Andreas Schirmer (ed.)
Koreans and Central Europeans: Informal Contacts up to 1950
Vol. 3

Andreas Schirmer (ed.)

Central Europeans in Korea

Alice Schalek, Alma Karlin, Fritz Hansgirg, and Many Others

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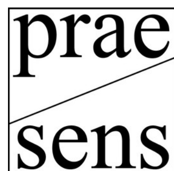
Informal Contacts up to 1950

Vol. 3

Koreans in Central Europe



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Koreans and Central Europeans

Informal Contacts up to 1950

Andreas Schirmer, Editor

Praesens
Vienna

Volume 3

Central Europeans in Korea

Alice Schalek, Alma Karlin, Fritz Hansgirg, and Many Others

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Editor's Note

Koreans and Central Europeans: Informal Contacts up to 1950 is a three-volume compendium about what, given the historically late inception, we may call "early" relations between Koreans and Central Europeans, focusing on real-life interpersonal encounters and also encompassing new findings about the reception of things Korean in Central Europe. The present volume mainly comprises research about Central Europeans' travels to Korea. At the time of their birth, many of these Central Europeans would have been subjects of the Habsburg monarchy, but today's borders would see them as Austrians, Czechs, Hungarians, Romanians, Poles, or Slovenes. One chapter also details visits by Koreans to Poland.

The purpose of this note is to offer due acknowledgement for various forms of support for this project — which inevitably involves some repetition of what was said in the notes to the first and second volumes. Nonetheless, I would like to highlight the following help and assistance that has been truly indispensable to the successful completion of this volume.

This book owes its inception to the Korea Foundation, who provided funding when this project was still only an idea. In January 2012, a two-day conference at the University of Vienna, hosting over a dozen scholars, generated the bases for most of the chapters.

The Austrian Ministry for European and International Affairs provided additional funding, a testament to the significance and timeliness of our research during the joint commemoration of the 120th anniversary of the signing of the first treaty between Korea and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (in 1892) and the 60th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the ROK and the Republic of Austria (in 1953). The Youngsan Company (headquartered in Vienna), the AVL Company, and Hyundai Austria provided additional sponsorship already at this early stage. The president of Youngsan offered his support again in the concluding stage of the project and financed the printing costs of the third and final volume (further due mention will be made below).

The original goal was to have this project finished within one year; in hindsight, it is clear this timeframe was overly ambitious, or, rather, our ambition increased, prompting us to aspire to more than a simple printing of the conference proceedings, wanting rather a book that would meet the highest standards. Also, as it unfolded the

project saw inevitable alterations in terms of content. Some planned contributions were never completed, while others were newly solicited and incorporated because the topics and material were so promising. As the chapters developed and the scope of the book expanded substantively and conceptually, we were determined to produce a publication that would measure up to the significance and merit of the topic. Accordingly, it became imperative to seek additional funding, in order to subsidize numerous tail-end costs such as unforeseen fees for image reproduction rights and additional rounds of intensive professional copy-editing services, as well as extra expenses associated with printing the significantly expanded, near 950-page book in three volumes instead of one.

To our great good luck, when asked for permission to reprint, in the present volume, a very fine 1912 drawing of two Korean women by the Austrian Hans Böhler, the owners, Raj and Grace Dhawan, took a strong interest in the project and donated a substantial amount of funding.

When we were again at a financial impasse, Changro Im, CEO of Euroscope, came to our rescue. Twice he donated a considerable sum from his own pocket to help move this project to completion. In addition to his vital financial support, CEO Im provided a further benefit to the project through his genuine interest in the topic.

In the end, after the unexpectedly high costs of procuring all the necessary editorial support and assistance, publishing costs of this present volume were once again an unsolved matter, at which point — facilitated by Jong Seok Yun, the attaché for cultural affairs from the Embassy of the Republic of Korea in Austria — the CEO of Youngsan Corporation Jongbum Park, also president of the European branch of the Korean National Unification Advisory Council, stepped in again, generously taking over the substantial costs of the color printing.

This book could never have been completed without the persistence and enthusiasm of Christian Lewarth, who helped to engender this project out of genuine and wholehearted conviction and intrinsic motivation. He immersed himself thoroughly from the very start, helping a number of contributors develop their papers into full-fledged chapters, shouldering much of the translation work and joining in the work of reading and rereading most of the chapters, suggesting many improvements, and sacrificing countless hours and evenings.

Frank Hoffmann helped enormously in sharpening our awareness of problems and raising editorial standards. The ceaseless exchanges with him were invaluable to me. His skills and his sense of design, expression, and argument have left a deep imprint on all three volumes.

Throughout the project, copy editor Brian Folk endured almost countless rounds of checks and counterchecks with me. But with regard to this third volume, I have to highlight in particular the contribution of Christine A. Knight and James Lavender,

who aided in enhancing readability, uncovering mistakes, and tying up loose ends. Every chapter went through numerous rounds of improvements, proofreading, and editorial amendment in extensive consultation with myself and the authors. The copy editors' persistence, patience, and focus were invaluable in resolving many difficult queries. Jim Thomas, Brad Ayers, William Strnad, and Greg Lamphear, who served as copy editors and/or proofreaders on previous volumes, should also be acknowledged here, along with Jan Schindler and Haemin Kim, who served as project assistants at various stages.

Special mention is reserved for Patrick Vierthaler, who was employed as the first project assistant and assumed an important role, administering the constant cycle of improvements and being helpful to an extent far beyond his official capacity. An emerging scholar, who also published in the *European Journal of Korean Studies* this year, he contributed an important chapter to this volume, which evolved indepentedly of his involvement as co-author of a further chapter with Werner Koidl.

Finally, but not least of all, for all kinds of technical support I am greatly indebted to IT wizard Philipp Unterköfler.

Of course, a voluminous book like this involves, on many levels and in all kinds of capacities, many more people than I can cite here, and so for the sake of brevity it is necessary to conclude without naming in full all those whose support, advice, and helping hands contributed at various stages to the advancement of the project — though this should not suggest any less gratitude. As for more specific support that individual contributors received while writing their chapters or during the editorial process, there are occasionally special acknowledgements attached to the end of a chapter. We are obliged to numerous archives and institutions, which are acknowledged within each chapter or in the image credits. Also, of course, we thank our patient publisher, Michael Ritter. Finally, we would like to reiterate, for emphasis, our thanks to the Korea Foundation, the various institutions and companies, and particularly the private donors Raj and Grace Dhawan, Im Changro, and Park Jongbum, without whose aid this project could not have reached completion.

Andreas Schirmer
Palacký University Olomouc

Introduction

Andreas SCHIRMER

The history of contact between Koreans and Western travelers is still full of surprises, as is the history of Western expatriates' experiences in Korea. The amount of relevant research has increased enormously and expanded our horizons, and we may be tempted to speculate how so much could be forgotten, and how many treasures may still wait to be unearthed or recovered, among them even tangible artefacts and buildings.

The history of Westerners in Korea is not always a proud one, and is characterized overall by an imbalance between the two sides, frequently accompanied by a great deal of conceit on the part of the former; yet, at the same time — as we can see also from a significant part of the examples assembled here — many Westerners in Korea sympathized with Koreans and created friendly individual bonds.

This introduction will not provide a review of the vast field of scholarship that pertains to what is explored in this volume, but only provide an overview of the central concerns of each chapter.

Alexander Kneider, author of a comprehensive encyclopedia of the astonishingly vast array of "early" Germans in Korea, gives an outline of Korean foreign relations, before turning to the "Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation" signed between Austria-Hungary and the Kingdom of Korea in 1892. On the way we learn intriguing details, such as the Austrian diplomat Coudenhove-Kalergi's advocacy of an Austro-Hungarian embassy in Seoul (which never materialized).

The chapter by Werner Koidl reaches the furthest back. August von Hallerstein's 1766 encounter with eminent Korean scholar and diplomat Hong Tae-yong in Beijing may have been covered by others in more detail, but Koidl has also collected a vast array of information about an astonishing number of Austrian priests working in Korea or with Koreans in Manchuria, unfolding a picture that has never been detailed elsewhere. The humble living circumstances of some Catholic missionaries may have worked in favor of their ability to get particularly close to their believers. One of the many curious details here is an obituary for one of these missionaries, in which a fellow monk ridicules the deceased's efforts at learning Korean, a language that posed a challenge not only due to the extreme linguistic distance but the scarcity of textbooks and inexperience of teachers.

Robert Neff, who is widely known for his marvelous historical sketches for the *Korea Times*, is a private scholar who has built up a treasure trove of an archive, on the basis of which he publishes books and articles without ever coming close to exhausting all that he has gathered so far. For this volume, Neff has put together his material on the "Danubians" in Korea, a colorful set of adventure-seeking entrepreneurs with Austro-Hungarian backgrounds. The resonant name litany which forms the title of his chapter — Joseph Haas, Joseph Rosenbaum, Isaak Steinbeck, and Sigismund Krips — can by itself evoke a bygone world, and a present-day Stefan Zweig might indeed write a novel on these characters.

Veronika Shin provides a re-reading and evaluation of a travel book that was in its day a huge success: Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg's account of a "summer trip" to Korea in 1894, just before the outbreak of the First Sino-Japanese War. The book contains, in Shin's reading, many hasty observations and trivial judgements, but also some nuggets of gold.

Mózes Csoma profiles Hungarians (some of them citizens of Romania) who described their visits to Korea before annexation (Baráthosi Balogh Benedek, Balázs Ferenc) and in the two decades thereafter (Gáspár Ferencz, Vay Péter, Bozóky Dezső, Geszty Júlia, Babos Sándor, and Bálint György), with the striking outcome that most of these were outspoken in their support of Korean independence, condemning Japan's rule over Korea and its assimilation policy. Beatrix Mecsi complements this with her chapter on Bozóky Dezső and Hopp Ferenc, two Hungarian travelers and private scholars who took some remarkable photos of Korea and also documented their journeys in travelogues.

A highly peculiar case of contact, not actually taking place in Korea but rather across its border, is covered by Zdenka Klöslová's research on the Korean connection of the Czech legionnaires, those prisoners of war from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy who formed an independent corps to fight on the side of the Allied Powers. In the Russian Maritime Territory, there lived almost a quarter of a million Koreans, and Vladivostok, where the legionaries awaited their evacuation (which was completed only in 1920), was home to five thousand of them. Obviously, some legionnaires cherished the chance to broaden their horizons in this unfamiliar environment by seeking out unusual experiences and gathering observations of an ethnological and anthropological nature.

But these contacts were not only personal: Korean independence activists were in awe of the Czechoslovak fighters who had been able to seize control of the Trans-Siberian Railroad, and tried to form an alliance with them — a story that we find again with the Austrian POWs (see the chapter by Koidl and Schirmer). Zdenka Klöslová complements our knowledge of this particular history with a further chapter on Czech artists (Jaroslav Spirhanzl-Duriš, Josef Charvát, and Václav Fiala) who came in contact with Koreans in Vladivostok and who, even long after their return home, continued to

draw inspiration from the sights they had encountered, which they certainly experienced as very exotic. The author also introduces us to Josef Kopta, who had spent two years in Vladivostok as a legionnaire, and who later wrote a novel in which Korean independence fighters play an important supporting role. Václav Fiala, who was not himself a POW but had simply moved to Vladivostok as an art student, and who became a much sought-after graphic artist following his return home (to what was then Czechoslovakia), illustrated this novel with expert knowledge of clothing, sites, and atmosphere.

Werner Koidl and Andreas Schirmer present a similar case: depictions of Koreans by Austrian POWs ("Austrian" in the post-WW1 sense). Their chapter begins with the revelation that two renowned Austrian artists produced depictions of Koreans: the relatively famous Hans Böhler and the even more eminent Emil Orlik, both of whom went to Korea as travelers before WWI. Even more noteworthy, however, are three artists of a relatively modest standing: Edmund Adler, Julius Danzinger, and Karl Görlich. The drawings and paintings of these Austrian POWs stand out thanks to the warmth and tenderness they radiate. Stranded in the Russian Far East during and after WWI, these men found themselves in a unique environment that seems to have facilitated sympathetic and congenial contact. Their gaze was quite different from that of the privileged, well-to-do travelers; it was conditioned by their precarious situation and their relationship as neighbors and regular visitors, perhaps in search of a taste or bystander's reminiscence of normal family life. The story of the Austrian POW leader Burghard Breitner, who recalls how he was approached by Korean independence activists who suggested cooperation in their fight against the Japanese, represents a contrast and complement to these artistic documents of peaceful day-to-day contacts.

Christian Lewarth presents his close reading of Alice Schalek's Korean travelogue, embedded in her book on Japan, which was based on her travel to the Far East in 1923. Curiously, Schalek had traveled to Korea previously, in 1911, and had subsequently capitalized on this visit by giving lectures, though there is no extant documentation regarding these. An impassioned voice for the monarchy's cause in the war (her ebullient war reporting considerably tainting her reputation among Austrian intellectuals), she condemned the Japanese and their culture outrightly when Japan's entry into the war on the side of the Entente Powers was imminent. However, after her tour through Japan in the early '20s, in the course of which she traversed the Pensinsula a dozen years after her first visit, she found herself an admirer of Japan and an ardent spokesperson for Japanese rule in Korea. Quite different is the case of Alma Karlin. Ljubljana-based Chikako Shigemori Bučar dwells on the highly sentimental and fervid declaration of love for Korea by this Slovenian writer (who published in German). A writer who was highly conscious of her marginal position as a woman, and also sensitized by her precarious status (working as a clerk to support herself while she traveled), Karlin displayed a great deal of receptivity to Korean grievances.

A letter full of praise for Korea by an Austrian scientist is the revelation at the center of Bill Streifer's chapter on the Korean connection of virtuoso Austrian chemist Fritz Hansgirg. Hansgirg's enthusiasm for Korea, disclosed in a private letter to an American acquaintance, may be grounded in Orientalism, but it is nonetheless an interesting testimony, not least as it is inspired by some kind of avant-la-lettre New Ageism. Perhaps even more noteworthy is Hansgirg's assessment of an independent Korea's potential for industrialization, which he offered shortly before the end of WW2. Despite all his sympathy for Korea, as well as his criticism of Japan not allowing Koreans to pursue higher education and, more importantly, undertake specialized training in engineering, Hansgirg's appraisal might have contributed to the American conviction that Koreans were in need of tutelage.

Werner Koidl and Patrick Vierthaler line up an astonishing number of Austrians who traveled to Korea in the mid-twentieth century, from Egon Ranshofen-Wertheimer and his visit in the summer of 1949 to Ernst Kisch, Eva Priester, Heinrich Brandweiner, and Fritz Jensen (Friedrich Jerusalem) who got involved with Korea after its independence and during the Korean War — thereby going slightly beyond our time frame. Ernst Kisch's fate was especially tragic. A Viennese Jew, he managed to buy himself out of the Buchenwald concentration camp and flee to Shanghai, but eventually had to leave and went to Korea where he, a medical doctor, worked in a hospital, only to be taken as a POW by North Korean forces. On forced marches, he died from exhaustion in 1951. Most of this chapter is occupied, however, by the eyewitness accounts of sympathizers with the North Korean cause. This shows us that the "intellect stood left," as they said in German (*Der Geist steht links*), a fact that is also evident when looking at the number of artists, intellectuals, and writers among the *wŏlbukcha* (defectors to the North) after liberation in Korea; in this case, it also reflects the peculiar situation of this country (Austria) that after the end of WW2 was divided into four occupation zones, one of them being Soviet. The eyewitness accounts of Eva Priester, Heinrich Brandweiner, and Fritz Jensen, all passionate supporters of North Korea, are, however, not pure ideology; for example, their accounts of the immense destruction and misery caused by the massive and indiscriminate American bombings have a solid grounding in fact, as has been documented elsewhere by a range of sources.

Our penultimate chapter, by Lee Min-heui, details an extraordinary array of Polish scholars, researchers, and writers, whose presence in such numbers in the Russian Far East is in part indirectly related to the unfortunate lot of Poland itself: the country's partition resulted in a substantial portion of Polish and Polish-inhabited territory being ruled by Russia, which, as a further consequence, caused many Polish to end up in Siberia and further east, voluntarily or through coercion. Władysław Kotwicz and Wacław Sieroszewski stand out for their writings on Korea, which have been mostly translated into Korean (but remain unavailable in English). Among the stories that do not fit under the overarching umbrella, because they concern Koreans in Poland rather

than the reverse, one stands out: partly based on personal interviews that he conducted during his years in Warsaw, the author provides an account of the lives of two Koreans, a father and son who both lived in Warsaw. The father, Yu Kyŏng-jip, was a practitioner of traditional Korean medicine who settled in Warsaw in 1920, leaving for his home country only two years before his death in 1938. He was the first long-time Korean resident of Poland. His third son, Yu Tong-ju (1907–1988), joined his father around 1930, and lived in Warsaw until his death in 1988, making a living as a dentist. All in all, this chapter assembles a comprehensive account of Polish-Korean contacts (in both directions, such that part of this chapter would fit with those collected in the second volume).

Patrick Vierthaler also contributes a sole-authored chapter that concludes this volume with the peculiar story of the Austrian "first First Lady of South Korea." Nowhere has as much detail and verified information about Francesca Donner-Rhee been assembled as here. In the chapter by Koidl and Vierthaler on the various Austrians who came to Korea in the mid-twentieth century, we could read that an Austrian visitor to Korea (Ranshofen-Wertheimer) felt "ashamed" for Syngman Rhee, for the president's uncouth attempt at intimidation directed toward him. Now, in general, Austrians seem to have also been slightly "ashamed" of Rhee's wife, or at least they have rarely displayed any particular pride in this compatriot, despite her having made what could be considered, on paper, a fairytale career. To some degree this can be attributed to the unfavorable image of the staunch anti-communist authoritarian Syngman Rhee, whose politics his wife supported with fervor. Nonetheless, it is important that we know more about this polarizing figure, and Vierthaler performed admirable work in delving into the sources, thereby also correcting a few constantly repeated pieces of biographical misinformation.

It might be precarious to use the category "Central Europe." Certainly, what this label describes or, rather, circumscribes, is ambiguous or equivocal. Part of what it evokes is resonant of that "world of yesterday" that Stefan Zweig has romantically, and questionably, glorified. The wars, the holocaust, forced displacement and expulsion, radical changes in borders and political systems, the Cold War and the eventual breakdown of the iron curtain — all these cataclysms and transformations have deeply changed the landscape, the fabric, and even the idea of Central Europe.

Against this backdrop, we have to question our inclination toward automatic categorization, as the identities of many of those featured in this book were in fact very checkered and far from definite; thus it can be slightly misleading to label Alma Karlin a Slovenian, or at least this label becomes questionable when it imputes a clear-cut identity to what was certainly a much more complex situation, with various factors that would modify the simple picture that the term suggests — starting with the not minor fact that Karlin wrote in the German language.

Our everyday language still seems awkward in this regard, and the familiar terms are certainly misleading, unless we can safely assume that the reader can supply the necessary historical awareness, and is willing to add the requisite grain of salt. If that speaks in defense of using the problematic category "Central European," we have to bear in mind that this term is oscillating and can differ from case to case when we look at the individuals to which the various chapters are devoted.

One may doubt the value of observations that were characterized by such obvious limits as, to take the clearest example, the language barrier. Even more substantial limitations to understanding, indeed, were a consequence of very fundamental but mostly unquestioned presuppositions and underpinnings — for instance those which we today recognize very easily as Orientalist bias and prejudice.

But while most travelers' observations may have been informed and controlled by clichés, this is rarely the full story. In fact, it cannot be overlooked how different (in overall comparison among them) the perceptions are that these travelers and sojourners express. We are usually conditioned to detect views that are already categorized, to identify messages that are already pigeonholed, and to situate any given statement within contemporary discourse. This can make us see how authors couched their accounts in familiar terms and formulas, how they indulged in ready-made rhetorical devices and existing narratives, how they were guided by stereotypes, and how they deployed well-known imagery.

However, this may come at the cost of making us overlook difference and deviation, and blinding us in regard to the incommensurable, the disruptive, the non-identical. Not always and at all times did these Central Europeans conform with and confirm existing clichés. And when they did not, they may have, to some degree, influenced and modified perceptions at home, at least for some, enlarging their horizons. Setting out to detect Orientalism as our ultimate goal risks leaving us blinkered in regard to nuance. Rather than pursuing a criticism that has become a sure-fire and aiming at what is an easy target, our attention should thus be open for subtexts and overtones, to subtleties and shadings and nuanced meanings.

Just for instance, the contacts of Central Europeans with Koreans in this special "contact zone" of the Russian Far East appear serendipitous, because the precarious circumstances on both sides guaranteed that the exchanges were basically at eye-level, between equals. Photographs, paintings, and drawings are a testimony of genuine interest and also respect — not of masters looking down upon "the other" …

Korean Foreign Relations in Historical Perspective: Austro-Hungarian Ties with Korea

Hans-Alexander KNEIDER

Korea's Isolation and Initial Encounters between Europeans and Koreans

In early Western literature on the Kingdom of Chosŏn, we inevitably find it referred to as the "Hermit Kingdom," "Hermit Nation," or "Enclosed Paradise." A major role in this Western framing of Korea was played by William E. Griffis's book *Corea: The Hermit Nation*, published in New York in 1882. How this small kingdom in the Far East earned such a reputation for isolation is explained below.

In Korean history, the 16th and 17th centuries in particular are characterized by the troubles caused by Japanese pirates[1] on the east coast of the peninsula, as well as large-scale invasions by neighboring countries. Due to the ambitions of Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534–1582) and his successor, Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536–1598), the unification of Japan was finally accomplished in 1590 after more than a hundred years of feudal power struggles.[2] Assaults by pirates thereby came to an end on Korea's coastlines, but only two years later the peninsula was invaded by Japanese troops. Ostensibly to safeguard peace in his own country, Hideyoshi developed the ambitious plan to conquer Ming China (1368–1644) in what became known as the Imjin Wars (1592–1598). However, following the Korean government's refusal to support this enterprise, the Japanese army landed in Busan on 14 April 1592 and launched an invasion of the peninsula. A joint operation by Korean and Chinese troops, along with Korean admiral Yi Sun-sin's 李舜臣 (1545–1598) successes at sea, eventually kept the Japanese invaders in check. Hideyoshi dispatched a second army to Korea in 1597. However, facing provision problems resulting from their great losses at sea, as well as financial difficulties and repeated defeat in battle, Japanese forces abandoned the Korean campaign in August 1598. At the end of the long conflict, Korea was left with a significantly diminished populace, ravaged treasury, and ruined infrastructure.[3]

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1 Japanese *wakō* 倭寇, Korean *waegu*.

2 Japanese *sengoku jidai* 戦国時代, the so-called "Warring States Period" that began with the Ōnin War in 1467 and ended with the unification of Japan in 1590.

3 For an extended account of the Japanese invasions of Korea, cf. Hawley (2005).

Soon after, antagonistic relations between the Ming Chinese and the ethnic tribes of the Jurchen, united by Nurhaci (1559–1626), posed the next threat to Korea. When the Korean government under King Injo 仁祖 (r. 1623–1649) refused to support the Manchurian warriors in their battle against the Ming, Nurhaci's son and successor Huang Taiji 皇太極 (1592–1643), also known as Abahai, attacked Korea in 1627 and 1636. As a result of this, King Injo was forced to capitulate and surrender to the invaders in 1637. In 1644, the Jurchen, known as the Manchu since 1635, conquered Beijing and proclaimed the dynasty of the Qing (1644–1911). The vassal relationship thus established between Korea and the Qing Empire continued until the peace of Shimonoseki in 1895, at the end of the Sino-Japanese War.[4]

Seriously weakened by the devastating Japanese and Manchu invasions, the Korean economy was barely able to recover. Because many craftsmen were displaced to Japan during the war, whole industries in Korea were disrupted, and the reconstruction of the country devoured most of the national budget. In the context of the isolationist policies of its neighbors, this bitter experience is said to have been an additional reason for Korea's adoption of a policy of strict isolationism. Numerous coastal settlements had already moved further inland following assaults by Japanese pirates, and along the northern border rivers, Yalu and Tumen, areas of no-man's land were created. Crossing the border was punishable by death, and any form of exchange with foreigners was forbidden. The only contact between Korea and its neighbors consisted of the annual tribute delegations to the emperor's court in Beijing, the Chinese return delegations, and occasional delegations via Tsushima to the court of the shogunate in Edo. In addition, there were sporadic trade relations with Japan in the Japanese trading post of Tongnae 東萊 (now part of the city of Busan), which was similar in function to Dejima — the artificial island in Nagasaki Bay reserved for Dutch traders.

The first European who can be verified to have set foot on Korean soil was a Spanish Jesuit from a Portuguese mission in Japan, by the name of Gregorio de Céspedes (1550–1611). As a minister to Christian warriors, Céspedes followed the first of Toyotomi's invading armies to Korea. There, he stayed mainly in the camps of the Japanese troops, between 27 December 1593 and April 1594. He had no contact with Koreans other than the Korean prisoners he encountered in these camps.

In the latter half of the 16th century, European shipping traffic on East Asian sea routes increased steadily, so that both Chinese and Japanese ports were frequented on a regular basis. However, due to periodic storms and typhoons, especially in the summertime, individual merchant vessels were occasionally driven off course and shipwrecked on Korean shores. Some castaways from these ships were sent to China, but some remained in Korea. The most important of these shipwreck contacts occurred in 1653, when the Dutch ship the *Sperwer*, en route from Formosa (Taiwan) to

[4] On this and the historical events that followed, cf. Lee, Park, and Yoon (2005).

Nagasaki, ran aground on the coast of Quelpart (today known as Jeju Island). Only thirty-six of the ship's original crew of sixty-four survived; they were detained in Korea for thirteen years, until they finally escaped to Japan under the leadership of Hendrik Hamel (1630–1692).[5]

The first encounter between a German and a Korean occurred during the initial phase of isolation in the middle of the 17th century, but not in the Kingdom of Korea. In 1637, when the Manchus succeeded in finally subjugating Korea, King Injo was forced to surrender two of his sons as hostages, as a guarantee of Korea's loyalty. In 1644, in Beijing, the eldest of these two sons, Crown Prince Sohyŏn 昭顯 (1612–1645), met German Jesuit priest Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1592–1666), a missionary, astronomer, and scientist who had cultivated a position of influence within the imperial court of Beijing since 1622.[6]

What is presumed to be the first encounter between an Austrian and a Korean took place in similar fashion. Xavier Ehrenbert Fridelli, born 11 March 1673 in Linz, arrived in Beijing as a Jesuit missionary in 1705. There, he received orders from the Qing emperor to survey the geography of the Chinese Empire and chart new maps. Thus, between 1708 and 1717, Fridelli went on numerous wide-ranging journeys throughout the whole country. One of these excursions, which began on 8 May 1709 in Beijing and included his French confreres Jean-Baptiste Régis and Pierre Jartoux, also took him to Manchuria. There, he reached the Korean border along the Tumen, where he most likely met Koreans. Father Fridelli spent the rest of his life in China and died in Beijing on 4 June 1743.[7]

Annual Korean delegations to the Chinese court led to similar encounters in the years that followed. Thus, while accompanying a Korean delegation to Beijing in 1766, Hong Tae-yong 洪大容 (1731–1783) met Ferdinand Augustin Haller von Hallerstein (Liu Songling 劉松齡, 1703–1774), a German-Austrian Jesuit and missionary who introduced him to the basics of Western astronomy and the use of the compass, telescope, and other such instruments.[8] Indeed, this meeting may have been short, but its impact seems to have been lasting, shaping Hong Tae-yong's future path in life. After returning to Korea, he dedicated the rest of his life to the study of astronomy and

[5] An extended account of the *Sperwer* shipwreck and its crew's adventures can be read in Ledyard (1971). Hendrik Hamel himself published his Korean adventures in 1668, entitled *'t Oprechte Journael, Van de ongeluckige Reyse van't Jacht de Sperwer* [An honest account of the unlucky voyage of the *Sparrowhawk*] (Hamel 1918). This report was translated into many European languages in the following years, offering a detailed depiction of Korea and its inhabitants to the West. Henny Savenije's web portal (URL #1) offers a rich collection of information and research on Hendrik Hamel.

[6] For a detailed account of German-Korean relations, cf. Kneider (2010).

[7] Cf. Du Halde (1736); Gottsche (1886b: 245–262); Zerlik (1962: 28, 30, 32–33). On Father Fridelli and his contacts with Koreans in China, see Werner Koidl's chapter, in the present volume, on Austrian missionaries in Korea.

[8] See Werner Koidl's chapter, in the present volume, on Austrian missionaries in Korea.

mathematics, and was reputedly the first Korean to adopt the theory that the earth orbits the sun.[9]

The intensification of Korean isolationism over the following century prevented any further such encounters. This only changed in 1876 with Korea's signing of the Treaty of Kanghwa.

The Treaty of Kanghwa and the Opening of Korea

While Korea was under the reign of the Taewŏn'gun 大阮君,[10] the Prince Regent Yi Ha-ŭng 李昰應 (1820–1898), who isolated the country more and more from the outside world in the 19th century, the neighboring Japanese Empire was taking the opposite political course, ultimately affecting not only Japan but also the whole of Southeast Asia.

With the signing of the Treaty of Kanagawa on 31 March 1854, Japan — hitherto almost completely closed to foreigners — was forced by American commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry (1794–1858) to open up the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate for trading with the West. This trend continued through further agreements with the United States, Holland, Russia, France, and England in 1858, and with Prussia in 1861.

The Japanese government realized that the continuing existence and autonomy of the country could only be assured if Western developments were adopted in all fields — and, further, if these were completely adapted to the Japanese Empire, enabling it to compete with Western nations, particularly in the field of technology. The last hurdle on Japan's path to modernization was cleared when a public proclamation, issued on 3 January 1868 in the name of Emperor Mutsuhito (1852–1912, posthumously known as Meiji-Tennō 明治天皇), concentrated all the country's power in one person. In this way, almost 270 years of the Tokugawa shogunate's feudal military government came to an end. At the same time, the so-called Meiji Restoration began, during which substantial reforms in such fields as the organization of the state, military, politics, economy, industry, education, etc., were implemented, allowing a backward feudal state to develop into a modern imperialist power.[11]

For almost three centuries, the little trade that Korea would allow with Japan was restricted to the trading post in Tongnae, located in the south of the country, and controlled by the daimyō[12] of Tsushima Island, who also acted as a mediator between the Japanese and the Korean government. Even during the years in which the Tokugawa regime was in conflict with the tennō and gradually losing ground, Korea

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[9] Cf. Kuh (1983: 7–23). Cf. also *Kuksa taesajŏn*, s.v. "Hong Tae-yong" (Yi 1981: 1745).

[10] The title *taewŏn'gun* was given to the king's father in circumstances where the king himself was underage, analogous to the European title "Prince Regent."

[11] On the Meiji Restoration cf. Jansen (1989: 308–366; 2000) and Beasley (1972).

[12] Daimyō were the highest feudal lords in Japan from the 10th century to the mid-19th century, subordinate only to the tennō and the shōgun (the de facto ruler of Japan).

kept up its close relations with the daimyō of Tsushima. But when Japan began to open its doors for business with the outside world, thereby surrendering to Western influence, a cloud was cast on its relations with Korea. The Taewŏn'gun, suspecting danger from Japan's foreign-oriented reformist politics, suspended all existing relations with its neighbor immediately after the Meiji Restoration. At the recommendation of the daimyō of Tsushima, the Japanese government tried to restore trade relations with Korea to what they were prior to the Meiji Restoration. However, Japanese diplomatic requests were turned down categorically between 1869 and 1872. Furthermore, in May 1873, proclamations were issued in Tongnae and Busan banning any dealings between Koreans and merchants from the Japanese trading post, which seemed to bring an end to all formal relations between the two countries.

Disgruntled and angry at the Taewŏn'gun's stance, heated debates ensued in Japan. Many argued in favor of withdrawing from or isolating Korea altogether — or compelling trade agreements through armed force. At first, the dominant voices in the debate favored an amicable settlement, knowing China and Russia to be on the side of Korea, and also knowing that the national budget would not allow for a military conflict, at least not for the time being (Han 1981: 372; Lee 1984: 2).

The year 1873 brought significant political change in Korea as well. The son of the Taewŏn'gun announced his assumption of direct royal rule, and ascended the throne as King Kojong 高宗 (r. 1863–1907). His xenophobic father lost most of his power, and voices in favor of opening Korea could be heard for the first time.

Carefully tracking the course of events in the neighboring kingdom, Japan sought out new opportunities to engage Korea in business relations. Japan needed a market for its new industries. At the same time, other countries should be prevented from gaining dominance, to counter potential threats to Japan. With this in mind, Japan dispatched a new delegation to Tongnae in 1875. However, it was turned away by the Korean authorities on the grounds that the letter it submitted was disrespectful (Han 1981: 372).

Deciding that the time had come to apply what they had learned from the Americans in 1854, Japanese officials dispatched the warship *Un'yō-kan* (雲揚號, Korean *Unyang-ho*) to Korea under the false pretense that it was surveying new ocean routes. In truth, however, the ship's mission was to provoke a military incident. This was successfully engineered when the *Unyō-kan* was fired upon immediately upon reaching the island of Kanghwa-do 江華島,[13] providing Tōkyō with an excuse for military action. In the face of the military superiority of the Japanese, the Korean government was forced to abandon its resistance. On 27 February 1876, this resulted

[13] This military conflict is referred to as *Unyang-ho sakkŏn* 雲揚號事件 in Korean, and *Kōkatō-jiken* 江華島事件 in Japanese.

in the "Treaty of Kanghwa,"[14] the first agreement of its kind between Korea and a foreign nation. The treaty granted the Japanese rights of extraterritoriality in Korea, similar to the rights Westerners enjoyed in Japan (typical of the unequal treaties achieved through imperialist gunboat policy). Japan recognized the sovereignty of Korea, and Korea agreed to a Japanese embassy in Seoul, as well as Japanese consulates in Busan and two other treaty ports (Wŏnsan in 1880 and Chemulp'o in 1883).[15]

Through these "strategic actions" — the use of modern weapons and the successful negotiation of the treaty — Japan emerged as a new business rival to the European powers, with their ambitions to expand in East Asia. Moreover, Japanese initiatives challenged China's traditional hegemony in Korea. Initially, this did not have major consequences, but ultimately it led to the Sino-Japanese War in August 1894.

Besides this, another thorn in Japan's side was Russia's aggressive policy towards Korea and Manchuria. In order to counteract Russia's advances in Korea, and to avoid being on its own in a potential conflict with the tsardom, Japan encouraged other great powers, such as Germany, to establish contracts and concessions with Korea (e.g., in mining and railroads).

The US was the first Western nation to take the initiative, finally, in this situation, entrusting Commodore Robert Wilson Shufeldt (1822–1895) to undertake action with the assistance of the Japanese. From the beginning of the 19th century, during Korea's self-imposed isolation, European powers had already tried several times to establish trade relations with Korea, partly by means of diplomacy, partly through military action. Still unwilling to open up entirely, the Korean government rejected the American overtures in 1880, on the suspicion that the Japanese had masterminded them.

The turnaround ultimately came through Chinese intervention, itself the consequence of Russia's ongoing expansionist efforts. The leading Chinese statesman at that time, Li Hongzhang 李鴻章 (1823–1901), who was also in charge of Korean affairs, asserted his influence — and the Korean government abandoned its resistance to engagement. As a result, a formal treaty between Korea and the US, represented by Shufeldt, was concluded on 22 May 1882 in Chemulp'o (today part of Incheon).[16]

Encouraged by the success of the Americans, other Western powers quickly realized that the opportunity to engage with Korea had finally come. First, Britain and Germany took the initiative and, after a political tug-of-war and several rounds of negotiation, finally concluded their respective treaties of friendship, commerce, and navigation on 26 November 1883. On one side of the table sat Carl Eduard Zappe

[14] *Cho-Il suho choyak* 朝日修好條約 (Korean-Japanese Treaty of Friendship).

[15] Cf. Deuchler (1977: 23–25), Han (1981: 372–373), Lee (1984: 268–269), and Kim (1986: 22–28).

[16] Cf. Reischauer and Fairbank (1965: 377). See also Deuchler (1977: 120–122).

(1843–1888) and Sir Harry Smith Parkes (1828–1885), and on the other, the head of the Korean Office of Foreign Affairs, Min Yŏng-mok 閔泳穆 (1826–1884). The wording of these treaties served as a model for successive agreements between other Western powers and Korea: Italy, 26 June 1884; Russia, 7 July 1884; France, 4 July 1886; Austria-Hungary, 23 June 1892; Belgium, 23 March 1901; and Denmark, 15 July 1902.

The 1892 Treaty between Austria-Hungary and the Kingdom of Korea

Carrying the instructions of the Austro-Hungarian consul in Shanghai, Josef von Haas (1847–1896),[17] HMS *Zrinyi* set sail for Chemulp'o early on the morning of 19 September 1890. Its captain, Commander Wladimir von Khittel, had orders to assess the possibility of a treaty. Until then, Austro-Hungarian interests in Korea had been represented only by the German diplomatic mission.[18] When the ship sailed into the port of Chemulp'o on 20 September, Commander von Khittel immediately made contact with the local authorities. Accompanied by Lieutenants Morelli and Friedenfels and Midshipman Lengnick, the captain then continued towards Seoul on 24 September. There, German consul Ferdinand Krien (1850–1924) received them, accommodating them at the consulate.

Two days later, in a first conversation with Min Chong-muk 閔鍾默 (1835–1916), head of the Korean Office of Foreign Affairs, the Austro-Hungarian envoy was assured that a treaty between their two countries would not only be welcomed but could be signed immediately. Commander von Khittel reports on this first meeting as follows:

> After a mutual exchange of the customary greetings when dealing with East Asian dignitaries, [Min Chong-muk] asked me (with the assistance of Consul Krien, who speaks Japanese, and another Japanese-Korean interpreter) whether I had come in the name of His Imperial Royal Apostolic Majesty to conclude an agreement on peace, friendship and trade with the Kingdom of Korea, in which case — if I was provided with the necessary authorization — we could proceed immediately to the relevant talks. I replied, according to my instructions, that the voyage of the (…) *Zrinyi* was for fact-finding and orientation purposes, and that my task was merely to inform myself of circumstances and, based on the information obtained, report back to my presiding ministry. The president replied that Korea would be honored to conclude a similar agreement with the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as it had done with Germany and France, if a person authorized to do so would come to Seoul. I promised to make this known to our highest authorities.[19]

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[17] Cf. German *Wikipedia*, s.v. "Josef von Haas."

[18] On this point, and what follows, cf. Benko (1894).

[19] German original (Benko 1894: 343): "Nach gegenseitigem Austausche der im Verkehr mit ostasiatischen Würdenträgern üblichen Begrüßungsformen frug mich der Präsident (durch

As is evident from this report, Khittel was not authorized to enter into formal diplomatic negotiations to conclude a treaty, but had gone to Seoul only to prepare the groundwork and explore the Korean government's willingness to enter into a treaty of friendship with Austria-Hungary. At a subsequent meeting with Khittel on 27 September, Min reaffirmed Korea's favorable disposition, thus paving the way for a successful conclusion.

Next came sightseeing in the Korean capital, and courtesy visits to representatives of foreign nations: Chinese ambassador Yuan Shikai 袁世凱, the United States' minister resident and consul general Augustine Heard, British consul general Sir Walter Hillier, French consul Victor Collin de Plancy, Russian ambassador Carl von Waeber, and Japanese *chargé d'affaires* Kondō Masuki. Khittel and his officers travelled back to Chemulp'o on 29 September. On 1 October 1890, he sailed for China on the *Zrinyi*.

By this time, preparations for constructive treaty negotiations were complete. Accordingly, Emperor Franz Joseph I (1830–1916) entrusted Rüdiger Freiherr von Biegeleben (1847–1912), ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the courts of China, Japan, and Siam, with this mission. On 23 June 1892, the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation between Austria-Hungary and Korea was finally signed in Tōkyō. Almost one year later, on 20 April 1893, the Hungarian Parliament ratified the treaty (Fendler 2007: 222); on 3 June 1893, Emperor Franz Joseph I ratified the contract; and on 5 October 1893, Rear Admiral Alois Ritter von Becker (1842–1900) and the head of the Korean Office of Foreign Affairs Nam Chŏng-ch'ŏl 南廷哲 (1840–1916) exchanged documents in Seoul.[20]

Despite this official diplomatic connection between the two countries, an Austro-Hungarian consulate was never established in Seoul, so the German consulate continued to represent Austro-Hungarian interests and concerns in Korea. Indeed, the financial investment of building or leasing an appropriate consulate would probably not have been justified, considering that in 1888 only three Austrian citizens lived in Korea (Benko 1894: 349). On the other side, Korean diplomatic representation was the

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Vermittlung des der japanischen Sprache mächtigen Consuls Krien und noch eines japanisch-koreanischen Dolmetsches), ob ich gekommen sei, um im Namen Sr. k. u. k. Apostolischen Majestät mit dem Königreich Korea einen Friedens-, Freundschafts- und Handelsvertrag abzuschließen, in welchem Falle, wenn ich mit den nöthigen Vollmachten versehen sei, sogleich an die diesbezüglichen Besprechungen geschritten werden könne. – Ich antwortete, meinen Instructionen gemäß, dass die Reise S. M. Schiffes ZRINYI eine Instructions- und Orientierungsreise sei, und dass meine Aufgabe lediglich darin bestehe, mich über Verhältnisse zu informieren und auf Grund des in Erfahrung gebrachten Materials meinem vorgesetzten Ministerium Bericht zu erstatten. Der Präsident ließ mir erwidern, dass sich Korea sehr geehrt fühlen würde, mit der österr.-ungar. Monarchie den gleichen Vertrag wie mit dem Deutschen Reich und Frankreich einzugehen, falls eine hierzu bevollmächtigte Person nach Söul käme. Ich versprach, diese Antwort zur hohen Kenntnis zu bringen."

[20] For a discussion of the contract's wording, cf. Berger (1992: 24–33).

responsibility of envoys who had to cover several European states at once. The first visits by such legates to the capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire are chronicled in the imperial court records and were also reported, albeit briefly, in Austrian newspapers of June 1900 and November 1901. Besides this, diplomatic exchange was scarce. On the fortieth anniversary of Kojong's accession to the throne, Franz Joseph sent a courteous telegram of congratulations, and he also sent a telegram of condolence on the occasion of the death of one of the Korean emperor's close relatives.

Diplomatic relations with the Kingdom of Korea (Empire of Korea from 12 October 1897) did not continue for long, however. On 17 November 1905, the Korean government was forced into a new treaty with Japan, under which Korea was officially declared a Japanese protectorate. From then on, the Korean emperor's authority was degraded, Korean military power was reduced, and Japan assumed control over policing in Korea.

The Japanese now controlled not only the government but telecommunications, the postal service, and the press. On 1 February 1906, a Japanese residency was built in Seoul, and Itō Hirobumi (1841–1909) was invested as the first Japanese resident-general. Authorized to give direct orders to the Korean government, he assumed control over internal and foreign affairs. Korean foreign relations were taken over by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and home affairs were now completely in the hands of the Japanese resident-general.

This takeover of Korea's diplomatic relations with foreign countries prompted Germany to transfer its diplomatic business to its embassy in Tōkyō on 5 December 1905. At the same time, the German minister resident in Seoul (since March 1903) was replaced by a vice-consul.

When Korean prime minister Yi Wan-yong 李完用 (1858–1926) signed the Annexation Treaty on 22 August 1910, officially surrendering the Empire of Korea to Japan, the country thereby lost its sovereignty. On 29 August, Emperor Sunjong 純宗 (1874–1926) was forced to abdicate the throne in a public proclamation, and to hand over the government of the country to the Japanese, marking the end of 518 years of his dynasty's reign. Thus, the Annexation Treaty came into effect, automatically voiding any previous diplomatic treaties and agreements between Seoul and other governments.[21]

In the summer of 1914, WWI broke out in Europe. Japan declared war on Germany and Austria-Hungary that same year. In consequence, diplomatic relations between the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Japan, which had been in place since 18 October 1869,

[21] Cf. Lee (1984: 309–312), Kleiner (1980: 76–80), and Nahm (1988: 214–219). An alternative view is that many international agreements remained in effect, and that it was only over the next few years, step by step, that the Japanese revoked them (e.g., mining rights, trade rights).

came to an end, and the last Austro-Hungarian ambassador to Japan, Baron Ladislaus Müller von Szentgyörgy (1855–1941), left on 31 August 1914.[22]

But while an Austro-Hungarian embassy in Chosŏn Korea never materialized, there was an important figure who — in times when it was still possible to consider this as an option — argued for diplomatic representation in Seoul. This was the Austro-Hungarian diplomat Count Heinrich Johann Maria von Coudenhove-Kalergi, deputy minister of Austria-Hungary to Japan during the early 1890s — a cosmopolitan aristocrat from a noble Bohemian family, who married a Japanese woman, Aoyama Mitsuko (Mitsuko Maria Thekla Coudenhove-Kalergi). However, Coudenhove's recommendation was rejected on the grounds that diplomatic representation was not part of the 1892 Treaty of Friendship (Fendler 2007: 226).[23]

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[22] It would not be until 1955 that diplomatic relations between the Republic of Austria and Japan would resume, and an Austrian embassy would be built in Tōkyō. Cf. Pantzer (1968).

[23] According to Károly Fendler's assessment, Coudenhove "was capable of synthesizing and analyzing internal and external trends in his reports such as the Tonghak Revolution and the beginning and course of the Sino-Japanese War" (Fendler 2007: 225). Coudenhove wrote about twenty reports and telegrams altogether to the Austro-Hungarian minister of foreign affairs regarding the turbulent events of 1894 in Korea. He was especially intrigued by the assassination of Kim Ok-kyun en route from Japan to Shanghai. Kim Ok-kyun, the reformist activist who led the failed Kapsin coup d'état of 1884 and thereafter lived under the Japanese government's protection in Japan, visited the Austro-Hungarian embassy in Tōkyō several times, and Coudenhove was personally acquainted with him. Coudenhove "was convinced that China's ambassador to Tokyo had played an essential role in the preparations for the killing" (ibid., 224). On 16 June 1894, Coudenhove wrote: "There is revolution in Korea. China and Japan have deployed forces there. Obtaining information has become more difficult; therefore, traveling to Korea would be advantageous. I am urgently awaiting a response" (quoted in Fendler 2007: 225). As the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Vienna did not approve Coudenhove's proposed visit to Seoul, the chance of an "authentic eyewitness report" (ibid.) was missed.

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Austrian Missionaries in Contact with Koreans, on the Peninsula and Nearby

Werner KOIDL

This chapter focuses on Austrian missionaries who had contact with Koreans or wrote about Korea between the mid-17th century and the outbreak of the Korean War. It draws on various rare sources as well as unpublished material presented here for the first time. The discussion is divided into three sections. The first deals with Austrian missionaries up to the end of the 18th century who either wrote about Korea or had contact with Koreans in China. The second covers missionaries who were active in Korea or Korean settlements in Manchuria during the first half of the 20th century. The third presents the stories of three priests who visited Korea for brief periods in the first half of the 20th century.[1]

1. Austrian Jesuits in China and their Connections with Koreans

Three missionaries have been identified as the first Austrians to have some kind of involvement with Korea or Koreans: Martino Martini, who published the first accurate map of Korea in the atlas *Novus atlas Sinensis* (1655); Xaver Ehrenbert Fridelli, a cartographer for the Qing court; and Augustin von Hallerstein, an astronomer who met the scholar Hong Tae-yong in Beijing in 1766.

1.1. Martino Martini and the *Novus atlas Sinensis*

Some of the earliest scholarship on Korea that was available in Europe was written by Jesuits living in China. Among them was Martino Martini, also known by his Chinese name Wei Kuangguo 衛匡國 (1614–1661). Martini was born on 20 September 1614 into a merchant family of the German-speaking population of Trento (today the capital of Trentino in northern Italy, but then part of the County of Tyrol).[2] Shortly after his ordination as a priest in 1640, he sailed to China, where he was assigned to work as a missionary, and arrived in Macau in 1642 or 1643 after an adventurous journey, typical of long-distance travel in that period. In 1643, he finally reached his assigned post in Hangzhou, a city in turmoil during the transition from Ming to Qing rule, which proved to be an unfavorable environment for his mission.

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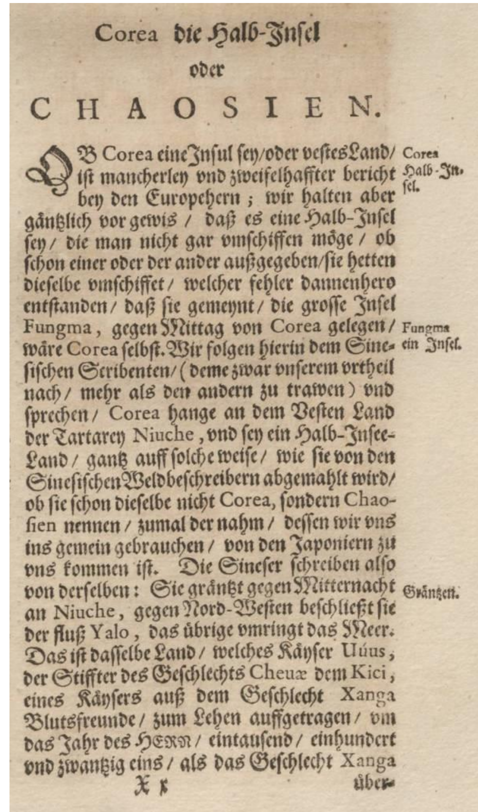
1 All translations are by the author, unless stated otherwise.
2 For Martini's biography, cf. Collani (2000).

In 1650, Martini was ordered to Rome, as deputy of the Jesuits working in China, to explain the Jesuit point of view on the Chinese Rites Controversy to the pope.[3] He finally arrived in Rome in 1655, after spending time in various major European cities, where he found publishers for his four main works on China: *De bello Tartarico historia* [History of the Tartarian war] (1654), *Brevis relatio de numero et qualitate Christianorum apud Sinas* [Brief record of the number and characteristics of Christians in China] (1654), *Novus atlas Sinensis* [New atlas of China] (1655), and *Sinicae historiae decas prima* [Chinese history (first part)] (1658). Martini's magnum opus was the *Novus atlas Sinensis* (1655), issued by the Dutch publisher Joan Blaeu in Amsterdam in two editions, Latin and German. The following year, French and Dutch editions followed, and in 1658 a Spanish edition (Verhaeren 1947: 243). Building on Chinese sources, Martini had compiled the most detailed collection of maps of China to date. He added over 170 pages of historical and geographical information. For almost a century, the *Novus atlas Sinensis* would serve as the standard geographical reference book for the Far East, containing not only maps of China and Japan, but also a map of the region on which, for the first time, the Korean Peninsula was shown in correct proportion to the Chinese mainland. Given the accuracy of this map, it can be said that the *Novus atlas Sinensis* was the first rich source of information about Korea to be available in Europe.


Corea die Halb-Insel
oder
CHAOSIEN.

Ob Corea eine Insul sey/oder vestes Land/ ist mancherley vnd zweifelhaffter bericht bey den Europehern; wir halten aber gäntzlich vor gewis/ daß es eine Halb-Insel sey/ die man nicht gar vmschiffen möge/ ob schon einer oder der ander außgegeben/sie hetten dieselbe vmschiffet/ welcher fehler dannenhero entstanden/ daß sie gemeynt/ die grosse Insel Fungma, gegen Mittag von Corea gelegen/ wäre Corea selbst. Wir folgen hierin dem Sinesischen Scribenten/ (deme zwar vnserem vrtheil nach/ mehr als den andern zu trawen) vnd sprechen/ Corea hange an dem Vesten Land der Tartarey Niuche, vnd sey ein Halb-Insee-Land/ gantz auff solche weise/ wie sie von den Sinesischen Weldbeschreibern abgemahlt wird/ ob sie schon dieselbe nicht Corea, sondern Chaosien nennen/ zumal der nahm/ dessen wir vns ins gemein gebrauchen/ von den Japoniern zu vns kommen ist. Die Sineser schreiben also von derselben: Sie gräntzt gegen Mitternacht an Niuche, gegen Nord-Westen beschließt sie der fluß Yalo, das übrige vmringt das Meer. Das ist dasselbe Land/ welches Käyser Uúus, der Stiffter des Geschlechts Cheuæ dem Kici, eines Käysers auß dem Geschlecht Xanga Blutsfreunde/ zum Lehen auffgetragen/ vm das Jahr des HERRN/ eintausend/ einhundert vnd zwantzig eins/ als das Geschlecht Xanga

X x über-

Corea Halb-Insel.

Fungma ein Insel.

Gräntzen.

(Fig. 1) The first page of Martini's description of Korea in the *Novus atlas Sinensis* (Martini [1655] 1981: 173).

Martini's description of Korea in the *Novus atlas Sinensis*[4] starts by referring to the debate over whether Korea is an island or a peninsula (fig. 2). To confirm it is the latter,

[3] This was a 17th- and 18th-century dispute among Roman Catholic missionaries in China, about whether the Chinese ancestor-worship ceremonies were compatible with Christian beliefs. The Jesuits believed that the Chinese rites could be tolerated within certain limits, while other missionary orders held the contrary. Pope Clement XI condemned the Confucian rites in 1704, and forty years later Pope Benedict XIV confirmed this in a papal bull.

[4] Martini (1655) 1981: 173–175. The German original is provided at the end of this chapter (*12), along with other key passages from the original text (referenced by asterisk plus