

The Japanese Hydrographic Office's Publication, Revision, and Utilization of the *Chosen higashikaiganzu* (Chart of East Coast of Korea) and Its Recognition of Dokdo*

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Abstract

This article analyzes the publication, revision, and utilization of the Chosen higashikaiganzu (Chart of East Coast of Korea, CECK) (1875; Chart No. 54) by the Japanese Hydrographic Office (JHO), based on an examination of the Chosen togan fu hakutoku taiteiwan (Korea East Coast with Peter the Great Bay, KEC) (1893), which is a revised version of the CECK. The JHO included Dokdo (Liancourt Rocks) in the CECK, in its subsequent editions, as well as in the KEC. The JHO also compiled directories, matching the charts and based on survey results, and indicated Dokdo in the Chosen suiroshi (Korea Sea Directory), which was published prior to Japan's incorporation of Dokdo. Further, the Japanese government officially presented charts to the Korean government that indicated Dokdo as Korean territory. Since the CECK and Chosen suiroshi were sold to the general public, their availability greatly contributed to spreading recognition of Dokdo as Korean territory. Accordingly, a comprehensive examination of the Japanese charts CECK and KEC, along with the Chosen suiroshi and Nihon suiroshi (Japan Sea Directory), leads to the conclusion that Japan originally recognized Dokdo as Korean territory.

Keywords: Dokdo (Liancourt Rocks), Ulleungdo (Dagelet Island, Matsushima), Chosen higashikaiganzu (Chart of East Coast of Korea), Chosen togan fu hakutoku taiteiwan (Korea East Coast with Peter the Great Bay), Chosen suiroshi (Korea Sea Directory), Japanese Hydrographic Office

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Introduction

The *Chosen higashikaiganzu* 朝鮮東海岸圖 (Chart of East Coast of Korea; hereafter, *CECK*) (Chart No. 54) (Fig. 1) was published in February 1875 by the Japanese Hydrographic Office (hereafter, JHO),¹ based on Russian and British charts. In this chart, the fictitious Argonaut Island is indicated with a dotted line, Ulleungdo is labeled “Dagelet Island,” and the west and east islets of Dokdo are marked with their Russian names, the Olivutsa (Оливуца) and Menelai (Менелай) Rocks, respectively. Just below Dokdo, the chart includes three drawings of that island, based on actual surveys taken from different distances. With a major revision in 1893, the chart was renamed *Chosen togan fu hakutoku taiteiwan* 朝鮮東岸附伯德大帝灣 (Korea East Coast with Peter the Great Bay; hereafter, *KEC*) (Fig. 2).

On this fully revised chart, Argonaut Island has been removed, while Dagelet Island has been relabeled Ulleungdo 鬱陵島 (Matsushima 松島) and the Olivutsa and Menelai Rocks are called the Liancourt Rocks. Considering that the *Kiura hakuchi* 木浦泊地 (Mokpo Anchorage) was newly published by the JHO as Chart Number 54 in February 1899, the publication of the *KEC* is deemed to have been discontinued at that time. Therefore, a study of the publication, revision, utilization, and distribution of the *CECK* will improve our understanding of how Dokdo was viewed by the JHO, and how that view changed over time. This article argues that Dokdo was originally considered by the JHO as part of Korean (Joseon) territory.

With regard to the *CECK*, Korean and Japanese officials and scholars have posited contradictory arguments and interpretations. Those on the Korea side have assessed the *CECK* as important evidence that Japan perceived or recognized Dokdo as Korean territory. Pointing out that the JHO

1. The name of this office changed many times over the years. For the sake of convenience, in this paper “Japanese Hydrographic Office” (or JHO) will be used throughout. The JHO was in charge of surveying not only Japanese territory but also the coastlines and islands of Korea (Joseon), being the most accurate in figuring out which islands belonged to which country. Thus, the charts (maritime maps) and directories (navigational guides) published by the JHO are considered key resources in tracing how the Japanese government officially recognized Dokdo, and how that official perception changed over time.

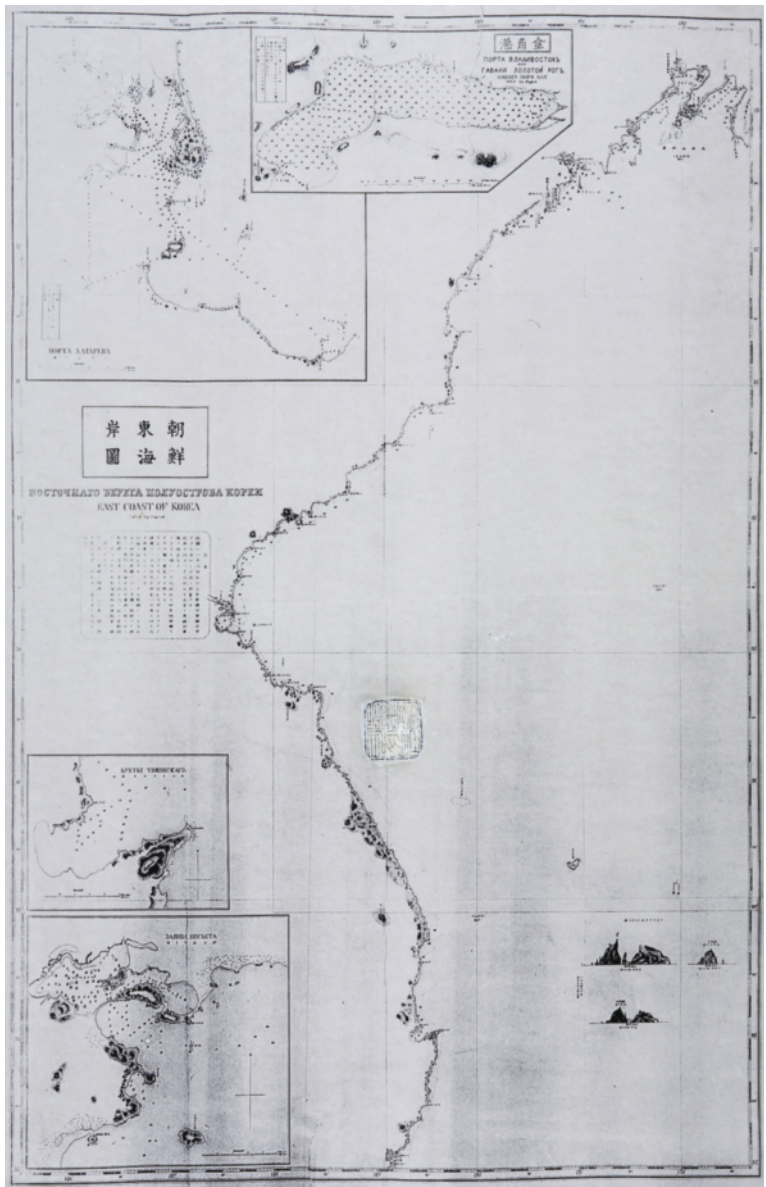


Figure 1. *Chosen higashikaiganzu* 朝鮮東海岸圖 (Chart of East Coast of Korea), Chart No. 54, 1875.

Source: Dokdo Museum.

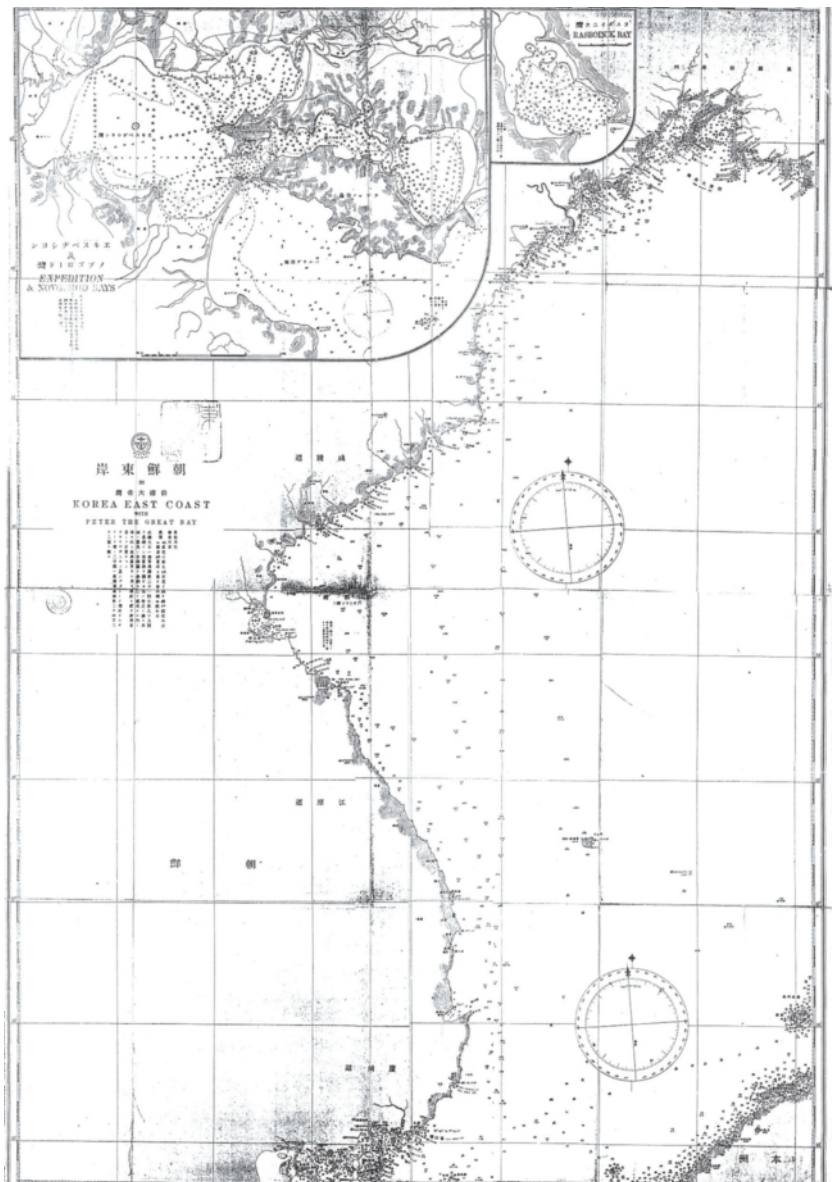


Figure 2. *Chosen togan fu hakutoku taiteiwan* (Korea East Coast with Peter the Great Bay), Japan, 1893.

Source: Dokdo Museum.

first published this chart in 1876 and then reprinted it in 1887, Shin Yong-Ha has argued that the Japanese Navy Department perceived Dokdo as part of Korea. However, overlooking the fact that the JHO first published the *CECK* in February 1875 and the *KEC* in 1893, Shin mistakenly concluded that the *CECK* was published continuously until 1905 (Shin 1996, 39–40, 172–174; 2006, 28–29, 126–127). Nevertheless, numerous subsequent Korean studies have accepted his assertions without objection (Song 2010; Yi 2007).

Li Jin-Mieung has argued that the Russian naval chart *Vostochnogo berega poluostrova korei* (Chart of the Eastern Coast of the Korean Peninsula; *Карта восточного берега полуострова Кореи* in Russian) (Fig. 3) was “the first Western chart explicitly indicating Ulleungdo and Dokdo as belonging to Korea,” and that “the Japanese navy translated the Russian navy’s *Chart of Eastern Coast of the Korean Peninsula* into Japanese and published it in 1876 without revision,” and concluded that this proved “the Japanese navy perceived Dokdo as Korean territory” (Li 2005, 193–194, 268–269).²

Pointing out that Ulleungdo and Dokdo were called Matsushima and the Olivutsa and Menelai Rocks, respectively, in the JHO’s *CECK*, Park Byoung-Sup concluded that the JHO did not have a clear awareness of the name “Matsushima,” the traditional name for the island in Japan, since the JHO referred to Dokdo by its Western names. Yet he also overlooks the fact that Ulleungdo was first listed as “Dagelet Island” and then as “Matsushima” in the 1889 edition, and does not mention that this chart was completely revised and renamed the *KEC* and then later discontinued (Park 2008, 42–43; Kim 2009, 252–256).

Meanwhile, the Japanese government and scholars refute such arguments, maintaining that the *CECK* cannot be considered substantial proof of Russia or Japan’s viewing Dokdo as Korean territory. Ignoring the fact that Dokdo is identified as the Olivutsa and Menelai Rocks in the *CECK*, Funasugi Rikinobu 船杉力修 offers an interpretation that the boundary of

2. In his 2005 publication, Li mentions the 1857 and 1882 editions of the chart, but it is in the 1862 edition that the Dokdo islands are included.

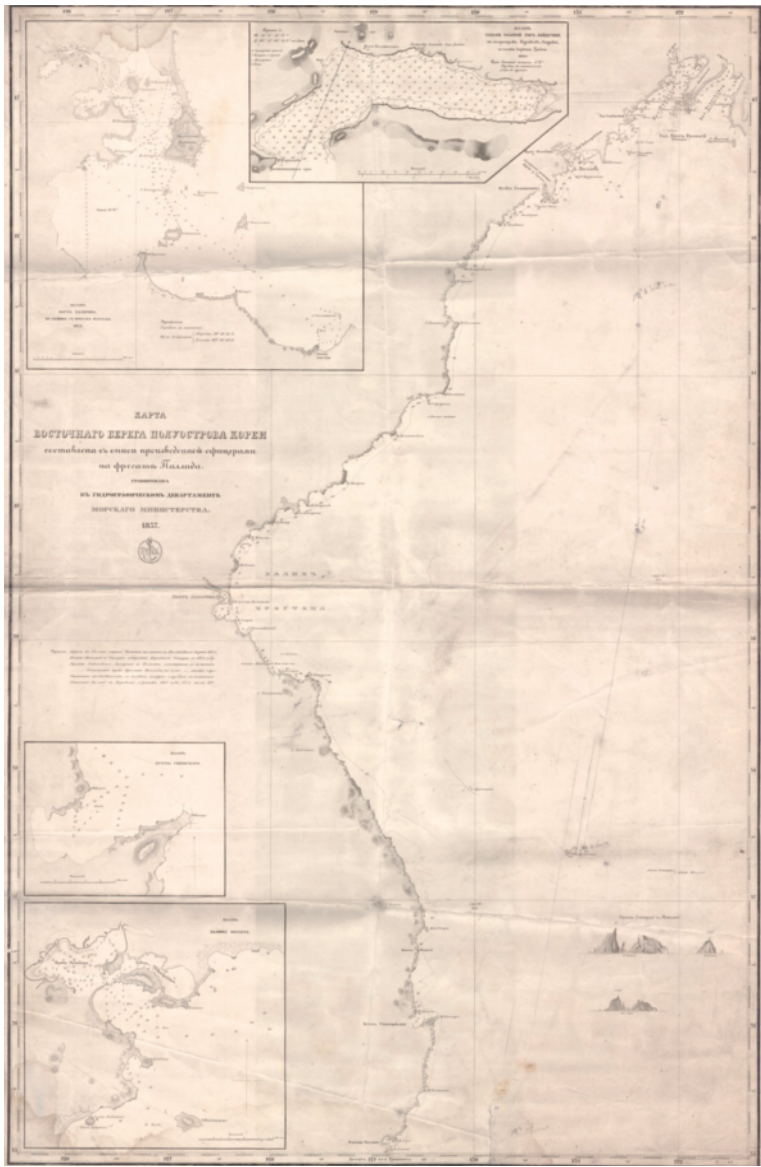


Figure 3. 1862 edition of the Russian naval chart *Vostochnogo berega poluostrova korei* (Chart of Eastern Coast of the Korean Peninsula; *Карта восточного берега полуострова Кореи* in Russian).

Source: The Russian State Naval Archive.

Korea's east coast recorded in the 1894 edition of the *Chosen suiroshi* 朝鮮水路誌 (Korea Sea Directory) was based on the *CECK*, in which the longitude and latitude were accurately marked. Unaware that the 1894 edition of the *Korea Sea Directory* actually referred to the fully revised 1893 edition of the *KEC*, Funasugi argued that the *Korea Sea Directory* was based on the 1875 or 1876 edition of the *CECK*. Moreover, he accepted the assertions of Shimojo Masao 下條正男, who claimed that circumscribing the boundary of Korea's east coast to 131° 35' east longitude in the *Korea Sea Directory* was accurate. At the same time, Funasugi contends that Ulleungdo was "the eastern boundary of Korea," so that Dokdo was not included within the boundary of Korea's east coast as established in the *Korea Sea Directory*. However, this is an erroneous argument in that Ulleungdo should already be beyond the boundary of Korea's east coast as Ulleungdo is recorded as located at 131° 53' east longitude (Funasugi 2007, 154–155; Park 2009, 144–145).

Funasugi continuously asserts that the Matsushima of the *Isotakeshima ryakuzu* 磯竹島略圖 (Simplified Map of Isotakeshima) attached to the *Daijokan shirei* 太政官指令 (Daijokan Order) in 1877 refers not to Dokdo but to Ulleungdo, for the simple reason that Argonaut Island and Dagelet Island (Ulleungdo) are marked at the locations of Takeshima 竹島 and Matsushima 松島, respectively, in the *CECK*. That is, he distorts the placement of Dokdo as shown in the *Isotakeshima ryakuzu* as Matsushima (Funasugi 2007, 155–159). Along with this, based on the fact that Dokdo was marked as "Liancourt Rocks" in a nautical chart titled *Aburatani Bay to Ando Zaki—Oki Islands and Wakasa Bay*³ published by the United Kingdom Hydrographic Office (hereafter, UKHO) in 1897, Funasugi claims that the *CECK* produced by Russia in 1857 cannot serve as a source for proving Dokdo is Korean territory (Funasugi 2008, 83–86).

Even if the Russian *Chart of Eastern Coast of the Korean Peninsula* and the UKHO's *Aburatani Bay to Ando Zaki* that were produced for promoting navigational safety cannot serve as primary proof of the territorial affiliation of Dokdo, it is difficult to repudiate that the *CECK* published by the JHO

3. For more information on this chart, see <http://www1.pref.shimane.lg.jp/admin/pref/takeshima/web-takeshima/takeshima04/takeshima04-1/takeshima04-b.html>.

reveals that the JHO assumed that Dokdo was part of Korean territory.

The same goes for the publication *Takeshima mondai 100 mon 100 to* 竹島問題100問100答 (100 Questions and Answers about the Takeshima Issue) (Takeshima Issue Study Group 2014), presumably drawn from the study findings of Funasugi. On the premise that it is common knowledge with hydrographic works that the titles of charts and directories do not always match geographic administrative territories, the book cites the *CECK* as an example, and specifically Posyet Bay and Vladivostok on the east side of the Tumen River forming the boundary of Korea and Russia. It goes on to argue that for the eastern border of Korea described in the *Korea Sea Directory*, Dokdo is not shown as falling within Korean national territory. This leads it to conclude that it would be inaccurate to argue the Japanese navy viewed Dokdo as Korean territory on the mere basis of the island being marked as such on charts like the *CECK* and the *Korea Sea Directory* (Takeshima Issue Study Group 2014, 164–165).

This reasoning, however, only takes what is advantageous to Japan among the details of the *Korea Sea Directory*. For instance, the book regards “the eastern boundary of Korea” recorded in the *Korea Sea Directory* as accurate while ignoring the fact that Dokdo was indicated in the *Korea Sea Directory* and the *CECK* as falling within that boundary. This illogical interpretation arises from disregarding the fact the JHO republished the *KEC* in 1893 by completely revising the Russian *Chart of Eastern Coast of the Korean Peninsula*, as well as the fact that Dokdo was included in the 1896 revised edition of the *Chosen zengan* 朝鮮全岸 (Coast of Korea) (Chart No. 21), but was removed from the 1906 edition published soon after Japan’s incorporation of Dokdo.⁴

Despite being regarded as an important source for clarifying the territorial affiliation of Dokdo, the *CECK* has yet to free itself from recurring

4. By contrast, other Japanese scholars, such as Hori Kazuo 堀和生 and Naito Seichu 内藤正中, though not directly mentioning the *ECK*, at least present the argument that the fact Dokdo (Liancourt Rocks) is included in the *Korea Sea Directory* demonstrates Japan perceived Dokdo as Korean territory, given that a sea directory is compiled for each individual nation (Hori 1987, 105–106; Naito 2006, 7–11). For a detailed examination of sea directories, see Song (2012).

serious errors, even concerning its year of publication and complete revision. Recently, Kawamura Katsunori 河村克典 undertook a detailed study of the *CECK*'s production. Mainly focusing on showing how the UKHO Admiralty Chart 2347, printed in March 1862, was referenced in creating the *CECK*, Kawamura did not deal with the Russian chart that served as the original source for the UKHO Admiralty Chart. Moreover, his study fails to discuss how the *CECK* was revised and utilized upon its publication, what significance can be implied by the inclusion of Dokdo in this chart, and furthermore, how the JHO recognized Dokdo (Kawamura 2012).

In existing studies, therefore, the fact that the *CECK* was fully revised in 1893 as the *KEC* and discontinued in February 1899 has never been mentioned. Even the existence of the *KEC* has never been widely known. Though the *KEC* was discovered by Lee Chong-hak (1927–2002) many years ago and donated to the Dokdo Museum in Ulleungdo, its mere existence has never been publicly acknowledged. I have thus far briefly discussed the problems and limits of previous studies of the *KEC*. In addition, I have also examined how the *Coast of Korea*, which is intimately related to the *KEC*, has been utilized and recognized. However, I have not made an in-depth analysis of the relationship between the *CECK* and the *KEC*, publication and utilization of the *KEC*, and the JHO's recognition of Dokdo on these charts (Han 2014, 149–154; 2015a).

Thus, this article seeks to correct previous erroneous findings by drawing on the *KEC* and to closely analyze the JHO's publication and utilization of the *CECK* and, thereby, its recognition of Dokdo. To that end, it first intends to examine the background and process of the *CECK*'s publication as well as its subsequent revisions and content changes, and, based on that examination, to consider how the JHO recognized Dokdo. Second, it will investigate the circumstances under which the JHO produced and compiled various charts and directories utilizing the *CECK*, and widely circulating the *CECK* both at home and abroad through distribution, donations, and sales. Such an examination is expected to contribute to proving that the JHO and the Japanese government recognized Dokdo as Korean territory until that country's incorporation of the islet by its protectorship over Korea.

The Japanese Hydrographic Office's Publication and Revision of the *Chosen higashikaiganzu* (Chart of East Coast of Korea) (1875)

The JHO put a great deal of effort into identifying the actual state of the Korean coastline prior to the signing of the Treaty of Ganghwa Island (or Treaty of Amity between Korea and Japan) in 1876. The JHO borrowed maps of Korea and the Tsushima 對馬 area from the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and copied them to produce a rough map in 1872. In 1873, the JHO obtained the *China Sea Directory* as well as other directories and charts published by the UKHO, which had the most accurate survey technology and maritime charts of the time. It also purchased various charts from foreign booksellers in Yokohama. As a result, by around January of 1874, the JHO had in its possession all pilot guides published by the UKHO (Japanese Hydrographic Office 1916, 30, 55, 56, 65, 71, 92; Hydrographic Department of Japanese Coast Guard 1971, 9–10, 58).

In July 1873, the JHO hastily compiled its *Chosen zenzu* 朝鮮全圖 (Complete Map of Korea), which was its first map of Korea (Japanese Hydrographic Office 1916, 65; Hydrographic Department of Japanese Coast Guard 1971, 58). The *Complete Map of Korea* was made by copying an unknown cartographer's map obtained during a voyage to Korea by the warship *Kasuga* 春日艦 in 1872. In this map, Ulleungdo and Dokdo are named Usando 弓山島 and Uldo 蔚島, respectively, and situated in the eastern sea of Uljin 蔚珍. However, this map was not produced from an accurate survey. After its Formosa expedition of 1874, Japan's interest in Korea intensified, and the need for a map or chart of the peninsula became urgent. The reason for this was the growing perception in Japan that Korea would be its next target after the subjugation of Formosa (Japanese Hydrographic Office 1916, 96–97, 114). In September 1875, Japan instigated the warship *Unyo* 雲揚 incident on the pretext of carrying out survey work to break the deadlock in Korea-Japan relations. It was in the context of these developments that the JHO published the *CECK* in February 1875.

The *CECK* was produced in 1857 based on the findings from a survey of Korea's eastern coast in 1854 by the Russian warships *Pallada* and *Olivutsa* commanded by E.V. Putiatin. The annotation to the *CECK* states that the

chart was surveyed by Russia in 1857. Based on this survey, the UKHO Admiralty Chart of 1855 was revised. Regarding the note, Kawamura (2012, 28–30) stated that the *CECK* did not directly utilize the 1854 Russian survey but used the August 1861 revised edition of UKHO Admiralty Chart 2347 (first published in 1855) as a reference.⁵

However, it should not be overlooked that the *CECK* published by the JHO referred to the Russian chart more extensively than it did to UKHO Admiralty Chart 2347. This can be confirmed by the description found in the *Suirobu enkakushi* 水路部沿革史 (History of the Hydrographic Office) that “Two charts, *CECK* and *Golden Horn Harbor/Voevoda Bay* [金角港 婆衣婆太灣] are produced. These are copies of Russian editions. Since there was no one available who could translate Russian, interpretation was obtained by questioning those on the Russian ship *Gaidamaku* anchored in Yokohama” (Japanese Hydrographic Office 1916, 112, 120; Hydrographic Department of Japanese Coast Guard 1971, 57).

The Imperial Russian Navy published the revised edition of the *Korea East Coast* in 1862 and 1868. In these charts, the three pictures of Dokdo drawn by Lieutenant Colonel Sergeev in 1860 are added. When the revised edition of the *CECK* published by the JHO is compared with these charts published by the Russian Navy Department, the same description, “*Восточного берега полуострова Кореи: Korea East Coast Called by English,*” found in the Russian chart is actually printed beneath the Chinese characters in the JHO version. The two charts’ boundaries are also quite similar (125° 30’ versus 132° 40’ east longitude and 35° 0’ versus 43° 40’ north latitude, for the Russian and JHO charts, respectively) and their shapes and the inserted maps are identical as well. In addition, in both charts, Dokdo is designated with the Russian names “Olivutsa and Menelai Rocks” and the three pictures drawn by Sergeev in 1860 are placed in the same position below Dokdo. The fictitious Argonaut Island, called Arugonaufutashima アルゴナフタ島 in Japanese, was indicated by an island with dotted outline.

On the other hand, the Russian chart identifies Ulleungdo as Dagelet Island, whereas the JHO version marks it as Matsushima. In light of this,

5. Regarding the UKHO Admiralty Chart 2347, see Kikuti (2007, 4–14).

the 1875 JHO edition of the *CECK* is judged to have had as its basis the Russian chart made in 1862 or 1868 that resulted from the survey by the warship *Olivutsa*, and at the same time, referenced the August 1861 revised edition of UKHO Admiralty Chart 2347.

After publishing the *CECK*, the JHO made utmost efforts to publish other Korea-related charts, such as *Pusan minato* 釜山港 (Busan Harbor), and to survey the Korean coast. In particular, around the time of the warship *Unyo* incident in September 1875, which was instigated on the pretext of survey work, Japan dispatched the warships *Kasuga* and *Dainiteibo* 第二丁卯 in succession as a show of force. In particular, the JHO's survey ship *Dainiteibo* had initially been sent to survey the northern coast of Japan but was subsequently ordered to participate in the military action against Korea and hastily mobilized to survey and investigate the port of Busan. When the need for charts of Korea grew in the wake of the *Unyo* incident, the JHO promptly made three copies of the French edition of the Han River chart obtained from the Japanese Ministry of the Army and supplied them to the warship *Moshun* 孟春艦. In January 1876, the JHO also made copies of the *Korea Sea Directory*, which was a translation of the section on Korea from the 1874 edition of the *China Sea Directory* published by the UKHO, and distributed them to various government departments (Japanese Hydrographic Office 1916, 121, 122, 126, 135, 140, 143, 148; Hydrographic Department of Japanese Coast Guard 1971, 32–33, 62; Yokoyama 2001, 320–321).⁶

Using the *Unyo* incident as pretext, Japan eventually coerced the Korean government into opening its ports by signing the Treaty of Ganghwa Island. As a result of Japan's efforts to insert the right to freely survey Korea's coastline into that treaty, the special rights clause of coastal survey and mapping operations (*zushi* 圖誌) was included in its Article 7. This allowed Japan to secure a foothold for its military and economic invasion of Korea.

6. At the time, with the exception of the *Yomiuri shimbun* and *Tokyo nichinichi shimbun* newspapers, civilian printers did not have the capability of printing such charts, but even these two newspapers were in no position to print them. As a last resort, copies of the charts were made and distributed.

Afterwards, on the basis of this clause, the JHO freely surveyed all of Korea's coastlines under the pretext of selecting ports to open (Kim 1994, 32–35).

Based on the results of these surveys, the JHO published a partly revised edition of the *CECK* in December 1876. This new edition was almost identical to the 1875 edition in terms of overall size and shape. Ulleungdo is still identified as Dagelet Island and the west and the east islets of Dokdo as Olivutsa and Menelai Rocks. The three engravings of Dokdo by Sergeev are also included in the same fashion. The only differences are that coastal areas have not been colored and geographic names are given in greater detail.

The JHO continued to aggressively survey all coastal areas of Korea in the name of identifying potential port openings. With regard to the *CECK*, it is notable that the warship *Amagi* 天城艦 was officially the first to confirm in 1878, during its survey of Ulleungdo, that Argonaut Island did not exist. The *Amagi* confirmed that the fictitious Argonaut Island was actually the “Takeshima” shown in the army version of the Korean map, the *Complete Map of Korea*,⁷ which the Japanese Army General Staff Office published in 1875, based on actual surveys and in reference to UKHO Admiralty Chart 2347 and the Russian chart published in 1862 or 1868 (Han 2015b, 23–32).

Based on such survey work and using British and Russian charts as references, the JHO published various charts, including the *Coast of Korea*—preliminary chart of Korea including Tsushima and Iki Islands—in May 1882 and a partly revised edition of the *CECK* in February 1889. It is noteworthy in this 1889 edition of the chart that the 1878 and 1880 survey results of the *Amagi* were reflected and that the name of Ulleungdo was changed from “Dagelet Island” to “Matsushima.” However, the dotted outline of “Argonaut Island,” together with Olivutsa and Menelai Rocks and the three Dokdo drawings, are included as before. The annotation describing the origins of these names remains identical, and other geographical names, with the exception of Matsushima, appear to have been left intact.

7. On this map, Ulleungdo is marked Matsushima 松島 and Takeshima 竹島 is indicated with a dotted line and located west-northwest of Ulleungdo (Kobayashi 2011, 34–37).

The Japanese Hydrographic Office's Publication and Discontinuance of the *Chosen togan fu hakutoku taiteiwan* (Korea East Coast with Peter the Great Bay) and Its Recognition of Dokdo

With the publication of the full revision of October 1893, the *CECK* was enlarged and renamed the *KEC*, and the recorded details were substantially changed. Considering that the revision was done immediately before the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895), the *KEC*, as with the *CECK*, is deemed to have been produced for military use. After the war broke out, the Japanese army actually determined that nautical charts for the southern and eastern coastlines of Korea, as well as for Busan and Wonsan, were necessary, and they requested the procurement of such charts, including the *KEC*.⁸

The boundaries of the *KEC* were revised from 125° 0' to 133° 10' east longitude and from 34° 40' to 44° 0' north latitude. With the longitude and latitude expanded from those of the *CECK*, the revised chart included the Russian coast around Vladivostok, a part of the southern coastal waters west of Busan, the upper area of Japan's Tsushima Island, a part of the northwest coast of Honshu, and the vicinity of Oki 隠岐 Islands. In the inserted map, Golden Horn Harbor, Posyet Bay, and so forth, were removed and replaced with Rasboinik Bay and Expedition and Novgorod Bays.

The most notable change is that, although Argonaut Island and the three drawings of Dokdo were removed, "Matsushima" was changed to "Ulleungdo (Matsushima)," with Boussole Rock and Seal Point added, and Dokdo marked as "Liancourt Rocks" (Riankorudo 岩) instead of "Olivutsa and Menelai Rocks." In addition, whereas most of the names in the *CECK* were Katakana translations of English or Russian terms, in the *KEC*, although there still remained names written in Katakana, the names of provinces such as Gangwon-do 江原道, and geographic names like Won-

8. "Chosen engozu no sohu 朝鮮沿御圖ノ送付" (Sending of Korean Coastal Charts), August 28, 1894, the National Institute for Defense Studies of the Ministry of Defense [防衛省防衛研究所], Kaigunshou[海軍省]-Nissin[日清]-M27-14.

sanjin 元山津 were all written in Chinese characters, and Wonsan Bay was indicated as Joseonman 朝鮮灣 (Korea Bay), with “Broughton Bay” in parentheses. These names had also been used in the original 1882 edition of *Coast of Korea*. Therefore, it can be seen that the JHO utilized the information obtained from the surveys and pilot guides of the time and indicated Ulleungdo and Dokdo as “Ulleungdo (Matsushima)” and “Liancourt Rocks,” respectively.

A KEC annotation notes, “The bulk of this chart is based on Naval Charts Number 21 and Number 95, upon which our naval surveys are based, with the remaining details from the compilation based on Russian and British charts. Since most of this chart has not been verified, however, the seafarer must exercise caution.” Here, Naval Chart Number 21 used as a basis for producing the KEC is the *Coast of Korea* published by the JHO in May 1882. Part of Hamgyeongbuk-do in the Tumen River area and Ulleungdo and Dokdo are not included in the *Coast of Korea* (Kawamura 2013, 31). This is perhaps due to the fact that the chart was produced with a view to investigating potential ports for opening. Chart Number 95 is known as the *Nihon kaigan zenzu* 日本海岸全圖 (Complete Chart of the Coast of Japan) published by the JHO in 1878, which was revised as *Nihon honshu kyushu oyobi shikoku fu Chosen* 日本本州九州及四国附朝鮮 (Japan—Honshu, Kyushu and Shikoku, and Part of Korea) (Fig. 4), or *Nihon fu chosen* 日本附朝鮮 (Japan and Part of Korea) in short, in December 1891 and fully revised in December 1892. In *Japan and Part of Korea*, the islands are indicated as “Ulleungdo (Matsushima)” and “Liancourt Rocks.”

The British chart referred to by the JHO in producing the *Coast of Korea* is presumably the Admiralty Chart 2347, which was revised several times. In that chart's 1863 edition, Argonaut Island was marked with a dotted line and indicated as “Tako sima or Argonaut P. D.” It was removed from the 1876 edition when it was confirmed to be nonexistent, while Ulleungdo remained marked as “Matsushima (Dagelet I.), Boussole Rk., Seal Pt.” and Dokdo as “Liancourt Rks, discd. by French (1849).” Therefore, Ulleungdo and Dokdo in the *Coast of Korea* are deemed to have been marked based on the Russian chart, the 1876 version of UKHO Admiralty Chart 2347, titled *Preliminary Chart of Japan: Nipon, Kiusiu and Sikok, and*



Figure 4. *Nihon honshu kyushu oyobi shikoku fu Chosen* 日本本州九州及四国附朝鮮 (Japan—Honshu, Kyushu and Shikoku, and Part of Korea), Chart No. 95, 1891.

Source: National Diet Library (http://www.geocities.jp/tanaka_kunitaka40/honshukyushukorea-1891/04.jpg).

Part of the Korea,⁹ and the JHO's *Japan and Part of Korea* (1891) that used these two charts as references. However, the change in inscription from "Matsushima" to "Ulleungdo (Matsushima)" indicates that the aforementioned survey results of the warship *Amagi* were also reflected in the chart.

Thereafter, the *KEC* was slightly revised in September 1894, December 1895, and September 1896. However, as it was not issued from 1897 onward and the *Mokpo Anchorage* was newly published as Chart Number 54 in February 1899, publication of the chart appears to have ceased from that time (Japanese Hydrographic Office 1895–1900, 35; Nakajima 1994, 5–6). While there is no clear account for why the *KEC* was discontinued, it probably had to do with the publication of other charts that replaced it, namely the fully revised *Coast of Korea* in 1896.

As discussed above, since the *Coast of Korea* published in 1882 did not include Ulleungdo and Dokdo, it failed to represent its title in that it did not cover the entire Korean coast. Thereafter, referring to British and Russian charts, it underwent a number of revisions, and was finally worthy of its title in the full revision of April 1896. In this 1896 edition, longitude and latitude were expanded to encompass the entire Korean coastline, including Peter the Great Bay in an upper right extrusion, as well as Ulleungdo (Matsushima) and the Liancourt Rocks (Han 2015a, 240–241). Therefore, considering that the *KEC* was a partial chart limited to the East Sea area not covering Korea as a whole, and that more surveys were undertaken by the JHO after its publication in 1893, it can be surmised that, with the publication of the revised *Coast of Korea* in 1896 incorporating such subsequent survey results, the *KEC*, having outlived its usefulness, was discontinued.

Why then did the JHO include Dokdo (Liancourt Rocks) in the *CECK* and the *KEC*? Can the JHO justify itself that the charts merely copied Russian or British charts due to the lack of information about Ulleungdo and

9. See the chart at [http://cartweb.geography.ua.edu/lizardtech/iserv/calcrn?cat=Asia&item=/Japan%201873a.sid&wid=500&hei=400&props=item\(Name,Description\),cat\(Name,Description\)&style=simple/view-dhtml.xsl](http://cartweb.geography.ua.edu/lizardtech/iserv/calcrn?cat=Asia&item=/Japan%201873a.sid&wid=500&hei=400&props=item(Name,Description),cat(Name,Description)&style=simple/view-dhtml.xsl). Kawamura deduced that the JHO referenced a version of UKHO Admiralty Chart 2347 under the assumption that it was revised or published in December 1855, August 1861, March 1862, May 15, 1863, and November 10, 1863. This needs to be analyzed in greater detail (Kawamura 2013, 32, 37).

Dokdo? Even if the Russian *Chart of Eastern Coast of the Korean Peninsula* simply reflects Russian recognition of Dokdo as Korean territory, at a common-sense level, one may surmise that since the JHO fully accepted this chart and published its own chart (*CECK*) thereafter, this reflects the JHO's own recognition of Dokdo as Korean territory beyond merely referencing British and Russian charts. In Addition, even if a chart is not a basis for determining a nation's territorial perceptions, when the *CECK* and the *KEC* are considered in tandem with *Korea Sea Directory*, we can determine these materials reveal the JHO recognized Dokdo as Korean territory at the time of their publication.

While investigating Ulleungdo in 1878, the JHO verified that Argonaut Island was fictitious, and although it did not go on to directly survey Dokdo, it was definitely aware of that island's existence. This is because Dokdo is clearly included not only in UKHO Admiralty Chart 2347, which the JHO already possessed, but also in the JHO charts *Complete Chart of the Coast of Japan* based on the UKHO Admiralty Chart, and the *Japan and Part of Korea*, the *Nihon sobu fu Chosen oyobi sono fukin ro shin kaigan* 日本総部附朝鮮及其附近露清海岸 (All Parts of Japan with Korea and the Adjacent Coasts of Russia and China) (first edition March 1884; revised August 1891; Chart No. 128), and the *Sekai zenzu* 世界全圖 (Complete Chart of the World) (December 1887; Chart No. 77). In particular, in the *Complete Chart of the World*, Dokdo was labeled as the Liancourt Rocks despite the island's small size. This is noteworthy in that it implies the JHO was mindful of Dokdo. In the various charts published by the JHO from the late 1870s, as mentioned above, Ulleungdo/Matsushima and Dokdo/Liancourt Rocks were already accurately mapped. Ulleungdo had previously been called "Takeshima" and Dokdo "Matsushima," but gradually the names were unified to identify Ulleungdo as Matsushima and Dokdo as the Liancourt Rocks. This appears to have been the result of the influence of the UKHO Admiralty Chart (Han 2015a, 242–245).

It is obvious that if the JHO were clearly aware of the existence of Dokdo, the island's inclusion as part of Korea or Japan would be decided by the JHO's recognition and judgment. With regard to this, the JHO included Ulleungdo (Matsushima) and the Liancourt Rocks in the *CECK* when it

was first published in 1875 and continued to do so when the chart was slightly revised in 1876 and 1889, and again when it was completely revised and renamed the *KEC* in 1893. Moreover, since the *KEC* differs from the *CECK* in both size and detail, it would have been no problem to remove Dokdo if the JHO did not recognize it as Korean territory. For this reason, it can be surmised that those charts reflected the JHO's recognition of Dokdo/Liancourt Rocks not as a Japanese but Korean territory (Han 2013, 26–33).

The Japanese Hydrographic Office's Utilization and Distribution of the *Chosen higashikaiganzu* (Chart of East Coast of Korea) and Its Recognition of Dokdo

The JHO produced charts and directories based on survey results. Charts can be utilized as a basic and important source for compiling a directory and interpreting the territorial affiliation of islands. When a pilot is compiled for each nation, it is matched with a directory, and thus any change in an island's affiliation is naturally reflected in both charts and directories. From this aspect, this article seeks to analyze how the JHO utilized the *CECK* and the *KEC* in compiling its directories.

The JHO initiated the publication of a multivolume world pilot called *Kanei suiroshi* 寰瀛水路誌 (World Sea Directory) in April 1883. In the chapter titled “Chosen togan 朝鮮東岸” (Korea East Coast) in volume 2, section 5 of the *World Sea Directory*, published in 1883, Dokdo and Ulleungdo are described under the subheadings “Liancourt Rocks” and “Ulleungdo or Matsushima (or Dagelet Island by its foreign name),” respectively. In the first chapter of the section, titled “Chosen togan oyobi shoto 朝鮮東岸及諸島” (Various Islands on the East Coast of Korea), the following reference is given: “[Waterway] Refer to JHO Version Chart Number 54, Number 21, and UKHO Admiralty Chart 2347” (Japanese Hydrographic Office 1883, 255–258). Chart Number 21 refers to the *Coast of Korea*, while Number 54 is the *CECK*.

In the chapter titled “Chosen togan oyobi shoto 朝鮮東岸及諸島” (Various Islands on the East Coast of Korea) in volume 2, section 4 of the sec-

ond edition of the *World Sea Directory* (December 1886), it states, “Refer to Naval Charts Number 54, Number 21, and Number 95.” Number 95 is the *Complete Chart of the Coast of Japan*. The main text of the “Various Islands on the East Coast of Korea” is identical to the 1883 edition. Under the subheading “Ulleungdo or Matsushima,” charts for reference are added with the comment, “Western name ‘Dagelet Island.’ Refer to Naval Charts Number 95. . .” (Japanese Hydrographic Office 1886b, 395–398). As a side note, Dokdo is naturally omitted in the chapter titled “Oki zento 隠岐全島” (Complete Oki Islands) in volume 1, part 2, section 6 of the *World Sea Directory* (March 1886), which describes the northwest coastal waters of Japan (Japanese Hydrographic Office 1886a, 53–70).

Meanwhile, directories for each national territory were published by the JHO from 1889. In the chapter titled “Chosen togan oyobi shoto 朝鮮東岸及諸島” (East Coast of Korea and Various Islands) in section 4 “Chosen togan 朝鮮東岸” (East Coast of Korea) of the *Korea Sea Directory* published in 1894, the notation “Refer to Naval Charts Number 54, Number 21, and Number 95” is also included. The content of the subsection is essentially identical to its corresponding section in the second edition of Vol. 2 of the *World Sea Directory*. Number 54 is the revised *KEC* of 1893, while Number 95 is the revised *Japan and Part of Korea* of 1891. Also included in the Ulleungdo subheading is the notation “Refer to Naval Charts Number 54 and Number 95” (Japanese Hydrographic Office 1894, 254–256).

In the “East Coast of Korea and Various Islands” subsection of “East Coast of Korea” in section 4 of the second edition of the *Korea Sea Directory* published in 1899, there is the notation “Refer to Naval Charts Number 54, Number 21, and Number 95,” while under the subheading of “Ulleungdo (Matsushima),” it states, “Refer to Naval Charts Number 21 and Number 95” (Japanese Hydrographic Office 1894, 261–263). Here, the fact that Number 54 is dropped and Number 21 is inserted in the latter shows that the 1896 edition of the *Coast of Korea* should be considered more reliable.

“Takeshima” was still included in the “Nihonkai oyobi Chosen togan 日本海及朝鮮東岸” (Sea of Japan and East Coast of Korea) featured under section 5 of the second revised edition of the *Korea Sea Directory* published in March 1907, even after the occupation of Dokdo by Japan (Japanese

Hydrographic Office 1907a, 451–452). Then, with the addition of “Take-shima (Liancourt Rocks)” in the “Oki Islands, Northwest Coast of Japan” under volume 4, section 3 of the revised edition of the *Japan Sea Directory* published in June 1907, the following was added: “[Take-shima] was incorporated into Shimane 島根 Prefecture in 1905” (Japanese Hydrographic Office 1907b, 372; Song 2012, 251–261).

In this way, the JHO compiled the *World Sea Directory* and *Korea Sea Directory* by using the *CECK*, the *KEC* and the *Coast of Korea* as the basis for such sections as “East Coast of Korea” and “Ulleungdo,” and additionally, used the Japanese and British charts as references. Accordingly, when we comprehensively examine the Japanese and British charts indicating the coasts and islands of Korea and Japan, the *CECK*, *KEC*, and *Coast of Korea* upon which Dokdo is mapped, and the *Korea Sea Directory* or *Japan Sea Directory*, it is natural to view Dokdo as an island affiliated with Korea's east coast (Han 2015a, 247–249).

In the meantime, copies of the charts and directories published by the JHO were donated to or exchanged with other nations, and were supplied to the major Japanese government offices as well as naval and civilian ships. The Japanese government also gave the *CECK* to Korea. Official donation of charts produced by the JHO showing Ulleungdo and Dokdo as Korean territory by a diplomat representing the Japanese government to the Korean government carries great significance. Such an act may be considered a clear and official recognition of Ulleungdo and Dokdo as Korean territory.

When chief negotiator Miyamoto Koichi 宮本小一 of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs was sent to Korea in July 1876 to sign the Supplement to the Treaty of Ganghwa Island, he presented the Korean government with gifts. Included among these were the *CECK* and maps of Asia and the world, like charts titled *Chikyuzu* 地球圖 (World Map) and *Aziazu* 亞細亞圖 (Asia Map).¹⁰

When Korean envoy Kim Hong-jip 金弘集 visited Japan in September

10. “Miyamoto daisho Chosen Iji shimatsu 宮本大丞朝鮮理事始末” (Chief Negotiator Miyamoto's Report of Korean Affairs), in vol. 1, no. 10 of *Gaimusho gaikoshiryokan* 外務省外交史料館 (Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan), item 3-11, section 2, group 1, category 1 (1門1類2項3-11號).

1880, the Japanese government requested charts from the JHO and presented them to Kim. The list of these charts included, in addition to the *CECK*, charts made by the JHO based on actual surveys of the coast of Korea, including, *Pusanho* 釜山浦 (Busan Port), *Saimotsuho ryakusokuzu* 濟物浦略測圖 (Simplified Map of Jemulpo), as well as charts of Japanese and Russian coastal territories, such as the *Nihon nami Chosen zenzu* 日本並朝鮮全圖 (Complete Chart of Japan and Korea) and the *Nihonkai seigan* 日本海西岸 (Sea of Japan West Coast). All together, Kim received 23 charts.¹¹ Of these, the *Complete Chart of Japan and Korea* is actually thought to be the *Complete Chart of the Coast of Japan* published in 1878. As discussed above, Korea and Japan are included together on this chart with Dokdo marked as the Liancourt Rocks.

In addition, on April 17, 1888, Kondo Masuki 近藤真鋤, the acting Japanese minister in Korea, donated 11 maps and charts, including the *Coast of Korea* and the *CECK*, to Jo Byeong-sik 趙秉式, head of the Korean Foreign Office (Tongni gyoseop tongsang samu amun dokpan 統理交渉通商事務衙門督辦), insisting this was in accordance with the intent of Article 7 of the Treaty of Ganghwa Island (Asiatic Research Institute 1965, 477, 514).

It is highly likely that Japan's donation of the latest maps and charts was made with the intent of requesting the sharing of geographic information from the Koreans in return for gaining access to geographic information held by the Japanese. By showing that geographic information from the West was being used in Japanese cartography, Japan seems to have wanted to demonstrate that such sharing was a general practice (Kobayashi 2011, 50–53). Regardless of Japan's intentions, it was impossible to make a gift of the *CECK*, in which Ulleungdo and Dokdo were counted as Korean territory, without tacitly acknowledging the national affiliation of the

11. "Chosen shushinshi e o saso no kaizu sashutsu ni tsuki shinten 朝鮮修信使へ御差贈之海圖差出ニ付申添" (Giving of Charts to the Korean Courtiers' Observation Mission), National Institute for Defense Studies of the Ministry of Defense [防衛省防衛研究所], Kaigunsho[海軍省]-Kobunruishan[公文類纂]-M13-56-558; "Chosen shushinshi e saso no kaizu suirokyoku shintatsu 朝鮮修信使へ差増の海圖水路局進達" (JHO's Transmission for the Giving of Charts to the Korean Courtiers' Observation Mission), National Institute for Defense Studies of the Ministry of Defense, Kaigunsho[海軍省]-Kobungensho[公文原書]-M13-55-401.

islands as indicated on the chart. This is judged as important evidence that not only the JHO but also the Japanese government, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs specifically, at least indirectly recognized Ulleungdo and Dokdo as belonging to Korea.

Since charts such as the *CECK* were sold to the general public, anyone could easily obtain them (Japanese Hydrographic Office 1895–1900, “Chuki 注記”; Hydrographic Department of Japanese Coast Guard 1971, 127–129). In particular, for Japanese fishermen and fisheries operating in Korean coastal waters, such charts and directories as the *CECK* were essential. This is confirmed by the fact that in 1888 the Japan Fisheries Association printed in its journal, *Dai nihon suisankai hokoku* 大日本水産會報告 (Japan Fisheries Association Report), the charts of the Korean coast that had been published by the JHO up to that time, including the *CECK* and the *Coast of Korea*, and reported the following: “Besides these, volume 2 of the second edition of the *World Sea Directory* includes descriptions of the coasts of Korea and Russia, that is, from the Amnok [Yalu] River to Kamchatka. These are also sold by Matsui Company 松井方. The list price is 1 yen 63 sen” (Japan Fisheries Association 1888, 35–37).

As the charts and pilot guides became widely distributed, it is likely knowledge that Dokdo was Korean territory naturally spread as well (Naito 2006, 4). As a result, It is natural that Nakai Yozaburo 中井養三郎, who provided the critical pretext for Japan's occupation of Dokdo, perceived Dokdo as belonging to Korea after seeing such nautical charts as the *Coast of Korea* and the *Korea Sea Directory*. Even Okuhara Hekiun 奥原碧雲, who authored a book after hearing from Nakai that he (Nakai) had resolved to petition the Korean government for an exclusive permit to hunt sea lions because he thought that “according to charts, Dokdo was Korean territory,” complained that the JHO had identified Dokdo as Korean territory on its charts and in its directories (Okuhara 1907, 17–18, 27–28). This shows that, when sources such as the *CECK*, *KEC*, and *Korea Sea Directory* were examined, it would have been only commonsensical to regard Dokdo as an appendix to Ulleungdo and as Korean territory.

Conclusion

Based on its own surveys of the coastal areas of Korea, and through reference to existing Russian and British charts, the JHO published the *Chart of East Coast of Korea (CECK)* in 1875, revising it slightly in 1876 and 1889, and publishing a fully revised version in 1893 under the new title *Korea East Coast (KEC)*. This article, on the basis of the *KEC*, has analyzed the publication and revision, as well as the utilization and distribution, of the *CECK* and thereby has shown that the JHO not only recognized Dokdo as a part of Korea but also caused such recognition to gradually spread.

First, in the process of the *CECK* evolving from its original form in 1875 to its complete revision as the *KEC* in 1893, the identification of Ulleungdo changed from “Dagelet Island” to “Matsushima” to “Ulleungdo (Matsushima),” while that of Dokdo changed from “Olivutsa and Menelai Rocks” to “Liancourt Rocks,” and the three engravings of Dokdo based on surveys from different distances were eventually discarded in the *KEC*. The fact that the JHO included Dokdo in the original and revised versions of the *CECK* and also in the *KEC* comprises important evidence that Japan recognized Dokdo as Korean territory.

Second, in light of the fact that the *KEC* ceased publication in 1897, while the *Mokpo Anchorage* was newly published as Chart Number 54 in February 1899, it is clear that the former was discontinued. However, unaware that the *CECK* had changed to the *KEC*, scholars have mistakenly asserted that the publication of the *CECK* continued until 1905. It seems that the *KEC* was discontinued because a more detailed chart covering the entire Korean coast, namely the *Coast of Korea*, was published in 1896. Dokdo is also clearly indicated on the *Coast of Korea* as the Liancourt Rocks.

Third, the JHO had already confirmed in 1878 that Argonaut Island did not exist, while, as shown in charts such as the *Complete Chart of the Coast of Japan* and the *Complete Chart of the World* published from the late 1870s, it was certainly aware of Dokdo’s existence. Therefore, the fact that the JHO did not omit Dokdo, but included it in the *CECK* and the *KEC*, serves as important evidence that, until February 1905, the JHO recog-

nized Dokdo not as Japanese but rather as Korean territory.

Fourth, based on surveying results, the JHO compiled directories to accompany its charts, and it indicated Dokdo in both the *World Sea Directory* and the *Korea Sea Directory* published prior to Japan's occupation of Dokdo. It also used the *CECK*, *KEC*, and *Coast of Korea* as the foundations of these directories, with Japanese and British charts as additional references. Accordingly, when we comprehensively examine the Japanese and British charts, *CECK*, *KEC*, *Korea Sea Directory*, and *Japan Sea Directory*, there can be no doubt that the JHO recognized Dokdo as part of the east coast of Korea.

Fifth, in 1876, Miyamoto of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs presented the Korean government with gifts, including the *CECK*. In addition, in 1880, the Japanese government donated many charts to the Korean envoy Kim Hong-jip, including the *Complete Chart of the Coast of Japan* and the *CECK*, in which Dokdo was included. Again, in 1888, Kondo, the acting Japanese minister to Korea, presented 11 maps and charts, including the *CECK*, to Jo Byeong-sik, head of the Korean Foreign Office. The fact that the Japanese government and its diplomats officially presented charts to the Korean government that indicated Ulleungdo and Dokdo as Korean territory can thus be deemed significant acts of recognition that Ulleungdo and Dokdo were Korean.

Sixth, since charts such as the *CECK* and directories were sold to the general public and thus easily obtained, their availability contributed greatly to spreading the recognition that Dokdo was part of Korea. In particular, for Japanese fishermen or fishing companies plying the coastal waters of Korea, such charts and directories were essential. As charts and directories became widely distributed and the understanding that Dokdo was within Korean territory naturally spread, even Nakai Yozaburo, who provided the critical pretext for Japan's occupation of Dokdo, recognized Dokdo as Korean territory after viewing such nautical sources as the *KEC* and the *Korea Sea Directory*. Indeed, taking these aforementioned charts and directories into account, it would be only natural for one to recognize Dokdo as appended to Ulleungdo and as a territorial possession of Korea.

Appendix. Maps and Charts

Name		Nation of publication	Year of publication	Years of revision
Original	English			
<i>Карта восточного берега полуострова Кореи</i>	Chart of Eastern Coast of the Korean Peninsula	Russia	1857	1862, 1868, 1882
<i>Preliminary Chart of Japan: Nipon, Kiusiu and Sikok, and Part of the Korea</i>	—	United Kingdom	1855	1861, 1862, 1863, 1864, 1865, 1873, 1876, 1883, 1885, 1886, 1892
朝鮮東海岸圖	Chart of East Coast of Korea	Japan	1875	1876, 1889
朝鮮東岸附伯德大帝灣	Korea East Coast with Peter the Great Bay	Japan	1893	1894, 1895, 1896
日本海岸全圖	Complete Chart of the Coast of Japan	Japan	1878	1884, 1891
日本本州九州及四国附朝鮮	Japan—Honshu, Kyushu and Shikoku, and Part of Korea	Japan	1891	1892
朝鮮全岸	Coast of Korea	Japan	1882	1896, 1906
日本總部 附朝鮮及其附近露清海岸	All Parts of Japan with Korea and the Adjacent Coasts of Russia and China	Japan	1884	1891, 1897
世界全圖	Complete Chart of the World	Japan	1887	

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