

Andreas Schirmer (ed.)

Koreans and Central Europeans: Informal Contacts up to 1950

Vol. 2

Andreas Schirmer (ed.)

Koreans in Central Europe

To Yu-ho, Han Hŭng-su, and Others



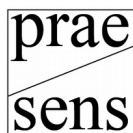
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Koreans and Central Europeans
Informal Contacts up to 1950

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Koreans and Central Europeans

Informal Contacts up to 1950

Andreas Schirmer, Editor

Praesens
Vienna

Volume 2

***Koreans in
Central Europe***

To Yu-ho, Han Hŭng-su, and Others

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Editor's Note

Koreans and Central Europeans: Informal Contacts up to 1950 is a three-volume compendium about what can be justly described as “early” relations between Koreans and Central Europeans, focusing on real-life interpersonal encounters and including revelations about the reception of things Korean in Central Europe. The present volume comprises research primarily focused on two Koreans, Han Hŭng-su and To Yu-ho, who represent unique and exceptional cases of Koreans in Central Europe until 1950.

The main purpose of this note shall be to offer due acknowledgements for various forms of support for this project — which inevitably involves some repetition of what was said in the note to the first volume. 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 for providing funding when everything was still just 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 substantial additional funding, based on 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 (namely CEO Jongbum Park) with its headquarters in Vienna, the AVL Company (namely CEO Helmut List), and Hyundai Austria provided additional sponsorship.

The original goal of this project was to be finished within one year; in hindsight, this clearly was overly ambitious. Some originally planned contributions were never completed, while others were newly solicited and incorporated because the topics and contents were so promising. As the chapters developed and the scope of the book expanded substantively and conceptually, we were determined to submit a publication that would measure up to any standard. Accordingly, it became imperative to seek out additional funding.

Luckily, when asked for permission to reprint (in volume 3) 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 this 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 handed out a considerable sum from his own pocket to help move this project to completion, subsidizing numerous tail-end costs such as unforeseen fees for publication rights and for additional rounds of intensive professional copy-editing services, as well as for extra expenses associated with printing the significantly expanded 800+ page book in three volumes instead of one. CEO Im's genuine interest in the topic of this book made his financial support all the more precious.

This book could never have been completed without the persistence and enthusiasm of Christian Lewarth, who joined this project out of genuine and wholehearted conviction and intrinsic motivation. He thoroughly immersed himself in this project 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.

Right from the start, Patrick Vierthaler was employed as project assistant and assumed an important role, administering, with his talent for structured procedure and organization, the constant cycle of improvements, being helpful to an extent far beyond his official capacity. Frank Hoffmann helped enormously in raising our awareness of problems and in upgrading editing 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.

Copy editors Jim Thomas and Brian Folk invested much more than we could have asked, far exceeding the conventional sense of "copy editing." As colleagues in the field, both supplied improvements that enhanced the argumentation and format of the finished texts, enduring almost countless rounds of checks and counterchecks with me.

Brad Ayers served as a very dedicated copy editor and proofreader during the first stages of this project, but was forced to pull out. William Strnad helped *in extremis*. Greg Lamphear came to rescue just before the book was put into print. Jan Schindler and Haemin Kim served as project assistants in the last stages and helped with getting corrections and improvements implemented. And for all kinds of technical support I am greatly indebted to Philipp Unterköfler.

Several of the contributors voluntarily helped with proofreading and detecting overlooked mistakes and problems. In addition to Christian Lewarth and Frank Hoffmann, I would especially like to thank Lee Chang-hyun, Lee Min-heui, Vladimír Hlásny, Zdenka Klöslová, Susan Jo, and Werner Koidl.

Of course, a voluminous book like this involves, on all kinds of levels and capacities, many more people than I can cite here. So, I cut this short, but without overlooking their help and not omitting them in my grateful memory. As for more specific forms of support that contributors received while writing their chapters or having them edited, there are occasionally special acknowledgements attached to those chapters. We are also obliged to numerous archives and institutions, which are acknowledged within each chapter or in the image credits. Last but not least, we are indebted to our publisher, Michael Ritter.

Andreas Schirmer
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Introduction

Andreas SCHIRMER

An abundance of indirect and direct contact with the West that took place within Korea makes it reasonable to conceive of various dimensions of “contact zones” within Korea (for example in the form of in-country missionary stations).¹ By contrast, direct personal contact of Koreans with Westerners that took place in the West itself remained an extreme exception for a long time, apart from very specific places like Hawaii.² Generally, Korean contact with Americans,³ often facilitated through the channels and networks of missionaries, was comparatively far more common than contact with Europeans. In fact, the number of Koreans who arrived in Europe

¹ Travelogues by Western travelers and sojourners in Korea are now relatively well-recognized as an important resource for historians. See Pak Tae-hŏn, *Sŏyangin i pon Chosŏn: Hang'uk kwan'gye sŏyang sŏji (1655–1949)* [Chosŏn seen through Western eyes: A bibliography of Western literature about Korea (1655–1949)], 2 vols. (Seoul: Hosanbang, 1996); Sin Pong-nyong, *Ibangan i pon Chosŏn tasi ilkki* [Chosŏn seen through foreign eyes] (Seoul: P'ulbit, 2002). As for Western contributions, cf., e.g., Pierre-Emmanuel Roux, *La croix, la baleine et le canon: La France face à la Corée au milieu du XIXe siècle* [Cross, whale and cannon: French encounters with Korea in the mid-nineteenth century] (Paris: Le Cerf, 2012); Vladimir Tikhonov, *Modern Korea and Its Others: Perceptions of the Neighbouring Countries and Korean Modernity* (London: Routledge, 2015). As for general orientation, see Brother Anthony's very commendable collection, *Old books about Korea online* (<http://hOMPI.sogang.ac.kr/anthony/BooksKorea.htm>).

² An anthology of texts of four Koreans — Kim Wŏn-gŭk, Hyŏn Sang-yun, No Chŏng-il, and Pak Sŭng-ch'ŏl — who studied abroad in the early 20th century (two of them in Europe) was published as vol. 1 of a series of Korean travelogues of the modern era edited by Sŏ Kyŏng-sŏk, *Singminji chisigin ūi kaehwa sesang yuhakki* [Intellectuals in the colonial times writing from their studies abroad in an enlightened world], Han'guk kŭndae kihaengmun 1 (Seoul: T'aehaksa, 2005).

³ As the Japanese Governor-General of Korea relaxed restrictions on Koreans studying abroad after the March First Movement of 1919, the number of Koreans who left Korea to study increased. Cf. Hong Sŏn-p'yo, “Iljeha miguk yuhak yŏn'gu” [Koreans studying in America during Japanese rule], *Kuksakwan nonch'ong* 96 (2001): 151–181. The majority of the students went to Japan or the US, but some chose to go to Europe. Studying in Germany was easier than in the US in terms of necessary visas, but also in terms of admission, as fees were low. Cf. Choe Chong-go, *Han-Tok kyosŏpsa* [History of Korean-German relations] (Seoul: Hongsŏngsa, 1983), 203. See also, e.g., Kim Sŭng-ŭn, *1920–30-nyŏndae miguk yuhak yŏsŏng chisigin ūi hyŏnsil kwa sahoe hwaldong* [Conditions and social activities of Korean female intellectuals who studied in the USA in the 1920s–1930s] (PhD dissertation, Sŏgang University, 2012).

remained in the lower hundreds prior to liberation, and only surged by the time the Korean War was ending.⁴ Consequently, these rare individuals who went to Europe and then even managed to report about their experiences open a rather exclusive window on psychological stances, mentalities, attitudes and personal opinions, which would otherwise not have surfaced.⁵ Korean interaction and intercultural exchange with Europeans in that period constitutes an area that scholars of Korean studies in Europe are bound to cover and better explore in the future. It is of genuine interest because historical Korean discourses on encountering Europe and Europeans are an illuminating mirror on contemporary intercultural encounters.

Recent years have seen a burgeoning interest in previously ignored ‘early’ testimonies of Western contact with Korea. Numerous findings that have stirred public interest indicate that many things are still to be discovered. Concomitant with this is growing interest in historical European discourses about Korea.⁶ Meanwhile, also the activities of Koreans in Europe or overseas in other parts of the West are increasingly moving into the spotlight. This could be called the vindicating correction of a historical anomaly: before the ideological thaw that slowly started in the late 1980s, a wary cautiousness in digging for such aspects of the recent (“colonial”) past predominated in South Korea; and as for North Korea, a noteworthy interest in such matters is anyway hardly imaginable, all the more since many “cosmopolitans” had ended up

⁴ The first real wave started with North Korean orphans and students being sent to Eastern European brother nations. Well researched is the case of North Koreans in Hungary, thanks to Mózés Csoma. See his book *From North Korea to Budapest: North Korean students in the Hungarian revolution in 1956* (Seoul: Jimoondang, 2016).

⁵ Private diaries are rare. On the other hand, letters or even reports for a broader public (in newspapers or journals) are relatively more common, and also tell something about the expectations of the audience back in Korea. By contrast, travelogues by Western travelers and sojourners in Korea are now relatively well-recognized as an important resource for historians and some observations are classics. E.g., Isabella Bird Bishop’s statement that she never saw a country of such peculiar customs is central in Korea’s foremost modernist poet Kim Su-yŏng’s poem “Kōdaehan ppuri” [The giant root]. The remark by French naval officer Jean Henri Zuber that every Korean household contains, to the shame of the French invaders of Kanghwa Island, piles of books, is regularly quoted as an early testimony to Korean education fever, as are Hendrik Hamel’s seventeenth-century observations on Koreans’ zeal for learning.

⁶ Research on this area is ongoing, but remains a rich field yet to be explored fully. See, e.g., Su Young Park, *Western Perceptions of Korea 1890–1930: Comparative Study on the Relationship between Reciprocity and Colonial Discourse* (MA thesis, Uppsala University, 2008); Jong-pil Yoon and Hyun-sook Park, “An Unfamiliar Other within the Uncivilized Other: Korea as Depicted by Late Nineteenth-Century British Newspapers,” *Korea Journal* 54 (2014), no. 3: 33–59; Soo-yun Mun [Mun Su-hyŏn], “German discourse on Korea during the era of Japanese imperialism,” *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 27 (2014), no. 2: 241–267; Pak Po-yŏng, *Ilche kangjŏngi Sŏng Ot’illien Penediktohoe Sŏn’gyoji (Missionsblätter) e nat’anan han’guk insik kwa ūrye pyŏnhwa* [Perceptions of Korea and changes of rituals as reflected in the mission newspaper of the Benedictines of St. Ottilien during Japanese colonial rule over Korea] (PhD dissertation, Kyŏngbuk University, 2015).

purged (and then erased from memory) in the early 1950s. The said cautiousness in South Korea is partly explainable by the anti-communist hysteria that led to a reluctance to deal with *wōlbukja*, those who defected to the North (including many intellectuals), thus becoming anathema in the South. Purported or possible collaboration of any person who had lived abroad in comparatively affluent countries with (as was usually unavoidable) a Japanese passport was another possible reason to consider a person's past to be an awkward, possibly explosive subject to address. Moreover, the fact that some Koreans studied abroad or remained overseas in whatever capacity could be seen as conflicting with that notorious perspective on the colonial past which used to be “hegemonic within Korean historiography”⁷: the “exploitation theory,”⁸ There was for decades a tendency to avoid any “undermining the master narrative of a ‘relentless national struggle’ against the Japanese invaders.”⁹ Thus, considering (privileged and affluent) Korean travelers and overseas sojourners from the times of Japanese colonial rule over Korea as a group of people deserving critical interest would have been considered frivolous in the face of the circumstances, i.e., that in those times a majority of Koreans were illiterate and deprived.

The exploration of colonial modernity in Korea, a broad, many-faceted and also much-contested field of historical study, is usually committed to the investigation of aspects of modernity *in* Korea (or, if not, within the Japanese Empire). The peculiar cases of Korean travelers, students, and long-term residents in Europe — and the various documents, reports, and letters that testify, in one way or the other, to the circumstances of their lives there — still rarely enter that picture¹⁰ despite their potential to contribute to our understanding of the multilayeredness of the modern experience and subjectivity of Koreans in those days.¹¹ The exceptional cases of the

⁷ Cho Younghan, “Colonial Modernity Matters? Debates on Colonial Past in South Korea,” *Cultural Studies* 26 (2012), no. 5: 645–669 (quote p. 648).

⁸ This label comprises interpretations of the colonial period in Korea that work under the overarching premise and paradigm that Japanese rule was guided by economic exploitation, with development taking place only as a side effect. See also Yonson Ahn, “Rewriting the History of Colonialism in South Korea,” in *Broken Narratives: Post-Cold War History and Identity in Europe and East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 109–132.

⁹ Vladimir Tikhonov, “Korea’s First Encounters with Pan-Asianism Ideology in the Early 1880s.” *The Review of Korean Studies* 5 (2002), no. 2: 195–232 (quote pp. 198–199).

¹⁰ Except for some even more rare cases of specific individuals who were interesting because of their activities within Korea, e.g., Yun Ch’i-ho. Well covered by academic research is also the exceptional case of Yi Ŭi-gyōng (1899–1950) who lived in Germany for 30 years until his premature death and gained literary fame as Mirok Li.

¹¹ This is somewhat different in the case of very early records of Koreans traveling to Western countries. Texts such as the travel poems and the diary by Kim Tūng-nyōn, a government interpreter who recorded his ideas and experiences on the official journey around the world, led by Ambassador Extraordinary Min Yōng-hwan, or the travelogue written by Min Yōng-hwan himself both began with a Korean delegation’s participation in the coronation of the Russian Czar Nicholas II in March 1896. These two works are classics today and have

two Koreans who are in the center of this volume, Han Hŭng-su and To Yu-ho, offer small but revealing insights into an underexposed past. But there is another thing that sets Han apart: the curious case of a Korean heralding the liberation of his country from Japanese rule in 1945 and enthusing over the advent of communism in the North — while observing all these changes from his residence in Prague.

As the subtitle suggests, this volume does not aspire to cover all Koreans who would come into question. Regarding Koreans in Germany, Frank Hoffmann has examined the most eminent ones in the first volume of this book. The third volume covers the other side of the coin, i.e., Europeans in Korea, or Europeans engaging Koreans in Asia. There were, among the Koreans in Europe, also Koreans in Poland. However, they will not be covered in this volume, even though it is devoted to Koreans in Europe, but in volume 3 because the chapter by Lee Min-heui deals with both sides (Koreans in Poland and Poles in Korea or in the Korean-populated parts of the Russian or Soviet Far East).

Han Hŭng-su and To Yu-ho both came to Europe in the 1930s. One stayed on for a little less than a decade, the other for a dozen years. Both opted for the North, and both became leading scholars in their eventually (and at that, quite intriguingly) very similar fields. Both should rank high on a list of peculiar figures of their time, but they ended up almost forgotten after being obviously purged (traces of Han were lost before the end of the Korean War, whereas those of To Yu-ho disappeared by the mid-1960s), which entailed the requisite *damnatio memoriae*. In the South, *wŏlbukja*¹² like them were anathema anyway.

Likewise, they were evidently never discussed in Vienna among former colleagues and acquaintances, either deliberately or because their stories were obscured or even erased by events and the passing of time. North and South Korean ambassadors in Vienna seemingly never mentioned them, and even two academic retrospectives published in the 1990s on the history of Austrian-Korean relations excluded these two most important long-term Korean sojourners in Vienna because they were simply unknown.¹³ Ironically, only former Japanese colleagues who had studied together with them maintained a semblance of social memory by inquiring about their former fellow colleagues and countrymen, but to little avail. Occasionally there have been, as a matter of fact, some scholarly attempts in South Korea since the late 1980s to shed light on them. But it is only recently that such efforts have become more energized. Scholars have shifted To and Han more into the spotlight, and thus we are part of an unplanned and rather spontaneous movement that led to more attention to these fascinating figures.

enjoyed considerable scholarly interest. This applies all the more to Yu Kil-jun's *Sōyu kyōnmun* (Observations on a journey to the West) from 1895.

¹² Even after the lifting of the ban (*haegŭm*) concerning their work in 1988, *wŏlbukja* continued to remain awkward figures for many Koreans.

¹³ See the chapter on Han Hŭng-su written by the editor for this present volume.

When Han Hǔng-su, who was five years younger than To Yu-ho, arrived in Vienna, he was welcomed by the older fellow Korean who had already earned his PhD there; by the time the two met, To Yu-ho had been living in Europe for six years. Shortly after his arrival, Han casually remarks about their friendship in a letter. Other than this reference, there is no further mention of their relationship, despite both of them being in Vienna for two additional years after Han's arrival.

For reasons that are not fully clear, To Yu-ho's scholarly interests began to coincide with those of Han Hǔng-su shortly after the younger man's arrival. As a result of their converging academic interests, they shared a considerable number of teachers.¹⁴ To Yu-ho must have been close to the Japanese ethnologist Oka Masao, and later assisted him in a translation of Oswald Menghin's seminal book, *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit* (Universal history of the stone age), while Han Hǔng-su's research on the megalithic culture of Korea also constitutes a strong link to Oka.

Having become so similar in their interests and their professional ambitions, they ended up as rivals in North Korea, when To Yu-ho polemically attacked Han Hǔng-su in a scholarly debate in the late 1940s. (Actually, To Yu-ho may have felt prompted to launch the attack because of Han's critique of other scholars in the field of Korean archeology.¹⁵) Allegedly, this contributed to the downfall of Han Hǔng-su, while To Yu-ho would dominate North Korean archeology until the mid-1960s. But whereas Han Hǔng-su had written on Neolithic culture even before coming to Vienna, To Yu-ho moved in the direction of pre-history only after he had earned his PhD.¹⁶

Even though Han Hǔng-su and To Yu-ho or their families must have been relatively affluent to make their *yuhak* (studying abroad) possible, the two presumably lived a modest and frugal life. Both Han Hǔng-su and To Yu-ho lived as subletters in Vienna, frequently changing their addresses, and To Yu-ho explicitly writes about a period of financial troubles and hardships. After earning his PhD, To Yu-ho struggled desperately to attain further academic qualifications and also to find employment. Han Hǔng-su struggled as well, even though he eventually managed to join the ranks of habilitated university teachers in 1947, a process that included a board of professors attesting to his character, confirming that he was held in esteem by everybody. The remarkable feat of his habilitation was more a matter of status than money, and it at least allowed Han, be it unsalaried, to enjoy the prestigious privilege of teaching with the highest possible formal license.

¹⁴ This group included such figures as Oswald Menghin, Wilhelm Schmidt, Wilhelm Koppers, Robert von Heine-Geldern, Josef Haekel and Josef Weninger.

¹⁵ If a modern forensic profiler would try to get a picture of their character by analyzing their writings, he or she might come to the conclusion that Han Hǔng-su was a more considerate, humorous and empathic person, and less aggressive and prone to engage in personal attacks than To Yu-ho.

¹⁶ As a peculiar additional parallelism, both To Yu-ho and Han Hǔng-su did research on the early stages of Chinese urban culture.

Both were officially considered Japanese in terms of citizenship and simply labeled Japanese in many contexts, but they often took the opportunity to declare themselves Korean on forms asking “nationality.” The Japanese, however, did not regard these two as simply Japanese, as became evident when To Yu-ho tried to get a position as a Japanese-language instructor. In fact, both taught Japanese for the sake of subsistence income. The fact that Han Hŭng-su also taught Korean in Prague during WWII and after the war until 1948 is an astonishing feat in its own right.

They certainly socialized with the more numerous Japanese students who later on would ask about them when visiting Vienna again. And at the same time both were passionate Korean nationalists, as sufficiently expressed in their writings. Both show apologetic impulses to defend Korean ways against denigration and to stress Koreans’ distinctive character in contrast to that of the Japanese and Chinese.

In both scholars’ PhD theses we find claims that Koreans possess a unique identity. At the same time, Han Hŭng-su was greatly interested in the phenomena of cultural contact and ethnic intermixture. To Yu-ho appears to have been more outspoken and critical of Japanese rule in Korea. Han Hŭng-su would rather stress, in line with communist internationalism (to some degree also overlapping with Pan-Asianism), a solidarity between Korean and Japanese workers, thus ideologically transcending nationalist sentiments. The role of race or ethnicity as an issue in the writing of both is obvious. This is reflected not only in their explicit musings but also in, e.g., To Yu-ho’s adoption of the then (and to some degree still even now) popular notion that Koreans and Hungarians are ethnically related. Despite such back door displays of racism, both Han Hŭng-su and Tu Yu-ho reveal a firmly anti-racism position, refuting especially the concept of racial superiority.

This book is based on many sources and archival materials, but a very prominent place is occupied by firsthand reports of the two about their experiences. One of the surprises of this research was the quantity and scope of these personal testimonials. Thus, beyond the mere fact of their residence abroad, related facts and official documents, there are plenty of subjective points of view expressed in texts written by these two individuals who ambitiously dealt with a foreign environment — and this is fascinating.¹⁷

¹⁷ Generally, texts written by Korean travelers and long-term residents in Europe from the 1920s to the 1940s have never been comprehensively covered by academic research. Conspicuously, a popular overview of Korean travel literature by Kim Tae Joon that was translated into English shows a large gap between Yu Kil-jun’s *Sōyu kyōnmun* (西遊見聞 [Observations on a journey to the West]) from 1895 and Han Pi-ya’s travel writings from the late 1990s onwards. Cf. Tae Joon Kim, *Korean Travel Literature*, transl. by Lee Kyong-hee (Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 2006). Korean curiosity about the world in the times of colonial rule of Korea and writings by Koreans about places as foreign as Europe have long remained a “blind spot” for scholars until now. However, over the last 15 years there has been a surge in interest on this topic. Cf. Kwak Sŭng-mi, “Segye ūi wigyeohwa wa singminji chumin ūi chagi ũngsi: 1920-nyōndae Pak Sŭng-ch’ōl ūi haeye kihaengmun” [The

The testimonies of Han Hŭng-su and To Yu-ho display a variety of topoi and characteristics from that period found in similar form in other Koreans' travelogues or reports from abroad. (We have to keep in mind that this is not about real diaries or intimate letters but rather "public" communication, with all its constraints.)

We can see here, for example, how these Koreans experienced culture shock in those days. Relatedly, and demonstrating some limits to an otherwise undeniable progressiveness, To Yu-ho reports on having heard of men and women doing sports together all naked and suggested that "straw mats" — traditionally used to wrap a delinquent for indiscriminate flogging — should be prepared in case such a custom ever spread to the "land of propriety" in the East (i.e., Korea). Likewise, Han Hŭng-su reported on the habit of exchanging handshakes, seen as unhygienic — all the more so in light of what Han referred to as the Austrians' "disgusting" close physical contact with dogs.¹⁸

We see both men strive for balance between praise for Europe and critique thereof. And like many of their compatriots, they felt compelled to engage with European discourses on hierarchies of nations, national superiority, and race. Here, the picture is blurred or oscillating. Undeniably receptive on the one hand, both were also outspokenly critical of racist conceptions on the other.

world becoming hierarchized and the self-observation of the colonized], *Han'guk munhak ūi yŏn'gu* 11 (2006): 245–275; Yi Mi-jŏng, "Kŭndae rŭl hyanganhan singminjiin ūi yŏjŏng" [Paths to modernity followed by colonized people], *Sihak kwa ŏnŏhak* 10 (2005): 245–276; Son Yu-kyŏng, "Na Hye-sŏk *Kumi manyugi* e nat'an an yŏsŏng sanch'aekcha ūi sisŏn kwa chirijŏk sangsangnyŏk" [The focus and geographical imagination of a female traveler shown in Na Hye-sŏk's *Kumi manyugi*], *Minjok munhaksa yŏn'gu* 36 (2008): 170–203; U Mi-yŏng: "Kŭndae chisik ch'ŏngnyŏn kwa togu [渡歐] sasip yŏil ūi munhwa chijŏnghak" [Modern young intellectuals and cultural geopolitics in travel essays from a 40-day journey through Europe], *Ŏmun yŏn'gu* 41 (2013), no. 4: 247–278; Lee Young-Suk [Yi, Yŏng-sŏk], "A Korean Colonial Intellectual's View of Western Europe in the Early 1930s," *Tamnon* 201 12 (2009), no. 2: 5–26. A very prolific researcher in this regard has been Cha Hye-yŏng, with the following publications: "Chiyŏkkan munmyŏng ūi wigye wa sigakchŏk taesang ūi ch'ag'an" [Civilizational hierarchy between regions and observation of visual objects], *Hyŏndae munhak ūi yŏn'gu* 24 (2004): 7–46; "1920-nyŏndae haeoe kihangmun ūl tonghae pon singminji kŭndae ūi naemyŏn hyŏngsŏng kyŏngno" [Internal formation of the colonial modern as it appeared in the 1920's literature on travels abroad], *Kugŏ kungmunhak* 137 (2004): 407–430; "Singminji sidae yŏrohyŏng sŏgu kihaengmun yŏn'gu" [Polymorphic travelogues from journeys to the West during colonial times], *Han'guk munhak iron kwa pip'yŏng* 45 (2009): 377–404; "Munwha ch'ehŏm kwa esŭnogŭraep'i ūi chŏngch'ihak – singminji sidae sŏgu chiyŏk kihaengmun yŏn'gu [The politics of cultural experience and ethnography: A study of travel writing on the West during the colonial times]", *Chŏngsin munhwa yŏn'gu* 33 (2010), no. 1: 49–80.

¹⁸ Both the reserve in regard to indiscriminate handshaking and the dislike of physical contact with dogs are still ingrained in Koreans' minds; this author (A.S.) has regularly overheard such sentiments in conversations with Korean residents and visitors — despite the handshake being much more used nowadays in Korea and the holding of pets being a widespread modern phenomenon among Koreans.

While trying to satisfy expectations of their Korean readers by suggesting that they informally represented the Korean nation, Koreans in Europe actually, perhaps counterintuitively, often either felt compelled or deliberately chose to present themselves as emissaries of East Asian civilization (because such a perceived identity was more rewarding); that is, when engaging Europeans they preferred to both present themselves and be conceptualized as, summarily, East Asians — rather than natives of a small East Asian nation. Pan-Asianism implied, in their case, also an implicit dissent from Japanese imperialism.¹⁹ However, when Han Hŭng-su and To Yu-ho commented on conditions in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland for friends or newspapers at home, both compared their observations specifically to conditions in Korea.

Like others, Han and To display a tendency to stress personal hardships and difficulties, maybe calculated to some extent, in order to appease those who must have considered any person living in Europe extremely fortunate and privileged.

Not least, we also learn how Koreans publishing in Korea sometimes had to get their point across in secret messages and encoding, due to censorship. One example of this is Han Hŭng-su's reporting from Fribourg, in which he chastises André Gide in a very arcane way – for contemporary insiders an easily recognizable avowal of faith in the Soviet Union.

The majority of the contributions in this volume offer firsts (first-time revelations of sources and facts or interpretations of otherwise ignored texts) either not published at all or not in English. Five chapters are devoted to To Yu-ho: Yoshimi Ogawa and Chikako Shigemori Bučar present their research on To Yu-ho's pursuit of an existence in Europe and his teaching of Japanese; Chang-hyun Lee covers various archival materials and To Yu-ho's reports of his journey to Germany and his life there, as well as his reports from his journey back to Korea; Hong Sŏn-p'yo (Sun Pyo Hong) concentrates on To Yu-ho's political involvements after his return; Andreas Schirmer focuses on To Yu-ho's life in Vienna based on archival materials, as well as on To Yu-ho's own accounts; and Christian Lewarth shares his finding of a phonographic recording providing us the voice of To Yu-ho. This is complemented by the personal recollection of Helga Picht, who met To Yu-ho twice, in Moscow and in North Korea.

The part on or related to Han Hŭng-su starts with two thoroughly researched chapters by Zdenka Klöslová on Han Hŭng-su's life in Prague, focusing especially on his contacts and his publication activities; one chapter, by Andreas Schirmer, is mostly devoted to Han Hŭng-su's triumphs and travails while in Vienna and Switzerland; Ekaterina Pokholkova contributes a first-time translation of Han Hŭng-su's report on his travel to Europe on the Trans-Siberian Railway in 1936 and his impressions of

¹⁹ As for the very diverse strands of thought behind pan-Asianism, see Dolf-Alexander Neuhaus: "'Awakening Asia': Korean Student Activists in Japan, The Asia Kunglun, and Asian Solidarity, 1910–1923." *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review* 24 (2017): 105–131.

Moscow;²⁰ and Jaroslav Olša jr. and Andreas Schirmer have compiled a comprehensive bibliography of Han Hŭng-su's writings, including a listing of the typescripts, many of which are unpublished, which miraculously survived as the totality of Han's estate.

A very fitting coda to this volume is constituted by two contributions on two figures who crossed paths with Han Hŭng-su: Alice Hyun and her son Wellington Chung. Both authors, Jung Byung Joong and Vladimír Hlásny, underpin their research with a wealth of sources that had remained untapped for decades, while also drawing on interview partners and collecting their remembrances — which is all the more a meritorious feat as so many memories were erased or buried, deliberately or out of fear.

At the beginning of this project, there was a small group (consisting mainly of Christian Lewarth, Werner Koidl and the editor of this volume) maintaining a working blog, and collecting materials and factual details. We asked ourselves how far we could go beyond the mere collection of information. On the other hand, in our pursuit of new “findings” there was also a resistance to subsume our research under one explicit interpretive framework. Discovery has been the primary concern of this project, not the proposal of daring new theories. This is not an admission of naïve positivism, but should be taken as a confession of no-nonsense scholarly pragmatism: digging out this or that photo, recording, manuscript, or fragments of never-before-recorded memory often is sufficient to open additional windows to the past — and we wanted such basic empiricism to be given due credit. We wanted to ensure that the publication of substantial findings would not be withheld out of an unwillingness to ‘frame’ these findings and to embed them into or subordinate them under demanding theories or captivating overarching narratives. On the other hand, there is the legitimate expectation that findings are in one way or the other situated into a larger historical narrative or debate. Consequently, both approaches (purist empiricism and synthetic narrativism) co-exist in this volume or, in some instances, they are even intertwined. When we began all this, we had the explicit goal to serve as an encouraging platform for research aimed at the discovery of previously unknown or unexamined sources, and we are confident that this will be seen as a significant merit in its own right.

Meanwhile, the first volume, *Berlin Koreans and Pictured Koreans*, has received very welcoming reviews. Moreover, a translation into Korean is forthcoming.²¹ While maybe predictable, it was nevertheless perplexing how others have harvested the book

²⁰ A bigger context for this was very recently covered by Vladimir Tikhonov: “Red Capital, Colonial Eyes: Moscow as Seen by Korean Intellectuals in the 1920s–1930s.” *Korea Journal* 57 (2017), no. 3: 5–30.

²¹ Reviews by Robert Oppenheim, *Journal of Asian Studies* 75 (2016), no. 4: 1150–1151; Soo-Hyun Mun, *Pacific Affairs* 90 (2017), no. 2: 379–381. Review articles by Kim Mi-ji, *Togil yŏn'gu / Korean Journal of German Studies* 33 (2016): 229–244; Mun, Su-hyŏn (Soo-Hyun Moon), *Yŏksa hakpo / Korean Historical Review* 230 (2016): 281–296. The translation is currently being prepared by Kim Mi-ji for publication by Kŭl Hangari (publishers) in 2018.

in order to adorn themselves with borrowed plumes. In an episode aired in October this year, *Finding Your Roots*, a popular American TV series,²² featured its host indulging in repeated and obtrusive *en passant* claims that his team “searched,” “traced,” “came upon,” “found out,” or “discovered” the presented facts — choosing to call the intelligence activities of comedian Fred Armisen’s grandfather, Korean-born dancer Kuni Masami, a “dark secret.” However, if we limit the notion of discovery to the disclosure of previously unknown or untold things, the presented pretended discoveries had, in fact, already been “discovered,” in any reasonable sense of that word, by Frank Hoffmann.²³

The television producers even emulated the author’s skillful *mis-en-scène* of facsimiles and visual proofs. Moreover, on occasion Frank Hoffmann’s interpretations were brazenly borrowed, using formulas like “we think” when Hoffmann had ventured a guess, or “we believe” when Hoffmann had dared an assumption. Such a farcical appropriation of research does of course not conform with any standards of media ethics and common sense, despite the fact that these professionals included a disclaimer at the beginning — a conventional magic spell to fend off any complaints on a legal level.

But the main reason I find this case so worth being shared is that it epitomizes the eternal worry of researchers of archives: i.e., getting no thanks and being viewed as merely the carters whose anonymous job it is to deliver the bricks for the visionary kings who build castles. (It was all the more unjust as Hoffmann had masterfully erected a firm castle himself from his findings.)

However, there are also some positives that can be derived from this story. It confirms the editor’s long-held conviction that much of the research presented here has the potential to serve as “content” to be adapted for film. To ‘counter-borrow’ an expression from the host of the program: “It’s like a movie!” We agree. There are several movies that could be made from the present volume as well.

²² Harvard professor Henry Louis Gates Jr.’s *Finding Your Roots*, Season 4, Episode 2, “Unfamiliar Kin,” aired on October 10, 2017, 8 PM, on PBS (Public Broadcasting Service). Media in the US and in South Korea jumped on this and were eager to cover the story.

²³ Cf. “The Berlin Koreans, 1909–1940s,” the first, by itself almost book-long, chapter of the first volume of the present book.

1

To Yu-ho

Glimpses of To Yu-ho's Life in Europe and Korea

LEE Chang-hyun

Using long-neglected materials as well as existing research, this chapter will explore the early life of the pioneering North Korean archaeologist To Yu-ho in the hope that this may prove useful for further research.

Chief among these materials is *Kimdae kyowŏn iryŏksŏ* (“Curricula Vitae of Teaching Staff at Kim Il-sung University”), marked “Item 31” of “Box 7” of “Shipping Advice No. 2011,” which were among the records confiscated by the US Armed Forces in Korea during the Korean War and shipped to the United States.¹ It includes a handwritten CV of To Yu-ho 都有浩, whose real name was To Chŏng-ho 都定浩, which he usually romanized as Do Cyong-ho. He first started using the name To Yu-ho (henceforward: TYH) in 1930 in his travelogue *Kujuhaeng* [On the way to Europe].

To date, this CV has been the main source used in reconstructing TYH's life. In 1990, Yi Kwang-nin published his writings on TYH's scholarly achievements (Yi 1990).² Two years later Ko Jong-sŏk also investigated TYH's past, with the aim of describing his life in Korea (Ko 1992). Other pieces on TYH's archaeological and anthropological research that have been published to date only provide brief biographical introductions.³

Road to Europe

TYH was born 29 May 1905 in Hamhŭng. Before he began formal schooling, he studied the Chinese classics under the tutelage of his grandfather, who was a scholar in the traditional sense. He completed Yŏng Saeng (lit. ‘eternal life’) Primary School and Yŏng Sin (lit. ‘eternal beliefs’) Middle School, both missionary schools in his hometown. In April 1922, he transferred from Yŏng Sin to Whimoon Middle School (徽文中學校) in Keijō (as the Japanese called Seoul), where he graduated in March

¹ Iryŏksŏ [CV]: To Yu-ho: *Kimdae kyowŏn iryŏksŏ* [CVs of teaching staff of Kim Il-sung University], RG242, National Archives Collection of Foreign Records Seized, Captured Korean Documents SA2011, Entry #299, Box #1061, Item #31.

² TYH's book, *Chosŏn wŏnsi kogohak* [Archaeology in prehistoric Korea], on Neolithic and Bronze Age artefacts was originally published in North Korea in 1960 and reprinted in South Korea in 1994. Cf. To 1994.

³ Andreas Schirmer (Schirmer 2012) has triggered much interest by adding some important elements to the reconstruction of TYH's life history. See also his most recent research on TYH in the present volume.

1923. He then worked for a while as a teacher while continuing his studies. He went to Keijō Commercial College (京城高等商業學校) in April 1924 and graduated in March 1929. He then transferred to Yenching University (燕京大學) in Beijing in September 1929, where he studied Chinese history and English until the following January.⁴

TYH is believed to have been a student at the Tōkyō College of Commerce (東京商科大学), although his CV provides no indication of his time in Japan (*Chosŏn ilbo*, January 1, 1940). Other sources, however, show that he was in Tōkyō around 1928 or 1929, at least for an unspecified time.⁵ While there, he is known to have met Yamada Saburō 山田三良, a Keijō Imperial University (京城帝國大學) professor, who raved about the many good musicians in Vienna.⁶

Young TYH was obviously eager to broaden his knowledge. He could have led a conventional life as a teacher in Japanese-occupied Korea, yet he preferred to study abroad and ultimately decided to study in Europe, the birthplace of modern science.⁷ On 19 April 1930, he took the train from Keijō to Dalian (then a Japanese port), and sailed to Europe on 22 April. A piece of bureaucratic correspondence (dated 27 October 1930) found in TYH's file in the University of Frankfurt archive suggests that TYH was — “at his father's wish” — accompanied by Herbert Spencer Croll (1890-1969) who had worked as an English teacher at the Keijō Commercial College.⁸

We are well aware of TYH's journey through Europe and later to Germany from a travelogue he published, from 2 September to 5 October 1930, in 23 installments in the *Tonga ilbo* (To 1930). These were titled “Kujuhaeng” (On the way to Europe), which TYH began writing upon his arrival in Italy and completed in Frankfurt on 10 July 1930.

TYH departed from Dalian for Europe by ship via Qingdao, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Manila, Singapore, Belawan of Sumatra, Colombo, Suez, and Port Said; he was impressed with the various cultures he found in these cities, such as Belawan's Islamic culture, Colombo's Hindu culture, and the infusion of Spanish culture into the native Filipino culture in Manila. When the ship docked in Suez on 1 June, he was given the opportunity to go to Cairo to see the Pyramids, but he declined due to financial concerns. He long regretted this, although he very much enjoyed the scenery of the Suez.⁹

⁴ Iryōksō [CV].

⁵ According to a personal retrospective piece (To 1940a; 24 April 1940), TYH passed an entrance exam for the Kōbe College of Commerce 神戸商大 but dropped out because he lost interest in the subject. His travelogue “Kujuhaeng” (cf. below) also gives hints at a stay in Japan during the abovementioned time.

⁶ “Kujuhaeng,” part 11, *Tonga ilbo*, 16 September 1930.

⁷ Cf. TYH 1940a. In this text TYH claims that he always had enjoyed learning.

⁸ Information provided by Andreas Schirmer.

⁹ “Kujuhaeng,” parts 1–3, *Tonga ilbo*, 2–4 September 1930.

On entering the Mediterranean Sea via Alexandria on 2 June, his first sighting of Europe was Crete. The ship continued to head for Italy and arrived at Genoa on 6 June. TYH admired the beautiful buildings in Genoa, but he also witnessed fascist boy scouts and saw several public notices bearing restrictions that Mussolini had pronounced.¹⁰ Reporting on his observations in Genoa and Rapallo, TYH declares that paintings, sculptures, and scenery were the most important things in Italy.¹¹

The Cimitero monumentale di Staglieno, the famous cemetery in Genoa, where he admired the sculptures and condolers around the graves, made the most lasting impression on him. While acknowledging the beauty of the sculptures, TYH nevertheless cast them as “useless stones.” He concedes that there was meaning in the efforts of the people to create meaningful artwork; yet, upon seeing the graves and condolers, he expresses his belief that every life consists only of birth, suffering, and death.¹²

From Genoa to Frankfurt

On 8 June 1930, TYH took a train from Genoa to Milan.¹³ The next day, after seeing the Duomo di Milano (Milan Cathedral), he went to visit the Basilica of Sant’Ambrogio. There he confronted the convergence of Catholic, Roman, and pagan culture — and he learned that the invaders of Rome were heathens who later converted to Christianity. TYH uses a familiar analogy in his account: just as the Romans had conquered the Greeks and emulated Greek culture, the Goths in turn imitated the Romans when they conquered Rome. He describes this as follows:

There is nothing like the Basilica di Sant’Ambrogio in the world. A ring of the Basilica’s bell caused the heathens to bow their heads, and they closed their eyes in front of the golden altar of the Basilica. The Basilica was the best weapon to conquer them. (...) Only culture can conquer another culture.¹⁴

Later, TYH visited the church Santa Maria Delle Grazie in Milan where he saw Leonardo da Vinci’s famous mural *The Last Supper*. He then went to the famous Cimitero Monumentale, where he had a picture taken that was published in the *Tonga ilbo* (see fig. 1).¹⁵

During a day trip to Lake Como on 10 June, TYH continued to Bolzano later in the day and took part in a sightseeing tour there the next day. On 12 June, he departed for Munich and took in the Alps along the way. That evening, his train arrived in Munich

¹⁰ Cf., e.g., the following from “Kujuhaeng,” part 5, *Tonga ilbo*, 6 September 1930: “I was told that Italy was under a reactionary government and the ‘Blackshirts’, but it was harsher than I thought.”

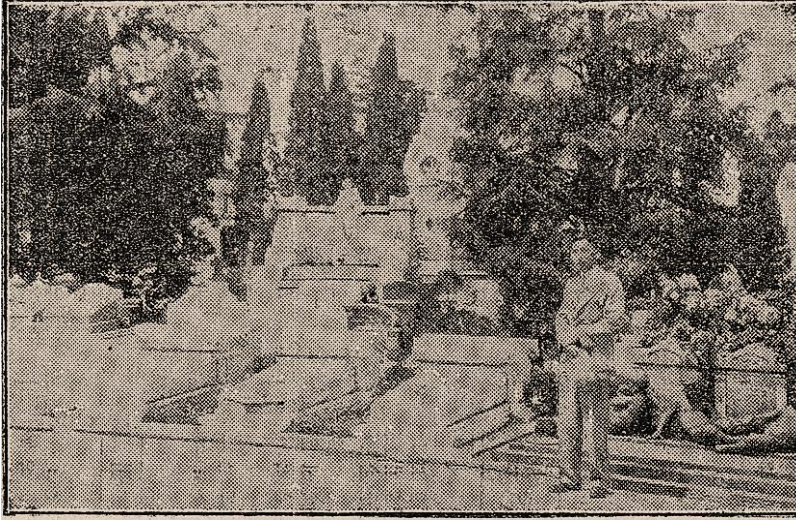
¹¹ “Kujuhaeng,” parts 4 and 5, *Tonga ilbo*, 5 and 6 September 1930.

¹² “Kujuhaeng,” parts 6 and 7, *Tonga ilbo*, 10 and 11 September 1930.

¹³ “Kujuhaeng,” part 8, *Tonga ilbo*, 12 September 1930.

¹⁴ “Kujuhaeng,” part 9, *Tonga ilbo*, 13 September 1930.

¹⁵ “Kujuhaeng,” part 10, *Tonga ilbo*, 14 September 1930.



(Fig. 1) TYH at the Cimitero Monumentale in Milan (*Tonga ilbo*, 13 September 1930). The photograph illustrates the ninth installment of TYH's "Kujuhaeng" series, and is accompanied by the following explanation: "This photo shows a part of the cemetery of Milan. The man standing is the author."

— a very emotional moment for him, as he had finally arrived in the country where he intended to devote himself to a field of study in which he still was a novice.¹⁶ On 13 June, he visited Munich's main sights, such as the Deutsches Museum (German Museum).¹⁷ He remarks that the streets of Germany were very clean and most Germans lived very frugally.¹⁸

At one point, he expresses his view of the United States, as he witnessed many American tourists who travelled to European cities. He himself used the services of the American Express Tourist Office (probably because it was convenient for his friend Herbert Spencer Croll). There were many American tourists in particular who had come to see the *Passionsspiele* ("Passion Plays"), Easter pageants which were performed only once a decade in Oberammergau. In Munich, businessmen sold travel packages for these *Passionsspiele* to many Americans; and from this, TYH concludes that Europe was under the powerful influence of the American economy. But he insists that European science and scholarship were nevertheless better than that in the US, because the latter lacked philosophical sophistication, while Europe was still the heart of philosophy, science, and art.¹⁹ TYH calls capitalism the most suitable ideology for Americans because they lacked a critique of capitalism — only squeezing money from the poorer nations of the whole world — and he likens Americans' alleged blind faith in capitalism to a rebuilding of the Tower of Babel.²⁰

¹⁶ "Kujuhaeng," parts 10 and 11, *Tonga ilbo*, 14 and 15 September 1930.

¹⁷ "Kujuhaeng," part 12, *Tonga ilbo*, 18 September 1930.

¹⁸ "Kujuhaeng," parts 13 and 19, *Tonga ilbo*, 19 and 30 September 1930.

¹⁹ "Kujuhaeng," part 11, *Tonga ilbo*, 16 September 1930.

²⁰ "Kujuhaeng," parts 12 and 13, *Tonga ilbo*, 18 and 19 September 1930.

On 14 June, TYH traveled from Munich to Nuremberg and explored the city on foot the next day. In a Protestant church in Nuremberg, he learned that although the exteriors of German and Italian churches were nearly the same, there was a big difference in the liturgy, wherein the Germans sang hymns in German, not in Latin, which he attributed to the Reformation (of course, he should instead have only compared the Catholic liturgy in Germany and Italy).²¹ After that, visiting the old city hall of Nuremberg and the Nuremberg Castle, he saw instruments of torture and other devices of punishment such as the “Iron Maiden.” His last stops were the Albrecht Dürer House and the German National Museum, where he appreciated the paintings. Captivated by portrayals of nudity in particular, he speculated that Western people were more able to control their libido than Koreans. He concluded that the libido was something that had enriched Western culture and life.²²

From Nuremberg, TYH traveled 100 kilometers to Würzburg, where he went to see the famous palace, the Würzburger Residenz. It did not impress him much, as it had been built rather recently. Its Rococo style stood in stark contrast to the buildings he had appreciated so much in Italy.²³ On 17 June, he went to Iphofen and returned to Würzburg. In Iphofen, described by him as a small but beautiful old town, he observed a few farmers drinking beer out of big glasses and was amazed at how much these Germans enjoyed alcohol consumption. On 18 June, he left Würzburg for Frankfurt, his final destination.²⁴

Studying and Living in Frankfurt and Vienna

Based on his travelogue, TYH apparently lived with a factory worker named Amant (or “Amantü,” as TYH wrote in Korean, which does not sound at all German). Amant apparently told TYH that he had gone through a near-death experience during WWI and now suffered under the conditions of post-war inflation. Described as a person who always talks and acts tough, Amant proved to be a very entertaining companion for TYH, who stated that people like Amant were common in Germany and could be encountered easily. German people would tell crude jokes and drink beer, and TYH remarked positively that they harmonized quite well with the sound of the new bell in Frankfurt, which would also make a rather rough sound, since the old bell had been sent to a war plant.²⁵

On 2 August 1930, TYH injured his right arm in an accident. In order to improve his German he used to visit a German high school teacher every day from Monday to Friday. On the way home from such a class offered exceptionally, on a Saturday, he

²¹ “Kujuhaeng,” part 13, *Tonga ilbo*, 19 September 1930.

²² “Kujuhaeng,” parts 14–19, *Tonga ilbo*, 20–30 September 1930.

²³ “Kujuhaeng,” part 19, *Tonga ilbo*, 30 September 1930.

²⁴ “Kujuhaeng,” part 20, *Tonga ilbo*, 1 October 1930.

²⁵ “Kujuhaeng,” parts 21–23, *Tonga ilbo*, 3–5 October 1930.

crashed into a car and was so hurt so badly that an ambulance had to come to bring him to a hospital. TYH had to be hospitalized till the end of August (To 1931b).

Attending German language classes for international students at *Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main* (hereinafter, Goethe-University) three days a week was the most important responsibility. Because of his initial difficulty speaking and comprehending German, he mainly conversed in English with friends, such as fellow international students at Goethe-University. This was the case for his communications with his friend “Bud,”²⁶ a German-American mathematical physics student (To 1931b: 79).

At Goethe-University, TYH had the opportunity to hear a lecture by Nobel Laureate Rabindranath Tagore in July 1930 (Tagore had also visited Germany in 1921 and 1926), but TYH was ultimately disappointed because the lecture offered nothing that was not already found in the philosopher’s famous book, *Sadhana*. As the lecture also touched on the arts, TYH speculated in his article that everyone could create art because anyone could appreciate aesthetic values without any special scientific understanding. Thus, he declares art a form of “magic” and Tagore as a great poet and magician whom he wanted to emulate (To 1931a).

As said, TYH received private instruction from a German high school teacher to improve his German. The teacher’s name is given as “Wilk’ün” (so probably was “Wilken”). One day he gets shocked when he learns from this teacher that the poet Heinrich Heine was not German, even though he wrote in German. Ruminating on this, TYH speculates in one of his essays that German Jews were native German speakers with mixed blood and were a sort of caste rather than a nation (To 1931b).

TYH was often a victim of racial prejudice himself, with his official Japanese nationality being a liability. For the Germans, the fact that he was ethnically Korean was moot. After WWI, Japan seems to have developed a bad reputation among Germans. One German salesman grumbled to TYH that German products, even though of higher quality, could not compete with Japanese goods, which were much cheaper (To 1931a). Others griped to him about Japan’s attack on Germany. TYH would exclaim, “I am not Japanese. I’m Korean!” – but they did not bother to distinguish Koreans from Japanese (To 1931b).

There is an interesting episode of TYH’s private life confided to the readers of the *Tonggwang*. At Goethe-University, TYH made a new friend who was from China. TYH gives his name as Wang Cho-p’yōng [Wang Zhao-ping] 王兆平 and seems to have called him “Herr Wang” (王君) or “Mister Wang,” unless he did not talk to him in Chinese.²⁷ TYH recognized Wang as a socialist and a progressive. One of the most interesting stories of TYH involves this Mister Wang. One day, when TYH is

²⁶ Transcribed from Korean, the name reads “Ppödü”.

²⁷ “Kujuhaeng,” part 23, *Tonga ilbo*, 5 October 1930.

immersed in writing on his daily impressions, Wang and his girlfriend (her name is given as “H”) visits his room. They reproach him for not being outgoing and say: “People who only read books night and day will be poor. How long does a human live? You need to learn to enjoy your life.” As TYH does not answer, Wang makes H kiss TYH, in order to “comfort” him. TYH first treats it as a joke, but H indeed gives him “a sweet kiss.” TYH claims that this was his first kiss since he arrived in Europe. When TYH protests, H teases him, calling him “a bookworm.” TYH explains Wang’s and H’s behavior to himself and to his readers with the idea that the two had set up their own protest movement against conventional morality (To 1931e).

While studying in Frankfurt, TYH also records his interesting impressions from his encounters with German university students. He can sometimes see student-swordsmen who had cuts on their faces and describes them as a caste. According to him, they wore a distinctive color of hat or shoulder belt; more cuts on their faces denoted enhanced reputation among swordsmen; and even female students began to learn fencing. He also learns from a person named Cook (supposedly, TYH renders his name as “Kuk”), an American student at Goethe-University’s Department of Philosophy, that in Berlin some male and female students use to practice nude gymnastics together. TYH refers to a letter that his friend Cook received from an English friend studying in Berlin, who obviously reported that she followed this practice as well. TYH declares himself shocked and comments as follows: “Just hearing it, it is uncivilized. Men and women jump naked together? I think that the world has come to an end. There is a saying in the East that ‘a boy and a girl should not sit together after reaching the age of seven,’ so is it imaginable that such an uncivilized behavior occurs in the land of well-mannered and courteous people in the East [i.e., Korea]? We must prevent this [...]” (To 1931e: 77–78)

TYH enrolled at Goethe-University after his return from Wolfenhausen on 11 November 1930,²⁸ and studied social philosophy and social history for three semesters. In early September 1930, TYH accompanied a few German friends to Wolfenhausen, where he witnessed a local election that resulted in the victory of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), with the Nazi Party (NSDAP) and Communist Party (KPD) coming in second and third, respectively. TYH calls both the NSDAP and the KPD “extremist” parties, and offers the judgement that the NSDAP appealed mostly to young Germans eager to reconstruct the “glorious past of the German Empire.” He also maintains that the German bourgeoisie gave their financial support to the NSDAP (To 1931c). When questioned about which party he preferred, he usually did not answer (at least this is what TYH tells his readers). Noticing that Germans enjoyed discussing politics, TYH attributes this to the turmoil in the wake of WWI (To 1931d).

²⁸ Anmeldekarte für Studierende: Do Cyong-Ho [Registration card for students: To Yu-ho], Universitätsarchiv Frankfurt am Main (University Archives of Frankfurt am Main), 1933. (Cf. Schirmer 2012: 244.)