



Philipp Franz von Siebold’s Korean Studies: Focusing on His Sources and Publications on the Korean Language

Sven OSTERKAMP

In the present paper we address some of the chief sources on the Korean language Philipp Franz von Siebold collected as well as the publications based on these. Not only could the originals of *Waeō yuhae* 倭語類解 and *Yuhap* 類合 finally be located in 2010 and 2012 respectively, there has also been some progress in the study of materials in manuscript form dispersed over several countries that bear relevance on the topic at hand. Owing to these circumstances our knowledge as to Siebold’s Korean studies has arguably been growing slowly but steadily. The aims of the present paper therefore lie in introducing some of the rediscovered materials and newly gained insights.

First we will consider the Korean works that were either actually published as part of Siebold’s *Bibliotheca Japonica* or were at least considered for inclusion in the series and identify the underlying originals, their provenance and current whereabouts. Second, we aim at clarifying the ultimate sources of the Korean words given in the glossary of that language found in *Nippon* and compare our results with Siebold’s own claims concerning the process of its compilation.

1. *Ch’ōnjamun* 千字文

It is well-known that Siebold published a lithographic reprint of *Qianziwen* 千字文 (Thousand Character Classic; called *Ch’ōnjamun* in the following whenever referring to a Korean edition), with translational equivalents in Korean added in the year 1833 as the third volume of his *Bibliotheca Japonica* with the help of Ko Tsching Dschang, or Guo Chengzhang 郭成章. Here we would therefore like to draw attention to the original print underlying Siebold’s edition, which fortunately enough has been preserved to the present day in the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden (call number: 1-4334). Its whereabouts have been known since earlier unlike it is the case for *Yuhap* or *Waeō yuhae* (on which see below); its exact nature, however, has hitherto however remained somewhat obscure.

Siebold treats the original in Leiden as a Korean print, referring to it explicitly as “in peninsula Koorai impressum” [“printed on the Korean peninsula”] on the 1833 title page for instance.¹ Hoffmann (1840:2) likewise states that “das gedruckte Original [trägt] unverkennbare Spuren kōraischen Ursprungs” [“the printed original unmistakably betrays its Korean origin”]. Not only that, if Siebold’s own words in a letter addressed to Julius Klaproth are to be trusted, he received the original from Korean castaways he met in Japan.² Accordingly we should indeed expect it to be a Korean print, but this is not actually the case: As a glance at the original reveals it is not a Korean print as such, but rather a Japanese reprint of an underlying Korean print.

Such early Japanese reprints of Korean publications are not necessarily rare when it comes to works written in Chinese. However it does not appear to have happened more than merely a few times that a Korean work involving at least some portions of text in Korean, making use of the

Korean alphabet, was reprinted in Japan. The medical encyclopedia *Tongūi pogam* 東醫寶鑑 (text in *han'gūl* is however restricted to the section on infusions, entitled “t'angaek-p'yōn” 湯液篇) may serve as an example here, but there are also at least two different reprints of Korean editions of the *Qianziwen*. Both are based on what is known as *Sōkpong Ch'ōnjamun* 石峯千字文, featuring the calligraphy of celebrated Han Ho 韓濩 (1543-1605, whose nom de plume is *Sōkpong* 石峯). Possibly owing to the fact that they are both bibliographical rarities, neither of these appears to have been mentioned in the context of Siebold up to now.

The first of the two has long been introduced to scholarship by Maema (1937: 88-90) among others. It carries a postscript dated Enpō 3 (i.e. 1675), which relates the circumstances that led to this reprint carried out in Edo. It is precisely this edition Siebold succeeded to procure in Japan. The title at the beginning of the main text is simply given as *Senjimon/Ch'ōnjamun* 千字文 and the central fold merely says *Sen/Ch'ōn* 千; according to the title slip of the Leiden copy it also appears to have been known as *Bushū Senmonji* 武州千文字 (“The Thousand Characters [printed in] the province of Musashi”). In the Leiden catalogues (Siebold/Hoffmann 1845: 20, no. 330; Serrurier 1896: 29, no. 98), however, it is called [*Senjimon ōhon*]³ 千字文大本 throughout (which is purely descriptive, referring to the large format of the print), so that sources vary with regard to this point to quite some extent.⁴

The second is entitled *Chōsen Senjimon* 朝鮮千字文 and was published by the Ōsaka-based *Sekishōkaku* 赤松閣, carved in hollow relief. There is no indication as to the date of publication, but this edition likely dates from the mid-18th century, i.e. from the time when Hirase Tessai 平瀬徹齋 (alias Chigusaya Shin'emon 千草屋新右衛門, as also indicated in the colophon here), proprietor of *Sekishōkaku*, can be demonstrated to have been in active business.⁵ It is this reprint missionary Walter Henry Medhurst appended to his English translation of *Waeō yuhae* 倭語類解 (on which see below) published under the title of *Translation of a comparative vocabulary of the Chinese, Korean, and Japanese languages* (or 朝鮮倭國字彙; Batavia 1835).

Now as both Siebold and Hoffmann admitted themselves afterwards,⁶ there were already countless errors present in the original. And indeed, if we compare the 1833 edition with the original, it becomes clear that almost all of the errors found in the former were in fact already present in the latter, so that the overall number of errors increased only relatively little. It is the omission of entire syllable blocks in *han'gūl* that stand out among the errors observed, and as a collation of these two texts with an original Korean print reveals, almost exactly one third of all syllable blocks (946 out of 2,821, according to our own tentative count) that are supposed to be there are missing in the Japanese reprint.⁷

As stated above we are dealing with a Japanese reprint here, which is highly unlikely to derive from Korean castaways. While there have long been good reasons to doubt such a provenance, a recent discovery among the manuscripts kept in the Brandenstein Archive now provides us with a decisive piece of evidence that this is not correct after all. Namely there is a Latin language draft of a bibliographical introduction to the third and fourth volumes of *Bibliotheca Japonica*, which shows quite some overlap with Siebold (1841: 6-8) or *Nippon* (VII: 10f.).⁸ Now in this manuscript there is no reference to Korean castaways at all in the passage on the original's provenance, but instead we are told explicitly that it was obtained from the Dutch interpreter Namura Sanjirō 名村三次郎. Still, the manuscript continues, claiming that Namura obtained this work from Korea, which again is difficult to accept. Then however it may well be the case that Siebold himself believed this to be true.

2. *Yuhap* 類合

Next there is *Yuhap* 類合, published in 1838 as the fourth volume of the *Bibliotheca Japonica* series and likewise included in fascicles 7/8 of *Nippon* published in the following year. What Siebold himself has to say about the provenance of the original is as follows:

Das oben gegebene Wörterverzeichniss war bereits zum Drucke befördert, als uns das gegenwärtige *Lui hō*, eine bei weiten vollständigere Sammlung kōraischer Wörter durch Freiherrn von SCHILLING-CANSTADT mitgetheilt wurde. Dieser verdienstvolle Gelehrte hatte das Buch von seiner Reise, welche er auf Befehl der Kaiserlich Russischen Regierung in 1832 nach Kiachta unternahm, mitgebracht. Er verdankte es dem Pater HYACINTH, Archimandrit der Mission zu Peking, der es daselbst von kōraischen Gesandten erhalten hatte. (*Nippon* VII: 61)
[The glossary given above had already been sent to press when the present *Lui hō* [= *Yuhap*], a by far more exhaustive compilation of Korean words, was communicated to us by Baron Schilling von Canstadt. This meritorious scholar had brought the book back with him from his voyage to Kyakhta carried out on orders of the Imperial Russian Government in 1832. He owed it to father Hyacinth [= Nikita Jakovlevič Bičurin (1777-1853)], archimandrite of the mission in Peking, who in turn had received it from Korean ambassadors.]

Owing to these lines the provenance of the original copy of *Yuhap* had always been known in considerably more detail than it is the case with *Ch'ōnjamun*. The original, however, is not preserved in the collections in Leiden and its whereabouts had long been unknown. Fortunately however this author unexpectedly met with the original in late 2012, when examining materials on Korean in the possession of the Austrian National Library.

In fact it is already found as no. 144 in Endlicher's (1837: 136) catalogue, but his description is confined to just a few words and no title as such is indicated at all: "Koreanisches Vocabular. *I Heft in 8°*" ["A Korean vocabulary, one fascicle in octavo"]. This is in stark contrast for instance to the Japanese books acquired from Siebold in the same catalogue. The exact reasons for these circumstances are unknown, but they may be imagined as follows: In the case of Chinese books it was certainly within the capabilities of Endlicher himself—who among other things is known for his study of Chinese, having even published a grammar of that language in 1845—to compile the necessary entries for the catalogue; those entries concerning Japanese works however were merely taken straight from the list Siebold had compiled, as a comparison demonstrates beyond doubt. What is more, neither of the two witnesses of this list that survive until today contain anything corresponding to Endlicher's no. 144, whereas no. 143 or no. 145 for instance are found in both.⁹ Endlicher therefore had nothing to depend upon in terms of a bibliographical description of *Yuhap*, which may be why his account does not go beyond stating that it is "A Korean vocabulary," not even quoting its title.

Be that as it may, it is certain that it became part of the Japanese collection just as the various books deriving from Siebold and had been assigned the call number "Jap. 119." At some point during the course of the 20th century, however, it was withdrawn from this collection—possibly because it simply is not a work of Japanese provenance—and put to rest in the stacks without being part of any collection at all, not even having received a new call number. Incidentally this is not the case anymore as the situation has changed since late 2012. It now goes by the name "Sin 7-C" and has become a member of the Chinese collection (sic!).

As one might expect it carries the signature of Schilling von Canstadt on the first page of the

main text. Considering the fact that this work is not found on the list of books prepared by Siebold it appears that it actually never was in Siebold's possession, but remained the property of Schilling until it became part of the collection in Vienna. When Siebold made use of it he apparently merely had it on loan from the Baron, rather than owning it himself. There can however be no doubt that Sin 7-C is indeed what underlies the lithographic reprint published in 1838, as can be demonstrated by the following comparanda. All cases here involve portions of *han'gūl* letters that have become illegible or were lost entirely, likely reflecting worn printing blocks, and that subsequently have led to errors in the lithographic reprint.

	original	1838 edition	error
彼 匹 (14v)		피 彼 더	p'i 피 → kŭi 귀
訪 方 (17v)		낭 訪 同	pang 방 → nang 낭
驅 区 (19r)		나 驅 몰	ku 구 → na 나

(Courtesy of the Austrian National Library, Sin 7-C)

3. *Waeō yuhae* 倭語類解

The Korean–Japanese dictionary *Waeō yuhae* 倭語類解 had been known to Siebold from early on. Long before his *Nippon* began to be published, this work is already mentioned among the references to his treatise “Einige Worte über den Ursprung der Japanesen” [“Some words on the origin of the Japanese”], the manuscript of which dates from a time briefly after his arrival in Japan in 1823. The draft version kept at Bochum University (call number: 1.145.001) has two additions to the list of references that are of interest here: First, we learn that “davon bestehen in Japan nur 2 Exemplare” [“there exist only two copies of this work in Japan”]; second, there is a later addition reading “Ich habe Hoffnung eines zu erhalten” [“I am hoping to obtain a copy”] (5r). It was however only considerably later that Siebold actually got hold of a copy of this work. According to a manuscript preserved in the Brandenstein Archives it was part of a collection of books, mostly Japanese prints, bought from Heinrich Bürger, which had arrived in Leiden in late 1838.¹⁰ Naturally the questions arises how Bürger managed to procure a copy of such a bibliographical rarity: previous scholarship mentioned merely two printed copies of this work world-wide, one each in Japan (Komazawa University, Takusoku bunko 灌足文庫) and Korea (National Library of Korea). Again it is the Latin manuscript referred to above that provides us with some precious details here: Here, Siebold states explicitly that it derives from the “collegio interpretum Japonicorum,” or *tolken-collegie*, in Nagasaki.¹¹

As is obvious from the following quote, Siebold had the intention to reprint this work as well and publish it as a volume within his *Bibliotheca Japonica*. Without the help of Guo Chengzhang, however, who had already returned to Batavia in late 1835, this was all but impossible.¹²

Maxime dolemus, praecipuum librum Coraianum, cui Sinensis titulus “*Wei jū lui kiai*” scriptus est, sero a nobis esse cognitum, qua re impediti sumus, quominus hujus quoque exemplum

exscriptum in Bibliotheca nostra Japonica traderemus. (Siebold 1841: 8)

[We very much regret that the extraordinary Korean book, entitled *Wei jü lui kiai* [= *Waeö yuhae*] in Chinese, became known to us only late, which kept us from including a copy of it in our *Bibliotheca Japonica*.]

Now the later whereabouts of Siebold’s copy of *Waeö yuhae* had long been unknown, with Hamada (1977: 204) for instance stating that it is unclear whether it still exists in some place or another. Almost by chance however this author located the original in the Chinese collection of John Rylands Library, Manchester (call number: Chinese 435) in 2010.

The Chinese collection was bought in 1901 until when it formed part of the vast private library of Lord Lindsay, 25th Earl of Crawford, known as Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Accordingly we also find Siebold’s former copy of *Waeö yuhae* in the catalogue of Chinese books compiled in 1895.¹³ If we trace it further back in time we arrive at a time shortly after the death of Siebold, when his son Alexander sold parts of his father’s collection to the British Museum. In the correspondence between the two parties spanning the years 1867-1868 reference is made to “a Corean Dictionary which my father had bought on his first voyage,”¹⁴ which however was not sold to the British Museum, but to Lord Lindsay through London-based bookseller Quaritch, who is also well known for buying up the stock of Siebold’s *Nippon* that had been in Munich and selling a collated edition of that work.

Above we have already mentioned Medhurst and his *Translation of a comparative vocabulary of the Chinese, Corean, and Japanese languages* in passing, pointing out that he used de Sturler’s copy of *Chōsen Senjimon* for the appendix to that work. Now concerning the main text of the *Comparative vocabulary*— that is, a lithographic reprint including an English translation of *Waeö yuhae*—Hamada (1977: 204) had long assumed that Medhurst made use of the same copy of this work as the one that became part of Siebold’s collection afterwards, and as a comparison of the Batavia reprint and the original preserved in Manchester conducted in 2010 revealed, Hamada’s assumption was indeed correct. Thus, a number of textual problems in the reprint can for instance be demonstrated to derive from worm and other damage in Siebold’s former copy.

4. The glossary of Korean in *Nippon*

Lastly let us turn to the “Wörterverzeichnis,” or glossary of Korean, that is found in the second fascicle (published 1833) of *Nippon* and its sources as well as process of compilation. It altogether consists of about 560 entries, with many entries only found in the Romanized glossary, but not in its counterpart in original script (i.e. Chinese characters accompanied by their Japanese and Korean “readings” in *kana* and *han’gŭl* respectively).

	in Romanization	in original script
numbered items	453 (The numbering goes up to 455, but nos. 393, 454 are missing.) ¹⁵	454 (No. 393 is missing again, while the numbering goes up to 455.)
unnumbered items	111	—

Where does this glossary or more specifically the Korean words contained in it derive from? Siebold himself has to tell us the following in this respect:

Dem grössten Theile nach sind die Wörter durch mich und meine japanischen Freunde

aus dem Umgange mit Kooräern gesammelt, welche dieselben in ihrer *Onmun*schrift mit beigefügter Erklärung durch die chinesischen Charaktere, schrieben. Einige Wörter und viele der chinesisch-kooräischen sind aus dem erwähnten *Tsiân dsü-wên* genommen; die aus dem Vocabulaire des Herrn Klaproth füllten dabei eine grosse Lücke aus. Da wir sie jedoch, wie Herr Klaproth selbst bemerkt, weil ihre Aussprache sich auf eine Angabe in chinesischen Charakteren gründet, nicht durchgehends für richtig mögen gelten lassen, glaubten wir sie durch Cursivschrift von den übrigen unterscheiden zu müssen. (*Nippon* VII: 14)

[For the most part these words were collected by myself and my Japanese friends through our contact with the Koreans, who wrote them down in their *Onmun* [= *önmun* 諺文] script with explanations in Chinese characters added. A number of [purely Korean] words and many of the Sino-Korean ones are taken from the above-mentioned *Tsiân dsü-wên* [= *Ch'önjamun*]; those taken from the glossary of Klaproth filled a large gap in this respect. As we cannot however consider them correct in their entirety, as their pronunciation is based on renderings in Chinese characters—as mentioned by Klaproth himself—, we found it necessary to distinguish them from the others by using italics.]

Let us first consider the role Klaproth's glossary and *Ch'önjamun* have played in the compilation, which are both explicitly mentioned here.

Klaproth published three different glossaries of Korean over time.¹⁶ It is the last of these Siebold made use of, forming part of Klaproth's French adaptation of *Sangoku tsūran zusetsu* 三國通覽圖說 published as *Aperçu général des trois royaumes* in 1832. Counting the words printed in italics we find 125 words distributed over 115 entries (plus an additional two words which have not yet been identified with certainty), amounting to about 15 percent of the overall number of Korean words in the glossary. Also, among these 115 entries there are no less than 103 that do not contain anything else apart from the words quoted from Klaproth, i.e. they are given without any additions from other sources. Put differently, words taken from Klaproth account for almost about one fifth of the entire glossary.

Note also that Klaproth's glossary of 1832 quotes words taken from the glossary found in *Jilin leishi* 鷄林類事 in a column separate from words deriving from other sources. Obviously the statement that “their pronunciation is based on renderings in Chinese characters” does not apply to the latter category of words, but only to the former—yet if we survey the words taken from Klaproth and given in italics here in the “Wörterverzeichnis,” we notice that they are by no means taken from *Jilin leishi* throughout. In fact, we also find not few words in italics which were taken from *Tongüi pogam*, or also Witsen (1705) and Broughton (1804) for instance.¹⁷

	“Wörterverzeichnis”	Klaproth	source
‘eyebrow’	159b: <i>noun chip</i> ‘Augenbrauen’	<i>noun chip</i> ‘Sourcils’ (133)	<i>Noonship</i> ‘The eye-brow’ (Broughton 1804: 391)
‘cheek’	158b: <i>spaim</i> ‘Wange’	<i>spaim</i> ‘Joues’ (134)	<i>Spaem</i> ‘de Wangen’ (Witsen 1705: 52)
‘scorpion’	109c: <i>tsain kal</i> ‘Scorpion’	<i>tsainkal</i> ‘Scorpion’ (128)	蠍 전갈 (<i>Tongüi pogam</i> , “t’angaek-p’yön,” II/15r)

Next let us consider the role of *Ch'önjamun*, which likewise accounts for a considerable portion of the Korean words in the glossary, amounting to no less than about 33 percent of the total. Unsurprisingly a great many errors found in the 1833 edition are likewise reflected here. What deserves our attention far more, however, is what might be termed pseudo-Korean words created by

Siebold or possibly by one of his collaborators on the basis of what is found in *Ch'ŏnjamun*. Several examples are given below. Here, the often erroneous Sino-Korean character readings and Korean translational equivalents are reflected, but even worse: Quite frequently such pseudo-words—which needless to say never actually existed in Korean—were combined to form pseudo-compounds. It goes without saying that such ghost words were of no use whatsoever to “linguists and travelers”—who are claimed to be the addressees of the “Wörterverzeichnis” in *Nippon* (VII: 14)—and that they likewise have no value as a pre-modern source on Korean.

	<i>Ch'ŏnjamun</i>			“Wörterverzeichnis” ¹⁸	
	character	Korean	Sino-Korean	Korean	Sino-Korean
no. 70 雲母	雲 (2v)	구□ (error for 구름)	운	kūo (kū 구 + o 어)	ûn-mo (ûn 운 + mo 모)
	母 (15r)	어□ (error for 어머니)	모		
no. 116 海棠	海 (3v)	바□ (error for 바다)	해	dsĭppa (dsĭp 집 + pa 바)	hai tang (hai 해 + tang 당)
	堂 (10r)	집	당		
no. 135 生善 (i.e. 生姜)	生 (2v)	날	싱	nalô (nal 날 + ô 어)	saing-siê (saing 싱 + siê 서)
	善 (10v)	어□ (error for 어덜)	셔 (error for 선)		

If we subtract everything deriving from either Klaproth’s glossary or *Ch'ŏnjamun* the remainder may be expected to have been “collected by myself and my Japanese friends through our contact with the Koreans,” but in how far is this actually the case?

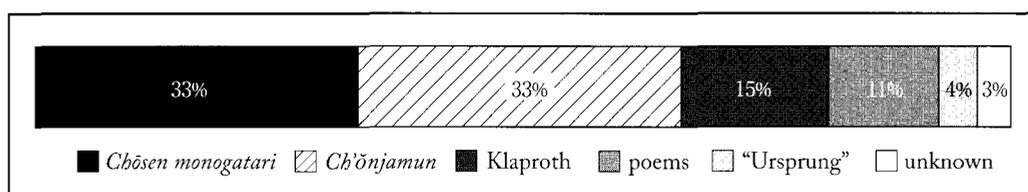
As Shinmura (1929: 3 etc.) had pointed out from early on, there is another source besides those named above that is closely connected to the glossary: The well-known work entitled *Chōsen monogatari* 朝鮮物語 (1750) which has played a significant role in Siebold’s study and description of Korea in general. However, as this author has demonstrated earlier (see Osterkamp 2009), it is insufficient to assume the unaltered glossary “Chōsen no kokugo” 朝鮮の國語 with its 298 entries as found in book five of *Chōsen monogatari* as the basis for the glossary;¹⁹ rather the glossary merely served as the foundation here, but has subsequently undergone significant reworking. Much like other early Japanese glossaries of Korean, “Chōsen no kokugo” contains not a single *han'gŭl* letter, but the Korean words are rendered in *kana* only here. There are also *kana* spellings the underlying Korean words of which have become difficult if not impossible to identify due to scribal errors for instance. In order to remedy these shortcomings and to turn the original “Chōsen no kokugo” into what we see in *Nippon* a considerable amount of knowledge of both the Korean language and script was indispensable. Now if we think of persons among Siebold’s contacts in Japan who were equipped with such knowledge, it is the interpreters of Korean in the service of Tsushima that naturally come to mind.²⁰ This seems all the more probable in view of the fact that common problems observed in early Japanese sources on Korean are met with here as well. To sum up: While it may be true that these words were collected “through contact with the Koreans” at least indirectly, this was utterly impossible to Siebold on his own, which strongly suggests involvement of “my Japanese friends.”

The materials ultimately deriving from *Chōsen monogatari* again amount to 33 percent of the total, just like it is the case for *Ch'ŏnjamun*. With this the major sources of “Wörterverzeichnis” have been exhausted, but there are still entries that cannot be explained as being taken from either of the sources referred to so far. In fact, there are some further minor sources, the following of with

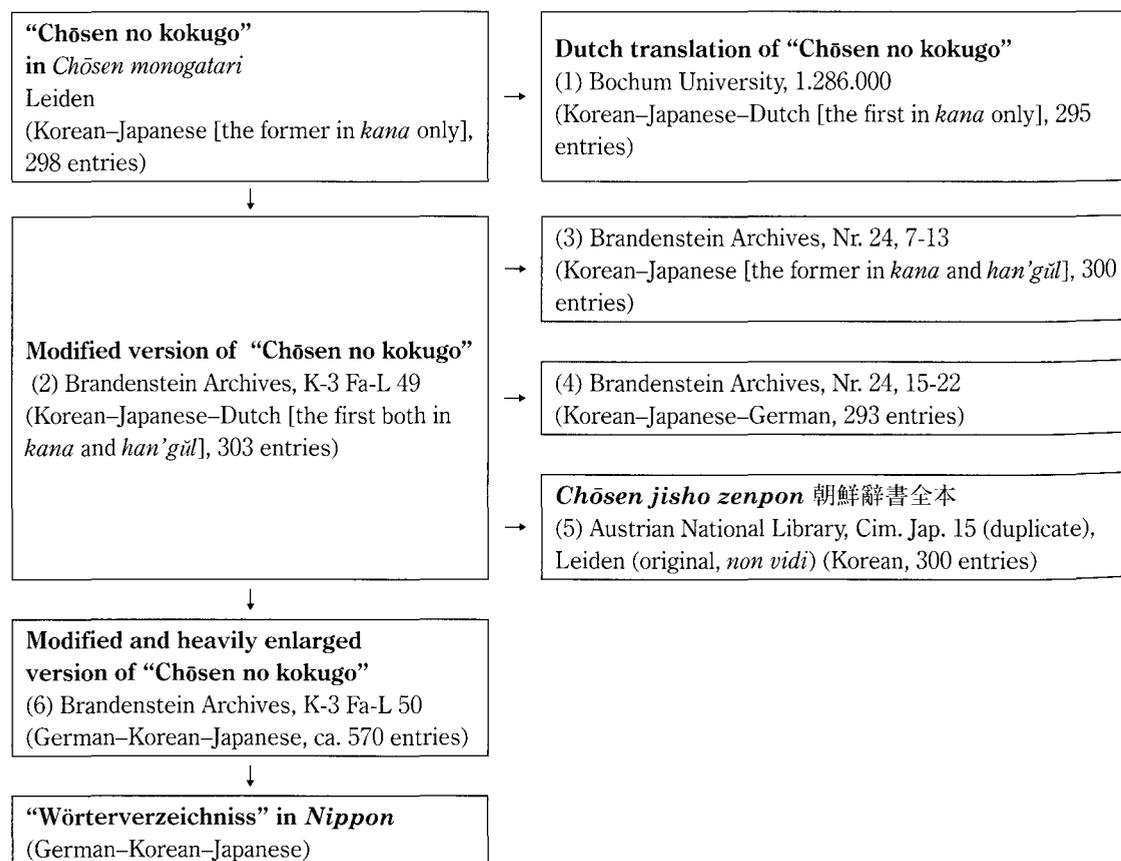
could be identified up to now:

- Sino-Korean character readings and translational equivalents in Korean added to the Chinese poems written by Koreans and collected by Siebold (*Nippon*, fascicle 2)=11%
- words Siebold had earlier included in the comparative vocabulary that forms part of his “Einige Worte über den Ursprung der Japanesen” =4%

In the end words that can be deemed to have been gathered by Siebold himself “through contact with the Koreans” amount to a mere 11 percent. The remainder is either taken directly from earlier publications (such as Klaproth’s glossary or *Ch’ōnjamun*), or at least indirectly, i.e. involving an additional step of rewriting and rearranging with the support of interpreters of Korean or other knowledgeable Japanese informants. The respective share of the different sources discussed above may be summarized up as follows:



What remains to be done now is an in-depth study of the various scattered sources providing us with valuable insights into the process of compilation of the glossary, such as those in the Brandenstein Archives but also in Bochum, Berlin, Leiden and Vienna. So far the following manuscripts from (1) to (6) could be located:



(6) is already close to the “Wörterverzeichnis” as found in *Nippon*, whereas (1) to (5) belong to an earlier stage and still reflect the underlying glossary “Chōsen no kokugo” fairly well. (1) is entitled “Einige Kooreische Worte” and is a manuscript copy of more or the less the entire glossary “Chōsen no kokugo” with Dutch translations added.²¹ The Korean words are still merely given in *kana* here and no renderings in the Korean alphabet as in *Nippon* are found here yet. Recently Constantin von Brandenstein-Zeppelin has drawn attention to the existence of a manuscript catalogue listing the “dissertations” written by Siebold’s Japanese students and collaborators—among which we also find “Einige Kooreische Worte,” albeit without any indication as to its authorship.²²

(2) can probably best explained as the work of a Japanese interpreter of Korean, be it one of Siebold’s students or not. Entries in “Chōsen no kokugo” that are difficult to understand, if not entirely unintelligible, are rewritten and corrected here and renderings of all words in the Korean alphabet are added. The numerals 一 ‘one’, 二 ‘two’, 三 ‘three’ (all three of which are thus repeated here), 億 and 兆 are added at the end of the glossary.²³ Furthermore Dutch translations are added throughout, maybe however by a different author.

(3) appears to be a copy of (2) executed however at an early stage, so that there are no translations into Dutch yet. Also the seven entries that were later deleted from (2) are still present here.²⁴ (4) is a fair copy, in which the *kana* renderings of Korean words are removed altogether, leaving only their *han’gŭl* spellings intact, furthermore translations are given in German rather than Dutch here (not necessarily coinciding with the German translations in *Nippon* throughout however). While 億 and 兆 are present, the seven entries deleted in (2) are not found here either. (5) is likewise based on (2) and appears to be a clean copy thereof, but contains only the headwords in Chinese characters and their Sino-Korean and Korean equivalents. Some of the entries deleted in (2) are not reflected here (namely 江戸, 大坂 and 計). The manuscript also comprises several other related items, such as two syllabary charts (*panjōlp’yo* 反切表) and the Chinese poems by the Koreans Siebold met.

In (6) the Dutch translations were eventually replaced by German ones; also many translational equivalents in Japanese are added here together with Romanizations for both the Korean and Japanese words. It was also at this stage seen here that the large-scale enlargement on the basis of *Ch’ōnjamun* etc. was carried out.

References

- Broughton, William Robert (1804): *A voyage of discovery to the North Pacific Ocean*. London: T. Cadell & W. Davies.
- Edmond, John Phillip (1895): *Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Catalogue of Chinese books and manuscripts*. Privately printed.
- Endlicher, Stephan (1837): *Verzeichniss der chinesischen und japanischen Münzen des k. k. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinetes in Wien. Nebst einer Übersicht der chinesischen und japanischen Bücher der k. k. Hofbibliothek*. Wien: Beck’sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung.
- Friese, Eberhard (1983): *Philipp Franz von Siebold als früher Exponent der Ostasienuwissenschaften*. Bochum: Studienverlag Brockmeyer.
- Hamada Atsushi 浜田敦 (1977): “Kinrin shokoku ni kansuru jōhō: Chōsen” 近隣諸国に関する情報：朝鮮. In: Iwao Seiichi 岩生成一 et al. (eds.): *Shīboruto ‘Nippon’ no kenkyū to kaisetsu* シーボルト「日本」の研究と解説. Tōkyō: Kōdansha, pp. 198-207.
- Hoffmann, Johann Joseph (1840): *Das 千字文 Tsiän dsü wen oder Buch von tausend Wörtern, aus dem Schinesischen, mit Berücksichtigung der koraischen und japanischen Übersetzung, ins Deutsche übertragen*. Leiden.
- Klaproth, Julius (1832): 三國通覽圖說 *San kokf tsou ran to sets, ou aperçu général des trois royaumes*. Paris:

Oriental Translation Fund.

- Ko Yōnggūn 高永根 (1989): “Chibolt’ū-ūi Han’guk kirok yōn’gu” 지볼트 (Fr. von Siebold) 의 韓國記錄 研究. In: *Tongyanghak* 東洋學 19: 1-64.
- Maema Kyōsaku 前間恭作 (1937): *Chōsen no hanpon* 朝鮮の板本. Fukuoka: Matsuura shoten.
- Osterkamp, Sven (2009): “Selected materials on Korean from the Siebold Archive in Bochum—Preceded by Some General Remarks Regarding Siebold’s Study of Korean.” In: *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung* 33: 187-216.
- Pak Chōngja (2005) “Chōsen monogatari-ūi ‘Chōsen no kokugo’-e taehayō” 『朝鮮物語』 의 「朝鮮の國語」 에 대하여. In: *Irō ilmunhak yōn’gu* 日語日文學研究 54: 159-178.
- Serrurier, Lindor (1896): *Bibliothèque japonaise*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Shimura Izuru 新村出 (1929): “Oranda Raiden daigaku hōshoshi” 和蘭ライデン大學訪書誌. In: *Shomotsu raisan* 書物禮讚 9: 1-4, 7.
- Siebold, Philipp Franz von (1841): *Isagoge in Bibliothecam Japonicam et studium literarum japonicarum*. Lugduni-Batavorum: apud auctorem.
- ; Hoffmann, Johann Joseph (1845): *Catalogus librorum et manuscriptorum Japonicorum a Ph. Fr. de Siebold collectorum, annexa enumeratione illorum, qui in Museo Regio Hagano servantur*. Lugduni-Batavorum: apud auctorem.
- Tóth, Veronika V. (2011): *Ausgewählte Japonica in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*. University of Vienna.
- Walravens, Hartmut (2002): *Julius Klaproth (1783-1835). Briefwechsel mit Gelehrten, größtenteils aus dem Akademearchiv in St. Petersburg*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Witsen, Nicolaes (1705): *Noord en Oost Tartarye, ofte bondig ontwerp Van eenige dier landen en volken, Welke voormaels bekend zijn geweest. Tweede Druk*. Amsterdam: François Halma.

Note

- 1 Similar statements are also found in Siebold’s correspondence. For instance he informs Julius Klaproth that “Ich besitze unter andern ein Chinesisch Koreisches Wörterbuch, in Korea gedruckt, eine herrliche Ausgabe!” [“Among other things I am in the possession of a Chinese–Korean dictionary printed in Korea—a splendid edition!”] (9 October 1830) or that “Mehrals habe ich zu Nagasaki schiffbrüchige Kooraiere kennen gelernt, und diese haben mir unter andern einen in Koorai gedruckten Wortschatz mitgetheilt.” [“I have repeatedly met shipwrecked Koreans in Nagasaki, and they have presented to me among other things a vocabulary printed in Korea.”] (19 August 1832; see Walravens 2002: 97, 98 respectively). The actual title is not mentioned here, but seeing as to how Siebold refers to the 1833 reprint of *Ch’ōnjamun* as “ein schinesisches und Kooraisches Wörterbuch” [“a Chinese–Korean dictionary”] (2 February 1834, letter to Nees von Esenbeck in the possession of Berlin State Library, Sammlung Darmstaedter, Asien 1823 (5), leaf 13v) briefly after its publication, the passages above do in all likelihood refer to the same work—which in any case was the only “Korean print” available to Siebold at that time.
- 2 See the preceding footnote. Previous scholarship has similarly suggested so; see e.g. Ko (1989: 24) who states that “this book was certainly a present he received from the aforementioned castaways” (이 책은 이미 언급한 漂着民으로부터 받은 선물임에 틀림없다).
- 3 Rendered here however as “Tsiän dsü wên, tá pèn” and “Sen-zi-mon, tai-hon” respectively.
- 4 Apart from the copy in Leiden there appear to be further ones (*non vidi*) in the Tōyō bunko 東洋文庫 (Maema Kyōsaku’s former copy), in the possession of Tōkyō University (possibly from the collection of Kurokawa Mayori 黒川真頼), and at the Kyujanggak 奎章閣 (lacking the postscript however).
- 5 The exemplar Medhurst put into use was at the time part of the collection of Johan Willem de Sturler, who had served as the head of the Dutch trading post on Dejima up until 1826; it is nowadays in the possession of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (call number: Japonais 369). Other copies appear to be in the possession of Kansai University (part of the Naitō 内藤 collection) and of Tōkyō Metropolitan Library (from the collection of Andō Masatsugu 安藤正次).
- 6 See e.g. Siebold (1841: 7) or Siebold/Hoffmann (1845: 20, no. 330).
- 7 For the present paper an exemplar in the possession of the Kyujanggak was used (call number: 奎9801).
- 8 See Brandenstein Archives, B-3 Fa-C 27 (44r) and B-3 Fa-C 28 (55r).
- 9 What is probably the final version of the list is kept in the archives of the Austrian National Library. This

author has not seen it himself, but Tóth (2011: 13) states that it does not contain entries corresponding to Endlicher's numbers 135, 141, 142, 144 and 154. The same is true of the list preserved in the Brandenstein Archives (B-4 Fa-K 266).

- 10 See no. 71 in the list of the Bürger collection (K-3 Fa-H 37 [8-17]).
- 11 See the Brandenstein Archives, B-3 Fa-C 27 (47v) and B-3 Fa-C 28 (57v-58r).
- 12 See also Brandenstein Archives, B-3 Fa-C 27 (47v) and B-3 Fa-C 28 (57v) regarding the link between Guo's return and the non-publication of *Waeō yuhae*. Furthermore, according to Siebold (1841: 4) Guo returned in the year 1836, here however we assume Guo to have returned in November 1835, thereby following a letter by Hoffmann dated 25 November 1835 which states that he did so "21 d.M." ("on the 21th of this month"; see Brandenstein Archives, B-4 Fa-K 259).
- 13 See Edmond (1895: 65, no. 435), the numbering of which is retained in today's call numbers.
- 14 Quoted from Friese (1983: 97). Alexander is of course in error when he claims the dictionary to derive from "his first voyage," rather than from Bürger's collection bought only about a decade later.
- 15 The contents of no. 454 (as given in original script) is present however, it is merely merged with no. 453 here. Furthermore entry 169 is erroneously given as 179 and 174 is misplaced after 163.
- 16 See Osterkamp (2009: 189).
- 17 Incidentally the copy of *Tongüi pogam* Klaproth was working with while in St. Petersburg was likewise not a Korean print as such, but apparently a Chinese reprint of this work. Both the various Japanese reprints mentioned earlier and the Chinese ones show numerous errors and distortions in the portions in *han'güil* so that they could not possibly serve as good and reliable sources on the Korean script and language.
- 18 The original Romanizations as found in *Nippon* have been retained here, including all irregularities.
- 19 As has been demonstrated by Pak (2005) and others the Korean glossary as found in *Chōsen monogatari* is nothing else than a combination of the glossaries found in the earlier *Ikoku tabi-suzuri* 異國旅視 (book IV: 7r-9v) and *Wakan Sansai zue* 和漢三才圖會 (in book XIII: 16v-18v). In other words: even in Siebold's times the glossary was already older than a century content-wise.
- 20 References to interpreters of Korean acting as informants are found from early on, including for instance "Einige Worte über den Ursprung der Japanesen" (note to the comparative table of languages) and *Nippon* (VII: 7, 9). See Osterkamp (2009: 192).
- 21 The total amount of entries is 295 here, as nos. 13 (旦), 14 (明) and 54 (塩) of the original glossary in *Chōsen monogatari* are missing. Other differences include some changes in the arrangement of the entries and the fact that *katakana* are used here throughout in place of the original *hiragana*, probably with the aim of better readability from Siebold's perspective; also cf. Osterkamp (2009).
- 22 Compare the brief catalogue of "Literarische Beyträge meiner Japanischen Freunde," or "Literary contributions of my Japanese friends" preserved in the Brandenstein Archives (K-5 Fa-E 93). The cover page of the manuscript of "Einige Kooreische Worte" indeed carries the number "no 36," just as in this catalogue.
- 23 While in modern Japanese and Korean *oku/ōk* and *chō/cho* signify 10^8 and 10^{12} respectively, the numerical values of both 億 and 兆 are subject to quite some variation historically and are thus difficult to indicate. The final "Wörterverzeichnis" in *Nippon* gives 10^6 and 10^7 respectively, whereas (4) has 10^5 and 10^6 and (6) appears to have 10^7 and 10^8 -but the sheer number of corrections applied to these numerical values in the manuscript prevent us from deciding with certainty what exactly was intended in the end; (2), (3) and (5) on the other hand have no indication at all.
- 24 These seven entries are: no. 4, Edo 江戸; no. 5, Ōsaka 大坂; no. 117, *kyōdai* 兄弟 'siblings'; no. 120, *mago* 孫 'grandchild'; no. 178, *hakaru* 計 'to measure'; no. 197, *kao* 臭 'face'; no. 263, *osu* 押 'to push'.

(Ruhr University Bochum)