

# Old Korean Books Preserved in Japan

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For more than forty years I have been seeking out old Korean books that have been preserved in different parts of Japan. In addition, I have also sought out old Korean books that survived in Japan until the early Meiji 明治 era but were subsequently taken overseas, and I have dealt with these in a similar way to books preserved in Japan. The chief among these latter are the books that were collected by the British diplomat Ernest Mason Satow (1843–1929) and are now held by the British Library and the books that were collected by Yang Shoujing 楊守敬, a textual scholar of the Qing 清, and are now held by the National Palace Museum in Taiwan.

In ancient times Japan lay on the eastern edge of the East Asian cultural sphere centred on China, and its culture was fostered under the profound influence of China and the three ancient Korean kingdoms of Koguryō 高句麗, Paekche 百濟, and Silla 新羅. Initially foreign culture was in the main assimilated directly, for instance by studying under immigrants, but from the tenth century this practice was gradually abolished and Japan developed its own distinctive culture, different from that of mainland Asia. But it was of course impossible to sever all contact with the mainland, and although the degree of contact may have fluctuated, Japan continued to be subject to influence from mainland Asia right down to modern times.

This was also the case in the realm of books, the area of my own interests, and many books were brought to Japan from China and from Korea since the time of its three ancient kingdoms. Some of these have fortunately been preserved in the original, while others have survived as copies, but in either case they are invaluable. In particular, when the work in question no longer survives in the country where it originated, it may be the sole existing copy and will be of immeasurable value. Japan is well-known for many such works. Scholars from Qing China who came to Japan in the early Meiji era are said to have been overjoyed at seeing works that had been lost in China and they knew only by name. It is the same in the case of Korean works, and there have been preserved in Ja-

pan books of Silla and so on that have not been preserved in Korea. But it has to be said that original copies are extremely rare. It was at the time still the dawn of the age of printing, and the majority of extant works are manuscript copies. But it is difficult to differentiate between Chinese, Korean, and Japanese manuscripts, and there are many the provenance of which is still uncertain. In Japan Buddhist works from ancient Korea were prized, and many of these were transmitted through the middle ages in the form of manuscript copies and came to be printed only in the early modern period.

It goes without saying that individual effort is necessary for the preservation and transmission of books, but the character of the social system also plays an important role. In Japan the imperial family, court nobles, warrior families, and so on all followed a hereditary system, and cultural artefacts tend to be passed down from father to son. In China and Korea, on the other hand, dynasties changed and the fate of individuals too was greatly influenced by the civil service examination system, all of which occasioned ups and downs in the fortunes of the state and the individual. Consequently the amassing and dispersal of cultural artefacts occurred to an extreme degree. Herein lies a major reason for the fact that Japan has excelled in the preservation of books. Furthermore, Buddhism was transmitted to Japan during the ancient period and later various different schools were also introduced, among which sects such as Tendai 天臺 and Shingon 眞言, with their emphasis on doctrine, still survive and enormous collections of works have been preserved in their temples down to the present day. In Korea Buddhism was unified under the Chan (Sōn) 禪 school at the start of the Chosōn 朝鮮 dynasty, and since Chan schools had originally advocated non-reliance on the written word, their temples have preserved far fewer books than those of the Tendai and Shingon sects. These various circumstances have had the combined effect of making Japan today a country possessing old books on a scale rarely seen elsewhere in the world.

### **I. The Influx of Korean Books into Japan**

In the following I shall describe in chronological order the old Korean books preserved in Japan and, on the basis of my own investigations, I shall also discuss their characteristics. Taking into account the actual circumstances of the transmission of Korean books, I shall broadly divide the period under consideration into (1) the Nara 奈良 period (710–784), (2)

the Muromachi 室町 period (1336–1573), (3) Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s 豊臣秀吉 invasions of Korea (1592–97), (4) the Edo 江戸 period (1603–1867), and (5) the period since the start of the Meiji era (1868–). Details of the transmission of Korean books during the Heian 平安 period (794–1192) and Kamakura 鎌倉 period (1185–1333) are not clear, and I shall accordingly refrain from making reference to these periods.

### (1) Nara Period (710–784)

Japan received elements of advanced culture from the three Korean kingdoms of Koguryō, Paekche, and Silla, and it had especially close ties with Paekche, from where Buddhism was introduced to Japan in 538 (or 552). Eminent monks also arrived from Koguryō. But in 660 Paekche was defeated by the combined forces of Silla and Tang 唐 China, and Koguryō was similarly defeated in 668. Japan sent a relief force to Paekche to take on the combined forces of Silla and the Tang, but it was defeated in the battle of Paekch’ongang 白村江, whereafter its relations with Silla turned hostile. But as relations gradually improved again, monks began to be sent from Japan to study in Silla. The Japanese monk Shinjō 審祥, who was active in the first half of the eighth century, brought back from Silla 170 works in 645 fascicles. It is to be surmised that extant sūtras copied during the Nara period or earlier include some that came from the three Korean kingdoms, but they have not yet been identified because criteria for identifying them have yet to be established. Some of the copied sūtras in the Shōsōin 正倉院 repository have been marked with the words *Ayate* 漢手, *Kudarate* 百濟手, and *Shiragite* 新羅手, thought to indicate that they are in the calligraphic style of China, Paekche, and Silla respectively.

The titles of many works by monks from the three Korean kingdoms have survived in records, and these works were studied and transmitted by Japanese monks, but few of them have survived down to the present day. Manuscript copies of the following works, all by monks from Silla, have survived either in their entirety or in part: the *Panya p’aramilta simgyōng ch’an* 般若波羅蜜多心經贊, *Inwang panyagyōng so* 仁王般若經疏, and *Haesim milgyōng so* 解深密經疏 by Wōnch’ūk 圓測, the *Taehyedogyōng jongyo* 大慧度經宗要, *Kūmgang sammaegyōng non* 金剛三昧經論, *Muryangusyōng jongyo* 無量壽經宗要, *Yōlbangyōng jongyo* 涅槃經宗要, *Taesūng gisirron so* 大乘起信論疏, *Kisirron byōlgi* 起信論別記, and *Yusim arrakto* 遊心安樂道 by Wōnhyo 元曉, the *Isūng bōpkbedo* 一乘法界圖 and *Paekhwadoryang balwōnmun* 白花道場發願文 by Uisang 義湘, the *Sammirūkkgyōng so* 三彌勒經疏 by Kyōnghūng 憬

興, the *Pömmanggyöng bosal gyebon sulgi* 梵網經菩薩戒本述記 by Sūngjang 勝莊, the *Pöphwagyöngnon sulgi* 法華經論述記, *Muryangsugyöng sulüigi* 無量壽經述義記, and *Pömmanggyöng bosal gyebon so* 梵網經菩薩戒本疏 by Üijök 義寂, and the *Yaksa bonwöngyöng gojökki* 藥師本願經古迹記 and *Pömmanggyöng gojökki* 梵網經古迹記 by T'aehyön 太賢. Some of these works were printed during the Edo period. Thus, in the area of Buddhism too there are works that have been lost in the land of their authors but have been preserved in Japan.

In recent years Miyazaki Kenji 宮崎健司 has pointed out that the copy of Wönhyo's *P'anbiryangnon* 判比量論 held by Ōtani University may have been brought from Silla. He cites as grounds for this suggestion the style of calligraphy, the type of characters, and the paper (plain hemp paper), as well as the fact that it has been affixed with a seal of Empress Kōmyō 光明 (701–760), which must predate 760, and the fact that this work is mentioned in a list of works brought back to Japan by Shinjō. In addition, Yamamoto Shinkichi 山本信吉 has surmised that a scroll of the *Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 (fasc. 72–80) held in the Shōgozō 聖語藏 repository of the Shōsōin was, judging from its paper and the manner in which it has been copied, probably brought from Silla. It is to be hoped that with the development of new techniques ways of resolving such questions will emerge in the future.

## (2) Muromachi Period (1336–1573)

There have been ascertained almost no instances of the arrival of books from Silla and Koryō 高麗 during the Heian and Kamakura periods. But during the Muromachi period Korean editions of the Chinese Buddhist canon were brought several times to Japan at the request of the Japanese. Many copies of the first edition are preserved at Nanzenji 南禪寺 and on the island of Tsushima 對馬. Part of the canon published by Ūich'ōn is preserved at Tōdaiji 東大寺, and full sets of the second edition are preserved at Kongōbuji 金剛峯寺, Zōjōji 増上寺, etc. In addition, the *Tang Luo Binwang shiji* 唐駱賓王詩集, *Sok samgang haengsilto* 續三綱行實圖 held by the Tōyō Bunko are affixed with a seal reading “Dazai daiji” 太宰／大弑, which was the seal of Ōuchi Yoshitaka 大內義隆 (1507–51) of the powerful Ōuchi 大內 family of Yamaguchi 山口, and they are therefore thought to have been acquired by him prior to 1551. The *Tang Luo Binwang shiji* was compiled by the *jinshi* 進士 Tian Lan 田瀾 in Hongzhi 弘

治 18 (1505), and a copy is thought to have been brought to Korea shortly after its publication, where it seems to have been printed some time between the middle of Chungjong's 中宗 reign and the start of Myōngjong's 明宗 reign. The original Ming 明 edition does not appear to have survived in China. The *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 includes numerous references to gifts of books to Japanese envoys. For example, according to the entry for the 27th of the ninth month of the sixth year of Sejo's 世祖 reign in the *Sejo sillok* 世祖實錄, in addition to the Chinese Buddhist canon Sejo presented the Japanese envoy Hōkei 寶桂 with the *Sōngdogi* 成道記, *Fahua jing* 法華經, *Jingang jing* 金剛經, *Fanyi mingyi* 翻譯名義, *Zhengdaoge* 證道歌, *Qixinlun* 起信論, *Yongjiaji* 永嘉集, *Xinjing* 心經, and *Dabei xinjing* 大悲心經. But their whereabouts today are not known.

### (3) Toyotomi Hideyoshi's Invasions of Korea (1592–97)

The Japanese invasions of Korea from the twenty-fifth year (cyclic year *imjin* 壬辰) to the thirtieth year of the reign of Sŏnjo 宣祖, i.e., from 1592 to 1597, known in Korean as the *imjin waeran* 壬辰倭亂, were a major event that rocked the Chosŏn dynasty and brought enormous suffering to the Korean people. Almost nothing is known about who brought how many books from Korea back to Japan. Many of the Japanese military commanders who invaded Korea had risen from the ranks on account of their military prowess and resourcefulness, and they are unlikely to have had much interest in learning and culture. But because Hideyoshi was based in Kyoto, some of his commanders had studied works on military strategy and so on under court nobles in Kyoto and thus had contact with the court nobility. Books had been entering Japan from Korea during the Muromachi period, and it can be readily imagined that nobles, monks, physicians, Confucians, and other guardians of culture in Kyoto, the cultural centre of Japan, would have come in contact with them. Being accustomed to the Song 宋, Yuan 元, and Ming editions of China, they would no doubt have been astonished when they saw Korean woodblock prints, bound with red thread in yellow covers decorated with large flower designs and printed on strong mulberry paper, and even more so when they set their eyes on finely produced books in movable type such as those printed in the first *kabin* 甲寅 movable metallic type. Such experiences would have roused an enormous interest in Korean books, and when they realized that some of them had been printed with movable type, their desire for more information about movable-type printing

technology would also have been aroused. It would not be unnatural to suppose that before the military commanders departed for the front in Korea they received requests from court nobles and so on concerning Korean books and movable-type printing technology. In addition, during their campaigns the commanders were accompanied by monks, who acted as interpreters via writing and conducted funeral services for the war dead, and by physicians, who attended to the wounded. It is to be surmised that these intellectuals urged the commanders to acquire Korean books. This looting of Korean books is thought to have occurred in the early stages of the campaign, when the Japanese forces had the upper hand. For the Japanese, who were unable to adequately secure the main lines of communication, the use of troops to transport books under guard would undoubtedly have been a heavy burden, and there would probably have been many instances in which such convoys were attacked en route and these efforts came to nothing. Books would have been seized from the deserted residences of *yangban* 兩班 and deserted government offices whose occupants had fled to escape the fighting, and according to Korean records the Japanese would also appear to have been guided in their looting by disaffected elements among the Koreans.

According to my investigations, the majority of woodblock-printed books apart from government publications issued by the Government Printing Office (*kyosōgwan* 校書館) were, judging from those that mention the engravers' names, printed in Chōllado 全羅道 and Kyōngsangdo 慶尙道. I am also of the view that the looting of books by the Japanese occurred in the early stages of the invasions to the south of Seoul. Although the Japanese occupied P'yōngyang 平壤 and advanced far into Hamgyōngdo 咸鏡道, they are unlikely to have had at this time either the means or extra capacity to seize books and send them south. Moreover, not many books were published to the north of Seoul, and according to the section on printing in the *Kosa ch'walyo* 攷事撮要 there was almost no publishing of books outside Haeju 海州, P'yōngyang, and Hamhūng 咸興. Naturally there would also have been few book collectors outside these cities. A search of the *Tosō ryōnghap mongnok* 圖書聯合目錄 (P'yōngyang: *Tosō ryōnghap mongnok* P'yōnch'an Wiwōnhoe 圖書聯合目錄編纂委員會, 1966) reveals that the great majority of works listed date from the eighteenth century and later, and there are very few earlier publications. This reflects the state of publishing in this region in earlier times too.

According to my investigations, the provenance of the Korean books that descendants of commanders of the Maeda 前田 family mentioned

below have passed down to the present day is known, but otherwise it is virtually impossible to clarify details of the routes whereby Korean books entered Japan at this time because the books are not affixed with the commanders' seals nor do they have colophons. In addition, many of the commanders who went to fight in Korea had land holdings to the west of Kyoto, and in many cases after Hideyoshi's death they sided with the Toyotomi family against Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 and were eventually brought to ruin. Some of their books are said to have been confiscated by Ieyasu, but the whereabouts of the rest are not known. The accounts left by Korean envoys to Japan mention that Korean books could be found in bookstores in Osaka, and since the existence of Korean books has been ascertained in the collections of the Edo-period Kariya Ekisai 狩谷穰齋, Kimura Kenkadō 木村兼葭堂, Terada Bōnan 寺田望南, Kojima Hōso 小島寶素, and others, it is to be supposed that they were circulating among the general population.

Books formerly belonging to the Maeda family are currently held by the Sonkeikaku 尊經閣 Library of the Maeda Ikutokukai 前田育徳會 Foundation, but it seems unlikely that all of these are books seized in Korea by members of the Maeda family, and some of them were collected by the third lord of Maeda, Maeda Toshitsune 前田利常, and the fifth lord, Shōun Tsunanori 松雲綱紀, both well-known bibliophiles. Tokugawa Ieyasu is also known to have been a lover of learning and books, and he actively collected books as well as receiving gifts of books. He established the temple Enkōji 圓光寺 in Fushimi 伏見, Kyoto, with San'yō Genkitsu 三要元佶 (1548–1612) as its founder, and when doing so he presented San'yō with a large number of Korean books, which subsequently became dispersed and are today found in various locations. Tokugawa Ieyasu continued to collect books, leading to a vast collection, and this ultimately resulted in the Tokugawa shogunate's Momijiyama 紅葉山 Library, which actively purchased books from within Japan and also from China via Nagasaki 長崎. Ieyasu himself did not take part in the invasions of Korea, but he acquired a considerable number of Korean books through his private collecting, gifts of books, and the confiscation of books when military commanders who had sided with the Toyotomi family were defeated. When he ceded his position to Tokugawa Hidetada 徳川秀忠 and retired to Hamamatsu 濱松, he took with him a large quantity of books which included Korean books. After his death in 1616 his collection was passed on to three of his sons, the lords of Nagoya 名古屋, Wakayama 和歌山, and Mito 水戸, with the largest number of books being said to have been

turned over to Tokugawa Yoshinao 徳川義直 in Nagoya, who was considered to be especially fond of learning. Fortunately one of Yoshinao's messengers went to Hamamatsu and drew up a list of the books that he received, and since this has survived, we know their full contents. Today the majority of these books are at the Hōsa 蓬左 Library in Nagoya. They include, in addition to Korean books, Chinese and Japanese books, and judging from their contents many are of a high quality. Most of the books that went to Wakayama seem to have been lost, while those in Mito were consumed by fire in air raids during World War II. The books formerly held by the Momijiyama Library inside the grounds of Edo Castle are today held by the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency and by the National Archives of Japan (formerly the Cabinet Library).

#### (4) Edo Period (1603–1867)

Toyotomi Hideyoshi's calamitous invasions of Korea came to an end with his death on the 18th of the eighth month of 1598, and by the eleventh month of the same year Japanese forces had completely withdrawn from Korea. Subsequently the Edo shogunate was established by Tokugawa Ieyasu, and following negotiations between Korea and the shogunate diplomatic relations were restored in 1607. The Sō 宗 family, who ruled over Tsushima, which was geographically close to Korea, and had a wealth of experience in negotiating with Koreans, had been ordered by the Tokugawa authorities to act as go-betweens in the negotiations, and the family continued to act as intermediaries until the Meiji era from their base at Japan House (*waegwan/wakan* 倭館) in Pusan 釜山. They were not only intermediaries for political negotiations between Japan and Korea, but also acted as contacts for trade and cultural exchange. In order to ensure that negotiations with Korea went smoothly, they had monks from the Gozan 五山 temples in Kyoto prepare the diplomatic documents, and they too engaged in cultural exchange.

The books acquired by the Sō family during the Edo period are today preserved in the Nagasaki Prefectural Tsushima Museum of History and Folklore. It is known that the Sō family had acquired Korean books prior to the Edo period, but almost none of these have survived. In addition to Korean books, the Tsushima Museum of History and Folklore also has some catalogues of the Sō family's former holdings, and a catalogue from

Tenna 天和 3 (1683) lists 217 works in 2,401 volumes, of which 158 works in 804 volumes remain today. However, because the surviving works have been rebound, the numbers of volumes are fewer than those recorded in the catalogue. Although details are unclear, it seems that the Korean books owned by the Sō family were given to them by Koreans in response to their requests. Some of these were loaned to the Hayashi 林 family, the pillars of the official school of Confucian learning during the Edo period, while those bearing the inscription “*Kenjōbon*” 献上本 are thought to have been presented to the Tokugawa shogunal family. In this fashion the Sō family played a part in the dissemination of Korean culture by actively seeking out Korean books and then lending them to scholars or presenting them to the shogunal family.

### (5) Meiji Era Onwards (1868–)

Following the conclusion of the Treaty of Amity and Friendship with Korea (also known as the Kanghwa 江華 Treaty) in 1876, Japanese began to make advances into Korea, and Japanese bookstores are said to have gone to buy in Korean books, although details are unclear. But judging from the large numbers of Korean books printed in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries that have survived in Japan, this seems likely. Japanese inroads increased after the annexation of Korea in 1910, and there were not a few scholars with no formal institutional affiliations who were captivated by Korean books and began collecting them. After the establishment of the Government-General of Korea, various schools and colleges were founded, starting with Keijō 京城 Imperial University (1924) in Seoul, and many scholars and researchers who went to Korea during the Taishō 大正 era (1912–25) and early Shōwa 昭和 era (1926–45) also purchased large numbers of Korean books. But not many of the collections acquired by scholars who eagerly collected Korean books at this time have survived in Japan. Famous for their large collections were Imanishi Ryū 今西龍 (Tenri Central Library), Kawai Hirokami 河合弘民 (Kyoto University), Satō Rikuseki 佐藤六石 (Osaka Prefectural Library), Agawa Shigeo 阿川重郎 (University of Tokyo), Ogura Shinpei 小倉進平 (University of Tokyo), Maema Kyōsaku 前間恭作 (Tōyō Bunko), Kanazawa Shōzaburō 金澤庄三郎 (Komazawa University), Eda Toshio 江田俊雄 (Komazawa University), Tokutomi Sohō 徳富蘇峯 (Seikidō 成篁堂 Library), and Kuroda Ryō 黒田亮 (current whereabouts unknown). There were many other people with large collections, but many of them were unable to bring them back after

Japan's defeat in World War II. Some of them seem to have placed their books in the care of acquaintances, but with the subsequent outbreak of the Korean War these were presumably lost.

The above collections differ in content depending on the academic discipline and interests of the collector. Imanishi Ryū specialized in Korean history, and so the main focus of his collection is works relating to Korean history. But his collection also covers the four traditional divisions of Chinese literature, and because of his discerning eye and enthusiasm it includes many valuable works. Kawai Hirokami was an economic historian, and his collection includes in addition to historical works many old documents. In particular, the documents relating to transactions by merchants along Chongno 鐘路 Street in Seoul, known as the Kawai Documents, are extremely valuable for studying the merchants' economic activities. Satō Rikuseki and Agawa Shigeo were both bibliophiles whose collections encompass all four traditional divisions of Chinese literature. Ogura Shinpei was a scholar of the Korean language who lectured on the Korean language at Keijō and Tokyo Imperial Universities, and his collection consists of books purchased for his research. The majority are books pertaining to Korean linguistics, and it goes without saying that they include many valuable works, but a distinctive feature is the inclusion of different editions of the same work. Since language changes over time, changes occur in the language recorded in different editions of the same work dating from different periods. Today it would be impossible to find under one roof even in Korea so many works on the Korean language collected with the discerning eye of a linguist, and this collection provides exceedingly welcome material for both Japanese and Korean linguists. Maema Kyōsaku was originally an interpreter, but he was also well-versed in Korean linguistics and textual studies, and his *Kosen sappu* 古鮮冊譜 is a masterpiece that will continue to be valued long into the future as a basic work for the study of Korean books. Maema's collection is enormous, covering all four traditional divisions of Chinese literature and including some fine books. Kanazawa Shōzaburō's collection includes many works pertaining to linguistics, some of which are the sole surviving copy. Eda Toshio was a scholar of Buddhism, and although his collection cannot be said to be all that large, it includes many valuable works. Tokutomi Sohō was a renowned opinion leader and also a scholar of Japanese history and culture. His collection of books is well-known and, although centred on Japan, extends to China and Korea, and as well as being of enormous quantity it covers a vast number of fields. His books were collected sys-

tematically and with careful attention being given to their quality, and it is no exaggeration to say that this collection reflects all aspects of Japanese culture. Kuroda Ryō was a psychologist and bibliophile who collected fine books of wide-ranging subject matter. His collection was put on the market some years ago, and its present whereabouts is not known.

In addition to the above individual collections, many of the above-mentioned libraries possess large numbers of Korean books which they have purchased or which have been donated. As well, Kyushu University, Kansai University, National Diet Library, Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library, Seikadō 靜嘉堂 Library, Waseda University Library, Gakushūin University Library, Keiō University Library, Tohoku University Library, and so on also hold large numbers of Korean books. Many of these were collected by individuals in Japan, and the majority of them entered Japan during the Meiji era and later.

Ernest Satow's collection mentioned at the outset as an example of an overseas collection containing Korean books consists chiefly of Japanese books because of his interest in Japanese culture, but it also includes some Korean and Chinese books. The period when he was assiduously collecting books coincided with a major turning point in Japanese history when Chinese books and the like were regarded as relics of a bygone age and lost their value, and vast numbers of such books left the possession of ruined nobles and *daimyō* and temples, shrines, old-established families, warrior families, and so on. Consequently the Korean books in Satow's collection are of excellent quality, and they include for example a royal presentation copy (*naesabon* 內賜本) of the *Chunqiu jingzhuan jijie* 春秋經傳集解 printed with *kabin* movable type that was presented to Yang Sōngji 梁誠之 in 1442, which is about sixty years earlier than any other known examples of royal presentation copies. Yang Shoujing formed his collection slightly later, but even so it was a time when fine books were flooding the market, and while he purchased mainly Chinese books, he also bought Chinese works that had been reprinted in Korea, for there were some works that had been lost in China but survived as Korean reprints. Today most of his collection is housed in the National Palace Museum in Taiwan, and it is truly replete with fine books.

There are also instances in which many of the books owned by renowned Korean scholars have survived. For example, many of the books formerly owned by P'ungyang Cho 豐壤趙 are held by the University of Tokyo, while most of the former collection of Kim Segyun 金世均 is held by Nishio City Library, although some of his books are scattered else-

where too. It is thought that these were purchased in bulk by Japanese bookstores from Korean book dealers or intermediaries.

## II. Distinctive Features of Old Korean Books Preserved in Japan

I have been investigating old Korean books preserved in Japan for more than forty years, and next I wish to list some of their distinctive features.

### (1) Abundance of Complete Sets

In Japan not only old Korean books but books in general have been well preserved, and many works have survived in complete sets. Books from China and Korea in particular were highly prized in Japan as the products of advanced nations, but because these books from overseas were expensive, they were out of the reach of commoners. The people able to acquire Chinese and Korean books were the Tokugawa shogun, *daimyō* in the provinces, nobles and warriors in Kyoto, and members of the intelligentsia such as private scholars, Buddhist monks, physicians, and Shinto priests. Vast quantities of books accumulated in the libraries of the imperial court in Kyoto and temples, shrines, the Tokugawa shogun, and *daimyō*, and these were preserved with almost no losses for more than three hundred and fifty years during the Edo period. It is of great importance for bibliographical studies that works are preserved in their entirety.

Many government publications in Korea were royal presentation copies that were presented by the king to officials and so on, and these publications have an inscription (*naesagi* 内賜記) on the inside of the front cover which is of great value for it provides information about the date of publication and the recipient. But there are comparatively few such works in Korea that predate Hideyoshi's invasions, and most of those that have survived are missing the first volume bearing this inscription. It is the first volume of a set that is the most easily lost. In Korea it is said that books predating Hideyoshi's invasions were either looted or lost to fire, but not all of them have been lost, and many are in fact held by libraries in South Korea. But they are generally only odd volumes, and there are few complete sets. In many cases the first volume with the *naesagi* is missing. This is because whereas in Japan Korean books were carefully stored away and seldom touched, in Korea they were used on a daily basis. In addi-

tion, the first and final volumes of a set often include information on the circumstances surrounding a work's publication in the preface, postscript or colophon and are thus especially important when compared with other volumes, but these volumes are often missing in works that have survived in Korea.

## (2) Engravers' Names

Because few Korean books have colophons, their date of publication is often unknown, and even if they have a colophon it is often difficult to determine the date because it is given in accordance with the sexagenary cycle. In such cases, if the engraver's name is inscribed, for example, on the central column of each sheet of a side-stitched bound book, this can serve as an important lead for identifying the year and place of publication. The vast majority of government publications were printed with movable type, and those that were printed xylographically do not record the engraver's name. Woodblock prints produced in the provinces, on the other hand, often include the engraver's name. If a book has a colophon with the year and place of publication and if the engraver's name is inscribed on the central column of each sheet, one can determine when and where the engraver was active, and if many such examples are gathered, it becomes possible to identify when and where individual engravers were working. I have been steadily carrying out this task of identification and have collected information on a considerable number of engravers. But in order to gain such information from books, one needs well-preserved complete sets. But few of the works that have survived in Korea are complete sets, and because information on the central column, including the engraver's name, is frequently worn away, this information is often unobtainable because of damage or wear. In this respect books preserved in Japan are for the reasons explained earlier perfect for this purpose. For instance, the former collection of the Sō family of Tsushima contains a large number of works published in the seventeenth century, all of which are complete sets with no damage or wear to the central column of each sheet, and I have been able to obtain the names of a large number of seventeenth-century engravers from these works.

### (3) Abundance of Printed Works (Movable Type and Woodblock Prints)

An examination of the situation regarding the printing of government publications printed with movable type during the Chosŏn period would suggest that at the most about one hundred copies were printed for one work. As for government publications in the provinces and works printed by temples, schools, and private individuals, it would seem that especially during the first half of the Chosŏn period, and with the exception of works such as the *Samgang haengsilto* 三綱行實圖, several dozen copies were printed at one time. But because the majority of these provincial publications were woodblock printings, additional copies were printed far into the future as the need arose, and consequently the total number of copies printed would have been quite considerable.

Yu Hŭich'un 柳希春, the deputy director (*pujejo* 副提調) of the Government Printing Office at the start of Sŏnjo's reign who was in effect in overall charge of its publishing operations, complains in his diary *Miam ilgich'o* 眉巖日記草 that even though he was at the centre of publishing operations, he was not necessarily given a copy of every book that was printed, and so he provided skilled calligraphers among the petty officials of the Government Printing Office with pen and paper and had them make copies of the books that he needed. Such being the situation with Yu Hŭich'un, ordinary scholars were constantly in a state of craving for books, and people without his financial resources to employ scribes copied books themselves. At the time paper was being used in lieu of money and was precious. Consequently manuscript copies would have accounted for a large proportion of the books in private collections. If the old Korean books preserved in Japan reflect the state of books in Korea, one would expect there to be large numbers of old manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. But this is not actually the case, and there are very few manuscripts. It is to be surmised that this is because certain choices were made when Japanese soldiers seized Korean books, and these choices are thought to have been made in accordance with the wishes of monks and physicians yearning for Korean books. Manuscripts and possibly also Korean cribs (*ŏnhaesŏ* 諺解書) accompanied by translations in *hangŭl* would have been excluded by them. At the time there did not exist any printed books written entirely in *hangŭl*, but there were bilingual cribs of the Confucian classics, the poems of Du Fu 杜甫, Buddhist works, and so on, even though they were far fewer in number than works

written only in Chinese. The books seized by Japanese troops were sent by land or boat to Pusan and elsewhere along the south coast and then across the sea to Japan. Soldiers would have had to be taken from the battlefield to transport the books, and en route they would no doubt have been often subjected to attacks by Koreans. Korean books were, moreover, large in size and printed on good-quality paper, and so they were far heavier than Chinese or Japanese books. Consequently, when faced with large quantities of books, the Japanese would have been compelled to be selective. In such situations it is likely that books written only in Chinese would have been chosen, while Korean cribs and also manuscript copies would no doubt have been excluded. The fact that there are many duplicate copies of works on military strategy may reflect the interests of the military commanders.

If given a choice between printed books and manuscript copies, it is human nature to choose printed books. The monks and physicians thought to have been involved in the selection of books would have been reading just as many manuscript copies in Japan as printed books or possibly even more manuscript copies than printed books. For them printed books were most desirable, and government publications in movable type in particular were exquisitely produced and would have aroused enormous interest in them. Among Japanese manuscripts it is not unusual to find texts deriving from old lineages of manuscripts going back to the Sui 隋 or Tang, and often these cannot be disregarded. But in the case of Korea many works date from the Song and later, and generally they do not derive from old textual lineages as in the case of Japan. While the monks and physicians would not have taken these factors into account when excluding manuscripts, it was probably because of their predilection for printed books that large numbers of printed books were brought back to Japan.

#### **(4) Abundance of Multiple Editions**

In bibliographical research it is desirable that there exist many different editions. For academic research it will suffice if one has the author's original manuscript or the first edition printed on the basis of this manuscript. But it is normal for these to be lost after several hundred years or a thousand years, and it is later manuscript copies and printed editions that survive. Errors also increase with the passage of time, and consequently these later versions gradually diverge from the original work. In such cases it is usual to seek out the earliest possible manuscript copy or printed

edition in order to restore the original text, and if there are several different manuscript copies or printed editions, one can compare these.

When the material pertains to language, which changes from one period to the next, the different versions become ideal linguistic material if they reflect these changes. In this sense Ogura Shinpei's former collection held by the University of Tokyo is extremely valuable when considered from the vantage point of the study of the Korean language for it includes many different editions of Korean cribs (*ōnhaesō*). There is probably no other place even in Korea where such a large number of works relating to Korean linguistics have been brought together under one roof.

Further, when considered from the perspective of bibliographical research, the distinction between same and different editions, the presence or absence of additions, differences in the date of printing, and so on are all extremely interesting subjects for research. In the case of government publications in movable type printed by the Government Printing Office there is also the question of corrections. Texts were of course proofread prior to typesetting, but even so misprints occurred. If a misprint was noticed in the course of printing, the type could be immediately replaced. If the text had already come off the press, the offending letter was cut out, a piece of paper was pasted over the back of the resulting hole, and the error was corrected by stamping the correct letter on the pasted piece of paper. But such corrections were not carried out uniformly, and corrections were made in varying degrees, ranging from the one extreme in which no corrections were made at all to the other extreme in which the text would seem to have been completely corrected. In order to clarify the extent of the corrections it is desirable that there exist several copies of the same edition of a lengthy work containing misprints, but it is not easy to find works that meet these criteria. As was noted earlier, extant works in Korea have often survived only in incomplete sets, nor are there many cases in which several copies of the same volume have survived. There is, however, a most welcome source of material in the form of the *Chongxiu zhenghe jinshi zhenglei beiyong bencao* 重修政和經史證類備用本草 in thirty fascicles. Formerly held in Japan, it was purchased by Yang Shoujing in the Meiji era and is now housed in the National Palace Museum in Taiwan. It has a *naesagi* by Chōng Sach'ung 鄭士忠 dated the second month of Wanli 萬曆 5 (1577), and so it is evident that it was published in this same year. Five complete sets of the same edition of this work are held in Japan by the Archives and Mausolea Department of the Imperial Household Agency, the Cabinet Library, Tōyō Bunko, Sonkeikaku Library, and Nishio City

Library. According to my investigations, there are in all 487 misprints in this work, but as was noted above, the manner in which these have been corrected varies. It has been said that Korean books, or royal presentation copies in particular, were carefully proofread, but it has become clear that this was not necessarily the case. These are quite important issues in bibliographical studies, and it is evident that Korean books preserved in Japan are useful for clarifying such issues.

### (5) Abundance of Ownership Seals

An ownership seal indicates the owner of a book, but it is also bibliographically important in that it indicates the *terminus ad quem* of the book's date of publication. A seal also adds aesthetic value to a book. We often find in old Korean books preserved in Japan the seals of famous Koreans from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries onwards that cannot be readily found in Korean books in which various seals are collected, and these include for example the seals of Sinmi 信眉, Kim Inhu 金麟厚, Yun Ch'unnyŏn 尹春年, No Susin 盧守愼, I Umin 李友閔, Im Bosin 任輔臣, Hong Sŏm 洪暹, Yun Dusŏ 尹斗都, Song Siyŏl 宋時烈, An Jŏngbok 安鼎福, Chŏngjo 正祖, and Nam Gongch'ŏl 南公轍.

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