

**Frits Vos**

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Supplementary Remarks to Hamel's Narrative**

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# Master Eibokken on Korea and the Korean Language: Supplementary Remarks to Hamel's Narrative

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The Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society is to be commended for its publication of Gari Ledyard's *The Dutch Come to Korea*<sup>1</sup> as Number 3 of its Monograph Series in 1971. The book gives an excellent and richly annotated description of the sojourn of Hendrik Hamel and his companions-in-distress in Korea (1653–1666/'68). Dr. Ledyard's main contribution to our knowledge of the adventures of the Dutch is his translation and astute interpretation of a large number of Korean and Japanese official and unofficial sources, some of which had already been published and commented upon by Korean and Japanese scholars, but which have been practically unknown in the West until now.

In his preface Dr. Ledyard writes that he "was rather surprised to find that [Hoetink's splendid edition of Hamel's Narrative of the Shipwreck and Description of the Kingdom of Corea<sup>2</sup>] — consisting of a long and detailed introduction and many documentary appendices, in addition to the previously unpublished text of the manuscript version of Hamel's account — has been virtually unmentioned and certainly unused by any Western author writing in English."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Henceforth abbreviated as *LD*. For a list of abbreviations used in this article the reader is referred to the bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> Abbreviated. For the full Dutch title of this work see the bibliography *sub* Hoetink.

<sup>3</sup> *LD*, p. 13.

Although Ledyard often refers to Hoetink's text and notes, he has contented himself with appending the so-called Churchill version<sup>4</sup> of Hamel's Narrative to his otherwise admirable study.

Dutch publishers of Hamel's Narrative had already changed the order of the original<sup>5</sup> and/or made sensational additions of their own invention; these mutilations of the text have indiscriminately been adopted in the French, German and English translations. The text has usually been divided into two parts: 1. the account of the experiences and adventures of the castaways, and 2. the description of the Kingdom of Corea.<sup>6</sup> The most notable and ridiculous addition is that concerning the existence of crocodiles and the like in Korea: "We never saw any Elephant's there, but Alligators or Crocodils of several Sizes, which keep in the Rivers. Their Back is Musket proof, but the skin of their Belly is very soft. Some of them are 18 or 20 Ells long, their Head large, the Snout like a Hog. The Mouth and Throat from Ear to Ear, the Eye sharp but very small, the teeth white and strong, plac'd like the teeth of a comb . . . . The *Coresians* often told us, that three Children were once found in the Belly of one of these Crocodils."<sup>7</sup>

An annotated English translation of Hamel's original text as edited by Hoetink remains an important *desideratum* for all Koreanologists unacquainted with [17th century] Dutch.

Hamel was not alone in introducing 17th century Korea to Occidental readers. Nicolaas Witsen (1641-1717) provides us with

<sup>4</sup> Abbreviated as *CA*, *vide* the bibliography *sub An Account of the shipwreck*, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *HV*, pp. XXII-XXIII.

<sup>6</sup> The sequence of the description has also been changed in some instances. The description of the Korean fauna, for instance, precedes the paragraph on writing etc. in the original text (*HV*, p. 50), but has been inserted in the beginning of the Churchill and French versions (*CA*, p. 207; *RN*, pp. 310-311). A comparison of *CA*, pp. 222-223, and *RN*, pp. 340-342, with *HV*, p. 49, is also rewarding in this respect.

<sup>7</sup> See *CA*, p. 207; *RN*, pp. 310-311.

much interesting information about that country in his *Noord en Oost Tartaryen*<sup>8</sup>, the second edition of which is most useful for our purpose.<sup>9</sup>

Witsen, whose motto was *Labor omnia vincit*, was the scion of a prominent and wealthy family in Amsterdam. He studied law, philology, mathematics and astronomy at Leyden University where he took his L.L.D. in 1664. He also applied himself to the study of geography, cartography and hydraulic engineering. He was an able etcher and became a specialist in shipbuilding. In 1697–98 he taught this art to Czar Peter the Great who was then studying in the Netherlands.<sup>10</sup> Between 1682 and 1705 he was thirteen times mayor of Amsterdam; he represented that city nearly continuously in the States of Holland and the States General of the Netherlands. As a young man he had also served his country as a diplomat in Moscow.<sup>11</sup>

For his description of Korea Witsen made use of the following sources:

Martini, Martino, *Novus atlas sinensis*, Amsterdam 1655; Montanus, Arnoldus, *Gedenkwaerdige Gezantschappen aen de Kaisaren van Japan* (Memorable Envoys to the Emperors, i.e. Shōgun, of Japan), Amsterdam 1669; a report of a court journey (Nagasaki-Edo) made by the Dutch in 1637; a description of Korea by a 'certain Slavonic (i.e. Russian) author'; information provided by Anreas Cleyer, chief merchant at Dejima in 1683 and 1686; 'a' report from Japan.

Eye-witness information was furnished by Benedictus Klerk and

<sup>8</sup> First published in 1692 at Amsterdam. For the full title of the second edition see the bibliography.

<sup>9</sup> Published in 1705 at Amsterdam. 21 pages of this book, i.e. ca. 14,000 words, are devoted to Korea. Cf. *HV*, pp. XXI–XXII. The chapter on Korea has been translated into Japanese by Ikuta Shigeru in his *Chōsen yūshū-ki*, pp. 117–174.

<sup>10</sup> It is said that Czar Peter learned more about his Empire from Witsen's *Noord en Oost Tartaryen* than he knew before he came to the Netherlands!

<sup>11</sup> Cf. A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* XX, pp. 354–359.

Master Mattheus Eibokken, two of Hamel's companions-in-distress.

Benedictus Klerk<sup>12</sup> of Rotterdam was a twelve-year-old ship's boy when he arrived in Korea. The larger part of his information concerns whaling; some of his remarks about Korean religion and customs have been translated in the notes accompanying this article.

Mattheus Eibokken<sup>13</sup> of Enckhuijsen (= Enkhuizen), between 1500 and the middle of the 17th century one of the most important harbours on the Zuyder Zee, was a junior (third) surgeon on the ill-fated *De Sperwer* and 18 or 19 years old when he arrived in Korea. Ship's surgeons in that period actually combined the functions of physician and barber, and were especially expert at applying leeches. Among the survivors of the shipwreck he was considered as a man of some importance, for on October 19, 1653, he was—together with Hendrick Janse (chief pilot)<sup>14</sup> and Hendrik Hamel (secretary/accountant)—invited to visit the Prefect of Cheju-do at his residence.<sup>15</sup> There they met Jan Janse Weltevree who had arrived in Korea in 1627<sup>16</sup> and who was to act as an interpreter and guide for his fellow countrymen until March 1656. Eibokken is mentioned once more in Hamel's journal<sup>17</sup>; from the passage concerned it becomes clear that he was one of the five Dutchmen living at Sunch'ŏn 順天 since February 1663.

He was one of the eight captives who escaped from Korea on

<sup>12</sup> His family name is also given as *Clercq* and *Clerck* (sometimes preceded by *de*), cf. *HV*, pp. 73, 78 and 87.

<sup>13</sup> Also called Mat[t]heus Ibocken, Matthijs Bocken or Mattheus Ybocken. Cf. *HV*, pp. 60, 73, 77 and 87.

<sup>14</sup> For his tragic end see *LD*, p. 62; *CA*, p. 189; *HV*, p. 26; *RN*, p. 276. Cf. also *infra*, n. 43.

<sup>15</sup> See *LD*, p. 26; *CA*, p. 180; *HV*, pp. 12-13; *RN*, p. 259.

<sup>16</sup> For Jan Janse Weltevree or Pak Yŏn see the excellent digression in *LD*, pp. 91-99, and Yi Inyŏng, "Nambanjin Boku En kō."

<sup>17</sup> *HV*, p. 60. In *CA* (p. 204) and *RN* (p. 305) his name is only included in the list of "Names of those that return'd from Corea (Noms de ceux qui sont revenus de Corée)," in the English version mutilated as *Cbroyken*.

September 4, 1666, and arrived at Nagasaki nine days later. On July 20, 1668, he and six of his comrades arrived in Amsterdam.<sup>18</sup> On August 13 of the same year the *Heeren HVII*, i.e. the Directors of the East India Company, decided to pay him a gratuity of 150 (!) guilders in compensation for the hardships suffered in Korea.<sup>19</sup> Further details about his life are unknown, but if we consider the fact that he acted as Witsen's informant, either when he was nearly sixty years old or even later<sup>20</sup>, he must have been a man of remarkable intelligence and blessed with a retentive memory. One might suppose that he had kept a diary or had prepared a list of words during his stay in Korea, but in that case some grave lapses in his vocabulary would remain unexplained.<sup>21</sup>

Witsen's presentation of Eibokken's information is rather confused and unsystematic; his use of verbal tenses is very curious. In my translation I have 'sliced' his often very lengthy sentences and limited his use of capitals, but have maintained the italics. Witsen's narrative follows:

\* \* \* \*

*Mattheus Eibokken*, surgeon, likewise<sup>22</sup> one of those who became captives on *Korea* in the year 1653, has orally reported [the following] to me. It is practically impossible to travel from *Korea* to *Tartarye* or *Niuche*<sup>23</sup> because of the height of the mountains and the wildness of the land. Very few people are living there, and a profusion of tigers, brown bears and wolves renders the passage very dangerous. Snow always covers the mountains there. The root *Nisi* or *Ginseng*<sup>24</sup> grows

<sup>18</sup> See *HV*, pp. XIII-XIV.

<sup>19</sup> See *HV*, pp. 86-87 and cf. pp. XIV-XV.

<sup>20</sup> Only in the second edition of *WNOT* (also containing his vocabulary) is he mentioned by name.

<sup>21</sup> See the vocabulary at the end of this article, nrs. 11, 59 and 96.

<sup>22</sup> I.e. like Benedictus [de] Klerk.

<sup>23</sup> I.e. [the country of the] Jurced (Chin. Ju-chen 女眞) who established the Chin 金 Dynasty (1115-1234). See Henthorn, *Korea: The Mongol Invasions*, pp. 1, 5, 24-25, etc.

most luxuriantly in that desert. From there it is transported under great danger to the large cities of *Korea* and also across the sea to *Japan* and *Sina*. Those roots which are whitest are considered fresh. They are not found in the southern part of the country.<sup>25</sup> [The plant] has shining leaves.

That there exists a passage from Tartary into *Korea* may be clearly demonstrated by the fact that, during his (= Eibokken's) sojourn, the Emperor of *Sina* presented the King of *Korea* with six horses<sup>26</sup> which were sent by land from *Niuche* to *Korca*. He himself had seen them arrive; they were speckled like the skin of a tiger with yellow and black dots on a white ground. Their mane and tail were white, hanging down to the ground.

The Tartars are<sup>27</sup> called *Thartse* by the Koreans, or—in the Chinese way—*Tata*.<sup>28</sup>

The east coast of *Korea* extends between north and south; more correctly, however, it extends to the north-east. Consequently the people there think that the ocean is located in the north-east where there are always heavy storms and the waves are restless, as in the Spanish Sea. How far Tartary extends to the north is unknown to them, however, since they do not travel far, either by land or by sea—this being forbidden to the inhabitants [of *Korea*]. Likewise, no foreign vessels arrive on the east coast except Japanese ones, and those only at a place where they have a settlement allotted to them.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Nisi* is a corruption of Sino-Japanese [*Chōsen*] *ninjin* [朝鮮] 人參. It is curious that Eibokken does not mention the Sino-Korean name *insam*.

<sup>25</sup> This is not true; ginseng is found in the mountains of Chōlla-do. Cf. Ikuta, *op. cit.*, p. 170, n. 1.

<sup>26</sup> An improbable occurrence. Perhaps horses imported from China are meant. Cf. Ikuta, *op. cit.*, p. 170, n. 2.

<sup>27</sup> The text reads 'were': an example of the curious use of tenses by Witsen.

<sup>28</sup> *Ta-ta* 韃靼, Sino-Korean: *Taltan*. Originally this name was used to denote a Mongolian tribe living in the north-west, later it was applied to the Mongols in general as well as to the Manchus. In Hamel's Narrative we read: "They call the Tarter Tieckese and Oranckaij" (*HV*, p. 48; cf. *CA*, p. 222, and *RN*, p. 341). Tie-

The passage by land from Tartary is not only difficult, as mentioned before, but also prohibited.

As there are a great many whales in the neighbouring north-eastern sea, they put out to sea—though not far—in order to catch these. They know how to kill them with very long harpoons of the same type as those of Japan.

Although they rarely sail to Japan, they know in which direction and at what distance it is located. Without this knowledge which the captive Dutchmen obtained from them they would never have been able to steer their course for Japan, to which country they escaped, for they had no map and none of them had ever been there. From this one may conclude that, if the Koreans say that Tartary extends to the north or rather to the north-east, although they do not know how far, this is like their other pronouncement that *Jeso*<sup>30</sup> is an island separated from the Tartarian coast.

The Netherlands found a Dutch harpoon sticking out of a whale which floated ashore as a carcass. It could be clearly distinguished from a Korean or Japanese harpoon, as the Dutch harpoons are hardly a third of the size of the Korean or Japanese ones. The natives said that they frequently discovered such harpoons in whales which they obtained through their being washed ashore. This one had come floating as a carcass, and [the harpoon] was bent; I was told that it often happens that harpoons become bent when they are shot at the fish. It may, nay, it must be, that this fish, having been harpooned in Greenland, yet swam so far away, was finally washed ashore, and died. The sea there has strong tidal currents and the water is greenish

ckese = Ch'iksa 勒使 (Chinese: Ch'ih-shih), Oranckaij = Ollyanghap 兀良哈 (Chinese: Wu-liang-ha), a Mongol tribe. In Europe Tartary has been a designation of Central Asia since the Middle Ages.

<sup>29</sup> This refers to the so-called Waegwan 倭館 at Pusan. See McCune, "The Japanese Trading Post at Pusan," and Nakamura, *Nihon to Chōsen*.

<sup>30</sup> I.e. Ezo 蝦夷, present-day Hokkaidō, about the shape of which little was known at that time.



as it is usually coloured in an ocean. The above-mentioned sailor<sup>31</sup>, who has wandered for so many years in *Korea* and who frequently went whaling near Greenland and around *Nova Sembla*, is of the opinion that there is a passage from there to *Jeso*<sup>32</sup>, but he thinks that navigation in that direction is impracticable because of the amount of ice and for other reasons. And as for whales, it seems that they escape from Greenland in wintertime because of the too severe cold to the coasts of *Jeso*, *Korea*, *Japan* and surrounding [regions]. For it is then that they are most present there: when they have disappeared from Greenland, but are being shot in large numbers by the Japanese with their long harpoons.

The northern and eastern coasts of *Korea* are very fine and suitable to be called at: until far above, or north of the Great Wall, so that it would be good to sail there. The above-mentioned person<sup>33</sup> holds the opinion that one could very easily sail between *Korea* and *Japan*, both straight up along the Tartarian coast as well as in the direction of the Isles of *Jeso*. Then it would not be necessary to direct one's course far towards the east of *Japan* as the Dutch did in the year 1641.<sup>34</sup> To the north of *Korea*'s sea-coast simple fishermen dwell; inland there are few people.

<sup>31</sup> I.e. Benedictus [de] Klerk, cited on pp. 43–44 of *WNOT*.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. also *CA*, p. 206; *HV*, p. 33; *RN*, p. 308; *WNOT*, *loc. cit.* Hamel's original text mentions "whales with harpoons from us and other nations in their bodies", *RN* "les crocs & les harpons des François et des Hollandois" (*CA*: French and Dutch harping-irons!) Dr. L.D. Brongersma, formerly professor of zoology at Leyden University, confirmed to me that Greenland whales use the passage to the north of Canada and Alaska.

<sup>33</sup> It is not clear whether this refers to Klerk or Eibokken.

<sup>34</sup> In 1639 Matthijs Hendriksz Quast and Abel Jansz Tasman were sent out by the Dutch East India Company on an expedition to search for the hypothetical 'Gold Islands' to the east of *Japan* . . . . and to discover the Country of *Corea*. Cf. Ikuta, *op. cit.*, pp. 170–171, n. 6; *HV*, p. XL. By order of Anthony van Diemen, Governor-General of the Netherlands East Indies, Maerten Gerritsz. Vries sailed in 1643 to the 'north and east' of *Japan*, on which occasion he visited not only *Ezo*, but also *Sakhalin* and the *Kuriles*. See P.A. Leupe, *Reize van Maarten Gerritsz. Vries*.

The *Koreans* have no relations with the Northern Tartars and say about them that they are meat-eaters, milk-drinkers and savages. In the north of *Korea*, by the border with Tartary, one finds dreadful snow-clad mountains; in that region as well as on the sea at the same latitude it is always foggy and tempestuous. Although the countries border upon each other, the Tartars, too, seldom or never come to *Korea*.<sup>35</sup>

The roofs of the houses of persons of high rank consist of both [regular] tiles and tiles baked from porcelain-clay of different colours, hence presenting a pleasant sight. The ordinary houses are straw-thatched. One may come across roof-trusses of twenty feet in length.

There is a custom that military men in the service of the King wear small wooden boards on their chest, on which their name and function are inscribed.<sup>36</sup>

As the Tartar Emperor<sup>37</sup> has such great authority now, they are less afraid of the Japanese. The soil is everywhere cultivated. From wheat and rice good beverages are made, comparable in taste to Spanish wine.<sup>38</sup> The horsemen carry bow and arrows, but the foot-soldiers use muskets.

There are quite a number of islands off the mainland; on some of them tobacco is cultivated, on others horses are raised for breeding.<sup>39</sup> Porcelain is exported in such quantities and so cheaply that much of it is exported to *Japan*.<sup>40</sup> The silks which are woven there are very beautiful.

The technique of drawing up water from a lower place to a higher one for irrigation is unknown to them. Consequently they are even

<sup>35</sup> *WNOT*, pp. 44-45.

<sup>36</sup> The so-called *hop'ae* 號牌. See Lee Kwang-rin, "Census-taking in the Yi Dynasty," and cf. *LD*, p. 52.

<sup>37</sup> I.e. the Ch'ing 清 (Manchu) Emperor of China.

<sup>38</sup> I.e. sherry (*jerez*) which also has a similar alcohol percentage.

<sup>39</sup> Cheju-do (Quelpart) in particular was (and is) well known for horse-breeding.

<sup>40</sup> This refers in the first place to tea utensils. Cf. Ikuta, *op. cit.*, p. 171, n. 12.

less able to exploit metal-mines.<sup>41</sup> Diamonds are not found there, but occasionally one comes across them and they are highly valued.

[The Koreans] still wear long hair as the Chinese of old were wont to do.<sup>42</sup>

The walls of the palaces and the houses of persons of high rank are made of brick. The same applies to the fortresses and the ramparts of the cities, but they are very weakly and miserably constructed, so that they would very easily be smashed by shooting at them.

One sees there fields entirely occupied by mulberry-trees for the production of silk.

If the master of a house acts against the orders of the King or commits some crime or other, all the members of his household must die together with him. Therefore, when the pilot, the leader of the captive Dutchmen, trying to escape with the Tartar envoy, was decapitated<sup>43</sup>, all the others were threatened with death.

Temples of two or three storeys, entirely built with stones, are found there.

In *Korea* junks with two decks and twenty or twenty-four oars are built. Each oar is occupied by five or six men; they are manned with 200 or 300 hands, both soldiers and oarsmen. [The junks are] mounted with countless small pieces of iron, and [armed with] a large number of firearms.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup> In curious contradiction to statements recorded below. Perhaps this is an interpolation of a statement by Benedictus [de] Klerk. Cf. also *infra*, n. 75.

<sup>42</sup> I.e. they did not shave their hair in front and did not wear 'pigtales' as the Chinese were compelled to do under Manchu rule. Unmarried men, however, wore braids.

<sup>43</sup> Hendrick Janse of Amsterdam. Elsewhere it is said that he died in prison. Cf. *LD* pp. 59-62; *CA*, pp. 188-189; *HV*, pp. 25-26; *RN*, pp. 274-276.

<sup>44</sup> This seems to be a reference to the turtle-boat (*kōbunksōn* 거북선) of Admiral Yi Sunsin 李舜臣 (1545-1598). Cf. *CA*, p. 209; *HV*, pp. 35-36; *RN*, pp. 314-315. See further Murphy, "Yi Sun Sin: Admiral of the Eastern Sea"; Middleton, "Hyōn Chung Sa: Shrine to Yi Sun Sin"; Park Yune-hee, *Admiral Yi Sun-shin and his*

The Koreans wear peaked hats.<sup>45</sup> They eat with spoons as well as chopsticks.

It is remarkable how cold it can be in that country, so that at a latitude of 40 the rivers are solidly frozen every year and it is just as cold there as in our country. The mountains are always covered with snow. Perhaps this cold is brought about by the strongly nitrous character of the soil. Grapes are growing there, but they rarely ripen, and wine is not made from them. Pruning trees is not a custom there, and they do not know how to cultivate fruit. There is a certain fruit called *canoen*<sup>46</sup> which is very tasty when dried and resembles a fig.<sup>47</sup>

*Mattheus Eibokken* has reported to me that they have a pagan faith in that country, partly corresponding with that of *Sina*. However, nobody is forced in matters of religion and everybody may believe as he wishes. [The Koreans] tolerated his and the other Dutch captives' mockery of the idols. The priests there do not eat what has received life, and they have no intercourse with women on pain of being beaten heavily on the shins, nay even being punished by death—as has happened more than once. When there is a war the monks, too, are obliged to take the field and to do duty.<sup>48</sup>

They sacrifice many pigs and other cattle to the devil (although recently the King has ordered the demolition of the majority of the temples dedicated to the devil<sup>49</sup>, for which reason he is not so much

*Turtleboat Armada*; Underwood, "Korean Boats and Ships"; Underwood, "The Turtle Boat of Yi Sun Sin."

<sup>45</sup> 'High-crowned' would be a better description. For hats see Yi Kyu-tae, *Modern Transformation of Korea*, pp. 78-83.

<sup>46</sup> This must be a mistake for *kam*, 'persimmon.'

<sup>47</sup> *WNOT*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *CA*, p. 208; *HV*, p. 35; *RN*, pp. 313-314. Monk-soldiers served in the war against the Japanese invaders (1592-98) and several priests, like Sōsan Taesa Hyujōng 西山大師休靜 (1520-1604) and Samyōngdang Yujōng 泗溟堂惟政 (1544-1610), gained immortal fame. Troops consisting of monk-soldiers were called *ch'iyōng* 緇營, 'black batallions.'

<sup>49</sup> In 1662 according to Hamel, cf. *CA*, p. 222; *HV*, p. 49; *RN*, p. 340. In the 5t month of the third year of Hyōnjong 顯宗 the Governor of Chōlla-do, Yi T'aeyōn

worshipped or respected anymore), and [afterwards] they eat the offerings. Sacrifices are in great vogue with them; if somebody is going to travel, sacrifices are made in the hope of a good journey. The same happens when somebody is ill. The priests have their heads shorn bald. The number of monks living in the monasteries is almost countless.

Every year the King visits the tomb of his ancestors in order to sacrifice there and to give a feast in honour of, and for the well-being of those in the other world. [Eibokken was able to tell me about this,] because he had accompanied the King himself as far as the burial-place which is several hundred years old. It is located six or eight miles outside the capital in a hollowed-out mountain which one enters through iron doors.<sup>50</sup>

Corpses are placed in coffins of iron or tin. They are embalmed in such a way that they are preserved without decay for some hundreds of years—as the dead bodies of the Kings have been preserved in the above-mentioned mountain. When a King or Queen is entombed a beautiful male and female slave are left behind alive in the vault. Before closing the iron doors they leave some provisions for them, but when these are eaten they must die in order to serve their master or mistress in the other life.<sup>51</sup> [On the occasion of the visit to his ancestors]<sup>52</sup> 15,000 soldiers attended the King, among them a

李泰淵, reported to the Throne that the Buddhist statues in the temples of his province were perspiring. Against [this report] the Chief Censor, Min Chǒngjung 閔鼎重, memorialized the Throne as follows: "[The perspiration of the statues] is due to the humid air, but T'aeyōn is [using this phenomenon] to delude and cause disorder among the people. I request that he be removed from his post and the perspiring statues be destroyed." The King consented. Cf. *TH*, p. 85, n. 1.

<sup>50</sup> Here Eibokken's imagination seems to have run away with him. The tomb of each King was located at a different place; *vide* Bacon, "Tombs of the Yi Dynasty Kings and Queens." We may, of course, assume that he accompanied King Hyōjong 孝宗 (r. 1649–1659) on a visit to the tomb of his father, Injo 仁祖 (r. 1623–1649) which was then located in P'aju-gun Pug'unch' 'jo 'ju-ug. Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 27, nr. 31.

<sup>51</sup> This custom certainly did not exist in the Yi period!

Dutchman as a body-guard.<sup>53</sup> As these people are very swift-footed and are able, with shouldered muskets, to keep pace with a horse, our man had great difficulty in following them.

Firelocks are unknown to them, for they use only matchlocks. They also employ leather guns, on the inside mounted with copper plates of a gauge of half a finger; the leather is two, four or five inches thick and consists of many layers. These guns are put on horses, two on one horse, and are carried in the rear of the army. Their length is about one fathom, and rather large bullets can be fired from them.<sup>54</sup>

The sterns of their ships are flat and slant, in the same way as their prows do, somewhat over the water.<sup>55</sup> While they are sailing they also use oars; they are unable to cope with foreign guns. Without special leave they neither dare nor may sail far out of sight from the mainland—neither are they suitable [for such undertakings]. They are very lightly built, hardly any iron is used, the timber being dovetailed and the anchors made of wood. Most of their navigation is directed towards *Sina*.<sup>56</sup>

Gunpowder as well as the art of printing have been known to them—so they say—for more than 1,000 years. The same applies to the compass, although it looks different from the one in our country, for they merely use a small bit of wood, sharp in front and blunt behind. Thrown into a tub with water the sharp tip points to the north; the magnetic force is probably hidden inside it. They dis-

<sup>52</sup>In my opinion the following description refers to the specific occasion of the visit to the Royal tomb. According to Ikuta (*op. cit.*, p. 160) it is a general statement.

<sup>53</sup>This body-guard was probably Jan Janse Weltevree.

<sup>54</sup>Such guns are not described in Boots' excellent article "Korean Weapons & Armor."

<sup>55</sup>*Vide* Underwood, "Korean Boats and Ships."

<sup>56</sup>*Cf.* *CA*, p. 206; *HV*, p. 33; *RN*, pp. 308–309. The sea route via the coast of the Liaotung Peninsula to Shantung was in fact only used until Korea's surrender to the Manchus. In Hamel's time communications with China were maintained over land. *Cf.* Ikuta, *op. cit.*, p. 99, n. 158.

tinguish between eight points of the compass. The compass may also consist of two bits of wood joined crosswise; the tip which points to the north protrudes somewhat.<sup>57</sup>

Eibokken was of the opinion that *Korea* extended further to the north than is shown in our maps—as is also stated by the Korean people. Up to the northeast there would be an ocean with waves as savage as those of the Spanish Sea. To the north or northeast [of Korea] there must therefore be a sea which is difficult to navigate.<sup>58</sup>

The River *Jalo*, also called *Kango*<sup>59</sup>, separating *Sina* from *Korea*, is full of rocks and, at times, thickly frozen over—as was the case when the Tartars crossed it and occupied the country, for that was very difficult by land over the practically impassable mountains.

They are not well-acquainted with glass; their windows are covered with oil-paper. When objects made of glass like rummers or small bottles, imported in Japan by the Netherlanders, were brought over from Japan they were highly valued. It was unbelievable to them that in our country window-panes were made of glass.

It is a custom there to sing of all kinds of events in ballads and therefore every day one hears songs about the deeds of heroes of ancient and recent times.<sup>60</sup> Their printed books are also full of these.

There are idols in Korea nearly as big as whole houses in this country.<sup>61</sup> It is noteworthy that in almost all their idolatrous temples

<sup>57</sup>According to Klerk the Koreans had—like the Chinese—no notion about the use of the compass! See *WNOT*, p. 47.

<sup>58</sup>Repetition of a former statement.

<sup>59</sup>According to Ikuta (*op. cit.*, p. 172, n. 23) Eibokken is confusing the Han-gang 漢江 with the Yalu (Amnok-kang 鴨綠江), but then it remains strange that he uses the Sino-Japanese name of the Han-gang (Kango = Kankō?).

<sup>60</sup>This must be a reference to the *kwangdae* 廣大, professional entertainers “who recreated, dramatized, and sang known tales and narratives.” See Peter H. Lee, *Korean Literature: Topics and Themes*, p. 86. The *kwangdae* were especially active in Chōlla-do. See also Kim Tong’uk, *Ch’unhyang chōn yōn’gu*, pp. 17–32.

<sup>61</sup>Perhaps Eibokken refers here to the more than 18 metre high Ūnjin Mirūk 恩津彌勒 of the Kwanch’ōk-sa 灌燭寺 (Ūnjin-myōn, Nonsan-gun, Ch’ungch’ōng Namdo) which he may have seen on his journey up to, or down from Seoul (June



one finds three statues placed side by side.<sup>62</sup> They have the same shape and ornamentation, but the middle one is always the biggest. From this Master *Eibokken* deduced that some adumbration of the Holy Trinity was hidden here.

When there is an eclipse the common people think that the moon is struggling with some kind of snake.<sup>63</sup> They have an artificially made snake at hand and, while the eclipse continues, they make all kinds of sounds and noises with drums, horns and bassoons until the eclipse is over. Then they say that the snake has been subdued and they chop up their own clay snake in revenge and anger against the snake in heaven that had the insolence to fight against the moon. Since they have not reached the same perfection in mathematics as the Europeans, it is, however, marvellous that they are able to calculate the time of an eclipse.<sup>64</sup>

There are many kinds of fruit in *Korea*, most of them known in our country as well as many others, such as nuts, chestnuts, cherries, morelloes, quinces, pomegranates, rice, oats, wheat, beans, salad, and various tuberous plants.<sup>65</sup> It is said that there is much ambergris to be found. [Further there is] a lot of lesser gray mullet in the sea, and there are lots of poultry, pheasants and tortoises on land.

1654 and March 1656). For an old-fashioned, but charming description of this statue *vide* Jones, "Korea's Colossal Image of Buddha [*sic*!]."

<sup>62</sup>The so-called *Samjon* 三尊, the Three Honoured Ones, e.g. the deified historical Buddha Sākyamuni (Sōkka [moni] 釋迦 [牟尼]) flanked by Manjusri (Munsu 文殊) and Samantabhadra (Pohyōn 普賢), representing his omniscience and all-goodness.

<sup>63</sup>This is originally a Chinese tradition: the uneducated thought that in the case of an eclipse the sun or moon was devoured by a snake. Cf. Lübke, *Der Himmel der Chinesen*, pp. 21-22; Pernitzsch, *Die Religionen Chinas*, p. 17. The Chinese character for 'eclipse', 蝕 (Sino-Korean: *sik*), may be explained as 'being eaten by a reptile.'

<sup>64</sup>Calendars based on Western astronomical calculations were imported from China. Cf. Ikuta, *op. cit.*, p. 172, n. 35.

<sup>65</sup>Klerk refers in this connection to the preparation of *kimch'i*: "They have a custom there of pickling food of all kinds, especially tuberous plants." See *WNOT*, p. 47.



They do not use coins, but pay in small ingots according to weight.<sup>66</sup>

These people possess a vague knowledge of the Flood.<sup>67</sup>

They estimate the world to be many thousands of years old and [hold the belief] that in due time this world will turn into a renewed or new world—just as they assert that there are many worlds to come and [many that] have been.<sup>68</sup>

By way of punishment people in *Korea* were beaten to death on the shins.

There is an abundance of cattle, but they hardly partake of butter and cheese, and even less of milk, saying that this is the blood of animals. Dogs—with the exception of red ones—as well as horses are eaten by them, as they judge these [animals] to have very tasty meat. They know how to prepare excellent salt from sea-water. The Netherlands' captives salted herring with it; although it could have been done by them, they were not knowledgeable about [this process]. The salt water is boiled for this purpose, but they do not have salt-pans as in Portugal and elsewhere.

These people are very good-natured. God—so they say—is good, but they must remain friends with the devil, that he shall not harm them.<sup>69</sup>

When they styled the Dutch they called them 'men from the

<sup>66</sup>Cf. *CA*, p. 224; *HV*, p. 50; *RN*, p. 343. In 1633 the so-called *sangp'yŏng t'ongbo* 常平通寶 had been minted for the first time, and in 1651 a decree was issued ordering the people to use coins, but we may assume that they were not in general use in far-away places like Chŏlla Namdo. Vide Ichihara, "Coinage of Old Korea," pp. 60–61, and Sohn, Kim & Hong, *The History of Korea*, p. 162.

<sup>67</sup>Popular traditions about deluges are of Chinese origin; cf. Son Chint'ae, *Chosŏn minjok sŏrhwa-ŭi yŏn'gu*, pp. 7–11, See also Krieg, *Chinesische Mythen und Legenden*, pp. 14–16; Kim So-un *The Story Bag*, pp. 66–75; Son Chint'ae, *Chŏsen no minwa*, pp. 18–25; Zong In-sob, *Folk Tales from Korea*, p. 16–18.

<sup>68</sup>This refers, of course, to the Buddhist concept of [Great] *Kalpas* (*kŏp* 劫) or aeons. Cf. McGovern, *A Manual of Buddhist Philosophy*, Vol. I: *Cosmology*, pp. 45–48.

<sup>69</sup>These people are not unconscious of the fact that there is a God; they revere the devil out of fear" according to Klerk (*WNOT*, p. 47).

south'<sup>70</sup>, and in the beginning they believed that [the Dutch] could live under water. As their knowledge is limited to *Japan*, *Sina* and their neighbour *Tartarye*, they have trifling thoughts about those who are living farther away, e.g. that there are people without heads and people with eyes in their chests. [They also think] that there are regions occupied only by women who, when they become voluptuous, spread their legs in the direction of the south wind which impregnates them by blowing in between, and more of such things.

The King was so rarely seen that some people living somewhat out of the way believed that he was of a superhuman nature—such it appeared to us and therefore we queried them. They believe that the less the King goes out and is seen by the people the more fruitful the year will be. No dog may run in the streets where he appears.

They believe in the resurrection of the dead and the possession of a soul which will experience good or evil according to this life.

All foreigners are refused admittance to this country with the exception of the Japanese who—as has been mentioned before—have a settlement for their own use in the City of *Potisaen*.<sup>71</sup>

They are very much afraid of sick people; they often bring them out into the fields and leave them alone in hovels, so that there is hardly anybody who tends and treats them.<sup>72</sup>

The people there become very old: *Eibokken* had known many of more than 112 years; they live in a very frugal way.

There are rather good surgeons among them. They do not know that the world is round, and think that the sun goes to rest in the sea at night.

Very able artisans are to be found there. The women, too, are skilful at embroidery; he (*Eibokken*) had seen entire battles em-

<sup>70</sup>I.e. *namman*[in] 南蠻[人] (Sino-Japanese: *namban*[jin]), 'Southern Barbarians,' a term first applied by the Japanese to the Portuguese and the Spanish.

<sup>71</sup>=Pusan, cf. *supra*, n. 29.

<sup>72</sup>Cf. *CA*, p. 222; *HV*, p. 47; *RN*, pp. 339–340.

broidered on silk.

It is a custom there to have rooms, under the floor of which there is a vault of one foot in height. Through this [vault] they apply warmth to the entire room by means of the smoke from the fire in stoves standing outside.<sup>73</sup> The King also has rooms covered with copper plates which are used to torture, nay, even to kill people.<sup>74</sup>

They pay much attention to soothsayings, and good and bad omens. He (Eibokken) had seen one of the King's horses killed because it had hesitated when leaving the gate [of the palace] with the King on its back. This was considered to be an ill omen and [the horse was killed] to appease and prevent any evil.

He had seen gold- and silver-mines there as well as copper-, tin- and iron-mines.<sup>75</sup> There are lots of silver which special people have been allowed to mine, since the King levies taxes on it. The copper there is very lustrous and has a clear tone. He had seen gold-veins in mines. He says that he even obtained some gold-dust from the bottom of some rivers by diving. Yet the gold-mines were not so much exploited as those of silver and other metals. He was unaware of the reason for this.

The *Koreans* are extremely afraid of the Tartars and the Japanese, because they are very faint-hearted—to such an extent that when a battle or fight is going to take place some hundreds hang themselves out of fear on the day before.<sup>76</sup>

Christianity has not yet found acceptance there. In their temples he had seen large paintings, on one side of which sensual enjoyments

<sup>73</sup>Cf. *CA*, p. 216; *HV*, p. 42; *RN*, p. 329. For a description of the Korean heating system *vide* Viessman, "Ondol-Radiant Heat in Korea."

<sup>74</sup>Cf. *CA*, pp. 210–211, *HV*, p. 37; *RN*, pp. 317–318; *TH*, p. 72, n. 1.

<sup>75</sup>See the short historical survey in Mills, "Gold Mining in Korea," especially pp. 10–11.

<sup>76</sup>Cf. *HV*, p. 47. This form of suicide is not mentioned in *CA* and *RN*. Klerk: "The Koreans are very faint-hearted. Therefore they often hang themselves out of fright or fear. This is, however, deemed honourable there." See *WNOT*, p. 47.

of all sorts were depicted, [while] the other side [represented] tortures of all sorts.<sup>77</sup> In this way they express [their belief] that good and evil people would reap the fruits of their merits in the other life.

There is a royal prison there<sup>78</sup>; important persons who are imprisoned there seldom come out again. The reason for this is that there is an executioner living inside who is also not allowed to go out often. He is ordered to dispatch this one or that one at the King's pleasure.

Justice is severely administered there, and it is very safe to travel through the country, as the people are modest, gentle, goodnatured, compassionate and polite.

Those who had sold to the captive Netherlanders the vessel with which they escaped by sea to Japan, were put to death; so severe is the law there.

In this country there are emeralds, sapphires and other precious stones which are unknown here.

Ladies of distinction wear veils, and conceal themselves from unknown men.

The Island of *Tussima*, also called *Teimatte*<sup>79</sup>, located between *Japan* and *Korea*, belonged formerly to *Korea*, but by war and treaty it remains under the Japanese.<sup>80</sup>

*Korea* is very populous and perhaps the King could call five times 100,000 men to the colours. The soldiers there receive no pay, as the inhabitants have to do duty gratis and for nothing.

The cities are not too well fortified.<sup>81</sup> The capital is easily as large

<sup>77</sup>Such paintings may be found in a special Myōngbu-ch'ōng 冥府廳, 'Hall of the Palace of Darkness', in larger Buddhist temples. Cf. Ikuta, *op. cit.*, p. 173, n. 31.

<sup>78</sup>According to Ikuta (*op. cit.*, p. 173, n. 32) this would refer to the prison belonging to the Chwa[do]-suyōng 左[道]水營, Left Provincial Naval District, of Chōlla-do, located at Nae[r]ye-p'o 內禮浦. Cf. also *LD*, p. 70.

<sup>79</sup>=Taema-do 對馬島, Jap. Tsushima. Hamel writes *Tymatte*. In *CA* (p. 223) we read *Ceuxima*.

<sup>80</sup>In 1420 there was a government order to the effect that Tsushima be annexed to Kyōngsang-do. Cf. Joe, *Traditional Korea: A Cultural History*, p. 314. See also Ikuta, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99, n. 149.

as Amsterdam. The King may not be looked in the face by the common inhabitants. When he comes near everybody must conceal his face or turn around.

After their death priests are cremated in a thick coffin [placed] under a wood-stack, but the hermits are buried like other people. The ashes and burnt bones are not collected; they remain lying in the fields unnoticed. These priests may abandon their profession and then marry.

The King has the power of life and death over his people. Their customs resemble those of *Sina* in many respects. He who comes to dine with them must carry the remains of the food home with him.

There are beautiful horses in *Korea* and the people sit astride them as in our country, i.e. not in the manner of the Tartars. They let them run wild on some islands for breeding.<sup>82</sup>

The *Koreans* are good at writing. It is told that a Tartar envoy visiting the Court asked by what means the Kingdom was protected and ruled, and that the King replied: "By the brush." Thereupon the Tartar took an arrow from his quiver and said: "Herewith we protect and rule our country."<sup>83</sup>

Saltpetre is produced there in abundance, and they make good gunpowder. This is moulded into big hard lumps. When it is going to be used these are reduced to fine dust like flour, for grains of powder are unknown to them.<sup>84</sup> Quicksilver is also found there.

*Soy*<sup>85</sup> is much used there. It is prepared from horse-beans which

<sup>81</sup>Klerk: "The cities there are not well fortified . . . . The city walls are made of clay and extremely weak." (*WNOT*, p. 47)

<sup>82</sup>Cf. *supra*, n. 39.

<sup>83</sup>An interesting dialogue which cannot be checked!

<sup>84</sup>Klerk: "The gunpowder they make is not so strong as that made in these (i.e. European) countries." (*WNOT*, p. 47)

<sup>85</sup>Spelled *sooi* in the 17th century; modern Dutch: *soja*, derived from Sino-Japanese *shōyu* 醬油 (Sino-Korean: chang[yu]).

<sup>86</sup>Japanese. *sake*.

are well cooked, dried, kneaded into lumps, and pickled with salt in a pot or tub, layer upon layer. Some water is added to it and then it is left to putrify and soak for some time, whereupon the heavy parts sink to the bottom. After these thick or turbid parts have been lifted out with little baskets the rest is the *Soy*.

In the same way the beverage *sakki*<sup>86</sup> is made from coarsely ground wheat mixed with cooked rice, the bulk [of the mixture] consisting of rice. This likewise having been left to ferment for several days and being putrid, the pure and filtered juice is the *sakki*.

The *Koreans* are very clean and tidy. When they make water they do so squatting. It is generally their habit to marry only once, but when a wife dies they take a concubine; the majority of the women there may be taken as such.

For the sake of fortification most of their cities are located on high mountains surrounded by walls.

The east coast of *Korea* is subject to many storms, thunderstorms and fog. At a latitude of 43° it is as cold there as in the Netherlands at 52°. Around the southern [part of the country] are the best seaports.

There are many male and female slaves, but they are all of their own nationality.

Very much tea is produced there. They drink it in powdered form and mixed with hot water, so that the whole [concoction] is turbid.

The bigwigs let some of their slaves (of which some of them keep a few hundreds) learn the healing art, but if the gentleman in question comes to die, the surgeon rarely survives him for long.

Along their beaches there are everywhere watch-towers standing in groups of four. If a fire is lighted on the first one, this means small alarm, but in case the danger becomes greater the fires on the second,

<sup>86</sup>Cf. Koons, "Beacon-Fires of Old Korea," especially. p. 50.

third and fourth towers are lighted.<sup>87</sup>

The villages in that country are countless. Gripping somebody by the hair is [considered] quite dastardly and contemptible.

They write with brushes like the Chinese [do]. Porcelain is made very well there, and especially bowls of rugged appearance, having been gilt as per order, are highly valued and in great demand in Japan. As to delicacy [Korean porcelain] surpasses that of Japan. It is mostly made by women.

They can make a red beverage, as tasty as wine, which makes one tipsy, with which the King once regaled the Netherlands at his Court.<sup>88</sup>

The Emperor [*sic!*] often trains his soldiers and has them fight against each other pretending that one part are *Koreans* and the other *Japanese*. The Japanese, however, are generally inferior and, after a lengthy battle, they feign to flee. During the time he was a body-guard Master *Eibokken* once saw twice 40,000 men fighting each other in such a manner.

The King often takes counsel with his eunuchs.<sup>89</sup> These wear hairnets consisting of golden strings and golden rings; nobody else wears such golden strings.

The larger part of the religious service of the Papists<sup>90</sup> in the monasteries consists of sacrifices. A constant stream of citizens as well as countrymen come there with gifts such as cloth, silk, rice, food, etc., to be sacrificed on their behalf.

The sounds of the language of *Korea* have nothing in common with the Chinese. This was Master *Eibokken*'s opinion, because he

<sup>88</sup>Perhaps referring to a beverage prepared from *tältchuk*, the berries of a kind of dogwood, *Cornus officinalis*. Cf. Ikuta, *op. cit.*, p. 174, n. 38.

<sup>89</sup>Klerk: "The King keeps many eunuchs; his Court has many ponds and fountains." (*WNOT*, p. 47)

<sup>90</sup>I.e. Buddhist priests. As a good Protestant Eibokken refers to them—as Hamel does—as 'Papen.'



spoke the Korean language very well, but was not understood by the Chinese at *Batavia*. Yet they can read each other's writing. They possess more than one system of writing. Their *Oonjek*<sup>91</sup> is comparable to our running hand: all letters are attached to each other. This [kind of writing] is used by the common man. The other syllables [*sic*] are the same as those of *ṣina*.

The Court of the King is about the size of the Town of Alkmaer. It is surrounded by a wall of stones layed in clay and crowned with indentations resembling cockscombs. The city-walls are weak; they are not accustomed to fortify them with guns. Inside the Court there is a multitude of residences, both big and small, as well as pleasure-grounds. Here his consort and concubines also dwell, for he—like all the people—possesses only one real wife. This Court is situated inside the capital *Tijožian*<sup>92</sup> or *Sior*.<sup>93</sup>

At the time of Master *Eibokken*'s [sojourn] the King<sup>94</sup> of *Korea* was a large-limbed and strong man, so that it was said that he could draw a bow by holding the string under his chin and pushing away the bow itself with one hand.

The *Koreans* of high rank are in the habit of having small pouches of poison attached to their girdles. If in their opinion necessity requires to do so, they can at once do away with themselves.

In this country much silk is produced, but no foreigners buy it, for which reason it is very cheap. But by way of *Sussima* or *Tussima*<sup>95</sup> there is now some trade with the Japanese, which is annoying to the Netherlands' silk-trade in *Japan*.<sup>96</sup>

\* \* \* \*

<sup>91</sup>*Oonjek* = önyök 諺譯, actual meaning: 'translation [from the Chinese] into *ṣnmun* 諺文 = *han'gŭl*.'

<sup>92</sup>This word resembles Chosŏn 朝鮮 (Hamel: Tiocen [Cock 國]), but Ikuta identifies it with *Taewang-sŏng* 大王城 which would agree with Hamel's *Conincx stadt* (King's City).

<sup>93</sup>= Seoul (Sŏul), spelled in the same way by Hamel.

<sup>94</sup>I.e. Hyojong, cf. *supra*, n. 50, and *LD*, p. 57.

<sup>95</sup>Hamel also gives the spelling *Suissima* (*HV*, p. 32). See also *supra*, n. 79.



Eibokken's information contains several valuable additions to Hamel's "Description of the Kingdom of Korea." His most important contribution to Witsen's work, however, is his vocabulary of 143 Korean words as listed below (words requiring additional commentary have been marked with an asterisk).

He uses the following Dutch transcriptions for Korean vowels and diphthongs: *a* or *ae* for *ㅏ*, *a* or *e* for *ㅓ*, *ey* for *ㅕ* or *ㅖ*, *e* for *ㅗ*, *ㅛ*, *ㅜ* and *우*, *o* for *ㅛ* or *ㅝ*, *oo* for *ㅜ*, *oe* (occasionally *ou*) for *ㅟ*, *i*, *ie* or *y* for *ㅟ*. Dutch *j* (and sometimes *i*) corresponds to English *y*, e.g. *Jang* = *yang* 羊양 (nr. 75), *piaer* — *pyöl* (64).

For *k* as a medial or final he nearly always writes *ck*. Instead of *n* he sometimes writes *d* (cf. nrs. 4, 14, 108). Because of typographical errors an original *u* may have been rendered as *n* (cf. nrs. 16, 19).

Several items in Eibokken's vocabulary<sup>97</sup> evoke rather interesting speculations and observations.

\* \* \* \*

[The way of] counting in *Korea*, among persons of high rank, is—from one to ten—as follows:<sup>98</sup>

(original text)	(English or numerals)	(corrections in transcription)	(corrections in translation)
1. <i>Ana</i> , een	one	<i>hāna/hana</i>	
2. <i>Toue</i> of <i>Toel</i> , twee	two	<i>tul (tu)</i>	
3. <i>Seve</i> of <i>Suy</i> , drie	three	<i>set (se)</i>	
4. <i>Deuye</i> , vier	four	<i>net (ne)</i>	
5. <i>Tasset</i> , vyf	five	<i>tasāt/tasōt</i>	
6. <i>Joset</i> of <i>jacet</i> , zes	six	<i>yōsāt/yōsōt</i>	

<sup>96</sup>WNOT, pp. 55–59.

<sup>97</sup>WNOT, pp. 52–53.

<sup>98</sup>If the pronunciation of the word in question in the 17th century was different, it is listed first under the heading 'Corrections in transcription' and followed by the transcription of the modern pronunciation. These readings are separated by a slash mark (/). My *ā* stands for *ㅓ*, *āe* for *ㅕ*. In the case of dialect words the items in question are followed in the same way by the readings in modern standard Korean. At the end of the vocabulary further explanations are listed according to the numbers preceding the words.

(original text)	(English or numerals)	(corrections in transcription)	(corrections in translation)
7. <i>Girgop</i> of <i>jirgop</i> , zeven	seven	<i>nilgop/ilgop</i>	
8. <i>Joderp</i> of <i>jadarp*</i> , <i>acht</i>	eight	<i>yödäpl, yödülp/yödöl[p]</i>	
9. <i>Agop</i> of <i>ahob</i> , negen	nine	<i>ahop</i>	
10. <i>Iaer*</i> , thien	ten	<i>yöl</i>	
The common man counts as follows:			
11. <i>Jagnir*</i> , een	one	<i>hän il /han il</i>	
12. <i>Tourgy</i> , twee	two	<i>tul i</i>	
13. <i>Socsom</i> , drie	three	<i>sök sam</i>	
14. <i>Docso</i> , vier	four	<i>nök sä/ nök sa</i>	
15. <i>Caseto</i> , vyf	five	<i>tasät o/tasöt o</i>	
16. <i>Joseljone</i> , zes	six	<i>yösät yuk/yösöt yuk</i>	
17. <i>Jeroptchil</i> , zeven	seven	<i>nilgop ch'il/ilgop ch'il</i>	
18. <i>Jaderpal</i> , acht	eight	<i>yadal p'al/yödöl[p] p'al</i>	
19. <i>Ahopcon</i> , negen	nine	<i>ahop ku</i>	
20. <i>Jorchip</i> , thien	ten	<i>yöl sip</i>	
21. <i>Somer</i> , twintig	twenty	<i>sümül/sūmul</i>	
22. <i>Schierri</i> of <i>siergan</i> , dertig	thirty	<i>sör[h]ün</i>	
23. <i>Mahan*</i> , veertig	forty	<i>maän/mahün</i>	
24. <i>Swin</i> , vyftig	fifty	<i>swin</i>	
25. <i>Jegu</i> of <i>jeswyn</i> , zestig	sixty	<i>yesyun/yesun</i>	
26. <i>Hierigum</i> of <i>jirgun</i> , zeventig	seventy	<i>nirhün/ir[h]ün</i>	
27. <i>Jadern</i> of <i>jadarn</i> , tachtentig	eighty	<i>yödün</i>	
28. <i>Haham</i> of <i>ahan</i> , negentig	ninety	<i>ahün</i>	
29. <i>Hirpee</i> of <i>jyrpeik*</i> , honderd	100	<i>ilbäek/ilbaek</i>	
30. <i>Fjirpeyck</i> , twee honderd	200	<i>ibaek</i>	
31. <i>Sampeyck</i> , drie honderd	300	<i>sambaek</i>	
32. <i>Soopeyck</i> , vier honderd	400	<i>säbäek/sabaek</i>	

(original text)	(English or numerals)	(corrections in transcription)	(corrections in translation)
33. <i>Opeyck</i> , vyf honderd	500	<i>obaek</i>	
34. <i>Joeckpeyck</i> , zes honderd	600	<i>yukpaek</i>	
35. <i>t'Syrpeyck</i> , zeven honderd	700	<i>ch'ilbaek</i>	
36. <i>Paelpeyck</i> , acht honderd	800	<i>p'albaek</i>	
37. <i>Koepeyck</i> , negen honderd	900	<i>kubaek</i>	
38. <i>Jyrtciē*</i> , een duizend	1000	<i>ilch'yōn/ilch'ōn</i>	
39. <i>Jijetciē</i> , twee duizend	2000	<i>ich'ōn</i>	
40. <i>Samtciē</i> , drie duizend	3000	<i>samch'ōn</i>	
41. <i>Sootciē</i> , vier duizend	4000	<i>sāch'yōn/sach'ōn</i>	
42. <i>Otcien</i> , vyf duizend	5000	<i>och'ōn</i>	
43. <i>Joecktcien</i> , zes duizend	6000	<i>yukch'ōn</i>	
44. <i>t'Syertciē</i> , zeven duizend	7000	<i>ch'ilch'ōn</i>	
45. <i>Paertciē</i> , acht duizend	8000	<i>p'alch'ōn</i>	
46. <i>Koetciē</i> , negen duizend	9000	<i>kuch'ōn</i>	
47. <i>Jyroock*</i> , thien duizend	10,000	<i>ir'ōk</i>	100,000
48. <i>Jyoock</i> , twintig duizend	20,000	<i>iōk</i>	etc.
49. <i>Samooock</i> , dertig duizend	30,000	<i>sam'ōk</i>	
50. <i>Soeoock</i> , veertig duizend	40,000	<i>sāok/saōk</i>	
51. <i>Ooock</i> , vyftig duizend	50,000	<i>oōk</i>	
52. <i>Koeoock*</i> , zestig duizend	60,000	<i>kuōk</i>	900.000 (yug'ōk)

(original text)	(English or numerals)	(corrections in transcription)	(corrections in translation)
53. <i>t'Siroock</i> , zeventig duizend	70.000	<i>ch'ir'ök</i>	
54. <i>Joeroock</i> , tachten-duizend	80.000	<i>yug'ök</i>	600,000
55. <i>Paeroock</i> , negentig duizend	90.000	<i>p'ar'ök</i>	800,000
56. <i>Jyooek*</i> , honderd duizend	100.000	<i>chyo/cho</i>	one million

*Some Korean terms follow.*

57. <i>Pontchaa*</i> is their name for God	God	<i>ponjon?</i>	
58. <i>Mool*</i> , een Paerd	a horse	<i>mol, mäl/mal</i>	
59. <i>Moolhoot*</i> , meer Paerden	more horses	<i>mol. . . .?</i>	
60. <i>Hiechep</i> , een Wyf	woman, wife (derogatory)	<i>kyejip</i>	
61. <i>Hanel*</i> , Hemel	heaven	<i>hanäl/hanül</i>	
62. <i>Hay</i> , de Zon	the sun	<i>hæe/hae</i>	
63. <i>Tael</i> , de Maen	the moon	<i>täl/tal</i>	
64. <i>Piaer</i> , de Sterren	the stars	<i>pyöl</i>	
65. <i>Parram</i> , de Wind	the wind	<i>päräm/param</i>	
66. <i>Nam</i> , Zuiden	South		
67. <i>Poeck</i> , Noorden	North	<i>pük/puk</i>	
68. <i>Siuee</i> , West	West	<i>syö/sö</i>	
69. <i>Tong</i> , Oost	East		
70. <i>Moel</i> , 't Water	the water	<i>mül, mul</i>	
71. <i>Moet</i> , d'Aerde	the, earth	<i>müt, mut</i>	land, <i>terra firma</i>
72. <i>Moel koikie*</i> , alderhande soort van Vis	fish of all kinds	<i>mulkoegi mülkogi/ mülkogi</i>	
73. <i>Moet koikie*</i> , alderhande soort van Vlees	meat of all kinds	<i>mutkoegi, mütkogi/ mutkogi</i>	
74. <i>Sio</i> , een Koe	a cow	<i>syö/so</i>	
75. <i>Jang</i> , een Schaep	a sheep	<i>yang</i>	
76. <i>Kay</i> , een Hond	a dog	<i>kahi, kae</i>	
77. <i>Sodse</i> , een Leeuw	a lion	<i>sajäe/saja</i>	
78. <i>Jacktey</i> , een Kam-eel	a camel	<i>yaktae</i>	

(original text)	(English or numerals)	(corrections in transcription)	(corrections in translation)
79. <i>Toot*</i> , een Varken	a pig	<i>tot/twaeji</i>	
80. <i>Tiarck</i> , een Hoen	a chicken	<i>tälk/ta[l]k</i>	
81. <i>Koely*</i> , een Haen	a cock	?	
82. <i>Kookiri</i> , een Oly- phant	an elephant	<i>k'okkiri</i>	
83. <i>Kooy*</i> , een Kat	a cat	<i>koe/koyangi</i>	
84. <i>t'Suy</i> , een Rot	a rat	<i>chwi</i>	
85. <i>Pajam*</i> , een Slang	a snake	<i>päyam/paem</i>	
86. <i>Tootshavi*</i> , een Duivel	a devil	<i>toch'aebi/tokkaebi</i>	
87. <i>Poetsia</i> , een Afgod	an idol	<i>put'yö, put'ye/puch'ö</i>	Buddha
88. <i>Kuym</i> , Goud	gold	<i>küm</i>	
89. <i>Gun</i> , Zilver	silver	<i>ün</i>	
90. <i>Naep</i> , Tin	tin, pewter	<i>nap</i>	lead, solder
91. <i>Jen</i> , Loot	lead	<i>yön</i>	
92. <i>Zooy</i> , Yezr	iron	<i>soe</i>	
93. <i>t'Sybi</i> , een Huis	a house	<i>chip (chibi)</i>	
94. <i>Nara</i> , Land	land, country		
95. <i>Jangsyck</i> , Rys	rice	<i>yangsik</i>	provisions, victuals
96. <i>t'Saet*</i> , een Pot	a pot	?	
97. <i>Saeram</i> , een Mensch	a human being	<i>saräm/saram</i>	
98. <i>Kackxie*</i> , een Vrouw	a woman	<i>kaksi</i>	
99. <i>Ater</i> , een Kind	a child	<i>adäl/adül</i>	son
100. <i>Aickie*</i> , een Jongen	a boy	<i>aegi/agi</i>	baby
101. <i>Boejong</i> , Lynwaet	linen	<i>mumyöng</i>	cotton cloth, cotton
102. <i>Pydaen</i> , Zyde	silk	<i>pidan</i>	
103. <i>Samson*</i> , stoffen	cloth	<i>samsüng</i>	hemp cloth
104. <i>Koo</i> , de Neus	the nose	<i>k'o</i>	
105. <i>Taigwor*</i> , 't Hooft	the head	<i>taegal</i>	
106. <i>Jyp</i> , de Mond	the mouth	<i>ip</i>	
107. <i>Spaem*</i> , de	the cheeks	<i>ppam/ppyam</i>	
108. <i>Doen</i> , de Oogen	the eyes	<i>nun</i>	
109. <i>Pael</i> , de Voeten	the feet	<i>pal</i>	
110. <i>Stock</i> , Brood	bread	<i>tiök</i>	rice-cake
111. <i>Soer</i> , Arack	arrack	<i>sul</i>	rice-wine
112. <i>Podo</i> , Druiven	grapes	<i>p'odo</i>	

(original text)	(English or numerals)	(corrections in transcription)	(corrections in translation)
113. <i>Caem</i> , Orangie Appel	orange	<i>kam</i>	persimmon
114. <i>Goetsio</i> , Peper	pepper	<i>huch'u</i>	
115. <i>Satang</i> , Zuiker	sugar	<i>sadang</i>	
116. <i>Jaeck</i> , Artzeny	medicine	<i>yak</i>	
117. <i>t'So</i> , Edik	vinegar	<i>ch'o</i>	
118. <i>Paemi</i> , de Nacht	the night	<i>pam</i> ( <i>pami</i> )	
119. <i>Jangsey*</i> , de Dag	the day	?	
120. <i>More</i> , Morgen	to-morrow		the day after tomorrow
121. <i>Oodsey</i> , Over-morgen	the day after to-morrow	<i>ōje</i>	yesterday
122. <i>Pha</i> , Ajuin	onion	<i>p'a</i>	
123. <i>Mannel</i> , Look	garlic	<i>manāl/manūl</i>	
124. <i>Nammer*</i> , Groente	vegetables	<i>namul</i>	
125. <i>Nammo</i> , Hout	wood	<i>namo/namu</i>	
126. <i>Jury</i> , Glass	glass	<i>yuri</i>	
127. <i>Jurymano</i> , Spiegel glas	plate-glass	<i>yuri, mano</i>	glass, agate
128. <i>Poel</i> , Vuur	fire	<i>pul</i>	
<i>Jurimano</i> , a precious stone, a word also used for 'glass' by them.			
129. <i>Pangamksio*</i> is the word they use for tobacco and this means 'a herb coming from the south,' since the seed of tobacco seems to have been brought to them from <i>Japan</i> where it was introduced by the Portuguese.			
130. <i>Jangman</i> , Edelman	nobleman	<i>yangban</i>	
131. <i>t'Jangsio</i> , Overste	commander-in-chief	<i>changsu</i>	
<i>Names of the Months</i>			
132. <i>Tiongwor</i> , January	January	<i>chyōngwōl/chōngwōl</i>	
133. <i>Jyewor</i> , February	February	<i>iwōl</i>	
134. <i>Samiwor</i> , Maert	March	<i>samwōl</i>	
135. <i>Soowor</i> , April	April	<i>sāwol/sawōl</i>	
136. <i>Ovoor</i> , Mey	May	<i>owōl</i>	
137. <i>Joevoor*</i> , Juny	June	<i>yuwōl</i>	
138. <i>t'Syrvoor</i> , July	July	<i>ch'irwōl</i>	
139. <i>Parvoor</i> , Augustus	August	<i>p'arwōl</i>	
140. <i>Koevoor</i> , September	September	<i>kuwōl</i>	
141. <i>Sievoor</i> , October	October	<i>siwōl</i>	
142. <i>Tonsyter</i> , November	November	<i>tongjittāl/tongjittal</i>	
143. <i>Sutter</i> , December	December	<i>sōttāl, sōttal</i>	

(8) In the Chŏlla dialect we find *yadal* and, especially in Chŏlla Namdo, *yadap*.<sup>99</sup>

(10) *yal* instead of *yŏl* is—according to Chong & Kim, *Chosŏn koŏ pang'ŏn sajŏn*—Hamgyŏng-do dialect.

(11–20) In all these instances the Korean and Sino-Korean readings of the numbers are combined, e.g. *Jeroptchil* (17) = *nilgop* 닳곱 *ch'il* 七. In the case of *hŏn il*, *tu i* (not: *tul i*), *yŏdŏl*[*p*] *p'al* and *yŏl sip* the meanings of the compounds may refer to the radicals 1, 7, 12 and 24 (一, 二, 八, 十).

23 In Chŏlla Namdo: *maun*, *mahun*; a pronunciation like *mahŏn* is very plausible.

29 It is interesting to note that Eibokken does not give the pure Korean words for 100 and 1000 (cf. 38): *on* and *chŭmŭn*.

38–46 Eibokken's *oock* (ŏk 億) should have been *man* 萬. Probably he forgot the word *man* or the correct meaning of *ŏk*. He probably had not had much to do with such large numbers of anything! Nowadays *ŏk* is 100 million, but formerly it stood for 100.000 (十萬爲億).

(52, 54, 55) We may assume that either Witsen or the printers got the numbers mixed up.

(56) *Jyooock* (*chyō/cho* 兆 or does Eibokken mean 十億?) is nowadays a trillion, but formerly it stood for one million (十億爲兆).

(57) Ikuta (*Chōsen yūshū-ki*, p. 154) obviously assumes a typographical error (*n = u*) here and identifies *pontchaa* (*poutchaa*?) with *poetsia* (87), but then God and idol would be the same. . . . *Ponjon* 本尊 (*satyadevatā*), 'the most honoured of all Buddhas', 'the chief object of worship in a group'<sup>100</sup>, seems more probable heré. Phonetically *ponsā/ponsa* 本師 (the original Master or Teacher, i.e. Sākyamuni) seems closer to *pontchaa*, but this term was (and is) hardly used in

<sup>99</sup>Much of my information concerning the Chŏlla and other dialects I owe to Chŏng T'aejin & Kim Pyŏngje, *Chosŏn koŏ pang'ŏn sajŏn*.

<sup>100</sup>Cf. *supra*, n. 62.

## Korea.

(58) *mol* is Chŏlla dialect.

(59) Inexplicable. *Moolhoot* could hardly be a typographical error for *moltäl/maltü!!*

(61) In Chŏlla Namdo dialect also: *hanöl* and *hanul*.

(72) *koegi* is Chŏlla dialect.

(73) *Moet koikie* (*mutkogi*) was a common term in the Yi period, meaning 'meat of land animals (*mut-chimsung*).'<sup>101</sup>

(79) Modern *twaeji* is probably the result of regressive synharmony: *tot* > *todi* > *toji* > *toeji* > *twaeji* (spelled *toaeji*).<sup>102</sup>

(81) Has the curious word *Koely* been inspired by *kugu*, 'cluck! cluck!', also used when calling chickens to feed them?<sup>103</sup>

(83) Actually *koe* is the word for 'cat' used in Hwanghae-do and Ch'ungch'öng Namdo; in Chŏlla Namdo (as in Seoul) a cat is called *koengi*.

(85) *päyam* in Middle Korean.

(86) *toch'aebi* is found in the dialects of Chŏlla and Cheju-do.

(96) Inexplicable.

(98) In Middle Korean *kaksi* was also used in the sense of 'woman', nowadays it only means 'doll' or 'bride.'

(100) *aegi* is a variant of, and Chŏlla Namdo dialect for *agi*. The reading *aegi* is, of course, also due to regressive synharmony.<sup>104</sup>

(103) *samsŭng* 三升 is a kind of cotton cloth, according to Gale (*A Korean-English Dictionary*, p. 507) imported from Mongolia; *samsŭngp'o* 三升布 = *söksaebe*, 'coarse hemp cloth.'

(105) In Middle Korean *tägori* has the meaning of *mörit'ong*, 'the bulk of one's head.' Cf. Yu Ch'angdon, *Yi-jo ö-sajön*, p. 188. In the modern language *täegari* (*taegal*) is a vulgar word for 'head.'

<sup>101</sup>Cf. Nam Kwang'u, *Koö sajön*, p. 223.

<sup>102</sup>Cf. Vos, "Historical Survey of Korean Language Studies," p. 20.

<sup>103</sup>Hypothesis of Mr. Kim Ilgün 金一根 (Seoul).

<sup>104</sup>Cf. Vos, *loc. cit.*



(107) *ppam* is Middle Korean and still used in the dialects of Chŏlla-do, Kyŏngsang Namdo and Hamgyŏng Namdo.

(119) *Jangsey* is inexplicable. In contrast to *pam* one would have expected *nat* (day, daytime) here. The *yang* is probably 陽 as in *t'aevang* 太陽 (sun).

(124) In Cheju dialect: *nāmāl*.

(128) The correct reading is *nammanch'o*. Hamel writes *Nampancoij*.<sup>105</sup>

(137, 141) From his use of *yuwŏl* and *siwŏl* (instead of *yug'wŏl* and *sib'wŏl*) we may deduce that Eibokken remembered certain peculiarities of the Korean language very well!

\* \* \* \*

From this vocabulary we may draw the following conclusions:

a. It is evident that Master Eibokken lived for many years (1656–1666) in Chŏlla Namdo (cf. nrs. 8, 58, 72, 86).

b. Several words may be identified as belonging to Middle Korean<sup>106</sup> (cf. nrs. 73, 79, 85, 107).

c. Eibokken must have been able to read, and probably also to write, *han'gŭl*. From the fact that a word like *ttae* 때 (time) was written as 때 around 1590, as 때 in 1617 and 1632, and afterwards again as 때<sup>107</sup>, it becomes clear that the consonant clusters ㅌ and ㅎ were pronounced in the same way—i.e. as *tt*—in the 16th and 17th centuries.<sup>108</sup> Since Eibokken spells *ppam* (107) and *ttŏk* (110) as *sphaem* and *stock*, he must have known the old spelling of these words. Other evidence of his ability to read (and write?) the Korean alphabet is furnished by his renderings of 해 as *hay* (62), 소 as *sio* (74), 돛 as *tiarck* (80), 조 as *zooy* (92), and 애기 as *aickie*.

d. That he had no notes at his disposal, but quoted from memory

<sup>105</sup>CA, p. 223; HV, p. 49; RN, p. 341. Cf. *supra*, n. 70.

<sup>106</sup>For a definition of Middle Korean (1446–1824) vide Seung-bog Cho, *A phonological study of Korean*, p. 5.

<sup>107</sup>Cf. Nam Kwang'u, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

<sup>108</sup>See also Cho, *op. cit.*, pp. 194–204, and Kim Hyŏnggyu, [*Chŭngbo*] *Kug'ŭ-sa yŏn'gu*, pp. 65–70.

becomes clear from such strange items as *moolhoot* (59), *koely* (81), *yangsey* (119) as well as from his wrong translations of *more* (120) and *odsey* (121).

It is remarkable and regrettable that Eibokken's early contributions to Korean studies, and especially his pioneer vocabulary, have not attracted more attention in the scholarly world, but this is probably due to the fact that Witsen's work appeared only in Dutch.

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*HV* = Hoetink, *Verhaal* (*vide Hoetink*).  
*LD* = Ledyard, *The Dutch Come to Korea*.  
*RN* = *Relation Du naufrage d'un Vaisseau Holandois*-as reproduced in *YH*.  
*TKBRAS* = *Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.  
*WNOT* = Witsen, *Noord en Oost Tartaryen*.  
*YH* = Yi Pyŏngdo, *Hamel p'yŏryu-gi*.
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