

“Engagingly written and exhaustively researched, Frank Hoffmann’s book comprehensively discloses the rich and nuanced relationship between the city of Berlin (as capital successively of Wilhelmine, Weimar, and National Socialist Germany) and a gallery of Korean intellectuals and cultural figures who played leading roles in forging a modern Korean identity and who made signal contributions to National Socialist culture and science. Hoffmann brings this story of Korean expatriates in Berlin to life in vivid prose and vigorous scholarship. The resulting Korean–German–Japanese tapestry, comprised equally of strands of political, social, and cultural history, incorporates a vast number of previously unpublished sources in German, Korean, and Japanese. Lavishly illustrated with photographs, documents, and letters, Hoffmann’s work reveals a world that is as fascinating as it is new.”

— Gregory Maertz (St. John’s University)

“*Berlin Koreans* is an exciting portrayal of the activities of Korean intellectuals and artists living in Berlin during the first half of the 20th century. It is bound to make an important contribution to the field of Korean colonial studies that will generate new discussion.”

— Lee Kyungboon (Seoul National University)

“Frank Hoffmann’s brilliant work is a revelation. It provides a Korean corollary to the enormous Japanese interest in German history, politics and ideas, and highlights internal differences among these exiles that proved to be a microcosm of postwar North–South conflicts. Scrupulously researched, this inquiry illuminates the deep influence of urban modernism on a presumably colonized elite. Readers will be fascinated by the unique lives revealed here, in such loving detail and with consummate skill. Sometimes a close, knowing study of a few individuals can uncover an entire world that we had not imagined before.”

— Bruce Cumings (University of Chicago)

“The masterful accounts of contacts and connections documented in this book, produced by Hoffmann’s meticulous research and accompanied by rare archival images, are deeply engaging and enrich our understanding of early 20th century politics, religion, economy, art, and society.”

— Dafna Zur (Stanford University)

“A fascinating and virtually unknown aspect of modern Korean history ...”

— Carter J. Eckert (Harvard University)

“Frank Hoffmann is ideally placed and qualified to write this book. With his encyclopedic command of Korean Studies bibliography and critical command of social theory and art history, his voracious appetite for and tenacious pursuit of out-of-the-way yet revealing primary sources, and his provocative juxtaposition of ‘Koreans in Berlin’ with Koreans in colonial Korea, Hoffmann forces us to question the very viability of the notion of ‘colonial modernity’ in Korea. Hoffmann’s portraits of the ‘Berlin Koreans’ are sometimes chilling, and always fascinating, while his readings of the 1904 Liebig Trading Cards as collectible spectacle and of the ‘choreography’ of Emil Nolde’s ‘Missionary’ as primordialist German expressionism raise important questions about 20th-century Germany’s relationship to both colonialism and Korea.”

— Ross King (University of British Columbia)

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Andreas Schirmer (ed.)

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Frank Hoffmann

Berlin Koreans and Pictured Koreans



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Koreans and Central Europeans
Informal Contacts up to 1950



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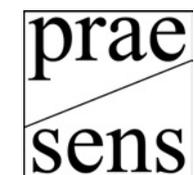
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Vol. 1

Berlin Koreans and Pictured Koreans



Koreans and Central Europeans

Informal Contacts up to 1950

Andreas Schirmer, Editor

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Volume 1

Berlin Koreans and Pictured Koreans

Frank Hoffmann

with an introduction by **Andreas Schirmer**

Contents

Editor's Note *ix*

Introduction *1*
Andreas Schirmer

The Berlin Koreans, 1909–1940s *9*
Frank Hoffmann

**Modular Spectacle:
The 1904 Liebig Trading Card Set on Korea** *180*
Frank Hoffmann

**Ultra-Right Modernism, Colonialism, and a Korean Idol:
Nolde's *Missionary*** *200*
Frank Hoffmann

Image Credits *237*

Contributors *241*

Volume 2

Koreans in Central Europe

Introduction

Andreas Schirmer

To Yu-ho's Life in Europe and Korea

Lee Chang-hyun

Do Cyong-ho: A Korean Who Taught Japanese in 1930s Vienna

Ogawa Yoshimi and Chikako Shigemori Bučar

To Yu-ho in Vienna

Andreas Schirmer

To Yu-ho: Itinerant Expat, Pioneering Archeologist, Purged Scholar

Hong Sŏn-p'yo

Sound Recordings of Koreans in the Vienna Phonogrammarchiv:

The Voices of To Yu-ho (1934) and Kim Kyŏng-han (1944)

Christian Lewarth

Memories of To Yu-ho: A Personal Reminiscence

Helga Picht

Han Hŭng-su in Vienna

Andreas Schirmer

Han Hŭng-su in German-Occupied Prague

Zdenka Klöslová

Han Hŭng-su in Post-War Prague and His Return to Korea

Zdenka Klöslová

Han Hŭng-su in Moscow

Ekaterina Pokholkova

Bibliography of Han Hŭng-su: Published and Unpublished Books, Articles and Translations (1935–1954)

Jaroslav Olša jr. and Andreas Schirmer

Alice Hyun: Spy or Revolutionary?

Jung Byung Joon

Doctor Wellington Chung: The Tale of a Korean-American Doctor Serving in Czechoslovakia

Vladimír Hlásny

Image Credits

Contributors

Volume 3

Central Europeans in Korea

Introduction

Andreas Schirmer and Christian Lewarth

The Long Path before the Establishment of Formal Ties between Austro-Hungaria and Chosŏn Korea

Hans-Alexander Kneider

Austrian Missionaries and Korea

Werner Koidl

Haas, Rosenbaum, Steinbeck, and Krips: Early Danubians in Chosŏn Korea

Robert Neff

An Austrian Globetrotter in Korea in the Wake of the Sino-Japanese War:

Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg and His *Summer's Journey to the Land of the Morning Calm*

Veronika Shin

Hungarian Visitors to Korea up to 1910

Mózes Csoma

The Hopp and Bozóky Collections of Old Korean Photographs in Budapest's Ferenc Hopp Museum

Beatrix Mecsi

Through the Eyes of Czech Legionnaires: Koreans in the Russian Maritimes (1918–1920)

Zdenka Klöslová

Koreans through the Eyes of Austrian Artists, 1911–1919

Werner Koidl and Andreas Schirmer

Koreans in the Russian Maritime Territory as Depicted by Czech Artists

Zdenka Klöslová

Alice Schalek – An Austrian Photojournalist in Korea, 1911 and 1923

Christian Lewarth

Alma Karlin in Korea: A Slovenian Woman's Observations of Land and People

Chikako Shigemori Bučar

Hungarian Sympathy for the Korean Freedom Struggle of the 1920s and 30s

Mózes Csoma

A Letter from Korea: Austrian Atomic Bomb Pioneer Fritz Hansgirg Writing from Hŭngnam in 1935

Bill Streifer

Austrians in Korea from 1945 to 1953

Werner Koidl and Patrick Vierthaler

Late 19th to Mid-20th Century Contacts between Koreans and Poles:

A Testament to Common Fate and Mutual Empathy

Lee Min-heui

Image Credits

Contributors

Editor's Note

Koreans and Central Europeans: Informal Contacts up to 1950 is a three-volume book about early relations between Koreans and Central Europeans, focusing on real-life interpersonal encounters, and including revelations about the reception of Korean things in Central Europe. This first volume, *Berlin Koreans and Pictured Koreans*, exclusively features research of Frank Hoffmann, as it is distinguished from the chapters of the forthcoming volumes in connecting the Korean–European encounter to Germany, which is often perceived as somehow oscillating between “Western” and “Central” Europe. The forthcoming two volumes will follow developments in what was the Habsburg Monarchy and in successor states after its demise, and voyagers from those countries to Korea and subsequent encounters.

This book owes its inception to the Korea Foundation for providing funding when this was still just an idea. In January 2012, a two-day conference at the University of Vienna hosting over a dozen scholars generated the skeleton for most of the chapters.

The Austrian Ministry for European and International Affairs provided substantial extra funding based on the significance and timeliness of our research during the commemoration of the 120th anniversary of the signing of the first treaty between Korea and the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (in 1892) and the 60th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the ROK and the Republic of Austria (in 1953). The Youngsan Company (namely CEO Jongbum Park) with its headquarters in Vienna, the AVL Company (namely CEO Helmut List, an honorary consul of the ROK), and Hyundai Austria helped us with additional sponsorship.

The overly ambitious original goal of this project was to have contributors develop their papers into chapters, edit them, and submit the completed manuscript for publication within one year. Yet, in the compilation of this three-volume work, some planned contributions were never completed and others were sought after and incorporated because the topics and contents were so promising. As the chapters improved and the scope of the book expanded substantively and conceptually, we were determined to publish a book that would not look like a conference proceeding but would stand up to any standard. Thus we had to seek out additional funding.

At that point, luckily, when asked for permission to print a very fine 1912 drawing of two Korean women by the Austrian Hans Böhler, the owners Raj and Grace Dhawan took a strong interest in this project and donated a substantial amount that helped cover expenses.

But when all of our other funding was exhausted, Changro Im, CEO of Euroscope, came to our rescue. Two times he made generous private gifts to help move this project to completion, subsidizing numerous tail end costs, such as unforeseen fees for publication rights, for additional professional copy editing, as well as for extra expenses associated with printing the significantly expanded 800+ page book in three volumes, instead of one. Mr. Im's genuine interest in the topic of this book and his conviction of its value made his financial support all the more precious and encouraging.

This three-volume book could never have been completed without the persistence and enthusiasm of Christian Lewarth, who followed this project out of pure conviction — no, immersed himself in this project — from the very start, helping a number of contributors develop their papers into full-fledged chapters, shouldering much of the translation work and joining in the work of reading and rereading most of the chapters, suggesting many improvements, and sacrificing countless hours and evenings. He shares in the credits as the joint editor of the third volume, but my debt to him goes far beyond that.

Right from the start, Patrick Vierthaler was employed as project assistant and assumed an important role, administering, with his talent for structured procedure and organization, the constant cycle of improvements, being helpful to an extent far beyond his official capacity.

Frank Hoffmann took on many tasks that would otherwise have been our responsibility, and also helped enormously in raising our awareness of problems and upgrading our editing standards. The ceaseless exchanges with him were invaluable to me. His skills and his sense of design, expression, and argument have left a deep imprint on all three volumes.

As copy editors, Jim Thomas and Brian Folk invested much more than we could have asked, far exceeding the conventional work of “copy editing.” As colleagues in the field, both made very substantive as well as linguistic improvements that enhanced the finished texts. They endured stress and exchanged countless mails and made countless checks and counterchecks with individual authors as well as with me. We trust their work makes this book a good read.

Several of the contributors voluntarily took a larger part in contributing to the development of the overall project, helping with reading and scouting out those never identified small mistakes and problems. In addition to Christian Lewarth and Frank Hoffmann, I would especially like to thank Lee Chang-hyun, Lee Min-heui, Vladimír Hlásny, Zdenka Klösllová, and Werner Koidl in this connection.

There are obviously others to thank for various contributions. Brad Ayers served as a very dedicated copy editor and proof reader during the first stages of this project, but was forced to pull out. Jan Schindler served as project assistant in the last stages

and helped getting corrections and improvements implemented. I would like to single out Norbert Eigner, Philipp Haas, Susan Jo, Lilith Samer, Ingomar Stöller, and Soomin Yang for various forms of assistance. Of course, a voluminous book like this involves — on all kinds of levels and capacities — many more people than I can cite here. So I cut this short, without forgetting all of their help and not omitting them in my thankful memory. As for more specific aid that contributors received while writing their chapters or having them edited, there are occasionally special acknowledgments attached to those chapters. We are also grateful to numerous archives and institutions, which are acknowledged within each chapter or in the image credits. Lastly, we are indebted to our publisher, Michael Ritter, who I fear has made a great sacrifice by putting scholarship before profit.

Andreas Schirmer
University of Vienna

Introduction

Andreas SCHIRMER

Lost and unexpected historical records continue to be discovered, sometimes gaining media attention throughout the world. In historical areas that seem completely exhausted or lacking adequate records, truly new findings are all the more surprising. When an old document is found, when an artifact is excavated, when the restoration of an old house suddenly opens up a hidden room and thus a window into the past, we celebrate — or historians, at least, celebrate — such discoveries, eager to integrate them into the historical record or probe whether they can challenge the accepted image of the past and rewrite it.

The initial impetus for this project was our recognition that we, as well as contemporary Koreans in Vienna, had little inkling about the Koreans who lived in Vienna for some time eight decades ago and that many discoveries could be made based on substantial records that were buried in letters, archival newspapers, and institutional archives. We also became increasingly aware of the lack of knowledge about Austrians in Korea before 1950.

Originally envisioning “the Habsburg Empire and its successor states” as our scope of research, we then redefined it as Central Europe, in a broader sense of the term. I extended invitations to other scholars, incorporating, after a long process of editing, thirty-one chapters, all addressing encounters between Central Europeans and Koreans. This does not aim to be a comprehensive history or an encyclopedic account of this subject, however.

The sheer numbers of Koreans in Europe and their subsequent influence make evident the rich potential of this research. Official colonial era Japanese documents in 1925 recorded at least 258 Koreans in Europe as a whole. While this may not seem to be a large number, almost all of the later returnees would assume important roles in politics and culture in colonial and post-liberation Korea, in both South and North. In the heyday of 1925 — again according to official records — there were 53 Koreans in Germany, 32 of them students. Bear in mind that Korea’s only university, newly founded in Seoul (Keijō), accepted no more than 103 Korean students at that time, while in Japan proper only 214 Korean students were registered at full-fledged universities.

Speaking of discoveries from the period of Korea’s past that concern us here, anything related to the fight for independence gains a great deal of attention. Yet,

whatever may be revealed by new knowledge of interactions between Koreans and Central Europeans before the middle of the 20th century — whatever it confirms, contradicts or modifies vis-à-vis the existing record — it should be acknowledged in their own right, regardless of whether it serves any agenda or may result in political instrumentalization.

Despite regrettable backward steps, like the dismantling of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission or the recent push to impose state-approved history textbooks written by government-sponsored authors for public education, surely the time has passed when history could simply be buried, when governments incubated memory,^{*} silencing victims and survivors and preventing the commemoration of massacres and the pursuit of redress. Korea's democratization has put an end to muting people who are unwilling to forget. But wariness over touchy and sensitive matters has lingered on as an aftereffect. Yet, even that has significantly waned and most of the fearfulness of getting into trouble or being disadvantaged for showing interest in sensitive matters of the past is gone.

For a long time, however, that wariness, especially in dealing with *wōlbukcha* (intellectuals opting for the North who immediately became anathema in the South), was mirrored in the obvious reluctance to thoroughly investigate the history of Koreans who stayed in Europe before the Korean War. Purported collaboration among some of these people (or the probability that such collaboration might come to light) may also have made the history of the first Koreans living in Europe an awkward topic. Despite currents in recent Korean history that might seem to contradict this (e.g. the ideological thaw that began in the late 1980s and the confiscation of the property of the descendants of collaborators), these are — unless we content ourselves with trivial explanations — the deep-seated reasons for why Koreans have, until recently, shied away from digging too deep into the backgrounds of that small, precious group of Koreans who stayed in Europe before liberation.

At the beginning of this project, a small group of us maintained a working blog, collecting materials and details. We asked ourselves how far we could go beyond simple fact-finding, beyond the mere collection of information. There was a resistance to subsuming our research and our pursuit of new “findings” within one explicit interpretive framework. Indeed, finding new discoveries has been the primary concern of this project, not establishing new theories. Yet, this should not be taken as an admission of naïve positivism, but as a form of scholarly pragmatism: digging out this or that photo, recording, manuscript, or unrecorded memory opens up additional windows to the past — and we wanted such basic work to be given due credit. We

* Refer to Bruce Cumings in “(De)Memorializing the Korean War: A Critical Intervention,” a remarkable issue of *Cross-Currents*, whose epilogue begins: “A curiosity of South Korea's history is the way in which dictatorships incubate memory” (*Cross-Currents* 14, March 2015, 234).

sought to ensure that substantial findings would not be withheld due to the reluctance to frame these findings, to present theory or situate those findings within a larger historical narrative or debate.

This enterprise began as an effort to promote research and to make public the significant findings of some colleagues. Ultimately we also included chapters that, while full of newly discovered findings, are at the same time very “narrative.” Some are even rich with what might be called theory imbued with empiricism. This is nowhere more evident than in the three selections assembled in the first volume of this book.

Frank Hoffmann's first chapter, with its cogent title “The Berlin Koreans,” which comprises nearly a book in itself, draws out the fascinating life-stories, activities, and legacies of a dozen Korean individuals (including the very first Korean student in Germany) who are bound together by their commonality as “Berlin Koreans.” All of them lived in Berlin for several years over a span of more than two decades between 1909 and the mid-1940s. Hoffmann's account is much more than a simple biographic rendering of those early Korean residents of the German capital. The rich panorama that unfolds through Hoffmann's narration exposes layer after layer of historical relationships and connections. This reveals numerous other Korean figures (including many who visited Berlin or lived in other parts of Germany at that time). Some of the stories Hoffmann tells would make a great novel; but he never leaves us wanting for a different genre. Indeed, at times this story of the Berlin Koreans unfolds like a murder mystery, exposing larger background issues and intertwined threads of motifs lurking beneath the surface. One astonishing discovery chases the next.

A veritable breakthrough in this field,^{**} Hoffmann's work on the Berlin Koreans illuminates and supplements our image of Koreans as a whole at that time, in thought-provoking and sometimes confounding ways. His chapter also has the merit of expanding and challenging our conventional understanding of colonial modernity. Many of the details Hoffmann presents are as surprising as they are telling. The political and cultural activities of Koreans who went to Berlin to study (and to work and make a living) paralleled developments back in the Japanese Empire, thus repro-

** The list of previous publications in this field is not long. Most prominent are Hong Sōn-p'yo's work on Korean independence movement activists in Germany during the 1920s (2006), Frank Hoffmann's article (1991) on the Korean graphic artist and painter Pae Un-sōng in Berlin, Yi Kyōng-bun's book (2007) and several articles on the composer of the South Korean national anthem and his career in Berlin, and several studies by Ko Yōng-gūn and others on the leftist intellectual and linguist Yi Kūng-no and his time in Berlin. All of these are in Korean. Andreas Schirmer has published extensive research in German on Kim Chae-wōn, a Korean who studied in Munich. Hoffmann cites all of these sources in his chapter. Beyond them are several German and Korean articles and books by and about the Bavaria-based writer Mirok Li, as well as various publications about German-Korean relations where we find scattered passages about some Koreans in Germany during the first half of the 20th century.

ducing colonial conditions outside of Japanese occupied Korea. Likewise, the political activities of the Berlin Koreans consistently parallel the general political climate of Wilhelmine, Weimar Republican, and Nazi Germany, as Hoffmann convincingly argues. We get the impression that these Berlin Koreans were children of their times, swimming with the current. When the anarchist and communist movements gained strength after Germany's defeat in World War I, these Koreans joined in that. When the climate fostered a more vociferous demand for Korean independence, this was again reflected in the activities of Koreans in Berlin. After Hitler's takeover, several of the Berlin Koreans apparently got very cozy with the Nazis while simultaneously working with and for the Japanese regime. As citizens of the Japanese Empire, Koreans benefited from the "honorary Aryan" designation that the Nazis unofficially assigned to the entire Japanese "race." One might argue that the Koreans who opted to stay for any length of time in Nazi Germany would have approved of the conditions there.

There were others, of course, who clearly loathed the Nazi regime, such as To Yu-ho, who will be featured in the second volume of this book. To Yu-ho wrote home to Korea in 1932: "the one thing that should disappear from Germany is Hitlerism;" he left Frankfurt for Vienna in 1933, the year of the Nazi seizure of power, and later claimed that he was even imprisoned. But we will leave the details of that for the second and third volumes.

Even while assisting the Nazis and the Japanese, the Berlin Koreans of those days — students and professionals alike — remained patriotic in their own minds, like many Korean elites back home who were simultaneously and dilemmatically nationalist and pro-Japanese. In this connection, the role of the conductor and composer An Ik-t'ae, who is now acknowledged to have collaborated, seems to be more the rule than the exception.

Some of the Koreans in Berlin give the impression that, ultimately, they were busy just muddling through; some were outright leftists, while others embodied another strong current: that of Korean fascism. We get the creepy feeling that some of those seen here exhibit tendencies that eventually come to dominate the South Korean political landscape after liberation.

Frank Hoffmann's research will have an enduring legacy. Offering a wealth of new findings that are unique discoveries in their own right — while exerting a free-handed command of all the information, old and new, supplemented by rich scholarship on the relevant contexts — he has compellingly identified a very specific sociotope, a sphere of Korean colonial modernity that emerged outside of the confines of the Japanese Empire, offering a new take on the past from a novel angle.

The second chapter of this volume, "Modular Spectacle," explores the early 20th century Western fetish with things "Oriental." Frank Hoffmann's probing analysis of a trading card set depicting Korea will trigger surprise and perhaps even something

between amusement and dismay. Drawing from his background as an art historian, Hoffmann very profitably illustrates a variety of interrelated issues. His captivating analysis — matched by magnificent illustrations that, again, are never mere accessories but always pivotal to his argument — brings together numerous related issues: early corporate advertising, international trade, emergent nationalism within imperial powers, perceptions of colonialism among Europeans, the lively exchange of photographs and reproductions of artworks within the print media and advertising industries in Western colonial powers.

Named after Justus von Liebig, the famous German organic chemist who, among many other discoveries, developed a method for meat processing, Liebig's Extract of Meat Company was very creative in promoting its products. From 1875 to 1975, the company issued high quality trading cards. Similar cards of varying quality were commonly used by numerous other brands as well for marketing products. Packaged with consumer goods, these cards became highly popular collector's items for adults as well as children. They are acknowledged to have contributed significantly to Liebig's success.

The Liebig card set depicting Korea was issued in 1904 during the Russo-Japanese War, a time when Korea was headline news unlike ever before. The images of Korea on the cards are opulent displays of imaginary exotica and examples of fabricated Orientalized fantasy places. Hoffmann astutely shows that the imagery was obviously assembled from ready-made templates or models of figurative elements of exotic people (their appearance, attire, customs and way of life) and places in "the Orient" or the Far East (whereby "the Orient" subsumed the Far East) and then altered and modulated into new images through the whim of advertising designers and press artists. Thus, just by adding Korean hats and making the clothing look more Korean, a scene from Shanghai or elsewhere in Asia could end up attributed to Seoul, or the scene of stilt jumping in a Spring festival in southeastern China might be refashioned as stilt jumping in Korea where such entertainment was unheard of. In an extreme case, one of the cards depicts a "Korean lady" adjacent to the main image; but she looks nothing like a Korean; the only Korean element is the word "Korean" in the caption. As Hoffmann points out, the practice of free or uninhibited modulation resulted in "fantasy places with real-world names."

The author also explains how this modular manufacturing of images fits into our own, that is, European, cultural and art historical practices, much as the practice of modulating images in East Asian traditional brush painting (landscape painting). Here we learn that the assumed differences of civilization between the colonized and the colonizer, between East and West, are belied by the fact that the visualization of pre-colonial or colonialized peoples and cultures could operate in such "unscientific" ways in early 20th century Europe.

The third and last chapter, “Ultra-Right Modernism, Colonialism, and a Korean Idol,” explains why a *changŭng*, a Korean village guardian or totem pole, is depicted in *The Missionary*, a famous expressionist painting by Emil Nolde. What are the reasons and circumstances behind this appropriation and manipulation of the image of this Korean object by a man who became the most popular modernist artist and expressionist painter in Germany of the 20th century? To answer this intriguing question, Hoffmann again sets out on an investigation that is filled with surprises and thought-provoking insights in an equally ingeniously illustrated text.

Hoffmann documents how the image of the *changŭng* in Nolde’s 1912 painting was modeled on a specimen in the Berlin Ethnological Museum collection. Nolde’s entire painting was assembled using three artifacts that were appropriated and adjusted from there — as his extant sketches make very obvious. A political message is commonly attributed to the painting, based on the artist’s anti-colonialist stance, which is substantiated by views Nolde expressed in a number of his letters and writings from that time. Ironically enough, Nolde viewed the symbolism of the *changŭng* in much the same terms as the 1980s *minjung* movement, which — after the *changŭng* had almost completely disappeared — offered up an alternative history based on village egalitarianism and the purportedly authentic culture of mutual solidarity among Korean commoners, as opposed to the highbrow culture of the dynastic ruling class or, in modern times, capitalist exploitation by Japanese colonizers and later by Korea’s own authoritarian regime. *Changŭng* are finally revived as an object of nostalgia and consumer tradition, which Hoffmann also touches on in this chapter.

One of the twists in Hoffmann’s account is that Nolde’s motif, the *changŭng* itself, was probably not even Korean-made, but could well have been produced by Japanese craftsmen in Chemulp’o — at least there is strong evidence for this. Similarly, in a coda (that once again bears the imprint of his investigative style) Hoffmann refutes the claim that the images of four masks in another painting by Nolde could have all been modeled after Korean masks.

On a more general level, the author exposes approaches to the “Oriental,” the exotic Other, during the first half of the 20th century in German modernist art. Hoffmann argues that modernism and specifically expressionism in Germany were informed by two prevalent, yet competing, philosophies: social Darwinism *versus* German idealism and romanticism. The influence of these schools within German expressionism compelled expressionists to seek out “primitive,” primordial, and “folk art” motifs from “exotic” cultures as central subjects of their artworks. This largely defined how Asian and Oceanic culture were received at the time. German modernism ultimately saw the culture of the Far Eastern “Other” as a reservoir of new motifs that could supposedly help revive the ancient, now idealized, “originality” of the West, or its primitive roots and creative powers.

Primitivist aesthetics values what is perceived as backward. This is paralleled in Nolde’s paradoxical blend of “cosmopolitanism” and “ultra-right” positions. In other words, as romanticism, reform, revolution, and ultra-right movements often coexisted and intertwined, the painter epitomizes his times as a product of dominant currents of thinking and the mainstream intellectual milieu.

Emil Nolde’s personal encounter with Korea is of special interest, given that the main theme of this three-volume book is interpersonal cross-cultural connections. Nolde completed *The Missionary* the year before he ever set foot on Korean soil. In contrast to the six weeks Nolde and his wife Ada spent in Japan and China, they were only in Korea for a few days. And Nolde brought home only two sketches of Korea, one of a Korean grandfather and the second of a Japanese geisha. Aside from that, Nolde’s visit to Korea had no measureable influence on his artistic work. His wife Ada, however, wrote an enthusiastic report (based on her diary), praising the country and its people: “Seoul, Seoul, we will never forget you with your beautiful Koreans all dressed in white, your charming colorful children, with your palace with the lotus pond, where the sweetest colorful children play in the afternoon sun.” She also intimates cherishing her fond memories of their visit to the royal tombs near Seoul. And in a letter to an old friend, Nolde himself also attested to the positive impression Korea left on him.

The research Hoffmann presents in this volume is consistently meticulous, wonderfully detailed, and commendably well-documented. His historical narratives are accompanied by a cornucopia of illustrations that are never simple glosses or happenstance decorations but fitting visual testimony and poignant evidence for each case in point. All in all, these three chapters unveil a stunning array of previously unknown or unexamined sources and facts as well as of compelling and persuading interpretations.

1

The Berlin Koreans, 1909–1940s

Frank HOFFMANN

The history of Koreans studying and working in the German capital is in many ways a case in point of Jean Paul’s frequently quoted observation that Berlin is not so much a city as the world in miniature. Berlin is during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the unrivaled center of scientific research and academic education in the Western World. It attracts many international students of medicine, law, engineering, physics, philosophy, and political science, including a number of elite Korean students who would later shape the politics and culture of postliberation North and South Korea. Yet, while we would expect Berlin’s cosmopolitanism, eclecticism, and vibrant modernity to take the young Korean academics and professionals highlighted in this chapter onto a very different path than those they left behind, the Japanese Empire and its own project of modernity, in one way or another, continue to exert a strong hold over them — even living half a world away from Korea or Japan.

Berlin itself goes through a series of rapid, major transformations, from monarchism, through an unfinished communist revolution, to an unstable democracy that ends in fascism. Add to this two lost world wars, the second of which turns the world-in-miniature that was Berlin into a mere “rubble-heap near Potsdam,”¹ as Brecht succinctly put it. Looking at the rough and often violent political fights, the long and disastrous economic depression and, as a reaction to and within that, the essential modernist changes of the cultural life that defines the Roaring Twenties, Hobsbawm’s notion of the Thirty-One-Year World War² seems most apt. The Koreans who were to go to the German metropolis jumped out of one political boiling pot into another.

Korea, during this same period, is transformed from a weak but independent nation into a colony. It finds itself subsumed by the expanding Japanese Empire; and its youth, both on and off the peninsula, experiment with many of the same political systems and ideologies as the Berliners: monarchism (or its remnants), democracy,

¹ Bertolt Brecht, *Werke: Große kommentierte Berliner und Frankfurter Ausgabe*, ed. Werner Hecht et al., vol. 27, *Journale 2: 1941–1955* [Journals 2: 1941–1955] (Berlin and Frankfurt am Main: Aufbau-Verlag and Suhrkamp, 1995), 281. Unless otherwise noted, all translations of non-English quotations in this chapter are the author’s.

² See Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914–1991* (London: Michael Joseph, 1994), 52. Hobsbawm himself left Berlin in 1933.

anarchism, and communism. The immutable and unifying objective of most Koreans up to the early 1930s, however, is to regain national independence. Later, though, a large cross-section identifies with the expanding Imperial Japanese Empire.

This chapter examines the lives of twelve of the Berlin Koreans, documenting and briefly discussing their connections to political movements and to other overseas Korean communities, as well as their activities and achievements. It sketches out the lives of An Pong-gŭn, a self-made business man and devoted representative of Korean independence and culture who started out as an assistant to a missionary; Kim Chung-se, a scholar of classical Chinese Buddhist and Confucian scriptures who managed to continue in Berlin what he had done back home; Yi Kŭng-no, a highly intellectual and fast learning socialist and later linguist who used science to work for a modern and independent Korea while on the way having established what may well be called the first Korean studies courses in Germany; Kim Chun-yŏn, a leftist independence activist and leading figure of the Korean Marxist-Leninist movement who even translated Stalin, but immediately after liberation turned into a passionate anti-communist; Ko Il-ch'ŏng, an independence activist who turned into a venture capitalist and collaborator; Yi Kang-guk, a professional revolutionary and underground activist who was purged and killed by his own party once he had accomplished his major patriotic and socialist objectives; Pae Un-sŏng, an apolitical graphic artist and painter who worked for the Japanese while in Berlin and Paris in order to attain his own goals of fame and wealth, but still ended up in the communist North; An Ik-t'ae, a talented conductor and composer who joined the Third Reich from the U.S. for some crumbs of fame (and completed his composition of the later South Korean national anthem in Berlin) before finally emigrating to yet another fascist dictatorship; Kuni Masami (aka Pak Yŏng-in), a modernist dancer who adopted a Japanese persona and concealed his Korean identity, and allowed himself to be a tool of Goebbels' war propaganda efforts while spying on the Nazis for their Japanese allies; Chang Kŭk, a highly talented and well trained aeronautics student and technician who worked within the institutional frame of technological cooperation between Germany and Japan to assist the Nazis in constructing wartime bomber motors; Kim Paek-p'yŏng, a physical anthropologist and physician who worked in the core group of Nazi eugenicists and race researchers, providing the NS regime with the scientific cover to carry out mass sterilizations, ethnic cleansing, and the Holocaust; and finally Kang Se-hyŏng, an avowed full-time blood-and-soil NS propagandist who managed to combine Nazism with Japanese colonial ideologies and Korean nationalism.

The Berlin Koreans show how the special conditions that account for *colonial modernity*, as we have come to name and define it since the 1990s, reached well beyond the borders of colonial empire. This finding then opens up a new set of vexing questions that challenge prevailing assumptions about how and to what extent the Korean modernity project was tied to a specific institutional framework.

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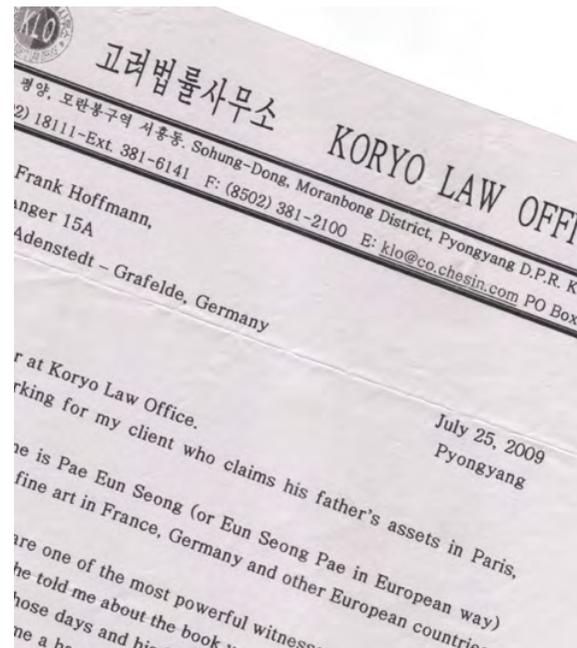
her twenties whose father is the Korean painter Pae Un-sŏng.²⁶² Ironically enough, both Un-sŏng and Madlonka with their daughter all ended up on the communist side of the two divided countries.

One of Pae's sons contacted this writer a few years ago to inquire about his father's assets in Berlin and Paris. However, most of the artworks not sold and left behind in 1940 with a Korean friend in Paris were re-discovered in 1999 by a South Korean doctoral student in France, Chŏn Ch'ang-gon 田昌坤 (aka Jeon Chang-Gon), and are now with him in South Korea (see footnote 202).

5. "Nazi Honors"

Beginning in the mid-1930s, Koreans in Germany clearly benefit from the "honorary Aryan" (*Ehrenarier*) status that the Hitler regime assigns to the entire Japanese "race" — with no distinctions made between Japanese and Koreans. Some of the mostly third generation Korean students and professionals coming to Berlin, however, are especially close to and involved with the regime and its institutions. Under the umbrella and protection of the Axis Tripartite Pact, they are all allowed to select their own incentives, receive their Nazi honors, are offered opportunities without having to compete for them, and enjoy their staged prominence, degrees, and rather luxurious lifestyle. Their activities show how they work for Japanese interests (or, perhaps more to the point, how they no longer distinguish between Japanese and Korean interests) and, on top of that, also become entangled with the NS regime — by choice, actively and willingly. Thus, on the one hand, these cases demonstrate how the Korean elite is by the mid-1930s perfectly integrated into the Japanese Empire; on the other hand, such puzzling biographies of Korean Nazis reveal the tip of the iceberg (i.e. the mythologized exclusively Germanic character of Nazism). The Berlin

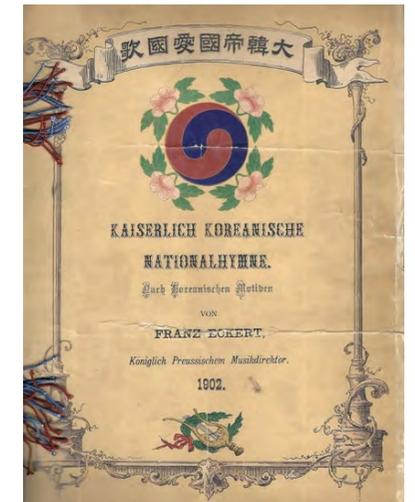
²⁶² Information received from Professor Helga Picht, now Emeritus, Humboldt University, Berlin; letter dated 11 December 1990. The North Korean diplomat prefers not to be named.



(Fig. 41) A note by Pae's family in North Korea (via a lawyer) to author, July 2009: looking for assistance to reclaim the artist's assets.

Koreans indicate how international, in fact, the NS regime was all the way to the end, attracting and accommodating other Europeans, Asians, and just about anyone willing to cooperate within or outside the Reich.

The first of the last five Berlin Koreans to be discussed is An Ik-t'ae 安益泰 (aka Ahn Eak-tai, Eaktay Ahn, and Ekitai Ahn, 1906–1965), the composer of the national anthem of the Republic of Korea, the *Aegukka* 愛國歌 (a generic term meaning patriotic song). The old Korean national anthem, by the way, could almost be called a product of Berlin as well: it is Franz Eckert who is known to have composed the country's first national anthem in 1902 upon going to Korea, immediately after having given up his appointments at the Berlin Philharmonic and as music



(Fig. 42) Royal Prussian music director Franz Eckert, *Kaiserlich koreanische Nationalhymne* [National Anthem of the Korean Empire], cover of score, 1902.

director for Kaiser Wilhelm II; and the Japanese *Kimigayo* 君が代 that Koreans had to sing after annexation had been one of Eckert's compositions as well. The Korean-born dancer Kuni Masami 邦正美 (aka Ehara Masami 江原正美, birth name Pak Yŏng-in 朴永仁, 1908–2007), who came to Germany soon after An, is one of the few who stayed in the Berlin area until the Second World War was over. After the war, Kuni played a decisive role in the world of modern dance in Japan. The third Berlin latecomer to be discussed is Chang Kŭk 張剋 (aka Paul Keuk Chang, usually just Paul K. Chang, 1913–2008), an aeronautics scientist and the younger of two brothers of Chang Myŏn 張勉 (the first Korean Ambassador to the United States after liberation and the head of the new democratic government after the fall of the Syngman Rhee government in 1960). Together with Chang, we discuss the eugenicist Kim Paek-p'yŏng 金伯枰 (aka Baeckpyeng Kim and later Baeck Pyeng Kim, 1900–1990). The last one is Kang Se-hyŏng 姜世馨 (1899–1959?), a student at Berlin University in the first half of the 1930s who also worked as a lecturer for Korean language at the same university and then started a career as an influential and extreme right-wing parliamentarian in post-colonial South Korea.

(a) Composer An Ik-t'ae and Dancer Kuni Masami

For a state that only regained its independence in 1948, the creation of mythology around the life of An Ik-t'ae as the composer of its national anthem is not too surprising. These stories are part of a process of creating a collective memory, form national identity, and foster social cohesion that former colonial countries, now new nation-states, typically go through. What is surprising is only the choice of icons for

such symbolic identification on a national level. The *T'aegŭkki* 太極旗, the South Korean national flag today, creates its own iconic subset of Korean identities, as it uses purely Chinese symbols from the ancient *Yijing* 易經, the *Book of Changes*, and as it was created in 1882 by Pak Yŏng-hyo 朴泳孝, also known under his Japanese name Yamazaki Eiharu 山崎永春, who spent a large part of his life in Japan, hiding from Korean officials and others who wanted to assassinate him for his role in the pro-Japanese Kapsin Coup (*Kapsin chŏngbyŏn* 甲申政變) of 1884. Pak later became “a royal minister in the cabinet of Yi Wanyong [李完用]” (who signed the Japan–Korea Annexation Treaty and is seen as the quintessential traitor in Korean historiography), was then “given a marquisate and became a member of the Japanese House of Peers,” and in colonial Korea, “between 1919 and 1935, he was Kyŏngbang’s first president”²⁶³ and the president of the Chōsen Industrial Bank (Chōsen Shokusan Ginkō 朝鮮殖産銀行).

The Korean modernization project seems intertwined with that of Japan in so many ways that the postliberation project of historical purification and sanitization already reaches its limit with the profane realities of actual biographical data. An Ik-t’ae is indeed a good example of this. Until 2006, the conventional biographical sketch of An’s life reads just like this: “After fleeing a death sentence during the Japanese occupation (1910–1945) for using his music as a political statement for Korea’s freedom, Ahn spent the rest of his life abroad, performing his music in concert halls worldwide and starting a family on the Spanish island of Mallorca.”²⁶⁴ In March 2006 an article in the *Chosŏn ilbo* about a concert An had given in Berlin in 1942 is changing that, and even some major European newspapers have covered this story.²⁶⁵ A Korean music student had rediscovered a seven-minute newsreel at the German Federal Film Archive in Berlin. It features An Ik-t’ae’s 18 September 1942 concert commemorating the 10th anniversary of the foundation of Manchukuo 滿洲國 at the Berliner Philharmonie, showing An conducting the Berlin Radio Symphony Orchestra, which is joined by the Singgemeinschaft R. Lamys choir.²⁶⁶ He also conducts the same concert again with the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra,²⁶⁷ on 11 February



(Fig. 43) *Housemates with Baton & Sword, or Going to Bed with the Enemy* — all the predictable spy novel images seem to be confirmed in this story: An Ik-t’ae (left) on the train from Budapest to Rome, and Ehara Kōichi, Councillor of the Embassy of Manchukuo in Berlin, early 1940s.

the coming year, organized by the German–Japanese Society. Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany’s recognition of Manchukuo as a state had been part of the package deal with Japan to form the Axis pact. An’s wartime propagandistic contributions do therefore serve all three Axis powers. His Manchukuo memorial concert is just the tip of the iceberg. Additional published research, mostly by the musicologist Yi Kyŏng-bun 李京粉 (aka Lee Kyungboon), has helped form a picture of An Ik-t’ae that completely obliterates

the earlier patriotic hero legend.²⁶⁸ If it were not enough that the Manchukuo concert celebrates the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Japanese-run puppet state Manchukuo, celebrating Japan’s aggressive expansionism and colonialism, or that he conducts the orchestra before high-ranking Nazis and Japanese diplomats with huge Japanese and swastika flags hanging on the walls, the highlight of the concert is An’s very own composition: *Mandschoukuo, Symphonische Phantasie für großes Orchester und gemischten Chor* (Manchukuo, symphonic fantasy for orchestra and mixed choir). The choir’s lyrics, here the third of four stanzas, go like this:

With Japan we are firmly tied,
Like one heart with a sacred aim,

²⁶³ Carter J. Eckert, *Offspring of Empire: The Koch’ang Kims and the Origins of Korean Capitalism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 97. Kyŏngbang refers to the Kyŏngsŏng Spinning and Weaving Company, the largest Korean-run modern manufacturing company in colonial Korea. For a full biographical sketch of Pak, see pp. 97–99.

²⁶⁴ Reporter Todd Thacker summarizes An’s life this way in a 2005 interview article with the composer’s grandson Miguel Eaktai Ahn in the online newspaper *OhmyNews*, 18 March 2005, URL #20.

²⁶⁵ See *Chosŏn ilbo*, 7 March 2006 (digital ed. URL #21); *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 16 May 2006.

²⁶⁶ That is the following news report: “Festliches Konzert zur zehnjährigen Reichsgründungsfeier Mandschoutikuo” [Festive concert for the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the establishment of the Empire of Manchukuo], German Federal Film Archives, Koblenz, MAVIS 574081 (Deutsche Wochenschau GmbH), entry registration no. K40075-1, archive signature 1282. A two-minute clip from this newsreel is accessible online at URL #22, minutes 7:02 to 8:47.

²⁶⁷ See URL #23. Also see *Das Kleine Blatt* and *Neuigkeits-Welt-Blatt* of 13 February 1943.

At the time the orchestra’s name was Vienna City Symphony Orchestra.

²⁶⁸ For detailed studies see: Yi Kyŏng-bun, *Irŏbŏrin sigan 1938–1944* [Lost time, 1938–1944] (Seoul: Hyumŏnisūt’ū, 2007); Yi Kyŏng-bun, “An Ik-t’ae wa Riharūt’ū Syut’ūrausū: Char-yorŭl t’onghae chŏpkūnhan sūsunggwa chejaūi kwan’gye” [Richard Strauss and An Ik-t’ae: The relationship of master and pupil through source materials], *Nangman ūmak* 19, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 33–60; Yi Kyŏng-bun, “Nach’i togilgwa ilbon chegugūi ūmak munhwa kyoryu” [Music in the cultural exchange between Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan], *Ilbon pip’yŏng* 2 (2010): 316–343; Lee Kyungboon, “Japanese Musicians between Music and Politics during WWII: Japanese Propaganda in the Third Reich,” *Itinerario* 38, no. 2 (August 2014): 121–138; Hŏ Yŏng-han, “Chap’il kiroge ūihan An Ik-t’aeūi yurŏp hwaltong chaegusŏng” [Reconstruction of An Ik-t’ae’s career in Europe from his own performance records], *Nangman ūmak* 19, no. 1 (Winter 2006): 5–31. An’s close involvement with the Nazis had already been pointed out several years earlier in a study published in German. See Manfred Permoser, *Die Wiener Symphoniker im NS-Staat* [The Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra in the NS state] (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2000), 72, 189.

For eternal peace, strive,
Germany — and Italy — for great things aim.²⁶⁹

An had already qualified himself for this important commission arranged by the German–Japanese Society through his job as the conductor of Richard Strauss’ *Japanische Festmusik* (Japanese festival music) in Vienna and elsewhere.²⁷⁰ It is a piece Strauss had composed and dedicated to the Japanese Tennō, for good pay, of course, and with the additional condition to have the Japanese Embassy in Berlin talk to the Germans and make sure his Jewish daughter-in-law Alice stays safe (since he himself had already fallen from grace with the Nazis). Although An would conduct the piece in Vienna, it had been conducted by Helmut Fellmer in an earlier official concert in December 1940 in Tōkyō for the “26th Centennial of the Foundation of the Japanese Empire.” It should be noted, in this connection, that foreign conductors and musicians, even those from Germany and Italy in the Axis alliance are not as welcome in Japan during the war years as they were before. International agreements do not end racism, not in Germany and not in Japan. The German Embassy had to remind the Japanese government of specific cultural exchange clauses in the 1938 German–Japanese Cultural Convention to have German conductors and musicians perform in Japan.²⁷¹

An Ik-t’ae travels extensively, yet spends lots of time in Berlin in the late 1930s and in 1940, while living the other half of the time in Budapest. From 1941 to 1943 he lives permanently in Berlin though. For two years he resides at the luxurious villa of a Japanese national, Ehara Kōichi 江原綱一²⁷², at Gustav-Freytag-Straße 15 in Berlin-Grunewald, as Ehara’s permanent house guest. Ehara also happened to author the above quoted lyrics for An’s *Symphonic Fantasy Manchukuo*. We seem not to know too much about the diplomat, other than him being a “Councillor of the Manchurian [Manchukuo] Embassy in Berlin”²⁷³ (his title in German is *Gesandt-*

²⁶⁹ A German version of the lyrics for all stanzas are on the later Vienna concert flyer, reproduced in Yi Kyōng-bun, *Irōbōrin sigan 1938–1944*, 173. The author of the lyrics is given as “Koichi EHARA.” A contemporary review of the concert in the local *Volks-Zeitung* of 13 February 1943, however, states that the Vienna State Opera Chorus (Wiener Staatsopernchor) sang Ehara’s song in Japanese. A review by Otto Steinhagen in the evening edition of the *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung* of 19 September 1942 confirms the same for Berlin.

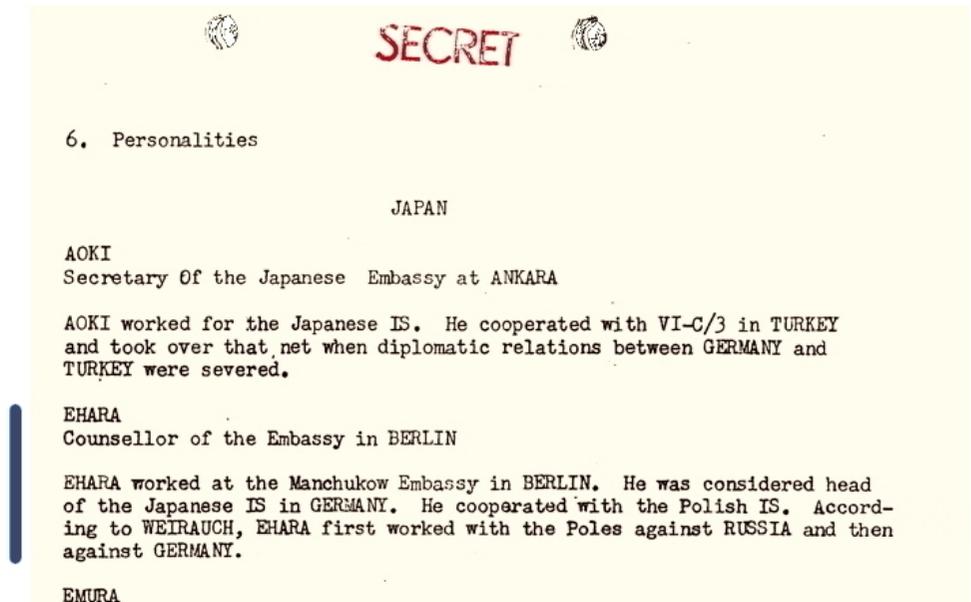
²⁷⁰ See Yi Kyōng-bun, *Irōbōrin sigan 1938–1944*, 87–89, 176–177.

²⁷¹ For details, see Detlev Schauwecker, “Musik und Politik, Tōkyō 1934–1944” [Music and politics, Tōkyō 1934–1944], in *Formierung und Fall der Achse Berlin–Tōkyō*, ed. Gerhard Krebs and Bernd Martin, Monographien aus dem Deutschen Institut für Japanstudien der Philipp-Franz-von-Siebold-Stiftung 8 (Munich: Iudicium, 1994), 224–230, and 245–251.

²⁷² In contemporary publications referring to Ehara we find three variations of the first character of his given name Kōichi: 綱一, 鋼一, and 耕一. His signatures on two documents from Berlin and his postwar publications show that the first variation is the correct one.

²⁷³ See American Historical Association, Committee for the Study of War Documents, comp. *Records of Nazi Cultural and Research Institutions, and Records Pertaining to Axis Relations and Interests in the Far East*, Guides to German Records Microfilmed at Alexandria,

schaftsrat, until 1945 a position that comes right below that of an ambassador) and him being officially in charge of economic and cultural exchanges between Manchukuo and Germany. Ehara had studied law in Tōkyō before becoming a diplomat. The An Ik-t’ae specialist Yi Kyōng-bun speculates that An and Ehara may well have known each other from Tōkyō.²⁷⁴ That seems not very likely, however, as Ehara is ten years older than An and already works as a government employee, while An is still a student. More likely, they met e.g. through the German–Japanese Society in Berlin or at some social or cultural event — although there is no evidence of this.



(Fig. 44) Ehara Kōichi entry in a listing of Japanese Intelligence Service personal in Europe according to German knowledge during the Third Reich. (From a 1949 U.S. Army intelligence report; see footnote 275).

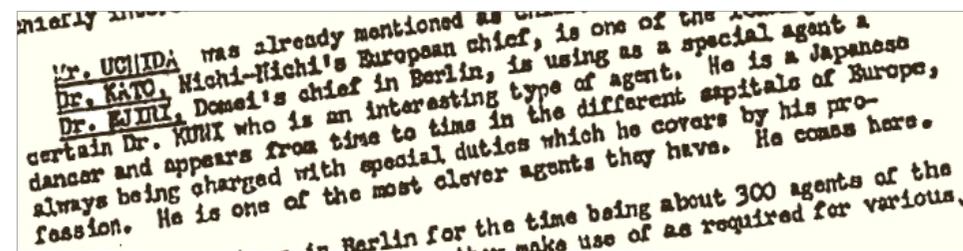
Ehara is not just a diplomat. The chief of Japanese espionage operations in Europe at that time is General Onodera Makoto 小野寺信 in Stockholm. All communications between Europe and Tōkyō, though, always go through Berlin. As this writer found out, in Berlin it is An Ik-t’ae’s friend and host Ehara Kōichi who is in charge of Japanese intelligence operations. (As early as 1941, both Americans and Soviets decrypt the code the Japanese use for such transmissions to Tōkyō, so that Ehara unknowingly delivers essential military intelligence about Nazi Germany to the Allied forces.) A postwar U.S. Army intelligence report, based on interviews with former German and Japanese intelligence officers, confirms that Ehara “was considered head of the Japanese I[n]telligence S[ervices] in GERMANY.”²⁷⁵ Ehara has at his fingertips “in Berlin

Va., 6 (Washington, DC: The National Archives, 1959), 55, item GD 886. Furthermore, see *Le Petit Parisien*, 6 November 1942.

²⁷⁴ See Yi Kyōng-bun, *Irōbōrin sigan 1938–1944*, 194–195.

²⁷⁵ U.S. Army, European Command, Intelligence Division, “Wartime Activities of the Ger-

for the time being about 300 agents of the most different professions” — of various nationalities, including Germans and Koreans, and even some scholars and artists, such as the renowned dancer Kuni Masami, “one of the most clever agents,” who “appears from time to time in different capitals of Europe, always being charged with special duties which he covers with his profession.”²⁷⁶ The small man’s ability to flaunt that kind of position easily explains his mysterious sex appeal for An Ik-t’ae and his power in arranging all of An’s concerts throughout Europe. This also helps explain what might otherwise seem a rather obscure decision by a cultural heavyweight like Richard Strauss, former president of the Third Reich State Music Bureau (Reichsmusikkammer), to accept an invitation to the villa of some diplomat (not even the ambassador) of the Embassy of Manchukuo. An Ik-t’ae may have been Ehara’s special agent (like Kuni), or his significant other, or both — we may never know for certain.



Mr. UCHIDA was already mentioned as...
 Dr. KATO, Nichi-Nichi's European chief, is one of the...
 Dr. EJIMA, Domei's chief in Berlin, is using as a special agent a...
 certain Dr. KUNI who is an interesting type of agent. He is a Japanese...
 dancer and appears from time to time in the different capitals of Europe,
 always being charged with special duties which he covers by his pro-
 fession. He is one of the most clever agents they have. He comes here.
 ...in Berlin for the time being about 300 agents of the...
 ...make use of as required for various...

(Fig. 45) Excerpt from an American OSS report from Istanbul, 1944 (see footnote 276), describing dancer Kuni Masami’s (Pak Yōng-in’s) role as “special agent.”

Kuni Masami and his school would become the leading modern dance group in postwar Japan. Kuni was born and lived his childhood as Pak Yōng-in 朴永仁 in the southeastern Korean harbor city Ulsan. His father, a former pro-Japanese Kaehwap’a reform and Westernization activist, turned businessman, had sent Yōng-in off to Japan as a teenager to attend a high school in Matsue 松江, Shimane Prefecture. Later, after graduating at the prestigious Tōkyō Imperial University, Pak becomes a Japanese citizen and adopts the name Ehara Masami 江原正美 for his passport, while becoming known under his stage name Kuni Masami. His choice of the kanji *kuni* 邦 for his stage name is telling, as it means “nation” or “state.” Picking this particular character, no doubt, makes him a self-declared cultural representative of Japan.²⁷⁷ His father,

having seen his son’s dance performance while he was on a tour in Korea, even sends Korean shaman accessories to him in Japan for future performances. Yet, according to his brother, Kuni’s relationship with the family continued to be strained.²⁷⁸ As was not unusual at the time — and even very recently — for someone in his occupation and with his implicit sexual orientation, Kuni keeps a distance from his family after leaving Korea and avoids all contact in his later years. However much he is of service to Japanese power brokers, Kuni sees Tōkyō, the modern metropolis, and later Berlin, as his escape, promise, and fulfillment, as cities that would provide the space for him to be ‘different’ and to follow his professional calling. In stark contrast, an artist like Pae Un-sōng, while interested in modern Western art and culture, always identifies himself as Korean. For Kuni, becoming Japanese, and much later American, is far more than just a political move, more than collaboration in order to advance his career; for him, it is an act of finding and transforming identity. Korean media, then and now, have mostly ignored all of this. Beginning in February 1937, when he arrives in Berlin, Korean newspapers refer to him as the *Korean* dancer with the Japanese stage name Kuni Masami, and as the third internationally renowned modern Korean dancer (the other two being Ch’oe Sūng-hūi and Cho T’aeg-wōn). In Japan, Europe, and later the United States, however, he very consistently keeps his Korean roots to himself.

In his 1993 book *Berurin sensō* ベルリン戦争 [The Berlin war]²⁷⁹ Kuni portrays himself as politically naïve, having expected to find the Berlin that he had read about and his teachers had told him about — a Weimar culture with an energetic avant-garde, political freedom, and internationalism. While Kuni’s book may appear “politically correct” by even today’s standards, in the 1930s and 40s he embodies the smooth operating agitprop fighter role until the very last days of Nazi rule in Germany and Japanese rule in Korea. He studies and works in Berlin, living a luxury life with a servant, a car, a villa and a countryside home, and stays until the war is over. Like other elite foreigners, he is urged to move away from the city to avoid the bombing raids toward the end of the war and relocates to Groß Glienicke, a village in Berlin’s suburbs. In his book he does not omit describing how even there, in the village, Uzbek soldiers of the Soviet Army plunder and rape right in front of his eyes.

man Diplomatic and Military Services during World War II,” 1949, U.S. National Archives, IWG, Records of the Central Intelligence Agency, Record Group 263, RC Box #08, RC Location 230/902/64/1 (declassified and released by the Central Intelligence Agency Sources Methods Exemption 3828 Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act, 2007), 80.

²⁷⁶ Office of Strategic Services, SI Istanbul, “Japanese Intelligence and Propaganda in Turkey,” 15 January 1944, document 0004 of folder “Japanese in Europe (WWII),” U.S. National Archives, IWG, Records of the Central Intelligence Agency, Record Group 263, RC Box #39, RC Location 230/86/25/06 (declassified and released by the Central Intelligence Agency Sources Methods Exemption 3828 Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act, 2005), 5.

²⁷⁷ I am grateful to Dr. James P. Thomas for pointing me to this otherwise overlooked insight.

²⁷⁸ For a spotty vita of Kuni, see Sō Tae-hyōn, “‘Segyein’ul p’yobanghan K’uni Masami: Pak Yōng-inūi yesulgwa insaeng” [The convinced ‘global citizen’ Kuni Masami: Pak Yōng-in’s art and life], 2 parts, *Ch’umgwa tamnon* 1 (Fall 2006): 67–72, and 2 (Spring 2008): 16–20. In Japan a long obituary focusing on his contributions to art dance and his publications was published by Professor Yoshida Yukihiro, “Kuni Masami o shinonde: Kuni Masami to 30-nendai no Doitsu, soshite sengo no buyōkai” [In memory of Kuni Masami: Kuni Masami and Germany in the 1930s and later in the postwar dance world], *Corpus* 6 (February 2009): 54–63.

²⁷⁹ Kuni Masami, *Berurin sensō* [The Berlin war], Asahi sensho 473 (Tōkyō: Asahi Shimbunsha, 1993).

Lucky to survive, Kuni then joins a group of 25 Japanese whom the Soviets repatriate. They board a Trans-Siberian Railway train, which takes them all the way through Soviet territory to East Asia.²⁸⁰ Because of this unusual train ride in May 1945, he indeed experiences the unconditional surrender, occupation, and disarmament twice. Ten days after his arrival in Korea he publishes a report as a witness of the German surrender in the *Maeil sinbo*, calling it the “ultimate disgrace” (*ch'oedaeü oyok* 最大の汚辱), at the same time celebrating the German *Volk*'s “fight to the last man” and urging his compatriots to keep on fighting in the Pacific War.²⁸¹

As is so often the case with Third Reich memoirs, the omissions and manipulations of information, more than factual errors, are characteristic of its style and content. This begins with Kuni's mantra-like repetitive references to Rudolf von Laban and Mary Wigman as his teachers and later colleagues and it continues with the misrepresentation of the New German Dance (also German Expressionist Dance, or *Ausdruckstanz*) that Laban is said to have developed as some sort of free and democratic expression, which would therefore contradict fascist ideologies. What is more, a brief biographical sketch in a University of Southern California student newspaper — with only minor variations many times published like this in other places — reports that “Dr. Kuni is a graduate of the Tokyo Imperial University with a doctorate in aesthetics, and the Berlin University where he studied history of art. He graduated from the German Dance College under Mary Wigman, Rudolf Laban and Max Terpis.” The sketch continues with his work experience, stating that “he toured Europe as a solo concert artist” and speaks of him as the “director of his own dance school in Berlin.”²⁸² Yet, when Kuni teaches at what is now Cal State Fullerton between 1964 and 1975 and chairs the Faculty in Dance, his credentials reversely indicate a B.A. from Tōkyō Imperial and a doctorate from Berlin University.²⁸³ But Fullerton cannot find any information about such degrees, not to mention a copy of Kuni's dissertation or a doctoral degree certificate.²⁸⁴ The dancer's bio is quite telling regarding colonial and fascist power mechanisms and

²⁸⁰ This unusual journey is confirmed by a report in the *Maeil sinbo* of 30 May 1945 that notes the circumstances of Kuni's arrival in Korea. It was three full months after Germany surrendered and following the Yalta Agreement that the Soviets declared war against Japan. As of May 1945, Japan was not yet a formal enemy of the Soviet Union.

²⁸¹ See *Maeil sinbo*, 9 June 1945. In his 1993 *Berurin sensō* book, however, Kuni not only avoided any and all mentions of his Korean origins and his upbringing in Ulsan, he also carefully omitted anything about his 1945 train ride that ended in Korea. Instead, he just noted having returned to Tōkyō by way of Manchuria (see p. 339).

²⁸² *Daily Trojan*, 22 April 1963.

²⁸³ See PDF document at URL #24, in here page 631.

²⁸⁴ This writer contacted various offices and the university archive at CSUF. The final reply was that they searched but “do not have any substantive information” (Associate Vice-President for Faculty Affairs, 29 May 2014) on Kuni's doctoral degree.

institutional set-ups. No more than a bachelor degree from Tōkyō can be verified, and it is established that he has never even been a guest student at Berlin University. Instead he was affiliated with the university's Japan Institute, an outgrowth of the new state-level German–Japanese relations and of concerted propaganda efforts by both countries. Kuni works exclusively for Japanese and German propaganda and intelligence services and is well taken care of. Indeed, he can tour all through Europe while sup-

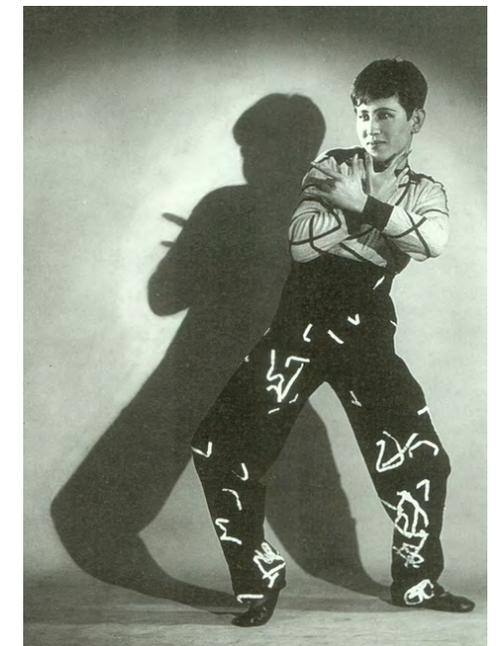
porting the war effort and fascist multi-national cooperation. Such legends of fictitious pupil-teacher relations and a bachelor's degree that seems to have been inflated to a doctorate are all part of a package deal that would even become the basis for post-1945 careers.

To start with, the Korean Japanese dancer could hardly have seen enough of von Laban to call himself his pupil, much less to have worked with him. He clearly meets Laban's pupil and colleague Max Terpis who remains in Germany until 1939. But Laban no longer teaches in Berlin when Kuni arrives and leaves the country altogether soon later; Kuni only seems to have met him in England years after the



(Fig. 46) Kuni Masami (aka Pak Yōng-in, aka Ehara Masami) and Alexander von Swaine in Berlin, 1938.

(Fig. 47) Kuni with Harangozó Gyula, Budapest 1938.



(Fig. 48) Kuni in costume and pose for his »Ignition« dance, performance in the large domed hall, Haus des Deutschen Sports, Olympiapark (then Reichssportfeld) Berlin, 30 May 1937.

war. Laban had been commissioned to choreograph a monumental mass dance event for the pre-Olympic dance festival with 1,200 performers and multiple orchestras in around 30 cities. Then Goebbels, who had supported him until then, storms out of the final dress rehearsal in an outburst, instantaneously putting an end to his career in Germany as the man in charge of all dance related institutions. In August 1936 Laban enters a sanatorium for health related reasons, and leaves for Paris later in 1937. Then, when his last attempt to continue to work for the Propaganda Ministry fails the coming year, he moves to England, knowing that the charges he faces for homosexuality and Freemasonry will not go away. This does not mean that he opposes the Nazis. To the contrary, he and Mary Wigman (like the majority of other German dancers, artists, writers, and intellectuals) wholeheartedly support the new regime and its ideology.²⁸⁵ The dance historian Marion Kant poignantly summarizes how these leading modernist dancers and choreographers personally cooperated with NSDAP functionaries: Laban and Wigman “thought they could use the Nazis to fulfill their agenda, a Jew-free renewal of the German conservative traditions.” (They had indeed early on implemented racist policies and dismissed their Jewish dancers and “non-Aryan” children from their ballet schools.) “They were wrong,” Kant states, “the Nazis were radicals, radical racists who were modern, scientific and ruthless in their determination to carry out their program and prepare Germany for the racial war” and “for the truly great figures like Heidegger, [Carl] Schmitt, Laban, and Wigman the sudden fall from grace and favor was an awful shock and disappointment.”²⁸⁶ The Nazis, on the other hand, do not appreciate the personalities behind the

²⁸⁵ The 1934 program brochure of the German Dance Festival Laban has much praise for Wagner and Hitler who would lead the way (p. 5), and Mary Wigman shows her dismissive attitudes towards jazz and other international trends and genres in music and dance, at the same time constructing the *Ausdruckstanz* with small pompous words like “true art,” “forever” and “original” as the only legitimate modern expression of the *Volk* that had found its own roots (p. 9). See Rudolf von Laban, ed., *Deutsche Tanzfestspiele 1934 unter Förderung der Reichskulturkammer* [German Dance Festival 1934, promoted by the National Chamber of Culture] (Dresden: Carl Reißner, 1934).

²⁸⁶ Marion Kant, in Lilian Karina and Marion Kant, *Hitler's Dancers: German Modern Dance and the Third Reich*, transl. Jonathan Steinberg (New York: Berghahn, 2003), 127. This study and documentation was first published in 1996 under the title *Tanz unterm Hakenkreuz* [Dancing under the swastika]. It was taken as a provocative account at the time. In spite of various shortcomings that have been pointed out in many, often also enlightening reviews, the main argument about the relationship of the modernist dance establishment with the Social Nationalists is sustained. The history of modernist dance then again matches the developments in the world of modernist art and architecture during the same period, which really calls for a more radical rewrite of the history of modernism in both Europe and Asia, since these are closely related, as already seen in the small example case of Kuni Masami. We cannot push our modernist idols off of their pedestals on one continent and expect them to remain at their perch on another. Quite the contrary: such insights into European modernism lead us to an understanding that can replace the many inept explanations masterminded from Western concepts of highly idealized modernist culture, on what historic modernism in Korea has been.

movement, yet they embrace the *Ausdruckstanz* for its mass appeal as a neat modernist tool that can and will be used to stage fascist mass spectacles. In any case, both movements share many of the same spiritual and intellectual roots: in terms of aesthetics, human body, and social utopia, that is most importantly the *Lebensreform* movement. We might assume that the fresh, expressionist, experimental dance of the Roaring Twenties would have been forced into extinction during the Third Reich. Yet, the grotesque and mesmerizing dance scene with Harald Kreutzberg²⁸⁷ in G.W. Pabst's 1943 movie *Paracelsus* serves as an impressive example of how the finest form of modernist dance functions perfectly as an integral part of the standard NS propaganda package promoting the superiority of Germanic, non-intellectual culture.²⁸⁸ Kuni, incidentally, had already met Kreutzberg in 1934, when the German dancer performed at his school in Tōkyō. The German's spectacular performance had been decisive in the young man's determination to go to Berlin.²⁸⁹ Moreover, like Ch'oe Sŭng-hŭi, Kuni had studied with Ishii Baku 石井漢, the father of the Japanese modern dance movement, who had been a gleaming admirer and supporter of Mary Wigman and her *Ausdruckstanz*. Here, in many different ways, we are touching on some of the essential ingredients of modernism, as Mary Wigman had then again adapted movements, gestures, costumes and masks, concepts of the relation of the individual movement of actor/dancer to theatrical space, and even instrumentation and music from Japanese Nō and Kabuki, and from Chinese, Indian, and Thai theater forms. A short segment of the 1926 version of her most influential *Witch Dance (Hexentanz)* — where Wigman dons a carved mask by Nō mask maker Victor Magito — leaves no doubts or questions in this regard.²⁹⁰ In a way, the relationship between the dance worlds of Germany and Japan in the 1930s can very well be described as a form of “reverse export” on both sides, as the *Asahi shimbun* 朝日新聞 puts it at the time.²⁹¹

Though Wigman is the most prominent and artistically significant female modernist dancer, the inclusion of “Oriental” motifs, costumes, and movements — real and imagined — has already become a widespread stylistic phenomenon by the time of World War I. We have all seen reproductions of Otto Dix's stunning verist portrait

²⁸⁷ Kreutzberg was another highly talented, absolutely amazing, major figure in the New German Dance movement around Laban and Wigman who dutifully supported the Nazis.

²⁸⁸ Film scene accessible at URL #25. For a astute analysis of the movie and the tavern dance scene, see Sheila Johnson, “Ideological Ambiguity in G.W. Pabst's *Paracelsus* (1943),” *Monatshefte* 83, no. 2 (Summer 1991): 104–126.

²⁸⁹ See Kuni Masami, “Odori: Japanische Empfindungen — deutsche Eindrücke” [Odori: Japanese sensations — German impressions], *Der Tanz* 10, no. 7 (July 1937): 2–3.

²⁹⁰ A short excerpt from a 1929 film (based on her revised 1926 choreography), is posted at the Centre Pompidou website, URL #26. Her 1914 version is only documented in photographs: see figure 4 in this writer's “Ultra-Right Modernism” chapter in this volume.

²⁹¹ See the article “Seiō buyō o gyaku yushutsu” [Reverse export of Western European dance] in the *Asahi shimbun* of 17 September 1936.



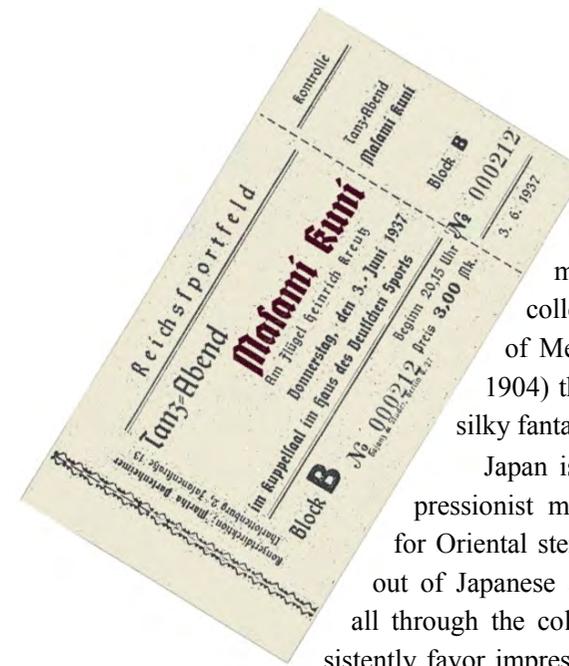
(Fig. 49) Anita Berber, »Korean Dance« (Koreanischer Tanz), March 1917. Photo: Alexander Binder.

(Fig. 50) Anita Berber's Korean Dance as hand painted Rosenthal porcelain figurine, designed by Constantin Holzer-Defanti in 1919, molding since 1920 (this object 1927) at Selb-Bavaria, height 41 cm (detail).

every curve of her body. The openly bisexual nude dancer, whose expressionist performances in Berlin cabarets and variétés are always highly provocative, also becomes Berlin's fashion queen, an early Lady Gaga, sporting, for example, a boyish haircut, a monocle, and a tuxedo, constantly setting new trends for the capital's "New Women." Anita Berber's breakthrough success has already come years earlier, however, in her debut as a solo performer, with her own choreography and performance of a piece she titles "Korean Dance" (fig. 49). The two fashion magazines *Die Dame* and *Elegante Welt* both cover Berber's solo performances at the Apollo Theater in March 1917, right in the middle of the First World War, focusing on her captivating "Korean Dance." The articles are accompanied by photos of Berber in her shiny costume. Her dazzling, exotic dance and outfit enthral audiences. "There was an unusually beautiful and tasteful treatment of the costume. Especially in 'Korean Dance', gestures, appearance, and costume were in harmony with one another, which can truly be called exemplary,"²⁹² states one of the highly positive reviews. Berber's "Korean Dance" also inspires other artists. The illustrator Walter Schnackenberg draws her in her costume, and sculptor Constantin Holzer-Defanti designs two porcelain figurines (see fig. 50) for mass-production at the Rosenthal Manufactory in Selb two years later. Of course, looking at the photos of Anita Berber in her costume, it is immediately evident that there is hardly anything

²⁹² "Anita Berber: Eine neue Tänzerin" [Anita Berber: A new dancer], *Elegante Welt* 6, no. 3 (March 1917): 15.

The Dancer Anita Berber (now at the Kunstmuseum Stuttgart) in magazines or on book covers. Considered one of the most iconic images of the Flapper Era, it portrays the rebellious and highly decadent dancer (for instance in the edgy and surreal dance sequence in Fritz Lang's *Metropolis*), actress, poet, and prostitute with red hair and clad in all-red attire, revealing



Korean about it! Her silky pajama-like pants, her vest, and her fantastically styled headdress makes for a complete fantasy costume. If anything, it might remind 1917 audiences of the highly popular collectable trading cards from Liebig's Extract of Meat Company (Korean motifs set issued in 1904) that also depict Korean girls and women in silky fantasy costumes.²⁹³

Japan is as hungry for the powerful German expressionist melodramas as is the German avant-garde for Oriental stereotypes and exotica that could be filtered out of Japanese and Oceanian cultures. In Korea, though, all through the colonial period, the modern visual arts consistently favor impressionist styles and thick 19th century naturalist oils over everything else.²⁹⁴ Accordingly, in dance, Kuni's choreographies attract interest from the Japanese avant-garde, even during the war, while the Korean media mostly only use him as a token representative of Korean national culture.

Korean newspaper reports about Kuni Masami's first big solo performance on 30 May 1937 (see fig. 48; a second is scheduled four days later, see fig. 51) at the Haus des Deutschen Sports' new large domed hall, a central point of Berlin's Olympic Park (named "Reichssportfeld" at the time), refer to Kuni by his birth name Pak and stress that "the Korean folk dances *Monk Dance* (*sungmu* 僧舞) and *Farmer's Dance* (*nongbuui ch'um* 農夫의 춤)"²⁹⁵ had been part of his show. Readers are thus made to believe that Kuni is introducing Korean culture to Germans. Nothing could be more misleading. On the morning of Kuni's second performance, Goebbels, who was a Japanophile — but much less so than Himmler — has a long and intense meeting on German–Japanese cultural relations with the special Japanese emissary for culture, the Shintō ultranationalist Fujisawa Chikao 藤沢親雄.²⁹⁶ Fujisawa impresses the Reich Minister as a "clever and energetic head [who] thinks very modern, nationalistic and anti-parliamentarian."²⁹⁷ Although later he annoys the young Nazi students attending his guest lecture at Berlin University when he informs them that "pure Nazism was really a manifestation of the Japanese spirit on German

²⁹³ See figure 1 in this writer's "Modular Spectacle" text in this volume.

²⁹⁴ In Korea, of course, expressionist art was also produced during the colonial period, but expressionism and other later art movements and styles such as cubism or abstract art were never as strong and popular as in Japan.

²⁹⁵ *Tonga ilbo*, morning ed. of 8 June 1937. The *Maeil sinbo* of 7 June 1937 reports the same.

²⁹⁶ See *Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro*, afternoon and evening eds. of 3 June 1937.

²⁹⁷ Joseph Goebbels, diary entry of 4 Juni 1936, *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels* [The diaries of Joseph Goebbels]. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2001 (URL #27).

soil.”²⁹⁸ The second dance event on June 3rd was organized in connection with Fujisawa’s visit and lecture. A week earlier, Hitler had already received high-ranking Japanese Navy officers. Together with Fujisawa, they had come to Kiel on the navy’s flagship *Ashigara*, and then, with most of their crew, they visit Berlin and take part in public festivities in their honor. Kuni’s dance performances, Judo and Kendo martial art demonstrations, are all organized by the German–Japanese Society and serve as related cultural umbrella events that promote the two nation’s close cooperation and reinforce the already strong image of the Japanese as “honorable Aryans.”²⁹⁹

Reportedly, Kuni’s first performance is part of the farewell celebration for these Japanese Navy officers and sailors. The rare inclusion of certain movements and accessories from Korean folk dance should be understood in the context of avant-garde Japanese dance according to Ishii and is therefore no different in approach than Wigman’s adaptation of Japanese movements and objects into her dance, only Korea replaces Japan as the source of exotica. Unlike Kuni, his female colleague Ch’oe Sŭng-hŭi, by then the brightest modern dance star on the horizon of the Japanese Empire, does in the 1930s indeed work on modernized choreographies of Korean folk dances while also utilizing Indian and other “Oriental” motifs. At her performances and in interviews within the Empire and internationally, she emphasizes her Korean heritage and thereby knowingly departs from Ishii’s understanding of modern expressionist dance (which was never about reinvigorating and modernizing traditions or anything else from the past, but all about authentic expressions of the present, which then again sometimes include some ethnic elements such as typical movements and cloth; these are then disrupted, displaced, and recontextualized). Kuni Masami, on the other hand, approximates Ishii’s conceptualization and adds defamiliarization and alienation effects. Conceptually, this is very close to Ishii (or Wigman, for that matter) but far removed from Ch’oe’s modernized Korean dances or her use of folk motifs. In fact, “Korea” or “Korean” is never mentioned even once in connection with Kuni over the years in any European press releases. Thus, his work according to Korean print media appears to be a nationalist display of Korean folk culture by a Korean dancer, is later presented by Kuni himself as a very successful avant-garde solo show with loans from traditional Kabuki and other Asian forms of dance and theater; yet, it can also be understood as a well-organized political propaganda event

²⁹⁸ Fujisawa Chikao, quoted in Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Re-inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), 96.

²⁹⁹ See *Berliner Illustrierte*, evening ed. of 24 Mai 1937; *Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro*, midday ed. as well as afternoon and evening eds. of 24 May 1937, midday ed. as well as evening ed. of 25 May 1937, afternoon ed. of 26 May 1937, midday ed. as well as evening ed. of 27 May 1937, evening ed. of 28 May 1937, first midday ed. of 29 May 1937, night ed. of 31 May 1937; Günther Haasch, ed., *Die Deutsch–Japanischen Gesellschaften von 1888 bis 1996* [The German–Japanese Societies from 1888 to 1996] (Berlin: Ed. Colloquium, 1996), figure 11 (between pp. 162 and 163).

staged by NS and Japanese authorities.³⁰⁰ Quite some Rashomon effect, and the missing fourth interpretation might be discerned with little effort. Berlin, which for Koreans could be considered as a “social space” of colonial modernity (in Lefebvre’s terms), is by 1937 transformed into what seems more like a political extension of the Japanese Empire.

When Kuni Masami arrives in Berlin in late February 1937 and begins to study soon later, he does this on a scholarship from the Japanese Ministry of Education.³⁰¹ The “German Dance College” mentioned in the earlier quoted USC newspaper, where Kuni studies and later finds employment as an instructor, refers to the German Master Workshops for Dance (*Deutsche Meisterstätten für Tanz*). Organized by the National Socialists the previous year, Laban is the school’s director, initially. Yet, he is replaced almost immediately by Rolf Cunz, the Advisor for Dance at the Propaganda Ministry. By this time, the institutional Nazification and *Gleichschaltung* (forcible coordination) are in full swing,³⁰² and the Master Workshops, as well as all other dance related institutions, are under direct control of Section VI of the Goebbels’ Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda. Although Kuni could hardly have done anything with Laban, he did participate in some courses that Wigman taught as a guest lecturer at the Master Workshops in Berlin after her fall from power between 1937 and March 1942, when she was still teaching in Dresden. (Much later, Kuni writes a book about her.) He studies and performs as a dancer at the Berlin Volksbühne, the Berlin State Opera, works with Harangozó Gyula in fascist Hungary at the Royal Opera House, dances at the Italian National Theater, and on and on. As the U.S. wartime intelligence report quoted above suggests, his travels and activities had multiple purposes serving multiple masters. One of Kuni’s close friends and colleagues is Alexander von Swaine (fig. 46), an absolutely stunning dancer and choreographer, who was an openly gay, which brought him an eight months prison sentence and a permanent ban to perform in public by the Berlin magistrate’s court for a violation of Paragraph 175 of the German Criminal Code, the so-called gay paragraph.³⁰³ These and other incidents must certainly have signaled Kuni to seek protection. His deep involvement with Japanese secret services and his status as foreign journalist provided that.³⁰⁴ From the start, Kuni not only studies and works as a dancer, he also works as a dance and theater critic for Japanese newspapers and magazines, and is often introduced as such.³⁰⁵ He writes in Japanese magazines about

³⁰⁰ Oddly, Kim Ho-yŏn (2015) argues that it is Kuni, not Ch’oe, who departs from Ishii’s concept.

³⁰¹ See Kuni, *Berurin sensō*, 19–20; *Chosŏn ilbo*, 7 May 1937; *Maeil sinbo*, 7 June 1937; *Tonga ilbo*, morning edition of 16 July 1937.

³⁰² See Alan E. Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater, and the Visual Arts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 32–37.

³⁰³ See Karina and Kant, *Hitler’s Dancers*, 40, 261–262.

³⁰⁴ But Kuni also married at least twice, last in 1972 to the 28 years young Tomiyo N. Nagahashi.

³⁰⁵ See e.g. the end of the article by O Pyŏng-nyŏn 吳炳年 about Kuni, part of his “On Parade” series on modern Korean dancers in the *Tonga ilbo*, morning edition of 10 September 1937.

the New German Dance³⁰⁶ and in German magazines he begins to publish articles on Japanese dance, theater, and related arts.³⁰⁷ As in the case of Pae Un-sōng and An Ik-t'ae, it is once more the German–Japanese Society with its branch offices, apart from the Propaganda Ministry, that organizes many of his appearances around Europe, e.g. in Magdeburg, Karlsruhe, Colmar, Linz, Prague, Königsberg (Kaliningrad), and Istanbul.³⁰⁸ Among those commissioned jobs is also the translation of and choreography for a modernized Kabuki (*shin kabuki* 新歌舞伎) play that Kuni himself adapts and co-produces with a German director for German audiences, which premieres as late as July 1944 when Japanese Ambassador Ōshima Hiroshi 大島浩 — a man so devoted to Nazism that Japanese officials back home nickname him “the German Ambassador to Germany” — receives an honorary doctorate from Leipzig University.³⁰⁹ As a willing token for the propagandists of German–Japanese relations and a cultural representative of the new, modern, fascist Japan, Kuni himself gets regular coverage in propaganda publications such as the NSDAP’s *Illustrierter Beobachter* and Ribbentrop’s *Berlin Rom Tokio* through the end of the war.

Apart from the German–Japanese Society, Kuni regularly works for Kraft durch Freude (meaning “Strength through Joy,” KdF), the Nazi’s state-instituted leisure-time organization that organizes vacations and after-work events to ensure National

³⁰⁶ But Kuni’s paramount publication from that period was a book: *Geijutsu buyō no kenkyū* [A study on art dance] (Tōkyō: Fuzanbō, 1942). The book’s focus is Laban and Wigman’s *Ausdruckstanz*. He also presented a Japanese view on the same topic for the official propaganda magazine of the Reich Theater Chamber (Reichstheaterkammer): Kuni Masami, “Gedanken eines Japaners über die deutsche Tanzkunst von heute” [Thoughts of one Japanese on contemporary German dance], *Deutsche Tanz-Zeitschrift* 3, no. 12 (1938): 5–7.

³⁰⁷ See, for example, Kuni Masami, “Tanzkunst in Japan” [The art of dance in Japan], *Der Tanz* 10, no. 12 (1937): 9–10; a longer academic version appeared in a journal that was the result of the new German–Japanese state-level cooperation and the implementation of *Gleichschaltung* policies: *Nippon: Zeitschrift für Japanologie* 4, no. 2 (April 1938): 73–82, plate. Further see: Kuni Masami, “Die zwei Gesichter des japanischen Tanzes” [The two faces of Japanese dance], *Die Musik* 31, no. 10 (July 1939): 657–660; Kuni Masami, “Die Grundbegriffe und das Wesen des Ukiyoe” [The basic concepts and the nature of ukiyo-e], *Nippon: Zeitschrift für Japanologie* 5, no. 3 (July 1939): 129–138; Kuni Masami, “Japanisches Theaterleben” [Japanese theatrical life], *Nippon: Zeitschrift für Japanologie* 6, no. 2 (April 1940): 65–74. As someone who bridged the gap between artistic performance and academia, Kuni became involved with the Japanese studies program at Berlin University. For example, he also presented the last mentioned paper on Japanese theater as a lecture at the Japan Institute in Berlin (on 8 March 1940), and he served as a contributor for the most important NS period lexica on Japan, the *Japan-Handbuch* (Berlin: Steininger, 1941), edited by Martin Ramming, then the director of the Institute. What appears to be a big success at first glance only occurred because of the application of new Nazi policies across all institutions and because of Kuni’s role as a symbol of German–Japanese collaboration.

³⁰⁸ See *Königsberger Allgemeine Zeitung*, 20 and 28 September 1942; *Kolmarer Kurier* and *Marburger Zeitung*, 26 November 1943; Peter Funk, “Karlsruhe,” *Musik im Kriege* 2, nos. 1–2 (April–May 1944): 25; Haasch, ed., *Die Deutsch–Japanischen Gesellschaften von 1888 bis 1996*, 428 and 430.

³⁰⁹ See *ibid.*, 269 and 413; *Marburger Zeitung*, 11 and 21 July 1944.



(Fig. 52) Pae as *General* (detail), ca. 1934, crayons on paper, a small portrait of graphic artist Pae Un-sōng with a Kabuki performer’s pointy *tate eboshi* hat by the Polish–Swiss artist Marei Wetzelschubert.

(Fig. 53) Kuni Masami (aka Pak Yōng-in), early 1940s, giving a Kabuki performance (likely in Vienna), with pointy hat — a photo published in the April 1943 issue of the Nazi propaganda magazine *Berlin Rom Tokio*.

Socialist ideology is enforced at all times. By the late 1930s the KdF organizes over 140,000 events with a whopping 54 million participants,³¹⁰ and having dramatically lowered prices for what counted as high culture (*Kultur*)—theater, opera, and ballet—it quadrupled attendees there as well, creating a mass culture that puts modern entertainment into the focus of fascist modernity. The Nazi organization also gains special attention among some leading Japanese intellectuals. Gonda Yasunosuke 権田保之助, a well established sociologist, critic, and researcher of popular culture and modern life publishes an entire book about it.³¹¹ As has convincingly been argued, specifically in theater and dance, Japan emulates these Nazi cultural organizations and programs from the late 1930s.³¹² A Japan Recreation Association (Nihon Rekuriēshon Kyōkai 日本レクリエーション協会), modeled after the German KdF, is set up in 1938. Kuni's activities are therefore completely in line with the developments back in Japan.

In April 1940 Kuni gives a performance of what he simply refers to as modern Japanese dance (exclusively featuring his own choreographies) at the Urania in Vienna, an institution which was integrated into the KdF organization under the politics of *Gleichschaltung*. A local newspaper report about this “German–Japanese Cultural Evening” — with Austria now part of Germany — tries to impress its readers with the dancer's alleged star status: “Dr. Masami Kuni (...) gave most recently a guest performance in Sweden. Following his appearance in Vienna, he will dance in Mecklenburg, then choreograph a Japanese ballet in Copenhagen.”³¹³ Though this gives the impression of big personal successes, all these wartime performances and activities are without exception state-organized. Denmark, with its capital Copenhagen, had been invaded and occupied by the Nazis earlier that month, and Sweden is only neutral on paper during World War II, having had its own very strong National Socialist movement.³¹⁴ A brief communication exchange between the KdF's central office in Berlin and the Deutsche Volkstheater in Vienna well demonstrates that it is Kuni himself who actively tries to use the Nazi's cultural propaganda institution's power to further his career. The Berlin KdF informs the Vienna theater that Kuni has contacted their office and is interested in being invited for a matinée (see fig. 54).³¹⁵

³¹⁰ These are at least the official numbers for the year 1938; see *Der Umbruch*, 1 August 1942.

³¹¹ See Gonda Yasunosuke, *Nachisu Kōseidan (KdF)* [Kraft durch Freude (KdF)] (Tōkyō: Kurita Shoten, 1942).

³¹² See the studies by Sang Mi Park. A concise summary is given in her article “Wartime Japan's Theater Movement,” *Waseda Daigaku Kōtō Kenkyūjo kiyō* 1 (March 2008): 61–78.

³¹³ *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 18 April 1940. Also see *Neuigkeits-Welt-Blatt*, 17 April 1940.

³¹⁴ Ironically, ultra-right thought and culture of the sort propagated by Kuni continued to have a strong influence on East Asian studies (including Korean studies) in Sweden because, as an ostensibly non-aligned state, it was never subject to denazification. See Tobias Hübinette, “Asia as a Topos of Fear and Desire for Nazis and Extreme Rightists: The Case of Asian Studies in Sweden,” *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 15, no. 2 (Fall 2007): 403–428.

³¹⁵ See letter by Rudolf Sonner at the Kraft durch Freude (KdF) Central Office in Berlin to



(Fig. 54) Letter by the Berlin Kraft durch Freude (Strength through Joy) office to Deutsches Volkstheater in Vienna, informing the theater that Kuni Masami has contacted their office to express his interest in a performance in Vienna; letter dated 18 September 1940.

The Berliners' “politically correct” Nazi enthusiasm for German–Japanese relations, though, meets with a lack thereof at the theater, teaching the “Prussians” a lesson in how efficiently political the proverbial Viennese snugness can be. After taking a good half year to reply, the theater's Administrative Director Lehmann states that he does not really know how to organize a matinée and that hardly anyone would come unless the local KdF office pre-purchases a large contingent of tickets (as giveaways for soldiers, school classes, etc.).³¹⁶

Deutsches Volkstheater in Vienna, dated 18 September 1940, Vienna City Library (Wienbibliothek im Rathaus), Manuscript Department, folder ZPH 619/23 (hereafter Vienna CL, ZPH 619/23).

³¹⁶ See letter by Administrative Director Otto Lehmann at Deutsches Volkstheater in Vienna to Rudolf Sonner, KdF Central Office Berlin, dated 8 April 1941, Vienna CL, ZPH 619/23.

Beginning in 1941, the KdF closely cooperates with the Wehrmacht; its main task is now providing wartime troop entertainment. In this context, Kuni works on a regular basis for the KdF in the Wehrmacht's troop entertainment section, traveling around in occupied territories. In early 1942 "Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels, the President of the Reich Culture Chamber" invites "the Japanese Dr. Masami Kuni" and about 50 other known performers, representing thousands of actors and entertainers, to receive the Reich Minister's special thanks for their dedication. But the only one to show up and thank them is the lower-ranking Hans Hinkel (a name familiar to us from Chaplin's *The Great Dictator*), the "De-Jewing" (*Entjudung*) specialist in the cultural sector.³¹⁷ Kuni uses his travels and contacts with the SS, SA, and Wehrmacht as opportunities to spy on the situation for the Japanese, reporting to Ehara Kōichi and to his direct boss Ejiri Susumu 江尻進 at the well-staffed Berlin office of Domei News Agency (Dōmei Tsūshinsha 同盟通信社), his official affiliation as an accredited journalist. Domei tries to look like a news and propaganda agency to the Germans that would collect, filter, and translate foreign news and then inform its government — a simple open-source intelligence operation paired with propaganda. In reality, it is into human intelligence collection as well. The earlier quoted U.S. intelligence report from 1944 (see footnote 276) shows that all of the parties involved are well aware of these multi-tasking operations, including Kuni, Ehara, and Ejiri's specific roles.³¹⁸

Although all civil theaters stop operating in 1943, those KdF special jobs and performances continue to generate income for Kuni. The troop entertainment shows bring him to places like Lodz (Łódź) in occupied Poland, which Hitler had renamed Litzmannstadt. Just when the 40,000 remaining Jews and Romani then surviving in the Lodz Ghetto had been brought to the Auschwitz and Chełmno death camps for "liquidation" in August 1944, Kuni dances for the guards and murderers there.³¹⁹

While Kuni Masami and An Ik-t'ae work for the Japanese, the 1949 intelligence report that mentions An also includes a reference to Han Hūng-su 韓興洙 (aka Han Hung Soo, 1909–?), generally considered the father of North Korean archaeology. Han had been studying and working in Berne, Fribourg, Vienna, and later Prague, but from March 1941 to late August that year he lives in Berlin and is listed in the

³¹⁷ See *Marburger Zeitung*, 13 January 1942.

³¹⁸ Ehara Kōichi and Ejiri Susumu, the two high-level intelligence officials, also survived the war and returned to Japan. Ehara now enjoyed writing about his acquaintance with Richard Strauss and spent his later days translating Eduard Mörike's romantic poetry. Ejiri, the press censorship and propaganda specialist, rose to become Secretary-General of the Japan Newspaper Publishers & Editors Association (Nihon Shimbun Kyōkai 日本新聞協会); his favorite essay theme became press freedom and responsibility. See e.g. Ehara Kōichi, "Rihiaruto Shutorausu ō no omoide" [Memories of the venerable maestro Richard Strauss], *Rekōdo ongaku* 20, no. 11 (November 1950): 31–35; Ejiri Susumu, *Characteristics of the Japanese Press*, NSK Asian Programme Series 11 (Tōkyō: Nihon Shimbun Kyokai, 1972).

³¹⁹ See *Litzmannstädter Zeitung*, 26 October 1944. Kuni had already performed in Lodz in the spring of the same year; see *ibid.*, 29 April 1944.

report as an active "intelligence agent" for the German side, heading a small amateur spy "study group" that gathers information for the Third Reich about their Axis partner Japan.³²⁰ In the summer of 1939 the Germans break the Anti-Comintern Pact with Japan by signing the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact with the Soviets, and in December 1941 the Japanese surprise the German leaders when attacking Pearl Harbor without having informed their ally. It seems therefore sensible that both powers watch each other's moves closely. Like Pae Un-sōng, An Ik-t'ae, or Kuni Masami, and a few other Koreans who stay on in Europe during the Third Reich, Han Hūng-su manages to get himself privately and professionally entangled into the quagmire of Nazi favoritism and profiteering. As Zdenka Klöslová hints in her chapter on Han in Prague (in volume two of this series), Han and his lover Huberta benefit from their collaboration in being able to live in the beautiful Dobrovský Villa (now renamed the Werich House and included in every tourist brochure). Its former resident, Zdeněk Wirth, the renowned art historian, had been forced out of the villa and his teaching position by the Nazis. The Germans had occupied Kampa Island in its entirety and had set up their local NSDAP headquarters right next door at Liechtenstein Palace. And Kim Kyōng-han, Han's friend and later the sham husband of his Czech-German girlfriend (see footnote 71) does his part by enrolling in one of the SA's Napola boarding schools for the ideological training of young Nazi cadres, as Christian Lewarth reveals in his chapter on "Sound Recordings" (also in vol. 2). All of the spy novel clichés and stereotypes are well furnished; Han and other Koreans assist the Japanese, Nazis, and Soviets to spy on each other and step into every trap there is.

Let us now return to composer An Ik-t'ae. Both Ehara and An Ik-t'ae's letters to Strauss in the early 1940s leave little room for interpretation in terms of the nature of their relationship. In sharp contrast to the legend that An built, or allowed to be built, around himself as a Korean patriot who "worked (...) with Richard Strauss in Vienna and Munich for 12 years,"³²¹ it seems perfectly safe to conclude that An had never even met Strauss before 11 or 12 March 1942. The letter that An writes to Strauss less than two weeks later is obviously the first letter he has ever written to the famous composer. That invitation letter is, other than his postwar letters, still highly formal: "Mr. Ehara and I would very much like to welcome you and your wife as our guests in our home during your Berlin stay in June."³²² It is only thanks to Ehara and the

³²⁰ See U.S. Army, European Command, Intelligence Division, "Wartime Activities," 94 and 127. For further details on Han Hūng-su, see the detailed study by Andreas Schirmer, "Ein Pionier aus Korea: Der fast vergessene Han Hung-Su — Archäologe, Völkerkundler, Märchenerzähler, Kulturmittler" [A pioneer from Korea: The almost forgotten Han Hung-Su — archaeologist, ethnologist, storyteller, intermediary between cultures], *Archiv für Völkerkunde* 61–62 (2013): 261–318; about his Berlin stay, see pp. 268–269, note 20, and pp. 277–279. Also consult the book by Löwensteinová and Olša about Han of the same year.

³²¹ *Los Angeles Times*, 2 February 1958.

³²² Letter by An Ik-t'ae in Berlin to Richard Strauss in Vienna, dated 24 March 1942, repro-

German–Japanese Society that An and Strauss meet at all. The organization takes care of most cultural propaganda regarding German–Japanese relations, sponsoring artists, musicians, youth programs, and more. And it is Ehara, as An’s friend, who promotes him and his career within that organization. As in the case of Pae Un-sōng’s exhibitions, every single concert An conducts in the first half of the 1940s seems to have been arranged and sponsored by the German–Japanese Society.³²³ The only reason An gets to meet the acclaimed composer is that the society asks him to direct Strauss’ *Japanische Festmusik* as “Ekitai Ahn,” the “Japanese conductor.” It is then again Ehara who initiates the invitation to have Strauss stay at his villa in Berlin.³²⁴ The Korean composer and conductor could not be more integrated into the world of Japanese Imperial politics and cultural propaganda: all the sponsorships, all the concerts, and all the contacts for An are either arranged by Japanese authorities or by the German–Japanese Society.

The lyrics of the patriotic *Aegukka* had been sung in Korean churches in the United States, where An had studied, to the tune of the Scottish folk song “Auld Lang Syne.” An starts working on a new melody while still in Philadelphia and later modifies and completes the composition while staying in Berlin in 1936, at the time of the Olympic Games. He then also meets with Pae Un-sōng, An Pong-gūn, and with Korean students (only seven to ten Koreans remain living in Berlin at that time).³²⁵ Sometime during the coming two



(Fig. 55) An Ik-t'ae at a rehearsal, conducting the Berlin Radio Symphony Orchestra in 1942.

duced in Yi Kyōng-bun, *Irōbōrin sigan 1938–1944*, 199.

³²³ See Yi Kyōng-bun, “An Ik-t’ae wa Riharūt’ū Syut’ūrausū,” 46–54. The author proves that the timeline given by An himself in later interviews and writings does not match the actual, rather late meeting of the two musicians. An predated (or allowed others to predate) his contacts with Strauss in order to claim to have been a “student” of the famous composer.

³²⁴ See Ehara’s 1942 letters to Strauss, reproduced in Yi Kyōng-bun, *Irōbōrin sigan 1938–1944*, 197, 201, and 204.

³²⁵ See *Tonga ilbo*, 8 and 9 August 1936.

years, he adds this melody to the ending of his composition *Korea Fantasia*. His *Aegukka* composition (with the old patriotic lyrics), which he first sends from Berlin to Koreans in San Francisco, becomes immediately very popular in Korean communities around the world. The lyrics are at that time believed to be from An Ch’ang-ho. Only in the last few years have we learned that the true author is Yun Chi-ho 尹致昊, whose political career is somewhat similar to that of Pak Yōng-hyo, the creator of the national flag mentioned earlier.³²⁶ Also having his roots in the late 19th century reform and independence movement, Yun becomes an ardent propagandist of *naisen ittai* and a supporter of the Japanese war effort in the late colonial era.³²⁷

An’s *Aegukka*, which was first adopted by Kim Ku’s Shanghai exile government in October 1945 as the Korean national hymn, has several issues. The earlier 1902 national anthem by that other Berliner by choice, Franz Eckert, as we now know, seems in fact not the Prussian’s own *composition* but his *adaptation* of a Korean song, “The Wind Is Blowing” (*Parami punda* 바람이 분다).³²⁸ But An’s anthem, Western choral music in G major, shows no trace of any influence of traditional Korean music genres. The other major issue is that An’s *Korea Fantasia* piece, and thereby the *Aegukka*, seemed at the time to have been sponsored by the German–Japanese Society for their cultural propaganda programs. Although An scholar Yi Kyōng-bun seriously doubts that An Ik-t’ae had 20 performances of *Fantasia Korea* in various countries,³²⁹ mostly fascist or German-occupied European ones, as both An and, later, his widow claimed, we should remember that he got the same kind of sponsorship that Pae Un-sōng received for his woodprints and paintings of Korean folk life. Pae’s works served as icons of Korean culture no less than An’s *Korea Fantasia*. It seems quite possible, then, that An (even if in post-1945 interviews he inflated the actual number of such performances) had blended Korean pseudo-folklore for Western orchestras with the work of Beethoven and Wagner. More attention was certainly given to his modernized classical Japanese pieces, mostly modern interpretations of eighth-century court music, *Etenraku* 越天樂. In fact, *Etenraku* is

³²⁶ See *Sinhan minbo*, 21 September 1910; *Chosōn ilbo*, 16 December 2003 and 18 June 2013.

³²⁷ Among other activities, Yun acted as the president of the Special Volunteer Soldier Support Association (Tokubetsu Shinganhei Kōenkai 特別志願兵講演会) and gave speeches that encouraged young Korean men to enlist as soldiers for the Imperial Japanese Army. The switch from a volunteer service system to compulsory conscription for Koreans came in December 1944, only eight months before the end of the war.

³²⁸ Yi Kyōng-bun, following Hermann Gottschewski’s findings, argues that Eckert based his Korean national anthem on the song’s musical notation given by Homer B. Hulbert in his 1896 essay on “Korean Vocal Music” (p. 52), the same text that introduced a notation of “Arirang” to Western readers (see footnote 113). See Kyungboon Lee, “Die erste koreanische Nationalhymne: Ihre Quelle, Franz Eckerts Bearbeitung und die Frage der Text-Musik-Relation” [The first Korean national anthem: It’s source, Franz Eckert’s adaptation, and the question about the relationship between lyrics and melody], *OAG-Notizen*, no. 12 (December 2013): 30–39; a Korean version appeared in *Yōksa pip’yōng* 101 (Winter 2012).

³²⁹ Cf. Yi Kyōng-bun, *Irōbōrin sigan 1938–1944*, 127–133.

the central piece in his standard repertoire and figures prominently in many of his concerts in Europe. Other than his Berlin colleague Konoe Hidemaro 近衛秀麿, the half-brother of Konoe Fumimaro 近衛文麿, Japan's Prime Minister and signer of the Tripartite Pact with Germany and Italy, An relies entirely on Western instrumentation for his version of *Etenraku*. On 18 August 1943, for instance, the only time he gets to conduct the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, *Etenraku* is in the program together with Wagner, Mozart, and Dvořák. The program flyer for this concert also demonstrates that it is the Nazis who construct or help to construct the legend of An as a pupil of their very own German Richard Strauss, while his American education goes unmentioned.³³⁰ An does not differentiate between Japanese and Korean cultural representation. All the while, from the commentaries and small articles he writes in newspapers, one gets the feeling that he thinks (or pretends to think) of his role as some sort of uninvolved onlooker or cultural tourist. In actuality, however, he clearly benefits from the situation no less than those among the Nazi cultural elite. An moves from the United States (where he had already started a career as cellist and given solo concerts³³¹) to Germany and makes his debut there at a time of unprecedented barbarism, the very moment in time when the majority of his more distinguished composer and conductor colleagues had one-way tickets to travel in the other direction. Even Paul Hindemith, admired by An and praised in one of his 1936 articles, who tries everything to reconcile with the Nazi Party, leaves in 1938 for Switzerland and emigrates later to the United States. An thus helps fill the huge cultural void left by the departure of Hindemith, Schoenberg, and so many others, while serving as a willing tool for Japanese and Nazi propagandists.

In 1943, when the Allied bombing of Berlin worsens, German military officials send An to occupied Paris, where he works for them at the Orchestre de Radio-Paris. He is now one of the major figures of German cultural propaganda in Pétain's Vichy France, often making the front pages of the few remaining newspapers. As this writer found out with some amazement, after the *Mandschoukuo* concerts in Berlin and in Vienna, he now gets to delight the Parisian public with the same piece at a live concert on 30 March 1943 at the Palais de Chaillot in front of the Eiffel Tower, directing the Orchestre de la Société des Concerts du Conservatoire. The otherwise press-shy Ehara Kōichi is with him this time (see fig. 57).³³²

Coda: An and his work must have made quite an impression, as France declares him *persona non grata* even while World War II is still going on; and the United States prohibits him from entering the country for two years,³³³ considering him an

³³⁰ The original program flyer is reproduced in *ibid.*, 139.

³³¹ See *New York Herald Tribune*, 20 October 1933, 19 November 1933, and 29 July 1934.

³³² See *Le Matin*, 22 and 30 March 1943.

³³³ An also worked together with the otherwise much celebrated Franco-Swiss pianist and conductor Alfred Cortot, a member of the Vichy regime's Conseil national who, after lib-



(Fig. 56) Ehara Kōichi with Richard Strauss in Salzburg, August 1944.

(Fig. 57) An Ik-t'ae and Ehara Kōichi before the *Mandchoukouo* (Manchukuo) concert in Paris; detail of a front page article in *Le Matin*, 30 March 1943.



avowed Nazi. When Paris is liberated in August 1944, he travels on to Spain, the only other country in all of Europe that would retain its ruthless and brutal fascist dictator for three more decades.³³⁴ He marries a Spanish woman there and gets his own orchestra, the Orquesta Sinfónica de Mallorca.

(b) Aeronautical Engineer Chang Kūk and Eugenicist Kim Paek-p'yōng

The first Korean artist trained in Europe is Pae Un-sōng, whom we discussed earlier; the first in the United States is Chang Pal 張勃, the younger brother of later South Korean Prime Minister Chang Myōn; and there is a third brother. At their hometown the brothers are simply known as the *Inch'ōnŭi samjang* 仁川の三張, the Three Changs from Inch'ōn. The Chang family is, just like the Haeju Ans, another old Catholic

eration, was declared *persona non grata* as well. See *ibid.*, 19 April 1944.

³³⁴ We may take note that even in non-aligned Spain, An seems to have eagerly promoted his *Mandschoukuo* piece. The internal work schedules for broadcasts of Radio Barcelona for 1944 show that the Vienna concert recording of the piece was aired in two parts, on 30 October and on 11 November 1944 (and again in December that year). It seems also telling that it took An years to finally say 'hasta la vista' to his Japanized forename Ekitai and re-Koreanize his name to Eaktay. For the original radio broadcast schedules, see URL #28, a and b (both times pp. 2, 6, and 17), and c (pp. 5 and 14).

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Contributors

Frank Hoffmann studied Korean Studies and Art History at the University of Tübingen. He continued his research on modern Korean art and intellectual history at Harvard University and taught at IIC in San Francisco and Hamburg University, among other institutions. His articles have appeared in specialized journals such as the *Korea Journal* and *Korean Studies*, as well as acclaimed popular magazines, including *Art in America*; he also compiled the *Harvard Korean Studies Bibliography* (2000). For several years he served as a co-owner and moderator of the academic Moderated Korean Studies Internet Discussion List. Currently, he lives in Berkeley, California, as the CEO of an Internet corporation applying nanotechnology strategies to satellite and data center networks.
www.koreanstudies.com, hoffmann@koreanstudies.com

Andreas Schirmer studied German Philology, Philosophy, and Korean Studies in Vienna and Korean Language and Literature in Seoul. Holding a PhD in Modern German Literature from the University of Vienna, he has also attended a PhD program in Korean Language and Literature at Seoul National University. After a stint as an assistant professor at the Graduate School for Translation and Interpretation of the Hankuk University of Foreign Studies and as a teacher at the Korea Literature Translation Institute, he returned to the Department for East Asian Studies of the University of Vienna in 2010. He has initiated and coordinates a network among Korean Studies programs in Central and Eastern Europe, overseeing exchange between eight programs in seven countries. He has written a textbook for German learners of Korean and translates Korean literature. His recent academic publications and papers mostly relate to Korean literature and translation studies or to the type of historical issues that are featured in the present book.
andreas.schirmer@univie.ac.at