherefore for certaine moneths there was nothing in all places to be seene, but provision of ships, armour, munition, and other necessaries for the warres. Quabacondono making a catalogue of all the lordes and nobles his subjects, willed every one of them (not a man excepted) to accompany him in this expedition, injoyning and appointing to each one, what numbers they should bring. In all these kingdomes of Ximo he hath nominated 4 of his especiall favourites; whom (to all mens admiration) he will have to be heads over all these new kingdomes, notwithstanding that here are 4 others farre more mighty then they. Of whom (by Gods good providence) two are Christians, to wit, Augustine Eucunocamindono governour of half the kingdom of Finga, & Cainocami the son of Quambioindono governour of the greater part of the kingdome of Bugen. The other two are Ethniques, namely Toranosuque governour of the halfe of the kingdom of Finga and Augustins mortall enemy; and Iconocami governour of the residue of the kingdome of Bugen, and an enemy both to Augustine and Cainocami. And Quabacondono hath commanded all the Christian lordes of Teximo to follow Christian governours. Whereupon the lord Protasius was there with 2000 souldiers; & Omurandono the lord of Ceuxima and Augustins sonne in law, which lately became a Christian, with a thousand. Also he appointed that the governours of Firando and Goto should follow Augustine, who albeit they were Gentiles, had many Christians to their subjects. Wherefore Augustine was to conduct 15000 souldiers, besides mariners, slaves, and other base people to cary the baggage of the army, all which being as great a number as the former, so soone as they arrived in the kingdom of Coray, were made souldiers, and bore armes.

Unto the said Augustine, Quabacondono, in token of singular favour, granted the first assault or invasion of the kingdom of Coray, to wit, that he onely with his forces might enter the same, the other lordes remaining in Ceuxima (which is 18 leagues distant from Coray) till they should bee advertized from Augustine : which thing procured unto Augustine great envie and disdaine from them all; howbeit (as you shall forthwith understand) it proved in the end most honourable unto him. The other Christian governour Cainocami being but a yong man of 23 yeeres, he commanded the king of Bungo to follow with 6000 souldiers; so that with the 4000 which hee had before, his number amounted unto 10000, besides mariners and others which caried burthens. This was most joyfull newes to us, and to all the Christians. Of the Ethnick lords Quabacondono appointed the governour of Riosogo together with Foranosuque to march with 8000 : and likewise the king of Sazeuma and Iconocami with as many. And

amongst all he gave the first and chiefe place unto Augustine. All the other souldiers of Japan hee caused to accomanie his owne person : the number of all together (as appeared out of a written catalogue) amounting to three hundreth thousand persons : of whom two hundred thousand were souldiers.

[III. page 856.] The order prescribed in this whole armie was, that first they should make their entrance by the kingdome of Coray, which is almost an island, one ende whereof joyneth upon the maine lande of China; which though it be a severall kingdome of it selfe, yet is it subject and tributarie unto the king of China. And because this kingdom of Coray is divided but by an arme of the sea from Japan, Quabacondono determined to subdue the same, for that it so aboundeth with victuals, that from thence he might the easier invade China. While all things were preparing, it was commanded, that at the chief port of Ximo called Nangoia, being twelve leagues distant from Firando, there should be erected a mightie great castle; where Quabacondono with all his fleet was minded to stay, till newes were brought of the successe of the aforesaid 4 governours or captaines. Hee appointed also another castle to bee built in Fuchinoxima, which is another island situate betweene Nangoia and Ceuxima. And he built a third castle in Ceuxima, that his passage might be the more commodious. The charge of building these castles he imposed upon the 4 aforesaid governours, and commanded the other lords of Ximo their associates to assist them; all which so applyed that busines, that in 6 moneths space it was wholly finished. The castle of Nangoia was environed with a double wall of square and beautifull stone, with broad and deepe ditches like unto Miaco. The innermost wall being lesse then the other two was 100 fathom square, within the compasse whereof wer so many houses built both for the lordes, and their followers, and also for marchants shoppes, and victualers houses, distinguished with broad and direct streetes, that it seemed a faire towne. But (that which was much more admirable) all the way from Miaco to Nangoia, at the ende of every dayes journey, all the lords and governours, at the commandement of Quabacondono, built each one within his jurisdiction new and stately palaces from the ground, so that for 20 dayes together he lodged every night with all his traine in one of those palaces. And because these things were done at the very same time when the expedition into the kingdome of Coray was in hand, all Japan was so grievously oppressed (Quabacondono in the meane while being at no charges) as it was most intollerable. Yet is it incredible how ready every one is to do him service : which appeareth by these magnificent stately buildings reared up in so short a space, which in Europe would have required a long time and huge expences.

In the meane season it was commonly given out, that this enterprize of Quabacondono would have most unfortunate successe, as being a matter wrought by constraint, and that it would be an occasion of manifold dissentions in Japan : for no man there was, but misliked of this warre : yea, all the lordes were in great hope, that some one man at length would step foorth and restore their libertie; howbeit there is none as yet found, which dare put his hand to that businesse. Wherefore they were all (though to their great grieve and lamentation) violently

constrained to prosecute the enterprize. But Quabacondono being voyde of all anxiety, to the ende hee might encourage his followers, boasted that hee would make great alterations of kingdomes, and would bestow upon them the kingdoms of Coray and China; and unto the lord Protasius hee hath promised 3 kingdomes : but he with all the other lords giving him great thankes, had much rather retaine a smal portion of their estate in Japan, then to hunt after all those kingdomes which hee promiseth.

And whereas Quabacondono had by proclamation published, that he would personally be present at Nangoia the 3 moone of this yeere; troupes and armies of men began to resort from all the quarters of Japan to these parts. Now were our afflictions renewed. For so long as Quabacondono remained at Miaco, we might stay in these parts of Ximo without any danger : but after he began to come this way, it seemed impossible for our state to continue whole and sound, and we were put into no small perplexitie. For the Christian lordes advised us, that sithence Quabacondono was come so neere, all our companie that lived in the Colledge, in the house of Probation, and in the Seminary, should depart to some other place. And the Christians from Miaco writ dayly unto us, that wee shoulde pull downe our houses and Churches at Omura, Arima, and Cansaco, and that the fathers of Europe should return unto Nangasaque in the secular habite of Portugals, but that the Japonian Fryers should retire themselves unto several houses of Christians, that so they might al remaine safe and out of danger. But this remedy, as it was too grievous and subject to many difficulties, so did it afford us but small comfort. In brief the Father visitor talking of this matter with Eucunocamindono, the lord Protasius, and Omurandono, before their expedition toward the kingdom of Coray, found them, as before, in the same fortitude of minde, being constant in their first opinion : neither would they give any other counsel or direction, then that the fathers should keepe themselves secret, and should only forsake their houses at Arima, and Omura, wherein the Toni or great lordes would have some of their kinsemen remaine. It was also thought convenient, that the number of the Seminary should bee diminished, and that of 90 there should onely remaine 50 in our scholes, namely such as studied the Latine tongue. With the Father Visitour [III. 857.] there came unto Nangasaque certaine Fathers and Friers, which were said to be of Fungo and Firando. For the sayde Father under the name of a Legate might retaine them with him more openly.

About this time Quabacondono, that hee might with some pastime recreate his Nobles which accompanied him; and also might declare, with how great confidence and securitie of minde hee tooke upon him this expedition for China; and likewise to obscure the most renowned fame of a certaine hunting and hawking performed of olde by that mightie Prince Joritono, who was Emperour over all Japan; hee determined to ordaine (as it were) another royall court of divers kindes of fowle. Whereupon beeing accompanied with many great lordes and others, hee departed to the kingdome of Oiaren, where his game had so good successe, that hee caught above 30000 fowles of all sortes; amongst which

were many falcons. Howbeit, for Quabacondono his greater recreation, and for the more solemnitie of the game, there were also added many dead fowles, which the Japonians with certaine poulders or compositions know how to preserve sweete in their feathers a long time. This game beeing ended, Quabain their condono returned with great pompe unto Miaco; before whom went great multitudes which carried those thousandes of fowles upon gilded canes. Next after these followed many horsemen sumptuously attired, carying a great number of Falcons and other birdes. After them were lead many horses by the reines, most richly trapped. Next of all were brought Coscis or Littiers very stately adorned : after which was carryed Quabacondono himselfe in a Littier of another fashion, like unto those which in India are called Palanchins, which was made in China, with most curious and singular workemanship, and was presented unto him by the Father Visitour, and seemeth exceedingly to content him, for that in all actions of solemnitie hee useth the same. Last of all followed a great troope of Princes and Nobles bravely mounted on horsebacke, and gorgeously attired, thereby the more to delight Quabacondono, who in triumphant sort beeing welcomed by the way, with the shoute and applause of infinite swarmes of people, entred the citie of Miaco.

Now when the time of sayling towards China approached, Quabacondono determined first to proclayme his nephew Inangondono his successour, and governour of all Japan, to the ende hee might supply his owne roome in the time of this warre. And therefore he commanded the Dairi to transferre unto his sayd nephew the dignitie belonging to himselfe, calling him by the name of Taicusama, that is to say, Great lord. Which dignitie was in such sort translated, that albeit he assigned unto his nephew large revenues, together with that princely title, yet himselfe remained the very same that he was before. The day of the sayd translation being appointed, hee summoned all the Princes of Japan to appeare, and to sweare obedience unto this his nephew : Who with great pompe going unto the Dairi to receive that dignitie at his hande, had surrendred unto him the Castle of Miaco, and the palaces of Quabacondono to dwell in.

Thus at the beginning of the third moone, he set forward on his journey to Nangoia, having before given order, that Augustine should passe over into the kingdome of Coray, and that his other Captaines should remayne in Ceuxima. Wherefore, the twentieth day of the third Moone hee came unto Nangoia, where the companies of the other lordes beeing numbered, were founde to bee 200000. persons, besides those that were conducted by the foure foresayde governours. In the meane season Augustine with his forces, and with a Fleete of eight hundred arrived at Coray. In whose armie the lord Protasius excelled all others; for though hee had but the leading of 2000. souldiers, yet for the goodnesse of his armour, and the beautie of his ships, he was admired of all men. At their very first entrance they wonne 2. castles of the kingdome of Coray by maine force, wherein the Corayans reposed great confidence; for they were environed with mighty high walles, and defended with great multitudes of souldiers, and with a kinde of gunnes of 2. spannes and $\frac{1}{2}$. long, which in stead of bullets discharged with a

terrible noise wooden arrowes headed with forked points of yron : but the sayd gunnes beeing able to hurt but a small distance off, and the Japonians being furnished with brazen ordinance unknowen unto the Corayans, they presently drave them from their walles, and with ladders made for the same purpose of great canes, they forthwith scaled the same, and planted their ensignes thereon; the Corayans indeed for a short time making resistance, but after a while betaking themselves to dishonorable flight, 5000 men of their part being slaine, and of Augustines but 100. and 400. wounded. Augustine perceiving that the Corayans could not endure any long assault, determined to take upon himselfe, and his armie the whole burthen and honour of this warre, and not staying for the governours his associates, to march up into the heart of the kingdome, and to the principall City; [III. 858.] unto which determination all the lordes that were with him gave their consent.

This was (no doubt) a bolde, yea, and in some sort, a rash enterprise of Augustine : but yet it argueth a wise and valiant minde in him. But this long delay was so grevous to the Captaines which in Ceuxima expected the successe of the warre, that before they heard any newes at all concerning the surprize of the two Castles, they brought Augustine in suspition among their friends, that hee ambitiously affected the honour of the whole warre. Which thing beeing knowen unto Quabacondono, he was so troubled in mind even before he came to Nangoia, that suddenly hee commaunded the other Captaines to set sayle from Ceuxima. But when Quabacondono was come to Nangoia, and heard newes of the two Castles taken, and that Augustine pursuing the victorie proceeded on towards the Miaco, that is to say, The kingly citie of Coray, and was determined to invade the same also (all which Augustine himselfe wrote, and requested him to send the other captaines and commanders to assaile the kingdom on all sides, and to furnish the castles which he had taken and should take, with garisons of souldiers, because as yet he had not men enough to hold those fortresses which he had wonne) he was surprized with such unspeakable joy, as he affirmed openly, that in all Japan he had no subject comparable to Augustine : and that neither Nabunanga, nor himselfe ever knewe any man indued with so valiant and couragious a mind. I (saith he) knowing against whom and with what forces I waged warre, subdued by litle and litle all Japan unto me : but Augustine in so short a time and with so small forces, hath boldly set his foote in a forren region, and with most glorious victory hath subdued the mightie kingdome of Coray. Wherefore (quoth he) I will reward him with many kingdomes, and wil make him next unto my selfe the greatest Prince in all Japan. Hee added farther, that now his owne sonne seemed to bee risen from the death : and that whosoever durst either disgrace or extenuate the deedes of Augustine, he would grievously punish him, not respecting whether hee did it upon reason or malice. By this speach the name and report of Augustine grew so honourable amongst all men, that those which most envied his estate, durst not speake one ill worde of him, but highly commended him before Quabacondono.

This kingdome of Coray extendeth in length about 100. and in bredth

60. leagues. And albeit the inhabitants in nation, language, and strength of body (which maketh the people of China to dread them) be different from the Chinians, yet because they pay tribute to the king of China, and exercise traffique with his subjects, they doe after a sort imitate the Lawes, apparell, customes, and government of the Chinians. They border on one side upon the Tartars, and other nations, with whom sometimes they have peace, and sometimes warre : but with the Chinians they have continuall peace. They are speciall good bow-men; but at other weapons, because they have but few, and those bad, they are nothing so skilfull. Wherefore they are not comparable to the Japonians, who by reason of their warres are continually exercised in armes, and are by nature more couragious and valiant, being furnished with yron-peeeces, with lances, and with excellent swordes. Onely in shipping they are inferiour to the Corayans and Chinians, by reason of the hugeness of their Ships which they use upon the sea. Wherefore, if they were to joyne battels by sea, there is no doubt but that both the foresayde Nations would be too hard for them. But now because they knew nothing of the comming of the Japonian armie, or for that they doubted that their sea-forces were the stronger, or els because God was determined to punish them, he suffered them to be destitute of all the defence of their shipping, so that the Japonians without any resistance landed upon their dominions.

Now the fame of Augustines victory causing the armie notably to increase, and the Mariners, and many others which caryed burthens (as they were trained up in warre from their childhood) bearing armes, while the Corayan captives supplied their baser offices : so great a terrour possessed all the people of Coray where Augustine came, that all the castles and fortresses which hee passed by were forsaken by their garisons, and all men fled for refuge to the principall city. And while other commanders and Christians sent from Ceuxima and Nangoia shaped their course for Coray, Augustine had pitched his campe neere unto the foresaid principall citie : of the which being come within 3. dayes journey, he was encountered by 20000. men; whom at the very first assault, having slaine 3000. of them, hee put to flight. But approching very neere unto the citie, and having passed a river, hee maintained a valiant conflict at a certaine narrow passage against 80000. Corayans, 8000. whereof were slaine, and a great number drowned in the river. Heere while Augustine appointed all his troopes to remayne for two dayes, to the end they might somewhat refresh their wearie limmes, the king of Coray seeing himselfe besieged by his enemy, and that many other Japonian lordes with strong armies invaded his kingdome on all sides, determined to have his citie strengthened with garisons, and to retire himselfe [III. 859.] into the in-land of China. Which by reason of the abundance of horses that he had, he was able right commodiously to performe. Whereupon the second or third day after, Augustine without any resistance entred the head-city, being presented with great store of victuals and gifts by them that remained therein. Thus Augustine, with other captaines his associates, became lord of the principall citie, and wonne all the honour of the victory unto himselfe : for albeit by this time the other captaines were come from Ceuxima, and many from Nangoia, yet

they found all things performed to their hands.

Quabacondono being advertised of this second victory, yeelded as much honour unto Augustine as he could possibly devise, speaking so highly to the commendation both of him, and of other Captaines his associates, as if but the tenth part of his faire promises come to effect, they shall be farre greater then they are, and Augustine (next unto himselfe) shall be the principall person in all Japan. And now he is become so famous in the Court, and throughout the whole kingdome of Japan, that at all their meetings and assemblies there is no talke but onely of the valour and fortitude of Augustine, who in twentie dayes space hath subdued so mightie a kingdome to the Crowne of Japan. And all the Nobles account him a most happy man, being astonished at the immortall renowme which he hath attained unto by this exploite : yea, and Quabacondono sent forthwith unto him, as unto the conquerour and vanquisher of the Corayans, in token of great honour, a two-edged sword and a horse, which among the Japonians is a pledge of the most peerelesse honour that can possibly be done to a man : and this very gift did Nabunanga in times past send unto Quabacondono, when hee had in any battel wonne any kingdome from Morindono. And by this great event the power of the Christians God, and his providence towards his children is knowen not onely to the Christians, but even to the very Ethnicks themselves, for that in the heate of such extreme persecution it hath pleased his divine Majestie to lay the honour of all this warre upon Christian lords. Wherefore we doubt not, but they wil prove more mighty and famous then ever they were.

Hence it commeth to passe that the Portugals ship come from China, hath wintered in Japan : by which occasion the presence of the father Visitour hath bene a great comfort not onely to us, but to all the other Christians, who in regarde of the departure of so many men with Quabacondono and his captaines to the warres, thought they should have bene left utterly forsaken and destitute, had not the father Visitour, in whom they reposed all their confidence, remayned here. But the singular providence and love of God towards us appeared in this, that hee would have the sayd Ship, contrary to their usuall custome, to winter in Japan. For when Quabacondono having obtained that victorie, was determined to returne unto Ximo, they were all shrowded under the protection of the foresayd Father; who hearing that hee was entred into Nangoia, caused Frier John Roderigues and the governour of the Portugal ship to salute and welcome him. For the Christians of Miacco, which succeeded in their roomes that went for Coray, advised him in their letters so to doe.

And it was very acceptable to Quabacondono to see the Portugals Captaine General attended upon by so many Portugals sumptuously attired, and comming with so many shippes in the company of Frier John Roderiguez and hee asked the Frier how the father Visitour did ? And whether the presents to the Vice-roy liked him ? As also, that hee tooke it in very good part that the Father had wintered in Japan, and that the Frier should stay with him. Afterward writing an answere to the father, he declared therein the great favour which he bore to the

captaine of the ship. Whom, having familiarly entertained him for the space of 2. heures, hee dismissed with evident tokens of good will. After the Captaines returne, Frier Roderiguez staying behinde above a moneth, attempted very often to speake with Quabacondono, of whom hee was alwayes most kindly used. Afterward by reason of sicknesse hee returned to Nangasaque; whereupon Quabacondono demaunded why he was not cured at the same place where himselfe remained ? Jacuino answered, that beeing a stranger, hee was to bee cured with such diet and medicines, as were not there to bee had : with which answeere hee was satisfied. Hence it is, that by often conferences which were made by reason of the ambassage, Quabacondono waxeth every day more courteous and affable. And yet for all this, new occasions of troubles and afflictions are not cut off: for certaine it is, that Quabacondono hath given out, that if he have good successe with his warre against China, he will make great alterations of estates, in assigning the kingdomes of Coray and China to the Christian princes, and placing in their roomes Ethnick lordes throughout Japan: which thing might redound to the ruine and destruction of all Christianitie heere, neither should the Christians finde in Japan any place of refuge. And albeit Augustine had certainly informed the father Visitour of the sayde alteration of [III. 860.] estates, and Jacuine had written unto Augustine, that Quabacondono had fully determined to alter the states or governments of Ximo, and so consequently the state of Augustine, and of the Christian princes of Arima and Omura; yea, and that the said two princes had notice thereof: yet almightie God with the eyes of his infinite mercy hath vouchsafed to regard the prayers of his faithfull servants (who for this cause were most perplexed and sorowfull) and to provide this remedie following.

The Corayans having intelligence, that their king and the forces which hee caried with him were in safety, went the greatest part of them, with as much victuals as they could get, and hidde themselves in the mountains and woods, remaining there with such hate and indignation against the Japonians, that with promise of safe conduct they could by no meanes be drawn out of their starting holes. Wherefore albeit the Japonians have all the castles and places of defence in their owne possession, yet because they want people to tille the ground, and to doe them other necessary services, they cannot chuse but foregoe all that which they have woon. Moreover, the common high wayes are so pestered with theeves and murtherers, that unlesse the Japonians march in whole troopes all together, they are suddenly oppressed with swarmes of Corayans issuing forth of the woods. Many of the Corayans also have retired themselves unto the neighbour-islands, from whence with numbers of great ships, to the mighty losse of the Japonians, they assaile their small and weake ones, and have already sunke many of them. Wherefore all the Japonian lords which remaine in Coray have written unto Quabacondono, that his army must for a certaine time in no wise remoove from the place where it is, for avoyding of such imminent dangers as in proceeding further it may incurre. Upon these advertisements Quabacondono being ready to take his journey to Coray, to divide the whole kingdome, was

hundred from his purpose, and sent most friendly letters to all his nobles, willing them to be of good cheere, for that he would not deale about altering of their estates, till 3. yeres were expired: whereupon they were eased of exceeding great care and grief. For albeit there is no great trust to be given to his words, yet we hope that this yere he wil not meddle : what he wil doe afterward, God knoweth. In Coray at this present there are above 200000. Japonian souldiers, who at the commandement of Quabacondono are divided throughout the whole kingdom. Augustine lieth upon the very extreame frontiers of China: but because the Chinians are separated from the kingdome of Coray with a mighty river of 3. leagues broad, and abound with great ships, and have planted innumerable troopes of men upon the shore, the successe of the warre remayneth most doubtfull and uncertaine. Neither doe wee know whether the Japonians will procede any farther this yeere or no.

The third testimony of Coray, signifying (amongst other notable and politicall observations) the later successe of the warres of Japan against Coray; and to what end Quabacondono still mainteineth garisons in that kingdome. Out of the Epistles of Father Organtino Brixiano, bearing date from Japan Anno 1594. [Cheong Sung Hwa terms this a translated excerpt of the Annual Letters of 1594 by Bresciano, published in Milano in 1597.]

The whole Empire of Japan is now in the handes of this king Quabacondono : and (which hath not bene knowen since the first creation thereof) there is not the bredth of one foote throughout all the whole Island, which is not absolutely subject unto him. And hee reigneth in so great peace and tranquillitie, that if his successors follow the same course of government, there is no likelihood of future sedition or perturbation in any of the kingdoms. And doubtles the meanes which he useth to establish continuall peace and concord among the Japonians, are very great and effectuall.

One is, that after he hath passed his publique promise, he never putteth any of his adversaries to death, which his predecessour Nabunanga performed not : for he having subdued any kingdom, would put all the lords and governours to the sword. But this king granteth unto them not only life, but also yerely revenues, whereby to maintaine themselves in an honest and meane estate : in which regarde they all rest contented, and willingly submit themselves.

Another is, in that he hath brought the husbandmen and pesants (by whose assistance & wealth all the pety-kingdoms were after a sort sustained) unto such extreme poverty, that they have scarce wherewithall to keepe life and soule together : as likewise hee hath bereaved them of all kinde of weapons.

The third is, because hee hath most streightly forbidden all contentions, seditions, frayes, and skirmishes. For whosoever be found culpable of this crime, they dye every man of them on both parties. If any escape by flight, their kinsefolks are punished in their stead; and for lacke of them, their servants; and for default of both their next neighbours. If many were guilty, many are punished and suffer

death: but hence it commeth to [III. 861.] passe, that many innocent persons are constrained to die. And this severitie is the cause, why there are at this present so seldome frays and contentions in Japan.

The fourth is, that in administring of justice hee is most upright, without all respect either to his owne kindred, or to his ancient captaines, or the blood royall, or any of the Bonzii, bee they never so famous : and being once advertized of a crime, hee pardoneth no man. And albeit himselfe is exceedingly addicted to women, yet will he permit none of his subjects to have any concubines. For which cause not many dayes agoe, hee banished a Bonzio of great wealth, being in alliance and dignitie most neere unto himselfe. And being informed that all the Bonzii of Miaco kept concubines, hee would have put them all to death, had not the governour of Miaco promised, that hee would undertake to keepe them from offending any more in that kinde. Wherefore hee caused all the Bonzii every moneth to bee sworne, that they should live honestly upon paine of death : as also hee hath sworne the heads or superiors of all their religious houses under paine of death, to give up their names whom they most suspect of the foresayd crime. Hence it is, that all of them (if you regard their outward estate) live in extreme feare.

The fift is, for that hee suffereth none of his souldiers, nor his great lordes to live in idlenesse. If there be no warres for their employment, hee occupieth them in building of stately palaces, and in raising new fortresses, or in repairing and strengthening of olde, and also in performing other notable workes, to the ornament of Japan, and to his owne lasting honour. So that at this present neere unto Miaco there are thirtie thousand men employed about the building of one castle; and in the citie of Bozacca above an hundred thousand : which employments afforde them neither place nor time to practise any rebellions.

The sixt is his altering of governments : for hee remooveth his governours from one extreme part of Japan to another.

The seventh, for that unto his souldiers (besides the ordinarie pay continually allotted unto them for their service) in time of warre hee alloweth victuals at his owne costes. Wherof it commeth to passe, that hee effecteth whatsoever hee thinkes good by their meanes. Neither hath hee hitherto waged any warre, wherein his enemy was not vanquished, according to his owne desire : this late warre of China onely excepted, which farre surmounted all his forces. Howbeit in the kingdome of Coray hee maintaineth as yet great garisons, as well to keepe his honour, as to constrain the Chinians to sue for peace.

The eighth is, in that hee curbeth and restraineth persons of ambitious and aspiring mindes, who (as hee conjectureth) after his death might worke some innovations in the common wealth, or disturbe the kingdomes.

The ninth is, because hee hath on no side within foure or five dayes journey of Miaco, any mightie or industrious captaine or governour.

The tenth and last is, for that hee hath brought his yeerely revenues to two millions of gold.

By these courses and meanes, wee are in good hope that firme peace will bee

established in all these kingdoms, and also that a fit way will be prepared, for the conversion of all the great lordes unto Christian religion.

Matteo Ricci and the Jesuits in China

One person instrumental in introducing China to Europe in the first half of the 17th century was the Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci (1552 – 1610) Ricci wrote *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas* specifically to introduce Chinese history and culture to Europeans. Ricci's work followed Juan Gonzales de Mendoza's *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costumbres del gran reyno de la China* (the English version of which was published in 1588 under the title *The history of the great and mighty kingdom of China and the situation thereof*) as the authoritative book on China during the first half of the 17th century. Albeit to a much lesser degree, Ricci's work also served as an introduction to Korea as well.

The Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Aquaviva, asked Ricci to compose a book to muster financial as well as human resource support in Europe for the mission in China. By the time of his death in Beijing in May 11, 1610, Ricci had all but completed the draft of the work. Immediately following Ricci's death, his successor, Nicholas Longobardi (1565-1655), dispatched to Europe Nicolas Trigault (1577-1628). Early in 1613, Trigault left Macao, arriving in Rome in October of the following year. Trigault transformed Ricci's Italian into Latin. The Latin version of Ricci's manuscript was finally published in Amsterdam in 1615. After that, numerous translations of the 645 page *De Christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Societate Jesu* appeared throughout Europe. The French edition was reprinted in Lyon in 1616, 1617, and 1618; the German edition came out in Augsburg in 1615 and 1617; the Spanish edition was published in 1631; and the Italian edition was published in Naples in 1622. Most notably, British writer Samuel Purchas, despite being a harsh critic of the Jesuits, translated portions of Ricci's book into English and included it in his own sea voyage book published in London in 1625. This was *Haklvytvs posthumus, or, Pvrchas his Pilgrimes. Contayning a history of the world, in sea voyages, & lande-trauells, by Englishmen and others ... Some left written by Mr. Hakluyt at his death, more since added, his also perused, & perfected. All examined, abreuited, illustrated w[i]th notes, enlarged w[i]th discourses, adorned w[i]th pictures, and expressed in mapps. In fower parts, each containing fiue bookes.* [Compiled] by Samvel Pvrchas. London, Imprinted for H. Fetherston, 1625. (Accounts of China are in Volume 3)

Much of the history of the Imjin War in Korea was made known to Europe

by Alvaro Semedo (1585-1658), in his *Imperio de la China*. Born in Portugal in 1585, Semedo joined the Jesuit Order in 1602. From his arrival in China in 1613 to his death in 1658, Semedo spent some 45 years there. In 1636, the Chinese Jesuits dispatched Semedo to Rome to recruit new Jesuit missionaries for China. Semedo reached Lisbon in 1640. At the time Semedo embarked on his journey, the invasion of the Manchus was in full swing, and Semedo was able to carry back valuable information on the political turmoil engulfing China. Semedo's book was divided into two sections. The first section was devoted to introducing a variety of facets of Chinese history and culture. The second section delineates the history of the Jesuit mission in China, since its humble beginnings under Xavier.

Among early accounts of Korea published in Europe, a particularly significant one seems to be that by Martino Martini (1614-1661), found in the *Novus Atlas Sinensis* of 1655. Martini had mentioned Korea several times in his account of the Manchu conquest of Ming China, but without providing extensive information : *De bello Tartarico historia, in qua, quo pacto Tartari hac nostrâ aetate Sinicum imperium invaserint, ac ferè totum occuparint, narratur, eorumque mores breviter describuntur*. Antwerp. Ex officina Plantiniana Balthazaris Moreti, 1654. The English version was first published in 1654 as *Bellum Tartaricum, or The conquest of the great and most renowned empire of China, by the invasion of the Tartars, who in these last seven years, have wholly subdued that vast empire. Together with a map of the provinces, and chief cities of the countries, for the better understanding of the story*. London, : Printed for John Crook, and are to be sold at his shop at the sign of the Ship in St. Paul's Church-yard., 1654. The following year, 1655, the English text of Martini's *Bellum Tartaricum* was republished in a volume that bore the title of and began with Alvaro Semedo's *The history of that great and renowned monarchy of China. Wherein all the particular provinces are accurately described: as also the dispositions, manners, learning, lawes, militia, government, and religion of the people. Together with the traffick and commodities of that countrey; Lately written in Italian by F. Alvarez Semedo, a Portughess, after he had resided twenty two yeares at the Court, and other Famous Cities of that Kingdom. Now put into English by a Person of quality , and illustrated with several Mapps and Figures, to satisfie the curious, and advance the Trade of Great Brittain, To which is added the History of the late Invasion, and Conquest of that flourishing Kingdom by the Tartars. With an exact Account of the other affairs of China, till these present Times*. Martini's text of the *Bellum Tartaricum*

begins on page 251; he does not give an extended account of Korea in this work.

Martini's *De bello Tartarico historia* was followed by his *Novus Atlas Sinensis*, which was published as part (Volume 6) of Joan Blaeu's *Atlas Maior* (Amsterdam 1655). It contained maps of China in general and all the provinces as well as a map of Korea and Japan. Blaeu's map of China in *Veteribus Sinarum Regio* (1638) had still shown Korea as an island, but the 1655 map shows many corrections due to Martini's better knowledge. Here is an English version of the account of Korean culture etc by Martini from the *Atlas* (1655) as translated from the Dutch by Henny Savenije.

Th' Hanging island, Corea or Chaosien

Th' Rumor is with the people of Europe divers and doubtful, to know, if Corea an island, or fixed island is, and not can be sailed on all sides, though some say that they have sailed around the same. This error sprouts out that they think that the big Island Fungma, laying at the south-side of Corea, to be Corea. I, following a Chinese author, who one, to my judgment, may believe better that all the others, makes Corea attached with Niuche in Tartary, and a hanging island in the same way, like it has been painted by the Chinese cartographers, though they do not call it Corea, but Chaosien. Since this name came to us, by the Japanese, with which they call it in general. The Chinese write in this regard, to the Northwest it has as border, the river Yalo, and the rest is surrounded by the sea. This is the district, which the emperor Uúus, founder of the tribe Cheva, to Kicius, kinsman of the emperor of the tribe Xanga, gave the same on loan around the year AD eleven hundred and twenty-one, when the tribe Xanga was exterminated and eradicated, and this by the death of the malicious emperor Kirus, who, conquered by Uúus, burned himself alive, together with the beautiful palace he has made, certainly a suitable death for his lechery, since he has lived scandalous, Under the tribe Cina, it has also had the name Leotung. Hiaovus, of the tribe Hana, forced the king of Korea, who has to receive it in loan, and called it again Chaosien. At th'end of the tribe Cyna, and when the king of the tribe was defeated, he entered Corea, and received, with permission of the king of that country, permission to live in the southern part of the county Civenlo, and this caused that the founder of the tribe Tanga, declared war to the king of Corea, and also conquered the capital Pinyang, after he had superseded the king [of?] Caolien, to whom he gave back however the kingdom, with the order of loan. But when the head of the tribe Tarming, called Hunguus, the tartars fortunately had driven out of China, did the king of Korea, who had suffered also a lot from the tartars, and has been suppressed, send envoys to Hunguus, to rejoice the victory, and to put himself, like a liege, under the victor, for which cause he was used by the Emperor of China to be given to his lieges. But, what had moved him most to this assumption, was that he understood, that the Japanese, their neighbors, threatened him with

war, and here hoped for assistance of the Chinese, which he eventually received. Eventually the kings of Corea were also forced to pay tribute to the Japanese, though with this condition, that, if one king died, the other, who was chosen, always he himself would go to Peking, to stay with the emperor, or send his envoy, to pay his obedience and submissiveness to him. But in my time the king himself has come to the emperor Chungchinius, and makes at Peking, great friendship with our father: by which opportunity some Coreêrs, before having taken the Christian religion, being washed by the water of the holy baptism, under which the head Eunuchus or <gelubde> of the king was, who, by the wish of the king, persisted to accompany our fathers with him to Corea, but because one had a lack of laborers, one couldn't fulfill such godliness requests. The Chinese Author says, that the first king, to whom the kingdom was given in loan, was a villain and of a wrong nature, no royal morality had, and a wicked and altogether a shady man, to follow the Chinese way of speaking following, so that he because of this, by his subjects was murdered in an attack, in his place one of his lieutenant-colonels took the realm, called Ly, who also became a liege and subject of the empire, and made king of the realm of Chaosien, which ever since never stayed behind, And certainly, the Chinese Author speaks the absolute truth here, while the kings of Corea this still render to the Tartarian Emperor, though they in the year sixteen hundred fifty one, in which I came to Europe, abandoned the Tartars, since they were ordered to cut their hair, and dress in the Tartarian way, which was a cause of a great war.

The whole hanging island Corea is divided in eight counties, the one lying in the middle, is called Kinki, in which the noble city Pingyang is, where the kings keep their court. Th' eastern county, before called Gueipe, is now called Kiangyuen. The western county is called Hoanchai, and was before actually called Chaosien. Ciuenlo, before Pienhan, in the southern landscape. Kingxan, before Xinhan, lies to the northeast. But the one, which lies to the northwest, is called Pingan.

I find no certain and sure number of capitals and cities, though there many are, where in people have been found, since there is a big number of people in this country. All the cities are built in the Chinese way and strengthened. One finds here in the same shape [way] (of) mastery, clothing, language and way of writing as with the Chinese, also the same religions and church doctrines, to know the one who teaches the moving of the souls. They also have the idol Fe. They don't practice Philosophy, and are diligent in their studies. They bury the ones, who died, not before the third year after their death, but they, following the Chinese way, lay them in coffins, which are gracefully, and very tight are closed and keep them thus in their homes. Yes they honor them some days respectfulness, as a sign of obedience and gratitude, as if they have not died yet. They differ almost in the only way from the Chinese, that the women not so carefully are kept at home, yes in such a way, that they also often in the company, and in the meetings with the men appear, and therefor by the Chinese are called immoral by the Chinese, Furthermore, they differ also many of the Chinese in the way of making a marriage. Everybody chooses the one he wants, to be his consort, and engages

with the will of both sides, without any supervision by the parents or the family. But by the Chinese things are done completely differently, since only the parents make the marriages and confirm, without the knowledge of the son or daughter, and everybody is kept to take his consort, which has been appointed by his father, and the Chinese consider the ones who do differently, immoral and give as reason that the daughters in this way should be modest, bashful and prude, that, if one would ask them if they wanted to marry, they out of modesty and bashfulness, should say no, that much the Chinese like the show of bashfulness, that they otherwise willing to all kinds of impurities, as long as it happens secretly.

The land of Corea is fertile of all kinds of things: it has an abundance of wheat and rice, and this twofold, like Japon, to know the one sown in the water and the one sown on the dry land, like the wheat, which to this kingdom and to Japon, characteristic and particular is and which also exceeds the others, It gives space to earth fruits and wheat and several fruits, which we find in Europe and mainly pears of a good taste. One makes sever kinds of paper, like also in Japon, and precious pencils of wolves-hair, which are used to write by the Chinese and Coreërs. One finds nowhere better Sandaracha, or this glue, who is gold colored, with which they coat and decorate, like the Japonners, all kinds of home dresses. The root Ginseng is also in abundance here. There are several mountains, which are rich of gold and silver. These people don't have any trade with the foreigners except the Japonners and Chinese, they also fish pearls from the east-sea.

The Chinese do not describe many mountains in Corea, the first is the mountain Peyo, which, like they say, lies in the northern part of the county Kingki, and very long and high is. The mountain Vatu is on the northeast. side of the royal capital Pingyang, on which, in the time of the tribe Hana, the king Ing kept his court. Xinciao is a mountain, and Luyang is another mountain near Pingyang, also lies in the northeast. The mountain Hiang is in the county Chungcing. The river Lym, in the county Kingki, washes the capital, and bursts westward in the sea. The river Tatumg is in the county Pingan.

Johan Nieuhof

Johan Nieuhof (1618 - 1672) was a Dutch traveler who wrote about his journeys to Brazil, China and India. The most famous of these was a trip of 2,400 km from Canton to Peking in 1655-1657, which enabled him to become an authoritative Western writer on China. At his homecoming in 1658, he had entrusted his notes and annotations to his brother Hendrik, whom Johan thanked when finally (in 1665) Hendrik produced an ample study of China, with many images, texts and explanations of the latest events. Hendrik dedicated the work to Hendrik Spiegel and Cornelis Jan Witsen (Nicolaes Witsen's father), administrators of the East and West India Companies respectively. The Dutch version was titled *Het Gezantschap der Neêrlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie, aan den*

grooten Tartarischen Cham, den tegenwoordigen Keizer van China (1st edition: Amsterdam : Jacob van Meurs, 1665). The English version was first published in 1669: Johannes Nieuhof, *An embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Grand Tartar Cham, emperor of China: delivered by their excellencies Peter de Goyer and Jacob de Keyzer, at his imperial city of Peking wherein the cities, towns, villages, ports, rivers, &c. in their passages from Canton to Peking are ingeniously described by John Nieuhoff; also an epistle of Father John Adams, their antagonist, concerning the whole negotiation; with an appendix of several remarks taken out of Father Athanasius Kircher; Englished and set forth with their several sculptures by John Ogilby Esq; His Majesty's Cosmographer, Geographick Printer, and Master of the Revels in the Kingdom of Ireland*, The second edition, London, printed by the Author in his house in White-Friers, M.DC. LXXIII. (1673) (The first edition dated 1669 was printed by J. Macock "for the author.")

There is a single page in Nieuhof devoted to a description of Corea, it seems to owe a great deal to Martini's account :

From L Chap. XVIII. *Of the Chinese kings and emperors, which have govern'd in China before and since Christ's birth.* pp. 241-263

[From page 261] During these Troubles the Emperor Vanlieus died in the Year 620. After whose Death his Son Taichangus, a valiant and prudent Prince, succeeded; who by the Conduct of his Affairs, in a short time gave sufficiently to understand what good Services his Country was to expect from him, had he not been unfortunately cut off by an untimely Death in the fourth Month of his Reign: To whom was Successor his Son Thienkius, a gallant Person, and no ways inferior to his Father for Vertue and Courage.

This Monarch finding the unsettledness and danger of his Affairs, made it his chiefest Concern to contract Friendship, and support his Government with the Favor and Affection of his Neighbors: for he had taken notice by experience, how much the Empire of China had suffer'd by living always at great variance with the Tartar Kings of Ninche, which border'd upon him : In the first place therefore he endeavor'd to win the Favor of the King of Corea, who had formerly sent to his Grandfather a Supply of twelve thousand Men to aid and assist him in this War; but they being most of them kill'd and wounded, he doubted lest this might make him take part against him, and joyn with the Tartar; for prevention whereof, and to satisfie the King in every scruple, he immediately sent an Ambassador to him, to return him thanks for those great Succors he had sent, and withal signifying his extraordinary Grief and Sorrow for the great loss which had

fall'n upon the afore-mention'd Aids in that War; but that he hoped in a short time to retaliate upon the Enemy the Wrongs they had done to him and his Kingdom. And that his Embassy might be the more grateful, he likewise sent several rich Presents, and promis'd him his Assistance, where and whensoever he should have occasion to make use of it. But this friendly Message look'd not only for verbal Returns; for it was design'd as a Motive to procure more Succors from him : which without doubt he had reason to endeavor, in regard the People of this Island of Corea, which lies very near to Japan, have out of the Neighborhood far greater Strength than the Chinese.

And now craving leave for a little digression, which may not be impertinent, in regard there has been often mention made of this Island of Corea and the Inhabitants thereof, I shall describe the same in short, and all that is worth observation in the same.

[page 262] It is unto this day doubted by those of Europe, whether Corea be an Island or firm Land; but according to the opinion of the best Writers, it is a hanging Island, surrounded with Water on all parts, except the uttermost part, which is joy'd to the firm Land; for though Trials have been made to Sail round about, yet it could never be done, as some People seem to affirm to us from their own experience, though some there are that affirm the contrary. But this Error proceeds from a mistake of a certain great Island call'd Fungina, situate to the Southward of it, to be Corea. However it be, this truth is most certain, that all the Chinese Writers affirm Corea to be firm Land, and joyning to the Kingdom of Ninche in Tartary. Another mistake may arise from the variety of of the Name given to it; for the Chinese call it, Chaosien, therein following the Japanners, though by us of Europe it is call'd Corea.

Toward the North it borders upon the Kingdom of Ninche, on the North-West it has for Confine, the River Yalo; the rest is surrounded and wash'd with the Sea.

The whole Island is divided into eight Provinces or Counties : The middlemost, and accounted the first, bears the Name of Kinki, wherein is situate the Chief City of Pingiang, the Court of the Kings. The second, toward the East, is called Kiangyven, but heretofore Gueipe. The third, situate toward the West, is now known by the name of Hoangchui, but was formerly call'd Chao-sien, the name at this day proper to the whole Island. The fourth, situate toward the South, now call'd Civenlo, was formerly nam'd Pienhari. The fifth, also Southerly, but inclining to the East, is call'd Kingxan. The sixth, toward the South-West, is Changing. The seventh, toward the North-East, has the Name of Pingan.

In these Counties are several populous and rich Cities, which for fashion and strength differ very little from those in China, and built for the moft part four-square.

The Country is very well Peopled, throughout the whole having but one form of Government; not at all differing in Habit, and using one and the same Form both of speech and writing. Their Religion is the same with those of China,

holding the transmigration of the Soul out of one Body into another. They all adore one Idol call'd Fe, whereof I have already made mention.

The Bodies of their dead Friends they bury not till three years be fully elapsed, and then they put them into very fine Coffins, after the manner of the Chineses, glu'd up so very close that no scent can strike through.

They give a greater liberty to their Women than the Chineses; for they admit of them into any Company, whereas the other will hardly suffer them to stir abroad. Here also the Son or Daughter may Marry whom they think fit, without asking the consent of Father or Mother : which is quite contrary to the use of the Chineses, and indeed all other civiliz'd People.

This island is very fruitful in the product of all manner of Fruits necessary for the sustenance of Life, especially of Wheat and Rice, whereof there are twice a year plentiful Harvests. Here also are made several sorts of Paper, and curious Pencils of Wolves Hair, which the Chineses and other neighboring People as well as themselves use in Writing. Here grows likewise the Root Guiseng, and (as is reported) are several Gold-Mines. But notwithstanding all these Advantages of natural Commodities wherewith this Place abounds, yet the Inhabitants thereof drive no Trade with any other forein People, but only those of China and Japan.

Arnoldus Montanus

In 1669, Arnoldus Montanus (Arnoldus Van Bergen c.1625 – 1683) published in Dutch a monumental account of Japan based on accounts by various Dutch traders, *Gedenkwaardige gesantschappen der Oost-Indische maatschappij in 't Vereenigde Nederland, aen de kaisaren van Japan, vervaetende wonderlijke voorvallen op de togt der Nederlandtsche gesanten : beschryving van de dorpen, sterkten, steden, landschappen, tempels, gods-diensten, dragten, gebouwen, dieren, gewasschen, bergen, fonteinen, vereeuwde en nieuwe oorlogs-daaden der Japanders*, Amsterdam: Jacob Meurs. This book included passages about Korea. English and French editions followed: *Atlas Japannensis : being remarkable addresses by way of embassy from the East-India Company of the United Provinces, to the Emperor of Japan : containing a description of their several territories, cities, temples, and fortresses, their religions, laws, and customs, their prodigious wealth, and gorgeous habits, the nature of their soil, plants, beasts, hills, rivers, and fountains with the character of the ancient and modern Japanners / collected out of their several writings and journals by Arnoldus Montanus ; english'd and adorn'd with above a hundred several sculptures by John Ogilby*, London : Printed by Tho. Johnson for the author, and are to be had at his house in White Fryers, 1670. The main mention of Corea begins on page

183. The French version is titled *Ambassades mémorables de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales des Provinces Unies vers les empereurs du Japon*, Jacob de Meurs, 1689; the French edition mentions Korea from page 139.

Hendrick Hamel

The first (and for the next 200 years the only) book-length account of Korea based on personal experience is that by Hendrick Hamel (1630 – 1692), who was one of the crew members of the *Sperwer*. Shipwrecked on Jeju Island, they lived in Korea from 1653 until 1666. After escaping with several of his companions he wrote an account of his adventures and a description of Korea. It was published in 1668 in Rotterdam with the title *Journal van de Ongeluckige Voyage van 't Jacht de Sperwer* (The journal of the unfortunate voyage of the jaght the Sperwer). This was soon translated into French and published as : *Relation du naufrage d'un vaisseau hollandois sur la Coste de l'Isle de Quelparts. Avec la Description de Royaume de Corée. Traduit de Flamande, par Monsieur Minutoli*. A Paris, chez Thomas Jolly, au Palis, dans la Salle des Merciers, au coin de la Gallerie des prisonniers, la Palme & aux Armes d'Hollande. (1670). This not completely accurate French version was then translated into English by John Churchill and published in 1704 as part (starting page 607) of the 4th volume of his *A Collection of voyages and travels some now first printed from original manuscripts, others now first published in English : in six volumes with a general preface giving an account of the progress of navigation from its first beginning*, with the title “An Account of the Shipwreck of a Dutch Vessel on the Isle of Quelpaert.” An English translation made from the original Dutch manuscript was finally published by the Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch some years ago.

Already the Dutch edition did not follow closely Hamel's manuscript and the French version is often seriously inaccurate. The most notorious addition in the French, that passed into the English, is the story of the crocodiles, corresponding to nothing in the Dutch text:

We never saw any elephants there but alligators or crocodiles of several sizes, which keep in the rivers : their back is musquet proof, but the skin of their belly is very soft. Some of 'em are eighteen or twenty ells long, their head large, the snout like a hog, the mouth and throat from ear to ear, the eye sharp but very small, the teeth white and strong, placed like the teeth of a comb. When they eat, they only

move the upper jaw, their back-bone has sixty joints ; on their feet are long claws or talons, their tail is as long as the body, they eat either fish or flesh, and are great lovers of man's flesh. The Coresians often told us, that three children were once found in the belly of one of these crocodiles.

In 1705 Nicolaas Witsen, the cartographer, maritime writer, and authority on shipbuilding, who served thirteen times as mayor of Amsterdam, published a second edition of his *Noord en Oost Tartarye, ofte bondig ontwerp van eenige dier landen en volken, welke voormaels bekend zijn geweest* (2 volumes, Amsterdam: Halma 1705) which included an account of Korea by one of Hamel's companions, the surgeon Mattheus Eibokken of Enckhuijsen (= Enkhuizen), and a list of Korean words provided by Eibokken with their Dutch equivalent, which was the first such list of Korean vocabulary published in the West. The book was little read however, and was never translated, so that the word list was only noticed and commented on in recent years. Witsen's book also contains other information about Korea, starting on page 46 of Volume One, and this includes (page 48-49) a Dutch description of a Korean embassy to Japan in 1636-7. From page 50 he quotes a passage about Korea from the description of Japan by Arnoldus Montanus (see above).

The 18th Century

Early in the 18th century the Jesuits working in China produced rather fuller accounts and better maps of Korea. In particular, a much fuller description of Korea was published in French by Fr. Jean Baptiste du Halde S.J. on the basis of an account composed by Fr. Jean-Baptiste Regis, in Volume 4 (from p.529) of his great *Description géographique, historique, chronologique, politique, et physique de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie chinoise, enrichie des cartes générales et particulieres de ces pays, de la carte générale et des cartes particulieres du Thibet, & de la Corée; & ornée d'un grand nombre de figures & de vignettes gravées en tailedouce* (1736) which is followed by an abbreviated history of Korea (from page 538) translated from Chinese sources. This was soon translated into English and first published in 1736 as: *The general history of China. Containing a geographical, historical, chronological, political and physical description of the empire of China, Chinese-Tartary, Corea, and Thibet. Including an exact and particular account of their customs, manners, ceremonies, religion, arts and sciences .. Done from the French of P. Du Halde*. A second, corrected edition was produced by the same

publisher, John Watts, in 1739. The account of Korea in Volume 4 is divided between a general description and a brief history from Chinese sources.

Born at Istres, Provence, in 1663 or 1664, Jean-Baptiste Régis died at Peking, 24 Nov., 1738. He was received into the Society of Jesus, and in 1698 went on the Chinese mission, where he served science and religion for forty years, and took the chief share in the making of the general map of the Chinese Empire. Other remarkable French Jesuits from this same period include Fr. Verbiest born 9 Oct., 1623; d. at Peking, 28 January, 1688 and Jean-François Gerbillon born at Verdun, 4 June, 1654; died at Peking, China, 27 March, 1707. Father Régis's notes on the History of China etc remain unpublished in a manuscript in the French National Library : *Nouvelle géographie de la Chine et de la Tartarie orientale*.

The map of Korea made on the basis of Régis' work is a landmark in the mapping of Korea and the first map to provide a reasonable accurate mapping of the Peninsula. In the early 18th Century, the Jesuit Missionaries were finally able to gain access to the indigenous cartography of Korea in an indirect fashion. Since the Jesuits were not allowed into Korea, a Tartar Lord (Mukedeng, a troubleshooter and trusted assistant for the Kangxi emperor) was accompanied on a journey into Korea by a Chinese surveyor trained by the Jesuits. While closely monitored, they were allowed to produce a map which was exported to the Jesuits through the Tartar Lord. The map itself was produced by Jean-Baptiste Regis, transmitted to Fr. Jean-Baptiste du Halde, was edited by d'Anville and published in 1737 in the French *Nouvel atlas de la Chine, de la Tartarie chinoise et du Thibet* published by Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon Anville; La Haye: Henri Scheurleer. 1737.

From: *The general history of China*. Volume 4, page 381-

Geographical Observations on the Kingdom of Corea. Taken from the Memoirs of Pere Régis.

THE Kingdom of Corea is called by the Chinese, Kao Iin [*They say Kao li kou; Koué signifies Kingdom.], and by the Mantcheoux Tartars their Neighbours, Solho [†The Tartars say Solho Kouron; Kouron signifies Kingdom.], the Name also of Tchaossien is to be met with in the Chinese Writings, either because it was

then the Name the most known in the Western Part, or because it was then the Name of the Capital City : I don't think it necessary to give an Account of the other Names by which this Kingdom hath been called for a little time; it is sufficient to know that for a great many Ages past it hath commonly been called Kao li, and that no other Name is to be met with in the History of the Imperial Family Yuen of the twelfth Century. This Kingdom is bounded on the North by the ancient Country of the Eastern Tartars, very well known by the Name of Mantcheoux, since they made themselves Masters of [page 382] China : It borders on the West upon the Chinese Province called in Writings sometimes Leao tong, and at other times Quang tong, which is separated from East Tartary by a wooden Palisado, which the Chinese call "The Wooden-Wall" Mou teou tching. The Sea, where-in there are some islands, bounds it on the East and on the South : The Breadth of Corea from North to South is almost nine Degrees, beginning about the thirty-fourth, and ending at the forty-third Degree of Latitude : Its Length from East to West is unequal, and somewhat less than its Breadth, being in its greatest Extent not more than six Degrees, I did not go far enough into the Kingdom, as I laid before, to be able to speak with any Certainty concerning the Nature of its Soil; but what I saw of it upon the Frontiers is very well cultivated after the manner of the Southern Chinese: A Tartar Lord, whom the Emperor hath sent here, attended by one of the inferior Mandarins of the Mathematick Tribunal, gave us an Account that the Country is good, and produces in great plenty whatever is necessary for life, as Rice, Corn, Millet and other Grain : The same Lord hath brought along with him a Map of it, exactly like that in the Royal Palace; as he did not go farther than the Court he only gave us the Length of the Road which he took thither from the City of Fong hoang tching, having had it measured by a Line. Fong hoang tching is at the East end of the Palisado of Quang tong : We were there, and it is from this very Spot that we began to take its Dimensions.

We found by immediate Observations its Latitude to be ten Degrees, thirty Minutes, and twenty Seconds; and its Longitude appeared to be seven Degrees and forty two Minutes; to the East of this City is the Western Boundary of Corea under the now reigning Family; for after the Wars of the Coreans with the Mantcheoux, who subdued them before they attack'd China, it was at last agreed upon between them [page 383] that there should be left a certain Space uninhabited between the Palisado and the Boundaries of Corea : Those Boundaries are marked upon the Map by prick'd Lines : As I have not myself taken a view of the inward Parts of the Kingdom, nor the Sea-coast, I am far from offering this Map as a finish'd Work, but only as the best which has been publish'd, none having either Ability or Means to take a particular and exact Account of the Situation of the Cities, and of the Course of the Rivers : The Bounds of the whole North Part, and as far as I have survey'd to the West, having been measur'd geometrically, and fix'd by the Elevations of the Pole, we may henceforward make use of them for the bringing the other Parts to their proper Longitude, for it's certain that there is its greatest Breadth. The Road likewise

made by the Tartar Lord, and measured by the Line from Fong hoang tching, has enabled us to judge of the Proportion of the other Measures of that Kingdom mark'd upon the Royal Map : By comparing also the Elevation of the Court of Corea, which the Chinese Mathematicians have found to be thirty-seven Degrees, thirty-eight Minutes, and twenty Seconds, with our own North Elevations, we are certain of its Extent from North to South, at least for five Degrees and an half : There should be some further Observations upon the South and East Sides, which would compleat the Account of Corea with respect to the General Geography of Asia.

The most considerable Rivers, which are its Defence as well as its Riches, are Ya lou and Toumen, which are called upon the Map in the Mantcheoux, Linguong, Talou oula, and Toumen oula , the Word oula in the Mantcheoux Language hath the same Signification as the Word Kiang in the Chinese, which signifies a River, for which reason the Chinese call those two Rivers Ya lou kiang, and Toumen kiang : They both rise out of the same Mountain, one of the [page 384] highest in the World. The Chinese call it Tchangpe-chang, and the Mantcheoux, Chanalin; that is the ever-white Mountain : One of these Rivers takes its Course eastward, and the other westward; they are both pretty deep, and moderately rapid, and the Water of them very good : The Course of the other Rivers, which I have not seen, are marked upon the Map according to the Corean Measures.

The Houses of the Coreans have only one Story, and are ill built, as the Tartars informed me; for I was no further than four Leagues from the first Town of Corea : The Houses in the Country are made of Earth, and those in the Towns generally of Bricks : The Walls of the Towns are built after the Chinese manner, with square Towers, Battlements, and arch'd Doors; but the Great Wall, which the Coreans had raised to defend themselves from the Tartars, and which I have view'd in coasting along the East Shore of Toumen Oula, cannot be compar'd with the East part of the Great Chinese Wall, not being terrass'd, nor so thick : It has for about ninety Years past lain almost entirely in Ruins; for Corea was the first which felt the victorious Arms of the Mantcheoux their Neighbours : The Capital is called upon the Map King ki too, and 'tis thus that the Coreans call it, but the Chinese call it Kong ki tao; the reason is that it is not allowed in the Imperial Palace, in speaking of the other Courts, to make use of the Chinese Word King; that Word, say the Chinese, signify only the Court of their Emperors; they pretend likewise that the Word Sientse van soui, and others of the same sort, which they give to their Emperors, are so appropriated to him that it is not allow'd to use them even in a Translation to express the Heads of other Kingdoms: Nevertheless I cannot say, as one of our own Authors does, in speaking of the Letters sent to S' Louis by the first Emperors of the Yuen, that those Words were *full of Pride, as ridiculous as impious*, because in [page 385] effect it is certain that altho' they may signify, according to their import, the Son of Heaven, and the Immortal, yet they are by long usage brought to signify no more than the Emperor of China; there being no Chinese who knows not that his Master is a Man, and the Son of a Man.

The same Remark holds good as to the Name that is given to their Kingdom, and especially as to that of Tien hia, by which the Chinese mean their own Empire alone; for they know very well that they are not Masters of all the World, nor of the whole Earth, altho' they think themselves by much superior to all the People of other Kingdoms : So the difficulty which they make of giving the Name of King to Other Courts has the same Foundation, and can never be got over by any Ambassador, whose Prince would treat with the Emperor upon an equal foot; as to what regards the Ambassadors of Corea, as they represent a feuditary and tributary King, they are treated with no great distinction; they have not Precedence of the Grandees, nor even of the Mandarins of the second Rank; they are as it were shut up in the House where they are lodged, at least till after the first Audience; afterwards, when they have the liberty of going abroad, they have an appointed number of Attendants, not so much to shew them respect as to be Spies upon their Conduct : The Tartar Lord, who went as Envoy to the Court of the King of Corea, told us that he had like wise been kept under great restraint; that there were Persons in his House who constantly watch'd him, and that every thing he said was carried to the Palace by young Persons placed at convenient distances along the Street.

The Coreans dress after the Chinese manner, which was in use in the time of the last Family of the Emperors called Tai ming : They wear a Robe with long and large Sleeves, a high Cap of a squarish Figure, a round Girdle, and Leather, Linen, or Sattin [page 386] Boots : Their Language is different both from the Chinese and Tartarian; and therefore when any one goes into China he takes an Interpreter along with him; the Emperor has also some of them at his own Expence both at Peking and at Fong hoang tching, through which Places every one must pass who goes into China; the Chinese Letters nevertheless are in use throughout the whole Kingdom : The last Envoy, who came to pay us a Visit a few Years ago, made use of a Pencil to make us understand what he would say to us : He told us that the Doctrine of Confucius was in great esteem amongst them, and that they kept the Bonzes very low, who were not allowed to build Pagods within any Towns : The Christian Religion hath not as yet been preached in Corea, though some Coreans may have been baptized at different times at Peking : To make a Settlement of it there must be a Permission had from the Emperor of China, a thing more difficult than ever to be obtain'd, since that Mission is almost entirely destroy'd by the Prohibition which the Lipou [*Tribunal of Ceremonies] made in the Year 1724: But it is certain that if, by a Miracle of the Divine Mercy upon that Nation, China should become Christian, the Conversion of Corea and Tartary would be an Affair but of a few Years : Such is the dependance which those Countries have upon China, such the regard which the neighbouring Nations pay to the Chinese.

The Form of Government of Corea is very like to that of China; the Kingdom is divided into eight Provinces, and each Province into different Jurisdictions, which have the same Rights and Prerogatives as the Towns, that are called Fou in China, have over those which are called Hien.

When a Criminal is to be punish'd they don't put a Gag in his Mouth, as is

practis'd in China when there is some particular reason for it; but a Sack is [page 387] thrown over his Head which comes down to his Feet, partly out of design to conceal his Shame, partly with intent to have him in their Power.

That which is most precious in Corea is the Harvest of the famous Plant Ginseng, and the hunting of Sables; they carry on also a great Trade with Cotton-Paper, which is strong and lasting; it is used even in the Imperial Palace as Blinds for Windows, and for other like Uses; altho there comes a great quantity of it every Year, yet it continues to be sold dearer than any other Paper in China. [This is followed by a very lengthy summary of Korean history composed according to Chinese sources.]

The rest of the 18th century saw numerous encyclopedic publications which struggled to reconcile or choose between the accounts provided by Hamel and Régis. On the whole, it proved easier to summarize what Hamel had written. There was, however, no source of new information about Korea until nautical surveying in the last years of the 18th century and the earlier 19th century brought about limited contact with isolated rural villages which was reported in books written by such explorers as the Frenchman Jean François de Galaup, comte de Lapérouse (1741-1788), William Robert Broughton, Basil Hall, and Sir Edward Belcher.

On May 22-23, 1787, the remarkable French naval officer and explorer, Jean François de Galaup, comte de Lapérouse (1741-1788), sailed past Jeju Island without landing on it, the first westerner to see it since the time of Hamel. This was during his journey from Manila, via Taiwan and Japan, to eastern Russia. From there he sailed to Australia and it was after leaving there that his ships disappeared. The site of the shipwreck has been identified as reefs off the island of Vanikoro, which is part of the Santa Cruz group of islands.

He sent back to France reports, logs, records from Petropavlovsk on the Russian Kamchatka peninsula and from Australia, allowing an account of his journeys to be published in France some 10 years later: *Voyage de La Pérouse autour du Monde. Rédigé par M. L. A. Milet-Mureau, Général de Brigade dans le Corps du Génie, Directeur des Fortifications, Ex - Constituant, Membre de plusieurs Sociétés littéraires de Paris*. Paris, Imprimerie de la République. An 5 (1797). This was in four volumes plus an atlas: Volume 1; Volume 2 which contains the account of their journey past Quelpaert and Korea starting on page 384 of Volume 2 continued in the opening chapter of Volume 3. Translations were soon made into Dutch, German, Italian and English. The first English edition was published in 1798, a second (corrected) edition in 1799: here the account of Korea is found in Volume 2: *A voyage round the world in the years 1785, 1786,*

1787 and 1788, by J. F. G. de la Pérouse published conformably to the Decree of the National Assembly on the 22d April 1791, and edited by M. L. A. Milet-Mureau, Brigadier General in the Corps of Engineers, Director of Fortifications, Ex-Constituent, and member of several literary societies at Paris. In Three Volumes. Translated from the French. London : Printed for J. Johnson, St. Paul's Church Yard. The English edition also included *Atlas: Charts And Plates To La Perouse's Voyage*. His journey between Korea and Japan etc can be traced in great detail on a map published in the atlas. The account by Lapérouse of his journey past Korea from page 351 of Volume 2 is a delightful one. He was responsible for naming Ulleung-do island 'Dagelet' after an astronomer on his ship who first spotted it.

Quelpart was surveyed in greater detail in 1797 by William Robert Broughton (a voyage published in 1804 as *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean*. London: T. Cadell and Ms. Daviss. 1804). His laconic account is mainly a summary of the ship's log, with little vivid detail about Korea. The account of the few days his ship spent in Busan harbor in Chapter 7 leads him to conclude: "It will be observed how little opportunity we had to make any remarks upon the customs and manners of these people, from their avoiding as much as possible any intercourse with us." What he did not realize was that a report of his visit was sent to Seoul, telling the other side of the story. Henny Savenije has an online page that includes a link to and translation of the original entry in the *Joseon Annals*, which echoes the frustration felt by Broughton on not being able to communicate.

In February 1816, Lord Amherst set off from London for China on an embassy. There were 2 ships, H.M.S. *Alceste* commanded by Captain Maxwell and H.M. Brig *Lyra* commanded by Captain Basil Hall. Lord Amherst hoped to meet the Emperor of China to complain about problems the East India Company was having in Canton. Since he was determined not to perform any "Kowtow" he never saw the Emperor and gave up the plan. Instead, from the end of August 1816, Amherst traveled extensively throughout China and did not depart until January of 1817. He dispatched H.M.S. *Alceste* and H.M Brig *Lyra* on surveying expeditions commanded by Captain Maxwell to Korea and Okinawa (Loochoo) in late August of 1816. This done, they returned to China and set off on the return journey to England early in 1817 but the *Alceste* struck a rock and sank near Java. Nobody died in the wreck, and they all returned to England in August 1817, after paying a visit to Napoleon on Saint Helena on the way (they travelled by way of the Strait of Magellan).

This embassy produced no less than 4 books. The longest description of their exploration of the southern islands of mainland Korea is that found in Chapter Two of a revised edition of the book by Basil Hall (1788-1844), *Voyage to Loo-Choo, and other places in the eastern seas* (1826). It is very vivid and often highly entertaining. The officers struggled in vain to communicate with the local officials in the absence of any interpreter, while the ordinary sailors and the ordinary Koreans easily understood each other without having a common language. The British had with them a Chinese man who could speak his own dialect of Chinese but had not learned to read or write the characters! The most important result of this expedition was a corrected chart of the west coast of Korea, and the discovery that maps based on that provided by Father Régis were not at all accurate.

They then sailed on to Loo-Choo, the form by which the Ryukyu Islands were then known in the West (Okinawa, the name of the largest island, now being commonly but wrongly used for the whole chain). There they received an extremely warm welcome which stood in stark contrast to that found in Corea. They spent some 6 weeks studying the islands, and one member of the expedition even learned elements of the language (Published as an appendix to Basil Hall's volume) while their survey of the Korean coastal islands lasted only a week.

From 1823 until 1830, the remarkable German physician, ethnologist and natural historian Philipp Franz Balthasar von Siebold (1796 – 1866) lived in Japan, in the Dutch enclave at Nagasaki. During this time he was able to meet and interview shipwrecked Koreans and developed an interest in their language and culture. After returning to Germany in 1830, he began to publish his observations as *Nippon: Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan und dessen Neben- und Schutzländern Jezo mit den südlichen Kurilen, Sachalin, Korea und den Liu-Kiu-Inseln*. This publication took many years, from 1832 until 1882, with a new edition prepared by his sons appearing in 1897, and although the observations about Korea are found in the final part VII, it seems that they date from much earlier. Siebold (almost at the same time as Julius Heinrich Klaproth) compiled one of the earliest Korean word lists, as well as a chart of the Hangul alphabet.

The Protestant missionary usually known as Charles Gutzlaff was born in Pomerania (Germany) as Karl Friedrich August Gützlaff (1803 – 1851). Arriving in Java in 1826, he learned Chinese then worked for a time as a missionary in Siam before moving on to Macao and Hong Kong, where he later (1840s) prepared a Chinese translation of the Bible. His method of evangelization relied much on the distribution of pamphlets and tracts

written in Chinese which had been prepared by another missionary to China, Robert Morrison. In 1832 he was invited to be part of an expedition on the *Lord Amherst*, a ship of the British East India Company, that was eager to find a place to establish a 'counter' where they could conduct trading relations with Corea, Japan, the Loo-Choo Islands (Okinawa). He was to serve as interpreter and surgeon. They spent a few days among poverty-stricken islands off the Corean coast, where he and his companions distributed tracts and copies of Morrison's translation of the Bible, and planted what might have been Korea's first potatoes. On his return to China he wrote an account of these two journeys, which was published in New York as *Journal of Two Voyages Along the Coast of China, In 1831 and 1832 : with Notices of Siam, Corea and the Loo-Choo Islands*. New York: John P. Haven. 1833. His third voyage, during the fall of 1832 and spring of 1833, was along the northern Chinese coast aboard the *Sylph*, an opium smuggling ship. After this he published a revised version of the book, including the material from this third voyage: *Journal of Three Voyages Along the Coast of China, In 1831, 1832 and 1833 : with Notices of Siam, Corea and the Loo-Choo Islands*. London: Frederick Westley and A. H. Davis, Stationers' Hall Court. 1834.

The description of their visit to some islands on the Corean coast forms Chapter 6 of the *Second Voyage* in all editions. They were fortunate in having an interpreter, but it made no difference to the Korean refusal to welcome them. Yet Gutzlaff sensed that many of the people they met really wanted to communicate with them and dared look forward to a day when Korea would be evangelized.

Particularly instructive is the book of Sir Edward Belcher, who explored Jeju Island and the seas around the south of Korea in 1845 as part of a much larger expedition and published the results in his *Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Samarang*, London : Reeve, Benham, and Reeve, 1848. Belcher describes their visit to Quelpart at length in Vol. 1 pages 324 - 358, relating how they were invited to land and talk with local magistrates during their stay, but could sense that they were not in fact welcome. Also fascinating is the natural historian Arthur Adams's fine account of the natural history of Quelpart in Vol 2 pages 444 – 466. Adams was a natural historian and artist with a love of poetry, his account is marked by a warmth of feeling as well as by quotations from Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. He also published *A manual of natural history, for the use of travellers* and some scholarly works.

From page 533 of Volume 2 of Belcher's account, there is a section titled "A Brief Vocabulary of Languages" authored mainly by Ernest Adams.

This is mainly a table of corresponding words in English, Spanish, Malay and 6 Philippino languages, to which have been added Chinese, Japanese and Korean. On page 534, Belcher indicates that the Japanese and Korean words are taken from “publications by Medhurst, 1830, and Philo Sinensis, 1835, at Batavia.” He could hardly have been expected to know that “Philo Sinensis” was simply a nom-de-plume used by the same scholarly missionary, Walter Henry Medhurst (1796 - 1857). The 2 books referred to are his *An English and Japanese, and Japanese and English vocabulary*. Batavia, 1830, and the much rarer *Translation of a Comparative Vocabulary of the Chinese, Corean and Japanese Languages: to which is Added the Thousand Character Classic in Chinese and Corean, the whole accompanied by copious indexes, of all the Chinese and English words occurring in the work* by Philo Sinensis (1835). The list of Korean words begins on page 540 of Belcher Vol. 2. It constitutes the first list of Korean vocabulary published in England.

Not so very long after this came the dramatic events which led to the Opening of Joseon Korea, and the many books and accounts that followed.

Note: links to the books that provided most of the material for this paper are to be found in Brother Anthony’s home page. See the links at the very top of

<http://hompi.sogang.ac.kr/anthony/BooksKorea.htm>

The same page also provides links to several hundred other early books and articles about Korea available online.

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1875: A Glimpse of the Korea

Cyprian A. G. Bridge

This account of a short visit made in 1875 by a British battleship, HMS Audacious, to the little cluster of Korean islands then known as Port Hamilton, and nowadays known as Geomun-do, is taken from Littell's Living Age, Volume 129, Issue 1662, April 15, 1876, pages 168-173

Cyprian A. G. Bridge (1839–1924) was a British naval officer born in Newfoundland. Promoted to the rank of commander in 1869, in 1877 he was promoted to captain. In 1898 he was promoted vice-admiral and he was knighted (KCB) in 1899. He was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the China Station in 1901. In 1903 he was promoted admiral. He retired from the Navy in March 1904. His account of the visit to Port Hamilton originally appeared in the Fortnightly Review and in The New York Times of February 13, 1876. The last lines of the article, warning of Japanese territorial ambitions, are remarkably prescient in view of the early date at which they were written.

Port Hamilton had been surveyed and named by the British explorer Sir Edward Belcher in HMS Samarang in 1845. He named it Port Hamilton after the then secretary of the Admiralty, Captain W. A. B. Hamilton. In 1857, the Russians seem to have made an agreement with the inhabitants (but not the Joseon authorities) to use it as a coal depot but they soon gave up the plan. Bridge does not explain the purpose of the 1875 visit he describes, on the HMS Audacious, which was the flagship of the China fleet, and it was only 10 years later, in April 1885, that the British occupied Port Hamilton to prevent Russian advances in the region during the Great Game. The British base was abandoned in 1887, although British ships continued to visit occasionally and ten British graves remain there, the last being dated 1903.

A cool breeze from the north-west rose in the early morning, and fanned the heated waters of the Korean Channel, raised yesterday almost to a glow by the scorching blaze of the August sun. The atmosphere is still

clear of vapour; the sky above, the sea beneath, both serenely blue; a gentle ripple just ruffles the surface of the water, tossed into spray only by the cleaving prow of the huge ship steaming onward towards the land; light fleecy clouds, snowy or even silvery white in the early sunshine, fleck the bright azure of the sky, and float across the newly-risen sun. Far away on the port-bow a long line of misty cloud-masses hangs over the lofty summits of the Korean island of Quel-part, itself still out of view. On the starboard hand rise above the horizon, indistinct in the far distance, the blue ridges of the mainland, with an archipelago of fantastic rocks and cone-shaped islets for foreground. Ahead show out the bold cliffs and steep inclines of the curious double island known to western navigators as Port Hamilton, for which the ship is bound. A deep cleft in the lofty side soon widens to an opening; the opening becomes a “narrow;” and close to the island promontory on the left—for the shore is bold and deep water flows beside it—the ship glides into the placid bay between the two curving islands which, like arms, embrace and form it. A few small fishing-craft were standing into the bay, their white or pale-blue pennons fluttering in the gentle breeze from slender staves erected in their high-pitched sterns.

The slow progress towards the anchoring-ground gave time for a good look round on the shores of the quiet bay. On either hand hills rose, here abruptly, there with gentle slope; to a height of at least five hundred feet; whilst above the general line of heights sharp-pointed peaks sprang to an elevation half as great again. The slopes were richly green: green with fields of waving millet yet unripe. Cultivation reigned on every available spot. From beach to summit, save where excessive steepness forbids labour, the whole hillside was divided into cultivated fields, separated from each other by green hedgerows as in some far western lands. Every scrap of ground was in crop, not a single plot was even fallow. Above, or on steep promontories, or edging the narrow strip of soil between the rocky beach and the cliffs that here and there vary the outline of the shore, grow clumps of evergreen oaks, or copses of fir and pine. The fields were small, and the thick foliage of the dividing hedges looked at a distance like a bank of green. The contour of the land, the size and fashion of the fields, the moist verdure of the slopes, recalled to more than one of us, by whom the place was now visited for the first time, the green landscapes of southern Ireland.

In a fold of the hillside between two gentle ascents, half-way toward the summit of the ridge of Sodo, the westernmost island of the two, peered out from amidst fields and hedgerows the scattered roofs of a small hamlet.

Elsewhere the population is gathered into four large villages or towns—two on the western, and two on the eastern island. The chief town lies toward the north on the western shore of the bay, where the island dips to a long promontory crowned at the point with such a headland as Misenum. Across the dip between the central ridge and this elevated headland lie the blue mountains of the distant main. Beyond the cape, and between it and the western shore, runs a narrow strait, shallow, and with sunken rocks which make the little sound between the islands almost land-locked. The town is compactly built; hip-roofs of poles and mat, with sloping ends, lie close together. In the distance they called to mind the likeness of a testudo of besieging shields. The town abuts upon the stony beach. Each house and its dependent buildings are surrounded by a rude stone wall. Above the coping shoot branches of green shrubs, and here and there stems of the universal millet. Between the house-walls run rudely paved lands as steep and stony as at Brixham or Clovelly. A few boats were hauled upon the beach, and a coasting craft of some thirty tons rode at anchor hard by. The town itself contains close on two hundred and fifty houses, and possibly a thousand souls.

On the other island, also on the beach, but where the water makes almost an inlet in the shore, are two other towns. Both seemed large—as large at least as the one just noticed on Sodo. In front of the southernmost lay many junks at anchor. From both—but not from a single house of either town on the other island—wreaths of blue smoke rose. The more northern climbs somewhat high up the hill, and yet higher throws out a scanty suburb. The fourth town was passed and soon hidden behind a jutting headland: it is perhaps the smallest of the four.

In front of each stands a stately tree; beneath its shade, on a platform rudely faced with loose stones, the elders and the commons of the little communities assemble. At first, as we entered the bay, scarce a soul was stirring. A few men and boys were seen moving about in front of some of the houses, or perhaps along a lane between the hedgerows. But as the morning advanced, many peeped out from their doors, till before long a crowd was gathered before each little town to look at the ship moving slowly up the bay. The anchor was cast opposite the town first mentioned. Within a short time of anchoring, a boat put off from the ship for the shore, to make some inquiries of the headman, or governor of the island. The emissary was received at the water's edge, and courteously conducted to the great tree, the shade cast by which was supplemented by that of a canvas awning spread for the purpose. The officer was received by the chief men of the place, each distinguished—besides the stature and

bearing of a higher class — by an official head-dress. This head-gear is black, made of some light fibrous substance, as finely woven as a horsehair sieve, and in shape much resembling that of the peasant women of south Wales, the heroines of Fishguard. The cavity to receive the head is cup-shaped, and beneath the brim. The common robe of all is white, long and flowing like the Japanese kimono, and girt in at the waist. Loose broad trousers of the same are tied in below the knee; white socks or buskins, and pointed, turned-up shoes complete the costume. The hair is long, and is gathered up into a small knot upon the crown. The children wear it in a long plaited tail behind; perhaps a remnant of the Manchu tyranny which tried, and failed in the attempt, to put upon the Koreans the same head-mark as that submitted to by the more pliable Chinese.

In the little embassy from the ship there was no one who could speak the Korean tongue. Communication was held by the aid of a Chinese servant, who wrote the few questions asked in the characters of his language. Question and answer were written upon paper, and readily interpreted by both Korean and Chinese, though neither could speak one word of the other's tongue. The head-men would not allow the baser sort, of whom a small crowd had already collected, to approach too near. Those who did were waved back, and when signs and orders failed, were beaten backwards with bamboos. The village senate—for such seemed the group of elders who surrounded the venerable head-man—were unarmed, and no member bore even a staff of office.

The not important information asked for being courteously imparted, the boat returned on board. Soon as the bell struck eight the colours were hoisted in accordance with ancient naval custom, and the band played "God save the Queen!" The notes of the music floated across the bay, and the crowd of gazers at the different villages quickly increased. An hour afterwards a boat again pulled in towards the beach, this time carrying a goodly load of visitors. On landing, as before, two grave inhabitants, adorned with the official head-dress, met the visitors and conducted them to the meeting-place beneath the tree. The senate was assembled to receive them. Again the general public was kept at a respectful distance, and by the same argument as before. The aged head man was courteous, and hospitable withal. An attendant brought forth some native liquor, which was poured into a broad-mouthed, shallow cup of metal, first tasted by the venerable host—such is the Korean mode—and then handed to the visitors. The liquor, whitish in colour and sour in taste, is possibly akin to the koumis of the Tartar tribes. The visit of strangers was evidently not much liked. Still the elders showed a certain grave courtesy, and a

somewhat, pleasing and even well-bred manner. As the officers from the ship divided into small parties of three and four to explore the island, some slight show of opposition was made. This was overcome, or purposely let pass unnoticed; so two of the little senate accompanied each party. The strangers being young, and eager for exercise after their confinement on board, pushed out quickly for the hills. Inspection of the town was firmly resisted, and with almost complete success; so roads had to be taken to the right and left. Hurrying after the eager visitors could be seen, from the deck of the ship, the two attendant villagers in their high-crowned hats and flowing robes; now lagging half tired out behind, now trotting courageously to regain the party in front, now eagerly waving the fan which all carry, now fluttering it rapidly to cool themselves, for the sun was already high, and the thermometer, even afloat, showed 87° in the shade. When signs had no effect, the visitors were hailed "Chinchin," the universal salutation on the China coast, believed by the English to be Chinese, and by the Chinese to be English; though in reality it belongs to neither speech. Probably, however, the use of the phrase now is a remnant of former intercourse with Chinese.

Some did actually succeed in traversing the village, and even in seeing the inside of a Korean house. Not a woman was visible; all had been carefully hidden away. The houses are built of wood, with sliding doors and windows, like those of the Japanese. In the front, about the centre, is a recess or open-sided chamber, for reposing in during the summer heats. At one end is a low balcony or verandah, formed by the protruding eaves. A light railing runs round it, and a cool resting-place is thus made. The house-floor is a raised platform, as in Japan, a small portion of which is cut away just within the door, to form a cavity in which, on entering, the shoes or sandals are deposited. The only domestic animals seen were pigs—probably of the Chinese breed—and dogs. In the fields, singly, and in some places in twos and threes, were numerous rounded cones, with a sharp-pointed thatch upon the roof, which look like huts, but were found to be small granaries for the millet when harvested. At the northern end of the chief village these stood so thick as to bear the semblance of an Indian town.

Two of the island senators who had accompanied one of the parties of officers who had landed, expressed a wish by signs to pay a visit to the ship. No persuasion could get them to go alone. The officers signified their assent to repeated requests to accompany them, and a native boat was launched to take them on board. This frail bark was worked by a man and two boys, who propelled it by a single scull, with the bent handle and

straw lashing at the inner end, common in northern China and Japan. The boat itself was of the rudest construction. The sides were fashioned of wide and roughly trimmed planks hewn from some tree of great size. The ends protruded far beyond the stern, and across them, above the water, were laid rows of slender poles offering a fragile deck on which to stand. The passengers, as in the sampans of Amoy and the Straits, sit at the bow. Arrived alongside the ship, the Korean visitors clambered up the side. On reaching the deck each bowed low, and said, "Chin-chin." One was a fine and even handsome man, six feet high at least, with Caucasian features and a copper-coloured skin. His mouth and chin were fringed with a scanty black beard. On his head was the official hat, but white, not black, like all the others that had been seen. This, it is explained, shows that he is in mourning for his mother, white in the Korea, as in China, being the hue of mourning. The visitors at first showed evident signs of timidity; but, at the same time, were not without a certain amount of swagger, though good manners still held paramount sway. They yielded to invitation, which had to be more than once repeated, and went about the ship looking at the guns, the shot, and the various small arms. Invited to look into the muzzle of a huge twelve-ton piece, they politely and with even graceful gesture, declined. Expression and refusal said plainly, "A thousand thanks; I will assume for your sake that it is wonderful, as you evidently wish that I should." The taller one explained that he understood what the great gun was; he pointed to it, and shouted loudly, "Boom!" thus mimicking the roar of modern artillery. This was so favourably received that he attempted the same mode of expressing himself when shown the engines, and exclaimed, "Whoosh! Whoosh!"

Invited to descend to the deck on which the seamen mess, they again showed their diffident manner. The sight of Chinese cooks, however, at the cooking-galley seemed to be reassuring; and the strangers proceeded to inspection. As in China, so in the Korea, *nil admirari*, or at least the repression of outward symptoms of admiration, is regarded as essential to good manners. The two strangers tried hard, and for some time successfully, to restrain their feelings. These at last got the better of them. Shown into the wardroom, a well-lighted, and—for a ship at least—a lofty apartment, hung with brightly coloured pictures, and adorned with gilded mouldings, they expressed their admiration loudly in a spontaneous outburst of delight. The taller visitor forgot his mourning, clapped his hands loudly upon the table, inclined his head towards a gorgeous chromo-lithograph, and broke out into a song of joyous delight. Calling for the interpreting paper and pencil, he wrote in rapid but well-formed

characters, the assertion that all was perfect. Then both he and his friend seated themselves and relapsed into placid admiration and well-bred ease. Above their heads hung the portrait of Queen Victoria. It was explained to them who the august personage was; both rose, stood in front of it, and made it low and reverent obeisance. The gestures were the same as those that still linger in Japan, in spite of the hot haste in adopting Western customs.

Hospitality was thrust upon them in the English manner by the offer of the national beverage. They expected their hosts to taste first, and then they themselves took long sips of the ale. The glasses were put down, and no sign of pleasure or of disgust appeared upon the face of either; but, after a decent interval, the tall Korean called again for paper and pencil, and this time wrote a request that the pale-ale—not, it is true, improved by a voyage half round the world—might be given to his low-born countrymen who worked the boat in which he came on board. After this he was tried with a sweet, highly-flavoured liqueur. Of this both he and his companion altogether approved, and no pressure was needed to induce them to accept a second glass. Opposite to where they sat was a large mirror. Catching sight of the reflections of their faces in this, they rose and stood immediately in front of it, rectifying meantime defects in their toilet.

The tall visitor, who took the lead in all matters, asked in writing if the band, the strains of which he had probably heard in the morning, might he ordered to play. His request was complied with, and soon stirring sounds of the march of the Presbrajenski regiment penetrated to the wardroom. The effect was instantaneous and strange. The shorter islander, who seemed older than his companion, and who had a grave and reverent aspect, suddenly brightened up; then, extending his arms horizontally, threw back his head, and began a slow dance in unison with the music. He was evidently sublimely unaware of the strange grotesqueness of his combined levity and solemnity of appearance. The dance was kept up for a minute or two, and reminded one of the strange devotional exercise of the dervishes of Galata. The younger visitor was less moved, but he, too, permitted the effects of the pleasure of the sensation to be distinctly perceived. At length, it was explained to them that they must leave, as the ship was about to sail. They civilly said “farewell,” or what seems to be such, and getting into their crazy-looking boat, were sculled towards the shore.

Few on board her failed to regret that they had not been able to see more of this strange people, which has, more consistently and successfully than either Chinese or Japanese, resisted all attempts at intercourse on the part

of foreigners. Four years ago, the Americans, who tried to gain access to the country, with a result different from that which followed Commodore Perry's mission to Japan, were led into a conflict with the Koreans, and having undertaken an expedition with insufficient force, were repulsed. Since then, no attempt on the part of a Western nation to penetrate the mysterious exclusiveness of the Korea has been made. Less is known of the country and of the people than of the manners and customs of many savage tribes. What their religion is, is doubtful; and even within a few hundred miles of their shores two totally different accounts of their system of government and polity are given. One authority declares them to be citizens of a republic; another, the despotically governed subjects of an autocratic ruler. At Port Hamilton no temple nor sign of worship (save perhaps veneration of ancestors, as in China and Japan) was visible. The village communities are governed evidently by a deliberative body; a senate either chosen by age, or a council of leaders selected as in ancient Germany, *ex nobilitate*. There are symptoms of the existence of an aristocracy of birth, or a superior class. Education is widely disseminated; most can write and understand the Chinese characters. Unlike their Japanese neighbours and—if the theory of a Korean immigration into Japan in pre-historic times be accepted—probable descendants, they do not on ordinary occasions go armed. About them there hangs the interest inevitably begotten by mystery, and an interest which approaching events may intensify.

The restless party in Japan, which has run such a headlong course on the path of Europeanization, is said to purpose an attack upon the Koreans, simply to “keep in wind” the Samurai, the military class which the three or four years that have elapsed since the abolition of feudalism, have been insufficient to absorb. That some intention of the kind passes through the minds of the ruling clique in Japan, is tolerably certain. The native press, in discussing relations with the Korea, treat it as a matter of fact, and the only difference of opinion, is as to the pretext. A prominent Japanese newspaper has very recently attributed the warlike aspirations of the hour to the machinations of the less reputable foreigners, who have, as a class, made so much out of the foibles and the innocent mistakes of the Japanese people. A writer in the journal in question infers that they desire to reap again such a harvest as fell to those Occidentals who, in the golden age of Western commerce with Japan, enriched themselves by rather questionable transactions. “They probably desire,” hints a writer in this Japanese journal, “to buy worn-out vessels for next to nothing, and sell them to us at exorbitant prices.” It will be well if Japan pauses before

being led into the dangers of a warlike policy. Going to war “with a light heart” is likely to produce as many ills in the far East as in the West. The imitators of Western manners in Japan know enough of recent history to be aware of the dangers that overtook a dynasty which, to satisfy the desires of a certain class of the population, declared war against a neighbour of unascertained strength with *un cœur léger*. May they profit by the example. The Korea is the last semi-civilized State which has resisted the attempts of foreigners to open intercourse with it. The days of Cortez and Pizarro are past; it will be a painful burlesque if their career be mimicked by Japan.

2012 Annual Report
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
KOREA BRANCH

President's Report for 2012

Looking back from midway through 2013, I think I may say that 2012 was a satisfactory year for the RAS. During the year, we welcomed Mr. Scott Wightman, the incoming British Ambassador, as our new Honory President and we are grateful for his encouragement, although we realize that nowadays ambassadors are too busy to attend many RAS events. We offered our members and the general public some 20 lectures by a variety of speakers on a wide variety of topics. Audiences at lectures ranged from 40 to over 120 and we have been very fortunate to find lecturers who, on the whole, have provided much food for thought in a very entertaining manner. The 2012 Garden Party was held in the garden of the recently arrived American Ambassador; we were most grateful for his kind welcome and for the long time he spent meeting members.

Our other main activity, after lectures, is excursions. We have continued to offer, almost every weekend, one or two excursions, either by bus or walking. Here there are clear signs of a real problem. In the past, our excursions were very popular and were very well attended, but nowadays they are less successful, and several times we have had to cancel a planned tour for lack of interest. Travel in Korea has become so easy that many prefer to make their own plans. At times our announcements have been delayed and there was not enough time for people to fit a tour into their busy schedules. The cost of excursions has always included a small sum designed to cover help the costs of our office, so if revenue from excursions is low, we are unable to cover our expenses. This poses a serious question for our future.

At the same time we sense that people no longer see so much point in becoming members of an association whose activities they have too little

time to attend. The pressure on people of all walks of life, from students to businessmen to ambassadors, has grown enormously with the growth of the worldwide economic crisis. We therefore find it much more difficult to attract new members. At the same time, there are many people newly arriving in Korea who might be interested in the RAS, but we do not know how to reach them. This remains a major concern of our Council's Membership Committee.

At the end of 2011, Sue Bae retired as our General Manager and the year 2012 was marked by the question of how on earth we were going to continue without her. Fortunately, she remains very present, and has given much help in many ways. For the first part of the year we had Ms. Eunji Mah working in the office and for the second half, Mr. Jon Kim served as our Office Manager.

At the end of 2012 and as we entered 2013, we reorganized and centralized our operations so that our old Christian Building office is now unrecognizable. It contains the entire stock of RAS-published books, which were previously stored in a remote location, a large number of books from other publishers for sale, well displayed on splendid new shelves, and the 3,000 volumes of the RAS Library. At the same time, Ms. Yonjoo Hong began to work as our office manager. Her main task has been to update, systematize and computerize our records and accounting procedures. There is a great deal of work to be done, although we are quite a small organization. We also owe a great deal to Mr Shim, who always sits quietly at the back during lectures, for all his help with book sales, and who worked very hard during the office redecoration to oversee the move of our stock.

In 2012, we introduced several new activities for members: a monthly Reading Group in which those interested read a Korean short story in English translation and then meet to talk about it; a Photography Group in which our former Vice-President Tom Coyner shared his great knowledge of cameras to help members take better photographs; and a monthly visit to the National Museum of Korea guided in English by a member of their staff. Our home page has become far richer, thanks to the hard work of our Web Master Robert Koehler, as well as Henry Hwang and Patrick Wonderlich who record our lectures and put them up on YouTube, while Patrick is also responsible for our Facebook presence and for formatting our emailed Newsletters.

We are most grateful to our sponsors for their help, especially to PCA Life for their generous donation, and we are always most grateful to the

management of Somerset Palace for allowing us to use their Residents' Lounge free of charge. We were also very grateful to the Santa Fe moving company for moving the books of our Library with great care and at no charge. We were also very grateful to Prain Global for their efforts to represent us to the Korean-language media in the hope of increasing our coverage there. Seoul Selection has most generously included the best of our published books into their international bookstore, where they can benefit from proper publicity. From January 2013 non-members are being asked to pay 7,000 won at the door, instead of the previous 5,000. I hope this will only serve to encourage more people to become members. We would also be more than grateful for additional corporate sponsorship.

The RASKB is a registered non-profit, cultural organization and its governance is in the hands of a Council of some 20 members. I want to thank the officers and Council for all their help during the past 2 years. My term of office ended at the end of 2012, I was looking forward to passing the reins to more competent and younger hands but instead the Council has asked me to serve a second term as President. I have accepted, because I know I can rely on their support and help, and I hope that I can also count on the kind support of all the members and friends of this ancient, venerable and impressive Society as it faces very considerable challenges.

Respectfully submitted
Brother Anthony of Taizé
President, RASKB

Our deep gratitude goes to the following for their generous support :



RASKB Lectures 2012

January 27, Professor Emanuel Pastreich (Kyung Hee University)
Park Jiwon's Short Stories: How a Yangban Uncovered the World of Ordinary People

January 31, Professor Yi Song-mi (Academy of Korean Studies)
An Introduction to the Joseon Dynasty Uigwe

February 14, Professor Hijoo Son (Sogang University)
Diasporic Art and Why it Matters in Korea

February 28, Cho, In-Souk (Principal of DaaRee Architect & Associates)
The HMS House: Hanok Restoration and Adaptive Re-use-The HMS Memorial Museum of Literature

March 14, Lee Chong-ae (Kristen) (SBS-TV)
Competition Dilemma: Has Korean Competition Reached Its limit?

March 27, Carolyn K. Koh Choo (Chung-Ang University)
Traditional Korean Porcelain Culture: The Art and Science of Underglaze Painting

April 10, Prof. Andrei Lankov (Kookmin University)
What does China want in North Korea, and what can be done about this?

April 24, Prof. Chung Hyung-min (Director, Museum of Contemporary Art, Korea)
Confucianism and Traditional Korean Art

May 8, Peter Beck (Asia Foundation)
South Korea's Overseas Development Assistance Experience

May 22, Dae Bong Sunim
Seon (Zen) Meditation and its Benefits

Annual RASKB Reports

June 12, Kent Davy

Yankee Knight Errant at the Court of the Emperor Manque: William Franklin Sands and King Gojong in the "Korean Cockpit"

June 26, Dr. Bernhard J. Seliger (Hanns Seidel Foundation)

Return of the cranes – rural development, biodiversity and organic agriculture in Anbyon, North Gangwon province (North Korea)

July 10, Prof. Don Baker (University of British Columbia)

Confucianism and Theism: A look at the life and thought of Tasan Chŏng Yagyong

September 11, Dr. Robert Provine (University of Maryland)

Revolutionaries, Nursery Rhymes, and Edison Wax Cylinders: The Remarkable Tale of the Earliest Sound Recordings of Korean Music

September 25, Prof. Kathryn Weathersby (Sungshin Women's University)

The Decision for War in Korea: Revelations from the Russian Archives

October 9, Sister Miriam Cousins

Korea's Responses to AIDS

October 23, Daisy Y. Kim

Categorizing Migrants: the Making of Multicultural Society in South Korea

November 20, Prof. Hi-chun Park (Inha University)

Energy Policy in Korea with special attention to Nuclear Energy Policy

November 27, Roger Shepherd

Mountains of the Baekdu Daegan in North and South Korea

December 18, Moon Hyun (National Gugak Center)

An Evening of Traditional Korean Music

Annual RASKB Reports

2012 Excursions

Date	Destination	Number of Participants	Leader
January			
30:	Cheolwon	28	Sue Bae
February			
26:	Sanjeong Lake & Geungneung Tombs	11	Sue Bae
March			
3:	Incheon Kiln Tour	7	Pablo Barrera
11:	Seochon Walking Tour	25	Robert Fouser
17:	Yeoju	16	Brother Anthony
25:	Joseon Dynasty Seoul	11	Peter Bartholomew
31:	Changdeok Palace	4	Pablo Barrera
April			
7-8:	South Sea Island and Jinhae	14	Sue Bae
14:	Gyeonggi-do Cherry Blossoms	8	Sue Bae
16:	SIWA Cherry Blossoms	20	Sue Bae
21:	Cherry Blossom	7	Sue Bae
21-22:	Gyeongju and Namsan	18	Jennifer Flinn
28:	Cheollipo Arboretum	28	Sue Bae
29:	Old Incheon	32	Robert Fouser
May			
5:	Bukaksan	7	Cha Won-na
13-14:	Gyeongju	8	Jennifer Flinn
19:	Ganghwa-do	12	Sue Bae
26-27:	Jirisan Tea Excursion	20	Brother Anthony
28:	Buddha's Birthday Seoul	12	Jeremy Seligson
June			
17:	Old Gunsan	19	Robert Koehler
21-22:	Andong	7	Pablo Barrera

Annual RASKB Reports

July

7-8: Gangjin	8	Sol June & Pablo
14: Haeinsa Temple	8	Brother Anthony
28: Inner & South Seoraksan	15	Sue Bae

August

5: Danyang	12	Sue Bae
18: Seoul History Museum	8	Jeremy Seligson
26: Dong Gang Rafting	15	Sue Bae

September

1: Cheong Pyong	13	Sue Bae
5: Gongju Excursion	7	Tobias Lehmann
23: Suwon	17	Peter Bartholomew
29: Seochun neighborhood	37	Robert Fouser

October

6: Daehangno and Hyehwadong	16	Robert Fouser
6-7: Andong	25	Jennifer Flinn
13-14: Gangneung	14	Peter Bartholomew
17: Seoul Street Food	4	Jennifer Flinn
20-21: Seorak-san Tour	16	Sue Bae
21: Fortress wall of Bugaksan hike	6	Ms Cha

November

3-4: Jirisan	14	David Mason
3 : Gilsan Temple/Furniture museum	22	Jang Song Hyon
10: Old Incheon Excursion	24	Robert Fouser
24: Seoul city wall hike	24	Robert Fouser

Members of the RASKB (as of May 21, 2013)

(We have made every effort to be accurate. Please tell us of any errors that you may notice in this list. We are rarely informed of the decease of members living overseas, for example. We apologize in advance for any mistakes. We are also always grateful to be told of changes in members' email or postal addresses.)

LIFE MEMBERS (DOMESTIC)

Mr. & Mrs. Edward B. Adams
Son Jae An (Br. Anthony)
Dr. Kyoung-Yul Bae
Mrs. Sue Ja Bae
Mr. Peter Bartholomew
Dr. & Mrs. Otfried Cheong
Prof. Uhn-Kyung Choi
Ms. Jinja Choung
Ms. Ock-kyung Chun
Prof. Robert J. Fouser
Mr. David Gemeinhardt
Mr. Yunsok Han
 & Mrs. Suzanne Crowder Han.
Mr. & Mrs. Alan C. Heyman
Mr. & Mrs. Song-Hyon Jang
Mr. Charles M. Jenkins
Mr. Kim Jaebum
Ms. Jimyung Kim
Dr. Dal-choong Kim
Dr. Young-Duk Kim
Mr. Younghoon Kim
Mr. Young-Tae Kim
Ms. Elizabeth Kraft Lee
Mr. Woo-chul Kwock
Ms. Helen Kwon
Dr. & Mrs. Kyung-Won Lee
Mr. Jeong Cheol Lee
 & Mrs. Jung-Ja Lee
Mr. & Mrs. Sangjae Lee
Mrs. Jung-Ja Lee
Mr. Jung-Keun O
 & Ms. Jang-Sun Lee
Ms. Yeirang Lee

Mr. John Nowell
Mr. William Overmoe
Mr. Ki-boum Paik
Mr. & Mrs. Young-Koo Park
Mr. Karl Randall
Mr. Klaus Schaack
Dr. Ji-Moon Suh
Mr. Joe Sweeney
Ms. Diana Underwood
Mr. & Mrs. Peter Underwood
Mr. Matthew VanVolkenburg
Prof. Michael Welles
Mr. & Mrs. Juergen Woehler
Drs. Sung Chul Yang
 & Ms. Jung Jin Lee
Drs. Songmi Yi & Sung-Joo Han
Ms. Young-nan Yu

LIFE MEMBERS (OVERSEAS)

Drs. Daniel J. & Carol Chou Adams
Mr. & Mrs. Edward J. Baker
Mr. Jaroslav Barinka
Mr. Ronald Claude Bridges
Prof. Robert Buswell
Mrs. Yu-mi Choe
Prof. Donald Clark
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