

Materials

Research Trends in the Field of Joseon *Tongsinsa* Studies

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A Survey of Early Joseon Tongsinsa

Tongsinsa (the Joseon diplomatic missions to Japan) recently became one of the most popular topics in the history of Korean-Japanese relations during the Joseon dynasty in Korea and the Muromachi and Tokugawa shogunates in Japan. In particular, since the co-hosting of the 2002 FIFA World Cup, there has been a renewed interest as well as commemorative celebrations of *Tongsinsa* among a number of Korean and Japanese local governments. The atmosphere has clearly changed, considering that, until the 1980s, there were only a few scholars who studied the history of Korean-Japanese relations or Japanese history despite the occasional outbreaks of conflict between the two countries around the issues of Japanese school textbooks and territorial disputes.

The origin of *Tongsinsa* goes back to the late Goryeo dynasty in Korea, as the Korean government dispatched diplomatic missions to the Japanese government in order to curtail pirate activities. Particularly, the activities of Japanese pirates since 1350 (the second year of the King Chungjeong's reign) were severe to the degree that they would penetrate deep inland for kidnapping and looting. For example, Jeong Mongju during the reign of King Gongmin went to Kyūshū's Hakata to request that the Japanese authorities to curtail pirate activities and to bring some Korean captives back home. Jeong's decision to go to Kyūshū instead of the *bakufu* was due to the political chaos in Japan during the Nanboku-chō period (the Northern and Southern Courts period).

Since the founding of the Joseon dynasty in 1392, the suppression of Japanese pirate activities was one of the most important issues pending in Korean-Japanese relations. King Taejo Yi Seonggye, who had personal experiences fighting against Japanese pirates, devised a two-sided plan to conciliate as well as to establish friendly relations with Japanese pirates. The Joseon court devised plans to induce Japanese pirates to surrender using economic benefits or granting positions in the Joseon government. Plans to provide them with demarcated official districts were also discussed (Yi Hyeonjong 1964:23). The Ming dynasty also carried out a negotiation with the Japanese in order to curtail pirate activities in 1368 (the seventeenth year of King Gongmin of Goryeo). The emergence of the Ming-invested Muromachi shogunate in 1402 (the second year of King Taejong of Joseon) led to the suppression of much of the piracy.

The Joseon government used both conciliatory as well as hard-line policies. For example, a military expedition to Tsushima was carried out in 1419 (the first year of King Sejong's reign). In 1418 (the eighteenth year of King

Taejong's reign), faced with a rapid surge of pirate activities against parts of Korea and Liaodong, King Taejong decided on an expedition to Tsushima (Ha Ubong 1994: 264). An army of 17,000 went on an expedition in June 1419, and made considerable military threats to the Tsushima regime. With the surrender of Tsushima, the expeditionary force came back home in a month.

The Tsushima expedition caused military tension between Joseon Korea and Muromachi shogunate of Japan. Tsushima sent an envoy to the Joseon government to discover its intentions. The Joseon government explained to the Tsushima envoy that it had no intention of annexation and its true intention was to curtail pirate activities. Accepting the *bakufu*'s request for a return envoy, the Joseon government dispatched Song Huigyeong in 1420 to have him explain to the Japanese that the expedition had nothing to do with mainland Japan. Meeting with the shogun in Kyoto, Song explained that the expedition was carried out with the sole purpose of curtailing pirate activities and there was no intention of invading mainland Japan. Song also stated that the Joseon government was not going to persist in subordinating Tsushima to the Korean province of Gyeongsang.

While the Joseon government was able to suppress pirate activities to a considerable degree through the 1419 expedition, there was an increase in the number of Japanese people migrating to Korea (Jo 1994:267). To control the growing number of Japanese subjects in Korea, the Joseon government began to work with influential Tsushima men like Ōuchi and Sō toward a trade agreement. The treaty, called *Gyehae yakjo*, was concluded in 1443 (the twenty-fifth year of King Sejong's reign).

The Joseon government also established separate relations with powerful individuals in Japan who it thought could play roles in curtailing pirate activities, such as the Tsushima governor and Ōuchi. In other words, the Joseon government engaged in a plural diplomacy with different Japanese powers (Miyake 1986:119). That method was fundamentally different from the bilateral relations between Joseon Korea and Tokugawa Japan following the Treaty of 1609 (the first year of King Gwanghaegun's reign), established through the sending of *Tongsinsa* to Japan.

Before the end of sixteenth century (meaning the end of the Japanese invasions of Korea, 1592-1599), five Korean diplomatic missions were sent to Japan with the *Tongsinsa* title. If the title is used to denote diplomatic missions sent to celebrate the enthronements of shoguns, there were five *Tongsinsa* dispatches by the end of sixteenth century: in 1428 (the tenth year of King Sejong's reign), 1439 (the twenty-first year of King Sejong's

reign), 1443 (the twenty-fifth year of King Sejong's reign), 1590 (the twenty-third year of King Seonjo's reign), and 1596 (the twenty-ninth year of King Seonjo's reign). Three *Tongsinsa* diplomatic missions were sent during the Muromachi shogunate. To include *Gyeongin tongsinsa*, sent specifically to observe the newly-established Toyotomi regime, and *Byeongsin tongsinsa*, sent during the war in 1596, the total comes to five.

The 1428 *Tongsinsa* was composed of the envoy head Daesaseong Pak Seosaeng, the deputy head Daehogun Yi Ye, and Seojanggwan Kim Geukyu. It left Hanseong (today's Seoul) in December 1428 and delivered the official letter to the Japanese shogun in June 1429 in Kyoto (Miyake 1986:88-89). The 1439 *Tongsinsa* was headed by Cheomji jungchuwonsa Go Deukjong. The deputy head Sanghogun Yun Inbo and Seojanggwan Busajik Kim Yemong assisted him. Having departed Hanseong in July, they arrived in Kyoto in December and were received by the shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori (Miyake 1986: 92). After receiving the shogun's letter on their way back, they also received letters and gifts from Ōuchi and Hosokawa for the Korean Ministry of Rites. They reported on their mission to King Sejong in May 1440 (the twenty-second year of King Sejong's reign) (Miyake 1986:94).

With the arrival of news from Sō Sadamori of Tsushima on the assassination of Ashikaga Yoshinori and the succession of young Ashikaga Yoshikatsu in 1441, as well as the news that Ōuchi and Shōni, two major Japanese power holders with close Korea ties, were in an open war against each other, a new discussion about the sending of *Tongsinsa* began in the Joseon court.

In spite of Japanese political instability, King Sejong decided to dispatch another *Tongsinsa* mission to celebrate the new shogun. The envoy faced difficulties after arriving at Hyōgo. Not only was there no *bakufu* control, economic difficulties in Japan made local officials toy with the idea of sending the Korean envoy back. The condolatory nature of the mission allowed the Korean entrance to the Japanese capital. The return trip proved to be even more difficult, as the Korean mission was attacked by the Japanese escort and had to pay them off in order to ensure their security (Miyake 1986:100).

Sin Sukju, the Seojanggwan of this mission, later rose to the position Yeonguijeong (the Chief State Councillor) with firsthand experience with Japan. *Haedong jegukgi*, the book Sin wrote based on his experience in Japan, later became, in Joseon Korea, a must-read reference in formulating policy toward Japan as well as preparing an official trip to Japan (Miyake

1986:100). Afterwards, the Joseon court could not decide on when or how to send a *Tongsinsa* mission to Japan. Because of political instability in Japan, some officials raised the idea of presenting gifts and messages to the Japanese envoys coming into Korea instead of sending envoys into Japan. Some disagreed, arguing that such actions could be taken as lack of courtesy and result in a resurgence of pirate activities.

The 1459 *Tongsinsa* mission (the fifth year of King Sejo's reign), which left Korea in October, was ship-wrecked in a storm and went missing (Miyake 1986: 109). Although a number of envoys came from Japan during the Seongjong reign, a Korean *Tongsinsa* was not sent in return due to the political instability in Japan (Miyake 1986:110). The 1479 *Tongsinsa* envoy (the tenth year of King Seongjong's reign), headed by Yi Hyeongwon and assisted by the deputy head Yi Gyedong, had to turn around and come back to Joseon at Tsushima due to the outbreak of war in Japan. Yi Hyeongwon even ended up losing his life at Geoje Island during the return trip (Miyake 1986:116).

After a century without Japan-bound *Tongsinsa*, the practice was renewed in 1590 (the twenty-third year of King Seonjo's reign) with the death of Oda Nobunaga and the rise of Toyotomi Hideyoshi as the dominant overlord of Japan. While the Toyotomi Hideyoshi's initial letter to the Joseon government openly demanded tribute as well as the presence of Joseon King himself, the Tsushima governor intercepted and reworded the letter to save the relations between the two countries. Suspicious and curious about the developments in Japan, the *Tongsinsa* was dispatched after a court debate.¹

The Joseon *Tongsinsa* headed to Japan in March 1591. A number of diplomatic discourtesies occurred against the Korean envoy. The Korean envoy had to wait two additional months in Kyoto, as Toyotomi Hideyoshi was at the battlefield in Odawara in order to crush the Ouu clan of the Tōhoku region (Miyake 1986:130). The Korean envoy could not get a return letter from Toyotomi even after he returned to Kyoto. While the Korean envoy ended up receiving his letter after waiting for it at Sakai, the Korean request for amending certain "impertinent" remarks went unheeded. Even after returning to Korea,

1. As a precondition for dispatching *Tongsinsa*, the Joseon government asked for Korean rebels and their leader Sahwadong, who had colluded with the Japanese pirates and killed the local magistrate in coastal region of the Jeolla province. The Tsushima authorities delivered them, but they were outlaws of Tsushima itself (*Yeollyeosilgisul*, Seonjojo gosa jeonmal).

the head of the mission Hwang Yungil and the deputy head Kim Seongil delivered different interpretations on the possibility of Japanese invasion. Such discrepancy stirred up trouble between the court factions (represented by Hwang and Kim). Although interpretations of Hwang and Kim depended less on political factionalism than individual reading of what they saw in Japan, the result of war was nevertheless devastating.

The 1596 *Tongsinsa* was dispatched along with the Ming envoy. The Ming envoy was sent to Japan for the investiture of Toyotomi as part of the peace settlement. Konishi Yukinaga had constantly spoken out for a peace settlement since the beginning of the war, and the Ming commander Shen Weijing also sought peace with Japan while disregarding Korean opinions and interests (Kitajima 1995: Yoshikawagobunkan). Although King Seonjo and Korean officials did not want a peace settlement, they nevertheless agreed to send the *Tongsinsa* thinking that it would be difficult to stop the Japanese advances without Chinese aid (Miyake 1986:136).

In August 1596, headed by Donnyeongbu dojeong Hwang Sin and assisted by deputy head Sanghogun Bak Hongjang and 309 assistants, the Joseon *Tongsinsa* envoy arrived at Sakai from Busan. At Sakai, the Korean envoy joined the head of Chinese envoy Yang Fangheng and Yang's assistant Shen Weijing, as well as Konishi Yukinaga and Sō Yoshitoshi (Miyake 1986:136-137). Postponing meeting the Ming and Joseon delegations at Ōsaka, Toyotomi declared war again by arguing that the Joseon government did not unblock the route to China and Joseon did not immediately come to beg while China and Japan tried to make peace.² Hwang Sin, without knowing what was already exchanged between Ming China and Toyotomi Japan, argued that he could not go back to Joseon without presenting the king's letter. Hwang went on his return trip only after the Tsushima official Yanagawa Shigenobu explained to Hwang what happened (Miyake 1986:138).

I have attempted so far to give a historical outline of early Joseon *Tongsinsa*. It was a trend in the field to focus on post-seventeenth century *Tongsinsa* while only briefly touching on the *Tongsinsa* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.³ To introduce a topic of significant diversity in research, I

2. *Gukyeok Seonjo sillok*, November 10, the twenty-ninth year of King Seonjo's reign.

3. Son Seungcheol, "Joseon sidae tongsinsa yeongu ui hoego wa jeonmang," *Hanil gwangyesa yeongu* 16 (April 2002), Son Seungcheol, "Joseon sidae tongsinsa gaenyeom ui jae geomto," *Joseonsidaesabakbo* 27 (December 2003). Jang Sunsun, "Joseon sidae tongsinsa yeongu ui hyeonhwang gwa gwaje—hangukcheuk yeongu seonggwa reul jungsimeuro" *Tongsinsa*

was forced to approach it quantitatively. Synthesis of all previous research and suggestion of trends become necessary in order to provide this introduction.

In this article, I want to first discuss the nature of materials and chronologically go over important works on the topic. It may be possible that I do not incorporate all the recent works on the topic, for which I apologize. I also acknowledge that, given my Korea-based perspective, many Japanese-language works are omitted. I want to define this paper as an introduction to the field of *Tongsinsa* studies from the Korean perspective.

Introduction of Basic Materials

Before discussing basic materials, I must refer to Miyake Hideyoshi's work on Korean-Japanese relations during the Joseon dynasty. His 1968 book features a comprehensive treatment of *Tongsinsa* as well as relations between Korea and Japan throughout the duration of Joseon dynasty. Even today, the outstanding quality of this work makes this book an excellent introductory text. However, recent Japanese works on *Tongsinsa* do not single out *Tongsinsa* activities from the larger theme of Korean-Japanese relations, possibly even causing conceptual confusion (Nakao 2006 Ryokuinshobo).

Aside from the work of Nakamura Hidetaka from the late 1960s (Bunkenshuppan, 1986), along with the 1981 book by Tashiro Kazui (Sobunsha, 1981), Miyake's work is paramount in delineating Korean-Japanese relations during the Joseon dynasty. Up to that point, it was probably necessary to introduce the general portrait of Korean-Japanese relations. I think it is important to separate the subfield of *Tongsinsa* from the larger theme of Korean-Japanese relations in order to point to central works of research as well as trends. Instead of a "department store" introduction, it may be important to concentrate on the topic of *Tongsinsa* in order to avoid digression.

The single most important Korean source for researching *Tongsinsa* is *Joseon wangjo sillok*. Surprisingly, researchers of *Tongsinsa* have not yet drawn a detailed picture of the intentions of Joseon government through

waegwan gwa banil gwangye, ed. Hanil gwangyesa yeongu nonjip pyeonchan wiwonhoe (Seoul: Gyeongin munhwasa, 2005), Nakao Hiroshi, "Chōsen tsūshinshi kenkyū no gendankai," *Chōsen shi kenkyūkai ronbunshū* 44 (October 2006), Iwakata Hisahiko, "Hanguk eseo bon joseon tongsinsa," paper presented at the 4th World Conference on Korean Studies. Seoul, Korea, September 2008.

a careful and thorough reading of this important source. The sending of *Tongsinsa* as a response to the Japanese request often reveals the perspective on diplomacy of the power holders at the court. There is a need to explain the sending of *Tongsinsa* along with the dynamics of domestic politics.⁴

For example, among the *Tongsinsa* missions of late Joseon, the gifts Koreans received from the shogun in the 1607, 1617, 1624, 1636 and 1655 missions were all used to receive the envoys from Tsushima or distributed to alleviate famine outbreaks.⁵ Prioritizing face and honor, it became a regular practice of *Tongsinsa* to refuse the gifts from the shogun, as can be observed from the depiction of Korean envoy leaving behind the shogun's gifts at the Geumjeol River shortly before arriving at Arai (Yi Sanggyu 2006:131). That practice was first reported in the record of Kim Seryeom, the deputy head of 1636 *Tongsinsa*, and was recorded in *Cheophae sineo*, a Japanese language textbook in Joseon Korea (Yi Taeyeong 1997:287-298). That scene was also included in the painting *Saroseunggudo* by Yi Seongrin, a painter who accompanied the 1747 *Tongsinsa*.⁶

When the envoy from Tsushima re-delivered the gifts from the shogun, the Koreans accepted them and added them into the state treasury. The case of the 1617 *Tongsinsa* is particularly telling. According to *Gwanghaegun ilgi*, King Gwanghae purposefully dispatched his close associate Bak Jae in order to use the shogun's gifts to finance palace construction.⁷

It makes sense to use official materials such as *Bibyeonsa deungrok* (the Records of the Border Defense Council) and *Seungjeongwon ilgi* (the Diary of the Royal Secretariat) in addition to *Joseon wangjo sillok*.⁸ Based on these

4. Although it is a different subject, as can be seen in the relevant entries in the Joseon veritable records, Tsushima often profited from deviating from standard protocols and utilizing various tactics in the seventeenth century. From an opposite standpoint, it is also clear that Tsushima, despite the fact that the Joseon central government as well as local governments in Busan and Dongrae often took such actions as deviations, did not request things that the Korean side really could not accept. There is a need to better draw out the intentions of Joseon government in sending *Tongsinsa* to Japan.

5. Seonjo 40/07/19, Gwanghaegun 10/06/25, Injo 3/07/07, Injo 21/11/21, Hyojong 7/03/07.

6. The drawing of Geumjeol River does not depict the *Tongsinsa* leaving behind the silver they received. The scene was included in *Saroseunggudo* to commemorate the Japanese workers who worked hard to provide the Korean envoy a safe passage over the river.

7. *Gukyeok gwanghaegun ilgi*, Gwanghaegun 9/03/19, 7/04/06, 9/03/22, 10/10/11, 13/02/08, 14/04/20, 14/06/03. (The Diary of King Gwanghaegun Translated in Korean). March 19, the 9th year of King Gwanghaegun; April 6, the 7th year; March 22, the 9th year; October 11, the 10th year; February 8, the 13th year; April 20, the 14th year; June 3, the 14th year.

8. This point was repeatedly made in works that overview the *Tongsinsa* research trends

basic materials, additional materials such as *Daeil gwangye deungrok*,⁹ stored in the Kyujanggak of Seoul National University, could be used to fill in missing information. However, prioritizing reading primary sources¹⁰ such as *Deungrok* might mean the researcher fails to see the forest for the trees. Although *Deungrok* features the discussions surrounding the *Tongsinsa* dispatch, it does not provide the context behind the Joseon government's decision.

The number one source to study Joseon *Tongsinsa* is *Haebaeng chongjae*. This record was translated into Korean in the 1970s by the Minjok munhwa chujinhoe (Minjok munhwa chujinhoe, 1976, Minjok munhwa mungo ganhaenghoe). In Japan, scholars used either the 1914 publication from the Chōsen kosho kankōkai or the Japanese translation done by Tanaka Takeo, Gang Jaeon, and Wakamatsu Minoru of Nitchō kyōkai aichi-ken rengōkai.¹¹

The name *Haebaeng chongjae* originated with the edition compiled by Hong Gychui, who collected records written by *Tongsinsa* members

such as that of Miyake Hidetoshi (Miyake Hidetoshi, Kinsei nitchō kankeishi no kenkyū, introduction and pages 11-61). *Bibyeonsa deungrok* is available online. It is also being translated right now, completed up to the Yeongjo era. *Seungjeongwon ilgi* is also available online up to the Jeongjo era. *Seungjeongwon ilgi* of the Kojong era is fully translated, and the Injo era is being translated at the moment.

9. The National Institute of Korean History (*Guksa pyeonchan wiwonbae*) scanned and published it, and a portion of it is available online. Although not all of it is scanned at Kyujanggak, the remainder can be scanned at the National Institute of Korean History as "short-term material" (Han Munjong, "Joseon hugi ilbon e gwanhan jeosul ui josa yeongu: Daeil gwangye deungrokryu eul jungsim euro," *Guksagwan nonchong* 86 (1999).
10. Recently, perhaps the most comprehensive and lasting data is *Jeongaeksa ilgi*. This material covers the years from 1640 to 1880s, and the discussions are more detailed than more traditional sources such as *Byeonrye jipyo* and *Dongraebu jeopwae janggye gagosa mokchochaek*. Although it also has missing parts, it is certainly most outstanding in Korean-Japanese relations in terms of both consistency and amount of material. Although *Jeongaeksa ilgi* is a diary compiled at the Jeongaeksa, it is no different from *deungrok*. The National Institute of Korean History scanned and published it to volume 10 (to 1810). The entire thing is available online.
11. "Chōsen tsūshinshi," Wikipedia and Yahoo-Japan. The original Wakamatsu Minoru used to translate from 1985 to 1990 appears to be the Korean edition of *Haebaeng chongbae*, published by the Minjok munhwa chujinhoe during the 1970s. Records that were translated earlier are *Kaiyūroku* (K. *Haeyurok*; written by Sin Yuhan, translated by Gang Jaeon, Heibonsha, 1974) and *Kaitō shokokuki* (K. *Haedong jegukgi*; written by Sin Sukju, translated by Tanaka Takeo, Iwanami Shoten, 1991). *Haesarok*, the record of the 1590 *Tongsinsa* deputy head Kim Seongil, is included in volumes nine and ten of *Chōsen tsūkō daiki*, edited by Matsuura Kashō in 1725. This edition only includes Kim's letters, leaving out Kim's poems and life story.

in his preparation for the 1747 trip as the head of the mission (the twenty-third year of King Yeongjo's reign) (Ha Ubong 1986: 77). This collection was given to Seo Myeongeung, who was appointed as the head of the 1769 (the thirty-ninth year of the King Yeongjo's reign) *Tongsinsa*. The appointment was later changed to Jo Eom, and the collection was given to Jo. Although the *Haebaeng chongjae* the three men collected is not extant, the purpose of collection was to gain useful background information before the trip. Unexpected incidents occurred during every mission. National dignity was also at stake, as a mistake by a *Tongsinsa* member could be taken as a national offense. The records were read in order to be used as a guide.¹²

In the colonial era, Chōsen kosho kankōkai¹³ collected the Joseon *Tongsinsa* records, added the records of drifters, and published them under the title of *Haebaeng chongjae* in 1914 (Ha Ubong 1986:79). During the 1970s, Minjok munhwa chujinhoe added eleven more entries and published them under the same title. Records of the personal experiences of those kidnapped during the Japanese invasions of Korea (1592-1599) and returned home and the records of post-1876 *Susinsa* were added. *Haebaeng chongjae* now include the records of *Tongsinsa*, drifters, and those kidnapped, as well as post-1876 *Susinsa*.

There are twenty more items left out of *Haebaeng chongjae*, and it is possible that there are more records not yet discovered.¹⁴ About half of those records not included in *Haebaeng chongjae* are translated and photo-printed. It is therefore necessary to interpret and translate these relatively little-known records.

12. In preparing for the 1606 (the thirty-ninth year of King Seonjo's reign) *Tongsinsa* mission, records of the members of 1590 mission were read. Kim Segyeom, the deputy head of the 1636 mission, carried the 1590 record of Kim Seongil during the trip. The records suggesting that the top three leaders of the mission often followed the precedent of Jeong Mongju in reading extant records of their predecessors (*Gukyeok seonjo sillok*, 39/09/28).

13. Refers to the organization established by Shakuo Shunzo in 1908. Shakuo is from Okayama Prefecture and worked as a journalist and a teacher. In preparation for the annexation, Chōsen kosho kankōkai researched Korean history and "national characteristics" and published rare books of Korea. This organization functioned until 1916 (Choe Hyeju, "Hanmal iljeha jaejoseon ilbonin ui joseon goseo ganhaeng saeop," *Daedong munhwa yeongu* 66 (June 2009)).

14. Kim Yonggi, "Imjin waeran ui piroin swaehwan girok sinjaryo "haedonggi" go," *Daegu sabak* 1 (July 1967), Miyake Hidetoshi, *Kinsei nitchō kankeishi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Bunken Shuppan, 1986), Ha Ubong, "Saero balgyeon doen ilbon sahaengrokdeul: Hae-haeng chongja ui bochung gwa gwanryeon hayeo," *Yeoksa hakbo* 112 (December 1986), Jeong Seongil, "*Tongsinsa* haengrok ui daeita baeseu guchuk," *Yeoksa wa gyeongje* 55 (June 2005).

Trip Records of *Tongsinsa* to Japan Not Contained in *Haehaeng chongjae*

| | Name | Year | Author | Position | Place of Possession | Translation |
|----|----------------|------|----------------|-------------------------|---|---|
| 1 | Dongsarok | 1596 | Bak Hongjang | Deputy Head | Nagoyajo Museum of Saga Prefecture, Japan | Jang Dongik, Toegye Research Institute, Kyungpook National Univ., 2002 |
| 2 | Haedonggi | 1607 | Jang Hi-chun | Military Officer | Go 2511-78-2-1-2, National Library of Korea | Not Translated |
| 3 | Dongsa ilgi | 1617 | Bak Jae | Deputy Head | Go 4254-46, Kyujanggak, Seoul National University | Not Translated |
| 4 | Haesa ilgi | 1636 | Jeon Yeong | Writing Officer | Descendant Family, Yonsei Univ. and National Library of Korea | Not Translated |
| 5 | Busang ilgi | 1655 | Jo Hyeong | Head | Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard Univ. (Copy: National Institute of Korean History); Copied by Im Donggwon | Yim Janghyeok, Jipmundang, 2000 |
| 6 | Ilbon gihaeng | 1655 | Lee Dongro | Military Officer | Imanishu-Ryu Collection, Tenri Univ.; Go 2837-19 (Lost Abroad) | Not Translated |
| 7 | Dongsarok | 1711 | Kim Hyeonmun | Translator | Kyoto University Library | Baek Okgyeong, Hyeon, 2007 Supported by the Gyedonggong group of Ubong Kim Family |
| 8 | Haesailgi | 1719 | Hong Chijung | Head | Kyoto University Library | Not Translated |
| 9 | Busang gihaeng | 1719 | Jeong Hugyo | Junior Military Officer | Kyoto University Library | Not Translated |
| 10 | Busangrok | 1719 | Kim Heup | Military Officer | Gwigojo 63-11, National Library of Korea | Not Translated |
| 11 | Susailrok | 1747 | Hong Gyeonghae | Junior Military Officer | Go 4710-5, Seoul National Univ. | Not Translated |
| 12 | Ilbonilgi | 1747 | Unknown | | Kyoto University Library | Not Translated |

| Name | Year | Author | Position | Place of Possession | Translation |
|--------------------------------|------|------------------|-----------------------------------|---|---|
| 13 Ilgwangi | 1763 | Nam Ok | Writer | Chaebangbon, ¹⁵ National Institute of Korean History (Nam Sang-hak Possession) | Kim Bogyong, Somyeong, 2006 |
| 14 Ilbonrok | 1763 | Seong Daejung | Secretary | Korea University Library | Not Translated |
| 15 Seungsarok | 1763 | Won Junggeo | Secretary | Yukdang Collection, Korea University Library | Kim Gyeongsuk, Somyeong, 2006. |
| 16 Hwagukji | 1763 | Won Junggeo | Secretary | Ochanomizu Women's University Library (Sekido Collection) | Lee Wuseong, ed., Seobyeokoesa, Missing Edition Abroad 1990, Asiamunhwasa; Park Jaegeum, Somyeong, 2006. |
| 17 Sarok | 1763 | Min Hyesu | Military Officer | Yukdang Collection, Korea University Library | Not Translated |
| 18 Dongsailgi | 1763 | O Daeryeong | Scholar of Chinese Learning | Go 3653-40, National Library of Korea | Not Translated |
| 19 Gyemi susarok | 1763 | Unknown | | Succession Go 3653-40, National Library of Korea | Not Translated |
| 20 Ildong jang- yugi | 1763 | Kim Ingyeom | Secretary | Garam Collection, Seoul National University | * Korean Verse, Asia munhwasa, photoprinted (1974) |
| 21 Sinmi tongsin il- rok | 1811 | Kim Igyo | Head | Descendant Family | Tongmungwan Pho- toprinted (1980), Not Translated |
| 22 Cheongsan doyurok | 1811 | Kim Seonsin | Secretary | Han Gojo 93-85, National Library of Korea | Not Translated |

[Compiled by referring to Ha Ubong (1986) and Jeong Seongil (2005)]

In addition, there are records of diplomatic regulations such as *Tongmun gwanji*, *Chun gwanji*, *Jeungjeong gyorinji* and *Gyorinji*. As Korean-Japanese relations are closely related to Korean-Chinese relations, *Dongmun hwigo* can also be a supplementary record. I will not go into

15. Chaebangbon refers to a hand-copied version of a rare manuscript, created during the compilation of *Chōsen shi*.

details of these records due to limitations of space.

Next, I want to introduce *Sinsa girok* of *Daemado jongga munseo*, stored at the National Institute of Korean History. Although this can be considered a Japanese source, I will nevertheless discuss it in this section, as it is stored in Korea. The National Institute of Korean History of today is the successor to the Chōsen shi henshūkai of the colonial period. The Sō-ke documents of Tsushima domain were purchased by Chōsen shi henshūkai during the 1920s and 1930s to be used for the publication of *Chōsen shi* (Nakamura, 1969, Yoshigawako bunkan). As this issue has been fully discussed in works of Tashiro Kazui and others, I will only discuss the recent trends.

Daemado jongga munseo girokryu mokrokjip was published in 1990. According to this material, although records of *Tongsinsa* before 1643 exist, the amount of material increases rapidly from 1655 and even more so after 1682.¹⁶ The individual book header includes the Japanese calendar year of the mission; records were kept until the 1850s, when the discussions of sending a mission to a different Japanese destination were ongoing. Such records can also be found in microfilms made by Keio University Professor Tashiro Kazui, who assembled Sō-ke documents from seven different places, including the National Institute of Korean History, from 1998.¹⁷ In volume nine, Tashiro listed the first period *Chōsen tsūshinshi kiroku*, the second period *Edo hantei nikki*, and the third period *Wakan kanshu nikki saiban kiroku* and wrote descriptions of them. Tashiro also added related articles and lists to make the documents more convenient (Tashiro, 1998-2006, Yumani shobo).

Next, I want to introduce Japanese materials that are useful in *Tongsinsa* studies. *Chōsen tsūkoū taiki* includes the documents of Korean-Japanese relations starting with the visit of Tsushima Confucian scholar Matsuura Kashō, sent by the Tsushima governor Sō Tatsushige, in 1368 (the seventeenth year of King Gongmin's reign) to the Joseon *Yejo chamui*'s letter to the Tsushima governor Sō Yoshikata in 1716 (the forty-first year of King Sukjong's reign). The first eight volumes (out of the total of ten) list

16. As Osa Masanori points out, the Tsushima domain government was not fully constituted until the 1680s. *Daemado jongga munseo* began to be compiled effectively only from the 1680s. See Osa Masanori, "Nitchō kankei ni okeru kiroku no jidai," *Tōyō gakubō* 50:1-4 (1967-1968).

17. The *Tongsinsa* records were used from the copies in the Keio University Library. The ones Keio University did not possess were collected from the National Institute of Korean History. The Keio University copies are thought to be closest to the original condition. Tashiro Kazui, "*Tsushima sō-ke bunsbo ni tsuite*," the first separate volume, 23.

all the letters Japan (Tsushima) and Joseon Korea exchanged along with commentaries. Volumes nine and ten list only the letters from Kim Seongil's *Haesarok*. *Haesarok* is comprised of five volumes, and Kim Seongil's poems and life story recorded in the first two volumes are not included within.

Filled with Matsuura's commentaries and explanations of ancient events, it is a useful source to understand the basic flow of Korean-Japanese relations up to early eighteenth century (Tanaka 1978:5). The letters preserved at the National Institute of Korean History were written after the King Gwanghaegun era,¹⁸ so *Chōsen tsūkoū taiki* could also supplement the relative lack of material for the Seonjo-Gwanghaegun era (1567-1623) in Korea as well. In particular, it can supplement the mostly cursory post-1592 entries in *Seonjo sillok*.

Next, *Tsūkō ichiran*, a collection of historical records pertaining to foreign relations, was compiled by the Tokugawa *bakufu* in 1853 (the fourth year of King Cheoljong's reign) as a part of its effort to respond to increasing appearances of foreign ships in its waters.¹⁹ The part on Joseon Korea, placed next to the part on the Ryūkyū Kingdom, is recorded on volumes 25 to 137. Most of its contents cover the period from the end of the Japanese invasions of Korea (1592-1599) to around 1811 ending with the diplomatic mission that terminated in Tsushima. A lot of material is on *Tongsinsa*, also covering issues of maritime trade, condolence rituals, Dokdo, and drifters.

Representative Academic Results

I want to chronologically review representative works in the field of *Tongsinsa* studies. Focusing on historiography, I want to first point to representative works without delving into thorough descriptions of the most recent works in the field.

With exception of introductory texts on Korea from the Meiji period, the origins of *Tongsinsa* studies must be attributed to the work of Matsuda Kō (1863-1945), who researched Korean-Japanese cultural relations while

18. Referring to letters and lists of gifts Korean officials in the positions of Yejo chamui, Yejo jeongrang, Yejo jwarang, Dongrae busa, and Busanjin cheomsa sent to Tsushima. Within the confines of Tsushima, the recipients include the governor, monks involved with diplomacy, the trade ship dispatchers, and temporary messengers between Korea and Tsushima.

19. Yanai Kenji, "Tsūkō ichiran," *Kokusbi daijiten* 9 (1988): 702.

employed at the Japanese Government-General (Matsuda, 1930-1931, the Japanese Government-General of Joseon). He joined the Sino-Japanese war and the Russo-Japanese war as a surveyor and also avidly studied classical Chinese poetry. He published results of his research on Korean-Japanese cultural relations in the Japanese General-Government journal. They were often used as texts for various lectures sponsored by the Japanese Government-General of Joseon.²⁰

Matsuda gave a review of late Joseon *Tongsinsa* during the Tokugawa period in his 1925 article "Tokugawa sidae ui joseon tongsinsa." He went over important themes such as the purpose behind the Japanese government's request, the composition of *Tongsinsa*, places in Japan the envoy stopped by, and exchanges of correspondence. He mentions all Korean visits to Japan. He also touches upon the records of writing and singing as well as drifters.²¹

One regrettable thing is that Matsuda just touched on the Joseon government's preparation for the *Tongsinsa* mission. The chronology he made covers only from the date of arrival in Tsushima up to the date the *Tongsinsa* leaves Japan. The 1747 *Tongsinsa*, which left Hanseong on November 28, 1747 (the twenty-third year of King Yeongjo's reign), is recorded by Matsuda as occurring in 1748. The 1763 *Tongsinsa*, which began its journey to Japan in August, was recorded as the 1764 *Tongsinsa*, based on the year they arrived at Tsushima. It is incorrect to make the chronology based on the Japanese perspective. Due to its bilateral nature, the chronology should have included the point of departure in Joseon as well.²² Although

20. Gwon Sun-cheol, "Sikminjigi ui ilseon munhwa gyoryusa yeonggu: Matsuda Kō Nissen siwa reul danseoro haeseo," *Chonghap yeongu gigu yeongu peurojekteu yeongu seonggwa bogoseo* 5 (2007): 223.

21. Garnered by glancing over the table of contents of Matsuda's books. Considering the content, pictures and range of data, it is almost unbelievable that a single person completed this work. On this issue, I was told by Professor Jeon Haejong (1919-) that, to assemble materials, most Japanese colonial scholars employed 20 to 30 Korean scholars specializing in literary Chinese.

22. There were seven instances in which the year changed during the *Tongsinsa* trip: August 1624 – May 16245 (led by Jeong Rip), August 1636 – March 1637 (led by Im Gwang), April 1655 – February 1656 (led by Jo Hyeong), May 1711 – 1712 (led by Jo Taeook), April 1719 – January 1720 (led by Hong Chijung), November 1747 – July (leap month) 1748 (led by Hong Gyeui), and August 1763 – July 1764 (led by Jo Eom). Most records written by *Tongsinsa* members, even though they place greater significance on the time spent in Japan, also start from their departure from Busan and end with their return to Busan. The Korean diplomatic records also vacillate on the starting date of *Tongsinsa* missions. A more detailed discussion is necessary, as much time and effort accompanied the trip within Korean territory as well.

a number of Japanese scholars uncritically accepted Matsuda's work, some Korean scholars began to question it by using the date of departure in Joseon²³ or even listing both years.²⁴

After Matsuda, Nakamura Hidetaka (1902-1984) published a thoroughly-researched work that systematically examines post-seventeenth century Korean-Japanese relations using essential sources. His *Edo jidai no nissen kankei* (Nakamura 1934, Iwanami shoten) has been reviewed as having raised the standard of the field of Korean-Japanese relations during the Edo period. Although individual citations were often not used, Nakamura utilized both Korea sources from the Keijo Imperial University as well as the So-ke documents collected by the Chōsen shi henshūkai.

In the section on *Tongsinsa*, Nakamura discusses: the negotiations for resumption of diplomatic relations after the sixteenth century Japanese invasions of Korea; the Treaty of 1609; the sending of *Tongsinsa* missions in 1617 and 1624; the transformation of the mission in 1636; the Nikko visits by the 1636, 1643 and 1655 *Tongsinsa*; the 1682 *Tongsinsa*; the 1711 reception reform by Arai Hakuseki; and, the 1719 *Tongsinsa* that resumed the older practices. It also mentioned that Arai's reform, devised to reduce the costs involved in receiving the Korean envoy, was eventually accepted after much discussion by 1811. I have omitted discussing his three-volume work *Nissen kankeishi no kenkyū*, published during the 1960s, as it is a general treatment of Korean-Japanese relations without an in-depth discussion on the topic of *Tongsinsa*.²⁵

Next, I want to refer to Tabohashi Kiyoshi (1897-1945), who published *Kindai nissen kankeishi no kenkyū* in 1940 while working for the Chōsen shi henshūkai of the Japanese Governor-General.²⁶ In the extra chapter of his book, Tabohashi analyzed the process starting from the Tsushima domain's

23. Kim Deokjin et al., "Oegyo wa gyeongje: Joseon hugi tongsinsa oegyo wa gyeongje siseutem," *Hanil gwangyesa yeongu* 26 (April 2007).

24. Kim Dongcheol proposes that both years should be listed in the case that the travel went over the yearly calendar. This is also a valid argument, as *Tongsinsa* were dispatched only after both nations agreed. Kim Dongcheol, "Waegwando reul geurin byeonbak ui daeil gyoryu hwaldong gwa jakpum deul," *Hanil gwangyesa yeongu* 19 (October 2003): 54.

25. The two articles in the volume three of this work, "Edo jidai no nissen kankei" and "Chōsen no nihon tsūshinshi to ōsaka" (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1969) are relevant to our discussion.

26. Tabohashi Kiyoshi, who majored in history of foreign policy at Keijo Imperial University, joined the Chōsen shi henshūkai in 1933. Nakamura Hidekata, "Chōsen shi no henshū to chōsen shiryō no shūshū," in *Nissen kankeishi kenkyū*, vol. 3 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1969), 675.

notification of the new shogun in 1787 (the eleventh year of King Jeongjo's reign) and the twenty-four years of delay in the invitation of *Tongsinsa* (Miyake, 1986, 556). His analysis ends with the description of 1811 decision to change the place of visit. Prudence is necessary in reading this work, as this book includes a number of arrogant and demeaning expressions that reflect colonial historiography (Hyeon Myeongcheol, 2003:13). Tabohashi's perspective is influential among researchers of Korean-Japanese relations, particularly his analysis of how the Tsushima domain worked independently in between the pro- and anti-*bakufu* factions during the 1860s and how the new Meiji regime took away the diplomatic power of Tsushima and forced the "opening" of Joseon Korea (Hyeon Myeongcheol 2003:13).

Miyake Hitetoshi's 1986 book focuses on *Tongsinsa* in its entirety, examining its prototype from the King Taejong and King Sejong eras to the post-1811 (the eleventh year of King Sunjo) discussions of the destination changes. He also gave an overview of the field of Korean-Japanese relations as well as major historical sources and their places of storage.

Now I want to introduce the new trend of emphasis on *Tongsinsa* from the historical perspective of cultural exchange.²⁷ Although a number of events marred the relationship between the two countries, Edo period *Tongsinsa* were often the symbol of neighborly relations between Korea and Japan. Yi Jinhui is a Korean-Japanese scholar originally trained in archaeology. After several explorations of the route taken by the *Tongsinsa*, Yi published a book on it in 1976 (Yi Jinhui:1976; Yi Jinhui:1987). Led by Korean-Japanese organization Eisō bunka kyōkai (chairman Sin Gisu), Korean-Japanese scholars such as Gang Jaeon and Yi Jinhui as well as Japanese scholars Nakamura Hidetaka, Ueda Masaaki and Tashiro Kazui created the *Tongsinsa* "boom" in Japan, emphasizing its symbolic value in Korean-Japanese relations. Sin Gisu, Gang Jaeon and Yi Jinhui continued to be involved in *Tongsinsa*-related exhibitions and research. More recently, Sin Gisu, Nakao Hiroshi and Yi Wonsik led the publication of eight-volume work *Chōsen tsūshinshi taikei* (Sin Gisu, et. al., 1993-1996, Akashi shoten). This work brought together all Japanese drawings and writings on *Tongsinsa* as well as the records *Tongsinsa* members left behind.

The problem, however, is the overemphasis on cultural exchange among the *Tongsinsa*-related works. Given the insufficient accumulation of

27. This is an impression of the author, who is writing from Korea.

research on the topic, it might be better to focus more on political, diplomatic and economic aspects of *Tongsinsa* instead of its role in cultural exchange. Of course, Yi Jinhui and Sin Gisu sought to emphasize the “neighborly relations” aspect of *Tongsinsa* to overcome the negative aspects of Korean-Japanese relations since the 1970s. Such efforts began to be introduced to Korea from 1985, the twenty-year anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Japan and South Korea, in order to fix some of the negative Korean assumptions against Japan and its history. Introduction of a number of translated books written by Korean-Japanese scholars working in Japan accelerated the process of correcting some of those negative Korean assumptions. Although such developments are without a doubt admirable and positive, an overemphasis on cultural exchange placed a shadow over political, economic and diplomatic aspects of *Tongsinsa*.

For example, there were a number of instances in which the *Tongsinsa* members exchange writings with local Japanese scholars amidst of bad weather conditions that blocked travel. Taking such instances as examples of free cultural exchange is problematic.

Although relevant works by Korean scholars have occasionally been published since the 1990s, there are not many comprehensive and thorough studies on *Tongsinsa*. Yi Wonsik published a book studying *Tongsinsa* from the perspective of cultural exchange in 1991 called *Joseon tongsinsa*. Yi taught at universities in South Korea and Taiwan. During his research trip to Japan, Yi, who majored in Chinese literature, focused on how *Tongsinsa* facilitated cultural exchange between the two countries while having a strong cultural sense of their own (Yi Wonsik 1991:14). He approached the topic by examining the writings and paintings exchanged by the three leaders as well as translators, writers and painters of the envoy.²⁸

There are several things the readers should be aware of in reading Yi Wonsik’s book. Because the book focuses on the theme of cultural exchange, it is necessary to read sources such as *Haebaeng chongjae* and others in order to gain comprehensive knowledge of the trips made and at what points these exchanges occurred. The envoys were often tired as they had to travel according to a set schedule, and they often prepared other food

28. In the appendices of the book, Yi introduces the *Tongsinsa* records that have been left out from the translation efforts by the Minjok munhwa chujinhoe. He also introduced the writing exchanges as well as Japanese paintings of the *Tongsinsa* missions.

instead of that prepared by their Japanese hosts. They often spent significant times at places such as Fuchū in Tsushima, Ōsaka, Kyoto and Edo, where they would sometimes meet with literati coming to see them from distant areas in Japan.²⁹ In other words, there remains a need to discover where cultural exchanges could have occurred in keeping with their schedule.

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Abstract

This review of materials begins with an overview of early Joseon *Tongsinsa*, the Joseon diplomatic missions to Japan. The origin of *Tongsinsa* goes back to the late Goryeo dynasty in Korea, as the Korean government dispatched diplomatic missions to the Japanese government in order to curtail pirate activities. Then, the introduction of basic materials in the study of *Tongsinsa* begins by referring to Miyake Hideyoshi's 1968 work on Korean-Japanese relations during the Joseon dynasty. Excellent sources for the study of Joseon *Tongsinsa* identified are *Joseon wangjo sillok* and *Haebaeng chongjae*, the latter a record translated into Korean in the 1970s. *Sinsa girok* of *Daemado jongga munseo*, stored at the National Institute of Korean History, is also noted. Japanese materials that are useful in *Tongsinsa* studies, including *Chōsen tsūkoū taiki* and *Tsūkō ichiran*, a collection of historical records pertaining to foreign relations, compiled by the Tokugawa *bakufu* in 1853, are also canvassed. A discussion of representative works of the field makes certain observations, including the assessment that there are not many comprehensive and thorough studies among the *Tongsinsa*-related works, that there is an overemphasis on cultural exchange among them, and recommends that future research to focus more on political, diplomatic and economic aspects of *Tongsinsa* instead of its role in cultural exchange.