

# An Abridged Undated Printing of the *Haedong chegukki*

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## 1. Introduction

Four printings of the *Haedong chegukki*, a Chosŏn court report on relations with Japan and Ryukyu in the 1450s, 1460s, and early 1470s, are extant. The printings preserved at the University of Tokyo Historiographical Institute [J. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo] (below as the Tōdai text)<sup>1)</sup>, the National Archives of Japan Cabinet Library [J. Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan Naikaku Bunko] (below as the Naikaku Bunko text)<sup>2)</sup>, and the National Institute of Korean History [K. Kuksa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe] (below as the Kukup'yŏn text)<sup>3)</sup>, respectively, are nearly identical. The fourth text, owned by the late Nanba Matsutarō (below as the Nanba text), almost certainly was printed later than the printings above, but it is not currently available for examination. However, a manuscript copy of the *Haedong chegukki* in the Collège de France, Instituts d'Extrême-Orient, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises Bibliothèque (below as the Collège de France text) closely resembles the bibliographical profile of the Nanba text provided by Tanaka Takeo.<sup>4)</sup> These four printings represent two expanded editions of the manuscript text that Sin Sukchu, the compiler of the *Haedong chegukki*, originally submitted as a government report to King Sŏngjong in 1471/12 (Chenghua 7/Sŏnghwa 7; Sŏngjong 2; early 1472).<sup>5)</sup>

A fifth printed text bearing the title “*Haedong chegukki*” is in the Ilsan Mungo (below as the Ilsan Mungo text), a private collection donated to and preserved at The National Library of Korea (K. *Hanguk Kungnip Chungang Tosŏgwan*), in Seoul. The National Library of Korea has designated the Ilsan Mungo text a rare book. Its compiler and date of printing are not known.<sup>6)</sup> However, the Ilsan Mungo text varies significantly from the three printed volumes that are in the public realm and from the Collège de France text. Because the Collège de France text cannot be confirmed at present against the Nanba text, in this study it will not be a proxy for that fourth printing.

Sin Chungho introduced the Ilsan Mungo text's bibliographical profile in 1997 and noted that this printing is an abridged version of the *Haedong chegukki*.<sup>7)</sup> I will focus on the Ilsan Mungo text's contents. Comparison with the three printings will help to clarify aspects of the shorter text's compilation and editing. For the Ilsan Mungo text differs from the three printings in numerous ways, including its contents.

## 2. A Bibliographic Profile of the Ilsan Mungo Text

The earliest dated printing of the *Haedong chegukki* is the Tōdai text. A *naesagi*, or

the Chosŏn court's written confirmation of the King of Chosŏn's bestowal of that text upon the recipient, appears on the inside front cover. A court official composed that statement in the third month of 1512. A few weeks earlier, on 1512/2/17, the highest-ranking officials at the court submitted to King Chungjong a memorial regarding the reception of Japanese contacts and the court ordered that one copy of the *Haedong chegukki* be sent to the Kyŏngsang Province Left Circuit Navy Deputy Commander (K. *Kyŏngsang-do chwado Sugun Ch'ŏmjŏlchesa*; junior third grade) at the port of Pusan, in Kyŏngsang Province. Textual features of the three printings almost certainly establish that the court printed several volumes of the *Haedong chegukki* at the same time in early 1512.<sup>8)</sup>

The contents of the Tōdai text, the Naikaku Bunko text, and the Kukp'yŏn text match exactly, but the text of that third printing seems to differ in three places from the other two. These three volumes each have 153 folios of printed text. There are eight folios of front matter, including Sin Sukchu's preface and the table of contents; eleven folios of maps; 126 folios of primary text presented in 1471/12; two folios for a letter to the Chosŏn court written in 1473 by a Japanese envoy; and six folios for a second section on Ryukyu added on or after 1501/4/22. The last two sections and the three maps of the three ports in Kyŏngsang Province open to Japanese residence and trade (K. *samp'o*) were appended to the text submitted by Sin Sukchu. At five folios of printed text, the Ilsan Mungo text is a severe abridgement.

The Ilsan Mungo was the personal collection of Kim Tujung (1896–1988), an expert in the history of medicine and in Korean book history. The *Ilsan Mungo mongnok*, prepared by The National Library of Korea and either completed or issued on March 20, 1970<sup>9)</sup>, lists 1,116 titles that total 5,104 fascicles. The *Haedong chegukki* is item nine in the sub-section “Kabin-ja pon” (Books Printed in the *Kabin* Font), which is in the “Kūnse Chosŏn sŏmok” (Early Modern Chosŏn Books) section. The section's subtitle, “Ko Chosŏn hwalchain pon (Imjin Waeran ijŏn hwalchain pon)” (Printed Books from the Chosŏn Period [Printed Books from Prior to the Imjin Waeran]), identifies these books as having been printed before the Japanese invasion of Chosŏn in 1592. Below, the terms on the left are the bibliography's categories, the information on the right its bibliographical data for the *Haedong chegukki*.

書名	海東諸國紀零本
冊數	1
特記事攷	甲寅字 <sup>10)</sup>

According to the bibliography, the *Haedong chegukki* is an abridged text (K. *yŏngbon*) in one fascicle that was printed in the *Kabin* font.

In late 1972 the National Library of Korea issued a single volume containing bibliographies of four donated personal collections. The Ilsan Mungo texts are classified differently than in the earlier bibliography. (In this bibliography's front matter it is noted that the Ilsan Mungo consists of 1,313 titles in 4,999 fascicles.) The *Haedong chegukki* volume is in the section entitled “2. Yŏksa—chisi”, or, “2. History—Gazetteers”. The entry for the *Haedong chegukki* is as follows.

신 숙주 (일산 貴 2307-3)  
 海東諸國記 (朝鮮) 申 叔 舟  
 著 古活字本 (甲寅字)(1476) 5 張<sup>11)</sup>

Compared to the data provided in the earlier bibliography of the Ilsan Mungo, this entry includes the author's name (Sin Sukchu), the call number, the year of printing (1476), and the number of folios in the volume (five).

Sin Chungho describes this printed *Haedong chegukki* as follows.

國立圖書館 所藏 甲寅字本 1 冊  
 分類番號 國 貴 495 古 2307-3 10 行 17 字 35.5x21.5cm  
 表紙까지 7 장으로 五目綴된 極히 간결하게 沙略된 冊이다.<sup>12)</sup>

He first provides information similar to that in the Ilsan Mungo bibliography and then provides the text's call number at The National Library of Korea, the number of columns, the number of Chinese characters per column, and the size of the volume. He notes that the text totals seven folios and is bound in the five-hole binding. That style of binding was common in the Chosŏn period.

The bibliographic record for the Ilsan Mungo text available on The National Library of Korea's homepage is reproduced below from the database record, but without the frames in the online layout. The terms on the left are the database's bibliographical categories, the information on the right the bibliographic profile provided in the database.

포제 / 저작사항	海東諸國紀 / 申叔舟 著
판사항	古活字本 (甲寅字)
발행사항	[刊寫地未詳]: [刊寫者未詳]. [1416]
형태사항	5 張 : 四周單邊 半郭 26.1 x 17.1 cm, 10 行 17 字, 註雙行, 黑口, 內向黑魚尾; 36.2 x 22.0
주기사항	刊記 : 成宗 7 年 (1476)
분류기호	(中略) 2307
정구기호	일산貴 2307-3 <sup>13)</sup>

This record is more detailed. It includes the name of the author (K. *chō*) and standard bibliographical data about the folio side. The date of printing is identified as the seventh year of King Sŏngjong's reign, or 1476.

The online record was based upon The National Library of Korea's card catalog entry for the *Haedong chegukki* in the Ilsan Mungo. That record is below.

	해동제국기	
일산貴	신, 숙주	
2307	海東諸國記 (朝鮮 申 叔舟 著。	古活
3	字本 (甲寅字)。 [1416]	
	5 張。 四周單邊、 半郭 26.1x17.1cm	10 行
	17 字。 註雙行 黑口、 內向黑魚尾。	36.2 x 22 cm

The card catalog data differs in three ways from the newer online record. First, the card catalog data provides the readings of the text title and its author in *hangŭl*. Second, the card catalog reports the last character in the text title as 記, while the online record reports it as 紀. The online record corrected the title in the card catalog entry. Third, at the end of the last row, the card catalog entry identifies a source for its bibliographical data, the *Hanguk kosŏ chonghap mongnok*.

The entry for the Ilsan Mungo text in the *Hanguk kosŏ chonghap mongnok*, which was published in 1968, is as follows.

海東諸國記

申叔舟 著。 成宗 7 年（1476） 刊本（甲寅字） 冊 藏 金斗鍾<sup>14</sup>

This record, too, reports the year of printing as 1476 and the last character in the title as 記. That is, The National Library of Korea's online record corrected the mistake that apparently originated in this bibliography's entry for the Ilsan Mungo's *Haedong chegukki*.

To review and expand upon the information in the five profiles above, the abridged edition of the *Haedong chegukki* in the Ilsan Mungo is extant in one fascicle of five folios. The National Library of Korea's online and card catalog records and the *Hanguk kosŏ chonghap mongnok*'s entry attribute authorship to Sin Sukchu. In the preface to the 1471 *Haedong chegukki* as preserved in the three printings, Sin stated that King Sŏngjong had ordered him to prepare the report on relations with Japan and Ryukyu. The character he chose for the verb in that sentence, K. *ch'an*, can be read as “compile” and as “compose.”<sup>15</sup>

The text is in a *Kabin* font. The court introduced the *Kabin* font, a copper moveable metal type, in 1434. Subsequently, a second form of the *Kabin* font appeared in the late sixteenth century, a third in 1618 (the *Muo* font), a fourth in 1668 (the *Musin* font), a fifth in 1772 (the *Imjin* font), and a sixth in 1777 (the *Chŏngyu* font). The latter four forms are also known by the sexagenary year in which they were designed.<sup>16</sup> The sexagenary years are in italics in the four parentheses above.

The Tōdai text, the Naikaku Bunko text, and the Kukp'yŏn text are in the 1434 *Kabin* font from the preface through the Japanese envoy's letter to the Chosŏn court, or through text added in 1473 (the letter) and in 1474 (the separate written text that accompanies each of the three maps of the three ports in Kyŏngsang Province). The last section to have been appended, which was forwarded first to the Office of Diplomatic Correspondence (K. *Sŏngmunwŏn*), a Chosŏn court office, on 1501/4/22, is in a different font. (This probably was due to the need to print *hangŭl* text in that section. The 1434 *Kabin* font appeared before the introduction of *hangŭl*.) A comparison of the 1434 *Kabin* font and the late sixteenth century *Kabin* font suggests the former as that used for the Ilsan Mungo text. The listing of the *Haedong chegukki* among the pre-Imjin Waeran printings likely identifies the text's *Kabin* font as that used from 1434 and would seem to establish the printing of the Ilsan Mungo text as between 1434 and the appearance of the second *Kabin* font in the late sixteenth

century. The dating of the printing in three of the bibliographic records to the seventh year of King Sŏngjong's reign and 1476 will be considered further below.

The meaning of the date "1416" in The National Library of Korea's card catalog entry and online record is not clear. Sin Sukchu was born in the sixth month of the seventeenth year of King T'aejong's reign. The sixth month of that year places his birth in 1417 in the solar calendar. The years 1416 and 1476 both are the *pyŏngsin* year and thus represent one sexagenary cycle of sixty years. Or, more simply, the character for "7" in "1476" was incorrectly transcribed or misread as the character for "1", hence, "1416". The date "1416" is probably an error for "1476".

The printing date of "Sŏngjong 7 nyŏn (1476)" given in the *Hanguk kosŏ chonghap mongnok's* entry, the card catalog entry, and the online record also is not clear. The solar calendar year "1476" corresponds to the seventh year of King Sŏngjong's reign, which lasted from 1469/11 to 1494/12. However, there is no record or other internal evidence in the Ilsan Mungo text which confirms its date of printing as 1476.

"Sŏngjong 7 nyŏn" probably is a transcription error for the year to which Sin Sukchu dated his submission of the *Haedong chegukki* to King Sŏngjong. In the preface to the *Haedong chegukki* as extant in the Tōdai text, Sin dated his submission to the Chinese reign year read in Korean as "Sŏnghwa 7 nyŏn".<sup>17)</sup> In Chinese, this date is "Chenghua 7", or the seventh year of the reign of the emperor of Ming China, Xianzong. In the solar calendar, Sŏnghwa 7/Chenghua 7 corresponds to 1471. The only difference between "Sŏngjong 7 nyŏn" and "Sŏnghwa 7 nyŏn" is the second of the four characters in the two phrases, "*jong*" and "*hwa*". The date "Sŏngjong 7 nyŏn" probably is an error for "Sŏnghwa 7 nyŏn", and the date "1476," which resulted from the identification of "Sŏngjong 7 nyŏn" as the year of printing, probably is an error for 1471. This error in dating the printing of the Ilsan Mungo text may have occurred during the preparation of the entry for the *Hanguk kosŏ chonghap mongnok*. Perhaps the Kukp'yŏn text, the only one of the three printings that had been published in reproduction as of 1968, the year the *Hanguk kosŏ chonghap mongnok* was published, was consulted for information regarding the printing of the Ilsan Mungo text.<sup>18)</sup>

### 3. A Bibliographical Profile of the Ilsan Mungo Text

The Ilsan Mungo's *Haedong chegukki* is preserved in a blue-colored box with two clasps. The box measures 37.4 cm x 24.5 cm. In the upper left corner of the front face of the box is a cover slip. It is blank. A loose-leaf paper, or the title slip, used to identify the text on the library's shelves accompanies the box. On the title slip is printed a rectangular box. The box is divided into two rows. The text is:

일산古 2307-3 (10091 號) 1 冊  
海 東 諸 國 記

Below the box is imprinted a red seal with horizontal text that reads: 貴495. The information in the first row will be discussed again below.

On the front cover of the text, the title "*Haedong chegukki*" and the phrases "Ilbon-guk," "Taema-do," "Ilgi-do," and "Yugu-guk" (J. *Nihon-koku*, *Tsushima-tō*, *Iki-tō*, and *Ryūkyū-koku*) were handwritten in black ink.<sup>19)</sup> The title was written directly onto the

front cover, vertically in the upper-left hand corner. That is, it was not written onto a cover slip previously or subsequently pasted to the front cover. As with the extant printings, in the cover title the character for “*ki*” is 紀. The cover title and the title on the loose-leaf slip do not match.

The cover title and the four phrases were written vertically, the four phrases to the right of the title and in the order above from right to left. As a kind of table of contents, the phrases indicate the four sections in the fascicle. The call number is in black ink in the lower right corner, to the left of the lowest binding hole, as 2307 in the first row, 3 in the second row.<sup>20)</sup>

Opening the fascicle, four imprints are visible on the inside front cover. On a sheet pasted to the inside cover is handwritten text that appears to be unrelated to the *Haedong chegukki*. From the top of the inside cover, the first imprint is a vermilion seal in three columns that reads “Kungnip chungang/tosögwan/sojang in”. The seal is 5.0 cm x 5.0 cm. All three columns are in characters.

Next is a rectangle seal in a lavender hue that is divided into two rows. It is 4.0 cm x 7.5 cm. The seal text reads from left to right. The first line, which is in *hangül*, is “Ilsan Mungo”. The second line has “ch’aekchung 0046”. The first part of the second line, “ch’aekchung,” is in *hangül*. The second part, “0046,” is a book number set by the donor’s family, and was marked by a stamp.

The third imprint is The National Library of Korea’s accession record. This seal is oval-shaped, but the imprint has faded. It is approximately 5.5 cm x 6.5 cm. The oval is divided into five segments. From top to bottom the text in those five segments are:

등록 (tŭngnok)  
 본관 (pongwan)  
 (date; see the discussion below)  
 10091  
 대한민국국립중앙도서관 (*Taehan Minguk Kungnip Chungang Tosögwan*)

The first line identifies the seal as the accession record seal. The second line indicates that the text, as part of the donated collection, was placed in The National Library of Korea’s main building (K. *pongwan*). The date in the third line is partially obscured by the black ink of the handwriting on the sheet pasted on the inside cover. The date may be “1970.1.7” or “1970.4.7”. Given the date on the cover of the *Ilsan Mungo mongnok*, “1970.3.20”, the former date may be the more accurate reading. In the fourth area was stamped the accession number “10091”. (The number “10091” was also stamped on the first side of the fourth folio of printed text, below the border of the printed text.) The fifth line shows “Taehan Minguk Kungnip Chungang Tosögwan”.

The fourth seal is in the bottom left corner. It is 3.6 cm x 3.4 cm, and consists of two squares. Handwritten in two rows in the inner square is “2307” and “3”. This is the call number.

On the first side of printed text, which is the first side of the first folio, is a three-column vermilion seal affixed in the lower right-hand corner and across the first

column and the first half of the second column. (All further references to folio sides will indicate the folio's number as counted on the folio and the first or second side of the folio by the letter "a" for the first side and "b" for the second side. The first side of printed text is "1a".) The seal is 3.5 cm x 3.7 cm. Each column holds two characters.

Regarding the folios, each folio side is 37 cm x 22.8 cm. Each folio bearing printed text has a *p'ansim*, which separates the two folio sides and is visible at the fold in the bound volume. In the *p'ansim* is the appropriate folio number from "1" through "5" in characters. As the bibliographical data indicates, each folio side has ten columns and each column holds seventeen characters. The printed area measures 26.3 cm x 19.0 cm.

#### 4. Bibliographical Profiles of Three Reproductions of the Ilsan Mungo Text

In addition to the original text in the Ilsan Mungo, The National Library of Korea has reproduced the original text of the Ilsan Mungo's *Haedong chegukki* in two formats. The older version is a black-and-white photocopy.<sup>21)</sup> The newer format is an online black-and-white text accessible through the online database.<sup>22)</sup> Neither of these texts is the same size as the original; rather, both are reductions. Further, neither text replicates the original in full. A third version of the Ilsan Mungo text accompanies a published article. Introductions to these three reproductions follow.

The black-and-white photocopy of the original text, bound in the five-hole binding style, is 25.5 cm x 17.6 cm. The printed area on each folio measures 18.2 cm x 13.0 cm. Both the folio and the printed area are smaller than the original text.

The cover title is in black ink written directly on to the front cover. The last character in the cover title is 記. A title slip affixed to the photocopy text for recognition on the Library's shelves provides the following information.

古第	37713	號	1	冊	古	2307
						4
		海東諸國記			귀	495

That is, the cover title given the photocopy reproduction of the original text does not match the cover title of the original text. The call number, in two lines as 古2307/4, is written inside a frame that appears to be a seal imprint. This is found in the bottom right corner of the cover, to the left of the lowest binding hole.

On the inside front cover are two seals. From the top, the first seal is the Library seal, "Kungnip chungang/tosogwan/sojang in". The seal is 5.7 cm x 5.7 cm. The first two columns are in *hangül*, the third column is in characters. This seal differs from that affixed to the original text, in which the entire seal text is in characters. A different accession seal appears below the different library seal. The five lines in that accession seal are:

등록 (*tüngnok*)  
 고서 (*kosö*)  
 1477.1.17  
 37713

There are two differences between this seal and the accession seal in the original text. The first distinction is the second line, which reads “*pongwan*” in the original text and “*kosö*”, or old book, in the photocopy text. The second difference is the two six-pointed flowers at opposite ends of the first line.

On the reproduction of the inside front cover, a red-colored seal has been affixed in two places. This *hangül* seal reads horizontally in a single row as “Soin” (소인). It was placed over the “Kungnip chungang/tosögwan/sojang in” seal and over the accession seal, specifically, over the accession number 10091. In the lower left corner of this inside front cover, the call number, in two rows, appears to be “2307/4-3”. The seal frame is not visible, though. The accession number “37713” was also stamped at the bottom of folio 5b, below the border of the printed area. Missing from the photocopy text are reproductions of the outside front cover and the outside back cover of the original text.

The second text available through The National Library of Korea is a reproduction of the original text that may be accessed in the online database. As printed in black-and-white from a computer at The National Library of Korea on A4 paper, the accession seal on the inside front cover is not visible except for the accession number. Also, the call number and its frame are not visible on the page as printed. The seal on folio 1a is visible. Each printed page shows one folio side, and the text is paginated from “1” through “10” in cardinal numbers. The second stamping of the accession number on folio 4a is not visible on the page as printed. The database text does not include the inside back cover and the outside back cover of the original text.

The third version of the Ilsan Mungo’s *Haedong chegukki* is appended to Sin Chungho’s article as a black-and-white reproduction. Also a reduction of the original text, this version does not include the inside front cover, the inside back cover, and the outside back cover. The bibliographical data on the inside front cover are not accessible. Also, the seal on folio 1a is not visible.<sup>23)</sup>

## 5. The Contents of the Ilsan Mungo Text

The Ilsan Mungo text consists of four sections. The order of their appearance follows the order of the phrases written from right to left on the front cover. The sections also follow their appearance in the three printings. Three of the four sections are composed of more than one sub-section. Most of the sub-sections are marked by a title, and the title appears in a heading. The sections and sub-sections proceed in the following order.

- “Ilbon-guk” (The Country of Japan)
- “Ch’önhwang tae sö” (Chronology of the Emperors of Japan)
- “Ch’önhwang-gung” (The Imperial Palace)
- “Kugwang tae sö” (Chronology of the Kings of Japan)
- “Kugwang-jön” (The Royal Residence)
- “Kuksok” (Customs)
- “Taema-do” (Tsushima Island)

untitled  
“Kuksok” (Customs)  
“Ilgi-do” (Iki Island)  
untitled  
“Yugu-guk” (The Country of Ryukyu)  
untitled  
“Kuksok” (Customs)

The contents may be separated into two groups. One group is the two sections on countries (Japan and Ryukyu), the second group is the two sections on administrative areas in Japan (Tsushima and Iki). Below, the sections and sub-sections will be referred to by the English-language translations in parentheses above.

The order of the sub-sections in the “The Country of Japan” section does not follow the order in the three *Haedong chegukki* printings. Other variations from the printings that appear in the “Tsushima Island” and “The Country of Ryukyu” sections will be noted below. Each of the four section titles begins from the second space in that column. That is, the first space in the column is open. For the sections on Japan and Ryukyu, this placement at the second space matches the placement in the three printings. However, the headings “Tsushima Island” and “Iki Island” begin from the fourth space in the printings, and that placement matches the headings of each of the sixty-six provinces. The compiler of the Ilsan Mungo text did not duplicate the administrative hierarchy that the placement of the first character in the column expressed.

In the Ilsan Mungo text three sections are divided into more than one sub-section. Titled sub-sections were marked by a sub-heading prepared in relief. Whereas the characters elsewhere in the Ilsan Mungo text were printed in black, in the sub-headings the area surrounding each character is printed in black. The characters appear as white unprinted space.

Folio 1a begins in the same manner as the main text in the three printings. The internal title “*Haedong chegukki*” starts from the first space in the first column. And as in the three printings, the character “*ki*” was printed as 紀. The four sections that follow the title “*Haedong chegukki*” are introduced below.

#### **A. “The Country of Japan” (1a–3a)**

The section on Japan begins in the second column of the first folio side of printed text. The section title “Ilbon-guk” differs from the section title in the three printings, “Ilbon-guk ki” (Records of the Country of Japan). The treatment of Japan is divided into five sub-sections, “Chronology of the Emperors of Japan” (1a), “The Imperial Palace” (1a–b), “Chronology of the Kings of Japan” (1b), “The Royal Residence” (1b), and “Customs” (1b–3a). This order of sub-sections differs from that in the three printings, where the order is:

“Chronology of the Emperors of Japan” (1a–34b)  
“Chronology of the Kings of Japan” (34b–36a)  
“Customs” (36b–38a)

“P’aldo yuksibyuk-chu Taema-do Ilgi-do pu—Kinae oju—Sansöng-ju—Ch’önhwang-gung” (The Eight Circuits and the Sixty-six Provinces, and Tsushima Island and Iki Island—The Five Provinces of the Kinai—Yamashiro Province—The Imperial Palace ) (39a–b)

“P’aldo yuksibyuk-chu Taema-do Ilgi-do pu—Kinae oju—Sansöng-ju—Kugwang-jön” (The Eight Circuits and the Sixty-six Provinces, and Tsushima Island and Iki Island—The Five Provinces of the Kinai—Yamashiro Province—The Royal Residence) (39b)

The three printings begin, as noted above, with front matter. The Ilsan Mungo text does not. The printings proceed from the rulers—the emperors and the shoguns—to customs and to the countrywide gazetteer divided by province. The compiler of the Ilsan Mungo text rearranged this hierarchy of information. The summaries of the chronologies of emperors and shoguns are each followed by the respective residences. The customs of Japanese, including people of lower political and social status, follow the treatments of the emperors and the shoguns. Political and social status replaced the hierarchies of Japanese administrative geography that organize the Japan section in the three printings.

“The Chronology of Emperors” is the first sub-section in “The Country of Japan” section. Its heading begins in the first character space of the third column (1a). This is the only instance in the Ilsan Mungo text in which a sub-section heading directly follows the section title. The text begins with information presented as two sub-headings in the three printings, “Ch’ösin ch’ildae” (The Seven Generations of Heavenly Deities) and “Chisin odae” (The Five Generations of Earthly Deities). A mixture of transcription and summary from the three printings follows.

First, the compiler notes that there were “104” generations of emperors. This statement was based upon a tabulation of the emperors listed in the three printings. The next twenty-three characters, which initiate a discussion of Emperor Jinmu, were copied from the earlier text. The sub-section then skips the first interlinear text, which is in smaller characters, and the year of Jinmu’s birth in the three printings’ entry, and continues with the printings’ second interlinear text.<sup>24)</sup> The compiler then summarized two subsequent entries, those for the seventh emperor, Kōrei, and the fourteenth ruler listed, Jingū (K. *Singong ch’önhwang*, J. *Jingū tennō*). The Emperor Kōrei entry in the Ilsan Mungo text, too, relates the Chinese emperor Qin Shihuang’s dispatch of Xu Fu to Japan.<sup>25)</sup>

In the reference to Jingū the compiler noted that “Emperor Jingū for the first time sent an envoy to Han China and to our three kingdoms.” In the three printings, the passage states that Silla first sent an envoy to Japan in 205. The *Nihon shoki* also mentions an envoy from Silla for that year.<sup>26)</sup> The entry in the three printings presents the dispatch of the envoy from Silla to Japan and from Japan to Han China as in chronological order. The compiler seems to have been interested in ancient history and ancient foreign relations. Or, if this abridged edition of the *Haedong chegukki* resulted from a royal order, the transfer of the Xu Fu passage and the comment about state-level relations during Jingū’s reign may have been dictated by the project, the preparation of a short reference work on Japan and Ryukyu.

The second sub-section is “The Imperial Palace.” A user of the Ilsan Mungo text made a checkmark above and to the right of the upper right corner of the heading. This sub-section is a close reproduction of the entry in the three printings. Those sub-sections have fifty-six characters including the heading. This sub-section in the Ilsan Mungo text shows forty-nine characters including the heading. A break occurs after the thirty-third character. Omitted in the Ilsan Mungo’s holding was a sentence of seven characters noting that all individuals must dismount at the imperial residence gate. (See Table 2 following the “Conclusion” for a summary of the places in the Ilsan Mungo text where text in the three printings has not been reproduced.) In the Ilsan Mungo text, the remainder of the last column in this sub-section, the second column on folio 1b, is empty.

All of the characters in this sub-section match the three printings, with the exception of the twentieth character. The character K. *i* 𠄎 in the three printings<sup>27)</sup> became K. *i* 以 in the Ilsan Mungo text.<sup>28)</sup> The compiler must have believed that he was correcting an error in the text from which he worked. The Ilsan Mungo text makes it explicit in the sentence that Japanese government officials are “below” (K. *iha* 以下) the emperor.

The third sub-section, “Chronology of the Kings of Japan,” begins in the first character space in the next (or third) column. This is the only instance in the abridged printing in which the next sub-section does not begin from the next character space. The “Chronology of the Kings of Japan” initiates the treatment of the “kings of Japan” (K. *Ilbon kugwang*), or the shoguns. The Chosŏn court referred to the shogun of the Muromachi bakufu as the “King of Japan” because both the King of Chosŏn and the shoguns from the retired shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu onward (with the exception of Yoshimitsu’s successor, Yoshimochi) maintained tributary relations with the emperors of Ming China. In the three printings, this sub-section stretched across thirty-three columns, or three folio sides and three columns of a fourth folio side, and totaled 481 characters.<sup>29)</sup> In the Ilsan Mungo text, the “Chronology of the Kings of Japan” totals seventy-one characters.

The summary begins with the statement in the three printings that the shogun is of the Minamoto lineage (K. *sōng*). The compiler next pulled information about the Seiwa Genji from interlinear text set immediately below that statement. He then skipped the shogunal genealogy and the chronology of events in the Kamakura and Muromachi periods. He concluded with the comments that in Japan the shogun is not called “king,” that the shogun leads officials to visit the emperor at the new year, and that the emperor does not involve himself in domestic governance or in diplomacy. The interlinear text in the three printings reproduces data from the earlier entry for Emperor Seiwa and introduces information not presented in the Emperor Seiwa entry.<sup>30)</sup> The compiler copied the interlinear text and the new material verbatim from the “Chronology of the Kings of Japan” in the three printings.

The fourth sub-section is the “The Royal Residence.” As in the “The Imperial Palace” sub-section, a user made a checkmark above and to the right of the upper right corner of the heading. In the three printings, this entry comes after the “The Imperial Palace” sub-section and is thirty-six characters long. In the Ilsan Mungo text, two characters referring to the gate at the shogunal compound guarded by

soldiers were omitted, as was the last sentence, of four characters. The sub-section totals thirty characters.

The fifth and last sub-section is “Customs.” The compiler culled the entries from the list of thirteen customs in the three printings’ “Customs” sub-section. In the three printings, this sub-section extended across thirty-one columns and presented interlinear text in four items. With the exception of the first among the thirteen items, a blank circle mark separated items in the list and indicated the beginning of a new entry. Excluding the twelve blank circle marks, this sub-section totals 450 characters.<sup>31)</sup>

The “Customs” sub-section in the Ilsan Mungo text differs from that in the three printings in several ways. First, there are 483 characters, or more than in the three printings. Second, not every entry was reproduced verbatim. Third, the compiler did not transfer item nine in the three printings. Fourth, the blank circle mark was not used. Below is a brief description of each item. In parentheses at the end of appropriate items is the folio number in the three printings.

1. This entry about the marriages of imperial and shogunal offspring and the careers of imperial children is not found in the three printings. However, the first item in the “Customs” list discusses the marriage of imperial and shogunal offspring. The entry in the Ilsan Mungo text totals fifty-two characters. (See 36b)
2. This entry about government officials is the second item in the three printings. It reproduces the first eighteen of the twenty-seven characters in their entry. The compiler changed the character K. *i* 𠄎<sup>32)</sup> to the character K. *i* 以. These are the fourth characters in the respective items. (36b) (Table 3, which follows the “Conclusion,” presents a summary of the revised characters in the Ilsan Mungo text.)
3. This entry about punishments reproduces the third item in the three printings with one difference. The compiler changed the character K. *hok* 或<sup>33)</sup> to K. *sik* 式 in two places. These are the fifth and the ninth characters in both entries. Both items total fifteen characters. (36b)
4. This entry about taxation, the fourth in the three printings, reproduces the first eleven characters but not the interlinear text that follows. The entry in the three printings totals twenty characters. (36b)
5. This entry about weapons, the fifth in the three printings, does not reproduce the first character, but shows the next four characters. It skips the interlinear text and then presents additional material from the three printings. In between the first and the second portions, however, are nineteen characters not in the three printings. The Ilsan Mungo text’s entry totals thirty-two characters, the item in the three printings thirty-five characters. That is, thirteen characters in the Ilsan Mungo text’s entry derived from the three printings. (36b)
6. This entry about the ritual calendar reproduces the sixth item in the three printings, with one alteration. The compiler changed the character K. *yŏn* 燕<sup>34)</sup> to K. *yŏn* 宴. The new character, “banquet,” better fits the sentence’s context.

- It is the fifty-third character in this entry of sixty characters. (36b–37a)
7. This entry about drinking and eating utensils reproduces verbatim the seventh item in the three printings. The interlinear text became part of the Ilsan Mungo’s main text. The entry totals eighteen characters. (37a)
  8. This entry about hairstyles reproduces text from the eighth item in the three printings, but omits a total of seven characters in four places. The entry in the Ilsan Mungo text totals thirty-six characters, the entry in the three printings forty-three characters. (37a)
  9. This entry about monks is not in the three printings. It totals twelve characters.
  10. This entry about the construction of buildings reproduces verbatim the tenth item in the three printings. It totals nineteen characters. (37a)
  11. This entry about funeral practices is not in the three printings. It totals fourteen characters.
  12. This entry about merchants reproduces much of the eleventh item in the three printings. The entry in the Ilsan Mungo text totals fifty-nine characters, that in the three printings sixty-nine characters. The ten characters were omitted in three separate places. (37a–b)
  13. This entry about the learning of writing reproduces the first and third portions of the twelfth item in the three printings, except for the first character in the first portion. It does not, however, reproduce the interlinear text that divides these two parts. The item in the Ilsan Mungo text totals sixteen characters, the entry in the three printings twenty-nine characters. (37b)
  14. This entry about clothing reproduces most of the thirteenth item in the three printings. It includes two of the three interlinear texts, but does not show the item’s first two characters. The Ilsan Mungo text’s entry totals sixty-eight characters, the entry in the three printings eighty-two characters. Also, the compiler changed the character K. *hok* 或<sup>35)</sup> to K. *sik* 式. This is the twenty-fifth character in the three printings and the twenty-third character in the Ilsan Mungo text. (37b)
  15. This entry about animals that are not hunted in Japan does not appear in the three printings. It totals six characters.

The Ilsan Mungo text’s “Customs” sub-section ends with material that is a section title in the three printings. The last seventeen characters, including seven characters of interlinear text, combine the title of the next section in the three printings, “P’aldo yuksibyuk-chu Taema-do Ilgi-do pu” (The Eight Circuits and the Sixty-six Provinces, and Tsushima Island and Iki Island)<sup>36)</sup>, with a phrase not in the three printings. That phrase, “602 districts” (K. *602 kun*), appears between the phrase “The Eight Circuits and the Sixty-six Provinces” and the phrase “and Tsushima Island and Iki Island.”<sup>37)</sup> However, “602” does not appear in the section title in the three printings. In addition, “602” does not match the total number of districts, 605, reported in the three printings.

In the “Customs” sub-section, five entries present text introduced into the Ilsan Mungo’s *Haedong chegukki*. These are entries one, five, nine, eleven, and fifteen. In

entry five, the compiler included the new information among material from the three printings. In four entries the compiler replaced one or more characters with characters considered more appropriate for grammar or as vocabulary. His text corrects that with which he worked, and in this respect improves upon the three printings. He reproduced interlinear text in entries seven and fourteen at the same font size as the other material in those entries. The conclusion of this sub-section thus is the only place in the Ilsan Mungo text where interlinear text in the three printings was reproduced as interlinear text in a smaller type size.

#### **B. “Tsushima Island” (3a–4a)**

The title of this section matches the title of the Tsushima sub-section in the three printings’ gazetteer (3a). In the Ilsan Mungo text, “Tsushima Island” has two sub-sections, the first untitled (3a), the second called “Customs” (3a–4a). As there is no sub-section in the three printings, the compiler imported the term “customs” and the function of a sub-heading. The first sub-section reproduces the first twenty-nine characters in the “Tsushima Island” sub-section in the three printings.

The two-character heading for the second sub-section, “Customs,” consists of the same two characters for the “Customs” sub-sections in the Japan and Ryukyu sections. The Korean word “*kuksok*” clearly refers to countrywide, Japanese or Ryukyuan customs in those sections. But this Korean word does not imply in the “Tsushima Island” section that Tsushima is outside of Japan. Rather, the meaning is “Japanese customs” in this specific place.

The first twenty-four characters in the second sub-section are the next twenty-four characters from the three printings. The next fifty-five characters in the three printings, which compose a genealogy of the governors from the Sō family from the late fourteenth century, are omitted in the Ilsan Mungo text. The next 159 characters in the Ilsan Mungo text are not a verbatim transcription; the compiler omitted a total of thirty-eight characters in ten places. There are 217 characters in the “Tsushima Island” section of the Ilsan Mungo text, with 185 of the characters, including the two characters in the sub-heading, in the second sub-section.

The compiler also changed two characters. In the first edit the character K. *ch’u* 追<sup>38)</sup> (pursue) became K. *ch’uk* 逐 (expel). These are character number 251 in the three printings and character number 175 in the Ilsan Mungo text. In the second edit the character K. *sōn* 船<sup>39)</sup> became a different character for “ship,” 舩. These are character number 290 in the three printings and character number 201 in the Ilsan Mungo text.

#### **C. “Iki Island” (4a)**

This section is not divided into sub-sections. The content was taken from the introduction to the “Iki Island” sub-section in the three printings’ gazetteer. It consists of forty characters. The introduction in the three printings has sixty-three characters. Where the three printings have a four-character set (“paddy fields and dry fields”), the compiler reproduced the phrase as three characters (“the fields are paddy and dry”) and altered the order of the characters. The order 1/2/3/4 in the three printings became 2/1/3 in the Ilsan Mungo text. That is, the compiler dropped the final character in the three printings, which was the second appearance of “fields 田” in the

sequence.

#### D. “The Country of Ryukyu” (4a–5b)

In the three printings of the *Haedong chegukki* are two sections on Ryukyu. Sin Sukchu included the first section, entitled “Yugu-guk ki” (Records of the Country of Ryukyu), in the report that he presented to King Sōngjong.<sup>40</sup> Court officials added the second section, entitled “Yugu-guk” (The Country of Ryukyu), on or after 1501/4/22, when, as noted above, officials forwarded to the Office of Diplomatic Correspondence information collected from envoys of the King of Ryukyu who were then in Chosōn.<sup>41</sup>

In the Ilsan Mungo text, the first of the two sub-sections in “The Country of Ryukyu” section is untitled. The compiler drew that material from the “Kugwang tae sō” (Chronology of the Kings of Ryukyu) and the “Kukto” (The Capital) sub-sections in the “Yugu-guk ki” section (4a–b). The second sub-section is entitled “Customs” (4b–5b). There he included data from the third sub-section in the “Yugu-guk ki,” also called “Kuksok” (Customs). However, he collected no information from the fourth, and last, sub-section in the “Yugu-guk ki,” “Toro risu” (The Route and Distance from Chosōn to Ryukyu).

The untitled first sub-section begins with twenty-five of the first twenty-seven characters, including the name of the first king to send an embassy to Koryō, in the “Chronology of the Kings of Ryukyu” sub-section. The two characters omitted compose the sexagenary cycle year of that embassy’s dispatch. The compiler probably decided that the two characters repeated the Chinese emperor’s reign year and thus were not necessary. He omitted the remainder of the royal genealogy.<sup>42</sup>

Text continues with material from the second sub-section in the “Yugu-guk ki” section, “The Capital.”<sup>43</sup> In the three printings this sub-section begins with the character for “country,” K. *kuk* 國. In the Ilsan Mungo text, however, this item begins with a character for “capital,” K. *to* 都. The five-character sentence changed from “The country is in the southern sea” to “The capital is in the southern sea.”

The next item in the first sub-section introduces the size of Ryukyu. That data is from the first item in the “Yugu-guk” section compiled in 1501. Rather than use the comment on the country’s size that follows the location of the country in “The Capital” sub-section of the “Yugu-guk ki,” the compiler transferred the last thirteen characters of the fifteen characters in the “Yugu-guk” section’s entry on geography.<sup>44</sup> The next thirty-five characters were reproduced verbatim from the “The Capital” sub-section of the “Yugu-guk ki,” but the final five characters are a summary of the final ten characters in that sub-section.<sup>45</sup> The inclusion of text from the “Yugu-guk” section enables the positing of somewhat narrower timeframes for the printing of the Ilsan Mungo text than that offered above. It may now be suggested that the printing occurred either between 1501/4/22 and the undated introduction of the next *Kabin* font in the late sixteenth century or between the production of the three printings in early 1512 and the undated introduction of the next *Kabin* font in the late sixteenth century.

The second sub-section, “Customs,” consists of fifteen items derived from both Ryukyu sections in the three printings. The three entries taken from the “Customs” sub-section in the “Yugu-guk ki” section appear in the same order in the “Customs”

sub-section in the Ilsan Mungo text. Similarly, the twelve entries taken from the “Yugu-guk” section appear in the same order in the “Customs” sub-section in the Ilsan Mungo text.

The layout of the “Customs” sub-section in the Ilsan Mungo text varies from the arrangements of the entries in the three printings. The “Customs” sub-section in the “Yugu-guk ki” section consists of six entries. The latter five entries were separated by the blank circle mark. In the “Yugu-guk” section, each entry begins from the fourth character space in the next column, and is marked by the character “one,” meaning “item,” in the third character space. The “Customs” sub-section in the Ilsan Mungo text follows the same format as the “Customs” sub-sections in the “The Country of Japan” and “Tsushima Island” sections. Below, the folio numbers in the three printings follow each item.

1. The first entry in the Ilsan Mungo text, about trade with foreign countries, reproduces verbatim the first twenty-three characters in the “Yugu-guk ki” section’s first entry. The remaining twenty-two characters in the earlier text were omitted. (110a)
2. The second entry, about the King of Ryukyu’s greeting of foreign envoys, has the first seventeen characters but not the final twelve characters in the second entry from the “Yugu-guk ki” section. (110a)
3. The third entry, about the climate and vegetation in Ryukyu, reproduces all but the last character in the fourth entry from the “Yugu-guk ki” section. It totals ten characters. (110a)
4. The fourth entry, about agriculture, derives from the second entry in the “Yugu-guk” section. It includes the first twenty-two characters, which describe paddy field agriculture, in that entry, but does not include the remaining six characters, which treat dry field agriculture. Also, the first six characters in this entry in the “Yugu-guk” section match the first six characters in the fifth entry in the “Yugu-guk ki” section. (1a; 110a)
5. The fifth entry, about hairstyles and clothing, reproduces fifty-three of the sixty-four characters in the third entry in the “Yugu-guk” section. Of the eleven characters omitted in five places, the compiler dropped the same character, K. *yong* 用, twice. These are the twenty-third and the twenty-ninth characters in the “Yugu-guk” section’s entry. Their deletion altered the grammar of the sentences. A character not in the three printings, K. *kūp* 及, was added at the forty-first character. (1a)
6. The sixth entry, about the ritual calendar, reproduces verbatim the fourth entry in the “Yugu-guk” section. It totals eight characters. (1b)
7. The seventh entry, about Chinese immigrants to Ryukyu, reproduces the fifth entry in the “Yugu-guk” section. The compiler changed one character, replacing the simplified form of K. *yō* 余 with the traditional form 餘. This is the ninth character in the entry. The item totals sixteen characters. (1b)
8. The eighth entry, about court officials, reproduces most of the sixth entry in the later “Yugu-guk” section. The compiler did not transcribe two characters in two places, and replaced the character K. *ch’ong* 總 in the three printings

with the character K. *ch'ong* 悤, which is a variant of the former character. This is the sixteenth character in the entry in the Ilsan Mungo text, the seventeenth character in the “Yugu-guk” entry. The item totals twenty-six characters. Also, in the Ilsan Mungo text’s entry the number of officials in the Council of Three (J. *Sanpatsushi*), a Ryukyuan government office, is recorded as “3”. (1b)

9. The ninth entry, about finances, reproduces all but one character from the eighth entry in the “Yugu-guk” section. The character K. *sŏn* 船 was changed to 舩, also meaning “ship.” This is the ninth character in the Ilsan Mungo text’s entry, the tenth character in the “Yugu-guk” section’s entry. The character not transferred is the ninth character in the “Yugu-guk” section’s entry. The item totals eighteen characters. (1b)
10. The tenth entry, about royal burial and mourning procedures, reproduces verbatim the ninth entry in the “Yugu-guk” section. It totals sixty-one characters. (1b–2a)
11. The eleventh entry, about mourning procedures for others in Ryukyu, reproduces in full the tenth entry in the “Yugu-guk” section. However, the order of the last four characters has been inverted. Those characters in the three printings read, “... do not eat meat or drink alcohol ...” The inversion in the Ilsan Mungo text resulted in, “... do not drink alcohol or eat meat ....” The item totals nineteen characters. (2a)
12. The twelfth entry, about mourning practices, reproduces most of the eleventh entry in the “Yugu-guk” section. Missing is the second to last character, or the twenty-first character, in the three printings. The item totals twenty-one characters. (2a)
13. The thirteenth entry, about punishments, reproduces verbatim the twelfth entry in the “Yugu-guk” section. It totals nine characters. (2a)
14. The fourteenth entry, about state rituals prior to the departure of an envoy to a foreign country, reproduces most of the thirteenth entry in the “Yugu-guk” section. The compiler did not transfer the character K. *un* 云, which was repeated one time in the three printings. Also, the character K. *pal* 發 in the word K. *palhaeng* 發行 became the character K. *nae* 乃. This is the thirty-eighth character in the Ilsan Mungo text’s entry, the fortieth character in the “Yugu-guk” section’s entry. The item totals thirty-nine characters. (2a–b)
15. The fifteenth entry, about Lesser Ryukyu, reproduces verbatim the fourteenth, and final, entry in the “Yugu-guk” section. It totals forty-nine characters. (2b)

Several points may be collated from the fifteen entries. First, the compiler changed characters in four items. But unlike as in the “Customs” sub-section in “The Country of Japan” section, he did not introduce new entries or insert new information into any of the entries. Second, he removed blank character spaces in the “Yugu-guk” entries that expressed respect for Ming China. These are the fifth and seventh entries in the sub-section. Third, the character “3” in entry eight indicates that the compiler worked from a printing or from a manuscript copy that showed the character “3” in that character space. Among the three printings, the Kukp’yŏn text shows one line instead

of three lines as in the character “3”. The same character space in the Tōdai text and in the Naikaku Bunko text shows three lines, or the character “3”.

Fourth, the “Customs” sub-section in the “Yugu-guk” section does not present all of the information about Ryukyuan culture, governance, and society that appears in the *Haedong chegukki* as printed in 1512. And from the “Customs” sub-section in the “Yugu-guk ki” section, the Ilsan Mungo text does not include information about civil and military officials (the third entry), the planting and harvesting calendar (the fifth entry), and clothing (the sixth entry). Regarding planting and harvesting, officials recorded the agricultural calendar in more detail in the “Yugu-guk” section. It was that item that reached the Ilsan Mungo text as the fourth entry. From the “Yugu-guk” section, the Ilsan Mungo text does not include the seventh entry about three sets of civil officials. The third entry in the “Customs” sub-section in the “Yugu-guk ki” section and the seventh entry in the “Yugu-guk” section both discuss the same court official, the Senior Clerk (R. ?/J. ? *chagushi*; *chōsu*; *chōshi* <sup>46</sup>). As these entries from the 1471 *Haedong chegukki* and from the data collected in 1501 concerning government officials do not appear in the Ilsan Mungo text, it would seem that the compiler did not consider such officials to be a topic of sufficient importance.

The material included and not included in the Ilsan Mungo text suggests priorities of its compiler or of the Chosōn court elite(s) who requested its preparation. The focus on Japan, Tsushima, Iki, and Ryukyu may indicate interest in state-to-state relations and in the relations with the two areas in Japan—Tsushima and Iki—from which the court permitted the largest number of individuals to establish trade relationships with the King of Chosōn. Tsushima and Iki also were two of the “three islands” (K. *samdo*) where pirates made their bases and sailed constantly for Korean waters and land from around 1350 into the first half of the fifteenth century. The compiler did not present other areas of western Japan, such as Hakata (in Chikuzen Province) and Hizen Province, where were based numerous Japanese elites also engaged in trade with the Chosōn government. Further, the 1471 *Haedong chegukki* included maps of Tsushima and Iki. Those images almost certainly exhibited special concern at the Chosōn court about those two islands.

The Ilsan Mungo text also does not include other data about Japan that Sin Sukchu incorporated into the 1471 report and that were added in 1473, 1474, and 1501. The compiler transferred none of the information about paddy fields and dry fields in Japanese provinces, nor did he transfer names from the lists of contacts in each province sub-section under which Japanese traded in Chosōn from the mid-1450s. Presenting the geography of Tsushima and Iki and the features of life there apparently was more important than identifying who had lived on those islands in the mid- or late fifteenth century, or decades or more earlier.

Such information about Tsushima islanders would have been of minimal value after 1512, though. Following a disturbance at the ports of Pusan and Che in the spring and summer of 1510 that involved Tsushima men, in 1512 the Chosōn court banned trade by all Tsushima islanders who held a court-issued personal seal (K. *tosō*) and/or a court-issued office warrant (K. *koshin*).<sup>47</sup> Also absent in the Ilsan Mungo text are the maps and the regulations governing interaction between the Korean government and the Japanese and Ryukyuan contacts (K. *Chobing ūngchōpki*).

Table 1: Content in the Ilsan Mungo Text Not Found in the Three Printings of the *Haedong chegukki*

일산文庫本	内容	帳面
日本國 國俗条 第 1 個	「天皇嫡長當嗣者娶于其族諸子皆不娶或出家為僧欲其無告嗣也皇女悉為尼不嫁以為貴無其上不可從人也國君嫡長當嗣者娶諸大臣諸子及女亦不嫁娶」	1b-2a
日本國 國俗条 第 5 個	「人佩刀不雖身怒輒相殺若避入于寺則不敢害」	2a
日本國 國俗条 第 9 個	「僧及尊者出入自奉小傘蔽日」	2b
日本國 國俗条 第 11 個	「專用佛教寺塔半於閭閻死則燒葬」	2b
日本國 國俗条 第 15 個	「獸無虎豹熊羆」	3a

## 6. New Material in the Ilsan Mungo Text

The contents of the *Haedong chegukki* that Sin Sukchu submitted to King Sōngjong cannot be known with certainty, but it is presumed that the 1512 printing reproduced that report and the contents added later. The Ilsan Mungo text presents to its readers material that is not found in the three printings. The entries not found in the three printings are presented in Table 1.

The first of the five entries in Table 1 treats the successors of the emperor and shogun and the varied marriage prospects and careers for other of their children. The next three entries relate information about the roles of temples in Japanese society, as sanctuaries and as the site of cremation, and the use of umbrellas by monks and other elites. The fifth entry notes animals (tigers, leopards, and various bears) that are not hunted in Japan. Four of the five entries thus relate to Buddhism. Information similar to that in the second entry, about temples being sanctuaries for criminals, is recorded in the three printings' introduction to Tsushima.<sup>48)</sup>

There may be at least three possible sources for the five entries. The first possibility is the report submitted by the 1443 embassy to Japan, in which Sin Sukchu served as Scribe and which was the last embassy to reach the Japanese capital until 1590. The second possibility is information submitted by the 1479 embassy to Japan, which proceeded no further than Tsushima. The third is that Korean officials gleaned some or all of the information from Japanese serving in the shogunal embassies that traveled from Kyoto in the fifteenth century or in the tribute trade missions of local elites that visited Chosōn in the fifteenth century and/or the sixteenth century. Discussion below will focus on the 1479 embassy.

This was the first embassy to Japan to depart since Sin Sukchu had submitted the report on Japan and Ryukyu in late 1471. The Board of Rites submitted a list of twenty duties for the embassy to fulfill, including gathering information about Japanese customs.<sup>49)</sup> The meetings with Japanese elites from Tsushima to Kyoto and back would provide opportunities to gather additional information about Japanese society and customs. The 1479 embassy reached Tsushima by the seventh month, but

the Envoy Yi Hyöngwön fell ill and returned to Kōje island, where he died.<sup>50)</sup> Of the twenty duties, three may be relevant here.

In item twelve, the Board of Rites requested that the distances of travel by sea, data about mountains and rivers, Japanese ships at dock, and all the customs (K. *p'ungsok*) be recorded or drawn. In item thirteen, the Board of Rites sought detailed information about the ages of the emperor and the shogun, the number of children of each, the clothing worn at the imperial residence, the name and age of the appointed successor, and whether the first son is the successor. In item fourteen, the Board of Rites requested information about marriage, funerals, mourning rituals, punishment, and the Japanese government's bureaucratic system. The government also wanted to know the colors of the clothing worn by the emperor, the shogun, and bakufu officials at the new year ceremony, the insignia that preceded the emperor, the soldiers present, the ritual clothing, and the day and the time when the new year ceremony is held.<sup>51)</sup> In other words, the information being sought had not been reported in the *Haedong chegukki*. Perhaps customs and other features of Japanese society were to be appended to the report.

In 1501 the court collected data such as that outlined in item fourteen for Ryukyu when Ryukyuan envoys next reached Chosŏn. The envoys were the first Ryukyuan to arrive since 1461, and their presence presented the court with its first opportunity to obtain additional information from Ryukyuan officials since King Söngjong, who had assumed the throne in 1469/11, ordered Sin Sukchu to compile the *Haedong chegukki*. The “Yugu-guk” section in the three printings, as noted above, included items on the bureaucracy, funerals, mourning rituals, and punishment.<sup>52)</sup> Officials did not insert a similar section for Japan into the government report in or after 1479.

A record of the 1479 embassy's activities is not available, but during the debriefing (K. *pongmyöng*) in the tenth month King Söngjong asked the Vice Envoy Yi Kyedong about the age of the Governor of Tsushima. (The king, now 23 years [K. *se*] of age, also asked about the jewelry worn by Japanese women.)<sup>53)</sup> His inquiry, and the answer, may have echoed the Board of Rites' request that the embassy collect such personal information about the emperor and the shogun. What other information the embassy collected in Tsushima is not known.

Among the five topics in the Ilsan Mungo text that do not appear in the three printings, two convey information similar to that sought by the Board of Rites. Item thirteen is similar to the first entry in Table 1, item fourteen to the second entry in Table 1. Those topics are marriage and funeral practices, both mentioned in item fourteen. A third topic, punishment, may have been treated indirectly by the implication that criminals could not be disciplined if they entered a temple's grounds. To speculate, it is not inconceivable that the entries on marriage and funeral practices (and punishment) in the Ilsan Mungo text derived from the 1479 embassy.

Two phrases in the first entry in Table 1 warrant attention. First, the word K. *taesin*, or “Muromachi bakufu official(s),” appears in the veritable records, the 1512 printing (in the Japan “Kuksok” section), and the first entry in Table 1. More specifically, the term K. *che taesin*, or “various Muromachi bakufu officials,” also appears in the three printings.<sup>54)</sup> On the other hand, the term K. *kukkun* (J. *kokkun*), or “King of Japan”, in that same Ilsan Mungo text entry carries a derogatory meaning in this context. In the

*Haedong chegukki* and the veritable records, the Japanese leader, whether the sitting shogun or the retired shogun, with whom the King of Chosŏn engaged in diplomatic relations and whom the monarch treated in guest ritual as his diplomatic status equal within the Ming China-centered tribute system was called K. *kugwang*/J. *kokuō*, or King of Japan. This term matched the title that the King of Chosŏn also received at investiture by the emperor of Ming China.

In the term K. *kukkun*/J. *kokkun*, however, the character K./J. *kun* replaced the second character K. *wang*/J. *ō* in K. *kugwang*/J. *kokuō*. This character implies a lower diplomatic status than K. *wang*/J. *ō*, and thus placed the King of Japan in a lower diplomatic status than the King of Chosŏn and vis-à-vis the King of Chosŏn. The term K. *kukkun* does not appear in the three printings and does not appear in the veritable records as a reference for the shogun. Whatever the source of the information in the first entry in Table 1, this word may represent a preference of the compiler. If the compiler did choose the character *kun*, the word *kukkun* may rather have been a derogatory reference.

Determining the text or texts from which the compiler transferred the five items in Table 1 requires further research, and new findings may replace the speculation above. But the presence of new information about Japanese customs in the Ilsan Mungo text may have implications for the volume's bibliographical record. That new data in the Ilsan Mungo text suggests that Sin Sukchu probably should not be identified as the author (K. *chō*) of this book.

## 7. Conclusion

This examination of the printed *Haedong chegukki* in the Ilsan Mungo, in The National Library of Korea, has introduced its contents and compared the text to three printings of the *Haedong chegukki* that are in the public realm and almost certainly were printed at the same time. The Ilsan Mungo's *Haedong chegukki* is a different text from the Tōdai text and the Naikaku Bunko text, and from the Kukp'yŏn text. This is not simply because the Ilsan Mungo text is an abridged edition formed by decisions about what sections and entries to include and not to include from the base text.

The compiler shaped the edition through the text chosen and the layout. In addition to adding new material, he removed sentences, phrases, and Chinese characters as he transferred content from the base text. He revised the grammar and sharpened the terminology in the three printings by replacing inaccurate characters with more appropriate characters. He changed the format of the Japan section by rearranging the order of sub-sections in the three printings. He changed the format of the Tsushima section, and thus its layout, by adding a sub-section, "Customs," not in the three printings. He changed the layout of the Japan and Ryukyu sections by not employing the blank circle marks that in the three printings distinguished one entry from the next. And he changed the layout of the Ryukyu section by not replicating the listing of entries as items. Further, he did not replicate the open character spaces that expressed respect for Ming China, and thus eliminated the visual, textual statements of political and diplomatic hierarchies that Sin Sukchu considered important.

Each such change distanced the new text from the 1512 printing. New ways of

reading the older material emerged, as through the replacement of characters or the erasure of expressions of respect toward Ming China. The new material also introduced a new means of denigrating Japan into the *Haedong chegukki*. The edition of the *Haedong chegukki* in the Ilsan Mungo is more than an abridgement of the *Haedong chegukki* printed in 1512.

Table 2: Chinese Characters Omitted from the Three Printings\* in the Ilsan Mungo's *Haedong chegukki*

Ilsan Mungo Text entry	Omitted characters	Tōdai Text entry*
「日本國 天皇代序」条	「中」	「日本國 天皇代序」条
「日本國 天皇宮」条	「凡過門者皆下馬」	「日本國 八道六十六州 對馬島一岐島附 畿内五州 山城州 天皇宮」条
「日本國 國王殿」条	「其門」 「謂之御所」	「日本國 八道六十六州 對馬島一岐島附 畿内五州 山城州 國王殿」条
「日本國 國俗」条	「人佩短劍」 「而」「其」「路傍」 「賣茶行人」 「開市置店」 「無」 「國字號加多干那凡四十七字」 「以竹爲之頂平而前後銳纔足掩髮」 「直而頂円銳高半尺以綃爲之」	「日本國 國俗」条
「日本國 對馬島」条	「三」 「每年踏驗損實」 「島主」「耳」 「山之草木禽獸人無敢把者」 「則亦」 「島在海東諸島要街」 「必經之地」 「以島」	「日本國 八道六十六州 對馬島一岐島附 畿内五州 對馬島」条
「琉球國」条	「庚午」 「落」 「地界」 「用」「用」 「臣」「隋品」 「也」「則」 「販」 「能」 「云云」	「琉球國紀 國王代序」条  「琉球國」条

\* The Tōdai Text entry will be considered representative of the three printings because it bears a date, 1512/3/[undated];, and the characters match in all three printings.

Table 3: Revised Chinese Characters in the Ilsan Mungo's *Haedong chegukki*

Entry	Ilsan Mungo Text	Tōdai Text	Naikaku Bunko Text	Kukp'yŏn Text
「日本國紀 八道六十六州對馬島一岐島附山城州 天皇宮」条	以 「日本國 天皇宮」条	而	而	而
「日本國紀 國俗」条	式 「日本國 國俗」条	或	或	或
「日本國紀 國俗」条	式 「日本國 國俗」条	或	或	或
「日本國紀 國俗」条	宴 「日本國 國俗」条	燕	燕	燕
「日本國紀 國俗」条	式 「日本國 國俗」条	或	或	或
「對馬島」条	逐 「對馬島 國俗」条	追	追	追
「對馬島」条	舩 「對馬島 國俗」条	船	船	船
「琉球國紀 國都」条	都 「琉球國 國俗」条	國	國	國
「琉球國」条	餘 「琉球國 國俗」条	余	余	余
「琉球國」条	摠 「琉球國 國俗」条	總	總	總
「琉球國」条	舩 「琉球國 國俗」条	舩	舩	舩
「琉球國」条	乃 「琉球國 國俗」条	發	發	發

Note: The sections identified in the “Entry” column are from the three printings of the *Haedong chegukki*. The sections identified in parentheses in the “Ilsan Mungo Text” column are from the Ilsan Mungo text.

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#### Notes

- 1) Sin Sukchu, comp., *Haedong chegukki*, in Tanaka Takeo, tr., *Kaitō shokokuki: Chōsenjin no mita chūsei Nihon to Ryūkyū* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1991). All footnotes to the printed, complete *Haedong chegukki* are to the Tōdai text reproduced in Tanaka's *Kaitō shokokuki*. Pagination is from the Tōdai text reproduced by Tanaka, not to the pagination of the *Kaitō shokokuki*.
- 2) The Naikaku Bunko text has not been published.
- 3) The Government-General of Chōsen published the text now preserved at The National Institute of Korean History in 1933. (Sin Sukchu, comp., *Haedong chegukki* [Keijō: Chōsen Sōtokufu, 1933].) The

printings of the *Haedong chegukki* held at the Naikaku Bunko and at The National Institute of Korean History have the same pagination as the Tōdai text.

- 4) *Haedong chegukki*, manuscript copy in the Collège de France, Instituts d'Extrême-Orient, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises Bibliothèque collection, Paris, France; Tanaka Takeo, *Higashi Ajia tsūkōken to kokusai ninshiki* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1997), 137–140. I wish to thank the Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises Bibliothèque for so kindly making this text available to me.
- 5) “Pohanjae sōnsaeng nyōnbo,” in Sin Sukchu, *Haedong chegukki pu Pukch’ōngnok nyōnbo* (Ch’ōngju: Koryōng Sin-ssi Chongyakhoe, 1970), 20a, for the report’s submission in the twelfth month. The entry in this chronology of Sin Sukchu’s life has the title of the *Haedong chegukki* written with the Chinese character 記. The chronology entry also follows an entry noting submission of the veritable records for King Sejo’s reign, a project on which Sin served. This order of entries may suggest, as would the significance of the court history, that he presented the *Haedong chegukki* after the monarch received the veritable records.
- 6) Sin Chunggho, “*Haedong chegukki* kop’anbon sogo,” *Kosō yōngu* no. 14 (1997: 2), 113.
- 7) Sin Chunggho, “*Haedong chegukki* kop’anbon sogo,” 110, 113.
- 8) See Kenneth R. Robinson, “The Printed *Haedong chegukki* and Korean-Japanese Relations in the Early Sixteenth Century,” *Ibon sasang* no. 9 (2006), forthcoming, for an explanation of why those three extant printings likely were products of the same print run in 1512.
- 9) *Ilsan Mungo mongnok.*, (Seoul: Kungnip Chungang Tosōgwan, 1970), front cover.
- 10) *Ilsan Mungo mongnok.*, 7.
- 11) *Kaein mungo ch’ōngmongnok.*, (Seoul: Kungnip Chungang Tosōgwan, 1972), 124. Regarding the date of publication, the library director’s preface is dated to October 25, 1972.
- 12) Sin Chunggho, “*Haedong chegukki* kop’anbon sogo,” 110. In Korean, Sin Chunggho refers to The National Library of Korea as the “Kungnip Tosōgwan.” “Kungnip Tosōgwan” was the Korean name of the library when it opened in October, 1945. In English, the institution was called The National Library. However, the library became the Kungnip Chungang Tosōgwan in Korean and The National Library of Korea in English in October, 1963. (For the Korean title, I accessed <http://www.nl.go.kr/> most recently on November 11, 2005. For the English title, I accessed [http://www.nl.go.kr/nlen/nlen1\\_02.htm](http://www.nl.go.kr/nlen/nlen1_02.htm) most recently on November 11, 2005.)
- 13) I accessed the online record most recently on August 10, 2005.
- 14) *Hanguk kosō chonghap mongnok.*, (Seoul: Taehan Minguk Kukhoe Tosōgwan, 1968), 787. In the bibliography’s entry the character K. *chang*, or holding library, holding archive, or private possession, is in a circle. This is the bibliography’s standard mark for identifying that category in the entries.
- 15) *Haedong chegukki* 1a.
- 16) I follow Ch’ōn Hyeobong, *Hanguk chōnjōk inswaesa* (Seoul: Pōmusa, 1990), for the numbering of the *Kabin* fonts.
- 17) *Haedong chegukki* 4a.
- 18) Sin Sukchu, comp., *Haedong chegukki; Haedong chegukki*, in *Kugyōk Haehaeng ch’ōngjae* vol. 1, (Seoul: Minjok Munhwa Ch’ujinhoe, 1967), 4–25.
- 19) Sin Chunggho, “*Haedong chegukki* kop’anbon sogo,” 113.
- 20) The number “4” appears to have been written before the number “3” in the second row and the two numbers separated by a mark that resembles a hyphen.
- 21) *Haedong chegukki*, call number: 古2307 4.
- 22) See note 12 above.
- 23) Sin Chunggho, “*Haedong chegukki* kop’anbon sogo,” 123–133.
- 24) *Haedong chegukki* 1a-b.
- 25) *Haedong chegukki* 2a (for “Emperor Kōrei”), 3b (for “Emperor Jingū”). For an English-language introduction to the Xu Fu legends in Japan see Wai-Ming Ng, “The Hsü Fu Legend in Tokugawa Japan: A Textual Study,” *Journal of Asian History* 38:1 (2004), 27–40.
- 26) *Haedong chegukki* 3b; *Nihon shoki* vol. 1, (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1951), 255. The *Haedong chegukki* passage became an entry in An Chōngbok’s history, *Tongsa kangmok*. (See An Chōngbok, *Tongsa kangmok* vol. 1, [Keijō: Chōsen Kosho Kankōkai, 1915], 191–192.) The comment that Jingū sent an envoy to Han China probably is a garbled reference to Himiko’s dispatch of an envoy to Wei

- China in 238. This is recorded in the *Wei zhi* 30:29a. In the mythology, Jingū's time as paramount following the death of her husband the emperor Chūai is dated to 201–269.
- 27) *Haedong chegukki* 39b.
  - 28) *Haedong chegukki* 39a–b.
  - 29) *Haedong chegukki* 34b–36a.
  - 30) *Haedong chegukki* 14a–b.
  - 31) *Haedong chegukki* 36b–38a.
  - 32) *Haedong chegukki* 36b.
  - 33) *Haedong chegukki* 36b.
  - 34) *Haedong chegukki* 37a.
  - 35) *Haedong chegukki* 37b.
  - 36) *Haedong chegukki* 38b.
  - 37) *Haedong chegukki* 38b.
  - 38) *Haedong chegukki* 91b.
  - 39) *Haedong chegukki* 91b.
  - 40) For an annotated translation of these two sections see Kenneth R. Robinson, “The Haedong chegukki and Korean-Ryukyuan Relations, 1389–1471: Part II,” *Acta Koreana* vol. 4 (2001), 115–142.
  - 41) *Haedong chegukki* 6a.
  - 42) *Haedong chegukki* 107b.
  - 43) *Haedong chegukki* 109a.
  - 44) *Haedong chegukki* 1a.
  - 45) *Haedong chegukki* 109a.
  - 46) For the glosses see Robinson, “The Haedong chegukki (1471) and Korean-Ryukyuan Relations, 1389–1471: Part II,” 132–133 note 23.
  - 47) *Chungjong sillok* 16:55a–b [1512/8/20].
  - 48) *Haedong chegukki* 91b.
  - 49) *Sōngjong sillok* 102:7b–9a [1479/3/25].
  - 50) *Sōngjong sillok* 103:3b [1479/4/3]; *Sōngjong sillok* 106:9a–10a [1479/7/14]; *Sōngjong sillok* 108:8a [1479/9/12].
  - 51) *Sōngjong sillok* 102:7b–9a [1479/3/25].
  - 52) *Haedong chegukki* 1a–2b.
  - 53) *Sōngjong sillok* 109:4b–5a [1479/10/15].
  - 54) *Haedong chegukki* 36b; *Sōngjong sillok* 10:9a–b [1471/4/21].