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The seal-shaped logo of the Royal Asiatic Society-Korea Branch consists of four Chinese characters which have been metaphorically interpreted to mean "Encourage Erudition in the Land of the Rose of Sharon."

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ISSN 1229-0009
TRANSACTIONS
of the Royal Asiatic Society-Korea Branch
Vol. 76 - 2001

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The Historical Links between Korea and the Ancestors of the Modern Manchus

Dr. Johannes Reckel, Gottingen

This lecture was presented at the regular meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society-Korea Branch, on 8 November 2000, at the Goethe Institut, Seoul.

Part 1: Introduction and historical Overview

Today we see Korea lying as a rather erratic block in the landscape of East Asia. Linguistically and politically, and very much in the mind of most Koreans themselves, there is a sharp line drawn between the one Korea and her “5000 years of history” here on this side, and China and Japan there yonder on the other side. From the viewpoint of a historian and linguist, this sharp division line, which only partly can be explained as a psychological result of repeated Japanese aggression and Chinese supremacy, makes otherwise no sense indeed! For it means projecting our modern view of today’s Korea back onto a distant past, that in reality saw a much more diversified Korea, lacking those clear cut frontiers to distinguish her from her neighbors. Actually there had not been a one Korea, neither linguistically, nor culturally, nor politically, nor even the idea that there would be anything like “a Korea” until the 10th century, and the modern border along Yalu and Tumen emerged only around 1400.

Now, when we see that we shall not fall into that trap of projecting a one Korea into the distant past, we nevertheless acknowledge the existence of a group of different tribes, tribal leagues, even states existing more than 2000 years ago between Manchuria and the Korean peninsula, that are all somehow connected, so that we may call them the Korean group. The earliest Korean kingdoms, leaving the tribal state behind them, emerged in the northwestern corner of modern Korea and in Manchuria. It was the kingdom of Puyo that flourished more than 2000 years ago in central Manchuria. And out of Puyo sprang Koguryo with her old center north of the Yalu. Manchuria was then mainly inhabited by members of the Korean group. Only later, Manchuria became the home of the ancestors of the Manchu, who were then called Malgal and later Jurchen, in the 5th century C.E.
which in a great migration wave these Malgal poured into Manchuria, to make an end to the dominating role the Korean tribes had played in that area for well over a thousand years.\(^1\)

The time between 57 B.C.E. and 668 C.E. is called the period of the Three Kingdoms, with Koguryo in the North and Silla and Paekchae in the South. In 660 and 668 Silla with the help of China destroyed first Paekchae then Koguryo. After 698 the kingdom of Parhae, with a population mainly consisting of Malgal but also incorporating part of the old Koguryo people,\(^2\) ruled over the land from Pyongyang northwards and over all of Manchuria, while Silla had unified the South of the peninsula. Still there was no idea of a unified Korean nation. When in 928 the Mongolian Khitan destroyed Parhae, the old Koguryo tradition came to an end. The territory north of Pyongyang became the land roamed by unorganized, wild nomadic Jurchen tribes only loosely controlled by the Khitan.

At the same time, in 918/935 the Silla dynasty came to an end and the new Koryo dynasty took over the rule in southern Korea. The first ruler of the Koryo dynasty, Wang Kon, came from the north-western frontier region of Silla, and there it was where his interest and that of his descendants lay, and where he founded his new capital Kaesong, then rather a frontier town. The Koryo kings took Pyongyang and gradually pushed the northwestern border towards the Yalu. In 1117 Uiju, the last remaining Khitan stronghold south of the Lower Yalu, fell into Korea hands, when the Khitan fled from the advancing Jurchen. From here Korea could link up with the civilized and sinicized South of Manchuria, opening also the land route to China proper.

Things were different on the northeastern border, and Koryo could never bring the wild Jurchen tribes that lived north of Yonghung up to the Tumen and further into northern and central Manchuria under her control. Instead, Koryo built a Great Wall reaching from the mouth of the Yalu towards the Bay of Wonsan in the East. Thus the modern provinces of North and South Hamgyong-do and parts of North P'yon'gan-do lay outside the Korean border wall. And this is exactly the area where the kings of the next dynasty, the Choson dynasty (1392-1910) had their roots and hence managed to make the Tumen the modern borderline between Korea and China. Thus the modern shape of Korea emerges about 600 years ago.

Before we take a closer look on the Tumen area and the ways in which Korea dealt with her native Jurchen population there, let us first see, how the Korean languages develop against the historical background we have just outlined.

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1) Gardiner, K.H.J., The early history of Korea, Canberra 1969
Part 2: The Language

The Altaic Hypothesis proposes a common ancestral language, from which all modern Turkic, Mongolian Tungus-Manchurian, and according to some scholars like Ramstedt, even the Korean and Japanese languages developed.3) Whereas the languages of the first three groups share a fairly large common vocabulary, only a few dozen Korean words might be connected with other Manchurian or Mongolian words (e.g. Korean "suin" ("50") and Manchu. "sunja" ("5") or Kor. "mul" ("water") with Mongol. "Muren" ("river")).4) Nevertheless the morphological system and the syntax, i.e. the way sentences are built, of all these languages (including Korean) is very similar.

The Altaic theory, that is the hypothesis that from one common Altaic language all the mentioned language groups developed, has been criticized by various scholars, mainly on the basis that a common ancestral Altaic vocabulary can’t be proven, either because there are not enough words to compare as is the case with Korean and Japanese, or because the existing common vocabulary might be proven to consist only of loan-words that had traveled from Turkic to Mongolian and on to the Manchu-Tungus languages.5) But this criticism is solely based on the vocabulary. It doesn’t take into account the other important features of languages.6)

3) Gustav John Ramstedt (1873-1950), a Finn whose parents were both of German origin, wrote several books and articles on the Korean language and its Altaic connections. His collected works were published by the T'aehaksa in Seoul in three volumes in 1981. His two major works on Korean-Altaic studies are:


The other important Altaist of the old school is the German-Russian Nikolaus Poppe (1897-1991), who followed in Ramstedt’s footsteps:


4) Janhunen, Juha and Kho Songmo: Is Korean Related to Tungusic?

in: Hangeul N°177 (p.1-12), Seoul 1982

5) The great anti-Altaist Gerhard Doerfer would like to reduce all linguistic relations within the Altaic family to loan-relation-ships ("Lehnverwandtschaft" as opposed to "Urverwandtschaft"). He published his findings in a classified etymological dictionary, called "Mongolo-Tungusica", Wiesbaden 1985.

6) Roy Andrew Miller is an outspoken pro-Altaist. R.A. Miller, Languages and History-Japanese,
The three main characteristics common to all Altaic languages are:

1. Agglutination, i.e. a non-changeable word stem, to which all kinds of endings can be glued on.

2. Vowel-Harmony, i.e. the vowels in the endings change according to the vowel of the word stem, e.g. Kor. "choayo" ("good") and "komawayo" ("thank you"), but "mogoyo" ("eat"), etc. The system of vowel-harmony exists only in remnants in the Korean language.

3. Sentence structure (syntax). All Altaic languages put the verb at the end of each sentence. Any Turkic etc. sentence can be translated word by word, ending by ending into Korean.

In the 7th/8th century A.D. these Altaic people lived much closer together than nowadays. The old Turks lived in modern Mongolia; the Mongolians lived at the eastern fringe of Mongolia stretching from southwestern Manchuria northwards to Lake Baikal. The forefathers of the Tungus probably lived northeast of the Mongols, but they only became historical when they migrated into Manchuria in the middle of the 5th century. From this nucleus centered around modern Mongolia the Turks started expanding westwards after the 7th century, and the Mongols followed under Genghis Kahn after 1200. The Korean group was pushed out of Manchuria by the advancing Manchu-Tungus people in the 5th to 10th centuries. The Koreans couldn't expand further East but were stuck on the Korean Peninsula.

Part 3: Prehistory

Archaeological material shows a common bronze-age culture stretching from Manchuria through the whole length of the Korean peninsula reaching even Japan. Its most obvious representatives are the large dolmens. These dolmens come in two types. The northern type is the overground type found in Manchuria and as far south as Kanghwa Island near Seoul. South of Seoul, with examples found also in Japan, we find the underground dolmen with its headstone on natural ground level. This new bronze age culture entered Manchuria and Korea nearly 3000 years ago. Later, slightly over 2000 years ago, the first historical kingdom of the Korean group, named Puyo, emerged in central Manchuria, - if we discount the slightly older Old-Choson in Northwestern Korea disappearing in the haze of half historical myths -, and the first king of Koguryo originally came from Puyo and founded his kingdom also in Manchuria.

Korean and Altaic (The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, Oslo, Serie B: Skrifter XCIII), Bangkok 1996.

7) Riitto, Maurizio: The Bronze Age in Korea (Italian School of East Asian Studies, occasional Paper 1), Kyoto 1989.

8) a) Ikeuchi, Hiroshi: A Study on the Fu-yu (i.e.Puyo); In Memoirs of the Research Department
We do not know exactly how the languages of Koguryo and Puyo in the North differed from those of Silla, Paekche, and Kaya in the South. But, as the example of different dolmen types shows, there was a certain diversity of cultures and thus of languages, within the Korean group. At least there was a northern and a southern group. This division into a southern and a northern culture can be traced in the construction of Silla, Paekche, and Kaya tombs (large earth-mound over an underground chamber) in comparison to Koguryo tombs (stone pyramid or stone mound with the burial chamber in the top section well over ground). Later, in the 7th century, Silla conquered Paekche and Koguryo, and the Silla languages, with a few words from the Paekche and Koguryo language incorporated, became the basis of modern Korean. Thus the old northern group represented by Puyo and Koguryo was eliminated eventually, and only the culture of the southern group survived.

Today the Korean language stands isolated amongst the Asian languages. But it seems very likely, that if only we knew more about the Puyo-Koguryo languages, we might find closer links with the Mongolian or Tungus languages. Research on the place-names recorded in the Samguk-sagi ("History of the Three Kingdoms" a 12th century work) has shown that there were pockets of old place-names in central Korea that were connected with the Japanese language rather than with modern Korean.9)

Hence we can imagine waves of immigrants pushing from northern Central Asia into Manchuria, the Korean peninsula and finally Japan, with different types of place-names and dolmens representing different waves. It is impossible to attribute with certainty any of these rather hypothetical waves to historically recorded peoples of a great variety of dialects, languages and material cultures, a cultural diversity existing 2000 years ago, which we tend to group under the rather egalitarian term of "Korea".

Only the latest of these waves has been recorded clearly in the Chinese and Korean sources. In the year 494 the last king of Puyo flees to Koguryo. Puyo had been overrun and destroyed by the Mulgil, later called Malgal. In the 10th century out of one of the Malgal tribes the Jurchen developed, who were the ancestors of the Manchu. The year of 494 marked the beginning of the end for Korean peoples in Manchuria. The new wave we can call Tungus, for there is a gap-free link from the Mulgil to the modern Tungus. It came perhaps from the same region and the same pool of tribes and peoples out of which the Korean people had originated.

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1500 years earlier. During this long time separating these two waves, the Korean languages and the Tungus languages had gone different ways, and in the end, the Silla language, which by being spoken in the South might represent a rather earlier Korean immigration wave, was the only Korean language that survived. Today the Korean language consists of about 70% vocabulary of Chinesee origin, which makes it even more difficult for comparison with other Altaic languages.

Part 4: The Northeastern Frontier of Korea

We have mentioned earlier how the modern shape of Korea grew out of a nucleus that was the old heartland of Silla and Paekche in the South, grew northwards towards Yalu and Tumen, thereby retaking territory of the northern Korean group that had been completely taken over by the Jurchen. The Koryo Dynasty (918-1392) had pushed the northwestern borderline as far north as the mouth of the Yalu, and it did so by constant military expeditions against the Jurchen followed up by a systematic building programme of new garrison towns, each encroaching a few miles further into the country of the enemy, thus step by step advancing towards the Yalu. This same military policy did not work in the Northeast, despite a huge effort made in 1107 when a large Korean army under general Yun Kwan advanced for more than a hundred miles towards the Tumen and even founded nine fortified towns in this area. But the advance had been too fast, the conquered territory too vast, and the whole expedition ended in a complete defeat of the Koreans against the Jurchen in 1109. Korea never got a second chance because the Jurchen at that time were being united under a strong ruler, Wanyen Aguda, who founded the golden Chin dynasty in 1115.10 A century later the Mongols took over from the Chin dynasty and so the northeastern border of Korea remained nearly static at the northern edge of the Bay of Wonsan.

Around the middle of the 13th century Yi An-sa, a great-great-grandfather of the first king of the Choson Dynasty (1392-1910) moved together with 170 families of his village, because he could not live in peace with some local official, northwards from Chonju along the east coast where he surrendered to the Mongols at Yonghung, until he settled down at the Tumen river. On the northern bank of the Tumen, opposite modern Kyonghung, he lived with his 170 families as a loyal officer of the Mongols amongst the native Jurchen. Though Yi An-sa had some success in controlling the neighboring Jurchen chieftains, his son Yi Haeng-ni was less lucky and had to flee suddenly in 1290 together with his families from a group of rebellious Jurchen that tried to kill him. He, his son, and grandson then settled at the southern edge of the Jurchen territory around Hamhung where they continued

to serve as loyal officers to the Mongols, receiving Mongolian names and titles.

Thus Yi Song-gye, the first king of the Choson dynasty, and his forefathers had lived for five generations in an area outside the Korean borders and surrounded by the native Jurchen population. Naturally Yi Song-gye had many friends amongst these Jurchen and knew their way of life. When then in 1392 Yi Song-gye overthrew the Koryo dynasty and declared himself king, he didn’t have to conquer that vast area between the Bay of Wonsan and the Tumen by military force, as his predecessor had tried in 1107, for it was his own homeland by birth and upbringing, and Yi Chi-ran, whose original name was Turan Temur, was one of his best generals and a close friend, and he was a Jurchen chieftain from that area south of the Tumen.11)

To bring it to a point: The northwest was successfully incorporated into Korea because the first king of Koryo came from the northwestern frontier region, and the northeast became Korea because it was the homeland of the first king of the Choson dynasty. Though these were not the only factors, they nevertheless determined the shape of northern Korea.

The rise of Yi Song-gye coincides with the collapse of the Mongolian power in Asia. In Nanking a new nationalist government, the Ming dynasty, came to power. Unlike the previous rulers over China, the Mingolas, Jurchen, and Khitan, who all came from the North, the Ming dynasty had no firm grip on Manchuria, most certainly not during the first decades of Ming rule from Nanking. This created a power vacuum in Manchuria and hence there was no serious opposition when Yi Song-gye claimed all the country south of the Tumen for Korea.

But we have to keep in mind that no one at that time saw the Tumen as a border. It was just one river in the midst of the vast Jurchen Territory. There were half nomadic Jurchen tribes living north and south of the Tumen, crossing the river into both directions freely. These tribes lived in constant warfare with each other. Now it was one of the policies of the Ming dynasty to draw these tribes closer towards China by granting titles to their chieftains.

Each tribe was made a garrison by name, and its chieftain the commander of the garrison, a large impressive seal included in the bargain. Of course these were only empty titles. It often happened that a chieftain who got into a fight with a rival south of the Tumen, would move north to claim help from the Chinese, whereas his enemy would enjoy the protection of the Korean king who equally handed out empty titles with a free hand. Thus many tribes many times changed their official overlord between Korea and China.

To complicate the situation further, the late 14th century, just before the Choson dynasty was founded, saw heavy migrational activity amongst the Jurchen tribes living north and south of the Tumen before then, and over the centuries these tribes had partly become naturalized by Korea. These newcomers, who moved into the Tumen area around 1270, were much more unruly and independent minded. They consisted of three large groups: the Odoli, originally from the Ilan area on the Sunggari, the Orank’ae, originally living southeast of the Odoli, and the Udige tribes mainly living on fishing east of Hurkha and Ussuri. The Odoli, after many wars with the Koreans throughout the 15th century, finally moved from the Tumen area into the Yenden area north of the middle Yalu.12) From that new base, their leader Nurhaci united all Jurchen tribes around 1600 and built the base for the Manchu Ch’ing Empire. The wild Orank’ae tribe gave its name in Korean to all barbarians and foreigners even to this day. The Dutch shipwrecked sailor Hamel recorded in the 17th century that Orangk’ae is the Korean word for a barbarian.13)

The vast area between the Bay of Wonsan and the Tumen, which now makes up the two provinces of North and South Hamgyong-do, had been part of the Mongolian Yuen Empire, and before that of Jurchen Chin dynasty, etc. Of course the Chinese Ming-dynasty as the heir and successor of the Yuen dynasty claimed all the Jurchen living north of the Bay of Wonsan as her own subjects. Korea argued that it had conquered this area already in 1107, though be it only for a short while. In the end Hamgyong-do only became part of Korea, because the Chinese couldn’t send a military force into this distant border region, where many of the local Jurchen chieftains backed the Korean course.

Interestingly enough, throughout the 15th century the Korean kings again and again used that old, ill-rated military expedition of 1107 as a “proof” and argument in the diplomatic correspondence with China, claiming that a large part of

12) The original “Sojongnok” is a diary from a military expedition by Korea 1432-37 against the Jurchen on the middle reaches of the Yalu. But the modern edition from 1989 offers, in addition to the original text, a translation of the same into modern Korean and several maps and commentaries that make the complicated movements of Jurchen tribes between Yalu and Tumen more transparent:

Sojongnok (ed. Kukpangu chonsa p’yonch’an wowonhoe: Kiksa munhunjip 9), Seoul 1989

There is also a Pukchongnok by the famous Sin Suk-chu describing the major military expedition against the Jurchen in 1460 in the Tumen area. The text of the Pukchonnok has been published in 1984 in vol.3 of the Pohanjae chonso.

The Pukchongnok has partly been translated into German: Jugel, Ulrike Studien zur Geschichte der Wu-liang-ha (i.e. Orangk’ae) im 15. Jahrhundert (Tungusica II), Wiesbaden 1982.

Manchuria was originally conquered by Yun Kwan in 1107 and hence belonged to Korea. There is though, no firm historical evidence at all that Yun Kwan ever reached the Tumen, but the Koreans of the 15th century produced maps, that showed ruined Korean towns and broken inscription stones allegedly erected by Yun Kwan far into Northeast Manchuria. But in the end Korea had enough of a task on her hands to secure even the area south of the Tumen with its predominantly Jurchen population.

Under King Sejong, several thousand Korean families from the South were resettled in the Tumen area, and these settlers until this day preserved their own very special dialect, known as the Yukchin-Dialect or "Dialect of the Six Garrisons". These six garrisons were founded from 1434 onward as a chain of outposts along the Tumen to keep the new wild Jurchen tribes of the Orank'ae, Odoli and Udige at bay. Prior to 1434 there were practically no Koreans living in the Tumen area.\(^{14}\)

In 1588 there were 283 Jurchen villages with over 8,500 households recorded for the sparsely populated Tumen area south of the river.\(^{15}\) Around 1600 the Jurchen chieftain Nurhaci united the Jurchen tribes under his rule. In 1644 his grandson became the first Manchu emperor of the Chi'ing dynasty ruling form Peking. Before conquering China the Manchu invaded Korea twice, in 1627 and 1636, and made the Korean king the little brother of the Manchu emperor. After the Korean king submitted to the Manchu emperor, a peace treaty was imposed on Korea and the text of the same inscribed in Manchu and Chinese in a 15th high stele erected near Seoul in 1639. It is today known as the Samjon-dobi, now hidden behind housing blocks near Sokchon subway station, not in its original place. Naturally the Koreans were never very fond of this inscription. In 1895, when Manchu-China had lost the war against Japan, the Koreans buried the stone in the mud of the nearby river. The Japanese dug it out again in 1963. It's above ground at the moment.\(^{16}\)

In 1627, there were still many tens of thousands of Jurchen living in Korea. The Manchu emperor claimed them all as his own subjects and demanded from

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14) The following book is mainly concerned with the Six Garrisons and the Tumen area in the earlier 15th century. It contains several useful maps: Kuk't'o kaech'ok sa (ed. Kukpang kunsá yonghuhoe: Minjok chonjaeng-nan sa 10), Seoul 1999.
15) As recorded in the Chesung pangnyak, the original work was written by the founder of the Six Garrisons, Kim Chong-so (1390-1453), and contained strategies against the Jurchen. It was supplemented around 1588 by Yi II, who added facts and figures on the border population at the Tumen.
Korea their return to Manchuria. But these Jurchen had lived in Korea for centuries and showed no desire to move to Manchuria. So they retreated deep into the secluded valleys and mountains of Northern Hamgyong province where they lived in their own villages until this day. They are called "Chaegasung" by the Koreans, which means "monks living in a family".

These Jurchen hid themselves so well from the outside world that even the Koreans forgot about them. Though there are a few scanty hints in 19th century sources, they were really only rediscovered less than a hundred years ago following the war between Russia and Japan in 1904/05 which severely effected the northern border region.\(^{17}\) Most of the temples, that formed the center of each Chaegasung village, were destroyed in that war and many of the old Chaegasung communities upset.

How little even the Koreans knew about the Chaegasung and their history, and how puzzled they felt about these rediscovered people is illustrated by the short chapter on the Chaegasung by Yi Nung-hwa in his "History of Korean Buddhism" (Choson pulgyo tongsa II, p.835) from 1918: "There is a curious thing in the history of Korean monks, namely the Chaegasung at the northern border. These monks have wives and eat meat, and there is no one who would forbid it. In the northern province of Hamgyong-do in the prefectures of Kyonghung, Kyongwon, Hoeryong, Purpyong, Chongsong and Onsong, which line the northern border, there live a certain sort of monks together in communities in the mountain valleys, forming their own villages. These villages are called Sanmun. Each will necessarily have a Buddhist temple as a public place. The rites of marriage and memorials for the dead are performed at the temple. The men amongst the Chaegasung produce yellow paper out of straw, and the women weave fine cloth of hemp and silk. And they also go out onto their fields to work. For they work for their daily life. The normal people despise them and never marry with any of these.

"There are the following explanations for their origin. The first one says: In the year 1636 at the time of king Injo's reign, the army of the Ch'ing came and

\(^{17}\) Imanishi Ryu was the first one who collected contemporary reports about the Chaegasung, even interviews with Chaegasung themselves; imanishi Ryu, Zaikeso ni kansuru chosa ippan; in; Chosen Iho, Seoul March 1915, p. 52-56.

The first detailed population count is published in: Yoshio Nagasuke, Chosen no shiraku-chuhen (=Seikatsu jotai chosa), Chosen sotoku:Chosa shiryo 39, Seoul 1933, p. 303-306.

The following author traveled as a young man though the Northeast of Korea and even visited a Chaegasung village, though apparently the Chaegasung there weren't very talkative (cf. p.229f.). The other information on the Chaegasung is taken from Imanishi Ryu. Kim ki-ch'ol, Kwabuk taegwan (Hambuk inswae), 1927, p.70-73/229-234.
besieged Namhan (the mountain fortress near Seoul where the king had fled). At that time, a treaty was signed, and by one paragraph of that treaty it was decreed that Korea should deliver 3000 steeds and 3000 large breasted women, and these would be sent at an appropriate time (when the Manchu at some time in the future should be in need for women and steeds to replenish their own depleted ranks with plenty full offspring) to Ningguta, for Ningguta is the place of origin of the house of Ch’ing. And therefore, the Korean government collected the rest of the Jurchen living in the praefectures along the northern border, and out of these they chose (the required women). The name of these people is Chaegasung. They followed both the bloodline of the family and the Buddhist law. In order to separate them from all good customs, they were forbidden to settle amongst the Korean people. Certain villages were set aside for them to live there by themselves.

"According to their custom, their women wear a special garment for their breasts (to make them stand out more prominently).

"Second explanation: When general Yun Kwan of the Koryo dynasty expelled and drove away the Jurchen (in 1107), he built temples for the remaining Jurchen and made them live in these temples to serve Buddha. That’s why their folk came to live as monks.

"... But I (Yi Nung-hwa) am of the opinion that both these explanations are wrong. There is only one explanation, and that is to be found in the "Kao-li t’u-ching" (written by Hsu Ching after he visited Korea as head of a Chinese embassy in 1123). There it is written, that at that time there were colonies of Chaega-hwasang (hwasang=sung: “monk”) who dress like monks but have wives and children. They are descendants of Khitans captured by Korea... This means that the modern Chaegasung are descendants of these Khitan."

This last theory by Yi Nung-hwa can’t be upheld because the modern Chaegasung live at that Tumen, an area far outside the Korean borders at the time of Hsu Ching. And of course the Koreans didn’t have to supply 3000 large breasted women to the Manchu, though this particular story appears to have been very popular in the folk tradition of that region around 1900. And of course Yun Kwan didn’t drive away the Jurchen in 1107-09, but they drove him away.

The Chaegasung share the following characteristics: They live in their own secluded villages. The center of each village is the temple. All the men of the village shave their heads like monks, but they would eat meat, marry and have children. These Jurchen have traditionally been Buddhists. Whereas Buddhism was suppressed in Korea during the Choson dynasty, the Jurchen in their own close knit communities kept their own beliefs and customs. They had to suffer a lot from their Korean neighbours who despised them and used them for hard labour like slaves. These Chaehasung eventually lost their own language, but they preserved a peculiar
Korean dialect incorporating a few Jurchen words. They lived as poor farmers and had no family names until a hundred years ago. Unlike Koreans, they burn their dead according to Buddhist customs and disperse the ashes. Hence they have no graves to care for, and so ancestor worship is not very developed amongst them, and they don’t keep elaborate genealogies.

According to a North Korean count, there were 1031 Chaegasung house-holds registered in 1957. They are the living proof that Hamgyoung-do has not always been inhabited by the modern Koreans. But at the same time, the Chaegasung are also remnants of a Jurchen race that came as intruders more than 1500 years ago to supplant much older Korean nations in Manchuria. And then, whom did the forefathers of Koguryo, Puyo etc. supplant when they arrived as newcomers some 3000 years ago?

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18) There is one very comprehensive monograph from North Korea on the Chaegasung:

Hwang Ch’ol-san, Hamgyong pokto sangan purak (“Chaegasung” purak)-ui munhwa wa p’ungsup, minsokhak yongu ch’ongso (Choson minjuui inmin konghwaguk kwahag’won kogohak mit minsokhak yonguso, che samjip), Pyongyang 1960.
A much shorter version appeared under the same title in the Pukhan minsokhak charyujip, Seoul 1974.
Japan’s Korean Roots

Kim Yongduk, Ph.D.

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EDITOR’S NOTE: A growing body of evidence, historical, documentary, and archaeological, demonstrates Korea's profound influence on the Japanese islands. Not only does anthropological evidence and theory support continental migratory patterns of humans, other evidences are becoming ever clearer that Korea, especially the Paekche Kingdom, had direct and deliberate colonization efforts in what is now Japan.

Dr. Kim Yongduk has prepared numerous papers, which are published in the pages of Transactions, on the subject of Korean influence in ancient Japan. This paper is, in fact, two separate papers on this theme. The first deals specifically with evidences of the colonies established by Paekche’s rulers on the Japanese islands, and the second paper focuses specifically on the amazing discovery of a bronze mirror in Japan which was virtually identical with an older mirror discovered in Korea.

In Search of Paekche’s Tamnos

The chronicle of Liang China (502 - 555 C.E.*) records that Paekche had twenty-two Tamnos1), which were equivalent to provinces or countries in China. Princes or royal members of Paekche were appointed to rule. The chronicle of

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* B.C.E. (before common era) and C.E. (common era) are the modern scholarly date references which replace the old-style B.C. and A.D. ("Before Christ" and "Anno Domini" or Year of Our Lord) date references which denote a strictly Christian orientation.

1) Tamno records in Liang’s chronicle

“號所治域域主義邑邑 魯
如中國之言郡縣也基國有二十二 魯
皆以子弟宗親分據之—”
梁書百濟傳
Japan (written in 720 C.E.) also records that Japanese islands were born with Tamro Island\(^2\) as their placenta (or foundation). Although Tamro and Tamno are written in two different ways, having different ways of representing the same word was not unusual in I-du (I-du was a style of writing used in ancient Korea, which employed Chinese characters to sound-out Korean words. See Dr. Kim’s paper on this subject in Transactions 74 (1999) RAS-Korea Branch). In Nihon Shoki, it says in the outset that the word Tamro is "shameful" and should be pronounced Awaji.

Oddly, the Korean chronicles, Samguk Sagi and Samguk Yusa, made no reference to Tamno at all, although some of the provincial rulers in Paekche were called kings of vassal states, which may be considered Tamnos.

So this Tamno is an important and interesting topic for understanding the history of Paekche and also of neighboring countries as well. In the second chapter, the Tamnos in Paekche will be examined; in chapter three those in Wae Japan will be explored; and in chapter four, Tamnos in China will be considered. The conclusion will be a summary of the findings.

**Tamno as an administrative institution of Paekche**

Among many articles about the Tamno institution of Paekche, the latest thesis by Lee, Yongbin\(^3\) seems to present a consistent and convincing argument on the real nature of a Tamno. According to Lee, a Tamno was a newly occupied territory, which was ruled by a royal member of Paekche as an expedient measure to administer a territory far away from the capital.

According to Lee, during the reign of King Keunchogo (346 - 375 C.E.), Paekche carried out a war of conquest, with the collaboration of Wae Japan, in the Cholla province or the land of Mahan, and in the Kaya States along the Nam River. This fact can be inferred from the records in the oldest Japanese chronicle Nihon Shoki. In the forty-ninth year of the Jingo reign in Wae Japan or in 369 C.E., Paekche and Wae Japan of Jingo successfully launched an attack against the Kara States along the Nam River and other states in Cholla province. Although these conquered states are recorded as granted to Paekche by Wae Japan after the war, according to Nihon Shoki, it is obvious that this was a war of conquest by Paekche in consideration of Paekche’s victorious war soon after the one against Koguryo in 371 C.E. These conquered Kaya states were Tara, Kara, Taksun, Chimitare, Namkara and Takkuk, while the subjugated states in Cholla province

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2) Tamno records in Japanese chronicles

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先以淡路州為胞
意所不棄故名曰淡路州```

3) Lee Yongbin, Study on the Tamno institution of Paekche, Myongi historical journal 2, #12, 2000
were Pisi, Midi, Dohan, Paradi, Acha, Maera, Piri, Pidi and Parago. It turns out, Chinese records such as "Liang’s book of ambassador’s portraits" confirm some of these Kaya states as Paekche’s vassal states, while the Liang China chronicle suggests names of feudal lords of the conquered lands in Cholla province.

Lee concludes that the Tamno institution was set up as an expedient way to rule these newly occupied lands. However, he notes that the Kaya States were left to be ruled by native kings as vassal states, although Paekche sent representatives there to exercise military and political domination. However, Tamno lords appointed by the Paekche king directly ruled states in the Cholla province. This can be inferred from records in the Chinese chronicles.

There is a passage in Nihon Shoki that sheds light on the status of Jingo in Paekche. Nihon Shoki records that in 372 C.E. a seven-branched sword and a seven-child mirror were offered to Jingo. This seven-branched sword is kept at Isonogami shrine, and it carries an inscription of sixty-one Chinese characters that tell the sword was offered to a feudal king, Ji of Wae Japan. Naturally this leads us to infer that Jingo was a feudal lord of Paekche. It makes sense why Jingo, as a feudal lord of Paekche, collaborated with Paekche in waging a war against the Kara States along the Naktong River. But the question remains how and where Paekche managed to establish a feudal state in Wae Japan this early in history. Surely this Paekche vassal state of Jingo must have been located somewhere in Kyushu. As we shall see later, we identify Ojin of Wae Japan with Nyeh the conqueror of Wae Japan as recorded in King Mu’s epistle to Liu Sung. This is a reasonable guess since the royal member King Ojin/Nyeh encountered a fierce resistance in conquering the Osaka area or the ancient land of Naniwa where he established a new Yamato court of Wae Japan.

This question of Jingo’s state will be deferred to the next section. Let’s turn our attention to the Tamno at Kabara or present day Kongju in Korea. Kabara is written as Keobal in I-du, and it was also called Koma. Both Kabara and Koma mean a big village according to Ryu Ryul. This place was also called Komanaru in Korean or Kumanari in Japanese, which indicates a port at Koma. Kom also means bear in Korean while Kuma means bear in Japanese. A river called Kum or Kom ran along the Kabara. The significance of these names will be dealt with later when we discuss a Tamno in Kyushu near the Kuma River.

A bronze crown worn by a feudal lord was excavated from one of the old tombs near the estuary of the Kum River, suggesting the existence of another

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4) Soh, Jinchul, King Mur Yong’s world as recorded on metal and stone inscriptions, Wonkwang Univ. Press 1998
5) King Mu’s epistle to Liu Sung, "...自昔祖..."...䀝喪父兄...
6) Ryu Ryul, "Idu during the three Kingdom Period", Munwhasa pub., co. 1995
Tamno in this area during the middle of the fifth century. It so happens that Kabara was located upstream on the same Kum River and became a new capital for Paekche in 475 C.E. This provides another indication that Kabara was a Tamno. In Nihon Shoki, Kumanari is referred to as the place from where the god Susanoonomikoto was banished in his journey to Kyushu.

Ledyard identifies Keobal with the place name "Ihare" found in the title of Jimmu [Kami Yamato Ihare-biko] and is the name of the residence of Ojin and his birthplace. Ledyard suggests the connection of Ojin with Keobal. It is clearly demonstrated in the evidence that Ojin/Nyeh was the feudal lord at Keobal until Koguryo sacked this Tamno in 396 C.E. The stele of the famous King Kwang-gae-to records that Keobal was one of fifty-eight fortresses he subjugated. The presence of Ojin/Nyeh in Keobal is even more plausible when one reads the records in the early years of Ojin’s reign. Nihon Shoki records that in November 392 C.E., Kino Tsuno, an Ojin follower, was sent to the Paekche court to King Jinsa, who usurped the throne from his young nephew to protest the loss of a fortress, Kwanmi, and the war against Koguryo in October 392 C.E. Jinsa was assassinated while hunting in Kangwha Island. King Ahwa was enthroned immediately and this fact was reported back to Ojin/Nyeh in the same month. These events suggest that Ojin/Nyeh was located near enough to the capital as an influential royal member of Paekche, and he exerted his power. This point was made by Kim S.H.8)

Four years later in September 396, Koguryo again assaulted Paekche from both sea and land this time. Upon the fall of Keobal, Ojin/Nyeh must have fled to Kyushu and launched his war of conquest and established his new state in Osaka in January, 397. On this occasion, the crown prince, Toki of Ahwa, arrived at the new Yamato court to stay until he returned home several years later to succeed his father in 405 C.E.

All these sequence of events fall in place consistently, convincing us that Ojin/Nyeh was the feudal lord of the Tamno at Kabara.

**Tamnos in Wae Japan**

Since Ojin/Nyeh was a Tamno lord, it is understandable why Nihon Shoki records that Japan was born of a Tamno as its foundation, and then immediately it states its embarrassment of this fact. The historian who was entrusted to record the glorious beginning of new Japan in 720 must have felt embarrassed by mentioning a Tamno or the feudal land of Paekche as its foundation. No wonder, the

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7) Ledyard, Gari, "Galloping Along with the Horseriders; looking for the founders of Japan", journal of Japanese studies, Vol.1, No 2, 1975
8) Kim, Sungho, Japan’s origin and Piryu Paekche, Jimunsa, 1982
instruction was to pronounce Tamro as Awaji.

Nihon Shoki continues to record the numerous subsequent refugees from Paekche. Displaced and devastated by the onslaughters of Koguryo's army, they chose to follow their leader, who set up a new court in Japan. There were all sorts of skilled and unskilled people in various fields. Horses were introduced to Wae Japan by the equestrian conqueror Ojin/Nyeh and his followers but also by later followers. It was at this time also that Chinese classics were introduced. These people came through a port of passage at Imna Kaya, which was under the control of Paekche through the previous war in collaboration with Jingo's army. According to Nihon Shoki, Paekche general Mongna Keunja, who conducted war against these Kaya states, had a son Manchi who was in a powerful position there. This facilitated the moving of Paekche refugees on their way to Wae Japan.

Next we find another Tamno, this time at Awaji Island. As mentioned before, Awaji is written using two Chinese characters, which may be pronounced Tamro or Tamno in Korean. Since this island must have been occupied by Paekche conquerors around 400 C.E., and probably ruled by one of the royal members or aristocrats, it is a Tamno by definition. No wonder the island is written as Tamro Island, though it is pronounced Awaji.

Nihon Shoki records that Ojin's son Nintoku was married to a daughter of Paekche's aristocratic family, Mogna, and three princes were born. These princes become Wae kings in succession; one, Hansho was born on this island. The family name Mogna was changed to Soga, and for ten generations they exerted a great political influence in the Wae court.9) In this Awaji Island10) bronze daggers, bronze bells dating to the first and second centuries BC and also bronze mirrors were found. These relics show that people from Kaya settled on the island early in the Yayoi period (the 3rd c. B.C.E. to the 3rd c. C.E.). It is amazing to find in the island one of the oldest Shinto shrines where the founding god Izanagi is enshrined. This name is similar to the founding king's name, Ijinasi of Great Kaya. It is supposed that these mythological traditions were carried on by settlers from the Kaya region, and they were eventually woven into the founding myth of Japan.

Over one hundred and forty old tombs were found on the island. Forty of them are the Paekche style tombs with a side opening. These tombs often contained equestrian trappings. These archeological findings, through the old tomb period in Japanese history, show the presence of a powerful Paekche culture making it very convincing that the Awaji island was ruled by the Paekche people.

The third probable Tamno in Wae Japan is located at Tamana, Kumamoto

prefecture, Kyushu. The sound of the place name 'Tamano' is already suggestive of Tamno. Tamana is located near the Kuma River, just as Tamno at Kabara in Paekche is located near the Kum River. But the best evidence for a Tamno is provided by relics contained in the Funayama tomb of the Paekche style found near the city of Taman. One is a bronze crown, which was worn by a feudal king. An identical bronze crown was excavated from the Packhe tomb of the fifth century at Iphomili, Chollado. This indicates strongly the affinity between the two Tamnos. The second set of relics is a pair of golden shoes with four spikes under the sole. These are quite similar to King Muryong's shoes and indicates again its connection to Paekhe's royal family.

A third relic is an iron sword with an inscription. This inscription definitely suggests that the sword was made in Paekhe and bestowed by Paekhe's great King Kaero to his feudal king interred in this tomb. Besides these evidences for a Tamno, one finds foundation sites of octagonal shapes, which were identical to the design of building sites in Paekhe's old fortress, Isung, near Seoul. All the evidence supports the idea that Tamana was one of Paekhe's Tamnos.

Finally, there is one more Tamno, which existed in the fourth century and is associated with the Wae king, Ji. This name is inscribed in the blade of the seven-branched sword kept at the Isonogami shrine. According to Nihon Shoki, a seven-branched sword together with a seven-child mirror was offered by a Paekhe king in 372 C.E. to Jingo of Wae Japan. It seems apparent that Jingo was the Wae King Ji. Actually the inscription reads: "On May 13th, the fourth year of Tai-wha, this seven-branched sword was produced with hundred-times-wrought iron. As this sword has magical power to rout the enemy, it is bestowed to the King of the Vassal State. Produced by ____, never has there been such a sword. Wishing a long life, the king of Paekhe had this sword made for the king of Wae, Ji. in hopes that it be transmitted and shown to posterity."11) This sword was offered in 372 C.E. according to Nihon Shoki.

The question is where this Tamno could be located since Jingo received this sword offered to Wae King Ji. According to Nihon Shoki, Jingo is unmistakably the Wae king, Ji. This explains why Paekhe carried out a war against the Kaya

11) The inscription on the Seven-Branched-Sword

泰 四年 月十六日丙年正陽
造百練鋼七支刀生壁百兵
宣佇矣五 作

先世以來未有此刀百慈王世
奇生聖音故為倭王旨造
傳示後世
states in 369 in collaboration with Jingo/Ji.

So it could have been an occasion of jubilation for Paekche that the sword and a bronze mirror were offered to Jingo/Ji in 372 after Paekche’s victory against Koguryo in 371. Since Paekche’s army and Jingo/Ji launched their war from the estuary of the Somjin River, the most likely port of departure for Jingo/Ji was somewhere from the coast of Kyushu. Most likely the coast facing the Kaya States was settled by people friendly to the Kaya States, and the only possibility for the site of this Tamno is the Tamana area in the west of Kyushu. My contention is that the Tamno at Tamana has a long history as feudal land, lasting from at least the middle of the fourth century down to the time of Paekche’s downfall in the middle of the seventh century.

The important question of sea transportation for war troops during Ojin/Nyeh’s war of conquest must be discussed. When the Tamno king, Ojin/Nyeh, crossed the sea on his way from Paekche to conquer Wae Japan, he must have had reliable ships to transport horses, soldiers and other supplies. There is no record of ships and their remains. Paekche, which means one hundred families crossing the sea, is known to have been a seafaring nation from early in her history just as the name Paekche implies.

Paekche received her Buddhism directly from eastern Jin China in 384 from early in her history and sent trading and diplomatic missions to the Chinese states in the south near the Yangtse River for which good shipping capability is required. From Kabara or Koma the site of Ojin/Nyeh’s Tamno, ships could sail down the Kum River to the open sea at Kunsan, and follow the coast down to the southern shore of the peninsula. Then the Kuroshio Current could carry ships to the coast of Kyushu. Provided with good arms, such as good swords and horses, the Ojin/Nyeh army did not have much trouble winning battles against earlier settlers along the coast of the Seto Inland Sea. This campaign ended when they reached the Osaka area where they met fierce resistance but managed to be victorious.

We know that Ojin/Nyeh had horses because a Paekche saddle was found in the tomb of Ojin/Nyeh, and Nihon Shoki records the importation of horses from Paekche. It seems clearly evident that Paekche had several Tammnos in Wae Japan in its early stage, but Wae Japan eventually expanded its rule throughout Japan later on.

**Tammnos in China**

Chinese chronicles of southern states such as Liang, Chou and Sung record the establishment of two Paekche provinces, Liaosi and Jinping in China, towards the end of the Jin Dynasty (317 C.E.). Some scholars believe the Liaosi Province refers to the present day Beijing area while the Jinping Province may be located at the
present day Kwangsi Province. There are controversies, however, as to their exact locations.

Concerning Jinping, there is a place named “Paekche ruin” in Kwaing-si Province, and according to a report, its residents call themselves the descendants of Great Paekche. However, no research to date confirms this report. At any rate, it seems very certain that these two provinces were once occupied by Paekche and ruled by appointed royal members of Paekche, and thus they may be regarded as Paekche’s Tammnos.

In addition there were two more Tammnos in China with convincing evidence. One Tamno was located in Taiwan toward the end of the seventh century. According to Soh Jin-chul\(^\text{12}\), the Sui Chronicle (581-618 C.E.) recorded an incident of a warship wrecked near Tamora in the Taiwan island. This was repaired and sent back to Sui with a congratulatory envoy from Paekche for the successful unification of China by Sui. The description of the island was mistakenly identified as Chejudo Island in Samguk Sagi, but Soh noted the description of the island fits well with Taiwan, not with Cheju.

The Sui Chronicle continues to record that the place called Tamoro of this Taiwan Island was a vassal state of Paekche. So this Tamoro must have been another Tamno of Paekche, which is quite a surprise since nobody expected it until now. Sui subjugated this island of Taiwan later, but it was soon forgotten until the Dutch established a port of call here a thousand years later. Eventually it was taken over by Ching China.

There was one other Tamno. This one was in the land of Blackteeth where a royal member of Paekche was appointed to rule. The location of this Blackteeth land is not known but its existence became known with the discovery of the epitaph of General Hukchi (Blackteeth) Sangji. This stone epitaph was found in 1929 in the burial ground of dignitaries of Tang China. The epitaph recorded that his great grandfather was a royal member of Paekche with the family name Puyo and was appointed to rule the land of Blackteeth.

People of the land had a custom of blackening their teeth and the family name Puyo was changed to Hukchi or Blackteeth. Since General Hukchi Sangji was active during the war between Paekche and the united army of Silla and Tang, it is a fair guess that his great grandfather was sent to rule the Blackteeth land around the middle of the fifth century. Although the exact location is not certain, it is believed this land was located in south China or in Southeast Asia since the people of this area had a custom of black teeth. However, it is certain that Paekche had another Tamno in this area. So we may conclude that Paekche had at least four

\(^{12}\) Soh Jin-chul, "Tamora, the feudal land of Paekche as recorded in Sui chronicle", Tanguk Univ. museum reports, 1999
Tamnos in China in different areas at one time or other.

**Conclusion**

We have attempted to examine the known facts about the Tamno institution of Paekche as a way of administering its newly occupied lands by appointing royal family members to rule. In the process we learned that Paekche had Tamnos not only in Korea but also in Wae Japan and China at various places in different periods. We also reached the surprising conclusion that the Tamno king, Ojin/Nyeh of Kabara or present day Kongju, Chungchongdo conquered Wae Japan in 396 C.E. Further, we have seen that Paekche had Tamnos in the island of Taiwan at the turn of the seventh century and in the Blackteeth land in southern China or perhaps in Southeast Asia. Indeed Paekche had an extended domain at its heyday not only in Korea but also in Wae Japan and in China, making it one of the greatest states in Far Eastern history.
Bronze Mirror with human figures.

On Bronze Mirrors: Relating Paekche and Wae Japan

1. Introduction

On a visit to an archeological museum in Fukuoka, Japan, I was surprised to see a bronze mirror of the Wiman Chosun. The Wiman Chosun was a kingdom that succeeded the Old Chosun in the third century B.C.E. It lasted from 194 B.C.E. to 108 B.C.E. when it was overthrown by Han China. I knew this much from records but never heard of any real tangible material, so my curiosity was immediately aroused. How do people know it is from Wiman Chosun? Eventually I read an article written by Jeon Y. R. on the genealogy and chronology of bronze mirrors of ancient Korea, and also read other books on Korean bronze mirrors. In these papers I learned about how bronze mirrors of certain patterns are found in different areas depending on the historical periods, which I will discuss in section two. These bronze mirrors were kept by religious and political leaders of the time and often buried with them. When these leaders of people moved to other areas, they carried these important artifacts with them for their magical powers and prestige value. So these bronze mirrors can provide us with valuable information on the political, religious and cultural matters, complementing the paucity of written

records on Korean history of this ancient period.

This culture of bronze mirrors and bronze weapons was transmitted to Japan during the Yayoi period (3rd c. B.C.E. to 3rd c. C.E.) from Korea. Such bronze mirrors and swords and comma shaped jades became the set of three sacred emblems of Japanese royalty. Among many bronze mirrors, two bronze mirrors attract our attention. These mirrors reveal an important historical relationship between Paekche and Wae Japan during the fifth and sixth centuries.

One bronze mirror excavated from the largest royal tomb of Osaka, Japan attracts our specific attention since it is so similar to the one found at King Mur Yong’s tomb. The similarity was closely studied by the Korean Broadcasting team, and the subject was explored in a video, entitled “the Secrets of a Bronze Mirror”.

We will discuss this bronze mirror in the third section.

There is one more bronze mirror that carries important historical significance in shedding light on the relationship between Paekche and Wae Japan. This particular bronze mirror is a national treasure of Japan and kept at the Shidahachiman shrine, dating back to 503 C.E. This bronze mirror has the inscription of forty-eight Chinese characters, which contains the name Sama of King Mur Yong. These forty-eight Hanja provide additional invaluable records on the real nature of the relationship between Paekche and Wae Japan at the time. This bronze mirror will be discussed in section four.

A few remarks on these findings and other bronze mirrors will be found in the concluding section.

2. Bronze Mirrors with Many Handles

Historically it is known that the adjacent region that surrounds the Palhae Bay of the Yellow Sea was originally inhabited by the so-called Tong-Yee in general and Tungus in particular. They were considered the ancestors of the Korean people. Recent archaeological findings in the area as well as historical records support it. The ancient custom of burial in stone cysts was common throughout this region, and the land yields similar relics such as bronze daggers of specific shape and bronze mirrors of certain features and comma shaped jades etc. Interestingly, the oldest artifacts of pure copper and copper slugs were found near Tangshan City of this region. They are four thousand years old. In the same area, one also finds bronze weapons dating a couple of centuries later. On the other hand, the bronze culture flourished in the Shang State (14 c. B.C.E. to 11 c. B.C.E.) which was located upstream of the Yellow River. Here, all kinds of bronze artifacts were found including bronze mirrors dating to the 14th c. B.C.E. This art of bronze...

15) K.B.S. Video, titled "The Secrets of a Bronze Mirror", 1999
mirror making seems to have spread to the Palhae region at around the 10th c. B.C.E. This is about the time these bronze artifacts made their appearance in Korea.

Korean archaeological sites of the Bronze Age (1000 to 300 B.C.E.) are located clustered along major rivers of Korea such as the Taedong River, the Han River, the Keum River, the Youngsan River and the Nakdong River. At these sites, many stone relics and bronze implements are found. Study of these relics can provide us with much information as to their cultures and their origins and the people who left them.

In this article we study bronze mirrors. These bronze mirrors with two or more handles can be grouped into different types by their materials as well as by their designs and motifs. According to Jeon16), these bronze mirrors may be classified into three types: A, B and C. These different types are associated with the transmission of the bronze culture into the Korean peninsula in different periods.

The oldest, type A, has the feature of a coarse motif of Hanja (Chinese Character) △△ or △△ with slash lines filling the space. These mirrors are found near Pyongyang and date around 300 B.C.E.

At about this time, the Palhae plain to the east of Beijing and north of Palhae Bay was overrun by the Yen state of the Chou Dynasty in China. As a result, some of the displaced people presumably fled to the Pyungyang area with their bronze culture.

The B-type mirrors can be characterized by motifs of triangles filled with slash lines. The workmanship is still very coarse. The mirror's rim has a round or triangular shape in its cross-section, and the handles become earthworm-like in shape. These mirrors were found at sites along the Keum River. They were often found together with native slim bronze daggers. These B-type bronze mirrors date around the 2nd c. B.C.E. when the Wiman Chosun took over the old Chosun in the Liaoning area of the Palhae coast. According to historical records, at about this time, the last king, Joon of the Old Chosun, fled to the Korean peninsula by way of the sea. Therefore, it is most likely these people brought the B-type bronze mirrors or eventually influenced the making of these types of mirrors on the peninsula. Noteworthy are the incidences that bronze mirrors, bronze daggers and comma shaped jades were found together as a set such as at the Koejongdong site in Taejon near the Keum River. This set of three artifacts became the symbolic sacred emblem of later Japanese royalty.

In contrast to the previous two types, the third C-type bronze mirrors show finely executed workmanship in design. The motifs consist of a series of geometric patterns of triangles and circles with slash lines filling them. The handles are now strip-shaped, while rims have a round cross-section. These C-type bronze mirrors

were found along the Taedong River, the Han River, the Youngsan River, as well as the Nakdong River. These kinds of C-type mirrors are also found in different areas of Japan such as Saga, Kyushu or Nara, and Honshu. These mirrors date around the 1st c B.C.E. This happens to be the time that Han China made a big push against the Huns in the north and then overthrew the Wiman Chosun, whose rulers and people fled. Four Chinese Provinces were set up in its place. So it is believed that the Wiman Chosun’s mirrors were brought to Korea and eventually the new C-type mirrors became fashionable and were produced in Korea. With its establishment of power, Han China’s impact was felt directly and immediately in Korea. No wonder many Han Chinese bronze mirrors with one knob were found in a number of places in the Kaya area, which is recorded to have engaged in metals trading with neighboring countries.

At this time, it became the practice of Chinese states to bestow bronze mirrors as goodwill gifts in recognition of the status of local rulers with titles. This practice of bestowing bronze mirrors to feudal lords seems also to have been adopted by Paekche in the fifth and sixth centuries. Currently, we are interested in finding the significance of this practice in understanding the political relationship between Paekche and Wae Japan by comparing some of Paekche’s bronze mirrors and those found in Wae Japan.

3. Bronze Mirror with Human Figures

This bronze mirror with human figures attracted attention of many historians both in Korea and Japan since it has an inscription of forty-eight Hanja that could reveal significant facts about the relation between Paekche and Wae Japan.

Inscription on the bronze mirror with human figures

| 癸未年八月日十大王年 | On August 10, 503 in the year of the Great King Sama, he dispatched Kumjuri of the Yeh clan, the governor of Kawachi, and two others with two hundred units of best bronze ingots to make this mirror, wishing a long life for King Ooto at the Ishisaka palace. |
| 男弟王在意紫沙加宮時 | and two others with two hundred units of best bronze ingots to make this mirror, wishing a long life for King Ooto at the Ishisaka palace. |
| 期麻念長壽遺開中費直 |  |
| 糟人今州利二人等 |  |
| 取白上同二百卅作比競 |  |

This mirror was found on a farmland in the Wakayama prefecture to the south of Nara in 1834 and kept at the Sudahachiman shrine until 1951 when it was
designated a national treasure and moved to the Tokyo National Museum. In the inscription, one finds three names: Sama, Ooto and Kumjuri. There are many suggestions as to their identification, but Soh Jinchul5 made the most consistent and persuasive one. According to him, Sama refers to King Muryong the twenty-fifth king of Paekche; Ooto was the king of Wae Japan, and Kumjuri was the highest official of the Kawachi or Osaka area. The name Sama is well known to belong to the twenty-fifth king of Paekche as confirmed definitely with the discovery of the unlooted tomb of King Muryong which produced many relics including the tomb tablet that tells us exactly his name, date of birth and death and titles conferred to him by Liang China.

As to the name Ooto, many ancient chronicles of Japan recorded it although with different spellings which happens often, and Nihon Shoki indicates that the name Ooto is the given name of the twenty-sixth king, Keitai of Wae Japan. The name Kumjuri, with his title, was the governor of Kawachi or Osaka of the modern day. He is said to have belonged to the Yeh clan. These Yeh people were one of two important tribes that settled in Korea beside the Maek people. Some of the Yeh people moved on to Japan to settle there.

Now the crucial point is that King Muryong dispatched Kumjuri to make the mirror for King Ooto wishing him a long life in 503 right after Sama's return home to become the king of Paekche in 502 and thus vacating his position as the Wae King Mu17). But then, why did Sama have mirrors made for him and why at this time? What is the true nature of this special relationship between the two? These are some of the fascinating questions to be answered.

One relevant fact is that Sama was born in an island near Kyushu and raised and lived in Japan until his return home at age forty. Could it be that he was raised together with Ooto in youth?

Another relevant fact seems that Sama's uncle, King Konji, accompanied him on his trip to Japan. Konji had the title of Left Wise King which is the highest rank in the political system of Paekche. King Konji is known to have had five sons in Japan. One of the sons became the twenty-fourth king of Paekche. All these facts suggest various possibilities. Relevant also is the fact that Paekche was called the Great Country or Kudara by Japanese both then and now. But why the Great Country? All these facts can be correlated at once by recalling that King Muryong was the king of Wae Japan and ruler of the Asuka area18) and other Tamro19) or

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18) Ibid
territories under control of Paekche in Japan as Soh Jinchul argued so persuasively in his book. If we accept the idea that Sama was the king of Wae Japan which became Kundara toward the end of fifth century, then upon his return, the vacancy must have been filled and the choice would have been his royal family members according to the age old tradition of Paekche. Now the natural choice would have been either his son or one of King Konji’s sons who were Sama’s cousins or a close royal family member. To these Paekche people in Japan, Paekche was a great country or Kundara, which became shortened to Kudara as Paekche is called by Japanese to this day. It was a great occasion for the great King Muryong to celebrate and endorse the ascension of King Ooto, who was most likely one of Konji’s sons, by forging mirrors for distribution to commemorate this great occasion. According to Nihonshoki, the Japanese chronicle, King Ooto became the twenty-sixth King of Japan.

Interestingly, the mirror has relief images of human figures such as a horse-riding warrior, two men each with a sword, a lady with long sleeves, an old man with a cane, and others. It looks as though the man on horseback and others are celebrating on the occasion of Ooto’s ascension to the throne.

4. The Bronze Mirror with a Band of Sacred Animals of King Muryong’s tomb
Three bronze mirrors were found in King Muryong’s tomb. One mirror among them attracts our special interest. According to a Video of the Korean Broadcasting station, entitled “The Secrets of a Bronze Mirror”, it is quite similar to one found at King Nihntoku’s tomb of the fifth century in Japan. What is their relationship and the historical implications? On these fascinating questions, a team from the Korean Broadcasting station made this video, which was broadcast in May 1999.

Here I attempt to present some of its main features in connection with the present article.

This particular mirror had a knob in the center with a piece of leather string still remaining. The central knob with a hole for hanging was surrounded by nine smaller bumps. Two circles surround them and seven lobes with a four-leaf motif are placed between the two concentric circles. Three Hanja can be read between the nine bumps. These Hanja had the meaning of prosperity. In spaces between seven of the lobes, there are traces of images of a dragon, a tiger and a phoenix while that of a turtle is missing due to corrosion. The K.B.S. team compared this bronze mirror to that which was found a century ago at King Nihntoku’s tomb in Osaka and kept at the Boston Museum.

The Nihntoku’s tomb is the largest key-shaped tomb with a length of 486 meters and was believed built in the early fifth century. Only a copy of the picture
of the bronze mirror of Nihntoku’s tomb was secured by the Korean Broadcasting Station, but it was good enough for comparison of these two bronze mirrors. They turned out to be identical in form and design except that the Nihntoku’s bronze mirror had the inscription of thirty-five Hanja and all four mythical animals in an excellent state. These four animals were often painted on tomb murals for the protection of the deceased in his afterlife in accord with the traditional Taoist belief as in the Koguryo’s murals. The image of four sacred animals on the mirrors is believed to have served the same purpose as in murals in protecting the deceased in his afterlife among the stars. It was most exciting and intriguing that the two mirrors were identical except the number of inscribed Hanja.

This suggests the close relationship and identical tradition and beliefs between the two royal families of Paekche and Wae Japan. Furthermore the Nihonshoki or Japanese chronicle records the so-called “Seven-Son mirrors”, referring to the bronze mirrors with seven lobes that were brought to Japan from Paekche.

In consideration of our understanding that bronze mirrors were transmitted from generation to generation and the superior offered bronze mirrors to the inferior as symbols of recognition for authority and trust, the close identity of two bronze mirrors confirm again the close family and political relationship between the royal families of Paekche and Wae Japan.

This bronze mirror in King Muryong’s tomb with a band of sacred animals has identical replicas in a few other old tombs\(^{20}\) in Japan, which again implies a close relationship between these possessors of the mirrors.

5. Conclusion

We presented a classification scheme of bronze mirrors with two handles through bronze ages in Korea and discussed also their symbolic significance as part of ceremonial and prestigious paraphernalia for a Shaman or Shaman-rulers and later kings. We learned a bronze mirror’s vital role empowering Shaman or Shaman-rulers who believed that they could see the past, present and future in a mirror. These bronze mirrors were handed down from one generation to the next until they were buried sometimes two or three centuries later.

We learned also some of these bronze mirrors were brought over by political refugees as well as by traders and many more bronze mirrors were produced in Korea.

Later bronze mirrors were forged locally and exploited to enhance the political prestige of the donor and the authority of recipients and their closer political ties as well.

Often bronze mirrors with sacred animals were buried with their owners in the

\(^{20}\) Catalogue, 63rd exhibition, 1999, Gunma prefecture history museum.
belief of their protection in the afterlife.

Through archaeological studies of these findings, we learned quite a few surprising historical facts such as the historical links between the old Chosun or Wiman Chosun and the Korean peninsula and of the close family relationship between Paekche and Wae Japan.

In fact we reached a startling conclusion that Great King Muryong of Paekche or Sama offered the bronze mirror, the so-called bronze mirror with figures, to Ooto as the king of Wae Japan or Paekche’s Tamro in Asuka or Osaka area as an official recognition and celebration of the new enthronement of King Ooto who is recorded as the twenty-sixth king of Japan in Nihonshoki or the Japanese Chronicle. The existence of the so-called bronze mirrors with a band of sacred animals in King Muryong’s tomb, King Nintoku’s tomb and other old tombs in Japan21) suggest a close political allegiance as well as a probable family relationship between these owners.
of the ancient culture of Korea. In early times, bronze artifacts were considered sacred and were often associated with ceremonial and religious practices. The use of bronze mirrors is particularly significant as they were not only practical items but also symbols of status and power. In ancient Korea, bronze mirrors were often associated with the ruling class and were used as tokens of authority. They were also believed to have magical properties and were used in rituals.

In the context of this understanding, bronze mirrors were closely tied to the idea of lineage and the importance of lineage and inheritance. The close relationship between the royal families of Korea and other East Asian countries is evident from the shared motifs and techniques used in the production of bronze mirrors. This shared heritage is evident in the form of bronze mirrors from Korea that are similar to those found in China. The mirrors often depict mythological creatures and symbols, reflecting the rich cultural heritage of the region.

5. Conclusion

We presented a classification scheme of bronze mirrors with two broad classes, those produced in Korea and those produced in other countries. The symbolic significance of bronze mirrors as part of ceremonial and ritual practices is evident in both regions. The use of bronze mirrors reflects the importance of lineage and the transmission of knowledge from generation to generation. The emphasis on lineage and the preservation of family history is a common theme across East Asian cultures.

Bronze mirrors were not only practical items but also symbols of status and power. They were often used in ceremonies and were believed to have magical properties. The use of bronze mirrors as tokens of authority and the importance of lineage is evident in the production and use of these objects. The shared heritage of bronze mirrors across East Asia reflects the rich cultural traditions of the region.

Bronze mirrors were often associated with mythological creatures and symbols, reflecting the rich cultural heritage of the region. The use of bronze mirrors as tokens of authority and the importance of lineage is evident in the production and use of these objects. The shared heritage of bronze mirrors across East Asia reflects the rich cultural traditions of the region.
P.G. von Moellendorff’s
Pro-Russian Activities in Korea 1882-1885: 
Opinions of Russian Historiographers

T.M. Simbirtseva

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German, Oriental studies scholar and diplomat Baron Paul George von Moellendorff (1847-1901), Korean name Mok Rin-dok, was the first European in history to be invited by Korea for official service. From the end of 1882 until the summer of 1885, he worked in Korea in different high posts from that of Inspector-General of Customs to Vice-Foreign Minister (ch’amp’an). He actively participated in the most important political events connected with the opening of Korea to the outer world and its search for a new place in the system of international relations. In South Korean and Western historiography, he is usually looked upon as a pro-Russian politician, because his activities were aimed at making Russia the new “elder brother” of Korea instead of China in order to protect Korean sovereignty and security. This idea came to him after the military mutiny of the Imo year (1882), as he was indignant at the severe conditions of the Inch’on Treaty which Japan forced on Korea after the suppression of the mutiny. He consistently followed the policy of strengthening Korean-Russian relations until he was dismissed in 1885. Nevertheless, Russian historians do not consider Moellendorff’s activities as pro-Russian. The author shares their opinion. At the same time, almost every Russian historian who wrote on the subject usually gives his/her own interpretation of Moellendorff’s role in Korea. In this paper, the author presents a broad spectrum of the opinions of Russian historians and explains the reasons for her own conviction, relying on the latest research of South Korean historians and the book by Lee Yur-Bok West Goes East¹, that Mok Champ’an was not pro-Russian.
Russian historiography of the Soviet period mentions P.G. von Moellendorff rarely and usually negatively. From one side, it can be explained by the Marxist theory of the role of individuals in history which was prevalent at that time. According to this theory, the masses play the main role in the historical process while the role of individuals is insignificant. On the other side, it was a reflection of the typical suspiciousness towards foreigners at that period of Soviet history, especially toward such "ideologically alien elements" as barons from imperialist countries.

P.G. von Moellendorff's name appeared in a Russian historical work for the first time in 1947. It was Mikhail Pak's candidate dissertation "Sketches of the Korean History in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century". It was not published and remained known only to a narrow circle of Oriental scholars.

In 1956, A.L. Narachnitsky introduced Moellendorff's activities in Korea to Russian readers in his thorough book Colonial Policy of the Capitalist Countries in the Far East 1860 - 1895.2) Relying on the materials from Russian archives, he describes the German diplomat's contacts with the Russian officials in the Far East from August 1884 until July 1885. Those Russian officials were: Military Agent in Peking, Colonel Shneur, August 1884, Chefu; Consul in Nagasaki, December 1884; Secretary of the Diplomatic Mission in Tokyo, A. Shpeer, January 1885, Seoul; the head of the same diplomatic mission Davidov, March 1885, Tokyo.

Narachnitsky presented in brief and in chronological order the reports of the above-mentioned officials about their meetings with Moellendorff. He thus showed the development of the latter's concept of the future Russian-Korean alliance from the adoption of Korea under a joint protectorate of Russia, Britain, and other European states to the creation of the bilateral Russian-Korean alliance and the invitation of Russian officers for the training of the Korean army.

Most historians presume that Moellendorff sought a Russian protectorate over Korea. It seems appropriate to analyze this to see if this was true not only from a political and historical point of view, but also from a cross-cultural perspective. Moellendorff was the first high-ranking official from Korea who ever made contact

with Russian officials. It was he who started a dialogue between two completely
different cultures, Korea and Russia, which had no notion of each other and little
communication. The little literature, which had been written in Korea about Russia
and in Russia about Korea by the 1880s, provided too little knowledge. Russian
diplomatic documents prove that Moellendorff’s first contacts with Russian officials
took them by surprise and caused the Russian Foreign Ministry to send their
representative to Seoul to get some information about Korea and the political
situation. For Russian officials in the Far East P.G. von Moellendorff was a
messenger from a completely unknown world, who tried to express the realities of
that world by means of European languages. His contacts with Russian counterparts
were mainly in German and sometimes in English and French in which those
realities had no definition.

The achievement of Russian-Korean military cooperation was the most important
part of Moellendorff’s efforts aimed at preserving Korean independence. In modern
diplomacy, such notions as military cooperation and independence are incompatible
with the notion of protectorate. Russian military representatives supported this idea,
as can be seen from Colonel Shneur’s report (see attachment). Russia did not have
any intention of interfering in Korean affairs and did not speak about a protectorate.
In 1854, the Russian Foreign Ministry elaborated an instruction, which envisaged
the direction of Russian policy towards Korea for the future when relations with it
would be established. The main content of that policy was preserving the status
quo, that is China’s suzerainty over Korea, which was considered by Russian
policy-makers as a guarantee of the stability of the Russian borders in the Far East.
This policy was implemented from 1860, when Russia acquired a common
border with Korea and was consistently followed by Russia until the end of the war
between China and Japan in 1895.

King Kojong had little knowledge of the realities of European policy and
searched for a new “elder brother” in accordance with sadae, the traditional policy
of revering the elder, that is, China, which embodied his notion of relations with a
stronger neighbor. His main aim was to preserve the status quo, that is the position
of the country as it had existed for many centuries. Thus it is certain that King
Kojong could not ask for protectorate status which would have meant the loss of
Korean sovereignty and the limitation of his absolute power. Moellendorff knew the
difference of approach of the negotiating sides and had many difficulties while
translating. This can be seen from the full text of his letter to the Russian envoy
in Tokyo, Davidov, dated March 1885, and published in Narochntsisky. In this

3) Pak B.D. Russia and Korea; Moscow, The Nauka Publishers, 1979; 34-35.
letter, Moellendorff, while avoiding the word protectorate, wrote that the Korean state "could normally develop only in case a third state - stronger than China and Japan - would take it under its protection. It is difficult to formulate the suggestions from the Korean side" wrote Moellendorff. "That is why the Russian government should define the contents of its relations with Korea and elaborate an agreement which would guarantee the neutrality and integrity of Korea". "In any case it would be useful to increase Russian influence in Korea," he added.

Narochnitsky presumed that Moellendorff's activities in 1885 demonstrated some sympathy towards Russia by King Kojong, Queen Min, and a part of those representatives of the Min clan close to the throne. "This court and Kojong hoped that Tsarist Russia would be able to protect Korea from English and Japanese encroachments and also from China's attempts to put the Korean court under its complete control. English diplomacy and press tried to use Moellendorff's intentions to use Russian support as a counterbalance to England for involving the Ch'ing government and Japan in a controversy with Russia and for diverting their attention from Great Britain's aggressive policy", Narochnitsky continued.

The two volume *History of Korea* (1974) mentioned Moellendorff only once in connection with the steps of the Chinese government after the Imo Military Mutiny (1882). The book described Moellendorff as a Chinese protege, who was sent to Korea along with Chinese officers and officials to strengthen Chinese political and economic influence.

Boris D. Pak who is considered the main specialist in the history of Russian-Korean relations in the 19th century, did not mention Moellendorff's name even once in that part of the famous book *Russia and Korea* (1979), in which he describes the conclusion of the Russian-Korean Treaty of 1884. Moellendorff appeared in that part of the book which was devoted to King Kojong's attempts to regulate the complications which arose after the coup-de-tat of 1884 (Kapsin Chongbyong). "As China and Japan were increasing their military presence in Korea, Kojong and his court decided to ask for Russian protection in order to preserve the independence of the county through the services of a German, P.G.

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4) Davydov's report from Tokyo dated March 8 (February 24) 1885; Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire, Main Archive 1 - 9, 1885, page 3 and attachment. Narochnitsky A.L., op. cit. 372 - 373.

5) Narochnitsy A.L., op.cit., 388-389

6) "History of Korea (from ancient times to modern days)". In 2 vols. (Moscow: The "Nauka" Publishers, 1974), Vol. 1, 339.
Moellendorff who was a foreign advisor to the Korea government,"\(^7\) B. D. Pak wrote. According to him, in general Moellendorff intrigued against Russia and protected not Korean interests but mostly those of Germany. "Proposing to the Korean king to turn for protection to Russia, Moellendorff decided to counterbalance Tsarist Russia with Japan, China, England, and the USA and to give an opportunity to Germany to give services to Russia and thus to share rights in Korea with it,"\(^8\) B. D. Pak argued.

Bella B. Pak, a recognized specialist in the history of Russian diplomacy in Korea in the 19th century, completely agrees with his opinion.\(^9\)

The above mentioned opinion seems ill founded if we take into consideration Baron von Moellendorff’s attitude to the question of inviting foreign military instructors. Although the Chinese expressed the wish that Korea hire German military instructors to train the Korean army, Moellendorff himself never recommended it to Kojong. As Lee Yur-bok points out, "Moellendorff thought that whatever country provided military instructors to Korea should be the one that would play a dominant role in the diplomatic and political matters of Korea. In his opinion, that country should be nearby Russia, not far away Germany."\(^10\)

Boris Pak stresses that Moellendorff was, in the first place, the executor of King Kojong’s schemes, and that the framework of his official duties limited the degree of his independence in his actions.\(^11\) The Russian scientists refute the opinion of South Korean historians,\(^12\) who insist that during the stay in Seoul of Alexey Shpeer, the secretary of the Russian diplomatic mission in Tokyo in January 1885, Moellendorff tried to persuade the Korean government to conclude a treaty with Russia and to cede ten districts of Hamgyong Province to it in exchange for Russian’s obligation to protect Korean ports with its fleet. Dr. Pak relies on Shpeer’s detailed reports about his visit to Korea. There is not even a hint of such a treaty there.\(^13\)

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7) Pak B.D., op.cit., 81.
8) Ibid., 256.
10) Lee Yur-bok, op.cit., 93.
11) Pak B.D., op.cit., 91.
13) Pak B.D., op.cit. 91.
Dr. L. V. Zabrovskaya, specializing in the history of China of the new period, considers Moellendorff a mercenary, who had no intention of protecting Korea’s interests. She insists that he used his high position as King Kojong’s political advisor for his personal enrichment and secretly informed the representatives of foreign states in Seoul about plans of the Korean government concerning foreign policy and also about the projects of giving concessions to foreigners.\(^{14}\) Dr. Zabrovskaya claims that Kojong dismissed Moellendorff, because his activities “caused anger of all the states,”\(^ {15}\) and this conclusion seems to contradict her previous estimation of him as a paid secret agent of those foreign states.

In the post-Soviet period, information on Moellendorff in Russian historiography became more detailed. In 1998, Bella B. Pak published, with insignificant reduction, the texts of the reports of Russian officials in China and Japan about their meetings with Moellendorff in 1884-1885. She published not only those documents, which were briefly introduced by A. L. Narochitsky in 1956, but also presented new ones, for example, a secret telegram from Governor-General of the Amur region, Baron von Korff, dated May 30, 1885. In this telegram, the latter reported the contents of Moellendorff’s letter which he had received. In that letter, the Korean vice-foreign minister proposed to send four officers and sixteen sub-officers for the training of 2000 Korean soldiers.\(^ {16}\) Also for the first time, Bella Pak introduced the contents of the instruction which was approved by the Tsar on June 1885, and then given to the first Russian Charge d’Affairs in Korea, Karl I. Weber. In this instruction, the Foreign Ministry expressed confidence that all Moellendorff’s proposals to the Russian government had been produced by him under orders from the Korean king.\(^ {17}\)

In spite of detailed information on a variety of subjects, B. Pak does not inform us that on October 16, 1885, Karl Waebner decorated P.G. von Moellendorff with one of the higher orders of the Russian Empire, namely the Order of St. Anna 2nd grade for his cooperation in the conclusion of the Russian-Korean Treaty of 1884. This event seems very important. It proves that the Russian government of that time highly appreciated the German diplomat’s activities and considered him neither a Chinese marionette nor a German spy nor a mercenary. It would be interesting to know which Russian officials recommended Moellendorff for the decoration and


\(^{15}\) Ibid., 42

\(^{16}\) 16 Pak B.B., op.cit., 130.

\(^{17}\) Ibid., 152.
what arguments were used. Unfortunately, the documents from the Russian archives concerning the matter have not yet been published.

The sketch of Russian historiography presented above proves that in Russia Moellendorff is not considered a pro-Russian politician. It can be explained by the fact that pro-Russian in the Russian language is perceived mainly as acting for Russian interests. Russian historians reason that the German diplomat in his activities in the rank of Korean vice foreign minister acted for other than Russian interests: Korean, German, or personal. Lee Yur-bok explains that Kojong and Moellendorff "were pro-Russian in that they all believed that Russia might be in a position to help Korea to become truly independent of China."18)

Western historiography usually represents Moellendorff’s position in Korea as independent enough and tends to exaggerate the degree of his influence on Kojong. Lee Yur-bok’s book, West Goes East, can be considered an example. The author praises the efforts of the German diplomat to protect Korean sovereignty highly, but expresses the opinion that his intention to rely on Russia was a misconception caused by lack of knowledge of Russia’s real intentions and opportunities, and that it was unfortunate for the future of the Korean people.19) Explaining the reasons which made Kojong agree ‘with Moellendorff’s secret proposal to make Russia the senior ally of Korea, Dr. Lee writes as follows: "Kojong, deeply resentful of China’s unprecedented interference in his country, clearly disappointed with the Japanese behavior towards his country during and after the coup, Kapsin chongbyong, 1884, and grossly misinformed about Russia’s capability and willingness to become involved in Korean affairs, and gave tacit but strong support to von Moellendorff’s pro-Russian policy".20) Dr., Lee stresses that it was von Moellendorff who had been mainly responsible for causing King Kojong to become and remain pro-Russian.21) According to his logic, it can be concluded that Moellendorff’s misconception and misinformation laid the foundation for the Korean monarch’s pro-Russian sympathies, to which, as it is widely known, he held for about forty years until his death in 1919.

In connection with the above-mentioned Lee Yur-bok’s statements, it seems necessary to consider the three following questions: 1) What was the real degree of Moellendorff’s influence on the "alert, flexible, and pragmatic"22) Kojong? 2) To

18) Lee Yur-bok, op.cit. 69.
19) Ibid., 95.
20) Ibid., 4.
21) Ibid., 5.
what extent were Moellendorff, and consequently Kojong, misinformed about Russia’s capability and willingness to become involved in Korean affairs? 3) Why was Kojong’s decision to rely on Russia, which was taken under Moellendorff’s influence, unfortunate and fatal for Koreans?

Moellendorff was the first Westerner with whom Kojong personally met. As the Korean traditional distrust of Westerners and their conservatism are widely known, it is difficult to believe that the proposals of one of them, even of such an outstanding person as Moellendorff, could make the Korean king, within a very short period of time, decisively change the line of his foreign policy and confront not only its “elder brother” China, but also Western countries and many high Korean officials, who for diverse reasons, opposed establishing close relations with Russia. We should also not forget the great influence, although short lived, that the book by the Chinese diplomat Huang Tsun-Hsien, A Policy for Korea had on the Korean court and its foreign policy when Russia was described as a most dangerous and aggressive country. The recent research by South Korean historians supports the idea that, apart from Moellendorff’s influence, there were other more substantiated reasons which contributed to the Korean king’s and his closest advisors’ decision to rely on Russia to protect Korean independence and integrity.

The first literature, which touched upon Russia to some extent, appeared in Korea at the beginning of the 18th century. They were works by Kim Gi-hong, Pae Si-hwang, Lee Ik, Sun Nyuk, Lee Guyn-ik, Ching Won-yong, Yi Gyu-gyong and others devoted to the participation of the Korean detachments, 413 soldiers in all, in Russian-Chinese military clashes on the Amur River in 1654 and 1658 (nason chongbol). Those literary works were mainly of anti-Manchurian orientation, but at the same time they contributed to the formation of the Koreans’ alert attitude toward Russia.23) The diaries of the Korean envoys to Peking, who regularly met Russians there in the period from the end of the 17th until the middle of the 19th centuries, reflected the same alert attitude.

In 1860, when a common border appeared between Russia and Korea and real contacts between the two countries started, that alert attitude changed into fear of Russia (conno uisik).24) According to a historian from Seoul National University,

22) Ibid., 18.
24) Choe Muh-hyong, The Ground and Conditions for Establishing Diplomatic Relations between Korea and Russia//“One hundred years of history of Korean-Russian Relations” (in
Won Jae-yon, that transformation was stimulated by western countries and Korean catholics. The former, China should be included, did not want Russia’s rapprochement with Korea as it could strengthen Russian influence on the Korean peninsula. The latter used the threat of Russian danger to Korea to speed up the conclusion of treaties with European countries as they hoped that such treaties would provide freedom of religion for them.25)

The real contacts between Russia and Korea, which started in 1860, began with the wide-scale immigration of Koreans to the Russian Maritime Province and the development of border trade. For the first seven years those contacts were illegal and were severely suppressed by the Korean government. The attempts of the Russian border administration to regulate those contacts were rejected by the Korean side. Toward the end of the 1860s and the beginning of the 1870s, we see the peak of the isolationist policy, proclaimed by the Korean government in response to direct aggression from western countries in 1866 - 1867. In 1869, Korean immigration to the Russian territories became extremely intensive: 6,543 Koreans crossed the border from Hamgyong Province because of hunger and high taxes. The Russian administration was not capable of accepting so many refugees who had no means of existence and implemented measures to restrict immigration. The decreasing numbers of their people worried Korean authorities, too. As a result, the Korean authorities had to violate their own ban, and for the first time in Korean history, agree to negotiations with a western country, Russia, namely with the administration of the South Ussouri Region.26) The first official negotiations between Russian and Korean border administrations were held in top secret in the town of Kyuonghun at the end of 1869 and the beginning of 1870. The result was that the Korean government, in order to prevent people from crossing the border en masse, undertook some measures for improvement of their material position and also for strengthening control of the border.27)

It should be mentioned that in 1869-70, Korea negotiated with Russia not through China but directly, as the Chinese Tsungli Yamen, the Foreign Office, refused to negotiate with the Russians on behalf of the Korean government.28) As

Korean), 49 - 73.
26) Pak B.D., op.cit., 39; Pak BB., op.cit., 24-25.
Won Jae-yon points out, the pragmatism which the T’aewongun government showed when it began independent settlement of the emigration problem with Russia was a big achievement. Later King Kojong continued that independent policy towards Russia relying on information from border officials. The T’aewongun’s Russian policy was kept top secret, as officially his government was against opening the country to the outer world and stood for preserving the status quo and isolation. This was its main difference from the policy of Kojong who sought the opening of the country.\(^{29}\) A researcher from Kyujangak, the former Royal Library, now preserved at Seoul National University, Yon Gap-su, concludes that the absence of clashes at the Korean-Russian border for more than ten years after the negotiations in Kyungghun, laid a firm foundation for the future development of Korean-Russian relations.\(^{30}\)

On the basis of the above-mentioned conclusions of South Koran historians, one can suppose that while planning his foreign policy in the 1880s, Kojong relied on the positive experience of the negotiations of 1869 with Russia, which were held not because of military threat or political pressure, but for objective social and economic reasons. Kojong also relied on the more than twenty-year long experience of peaceful relations with Russia on its border. It seems that his positive experience was the main reason Kojong agreed so quickly to Moellendorff’s proposal to conclude an alliance with Russia.

Lee Yur-bok insists that Moellendorff’s opinion that the alliance with Russia was the best way of preserving Korean independence was fatal and unfortunate for the Koreans. While explaining why it was unfortunate and that Kojong was grossly misinformed concerning Russia, Dr. Lee calls Russia a paper tiger.\(^{31}\)

P.G. von Moellendorff was a Prussian aristocrat. For many years his native country had traditionally supported close dynastic relations with the Russian Empire. Thus from his childhood he held strong opinions about this state. Russia fell significantly behind England and other European countries as far as its economic and social development were concerned, but the fact that its army was the biggest in the world\(^{32}\) is evidence that Russia was not a paper tiger. During the Crimean War

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29) Won Jae-yon, op.cit., 204.
32) In the middle of the 1880s, the Russian army in peace time consisted of 1 million 384
(1853-1856), Russia alone fought on the three fronts against a coalition of European
countries led by England and also against Turkey. In the Far East, however,
Russian military strength was insignificant. Nevertheless, in 1858-1860, at the
conclusion of Aihun and Peking Treaties with China, it could include the Amur and
the South Ussuri regions among its possessions, making the biggest event in Far
Eastern history in the second half of the 19th century. An American historian, G.
Lensen, wrote that Russia at that time was “a surprising conglomerate of might and
weakness”.

When Moellendorff recommended that Kojong turn to Russia for support, he
proceeded from thorough calculation and a balanced estimation of the international
situation. He was sure that Russia, being a neighbor and being interested in
preserving stability and peace on its borders, could become Korea's new elder
brother in international relations. Due to these calculations, he actively participated
in the conclusion of the Russian-Korean Treaty of 1884 which China and England
seriously opposed. In 1884 and the beginning of 1885, by order of Kojong, he
sought to establish a kind of Russian protectorate over Korea which was envisioned
analogous to former Korean-Chinese relations. In 1885, he was dismissed from all
his positions and had to leave Korea after Kojong's unsuccessful attempt to invite
Russian military advisors for the modernization of the Korean army thus creating
the basis for a military alliance between the two countries. Moellendorff's forced
dismissal was a personal failure for King Kojong who did not possess enough
power even to pursue an independent foreign policy.

There is an opinion that Russia only encouraged von Moellendorff by using
highly obscure and diplomatic language and thus created the basis for his own and
King Kojong’s unjustified illusions. Was it really so? From 1860 until 1895,
Russia consistently followed the course of non-interference in Korean affairs. The
meaning of that course was the preservation of the status quo, that is of Chinese
suzerainty. The tsarist government considered it an obstacle to the subjugating of
Korea by other capitalist countries which could threaten Russian borders and
interests in the Far East. The non-interference did not mean indifference. When the
situation in Korea was seriously aggravated after the coup-d'état of 1884 and the

thousand people, while the French army consisted of 600 thousand and the German of 620
thousand. The Russian military budget was also the biggest in Europe (Brokhaus & Efron.

34) Lee Yur-bok, op.cit., 11.
danger of its occupation by foreign troops emerged, Russia mobilized its military ships in the China Sea and the closest parts of the Pacific to demonstrate its readiness to protect Korean integrity.\(^{35}\) The tsarist government did not want to violate the \textit{status quo} of the Korean peninsula and several times rejected King Kojong’s proposal for the establishment of a protectorate over Korea. At the same time, it immediately agreed to send instructors to train and modernize the Korean army. One of those instructors, Colonel Shneur, visited Seoul in July 1885 but had to leave at once because by that time King Kojong had been forced to give up the plan.\(^{36}\) These concrete steps of the Russian government refute the opinion that Russia confined itself to no more than encouraging Koreans with talk.

As in the beginning of the 1880s, Korea turned into an arena of political struggle between the biggest capitalist countries and China, and because of the variety of opinions among the leading Korean political figures about the future of the country, Moellendorff’s attempts to conclude a Korean-Russian alliance succeeded. That is why the opinion that his wish to protect Korean sovereignty by relying on Russia was a gross miscalculation unfortunate for the Korean people and can hardly be justified. The author presumes that it was more the failure of his projects that was fatal for Korea than vice versa. The statement can be proved by the behavior of the Korean soldiers in Kyongbok Palace on the night when Queen Min was assassinated, September 8, 1895. It showed that the retired American officers who had been invited by the Korean government to train the Korean army failed to teach them anything.

P.G. von Moellendorff was a man of the world, a representative of an elite bureaucracy. He worked for Kojong honestly and with dedication, trying to do his best in the most difficult situations. He was a prominent scholar of Oriental studies and an experienced diplomat, and his advice greatly helped Kojong adjust his political course to the constantly changing international circumstances. At the same time, his influence in the Korean court should not be exaggerated. He served an absolute monarch in an Eastern country. It is obvious that he could undertake actions only with the permission of the monarch. Making fatal decisions was not his prerogative.

P.G. Moellendorff is a tragic figure and did not receive due appreciation either during his life or after his death. He had many enemies among the Chinese, Japanese, and Korean high officials, as well as among the American diplomats. It

\(^{35}\) Pak B.D., op.cit., 82-83.
\(^{36}\) Ibid., 91.
was inevitable as many of those people pursued their own interests, which differed from the interests for which von Moellendorff stood. His enemies intrigued against him, lied and spread rumors about him, openly interfered and placed obstacles in the way of his work. Almost nobody believed in his sincerity, even those whom he tried to help. The variety of opinions about Moellendorff's political activities in Korea is reflected in documents and historiography, and it seems that they can hardly be reduced to a common denominator.

If, however, we leave politics alone and look at von Moellendorff's activities from a humanitarian aspect, we should admit that his achievements in Korea were really enormous and can hardly be over-estimated. The study of his unique experience of successful adaptation to an unknown and alien culture seems interesting, challenging, and extremely vital nowadays when people communicate extensively, and travel all over the globe, and international contacts are growing.
For this reason, Gambier concluded that it was necessary to acquire additional troops and matériel for the prosecution of the war. He suggested that the United States should send an expeditionary force to Korea, and that this force should be augmented by other nations. He believed that such a force would be able to prevent the Japanese from taking control of Korea and would also serve as a deterrent to other nations.

Gambier further argued that the United States had a moral obligation to support the Korean people in their struggle for freedom. He believed that the United States should not only provide military aid, but also provide economic and political assistance to the Korean government.

In conclusion, Gambier believed that the United States should take a more active role in the war against Japan. He argued that the United States had the resources and the capabilities to provide the necessary support to the Korean people and to prevent the Japanese from achieving their objectives in the region.

Unfortunately, the United States was hesitant to take a more active role in the war. The American government was concerned about the potential for a wider war and was also concerned about the economic impact of providing support to Korea.

In the end, the United States did provide some support to the Korean people, but it was not enough to prevent the Japanese from achieving their objectives. The Korean War would continue for several more years, with significant human and economic costs for both the United States and Korea.
Historical Article
An Early Description of Korea and Asia

Chinese and Japanese

_Eça de Queiroz_

It is not an overstatement to say that _Eça de Queiroz_ is the most significant writer of Portuguese literature of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. His prolific hand produced a wide array of texts - from irony-ridden chronicles to socio-political attacks via manifestos, from short stories to 700-paged novels. It truly might be said that he set the tone and the language of the Portuguese twentieth century.

While he may not have been the most intellectual of writers and others may have surpassed him in vocabulary, intricacy of thought and amount of published work, all those that followed, followed his path. He never wrote poetry, perhaps always faithful to his pledge to the Realistic school, which was inaugurated by him in his country.

A lesser-known facet of the man born in 1845 is that of the diplomat. In 1872 he became Consul First Class in Havana, Cuba. Later he was transferred to Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1874, Bristol in 1878 and in 1888 to Neuilly, Paris, where he died in the summer of 1900.

Thanks to his voyages _Eça_ was acquainted directly with the Middle East, which is evident in his writings about that region. However, it was as a diplomat in Cuba that he had the opportunity to get some degree of direct contact with the peoples of the Far East, whether it was with Chinese immigrants in Cuba or from second-hand information and talks circulating at that time within the Americas. As one can perceive from his consular correspondence, he dedicated considerable time to understanding that reality. However, his was not a deep-knowledge or a thoroughly thought out viewpoint. Even in today's world, many analysts make misinformed and incomplete accounts of reality. _Eça_, in the last decade of the nineteenth century, is no less different. It is through this exact misinformation and the opinions of the times, however, which can give us a direct view of what a Portuguese writer would understand when referring to the then-contemporary Sino-Japanese war. Although he never lived to see it, the Portuguese twentieth century lived, in many aspects, under _Eça_'s mark.
This text was written while he was in France and published in a Brazilian newspaper, the Gazette de Noticias, of Rio de Janeiro, with which Eça was collaborating with regular chronicles. The articles were published between Saturday, the 1st and Thursday, the 6th of December, 1894. The title published here is posthumous. This translation was done based on the text set by Orlando Grossegesse, published in 1997 (Chineses e Japoneses, Livros Cotovia: Lisboa).

My most sincere thanks to Mr. Remco Breuker, whose assistance in the translation went beyond the call of duty. His friendship is cherished, and it wouldn’t be possible to present a readable text without him.

Pedro Vieira de Moura
Portuguese Cultural Center
Seoul

EDITOR'S NOTE: Occasionally there comes to our attention an article of note from times long past. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that this article was not originally written in English. Such documents are often not available to the wider public, nor is the existence of such material generally well-known. The article was written at the time of the Sino-Japanese War, and while there is some misinformed content, as well as the author’s ironical style of writing, this paper, nonetheless, is valuable as a description of the information that was available to the world in general regarding Korea and other parts of Asia at the end of the 19th century. It is also valuable as a barometer of public opinion and understanding in the West at that time.

It is only for historical purposes that this article is presented to our membership.

To the northeast of China, or more precisely in Chinese Manchuria, stuck between the Sea of Japan and the Yellow Sea, lies a crestfallen, rocky-shored peninsula. In 1392, the time when the current reigning family, or at least the one who ruled until last month, founded their kingdom, the land bestowed upon itself the luminous, joyful and lively name of Kingdom of Morning Calm. Japanese neighbours call this land Ko-Rai. For our own comfort, we pronounce it Korea¹. This is a country so silent, so secluded, so apart from mankind, even from its Asian relatives, that it is also known in Japan and China as the Hermit Kingdom².

¹) Coreia in the original, a spelling more suited to Portuguese phonetics.
²) "Country" in the original.
In Europe, what we know better from this land are those prints that portray its inhabitants. Slender, grave men with long and drooping moustaches, wearing the most extraordinary hat ever referred to in the annals of fashion: the outstanding Korean hat, extremely tall and pointed, and with a brim so large that a patriarch can keep his offspring, his furniture and the whole of his livestock underneath it. These men speak a Chinese muddled with the Tartar language, feed on rice, and live in rudimentary houses, built from bamboo, adobe and paper.

There is, as in China, a superior class of literati grafted onto the old noble, feudal castes. The former, educated in the Chinese classics, will take on the most important tasks of the nation, from commanding the armies, governing the provinces, writing grammars, administering justice to attending the courts. They do so after being selected through means of state examinations which awards them their scholarly degrees. Slaves perform all the lowly services. And a very upright, rusty Confucianism, full of the evil eye and ill omens, is held high, if not as a religion per se, at any rate, as the moral standard of the learned class. People in the countryside worship the sun and the stars. All of them drink boiled rice beverages. Tea is a luxury, granted only to the royal family. As in Periclean Greece, music is the most beloved of the arts and is consequently part of the primary schooling program. Industries are unknown, if existent at all. When missionaries are sent from Europe, Koreans kill the missionaries. The old city of Seoul is the capital, which every single Korean considers to be the earthly centre of sumptuousness, pleasure and good manners, of the best upbringing and well-to-do lives.

It is over this so-called Kingdom of Morning Serenity that the Flowering Middle Empire is fighting the Empire of the Rising Sun ... If told this way, the official version, the war between China and Japan sounds like a fairy tale, or the prologue to one of those allegorical tales that profusely delighted the 18th century, during the times of the Hotel de Rambouillet, of the excellent Mademoiselle de Scudery, of "Artamene ou le Grand Cyrus". As a matter of fact, the general public, all those who are not professional diplomats, sociologists or strategy experts, are inclined to imagine this war, a war between the two strongest nations of the Far East, as amusing as a military parody, with a fairy-ruled fantasyland as its stage, where princes are picaresque figures. Ever since Cook founded his Agency, the average European has been traveling as well as reading travel tales (not to mention the significant amount of anecdotes and hear-say conversations). A European will not state these days, or at least not out loud, as the erudite ladies and the piquant spirits of the 18th century did, "How can one be a Persian?" We do begin to realise -within a certain extent - what it could mean to be a Chinese. However, for the time being, we can only be on familiar terms with the superficial and excessive sides of their exoticism. With an awkward outlining, gathering little ideas from
prints depicting folk attire, detailed ceremonies and habits, speckled around newspapers, even though invariably in the varieties section, and chiefly from what we know of their art, thoroughly caricature-like, chimerical - we form in the mind our concise, definitive impression of the Chinese and the Japanese societies. To the European, the Chinaman is still a yellow, slanted-eyed rat, with a long ponytail and with three-inch nails, of outmoded, childish and mulish manners, smelling of sandal and opium, and living his life among paper lanterns, eating astonishing heaps of rice with two sticks and bowing all the time. As for the Japanese, we depict him as a scraggy chap with a shaved head, a cheerful vagrant, frittering away his hours in tea gardens with his inseparable fan and two sables, anon returning to his abode of silk-screens and chrysanthemums to crouch down on a straw mat and slit his bowels open! To both we grant hereditary skills of porcelain making and silk weaving. Due to the customary slaughter of our missionaries, we are prone to add to all these traits (held with such precision) the one of fierceness. And if the Chinese do not wish to have railroads, the telegraph, or gas-lamps, to us emblems paramount of civilization, then of course we have to presume them to be barbarians. As for the Japanese, who have produced mock locomotives and telephones, this monkey-see monkey-do civilization just brings into view the grotesque in them. That beyond these ponytails, paper parasols, stubbornness, the whole exoticism, there could exist firm social and familial institutions, powerful morals, an ancient and rich literature, prolific working methods, unnoticed vigour, is something the average European can not even fathom.

Even if he did suspect such vigour and virtues, he wouldn’t be too impressed, or give too much credit to these poor races, a mere source of amusement. When a civilization surrenders itself fully to its materialism and hauls out from it its joys and glories, it leans towards judging all others according to the scarcity or abundance of their material and industrial wealth. Peking’s stores have no electrical lights. Therefore, Peking must be an uncivilized city.

Edmond About’s loquacious character, the one that intensely loathed the Arabs for the reason that “these meagre fellows did not even have the cafe-concerto yet”, stands for, in caricature, the average European citizen with regard to the judgement of Asian civilizations. Thousands, if not millions of Europeans, still believe sincerely to this day that Romans and Greeks were not civilized peoples, for neither did they employ steam power, nor did they use the sewing machine, nor did they play the piano, nor met all the grandeur of our grand age.

Thus the unfocused, amused attention we bestow upon this war between Japan and China. A vulgar and foul brouhaha between two barbarian countries, the one not to a lesser degree than the other, just because it parrots European coats and arms. Some visionaries, folks who adore proclaiming sullen prophecies, pretend that
one day such masses of hundreds of millions of barbarians will, bearing our own civilization's achievements, fall down upon us, raiding Europe... The thought of it makes one smile - and every single European, looking about, finding himself surrounded with such power and wealth, by boundless inventions of wisdom and machinery; a domesticated nature at his command, this European smiles in absolute joy.

So in a similar fashion did smile the Gaul-Roman. A clear day in his lovely country villa, reading a most learned scroll under the bright marble porticos, or strolling about his garden of acanthous and honeysuckle roses, tangled around busts of philosophers and statuettes of the gods, he would smile as he vaguely listened to stories about savage hordes of Franks and Goths attacking some forsaken legion in a far-away land of moss and mists. Who could give a thought to these base peoples? Was not Gaul, or the whole of Italy for that matter, a wonder of force and riches, so full of war machines and other inventions of power? Not long after these delusions, a Frank or a Goth would ride a wild steed into the villa one morning, brandishing a plain spike, and all that would be left of the Gaul-Roman, the rose-filled garden, the white porticos, the philosophers and the countless inventions of power was a puddle of dust and blood.

The reason why Chinese and Japanese are fighting against each other should not concern us in particular. Both wish to dominate the Kingdom of Morning Serenity. The Chinese, because of a centuries-old tradition of domination. The Japanese, according to their own diplomats, for fear that Russia might expand throughout Korea, taking advantage of China's weakness or even to oppose its paradoxical interested condescension towards Korea. That means that Russia, if it would occupy some of the seaports, such as Pusan, would control the Sea of Japan, which the Japanese consider their own. And even if this would not constitute a risk towards Japanese independence, it would be an eventual deterrence to commercial development... However, all this is a far-flung affair of Asian policies. To us Europeans and likewise to you Americans, the apex of attention should be the consequences of this war - above all, the consequences of China's defeat, of a humiliating, harsh and thorough rout, that pierces all the way into the mandarin bureaucracy and into the impenetrable pride of the Manchu Dynasty. If Japan is to be hammered down, there will be no significant consequences whatsoever. At least for the western world there would be no noteworthy worries. Suffice it to say, it would correspond to a showy and stuck-up people having a well-deserved spanking. A victorious China would be a once-again sleeping China. A beaten China would mean a threatened Europe. China is composed of four hundred million people - almost a third of humanity! All witty, lively beings of clarion-clear intelligence, a people whose persistence and verve is equal to none, perhaps comparable only to
that of the bulldog and mixed with a quasi-ascetical sobriety and an unbelievable capacity to endure suffering. Visiting Europeans claim that Chinese are, above all, a lying, thieving, dirty and cowardly lot. However, truth be said, these Europeans do not know anything about China apart from what they learned within the strict circle of the free sea-ports, or European "concessions" if you like, such as Hong Kong or Shanghai. Furthermore, in these harbours they have seen nothing but the illiterate, rude mobs that spend their lives performing inferior tasks such as that of the boatman, the loader, the steward, the freight boy, or the hawkers. Now, to address the whole of Chinese society through this distorted view would be the same as judging France by the countless winos that tread Marseille's piers, or to criticise Brazil's finesse of education and societal vitality by singling out the ordinary people that load and unload warehouses and stockrooms. Scarce are the travelers whose path has taken them further into inner China and who were privileged enough to observe the habits and ways of the educated classes, and who, after some peeking around through unclosed doors or slits in the screens, were able to gather some impressions of household life, intimacy ideas or beliefs. Even the foreign residents in Peking, that is to say the legations' staff, do not participate in Chinese society. How could they, living isolated behind their walls as the Jews were in their ghettos? The familiarity with the environs is narrowed to external things: streets, shops, temple facades, and rampant mobs... Only one of these residents, a secretary of the English embassy, did set out to know China genuinely: he spoke perfect Chinese, not only the vernacular but also Mandarin and the Classical language. He even grew the customary enormous pigtail. For thirty years, every night, this completely Sinified man would don his silk garbs, let down his pigtail, hold a fan, and pay some lovely visits to the noblest of Peking's families. This man truthfully acquainted himself with China. However, becoming a Chinese, hence circumspect, he left no memoirs, thoughts or impressions, and died in silence. Some of the Europeans that work for the Chinese government recently have made their way deep into the Chinese world. For instance, engineers and teachers from the arsenal of Fuchu. Each and every one of these men came back with a completely different tale from that of a tourist. A tourist would arrive at Shanghai's pier an odd morning, and by night he is already hastily evaluating a sixty-century old civilization of four hundred million souls from what they made out of the dirty, grotesque and puny hotel's coolie. As for the engineers and teachers, having travelled inner China, they return awestruck. And given the fact that their sole purpose in China was only to teach how to build and use a machinegun in the first place, they could not but confess that much was learned from the conviviality with the local erudite bourgeoisie. From topnotch lessons in proper demeanour to social order, filial respect, household unison, clever economics, precise workmanship, and
also small lectures on subordination, purity, moral zeal, and all sort of intimate virtues that constitute a warranty for the magnificence, stability and brilliant achievements. Far more than the subtle art of bomb making and torpedo manœuvring, it seems...

They complain about no more than the lack of urban sanitation. Streets, mainly in provinces such as Canton and Peking, are poorly swept and filled with garbage. But was Paris not like this, some fifty or sixty years ago, the days when uncle Hugo called it "bright city", soul of the world? And Europe looked up to it as the model of behaviour, fashion and virtues and vices, to a greater extent than it does now.

But even if Chinese are creatures made up exclusively of merits or of demerits, the fact remains that they have built their own mode of civilization, one possessing a prodigious strength... for it has survived all sorts of imaginable assault waves out of the Aryan genius. And it surely possesses a certain sweetness, as is continuously reflected by China's ancient literature. From the philosophers' maxims to the lily-songs, the celebration of the ineffable, incomparable bliss that comes from the fact of being a Chinese, of inhabiting this land has always been present. To be exact, you can stumble on every kind of item in China throughout the last ten thousand years except a pessimist. As everybody knows, confined within this strong civilization its spirit of sweetness blossomed, with the Great Wall as one of the most vigorous metaphors in western rhetoric. All of those who hold high the task of storing every deed of civilization during the century shall bear in mind the moment when England, seconded by France, tore openings in that wall to push inside opium -the opium that the Chinese government wouldn't allow in for the intolerant fact that opium poisons, undermines, demoralizes and saps the strength of races! The records name this event The Opium War. The sacred rights of trade triumphed in it.

A victorious entrance in Peking meant the staging of the second coming of Attila or Tamerlain, "The Scourge of God". The Summer Palace, which was held as the inestimable imperial museum of Chinese art, was stripped and burnt down. Libraries, historical archives, the literary wealth of the nation turned to ashes. Europe, not sufficiently pleased with it, forced open five ports to the commerce of cotton, ironware, and cheap trinkets, rubbish. Moreover, to opium, the immense quantities of opium, the thirteen, fifteen, seventeen million pounds of opium per year!

It came to pass that through those same ports, or rather through the Great Wall's slits used by Europeans to shove inwards their affairs, the Chinese took a step outwards to the rest of the world, the enormous human family from which they were cut off for so long. A crucial moment in time, bearing witness to two key
novel realities - emigration and the missions sent to Europe. Sent for scrutiny of our sciences, industries, fleets and armies.

These missions left China with curiosity - but also with repugnance. The Chinese cannot veil a certain horror of the European, at one time instinctive and rational, physiological and exact, so well documented in the "Popular Annals of the Empire", in whose pages the first Dutch in Macao and around Canton are characterised thus: "These men - states this acidic account - belong to coarse races who dwell in dim and damp regions, and who never were acquainted with China or learnt from it, no doubt from which they could obtain some advantage. Reddish creatures with bluish, stupid-looking eyes, and enormous feet, with more than 25 inches. They look pitifully ignorant. As for their external features we cannot think of anything more repugnant and exotic!" Such the impression that the admirable Flemish - to us, fine examples of firm, healthy and clean men - stirred up in the Chinese. But do not think that the Portuguese, who arrived at their coasts by the end of the 15th century, or later, in our caravels' wake, the English or the French, were granted any finer estimation from the Children of Heaven. All these outsiders looked similarly misshapen, grim, crass, and of terribly despicable morals and manners. Why had they crossed the oceans in their huge ships? For pirating, ravaging, trafficking, to say the least. Be aware that the educated classes, China's grand bourgeoisie, consider business a vulgar occupation. Striving for profits and gold is just an evidence of base temperament. In those arriviste hard-faced men of utter arrogance and clamour, constantly screaming and wielding their huge blades, men to whom the art of life was reduced to mere trading, the Chinese could not find one singular merit for which a gentleman stands - gentleness, refinement, tolerance, a sense of equity, love of letters, worship of tradition and authority. Ever since, the perception of a European in the Celestial Empire as a malevolent creature lingers on. The name with which they usually honour us is that of fan-kuai, meaning foreign devil, one who introduces and spreads evil from the outside. As for the rest of the Europeans that have established themselves there ever since its opening, not one has contributed to the abating of such distrust and dread. With rare exceptions, most of the newcomers are businessmen of dry one-minded schemes of earning, trapped in a materialistic life, with no hint of the spiritual and the intellectual whatsoever. Therefore, according to the local erudite's compass, they are abject. Not to mention the legions of seamen, which, with their unruliness, brawls and inebriations, appall and dishearten the Chinese, accentuating the idea that the Europeans can only be, besides selfish, also uncouth beings. Missionaries, who ought to be endorsed as the representatives of our pious merits, only cast a further darker shadow upon this, shining no light of unison or even some dignity in the affairs of religion. Only the barter and the battle cries of the epithet of
"heretic" is heard amid themselves. The Catholic Church and its skirmishes with the Protestant, this sect plotting against that wing, that schemes to the detriment of the other, which tries to ruin a fourth... Calvinists, Anglicans, Jesuits and Dominicans in brotherly war. No piety or humility at all. Each arriving parson introduces himself as a high luminary of the Church, and arrogates immediately the outer insignias of the Chinese dignitaries, as for instance the green litter carried by four men. Scorning and despising imperial laws and Buddhist rites and clerics, they acutely nose-dive into bigotry and haughtiness. Besides, the doctrine, especially in the moral section, the one part that could be of some interest to the Chinese spirit, does not seem superior nor new in comparison to Confucius’s volumes or Buddha’s precepts. Truthfully, the Chinese mandarins see nothing but contradictions in Christianity. Out of its dogmas, and not without some arrogance, they perceive nothing but murky dissimilarities. They remain unswayed by the little there is of serviceable parts, which seem nevertheless tawdry, imperfect imitations of both of the major Eastern traditions.

From this picture one concludes that the Chinese think of Europeans with a profound disapproval and with the absolute conviction that in the intellectual, moral and social spheres, we are a step down. Consequently, they should be the ones guiding us. Still, they do grant us a sole quality. That of the mechanic. As any Indian Brahman or Muslim scholar will gladly assure you, our religious and ethical systems are pitiable, our metaphysics mediocre, our literature and social doctrines humdrum. The single superiority that the Oriental awards the Europeans with are those infernal means by which we construct steam machines, telegraphic apparatuses, and a myriad of shrewd utensils. Although they consider this talent of ours of undeniable second rating, suitable for laborers or slaves, they will agree on its usability. Ultimately, even a Mandarin from the Han-Li Academy will turn to the train for speed anytime. His reflection leads him to acquiesce that if he masters such expertise, he will then become a whole man, bringing together superiority of intellect and industrial supremacy morally and mechanically, a twice as sturdy entity. Such fortitude held sway over the first studying missions to Europe and commenced their scientific apprenticeship.

The initiation would have been fragmentary, casual and always struggling against the stiff old Chinese conservatism, though, if it were not for the stimulating political pride of the mandarins and their sheer rivalry with Japan. For centuries, China has cherished a hate for Japan that is very similar to the continuous, mutual and dumb detestation between France and England. Both figure as the greatest nations of the Far East, both struggle for dominance, both have achieved a high level in literature, in arts, and in certain national industries that export to international markets, in which they clash, adding commercial insult to intellectual
injury. Moreover, and still analogous to the English and the French, both their natures are as dissimilar as their European counterparts are, the former practical and grave, and the latter light and idealist. This leads to minute personal antipathies in each and every occasion when two representatives of the opposing races meet. In these recurrent meetings of manifold dealings their mutual hate increases exponentially until it reaches an immense international hatred. Successive wars deepen these rivalries. And as a matter of fact, the ultimate, total obliteration between the Chinese and the Japanese—bestowing upon each other the gracious epithet of "barbarians" and "grime of the earth"—was only prevented by the sea in between their two countries, the inadequacy of their navy and their shared fear for Europe.

As everybody knows, however, Japan has been the subject of the most astonishing makeover possible in the scarce hours that lead a morning into an afternoon. An unparalleled revolution of history. Relenting to nothing, this frantic, swift people shook off their traditions, institutions, laws, customs, and outfits—and swallowed wholesale the European civilization, bought most likely at a low, low cost in some "Comprehensive Civilization Wares Co." Nothing embodies a state better than its leader—or nothing should, that is—and not so long ago, I had the opportunity to examine two prints that show the saddening outlining of such a transformation (not to mention the artist’s). The old Japan, next to the new nation. The first representing the hieratic and omnipotent Mikado, half man, half god. The Emperor was towering over all other men on his regal throne, or rather an altar amidst silk straw-coloured floating banners and spiralling incense smoke. Wearing his white lacquer tiara cast with precious stones, he lowers his motionless idol-like eyes to the old daimyos and magnificent samurais, donning their brocades and golden bronzes, wearing their sables and the two golden antennae shining on their helmets, as their foreheads touch the thin, clear mats embellished with nasari flowers in a reverential bow before the Child of the Sun. The other print, with its lively colours, represents the Mikado as well, but this time in quite a different manner. Not many years have passed, but he seems a somewhat shrunk man, caught inside a slightly tight English general’s red uniform, a Prussian white helmet that covers his eyes, loose-fitting bluish French trousers, while sitting sidelong in an armchair in a gloomy railway station and surrounded by ant-like constitutional functionaries with top hats, bowler hats, panama hats, an unenthusiastic lot, visibly hot and bothered, as a locomotive steams and puffs and heads off under canvas arches in which the following maxim can be read: "Long live the Constitution!". Eerie.

This transformation meant more however, for besides our top hats and saggy pants, the Emperor also took up our battleships, our "Lebel" rifles and
repetition-guns, our martial skills and sciences, the whole affair. And lacking no adroitness or wits to put these materials to use and follow these principles and having military officers educated at Europe’s theatres of war and armouries, soon Japan the scenic was replaced by Japan the fearsome. Notwithstanding the fairly clownish aspect provided in those flabby uniforms, it became Far East’s great power.

In the meantime, China observed these happenings with unspeakable disgust, as well as with uneasiness. The men who brought to an abrupt end the holiest of cults, the cult of things past, who unblinkingly espoused foreign things, who relegated their religious gatherings to the second place in order to applaud Marseille’s plebeian sing-a-longs in dim-lighted casinos, were staunchly vile. But their ports were bustling with warships, their arsenals filled with newfangled weaponry, their education system infused by new knowledge, and hence, could, despite their dishonorable nature, turn out to be perilous. The European fiends’ strong and cunning civilization turned Japan into an Asian power by transplanting their cunningness and power. They could not think of a better plan, then, to adopt the same cunning qualities to make sure that the Empire of the Rising Sun would not scorch the Middle Empire. After all, it has been plainly and regrettably proven that the Lebel rifle kills in a much superior and further degree than the graceful and noble bow and arrow of the ancestors.

Thus, Japan is mainly responsible for pushing a reluctant China into the mimicking of Europe, a step that was so humiliating and at odds with the social, political and religious spirit, that it furthermore infuriated the mandarins against the now constitutional government of the Mikado. If old Japan was a nuisance, then this newly Europeanised and gas-powered country dotted with telephone poles became truly despicable. And the complicated matter of Korea, a continuous bone of contention between both antagonists, was aggravated by the dilemma of Westernization, which led to even more incomprehension and hate between the two countries. In Seoul, at the poor Korean king’s court, the Chinese and Japanese influences openly fought out an until then covert enmity, with the former fending off unnecessary things in a conservative and spiteful fashion, and with the latter as a zealous convert introducing new civilization modes. Japan managed to instruct the frail, gullible Korean government to establish a European style military academy - immediately followed by the successful Chinese efforts to close it down. A railroad was being constructed, with the first yards as a Japanese contribution - consequently, China embargoed it and actually wiped out the project permanently. Nevertheless, and in spite of doing it with some degree of distrust and uncertainty on its efficiency, China kept on buying our rifles and duplicating our models. Being at all times self-assured that, if needed, in a war even against Europeanised Japan,
their science and materials would be no match for the sheer amounts of the old Chinese, Manchu and Tartar legions. Indisputably an illusion. In just a few weeks following the declaration of war, Japan overran Korea, overthrew the old king’s government and army, pushed back the Chinese army, entered China and marched towards Peking, coercing the Son of Heaven, confined within his own holy city, by force into a harmful, shameful peace.

Well, so far the Japanese march is still uncompleted, and still far away from Peking, but in the instant they enter its gates, and they surely will, China will suffer its most remarkable ignominy that it has felt in its six thousand years of history. Therefore, whether the Manchu dynasty is left to prevail or to perish, the everlasting mandarins, witnesses of dynasties past and to come, will reason - for such is their fate and vocation - that an offence like this one is rooted in the absence of European weaponry and methods. There should be no doubt that these methods are intrinsically strong. If not, how come even vile people such as the Japanese, “the grime of the earth”, using them, triumphed over the supremacy of the venerable Flowering Empire?

The outcome of this line of reasoning is, as one should expect, that China will become Europeanised, at least militarily, in its most ingenious, scientific and modern features. It will tread the same course that Japan did for the last fifteen years, but in a far superior manner, with respect to its disproportionate population of four hundred million and incalculable millions of dollars, not to mention the astuteness, the vigour, the practical sense and minute methods that characterizes this race. In twenty years, or less, China will become the greatest military power on earth.

And it will not spend any effort, as we did, in inventing or arduously creating what for? It just has to buy and to learn how to use the stuff, an easy task for their shrewd and wealthy ingenuity. The Aryan genius exerts itself making its natural and sublime calculations and discoveries ... the long-haired Mongol just has to look, choose and adapt.

So, as soon as China becomes this new, terrible and powerful military nation, Europe will find itself in the most precarious and dangerous situation. Not that we have to fear any kind of invasion from Asian barbarians, as some of us actually do, prophesying doom to come. Even if a new Attila sprouts from that country, a mastermind of brilliant energy, able to unite all the peoples of the East, and command them to wallop the West, our civilization could never be sunk, and to some extent it would not even quiver. Europe is united in such a fashion, an impregnable defyng strength resides so deeply rooted in its moral and social unity, that... But Russia, Russia is a stronghold of a substance that no one, no matter their strength, even if organized and armoured as Europe, could ever run it over, ever.
Moreover, China is excruciatingly old. And these escapades call for new, vibrant blood, as was the Huns’ and the Goths’. Besides, as all rural peoples, the Chinese are in effect a peaceful people. For long centuries their education has been one of non-aggression, all their literature and ethic systems emphasize the spurning of the military man. China consists of farmers ruled by intellectuals. This is not the stuff of which rampant hordes are made. I believe, therefore, that the Gaul-Roman can keep up with his quiet reading and promenades under the villa porticoes, among his flowery bushes and Wisdom scions’ busts. The yellow man will not burst in riding his furry Tartar charger, piercing the air with old Tamerlaine’s cry of war, Hai-up! Hai-up!

Nonetheless, the yellow man shall reach our domains, oh yes he shall! Meekly and serenely, with all their worldly possessions on their backs, crossing the oceans in huge liners, they shall come, not for plunder, but for labor. As ants stealthily invade some turf, so shall our Old World meet this silent invasion from Chinese laborers. California, a small province, stands as an example of things to come in our populated continent, if we are to expect an unlimited influx of Chinese. 1852 was the year that San Francisco observed the first hundred Chinamen arriving, coy and hesitant, for physical work at the mines. Not ten years had passed and a hundred thousand more came. Today they would have reached the million, or even many millions, had not California warded them off as the plague, as it is done in Algeria to locusts or in Australia to rabbits. It is not hunger or misery—as many people are inclined to conclude hastily, that pushes the Chinese out of their country. Quite the contrary! All these immigrants are from the well-to-do rural classes of the richest provinces of the South, and all are provided with a fairly good education and do not leave their homes without some funds. In them there is no such thing as the erratic adventurous spirit, rather a minutely rationalized plan to make a balanced and assured small fortune, and then return to their homes, their wives, their family, the stable center with which they never cease to communicate, faithfully holding on to their roots. By means of associations—a means highly esteemed in China—an admirable organized immigration continues: the vanguard lives in California to promote immigration, taking care of the whole process from the start, welcoming and installing people, looking for jobs and solving any possible dissension. Fatherly figures protecting their newly arrived children. Thus, in all foreign cities, a new city blossoms within. The Chinatowns are dense, self-contained settlements enjoying their own schools, temples, shops, hospices, their own mandarin. A miniature body politic designed for a miniature China. Thus, the basic centre for a startling diaspora of a workforce that finds no obstacles whatsoever, in which the offer meets its demand at all times. Primarily, because they are not peevish, they work for a third of what a white worker makes. A
Chinaman has no needs: a chintzy or yarnd outfit is as much as is necessary for a lifetime, a bowl of rice and two sips of tea for a meal. Where the vicious, gluttonous white man needs two dollars on a daily basis, a Chinese is pleased with three dimes and is still able to save some money. Secondly, the Chinese workingman has venerable virtues: his promptness, dynamics, meekness, and the faultless, immediate adjustment to any service.

They are superiorly intelligent and can endure incredibly much. Only the toughness and the implacable spirit of the Chinese could execute the colossal Californian leveling at the Sierra Nevada’s edge. Without them, the Pacific railway would never have been, at least not as speedily and dexterously. At the vast tobacco, sugar and cotton plantations in Havana, a working environment that defeats every single race, including blacks, the Chinaman prospers, even becomes more radiant and plump. These men are like rubber, with their pliable bodies, and no scorching suns, shooting rains, malaria-ridden lands, germs or toxins may undermine their inner strength. Besides, as any person would know, a Chinese extends his sensibility no more than a minimum, and therefore is almost indifferent to the habitual sentences of their nation’s codes of law, namely the cudgelling and the yoking. Their sensibility is chiefly composed of morals. Consequently, in Havana, the worst and truly hurting punishment possible is cutting off his plait, his outer emblem of dignity, as the coiled long hair was for the Gothic or Frank horsemen. The Chinese, as soon as some little savings have been put aside, be it from mines, factories or working fields, settle down at once in the nearest town as gardeners, shoemakers, cooks, goldsmiths, tailors, laundrymen or in similar occupations. At these chores, due to originality excellence, speed and skill, none surpasses them. And when the savings turn into small fortunes, modest industry is swapped for trading, where a remarkable lead is also reached because of the constancy, the flair, the sense, the quickness with which every ploy and trick of the job is learned. And, having gone from rags to riches, they set back home, carrying the white man’s cash and an even more deeply ingrained disdain for its civilization.

An immigrant who shares all these traits implies terrible effects to wage fluctuation, particularly in industrialized countries. Anxious producers and capitalists legitimately foresee lower production costs by the means of the decrease of wages. But in the instant a gifted, prompt, and compliant employee shows up, one who does not take part in strikes or politics, a somewhat intelligent appendix to the machinery, and that on top of it all offers his skills for half or a third of regular wages, no wonder he is hired at once. And employers do this with an open, bright enthusiasm, with no second thoughts about their skin color being yellow, white or green. This was what took place in California. The Celestial One began by displacing the Yankee as a wage earner from the mining and manufacturing sites,
and then from road building and so forth. In all the places in which hands were required, yellow men were preferred to white ones. Little by little, with their numbers growing by the day, and in addition to an ever-increasing knowledge about the country, which meant also higher expansibility, Chinese competition became a weighty load for the market. Naturally, wages assessments shrank to the despair and even hunger of the white worker. As a result, the white man - so far a precursor of the noblest theories on worker's freedoms - violently prevented the Chinese from working. The Chinese were cast off from the factories, at every corner some of their patricians were beaten up, or even stabbed, as the Californian law looked the other way. Moreover, influenced by the vote-casting laborer population, politicians came about with oppressive laws against the Chinaman, laws that made his life intolerable and miserable. The promising sweetness of California became sour. But, in compliance to his race, the Chinese man stood tall. Incessantly, every single Pacific liner debarked in San Francisco a thousand and a half to two thousand souls more, just like an Old Testament plague. All the same, sunken local workers threatened the state with a revolution, driving politicians into the tense creation of the Monroe Doctrine, definitely barring Chinese from entering California.

How come such a disgraceful policy could pass? It is an abuse of fundamental human or divine rights! Well, it was accepted generally because China is a frail nation. Having no fleets or armies powerful enough, it meant no obstacle. If they did, they would assure the respect of their citizens' unrestricted right to traverse the world and choose any corner in which to restfully fix, work and live, as it happens with any denizen of this planet.

As the only mandarin I came to meet personally let me know - a splendid gentleman of very old and very aristocratic ways, dressed in a sea-green and gold-threaded silk garb that deeply disturbed me - "The Chinese will never be able to travel around the world until they enjoy, as you Europeans, battleships to escort them". By this, the venerable mandarin meant that China, when ready, should do to Europe what Europe had done to China: coerce it to throw open wide the gates and allow workers in. If not, the threat of being gunned down is acted out.

At this juncture lies the economic peril that the Flowering Empire stands for. In the moment the European arms of Japan defeat the Empire, the old torpor will be shook off; the Tartar's arrow will become obsolete, real fleets will be assembled and equipped, and the skills of manoeuvring understood and mastered. As I said before, a new military and naval power will rise. Then, the yellow man will pack his sparse belongings, get on board the liners, and audaciously and firmly explore Europe. This course of action will not be rushed; again as the barbarian hosts that took their time penetrating well into the Roman Empire. But it will happen nonetheless as the final and natural consequence of four hundred million souls
rejoining the human family. The tiny Chinese formicary that bloated in California, until the Yankee's boot squashed it, will resume its march into the whole of America and the whole of Europe. And in this second chance, in massive proportions. Afterwards, it shall not be possible to decree bar-outs, harassments, and much less carry out evictions, for the reason that behind the Chinese immigrant a cuirassed force will cast its shadow The American expression, to eat a Chinese, will become an adventure as unsafe as it is to eat an Englishman in China.

The California economic disaster will also come to pass in Europe, yet again in gigantic magnitudes. One will not see anything else than men with pigtails, immersed in silence and nimbleness, all over the continent's factories, mines, and railway building sites, working twice as hard for half the price. The dismissed European laborer will be only left with the choice between dying of hunger and becoming a social revolutionary, forcing states into calamitous wars with four hundred million Chinese. This is the invasion we should be worried about, and not any kind of reenactment of the ferocious Vandals. An enhanced worry if we consider the fact that laws are on the Chinese side, and force will be of no use. Moreover, China will find in capitalism a valuable instigator, an accessory. As our working classes, which are more learned, become more undisciplined, or rather more legitimately demanding, and the European capital goes into a coarser struggle against the European working forces, its irresistible tendency will be to turn to the docile, easily pleased masses from an inexhaustible China. Each European industrial center will then become a dreadful and permanent racial battlefield. Compare them to the similar conflicts that sprout today among French and Italians, just because the swarthy men from the south side of the Alps eat less beef and get satisfied with lower wages.

And if the Chinese proletariat, which overpowering influence will not cease to grow, fails to triumph in our countries, on the other hand such invasion will pose the 20th century with a new and intense difficulty that will haunt our grandchildren, as if they had not already to cope with the expected ones.

Enough! But hear me, my Brazilian friends. You seem too eager to have them for your coffee plantations. Take heed, for you will be flooded. At first a couple hundred, followed by then a thousand. In ten years, Sao Paulo and Rio will have its own Chinatowns, with their red and black sign-boards, paper lanterns, opium filled lairs, covert societies of all sorts, and an immense power working in shadows, relentlessly extending its fingers in every possible direction. Then again, you will be granted new Chinese cooks, new Chinese shirt-ironers, and will at last grasp the meaning of what a truthfully sublime soup can be and what to wear superbly ironed shirt-fronts means. You will feel as new gods treading the earth. As for the Portuguese, German, Italian, or other colonies in Brazil, they shall be pushed back
to their countries of origin. Brazil, in twenty years, will become a New China.

Naturals will burst open with discomfort and disgust, but intellectual charity compels them to sustenance of the spirit, and in accordance half of the Gazeta de Noticias\(^3\) will be printed in Chinese. That's why, my beloved friends, it is better for you to pick up right away your own copy of Confucius. Selecting some introductory volumes to the fundamental and divine books is also in order: the Chu-King, or Book of Memories, the Chi-King, or Book of Imaginations, the Ji-King, or Book of Changes, the Li-King, or Book or Rites.\(^4\)

At any rate, and in conclusion, all this Sinification will stand for in Brazil nothing more than a step further into the Babel it already is. Who can possibly guess what will come out of this? Maybe the influence of Confucianism—the peak of what a perfect doctrine is—will set up, at last and for good, some healthy principles in that territory. For instance, love for discipline, for respect, for tolerance, for an industrious order and peace.

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3) A Brazilian newspaper, literally "The News Gazette."

4) The author is referring to, in the accurately current transcription, the Shi Ji (Book of History), Shi Jing (Book of Poetry), Yi Jing (Book of Changes), and Li Ji (Book of Rites).
The Chinese will...
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"You are Dead, the Square is Dead": The 1989 Chinese Pro-Democracy Movement, Eggleston, Karen, 1989 (64), 39
ANNUAL REPORT
of the
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY-KOREA BRANCH
2001

RASKB General Manager Receives Award
At the annual Garden Party, 16 June 2001, hosted by H.M. Ambassador Charles Humphrey at the official residence in Seoul, Ms. Sue Bae, who has served the RASKB for some 34 years, received one of Britain’s highest honors. Ambassador Humphrey, on behalf of H.M. the Queen, bestowed an “Honorary Member of the British Empire” on Ms. Bae in an impressive ceremony. The MBE is “honorary” since Sue is not a British subject. She was cited for her 34 years of service to the RASKB, particularly for her role in helping British and other expatriates to understand and appreciate Korea. We congratulate Sue on this signal honor and bask in the reflected glory to the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. A copy of the Royal Grant is on the facing page.

Left Mrs. Bae, flanked by Ambassador Humphrey and RASKB President Dr. Underwood, at the presentation of her honorary MBE.
Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of Her other Realms and Territories Queen, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith and Sovereign of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire to Bae Sue Ja

Greeting

Whereas We have thought fit to nominate and appoint you to be an Honorary Member of the Civil Division of Our said Most Excellent Order of the British Empire

We do by these presents grant unto you the Dignity of an Honorary Member of Our said Order and hereby authorise you to have hold and enjoy the said Dignity and Rank of an Honorary Member of Our aforesaid Order together with all and singular the privileges thereunto belonging or appertaining.

Given at Our Court at Saint James's under Our Sign Manual and the Seal of Our said Order this Twenty-third day of April 2001 in the Fiftieth year of Our Reign.

By the Sovereign's Command.

[Signature]

Grand Master

Grant of the Dignity of an Honorary Member of the Civil Division of the Order of the British Empire to Mrs. Bae Sue Ja
President's Annual Report

At the end of the year 2001 the Royal Asiatic Society-Korea Branch, had a total of 1,205 members, including 75 life members, 805 members residing in Korea and 325 overseas members. This represents a slight increase from the 2000 figure of 1,105 members.

Programs during the year included lectures, slide and video presentations, and music and dance performances. Except during the summer months, programs were held on the second and fourth Wednesday of each month at the Goethe Institute.

Some 1,500 persons enjoyed the full schedule of sixty-three tours, which took members and friends to dozens of places throughout Korea as well as tours to Japan, Mongolia, China, and Cambodia. Tours remain one of the most popular activities of the society.

Publications during the year included Volume 75 (2000) of the RASKB Transactions.

Some 250 members attended the 101st Annual Garden Party, which was held at the British Ambassador’s residence on Saturday, 16 June 2001. During the Garden Party, the British Ambassador, Charles Humfrey, bestowed an honorary Member of the British Empire on our devoted Ms. Sue J. Bae in an impressive ceremony. Additional information and photos are published elsewhere in this report.

While maintaining a reasonable financial position during the year, it is important for members to be reminded that their support continues to be critical to the financial well being of the society.

I take this opportunity to express sincere appreciation for the selfless efforts of the Council members and officers, who devote many hundreds of hours of voluntary service to the Society throughout the year. I also express my appreciation to Mrs. Sue J. Bae, our General Manager, who is the mainstay of the office and day-to-day operations for the RASKB. I express hearty congratulations on her award.

Finally, the Society expresses profound gratitude to the Goethe Institute for providing to the Society, without charge, their auditorium and book storage facilities for our regular lectures and meetings.

Respectfully submitted,
Horace G. Underwood, President
Royal Asiatic Society-Korea Branch
Royal Asiatic Society-Korea Branch
MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING
12 December 2001

The annual general meeting convened at the Geothe Institut, Seoul, Korea, and was called to order at 7:30 p.m. by Dr. Horace G. Underwood, President. Dr. Underwood reviewed his annual report to the society, which will be published in Transactions.

A slate of nominees for officers for the calendar year 2002 was presented, and the floor was opened for additional nominations from the membership at large. There were no additional nominations. Steven L. Shields moved that the nominees for officers and council members be elected. There was a second. The following officers and council members were elected by acclamation:

President, Dr. Kim Yong-duk
Vice President, Amb. Fernando Machado
Treasurer, Peter Born
Secretary, Renate Kostka-Wagner
Librarian, Lee Yung-joo

Councillors, Michael Breen, Br. Jean-Paul of Taize, Prof. Choi Uhn-kyung, Amb. Roy N. Ferguson, Joan Hubbard, Enid W. Humfrey, Charles Jenkins, David Mason, C. Ferris Miller, John Nowell, Dr. Uwe Schmelter, Dr. Maria Seo, Rev. Steven L. Shields, Eve Trezza, Dr. Horace G. Underwood, Rev. Graeme Webb, Dr. Yoon Chong-hiok.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 7:40 p.m. and was followed by the scheduled lecture for the evening.

Respectfully submitted,
Steven L. Shields, Secretary
2001 Library Report

The RAS Collection, housed in the Korea Social Sciences Library at Sajik Park, Seoul, contains a total of 1858 books and journals.

During 2001, nine new titles were added to the RAS Collection.

New Titles Added:

Colonial Industrialization and Labor in Korea
Institutional Reform and Democratic Consolidation in Korea
NTC’s Dictionary of Korea’s Business and Cultural Code Words
Perspectives on Korea
The Kwangju Uprising
Description and Explanation in Korean Linguistics
A New History of Korea
The Song of a Faithful Wife: Chun-hyang
Transactions, Volume 75
2001 RASKB Lectures

January 10
What is Indian Music?
Mr. Chang-Su Kim

February 14
Stargazing in Stone-Age Korea
Dr. Changbom Park

February 28
A Tribute to Midang
Br. Anthony of Taize (An Sonjae)

March 14
Music as a Political Instrument
Dr. Uwe Schmelter

March 28
Chinese Characters Make Sense
Mr. James C. Whitlock Jr.

April 11
Portuguese & Korean Relations: Historical Sources and Research Trends
Dr. Antonio Vasconcelos de Saldanha

April 25
A Visit to Japan’s Awaji Island in Search of Paekche’s Tamnos
Dr. Young-Duk Kim

May 9
What Kind of Cultural Shock Do Russians Experience South and North Korea
Ms. Tatyana Simbirtseva

May 23
Kuk Sun Do Danjon Breathing
Prof. Kyung-Taek Yim

June 13
The Linguistic Disunity of Koguryo & Linguistic Groupings in Prehistoric Northeast Asia
Prof. John Whitman

June 27
Meso-American Archaeology: Chichen Itza & Balhae
Dr. Heajoo Chung

August 22
Korean Traditional Music Performance
Music Group “Bagabee”
September 12  Korea Foundation Gallery at the British Museum
               Ms. Jane Portal

September 26  All you need to know about Ullung-do & Tok-do Island
               Mr. Min Byung-Seong

October 10   Controversy Over the New Japanese History Textbooks
               Dr. Kim Young Duk

October 24   Korean P’ansori Tradition in Comparative Studies
               Dr. Yoojin Chung

November 14  Seal-Engraving
               Mr. Choi Kyu-II

November 28  Toegye’s Philosophy
               Dr. Kim Young-Duk

December 12  What Differences to Expect in Korea
               Dr. Lee Eun-Pyo
## 2001 RASKB TOURS

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MEMBERS
(As of December 31, 2001)

Life Members
Adams, Mr. & Mrs. Edward B.
Adams, Mrs. Dan & Carol
Bae, Dr. Kyoung-Yul
Bertuccioli, H.E. Giuliano
Bridges, Mr. Ronald Claude
Choi, Prof. Unh-Kyung
Choung, Ms. Jinja
Cook, Dr. & Mrs. Harold E.
Crane, Dr. & Mrs. Paul S.
Curll, Mr. Daniel B., Jr.
Davidson, Mr. Duane C.
Dodds, Mr. & Mrs. Jack A.
Freskley, Ms. Mary Jo
Goodwin, Mr. James J.
Gordon, Mr. Douglas H.
Hogarth, Dr. Hyun-Key Kim & Mr. Robert
Hoyt, Dr. & Mrs. James
Irwin, Rev. & Mrs. M.
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