



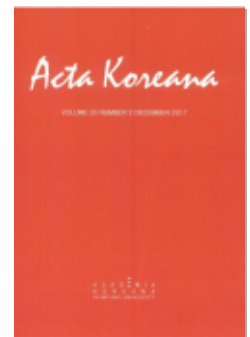
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Mid-Eighteenth Century Beijing

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ONE FROM THE EAST, ONE FROM THE WEST: THE UNEASY ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN HONG TAE-YONG AND AUGUSTIN HALLERSTEIN IN MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BEIJING

By KIM MINHO

There were encounters between Chosŏn 朝鮮 scholar Hong Tae-yong 洪大容 (1731–1783) and Jesuit missionary Ferdinand Augustin von Hallerstein (1703–1774), whose Chinese name was Liu Songling 劉松齡 at the South Church (Nantang 南堂) in Beijing on the 9th day of the 1st month of 1766. Hong Tae-yong, who wanted to learn advanced Western technology, met Hallerstein personally three times and asked him about various aspects of astronomy, Western technology, musical instruments, and Catholicism. He recorded these encounters in classical Chinese in one of the chapters of *Tambŏn yŏn'gi* 湛軒燕記 (Hong Tae-yong's record of an embassy to Beijing), entitled “Yu P'o mundap” 劉鮑問答 (Questions and answers with Hallerstein and Gogeisl). He also recorded these encounters in vernacular Korean in his *Ŭlbyŏng yŏnhaengnok* 乙丙燕行錄 (Record of an embassy to Beijing in 1765–1766). This study discusses how Hallerstein's and Gogeisl's names came to be recorded on the two red papers used to accept Hong's request for the visit, and further analyzes the historical context related to the red papers. This study also introduces Hallerstein's letter concerning Chosŏn and attempts to evaluate the encounter between Hong Tae-yong and Hallerstein. Ultimately, in explaining how the background and surroundings of that time made it difficult for their relationship to develop in a constructive way, this study tries to shed light on one case of important interactions between Chosŏn and the West.

Keywords: Hong Tae-yong, Hallerstein (Liu Songling), *Yŏnhaengnok*, *Tambŏn yŏn'gi*, *Ŭlbyŏng yŏnhaengnok*

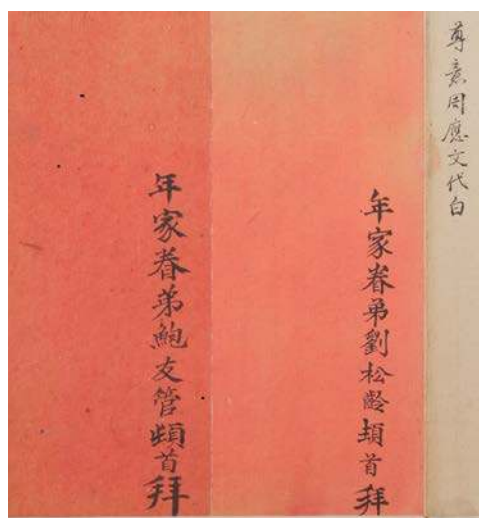


Figure 1

Two hundred fifty years ago, a Chosŏn literatus, Hong Tae-yong 洪大容 (1731–1783), visited Fr. Ferdinand Augustin Haller von Hallerstein (Liu Songling 劉松齡, 1703–1774, hereafter Hallerstein) at the South Church (Nantang 南堂) in Beijing. At that time, Hong was visiting as a member of the Chosŏn emissaries, while Hallerstein occupied the position of Qintianjian jianzheng 欽天監 監正 (Director of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau) as a Jesuit missionary to China.¹ The Chosŏn embassies conducted regular visits to Beijing, and by the eighteenth century, their itinerary did not fail to include the Catholic churches in Beijing and to meet Jesuit missionaries there.² Yet, Hong Tae-yong was a leading scholar in

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¹ For general information on Chosŏn embassies in Beijing, see Pierre-Emmanuel Roux, “The Catholic Experience of Chosŏn Envoys in Beijing: A Contact Zone and the Circulation of Religious Knowledge in the Eighteenth Century,” *Acta Koreana* 19, no. 1 (2016): 13–15.

² For Chosŏn emissaries’ visits to the Catholic churches in Beijing, see Sin Ik-ch’öl, ed, *Yŏnhaengsa wa Pukkyŏng Ch’ŏnjujang* (Chosŏn emissary to Beijing and the Catholic churches in Beijing) (Seoul: Pogosa, 2013).

his seriousness to learn about advanced Western astronomical and scientific knowledge from the Jesuit missionaries,³ leaving the record of exchanges with them at the one section, “Questions and Answers with Hallerstein and Gogeisl” (Yu P’o mundap 劉鮑問答) in his *Hong Tae-yong’s record of an embassy to Beijing* (*Tambŏn yŏn’gi* 湛軒燕記).

My research interest in the meeting between Hong Tae-yong and Hallerstein was triggered by the two red papers included in *Kyenam chŏktok* 薊南尺牘 (Letters from south of Ji province),⁴ which I happened to see at an exhibition held by the Hallym University Museum in 2012. *Kyenam chŏktok* is a collection of the letters sent to Hong Tae-yong by his Chinese friends. At the exhibition, on its opened page was written in classical Chinese: “As a descendant of the examinees who passed the state examination in the same year, Liu Songling kowtows” (年家眷弟劉松齡頓首拜) (See Figure 1).

I already knew Liu Songling to be the Chinese name of Hallerstein, a Jesuit missionary originally from the Duchy of Carnolia (in present-day Slovenia), which was then part of the Habsburg Monarchy. I began to trace the circumstances under which this particular red paper came to be included in *Kyenam chŏktok* by probing into Hong’s records of meeting with Hallerstein in “Yu P’o mundap” in *Tambŏn yŏn’gi* as well as *Ŭlbyŏng yŏnhaengnok* 乙丙燕行錄, a vernacular translation of *Tambŏn yŏn’gi*.⁵ As described in detail in section one, one red paper is an invitation by Hallerstein in response to Hong’s request for a visit, while the other one is an invitation by his colleague Anton Gogeisl (Bao Youguan 鮑友管).

³ Many Chosŏn emissaries visited the Catholic churches and met Jesuit missionaries in Beijing. Some had a serious intention to learn about Western astronomy to fulfill their official duty, but the majority of them visited these places as curious sightseers. For relatively detailed accounts on the meetings with Western missionaries, see Kim Ch’ang-ŏp’s *Nogajae yŏnhaeng ilgi* (Kim Ch’ang-ŏp’s daily record of embassy to Yanjing) and Yi Ki-ji’s *Iram yŏn’gi* (Yi Ki-ji’s record of embassy to Yanjing) in 1720.

⁴ *Kyenam chŏktok* preserved at the museum of Hallym University contains letters from Hong Tae-yong’s friends in China, including Hallerstein, Pan Tingjun 潘庭筠, Sun Youyi 孫有義, and Zhou Yingwen 周應文. Those Chinese friends were all from south of Ji province (i.e., *Sanhe xuan* 三河縣 in the Qing administration), which Hong passed by on his way to Beijing. The size of the book is 21 centimeters in width and 30.7 centimeters in length. It was first compiled around 1829, and republished in a new binding in 1925. For the details, see Yi Hyŏn-hye, ed., *Sanhaegwan ūl nŏmŏ, Hyŏnbaet’an ūl kŏnnŏ* (Over the pass at the eastern end of the Great Wall, across the Korea Strait) (Hallim Taehakkyo Pangmulgwan, 2012), 56–57.

⁵ Chŏng Min mentions this red paper, but his discussion requires complementing and revision to explain the full story of the red paper by referring not only to *Tambŏn yŏn’gi* 湛軒燕記 but also *Ŭlbyŏng yŏnhaengnok* 乙丙燕行錄. See Chŏng Min, *18-segi Hanjung chisigin ūi munye konghwaguk* (Literary republic of Chosŏn and Chinese intellectuals in the eighteenth century) (Seoul: Munhak tongne, 2014), 202–206.

This one interesting piece of evidence of interaction between Hong Tae-yong and Hallerstein instilled a desire in me to depict a fuller picture of their interaction.⁶ Fortunately, Hallerstein provides detailed information related to the Chosŏn emissaries in a 1757 letter sent to his brother Weichard.⁷ Both Hong's records and Hallerstein's letter cover similar ground—for instance, Hallerstein's interest in Japan and the thoughts of both men concerning Korean visitors to the churches in Beijing. Although one study has claimed that Hallerstein had a favorable view of Korea, because he saw a better chance of proselytizing in Korea and Japan,⁸ Hallerstein's letter in point does not reveal any attitude specific to Hong Tae-yong, though it does reveal a negative attitude concerning Korea and Koreans in general. It is through Hong's writings like *Tambŏn yŏn'gi* that we know Hallerstein exhibited a cold attitude toward Hong himself.

Yet, unlike earlier Jesuit missionaries whom Chosŏn emissaries met in the early eighteenth century Hallerstein was rather blunt, and tended to express negative view on target country where he saw little prospect in proselytizing.⁹ Nonetheless, Korean accounts should be corroborated by Hallerstein's own account in order to get a fuller picture of the interaction between him and his Korean visitors. Therefore, this article attempts to illustrate the context and background of the uneasy meeting between Hong Tae-yong and Hallerstein as well as its meaning in

⁶ Not a few studies mention the encounters between Hong and Hallerstein, albeit in passing. For the references, see Kim Tae-jun, *Hong Tae-yong kwa kŭi ūi sidae* (Hong Tae-yong and his period) (Seoul: Ilchisa, 1982); Chŏng Min, *18-segi Hanjung chisigŭn ūi munye konghwaguk* (Literary republic of Chosŏn and Chinese intellectuals in the eighteenth century) (Seoul: Munhak tongne, 2014); Kang Myŏng-gwan, *Hong Tae-yong kwa 1766* (Hong Tae-yong and the year of 1766), (Seoul: Han'guk Kojŏn Pŏnyŏgwŏn, 2014); Ch'oe So-ja, "Chosŏn hugi tae Ch'ŏng kwan'gye wa toiptoen Sŏhak ūi sŏnggyŏk" (Relations with the Qing in late Chosŏn and the characteristics of Western learning introduced to Chosŏn), 21–22; Sin Ik-ch'ŏl, "18-segi yŏnhaengsa wa Sŏyang sŏn'gyosa ūi mannam" (Korean emissaries to Beijing in the eighteenth century and their encounters with Western missionaries), *Hanguk hanmunhak yŏn'gu* 51 (2013), 475–476.

⁷ The letter is included in the following book: Mitja Saje, ed., *A. Hallerstein-Liu Songling: The Multicultural Legacy of Jesuit Wisdom and Piety at the Qing Dynasty Court* (Maribor, Slovenia: KIBLA, 2009), 344–347.

⁸ No Yong-p'il, "Chosŏnin Hong Tae-yong kwa sŏyangin Ch'ŏnjugyo sinbu ūi sangho insik—"Yu P'o mundap" ūi punsŏk ūl chungsim ūro (Mutual understanding of the Chosŏn man Hong Tae-yong and a Catholic priest from the West—focusing on an analysis of "Yu P'o mundap"), *Han'guk sasang sabak* 27 (2006), 84–86.

⁹ Pierre-Emmanuel Roux argues that Hallerstein asked Hong about the conditions of Japan, because he had more interest in evangelization in Japan than in Korea, and Hong's indifference to Hallerstein's concern caused him to be less hospitable to Hong's party. See his article, "Chosŏn kagyo ūi chaebalgŭn: 16–19 segi Ch'ŏnjugyo sŏngyosa ūi Chosŏn chinch'ul chŏllyak e taehan kich'o yŏn'gu" (Rediscovery of the Korean bridge: A basic study on the proselytizing strategy of Catholic missionaries in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries), *Yŏnmin hakchi* 16 (2011): 212–13.

the Korean interaction with Western missionaries in the eighteenth century. The significance of such interaction can be found in the influence of the “Questions and Answers with Hallerstein and Gogeis” on the contemporary Chosŏn intellectuals who sought to extend their intellectual horizon.

1. HONG TAE-YONG, KYENAM CHŎKTOK, AND THE RED PAPERS

(1) Hong Tae-yong and the *Letters from south of Ji province* (*Kyenam chŏktok* 蔚南尺牘)

Hong Tae-yong was born at Such'on 壽村, Ch'ŏngju prefecture, Ch'ungch'ŏng province in 1731. In the 6th month of 1765, as his uncle Hong Ōk 洪億 (1722–1809) became *Sŏjanggwan* 書狀官 (Official Recorder for the diplomatic mission to the Qing capital of Beijing), Hong Tae-yong came to travel along as a *chaje kun'gwan* 子弟軍官 (assistant officer to the envoys) a position usually held by close relatives of the envoys. On the 12th day of the 10th month of 1765, he left his hometown, Such'on, and arrived in Seoul three days later. Then, on the 2nd day of the 11th month, he left Seoul and arrived in Beijing on the 27th day of the 12th month. He stayed for roughly two months before leaving on the 1st day of the 3rd month of 1766, finally returning to Seoul on the 27th day of the 4th month of the same year.

Hong Tae-yong recorded his interactions with Hallerstein and Anton Gogeis 鮑友管 (1701–1771) in his travelogues to Beijing, *Tambŏn yŏngi*, written in classical Chinese, and *Ŭlhyŏng yŏnhaengnok*, written in vernacular Korean, after coming back from Beijing. Hong Tae-yong visited the South Church four times: on the 9th, 13th, and 19th days of the 1st month and on the 2nd day of the 2nd month. However, he only directly interacted with Hallerstein three times (the 9th and 19th day of the 1st month, and the 2nd day of the 2nd month). The purpose of his visits to the South Church was to meet Hallerstein and other missionaries.¹⁰

Hong Tae-yong, was one of a group of Chosŏn scholars, often referred to as the Northern Learning School (Pukhakup'a 北學派), who were concerned to learn the advanced material culture of the Qing in order to apply it to Chosŏn, despite the fact that the Qing was disregarded by mainstream Neo-Confucian scholars as a barbarian regime. Because Hong was especially interested in the studies of astronomy, mathematics, and science, he actively sought to learn from the Western

¹⁰ Hong's visit to the South Church and interaction with Hallerstein will be dealt with in detail in section 3.

missionaries who were well known for their eminent scholarship in these fields.

(2) The Red Paper with Hallerstein's Name on It

In his “Questions and answers with Hallerstein and Gogeisl,” Hong Tae-yong provides the historical context to the red paper included in *Kyenam chōktok*. On the 7th day of the 1st month of 1766 Hong sent Sep'al 世八, a person in charge of post horses (*madu* 馬頭) to convey his intention of meeting Hallerstein, but Hallerstein replied, “I have various meetings to attend, so let's meet in twenty days.”¹¹ In response, Hong Tae-yong respectfully sent gifts with a letter on the 8th day of the 1st month, and so Hallerstein sent another reply arranging a meeting on the 9th day of the 1st month. Thus, the red paper bearing Hallerstein's name in *Kyenam chōktok* is a response note that Hallerstein sent back to Hong Tae-yong on the same day to accept his request for the visit.

Relaying back a response letter he had been given, Sep'al 世八 reported, “We arranged to meet together tomorrow.” On the red paper was written in standard characters, “Nianjiajuandi Liu Songling dunshoubai 年家眷弟劉松齡頓首拜” (As a descendant of the examinees who passed the Chinese state examination in the same year, Liu Songling kowtows). On the other red paper he wrote two characters “Lingxie 領謝” (Gratitude for a gift). Bao Youguan's 鮑友管 (Anton Gogeisl, 1701–1771) did the same. For the most part, Western countries use different writing systems because they are so far away from us. These two people could more or less understand Chinese characters, but could not exchange lengthier letters. Therefore, they ordered others to write short messages of gratitude. “Nianjiajuandi” was initially a term meaning China's tradition of networking between descendants of successful examinees of the traditional Chinese state examination in the same year, but this custom went astray, and the term came to be used commonly in the event of greetings. How laughable is it that the Westerners are unable to break out of this [mistaken] custom?¹²

One curiosity aroused by Hong's receiving a “response letter” is whether or not the letter included not merely the two red papers—one bearing the name of Hallerstein and the other bearing letters of thanks, but also any substantial piece

¹¹ “連有公故，待念後當相見云，” in Hong Tae-yong, “Yu P'o mundap,” in *Tambōn yōn'gi* 湛軒燕記 (Hong Tae-yong's record of embassy to Beijing), (Seoul: Tamgudang, 1974), 40.

¹² “世八受答而歸，言：‘明日約與相見’ 答書，以紅帖子面書正字，內云‘年家眷弟劉松齡頓首拜’。別紙，書‘領謝’二字。鮑書亦然。蓋泰西，海外絕國，書不同文。二人居中國久，雖略通漢字書，不足以達意，所以倩人書如此。只見拜謝之意。‘年家眷弟’者，中國舊俗，同年家後孫，相稱如此，習俗謬仍，轉為交際之泛稱。西人之於我，亦不免此，尤為可笑，” in Hong Tae-yong, “Yu P'o mundap,” 41.

of the letter written by Hallerstein. One can question the possibility of Hallerstein's writing a substantial letter on his own. A clue for the answer can be found in another record by Hong Tae-yong. Other than *Tambŏn yŏn'gi*, Hong Tae-yong also wrote another travelogue titled *Ŭlbyŏng yŏnhaengnok* 乙丙燕行錄 (Record of an embassy to Beijing in 1765–1766). It is a translation of *Tambŏn yŏn'gi* into the vernacular, so that Koreans who could not read classical Chinese, including women, could read the work. It is not, however, a direct translation, and there are in fact some significant differences in both content and form between it and the *Tambŏn yŏn'gi*. The context related to Hallerstein's letter is stated in the account for the 8th day of the 1st month in *Ŭlbyŏng yŏnhaengnok*.

On the two red papers Sep'al brought back, one only read "Nianjiajuandi Liu Songling dunshoubai." [The other read "Nianjiajuandi Bao Youguan dunshoubai."] In the other pair of smaller red papers, are written two characters "Lingxie" which served as [an expression of] gratitude for their gift . . . The reason that they were unable to answer [in writing] was because Western countries do not know China's writing system, and while the two people had some knowledge of Chinese characters, they were incapable of even writing twenty characters and had to speak rather than write even simple phrases, like "asking me to visit tomorrow."¹³

Analyzing the passage above, we can confirm that Hong Tae-yong only received one red paper with the note, "年家眷弟劉松齡頓首拜," and another red paper with the note, "年家眷弟鮑友管頓首拜," together with two other smaller papers each with the characters, "領謝." Moreover, from the passage, "while the two people had some knowledge of Chinese characters, they were incapable of even writing twenty characters and had to speak rather than write even simple phrases like 'asking me to visit tomorrow,'" we can surmise that Hallerstein had only sent the two red papers included in *Kyenam chŏktok*, and the two smaller papers bearing the characters "領謝." Simply put, the reason why Hallerstein did not send a response letter of substantial content back to Hong Tae-yong was that he was not used to writing Chinese characters and had instead communicated the message orally. Again, the fact that written communication was difficult made it difficult to

¹³ Hong Tae-yong, *Chuhae ŭlbyŏng yŏnhaengnok* (Annotated record of an embassy to Beijing in 1765–1766), (Seoul: T'aehaksa, 1997), 266–67. "세팔이 답장을 못다와시디 불근 요히 두 장에 ㅎ 나흔 '년가권데 뉴송녕은 돈슈비 ㅎ 노라' ㅎ 나흔 '년가권데 포우관은 돈슈비 ㅎ 노라' 씨실 썸이오 썸 저근 흥지 두 당에 각각 '녕샤' 두 자를 써시니, 이년 주년 거술 바다 샤례 ㅎ 노라 말이오 . . . 편지 ㅅ 연을 대답지 아니함은 서양국은 등국 진서를 모르느 디라, 두 사람이 등국을 드러와 진서를 약간 비호디 능히 쓰디 못 ㅎ 므로 이십여 자 글도 썸 ㅎ 놉의게 비려 쓰더라 ㅎ 고, 내일 오라 ㅎ 디 썸 ㅎ 말노 면 ㅎ 미러라."

produce the other written records to be included in *Kyenam chŏktok*.¹⁴

Another issue to be dealt with is whether Hallerstein and Gogeisl themselves wrote the characters written on the red papers. Chŏng Min argues that “the two people’s writing styles are a little different and both of them are rough, so they seem to be their genuine writings.”¹⁵ However, it should be noted that Hong indicates both in “Yu P’o mundap” and in *Ŭlbyŏng yŏnhaengnok* that Hallerstein hired someone else to write the characters appearing on the red papers.¹⁶ Moreover, Ge Zhaoguang also argues that Hallerstein employed someone to write in classical Chinese characters.¹⁷ The relevant passage in “Yu P’o mundap” reads as follows:

I have had the experience of looking at Hallerstein’s writing, and seeing that the shape of his characters looks distorted, I asked for the reason. Hallerstein replied, “We use a different type of brush,” and showed me a different brush [made of] a feather (*yŏnggwān*, 翎管) that was shaved at a slightly diagonal angle. He would use the sharp end that had its ink cunningly inside so that it would flow as he wrote.¹⁸

According to the passage above, Hong Tae-yong directly saw Hallerstein’s “distorted” characters, and thus Hong Tae-yong himself affirmed that the characters were not Hallerstein’s writing. Summarizing the situation, it can be confirmed that the red papers in *Kyenam chŏktok* were a simple reply note sent by Hallerstein to Hong Tae-yong on the 8th day of the 1st month of 1766. And, contrary to Chŏng Min’s argument, the characters appearing on the red paper seem not to be written by Hallerstein, and he did not write any letter of substantial content to Hong, as indicated in *Ŭlbyŏng yŏnhaengnok*.

¹⁴ The communication issue between Koreans and Western missionaries will be dealt with in the 1st part of section 2 and the 3rd part of section 3.

¹⁵ Chŏng Min, *18-segi Hanjung chisigŭn ūi munye konghwaŭk*, 206.

¹⁶ “二人居中國久，雖略通漢字書，不足以達意，所以倩人書如此，” in Hong Tae-yong, “Yu P’o mundap,” 41.

¹⁷ Ge Zhaoguang, “Linju jiali de moshengren: Qing zhongye Chaoxian miandui xiyang” (Stranger in the house next door: Chosŏn faced the West in the middle of the Qing dynasty), *Xiangxiang yiyu* (Imagining foreign countries) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014), 216.

¹⁸ “曾見劉寫字，殆不成樣，余問其故，劉曰：‘我輩另有筆’即出示之，乃斜削翎管，用其銳尖，內藏墨汁，隨寫隨下，亦巧製也，” in Hong Tae-yong, “Yu P’o mundap,” 53.

2. HALLERSTEIN, HIS LETTER, AND HIS REPUTATION IN CHOSŌN

(1) Augustin Hallerstein and His Letter

Augustin Hallerstein was recorded in the baptismal register of the Ljubljana cathedral on August 28, 1703. He left the port of Lisbon with a group of twenty ships on April 25, 1736. After numerous hardships, he approached Mozambique on October 29, 1736. Only after more than nine months, on August 16, 1737, did the group of missionaries continue their voyage on the ship *Europa*. On May 11, 1738, the group of missionaries in Goa boarded the Portuguese merchant ship from Macao, *St. Anna*. There were eleven Jesuits in the group besides Hallerstein, including Anton Gogeisl, who appeared in “Yu P’o mundap.” On September 4, 1738, he arrived at Macao. On June 13, 1739, he reached the outskirts of Beijing and then approached the Chinese capital. After a long and troublesome journey, he finally arrived at Beijing.¹⁹ He eventually became the Director of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau, a post he held from 1746 until his death in 1774. He was one of the very few Westerners to hold a third-rank position (*sanpin* 三品). He, as a head of the Board, was visited by many Chosŏn emissaries. Hong Tae-yong, as an assistant officer to the envoy in 1766, wrote details of their encounters in his “Yu P’o mundap.”

While residing in Beijing, Hallerstein wrote many letters to fellow members of the Jesuit order and his relatives. The Jesuit missionary Georg Pray (1723–1801) based in Hungary attached to his book Hallerstein’s eight letters addressed to his brother Weichard Hallerstein (1706–1780, also a Jesuit based in Brussels) from 1743 through 1766.²⁰ Among them, the letter dated October 6th, 1757 contains important accounts on Chosŏn and its emissaries to Beijing, following some information about the Russian delegation for negotiating the border issue and about a Russian youth staying Beijing to study Chinese and Tatar languages. The

¹⁹ Mitja Saje ed., *A. Hallerstein-Liu Songling: The Multicultural Legacy of Jesuit Wisdom and Piety at the Qing Dynasty Court*, (Mariboer, Slovenia: KIBLA, 2010), 62–75.

²⁰ These letters were translated into English in the above-mentioned book about Hallerstein’s life and works published in Slovenia in 2009. In 1781 Pray published a book to refute a Catholic father Benedict Cetti’s denouncement of Chinese civilization as barbaric, and attached to it eight letters of Hallerstein sent to his brother; *Imposturae CCXVIII in Dissertatione r. p. Benedicti Cetti Clerici Regularis e Scholis Pius de Sinensium Imposturis Detectae et Convulsae. Accedunt Epistolae Anecdota r. p. Augustinie e Comitibus Hallerstein ex China Scriptae*. Budae: Typis Regiae Universitatis; Stanislave Juznic, *Liu Songling JiuYeshui zaijing zuibou yiwei weidade—tiannwenxuejia* (Liu Songling the last great astronomer of old Jesuits in Beijing), Zhou Pingping, trans., (Shanghai: Shanghai Sanlian Shudian, 2014), 47.

part related to the Chosŏn emissaries is quoted in full below:

Koreans arrive each year, but no one has ever come here from Japan. The Koreans say that on a clear day they can see the Japanese mountains, though they know nothing about Japan; nearer to the truth is that they do not wish to say anything, as they are the craftiest people under the sun. Though they will pose questions for an entire hour, they never answer a single one. When they visit our house, and they always visit it immediately when they come to Peking, they first demand ink and a writing instrument. Because none among them knows how to speak Chinese, they communicate in writing. We answer them through a servant. They often pose well-founded questions about astronomy. If I tell them to leave their questions and that I will respond to them via express courier, they do not want to leave a single written character, and often prefer to return. They are strong, muscular, well-built people, and good soldiers. They dress according to ancient Chinese customs, now in robes of peace, now in those of war. It was never possible to subjugate them, yet neither could they unburden themselves of yearly taxes. I would write more if I did not fear interruption by the courier demanding the letter. In Peking, October 6, 1757, at midnight.²¹

It is only natural that Hallerstein and his brother, also a Jesuit priest, shared a deep interest in proselytizing Japan. He might well have had some expectation that Korean emissaries as neighboring people to Japan would have had some information about Japan and its policy toward Christianity. However, the Koreans' answer to his inquiry was disappointing. Hallerstein vented his frustration toward the Koreans, denouncing them as "the craftiest people under the sun." He suspected that the Koreans did not wish to reveal any of their knowledge about Japan, even though they claimed its proximity as being close enough to "see the Japanese mountains" on a clear day.

The Tokugawa regime had declared its prohibition of Christianity since 1614, under which thousands of converts and tens of priests suffered execution. Nonetheless, Jesuit missionaries devoted themselves to the evangelization of Japan even at the cost of martyrdom. Then, the Tokugawa regime came to realize that forced apostasy under torture was a more effective way than martyrdom in preventing the spread of Christianity. As a result, the most recent Jesuit missionaries who had arrived secretly in Japan in the 1640s mostly apostatized, and the Pope declared a suspension of mission work in Japan, which continued

²¹ Mitja Saje, ed., *A. Hallerstein-Liu Songling: The Multicultural Legacy of Jesuit Wisdom and Piety at the Qing Dynasty Court*, (Maribor, Slovenia: KIBLA, 2010), 347.

into the 1830s. Still, Jesuit missionaries did not cease to search for varied methods to bring the holy gospel to Japan, which included using Korea as a bridge to Japan.²² There is little doubt that Hallerstein had mission work in mind, when he asked Chosŏn emissaries about Japan's situation. Yet, to Hallerstein's great disappointment, the Koreans had little desire to share what knowledge they had about Japan, as Hong Tae-yong states below;

On the 2nd day of the 2nd month, we visited again [the South Church] and met each other. After an exchange of greetings, Hallerstein inquired about the location of Tsushima and Pusan, about interaction with the Japanese, and briefly about astronomical and calendrical methods to [Korean astrologer] Yi T'ök-sŏng. All details cannot be written.²³

The above passage suggests that Hong felt little need to elaborate on Hallerstein's inquiry about Japan. Obviously, Hong had little interest in engaging in topics about Japan, because his chief purpose to meet Hallerstein was to learn about Western science and technologies through him. Hence, there existed a discrepancy of interest between the host and his guest. When the Korean emissaries did not say anything worthwhile about Japan, Hallerstein did not give the Koreans the benefit of the doubt, but instead concluded that they were trying to hide some information on Japan from him, and condemned them as "the craftiest people under the sun."

The Koreans were not the only people who created this kind negative image in the mind of Hallerstein. The Jesuit also portrayed Han and Manchu Chinese as "cunning and crafty" in the context of the growing anti-Christian and anti-missionary movement within the Qing imperial court.²⁴ When he arrived in China, Hallerstein was optimistic about his missionary work.²⁵ However, in the 22nd year of the Qianlong emperor (1757), the Qing government reinforced the proscription against missionaries' proselytizing activities and closed the trade harbors,

²² Pierre-Emmanuel Roux argues that Jesuits interest in Korea arose from its role as a bridge to Japan rather than its potential for evangelization. See his article, "Chosŏn kagyo ūi chaebalgŏn: 16–19 segi Ch'ŏnjugyo sŏngyosa ūi Chosŏn chinch'ul chŏllyak e taehan kich'o yŏn'gu," *Yŏnmin hakchi* 16 (2011): 205–12.

²³ "二月初二日。復往相見，寒暄後，劉松齡問對馬島釜山在何處，倭人來往與否。與[僉知李]德星略問星曆諸法，不能盡記，" in Hong Tae-yong, "Yu P'o mundap," 40.

²⁴ See his letter numbered 681 to the Most Reverend Father Joseph Ritter in November 1, 1743: "The Chinese and Tartars are cunning and crafty people, who cannot be trusted without exposing oneself to the danger of being deceived." This passage was followed by Hallerstein's complaint of the adverse changes he faced in proselytizing in China: "the Emperor's disfavour towards us or our Holy Faith." See Mitja Saje, ed., *A. Hallerstein-Liu Songling*, 307.

²⁵ Maver, Ales, "A Word on Hallerstein's Letters," in Mitja Saje, ed., *A. Hallerstein-Liu Songling*, 223.

except Guangzhou.²⁶ In light of these adverse developments to Hallerstein's mission in contemporary East Asian countries, one may not rule out the possibility that the worsening conditions for proselytization colored Hallerstein's perception of the Asian natives he encountered, apart from his anger for the Koreans who did not reciprocate in the proper way.

Hallerstein also wrote, "When they visit our house, and they always visit it immediately when they come to Peking, they first demand ink and a writing instrument."²⁷ As a matter of fact, when Hong Tae-yong arrived in Beijing on the 27th day of the 12th month of 1765, he immediately sent a message to Hallerstein asking him for a meeting on the 7th day of the 1st month of 1766. Hallerstein pointed to the anxious attitude with which the Korean emissaries met the Westerners. In communication between them there was a huge language barrier which could only be lowered by communication in writing (*p'ildam* 筆談) in classical Chinese on the part of the Koreans and by using translators ("servant" in Hallerstein's letter) on the part of the Western missionaries.²⁸ Hong Tae-yong was a rare case of an emissary who had learned passable spoken Chinese before coming to Beijing. He, however, was more accustomed to writing classical (literary) Chinese. Meanwhile Hallerstein was good at spoken Chinese, yet his writing in classical Chinese was limited. In his letter dated November 1st, 1743, addressed to Father Joseph Ritter, Hallerstein wrote that he had actually been practicing written Chinese; "Up to now I have learned the writing, or rather, the drawing of Chinese letters with a brush, well enough to write much more legibly in Chinese than in Latin." Yet, he immediately added a comment about the difficulty of writing literary Chinese; "Learning how to write perfectly—that is, according to the proper Chinese manner of writing, which is completely different from the manner of expressing thoughts verbally—at this moment is beyond my diligence and power."²⁹ In 1743, Hallerstein had spent only four years in Beijing, so it is understandable he had made little progress in writing classical Chinese. Still, some twenty years afterwards in 1766 when Hong Tae-yong visited him, his progress was not so great as to enable him to communicate in writing with Hong.

Hallerstein's letter also shows the topics Korean emissaries were most eager to discuss in their written communication with him. Hallerstein asserted that Korean

²⁶ Law Lok-yin, "Qianlong jinjiaoqi de yesuhuishi zaihua huodong—yi Liu Songling wei yanjiu zhongxin" (Activities of the Jesuit missionaries on the Qianlong emperor's prohibition of missionary work in China—Focusing on Liu Songling), *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 82 (2013): 94.

²⁷ Mitja Saje, ed., *A. Hallerstein-Liu Songling: The Multicultural Legacy of Jesuit Wisdom and Piety at the Qing Dynasty Court* (Maribor, Slovenia: KIBLA, 2010), 347.

²⁸ Hong Tae-yong, *Ŭlbyŏng yŏnhaengnok*, 26–28.

²⁹ Mitja Saje ed., *A. Hallerstein-Liu Songling*, 309.

emissaries often asked “well-founded questions about astronomy.” The Catholic churches in Beijing had been a regular destination for Korean emissaries until one major persecution of Korean Catholics by the government authorities in 1801, for the purpose of gaining practical knowledge about astronomy and science and just for taking a tour as well. The “well-founded questions about astronomy” must have come from the astrologer (*ilgwan* 日官) of the Chosŏn Bureau of Astronomy (Kwansanggam 觀象監), who had joined the Korean embassy to Beijing.

Hallerstein was mildly critical of his prior interactions with the Chosŏn people, stating that, “If I tell them to leave their questions and that I will respond to them via express courier, they do not want to leave a single written character, and often prefer to return.” Hallerstein’s critique needs to be understood in the historical context under which Chosŏn emissaries carried out their duties. They were expected to keep thorough records and to produce detailed official and private accounts of their travels. This means that they also needed to keep all written records and document exchanges in their accounts in order to add them to their records later. In other words, it was actually the Chosŏn emissaries’ excessive passion and curiosity to learn about some aspects of Western civilization and to record their interactions with Western missionaries in detail that gave Hallerstein an impression of one-sidedness that violated the courtesy of reciprocation.

Taken as a whole, although Hallerstein appreciated the Koreans’ “well-founded questions about astronomy,” and praised Koreans’ physical stoutness, saying “They are strong, muscular, well-built people, and good soldiers,” his overall impression of Korean people seems to tilt toward a negative one. His negative perception of Koreans was pronounced, in particular, when Koreans were viewed as being indifferent or hostile to his inquiries concerning the prospects for missionary work in Japan.

(2) Hallerstein’s Reputation in Chosŏn

To the Chosŏn court, Hallerstein was one of the most important missionaries who encountered Chosŏn emissaries in Beijing. He had a substantial influence on Chosŏn’s astronomy and mathematics. The Chosŏn court sent embassies every year, which included an astrologer among their participants. Chosŏn emissaries visited the Catholic churches in order to learn the West’s scientific technology and to buy the relevant books and instruments. Hong wrote:

Because *ch’ŏmji* 僉知 (a high ranking official from the Privy Council) Yi Tŏk-sŏng was an astrologer, he roughly understood calendrical methods (*yŏkbŏp* 曆法). Following the order of the [Chosŏn] court, he was sent as an emissary so that he could ask the two men [i.e., Hallerstein and Gogeis]

about the movements of the five planets and the mysterious meaning of the [Roman] calendrical methods. He was also requested to buy various astronomical instruments, and we agreed to go together.³⁰

Thus Hallerstein and Gogeisl were contacted by a Korean astrologer who had an official and practical mission to obtain Western astronomical and calendrical knowledge. Chosŏn emissaries reported their encounter with Hallerstein to the king of Chosŏn, so that Hallerstein became famous in Chosŏn at that time. According to *Sŏngjŏngwon ilgi* 承政院日記 (Daily records of the Royal Secretariat of the Chosŏn dynasty), King Yŏngjo 英祖 (1694–1776) summoned Yi Tŏk-sŏng who visited Hallerstein with Hong Tae-yong.

Tŏk-sŏng went before the king to prostrate himself and showed respect. The king ordered him to present the book he had brought back and asked: “Is this a book on astronomical observation?” Tŏk-sŏng replied: “This book is *Xinfa yixiang kaocheng* 新法儀象考成 (Thorough investigation of astronomical instruments and phenomena according to the new methods). The old methods on astronomical observation were made by Nan Huai ren 南懷仁 (Ferdinand Verbiest, 1623–1688) after making Liuyi 六儀 (Six instruments) during the Kangxi 康熙 reign. Dai Jinxian 戴進賢 (Ignatius Kögler, 1680–1722) and Liu Songling consulted Chinese and Western methodologies and made *Xuanji fuchenyi* 璇璣撫辰儀 (Equatorial armillary sphere) in the 9th year of the Qianlong emperor (1744). Using this instrument they measured the degrees of fixed stars, the ecliptic, the equator, the longitude and latitude, made it in table form, drew new astronomical charts and made this book. It was published in the twenty-first year of the Qianlong emperor (1756). I first got it during this embassy’s visit to China.” The king said “Did you have any effective usage of this book?” Tŏk-sŏng said “Recently the degree of the seven planets [*Chiljŏng* 七政, i.e. Sun, Moon, Mars, Venus, Mercury, Jupiter, and Saturn] has frequently been incorrect, but using materials recorded in this book we have obtained perfect results.” The king said, “Then, do you suggest that we use this book from now on?” Tŏk-sŏng said, “From this year on, we should use this book.” The king ordered Tŏk-sŏng to withdraw from his presence.³¹

³⁰ “僉知李德星，日官也，略通曆法。是行也，以朝令將問五星行度于二人，兼質曆法微奧，且求買觀天諸器，余約與同事，” in Hong Tae-yong, “Yu P’o mundap,” 40.

³¹ *Sŏngjŏngwon ilgi* (Daily records of the Royal Secretariat of the Chosŏn dynasty), the 5th day of the 5th month of 1766. “命德星進前伏命進持入冊子下詢曰：‘此是儀象志乎？’德星對曰：‘此則新法儀象考成矣。舊儀象志則康熙年間南懷仁等，制造六儀時成出，而此書則乾隆九年，戴進賢、劉松齡等，參考中西之法，制造璇璣撫辰儀，仍測恒星黃赤經緯度數，成表而改造新法天文圖，作為此書，乾隆二十一年刊行，而今番始為得來矣。’上曰：‘爾等以此書推驗乎？’德星曰：‘近年以來，七政度數，每有相左之處，而今以此書所載推步，則果為躋合矣。’上曰：‘然則此書當繫用於本監耶？’德星曰：‘自今年為始，當以此書推步矣。’

Yi Tök-sŏng, who visited Hallerstein with Hong Tae-yong in 1766, returned to Chosŏn and had an audience with King Yŏngjo on the 5th day of the 5th month of 1766. There he described the effectiveness of the new astronomical methods obtained in Beijing. In this way, the name of “Liu Songling” became known to King Yŏngjo. Yi Töksŏng said to Yŏngjo that “Recently the degree of *Chiljŏng* 七政 has frequently been incorrect,” so “from this year on, we should use *Xinfa yixiang kaocheng* 新法儀象考成” which had been completed by Hallerstein. In other words, Chosŏn used Hallerstein's *Xinfa yixiang kaocheng* in place of existing inaccurate astronomical calculations.

It was because Hallerstein had become such a celebrity in the Chosŏn court at the time that Yŏngjo asked about him in court. Ōm Suk 嚴璣 (1716–1786), who visited China as a *tongji busa* 冬至副使 (deputy ambassador of the winter solstice embassy) in 1773, wrote in his *Record of an embassy to Yanjing* (*Yŏnhaengnok* 燕行錄) that Yŏngjo asked him about Hallerstein. “Haven’t you met Westerner? Is Liu Songling still there?”³² It should be noted that many Chosŏn emissaries met Hallerstein not just out of curiosity about the Western people, but because of the Chosŏn government's need for Hallerstein's knowledge of the Western science, astronomy, and mathematics.

At that time, Hallerstein and the Western scientific technology exerted a significant influence on the intellectual circles in Chosŏn. Hong Tae-yong was one of the intellectual leaders of the Northern Learning school and many Chosŏn literati read his travelogues, such as *Tamhŏn yŏn'gi* that includes “Yu P'o mundap,” which recorded his encounters with Hallerstein. Western scientific technology made its impact on the members of the so called Northern Learning school, a category created by twentieth-century Korean historians. Its members include such prominent scholars as Pak Chi-wŏn 朴趾源 (1737–1805), Pak Che-ga 朴齊家 (1750–1805), Yi Tök-mu 李德懋 (1741–1793), Yu Tŭk-kong 柳得恭 (1748–1807), and Yi Sŏ-gu 李書九 (1754–1825), who incorporated a pragmatic approach to contemporary problems, breaking out of the ideological dogmatism of mainstream Neo-Confucian scholars.

命德星先退”

³² Ōm Suk, *Yŏnhaengnok* (Record of embassy to Beijing), In Im Kijung, ed., *Yŏnhaengnok chŏnjip* (Collected works of an embassy to Beijing), vol. 40, (Seoul: Tongguk Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2001), 293. “不見西洋人乎? 劉松齡尚在否?”

3. THREE ENCOUNTERS BETWEEN HONG TAE-YONG AND HALLERSTEIN

Hong Tae-yong met Hallerstein three times in Beijing. It has been noted that Hallerstein received Hong in a very friendly manner,³³ however, all of the three encounters were not that amiable. The uneasy atmosphere of their encounters has been attributed to Hong's unpreparedness, such as his lack of knowledge about the West and also to the language barrier by No Yong-p'il. And No contrasts this aspect of Hong's unpreparedness with Hallerstein's laudable geographical inquiry about the exact location of Pusan and Tsushima Island.³⁴ Yet, a closer look at the context and background of their meeting reveals a more nuanced picture of their interactions. In this section, Hong's travelogues to Beijing, *Tambŏn yŏn'gi* written in classical Chinese as well as *Ŭlhyŏng yŏnhaengnok* written in vernacular Korean will be revisited to show how the different interests and positions of Hong and Hallerstein led to their differing attitude toward their meetings, that is, Hong's proactive approach versus Hallerstein's half-hearted attitude.

(1) First Encounter (the 9th day of the 1st month of 1766)

The first encounter on the 9th was initiated on the 7th day, when Hong sent his messenger Sep'al to convey his intention of meeting Hallerstein. However, Hallerstein replied that he was too busy with various meetings to attend and postponed the meeting for twenty days. This answer was actually intended to show Hallerstein's reluctance to meet Hong Tae-yong. In response to this, Hong sent another courteous letter along with "two bundles of papers, three fans, three cases of ink sticks, and three pieces of herbal medicine pills (*ch'ŏngsimwŏn* 清心元),"³⁵ and in return Hallerstein sent an invitation note (that is the red paper in Figure 1).

Hong Tae-yong was well aware that Hallerstein was an excellent arithmetician. Hong was also aware that China's scientific technology was developing with the aid of the Western missionaries such as Hallerstein.³⁶ According to his records,

³³ No Yong-p'il, "Chosŏnin Hong Tae-yong kwa sŏyangin Ch'ŏnjugyo sinbu ūi sangho insik—'Yu P'o mundap' ūi punsŏk ūl chungsim ūro," 84–86.

³⁴ No Yong-p'il, "ibid.," 74–76.

³⁵ "以壯紙二束, 扇子三把, 眞墨三笏, 清心元三丸," in Hong Tae-yong, "Yu P'o mundap," 40.

³⁶ Hallerstein pointed to the Chinese need for Western missionaries in their need for Western science and technology in his letter to Nicolo Giampriamo (the letter numbered 696): "This is partly so that we might continue the correspondence with European friends, and partly so we might convince the Chinese the degree to which they fall short of complete mastery of this science, which is why they still need us."

Hallerstein was portrayed positively in terms of his knowledge of scientific technology. In his “Yu P’o mundap” Hong wrote:

Hallerstein and Gogeisl stayed in the South Church. They are especially excellent at arithmetic . . . ³⁷

Besides Hong’s high praise for his scholarship, there are his descriptions that indicate that Hallerstein was also very well-mannered, even though, in general, Hallerstein appears to be inhospitable to Hong Tae-yong and his company; however, Hong portrayed favorable images of Hallerstein in his accounts here and there, showing Hallerstein’s humble and cultured manners. For example, Hong recorded “After promising the next meeting at the main hall we together reached the gate, I asked Hallerstein and Gogeisl to go inside several times, but they refused to go inside until I finally rode away on the wagon,”³⁸ which was an impression of Hallerstein’s cultured manners to Hong. He inquired about Western astronomy, music, arithmetic, and various scientific technologies and expressed wonder at the advances he witnessed. In the case of the pipe organ, he asked Hallerstein several times to show it and to play it. Hallerstein played it and explained the working mechanics of the pipe organ in detail. Hallerstein asked Hong to go into a room that housed the big chiming clock and explained its inner structure.³⁹ Hong Tae-yong was surprised by the elaborateness of the pipe organ, the alarm clock, and other western mechanical instruments. Nevertheless, such good impressions gained from Hallerstein’s eminent knowledge on astronomy and science as well as his apparent kindness did not change Hong’s preconception of the Westerners, and Hong did not fail to detect signs of Hallerstein’s inner feeling that caused him to behave in a half-hearted or even reluctant way toward him.

Liu Songling unwrapped the silk package and showed a book and said “Look at this.” Going closer to him, I saw the complimentary phrases for the happiness of the emperor and the empress. Even though Liu Songling was old and possessed high knowledge of astronomy, he was very mean and vulgar and could not shake off the foreign barbarian’s customs by flattering himself beyond the proper way of manners.⁴⁰

³⁷ “劉鮑居南堂，算學尤高，” in Hong Tae-yong, “Yu P’o mundap,” 40.

³⁸ Hong Tae-yong, *Chubae ūlbyōng yōnhaengnok*, 289. “드디어 도로 명당의 니르러 두어 말 슈작하고 훗 괴약을 머물고 문을 나 대문의 니르니 두 사람이 문 밖기 니르러 여러번 드러 가기를 청하디 듯지 아니 하고 수리에 오른 후에 비로소 드러 가더라.”

³⁹ Hong Tae-yong, *ibid.*, 288.

⁴⁰ Hong Tae-yong, *ibid.*, 354. “뉴송녕이 그 보홀 헤치고 큰 권 칙을 내어 길오디, ‘이거슬 보라.’ 하거늘,

Once again, Hong evaluated Hallerstein's external manners, his knowledge of science and technology, and Western mechanical civilization in a favorable light, but Hong ridiculed Hallerstein for being too like other foreigners coming to China from far-away barbarian regions insofar as he also immersed himself in the self-flattery expected of those foreigners.

Hong Tae-yong achieved his desire to see the pipe organ, the chiming clock, and other Western instruments by asking several times in spite of Hallerstein's reluctance. In Hallerstein's view, this was rude. Hong Tae-yong even asked to enter Hallerstein's bed chamber. He asked "several times, but Liu Songling did not respond."⁴¹ Hong Tae-yong's curiosity certainly seems to have been excessive, although it did allow him to observe various aspects of Western culture.

(2) Second Encounter (the 19th day of the 1st month of 1776)

On the 13th day of the 1st month, when Hong attempted another meeting, Hallerstein was not present, and Gogeisl was receiving other guests, so Hong and his company were not able to meet them. Thus, he returned after obtaining the promise of meeting again on the 19th day through the gatekeeper. According to *Ŭlbyŏng yŏnhaengnok*, "Sep'al said, 'Gogeisl came out to the middle doors to see the guests out and thank them, but went back in a hurry after seeing us, as if he was hesitant to see us.'"⁴² This implies that Gogeisl intentionally avoided Hong Tae-yong and his company.

Then on the 19th day, Hong was informed that Hallerstein and Gogeisl were not awake yet, obviously to avoid the promised meeting. Hallerstein and Gogeisl did not want to meet them citing that they were tired because they went to bed in the morning after observing the stars all night. Only when Hong almost threateningly urged that "We are only interested in learning about Hallerstein and Gogeisl's respected talent and knowledge, but such treatment is embarrassing. If we depart now, we will never come back."⁴³ Then, Hong was able to meet Hallerstein once again.

나아가 보니 다 황태와 후비의 복록을 축원한 말이라. 뉴송녕이 비록 나히 만코 턴문 념상의 소견이
높으나, 이런 무리하고 아당하느 일을 스스로 나초아 외국 사람의게 자랑코져하니 글히 비루하고 용속하
야 원방 이적의 풍습을 벗디 못한 일이라.

⁴¹ Hong Tae-yong, *ibid.*, 289. "여러번 근청하디 종시 응답디 아니 하 고"

⁴² Hong Tae-yong, *ibid.*, 322. "세팔이 닐오디, 포우관이 등문 안히서 손을 보내고 우리를 보매 빗비
몸을 숨겨 도로 드러가니 보기를 어려워 하느가 시브고, 이찌 상원이 갓가왔느니라 턴주당의 기도하느
지상이 만히 단니니 필연 외국 사람 보기를 더욱 비편이 념하느가 시브다."

⁴³ "我輩專仰大人才識，無他意也。大人待人太薄，殊爲汗顏。今當退去，永不復來，" in Hong Tae-yong, "Yu P'o mundap," 49.

At first Hong Tae-yong inquired into what end Catholicism pursued and then asked to look at the Western scientific instruments. Then he asked if he could visit the observatory, but got the reply that “[it] is a prohibited area and even such dignitaries as imperial princes cannot enter into it freely.”⁴⁴ However, not overwhelmed, he asked to see the telescope and to observe the sun through it. After that, when Hong Tae-yong asked to see other instruments and the chiming clock, Hallerstein refused, citing that they did not exist there. Finally, Hong Tae-yong recognized his hosts’ reluctance and said, “Because the sun has already set, we will withdraw. If you don’t think we are rude and mean, allow us another chance. Please receive this tribute as a sign of our wish to learn. If you do not receive it we will not come back again.”⁴⁵ Hong got the response that “another next chance will not be available in this month. Let’s discuss that in the 2nd month”⁴⁶ and then returned to his residence.

Hallerstein and Gogeisl succumbed to Hong Tae-yong’s aggressive earnestness to see a variety of Western instruments and could not but accept in spite of their tiredness and reluctance. Yet, this cold and uneasy reaction did not go unnoticed by Hong, as recorded in *Ŭlbyŏng yŏnhaengnok* as follows:

Leaving after the meeting Yi Tŏk-sŏng stated, “Men of the [South] Church used to be very hospitable and treated us with wonderful food and gifts in the past, but these days it seems that they are less hospitable and more irritated by our people’s requests, which is greatly embarrassing to me.”⁴⁷

This deteriorating relationship between the Korean emissaries and Hallerstein can be discerned by comparing their visit with a previous visit by Chŏng Kwang-ch’ung 鄭光忠 (1703–?) who visited Hallerstein in 1755, and was treated differently from Hong Tae-yong. He wrote the following:

In one note, it was recorded “your wish to call on me must be discussed [with my colleagues] and hence is not of my deciding. Courteously I thank

⁴⁴ “觀象臺係禁地，閑人不得雜進。親王大人輩，亦不得擅進云。” in Hong Tae-yong, “Yu P’o mundap,” 51.

⁴⁵ “已暮矣，請告退。如不鄙外，願留後期。不腆幣物，是愚等請學之意，若終見退，不敢再來矣，” in Hong Tae-yong, “Yu P’o mundap,” 52.

⁴⁶ “後次駕臨，月內却無閑日，待至二月，” in Hong Tae-yong, “Yu P’o mundap,” 53.

⁴⁷ Hong Tae-yong, *Chubae ŭlbyŏng yŏnhaengnok*, 367. “니덕성과 혼가디로 타고 도라올시, 니덕성이 니르디, ‘년전은 튜쥬당 스름이 아국 스름을 보면 가장 반겨야 대접하는 음식이 극히 풍부하고, 혹 서양국 소산으로 납페는 선물이 먹지 아니 하 더니, 근니의 아국 스름이 붓침을 괴로히 녀여 대접이 이리 낙낙 하 니 통분하다.’ 하 더라. ” This passage is missing in “Yu-P’o mundap” in *Tambŏn yŏngi*.

you and will wait for a near opportunity to meet you.” In another note it was recorded, “Courteously I send four Western paintings, four bitter melons from Luzon (Lüsongguo 呂宋果), two Lapis Serpentine (*xidushi* 吸毒石), and one Western mirror.”⁴⁸

Hallerstein sent a gift, saying I “will wait for a near opportunity to meet you.” He did not show any intention of evading the meeting with Chŏng Kwang-ch’ung, unlike his attitude towards Hong Tae-yong.

(3) Third Encounter (the 2nd day of the 2nd month of 1776)

Hong Tae-yong met Hallerstein again on the 2nd day of the next month at the South Church. On arrival Hong asked for communication in writing (*p’ildam* 筆談), whereas Hallerstein summoned a scholar translator, who could transcribe Hallerstein’s talk into classical Chinese. While waiting for the translator, both men tried to talk in spoken Chinese. Hallerstein even praised Hong Tae-yong’s Chinese pronunciations,⁴⁹ but that praise seems to have been just a courtesy gesture. Soon afterwards, when the translator came in, they ceased talking in spoken Chinese, and employed the written way of communication, most probably because they did not find their spoken communication in Chinese mutually understandable and comfortable. In this meeting, Hong Tae-yong asked to see a chiming clock, a watch, and a compass, and talked about them. However, “both Hallerstein and Gogeisl constantly checked the clock hung on their chest,”⁵⁰ which seemed to reveal their discomfort. Finally parting from them, Hong wrote the following:

I have asked to be excused since it was getting late and explained that I would not be able to visit again since I was leaving soon but they did not show any sign of disappointment. He then handed two sheets of drawing paper, two small paintings, four bitter melons (*kuguo* 苦果) and two Lapis Serpentine (*xidushi* 吸毒石) to me and Yi Tök-sŏng and explained, “I regret that the gifts are so small, but we have had little exchange with the Western states recently, so we do not have many goods.” Despite the ambassador having sent gifts to them, they did not return the favor, showing a lack of decorum. Yi had some responsibilities to take care of [under the order of the Korean court], so he wished to learn the [Roman] calendar in detail and buy a couple of books and equipment, but the treatment was unkind and

⁴⁸ “一則書曰：‘來儀謹議，不敢自專，謹謝，竝候近祉。’一則書曰：‘謹具洋畫四張，呂宋果四枚，吸毒石二箇，洋鏡一方，奉上。’” in Chŏng Kwang-ch’ung, *Yŏnhaeng illok*, 62.

⁴⁹ Hong Tae-yong, *Ŭlbyŏng yŏnhaengnok*, 26–28.

⁵⁰ “二人懷中，皆藏日表，時出而考之。” in Hong Tae-yong, “Yu P’o mundap,” 54.

they refused to show him the books and equipment so he was upset but could not do anything about it.⁵¹

In *Ŭlbyŏng yŏnhaengnok*, the Korean language version of the classical-Chinese *Tamhŏn yŏn'gi*, a vivid and detailed rendering of this disappointing episode can be found. Therefore it can be ascertained that Hong was perturbed by Hallerstein's ill treatment. This explains why Hallerstein was portrayed negatively in Hong Tae-yong's accounts. However, Hallerstein also had his reasons. He was the Director of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau, so his official work kept him very busy. The fact that astronomical studies and observations took place at night compelled him to take his rest during the day time. On top of his huge workload, he was also the chief director of the Chinese Society of Jesus at that time. To make matters more difficult, the Society of Jesus was going through extremely adverse challenges at that time as well, being on the verge of being dissolved. In 1773, when Clement XIV became the new Pope, the Society of Jesus was dissolved under pressure from France and Portugal. The news of the breakup of the organization reached China a full year later, in 1774. When Hallerstein and Hong Tae-yong met in 1766, the organization had not yet been dissolved, but it was going through major complications, so Hallerstein's explanation that "We have little exchange with the Western states recently, so we do not have many goods" was undoubtedly true.

Furthermore, Hallerstein felt tired of receiving a flow of Chinese guests, as can be seen in a letter to his brother Weichard on October 27, 1765, in which he gave vent to his frustration.

It is also very awkward for me whenever mandarins from the provinces, who now and again have the habit of journeying hence to visit me, or even unknown individuals who come here just to look at something, offer gifts, when I myself cannot give them anything in return. For if you do not accept the gifts, it is regarded as a sign of disdain or haughtiness, and if you give nothing in exchange, this will only be taken as a sign of lack of decorum or of poverty. Your

⁵¹ Hong Tae-yong, *Chubae ulbyŏng yŏnhaengnok*, 454–55. “날이 느즈매 물러가기를 청하고 도라갈 귀약이 머지 아니하니 다시 오디 못하리라 하디, 조곰도 창연이 녀키는 귀척이 업고, 능화 두 당과 저은 박은 그림 두 장과 고과 네 낫과 흑두석 두 나출 각각 봉하야 나와 니덕성을 논화주며 날오디, ‘근너는 서양국의 왕니하느 인편이 좃지 아난지라 잇는 토산이 없서 이리 초초하니 허물치 말나.’하고, 사 형으로서 각각 면피를 보내여시되 회례를 계교를 아니하니 고이하더라. 니덕성은 맛다운 일이 이셔 녀법을 지시 비호고 두어 가지 의기와 서칙을 사고져 하엿더니 디접이 종시 관곡지 아니하고, 서칙과 의고는 다 업노라 일쫓고 즐겨 뵈지 아니하니 가장 통분하야 하디 할 일이 업더라.”

eminence understands how these pursuits are against my nature. But I am in such a state and in such a position that I cannot retreat from doing so without floundering. What should I do? Let us follow God, as he called me to this life. And without his call I would not find anyone to walk in my footsteps.⁵²

This letter written just about three month before meeting with Hong Tae-yong indicates that he was well aware of how Hong and other envoys felt about his failure to adequately reciprocate their gifts. Hallerstein asked his brother “to buy some European gifts” in the same letter and emphasized the special significance of the exchange of gifts in China and its surrounding countries, stating “Believe me that these gifts, as they have already been elsewhere, are especially in this part of the world, necessary for establishing and maintaining friendship.”⁵³ Just as Hallerstein predicted that no return gift to the guest would be taken as “a sign of lack of decorum or of poverty,” so Hong Tae-yong blamed Hallerstein for his lack of courtesy, when he failed to give anything in return for the Korean ambassador’s present. Yet a strong possibility is that Hallerstein was actually in short supply of “European gifts” because of the excessive demand for them on the part of Chinese and even Korean visitors.

Beyond the reasons listed above, Hallerstein’s avoidance of Hong Tae-yong was also due to the insistent attitude of Hong Tae-yong himself. Although Hong Tae-yong might have been driven by his great curiosity, to Hallerstein, Hong’s persistent requests could have been tiresome and burdensome. However, the most important issue would have been the difference between the two men’s interests and the depth of those interests. In the case of Hallerstein, he was in China as a missionary to spread his Catholic faith; however, Hong Tae-yong only showed interest in and inquired about Western scientific advances and was not capable of engaging in an in-depth scientific discussion. Moreover, Hallerstein and Gogeisl were able to speak Chinese but not to write well, whereas Hong Tae-yong was able to write Chinese but not to speak it well, so communication was indirect and inadequate, since they had to have translators. Hong Tae-yong respected Hallerstein and the Western world for their advanced scientific technologies, but the interchange with Hallerstein was not amiable. Hong Tae-yong’s record in his *Ŭlbyŏng yŏnhaengnok* demonstrates this:

⁵² Letter No. VII. “addressed to Brother Weichard, October 27, 1765,” in Mitja Saje, ed., *A. Hallerstein-Liu Songling*, 357.

⁵³ Mitja Saje, ed., *ibid.*, 356–57.

In introducing their [i.e., Western missionaries] teaching to China, they provide a rough outline of that teaching to venerate Heaven, as Buddhists venerate Buddha in Buddhism. They encourage people to worship morning and night, to make efforts to do virtuous acts, and to look for blessings. For the most part, it greatly differs from the Chinese sage way, and it is just a teaching of barbarians, nothing worthy of serious mention.⁵⁴

As in the quote above, Hong Tae-yong exposed his indifference and disregard for Catholicism. It is evident that Catholicism was too foreign and heterodox to influence a Confucian-steeped scholar like Hong Tae-yong at that time. On the other hand, Hallerstein's utmost interest was in proselytizing his religion. Under the cover of the diplomatic niceties exchanged between them, lay this fundamental discrepancy of interests that often caused their meetings to become uneasy and even awkward encounters.

CONCLUSION

This research started when I encountered the red paper bearing Liu Songling 劉松齡's name. It was an exciting episode that revealed the identity of the red paper, and prompted me to trace the encounter between Hong Tae-yong and Hallerstein, one of first meaningful interactions between Chosŏn and the West. Upon comparative investigation between "Yu P'o mundap" written in Chinese characters and *Ŭlbyŏng yŏnhaengnok* written in vernacular Korean, it is apparent that the red paper with "Nianjiajuandi Liu Songling dunshoubai" 年家眷弟劉松齡頓首拜 was sent to Hong Tae-yong on the 8th day of 1766 as an invitation. However, Hallerstein did not send a reply in the form of a substantial letter because he was not good at writing Chinese and was incapable of sending a thorough response. In fact, it can be surmised that even the Chinese characters in the red paper were not actually his own writing but had been written for him by others.

In my study, I also found that Hong Tae-yong had two impressions of Hallerstein. On the one hand, he highly estimated and respected Hallerstein's ability in astronomy and mathematics. On the other, however there also had a negative impression of Hallerstein, which was probably due to the cold treatment that Chosŏn emissaries received. However, this coldness on the part of

⁵⁴ Hong Tae-yong, *Chubae ŭlbyŏng yŏnhaengnok*, 257. "또 저히 흑문을 등국에 면하니, 그 흑문은 대강은 하늘을 존송하여 하늘 섬기를 불도의 부처 섬기디 시키고, 사람을 권하여 도석의 예비하고 착한 일을 힘써 복을 구하라 하니, 대저 등국 성인의 도와 다르고, 이적의 교화라 족히 니를 거시 업사디..."

Hallerstein was partly caused by his excessive load of duties as the head of the Imperial Board of Astronomy, making astronomical observations at night, as well as being the head of the Society of Jesus in China that was struggling to keep its status in the Qing court. Moreover he felt fatigued by an incessant flow of Chinese guests. Hence, he scarcely had time to organize and give a cordial reception to Chosŏn emissaries.

Like Hong Tae-yong, Hallerstein also had two impressions of the Chosŏn people. He emphasized that the Chosŏn people were eager to learn about Western civilization. Therefore, they would “always visit [Hallerstein] immediately when they come to Peking, before anything, first demand[ing] ink and a writing instrument.” He also mentioned that they “posed well-founded questions about astronomy.” However, he complained that the Chosŏn people “do not wish to say anything,” and he considered them to be “the craftiest people under the sun.” These negative images of the Chosŏn people were not solely due to Hallerstein’s prejudice towards them, because Hong himself recorded some Korean emissaries’ overzealous actions and rude behavior in their meetings with the Jesuit missionaries.

Hallerstein also complained that “they do not want to leave a single written character, and often prefer to return [in person].” However, this was probably not due to the Chosŏn people’s “crafty” nature but because of their duty to write detailed travel accounts for the government or for their personal travelogues. To them, their notes were invaluable sources of information that they needed to include in their reports, and they could not afford to lose them. In other words, it seems that it was the Chosŏn people’s excessive passion to learn about the new civilization that led to these misunderstandings and the missionaries’ negative impressions of them.

Moreover, there was a clash of interests between Hallerstein and Hong Tae-yong because Hallerstein’s primary reason for being in China was missionary work for the Catholic Church. In contrast, Hong was primarily interested in gaining access to Hallerstein’s knowledge of Western mathematics, science, and astronomy. In the face of the strict prohibition of Christianity in Tokugawa Japan, Hallerstein and his Jesuit colleagues had an intention to use Chosŏn as a bridge to reach Japan, but the Korean emissaries’ response to Hallerstein’s inquiry was hardly encouraging. The Koreans’ indifference and hostile attitude toward his missionary work must have had something to do with his condemnation of Koreans as being “the craftiest people under the sun.” This negative remark was also directed at Han Chinese and Manchus in the context of the grim prospects for proselytization in China.

Despite such good or bad images portrayed by both sides, their encounters

were a powerful historical moment promoting impressive cultural exchange. With the import of Western technology, Chosŏn was able to take more accurate measurements in astronomical observations using *Xinfa yixiang kaocheng* 新法儀象考成 (Complete studies on astronomical instruments and phenomena according to the new methods) written by Hallerstein. These significant astronomical and calendrical advancements were the reason why King Yŏngjo took an interest in learning recent news about Hallerstein and his well-being. Hong Tae-yong recorded these encounters in his travelogues, which eventually influenced the so called Northern Learning scholars now, such as Pak Chi-wŏn, Pak Che-ga, Yi Tŏk-mu, and Yu Tŭk-kong, who shared Hong Tae-yong's keen interest in practical and scientific topics, and followed in his footsteps to Beijing.⁵⁵ Today, some 250 years after the writing of Hong Tae-yong's "Yu P'o mundap", Slovenian scholars refer to Hong's graphic description of Hallerstein's appearance to restore his image: "being sixty-two years old, he is a healthy looking man with deep and sharp eyes, a grey beard and Chinese style hair shaved at the front of the head and with a long plait, dressed in the formal dress of a Chinese official."⁵⁶ Wang Huiqin 王慧琴, a Chinese Slovenian artist gives an artistic rendering of Hallerstein's image based on Hong's description.⁵⁷ Thus Hallerstein is now remembered as a monument to early cultural contacts between Slovenia and China as well as Korea.

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⁵⁵ Following Hong Tae-yong, the following emissaries visited Beijing; Yi Tŏk-mu and Pak Che-ga in 1778, Pak Chi-wŏn in 1780, Pak Che-ga again two times in 1790, and Yu Tŭk-kong in 1790 and 1801. See No Yong-p'il, "Chosŏnin Hong Tae-yong kwa sŏyangin Ch'ŏnjugyo sinbu ūi sangho insik—'Yu P'o mundap' ūi punsŏk ūl chungsim ūro," 91.

⁵⁶ "劉年六十二，鮑年六十四，雖鬚髮已衰白，而韶顏如童，深目睛光如射，宛是壁畫中人也。皆剃頭衣帽爲胡制，劉戴亮藍頂，鮑戴暗白頂，劉三品鮑六品，皆欽天監職也，" in Hong Tae-yong, "Yu P'o mundap," 43. The translation is quoted from Mitja Saje, "The Importance of Ferdinand Augustin Hallerstein for Cultural and Political Relations with China and Korea," *Asian Studies* III (XIX), 2 (2015): 28.

⁵⁷ I heard of this episode from the Chinese Slovenian artist Wang Huiqin 王慧琴 (Professor Mitja Saje's wife). An artistic rendering of Hallerstein's image can be found on the cover page of Mitja Saje, ed., *A. Hallerstein-Liu Songling*.

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