

Andreas Schirmer (ed.)

Koreans and Central Europeans: Informal Contacts up to 1950

Vol. 2

Andreas Schirmer (ed.)

Koreans in Central Europe

To Yu-ho, Han Hŭng-su, and Others



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Introduction

Andreas SCHIRMER

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1

To Yu-ho

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

LEE Chang-hyun

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

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

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

Road to Europe

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁴ Iryōksō [CV].

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

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

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

⁸ Information provided by Andreas Schirmer.

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

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

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

From Genoa to Frankfurt

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

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

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

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

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

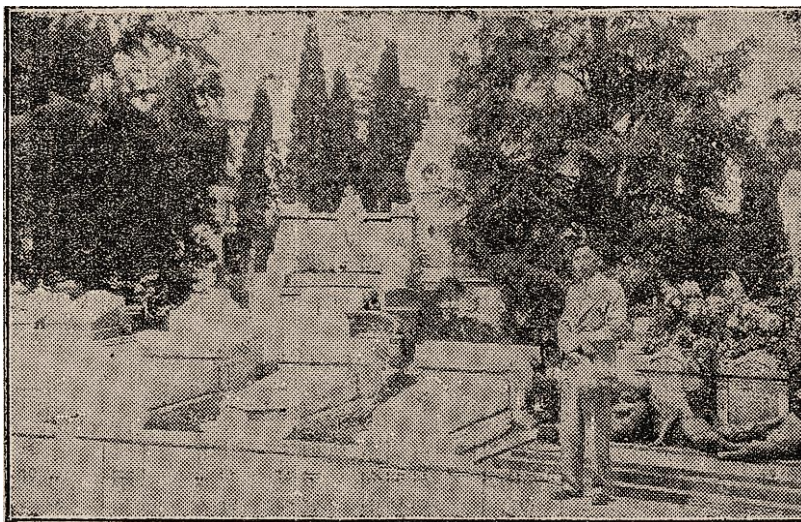
¹¹ “Kujuhaeng,” parts 4 and 5, *Tonga ilbo*, 5 and 6 September 1930.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Studying and Living in Frankfurt and Vienna

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Letters that passed between TYH and Chu Yo-han 朱耀翰, chief editor of the Korean general-interest magazine *Tonggwang* (東光 [Light of the East]) in 1931 and 1932, indicate TYH's particular interest in the meaning of "nation." On 6 June 1932, at a social psychology seminar which was held in a lecture room of the Social Research Institute in Frankfurt, he presented a paper entitled "The Origin of Nation and Nationalism of China, Japan and Korea." He strongly felt that he should intensify his research on Korean national, social, and economic history. He thus studied Marxism and Dialectical Materialism and translated an article on "Marxism-Leninism and Dialectics" into Korean (To 1932).²⁹ He sent it to the *Tonga ilbo* but, for some reason, it never appeared in print.

1933 was a year of substantial change. On 28 March 1933, he dropped out of Goethe-University,³⁰ probably due to his ethnicity and ideological position. His CV at Kim Il-sung University proclaims that under the Hitler regime he was "imprisoned" in Germany and was "expelled," and then fled to Austria in 1933.³¹ He wrote this assessment of Nazism in a letter to Chu Yo-han in September 1932:

Mr. Chu! The thing that should disappear in Germany is Hitlerism. Fascist power has grown conspicuously following the establishment of Papen's cabinet! Open clashes between fascists and leftists occur on the streets! Growing fascism! These are not unexpected events, but are inconsistencies of fascist efforts to save capitalism from decline! Can the maze of capitalism be avoided? (To 1932: 42)

In May 1933, TYH transferred to the University of Vienna. Little is known about his life there. He probably enjoyed strolling around or outside the city, meeting many different kinds of students – surely Japanese "compatriots." In any case, we should assume that he was mostly preoccupied with completing his PhD thesis. He also passed a supplementary Latin examination in March 1934.³² His dissertation, titled *Probleme*

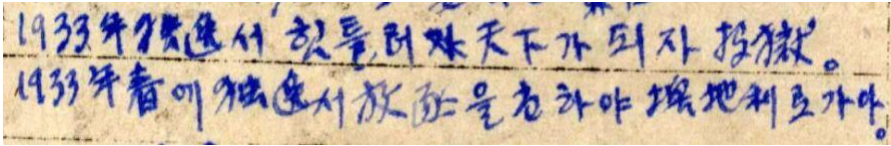
²⁹ The original text is as follows: "[...] Mr. Chu! I previously translated an article on 'Marxism-Leninism and Dialectics' and sent it to the *Tonga ilbo*, but I have received no news ever since. If it is not printed, I want to get it sent back. But I think it was sent into a trash can. [...] Mr. Chu! I send the other article which I presented at a psychology seminar which was held in a lecture room of the social research institute in Frankfurt and presided over by Dr. Tteman [Zeman?] on the night of 6 June 1932. [...] At that time, I tried to explain the origin of the term 'nation,' and nationalism of China, Japan, and Korea in the same European method of research. At the end of my presentation, Mr. P'uch'ük'a [Pucek?], who had come from Czechoslovakia, took it and translated the part about Korea into Czech and contributed it to a Czech journal. [...] Mr. Chu! I strongly feel that I should study about Korea. Do you know how to get books on Korea, especially national history, social development history, economic history, etc. [...]?" (To 1932: 42). Translated by the author.

³⁰ Registration card.

³¹ Iryöksö [CV].

³² See the "Curriculum vitae: Dr. Cyong-Ho Do," sent to Ramstedt (date unknown). The author owes his knowledge about this document to Kim Chöng-yöng, Korean language lecturer at Helsinki University, who provided him with a copy. TYH passed the supplementary Latin examination on 10 March 1934, according to TYH's "Rigorosenakt"

der koreanischen Geschichte in kulturellem Zusammenhang ("Problems of Korean history in the context of Culture"), was approved. After his last exam, a "Rigorosum," he was bestowed a PhD on 28 June 1935 (Schirmer 2012: 246). The Korean media reported this no earlier than 7 April 1936.³³ As a letter confirms,³⁴ TYH's eldest brother, To Yong-ho, gave this information to the press. At the time, TYH had been writing to his family from Europe. From the time of his graduation until October 1939, TYH continued to live in Vienna, deepening his knowledge on prehistoric archaeology and folklore and conducting research under the auspices of the Urgeschichtliches Institut (Department of Prehistory) at the University of Vienna.³⁵



(Fig. 2) An excerpt from TYH's résumé: "In 1933, as soon as Hitler took power in Germany, I was imprisoned [t'uok]. In spring of 1933, I was expelled from Germany so I went to Austria."

On 21 December 1936, TYH read a paper on Chinese history in front of the *Historisch-Soziologische Arbeitsgemeinschaft* (historical-sociological association) at "Rotenturmstraße 13 Vienna I." This curiously detailed information was provided in a paper (imprinted 23 April 1937) published in the *Chindan hakpo*, a well-known Korean scholarly journal, under the title *Konfuzius und Laotse im Lichte der chinesischen Sozialgeschichte* (Confucius and Lao-Tse in the light of Chinese social history) (To 1937). He wrote the article *Proto-Schang und Chinesische Zivilisation* (Proto-Shang and Chinese civilization) in 1938 (To 1938), and in 1939 he worked on a paper on the origin of Chinese urban culture,³⁶ which was published the following year (To 1940, 1941a, 1941b).

TYH turned to teaching Japanese because there was no position for him at the University of Vienna.³⁷ In 1938 he applied for a position at the University of Helsinki, having secured the support of Oswald Menghin of the Urgeschichtliches Institut (Department of Prehistory) and Alfons Dopsch of the Seminar für Wirtschafts-und Kulturgeschichte (Faculty of Economic and Cultural History).

(file on the PhD exam, kept in the archive of the University of Vienna). (Information provided by Andreas Schirmer.)

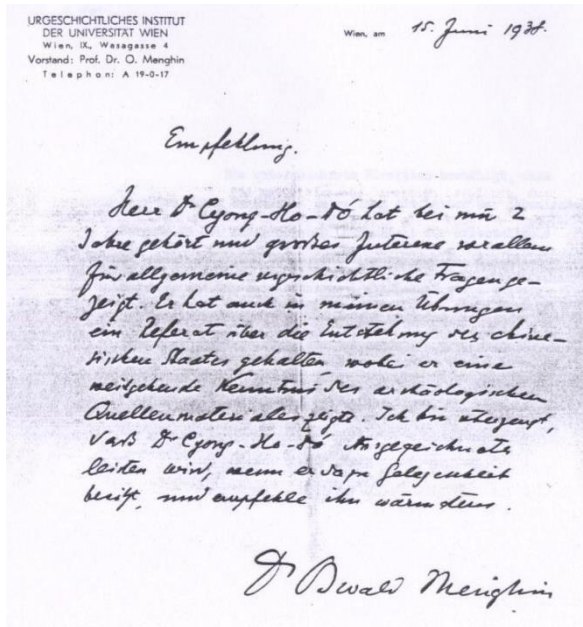
³³ This news was reported not only in the *Tonga ilbo* (7 April 1936) but the *Chosŏn chungang ilbo* (7 April 1936) and the *Chosŏn ilbo* (7 April 1936) as well. An Ik-tae 安益泰, the composer of the South Korean national anthem, declared himself impressed with TYH's having earned a PhD in Vienna (*Tonga ilbo*, 9 August 1936).

³⁴ *Tonga ilbo*, 7 April 1936.

³⁵ Iryöksŏ [CV].

³⁶ "Last summer I wrote this paper in Vienna, where war clouds hang heavy over [...] 5 June, Showa 15 [= 1940]" (To 1940b: 160).

³⁷ "Yŏngmaenghan togil chamsuham yŏnggukham kyŏkch'im ūl mokto" [Witnessing a German U-boat torpedoing and sinking British ships], *Chosŏn ilbo*, 26 January 1940.



(Fig. 3) Oswald Menghin's recommendation letter for TYH from 1938: "and recommend him most warmly."

In mid-1938, Menghin and Dopsch recommend him to Professor Gustaf John Ramstedt at the University of Helsinki. Menghin wrote that, with his guidance, TYH had studied under him, and that TYH had demonstrated a strong command of archaeological data on the origin of China. Menghin declared his conviction that his disciple would produce excellent achievement, if only he were given the opportunity to prove himself. Dopsch recommended him "most warmly" and pointed out

TYH's thorough methodological training.³⁸ On 12 October 1938, both Dr. Hlavac, the director of *Lehranstalt für Orientalische Sprachen* (School for Oriental Languages), and TYH sent letters to Ramstedt. The director stressed that TYH had been working as a Japanese lecturer. TYH attached documents attesting to this, such as copies of his PhD certificate and a school certificate issued by the Japanese Embassy in Berlin. He sent another letter to Ramstedt on 27 December to inquire as to whether Ramstedt had received his earlier letter or not. On 20 May 1939, the *Internationales Studentenhilfswerk* (International Student Support Organization) at the University of Vienna also sent a letter to Ramstedt, informing him that TYH urgently needed the opportunity to work. These efforts were to no avail, however, as TYH was never awarded a research position at the University of Helsinki. (Cf. also Ko 1992: 239.)

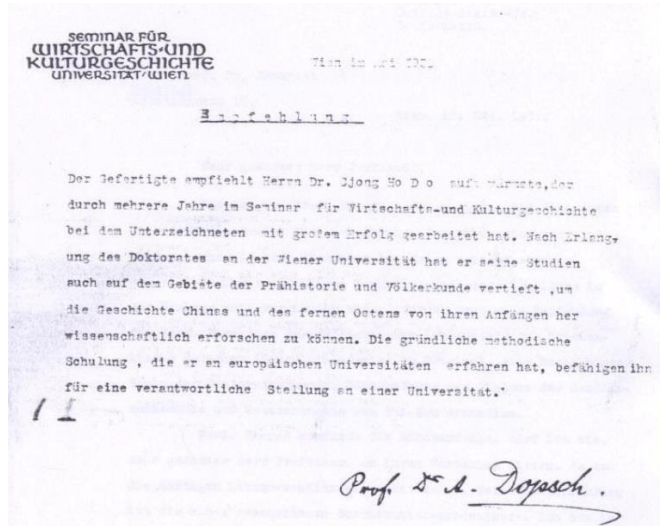
Recent research³⁹ shows that TYH had applied for the position at the University of Helsinki and suggests reasons for why he was not chosen. In the late 1930s, Professor Ramstedt required a native speaker of a Korean dialect for his research on Altaic languages. Karl Heinrich Menges, a friend of Ramstedt and a comparative linguist in Ankara, Turkey, introduced TYH to him. At the time, Ramstedt was teaching a course on Japanese at the University of Helsinki.

³⁸ These letters were provided to the author by Prof. Kim Chŏng-yŏng, Korean language lecturer at Helsinki University.

³⁹ Yoshimi Ogawa and Chikako Shigemori Bučar found the corresponding diplomatic messages (cf. their chapter in the present volume).

Ramstedt offered TYH a position as a lecturer for Japanese language at the University of Helsinki, requesting the Japanese government to provide financial support for the salary of the position. Of course, TYH accepted the offer. While receptive to the request, the Japanese side was also concerned that TYH was Korean, not a native of Japan. Adding to this picture, the fact that the

Japanese secret service had labeled TYH “a leftist and anti-Japanese” in a report from 28 November 1938⁴⁰ only confirmed the reservations Japanese authorities must have had about TYH teaching Japanese. Three years later, in 1941, Ramstedt redoubled his initiative to employ an appropriate Japanese language lecturer and asked for recommendations, prompting the Japanese Embassy in Berlin to search for a qualified person among Japanese nationals residing in Germany.⁴¹



(Fig. 4) Alfons Dopsch's recommendation letter for TYH (May 1938): "The undersigned recommends Dr. Cjong Ho Do most warmly [...]."

Back in Korea during the Colonial Period

TYH decided to return to Korea from Europe in late 1939, when WWII broke out. He had sensed something strange in the air, which he had reported in an earlier letter sent to his eldest brother and parents.⁴² For TYH, the “Anschluss” had caused a very chaotic situation at the University of Vienna. While his mentor Menghin became a cabinet minister of the Seyss-Inquart regime, another of TYH's teachers, Robert von Heine-Geldern, who was an expert on South Asian studies, was expelled for being Jewish. TYH wanted to avoid this turbulent situation and also longed to see his aging parents.⁴³ Regarding his return home, three newspaper articles provide quite a bit of detail (*Chosŏn ilbo*, 1, 26 and 28 January 1940).

⁴⁰ “Report on Korean scholars (28 November 1938): Dr. Chung Ho-Do [= TYH]. He earned an academic degree in Korean history focussing on social problems. He is working as a Japanese teacher. He is active as a leftist and anti-Japanese. He is currently in Vienna. Reported by Rusu Taku on 07 January 1938.” (Kuksa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe 2003: 531)

⁴¹ Cf. the chapter by Yoshimi Ogawa & Chikako Shigemori Bučar in the present volume.

⁴² Although the letter no longer exists, TYH's eldest brother To Yong-ho reported this to the *Chosŏn ilbo*, which wrote it up (*Chosŏn ilbo*, 14 January 1940).

⁴³ “Win taehak kangsa To Yu-ho paksa kwiguk” [Return of Vienna University lecturer To Yu-

On 3 October 1939, TYH left Vienna. That night, he saw the dreary sight of Vienna under wartime blackout. He headed to Napoli to board the Japanese cargo ship *Fushimi-maru* (伏見丸), which departed on 7 October and arrived in Marseille on 9 October. The ship docked there for 11 days, as it had violated a regulation prohibiting the import and export of war materials. Finally, on 22 October it left the harbor again and arrived in London on 25 October, but had to dock again there for 15 days, for the same reason as before, and then was able to continue to New York. These events were totally new to TYH and gave him the impression that the wartime economy favored the US, where an economic boom had fostered prosperity. The ship went to Los Angeles via the Panama Canal and arrived at Yokohama on 24 January 1940. From there, he went to Busan by another ship, took the express train and finally disembarked at Keijō station (i.e., Seoul) at about 3:15 p.m. on 27 January 1940. At the ceremony marking his return, he told a reporter that he was now committing the rest of his life to the study the economic history of Korea, with a focus on the ancient history of the Far East (*Tonga ilbo*, 28 January 1940).

After resettling in Korea, he published an article that he had written in Vienna on the origin of Chinese urban culture in the *Chindan hakpo* (To 1940, 1941a, b) and he got married.⁴⁴ Some of his articles for newspapers give some insight and retrospection on his own past. In an effort to distance himself from well-intentioned stories that he had been a lecturer at the University of Vienna, TYH wrote that he had only taught Japanese in Vienna and was not a renowned scholar.⁴⁵ He had hoped to become a “Privatdozent,” an almost impossible task, but something he nevertheless dreamed of being. He looked back on the happy old days in Frankfurt and Vienna: cavorting by the Main and the Danube, smoking at the square in front of the town hall of Vienna, admiring the beauty of the *Wiener Votivkirche*, enjoying alcohol with friends, traveling to Budapest, and visiting the Alps in Tirol.⁴⁶

On 24 April 1941, the *Maeil Sinbosa* [Daily News Company] held a symposium on the relations between Japan and Germany (“Germany and the German Spirit”) in

ho], *Chosŏn ilbo*, 14 January 1940.

⁴⁴ TYH’s parents had wanted their son to return to Korea and to marry, but his father died in December 1939 (*Tonga ilbo*, 20 January 1940). TYH’s wedding was officiated by Yi Pyŏng-do, a Korean historian and a member of the *Chindan Hakhoe*, the academic society that edited the journal of the same title to which TYH contributed with numerous articles. Kim Chae-wŏn, the later director of the National Museum of Korea attended as well (Yi 1990: 109). According to his CV from 1946, he had two sons and one daughter with his wife. As for his wife there are various sources who claim she was Austrian or German. The *Maeil sinbo* (January 14, 1940) identifies her as Hiyoshi Sakie 日吉咲枝, a Japanese woman who had worked as a typist in Tōkyō and had been TYH’s fiancée for more than ten years. The fact that this was considered being worth reporting shows again TYH’s prominence. At the same time, the fact that the pro-Japanese *Maeil sinbo* reported such news can be seen as propaganda for the *naesŏn ilch’e / naisen ittai* 内鮮一體 ideology (Japan and Korea are one).

⁴⁵ “Kamsa wa chŏngjŏng” [Thanks and corrections], *Chosŏn ilbo*, 24 April 1940, p. 3.

⁴⁶ To 1940c.

the Kyōngsōng Hotel. The host invited a number of Korean intellectuals, including TYH, who had studied in Germany and knew a great deal about Germany (*Maeil sinbo*, 1 May 1941). On the whole, most of the guest speakers praised the German military mentality and complimented the Germans on their patriotism, while recommending that Japan construct a “new order in the world” like Germany had done. TYH and Kim Chae-wŏn 金載元, who had earned his PhD in Munich in 1934, were reported to have declared in unison that Germany’s military class put national interest before personal gain, because commercial capitalism had not infiltrated there. TYH apparently said that male undergraduates in Germany enjoy playing sports in order to foster a martial spirit (*Maeil sinbo*, 7 May 1941).

Sadly, there were no positions for TYH in Korea either.⁴⁷ According to one record,⁴⁸ TYH went to Manchukuo for a position at the Hsinking Museum [in Xinjing, present-day Changchun]. He found it through Japanese alumni contacts and started working there in June 1941, but quit in 1942.⁴⁹ According to his CV, he felt suppressed and lost the position due to the Japanese colonial government.⁵⁰ He visited Japan again in March 1942 and eked out a living, translating German university textbooks on anthropology, prehistory, and archaeology into Japanese.⁵¹ At that time, he assisted Oka Masao 岡正雄, his senior colleague and fellow alumnus from Vienna, in translating Oswald Menghin’s *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit* [World History of the Stone Age] into Japanese (Yi 1990: 106).

TYH returned to Korea again in February 1945 — right after the US Air Force had started bombing the Japanese mainland. Back in Korea, he went to his hometown, Hamhŭng, and lived in the farming village of Dōksan (Dōksanmyŏn), Hamchu-gun (which was separated from Hamhŭng-gun in 1931). His home address was originally 146 Nammun-ri 3-gu Hamhŭng,⁵² but he seems to have moved out. In July 1945, he began working as an office clerk for a factory in Hamhŭng, on orders of the colonial government.⁵³

⁴⁷ “I cannot make money, let alone study, so [I] have a hard time. [...]” (To 1940a: 3).

⁴⁸ “Hoewŏn sosik” [News of the members], *Chindan hakpo* 14: 196.

⁴⁹ Provided by Prof. O Kang-wŏn of the Academy of Korean Studies.

⁵⁰ “In 1940, after my return to Korea and due to the strict surveillance of the Japanese Colonial Government, I lost my freedom of movement. I couldn’t find a job and had troubles living” (Iryōksō [CV]).

⁵¹ Iryōksō [CV].

⁵² TYH’s original domicile was Hamhŭng (before Hamhŭnggun) Nammun-ri 3-gu 146, and after defecting to North Korea he lived in P’yōngyang-si Yuknori (now Kyōngnim-dong) 23 in late 1946. (Iryōksō [CV]).

⁵³ “In February 1945, returning to Korea, I was in the farming village Dōksan in Hamchu-gun. The exploitation by Japanese Colonial Government was intensified so I got a job as an office clerk for a plant in Hŭngnam Yonghŭng.” (Iryōksō [CV]). Original: 1945 年 二月 歸國하여 咸州郡 德山 農村에 있다가 日政當局의 取得이 甚하여 七月 興南龍興工場에 事務員으로 就職.

Political Activities after Liberation in 1945

After liberation, TYH became involved in politics. He joined the Communist Party and the People's Party, although the reasons for this affiliation remain unknown. TYH had probably been influenced by To Yong-ho (his eldest brother) and To Kwan-ho (his second-eldest brother), who had led a socialist movement during the Japanese colonial occupation. Both of them had had certain connections with the Communist Party of Korea (*Chosŏn Kongsandang*) between the 1920s and 1930s and had been suppressed by the Japanese colonial government.⁵⁴ In fact, To Yong-ho was chairman of the Hamhŭng branch of the Chosŏn Kŏnkuk Chunbi Wiwŏnhoe ("Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence ["Nation-Founding"]") in Korea in late August 1945. He had asked Ivan Mikhailovich Chistiakov, commander of the Soviet 25th Army, who carried out the Soviet military occupation of northern Korea, to transfer executive power to the Committee. He is thus credited with having spread the national revival movement in Hamhŭng after liberation (Yi 1990: 107).

In late August 1945, TYH was director of the Hamhŭng municipal library and a lecturer at the medical college (*ũigwa taehak*) in Hamhŭng,⁵⁵ but he also frequented Seoul from time to time and eventually became a lecturer at Kyŏngsŏng University, the precursor to Seoul National University (Ko 1992: 240). The reason for his steady commuting to Seoul was his active political role and probably a close relation to Yŏ Un-hyŏng (known as Lyuh Woon-hyung), a Korean nationalist and the chairman of the Chosŏn Kŏnkuk Chunbi Wiwŏnhoe. On 1 September, this "Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence" sent a letter to progressive figures, including TYH, requesting their participation in a meeting for a reorganization of the committee (*Maeil sinbo*, September 1, 1945). At this event, TYH seems to have met Yi Kang-guk, who had studied in Germany and, after his return, had become a leader of the movement for liberation in Wŏnsan. Yi Kang-guk was a Marxist and a member of the Chosŏn Kongsandang Chaegŏnp'a ("Group for the reconstruction of the communist party," hereafter simply: "Communist Party"⁵⁶), led by Pak Hŏn-yŏng (Sim 2006: 20–31, 43). When TYH finally became a member of the Communist Party, Yi Kang-guk vouched for him. After that, he joined not only the radical Kongsandang ("Communist Party"), led by Pak Hŏn-yŏng, but also the more moderate Chosŏn Inmindang

⁵⁴ Based on Keijō District Court records for To Yong-ho and To Kwan-ho, see *Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe* 2007: 215–216, 294.

⁵⁵ Iryŏksŏ [CV].

⁵⁶ Two communist parties were reorganized in Seoul right after the liberation of Korea: the Chang'anp'a Kongsandang (on 16 August 1945) and the Chosŏn Kongsandang Chaegŏn Chunbi Wiwŏnhoe (usually referred to as Chaegŏnp'a) led by Pak Hŏn-yŏng (20 August 1945). The Korean Communist Party (Chosŏn Kongsandang) was created when the Chaegŏnp'a absorbed the Chang'anp'a (11 September 1945). Formally, however, both Chaegŏnp'a and Chang'anp'a were simply disbanded to make way for the Chosŏn Kongsandang.

(“People’s Party of Korea,” hereafter: the People’s Party), led by Lyuh Woon-hyung.⁵⁷ At the same time, TYH became a member of the Minjuchuŭi Minjok Chŏnsŏn (“Democratic National Front”) and the Kwahakcha Tongmaeng (“Union of Scientists”)⁵⁸ — all of which were regarded as progressive and leftist.

At that time, when TYH started working as a leftist politician, there were contentious times for the left and the right because of the “trusteeship” for Korea regulated by the Communiqué on the Moscow Conference of the Three Foreign Ministers in 1945. The Communiqué provided not only that “a provisional Korean democratic government” would be set up but also envisioned a “trusteeship” for Korea for a period of up to five years.⁵⁹ Fundamentally, both sides, left and right, opposed the kind of trusteeship that was envisioned by the UN Charter because they regarded it as a second colonization. The alternative trusteeship that was defined in Moscow was perceived as closer to a guardianship, with a stress on assistance and help, quite unlike colonization. Moreover, it was supposed to be implemented only after consultation with a provisional Korean democratic government. Most of the left, prominently Pak Hŏn-yŏng, and few of the right, namely Song Jin-u 宋鎭禹, who was an ex-chief of the *Tonga ilbo*, supported the trusteeship regulated in Moscow — the contemporary slogan for this being *samsang kyŏljŏng chiji*,

i.e., support for the decision of the three foreign ministers (of the US, the UK, and the USSR) — and considered it a good way to attain independence, while most of the right, prominently Kim Ku, who was president of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Korea (of course this self-proclaimed Provisional Government was in no way a legitimate “democratic” government), were strongly opposed and attacked the opposition, denouncing them as betraying and selling out Korea to the Soviet Union or the US. TYH seems to have sided with Pak Hŏn-yŏng’s faction.



평양에서 러시아어로 나오는 잡지 <새 조선> 1966년 9월호에 실린 도유호의 사진. <고송무세 제공>

(Fig. 6) This portrait of TYH, showing him in his early 60s, appeared in 1966 in the September issue of the Russian-language magazine *Novaja Koreja* [New Korea] that was published in P’yŏngyang. The Korean daily *Hankyoreh* printed it on 13 April 1990, acknowledging that the photo was provided by Ko Chong-sŏk, who later used it in one of his publications (Ko 1992: 237).

⁵⁷ This is stated in the Iryŏksŏ [CV]. In 1946, there were originally three major left-wing parties in South Korea: the Kongsandang (Communist Party), the Inmindang (People’s Party) and the Sinmindang (New People’s Party). In the discussion of the merger (known in Korean historiography as “samdang haptang”) the members became divided into two groups – Pak’s faction and Lyuh’s faction – which eventually led to the formation of two new parties replacing the former three: the Namnodang (Workers’ Party of South Korea), led by Pak Hŏn-yŏng, and the Sarodang (Socialist Workers’ Party), led by Lyuh Woon-hyung.

⁵⁸ Iryŏksŏ [CV].

⁵⁹ The Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Harriman) to the Acting Secretary of State, Foreign Relations of United States: Diplomatic Papers 1945, Vol. 2. Washington: 1967. United States Government Printing Office: 820-821.

In March 1946, he was installed as the head of the People's Party's Department for Foreign ("Diplomatic") Affairs.⁶⁰ He was thus in charge of affairs with the United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK), most probably because of his command of English. When US Independence Day celebrations took place in Seoul on 4 July, he gave a lecture to Seoul citizens on the history of American independence.⁶¹

TYH played an important role in the merger of the Communist Party and the People's Party. Lyuh Woon-hyung, the leader of the People's Party, was in principle for the merger but, in contrast to his counterpart Pak Hŏn-yŏng from the Communist Party, he also attempted to form a coalition with the center-right, represented by Kim Kyu-sik 金奎植.⁶² It is safe to assume that TYH agreed with the radical path of Pak Hŏn-yŏng. Nevertheless, he was appointed to negotiate the merger as a representative of the People's Party on 3 August. At the general meeting of the People's Party held on 16 August, TYH gave a speech that fostered a positive climate for the merger. It passed 48 to 31 as a result (Kim O-sŏng 2003: 136-141).

The USAMGIK planned to establish an interim government in Korea through a left-right coalition and continued to oppress the Communist Party, the People's Party, and everyone else on the Left. Finally, orders were given to arrest Pak Hŏn-yŏng on or around 8 September. At the same time, Lyuh Woon-hyung launched a sweeping purge to remove Communist Party agents whom he believed had subverted the People's Party. As a result, TYH was dismissed from his position as negotiating committeeman in late September (Sim 1991: 114). TYH's CV indicates that he was an *inmindang p'ŭrakch'i* [a spy in the (South's) People's Party], which was of course considered as a patriotic and heroic role in the North.⁶³

Defecting to North Korea and Thereafter

On 16 October, TYH defected from South Korea to avoid USAMGIK repression and went to North Korea. He was then appointed professor at Kim Il-sung University. He performed brilliantly in academia in the DPRK and even served the DPRK government, having pursued careers in foreign affairs and political affairs.

⁶⁰ Iryŏksŏ [CV].

⁶¹ "Minjŏn ch'ukhasik sŏnghwang" [Celebration held by the Democratic National Front a success], *Chayu sinmun*, 5 July 1946.

⁶² Kim Kyu-sik was a moderate nationalist and was favored by John Reed Hodge, the military governor of the USAMGIK at the time. Lyuh Woon-hyung had a moderate view in regard to the merger and opposed the division of the Left. Pak Hŏn-yŏng considered it futile to negotiate with moderates from the Right and the political middle, which is why he put everything on organizing one unified left-wing party in South Korea.

⁶³ Iryŏksŏ [CV]. The abovementioned Yi Kang-guk is said to have won over a member of the People's Party and obtained secret information of the People's Party via a close associate of Lyuh (Sim 1991: 19–20). In the context of the times it is not too far-fetched to assume that Yi Kang-guk had recruited TYH as an informant or "spy."

During the Korean War, TYH participated as an interpreter in the armistice talks, from 18 August 1951 until the end of the talks. He is known to have participated in the following meetings:

1. Armistice Conference of Sub-Delegation on Agenda Item 2.⁶⁴
2. Meeting of Staff Officers on Protection of Prisoner of War Camps: 23 January 1952.
3. Liaison Officers' Meeting: 8 May 1952 to 27 May 1953, with Sŏl Chŏng-sik.⁶⁵

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
UNITED NATIONS COMMAND
ADVANCE

18 August 1951

Subj: SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS, Second Session, Sub-Delegation on Agenda Item 2, Kaesong Armistice Conference.

Representatives present:

United Nations — HGEN H.I. Hodges, USA, and HGEN L.C. Craigie, USAF, delegates; Col. G. C. Laigett, USA, staff assistant; Lt. H.G. Underwood, USNR, interpreter.

Communists — HGEN Lee Sang Jo, NKPA, and HGEN Hsieh Fang, CCF, delegates; Chiu Ho An, CCF, staff assistant; Hs. To Yu Ho, NKPA, interpreter.

(Note: Stenographers not allowed to be present by either side. This summary based on recollections of UNC officers attending, and brief notes kept by UNC interpreter.)

(Fig. 5) The first mention of TYH as interpreter for armistice talks (18 August 1951)⁶⁶

In 1961, TYH was selected as a member of the Choguk P'yŏnghwa T'ong-il Wiwŏnhoe (Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland),⁶⁷ and in 1962 as a representative of the Ch'oego Inmin Hoeŭi, the Supreme People's Assembly of the DPRK (Ko 1992: 240).



(Fig. 6) Titled “Communist Representative[s] Sign Agreement” by the collector, this photo features an obviously cigarette-addicted To Yu-ho in the back row, second from right. (Bettmann / © Getty Images) The collectors do not identify To Yu-ho; this author recognized him during a random search.

(Fig. 7) This photo of To Yu-ho, serving as a translator, was reproduced in the *Pictorial History of the Korean War* and its Korean translation (VFW 2010, 1: 756) and reprinted by Yi in his popular *1129-day's Chronicle around the Korean War* (2015: 548 [939]). Yoo (2017: 284) reproduces this photo (with a reference to Yi) and is seemingly the first to identify the person with the typical clipboard in his hands as To Yu-ho. Featured are also Col. Willard B. Carlock, US Army senior UN command liaison officer, and James E. Shew, secretary to the Korean Armistice Commission.

⁶⁴ 18 August–27 November 1951. Contents were issues around the military demarcation line.

⁶⁵ These results are based on the records of “Korean Armistice Negotiations” (United Nations Command, 1951–1953), see Kuksa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe 1994.

⁶⁶ Kuksa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe 1994 (vol. 3): 6.

⁶⁷ “Choguk p'yonghwa t'ong'il wiwŏnhoe wiwŏn sŏn'gŏ” [The election of members to the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland], *Choguk t'ongil*, 17 May 1961.

However, these political positions were only honorary — that is, rewards for having distinguished himself as a scholar during the 1950s. In the late 1960s, he was ostracized for his belief that the center of the ancient (proto-Korean) kingdom, *Kojosŏn*, had been located in P'yŏngyang, while the Workers' Party of Korea insisted that it was located in Manchuria.⁶⁸ Consequently, he appears to have been targeted in a political purge and his academic career was brought to an end (Yi 1990: 131–132; Ko 1992: 242).

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⁶⁸ Today, the most widely accepted theory in South Korea on this matter, labeled “idong-sŏl,” says that the center of *Kojosŏn* was originally in Manchuria but was moved eventually to P'yŏngyang.

- 1931d “Togil yuhak ilgi” [Diary of student life in Germany]. *Tonggwang* 26: 51–53 and 63.
- 1931e “Togil taehaksaeng ŭi saenghwal” [Life of German university students]. *Tonggwang* 27: 77–80.
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