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

Jaroslav Olša, jr. & Andreas Schirmer

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

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

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of this text is to give an outline of Han Hŭng-su's life and achievements while introducing a part of his, until now, unpublished English-language text on Korean megalithic culture dated ca. 1940.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 The detailed study, including bibliography of published and unpublished works by Han Hŭng-su, is to be found in Schirmer/Lewarth (eds.): *Koreans and Danubians.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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Han Hŭng-su was born on 29 September 1909 into a wealthy family in Songdo (now Kaesŏng). He spent seven semesters at Sophia University[3] in Tokyo in 1930-36 and then left for Europe. When he arrived in Austria in 1936, he was, despite his young age, not a novice but already a committed young researcher and the author of articles for the leading academic journal *Chindan hakpo* and of essays and other contributions to the leftist intellectual journal *Pip'an.* His travel from Korea to Vienna was an educational journey, as he stayed in Moscow, Warsaw and Cracow, visiting museums and meeting local scholars. He described this in a travelogue that was published in six installments in the *Chosŏn Ilbo* in March 1937, and also in letters sent to his friend Yi Pyŏng-do (1896-1989), then editor of *Chindan hakpo*, who was so impressed that he decided to publish part of it.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Czech and German friends and colleagues) an altogether quite astonishing number of texts, usually short essays, in Czech, all of these based on drafts written in German and edited and sometimes translated into Czech by Huberta Algermissen (aka Kimová[4]).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Jaroslav Olša, jr. has served as Czech ambassador in Seoul since 2008. He graduated in Asian and African Studies from Charles University in Prague and has worked in the diplomatic service for almost two decades. He served as his country‘s ambassador to Zimbabwe (2000–2006). He has published on African art and history, most notably the book *Dějiny Zimbabwe, Zambie a Malawi* (History of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi, 2008, with Otakar Hulec). One of these was published in Korean as 짐바브웨 현대미술전″ (2010). Most recently he prepared an exhibition and edited a book *1901 photographs of Seoul by Enrique Stanko Vráz and other early Czech travellers´ views of Korea* – 1901 년 체코인 브라즈의 서울 방문. 체코 여행기들의 서울 이야기 (2011, with Kang Hong Bin).

Andreas Schirmer is Assistant Professor at the section for Korean Studies/ Department for East Asian Studies, University of Vienna. In 2012 he organized, with support by the Korea Foundation, the conference “Koreans and citizens of the Habsburg-monarchy (or its successor states) – Informal contacts until 1950.”

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

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

Han Hŭng-Su

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

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

Chapter II. Megalith-Culture

History of Research

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Monuments of the Megalithic Culture

1. Menhirs

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

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

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

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

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

2. The Dolmen

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. Stone-case Sepulchres

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

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

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

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

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

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Geographical Distribution of Megalithic Monuments

1. The Menhir

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

2. The Dolmen

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

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

3. The Stone-case sepulchre

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

Objects of Megalithic Culture found

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

Stone Utensils

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. Shoulder-axes

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

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

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

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

6. Axes

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

Ceramics

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

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

Metal Utensils and Weapons

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

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

Beads of Rock-crystal

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Origin and Chronology of the Korean Megalithic Culture

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

sepulchre age.

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

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