



universität
wien

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

Koreans in Western Eyes
The Perception of Koreans in Western Encyclopedias
of the 18th and 19th centuries

verfasst von / submitted by

Denise Kressnik, BA

Angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (MA)

Wien, 2016 / Vienna, 2016

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme code as it appears on
the student record sheet:

A 066 805

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme as it appears on
the student record sheet:

Global History/Global Studies

Betreut von / Supervisor:

Mag. Dr. Andreas Schirmer

Modern thought and experience have taught us to be sensitive to what is involved in representation, in studying the Other, in racial thinking, in unthinking and uncritical acceptance of authority and authoritative ideas, in the sociopolitical role of intellectuals, in the great value of a sceptical critical consciousness.

EDWARD SAID, 1985a: 327

Contents

Illustration directory

Figure directory

Abstract

1. Introduction	7
2. Culture-historical background and theory	11
2.1 The age of discovery, traveling and the perception of the foreign	11
2.2 The ‘awareness of others’, national stereotyping, Imagology	14
2.3 The Western picture of East Asians	21
2.4 Korea: the ‘hermit’ kingdom and its foreign relations	24
3. Korea brought to the West through sources from the 16 th century onwards	30
3.1 Coray? Korea!	30
3.2 The First Westerners in Korea	31
3.3 Hamel and his Journal	33
3.3.1 Salient topics	34
3.3.2 Characteristics of Koreans	37
4. Encounters and perceptions in the encyclopedia	39
4.1 The encyclopedia – a historical phenomenon	40
4.2 Sources, methodology and previous research	42
4.3 German Encyclopedias	46
4.3.1 Zedler’s Universal Lexicon (1732–1754)	46
4.3.2. Brockhaus Conversation Lexicon (since 1796)	48
4.3.2.1. The first six editions and the change of the initial letter	49
4.3.2.2. The last six editions and the more detailed articles	50

4.3.3.	Meyer's Conversation Lexicon (since 1839)	54
4.3.3.1.	The first edition and the diligent, strong Koreans.....	55
4.3.3.2.	The second edition and the false Koreans.....	57
4.3.3.3.	The fifth edition and the educated Koreans	59
4.4.	French Encyclopedias	61
4.4.1.	Diderot's 'Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné' (1751–1772)	61
4.4.2.	La Grande encyclopédie (1886–1902).....	63
4.4.3.	Nouveau Larousse Illustré (1897–1904)	67
4.5.	English encyclopedias	69
4.5.1.	Encyclopaedia Britannica (since 1768).....	69
4.5.2.	The New and Complete American Encyclopedia (1805–1811).....	73
4.5.3.	Encyclopedia Americana (since 1829).....	74
4.6.	Other Western Encyclopedias	78
5.	Korea(ns) in the West, Orientalism and the construction of the cultural Other	79
5.1.	The Western encyclopedias' image of Korea(ns) in detail.....	79
5.1.1.	The presentation of Korea	79
5.1.2.	Outer appearance and characteristics	83
5.2.	Findings in the light of cultural theories.....	87
5.2.1.	Orientalism in the selected encyclopedias.....	88
5.2.2.	"Otherness" and the concept of the Korean as the cultural Other.....	95
5.2.3.	The 21 st century – cultural diplomacy, nation branding and cultural imperialism.	99
6.	Résumé.....	101
7.	Bibliography.....	105

Illustration directory

- Picture 1.* “Kurze Beschreibung der In Europa Befintlichen Völckern Und Ihren Aigenschafften“ [Short description of the in Europe situated peoples and their characteristics].
Unknown artist, Völkertafel (oil on canvas, painted between 1718–1726), of Styria, Austria.
Vienna: Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde (inv.- no.: 30.905),
Source: photo: Birgit & Peter Kainz, facsimile igital: https://www.researchgate.net/figure/284189271_fig7_Fig-9-Unknown-artist-Volkertafel-ca-173040-oil-on-canvas-1040-126-cm-Vienna, Accessed April 18, 2016. 16
- Picture 2.* Martino Martini, 1614-1661, Novus Atlas Sinensis (Amsterdam , Netherlands ca. 1655).
Source: University of Vienna library archive, self-taken photograph. 30
- Picture 3.* Brockhaus, 13th ed. Vol. 10 (1885), page 531.
Source: University of Vienna microfiche archive, self-taken copy. 54
- Picture 4.* Symbols of Korea in the Nouveau Larousse Illustré, Vol. 3 (1899), page 279.
Source: University of Vienna library, Romance studies section, self-taken photograph 68

Figure directory

- Figure 1.* Number of encyclopedia series (out of 9) which include the given topics 80
- Figure 2.* Table of social categories in the three German encyclopedias 83
- Figure 3.* Table of social categories in the three French encyclopedias 83
- Figure 4.* Table of social categories in the three English encyclopedias 83

Abstract

This study examines the presentation and perception of Korea(ns) in selected Western encyclopedia articles on Korea of the 18th and 19th centuries. It was possible to demonstrate the increasing amount of knowledge and diversification of topics by analyzing nine encyclopedia series from different decades – three in German (Zedler, Brockhaus, Meyer), three in French (Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, *Grande encyclopédie*, *Nouveau Larousse Illustré*), and three in English (Britannica, New and Complete American Encyclopedia, Americana). From initial geographic descriptions, the entries progressively include information on population, economy and history. Beside the expanding length, also the depth in certain areas, e.g. in economy and trade, intensify in the entries. By the end of the 19th century original sources are cited and some article writers are named.

After providing a context of the perception of Asians in general, imagology and a brief analysis of the first detailed report on Korea, provided by the Dutch Hendrik Hamel, this research has three goals: (1) to find out how Koreans are portrayed in the encyclopedias and see which characteristics are ascribed to them; (2) to understand which stereotypes and images dominate; and (3) to investigate which relative importance do the selected encyclopedias assign to Korea in comparison to China and Japan. The findings from the research reveal a contrasting image, concluding that a neutral to negative impression dominates. Since the majority of the articles compare Koreans to Chinese (and their appearance to Japanese), it is completed that the Korean is in general perceived as Chinese. The articles on China and Japan were in contrast much longer and more detailed.

Encyclopedias help readers by the construction of a specific image of the 'cultural Other' and the perception of the foreign, thus contributes to the creation of a distinction or similarity to one's own culture. Therefore, an essential part of the thesis applies cultural theories (Stuart Hall's 'Representation') and concepts (Edward Said's 'Orientalism') on the analyzed data from the entries.

1. Introduction

As a genre, encyclopedias then and now claim to represent in limited space the entire knowledge of their time and do so with the purpose of giving information and conveying facts in a condensed but comprehensible way to readers from various backgrounds. Readers trusted the publisher to draw on and incorporate true and well researched information, collected and written down by an editorial department with a team of more or less established experts on specific topics and fields. The encyclopedias entries thus created allowed readers to see the known world and its peoples through a few books. Through the selection and distribution of information, encyclopedias therefore played an important part in the modern period (~1500–1914) as a respected source of knowledge. Since very few people of that time were able to visit foreign places themselves, the narratives of encyclopedias in particular provided a more exclusive point of reference.

This research paper begins with a brief overview of Korea's foreign connections and diplomatic relationships, especially those with the Chinese Empire and Japan, as well as Korea's isolationist policy and reputation as being a 'hermit' kingdom.

The first European to give a longer report on Korea – as far as we know – was the Dutch Hendrik Hamel in the 17th century. Because he partly did so in an encyclopedic manner, his work is the first through the present thesis will approach the topic, followed by selected encyclopedias of the 18th and 19th centuries, thus covering the time frame of the Western modern era and part of the Korean Joseon Dynasty (1392–1910). The terms East and West are generally used in the present thesis to distinguish the geographical regions, i.e. Europe and the Americas in the West and the three East Asian nations of China, Korea, and Japan in the East. Beyond that, the 'Western' civilization can be defined (in a first approach) through constitutionality, democracy, freedom of mind, critical rationality, science and free economy based on private property. Whereas East Asia is associated with dynasties and shogunates, social stratification, Confucianism and Buddhism, state examinations, isolationism, the growth of private industries, technological progress and trade.¹ These values and institutions are the outcome of a long historical process rather than qualities given by nature.²

¹ "History of East Asia," Essential Humanities, accessed June 03, 2016. <http://www.essential-humanities.net/world-history/east-asia/>.

² Philippe Nemo, *Was ist der Westen? Die Genese der abendländischen Zivilisation*, trans. Karen Ilse Horn (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 2f.

The encyclopedias were selected with the aim of tracing both the development and the level of Western knowledge of or rather Western awareness of Korea and its history. Westerners' knowledge of Koreans and their culture will be identified and explained by analyzing key encyclopedias as major sources of knowledge in the modern era. The analysis will focus on stereotypes and characteristics identified in the encyclopedia articles. It will also show which of the many factual differences that existed between East Asia and the West can be found in the general information the selected encyclopedia articles provide. English translations of relevant passages are provided by the author, while the original text is mostly kept in the footnotes. The present thesis uses the terms encyclopedia and lexicon interchangeably, although both types of reference work could be easily distinguished by their entries.³

In analyzing how knowledge of the Korean nation, which had long been isolated from world history, was passed on to Western readers, the aim of this thesis is to find images, national stereotypes, and perceptions regarding Koreans and their culture in Western encyclopedic sources. These were selected from various national contexts, including German, English, and French reference series⁴ to represent a certain period and level of knowledge on Korea. For the perspective of global history, it is interesting to see how the encyclopedic knowledge on a previously isolated country developed over a period of two hundred years.

The research is based on the following key questions:

1. How are Korea and Koreans portrayed in the encyclopedias? Which characteristics are mainly used to present Korea and Koreans?
2. Which stereotypes and images dominate? Which topics are omitted deliberately or due to lack of available information?
3. In which respects did the articles represent Koreans as most different from the respective national context and culture?
4. Which of the available encyclopedias from the period specified are suitable as primary sources? Which original sources are the articles based on and which kinds of sources are cited?
5. What relative importance do the encyclopedias assign to Korea in comparison to China and Japan?

³ For further information on encyclopedia and lexicon see: Joan M. Reitz, "ABC-CLIO." ODLIS (Online Dictionary for Library and Information Science) Odlis_S., 1996, accessed May 23, http://www.abc-clio.com/ODLIS/odlis_e.aspx, http://www.abc-clio.com/ODLIS/odlis_l.aspx.

⁴ The term 'reference series' is used in this thesis interchangeably with encyclopedia edition, meaning several books in one edition from one publisher's house.

Each of the chosen encyclopedias, including its history and editions, is treated in a section of Chapter 4, focusing further on characteristics attributed to the Korean people.

By means of close reading⁵, relevant information is selected from the articles and discussed. The final chapter traces and compares similarities and differences in the patterns identified. To visualize the results, selected keywords are shown in a graph. The analysis thus facilitates a cross-regional and cross-temporal perspective, at least within the limit of the 18th and 19th centuries, but also moves from a global to a local perspective by reflecting the time of writing and publication as well as the information collected. There will be no Korean sources included, as the aim is exclusively to present the Western perspective. Furthermore, there will be no pictorial material of Korea(ns) analyzed, with the exception of those which eventually accompany the selected encyclopedia entries.

The last part of this thesis draws on specific concepts of contemporary culture-historical theories, developed by Edward Said and Stuart Hall, which are considered and applied to the encyclopedia articles, to investigate in how far the Korean was constructed as “cultural Other”, and to see in which context in the chosen sources Western imperialism plays a role. Cultural differences between the East and West are identified and the general cultural representation of ‘the Korean’ (i.e. male and female) in all the researched encyclopedias is summarized. In this, especially interculturality and stereotypical, cliché-based thinking are covered. By comparing and contrasting sources, the representation of Koreans and the eventual change of perception over time are discussed.

In cultural encounters, specifically those of imperial powers of the 19th century with cultural Others, the respective understanding of one’s own culture and of Culture as such, is crucial and thus warrants a closer look at the concept. The term “Culture” as the process of intellectual, spiritual, and aesthetic development – commonly paraphrased as “the best that has been thought and said” in a particular society and therefore used to describe shared values of a group – has changed strongly over the centuries. While it had the initial meaning of agricultural tending or caring for something in the 15th century, in the 16th century the metaphor changed into “cultivating” the human mind, intellect, and spirit. In the 17th and 18th centuries it was understood in the abstract sense of a general process of becoming “civilized” or “cultivated” and used to draw differences between the European and other, colonial cultures. The 19th century distinguished even more between positive and negative meanings,

⁵ The research method of the present thesis is generally based on Philipp Mayring’s qualitative content analysis (see page 45 in the thesis at hand).

as “culture” was extended to carry class associations and emphasize the contrast between ‘culture’ and ‘civilization’.⁶ In this differentiation, language plays a privileged role:

Culture is about ‘shared meanings’ [and their production and exchange]. Now, language is the privileged medium in which we ‘make sense’ of things, in which meaning is produced and exchanged. Meanings can only be shared through our common access to language. So language is central to meaning and culture and has always been regarded as the key repository of cultural values and meanings.⁷

One way of describing the complex connections between interacting central practices that create culture is the “circuit of culture”, which includes representation, identity, production, consumption, and regulation. Language as a medium operates as the most important representational system and uses, for example, written words to “stand for or represent to other people our concept, ideas and feelings” in a culture. Therefore, “representation through language is [...] central to the processes by which meaning is produced.”⁸ Different meanings of culture depend on time, place, people, and purpose, and the encyclopedia as a text type can be seen as a highly specific system of representation of culture in the form of written language. In the context of this thesis, this system of representation seeks to transmit to its readers a meaningful concept, image or idea of Korea and Koreans. Partly, meaning is given to things by the way they are represented and the principal encyclopedic means of representation is language. Readers can therefore only rely on the words written in the encyclopedia entry and must trust that the writers express themselves well and understandably. Understanding, in cultural terms, between people belonging to the same cultural sphere, depends on interpreting the world and expressing oneself, as Hall says, roughly in the same way, or at least similar.⁹

However, the individual author’s selection of a source, even when that source is taken from another cultural context, provides a subjective reproduction and interpretation. Contemporary readers of the encyclopedia may have doubted such a subjective position as long as no original sources are stated or referenced. The present thesis, in contrast, explicitly questions the subjective repetition of the world’s history and opens the way for a wider

⁶ See among others: Peter Burke, *What is cultural history?* (Cambridge, U.K.: Polity Press, 2004); Achim Landwehr, *Kulturgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Ulmer, 2009); John Storey, *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction* (Harlow: Pearson, 2012).

⁷ Stuart Hall, *Representation. Cultural Representations and Signifying Practice* (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2010), 1.

⁸ Hall, *Representation*, 1.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.

picture by comparing and contrasting societies and their histories. In Said's work on Orientalism, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.2.1, the differences made between but also for the West and the East are exhaustively addressed and Western codes are identified and will be made visible throughout the encyclopedia entries as conceptions of history with Eurocentric and American perspectives.

Since today Korea is a nation which fosters nation branding to create and spread a certain image, it has been actively following a soft-power-oriented course of cultural diplomacy through Korean popular and traditional culture. In the eyes of many people around the world, Korea in the 21st century is a nation to admire for its fast development as well as for overcoming the costly war and division of the country in the early 1950s. The topic of nation branding will be broached in the final part of this work, to provide an outlook onto the present. The conclusion outlines Korea's significance, gives the generally created image of Koreans in the selected Western encyclopedias, and suggests trajectories for further research.

By combining a historical approach with cultural studies and comparative literature studies, this thesis also hopes to demonstrate the importance of interdisciplinary work. Working on material that is of interest to different fields of research, I also wish to reach an audience beyond the narrow scope of Asian Studies.

2. Culture-historical background and theory

Over the centuries the way of traveling and transportation has changed drastically. Not only did the means of transportation develop, but the destinations also surpassed known limits and continents.

2.1 The age of discovery, traveling and the perception of the foreign

The history of the West cannot and should not be described in a few sentences, since a short period of time involved a staggering amount of incidents, wars, revolutions and the expansion to other places like the Americas, happened. Imperialism, Protestantism, Enlightenment and Industrial Revolution are just a few of the important keywords and processes associated with drastic changes in the modern era.

In comparison to the West, Korean history, especially during the reign of the Joseon family, seems rather peaceful over hundreds of years. In roughly the same period many Western nations were fighting for colonial power and dominance over other new found and later-to-be nation states in search for the exploitation of resources and new sales markets,

particularly in Africa, South America and Asia. Between the 15th and 18th century people actively started to physically overcome the borders of the Europe of that time.

J.R. Hale summarizes the reasons to travel and its connected developments, stating that the freeing of the mind from the conception of the world of antiquity and the Middle Ages through the experiment of expeditions and the contact with unknown continents appeared, like the development of technology, cartography and navigation, which enabled this stride. Among the motives of the explorers – next to missionary plans and curiosity – making profits from trade seems to have been the most important drive. This incentive controls the kings and merchants in the European world of these centuries – first and foremost Portugal, Spain, the Republic of the Netherlands, England and France –, who alone had the power and the financial resources to plan and carry out such ventures.¹⁰

Explorers such as the British James Cook, the Portuguese Vasco da Gama and Fernando Magellanas, as well as the Italians Marco Polo and Christopher Columbus gained huge popularity throughout the centuries and are still widely known for their adventures, which many people continuously like to read about – initially in the form of their own logbooks and travelogues. They all participated in the collection of knowledge and information gathering during their times and were and are yet honored in various ways. Because they were extending European influence, they were surely not welcome everywhere. Nevertheless, with the presence of the Europeans, “the discovered” at the same time also discovered the Europeans and an inevitable exchange of culture occurred.

Bauerkämper points out that contacts and confrontations with characteristically different groups on the edge of one’s own world spread concepts of diversity of peoples and their ways of life both inside and outside of Europe. Immediately linked to this was the possibility to constitute conceptions of historical, topographical, and cultural borders of European civilization.¹¹

¹⁰ J.R. Hale, *Die Reisen der Entdecker. Die Erforschung fremder Länder und Kulturen* (Reinbek B. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1975), 6:

“Die Befreiung des Geistes von den Weltvorstellungen der Antike und des Mittelalters durch das Experiment der Entdeckungsreisen und die Begegnung mit unbekannten Kontinenten erseht vor unserem Auge, wie die Entwicklung von Technik, Kartographie und Navigation, die dieses Ausgreifen erst möglich gemacht hat. Unter den Motiven der Entdecker erscheint – neben Missionsdrang und Wißbegierde [sic] – der Trieb, Gewinn zu machen durch Handel, als das Entscheidende. Der Antrieb beherrschte die Könige und Kaufleute in der europäischen Staatswelt dieser Jahrhunderte – voran Portugal, Spanien, die Republik der Niederlande, England und Frankreich –, die allein die Macht und die Finanzkraft hatten, solche Unternehmungen systematisch vorzubereiten und zu tragen [...].“

¹¹ Arnd Bauerkämper, *Die Welt Erfahren: Reisen als Kulturelle Begegnung von 1780 bis heute* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2004), 19:

At the time, traveling long distances, especially across the oceans was a very dangerous mission, but even when nature's force and people's enemies were taken into account, it also gave travelers the opportunity to earn a fortune and eventually fame. In contrast, inside of Europe, pilgrimage travels and journeys for educational purposes were the main reasons for people to leave their homes. After all, traveling then and now extends our horizons and expands our knowledge, definitely allows us to tell a few stories when we make it back, and strengthens transregional and transnational networks among the travelers.¹²

The discovery of the American continents was advantageous for Europe, since a variety of new products became available and opened up spaces for expanding power and influence. Global trade was now more than ever important and institutions such as the Dutch East India Company (VOC) came into existence to support the expansion. To allow such ventures to develop, European naval powers fostered free trade treaties as well as supported exploration expeditions.

The Dutch bookkeeper Hendrik Hamel, who worked for the East India Company, was on board of one of the trading ships heading for Japan at the end of the 17th century. His ship, however, was wrecked and the crew was stranded on the Korean coast. The survivors had to stay in the country until their successful escape to Japan a few years later (see Chapter 3.3). Korea at the time secluded itself from the outside world and only shared relationships with China and, to a lesser degree, with Japan. This shows how eventful a journey could be at the time, when travelers stepped out of their familiar world to come into contact with the foreign.

The German term 'Fremdwahrnehmung' means precisely how we perceive something or someone that is foreign to us. The concept 'Fremdwahrnehmung', i.e. external perception or 'awareness of others', depends on various influence factors, for example not only the outside appearances, gestures, and facial expressions, but also languages and scripts, which distinguish cultures from each other and can lead to misunderstandings and negative impressions of the 'Other'. By this, stereotypes of people not belonging to one's own known

"Kontakte und Konfrontationen mit charakteristisch unterschiedlichen Gruppen am Rande der eigenen Lebenswelt verbreiteten Konzeptionen der Diversität der Menschen und der Lebensweisen inner- und außerhalb Europas. Damit war unmittelbar die Möglichkeit verknüpft, Konzeptionen der historischen, topographischen und kulturellen Grenzen der europäischen Zivilisation zu konstituieren."

¹² For an in-depth discussion on traveling in the modern period see: Urs Bitterli, *Alte Welt, Neue Welt: Formen des Europäisch-überseeischen Kulturkontakts vom 15. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (München: C.H. Beck, 1986); Theresa Frank, "Die Reise: Kulturanthropologische Annäherung an die Fremderfahrung" (Diploma thesis, University of Vienna, 2005); Jürgen Osterhammel, *Reisen an die Grenzen der Alten Welt. Asien im Reisebericht des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Konstanz: Bibliothek der Universität Konstanz, 1989); Philippe Despoix, *Cross-cultural Encounters and Constructions of Knowledge in the 18th and 19th Century: Non-European and European Travel of Exploration in Comparative Perspective* (Kassel: Kassel University Press, 2004).

group or cultural sphere were and are still being built in today's societies. This will be discussed in connection to the concept of the 'cultural Other' as defined in postcolonial studies in the final part of the present thesis (Chapter 5.2.2).

2.2 The 'awareness of others', national stereotyping, Imagology

This chapter gives an introduction to stereotype development and cliché building as a cultural constant of human existence. Even though an entire field of related terms such as prejudice, stereotype and cliché have similar meanings and are definitely connected, their seemingly slight differences are important from an academic/analytical point of view. While a prejudice can develop even before making an experience to prove the thought or reaction right or wrong, a stereotype is more of a belief, fixed pattern or opinion about people with a specific characteristic – for example that all Asians are smart because they have to study hard. Ethnic stereotypes and prejudices are long-lived once established, since people are put into groups because of seemingly obvious or natural categories such as skin color, physical characteristics or linguistic behavior.¹³

A work like Dietrich Harth's compilation of imagological texts *Fiktion des Fremden*, where pictures of the 'Other' are created in a collective vision, demonstrates the broad spectrum of views and approaches for various world regions, for example China, Germany, and Australia.¹⁴ In his influential book *Stereotyping – The politics of Representation*¹⁵ Michael Pickering writes about theoretical and historical origins and usage of stereotyping. He shows how stereotyping is a characteristic problem of modernity and links it closely to the concept of the 'Other' in his discussion of Walter Lippmann and Edward Said. Additionally, he addresses political and ideological issues in this context. He clarifies that stereotyping is a process we cannot avoid and we "either reproduce a given stereotype in our occasioned uses of it [...], or we refuse the stunted abbreviation of a social group or subculture which a stereotype entails by opting for a more particularized, less one-sided description."¹⁶ Pickering makes a crucial point in saying that within these judgments of differences lays power, since

¹³ Veronika Döbler, "Japaner als Fremde? Bausteine für eine Xenologie" (Diploma thesis, University of Vienna, 1997), 68.

¹⁴ Dietrich Harth, *Fiktion des Fremden. Erkundung kultureller Grenzen in der Literatur und Publizistik* (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer Verlag, 1994).

¹⁵ Michael Pickering, *Stereotyping. The Politics of Representation* (New York: Palgrave, 2001).

¹⁶ Ibid., 3.

the conventions and norms of identity, values, and behavior – reinforced by stereotyping – originate from established structures of social dominance.¹⁷

Later chapters discuss how this concept of reproduction of a common known stereotype is applied to Korea, since the knowledge about its neighboring countries China and Japan is expected to dominate in the 18th and 19th century encyclopedias.

National stereotypes have been given attention predominantly in literary studies, especially in comparative studies where foreign- and self-perception are discussed in the framework of imagology. The term imagology can be defined as the “comparative study of literary works as far as images are concerned”¹⁸, it deals with texts in which certain images appear and are seen as a cultural, social, and political construct. Imagology is concerned with the process of Othering, since images are purposely made to define the unknown “Other”, thus allowing anything that can be defined to be dominated and controlled. Over time, constructed and established images become more and more difficult to erase and are perpetuated. Most of the time images are created not actively but on an unconscious level, based on already mentally stored information and experience. One good example is the image of the Orient, which was defined to make it better known and to stereotype its people and culture in a dichotomous way: the barbaric East vs. the civilized West.¹⁹ The present thesis studies the image and constructed stereotype of ‘the Korean’ whose country was for a long time not accessible to the West. In later chapters this and other approaches to the image of the Korean in the Western encyclopedias are discussed.

Retracing imagology’s history, it is possible to see that it began with the tradition of Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558) and the cultural criticism of early-modern Europe. At that time characteristics were attributed to certain national or ethnic groups, formalizing older, informal traditions to sort cultural and social patterns. This need of classification of cultural differences and ethnic stereotypes was a common practice and led to early-modern ethnography and anthropology, which is illustrated, for instance, by the Austrian ‘Tableau of Nationalities’ or ‘Völkertafel’.²⁰

¹⁷ Ibid., 5.

¹⁸ Amel Chiheb, “Comparative Literature,” Imagology. February 28, 2014, accessed October 6, 2015, <http://compalit.blogspot.co.at/2014/02imagology.html?m=1>.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Joep Leerssen, “Imagology: History and Method,” in *Imagology: The Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters. A Critical Survey* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 17.

approach to focus on a nation and its culture throughout centuries. This kind of studies serve and served rather well to show the strong variability of national stereotypes over time and demonstrate that many countries had a completely different reputation in the past than they have today, something which is briefly discussed in Chapter 5.2.3. It is evident that the national characters were subject to their representation and their outside perception. Thus, we should never forget that “the thematization of a given nationality as a literary theme in these decades implies, usually, two things: the nationality ‘really’ exists, to be represented fairly or unfairly by authors according to those authors’ needs and capabilities; and such representations are a byproduct or reflection, rather an underlying condition, of literature’s international traffic and contacts.”²²

Apart from the field of literature, historians increasingly came to understand that national identities are constructs to analyze their process and their nature rather than an objective condition. Postcolonial theorists, among them Edward Said, saw the burden and constructed stereotypes linked to colonial power balance between the hegemonic and the subaltern. Scholars such as Ernest Geller pointed out that “nations had been made by nationalism and not vice versa” and that national identity had been “retroactively constructed by nineteenth-century ideologists as a sort of collective false memory syndrome.”²³

Hugo Dyserinck²⁴ is a crucial researcher in the field of imagology, having coined the term “komparatistische Imagologie” [comparative imagology] in 1967. The name denotes that its field of study is the supranational view on the emergence, presence, and impact of ethnical auto- and heteroimages, i.e. imagology studies the realization of nation-based images of the other and self-perceptions in literature, focusing on culture, nation, and society.²⁵

Imagology is in its early history closely related to the development of comparative studies. However, until the 50s of the 20th century, imagology as a discipline of comparative literary studies as the exploration of pictures of foreigners and pictures from other countries suffered

²² Leerssen, “Imagology,” 20f.

²³ Ibid., 24.

²⁴ The German scholar *Hugo Dyserinck* is the founder of the “Aachener Komparatistik-Schule” [Comparative School of Aachen] in the 1960s and is seen as renewer and inventor of Imagology as research of national and ethnic images of the self and of the foreign within the studies of comparative literature.

²⁵ Funda Kiziler Emer, “Die Imagologie als Arbeitsbereich der Komparatistik,” *International Journal of Eurasia Social Sciences* 8 (2012): 1-17, accessed November 11, 2015, <http://dergipark.ulakbim.gov.tr/ijoess/article/view/5000039481>, 17.

from National-Socialist and racist ideologies, especially in France and Germany.²⁶ Over time three orientations of imagology developed: the US-American (René Wellek), the German (Hugo Dyserinck), and the French approach (Jean M. Carré).

The trend in the scientific community over the last decades shows that fields of study have grown closer, that researchers are increasingly working interdisciplinary, and that historians are taking more interest in literary and pictorial source-material. Moreover, an increasing awareness of topics regarding national diversity and images of stereotypes of national identity can be observed. The further growing closeness of modern societies through rapid mobility, globalization, and multicultural interactions renew the importance attached to ethnicity and, thus, the relevance of imagology as a discipline. Joep Leerssen clearly states that “[c]oncepts like culture, nationality and identity are being used [...] as explanations rather than as descriptions” and readers therefore need to be aware that “the literary record demonstrates unambiguously that national characters are a matter of commonplace and hearsay rather than empirical observation or statements of objective fact.”²⁷

While the 5th chapter of the present thesis focuses closely on Edward Said’s concept of the Orient and Occident, as well as on cultural ‘Otherness’, the following discussion outlines the general picture Westerners – here, specifically, Europeans of the modern age – had of Asian people, especially Chinese, since trade and commercial connections to the expansive East Asian empire were significant at that time. To highlight this notable difference, their importance, and the knowledge available on the three nations, a brief comparison is included in each subchapter on the nine encyclopedia series. Mainly because of the better access to China and Japan, their encyclopedia entries are expected to be more extensive and eventually give the appearance of being better researched.

Imagological research on the images of China and Japan has produced many publications. This includes the doctoral thesis of Claudia Schmidhofer, *Das verkehrte Paradies*, which is an imagological analysis of German travel literature of Japan 1854–1900²⁸, and Georg Lehner’s detailed book on China in European Encyclopedias 1700–1850, basically a history of European ‘China-knowledge’ reflected in encyclopedias.²⁹

²⁶ Malgorzata Swiderska, “Die literaturwissenschaftliche Imagologie als Erforschung nationaler und ethnischer Fremdheit,” in *Theorie und Methode einer literaturwissenschaftlichen Imagologie. Dargestellt am Beispiel Russlands im literarischen Werk Heimito von Doderers* (Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2013), 27.

²⁷ Leerssen, “Imagology”, 25f.

²⁸ Claudia Schmidhofer, “Das verkehrte Paradies. Eine imagologische Analyse deutschsprachiger Reiseliteratur zu Japan 1854–1900” (PhD thesis, University of Vienna, 2006).

²⁹ Georg Lehner, *China in European Encyclopedias, 1700-1850* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

In contrast, publications on Korea are not as numerous, but are continually produced. Over the last ten years the interest in everything Korean has definitely increased thanks to “Hallyu”³⁰ and Korea’s constant presence in the global political and economic sphere.

One book that especially considers the Western perspective on Korea(ns) is Robert Neff’s *Korea through Western Eyes*, published 2009 in Seoul and based on original sources of Western expatriates and their experiences in Korea. General descriptions and travel literature of Korea extend back to a handful of sources in the 17th century, but considering Korea’s policy of national isolation (excepting China and, under strict conditions, Japan) it is understandable that the West had only limited knowledge of Korea(ns). Only since the middle of the 19th century did Westerners frequent Korea more often, notably in the course of missionary work and with the intention to build trade relations, which provided a comparably rich amount of new sources, in both written and pictorial form.

Taking a similar approach to this thesis, but analyzing a different type of publication and in a different time frame, Jong pil Yoon and Hyun sook Park investigated the picture that British people constructed of Koreans. They examined British newspapers of the late 1880s and discussed the social and political situation of the country as well as what they call ‘the cultural domain’. The two authors show that British newspapers of that time conceived of Korean authorities as being “exploitative” and “destructive”, having “incompetent officials”, even though they took a considerate stance towards Korean culture, not judging harshly and giving a “more understanding attitude [...] nevertheless lacking the spirit of modern day ‘multiculturalism’.”³¹

In the nineteenth century, the West believed that Korea was disconcerted by foreign interventions, military or otherwise, and was thus fighting against these interventions. To many in the West, and possibly to many present-day Koreans as well, such opposition to intervention was seen as a stubborn and anachronistic attitude for a nation as ‘backward’ as Korea to have towards the ‘blessings of civilization.’ [...] Aspects of Korean culture, both tangible and intangible, often seemed strange and bizarre, and were considered ipso facto to constitute a deviant case.³²

³⁰ “The term Korean Wave [‘Hallyu’ – 한류 – in Korean] was coined by the Chinese press a little more than a decade ago to refer to the popularity of Korean pop culture in China. The boom started with the export of Korean television dramas [...] to China in the late 1990s. Since then, South Korea has emerged as a new center for the production of transnational pop culture, exporting a range of cultural products to neighboring Asian countries [nowadays also to a global market, especially the Americas and the Middle East].” Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, Korean Culture and Information Service (KOCIS), *The Korean Wave. A New Pop Culture Phenomenon* (Seoul, 2011), 11.

³¹ 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, no. 3 (2014): 55.

³² *Ibid.*, 55.

Yoon and Park found that Koreans were not viewed in a warm and sympathetic light but, as is reflected in the newspapers, were framed according to the British newspapers' "Orientalist assumptions and Korea was depicted through the eyes of the Chinese and Japanese."³³

Yoon and Park's research draws on the theory of Orientalism, since the authors refer directly to Edward Said's text and the results of their project are based upon the opposition between "us" and "them" joined with the backwardness or advancement of certain races, cultures, and societies. In so far as it demonstrates the usefulness of Said's theory of power and cultural differences between the East and West, their work lends support to the approach taken in the present thesis. The authors of the article show that "existing images of China and Japan tended to permeate into the British newspapers' perceptions of Korea."³⁴ They conclude that the binary opposition between the different nations does not explicate everything and point out that China and Japan were often employed as points of reference in order to identify and locate the characteristics of Korean culture within the frame of preconceived ideas of 'Asia'. Moreover, in Korean history, the binary opposition in play was not between the West and the East but rather between the conqueror (China or Japan) and the conquered (Korea). This particular binary thinking of Korean history facilitated and reinforced the view that Korea was a nonentity incapable of self-governance and thus in need of intervention from the outside.

In conclusion, Yoon and Park make the plausible argument that Korea, China, and Japan were each viewed with different levels of 'Otherness' by the British people, with China and Japan being already familiarized 'Others' at the time. Furthermore, understanding of China and Japan constituted an essential part of how British newspapers made sense of what they observed on the Korean peninsula, playing a defining role in forming British perceptions of Korea. In short, Korea appeared to the British as an unfamiliar 'Other', and British observers were only able to construct Korea's specific identity in relation to aspects of the already familiarized Others, China, and Japan.

The German idiom 'Schubladendenken' – to think in drawers – evokes a clear image for this way of thinking. The following gives more information on the perception of foreigners in ages past, specifically East Asians, keeping in mind the above-mentioned characterization in written sources through China and Japan.

³³ Ibid., 56.

³⁴ Ibid., 56.

2.3 The Western picture of East Asians

The knowledge of the East, or of the Orient, was not as limited at the beginning of the modern era as we might think, since traveling was an important factor in the Middle Ages and the following modern period. This included travel in the form of religious missions as well as through new trade relations and the introduction of new products, which were all an enriching factor for various sectors of Western society.

Nonetheless, it needs to be considered that the pictures Europeans had of other parts of the world were based on oral and written reports from explorers and travelers. Different approaches, interpretations, and explanation methods of the foreign need to be placed in the context of the dominance of a few nations over the world and their conceptions of “Man.” While race theories of the 18th century, which developed throughout the later modern age, form a notable context of encounters with the other, they are not at the focus of this Master’s thesis.³⁵ Instead, the research provides a wider and more inclusive discussion of the perception of Korean culture from the Western perspective.

The German media and cultural scientist Frank Böckelmann describes in a very outspoken way how Asians were perceived in contrast to their Western neighbors and to which extent Christianity played an influential role for the way East Asians looked at Western visitors. With the Enlightenment, Europe draws the consequence from the disappointment that the earthly afterlife did not fulfill the expectation of salvation. In the discovered continents the European powers’ expectations in the search for paradise come to nothing. They make short work of indigenous cultures. The “poor dark-skinned devils” are redeemed in summary fashion. Only China and Japan set limits to the Europeanization of the world.³⁶

Asian populations were vast and Western Christians had high hopes to gain more followers by persuasion based on an understanding and consideration of Confucian ideology.

³⁵ Selected Literature: Richard Dyer, *White: Essays on Race and Culture* (London: Routledge, 1997); Hazel Rose Markus and Paula M. Moya, *Doing Race: 21 Essays for the 21st Century* (New York: Norton, 2010); Teresa J. Guess, “The Social Construction of Whiteness: Racism by Intent, Racism by Consequence,” *Critical Sociology* 32, no. 4 (2006): 649-673.

³⁶ Frank Böckelmann, *Die Gelben, die Schwarzen, die Weißen* (Frankfurt/Main: Eichborn, 1998), 214f: “Mit Aufklärung, Ausleuchtung der Zusammenhänge, zieht Europa die Konsequenz aus der Enttäuschung, daß sich im irdischen Jenseits die Heilserwartung nicht erfüllt hat. In den entdeckten Erdteilen stoßen die europäischen Mächte auf der Suche nach dem Paradies ins Leere. Mit Indianer- und Negerkulturen [sic] machen die Weltverweser keine Umstände. Die armen dunkelhäutigen Teufel [sic] werden in Einheitsverfahren erlöst. Nur China und Japan setzen der Europäisierung der Erde Grenzen.”

Nevertheless, they were expelled from Korea, as they had been from Japan some time before.³⁷

Since the 18th century, summarily judging and exoticizing (and thereby sensationalizing) foreign peoples were a common reality in Europe. Skin color, either on a natural basis or decorated with paint or tattoos, was mostly a body feature that showed an obvious difference between world regions and their various cultures. For centuries Asians, especially “the Chinese” were stereotyped as being of “Yellow” skin color, to distinguish them from the equally stereotyped “Black” Africans, “Red” Native Americans and “White” Europeans. Before and partly after the late 18th century, a variety of “colors” were named.³⁸ However, as mentioned before, Europeans saw Chinese as much more similar to themselves with their lighter skin color and their way of living and working.³⁹ For numerous reasons, Westerners always felt the necessity to compare their own culture with a foreign one. Whether the comparisons flattered or embarrassed Europeans, as a rule, affected neither this need nor the core picture of the Chinese. Until far into the 18th century, the European audience felt urged to diligence and virtue through epistles from East Asia. Chinese culture was more imposing in nearly every way: artillery, air- and water pumps were better, printing and gunpowder were invented earlier, the inner and outer peace was more secure, the cities were bigger and more densely inhabited, the palaces more splendid, the tax system fairer, the statesmanship more philosophical and the people more honest and polite.⁴⁰ As long as Europe could see the positive effects in China, such as education and new products to use and trade, the Chinese were accepted. With time, however, the perception changed and the admiration of and fascination with East Asia diminished as Europeans could no longer see themselves mirrored in their self-constructed picture of China. For the initial period Europe had pictured its own path to perfection at the other end of the world, but in the course of historical progress Europeans acted on and complied with their new set of values in constructing the other, creating inconsistencies and a re-construction of the image. European pictures of East Asia

³⁷ Charles Holcombe, *A History of East Asia. From the Origins of Civilization to the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

³⁸ Walter Demel, “Wie die Chinesen gelb wurden.” *HZ* 255, no. 3 (1992): 625-666; Nancy Shoemaker, “How Indians Became Red,” *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 3 (1997): 625-644.

³⁹ For more information see: Böckelmann, “Die Gelben”, 218ff.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 220:

“Ob die Vergleiche Europa schmeichelten oder beschämten war nicht ausschlaggebend für das Chinesenbild. Bis tief ins 18. Jahrhundert ließ sich das europäische Publikum durch Epistel aus Fernost trefflich zu Fleiß und Tugend mahnen. Denn dort war (fast) alles imposanter: Geschütze, Luft und Wasserpumpen besser, Buchdruck und Pulver früher erfunden, der innere und äußere Frieden sicherer, die Städte größer und volkreicher, die

and other, farther regions of the world have always come into existence when structures of experience and interpretive patterns were transferred to the image of other cultures without reflection.⁴¹ This crucial insight must be considered in research on encyclopedia entries on Korea, for example when it comes to interpreting how much information is given.

One aspect of the European images of Asia that demonstrates the changing relationship very well is that of physical appearance, evaluated as beautiful or ugly. The picture of Chinese was first very positive, casting them as pretty on the outside, but later took on negative tones, calling them “ugly”. In this context it is noteworthy that the topic of the image and appearance already played a role in Marco Polo’s Chinese travel guide from the second half of the 13th century, where he described Chinese skin color as very white.⁴² While Chinese and Japanese sources outweigh by far Korean sources, Western travelers generally thought of Asians as looking the same - and still do today.⁴³ This phenomenon on the image level corresponds to the fact that Western powers’ actual and overall relationship with other countries was benign only as long as they could profit from the relationship.

After discussing the perception of the Chinese people, perception of the Japanese is also briefly outlined, then moving further on to Korean history and, subsequently, how Koreans are perceived in selected Western encyclopedias of the 18th and 19th centuries.

All the original reports about Japan in the 17th century that are available today picture them as people who never complain or despair and are rich in all they have, i.e. as not needing to trade anything with foreign powers. Böckelmann gives various original sources to prove that the Japanese were seen as admirable and honorable through examples. It is noteworthy that educated travelers saw the Japanese language in relation to Latin; another source from the 18th century draws many parallels between the Japanese people and the English, French and Germans.⁴⁴ Other sources, as cited by Böckelmann, describe Japanese people as having customs and habits like nobody else and in comparison to Europe their world is upside down,

Paläste prächtiger, das Steuersystem gerechter, die Staatskunst philosophischer und die Menschen selbst aufrichtiger und höflicher.“

⁴¹ Ibid., 221.

⁴² According to Böckelmann, 217.

⁴³ Amy J.C Cuddy, Susan T. Fiske, and Virginia S.Y. Kwan, “Stereotype Content Model across Cultures: Towards Universal Similarities and Some Differences,” *British Journal of Social Psychology* 48, no. 1 (2009): 1-33, <http://www.nationalstereotype.com/all-national-stereotypes/>, accessed April 18, 2016; Yuko Kawai, “Stereotyping Asian Americans: The Dialectic of the Model Minority and the Yellow Peril,” *Howard Journal of Communications* 16 (2005): 109-130; Stanley Sue, “Stereotypes as a Measure of Success,” *Journal of Social Issues* 29, no. 2 (1973): 83-98; Stephanie Lawson, “Culture, Identity and Representations of Region,” in *Europe and the Asia-Pacific: Culture, Identity and Representations of Region* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

⁴⁴ Böckelmann, “Die Gelben”, 226f.

as if they were a different kind of human species.⁴⁵ A short extract from Luis Frois gives extensive details of all possible differences and dichotomies between Europeans and Japanese, for example these two statements:

Wir loben den Wein der Gastgeber, indem wir ihnen ein freundliches und fröhliches Gesicht machen; die Japaner loben ihn mit so schlechtem Gesicht, daß [sic] es aussieht, als ob sie weinten.

[We praise the wine of the hosts by making a friendly and happy face; the Japanese praise them with a bad face that looks as if they were crying.]

In Europa sucht man Klarheit in den Worten und meidet die Zweideutigkeit; in Japan sind zweideutige Ausdrücke die beste Sprache und am meisten geschätzt.

[In Europe one searches for clarity in words and avoids ambiguity; in Japan ambiguous expressions are the best language and most valued.]⁴⁶

As with China, in the 16th century Japanese were portrayed as docile and honest, whereas from the 18th century onwards they were seen as simulating, deceiving hypocrites. Even though a lot of travel literature about Japan exists, written especially by missionaries, the country was still a mystery: The closure of its borders kept Westerners out and prevented further political and cultural exchange. This move was similar to what Koreans had been doing since long before their neighbors. The reason why Korea was named a ‘hermit’ kingdom by foreign Western powers is, next to the country’s history and trade relations, subject of the following chapter.

2.4 Korea: the ‘hermit’ kingdom and its foreign relations

In 1392 the Joseon kingdom was established by Yi Song-gye, who was given the name King Taejo and the capital city was moved to current Seoul. Korea became a tributary state of Ming China and was highly influenced by it in religion, science, technology, knowledge in general, as well as connected by trade. The Joseon Era lasted from 1392 until the Japanese occupation of the peninsula in 1910. For centuries, Korea was a very peaceful place, though Japanese troops tried to capture the Korean peninsula two times, once in 1592 and a second time in 1597, but with the wit of Admiral Yi Sun-sins’, his newly invented turtle-ships, and the help of Chinese soldiers, they repelled the invaders. In 1627 and 1636, the Manchu Empire invaded Korea (then ruled by the Yi dynasty), but was also unsuccessful. Afterwards, Korea was drawn into the Chinese power struggle between the Ming and later Qing.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 228f.

⁴⁶ Peter Kapitza, as cited in Böckelmann: Ibid., 230.

According to James Scarth Gale the attachment to China remained very strong and pervaded Korea's history on many different levels. Gale's history of Koreans is considered a reliable source, since he lived as missionary in Korea for a longer period of time.

[T]he pride of the nation was to get a sore shock as it approached the middle of the seventeenth century. Since time immemorial, Korea had learned to look upon China as the suzerain state, the great Middle Kingdom, the mother-hen with her ducklings gathered around her, all her very own except Japan. Like England, aloof from the continent, Yamato never sent tribute to anyone, least of all to the capitals of the Han. Korea, however, was not only a dependent state, but loved to be so, especially when China, true to her real self, was a Chou, a Han, a T'ang, a Sung or a Ming; when she changed into a Jürched, or a Khitan, or a Mongol, or a Manchu, Korea loathed her. These barbarian races were robbers, who for the time being had got possession of the mother-state, and so were more than ever to be despised.⁴⁷

Koreans and Westerners were not very likely to meet prior to Western interference, which slowly increased from the middle of the 19th century. Koreans only had a chance to have contact with non-Asian cultures outside of their own country, but not on Korean territory due to its seclusion. It was only natural that “[d]uring their embassy visits to Beijing in the seventeenth and eighteenth century Koreans had their first encounters with Westerners. Initially these contacts were no more than curiosities for Koreans, but toward the end of the eighteenth century Western ideas began to influence a small circle of [their] intellectuals.”⁴⁸

In the middle of the 19th century, most of Asia was actively exchanging goods and slaves with Europe and the Americas; but not Korea, as they preferred to isolate themselves and thus were named ‘the hermit kingdom’ by European powers. Even though Western nations also tried military attacks to open Korea's ports forcefully, for example the French in 1866 and the United States of America in 1871, they were not successful. Ports were only officially opened in 1876 by the first unequal treaty Korea had to sign with the Japanese, which, according to world history textbooks, marked the beginning of Joseon's modern history. In 1910 Japan took over the Peninsula after Korea signed the Japan-Korea-Annexation-Treaty, making Korea subject of Japan for many years to come.

Parts of East Asia were good trading partners for the West. Japan kept a small island open for trading with Western merchants, the famous Dejima; in contrast, Korea only held a tributary connection with China (and a similar type of tributary relationship with Tokugawa

⁴⁷ James Scarth Gale and Richard Rutt, *James Scarth Gale and his History of the Korean people* (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, 1983), 271f.

⁴⁸ Michael J. Seth, *A History of Korea: From Antiquity to the Present* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006), 194.

Japan) and upheld a limited and strict trade with Japan. For a long period of time, Korea was a loyal neighbor to the Empire of China.

According to the traditional East Asian world order, Korea was a dependency (tributary) of China. From the perspective of China and of its dependencies, their suzerain-dependency relations had been ordained by *li* (the right principles), deeply rooted in the teachings of Confucianism. [...] The most important features of the tributary relations between China and Korea were the exchange of envoys, symbolic and ceremonial observations, and barter trade. In addition to dispatching to China on such special occasions as the accession or death of a[n] emperor [...].⁴⁹

This system worked well until the Western powers disturbed the East Asian world order in the course of the Opium War (1839–1842), as they imposed unequal treaties on China and Japan and forced them into diplomatic relations under the Western system of laws and rules. By example of the maltreatment of the Chinese nation, Korea was negatively influenced and tried to avoid foreign relations at any cost, although

Korean knowledge about Sino-Western relations and about the nature of Western expansionism was rather one-sided and limited. With only a half-truthful understanding about China's foreign policy problems and with a distorted view of the rest of the world, the Korean leaders [...] came to believe strongly that not only Japan but even China had too easily yielded to Western demands and that Korea could and should keep the Western 'barbarians' out of their country forever.⁵⁰

For these reasons, attempts to open Korea for trade by Western nations were always rejected by the Korean government and any help to this end refused by China. Therefore, the incident with the Dutch shipwreck "Sperwer" (Sparrow Hawk) and the capture and detainment of its sailors can easily be understood in this context. This episode in Western-Korean relations and its results (in the sense of Hamel's Journal) will be explained in more detail in Chapters 3.2 and 3.3.

Korea as a peninsula had only two trading centers, Seoul and Busan, which were frequently visited by Chinese and Japanese merchants. Trade and diplomatic relations, especially with Japan, were important, in particular the unequal treaties at the end of the 19th century. By this time, some Western travelers slowly came to reside in Korea and a few, of which the German Möllendorff was one, even were on good terms with the king and his court. Additionally, Western missionary envoys pushed new ideologies into the country and brought irreversible changes to the nation's traditional culture.

⁴⁹ Yur-Bok Lee, *West Goes East. Paul Georg von Möllendorff and great power imperialism in Late Yi Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988), 9f.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 11.

Since Korea had for a long time been the end of the Silk Road, it had profited from the exchange of rich, exotic goods and contributed to the cultural flow and also impacted all countries on the route, which can still be seen today in Japanese and Chinese art and culture.

Korea's knowledge of the world depended on its relations with China and Japan. Beyond that, its contact with foreigners was limited to a few individuals. Roeper relates the situation in the preface to his translation of Hamel's Journal like this:

Its one-sided focus on China meant that Korea had little need of contact with other nations and refused any contact with newcomers. [...] It cannot be denied that until the end of the nineteenth century Westerners were hardly able to set foot on the Korean soil. The few cases that existed were merely incidental. A few missionaries accompanied Japanese troops in the closing years of the sixteenth century and a number of foreign mercenaries, known as 'Franks' or sea-devils served Chinese troops who came to Korea's aid. In 1604 a Portuguese merchant, Joao Mendes, who had landed on the south coast with a ship crewed mainly by Japanese and Chinese, spent a few months in prison in Korea before being sent to China[...].⁵¹

This describes the way Westerners were treated by Koreans at the beginning of the 17th century. Between the priest encounters and Hamel's crew, we only know about Weltevree and his two crew members as having entered Korea. Roeper states that "[a]s far as is known there were no other foreigners in Korea in the eighteenth century and even at the beginning of the nineteenth century they were still extremely rare."⁵² It is known that two British ships were at the Korean coast in 1816 and that in 1866 the German trader Oppert wanted to convince the Korean government to engage in trade, but after being refused attempted to raid a tomb. This and another incident – the 1866 sinking of an American ship which sailed into Korean waters, ignoring repeated warnings by the Koreans – did not facilitate a friendly interaction between foreign nations and the Korean peninsula. It was not until 1876 that the Japanese managed to persuade the Korean government to open its borders to open trade and international political dialogue.⁵³ All these events and the negative impressions that Westerners had left demonstrate well Korea's isolationism and its lack of interest in any exchange of goods and diplomatic relations whatsoever. A question to be raised in this context is whether the country was really absolutely closed to the outside world. The following citation describes well how Koreans saw and managed trade:

⁵¹ Vibeke D. Roeper, *Hamel's World: A Dutch-Korean Encounter in the Seventeenth Century* (Amsterdam: SUN, 2003), 35f.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 35f.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 35f.

For Confucians trade was at best a necessary evil. True wealth came from farming, which was actively encouraged. [...]According to the ruling ideology, traders were parasites, profiting from other men's efforts. Foreign trade would bring with it the risk of goods flowing abroad, away from their home country, so free trade with foreign countries was prohibited. A trading post like the one the Japanese had near Pusan⁵⁴ was only tolerated to discourage the Japanese from the greater evil of piracy. There is no doubt that in practice the official ideology acted as a brake on the development of trade, but all in all things were not as bad as all that. Recent research by James Lewis suggests that a very considerable volume of transactions passed through the Japanese trading post in Pusan, enough to represent a substantial part of the national economy. Apart from the delegations that visited Beijing, the Qing capital, several times a year were there not only on diplomatic business and as a matter of international etiquette but also for material gain. In particular interpreters who accompanied the delegations did business on a large scale and accumulated considerable wealth. Hamel speaks of all of these activities. What he does not say is that Korea also acted as entrepot in the trade between China and Japan; many of the goods that the Koreans brought back from Beijing were sold on to Japan through the Japanese trading post near Pusan, along with Korean products like ginseng and tiger skins.⁵⁵

Indeed, it is possible to understand the trading connections in East Asia through Hamel's Journal, since he points out that goods, which were imported into Japan by the Chinese and Dutch, were also sold to Koreans through the Japanese settlement in the port of Busan. This demonstrates how open the Korean market was. Hamel himself, as he states in his journal, was amazed by the immense popularity of tobacco, only introduced to Koreans at the beginning of the 17th century through Japanese merchants who themselves obtained it from the Portuguese.⁵⁶ These examples show how important oversea trade was to Korea, but only through other parties as intermediaries. Despite the negative impression of trade, they appreciated Western imports, such as tobacco, which was extremely popular in Korea and very soon became an immense social problem.⁵⁷

Korea itself had a very strict trade policy, especially with Japan. The following passage shows how exclusive foreign trade was handled:

The system in Korea apparently relied on the acknowledgement of private foreign trade under the auspices of a state monopoly. That is, the court authorized private overseas groups to land in Korea, but trading was conducted exclusively by Korean

⁵⁴ "Pusan" is the Romanization according to McCune-Reischauer, whereas today "Busan" is commonly used since 2000, after the Revised Romanization of Korean.

⁵⁵ Roeper, *Hamel's World*, 35f.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 35f.

⁵⁷ See the chapter on tobacco in: Robert D. Neff and Sung-Hwa Song. *Korea through Western Eyes* (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2009), 231-238.

authorities. The Korean government thus attempted to discourage piracy and hinder contacts between the native population and foreigners.⁵⁸

Korean knowledge of the world was limited in comparison to the Dutch, but it is not true that they had no notion of the world 'beyond China'. Hamel said that their maps 'niet vorder als Siam stricken' (i.e., extend no further than Siam), but as long ago as 1402 a map of the world had been produced that showed Africa and Europe as well as Asia. More recently, in 1603, a Korean envoy brought back a map of the world from Beijing, produced there by the missionary Matteo Ricci in 1602. The original has been lost, but a reprint from 1603 still exists.⁵⁹ This information shows that Korea knew much about the world through its neighbors, but still refused a closer relation with other nations until it was threatened by Japan and saw no other way to gain help and support. Korea's diplomacy from the 19th century onwards is strongly connected to the afore-mentioned German ambassador Möllendorff, who worked fiercely to keep Korea's independence by influencing the court and supporting the ruling king. It need not be elaborated that diplomatic relationships on a global scale would later become increasingly important, even for Korea, and alliances and treaties between political powers and new-found nations would play an essential part in the course of world history.

Before 1876 China could wield its hegemony over the Korean peninsula, but Japan tried to drive back the Chinese after renewing their relations with Korea in the same year. In order to prevent Japanese influence or a Japanese intervention, China through its negotiating role promoted actively diplomatic relations between Korea and Western states. Therefore, Korea, despite its efforts to keep its independence, remained at the mercy of China, Japan, and European powers, especially Russia, whose Korean politics were supported by Germany. In 1910, the authority and control over Korea fell into Japanese hands.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Charlotte von Verschuier, *Across the Perilous Sea: Japanese trade with China and Korea from the Seventh to the Sixteenth Centuries* (Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2006), 119.

⁵⁹ Roeper, *Hamel's World*, 36.

⁶⁰ Jang-Soo Kim, *Korea und der 'Westen' von 1860 bis 1900: Die Beziehungen Koreas zu den europäischen Großmächten, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Beziehungen zum Deutschen Reich* (Frankfurt/Main: P. Lang, 1986).

3. Korea brought to the West through sources from the 16th century onwards

3.1 Coray? Korea!

In the 16th century information about Korea was provided by travelers who did not step on Korean soil, but only came near the region of Korea. Dutchmen were the first to publish a very brief report on Korea in 1595, found in the *Itinerario*, a travel account to Portuguese India by Jan Huyghen van Linschoten. In 1600 the Englishman Richard Hakluyt published his “Principal Navigations”, which offered a more substantial description of “Coray”, called “Coria” by the Portuguese, than van Linschoten had. Other information on Korea was accessible through translations of Jesuit letters coming from Japan.⁶¹ Throughout time,



Picture 2. Martini, Novus Atlas Sinensis (Amsterdam ca. 1655).

Korea was named in various ways, but many travelers, even though they might have heard about Korea, never mentioned it in their texts. For example, the Portuguese Fernão Mendes Pinto, who was the first to write about Japan and China, never mentioned Korea in his texts.

Individual documents in form of letters and descriptions, as well as maps and navigating records, such as the collection of the previously mentioned Hakluyt, were a major factor in introducing East Asian countries to a Western audience. In his article “How The West First Learned About Korea”, the scholar Brother Anthony of Taizé highlights “the development in northern Europe of a widespread interest maps of remote areas [had] among people who would never leave home” as a positive development and explains “[w]here the Portuguese and Spanish used hand-drawn charts for actual journeys, [...] [others] developed maps that corrected older maps on the basis of the latest discoveries.”⁶² He traces chronologically the beginnings of the well-founded knowledge of Korea which Western readers could have had at that time. Using detailed information on translations and citations

⁶¹ Brother Anthony of Taizé, “How the West First Learned about Korea,” *Journal of East Asian Studies* 64, no. 3 (2005), 127.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 126.

from the most important sources, he completes the picture that Europeans had of the peninsula, which until then was considered an island.⁶³ Thanks to the journal written by Hamel, to be discussed in Chapter 3.3, and the notes on China taken by the French missionary Jean Baptiste Régis⁶⁴, people in the 17th century gained a less fragmentary picture of Korea. A continuing description for the 18th and 19th centuries⁶⁵ is excluded here, since this thesis' focus lies solely on the perception of Koreans in Hamel's Journal and selected encyclopedia articles. Although, it needs to be noted, that the distinct increase in reports and travelogues⁶⁶ about Korea in the last quarter of the 19th century is remarkable.⁶⁷

3.2 The First Westerners in Korea

The first Westerners who set foot on Korean soil were missionaries who accompanied Japanese troops at the end of the 16th century, as well as foreign traders who arrived with the Chinese and were called 'Franks' (see citation of Roeper, page 20). One Spanish priest, Gregorio de Cespedes, served as a chaplain for the troops under the Japanese general Hideyoshi and stayed in Korea for some time during 1593–94.⁶⁸ In 1604, the Portuguese merchant João Mendes was captured and imprisoned for a few months by Koreans after landing on the South coast with a mixed Japanese and Chinese crew, but was later released and sent to China.⁶⁹ This information shows that the Dutch Jan Janse Weltevree, who was left at the Korean coast in 1627, and Hendrik Hamel, who shipwrecked in 1653 at Jeju Island, with their crew members were not the first to arrive on Korean territory. The notable difference is that they stayed for a longer period of time and that the latter was also the first to report about and introduce Korea to a wider extent to the West. Hamel and a few others could

⁶³ Ibid, 124f.

⁶⁴ The French Jesuit and geographer *Jean Baptiste De Régis* (1663/4 – 1738) was a missionary in China about 1700 and created a few sources on China and Korea, for example essential maps, descriptions and notes, which were later collected and edited by the French missionary *Jean Baptiste Du Halde* (1674 –1743). Brother Anthony of Taizé, "Father Regis", accessed April 18, 2016, <http://anthony.sogang.ac.kr/FatherRegisKorea.html>; www.newadvent.org/cathen/12720a.htm.

⁶⁵ Brother Anthony of Taizé, "Accounts of Korea published in Europe in the 18th and early 19th centuries," March 19, 2013, accessed July 28, 2016, <http://anthony.sogang.ac.kr/EarliestAccountsKorea18century.html>.

⁶⁶ Yoong-Hee Jo, "Perceptions of Chosŏn Korea in Western Travelogues," *SOAS-AKS Working Papers in Korean Studies*, No. 8 (2009), accessed July 8, 2016, <https://www.soas.ac.uk/koreanstudies/soas-aks/soas-aks-papers/file52516.pdf>.

⁶⁷ Brother Anthony of Taizé, "Accounts of Korea published in Europe in the later 19th and early 20th centuries," My Early Texts, March 19, 2013, accessed July 28, 2016, <http://anthony.sogang.ac.kr/Myearlytexts.html>.

⁶⁸ Gari Ledyard and Hendrik Hamel, *The Dutch Come To Korea* (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 1971), 102f; Roeper, *Hamel's World*, 35.

⁶⁹ Roeper, *Hamel's World*, 35.

successfully escape Korea after thirteen years. His journal was written in 1668 as an official statement to the Dutch East India Company. We know through various sources that Koreans came in contact with Westerners on their tributary visits to China, but – as outlined in Chapter 2.4 –, since Korea closed its borders to Western nations, this was the only limited contact they made.

Although Hamel's Journal is not exactly an encyclopedia, it was an important source encyclopedists could have drawn upon. Therefore, his work is considered an essential source to mention in this context, not only because of its few encyclopedic characteristics, but because its author was after all the first European to write in detail about Korea and its culture based on his own experience. Considering the enormous interest that Western readers took in his writing, as evidenced by the various editions and reprints, it must be concluded that there was not only an interest in travel and adventure literature, but also a curiosity for East Asia, meaning China and Japan, which were much more popular than Korea. Since people definitely knew more about other Asian countries, they started to admire and copy Asian arts and crafts, such as Chinese porcelain (also known as china) or Japanese paintings.⁷⁰ Willy Richard Berger writes about the image of China and Chinese fashion in enlightened Europe and discusses the imagological construct of the foreign, which Europe created in the process of making sense of it in terms of their own world view. He defines the term 'mirage' as the picture that a people creates of another country and its culture, elaborating that the former people and their own culture are always reflected in that picture. He mentions Urs Bitterli and Tzvetan Todorov, who both reconstructed the stages of forced occupation of entire cultural spheres. Berger also shows how closely Orientalism and the European colonial politics of the 19th century are connected, an observation that Edward Said already drew attention to many years before.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Artifacts such as Chinese and Japanese porcelain and lacquer ware were very popular among Western upper classes and whole cabinets of collections of these special exotic items represented the wealthy status of the owners. Some types of china were even produced in mass to be sold as a product of consumption to the middle classes, which distinguishes itself from the old, upscale and only for the Chinese market made porcelain the courtly aristocracy was looking for. Even if the special porcelain made for the Chinese elite, especially for the emperor was illegal to be sold abroad, a few pieces were found in Europe.

For more information see: Thomas Nutz, "... & Autres Curiosités. Exotische Artefakte als Objekte des Elitenkonsums im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Exotica. Konsum und Inszenierung des Fremden im 19. Jahrhundert*, Kulturgeschichtliche Perspektiven ed. Vol. 1. (Münster: LIT, 2003), 1-23.

⁷¹ Willy Richard Berger, *China-Bild und China-Mode im Europa der Aufklärung* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1990), 293.

Whereas Japan also followed ‘sakoku’ (national seclusion)⁷² for more than 200 years, it had still kept the single port of Dejima open for trading with the West, although under strict circumstances, which allowed an exchange on various levels. The import of exotic knowledge and unknown things was a significant past time activity and European collectors filled cabinets of curiosities, mainly of nature-historical origin, from places all over the world, e.g. the Middle East, South America, and Japan.⁷³ Although Korea was less interesting as a travel destination and trading partner due to its inaccessibility, it might have gained some awareness by readers of Hamel’s Journal – the first detailed source on Korea(ns) available to the West.

3.3 Hamel and his Journal

In his 1971 book *The Dutch come to Korea*⁷⁴ Gari Ledyard gives details and background information on Hamel’s adventure. He verified details in Hamel’s Journal with original Korean sources and counter-checked specific information to authenticate the information provided by Hamel. Although Hamel surely had an adventurous tale to tell in his Journal, some parts were written in a markedly unaffected style of reporting, which correlates with his position on board and the purpose of his writing.

There exist three Dutch printed editions of the Journal (all published 1668, the first two published in Amsterdam, the third in Rotterdam)⁷⁵, each with a few peculiarities of its own, and a manuscript, which is kept in the Colonial Archives of the “Algemeen Rijksarchief at s’Gravenhage”, which is unlike the other, printed versions.⁷⁶ We can therefore conclude that there must have been at least one other manuscript with a relation to the three printed editions and made available to the public, but this second manuscript is unknown to us since we do not have any trace of its whereabouts and cannot be sure that it still exists. The said manuscript may have been taken by one of the other survivors who made it back to Holland in 1668. The official manuscript, which was corrected by Hamel himself, was annotated and

⁷² The concept of national seclusion – *sakoku* in Japanese – is associated with the Edo period (1603–1868) and can be understood with the concept of maritime restrictions – *kaikin* – and a Japanese version of the Sinocentric world order. Trade was still taking place with China and Korea, lesser with the Dutch.

Arano Yasunori, “Foreign Relations in Early Modern Japan: Exploding the Myth of National Seclusion,” Nippon.com RSS, January 18, 2013, accessed October 18, 2015. <http://www.nippon.com/en/features/c00104/>.

⁷³ For more on chambers of curiosities (“Kuriositätenkabinette”) and curio collections see: Peter Burke, *Papier und Marktgeschrei: Die Geburt der Wissenschaft* (Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 2001), 128f.

⁷⁴ Ledyard, *The Dutch Come To Korea*.

⁷⁵ “The First Publication and Other Published Books.” Welcome to Hamel, 2005, accessed July 13, 2016. http://www.hamel.go.kr/en/hamel03_02.html.

⁷⁶ Henny Savenije (Lee Hae Kang), “Bibliography,” accessed July 13, 2016. <http://www.hendrick-hamel.henny-savenije.pe.kr/holland19.htm>.

published by B. Hoetink in 1920. We owe all information fundamental for the understanding of the multifaceted bibliographic history of Hamel's narrative to Hoetink's work.⁷⁷ The edition this chapter focuses on is the translation by Jean-Paul Buys, published in the 2003 book *Hamel's World*.⁷⁸ Buys makes many references to the above-mentioned work of Ledyard in his translation, indicating the high factual veracity of the translation.

Hamel dedicates a relatively long section of his well-structured journal to inform the reader about "the whereabouts of the country and the manner of its people." In this, he reports in detail on a vast number of subjects, i.e. the geographical situation, fishery, climate and agriculture, monarchy, the army, the navy, the government, revenues, justice, religion, housing, travelling and hospitality, marriage, education, mourning, character, trade, the surrounding world, farming and mining, medicine, weights, measures and money, fauna, writing and printing, arithmetic and bookkeeping, royal processions and, lastly, about the visit of Manchu envoys. This section reads like a short travel guide and gives insights into the Korean everyday life as well as important cultural traditions and rites. Significantly, the journal's organization and distinct headlines have an encyclopedic character. Given this information on the secluded country we can assume that encyclopedias of the modern era should have been able to gather enough material to convey more than the simple geographical descriptions that can be found in the early encyclopedias of the 18th century.

3.3.1 Salient topics

The first personal encounter between Koreans and the stranded Dutch sailors was relatively neutral, since the first Asians on site were civilians who were scared, but an army contingent soon arrived to keep the Europeans under control, binding them with iron chains. The Dutch primarily had the impression that "they [the Koreans] kept their weapons ready" and "were dressed in the Chinese fashion, but they wore hats made of horsehair."⁷⁹ The importance of clothing emerges various times in the Journal. Since the two groups faced a language barrier, all attempts to explain that the sailors were on their way to Japan failed and they were kept prisoners.

After meeting Jan Janse Weltevree, who had already been living in Korea at that point, the Dutch sailors realized that they would be kept in the country with no hope of returning. However, they would have the same chance as Weltevree, who had adapted well and lived

⁷⁷ Ledyard, *The Dutch Come To Korea*, 125.

⁷⁸ Roeper, *Hamel's World*.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 110.

like a Korean. Nonetheless, Weltevree had petitioned the King to send him to Japan, which the latter had refused by saying: “If you were a bird, you might fly there. We do not send strangers away from our country. We will take care of you, giving you board and clothing, and thus you will have to finish your life in this country.”⁸⁰ When the Dutch finally met the King of Joseon, Weltevree translated for them only to find out that the king’s response was similar to what he had said to Weltevree years ago: that they as strangers were not allowed to be sent away. They had to live in Korea to the end of their days. The king treated the men well, provided them with new clothes, and made them “dance in the manner of our [= the Dutch’s] country, sing and exhibit to him all kinds of things we [they] had learned.”⁸¹ This request shows well the Koreans’ interest in the outer world. Korean people were curious about other places and regions of the world – a fact that is mentioned a few times throughout the journal.

The new arrivals were fed and their cargo collected, dried, and stored, still to be owned by the Dutch, kept in a safe place but with restricted access. People who tried to steal from them were severely punished in the presence of the Dutch themselves as they “were beaten on the soles of their feet, with sticks about one fathom long and as thick as the arm of an average boy. Some lost the toes of their feet. Each one received 30 to 40 strokes.”⁸² Punishments are mentioned several times throughout the journal and are described in detail. During their stay in Korea, the Dutch met many different governors under which they were required to live and work, some friendly, positive-minded and considerate to them, others strict and exploiting. Some of the group of survivors tried to flee, but were not successful. Those who did were kept in chains and received painful strokes on bare bottoms with large paddles. Another incident shows how the Koreans handled an attempt to escape. A few of the Dutchmen tried to flee with a Chinese convoy that had travelled to the Korean court to collect its tribute and pay respects to the Korean emperor, but the group of foreigners was discovered, stopped, and everyone in that group was punished. Bribery was used to keep the Chinese party quiet and in the future any contact to Chinese convoys was strictly prohibited. Since the Korean members of the state council and other prominent people were mainly annoyed by the foreigners, they tried to convince the king to dispose of them as soon as possible, as was told to the sailors by people who seemed to be their sympathizers. Thanks to the generosity of the king and his brother, the final consequence of this incident was that the group of Dutchmen

⁸⁰ Roeper, *Hamel’s World*, 116.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 123.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 113.

was separated and sent to different locations to live and work.⁸³ Despite the negative sentiment from some, other Koreans appreciated their presence in one way or the other, as we can read from the available text.

At their new places of residence, depending on whether their governor was mild or strict, they had a more or less structured and good life, where their basic needs were provided for. They could and did earn extra money by begging since the winters were cold and – in the words of Hamel – the “King had given no order except to provide us with our portion of rice”; and they were “realizing that these people were very curious and very eager to hear something exotic and that over there begging is no shame.”⁸⁴ This is further evidence of curiosity and interest for the outside world, which is emphasized by a few passages in the journal. The curiosity of Koreans went as far as people from Jeju spreading rumors about them saying they were “more like monsters than people”, which brought upon them visits to important people whose families wanted to see them personally. Since they were mostly blond and of high stature, upper class people were astonished and considered them “better looking than the people of their own nation, [and it] was the fairness of skin, which they like[d] very much.” Since many people wanted to see them, “[s]ometimes even slaves, without their masters knowing about it, would take us out of our homes and make fools of us”, crowds were forming and finally the general in charge put an end to this.⁸⁵ Another good example for the Koreans’ curiosity were monks who left a very positive impression on Hamel, “since they are very generous and they liked us very much, especially when we would tell about the manners of our country and about other nations. [...] If it had been up to them, they would have listened to us whole nights long.”⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the Koreans taught them their etiquette, for example to bow low before superiors, and some were put into royal service and served as the king’s guards.

Something extremely new to the stranded Dutch sailors was that shortly after they entered the capital of Joseon, they were given wooden name tags with their name, age, and a description of their origin, also detailing to which extent they had to serve the king. In addition, the tags were branded with the king’s and the general’s seals.⁸⁷

⁸³ Roeper, *Hamel’s World*, 226f.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 130f.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 132.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 123f.

3.3.2 Characteristics of Koreans

Koreans are described, apart from being extremely curious – who would not be, being secluded from the outside world –, as very superstitious people: When two comets were seen in 1662

[it] caused such a commotion at the court, that the King ordered all seaports and war junks to be prepared, as well as food and ammunition to be provided to all the fortifications. Horsemen and soldiers had to exercise daily, thinking about nothing else than that something was about to happen. In the evening it was forbidden to light any light, inside the homes as well as outside along the seacoast. Moreover, since similar signs in the sky occurred when the Tartar occupied the country, as well as the Japanese began the war with Korea, people were still afraid.⁸⁸

When Koreans asked the Dutch what people in their country would make of such an occurrence, they answered that, similar to the Korean view, it would be seen as a sign of “punishment from heaven”, but also “foreboding war, hard times and malignant diseases.”

At the end of his Journal, Hamel mentions various times that important people, even though the commanders in charge of them mostly pitied them, showed the Dutch “great friendship.” Many of the Koreans involved with them even asked why they did not try to go to Japan on their own. Some Dutchmen wanted to buy a small ship, but as Hamel explained some Koreans were jealous and spiteful, so they did not let them purchase any vessel to escape.⁸⁹ With the help of a neighbor and good Korean friend, they were finally able to buy a boat and eight of the remaining foreigners successfully set sail on September 4th 1666 to reach Nagasaki a few days later.

Overall, Hamel’s Journal portrays features of Korean character in less than favorable terms. Indeed, a very negative image is created and topics such as suicide and illnesses of Koreans are discussed. Characteristics such as being inclined to “stealing, lying and cheating” dominate. Furthermore, Korean men are described as just as “faint-hearted as women”, which does not contribute to a good image of Koreans regarding the Western construct of masculinity. Some negative qualities could be seen as positive insofar as they could be taken advantage of by Hamel or the crew, e.g. Koreans being “good-natured and very credulous”, believing everything Hamel and his comrades told them.

It can thus be concluded that Hamel presents Koreans as caring people and very friendly given familiarity and mutual understanding. They are portrayed as paying attention to educated behavior and respectful, social interaction with each other and the Dutchmen, as

⁸⁸ Roeper, *Hamel’s World*, 158.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 156f.

well as being curious and inquisitive people who have a strong will and an instinct of survival. They are also shown as humble and hospitable people: After their initial arrival at Jeju Island they drank wine together and since the Koreans liked it, “they drank so much that they rejoiced greatly. Then they sent us back to the tent, after having shown us much friendship and giving us back the silver cup [belonging to the Company].”⁹⁰

The governor of Jeju Island, the place where the Dutch had stranded, was very interested in them: He asked them to join his entertainment to cheer them up and tried to enhance communication by learning Dutch words and providing treatment for the sick. His positive and caring character encouraged the shipwrecked that they could be sent to Japan as soon as the King’s answer would arrive. Hamel’s comparison – “Thus we [= the Dutch] were taken care of by a heathen in a way that would put many a Christian to shame.” – casts critical light on Christians. Amongst descriptions of the landscape of Jeju, Hamel characterizes its inhabitants as “common people and very poor, held in low esteem by people from the mainland.”⁹¹

Throughout the text, especially the hospitality of Koreans is mentioned numerous times, as well as the quality of the food and the importance of seasonal clothes. He relates that the meals and other supplies were little in quantity and lacking in variety – mostly rice and a little salt with water. Among the many difficulties they had to overcome was a two-year-long famine.⁹²

Over all, the Journal covers the facts of what happened to the Dutch group after their arrival in chronological order, detailing where they were brought and how they were treated. Joseon’s society is introduced regarding the fields of housing, educational system as well as marriage and funeral practices.

Another approach to Hamel’s work would be to find out to which extent the Westerners were present in Korean and Western written sources at the end of the 19th century, when the country opened its borders. For example, the Canadian missionary James Scarth Gale, who lived for many years in Korea at the turn of the 20th century, writes very negatively about Hamel and his stranded comrades in his *History of the Korean People* and emphasizes that Korean ‘gentlemen’ were of such high repute to even remember such “low-caste

⁹⁰ Roeper, *Hamel’s World*, 112.

⁹¹ Ibid., 120.

⁹² Ibid., 132f:

During the years 1661 and 1662 famine was omnipresent with thousands of casualties and many dead people were buried along the highways. Murder and robbery should be prevented by strong guards named “highwaymen” who were stationed on all roads and protected travelers. Hamel explains that ordinary people and the poor, in order to stay alive, mostly ate acorns, the inner bark of pine trees and wild vegetables.

outlanders” who were “tossed here and there” and “kicked about the country.”⁹³ In addition to this Gale tries to give a Korean perspective to the reader on how unwelcome and unpleasant to look at the Dutch were. There is no clear evidence where Gale got his information from. Furthermore, we have to consider that Gale himself lived many years in Korea before he even started to write about the history of the nation and thereby gained another perspective on the incident and to the Korean people. Despite being a Westerner himself, Gale critically and trenchantly explains with which condescending feelings and disgust Koreans reacted to the stranded sailors. He even identifies their appearance with the European race in general, stating that Koreans looked at “their ugliness in general, a definite impression of the inferiority of the European race must have formed, which determined Koreans more than ever to live an isolated life untainted by these creatures of the west.”⁹⁴ These extremely offensive and polemical words cast doubt on the author’s objectivity, although one needs to keep in mind his extended stay in Korea and likely he only heard the Eastern perspective on the incident. According to his statements, Koreans did not pay particular attention to the Westerners in the country at that time, which the afore-mentioned Ledyard does not agree with, since he was able to find various notes on the Dutch sailors in original Korean sources.

Moving on from Hamel’s Journal to the Western encyclopedias of the 18th and 19th centuries, the next part of the present thesis focuses first on the history of encyclopedias in the West through the modern period and then examines the individual entries on Korea and its inhabitants.

4. Encounters and perceptions in the encyclopedia

Burke quoting Durkheim argues that “human categorizations of thought are never stuck in one specific form. They develop, disappear and develop anew.”⁹⁵ Indeed, Western systems of categorization of the past were extremely different to the ones used today. Words were used in different ways and it is essential that scholars interpret them carefully as embedded in their context. The analysis of the way Koreans were categorized in encyclopedias of the 18th and 19th centuries must pay attention to this and therefore a short introduction is given in this chapter on how general knowledge was classified in the reference works and in this context, how important encyclopedias were to the modern world. These introductory words are

⁹³ Gale and Rutt, *History of the Korean people*, 271.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 271.

⁹⁵ Emile Durkheim, as cited in Peter Burke, *Papier und Marktgeschichte*, 101.

followed by the analysis of the selected encyclopedia articles, each in order of their language and initial publication.

4.1 The encyclopedia – a historical phenomenon

The modern word “encyclopedia” derives from the Greek “enkyklopaideía” and was used to describe universal knowledge. Later on it generally defined everyday knowledge which, according to Isocrates, only prepares for the true knowledge. The word encyclopedia was at first only used in a book title at the end of the Middle Ages. In the modern era the attempt was made to picture the entirety of human knowledge in one interconnected whole, fitting the changing worldview. Knowledge is encyclopedically represented either systematically by topic area, or alphabetically by keywords.⁹⁶ The following paragraph briefly outlines the differences between these two approaches by giving historical details and examples.

The alphabetical encyclopedias that dominated the book market of the early modern period had scarce forerunners in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. In the 17th century A. Furetière’s *Dictionnaire universel des artes es sciences* (1690) in three volumes was one of the best examples by today’s standards for a modern encyclopedia. In Pierre Bayle’s *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1696/97) a new concept was developed: clear and short articles with detailed annotations substitute the previously uncritical contributions.

In the 18th century the first German encyclopedia of importance was the “Zedler” (1732–54), to which many popular scholars contributed by writing articles. It is still praised for its accuracy and currentness and is therefore considered irreplaceable even today. Ephraim Chambers’ *Cyclopaedia: or, an universal dictionary of arts and sciences* (1728) in two volumes is more focused on engineering and natural sciences. It uses a system with cross references which improved the usability of the books by far and influenced later encyclopedias.

Diderot’s and d’Alembert’s *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (1751–80) with thirty-five volumes is the groundwork of the French Enlightenment and is also said to have triggered the French Revolution. Diderot had managed to win leading philosophers and scientists of the time for the project of this encyclopedia; they helped to make it an anti-clerical and anti-absolutistic work. Of similar importance is the *Encyclopaedia Britannica: or a Dictionary of arts and sciences* (1771) with three volumes, which gained lasting international recognition. Other English encyclopedias to consider are

⁹⁶ Bibliographisches Institut & F.A. Brockhaus AG, comp. *Der Grosse Coron: Das Moderne Nachschlagewerk in 20 Bänden*, Corr. Repr. Ed, Vol. 5 (Lachen am Zürichsee: Coron, 1993), 417.

the by Abraham Rees issued *Cyclopaedia* (1802–20) and the between 1833–45 published *Penny Cyclopaedia*.

The most comprehensive European lexicon is Ersch and Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste* (1818–89) in 167 volumes. It remained unfinished, but was an intensive collective work of German scholars and is popular for its extensive keywords and large amount of monographic descriptions. Another essential German encyclopedia is the *Oeconomische Encyclopaedie* (1773–1858) by Johann G. Krünitz with over 240 volumes.

Introduced in the 19th century, the encyclopedic type “Konversationslexikon”, which is simply translated as “encyclopedia” in English, replaced the established encyclopedias as it addressed the non-professional readership rather than the scholars. Especially Brockhaus and J. Meyer (Bibliographical Institute) have strongly defined this development. One of the first of this new type of encyclopedias was R.G. Löbel's *Conversations lexicon mit vorzüglicher Rücksicht auf die gegenwärtigen Zeiten* (1796–1808) in six volumes, which was bought by F.A. Brockhaus and newly published in 1809. According to Löbel, his lexicon enables the reader to enter educated circles of society and provides information that every educated person has to know if he wants to engage in good conversation – which also applies to the new and following editions of Brockhaus' encyclopedia.⁹⁷ Löbel's statement demonstrates the targeted audience with the attempt to give a common frame of knowledge to be part of sophisticated society. Many of the encyclopedias which were published in the middle or end of the 19th century were revised as new, extended editions in the 20th century. Names such as Brockhaus and Meyer have become brand names and represent the long history of their reference works.

Who were the people working on encyclopedia entries in the 19th century? Some popular scholars and writers were working as encyclopedists and contributed to various encyclopedia publications, which meant they wrote articles based on their specific knowledge in their field.⁹⁸ In Early Modern Europe many scholars participated in literary and cultural circles and tried to inform the public through the increasingly popular and mainly weekly published journals and newspapers – e.g. the German “Moralische Wochenschriften” – which

⁹⁷ Ibid., 419.

⁹⁸ Compare i.a. Werner Lenz, *Kleine Geschichte Großer Lexika* (Gütersloh: Lexikothek Verlag, 1980), 66f.

were well accepted by the reading audience of the middle and late 1900s and distributed by subscription on a regular basis.⁹⁹

At the end of the 20th century, however, the book market, especially in regard to encyclopedias and other reference works, was forced to work with online editions and faster accessible media, for example easy-to-carry electronic readers, to avoid horrendous production costs. In 2012 Britannica stopped its print editions and is now only available online, its German equivalent Brockhaus delivered its last printed editions in 2014 to the retail book trade.¹⁰⁰ The encyclopedia market in its physical form is about to become obsolete because its demand is fading. Another fact is that the rapidly growing mass of new information has made it progressively more difficult to shorten important information and keep the newest editions up to date – something which also was an immense problem for encyclopedia editors in the past. Nowadays, it has become easier to quickly access a website and many established encyclopedia publishers either carry online editions which are partly accessible for free to everyone or provide purchasable subscriptions for a certain period.

4.2 Sources, methodology and previous research

The once increasing importance of encyclopedias as medium of knowledge consumption in the 18th and 19th centuries decreased continuously by the last two decades of the 20th century. The rapid disinterest in encyclopedias and emerging new ways of knowledge access in the 21st century demonstrate the progress of science and changing of society. This provides a vast amount of research possibilities in the field of historical trace and thereof reflects the limited choices of the first encyclopedia article writers, who were mainly bound to work with already existing information. According to Brother Anthony of Taizé

the 18th century saw numerous encyclopedic publications which struggled to reconcile or choose between the accounts provided by Hamel and Régis. There was, however, no source of new information about Korea until nautical surveying in the last years of the 18th century and the earlier 19th century brought about limited contact with isolated rural villages which was reported in books written by such explorers as the Frenchman

⁹⁹ For further information see: Volker Meid, *Das Reclam Buch der Deutschen Literatur* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2004), 198f; Christian Schacherreiter and Ulrike Schacherreiter, *Das Literaturbuch*, 7th ed. (Linz: Veritas, 2007), 70; Gerald Rainer and Norbert Kern, *Stichwort Literatur: Geschichte der deutschsprachigen Literatur* (Linz: Veritas, 2009), 240f.

¹⁰⁰ Deutsche Welle, "Online Only for Standard German Encyclopedia," DW.COM, August 17, 2014, accessed October 19, 2015. <http://www.dw.com/en/online-only-for-standard-german-encyclopedia/a-17859170>.; ZEIT ONLINE, "Bertelsmann stellt Brockhaus-Lexikon ein," June 12, 2013, accessed October 19, 2015, <http://www.zeit.de/kultur/2013-06/bertelsmann-brockhaus-lexikon>.

Jean Francoise de Galaup, comte de Lapérouse [...], William Robert Broughton, Basil Hall and Sir Edward Belcher.¹⁰¹

This statement shows that few sources were available that provided detailed information on Korea(ns) throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. It is therefore part of the objectives of the present thesis to identify which original sources the encyclopedia authors used for their articles; this aim is limited by the information given in the entries themselves.

If an encyclopedia article entry is based on an already existing original source, for example the above-reported Journal by Hamel, which was widely distributed in Europe at that time, authenticity and accuracy can be verified. It would have been natural for authors to draw upon the adventurous story of Hendrik Hamel, since his experience and knowledge was confirmed by various sources and officially published. The probability that his account spread through various other encyclopedias is high, because “[t]he truth is that new encyclopaedias are always built on the structure of their forerunners, and thus reflect the process of the accretion of knowledge itself.”¹⁰²

While research has been done mainly on travel literature, logbooks, and maps, encyclopedias and lexicons have not been so much a focus of interest. Although representations of other Asian nations have been analyzed in material sources such as encyclopedias, the approach of the present thesis in searching for characteristics of Koreans in selected encyclopedia entries of different nations is new. The questions to be answered in this thesis are not only how the Koreans are represented in the chosen nine encyclopedia series with regard to their character and whether the respective author draws any comparison to his own culture, but also whether Korea received the same attention as China and Japan in the form of entry length and depth. Furthermore, it will be researched to which extent Korea had a place in Western knowledge of the 18th and 19th centuries.

The Chapters 4.3 to 4.6 describe the portrayal of Koreans in different encyclopedias as the basis for the analysis in Chapter 5. Each encyclopedia is briefly introduced in terms of its publishing details. Characteristics and stereotypes of Korean people are identified for in each encyclopedic entry to see if a positive or negative image dominates. Additionally, it is explored if and in which aspects the writer describes Korea and perceives Koreans in contrast to his own country and cultural background. Major topics and reoccurring themes throughout

¹⁰¹ Taizé, “How the West”, 153.

¹⁰² Robert Lewis Collison, *Encyclopaedias: Their History throughout the Ages. A Bibliographical Guide with Extensive Historical Notes to the General Encyclopaedias Issued throughout the World From 350 B. C. to the Present Day* (New York: Hafner Pub., 1964), 116.

the entries on Korea are visualized and presented in the form of a graph and charts (see Chapter 5.1.1). Thus, a portrait of ‘the Korean’ is sketched for the chosen timeframe to demonstrate if the studied encyclopedias can offer relevant information.

Each encyclopedia is chosen for the specific purpose of representing, or presenting, the knowledge on Korea in a minimalistic form in nine Western encyclopedia reference series. Tracing this selection through the editions, within and across the series, shows how the knowledge and explicit picture of the Korean nation and its inhabitants changed constantly over time, in particular regarding stereotypes as well as positive and negative characterization. The analysis of the chosen encyclopedia entry, representing momentary images, as it were, should demonstrate the continuously evolving image of Korea presented to the public.

While subsequent editions to the original edition were not accessible for each reference series, the aim was to cover at least two editions for every encyclopedia (given that the edition was not limited to a single publication series) and, where possible, all editions from the original to the one closest to the turn of the 20th century. Since the timeframe of the present study is the 18th and 19th centuries, all subsequent works of the chosen encyclopedia publishers were excluded. The editions were chosen at an interval of at least a few decades to see how the information provided and approach to the recurring topics changed over time. In the following chapters the structure of the examined encyclopedias is organized by language, ranging from German, to French and English works. Within each chapter, the discussion follows a chronological order as the most convenient and clear way to present the material rather than organizing the encyclopedias by geographical region or nation, since the total number of considered encyclopedia series does not exceed nine. The encyclopedias were selected firstly for their timeframe of the 18th and 19th centuries, secondly for their reputation, and thirdly for availability. Since they cover different decades, it is moreover easy to see how the amount of knowledge increased and when original sources started to be included in the articles. Timeframe and language of publication had to be limited in regard to the research questions, but at the same time had to allow for a sufficient number. While above-mentioned criteria would even provide alternatives, the scope of the present study precludes exhaustive treatment of Korea in encyclopedias. Other Western encyclopedias, such as the Spanish *Enciclopedia Moderna* (1851–55), were excluded from the selection because they did not contain an entry on Korea, or were published shortly after the end of the 19th century, for example the Polish *Encyklopedia staropolska ilustrowana* from 1903.

The method applied in this thesis¹⁰³ – the qualitative and quantitative analysis of encyclopedia articles and subsequent comparison to others within the same set or group of themes – is easily applicable to other media, as previous research on, for example, newspapers and travel literature on Korea shows (see Chapter 5.2.1).

Beyond a doubt, the image of ‘the Korean’ in Western encyclopedias of the 18th and 19th centuries could be approached with other research questions in mind; nevertheless, tracing the historical development of the presentation of Korea(ns) as the ‘cultural Other’ in terms of the characteristics ascribed to the produced stereotypes is plausible and clearly supported by established theories or concepts (Edward Said’s Orientalism) and previous empirical work (Jong pil Yoon and Hyun sook Park: the research of Koreans in Late 19th century British newspapers).

Identifying the Korean image in the article entries, one has to consider the position that Western writers were in and the environment they lived in. Cultural encounters, colonialism, and scientific progress are three key aspects among others to reflect on during the examination of each encyclopedia article. The industrial revolution helped European nations to technically and militarily dominate and conquer the earth’s surface. The trade of slaves, metal, and colonial products such as sugar, spices, tea, tobacco, and other plants was a more subtle, but equally important factor for the expansion of power. The economic interest was intensified by a national urge to play a leading role in the field of international politics and power relations. This expansion was also dominated by the cruelty against peoples in other regions of the world, but the wish to ‘civilize’ indigenous peoples and to do missionary work was equally strong. The race to divide and claim continents was won by the British Empire. However, in East Asia only a few ports could be claimed and several conflicts, most prominently the Opium War (1839–1842), were notable setbacks in China. Nationalism changed from a feudal-progressive to a power politics that was internally conservative and externally imperialistic. The rivalries in Europe were translocated to the outside world. Once the globe was divided up, dispute returned to Europe and from world politics grew a World

¹⁰³ The research method of the present thesis is broadly based on Philipp Mayring’s qualitative content analysis. This systematic text analysis is based on techniques (descriptive design, mixed design) which basic procedure is counting certain elements and comparing them with the frequency of other elements, and interpretation. Content analysis’ main focus is communication, meaning the transfer of symbols. Therefore, texts can easily be analyzed with category systems in a systematic, theory-oriented and rule-oriented way. It is a deductive method, which means the data is analyzed under theoretical research questions with building a connection to the experience of others with similar research topics. Philipp Mayring, *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse: Grundlagen und Techniken* (Weinheim: Beltz, 2010). Philipp Mayring, *Einführung in die qualitative Sozialforschung. Eine Anleitung zum qualitativen Denken* (Weinheim: Beltz, 2002).

War. Academic thought has since criticized Eurocentrism¹⁰⁴, making the term a keyword in global history. With this has come an increasing interest in other world regions in various fields of research. While Europeans thus shared this Eurocentric picture of the world, the Chinese were equally sure to be at the (cultural) center of the world, i.e. their world. This centeredness can be readily seen on Matteo Ricci's map from the beginning of the 17th century.¹⁰⁵ These considerations are an important conceptual framework for the following chapters. Chapter 5 of the present thesis elaborates on power-differences and East-West binaries. Prior to that, the following subchapters provide the findings on the nine encyclopedia series to be summarized and evaluated.

4.3 German Encyclopedias

The following three chapters detail the findings on how Koreans are portrayed in three German encyclopedias from different periods of time, i.e. the *Universal Lexicon* from the 18th century, *Brockhaus* starting at the turn of the 18th century, and Meyer's *Conversations-Lexicon* from the middle of the 19th century. All of them were designed to speak to a wide audience and were made, in later editions, for a mass market to contribute to general knowledge and distribute it to society at large.

4.3.1 Zedler's Universal Lexicon (1732–1754)

The first encyclopedia to be examined is the German *Zedler, Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon Aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, published from 1731 until 1754. It has only one original edition with many re-prints until today. Johann Heinrich Zedler (1706–1760) was a German bookseller and publisher and lived in Leipzig. His intention was to create a twelve-volume encyclopedia, but in the end it became a sixty-four folio volume work that earned the reputation of being one of the largest finished encyclopedias worldwide.¹⁰⁶ The layout is very

¹⁰⁴ *Eurocentrism*: Focusing on European culture or history to the exclusion of a wider view of the world; implicitly regarding European culture as preeminent. Oxford Dictionaries, accessed December 11, 2015, http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/de/definition/englisch_usa/Eurocentric.

¹⁰⁵ Daily Mail Reporter, "Pictured: The 400-year-old Map That Shows China as the Centre of the World," Mail Online, January 12, 2010, accessed April 19, 2016, <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-1242750/Pictured-The-rare-400-year-old-map-shows-China-centre-world.html>.

¹⁰⁶ Collison, *Encyclopedias*, 305:

"Zedler's work is still of great importance: for the first time biographies of living people were included; bibliographical citations were given in great detail, and the genealogical information is of exceptional quality. In general there is a high standard of accuracy. What is more is that, in spite of its size, the encyclopaedia was completed and, moreover, finished within a remarkably short time."

simple: keywords are printed in italics and arranged in alphabetical order. The entire text is given in two columns, every column being numbered individually.¹⁰⁷

In the original edition of Zedler's Universal-lexicon in the 6th volume, published between 1732 and 1754, half a page is devoted to the kingdom of Korea. The short entry presents the country as "chinesische Halbinsel" – Chinese peninsula – spelled differently at that time as "Corea." It seems that the most important information is details about the location and how the country is geographically structured: The majority of the article describes Korea's geographical position and how its inhabitants are connected to the Chinese. The beginning of the encyclopedia article points out that the name 'Corea' or 'Coree' was called 'Chaoßen' in Japan. Korea's king is mentioned as the ruler of the country, who has to pay tribute to the emperor of China. The author of this entry does not mention anything about the countries' history, but only states that Japan and China are connected to it. Additionally, the article gives some of Korea's cultural practices which are compared to the Chinese: Burial rites are summarized in one sentence and described as being similar to Chinese rites and ceremonials, which is the only information that is somehow connected to Koreans and their life. No character traits, except their filial piety and honorable way of treating their deceased fellow countrymen, are given. The article states that the inhabitants have rites and ceremonies like the Chinese, as they store their dead for three years in beautiful coffins in the same manner. Within this time they pay their respects as if they were still alive, burning them after this period.¹⁰⁸ This passage clearly shows the importance of rites and ceremonies in the Confucian tradition to Korean people, which praises the elderly of society and their ancestors. The fact that the three years of mourning are mentioned twice highlighting it even more. The way the dead body is preserved is given with the emphasis on showing the deceased the respect they deserve. This section attributes great importance to facts such as Korea being a very fertile country, producing rice and grain, and a praise to paper production, precious metal deposits, and the findings of beautiful pearls. In short, the topics of geography and, to a lesser degree, of culture and economy are covered. In contrast, neither the development of the nation

¹⁰⁷ Four supplementary volumes were added during 1751–1754 for the letters A–Caq only. Zedler had a team of nine editors until the volume 19 where one man, Karl Günther Ludovici took over the general editorship.

¹⁰⁸ Zedler. *Grosses Vollständiges Universal-Lexicon Aller Wissenschaften Und Künste, welche bishero durch Menschlichen Verstand und Witz Erfunden und Verbessert Worden*, s.v. "Corea.":

"Die Einwohner haben einerley [sic] Gebräuche und Ceremonien [sic] mit denen Chinesern; wie sie dann gleicher Gestalt ihre Todten [sic] 3. Jahr lang in schönen Särgen zu verwahren pflegen, binnen welcher Zeit sie ihnen eben diejenige Ehre zeigen, als wenn sie noch am Leben wären, wen [sic] aber diese 3. Jahr vorbey [sic] sind, so verbrennen sie dieselben."

and its rich history, nor an explicit description of the Korean people was conveyed to the reader in this encyclopedia.

In comparison to Korea, the article on China extends over nearly five double pages (approx. 19 columns, 1555–1574) in volume 37 from 1743. It covers various topics such as geography and language, and lists all kings that can be traced to the past as well. China can be found under ‘Sina’, but the long article also gives ‘China’ and ‘Dschina’ as possible names for the Far-East country.

Whereas China’s entry is very detailed, the contribution on Japan, which can be found in column 985 in volume 24 from 1740, only contains a few sentences that describe the big island of East Asia, therefore giving the impression of less importance. Although the article is found under ‘Niphon’, the entry states that the country is actually called ‘Japan’. The article only mentions the two largest cities as well as the fact that the king resides in one of them, and explains that five different landscapes can be found. The information is sparse and does not give any reference to Korea or even China.

4.3.2. Brockhaus Conversation Lexicon (since 1796)

The name “Brockhaus” does not only stand for a house and its family, but it is also used as a synonym for a globally known German encyclopedia of great quality. At the beginning of its history stands Friedrich Arnold Brockhaus (1772–1823), who, at the beginning of 1808, bought an existing lexicon (started by Löbel-Franke in 1796). After selling his bookstore in Amsterdam in 1805, Brockhaus moved to Altenburg. Starting from 1809 Brockhaus distributed the Löbel-Franke books under the new title *Conversations-Lexicon*.¹⁰⁹ In 1809 and 1811, two supplementary volumes¹¹⁰ followed and at the beginning of 1811, the 2,000 remaining books were nearly sold out. In 1817/18, Brockhaus established a permanent business company in Leipzig, the center of the German book trade at that time.

The second edition with 1,500 copies planned in 10 volumes was Brockhaus’ own merit. The first and second volumes (1812) were followed by a third and fourth volume in 1813. This edition is considered the first, since it is the publisher’s primary independent work.

¹⁰⁹ The full original title is „Conversations-Lexicon - oder kurz gefaßtes Handwörterbuch für die in der gesellschaftlichen Unterhaltung aus den Wissenschaften und Künsten vorkommenden Gegenstände mit beständiger Rücksicht auf die Ereignisse der älteren und neueren Zeit.“

¹¹⁰ A *supplement* or *supplementary volume* is an additional book (or more volumes) which were printed and added to the whole lexicon edition afterwards to include later updated information on subjects to complement a previously published work, also alphabetically ordered, with the purpose of clarification, continuity, expanse or addition of special features.

Joan M. Reitz, “ABC-CLIO.” ODLIS (Online Dictionary for Library and Information Science) Odlis_S. 1996, accessed May 5, 2016. http://www.abc-clio.com/ODLIS/odlis_s.aspx.

The 13th edition (1882–1887), *Der Große Brockhaus*, provided innovative content, as for the first time in its history it was illustrated and contained plates. With the 14th edition in 16 volumes and one supplementary book, pictures between the texts became common. Throughout the 20th century many more editions were published and until the late 1980s 18 editions and supplementary books were successfully produced.¹¹¹

4.3.2.1. *The first six editions and the change of the initial letter*

Unfortunately, the 1st and 2nd editions of Brockhaus have no entry on Korea and only from the 3rd edition (1814/15) onwards, limited information on the country is provided. The 3rd, 4th and 5th edition all have an identical entry of about half a page on Korea, which was spelled at that time with a capital “C” at the beginning. Like many other encyclopedia articles on nations, the exact location and the name of the country are given. In total, six other names next to the keyword “Corea” are included. Furthermore, the coordinates and neighboring nations are mentioned, followed by a description of the topography – the mountainous north with woods and deserts and the fertile, populous south where rice and other grain types are grown. The importance of Korea’s iron-, lead-, silver- and goldmines, rich pearl- and fish grounds is demonstrated by the mentioning of these in other encyclopedias. The form of government is explained in a simple way: the head of the country is the king, who is a vassal of China and has to pay his annual tribute. It is said that he rules totally sovereign and extremely despotic. The last two sentences of the entry explain the administration of the country, the capital city and residence of the king. In the context of the present thesis, it is important to mention that in this article, Koreans are compared to Chinese and Japanese people. Additionally, only one sentence describes their ethnicity: “Die Coreaner sind eine Vermischung von Mantschu-Tungusen und Chinesen, wohlgebildet und in Sitten und Lebensweise den Chinesen sehr ähnlich.”¹¹² [Koreans are a mixture of Mandschu-Tunguse people and Chinese, well educated, in manner and lifestyle similar to the Chinese.] Comparing the scarce information on Korea with the entry on China, the difference is obvious: In the 5th edition more than six full pages describe the neighboring nation.

The supplement to the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th edition of the *Conversations-Lexicon* (1819–1820) provides no further entry on Korea.¹¹³ However, the supplementary volume to

¹¹¹ Lenz, *Kleine Geschichte*, 51-57.

¹¹² *Brockhaus*, 3rd ed., s.v. “Corea.”

¹¹³ From the 5th edition, published from 1820, the title of the encyclopedia changed to “Allgemeine Deutsche Real Encyclopädie.” Nevertheless, the entry on Korea, as mentioned before stayed the same, like in the 6th edition.

the 5th and 6th editions, sold in 1829, contains an entry on Korea where for the first time Korea is found with the initial letter 'K'. The added information on Korea is composed in three sentences, gives the number of inhabitants (12 million) and mentions that the capital has a popular library at which a prince is the head librarian. The last sentence at least references the person who gives the information on Korea, when it says that Korea's west-coast is better known thanks to Hall's¹¹⁴ exploration travel.¹¹⁵

Published in 1827, the 4th book of the 7th Brockhaus edition is the first to classify Korea under the capital letter 'K'. Despite the already known facts from the previous editions, a few sentences are added; the information on the library is already included here. The relation to the West is described, for example that they have trade connections to other East Asian countries (namely China and Japan), but not with Europeans.

The 8th editions' entry from the 4th book (1834) is identical to the previous one.

4.3.2.2. The last six editions and the more detailed articles

Although the previous editions barely changed its information on Korea, the 9th edition (1843–1848) contains a more detailed article in book 5 from 1844. The entry is about one page long, divided on the pages 341 and 342. Geographical details and information on popular field crops are similar to previous editions, but climate and Korea's animal population, are discussed to a greater extent. Wild animals that can be seen in Korea, such as the Royal Bengal tiger as well as common farm animals such as horses and cattle are included. Ginseng is named as a significant plant for the first time in the Brockhaus series in connection with Korea, which is a major icon of Korean culture today. Other famous Korean products, for example tiger-, pantherskins, paper, cotton and silk products, are mentioned as the most noteworthy export articles.

The Korean character and descend is described in three sentences which state that the people belong to the Mongolic ethnic group, forming an independent tribe which is often mixed with Chinese, Mandschu and Japanese. Similar to the Chinese, Koreans are described to have great energy and independence, but unlike the latter, the Chinese show more pride,

¹¹⁴ Basil Hall (1788–1844) was a Scottish Captain who wrote several books about his journeys around the world. One of this was *A Voyage of Discovery to the Western Coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo Island in the Japan Sea*, published in London, England 1817/18. He was one of the very few people to give information on Korea. More on his personality and life: Alastair McIntyre, Electric Scotland LLC in association with SFU, "Significant Scots – Captain Basil Hall," accessed February 11, 2016, www.electricscotland.com/history/other/hall_basil.htm.

¹¹⁵ Brockhaus – *Conversations-Lexikon*, supplement for the 6th and previous ed., s.v. "Korea.": "Die Westküste von Korea kennt man genauer durch Hall's Entdeckungsreise (London 1818)."

especially to Europeans. Korean manners are less refined in comparison to Chinese and Japanese people. It is said that in technical professions Koreans seem to have gained a great ability, even though they do not have the perfection of the Chinese. Additionally, they are vigorous sailors and fisherman.¹¹⁶ A short passage discusses the Korean language and explains that it is not known to the West.

The rest of the article outlines Korea's trade relations with China and the special treatment of Japan. It is mentioned that the isolation of Japan from the Western world is nearly as strict as Korea's. A number of sentences describe Korea's armed forces, its religion (Buddhism and Christianity), administration and tributary duties to China and Japan.

The 10th edition (1851–1855) contains a small entry on Korea, extending over one page in its 9th book (1853) with a lot of details regarding geography, industry and economy, along with information on people and their manners. The content is nearly identical with the previous edition, except for the part on Korean paper, which is also used (next to being writing paper) for hats, umbrellas, sacks, lasting coats, and weapons like sabers, daggers and muskets which are highly praised and searched for in China. Other mentioned export goods are pottery and porcelain.

In the 11th edition (1864–1868), published in 15 volumes and one supplement, another longer passage on Korea is found in the 9th book from the year 1866. The choice of words is slightly different to the previous editions and regardless of adding a few details, for example that Koreans plant tobacco and mine rock salt and black coal, overall not much changed from the already existing information. It is a new fact that a tributary mission is sent to China twice a year to – amongst other things – get the Chinese calendar. Korea's religion being a mixture of Buddhism and Confucianism is considered as well. In 1857, already 15,206 Koreans had converted to Christianity due to missionary work, which is mentioned by numbers and years in the last third of the article. The last sentence describes the location of the nation's capital and its characteristics. It is said to be located between mountains, surrounded by high and thick walls, badly built and, with the exception of one single broad street, narrow, gloomy and

¹¹⁶ *Brockhaus*, 9th ed., s.v. "Korea.":

“Die Einwohner [...] gehören zum mongol. Menschenstamme und bilden ein selbstständiges Volk desselben, dessen Typus jedoch durch häufige Mischungen mit den Chinesen, Mandschus und Japanern im Laufe der Zeiten sehr verändert worden ist. Von den Chinesen zeichnen sie sich durch größere Energie und Selbständigkeit, vorzüglich aber durch die Abwesenheit jenes düsteren Stolzes aus, den der Chinese gegen den Ausländer, besonders den Europäer zeigt; dagegen sind aber auch ihre Sitten minder verfeinert, als die der Chinesen und Japaner. [...] In den technischen Gewerben scheinen die Koreaner, wenn auch nicht die Vollkommenheit der Chinesen, so doch große Fertigkeit erlangt zu haben. [...] Außerdem sind sie tüchtige Seeleute und Fischer [...].“

dirty. The city is richly populated, but only noteworthy because of its big library.¹¹⁷ This sentence alone gives a very negative impression, but nevertheless depicts the living space of Koreans of that time.

In the 1870s, the 12th edition of Brockhaus was published. The entry on Korea is in the 9th book from 1878. The information overlaps with the preceding one, but adds a few new aspects: The old name for Korea, “Joseon” (조선), is “Tschao-Sian” in the text (from Chinese ‘Chaoxian’) and in brackets translated as “Ostland” [Eastland]. A more detailed description of Koreans is given, which in this entry includes their physique. Koreans are, according to this text, descendants from a branch of the Turanic tribe and carry their characteristic features. They are overall a little taller and stronger built, likewise also coarser as the Japanese and Chinese. At the same time they are described as being “sittenreiner” [purer in mores] and more honest. The article emphasizes that since ancient times Korea’s population is familiar with Chinese culture and later even more influenced through the spreading of their script, all arts, and sciences. Koreans are in correlation to the other two mentioned East Asian nations long backward. This last statement seems to be very critical and needs to be doubted, especially since in the next sentences Korea’s arts and crafts are praised. Furthermore, the article states that Korea is at that time the only one of the East Asian countries which still insists on the system of overall exclusion from Western people. Although this is true, the statement that reliable, accurate reports about the inner affairs and conditions of Korea were lacking, is certainly not.¹¹⁸ For the first time, this edition reveals a little bit of Korean history. The story of the Dutch Hendrik Hamel is explained in one sentence as the first notification of a European in Korea (see Chapter 3.2). Later coast expeditions from the French, English and Americans are mentioned as well.¹¹⁹ The article says that the oldest Korean history is very dark und is only partly known through Chinese history (which is the only available source to Westerners). According to the encyclopedia, a Russian frigate appeared at the coast of Korea to negotiate a piece of land for the Russian empire in 1866, but the inhabitants’ anger and distrust increased against Europeans to the extent that in the same year thirteen Christian missionaries, mainly French of origin, were killed in the capital. To revenge this, the French Admiral Roze went up Han River to shoot a city and at the same time burnt the governmental magazine.¹²⁰ The last passage of the entry talks about two American expeditions and an

¹¹⁷ *Brockhaus*, 11th ed., s.v. “Korea.”

¹¹⁸ *Brockhaus*, 12th ed., s.v. “Korea.”

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 296.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 296.

American ship which was stranded at the coast in 1866 and all men on board killed.¹²¹ This article conveys, especially in the history section, an unfavorable image of Koreans.

With the 13th edition in 16 volumes and one supplement (1882–87) the layout of the *Conversation-Lexicon* changed into two columns per page. In total, two full and one third of a column cover the article on Korea. The article in book number 10 (1885) covers exactly the same topics as previous editions, with a slight alteration in words. A little more information is given on each topic, for example the section on Korean language is longer and the comparison to other Asian countries more emphasized. Regarding the characteristics and appearance, the article states that Koreans belong to the “High-Asian” race and show more physical relation to and similarity with the Japanese than the Chinese. Additionally, Korean people are described as being taller and stronger than the Japanese and demonstrate a certain energy and intelligence. This is said to be the result of a mixture between various tribes, for example the clan of Han, living in the south of the peninsula.¹²² An interesting fact is that in this edition the opening of the country is already mentioned: Korea was the last of the East-Asian countries which “until lately” was fixated on a system of complete exclusion from the Western nations.¹²³ In this entry not only export articles, but also imported goods are enumerated and for the first time, the name of the ruling king is given. Various treaties are mentioned in detail, demonstrating the importance of economic regulations and cross-regional diplomacy, e.g. the unequal treaty with Japan from 1876, which meant that many ports had to be opened exclusively to Japan. Korea’s official independence is part of the entry as well. Furthermore, the friendship and trade treaty with the United States of America in 1882 and the following year with Great Britain and the German Empire, as well as 1884 with Italy and Russia, are specified. The last section of the article discusses Korea’s inner conflicts due to party fights, also involving Japan and resulting in Chinese intervention.¹²⁴ This last part highlights the importance of international relations and visualizes how trade connects nations all over the world.

¹²¹ *New World Encyclopedia*, s.v. “French Campaign against Korea 1866,” accessed May 30, 2016, http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/p/index.php?title=French_Campaign_against_Korea,_1866&oldid=976158.

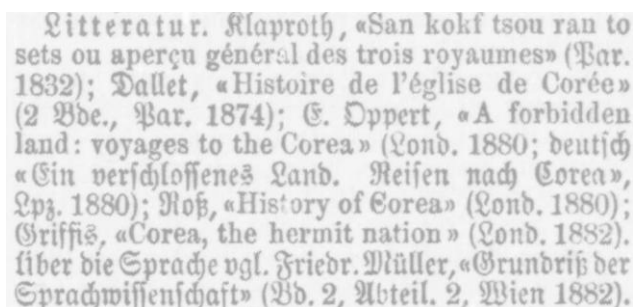
¹²² *Brockhaus*, 13th ed., s.v. “Korea.”

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 531:

“K. war von den ostasiat. Ländern das letzte, welches noch bis vor kurzem an dem System gänzlicher Abschließung von den westl. Völkern beharrte.”

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 531.

The article conveys that many facts in the entry are based on Japanese news without concrete citation. For the first time, a record of sources is included at the end of the article (see picture 3). It simply headlines “Litteratur” and lists various books in French, German and English, for example by Oppert, Roß and Griffis.



Picture 3. Brockhaus, 13th edition (1885), p. 531.

The completely revised 14th edition of Brockhaus (1891) is updated in 16 volumes and contains an entry on Korea in its 10th volume (1894). It stretches over two full and nearly half a page and gives a lot of detailed information in a range of

sections in the same way as its previous editions. The part on population and its cultural state is practically identical with the preceding edition with the exception of class distinction within the nation's society: It is added that Korean officials dress in special colorful clothing and wear high woven hats, which is said to constitute a strong contrast to commoners who wear plain and white clothes. Korean people are said to have a distinction in the form of their skull based on different cheekbone width. This statement indicates and emphasizes a division between upper and lower society classes. Other topics, such as polygamy, adoption and ancestor worship, secured by Confucianism, are mentioned here as well.¹²⁵

4.3.3. Meyer's Conversation Lexicon (since 1839)

Joseph Meyer (1796–1856) was a German publisher and founder of the Bibliographic Institute (1826). His lexicon was one of the most popular encyclopedias of the 19th century. After five years of preparation, the first edition of *Das Große Meyersche Conversations-Lexikon* was published in 1839. The original plan was to produce 21 volumes in four years, but it wasn't until 1852 that the last of 46 volumes in total were distributed, followed by six supplementary books (1853–55).

Everything was identically reprinted in the 2nd edition during 1858/59. This volume-rich encyclopedia was also called “Wundermeyer” and was the basis for the founding of the Bibliographical Institute as one of the biggest European lexicon publishers. In 1856 Meyer's son, Hermann Julius, took over the company, basically restructured and renewed the contents, shortening the lexicon to 15 volumes. In his opinion the lexicon should not wear a color of a political party, only one of truth, Enlightenment, education, progress of science, art and life.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Ibid., 630.

¹²⁶ Lenz, *Kleine Geschichte*, 95.

This does not only show the encyclopedia's purpose, but the Meyer's way of thinking, which was definitely a gain for the encyclopedias' objectivity and practicality. Whereas the father wanted to give a good basis for intellectually stimulating conversations for all classes, his son was more interested in reporting how events took place and to pass on correct information to the readership. Therefore, this new edition was not seen as the 2nd edition, but received the new title *Neues Konversations-Lexikon für alle Stände*. It was published 1857–1860 in 15 volumes and soon another edition (1861–1867) followed with 40,000 printed copies of which 39,400 had subscribers right away.

A 3rd, 4th and 5th edition were published only separated by a few years in the second half of the 19th century and new inventions, such as a smaller, more practical hand lexicon were printed and became a great success. Before the turn of the century a 6th edition was produced as Meyer's popularity was rising further. Later supplementary and registry volumes completed each collection. The diligent work of creating encyclopedias went on throughout the 20th century with a new edition published every few years. The name Meyer is next to Zedler and Brockhaus a brand that reached over Europe's borders and other publishers found much inspiration and an urge to equal the achievements of the German bestsellers.

4.3.3.1. *The first edition and the diligent, strong Koreans*

The 18th volume of the original edition (1851) contains a rather detailed article on Korea over several pages. The entry explains in a very delineative way that we only know as much about the country as the topographic description gives. Climate conditions and the land do not enable much cultivation, even though Koreans use their diligence on these scarce areas.¹²⁷ Demography also plays a role for the writer, as he focuses on the inhabitants and estimates the number of Koreans to be quite high (12–15 million) at first, but corrects his statement that there are at least 6 million people and the country seems to be densely populated. Furthermore, ethnic affiliation, anthropology and characteristics are factors that the article describes, such as skin color, clothing and hair styles. The Korean is a strong, middle-sized, black-brown or copper-colored person with black hair and a 'cheeky appearance', originating from the north. His clothing is of Daba (a cotton stuff) and consists of wide trousers and a skirt with straw sandals or cloth shoes. He uses a wide cusp cap of gauze or bamboo; the hair

¹²⁷ *Das Große Conversations-Lexikon*, 1st ed., s.v. "Korea.":

"Von dem Lande weiß man nur so viel, daß [sic] die auf der Ostküste vom große weißen Gebirge nach Süden streichende Bergkette zwar steil nach Osten abfällt, aber nicht sehr hoch ist. Doch bleibt an Abhängen der Schnee bis im Mai (unter 35°) auf den Felsen liegen, die wenig Anbau gestatten, obwohl die Koreaner auf denselben viel Fleiß verwenden."

is either tied or let down, and the beard is not shaved. It is emphasized that females wear a short dress over the loose, white main one and put a white scarf over their head.¹²⁸

The text further describes how Koreans live in not very clean huts, that their basic, most important food is rice, that they are farmers and enjoy tea. While one passage gives details on the position of Korean women in society, another explains the Korean character, which is assessed rather differently: partly slave-like, treacherous and lewd, partly only wary, but honest and moderate. The fine politeness which Hall ascribes to Koreans, Timkowsky (or Timkowskij) cannot see in them. He calls them simple and plain during interaction. Other dominating character features are said to be their cheerfulness and allegiance. Korean women benefit more from freedom than in China, but only enjoy little respect. Polygamy is legal, but is not very common in the richly populated agricultural country. One wife is legitimate and lives in the house. Marriage is taken lightly. The fatherly reputation is similar to the Chinese and the oldest son is the main heir, while daughters inherit nothing. According to the text, all customs are altogether Chinese. Additionally, the article informs briefly about the Korean language, its connection to Chinese likewise their art and science, which is characterized as being identical with China. Their history, the writings of “Kong-fu-tse” and its legal laws sum up the whole knowledge of Koreans.¹²⁹ Korea is dominated by Buddhism, introduced already in 372 CE, but expanded only from 528 onwards on the whole peninsula. Yangban, honored scholars, are said to be of a different social class, similar to Chinese literati, and are mentioned in one sentence.

The entry on Japan has about the same size as the article on Korea. The article about China is more detailed and even the keyword ‘Chinese’ is provided on one quarter of a page.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 1149f.:

„Der Koreaner ist eine starke, mittelgroße, schwarzbraune oder kupferfarbene Gestalt mit schwarzem Haar, von keckem Aussehen. Er stammt aus dem Norden. Seine Kleidung von Daba (einem Baumwollenzeuche) besteht aus weiten Beinkleidern und Rock nebst Strohsandalen oder Tuschshuhen und sehr breitrempigen Spitzhüten von Gaze oder von Bambusrohr; das Haar wird sowohl aufgebunden, als fließend gelassen, eben so der Bart nicht geschoren. Die Frauen tragen über dem losen, weißen Hauptkleide noch ein kürzeres und werfen ein weißes Tuch über den Kopf.“

¹²⁹ *Das Große Conversations-Lexikon*, 1st ed., s.v. "Korea.":

„Dem Charakter nach werden die Koreer sehr verschieden beurtheilt [sic], theils [sic] sklavisch, betrügerisch und liederlich, theils [sic] als bloß argwöhnisch, aber ehrlich und mäßig. Die feine Höflichkeit, welche Hall an einem Vornehmen bemerkte, will Timkowsky nicht bei ihnen finden. Er nennt sie einfach und schlicht im Umgang. Heiterkeit und Untertanentreue gibt man sonst noch als hervorstechende Züge ihres Charakterbildes an. Die Frauen sind bei ihnen freier, als in China, genießen jedoch geringe Achtung. Vielweiberei ist zwar erlaubt, mag aber in dem dichtbevölkerten Ackerbaulande nicht allzu häufig seyn [sic]. Auch gilt nur eine Frau als rechtmäßig und wohnt im Hause. Mit der Eheschließung wird es leicht genommen. Das väterliche Ansehen gleicht dem in China. Der älteste Sohn ist der Haupterbe des Vaters, die Töchter erben nichts. Alle Sitten sind im Ganzen chinesisch.“

4.3.3.2. *The second edition and the false Koreans*

In the 2nd edition of Meyer's *Conversation-Lexicon* (1861–1867), published as *Neues Konversationslexikon* in 15 volumes, we can find in book 10 (1868) on one and a half pages (255–256) an entry on Korea. The outer appearance, as well as their clothes and some characteristics are mentioned briefly. It is said that Koreans are of Mongolian origin, that men are tall and strong, with noble posture and their character is described as rawer and coarser [“derber”] than Chinese, extremely false [lügenhaft] and in many ways immoral [sittenlos]. From this, the author moves on to clothing and food, followed by housing and other cultural parts of life such as society structure, language, religion and trade. The clothing of men is white and includes wide trousers and a cloth wrap that is not closed with buttons, but with ribbons under the arms. Further they wear a wide black hat made out of woven bamboo under which they have their hair tied in a wreath. Their footwear is shoes made out of straw. Women wear tighter trousers and their cloth wrap is only a jacket. Polygamy is common and women, as the text says, have a slave-like position.

The food of Koreans, according to the article, is mainly rice and strongly seasoned fish; they do not eat much meat and drink either water or, with wealthier people, met is popular. The way of eating is described in detail: “Man sitzt beim Essen mit untergeschlagenen Beinen und bedient sich theils [sic] kupferner Löffel, theils [sic] der chinesischen Eßstäbchen aus Bambus.”¹³⁰ [They sit at dinner with tucked up legs and use partly copper spoons and Chinese chopsticks made out of bamboo.]

The next part outlines the Korean lifestyle and explains its simplicity. The houses of Korean citizens, as the readers are told, mainly consist of one single room with a sleeping mat and a little eating table without chairs, since Koreans eat while sitting on the floor. According to this entry, richer people in Korea live magnificently. Before a small segment on Korean language, different sections on society and its hierarchy are briefly discussed. Religion and trade are explained in more detail, though the choice of words is nearly identical to the previous edition and only few details are added.

The beginning of the special supplementary volume from 1873, which is book number 17 of the 2nd edition, gives in brackets the reference to compare this article on Korea to the article in the main work. The author writes about “civilized states” and leaves the reader with the impression that Korea is not part of them (see Chapter 5.2).

¹³⁰ *Neues Konversations-Lexikon, ein Wörterbuch des allgemeinen Wissens*, 2nd ed., s.v. “Korea.”

Korea hat neuerdings wieder die Aufmerksamkeit der civilisirten [sic] Staaten erregt, da die nordamerikanische Regierung bestrebt ist, den Mannschaften der in den chinesischen Gewässern Schiffbruch leidenden Schiffe eine gesicherte Aufnahme an den Küsten zu verschaffen.¹³¹ [Korea has recently again attract attention of the civilized states, because the North-American government strives to grant a safe intake of the ships, which wreck in Chinese waters.]

The article describes how Koreans did not keep the promise of the previous arranged agreement with the Western nations of letting them do an expedition along their coasts, because as soon as the fleet of an American, German, French and English ships approached in June 1871 (Battle of Ganghwa)¹³² it was put under heavy fire. Nevertheless, the fleet landed and destroyed parts of the coast. After that incident the Korean government agreed again to take up negotiations

deren wohlthätige [sic] Folgen bei dem treulosen Charakter der Bevölkerung freilich sehr zweifelhaft sind. Es versteht sich übrigens von selbst, daß die humane Bestrebungen der Amerikaner als Endzweck Handelsvortheile [sic] haben und auf Eröffnung von Häfen auf der Halbinsel [...] hinausgehen.¹³³ [which charitable results by this unfaithful character of the population are very doubtful. It speaks for itself that the humane attempts of the Americans have as final aim trade advantages and amount to the opening of the ports of the peninsula.]

These few words alone put the Koreans in a very negative light and only show the imperialist Western forces' impression and position, without explaining about the Koreans' way and motive of avoiding any contact to other nations. The last sentence indicates directly that all faults are dissociated from Western forces, because it points out the "legitimate" reasons of their actions and leaves out the Korean perspective. Previous negotiations were positive, but it is not known to which extent Koreans understood the terms and to which degree they agreed upon them. The supplement entry does not give a positive reflection of the Koreans and can rather be interpreted in the way on how the Western powers justified their actions against the peninsula. There is no reference to the author of this contribution and no further information given on sources used.

¹³¹ *Neues Konversations-Lexikon, ein Wörterbuch des allgemeinen Wissens*, 2nd ed. supplement, s.v. "Korea."

¹³² Charles Holcombe, *A History of East Asia. From the Origins of Civilization to the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011) 179, 210.

¹³³ *Neues Konv.-Lex.*, 2nd ed. supplement, s.v. "Korea."

4.3.3.3. *The fifth edition and the educated Koreans*

The 5th edition of Meyer's encyclopedia (1893–1897) in 17 volumes already hosts a comprehensive article over three and a half pages in its 10th volume (1896). It is well structured in topic areas, e.g. provides information on Korea's population, trade and history. Topographic details such as the height of various mountains and the distances between places are given. Korea's ground structure is well explained and seems a little too detailed, as if an expert on geology wrote the article. The ports of Korea are mentioned here, as well as Korea's islands and climate – even with estimated Celsius degrees and rainfall for the seasons and regions – something that is not found in other encyclopedias of that time. According to the text, since the fauna of Korea is not well known, the assumption that it is similar to China is made. Korea's fauna belongs to other neighboring regions and certain species are described, even the most distinctive types of plants, for example the Magnolia, are considered in a very throughout way.

In the section on Korea's population the article gives, unlike previous editions, an (estimated) number of foreigners: 12,382 people in June 1894, consisting of Japanese, Chinese, Americans, English, French, Germans and Russians, who mostly lived in the capital and the ports under the trade treaties.¹³⁴

The origin of Koreans as being a mixture of the in High-Asia appearing Sienpi and the resident Sanhan is presented in this edition. Furthermore, it is said that Koreans got their nationality and language from the Kaoli, who entered and conquered the peninsula in the 2nd century B.C.E. The outer appearance of Koreans is more similar to the Japanese than to the Chinese.

In a small section the social structure of Koreans is explained with further details about each class. The people are split into three classes: aristocrats (also known as Yangban), free people and slaves. The first have many prerogatives (liberation of military service, inviolableness of person and home) and have a particular appearance: High woven hats and colorful clothing. Other people are only allowed to wear white or un-dyed fabrics. The aristocracy is separated directly by descent and history. The Korean is very smitten for all things Chinese, especially the higher ranks of society show a strong affinity to Chinese nation- and society structure. Korean officials are, according to the entry, more or less imitating the Mandarins' lifestyle and clothing.¹³⁵

¹³⁴ *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon*, 5th ed., s.v. "Korea."

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 555:

Language plays an important role in this encyclopedia article as it is mentioned various times throughout the whole article. Information on grammar and similarities to other Asian languages is given and the article writer states that “higher” literature has the same pattern as Chinese. A list of references of existing Western literature and their authors with publishing years is included, for example authors such as Horace Allen and his *Korean Folk Tales*.¹³⁶

Regarding women, a very short passage of two sentences describes how they are treated and while only one wife is the righteous one, polygamy is common in Korea. Women live strongly secluded and adoption of children is very frequent.

Religions, which include Buddhism and Confucianism, are treated in a longer passage, giving numbers of Christians in Korea and mentioning the existing warrior monks. One sentence describes the school system in Korea and even talks about an English school, which was only attended by scholarship holders of the state. It is written that schools are altogether private, but the lower ranks of society can downright read and write in the national language.¹³⁷ This indicates that Koreans of that time were fairly educated, even though schooling was mainly for upper classes who could afford it. A reason why the nation’s people were able to read and write was certainly the easily memorable Korean alphabet, created by King Sejong in the 15th century.

In the section on trade literally all original trade treaties with Asian neighbors and Western powers are outlined. One sentence gives the number and types of ships which entered the harbors of Korea. This article provides a lot of numerical details and specific information on seemingly important topics, even though the reader has no direct comparison to other nations to give weight to these statements. For mail and telegraphic connections a rather long section is reserved and weight and height units are given to the reader as well. From the government description, which includes the earnings of the state, to Korea’s military (giving

„Das Volk zerfällt in drei Klassen: Adlige (nebst Beamten), Freie u. Leibeigene. Die ersten genießen gewisse Vorrechte (Befreiung vom Kriegsdienst, Unverletzlichkeit der Person und Wohnung u.), tragen eine besondere Kleidung, hohe geflochtene Hüte, farbige Gewänder, während das übrige Volk nur weiße oder ungefärbte Stoffe tragen darf. Der Adel scheidet sich in gesonderte durch Abstammung und Geschichte begründete Geschlechter. Für alles Chinesische ist der Koreaner sehr eingenommen. Besonders die höheren Stände zeigen eine starke Hinneigung zur chinesischen Staats- und Gesellschaftsordnung. Das Leben, die Kleidung der koreanischen Beamten sind mehr oder weniger den chinesischen Mandarinen nachgeahmt.“

¹³⁶ Horace Newton Allen, *Korean tales: being a collection of stories translated from the Korean folk lore* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1889).

¹³⁷ *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon*, 5th ed., s.v. "Korea.":

„Die Schulen sind sämtlich Privatanstalten, doch kann das niedere Volk durchweg die Landessprache lesen und schreiben.“

additionally the crest and national flag description), the text ends with a brief elaboration on Korean history.

Even though more detailed information is presented, providing sections on traffic and trade, and including at the end of the article eleven books as reference, the overall structure of Meyer's lexicon stays the same and repeatedly lists Korea's topography, cultural topics and its history. Overall, this demonstrates that over time data became more detailed and sources were added for the purpose of content justification. Brockhaus shows this development in the best way, but also Meyer confirms this progress, especially because supplement volumes present what type of extra material was 'worth' and important enough to be added.

4.4. French Encyclopedias

The French encyclopedia market offers a variety of series, but only a few suitable Korea articles exist. The three chosen encyclopedias for the present thesis are the *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné* from the second half of the 18th century, the *Grande encyclopédie* from the second half of the 19th century, and the newer *Nouveau Larousse Illustré* from the late 19th century. The reason for this selection is their availability, suitability and their common degree of popularity.

4.4.1. Diderot's 'Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné' (1751–1772)

The French *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* by Denis Diderot and Jean Baptiste le Rond d'Alembert is said to be the most popular early encyclopedia in Europe. It was published from 1751 until 1772 (followed by seven supplements until 1880) and has the reputation to have triggered the Great Revolution. The title recomposes encyclopedia with "dictionnaire raisonné", with the meaning of being a reasonably organized (i.e. critically sophisticated) dictionary.¹³⁸ Diderot's encyclopedia influenced various classes of society and was essential to European ideas and attitude in many aspects, since it put reason, scientific methods and empirical evidence over faith and religion. This was criticized by the Catholic Church because it was seen as an attack on the Christian world view. The encyclopedia is designated as the most important work of European Enlightenment and is understood as the universal dictionary of arts and sciences of the late

¹³⁸ The background to the encyclopedia is that André Le Breton approached Diderot "with a project for the publication of a translation of Ephraim Chamber's Cyclopaedia into French [...] [but] he persuaded Le Breton to publish a new work, which would consolidate ideas and knowledge from the Republic of Letters," World Public Library Association/Project Gutenberg, "Encyclopedie," Gutenberg.org, accessed November 8, 2015, <http://self.gutenberg.org/wplbn0002097022-encyclopedia-by-denis-diderot.aspx?#>.

19th century. This reference work in three volumes served at that time as a source for citing, translating and debating about a range of topics. It was used by Europe's upper classes to draw on the same treasure of knowledge. Diderot himself, as he writes in the entry on "encyclopedia", wanted to collect knowledge to pass it on to future generations, so that the past work of previous centuries was not in vain. He hoped that this would bring forth educated, but also more virtuous and happy people.¹³⁹ Many popular authors, such as Montesquieu, Rousseau and Voltaire took part in its writing. Later on supplements, revised editions, and translations followed. This work of international renown still has an important place in science, as the many publications in connection to it confirm.¹⁴⁰

This encyclopedia provides a rather brief entry on Korea, which is surprising regarding its reputation. The geographical position "entre la Chine & le Japon" is mentioned in the first sentence of the article. In four sentences it is said, that the inhabitants of Korea are of Chinese origin and that they pay tribute to the Chinese emperor. There is no reference to the source of information and no name of a contributor. Solely Korea's location, its connection to China and Koreans descent are covered in the entry.

China and Japan on the contrary have both many pages filled with not only their general information of location, but also their philosophy, culture and customs.

In the online version of the encyclopedia, a collaborated translation project from the University of Michigan, Korea is not included. The word Orient, which summarizes the region in which Korea is integrated, is explained as a term that "designates all the regions of the world that are, in relation to us, toward the lands where we see the sun rise. It is nonetheless commonly employed for the most distant such as China, Japan, Mongolia, and the rest of India, Arabia, and Persia."¹⁴¹ This information is not enough to approximately describe Korea and its surroundings, or the relations the East Asian countries share.

The translated article on Japan from volume eight (pages 453–455, 1765) is quite long with references to China, but gives no mentioning of Korea. One important passage that depicts the relation between the East and the West is the following:

¹³⁹ Götz Hamann, "Diderots Enzyklopédie: Das gesammelte Wissen der Welt," January 17, 2011, accessed November 8, 2015, <http://www.zeit.de/wissen/geschichte/2011-1/wikipedia-diderot>.

¹⁴⁰ Lenz, *Kleine Geschichte*, 67:

A bibliophile arranged reprint of all copperplate prints of Diderot's encyclopedia (from 1762–1777) was published in the 20th century by the German Südwest-Verlag in a box with four volumes and one extra book.

¹⁴¹ Chevalier Louis de Jaucourt, "Orient," *The Encyclopedia of Diderot & d'Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*. Translated by Philip Whalen. Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing, University of Michigan Library, 2003, accessed November 8, 2015, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0000.339>, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des artes et des métiers*, s.v. "Orient."

The peoples of the Orient were once much superior to our western peoples [...], in all the manual and spiritual arts. But how we have made up for the lost time, says M. de Voltaire! The countries where Bramante and Michelangelo built Saint Peter's of Rome, where Raphael painted, or Newton calculated infinity, [...]; these countries, I say, became the first countries of the world. The eastern peoples [sic] are now in fine art only barbarians or children, despite their antiquity and all that nature did for them.¹⁴²

Despite putting the Western readers on a higher level, this text focuses more on the arts and less on physical appearance or character features of Orientals. Since there definitely were other precious works of art and buildings of fine architecture – otherwise upper class Europeans would not have collected certain items – we can be sure that a general knowledge of them simply did not exist, or at least that the author, Chevalier Louis de Jaucourt, was not all too familiar with the unique architecture, arts and crafts from East Asia or they did not appeal to him.

Due to this lack of information on Korea, it was decided to look for another, later edition, as well as a completely different early modern French encyclopedia to substitute the 'disappointing' *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné*. Since there were various other French encyclopedias published right before and after Diderot's, it was not difficult to find a more suitable source. An entry on Korea was expected in Larousse's *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX siècle* in 15 volumes (1866–1876), because of its commonly good reputation. Nevertheless, it contains no information on the subject. Another French reference work, the *Encyclopédie Nouvelle* with 4 volumes (1834–1841), contains no article on Korea either, unlike the by decades later published *Grande encyclopédie* and *Nouveau Larousse Illustré*, examined in the following sections.

4.4.2. La Grande encyclopédie (1886–1902)

One French encyclopedia with a notably longer article on Korea is *La Grande encyclopédie, inventaire raisonné des sciences, des lettres, et des arts*. It was published at the end of the 19th century in Paris with a total of 31 volumes, printed by Lamirault, and "the result was an outstanding achievement: authoritative signed articles, thorough bibliographies, excellent biographical material [...] [and] [...] much attention was paid to the definition of scientific

¹⁴² Chevalier Louis de Jaucourt, "Japan," *The Encyclopedia of Diderot & d'Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*. Translated by Jennifer Rappaport. Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing, University of Michigan Library, 2013, accessed November 8, 2015, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0002.634>, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, s.v. "Japon."

and technical terms”.¹⁴³ The twelve subject editors¹⁴⁴ included the French Orientalist Hartwig Derenbourg (1844–1908).

The 12th book (1891) contains five pages filled with detailed information on Korea in the same manner as other encyclopedias at that time. Sections on geography, climate and demography, next to many smaller subjects are presented in two columns (page 960 to 964). The structure of the article is very clear: At the beginning it gives coordinates and information on Korea’s coasts, then a short passage on climate follows. A rather long part describes the country’s name and indicates that its typical usage in the West derives from the Korean and Japanese reading. While the section on demography is only three sentences short, the part on political geography is separated into government, political divisions, provincial government, and commerce which includes charts of annual revenue and a paragraph on currencies, weights and measures. The final paragraph includes the nation’s history with a sub-chapter on foreign relations, i.e. one full page (two columns) of the entire encyclopedia entry. Following historical events, a short passage on Korea’s language system emphasizes the difference to Chinese. Korean letters are enumerated and Korean numbers are written in Romanization. It is noteworthy that only the passages on ethnology and language have named authors. One rather large part of the whole article is written by the French anthropologist Sigismond Zaborowski¹⁴⁵ and describes in great detail the ethnology of Koreans and segments the various groups of Korean descent. Furthermore, this part focuses on the seclusion of the country and describes it as “une terre mystérieuse”, which – despite some foreign penetrations – has been almost completely exempted from investigations of Western powers. The prehistoric past, as the author states, cannot be traced, but the physical type of its habitants can be known due to their affinity with Chinese and Japanese. Something that distinguishes the article in this French encyclopedia from others is the detailed description of the Korean type or origin. The author explains the Korean as being a mixture of the Altaic and the

¹⁴³ Collison, *Encyclopedias*, 194.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 194:

“Camille Dreyfuß [was] the ‘Secrétaire général’ for the first 18 volumes. The remainder of the volumes were supervised by André Berthelot. There were twelve subject editors - including Dreyfus and Berthelot – and they included Hartwig Derenbourg [...], the Orientalist and son of the Orientalist Joseph Derenbourg (1811–1895).”

¹⁴⁵ *Sigismond Zaborowski* (1851–1928/9) is a French anthropologist and professor, who worked as a librarian and secretary of the Anthropological Society of Paris. His written work is numerous and regardless of collaborating with the Great Encyclopedia, it exceeds one hundred pieces easily and is translated into various languages. His fields of interest were diverse. One book for example carries the title “Les peuples aryens d’Asie et d’Europe, leurs origines en Europe, la civilization protoaryenne”, published 1908.

European type and would 'meet in the lowest (social) classes'.¹⁴⁶ Physical characteristics are based on Léon de Rosny's work: Koreans are portrayed with more prominent jaws, less beard, and flatter noses. Their complexion is less yellow and brown in comparison to their East Asian neighbors.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, the article states that the Korean's true origin is revealed by the characters of women, who are doing the toughest jobs in Korean society.

One section describes the poorer Koreans' home as very simple, robust, usually very small and rudimentary in construction, "[m]aisceserait chez eux un honneur de manger beaucoup."¹⁴⁸ [But it would be an honor to eat a lot in their home.] Their diet, also mentioned in other encyclopedias, is mainly based on rice, they barely know tea and consume much more meat such as beef, pork, poultry, game and fish, than their Japanese neighbors.

Another section focuses on clothes and distinguishes between female and male clothing. Their main garment is a jacket with narrow sleeves sufficient to men, women wear the jacket shorter over a skirt. The whole garment is generally made of white hemp cloth and hats are huge and comparable to umbrellas. As the previous information shows, the distinction between men and women is an important factor in Korean society. Korean women have little social presence, although they enjoy respect and have certain freedoms. The Korean woman is married without consultation and has no name once married; she is referred to as 'the mother' or 'the woman'. Polygamy is permitted, but not the norm. One paragraph also discusses children, filial piety and the connection to China in cultural matters. The article states that children must show absolute respect to their father and that birthright is the rule. The author

¹⁴⁶ *Grande encyclopédie*, 1st ed., s.v. "Coreé.":

"Le premier de ces types, le plus répandu, est d'origine altaïque; sa caractéristique est connue : tête très large ou brachycéphale, peau glabre et jaunâtre, nez court et aplati, cheveux noirs et durs, yeux obliques bridés. L'influence chinoise est chez lui sensible; mais il s'écarte des Chinois par des traits mongoliques et on le dit d'origine tongouse.

Le second type frappe tout d'abord par son aspect européen, son visage ovale, son nez presque droit, long et saillant, son teint plus clair, une certaine pilosité des membres, sa barbe mieux fournie, ses lèvres minces. Les caractères du crâne, qui est allongé au lieu d'être court, sont en rapport avec cet aspect extérieur.

Le troisième type coréen est bien moins distinct en raison du moindre nombre de ses représentants et de son mélange avec les deux éléments précédents. Il se rencontrerait dans les plus basses classes. On le rapproche du premier des deux types précédents. Mais il y a des contradictions dans la peinture qu'on en fait. Chez lui les mâchoires seraient plus proéminentes, la barbe moins fournie, le nez moins écrasé, le teint moins jaune et plus brun."

¹⁴⁷ Léon Louis Lucien Prunol de Rosny (1837–1914) was a prominent French ethnologist, linguist and orientalist. He lectured at the Collège de France, was contemporary a newspaper editor, spoke various languages (including Chinese and Japanese) and published a plethora of articles and books. One of them is called "*Les Coréens: Aperçu Ethnographique Et Historique*" [Paris: Maisonneuve Frères Et Ch. Leclerc, 1886] in which he describes in detail all about Korea, its nature, geography, relations, institutions, physical and intellectual characteristics (including pictures), manners and customs, script, language and literature, notes on dynasties and kings, etc.

¹⁴⁸ *Grande encyclopédie*, 1st ed., s.v. "Coreé.

says that education and culture are entirely Chinese and scholars come forth beneath the royal family, and all offices are obtained by examinations.¹⁴⁹

At the end of the passage on ethnography, the classes of society are described, as well as Buddhist cults and Confucianism. The last sentences give an overview on economy and transportation, mentioning the usage of a kind of palanquin for richer people. In this part a little about Korean culture in the form of arts and music is mentioned in connection to the upper classes of the social order. The Korean industry is described as retrogressive, because it is said to be “encore presque nulle ou passé pour telle” [still almost non-existent].¹⁵⁰ The last information of this section reveals the author’s name: S. Zaborowski, without referencing further information on him and his connection to Korea.

At the end of the entire article on Korea a reference section is included, shortly titled “Bibl.”, which presents the reader with further information on Korea from sources which were all published in the second half of the 19th century. Names such as de Rosny, Oppert, Ross, Dallet and Griffis are mentioned. Since different authors were contributing their own passages to the whole entry, the sources also vary and next to works on geography and history of Korea, a French-Korean dictionary and a Korean grammar book in French are found.¹⁵¹ This indicates that the knowledge about Korea was not only animating publishers to print and people to read books about it, but also shows that the encyclopedists had more sources available to profoundly base their texts on, which gives the entries authenticity and volume.

The articles on China and Japan are much longer and a lot of pictures demonstrate for example nature and art. To make the differences clearer: the Korean article is about five pages long, the Chinese article counts 37 pages and the Japanese article 27 pages. The two latter nation’s entries include a double sided colored map of the region. The Chinese article is divided into thirteen bigger sections for example about religion, arts and philosophy and further sub-sections. The bibliography of the used sources at the end of the whole article – another difference to the Korean article – covers nearly half a column and provides various

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 961:

“Les enfants doivent un respect absolu à leur père. Le droit d’aînesse est de règle. L’éducation et toute culture intellectuelle sont entièrement chinoises. Le régime des castes professionnelles s’est greffé en Corée sur une ancienne organisation féodale. Les lettres viennent de suite au-dessous de la famille royale comme en Chine, et toutes les fonctions s’obtiennent par des examens.”

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., 961:

“Le régime de la propriété était naguère presque entièrement communiste. Les classes élevées cultivent certains arts et notamment la musique. Mais l’industrie coréenne est encore presque nulle ou passé pour telle. Les grands se font transporter dans une sorte de palanquin particulier don’t le centre appuie sur une roue unique.”

¹⁵¹ *Grande encyclopédie*, 1st ed., s.v. “Coreé.”

foreign language reference works from all around Europe and China. Japan's entry in the *Grande encyclopédie* is also well structured and even includes a sub-chapter on legislation. The mass of information of the two major powers in the East Asian region and the number of sources make it clear that Korea in comparison only had a subordinate role. The references in the Korean article to these other two nations make this even more evident.

4.4.3. Nouveau Larousse Illustré (1897–1904)

The *Grand Dictionnaire*, a mixture of dictionary and encyclopedia in 15 volumes (1876) with the reputation of being anti-clerical, was revised by Claude Augé and published under his direction as the *Nouveau Larousse Illustré*. This encyclopedia with the subtitle *Dictionnaire universel encyclopedique* was brought onto the book market (1898–1904) in seven volumes with an additional supplementary volume in 1907. Augé wanted to produce a “new work in keeping with the times” and was very successful with his concept, since its sales were more than 340,000 copies in total.¹⁵²

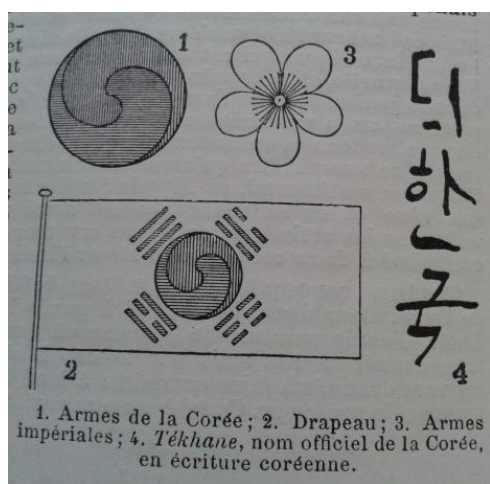
This encyclopedia includes a short entry on Korea in about one column in the 3rd volume from 1899, stretching from pages 278 to 279. Even though a lot of general description of the country is presented, nothing regarding its inhabitants (e.g. character, housing, religion, cultural customs) is mentioned in the text. Korea is introduced to the reader as “Corée” or “Chösen”, an independent empire of ‘Oriental Asia’ and “pays du matin calme” [land of the calm morning]. This is followed by a short geographical description which includes the capital name Seoul. Korea's climate, coasts and water ways are discussed in great detail, for example the average degree Celsius temperatures for winter and summer. The country is described as generally agricultural and important types of plants are listed in the text. In the part on Korea's industry, including import and export goods, the paper industry is emphasized. The origin of the empire of Korea is, as mentioned in other encyclopedias still very mysterious. The article points out Chinese – Korean relations in a detailed manner and explains that both China and Japan wanted to bring Korea under their own rule.¹⁵³ Korea's subordinate role, imposed by the two neighboring nations and the tributary connection to China are two topics considered very important. This is shown in the frequency in which they are discussed in the studied encyclopedia entries. After a short statement on Korea's administration and military force, a much longer section is granted to Korea's history. Various historical events are considered, many certified by their exact years like the founding of the

¹⁵² Collison, *Encyclopedias*, 190.

¹⁵³ *Nouveau Larousse Illustré. Dictionnaire universel encyclopedique*, 1st ed., s.v. “Corée ou Chösen.”

Joseon dynasty 1392, or the Chinese-Japanese War from 1894. The last sentence of this passage explains Korea's independence declaration according to the Shimonoseki treaty.¹⁵⁴ The last two parts of the article cover the nation's government structure and Korea's language. All of the above-mentioned topics are discussed in brief manner, leaving out any report on physical or general characteristics, rites or annual celebrations of Korean people.

Since it is an illustrated encyclopedia, the article is accompanied by the arms of Korea (see picture 4) and a map on about half a page. The structure and organization of this encyclopedia article is similar to most of the other analyzed entries.



Picture 4. Symbols of Korea in the Nouveau Larousse Illustré, page 279.

The illustrated encyclopedia article enables Westerners to see Hangul, the Korean script, and the national flag of the country (see picture 4). At the end of the 19th century already many foreigners, including missionaries, merchants and people with political interest were residing in Korea. The information about the East Asian nation was distributed through various channels to the Western public such as newspapers and books. With this background it is surprising that the Nouveau Larousse Illustré includes no source or author's names at the end of its article.

In comparison to the brief article on Korea, China as well as Japan are described on four pages each, with colored maps on a whole page and two pages with black-and white illustrations of people, arts, crafts and architecture. All sections inform intensively on Chinese and Japanese life and history. Even topics such as rivers and lakes are included in these articles.

In conclusion, the three chosen French encyclopedias do altogether not offer a lot of information on the Korean character, the Grand encyclopedia being an exception with its section on ethnology. They give the same geographical and political facts as others, but do not actually focus on Korean people. Language, the relationship to Japan and China, their economy and eventually their armed forces and climate are a few topics that are of major interest to the writer(s).

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. 279.

4.5. English encyclopedias

The selected encyclopedias of the English speaking world were chosen according to their availability and suitability. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* from the end of the 18th century onwards was selected first, followed by the lesser known *New and Complete American encyclopedia* from the early 19th century. The popular *Americana* is the third encyclopedia analyzed in this chapter, which is in reality a copy of a German series and is a representative example how information was sold, copied and distributed across continents.

4.5.1. Encyclopaedia Britannica (since 1768)

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, in short often called “E.B.” or simply by its nickname “Britannica”, was the idea of the “Society of Gentlemen” (founded in Edinburgh, 1768) and its original edition¹⁵⁵ was first issued from 1768 to 1771 with the sub-title *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*.¹⁵⁶ It is said to be the “oldest English-language general encyclopaedia” but “could not compete in bulk with the 68 volumes of Johann Heinrich Zedler’s *Universal Lexicon* or with the French *Encyclopédie*, whose 17 volumes of text had been completed in the second half of the 18th century. But it did challenge comparison with all previous dictionaries of arts and sciences, large or small, because of its new plan.”¹⁵⁷ This meant for example the inclusion of treatises and the provision of plentiful cross references between the articles with the intent to “satisfy two kinds of readers simultaneously: those wishing to study a subject seriously, who would work their way through the treatises; and those in search of quick reference material, who could instantly turn to what they wanted in its alphabetical order.”¹⁵⁸ The three founding fathers of the Society were the Scotsmen William Smellie as publisher (also generally known as the editor of the first edition), Andrew Bell as copperplate engraver, and Colin Macfarquhar as printer. Robert L. Collison argues that

[a]lthough the first edition of the *Britannica* was a moderate success, there was much to criticize in its mixture of fact and old-wives’ tales. Clinical and exact though its articles on surgery might be, there was too much superstition, prejudice and unequal

¹⁵⁵ Lenz, *Kleine Geschichte*, 48f; Collison, *Encyclopedias*, 138:

The first edition of the E.B. in three books is illustrated with 160 copperplates had sold about 3,000 bound volumes after its publishing.

¹⁵⁶ Britannica’s full name according to the title page of the 1st edition: “Encyclopedia Britannica: or, a dictionary of art and sciences, compiled upon a new plan. In which the different sciences and arts are digested into distinct treatises or systems; and the various technical terms, &c. are explained as they occur in the order of the alphabet” (Edinburgh, 1771).

¹⁵⁷ Christopher Hardy Wise Kent, “Encyclopaedia Britannica” *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, accessed May 30, 2016, <http://www.britannica.com/topic/Encyclopaedia-Britannica-English-language-reference-work>.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

treatment in many of its articles for the first issue to be called a true fore-runner of the magnificent scholarship of the ninth and eleventh editions.¹⁵⁹

According to Collison, the development of Britannica's history can be separated in five periods, but for the purpose of a better understanding and the focused time-frame, this chapter does only follow two time sections.¹⁶⁰ The first section includes the first six editions. "Britannica's first edition was published in 'fascicles' – one section at a time – over three years, from 1768 [when] [...] finished three years later [...] sold out."¹⁶¹ The 10 volumes of the 2nd edition (1777–1784) were expanded by biographical and historical articles. The 3rd edition, already expanding 18 books (1788–1797), was the first to be dedicated to the ruler of England. In this edition the French Revolution was explained on 50 pages, the colonial history and the War of Independence on 80 pages and for the first time, some articles featured text from external contributors. From the 4th edition onward, published (1801–1809) in 20 volumes, the articles were signed by authors. The 5th and 6th edition were, regardless of a few updates, reprints of the previous one, but supplements followed the 4th, 5th and 6th editions and almost all of the contained articles provide original signatures of the contributions. In addition "an extra volume provided the useful innovation of a general index, which became a standard feature of all further editions."¹⁶² The second period of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* lasts for about 70 years and starts with the 7th edition (1830–1842).¹⁶³ The 9th edition (1875–1889) was especially advertised by the Londoner "Times" newspaper. Not only did this help the financial problems of the paper, it also brought the encyclopedia a broader readership. The 10th edition was the largest with 35 volumes (including 24 volumes of the 9th edition and 11 supplements). In 1901 the E.B. was bought by the American pioneer of subscription selling, Horace E. Cooper, and the ownership rights went to the United States of America. With the rise of the digital generation and a shifting market, printed encyclopedias are no longer preferred (see Chapter 4.1) and the Encyclopedia Britannica, which is the "longest-running manufacturer of printed encyclopedias", stopped its print edition by 2012.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ Collison, *Encyclopedias*, 139. Italics as in the original.

¹⁶⁰ Further information: Herman Kogan, *The great EB: the story of the Encyclopedia Britannica* (University of Chicago Press, 1958).

¹⁶¹ Nick Enoch, "Your tome is up... Encyclopedia Britannica ends its print edition after 255 years as it fully embraces digital age," March 13, 2012, accessed March 07, 2016. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2114646/Encyclopedia-Britannica-cut-print-edition--244-YEARS.html>.

¹⁶² Kent, "Encyclopaedia Britannica."

¹⁶³ From 1852–1860 the 8th edition was published with another 21 books and popular people, such as the authors Robert Stephenson (railway bridges) and John Herschel (Meteorology), contributed texts.

¹⁶⁴ Enoch, "Your tome is up..."

Britannica's first edition (1768–77) in three volumes, gives a very brief note on Korea. The article focuses solely on the geographical facts as it simply states that "COREA, [is] an island or peninsula on the north-east coast of China, between 36° and 42° N. lat".¹⁶⁵ In comparison the article on China is more informative, it has about a quarter of a column and an extra article can be found under "Chinese", where an entire entry is dedicated to the Chinese language including the explanation of characters. The passage on Japan has approximately the same length as the Korean article and carries nothing more than the coordinates of the island. The first edition was reprinted in 1773 and 1775 in London with slight differences regarding the title page and preface, not the contents.

The 7th edition (1842) offers much more information on the country "Corea." The information from previous editions was revised, altered, or corrected if required, and the additional supplement articles were incorporated to provide enhanced contents. The Korea article in this encyclopedia gives more detailed geographical and governmental information, facts on Koreans' looks and the country's climate. The introductory sentences of the article, which is about two thirds of a page, give Korea's location, size and neighboring countries. Relevant to this thesis are the statements of the captains Hall (who was already named in Brockhaus) and Maxwell, who provided knowledge of the country, for example that the coast is well known.¹⁶⁶ The entry describes that "[t]he interior, which is known only by accounts received from China, or by those of Humel [sic], a Dutchman, who was shipwrecked there in the middle of the seventeenth century, is said to be traversed by an extensive chain of mountains from north to south."¹⁶⁷ Compared to the other encyclopedia articles, this one is part of the few which actually mention Hamel, even though he is spelled in a different way and more peripheral. This example demonstrates that even while information from a Western source could be interesting information, it is explained subsidiary and is following the statements derived from China. The article further describes where which crops are produced due to the differences in climate between the north and the south. The next part of the article explains how Korea is politically organized, that it is a tributary of the emperor of China, and

¹⁶⁵ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. 1st ed., s.v. "Corea."

¹⁶⁶ Captain Sir Murray Maxwell was a British Royal Navy officer (1775–1831). In 1815 he was "going out as ambassador to the emperor of China" and arrived in Canton in 1815 "whither he proposed to travel overland from Beijing. Maxwell took the opportunity of exploring the Gulf of Pechili, the west coast of Korea — till then unknown except by hearsay, and drawn on the chart by imagination — and the Loo-Choo [Ryukyu] Islands. The results were afterwards ably described by Captain Basil Hall of the *Lyra* brig, then in company with the *Alceste*, in his *Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the Western Coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo Island*, 1818." John Knox Laughton, "Sir Murray Maxwell", accessed March 7, 2016, <http://www.historyhome.co.uk/people/maxwell.htm>.

¹⁶⁷ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 7th ed., s.v. "Corea."

to which extent it is dependent on it. The author of the *Britannica* focuses on the appearance and characteristics of Koreans:

The Koreans resemble the Chinese in their manners. They follow the religion of Fo or Buddha; and, like the Chinese, they have their men of letters, who form a class by themselves. They are of tolerable stature; but reserved and distant in their manners, and repel the advances of strangers. Captain Hall, by whom they were visited, describes them as differing from the Chinese in dress, language, and appearance, and having none of that courtesy which they experienced everywhere in China. They are, according to his account, a ruder people, of a dark copper colour, and forbidding in their countenance.¹⁶⁸

This short statement leaves a rather negative impression, because of the comparison to their population rich tributary nation. Furthermore, the author talks about their looks and dress and gives additional information on the Koreans' lifestyle and materials they used.

Their dress is mostly a loose white frock, barely reaching to the knees, made of an extremely coarse material. They had wide trowsers [sic] of the same stuff, and sandals on their feet made of rice-straw. They appeared quite unsocial in their habits, and were extremely anxious to prevent the British from landing their shores, or from entering any of their towns and houses.¹⁶⁹

Based on Basil Hall's published travel impressions, Koreans in this article are described as "unsocial" and unfriendly. In this context we can question why the author of the text, who was supposedly British, has not seen the Scottish captain Hall in a more critical way. The article does not give specific information on Hall's published work or any other sources, despite addressing 'Captain Hall' (to a lesser degree Maxwell) by whom the Koreans were visited. The last part of the entry describes a little how poorly Koreans lived and which general characteristics were ascribed to them.¹⁷⁰

The end of the article focuses on possible advantages Korea could gain from an eventual trade with Britain, when the author states that "[t]hey would exchange nothing with the English, despising their gold and their money; and nothing else appeared to them of any value but the looking-glasses."¹⁷¹ This statement can be interpreted in different ways, as it gives the reader an idea of what could have been important to English people, or for what the

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 324.

¹⁶⁹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 7th ed., s.v. "Corea."

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 324:

"Their wretched abodes consist of walls ill constructed of canes plastered over with mud, and are built in the most confused manner. They are destitute of neatness, order, or cleanliness, the spaces between them being choked up with piles of dirt and puddles of dirty water."

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

British nation stood for in the middle of the 19th century, when it expanded its colonial power over all continents. Readers who were familiar with Asia during the modern period might have known that all of these things, if desired by Korea, were easier gained through their connection to China.

In comparison to the part on Korea, China and Japan are described in a lengthier article over a few pages, treating Korea less favorably in the second half of the 19th century.

4.5.2. The New and Complete American Encyclopedia (1805–1811)

Low's Encyclopedia or New and complete American encyclopedia, also called *Universal dictionary of arts and sciences*, was published at the beginning of the 19th century in New York by John Low (1763–1809), an immigrated English man. The first five volumes were printed under Low's supervision, the last two under his wife Esther Prentiss Low. It is illustrated with copper plates and contains maps and diagrams. The title page indicates that the contents are borrowed from the "Encyclopaedia Perthensis, with improvements."¹⁷² This encyclopedia was first published in the 1790s in Scotland and a lot of its text was literally copied from the Encyclopedia Britannica's 3rd edition.

The 3rd volume (1807) contains an article on Korea that is about half a column long (page 22 to 23). The entry can be found under 'Corea' and firstly offers information on geography and administration, followed by the statement of the capital being Hanching, where the king resides. Similar to the other encyclopedia entries from previous chapters, *Low's Encyclopedia* covers the nation's topography, economy and politics. Many trade items are named such as white paper, pencils, ginseng, horses and mineral salt. An export good which is praised and described in more detail once more is Korean paper and its production. The value of paper is expressed by being a part of the annual tribute to the Chinese court. About half of the whole article focuses on Korean paper and enumerates its quality, usage (e.g. for doors and wrapping) and compares it to be of better quality than Chinese paper.¹⁷³ Something new in comparison to other studied encyclopedia entries is the description of the fish-rich sea coasts where every year a great number of whales are found towards the north east.¹⁷⁴ According to the article, these whales have harpoons of the French and Dutch in their

¹⁷² Full title: "The New and Complete American Encyclopedia, Or, Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences on an Improved Plan: In Which the Respective Sciences Are Arranged into Complete Systems, and the Arts Digested into Distinct Treatises; Also the Detached Parts of Knowledge Alphabetically Arranged and Copiously Explained, According to the Best Authorities" (New York: John Low, 1805).

¹⁷³ *The New and Complete American Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Corea."

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 22.

bodies. The animals escaped from them in the northern extremities of Europe, “which seems to indicate a passage from the European to the Asiatic seas round the continents of Europe and Asia.”¹⁷⁵ The question why the mentioning of whales and this specific reference to Europe is important in an article on Korea can legitimately be asked. The chosen words indicate a lack of knowledge and presumptions of the author. While he demonstrates his awareness of Korean economy and relations to China, he does not give specific information on any connection between Europe and Korea, except the sea passage cited above.

Japan and China have both a much longer entry, each stretching over five pages, structured in sub-chapters. The article on China presents – next to some general topics – peculiar customs, the country’s history with the West and the Japanese people, and the Chinese national dress in sub-chapters. Even though Korea had good connections to China, they were not as important as the Japanese to the Western world and therefore, did not gain a more detailed entry in this American encyclopedia series of the early 19th century.

4.5.3. Encyclopedia Americana (since 1829)

The *Encyclopedia Americana*, also nicknamed “Americana”, was first published (1829–1833) in 13 volumes and is the oldest still continuing American encyclopedia. Originally, the encyclopedia was based on the German *Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyclopädie für die gebildeten Stände* from publisher Brockhaus (analyzed in detail in Chapter 4.3.2) and its chief editor was the German-American expatriate Dr. Francis Lieber. Other editions were published 1838, 1848, 1849 and 1858. Further works were published throughout the 20th century in various volumes. In the second half of the century the Grolier Educational Corporation took over the encyclopedia and continued to publish the work with increasing keywords and constantly updated information.¹⁷⁶ In 1995 a CD-ROM version was published, initializing the rapidly progressing online participation of the Americana and by the start of the new millennium the step into the World Wide Web was made as publisher Scholastic took over Grolier and now the famous encyclopedia lives on as a virtual database. The last printed version was published in 2006 and it is yet to be announced if there will ever be a new one.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 22.

¹⁷⁶ Lenz, *Kleine Geschichte*, 41.

¹⁷⁷ Noam Cohen, “Start Writing the Eulogies for Print Encyclopedias,” *The New York Times*, March 16, 2006, accessed March 7, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/16/weekinreview/16ncohen.html?_r=0.

The first edition of the *Americana*¹⁷⁸ includes an article on Korea in volume 3 (1830) on page 533 in approximately half a column. Initially, the geographical position and neighboring boundaries are described. Provinces, cities and Korea's nature are explained in a little more detail. Although the information is similar to the early German lexicon it is based on, descriptions regarding the Korean's character and appearance are missing. While the countries richness of wild and farm animals and Korea's commodity production – silk, flax and cotton – is covered intensively, only the last sentence estimates the Korean population to be vaguely 6–8 million people. The mentioning of the tributary system to China emphasizes an independence in its interior administration notwithstanding Korea's annual tribute, and Buddhism as state religion are the only two other things which introduce Korea and its inhabitants. With these few sentences the article seems quite short for the period of time it was written in, since others, e.g. Brockhaus, already provided much more information on the subject. The supplementary volume 14 (1851) does not include an article on Korea.

The Chinese article in the *Americana* extends over seven and a half pages and covers every possible topic in a running text without any sub-chapters or clear structure. In this encyclopedia, a reference section is given in the form of a recommendation of readable literature regarding translations from Chinese into English, French or Latin. Single titles are given to different topics, for example a grammar volume, a dictionary or a book on Confucius. According to the author, one grammar book and one dictionary are both difficult to be procured since they are printed in China and India.¹⁷⁹ The Japanese article includes three and a half pages and is similar to the Chinese one. At the end of this chapter the author gives clear references when he states that respecting to a certain topic, the reader should see this and that work or one book is more preferable to another one.¹⁸⁰

Copies of other encyclopedia articles were common, and to base a new work on an already existing one, or even entirely copy and rename it, was frequent. The basis for the *Americana* was the 7th edition of Brockhaus; therefore, a lot of information was adapted or in many parts simply translated from German, resulting in contents which were certainly too Europe-centric for the American audience. From the beginning on, the texts of the *Americana* were not planned as literal translations, but should especially include biographical,

¹⁷⁸ More information: Drake De Kay, "Encyclopedia Americana, First Edition," *The Journal of Library History* 3, no. 3 (University of Texas Press, 1986): 201-20, accessed May 7, 2016, <http://www.jstor.org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/stable/25540108>.

¹⁷⁹ *Encyclopedia Americana*, 1st ed., s.v. "China."

¹⁸⁰ *Encyclopedia Americana*, 1st ed., s.v. "Japan."

geographical and statistic information about the USA. A rather peculiar fact is that the Americana itself was the template for a British adaption with the title *The Popular Encyclopaedia* (1833–1841) with four editions, published in Glasgow. Articles with a strong relevance to America, and with German relation and origin were kept in this reference work.¹⁸¹

The success of the encyclopedia as an identity-establishing medium beyond national borders of the Western industrialized countries of the 19th century is as surprising as the actual takeover of the numerous knowledge contents from works of other nations with a fundamentally similar cultural sphere. Text modules from encyclopedias were likely to travel within Europe and North America and the contexts were often translated and adapted to national conditions. The crux was that barely any society wrote its own encyclopedia, but assigned an identity-creating function by copying another encyclopedia series.¹⁸²

Ines Prodöhl suggests reading encyclopedias of the 19th century as a transnational phenomenon, because they have the claim to distribute common knowledge and provide a national alignment, and this mixture was adaptable as well as suitable to be transferred to another nation. Altogether, this contributed to a development of a border-crossing valid general knowledge. In her essay she states that Western historiography discussed the term ‘transnational’ only in the context of if and how a new methodical approach of describing the past can be subsumed and it is often emphasized that an empiric basis is missing. Her work tries to support this basis with the example of the German Conversation Lexicon and uses explicitly the term transnational for the encyclopedias as source. In this context, she says, transnational means that Brockhaus exceeds the borders of a nation and is apparently without any problems conveyable. Common encyclopedias and with them the presentation of common knowledge are a construct of society. It is a matter of negotiation of this society, in which an encyclopedia is produced, what is approved and determined as memorable and important.¹⁸³ In the 19th century it was explicitly the encyclopedia’s responsibility to give a society sense and identity¹⁸⁴ by inclusion or exclusion of people, events, way of life and customs.

¹⁸¹ Ines Prodöhl, “Die ‘Encyclopedia Americana’ und die Crux transnationaler Enzyklopädien,” Themenportal Europäische Geschichte (2011): 1-9, accessed May 7, 2016, <http://www.europa.clio-online.de/2011/Article=509>.

¹⁸² Prodöhl, “Encyclopedia Americana,” 3.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 2f.

¹⁸⁴ Reviewers wrote about the Americana as “our” encyclopedia and saw themselves and each American as recipients and creator/originator of the work. This indicates that encyclopedias were an instrument of societal and international identity-finding, even though its origin was not original.

Translations and adaptations from Brockhaus were immense in the first half of the 19th century and the Americana was no exception. This was not only limited to Brockhaus, because the popularity of this genre after the successful model of German encyclopedias in the 19th century encouraged the selling of translation rights and no boundaries were known within Europe and North America.¹⁸⁵ After all, it was cheaper to translate, than to plan an entirely new encyclopedia. A side effect of this process was the creation of a transnational common knowledge, which was valid across the (different cultural) borders.¹⁸⁶

One point of criticism regarding the Americana was nevertheless the insufficient consideration of people, places and events essential to American history. Despite the constant criticism regarding the lack of national orientation of the encyclopedias they still were great successes.¹⁸⁷ Prodöhl expresses that encyclopedias can be seen as a medium to adjust the norms and values in Western societies.¹⁸⁸ According to her theory, this consequently means, that the observation of a translation and adaptation of knowledge especially within Europe and North America does not oppose the statement that encyclopedias of the 19th century became part of an increasing national connoted identity building. Based on this, encyclopedias are suitable as a source for a negotiation and development of transnational moral values.¹⁸⁹

In summary, this secures that encyclopedic knowledge distribution in Europe and North America in the 19th century was essentially influenced and shaped by German works and their publishers. Encyclopedias were easily translated and modified, finding a large audience because of their simple and accessible contents. In defiance of the numerous changes in the process of interpretation and modulation, these reference books had similar contents and offered orientation knowledge, which was most times constitutionally and nationally influenced. The attractiveness of knowledge was the cheap way to promote and encourage a culture-political negotiation of identities and communities. Especially commoners were fascinated since they could negotiate in “their” encyclopedia the basic

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 4f.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 6.

¹⁸⁷ Prodöhl, “Encyclopedia Americana,” 6.

¹⁸⁸ Prodöhl transforms the encyclopedia into a piece of clothing which is part of the resources of a nation and its identity. The clothing is not tailored; it took only little changes with various keywords in alphabetical order and texts of anonymous knowledge in a neutral language, which can all be seen as facets of the garment, which has in its core the same ideas of a societal together.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 6.

consensus of a 'social together'. Knowledge was, because of its form, easily modifiable and often changed with every new edition.¹⁹⁰

4.6. Other Western Encyclopedias

Through research it became evident that encyclopedias from Canada, South America, Spain and Eastern European countries came into existence quite late, which does not say that various older reference books do not exist. Only at the beginning of the 20th century, when information became available on a broader basis through cultural exchange, international co-operation and diplomacy, more and more encyclopedias were brought onto the market. The way of traveling and correspondence became easier and faster, which led to a freer knowledge and sources circulation and more and more travelogues, guide books and reports about travelling abroad to far away countries were published.

In the second half of the 19th century, Eastern Europe became increasingly aware of the positive aspects of encyclopedias and Robert L. Collison even calls them (being) gradually more "encyclopedia-conscious"¹⁹¹, which shows in the publication of various lexical works. Hungarian, Greek, Polish and other nationalities published encyclopedias and dictionaries at the end of the century.¹⁹²

In the Spanish speaking world, for example, especially dictionaries, books on language history and works generally on Spanish linguistics were wide spread in the modern period, not only on the Iberian Peninsula, but also in Latin America. Research shows that the in 1851 in Madrid published *Enciclopedia Moderna* by Francisco de Paula Mellado provides no entry on Korea and even though the original encyclopedia could not be found, it is unlikely that the Mexican *Diccionario enciclopédico* by J. Ramirez which was, according to Robert Collison, published in Mexico City in 1855, carries any information regarding Korea.¹⁹³

Since space and the set time frame precludes exhaustive treatment of examining other examples of noteworthy Western encyclopedias from the above indicated regions, it will not be discussed any further in the present thesis.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 8.

¹⁹¹ Collison, *Encyclopedias*, 189.

¹⁹² Ibid., 195.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 240.

5. Korea(ns) in the West, Orientalism and the construction of the cultural Other

This chapter provides details on the findings discussed in the previous chapters in order to analyze to which extent Koreans were portrayed in the analyzed sources. The overview is followed by interpretations of the contents with the help of selected cultural theories and concepts. The last section gives an outlook on today's representation of the 21st century Korean nation and its cultural influence on other Asian countries as well as possible further research.

Insofar as lexica and historical encyclopedias depict the story of their own time, tracing one specific topic over a longer time span allows us to realize how the world changes and both the quality and the amount of knowledge increase. Furthermore, this type of sources mirror what was considered important enough to include and what was not. Therefore, every encyclopedia is in its own way a reflection of the knowledge of its time.

5.1. The Western encyclopedias' image of Korea(ns) in detail

As previously mentioned, this Master's thesis focuses on the image of Korea in all examined encyclopedias (nine series in total) and how "the Koreans" themselves are portrayed in the respective articles. The graphs in this chapter visualize the information filtered from the encyclopedias, categorized by topics and frequency of occurrence.

5.1.1. The presentation of Korea

The following bar diagram shows clearly that general topics such as geography and politics or the country's administration were regarded as key information of more importance to the wider readership. Less attention is given to characteristics, the nation's name and its history, which only became interesting when Korea opened its borders at the end of the 19th century.

Some article writers felt it relevant to include characteristics of Koreans, some added their language system, and others included fauna and flora. Trade import and exports can be found very often and every now and then some cultural facets are mentioned, such as clothes and housing. Accommodation and living conditions are summarized under the category of "lifestyle" in the graph. The close review of all encyclopedias shows that despite having been compiled and published in the same period, the information given differs greatly, except for the geographical and political frame as a consistent baseline of all articles. Based on the frequency of each topic in the encyclopedias, the following categories were established: Geography, Administration and Politics, Economy and Trade, History, the Korean Name, Korean's Origin, Lifestyle as well as Physical and General Characteristics. Topics which were

not considered often or were too far removed from the research interest of this thesis, for example climate, population, and religion, were disregarded.

The previous chapters demonstrate the increase of information and growing depth of certain topics. Changing from a merely basic entry on geographical position and its given names, to the number of inhabitants and the country's economy and history, the concrete data became denser and more valid over time. Especially topography, administration or political relations of Korea, as well as the nation's economic influence are mentioned in nearly every single article.

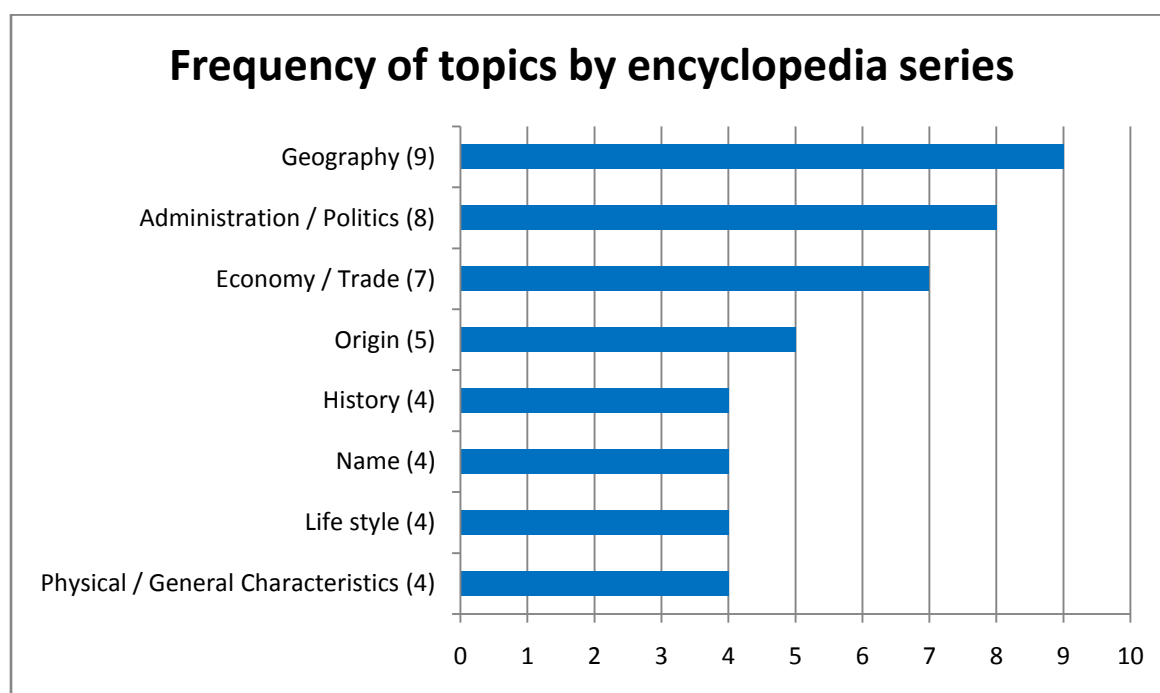


Figure 1: Number of encyclopedia series (out of 9) which include the given topics.

Beginning with the German encyclopedias, and continuing in the same order as in the previous chapters, the following paragraphs summarize the main results.

Zedler mainly covers the topics of Korea's name, geography, administration, economy with the focus on food and paper production, and is the only encyclopedia in this study to mention Korean burial rites.

Brockhaus, which was examined in its published editions over a longer period of time, focuses on Korea's name, geography, natural resources, the origin of Koreans, trade and foreign relations in later editions. Climate, wildlife, paper production, language, religion, city description, the appearance and characteristic features of Koreans (partly in comparison to Chinese), history and expeditions to the coast are covered in later Brockhaus editions. In

these, the topics of seclusion and treaties are given; finally, so are the original sources used by the author for his encyclopedic entry at the end of the article.

Meyer includes geography, population, outer appearance – especially clothes – and characterization, Korean lifestyle by describing their houses and explaining their eating manners, Korean women, language and literature. He gives references to authors who have already written about Korea, religion – especially Confucianism and Buddhism – society as well as, in later editions, climate, fauna and flora, detailed population information, origin, language, school system, treaties, history, and government. Overall, the categories geography, climate, population, economy, trade, and religion are all covered by the two later editions.

Diderot compiles in his *Encyclopédie* Korea's geographical position, the origin of its habitants, and the political situation, highlighting the relationship to China.

The French Great Encyclopedia contains much more information, surpassing the norm. Climate and demography, politics and commerce, currency and history are all themes within the article. It emphasizes Korea's ethnography and the Korean language system including examples. This emphasis shows in references given at the end of both sections. No other subchapters of this entry in the Grande encyclopédie are referenced.

In a shorter entry, the *Nouveau Larousse Illustré* condenses the information on Korea in a brief passage, accompanied by two pictures. The general topics geography, climate, trade, relations with its neighbors as well as Korean history are mainly covered. The country's administration and military force only have a subordinate place in the article. Despite its publication date, no sources at the end of the entry confirm the given information.

The last three English encyclopedias are no more varied in their contents and the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* covers solely the basic geography. The fifth edition from the middle of the 19th century offers much more information besides Korea's location and gives climate, government details, trade and sources of the information, citing Hall, Maxwell, and even Hamel, next to Chinese resources, as its foundation. This edition discusses Korean character features, though in a negative matter, to be elaborated in the following section.

The *New and Complete American Encyclopedia* and the *Encyclopedia Americana*, being mainly copies of already existing older European editions, not only contain the same contents, but also inherit their questionable authenticity and lacking originality. Nevertheless, the former points out new information, since it uses an example to indicate a connection between the West and East through a sea route and whales which traveled the long distance,

carrying Western harpoons inside. Besides this information, geography, topography, economy, and politics are repeated.

The Americana, as mentioned before, is merely a translated copy of the German Brockhaus and covers the basics, but omits character descriptions and physical appearance. By this the author(s) demonstrate(s) that they were willing to exclude information. A notable negative aspect, next to the fact that a description of Korean characteristics is eliminated, is that the article is not structured, but one continuous text. A striking positive aspect is that literature recommendations in multiple languages are provided for the reader in an extra reference section – something that cannot be found in such form in any of the other encyclopedias.

In all researched articles the sparsely provided sources are dominated by Griffis, Oppert and Roß. The directly cited sources in the texts are by Hall, de Rosny, Timkowsky and Zaborowski.

Moving from general topics to more specific, social topics, which provide a more detailed description of a people's nation and its inhabitants, the analysis shows a variety of individual aspects. These include housing, food, clothes, family relations, women's position in society, work and crafts, such as the repeatedly mentioned paper production. None of these found much attention in the early encyclopedias, even though, as we have seen in the previous chapters, Hamel and other authors already provided this information.

The following tables show these neglected or even ignored and thus withheld social themes as well as to which extent they are covered by the chosen encyclopedias. We can see that most of the topics that included Korean's character and living are distributed by the later encyclopedias, at a time when information was more accessible and accurate. Education did not seem relevant to the authors and was only mentioned in depth once in connection to monks and foreigner schools offering scholarships. This marks a striking contrast between 19th century Western images of the value Koreans placed on education and its central role in contemporary Korea.¹⁹⁴ Religion and clothing were more frequent topics, but overall, French and English encyclopedias offer less content focused on social themes.

The subsequent chapter studies the image of Koreans as described in the examined encyclopedias. Korean's outer appearance and diverse character features will show what type of picture was presented to Western encyclopedia readers.

¹⁹⁴ More information on Korea and education see: Michael J. Seth, *Education Fever. Society, Politics, and the Pursuit of Schooling in South Korea* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002); Thomas R. Ellinger, "South Korea: Placing education on top of the family agenda," *Phi Delta Kappan* 78, no. 8 (1997): 624-625; Clark W. Sorensen, "Success and Education in South Korea," *Comparative Education Review* 38, no. 1 (1994): 10-35.

	Zedler 1732–54	Brockhaus 1814/15–1894	Meyer 1851–1896
Character features	X	X	X
Outer appearance		X	X
Rites/Ceremonies	X		
Religion		X	X
Family/relationships			X
Women('s position)			X
Housing		X	X
Clothing		X	X
Food/Eating/Drinking		X	X
Work/Crafts	X	X	X

Figure 2: Table of social categories in the three German encyclopedias.

	Encyclopédie 1751–1772	Grande encyclopédie 1886–1902	Nouv. Larousse Illustré 1897–1904
Character features		X	
Outer appearance		X	
Rites/Ceremonies			
Religion		X	
Family/relationships		X	
Women('s position)		X	
Housing		X	
Clothing		X	
Food/Eating/Drinking		X	
Work/Crafts			

Figure 3: Table of social categories in the three French encyclopedias.

	Britannica (1768–1842)	New Compl. Am. Enc. (1805–1811)	Americana (1829–1833)
Character features	X		
Outer appearance	X		
Rites/Ceremonies			
Religion	X		X
Family/relationships			
Women('s position)			
Housing	X		
Clothing	X		
Food/Eating/Drinking			
Work/Crafts		X	X

Figure 4: Table of social categories in the three English encyclopedias.

5.1.2. Outer appearance and characteristics

Zedler's lexicon does not give any information on what Koreans looked like, but uses a passage on burial rites to explain the attention and care Korean people, like the Chinese, paid to the deceased. They are described as paying their respects and honoring them for no less than three years, which expresses the awareness of tradition and their filial piety.

Brockhaus mentions the origin of Koreans and emphasizes their similarity to the Chinese in various ways. Addressed are Koreans' good education and manners as well as their higher energy and independence in comparison to their Chinese neighbors. Koreans do not, according to the entry in the 9th edition, show arrogant pride to Europeans, unlike the Chinese, and do not have such high morals as the Japanese and Chinese. The article praises them as being skilled engineers and capable sailors. Physical features given include their height and strength. Their character features are described as ill-mannered, but they are, according to the Brockhaus authors, more honest and purer in morality than the closest Asian nations. The 12th edition gives two examples of supposedly unjustified killings of foreigners in Korea, which was answered by revenge from the foreign side. The 13th edition mentions a closer connection to the Japanese regarding their physical appearance. In the 14th edition we can find more information on Yangban (scholarly officials) clothing – they wear high hats and colorful fabric – and the contrast to the other, lower classes of society, who wear white and plain clothes. Features of the skull, according to the article on Korea in this edition, show the differentiation of the societal position of the population. This motif of physical features and their hierarchy in society was not new to Western readers, at least at the end of the 19th century.¹⁹⁵ Polygamy, adoption, and ancestor worship are mentioned every now and then to give a more detailed description of Korean society, as it occurs in later editions.

In its original volume, Meyer's *Conversations-Lexicon* offers a description of the country and certifies the Koreans' diligence in farming. The article writer goes into detail when describing the Korean appearance, ranging from the strong, middle-sized stature with black-brown or copper colored skin to black hair, and summarizes them as being of brazen character. Cotton clothes such as their wide trousers or skirts with straw sandals or cloth shoes are used to describe their outer appearance; and female clothes are distinguished. The Korean hair is portrayed as tied or let down and the men's beard, according to the author, as not shaved. The Korean character is assessed, by way of circumstantial descriptions, as not very clean in regard to their housing. One passage focuses solely on the personality and position of Korean women. The author admits that the Korean character is assessed in a contradictory manner: for one part they are portrayed as slave-like, treacherous, and lewd; for another they are described as wary, but honest and moderate. References given for these statements are

¹⁹⁵ For an in-depth discussion on race and biology see: Joseph L. Graves, *The Emperor's New Clothes: Biological Theories of Race at the Millennium* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001); Audrey Smedley, "Race as biology is fiction, racism as social problem is real: anthropological and historical perspectives on the social construction of race," *American Psychologist* 60 (2005): 16-26; Jonathan Michael Kaplan, "'Race': What Biology Can Tell Us about a Social Construct," *Encyclopedia of Life Sciences* (2011), DOI: 10.1002/ 9780470015902.a0005857.

Hall and Timkowsky. While Hall is quoted as seeing a fine politeness, Timkowsky calls them simple and plain during interaction. Other dominating character features are their cheerfulness and allegiance. According to the encyclopedia article, women there can have more freedom than in China, but only enjoy little respect. Polygamy is also discussed in Meyer's works as legal but not very common in the richly populated agricultural country. According to them, one wife is legitimate and lives in the house, but overall marriage is taken lightly. A Korean father's reputation is similar to a Chinese's and the oldest son is the main heir, the daughters inherit nothing. All Korean customs are altogether Chinese, so the final conclusion to take from Meyer's articles. These articles repeatedly emphasize the dominance or rather influence of Chinese culture, for example when talking about knowledge, art, and science. Considering the three German encyclopedias, Koreans were overall mostly compared to the Chinese and Japanese character and culture.

In its section on ethnography, the French *Grande encyclopédie* offers a comprehensive image of the Korean by describing physical features, for example their flat nose and their brown and yellow skin complexion. The ethnologist Léon de Rosny is mentioned as source. This article mentions women as being the stronger sex and even highlights that the true origin of Koreans is exposed by the women's character. In comparing the Korean woman to other Asian women, de Rosny sees her in a lower class. Another passage considers marriage, polygamy, and the position of women as mothers, giving up their own name but gaining, according to the article based on de Rosny, some freedom and respect in Korean society. Children and filial piety are mentioned and explained by the example of children showing absolute respect to their father. Even though not in a detailed manner, education and examination culture is included in the article. Furthermore, Buddhist and Confucian religion, as part of Korean life, and the means of transportation of the higher classes of society are used to distinguish Korean society's social classes. While Korean housing is described as spartan, they are honorable when inviting guests; indeed, a passage of the text focuses on Korean food and drink. A section on clothes conveys a simple picture of the nation's attire. A jacket with narrow sleeves for men and a shorter jacket over a skirt, all made of white hemp cloth, some wearing wide hats. Customs for men and women, as shown by the differentiation of clothes, and their strict division appears more than once in the encyclopedia articles. The French *Grande encyclopédie* lists the French anthropologist Sigismond Zaborowski as author of the ethnology section in the Korea entry.

Neither Diderot's encyclopedia nor the *Nouveau Larousse Illustré* contains any information regarding Korean culture, appearance or character features, despite the immense difference between their dates of publication.

The three English encyclopedias convey a neutral to negative rather than positive image of Koreans. The Britannica in its first edition, as mentioned above, does not exceed basic data on the geographical position of the peninsula, but in the seventh edition provides many details regarding appearance and characteristics. This information is based solely on Hall, since no other sources are mentioned after or within the text, who portrays Koreans as being similar to Chinese in various fields, such as their behavior, religion, and the examination system, but different in dress, language, and looks. Their dress is explained in a brief sentence as being short and consisting of a loose white dress made of an "extremely coarse material", combined with sandals and wide trousers. He further describes them as people with an acceptable figure with dark copper-colored skin as well as reserved and isolation-seeking manners to ward off strangers' advances. This statement is emphasized by saying they are "extremely anxious to prevent the British from landing their shores, or from entering any of their towns and houses". The reasons why Koreans did not seek connections to the West and the historical-political background are not given. Character traits like not having the same courtesy as their Chinese neighbors and being "rude" and "forbidding in their countenance", as well as being "unsocial" in their behavior all contribute to a negative image of Koreans. The article writer copies Hall's travel report and does not question or criticize it in the slightest. By quoting the description of their houses as cheap homes, lacking "neatness, order, or cleanliness", they are additionally portrayed dirty and muddy. The observation that they are "built in the most confused manner" is not explained further, leaving it to the reader to interpret the Korean construction of houses. All this information does not do credit to reality; it simply includes and represents only the majority of Korea's society. The general image of the Korean conveyed in this context is a very negative one, marking him as being unfriendly and dirty.

Another aspect to be addressed is the claim that Korea might gain advantages by trade with Britain, but they did not want to exchange anything. Koreans are said to "despise" British values and valuables, such as money and gold, except for looking-glasses. However, Korea at the middle of the 19th century did not depend on any trade with the West, simply because it could gain these foreign items through China and Japan. One might read in this passage an implicitly taken offense in the sense that this was a nation that had dared having no interest in trading with the British Empire. Nevertheless, the British did not write off Korea,

but saw it as an important region to hold their ground against a possible Russian intervention. This strategic interest was expressed by the British occupation of Port Hamilton from 1885 to 1887 (also known as Geomundo Incident).¹⁹⁶

Other than the Britannica, the early *New and Complete American Encyclopedia* and the *Encyclopedia Americana* from the middle of the 19th century contain no information on the appearance and characteristics of Koreans. The Americana at least covers the estimated population and the state religion of Korea.

Considering the comparison to China and Japan, it is abundantly clear that Korea was not regarded with as much attention as the other two nations. Whereas China held most of the interest in the examined Western encyclopedias, Korea was seen as something of a little brother to be acknowledged but not worthy of further fact-finding and analysis, because there were after all other regions of more importance, such as Japan. The conviction that the Korean is interchangeable with the Chinese is a belief which occurs continuously throughout all encyclopedias.

Concluding this research on the chosen nine encyclopedias of different national backgrounds, timeframes, and languages, the mindset that the ‘Yellow race’ of Asia can be generalized and assembled corresponds to what was done to the Black African, the Red Indian, and the White European. As explained in more detail in the second chapter of the present thesis, this definitely contributed to the scarcity of material presented in the encyclopedia entries. In this respect, the political situation in Korea also needs to be kept in mind, i.e. the country’s wish to be excluded from world affairs in general and to be isolated from Western control and exercise of power in particular. To shift the analysis to the political context of the encyclopedias themselves, the next section will cover what this imperialist thinking meant in connection to the cultural other and the characterization of Koreans.

5.2. Findings in the light of cultural theories

Following the definition of ‘culture’ in the introduction, this chapter focuses on the application of cultural theories and concepts on the evaluated encyclopedia article contents.

As cultural subjects, the authors of the encyclopedia entries are “social actors who use the conceptual systems of their culture and the linguistics and other representational systems to construct meaning, to make the world meaningful and to communicate about that world

¹⁹⁶ “WHKMLA: Anglo-Korean Relations 1883–1910,” 2008, accessed March 20, 2016, <http://www.zum.de/whkmla/sp/0809/aic/aiclog.html>.

meaningfully to others.”¹⁹⁷ In his book on representation, Hall distinguishes two different but related systems: firstly, concepts formed in the mind, which function as a “system of mental representation which classifies and organizes the world into meaningful categories” and, secondly, language as a communication tool to convey the meaning from the concept constructed beforehand.¹⁹⁸ The production and expression of meaning is therefore not a natural process, but the result of social conventions. In the course of a lifetime these codes, which “allow us to translate our concepts into language – and vice versa”, are developed. As “shared ‘maps of meaning’ – which we learn and unconsciously internalize as we become members of our culture”, such codes are fundamental for meaning and representation.¹⁹⁹

[I]f meaning changes, historically, and is never finally fixed, then it follows that ‘taking the meaning’ must involve an active process of interpretation. Meaning has to be actively ‘read’ or ‘interpreted’. Consequently, there is a necessary and inevitable imprecision about language. The meaning we take, as viewers, readers or audiences, is never exactly the meaning which has been given by the speaker or writer [...].²⁰⁰

This implies, as broached in the introduction, that it is not only difficult, but impossible for today’s readers to understand and relate all hidden and implied insinuations and suggestive comments comprehensible and distinguishable to the readers and writers of the respective encyclopedia’s first time of publication.

5.2.1. Orientalism in the selected encyclopedias

It must be noted that the term ‘Orientalism’ is associated with various world regions and beyond describing the term in Edward Said’s own words, it is essential to explain his emphasis on the importance the Orient has to the West and which geographical differences were made between the Near East and Far East²⁰¹ in understanding the location of “the Orient”. Said considers the Orient to be almost an invention of Europe, from antiquity onwards carrying characteristics such as being a place of romance and exotic beings. However, the perspective from the much farther North America is different from that of

¹⁹⁷ Hall, *Representation*, 25.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 29.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 32.

²⁰¹ Especially in connection with the consideration of European discourses on the "Other" and in the context of Orientalism, should the term "Orient" (and the distinction ‘Near’ and ‘Far’ East) be considered, since it is generally used in Europe mainly with the connection to West Asia. Edward Said developed his approach indeed in "the Middle East", especially in the context of European colonialism. Nevertheless, in various cases Asia is seen as part the Orient and out of this reason, the present thesis includes Korea, China and Japan into the Western construction of ‘the Orient’. For a general European Asia-perception in the 18th and early 19th century see: Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Entzauberung Asiens* (München: C.H.Beck, 1998).

Europe: Said explains that Americans would not feel the same about the Orient, “which for them is much more likely to be associated very differently with East Asia (China and Japan, mainly).” He further states that the West had a long tradition of what he calls “Orientalism”, in which the Orient “is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe’s greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other.”²⁰² While this demonstrates the connection between the West and the East and its significance, this needs to be discussed further, because writing about the East and West dichotomies requires identifying their boundaries and definitions. In other words, this thesis must address the questions of how the West – East connection is represented in general and how Korea(ns) is/are represented in Western reference works in particular. In summary, Said explains that the Orient “has helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience. Yet none of this Orient is merely imaginative. The Orient is an integral part of European *material* civilization and culture.”²⁰³ This is displayed in the importance of trade and the interest in Asian arts and crafts over centuries (see Chapter 2.3).

Although the West was not as present in the encyclopedia articles as assumed beforehand, specific nations were mentioned in the context of attacks during the nation’s history and the opening of the country. Dichotomies between the East and the West do not play any role in most articles on Korea. Additionally, Western products or cultural influences have no place in the encyclopedia entries throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, except for mentions of the presence of foreigners and their religion in later editions from the 19th century.

Beyond the distinction between the East and West, Said’s work discusses Europe’s cultural strength and the self-evidence with which it sees itself as the privileged center, considering voyages of discovery, traders in the Pacific, Jesuit missionaries in China and the Americas, explorations and reports, in all of which European powers place themselves over natives and ‘savages’, thus securing its Ethnocentric perspective. Westerners, including historians, look back on a long tradition of comparing Europe’s knowledge and experience with other world regions and partly even older civilizations²⁰⁴, drawing on Oriental source

²⁰² Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1995), 1.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 1f. Italics as in the original.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 177:

“[A]s a form of growing knowledge Orientalism resorted mainly to citations of predecessor scholars in the field for its nutriment. Even when new materials came his way, the Orientalist judged them by borrowing from predecessors (as scholars so often do) their perspectives, ideologies, and guiding theses.”

material in the attempt to know themselves better.²⁰⁵

In the system of knowledge about the Orient, the Orient is less a place than a *topos*, a set of references, a congeries of characteristics, that seems to have its origin in a quotation, or a fragment of text, or a citation from someone's work on the Orient, or some bit of previous imagining, or an amalgam of all these.²⁰⁶

This passage describes well the practice of the early encyclopedia articles studied here, in which authors copied texts and, later, travel reports without cross referencing, naming of sources or critically questioning them. Furthermore, this supports the argument expressed in Chapter 2.2, originally made in Yoon and Park's work on Koreans in English newspapers, and demonstrates the importance of giving sources to the reader: With copying a text, either from a travel report or any other source like a newspaper article, without critical reflection, ideological thought and possibly false information is spread. Nevertheless, information about the Orient was increasing by the second half of the 19th century and every piece of writing, even the "most innocuous travel book [as well as each single encyclopedia article] contributed to the density of public awareness" of this world region.²⁰⁷

The core of Orientalism, as Edward Said himself writes, is the permanent distinction between Western superiority and Oriental inferiority. None of the encyclopedia entries considered Korea a separate nation, at least culturally, subsuming it under China to be one of the three East Asian countries. The West has built its own identity, not only to take precedence over other parts of the world, such as the Orient, but to establish superiority and power by its image alone. Western nations including Britain, France, and the United States of America (also practicing imperialism from the end of the 19th century) are identified by Said as the main powers with a continuous national interest.²⁰⁸

Said captures the essence of this imperialist outlook on the rest of the world in a quotation from Anwar Abdel Malek, who identifies the

'hegemonism of possessing minorities' and anthropocentrism allied with Europocentrism: a white middle-class Westerner believes it is human prerogative not only to manage the nonwhite world but also to own it, just because by definition "it" is not quite as human as "we" are. There is no purer example than this of dehumanized thought.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁵ Ibid., 117.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 177. Italics as in the original.

²⁰⁷ Yoon and Park, "An Unfamiliar Other", 7.

²⁰⁸ Said, *Orientalism*, 192.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 108.

This statement can also be used to describe comparable situations of other world regions, for example the loss of life and land of the Native Americans, the South American Inca civilization, Australia's Aboriginals and independent African tribes, all Native cultures decimated to weak minorities without any political sovereignty and entitlement to agency.

In a sense the limitations of Orientalism are [...] the limitations that follow upon disregarding, essentializing, denuding the humanity of another culture, people, or geographical region. But Orientalism has taken a further step than that: it views the Orient as something whose existence is not only displayed but has remained fixed in time and place for the West. So impressive have the descriptive and textual successes of Orientalism been that entire periods of the Orient's cultural, political, and social history are considered mere responses to the West. The West is the actor, the Orient a passive reactor. The West is the spectator, the judge and jury, of every facet of Oriental behavior.²¹⁰

Analysis of the encyclopedias has shown which countries have the will and budget to travel as far as Korea to forcefully engage with it, including the three major powers of the West, as previously named.

In establishing representations of nations, for example 'the West' and 'the East', not only one's own viewpoint is essential, but others' as well. Hence, other views need to be taken into account in the analysis as well. It is a foundational assumption in transnational perception studies (e.g. Ella Shohat, Doris Bachmann-Medick²¹¹) that a complex relationship exists between the dominant self-understanding of a nation and the perception of that nation which is dominant in the public of other nations. Therefore, studies must point out which elements of the identity discourse are incorporated and which societal, political or economic actors and interests determine this process of selection to finally summarize it in an authoritative interpretation of the other country. More recent nation and nationalism research mainly argues that the category 'national identity' (i.e. a political-intellectual projection) is an 'imagined reality', not a nature-given circumstance or a 'given' reality (see more in Chapter 5.2.3). In this context the opposite between 'subjective' and 'objective' conception of nations and their voluntary or naturalistic reason are extensively discussed.²¹²

²¹⁰ Ibid., 108f.

²¹¹ See among others: Ella Shohat, *Multiculturalism, postcoloniality, and transnational media* (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 2003); Doris Bachmann-Medick, *The Trans/National Study of Culture: A Translational Perspective* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014); Boike Rehbein, *Theorien der Globalisierung* (Konstanz: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, 2008).

²¹² Hans Manfred Bock, "Nation als vorgegebene oder vorgestellte Wirklichkeit? Anmerkungen zur Analyse fremdnationaler Identitätszuschreibung," in *Nation Als Stereotyp. Fremdwahrnehmung und Identität in deutscher und französischer Literatur*, Vol. 76. Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000): 11-36.

To name relevant ways of analyzing another nation, the following concepts are given in connection with the present research (aiming to find representations and sources of errors in the encyclopedias' performed view on Korea and to study the peculiarity attributed to Korea through the critical analysis of perception patterns – see Chapters 3.1.1 and 3.1.2). Firstly, the scientific approach to the topic of national identity commonly referred to as “Conceptualizing”, which sees its content firstly as a historical and cultural construct, is similar to the discourse that legitimates the existence of nations through a voluntary act insofar both understand the origin of national identity in a political will. Secondly, the constructivist approach of national identity studies which groups or people, for which motives and with which strategies, credibly define the attributes of another nation and fix these qualities in one's own national public. These theoretical assumptions allow analyzing the generating and content fixing of an image from the other nation as foreign-national identity ascription.²¹³ This thought will be used for the purpose of this thesis by applying it, in a strictly limited fashion, to the construction of Otherness (Chapter 5.2.2) and to nation branding and cultural diplomacy in a contemporary context (Chapter 5.2.3).

Said does not want to simply represent the West, but emphasizes the supremacy of the West “which has controlled the Orient with intention, particularly under the circumstance of their [sic] having greater power than the Orient. When there is unbalanced power between two sides, an unequal and unilateral relationship appears in their knowledge of each other.”²¹⁴ This uneven relationship between the East and West is a focus in his conception of Orientalism. This can be seen at work in the Britannica entry: The British writer emphasizes that Korea refuses to trade with the English, although their value is presumed to be higher, and demonstrates their superiority in the form of money and gold, as if Korea did not have these material goods. Trade as a framework for self- and other-representation is thus an instance of what Said repeatedly points out as stereotypical images that created the knowledge of the Orient (and thus one way of approaching it), allowing the West to contain and represent the Oriental by “dominating frameworks.”²¹⁵ Opposing characteristics and stereotypical images were superimposed on these specific world regions to differentiate the East and the West:

The West has constructed its own identity by differentiating the alien Otherness in this way; the Occident is advanced, rational, logical, and balanced, [...] while the Orient is ‘the same, unchanging, uniform, radically peculiar object.’ [...] The Orient also has

²¹³ Ibid., 11f.

²¹⁴ Su-Young Park, “Western Perceptions of Korea 1890–1930. Comparative Study on the Relationship between Reciprocity and Colonial Discourse” (Master's thesis, Uppsala University, 2008), 8.

²¹⁵ Said, *Orientalism*, 40.

backward characteristics, such as tendency to despotism, habit of inaccuracy or indifference. The Orient is thus not the Orient as it is, but as constructed by the European will to dominate ‘the Other.’²¹⁶

Cultural strength, as Edward Said says, cannot be discussed without risking vague generalizations until enough material has been analyzed. He therefore settles for the statement that, as far as the West was concerned, the assumption that the Orient and everything in it was either inferior or in need of “corrective study” by the West.²¹⁷ A recent discussion of Orientalism in the context of Korea is provided by Su Young Park’s work on Western perceptions of Korea 1890–1930:

In some respects, the Far East, to which Korea belongs, was not a threatening opponent to Europe. Nevertheless, it is possible to adapt the theory of Orientalism to Korea with the help of Said’s argument: that the period of growing Orientalism matched the period in which the European empire expanded in Asia and Africa from 1815 to 1914. [...] Even though Korea was not a colony of the European countries, Korea was a kind of “the Other”, which was thought to be in need of corrective intervention by the West.²¹⁸

This thought manifested in Korea being treated as the power playground between Russia and Great Britain, for example in the occupation of Port Hamilton noted in the previous chapter. As specified in the first part of this thesis, Korea was not a nation of interest until the mid-1900s and became an object of more intense studies at the end of the century. Regarding the Western field of research, approaches like the present thesis are very rare, making Su Young Park’s Master’s thesis a valuable contribution.²¹⁹ In Korean academic circles Park distinguishes two main streams of applying Orientalism to the case of Korea: The first to “study the inner ‘Self’ when Koreans met the Western ‘Other’”, i.e. dealing with the “internalizing process of Orientalism”; the second to “study the Western perception of Korea”, focusing on how the West represented and perceived the Orient.²²⁰ Since the late 1990s, the translation and publication of Western travel texts into Korean and thus its research became increasingly active. Park elaborates that several studies on Western images of Korea had been conducted before the late 1990s, but that the textual materials they used were rather limited with respect to the “pro-Korean texts”, e.g. texts by James S. Gale and B. Hulbert, writers who “displayed a familiarity or fondness with the natives’ customs and history during

²¹⁶ Park, “Western Perceptions of Korea 1890 – 1930”, 6.

²¹⁷ Said, *Orientalism*, 40f.

²¹⁸ Park, “Western Perceptions of Korea 1890 – 1930”, 4.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 22.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 22ff.

their long residence in Korea.”²²¹ After the 1990s, “the study of Western images of Korea has expanded to include various travel writings.”²²² These late 19th century travel reports reveal much more information on characteristics of Korean people and their way of life. Travelers and expatriates give details on, for example, Korean women and household chores, something that cannot be elaborated in encyclopedic entries due to their briefness, their expected readership, and their regulation of information that is taken to be important.²²³

In her important essay, Sun Ju Kim analyzes how Koreans were represented as the ‘Other’ through the examination of Ernst Oppert’s book *A Forbidden Land: Voyages to the Corea* from 1880. This approach reveals that access to the sources was easier and working with travel literature more popular. She concludes that Koreans were depicted overall as being “in-between” and “unzivilized” [sic].²²⁴ As described in Chapter 5.1 on appearance and character, the Korean is often compared to the Chinese and Japanese, which according to Sun Ju Kim’s article and the research done by Park and Yoon is visible in many written sources of the West.

Overall, Korean characteristics are described superficially and seem neutral to negative. Despite their friendliness, it is said that Koreans are dishonest and do not keep their word once given. Sadly, the tendency for a more negative description, considering all compared encyclopedia entries, was the dominant image of that time at least until new travel literature and more detailed reports from East Asia reached Europe and the Americas at the end of the century. It seems that very few encyclopedia authors took their time to do proper research on Korea and its people. While travel literature often includes character descriptions and the retelling of personal experiences, encyclopedias keep the information mainly objective and short, even though enough information on the topic was available, as we know

²²¹ Park, “Western Perceptions of Korea 1890 – 1930”, 22ff.

²²² Ibid., 22ff.

²²³ „The crucial changes in the relationships between Korea and Western countries in the second half of the nineteenth century naturally had a significant impact on the scope and character of the literature dealing with Korea. While in the past only a few overviews with general descriptions of the country’s geography, history, politics, and the Korean people and their customs had been published, by the late nineteenth century this kind of literature grew to a considerable quantity. On the qualitative side, improvements also appeared. Along with more in-depth overviews, specialized books [...] began to be printed around that time. An increasing number of foreigners had the chance to come into and travel around the country, travel accounts, too, changed their nature – becoming more individualized and localized. Step by step, new areas of the hitherto sparsely known country were explored [...]” Sonja Haeussler, “Descriptions of the Baekdusan and the Surrounding Area in Russian and German Travel Accounts,” *The Review of Korean Studies* 13, no. 4 (2010): 152.

²²⁴ Sun-Ju Kim, “Representing Korea as the “Other”: Ernst J. Oppert’s *A Forbidden Land: Voyages to the Corea*,” *The Review of Korean Studies* 7, no. 1 (2004): 161.

today. Irrespective of the lack of sources used the expression of ‘Otherness’ in countless passages in the encyclopedias needs to be discussed further.

5.2.2. “Otherness” and the concept of the Korean as the cultural Other

The meaning of ‘Otherness’ is perhaps best described within sociology, where it is central how minority and majority identities are constructed. Various groups and their representation in any society are always controlled by groups with more (political) power and knowledge.²²⁵

In order to understand the notion of The Other, sociologists first seek to put a critical spotlight on the ways in which social identities are constructed. Identities are often thought as being natural or innate – something we are born with – but sociologists highlight that this taken-for-granted view is not true. [...] Social identities reflect the way individuals and groups internalize established social categories within their societies, such as their cultural (or ethnic) identities [...]. These social categories shape our ideas about who we think we are, how we want to be seen by others, and the groups we belong.²²⁶

This view indicates that individuals adjust their behavior and self-image, which is based on social interaction with other people; thus, as Zevallos explains, “ideas of similarity and difference are central to the way in which we achieve a sense of identity and social belonging.”²²⁷ As this was already discussed similarly in Chapter 4.5.5 on the Americana within the context of national identity and encyclopedias, it is not repeated here.

To be part of a group or ethnicity one has to fulfill specific criteria which are socially constructed by societies and their social groups. Each group defines and establishes itself in relation to others by differentiating who does not belong to the group. The difference between the strange Orient – “them” – and the familiar Europe “us” is expressed in Orientalism’s political vision of reality whose structure promoted this thought. Said explicates that Orientals lived in their own world, whereas we lived in ours and that said vision and material reality reinforced and thereby perpetuated each other. The division between “us” Westerners and “them” Orientals is a key concept of Said’s theory.²²⁸ In the process of defining itself, the “we” group thus defines others.

²²⁵ For a theoretical approach to “power and knowledge” see: M. Foucault: *The Subject and Power* - Michel Foucault Info, 2013, accessed May 31, 2016, <http://www.Foucault.info/doc/documents/Foucault-power-en.html>; Michel Foucault and Alan Sheridan, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Allen Lane, 1977).

²²⁶ Z. Zevallos, “What is Otherness?” *The Other Sociologist*, 2011, accessed March 20, 2016. <http://othersociologist.com/Otherness-resources/>.

²²⁷ Ibid.

²²⁸ Said, *Orientalism*, 43f.

The term ‘cultural frontier’ has become established as a frequently used analytical term in different languages, denoting not geographical frontiers or those between social classes, but the borders between cultures where a given culture’s inside view is distinguished from the outside view. Whereas the outside perspective is more objective and could be mapped, the opposite inside stresses “the experience of crossing boundaries between ‘us’ and ‘them’ and encountering Otherness.”²²⁹ Significantly, this crossing of cultural borders is already established through the bare existence of the encyclopedia entries, because the fact of an article on Korea demonstrates that, even though many other countries and subjects were not mentioned, the peninsula was considered worth including.

Social categories are constructed as binary opposites that depend on and integrate the Other, creating a sense of belonging, identity, and social status.²³⁰ One approach to explaining the differences between two groups is to contrast them or, as Zygmunt Bauman phrases it, identities can be set up as dichotomies.²³¹ Social identities are not natural, but relational - they represent an established social order with groups or individuals who are superior to other groups and create a hierarchy; thus, the “negotiation of identity equally depends upon the negotiation of power relationships.”²³² Particular identities, for example colonizing nations, often embed notions of superiority and inferiority, which connects to Stuart Hall’s argument that “visual representations of otherness hold special cultural authority.”²³³ The British sociologist reasons that “[i]n Western countries with a colonial history, like the UK, Australia and the USA, whether difference is portrayed positively or negatively is judged against the dominant group – namely White, middle-to-upper class, heterosexual Christians, with cis-men being the default to which Others are judged against.”²³⁴ This argument also supports the analysis of the Chinese as the dominant identity in the far-east regions of the Orient to which Korea was constantly compared in the examined 18th and 19th century encyclopedias.

²²⁹ Peter Burke, *What is cultural history?* (Cambridge, U.K.: Polity Press, 2004), 117.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 117.

²³¹ Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and ambivalence* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991).

²³² Zevallos, “What is Otherness?”

²³³ *Ibid.*

One example for the ‘visual representation of otherness’ (in a satirical way) are political cartoons of the 19th century. See: “The Infant Phenomenon. Little Jap lecturing on the Art of War to the European Representatives” (1894), Imperialism and Colonialism Cartoons, Punch Cartoons by Edward Linley Sambourne, accessed May 31, 2016, <http://punch.photoshelter.com/gallery-image/Imperialism-and-ColonialismCartoons/G0000vKN2v8ZjQ.g/I0000crnCITddrMM>.

²³⁴ Zevallos, “What is Otherness?”

Inasmuch as Korea was perceived largely through China, the observation that the Chinese (as being part of the Orient) were seen as backward, degenerated and unequal with the West at the beginning of the 19th century needs to be acknowledged for Korea, at least by implication, as well. Therefore, another field which distinguishes the two world regions and indicates the levels of power, apart from language and (material) culture, is progress and development.²³⁵

As Orientalism is “a school of interpretation whose material happens to be the Orient, its civilizations, peoples, and localities” something that is explained in detail in the previous chapter of this thesis in regards of the obvious differences between Europeans and Asians, its objective discoveries are “conditioned by the fact that its truths, like any truths delivered by language, are embodied in language [...]”²³⁶ By giving thoughts words and expressing them through the medium of language, which is embedded in our culture we grow up in, displays once more how important it is to attentively read the encyclopedic articles to understand the given usage of words, their meanings, associations and connotations. This leads us back to the beginning of Chapter 5.2, where the importance of language is discussed.

In this context it is agreed with Said when he cites that Roland Barthes said that of all the operations of language, they are “deformations”. There is no doubt that the Orient “as a representation in Europe is formed – and deformed – out of an increasing sensitivity towards a geographical region called ‘the East’.”²³⁷ When one thinks about ‘the East’ everyone has their own personal picture of this region we define. Thus, the encyclopedia reader may have had in mind the contrast between the Far East and the Near West, the weaker and the stronger party, something that is evident from the beginning of Europe’s modern encounters with what we call ‘the Orient’. The singularized and yet collective phrasing, using the definite article “the” as in “the East” typifies a singular subject; furthermore capitalizing the entity “east” creates a proper noun from the toponym.²³⁸

²³⁵ Said, *Orientalism*, 206, 208:

“The Orient existed as a place isolated from the mainstream of European [and American] progress in the sciences, arts and commerce. Thus whatever good or bad values were imputed to the Orient appeared to be functions of some highly specialized Western interest in the Orient. This was the situation from about the 1870s on through the early part of the twentieth century [...]. Theses of Oriental backwardness, degeneracy, and inequality with the West most easily associated themselves early in the nineteenth century with ideas about the biological bases of racial inequality. [...] [T]he Orient was always in the position both of outsider and of incorporated weak partner for the West.”

²³⁶ *Ibid.*, 203.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, 273.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 274.

Since language contributes and expresses stereotypes, it is worth resuming the theoretical discussion of stereotyping from Chapter 2.2. The topics discussed above show how stereotypes reduce people to a few simple and essential characteristics, which are represented as fixed by nature. This signifying practice is central to the representation of racial difference, demonstrated in the imaging of ‘the Yellow Chinese’ and the rest of Asian people.²³⁹ Stereotyping “reduces, essentializes, naturalizes and fixes ‘difference’”, but it also “symbolically fixes boundaries, and excludes everything which does not belong”, and thus “tends to occur where there are gross inequalities of power.”²⁴⁰ These three points summarize the construction of the picture of Koreans in the encyclopedias, which repeatedly emphasize the comparison to the country’s neighbors and indirectly display the Western powers desire for control of the region (e.g. the intervention with Russia), in the lack of positive interactions (cultural items from Korea), and in the questionably objective representation of character and physical appearance.²⁴¹ The early encyclopedias studied here presented neither sources nor authors for the information reproduced, which would be essential to understanding the background of the respective articles. The issues of ‘difference’ and the ‘Other’ are visible to varying degrees in the encyclopedia articles. The above discussion shows, firstly, that the question of ‘Otherness’ and ‘difference’ came to play an increasingly significant role in analysis of reference works and, secondly, demonstrates that ‘difference’ is ambivalent, being both positive and negative – “both necessary for the production of meaning, the formation of language and culture, for social identities” but “at the same time, [...] threatening, a site of danger, of negative feelings, of splitting, hostility and aggression towards the ‘Other’.”²⁴²

To name a few examples that underline the ‘Otherness’ that Korea represents in the encyclopedia entries – excluding physical appearance and character features – are rice as staple food, tea culture, clothes (of other design and of other material than cotton and wool), mourning rituals, filial piety, Buddhism and Confucianism, a tributary relationship to a neighboring country, seclusion from the West, and a distinctive language.

To which extent the Koreans were part of the Asian community, beyond being a tributary state to China, Western readers were not able to find out in the selected

²³⁹ Hall, *Representation*, 257.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 258.

²⁴¹ *Ethnocentrism* is according to Richard Dyer an idea which “is a principal feature in the establishment of hegemony and thinking in terms of one’s group, and establishing this as the correct norm for everyone else.” Paolo Castillo, “A Shining Brainless Beacon. Richard Dyer,” accessed May 31, 2016, <http://eldritch00.wikidot.com/richarddyer>.

²⁴² Hall, *Representation*, 238.

encyclopedias of the 18th and 19th centuries. As at the turn of the century the availability of sources on Korea rose rapidly in the West, due to an increasing number of Westerners living in the country, the image of Koreans started to change; at the same time, however, Koreans began to be influenced by outside factors and Western culture.

5.2.3. The 21st century – cultural diplomacy, nation branding and cultural imperialism

While in the past colonialism was accomplished by military force and the establishment of power in the form of laws and suppression of other world regions, the modern way of influencing another, less powerful nation is by imprinting it with ones' own culture and fostering economic influence. Since the 1970s the main cultural domination has come from North America with its franchise companies and its modern way of life. This has been referred to as cultural imperialism²⁴³, a term that can also be used in connection to South Korea, since today's Hallyu, the pop cultural Korean Wave (see page 19), is casting a different light on the nation and completely changing its past image.

In the age of globalization, the 21st century, which is also called the 'cultural century', anybody who wants to get to know Korea or needs to gather information on it has easy access to various kinds of sources. This does not solely include the internet but also the vast amount of printed literature which specifically describes Korea and Koreans from within as well as from without – something that is strongly supported by Korea's government. Korea's soft power policy, reaching out to the world through popular culture and tourism promotions, is paying off and many people are becoming familiar with the once secluded nation. In fact, Hallyu is mainly responsible for the new nation branding²⁴⁴ of Korea. Another, more neutral term for nation branding, 'Competitive Identity', was introduced by Anholt.²⁴⁵ By virtue of Korea's popular culture and its explosive success across the world, the Korean government

²⁴³ The term "cultural imperialism" means the extension of the influence or dominance of one nation's culture over others, now usually through the exportation of cultural commodities such as film, music, etc., Oxford Dictionaries, accessed December 13, 2015, http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/de/definition/englisch_usa/cultural-imperialism.

²⁴⁴ The term "nation branding" means the concern with a country's image and reputation on the international stage, covering political, economic and cultural dimensions (Fan, 2010, 98). It also means to build and maintain a country's strategic advantage with the purpose of economic growth, <http://placebrandobserver.com/theory/nation-branding-perspectives/>, accessed January 31, 2016; F. Kaefer, "Credibility at stake? News representations and discursive constructions of national environmental reputation and place brand image [...]" (Doctoral thesis, Management Communication, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand, 2014). More on nation branding and Korea: Alena Schmuck, "Nation Branding in South Korea: A Modern Continuation of the Developmental State?" *Korea 2011*: 91-117.

²⁴⁵ Simon Anholt, *Competitive identity: the new brand management for nations, cities, and regions* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

was able to take advantage of this national phenomenon and started to actively export it through the Korean media industry and tourism sector. The positive response helped to establish a newer, better national image, which enhanced South Korea's economy. Moreover, the global spread of Korean pop culture is used as a tool for public diplomacy, expressed for example through Korean Wave stars acting as cultural ambassadors and promoting a district, region or product. The negative national images of Korea, especially those held by their neighboring Asian countries, which were present throughout hundreds of years, have thus changed owing to popular culture, represented through these stars (i.e. idols), as well as new technology and the hype for South Korean movies and television dramas.

Korea was the first country to establish a Presidential Council on Nation Branding, which hosted the Korea Nation Branding Convention in 2011 in Seoul, to coordinate and represent efforts to improve the national image as well as cultural and public diplomacy. In 2010, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade had published the first 'Cultural Diplomacy Manual'.²⁴⁶ Korea, once seen negatively by its surrounding nations, thanks to Hallyu has the opportunity to engage in a newly emerging public and cultural diplomacy to promote its advantages in an increasingly globalized world.²⁴⁷

In her valuable essay on Nation Branding in South Korea, the Austrian scholar Alena Schmuck explains in detail how the Nation Branding project can be placed in the context of Chalmers Johnson's concept of the Developmental State.²⁴⁸ She discusses important contributors to the general field of research, for example Nadia Kaneva and her essential state-of-the-art work *Nation Branding: Toward an Agenda for Critical Research*²⁴⁹ and Ying Fan's article "Branding the Nation: What is Being Branded?"²⁵⁰

While it is today an important achievement of each country to actively advertise its own image and to improve the nation's international reputation, the past perceptions of a

²⁴⁶ Gun-joo Jang and Won K. Paik, "Korean Wave as Tool for Korea's New Cultural Diplomacy" *Advances in Applied Sociology* 2, no. 3 (2012): 196-202, Published Online September 2012 in SciRes, accessed December 11, 2015, <http://www.SciRP.org/journal/aasoci>, DOI:10.4236/aasoci.2012.23026. 196.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 201.

²⁴⁸ The term "developmental state" is used to "describe states which follow a particular model of economic planning and management. [...] [I]t is a state where the government is intimately involved in the macro and micro economic planning in order to grow the economy [...] whilst attempting to deploy its resources in developing better lives for the people". Gareth Rice-Jones, "A Beginner's Guide to the Developmental State," ROM Economics, October 14, 2013, accessed May 31, 2016, <http://www.romeconomics.com/beginners-guide-developmental-state/>.

²⁴⁹ Nadia Kaneva, "Nation Branding: Toward an Agenda for Critical Research" *International Journal of Communication* 5 (2011): 447-62.

²⁵⁰ Ying Fan, "Branding the Nation: What is Being Branded?" *Journal of Vacation Marketing* 12, no. 1 (2005): 5-14.

country depended on travelers and explorers to establish the image of a country through their publications. Korea's path to becoming such a globally known participant in world affairs is a long one and Korea's perception beyond the 18th and 19th centuries, in particular the turbulent 20th century, is a story to tell in another research project.

6. Résumé

Following the thread of time from the 16th century, when the first Westerner set foot on Korean soil, up to the 19th century, when Westerners were not 'new' to Korean eyes anymore, this thesis portrays the images of the stereotypical Korean in nine encyclopedia series to highlight international connections and possible cultural exchange on different levels. To do so in an innovative approach, it used the encyclopedia as a medium that is not a typical travel report. The encyclopedia as cultural artifact plays an important role in society, not only as source of information, but also as mirror of nations, which can be interpreted as representing the encyclopedias' historical context or as a tool that people used to see themselves in comparison to others. These interpretations were developed in Prodöhl's approach (as discussed in Chapter 4.5.5) and are reasons why Said's Orientalism and cultural 'Othering' were applied in this paper.

The present thesis gives an overview of the available information provided by selected encyclopedias of the 18th and 19th centuries, when books were hand-made, very expensive and valuable – first written and then printed in a small number – and therefore a special and prestigious possession. Through an introduction to the importance and necessity of encyclopedias in the past and the decreasing usage of this medium, the constantly increasing amount of information on Korea is shown by the progressive depth and width of the articles in all three language regions. None of the encyclopedia articles explicitly compare the respective nation of publication with Koreans, but simply set Korea into context to its neighboring nations China and Japan. This evaluation is varied and in most cases does not give a very positive picture of 'the Korean'. In summary, the Korean's physical appearance is portrayed as strong, they are middle-sized with black-brown, brown and yellow or dark copper colored skin. They are said to have a flat nose, black hair, which is tied down, and are unshaved. Their living space is described as spartan, not very neat, dirty and muddy. Ascribed characteristics differ regarding the diverse encyclopedia editions. According to the articles, Koreans generally express filial piety, are cheerful and show high energy. It is mentioned a few times that they are diligent, skilled and capable workers and well educated. Furthermore, they are pictured as moderate, reserved, but as well unsocial and they show isolation-seeking manners.

Attentiveness and independency, next to honesty are also characteristics attributed to them and that Koreans are honorable to guests is also mentioned. Even though these positive features demonstrate a fairly friendly image, contradictory statements are common in the encyclopedia articles. Therefore, many negative characteristics mitigate the positive impression. Adjectives such as simple, plain, ill-mannered, treacherous, lewd, wary, immoral, rude and unfriendly dominate the articles. Koreans are said to have a 'brazen' character, are coarser and have purer morality than their Chinese neighbors. Due to the overweighing of unfavorable personality peculiarities, the overall image is seen as neutral to rather negative.

Analysis of the encyclopedia entries did not support the assumption that the West was not specifically demarcated from Korea. Except for the later Brockhaus editions and the Britannica, the articles did not contain a vast amount of negative and derogatory statements about Korea. Theory and previous work suggested that at least in the late 19th century texts racist statements or ridicule of character features would prevail, but the outcome of the study demonstrates that the imagined, strong difference between the East and West is not found in the nine reference series. Except for one account in the Britannica, only mild traces of rejection or degrading of Koreans were found. It was further assumed that descriptions of character or at least of the outer appearance of Koreans would be focused on; this was not the case, as the general narration dominated. Additionally, no specific differences between the three individual national reference works were identified, despite a slight variation in the approach and the emphasis on a specific topic, for example Korea's paper production or its political situation, which is described in more detail in some series. Koreans as a folk is presented not by distinguishing Koreans' body features and character qualities, but its economy and relationships to its neighboring countries China and Japan.

Through all reference series studied, it was remarkable how central China and Japan were, since the respective articles were very lengthy and detailed, some even highlighting this importance with pictures. In comparison, Korea, due to its policy of exclusion (similar to Japan earlier), was of less interest to the West. Even its history was at first not deemed important enough to include in most articles, but with the publication of more and more works, especially travel literature, this gap was eventually filled.

While the layouts of the encyclopedias differ, all earlier works have in common that neither a source of information or a particular author is given. We do know, today, that very few sources on Korea were available until the middle of the 19th century, but we do not know why the writers were not using or referencing them. Later editions provide limited information only through Hall, Timkowsky, de Rosny and Zaborowski. A fundamental

criticism is thus that the authors of the encyclopedia articles did not give proper references to their sources, giving the reader the opportunity to understand the origin of Korea knowledge. Therefore, being able only to guess the background of the articles, it is not known whether the original sources of the Korea entries were too expensive, out of reach, or not conveniently translated for the writer.

As meaning is constantly produced and exchanged in a variety of media, like today's mass media, global communication circulates meaning between different cultures. Therefore, meaning is also formed whenever we "express ourselves in, make use of, consume or appropriate cultural 'things'", i.e. when we "incorporate them in different ways into the everyday rituals and practices of daily life and in this way give them value or significance."²⁵¹ The encyclopedia may be seen a medium of the past; today, the World Wide Web plays the most important role in communication. Through this change in medium, the perception of the foreign (see Chapter 2.1) has also changed over the centuries, since cultural exchange and cultural frontiers have dissolved with the hybridization of culture around the world, among other reasons due to globalization. It is easier today to share interpretations of and references to the world and thus we can see the world from within the same conceptual map and make sense of it through the same language systems. For example, English as the global lingua franca is studied and taught in most parts of the world. This allows us to overcome misunderstandings by English as a common ground as well as by using translators and interpreters, a possibility that was not given to the same extent in the past.

People who study the language and culture of different world regions have the possibility to be a bridge between two or more cultures since they are familiar with all sides and can connect and understand both similarity and divergence. Having access to both the in- and outside perspective makes all the difference; in this lies the relevance of this thesis (next to offering a new approach of research) inasmuch as it theoretically explains and empirically demonstrates the basis of positive (or negative) interactions between nations and cultures. This work should support this thought by showing how and to what degree Westerners' first impressions of Koreans changed and how essential the information provided in the encyclopedia entries is to forming an image and developing, confirming or strengthening an already existing stereotype. These processes can only be traced – as the present thesis has done – in its progress through longer periods of time, in this case within a few hundred years, from the first contacts to the times when treaty-based trade relations were built. Global history

²⁵¹ Hall, *Representation*, 3f.

as a discipline has over time become an important part of historical studies, not only because it covers longer time periods, but also draws connections and relations between distant nations. All this enables learning and understanding people who traveled, explored, and wrote history.

In summary, the purpose of this thesis is to help understand how contrary Koreans were portrayed in Western sources at a time Korea was not easily accessible for Western travelers and all information was gained through other Asian nations or accidents. The process of working with encyclopedias clearly shows how much information can be used and that there are many different ways of dealing with this information. Different cultures enrich one's life and it is essential to think outside the box and experience another culture; coming to know foreign languages as well as other customs and traditions is a wonderful way to understand oneself even better.

It is fitting to conclude with Said's words in the hope of encouraging further study in the field of nation research in reference works throughout time and space – a task suitable not only for global historians.

The contemporary intellectual can learn from Orientalism now, on the one hand, either to limit or to enlarge realistically the scope of his discipline's claims, and on the other, to see the human ground (the foul-rag-and-bone shop of the heart, Yeats called it) in which texts, visions, methods, and disciplines begin, grow, thrive, and degenerate. To investigate Orientalism is also to propose intellectual ways for handling the methodological problems that history has brought forward, so to speak, in its subject matter, the Orient. But before that we must virtually see the humanistic values that Orientalism, by its scope, experiences, and structures, has all but eliminated.²⁵²

²⁵² Said, *Orientalism*, 110.

7. Bibliography

Primary Sources

Americana

“Corea.” In *Encyclopedia Americana*. 1st ed. Vol. 3. Philadelphia: Carey and Lea, 1830.

Britannica

“Corea.” In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. 1st ed. Vol. 2. Edinburgh: 1771.

“Corea.” In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. 7th ed. Vol. 7. Edinburgh: 1842.

Brockhaus

“Corea.” In *Conversations-Lexicon oder encyclopädisches Handwörterbuch für gebildete Stände*. 3rd ed. Vol. 3. Altenburg and Leipzig: 1814.

“Corea.” In *Allgemeine Hand-Encyclopädie für die gebildeten Stände in alphabetischer Ordnung*. 4th ed. Vol. 5. Altenburg and Leipzig, 1817.

“Corea.” In supplement to the 4th and previous editions. 2. Vols. Leipzig, 1819-20.

“Corea.” In *Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyclopädie für die gebildeten Stände (Conversations-Lexikon)*. 5th ed. Vol. 5. Leipzig, 1819.

“Corea.” In *Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyclopädie für die gebildeten Stände (Conversations-Lexikon)*. 6th ed. Vol. 5. Leipzig, 1824.

“Korea.” In supplement to the 6th and previous editions. Vol. 10. Leipzig: 1829.

“Korea.” In *Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyclopädie für die gebildeten Stände (Conversations-Lexikon)*. 7th ed. Vol. 6. Leipzig, 1827.

“Korea.” In *Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyclopädie für die gebildeten Stände (Conversations-Lexikon)*. 8th ed. Vol. 6. Leipzig 1834.

“Korea.” In *Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyclopädie für die gebildeten Stände. Conversations-Lexikon*. 9th ed. Vol. 5. Leipzig: 1844.

“Korea.” In *Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyclopädie für die gebildeten Stände. Conversations-Lexikon*. 10th ed. Vol. 9. Leipzig, 1853.

“Korea.” In *Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyclopädie für die gebildeten Stände. Conversations-Lexikon*. 11th ed. Vol. 9. Leipzig: 1866.

“Korea.” In *Conversations-Lexikon. Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyclopädie*. 12th ed. Vol. 9. Leipzig: 1878.

“Korea.” In *Brockhaus' Conversations-Lexikon. Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyclopädie*. 13th ed. Vol. 10. Leipzig: 1885.

Encyclopédie

Denis Diderot, and Rond d'Alembert. "Corea." In *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, Facsimile Reprint, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt : Frommann-Holzboog: 1988.

Grande encyclopédie

"Coreé." In *Grande encyclopédie*. 1st ed. Vol. 12. Paris: Lamirault, 1891.

Meyer

"Korea." In *Das große Conversations-Lexikon*. 1st ed. Vol. 18. Leipzig: 1851.

"Korea." In *Neues Konversations-Lexikon. Ein Wörterbuch des allgemeinen Wissens*. 2nd ed. Vol. 10. Leipzig: 1868.

"Korea." In supplement to *Neues Konversations-Lexikon*. 2nd ed. 1873.

"Korea." In *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon*, 5th ed. Vol. 10. Leipzig: 1896.

New and complete American encyclopedia

"Corea." In *New and complete American encyclopedia*. Vol. 3. New York: John Low, 1807.

Nouveau Larousse Illustré

"Corée" In *Nouveau Larousse Illustré. Dictionnaire universel encyclopedique*. 1st ed. Vol. 3. Paris: 1899.

Zedler

"Corea." In *Zedler. Grosses Vollständiges Universal-Lexicon Aller Wissenschaften Und Künste, welche bishero durch Menschlichen Verstand und Witz Erfunden und Verbessert Worden*. 1st ed. Vol. 6. Halle/Leipzig: 1732–1754.

Others mentioned

Bayle, Pierre. *Dictionnaire historique et critique*. Rotterdam: R. Leers, 1696/97.

Chambers, Ephraim. *Cyclopaedia, or, An universal dictionary of arts and sciences*. London, 1728.

Ersch, Johann Samuel, and Johann Gottfried Gruber. *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste, in alphabetischer Folge*. Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, 1818–89.

Furetière, Antoine. *Dictionnaire universel, Contenant generalement tous les mots françois tant vieux que modernes, & les termes de toutes les sciences et des arts*. The Hague: Pierre Bayle, 1690.

Gloger, Z. *Encyklopedia staropolska ilustrowana*. Warsaw, 1903.

Künitz, Johann Georg. *Oeconomische Encyclopädie oder allgemeines System der Staats-Stadt-Haus-u. Landwirthschaft, in alphabetischer Ordnung*. Berlin: Joachim Pauli, 1773–1858.

Larousse, Pierre. *Grand Dictionnaire Universel Du XIXe Siècle* , Français, Historique, Géographique, Mythologique, Bibliographique, Littéraire, Artistique, Scientifique, Etc. Paris: Administration Du Grand Dictionnaire Universel, 1866–1876.

Leroux, Philippe, and J. Reynaud. *Encyclopédie Nouvelle Ou Dictionnaire ... Offrant Le Tableau Des Connaissances Humaines Au XIXe Siècle*. Paris: Ch. Gosselin, 1834–1841.

Mellado, Francisco De Paula. *Enciclopedia Moderna, Diccionario Universal De Literatura, Ciencias, Artes, Agricultura, Industria Y Comerico*. Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico De Mellado, 1851.

Ramirez, J. *Diccionario enciclopédico*. Mexico City, 1855.

Rees, Abraham. *Cyclopaedia, or Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature*. London, 1802-20.

Secondary Sources

Allen, Horace Newton. *Korean tales: being a collection of stories translated from the Korean folk lore*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1889.

Anholt, Simon. *Competitive identity: the new brand management for nations, cities, and regions*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Anthony of Taizé, Brother. "How the West First Learned about Korea." *Journal of East Asian Studies*. 64, no. 3 (2005): 117-157.

Anthony of Taizé, Brother. "Accounts of Korea Published in Europe in the Later 19th and Early 20th Centuries." My Early Texts. March 19, 2013. Accessed July 28, 2016.<http://anthony.sogang.ac.kr/Myearlytexts.html>.

Anthony of Taizé, Brother. "Accounts of Korea published in Europe in the 18th and early 19th centuries." March 19, 2013. Accessed July 28, 2016.<http://anthony.sogang.ac.kr/EarliestAccountsKorea18century.html>.

Bachmann-Medick, Doris. *The Trans/National Study of Culture: A Translational Perspective*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014.

Bauerkämper, Arnd. *Die Welt Erfahren: Reisen als Kulturelle Begegnung von 1780 bis heute*. Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2004.

Bauman, Zygmunt. *Modernity and ambivalence*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991.

Berger, Willy Richard. *China-Bild und China-Mode im Europa der Aufklärung*. Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1990.

Bibliographisches Institut & F.A. Brockhaus AG, comp. *Der Grosse Coron: Das Moderne Nachschlagewerk in 20 Bänden*. Corr. Repr. Ed. Vol. 5. Lachen am Zürichsee: Coron, 1993.

Bitterli, Urs. *Alte Welt, Neue Welt: Formen des Europäisch-überseeischen Kulturkontakts vom 15. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*. München: C.H. Beck, 1986.

Bock, Hans Manfred. "Nation als vorgegebene oder vorgestellte Wirklichkeit? Anmerkungen zur Analyse fremdnationaler Identitätszuschreibung." In *Nation Als Stereotyp. Fremdwahrnehmung und Identität in deutscher und französischer Literatur*. Vol. 76. Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000.

Böckelmann, Frank. *Die Gelben, die Schwarzen, die Weißen*. Frankfurt/Main: Eichborn, 1998.

Burke, Peter. *Papier und Marktgeschrei: Die Geburt der Wissenschaft*. Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 2001.

Burke, Peter. *What is cultural history?* Cambridge, U.K.: Polity Press, 2004.

Castillo, Paolo. "A Shining Brainless Beacon. Richard Dyer." Accessed May 31, 2016. <http://eldritch00.wikidot.com/richarddyer>.

Chiheb, Amel. "Comparative Literature: Imagology." February 28, 2014. Accessed October 6, 2015. <http://compalit.blogspot.co.at/2014/02imagology.html?m=1>.

Cohen, Noam. "Start Writing the Eulogies for Print Encyclopedias." *The New York Times*, March 16, 2006. Accessed March 7, 2016. http://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/16/weekinreview/16ncohen.html?_r=0.

Collison, Robert Lewis. *Encyclopaedias: Their History throughout the Ages. A Bibliographical Guide with Extensive Historical Notes to the General Encyclopaedias Issued throughout the World From 350 B. C. to the Present Day*. New York: Hafner Pub., 1964.

Cuddy, Amy J.C, Susan T. Fiske, and Virginia S.Y. Kwan. "Stereotype Content Model across Cultures: Towards Universal Similarities and Some Differences." *British Journal of Social Psychology* 48, no. 1 (2009): 1-33, Accessed April 18, 2016. <http://www.nationalstereotype.com/all-national-stereotypes/>.

Daily Mail Reporter. "Pictured: The 400-year-old Map That Shows China as the Centre of the World." Mail Online. January 12, 2010. Accessed April 19, 2016. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/sciencetech/article-1242750/Pictured-The-rare-400-year-old-map-shows-China-centre-world.html>.

De Kay, Drake. "Encyclopedia Americana, First Edition." *The Journal of Library History* 3, no. 3 (University of Texas Press, 1986): 201-20.

Demel, Walter. "Wie die Chinesen gelb wurden." *HZ* 255 (1992): 625-666.

Despoix, Philippe. *Cross-cultural Encounters and Constructions of Knowledge in the 18th and 19th Century: Non-European and European Travel of Exploration in Comparative Perspective*. Kassel: Kassel University Press, 2004.

Deutsche Welle. "Online Only for Standard German Encyclopedia." DW.COM. August 17, 2014. Accessed October 19, 2015. <http://www.dw.com/en/online-only-for-standard-german-encyclopedia/a-17859170>.

Döbler, Veronika. "Japaner als Fremde? Bausteine für eine Xenologie." Diploma thesis, University of Vienna, 1997.

Dyer, Richard. *White: Essays on Race and Culture* (London: Routledge, 1997).

Ellinger, Thomas R. "South Korea: Placing education on top of the family agenda." *Phi Delta Kappan*. 78, no. 8 (1997): 624-625.

Enoch, Nick. „Your tome is up... Encyclopedia Britannica ends its print edition after 255 years as it fully embraces digital age" Published March 13, 2012. Accessed March 07, 2016. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2114646/Encyclopedia-Britannica-cut-print-edition--244-YEARS.html>

Essential Humanities. "History of East Asia." Accessed June 03, 2016. <http://www.essential-humanities.net/world-history/east-asia/>.

Fan, Ying. "Branding the Nation: What is Being Branded?" *Journal of Vacation Marketing* 12, no. 1 (2005): 5-14.

Foucault, Michel, and Alan Sheridan. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. London: Allen Lane, 1977.

Frank, Theresa. "Die Reise: Kulturanthropologische Annäherung an die Fremderfahrung." Diploma thesis, University of Vienna, 2005.

Gale, James Scarth, and Richard Rutt. *James Scarth Gale and his History of the Korean people*. Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, 1983.

Graves, Joseph L. *The Emperor's New Clothes: Biological Theories of Race at the Millennium*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001.

Guess, Theresa J. "The Social Construction of Whiteness: Racism by Intent, Racism by Consequence." *Critical Sociology* 32, no. 4 (2006): 649-673.

Haeussler, Sonja. "Descriptions of the Baekdusan and the Surrounding Area in Russian and German Travel Accounts." *The Review of Korean Studies* 13, no.4 (2010): 151-186.

Hale, J.R. *Die Reisen der Entdecker. Die Erforschung fremder Länder und Kulturen*. Reinbek B. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1975.

Hall, Stuart. *Representation. Cultural Representations and Signifying Practice*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 2010.

Hamann, Götz "Diderots Enzyklopédie: Das gesammelte Wissen der Welt." January 17, 2011; Accessed November 8, 2015. <http://www.zeit.de/wissen/geschichte/2011-1/wikipedia-diderot>.

Harth, Dietrich. *Fiktion des Fremden. Erkundung kultureller Grenzen in der Literatur und Publizistik*, Frankfurt/Main: Fischer Verlag, 1994.

Holcombe, Charles. *A History of East Asia. From the Origins of Civilization to the Twenty-First Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Jang, Gunjoo, and Won K. Paik. "Korean Wave as Tool for Korea's New Cultural Diplomacy" *Advances in Applied Sociology* 2, no.3, (2012): 196-202. Published Online September 2012 in SciRes. Accessed November 12, 2015. <http://www.SciRP.org/journal/aasoci>. DOI:10.4236/aasoci.2012. 23026.

Jaucourt, Louis, chevalier de. "Orient." The Encyclopedia of Diderot & d'Alembert Collaborative Translation Project. Translated by Philip Whalen. Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing, University of Michigan Library, 2003. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0000.339> (accessed November 8, 2015. Originally published as "Orient," *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, 11:642. Paris, 1765.

Jaucourt, Louis, chevalier de. "Japan." The Encyclopedia of Diderot & d'Alembert Collaborative Translation Project. Translated by Jennifer Rappaport. Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing, University of Michigan Library, 2013. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0002.634> (accessed November 8, 2015. Originally published as "Japon," *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, 8:453-455. Paris, 1765.

Jo, Yoong-Hee. "Perceptions of Chosŏn Korea in Western Travelogues." *SOAS-AKS Working Papers in Korean Studies*, No. 8 (July 2009). Accessed July 8, 2016. <https://www.soas.ac.uk/koreanstudies/soas-aks/soas-aks-papers/file52516.pdf>.

Jodra, Serge. "Sigismond Zaborowski." 2004. Accessed January 11, 2016. www.cosmovisions.com/Zaborowski.htm.

Kaefer, F. (2014) *Credibility at stake? News representations and discursive constructions of national environmental reputation and place brand image* [...]. Doctoral thesis, Management Communication, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand. Accessed January 31, 2016. <http://placebrandobserver.com/theory/nation-branding-perspectives/>.

Kaneva, Nadia. "Nation Branding: Toward an Agenda for Critical Research" *International Journal of Communication* 5 (2011): 447-62.

Kaplan, Jonathan Michael "'Race': What Biology Can Tell Us about a Social Construct." *Encyclopedia of Life Sciences*, 2011. DOI: 10.1002/9780470015902.a0005857.

Kawai, Yuko. "Stereotyping Asian Americans: The Dialectic of the Model Minority and the Yellow Peril." *Howard Journal of Communications* 16 (2005): 109-130.

Kent, Christopher Hardy Wise. "Encyclopaedia Britannica." *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*. Accessed May 30, 2016. <http://www.britannica.com/topic/Encyclopaedia-Britannica-English-language-reference-work>.

Kim, Jang-Soo. *Korea und der 'Westen' von 1860 bis 1900: Die Beziehungen Koreas zu den europäischen Großmächten, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Beziehungen zum Deutschen Reich*. Frankfurt/Main: P. Lang, 1986.

Kim, Sun Ju. "Representing Korea as the 'Other': Ernst J. Oppert's A Forbidden Land: Voyages to the Corea." *The Review of Korean Studies* 7, no.1 (2004): 145-63.

Kiziler Emer, Funda. "Die Imagologie als Arbeitsbereich der Komparatistik." *International Journal of Eurasia Social Sciences* 8 (2012): 1-17, Accessed November 11, 2015. <http://dergipark.ulakbim.gov.tr/ijoess/article/view/5000039481>.

Knox Laughton, John. "Sir Murray Maxwell." Accessed March 7, 2016. <http://www.historyhome.co.uk/people/maxwell.htm>.

Kogan, Herman. *The great EB: the story of the Encyclopedia Britannica*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958.

Koh, Grace. "Transnational Images of Chosŏn Korea – Accounts by Contiguity versus Firsthand Accounts." *SOAS-AKS Working Papers in Korean Studies*, No. 10 (July 2009). Accessed July 8, 2016. <https://www.soas.ac.uk/koreanstudies/soas-aks/soas-aks-papers/file52518.pdf>.

Korean Culture and Information Service (KOCIS), Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism. *The Korean Wave. A New Pop Culture Phenomenon*. Seoul: 2011.

Landwehr, Achim. *Kulturgeschichte*. Stuttgart: Ulmer, 2009.

Lawson, Stephanie. "Culture, Identity and Representations of Region." In *Europe and the Asia-Pacific: Culture, Identity and Representations of Region*, New York: Routledge, 2013.

Leerssen, Joep. "Imagology: History and Method." In *Imagology: The Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters. A Critical Survey*, 17-32. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007.

Ledyard, Gari, and Hendrik Hamel. *The Dutch Come To Korea*. Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 1971.

Lee, Yur-Bok, *West Goes East. Paul Georg von Möllendorf and great power imperialism in Late Yi Korea*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1988.

Lehner, Georg. *China in European Encyclopedias, 1700-1850*. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Lenz, Werner. *Kleine Geschichte Großer Lexika*. Gütersloh: Lexikothek Verlag, 1980.

Markus, Hazel Rose, and Paula M.L Moya, *Doing Race: 21 Essays for the 21st Century*. New York: Norton, 2010.

Mayring, Philipp. *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse: Grundlagen Und Techniken*. Weinheim: Beltz, 2010.

Mayring, Philipp. *Einführung in die Qualitative Sozialforschung: Eine Anleitung zu Qualitativem Denken*. Weinheim: Beltz, 2002.

Meid, Volker. *Das Reclam Buch der Deutschen Literatur*. Stuttgart: Reclam, 2004.

Michel Foucault Info. "The Subject and Power." 2013. Accessed May 31, 2016. <http://www.Foucault.info/doc /documents/Foucault-power-en-html>.

Neff, Robert D., and Sung-Hwa Song. *Korea through Western Eyes*. Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 2009.

Nemo, Philippe. *Was ist der Westen? Die Genese der abendländischen Zivilisation*. Translated by Karen Ilse Horn. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.

New World Encyclopedia contributors, "French Campaign against Korea, 1866." *New World Encyclopedia*. Accessed May 30, 2016. http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/p/index.php?title=French_Campaign_against_Korea,_1866&oldid=976158 (Accessed May 30, 2016).

Nutz, Thomas. "... & Autres Curiosités. Exotische Artefakte als Objekte des Elitenkonsums im 18. Jahrhundert." In *Exotica. Konsum und Inszenierung des Fremden im 19. Jahrhundert*, 1-23. Kulturgeschichtliche Perspektiven ed. Vol. 1. Münster: LIT, 2003.

Osterhammel, Jürgen. *Die Entzauberung Asiens. Europa und die asiatischen Reiche im 18. Jahrhundert*. München: C.H.Beck, 1998.

Osterhammel, Jürgen. *Reisen an die Grenzen der Alten Welt. Asien im Reisebericht des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*. Konstanz: Bibliothek der Universität Konstanz, 1989.

Oxford Dictionaries. "Eurocentric" [Oxforddictionaries.com](http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/de/definition/englisch_usa/Eurocentric). Accessed December 11, 2015, http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/de/definition/englisch_usa/Eurocentric.

Park, Su Young. "Western Perceptions of Korea 1890–1930. Comparative Study on the Relationship between Reciprocity and Colonial Discourse." Master's thesis, Uppsala University, 2008.

Pickering, Michael. *Stereotyping. The Politics of Representation*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.

Prodöhl, Ines. "Die 'Encyclopedia Americana' und die Crux transnationaler Enzyklopädien." Themenportal Europäische Geschichte (2011), Accessed May 7, 2016, URL: <http://www.europa.clio-online.de/2011/Article=509>.

Rainer, Gerald, and Norbert Kern. *Stichwort Literatur: Geschichte der deutschsprachigen Literatur*. Linz: Veritas, 2009.

Rehbein, Boike. *Theorien der Globalisierung*. Konstanz: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, 2008.

Reitz, Joan M. "ABC-CLIO." ODLIS (Online Dictionary for Library and Information Science) [Odlis_S](http://www.abc-clio.com/ODLIS/odlis_s.aspx). 1996. Accessed May 05. http://www.abc-clio.com/ODLIS/odlis_s.aspx.

Rice-Jones, Gareth. "A Beginner's Guide to the Developmental State." October 14, 2013. Accessed May 31, 2016. ROM Economics, <http://www.romeconomics.com/beginners-guide-developmental-state/>.

Roeper, Vibeke D., and Boudewijn Walraven, eds. With the collaboration of Jean-Paul Buys. *Hamel's World. A Dutch-Korean Encounter in the Seventeenth Century*. Amsterdam: SUN, 2003.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*, London: Penguin, 1995.

Sambourne, Edward. Imperialism and Colonialism Cartoons. Punch Cartoons by Edward Linley Sambourne. Accessed May 31, 2016. <http://punch.photoshelter.com/gallery-image/Imperialism-and-Colonialism-Cartoons/G0000vKN2v8ZjQ.g/I0000crnCITddrMM>;

Savenije, Henny (Lee Hae Kang). "Bibliography." Accessed July 13, 2016. <http://www.hendrick-hamel.henny-savenije.pe.kr/holland19.htm>.

Schacherreiter, Christian, and Ulrike Schacherreiter. *Das Literaturbuch*. 7th ed. Linz: Veritas, 2007.

Schmidhofer, Claudia. "Das verkehrte Paradies. Eine imagologische Analyse deutschsprachiger Reiseliteratur zu Japan 1854-1900." PhD thesis, University of Vienna, 2006.

Schmuck, Alena. "Nation Branding in South Korea: A Modern Continuation of the Developmental State?" *Korea 2011*: 91-117.

Seth, Michael J. *A History of Korea: From Antiquity to the Present*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006.

Seth, Michael J. *Education Fever. Society, Politics, and the Pursuit of Schooling in South Korea*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002.

Shoemaker, Nancy. "How Indians Became Red." *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 3 (1997): 625-644.

Shohat, Ella. *Multiculturalism, postcoloniality, and transnational media*. New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 2003.

Smedley, Audrey. "Race as biology is fiction, racism as social problem is real: anthropological and historical perspectives on the social construction of race." *American Psychologist* 60, no. 1 (2005): 16-26.

Sorensen, Clark W. "Success and Education in South Korea" *Comparative Education Review* 38, no. 1 (1994): 10-35.

Spree, Ulrike. *Das Streben Nach Wissen : Eine Vergleichende Gattungsgeschichte Der Populären Enzyklopädie in Deutschland Und Grossbritannien Im 19. Jahrhundert*. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000.

Storey, John. *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: An Introduction*. Harlow: Pearson, 2012.

Swiderska, Malgorzata. "Die literaturwissenschaftliche Imagologie als Erforschung nationaler und ethnischer Fremdheit." In *Theorie und Methode einer literaturwissenschaftlichen Imagologie. Dargestellt am Beispiel Russlands im literarischen Werk Heimito von Doderers*. Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 2013.

Verschuer, Charlotte von. *Across the Perilous Sea: Japanese trade with China and Korea from the Seventh to the Sixteenth Centuries*. Ithaca, NY: East Asia Program, Cornell University, 2006.

Welcome to Hamel. "The First Publication and Other Published Books." 2005. Accessed July 13, 2016. http://www.hamel.go.kr/en/hamel03_02.html.

WHKMLA. "Anglo-Korean Relations 1883–1910." 2008. Accessed March 20, 2016. <http://www.zum.de/whkmla/sp/0809/aic/aiclog.html>.

World Public Library Association/Project Gutenberg Self-Publishing Press. "Encyclopedie." Gutenberg.org. Accessed March 07, 2016. <http://self.gutenberg.org/wplbn0002097022-encyclopedie-by-denis-diderot.aspx?#>.

Yasunori, Arano: "Foreign Relations in Early Modern Japan: Exploding the Myth of National Seclusion." Nippon.com. January 18, 2013. Accessed October 18, 2015. <http://www.nippon.com/en/features/c00104/>.

Yoon, Jong-pil, and Hyun-sook Park. "An Unfamiliar Other within the Uncivilized Other: Korea as Depicted by Late Nineteenth-Century British Newspapers." *Korea Journal* 54, no. 3 (2014): 33-59.

Zevallos, Z. The Other Sociologist. "What is Otherness?" 2011. Accessed March 20, 2016. <http://othersociologist.com/Otherness-resources/>.

ZEIT ONLINE. "Bertelsmann stellt Brockhaus-Lexikon ein." June 12, 2013. Accessed October 19, 2015. <http://www.zeit.de/kultur/2013-06/bertelsmann-brockhaus-lexikon>.

Abstract (Deutsch)

Diese Arbeit hat das Ziel in ausgewählten westlichen Enzyklopädien des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts das damalige Image bzw. die beschriebenen Charakteristika von Koreanern zu sammeln und auf ihre Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede hin zu untersuchen.

Die Auswahl ist auf drei deutschsprachige, drei französische und drei englische Enzyklopädien aus unterschiedlichen Zeiten beschränkt. Dadurch ist es möglich die ansteigende Menge von Wissen und die Diversifikation der Themen zu demonstrieren. Ausgehend von den anfänglichen geographischen Beschreibungen, beinhalten die Artikel zunehmend Information zu Bevölkerung, Ökonomie und Geschichte. Neben der sich ausdehnenden Länge vertiefen sich auch bestimmte Themengruppen in den Enzyklopädie-Einträgen, z.B. Handel und Wirtschaft. Am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts werden Originalquellen zitiert und einige Artikel sind namentlich unterzeichnet.

Nachdem ein erster Zugang zum Thema in Verbindung mit der Wahrnehmung von Asiaten generell gegeben wird, folgen Einblicke in Imagologie und die Analyse vom ersten westlichen Report über Korea, verfasst von Hendrik Hamel, welcher unter der Niederländischen Ostindien-Kompanie gedient hat.

Diese Untersuchung hat drei wesentliche Ziele: (1) herauszufinden wie Korea(ner) in den ausgewählten Enzyklopädien präsentiert ist/sind und zu sehen welche Charaktereigenschaften ihnen zugeschrieben werden; (2) zu verstehen welche Stereotype dominieren; und (3) zu untersuchen welche relative Wichtigkeit Korea im Vergleich mit China und Japan gegeben wird.

Es hat sich ergeben, dass das Image der Koreaner, ihre Charakterzüge und ihr Aussehen, unterschiedlich dargestellt werden, wobei grundsätzlich ein neutraler bis negativer Eindruck überwiegt. Da die Mehrheit der Artikel Koreaner mit Chinesen vergleicht (ihr Aussehen mit Japanern), wird schlussgefolgert, dass für den Leser der westlichen Enzyklopädien generell der Eindruck bestand, dass der Koreaner ein Chinese ist.

Enzyklopädien helfen Lesern dabei ein spezifisches Bild vom „kulturell Anderen“ zu konstruieren und geben dadurch einen Beitrag zur Erschaffung von Unterscheidung oder Ähnlichkeit zur eigenen Kultur. Daher beschäftigt sich ein essentieller Teil dieser Untersuchung mit kulturellen Theorien (Stuart Halls „Representation“) und Konzepten (Edward Saids „Orientalismus“), die an den analysierten Daten angewandt werden.