Korean Sources for the Historical Studies of China, Japan, and Other Areas (I)

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Introduction

Within the sedentary cultural sphere in northeastern Asia, that has been characterized, among others, by Confucianism, Mahayana Buddhism, and the use of the Chinese script, Korea has been known as one of the three major distinctive areas, the other two being China and Japan. As was the case elsewhere within this cultural boundary, various records were diligently amassed and books in diverse fields of knowledge were published in Korea. Although much larger amounts of old Korean works have been destroyed by all conceivable disasters, especially during the massive foreign invasions that have recurrently ravaged the country as a whole, the quantity as well as the quality of the extant ones may be surpassed by not many of those elsewhere in the world.1

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1 The total number of the extant, old Korean works, i.e., those produced before the 20th century, has not been figured out. A rough estimation, however, is that there exist Seoul Journal of Korean Studies, Vol 14, pp 3-35, 2001.
Unlike the popular assumption among the westerners, that Korea had been a "hermit nation," implying she had rarely contacted or had intentionally avoided foreigners, the Koreans have never been isolated from the major political and cultural events in the history of greater northeastern Asia. Naturally, among the huge amounts of the old Korean records, there are found numerous accounts on the Chinese, the Japanese, and other neighboring peoples, as well as those on the ideological backbones of civilization, that is, Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and so on. There are naturally many of those which can be utilized for the historical studies of a certain aspects of the cultures of the neighboring peoples. Many of them are indeed well known to the students of the subject areas and some have been thoroughly studied either by Korean or foreign scholars. However, the rest have not drawn attention as valuable sources for such purposes In the present study Korean works which could be helpful to the historical investigations of selected cultural aspects of Korea’s neighboring countries are introduced.

At a very early stage of their history, perhaps no later than the first century B.C., Koreans adopted Chinese writing together with its written language, Written Chinese, known as hammun 漢文 in Sino-Korean and wenyan 文言 or guwen 古文 in Mandarin Chinese. Although the Koreans had developed special methods, now commonly called by a collective name, ch'aja p'yogi 借字表記 ("loan-character writing"),2 to write their own language by Chinese

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at least 20,000 different titles of books, each of which consists of one or more physical volumes, often several hundreds or thousands.

2 Historically the methods of writing Korean by Chinese characters were known as udu 史讀, hyangch'ol 鄉禮, and Kugyǒl 口訣, which, since early 1980s, have been
characters since the ancient period and created the Korean alphabet, *Hunmin Chong’um* ("Correct Sounds to Teach the People") or *Han’gul*, in the 15th century. Written Chinese had played the role of the standard written language of the intellectuals until the end of the 19th century. Accordingly, most of the extant works of pre-modern times are in Written Chinese. The works in the Korean language written by loan-characters are limited to the twenty-five *hyangga* 鄉歌 songs of Unified Silla and early Koryò periods and a few fragmentary inscriptions. Loan-characters were more extensively used to write Korean words, mostly proper names, in the writings in Written Chinese. In certain Korean editions of the Confucian classics and Buddhist scriptures, loan-characters or Korean characters, indicating Korean particles or suffixes, are superscribed for easier understanding of the texts in Written Chinese.

Following the promulgation of the Korean alphabet in the middle of the 15th century, Korean translations of the works in Written Chinese in various fields, including the Buddhist scriptures, Confucian classics, medical books, technical books, Chinese literature, and so on flourished in the successive periods. Vernacular literature also began to appear in the 16th century. The Korean alphabet was especially useful in writing foreign pronunciations in the works published for the study of foreign languages.

The majority of the extant works is preserved in Korea, but a large number of them, many of which are the only known copies, are
collectively called *ch’aja p’yoji* by the Korean scholars.

3. Here, "Korean characters" include the *kagyo* characters, most of which have been identified as abbreviated forms of a certain Chinese characters, and the Korean alphabet, *Han’gul*.
found also in libraries, museums, and private collections in Japan, France, Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States. Almost all of the old Korean works found in Europe were those taken out of Korea by soldiers, missionaries and private collectors during the last few decades of the 19th century, when the Chosŏn Dynasty was declining amid various interventions of foreign powers. The collections in Japan include not only those taken at the end of the 19th century, but also those deprived during the Hideyoshi invasion of Korea in the last decade of the 16th century, those traded by merchants in the 17th-18th centuries and those officially moved to Japan or privately purchased during the thirty-five years of Japanese annexation of Korea from 1910 until 1945. The old Korean collections found in a few research libraries in the United States mainly consist of former private collections of either the Americans or the Japanese. During the past several decades, a number of important works have been reprinted, enabling many academic libraries to establish or expand their old Korean collections.

The following annotated bibliography should not be regarded as a comprehensive listing of the old Korean works valuable for the historical study of the areas concerned, but as a suggestion to students engaged in these studies. The titles of books herein listed

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4. It has been reported in various sources that there are pre-modern Korean works found in the British Museum in London, in the Bibliothèque de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes in Paris, in a certain library in St Petersburg, and so on.

5. The most famous ones are the Harvard-Yenching collection of pre-modern Korean works which are known mostly to have been purchased in Tokyo in the 1950s, and the Asami Library at Berkeley which, as the name suggests, was formerly the private collection of a Japanese jurist, Mr Asami Rintarō.
are classified into four categories: 1) language and writing, 2) society and history, 3) Chinese literature, and 4) Confucianism and Buddhism.

1. Language and Writing

1) Traditional Study of Initial Sounds and Rhymes, Sŏng'’unhak

As is well known, in the historical study of the Chinese language, investigations into the rhyming dictionaries, or ursŏ 韻書 (yunshu in Chinese), published in the historical periods constitute an important part. Rhyming dictionaries were compiled and published in order to regulate the readings of Chinese characters, or in order to standardize the Chinese language currently spoken. A new dictionary was usually compiled on the basis of thorough analysis of earlier ones and presented ideal, but not necessarily the contemporary, sounds. Yet, its modifications on the categories of rhymes and initial consonants as well as the characters listed under each category have been a major subject for the historical observations of the Chinese language.

In Chinese history the Qieyun 切韻, completed in 601 AD during the Sui Dynasty, is the earliest known rhyming dictionary.6 Thereafter, rhyming dictionaries were published in the successive dynasties, in most cases modeled after the earlier one. The Tangyün 唐韻 of the Tang dynasty was based upon the Qieyun. The Guangyün 廣韻 (1008) of the Song, in turn, was a revised edition of the Qieyun.

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6 For a brief history of rhyming dictionaries in China, I have consulted Wang Li 王力, Hanyu yanyuexue 漢語音韻學 (1956), pp 175-178 and 459 ff
or Tangyun. An abridged version of Guangyun was Yunlue 雲略, of which revised and renamed was Libu yunlue 礼部略 (1037, 1162). The Jiyun 集韻 (1039) was a revised and expanded version of Guangyun. In the Jin/Chin 金 dynasty the Wuyin jiyun 五音集韻 (1211) was compiled and in the Yuan, the Yunhu 韻會 or Gujin yunhui 古今韻會 (before 1292) and Gujin yunhui juyao 古今韻會舉要 (1297). The Zhongyuan yinyin 中原音韻 (1324) of Yuan is known to have reflected the contemporary Peking dialect. The Hongwu zhengyun 洪武正韻 (1375) of Ming was completed only seven years after the inauguration of the new dynasty in 1368, bearing the name of the reign title, or year-appellation nianhao 年號, of the founder of the dynasty.

In all the above-mentioned dictionaries, readings of characters are presented either by the fanqie 反切 (panjol in Sino-Korean) spelling, or by homophonic characters. The number of characters employed for the initials of the fanqie spelling is much more than the number

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7 The fanqie spelling may be summarized as C^R + C^R → C^R^2 (C: initial consonant, R: rhyme and tone). That is, in order to present the reading of a character [C^R^2], a pair of commonly known characters with readings [C^R^1] and [C^R^2], which are followed by either the character fan 反切 or qie 切, were given. It means that from the first character the initial consonant [C] is taken and from the second, the rhyme and tone [R], making up together [C^R^2] for the reading of the character in question. For example, "東 德紅反" or "東 德紅切" means that the reading of the character 東 is achieved by combining the initial sound of the character 德 [dak] and the rhyme and tone of the character 紅 [hong], the result is thus [dong]. Other examples 木 莫卜切 [mok] ← [mak]+[pok], 楊 興章切 [yang] ← [yol]+[chang]

8 For example, readings of the three example characters in note 7 above are also indicated in later-time rhyming dictionaries by homophonic characters, preceded by the character 音 [yun], which means 'sound' or 'reading.' That is, 東 音蝶 ("reading is [dong]") 木 音沐 ("reading is [mok]"), and 楊 音陽 ("reading is [yang]")
of initial consonants actually distinguished. In the Guangyun, for example, as many as 410 different characters appear as the initials, from which modern scholars have figured out some forty-seven consonants (sheng 音). The number of rhymes differ from one dictionary to another, 206 in the Guangyun, 106 in the Libu yunlu, 160 in the Wuyin jiyun, and so on. The readings of the characters used in fanque spellings or homophonic equations could have been varied by dialects and have been changed over the course of time. Therefore, the traditional study of rhymes has been mostly concerned with figuring out the number of initial consonants and the number of rhymes out of the hundreds characters employed in the rhyming dictionaries. Accordingly, the readings of Chinese characters transcribed by an alphabetic writing could be valuable for the historical study of Chinese. The Menggu ziyun 蒙古字韻 (early 14th century?), in which Chinese readings are given by the hPhags-pa 八思巴 script, has been valued in this respect. Other than the Menggu ziyun, those compiled in Korea since the creation of the Korean alphabet in the middle of the 15th century might be the only rhyming dictionaries of pre-modern times in which pronunciations are transcribed by an alphabetic system. Furthermore, the Korean compilers were well-informed and thoroughly understood the sounds of contemporary Mandarin and the phonemic systems presented in the Chinese works they consulted. The following rhyming dictionaries worked out by the Koreans in the 15th-16th centuries could be valuable for the traditional study of initial sounds and rhymes.

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9 For the value of this work, see Zheng Zaifa 鄭再發, Menggu ziyun gengen Bashazi yongquandu yunshu 蒙古字韻跟跟八思巴字有關於的資料, Taipei National Taiwan University, 1965
1-1-1) Tongguk chŏng'ŭn 東國正韻 [Correct Rhymes of the Eastern Nation], published in 1448

Creation of the Korean alphabet, which was originally named Hunmin chŏng'ŭm 訓民正音 ("correct sounds to teach the people"), had been completed by the 12th lunar-month of the 25th year of King Sejong's reign (January 1444). Upon completion of the new writing system, the King ordered the scholar-officials who participated in the work compile a book containing the details of its theoretical backgrounds and usages. This work, having the title identical with that of the alphabet itself was completed in the 9th lunar-month of the 28th year of King Sejong's reign (October 1446), which has been commonly regarded as the date of promulgation for practical use of the new script.

One of the projects King Sejong was enthusiastic about in relation with the creation of the alphabet was standardization of Sino-Korean readings of Chinese characters. Already in the 2nd lunar-month of 1444, i.e., two months after the completion of the alphabet, transcription of the Chinese rhyming dictionary Guqin yunhua juyao 古今韻會學要 by the new script was on the way to make it the standard of Sino-Korean readings. However, obviously because of the radical differences of current Sino-Korean sounds from those presented in the Chinese dictionary, the work was discontinued. But,

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10. The 12th lunar-month of the 25th year of King Sejong's reign roughly corresponded to January 1444. However, because the 25th year of King Sejong's reign generally, i.e., the first eleven months, fell in 1443, the latter has often been referred to as the year of creation of Hun'gol

11. See Kang Sun-hang, Hunmin chŏng'ŭm yon'gu 訓民正音研究 (1990), p 46
soon the compilation of the Tongguk chŏng’un was started in reference
to the Hongwu zhengyun 洪武正韻 of Ming China. The work was
completed in 1448.

The aim of this dictionary was to correct the popular, or
'distorted,' readings and to present ideal Sino-Korean readings of
Chinese characters. The distorted Sino-Korean sounds mentioned in
the "Preface" include the fact that (1) most of the aspirated [k’]-initials
(渓母) are pronounced as unaspirated [k]-initial (見母), although there
are many words with [k’]-initials in native Korean, (2) some of them
are even read as [h]-initial (曉母), (3) distinction between a voiceless
and a voiced (清濁 "clear" and "muddy") sound is not present in
Sino-Korean, (4) no distinction is observed between a high tone (上聲)
and a rising tone (去聲), (5) all [t]-unreleased final (質 入聲, literally,
"entering sound") are read as [l]-finals, and so on. The correct readings
presented in the Korean script in the Tongguk chŏng’un, then, were
mostly theoretical reconstructions of the original Chinese readings
with distinctions between the unaspirated (全清), aspirated (次清) and
voiced (全濁) initials;¹² with a number of characters with aspirated
[k’]-initials; with final stops [-k], [-t], and [-p], and so on. A character
(字 = syllable) consists of an initial (聲母), a rhyme (韻母), and a
tone (四聲), and the rhyme is necessarily composed of a middle (中
聲) and a final (終聲) sound. In order to maintain the principle of
Chinese reading of a character, even the reading of a character
lacking a final sound—i.e., the case of an open syllable—the letter odash,
representing a zero initial, was added at the end of the transcription
in the Korean alphabet. For example, the reading of the character 知

¹² The voiced series had already disappeared in Mandarin Chinese as well
is written 님 (tii0); that of 赤, 빨 (diil0); that of 都, 도 (to0), and so on. However, for the original [-t] in Chinese, which was [-l] in Sino-Korean, a compromise was made. That is, the original [-t] was transcribed by the combination of the letters for [l] and [ʔ]. For example, the reading of the character 吉 is written · 쿨 (kilʔ); that of 赤, 빨 (diilʔ) and so on.

In this work the characters were classified into ninety-one rhyme categories and twenty-three initial sounds (consonants). The categories and sub-classes were arranged by the Korean alphabetical order. Since the readings presented in the Tongguk chŏng’un were artificial reconstructions of the original Chinese with reference to the contemporary Chinese and Sino-Korean, they could hardly have been adopted for practical purposes. The readings, or spellings, regularized in this rhyming dictionary had been barely used for half a century. In most books published during the first several decades since the creation of the Korean alphabet, every Chinese character is accompanied by the ideal pronunciation given in the Tongguk chŏng’un. However, this practice began to be replaced in a few decades by the spelling reflecting the contemporary Sino-Korean reading and practically disappeared by the beginning of the 16th century.

1-1-2) Hongmu chŏng’un yŏkhun 洪武正韻譯訓 [Transcription and Annotation of the Hongwu Zhengyun], by Shin Suk-chu 中叔舟 and others, published in 1455.

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13 This practice was not applied in the transcription of a native open syllable. Therefore, if the syllables in examples were native Korean, they would have been written 치, 피(니) and 도 respectively.
As mentioned above, the *Hongwu zhengyun* was a rhyming dictionary published in 1375, seven years after the inauguration of Ming Dynasty. The creator of the Korean alphabet, King Sejong gave an order to work out the Chinese dictionary as the standard to reform Sino-Korean about the time when the new alphabet was released for public use in 1446. This work took several years and was published in 1455, in the reign of the succeeding monarch, King Tanjong.

In the *Hongwu chongyun yokhun* the Chinese pronunciations given in the *Hongwu zhengyun*, either by fanque spelling or by homophonous characters, were transcribed in the Korean alphabet and some modifications and annotations were added. Since the classification of initial sounds into thirty-one categories with the voiced (全濁 "all-muddy") series and rhymes into seventy-six categories, ten of which for those with final-stops (入聲 "entering sounds"), was a compromise of the traditional classification, the contemporary northern dialect, and the southern dialect, i.e., the language of the clique of the founder of the Ming dynasty, the Koreans labored to make their work more practical for the learning of the contemporary Mandarin.

1-1-3) *Sasong tonghae* 四聲通解 [Comprehensive Analysis of the Four Sounds] by Ch’oe Se-jin 崔世珍(?-1547), published in 1517.

The author of this rhyming dictionary, Ch’oe Se-jin, is considered to have been the most outstanding scholar of Chinese in the five-hundred-year history of the Chosŏn kingdom. He compiled, beside this work, the *Unhoe okp’yon* 韻會玉篇, a dictionary of Chinese characters in which characters were classified and arranged by the
forms and then by the initial sounds; *Hunmong chahoe* 訓蒙字會, an elementary textbook to learn Chinese characters; *(Pònyêk) nogêtæ* (翻譯)老乞大 and *(Pònyêk) Pak toⁿgsa* (翻譯)朴通事, Korean translations with transcription of each character of the most famous, two conversation books of spoken Chinese (see below), and so on.

The *Sasöng toⁿghae* seems to have been compiled in order to overcome the shortcomings of the previous dictionaries. In this work characters are first arranged by the initial consonants, and then by rhymes. The final stops, which had been nullified in Mandarin for centuries but had been maintained in the *Hongwu zhengyun* and other dictionaries, were deleted. Two pronunciations for each syllable-category were given: the one was *chông'um* 正音 ("correct sound"), which was the sound shown in the traditional dictionaries, and the other, the *sog'um* 俗音 ("vulgar sound"), which was the current pronunciation, and, occasionally, another one entitled *kûmsog'um* 今俗音 ("current vulgar sound"), which the compiler himself observed from spoken Chinese of the time. The practice of supplying two readings, the *correct* and the *vulgar* sounds, for each character in the textbooks for colloquial Chinese had been maintained until the end of the 19th century.

Rhyming dictionaries were compiled in the successive periods in the Chosön Dynasty, one of them being the *Kyujang chënuñ* 契章全韻 published in 1800.14

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14 For the rhyming dictionaries published in Korea in pre-modern periods, see Ogura Shinpei 小倉進平, *Zoten kochu Chosen gogaku-shi* 增訂補注朝鮮語學史 [Enlarged and Additionally Annotated Chosen Gogaku-shi], additional annotations by Kono Rokuro 何野六郎, Tokyo, 1964, pp 527-542.
2) Colloquial Mandarin Chinese of the Yuan, Ming, and Qing Periods

Until the final decades of the 19th century, the study of foreign languages in Korea had been involved mainly in the training of official interpreters for diplomacy. The Bureau of Interpreters, the Sayŏgwŏn 司譯院, was established at the end of the Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392) and had been maintained for five centuries, until 1894. Since the early period of Chosŏn, the four neighboring languages, i.e., Chinese, Mongolian, Japanese, and Jurch (later replaced by Manchu), were taught at the Sayŏgwŏn, for which a number of textbooks and glossaries had been published. The majority of the works published in earlier times have been lost, but a considerable amount is extant today. As the purpose of the Korean publications was to teach the contemporary colloquial languages spoken by the foreign people the Koreans were contacting, the extant works are invaluable sources for the historical studies of the languages in question.

The Chosŏn court was always concerned with maintaining a good relationship with the imperial courts in China, i.e., the Ming (1368-1644) and the Qing/Ch’ing (1644-1912). In fact, the Korean court had had continuous, formal, and regular foreign relations only with the Beijing government. Korean embassies were dispatched to the imperial capital three or four times annually, each of which consisted of some two to three hundred personnel. Accordingly, among the four foreign languages taught at the Sayŏgwŏn, Chinese was always considered to

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be the most important. The number of officials and students in the study of Chinese was much more than those in the other three languages, and Chinese textbooks were published or revised much more frequently than those for the other languages.

The Chinese language the Koreans were concerned with was the one spoken by the officials of the central government in China, and by the commoners residing in Beijing and along the route taken by the Korean embassies, i.e., Liodong, Shandong, and other areas in northern China. Many textbooks and glossaries were published since the beginning of the dynasty, some of which were discarded, while others were revised in later times in accordance with the changes in the Chinese language. This fact further increases the value of the Korean books for the study of Chinese, inasmuch as different expressions for the same sense, resulting from the passage of time, can easily be observed. Since the books, both extant and lost, published at the Sayŏgwŏn are introduced in detail in The Study of Foreign Languages in the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1910) by the author of this study (Somerset, New Jersey & Seoul, 2001), only the titles of selected ones, which are extant today, are presented below with a brief note if it is considered to be helpful.

1-2-1) Nogŏt'ae 老乞大 [Mr. Chinese]

Fully consisted of conversations needed by a traveller. Author and date of first edition unknown, but probably at the end of Yuan, i.e., late 14th century. Published many times with revisions in the 15th-19th centuries.

1-2-2) Pakt'ongsa 朴通事 [Interpreter Pak]
Conversations needed for a resident of the Chinese capital, Author and date of first edition unknown. Published many times in the 15th-19th centuries together with the Nogŏtæ.

1-2-3) No-Pak chunmam 老朴集览 [Collected Glances of the No(geŏdae) and the Pak(t'ongsa)], by Ch'oe Se-jin 崔世珍, early 16th century.

Dictionary of terms found in the Nogŏtæ and the Pakt’ongsa.

1-2-4) Yŏgŏ yuhae 譯語類解 [Categorical Explanation of the Translation], by Kim Kyŏng-jun 金敬俊 in 1690, supplemented by Kim Hong-ch'ŏl 金弘喆 in 1775.

A Mandarin-Korean glossary containing about 7,000 entries which are classified into 62 categories.

1-2-5) Kyŏngsŏ chŏng’um 經書正音 [Correct Sounds of the Confucian Classics], date of the first edition unknown, reprinted in 1734.

The Confucian classics with indication of Chinese readings in Han’gŭl under each character.

3) Mongolian Language and Writing

Mongolian was studied at the Sayŏgwŏn from the time of its founding and various textbooks were used in the first half of the Joseon period, but only the following works published in the 18th century are known today.

1-3-1) Mong’ŏ Nogŏtæ 蒙語老乞大 [Mr. Chinese in Mongolian], date of the first edition is unknown, revised and published by Yi Ök-sŏng
李億成 in 1766 and by Pang Hyo-ën 方孝彥 in 1790.

Mongolian translation of the Nogoltae.

1-3-2) Ch’öphae Mongö 捷解蒙語 [Understanding of the Mongolian Language by a Short-Cut], newly translated in 1737 and revised in 1790.

Conversation book.

1-3-3) Mongö yuhae 蒙語類解 [Categorical Explanations of the Mongolian Language], revised and published by Yi Ök-sŏng 李億成 in 1768 and by Pang Hyo-ën 方孝彥 in 1790.

Mandarin-Korean-Mongolian glossary containing about 5300 entries which are classified into 57 categories. A supplement volume and a listing of Mongolian grammatical forms with explanations were added in the version of 1790.

4) Japanese Language and Writing

Various textbooks were used for the study of Japanese in the first half of the Chosŏn Dynasty, many of which seem to have been imported Japanese elementary textbooks, but those published in the 18th century are extant.


An elementary textbook of Japanese writing.

1-4-2) Ch’öphae sinö 捷解新語 [A Short-Cut to the Understanding of the
Conversation book. Re-published with revisions at least three times in the 18th century.

1-4-3) Inŏ taebang 隷語大方 [Grand Models of the Neighboring Language] by Ch’oe Ki-ryŏng 崔麟鈞, published in 1790.
A collection of short narrations classified by ten categories.

1-4-4) Waeŏ yuhae 倖語類解 [Categorical Explanations of the Japanese Language], published in the 18th century.
Written Chinese-Korean-Japanese glossary containing about 3,300 entries which are classified into 55 categories.

5) Manchu Language and Writing

As the Manchus were none other than the descendants of the Jurchens, when the Manchus rose to power, the study of Jurchen was replaced by that of Manchu. Early Manchu textbooks were those translated from Jurchen.

1-5-1) P’alse-a 八歲兒 [Eight-year-old Boy], Soa-ron 小兒論 [Discussions of the Child], 1777 version is extant
Children's stories. Originally Jurchen textbooks, which were translated into the new Manchu script.

1-5-2) Ch’ŏngŏ Nogŏdae (清語) 老乞大 [Mr. Chinese (in the Manchu Language)], 1765 edition is extant. Manchu Translation of the Nogŏdae.
1-5-3) Samyŏk ch'onghae 三角總解 [General Understanding of the Triple Translation], the edition of 1774 is extant. Ten episodes out of 240 of the famous Chinese novel Sanguozhi yanyi 三國志演義.

1-5-4) Dongmun yuhae 同文類解 [Categorical Explanations of the Corresponding Words]; by Hyeon Mun-hang 玄文恒, 1748
A Mandarin Chinese-Korean-Manchu glossary. In the appended Ḫrokhæ 言錄解, about fifty classes of Manchu suffixes are explained.

1-5-5) Han Cheong mungam 漢清文鑑 [Mirror of Chinese and Manchu]; by Yi Dam 李湛, Gim Jin-ha 金辰夏, published in the 1780s.
Chinese-Korean-Manchu dictionary.

6) Chinese Literary Language of Non-Written Chinese, Pi-hannun
munŏ 非漢文語(非文言), Paekhanmun (Ch. Bahuawan) 白話文.

1-6-1) Imun chinnam 吏文輯覽 [Collected Glances of the Clerky Writing], compiled by Ch'oe Se-jin 崔世珍, 1539.
Dictionary of the clerkly writing, lüwen 吏文. The lüwen was used by low-ranking officials in China. In Korea the lüwen was studied because the official letters sent from the Board of Rites to the counterpart office in the Chinese government was in this writing.

1-6-2) Ḫrokhæ 言錄解 [Explanations of the Vocables (of Colloquial Chinese)]; by Chŏng Yang 鄭演; dated 1657; Ḫrokhæ, by Nam I-sŏng 南二星, colophon dated 1669.
Glossary of the colloquial expressions found in the commentaries of the Confucian Classics by Chu Hsi/Zhu Xi 朱熹.
1-6-3) Chuhae ārok ch’ôngnam 註解語錄抦覧 [Annotated General Glance of Vocables] was published in 1919, i.e., nine years after the fall of the Chosŏn Dynasty.

Glossary of bahuua expressions collected from earlier works.

2. Society and History

1) The Chinese Society during the Yuan, Ming, and Qing/Ch’ing Periods

1-1-1) Nogōldae 老乞大 [Mr. Chinese], 1-1-2) Pakt’ongsa 朴通事 [Interpreter Pak]

Although these two works were books to learn spoken Mandarin, there are numerous stories concerning Chinese society found in them.

2-1-1) P’yohaerok 漂海録 [Record of Drifting in the Sea] by Ch’oe Pu 崔溥 (1454-1504), written in 1488.

The author Ch’oe Pu was a talented writer who passed the civil service examination for the second prize in 1486. In 1487 he was appointed to the official post inspecting the criminals in the Chejudo Island. Soon after his arrival on the island, he received the news of his father’s death and hurried to return to the mainland. But his ship, with forth-eight crew members and assisting personnel, drifted in the storm for fifteen days and reached a seashore in Ningbo 寧波 in Zhejiang 於江 province in southern China. The Koreans were arrested and thoroughly examined by the local authorities, from the lower level to the higher. As they were identified as not being
Japanese pirates, who were rampant in the South China Sea at that time, they were sent to Beijing via the Grand Canal and later to Korea. This work is the diary of Ch'oe Pu, written on royal order immediately after he returned from his unexpected six-month trip. In this diary the author describes various matters he observed and experienced in China, such as the system of the local militia along the Chinese seashore, the way of inspecting a suspicious foreign prisoner, the scenes along the Grand Canal, and so on. This work was published in Japanese in the 17th-18th century in the title of Tōdo koteiki 唐土行程記.16

2-1-2) Choch'ènt'gi 朝天記 [Records of Having Audience with the Emperor] and Yonghaengnok 燕行錄 [Records of Trip to Yenjing (the Qing Capital)].

Delegations were dispatched by the Chosŏn court to the Chinese capital three or four times a year on average. Each delegation usually consisted of three scholar-officials: an ambassador (chŏngsa 正使), an assistant ambassador (pusa 副使) and a secretary-general (sejanggwan 書狀官), about twenty interpreter officials (yŏkkwan 譯官), several military officials (kun'gwan 軍官), a medical official (t'igwan 醫官) and more than two hundred aides. It usually took six months for a delegation to complete its mission to Beijing; three months of travel time and three months of staying in Beijing. Many of the scholar-officials recorded their experiences in their trips to and from

the Chinese capital in which descriptions of various aspects of the contemporary Chinese society are found. More than a hundred of them are extant today. About forty of them are dated to the Ming period (to 1644) and about sixty-five, the Qing period (to 1912). During the second half of the Chosŏn Dynasty those earlier records of trips to the Ming court were commonly called choch’ŏngi 朝天記 ("records of having audience with the emperor"), while those to the Qing court, Yŏnhaengnok 葉行錄 ("records of trips to Yen'ying"), reflecting the Korean intellectuals' grudges toward the Qing Dynasty of the Manchus.\textsuperscript{17}

2-1-3) Tamhŏnsŏ 湛軒書 [Writings of Tamhŏn], by Hong Tae-yong 洪大容 (1731-1783), written in 1765-66.

During the Chosŏn period, an official delegation to the Chinese court was often accompanied by civilian scholars, usually relatives of the ambassador or the secretary-general, who were curious about the advanced culture of Beijing. Some of them left brilliant records of their experiences in the Chinese capital.

The author of this work, Hong Tae-yong, was a radically progressive scholar of the time and was one of the leading members of new thought, known as shirhak 實學 ("practical study") or Pukhak 北學 ("northern study"). In 1765, he accompanied his uncle, who was

\textsuperscript{17} Thirty of them were photographically published in two volumes by Sung Kyun Kwan University in 1960-62 under the title of Yŏnhaengnok sŏngp 燕行錄選集 [Collection of Selected Yonhaengnok] and another edition with the same title, accompanied by modern Korean translations, was published in eleven volumes by Minjok munhwach’ujin wŏnhoe
appointed as the secretary-general of a delegation to the Qing court. While staying in Beijing for three months, Hong Tae-yong met not only the leading Chinese scholars but also the westerners who were serving in the Qing government, and exchanged ideas with them, while visiting as many places as he could, including such a place as the Mongolian embassy. Upon returning home, he became the initiator of the new progressive school of thought. The Tamhŏnsŏ is the collection of his works, including various discussions with the Chinese scholars he met and the diary he kept in Beijing. Tamhŏn is Hong Tae-yong’s penname.18

2-1-4) Yŏrha ilgi 熱河日記 [Diary of Rehe/Jehol], by Pak Chi-wŏn 朴趾源, recorded in 1780.

Perhaps, this work has been the most well-known among the Koreans’ travel accounts of China during the Chosŏn times. In 1780 the author Pak Chi-wŏn, as his uncle was appointed the ambassador, accompanied the special mission to the Qing court, which was dispatched on the occasion of the seventieth birthday of Emperor Qianlong/Ch’ien-lung 乾隆. Like his predecessor, Hong Tae-yong, who visited Beijing fifteen years earlier, Pak contacted Chinese scholars and discussed various matters with them. This work consists of his diary from Korea to Beijing and Rehe/Jeho/Jehol 熱河, the imperial summer palace, and his critical discussions on the Chinese customs, economy, military system, astronomy, literature, and so on.

18. A modern Korean translation of this work was published by Minjok munhwach’umji wŏnhoe also
The Chinese society under Manchu rule, yet enjoying its golden age, is well described in this work. This work has been re-published many times not only in Korea but also in China and elsewhere.

2-1-5) Tongmun hwigo 同文參考 [Collection of Diplomatic Letters], compiled in 1788 and supplemented in later times.

The main body of this work consists of the diplomatic letters exchanged between the Qing and the Chosŏn governments, such as imperial decrees, Korean kings' memorials, official letters sent and received by the Board of Rites in the two governments, and so on, encompassing various matters. Also contained in this work are official letters exchanged with the Japanese government. The more interesting part of this work, however, is the appendices, or pop'yŏn 補篇; in which the formal reports of the Korean embassies returning from China, reports on the special events experienced by the ambassadors, interpreters, and others are found. Current political and social situations in China were often presented to the King in the form of an additional report, or Sashin pyŏltan 使臣別單.

2) History of the Jurchen and Rise of the Manchus

As Korea's closest northern neighbor, the Jurchen people troubled the Koreans for hundreds of years: from the early 10th to the late 12th, and from the late 14th to the late 16th centuries. When they were the dominate force, i.e., during the Jin/Chin 金 Dynasty (1115-1234), the Jurchen forced the Korean court to recognize their suzerainty; when they were not, their frequent incursions or constant
appeals for trade markets created problems for Korea. Accordingly, there are numerous mentions of the Jurchen in the Korean sources. However, the entries found in the sources covering the earlier periods, such as the Koryŏsa 高麗史 [History of the Koryŏ Dynasty (918-1392)] compiled in 1451, are limited to the Jin-Koryŏ or Jin-Koryŏ-Southern Song relations, or fragmentary information on their predatory activities along the northern frontier, or occasions of their immigration into Korea. Whereas, since the Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty (see below) are extant, the Jurchen activities in the 15th-16th centuries are in much more detail.

To the Koreans, the Manchus were none other than the direct descendants of the Jurchen. The Manchus came into power beginning with the fourth quarter of the 16th century and had finally asserted their sovereignty all over China by 1644. Before heading for the Ming empire, they invaded Korea in 1627 and again in 1636-37 to secure their rear from the danger of a Korean attack. Since the early history of the Manchus, i.e., until before they entered Beijing in 1644, had not been well documented, or mythicized during the Qing dynasty, the various Korean sources recorded by the contemporaries present much more realistic pictures of the rising Manchus than those known in China.

2-2-1) Chosŏn Wangjo Sillok 朝鮮王朝實錄 [Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Kingdom, Annals of the Chosŏn Kingdom], 888 ch’aek 卷 consisting of 1893 kwŏn 卷.

This is the annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty covering the twenty-five reigns, in the years from 1392 to 1863. Numerous entries for the
first one-and-a-half centuries are pertaining to the Korean-Jurchen
conflicts and the current situations of the Jurchen. As the case of
other entries, they generally occur in the form of memorials to the
throne from the court officials or from the authorities in the northern
frontier

In the entries for the last quarter of the 16th century and the first
three-and-a-half decades of the 17th century, there are found detailed
records on the rising Manchu power as well as the complicated
international relations between Choson, Ming, and Houjin (later
Qing/Ch'ing) courts.20

2-2-2) Sadae mun'gwe 事大文軒 [Models of Diplomatic Letters], 24
kwôn extant.

This work is a collection of the official letters exchanged between
the Choson and Ming courts during and after their joint campaign
against the Japanese invaders in the last decade of the 16th century.
The extant kwôn contain 1,082 letters, of which the earliest one is
dated 1593 and the latest one, 1608. The contents encompass various
matters, including the reports on the present situations of the

19 The Verable Records of the last two reigns, King Kojong's and King Sungjong's,
covering the years from 1863 to 1910, were compiled under the supervision of Japanese
officials. For that reason, they have not been regarded as a part of the Verable Records
of Choson

20 Entries in the Verable Records which are related with the Jurchen and the
Mongols were compiled and printed in modern type with punctuation marks in Mindai
Man-Mo shuro, Richo shuroku sho 明代滿蒙史料 李朝實錄抄 [Sources for Manchu and
Mongolian History during the Ming Period, Extracted from the Verable Records of the
Yi Dynasty], Tokyo University, 1954-58 14 volumes.
invading Japanese forces and the current movements of the Manchus

2-2-3) Shimyang ilgi 濟陽日記 [Diary of Shenyang], recorded in 1637-1644

The second Manchu invasion in 1636-37 was concluded by a formal submission of King Injo to the Manchu emperor, Taizong 太宗 (Abahai), at Samjŏndo 三田渡 ferry. To secure the peace agreement between the two governments, the Manchus took Crown Prince Sohyŏn as a hostage to their capital Shenyang. Prince Sohyŏn had stayed in Shenyang for seven years, accompanied by Prince Pongnim (later King Hyojong) and a group of officials and aides from Korea, until the Manchu forces took Beijing and put to end the Ming dynasty. This work is the logbook of the residence of Prince Sohyŏn in Shenyang, recorded by the scholar-officials who accompanied the prince. It begins with the day when King Injo came out of Namhan sansŏng fortress, where he had resisted the invading Manchus for three months, to submit himself to the Manchu emperor, Taizong, (the 30th day of the first lunar-month of 1637), and ends with the day when the Manchus were preparing to move their capital from Shenyang to Beijing (the 18th day of the 8th lunar-month of 1644). The period covered in this diary corresponded to the time when the center of the rising Manchus was still in Manchuria and military campaigns against the Ming were still going on. The Manchu emperor treated the Korean hostage prince courteously and often invited him to the emperor's own campaigns against the Chinese.

21 This ferry was located near the Olympic main stadium of the present time.
Therefore, this work contains various descriptions on the early Manchu court in Shenyang, and a number of battles against the Ming.

2-2-4) Shimyang changgye 瀋陽狀啓 [Reports from Shenyang]

This work is a collection of the official reports from the residence of Crown Prince Sohyŏn in Shenyang to the Chosŏn court. The reports are dated from 1637 to 1643. This and the above work 2-2-3) have been considered to be valuable for the study of early Qing history.

3) The Japanese Society

Unlike the annual, regular delegations to China, the Korean court only occasionally dispatched envoys to Japan. During the four-hundred-year period from 1932 until 1811, there are recorded in Korean history about eighty embassies to Japan: sixty-nine of them until 1590, i.e., until the Hideyoshi invasion of Korea in 1592, and twelve times thereafter, i.e., during the Tokugawa era in Japan. Many of the envoys dispatched to Japan also recorded their observations and experiences. About twenty of the travel accounts of the Korean envoys to Japan are known today.

2-3-1) Nosongdang Ilbon haengnok 老松堂日本行錄 [Nosongdang’s Records of Trip to Japan] by Song Hŭi-gyŏng 宋希縟 (1376-1446), 1420.
The author of this work Song Hŭi-gyŏng was dispatched to the Muromachi Shogunate 室町幕府 in 1420, one year after the unsuccessful Korean campaign against Tsushima Island to destroy the den of the Japanese pirates. During the nine months staying in Japan, Song Hŭi-gyŏng, while undertaking his official mission to negotiate with the Japanese government for the pirate problem, learned about the institutions, customs, and social conditions of Japan. Since there is not much extant reference covering the period of Japanese history, this work has been highly evaluated.

2-3-2) Haedong chegukki 海東諸國記, by Shin Suk-chu 申叔舟, 1471.

The author Shin Suk-chu was one of the leading scholar-officials of his time. He was one of the members who created the Korean alphabet under King Sejong and one of those who compiled the rhyming dictionaries, Tongguk chŏng’un (see 1-1-1 above) and the Hongmu chŏng’un yokhun (see 1-1-2 above). He was dispatched to Japan in 1443 as the secretary-general of the Chosŏn delegation. In 1471, Shin Suk-chu compiled this work by the order of the King. Presented in this work are the successive reigns of Japanese emperors, including the major events occurred in each reign, those of the shogunates, Japanese customs, geographical names and distances from the Korean capital to the Japanese capital, Kyōto, a listing of feudal lords and their territories and products; the successive rulers of Okinawa, geographical descriptions and customs of Okinawa,

22 This campaign is known in Korean history as Taemado chŏngbol 對馬島征伐 in the reign of King Sejong, and in Japanese history, as Ōe-no eki 魚水之役.
regulations concerning the treatments of the envoys from those countries, the history of Korea's relationship with those areas, and so on. There are also found maps of Japan, the Tsushima Island, and the Iki Islands.23

2-3-3) Kanyangnok 看羊鑑 [Records of Watching Sheep], by Kang Hang 姜沆 (1567-1618), recorded in 1597-1600.

Kang Hang was a young scholar-official when he was captured during the second Japanese invasion of Korea in 1597. He was sent by the captors to Japan where he stayed for three years, being moved from one city to another, including Iyo 伊豫, Osaka, and Fushimi 伏見城. While he was in Fushimi he wrote the cultural and geographical descriptions of the area, which he sent in secret to the Chosön court. King Sŏnjo was delighted and had it kept in the Pibyŏnsa 備邊司 (Boarder Defense Council). In 1600 Kang Hang was released and came back to Korea. Before long he presented to the throne a revised edition of his previous records. The Kanyangnok is a collection of his works including the one he presented to the King, his diary in Japan, and descriptions of his experiences as a captive in the foreign land. As for the meaning of the title, Kanyang, literally "watching sheep," Fang Chaoying interpreted, "The title Kanyangnok, Account of a Sheepwatcher, is taken from a line in one of Kang’s poems to the effect that he is watching 'the sheep on the sea,' an allusion to Su Wu (flourished about 110-30 B.C.), who preferred to be

23. This work and other twenty-two records of the Koreans on Japan were published by modern type under the title of Haehang ch'ongnae 帆行總載 [General Collection of Traps to Sea (Japan)] by Minjok munhwa ch'ujin wiwŏnhoe
a shepherd and a captive rather than a turncoat."24

4) Others

2-4-1) Wang o Ch’önoch’ukkuk chön 往五天竺國傳 [Accounts of Going to Five Indian States / Record of a Journey to the Five Kingdoms of India], by Hyech’o 懿超 of Shilla, 8th c.

Hyech’o was a Buddhist priest of Shilla. At an early age he went to Tang China where he studied Buddhism under the Indian monk Vajrabodhi 金剛智 (671-741) and the latter’s disciple Amoghavajra (不空金剛 705-774). Some time around 723, Hyech’o set out on a pilgrimage to India via the sea route, and starting with the Magadha state 摩揭陀國, now the Bihar region in India, traveled various states in the Indian continent and Central Asia. Then, he arrived in Kucha 龜茲 in the Anxi 安西 prefecture on Tang in 727. This work is Hyech’o’s travel accounts in which the situations of Buddhism, customs, climates, and more of the countries he visited are described.

This work had been lost for a period longer than a millenium and was found by the French scholar Paul Peliot in a Duhuang/ Tun-huang 燉煌 cave in 1908. Since then, there have been published a number of studies and translations into Japanese, German, and Korean.25 The original copy of this work has been preserved in the

24 See Chaoying Fang, p. 332.
Biblioteque Nationale in Paris.

2-4-2) Kyewŏn Pilgyǒng chip 桂苑筆耕集 [Plowing the Cassia Grove with a Writing Brush], by Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn 崔致遠(858-?)

Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn was a scholar-official at the end of the Shilla Dynasty. At the age of twelve he went to Tang China where he passed the civil service examination at the age of seventeen and was appointed to official posts. He gained fame in China by his writings, especially by a letter of appeal he wrote against the rebel, Huang Chao 黃巢. At the age of twenty-eight he came back home country, where he was appointed to official posts, but being disappointed by the social disturbances amid the declining of Shilla, he spent his final years for traveling and writing in Buddhist temples. This work is a collection of Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn’s writings of diverse genre, among which those he wrote in China and information about contemporary China. (To be continued.)

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Century,” Ibid, no.10 (Jan 1970), pp. 13-16
<Abstract>

Korean Sources for the Historical Studies of China, Japan, and Other Areas (I)

Song Ki joong

Among the vast amount of the extant Korean works of pre-modern times, there are not a few of those which can be utilized for the historical studies of a certain aspects of cultures of the Chinese, the Japanese, and other neighboring peoples. Many of them are well known to the students of the subject areas and some have been thoroughly studied by Japanese, Chinese, and western scholars. However, the rests have not drawn attentions as valuable sources for such purposes. In this paper a partial list of the pre-modern Korean publications which could be helpful to the historical investigations of the cultures of the Korea's neighboring countries is introduced under the categories of interests as follows:

1. Language and Writings: traditional study of rhymes (unhak /Ch. yunxue 韻學), spoken Mandarin Chinese of the Yuan, Ming, and Qing periods, glossaries of clerkly writing (mun/ Ch. liwen 史文) and vernacular (paekhwa /Ch. baihua 白話) literature, colloquial Japanese of 17th-19th centuries, Mongolian, and Manchu.

2. Society and History: Chinese society during the Yuan, Ming, and Qing periods, Japanese society of the 15th-18th centuries, rise of the Manchu power and the early history of Qing, and so on;
3. Chinese Literature: Korean translations and annotations to Tang poetry, and translations of Chinese novels; and