

The essential facts to understand Takeshima (2)

# Current State of Takeshima Education in South Korea and Its Issues

Written by

SHIMOJO Masao,

Professor Emeritus, Takushoku University

Published by the Fourth  
Shimane Takeshima Issue Research Group

# Current State of Takeshima Education in South Korea and Its Issues

SHIMOJO Masao

Chapter 1: Introduction .....	2
(1) The Takeshima Dispute and South Korea's Takeshima (Dokdo) Education .....	4
Chapter 2: 'Samguk sagi' and 'Dongguk Munheon Bigo' .....	9
Chapter 3: 'Dongguk Munheon Bigo' ("Yeojigo" section) and Shin Gyeongjun's 'Ganggyeji' .....	15
(1) About 'Dongguk Munheon Bigo' ("Yeojigo" section) .....	15
(2) Shin Gyeongjun's 'Ganggyeji' and Lee Menghyu's 'Chungwanji' .....	18
Chapter 4: Usando (Usan Island) in the "Jiriji" of 'Sejong Sillok' and 'The Map of Eight Provinces of Korea' .....	26
Chapter 5: Hayashi Shihei's 'Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu' and Nagakubo Sekisui's 'Kaisei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu' .....	42
(1) Nagakubo Sekisui's 'Kaisei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu' .....	42
(2) Hayashi Shihei's 'Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu' .....	49
Chapter 6: The Dajokan Order and "Takeshima and another Island" .....	54
Chapter 7: Sokdo (Ishijima) in "Imperial Ordinance No. 41" .....	62
Conclusion.....	72

## Chapter 1: Introduction

It has been more than half a century since Takeshima (known as Dokdo in Korea) became a site of dispute between Japan and South Korea, yet Japan has not found a way to resolve the issue. This suggests that Japan's approach to the matter may have points worth reconsidering. On the Korean side, Japan's incorporation of Takeshima into Japanese territory in 1905 is regarded as the "first sacrifice of Japan's invasion of the Korean Peninsula". Korea has viewed Japan's claim of sovereignty over Takeshima as "a denial of Korea's independence", framing the Takeshima dispute as a "historical problem". In contrast, the Japanese government views the Takeshima dispute as a "territorial dispute". It has consistently followed a diplomatic policy that respects "international law", aiming to ultimately refer the matter to the International Court of Justice.

However, South Korea, which frames the Takeshima dispute as a "historical problem", never had intentions of resolving it through the International Court of Justice. This was evident when, on September 25, 1954, the Japanese government attempted to bring the Takeshima dispute to the International Court of Justice, and the Korean government refused the proposal on October 28, stating in a memorandum that "the Japanese government's proposal to submit the dispute to the International Court of Justice is nothing more than another attempt to make false claims under the guise of legal procedures" and that "Dokdo (Takeshima) is the first Korean territory that fell victim to Japanese invasion". The Korean government also refused similar proposals by the Japanese government in 1962 and 2012. The fundamental disagreement between the Japanese government, which prioritizes

international law, and the Korean government, which views the Takeshima dispute as a “historical problem”, has led to an ongoing stalemate. In this situation, the Takeshima dispute is bound to remain at an impasse indefinitely.

Since around 2011, South Korea has established a system of “Dokdo (Takeshima) education” for elementary, middle, and high school students and has built a support system for this system. In contrast, Japan’s Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) first mentioned the Takeshima dispute in its ‘The Courses of Study’ in the 2017 edition. However, implementing legally binding ‘The Courses of Study’ without progress in diplomatic relations only serves to unnecessarily provoke South Korea.

In South Korea, the “Northeast Asian History Foundation”, a government-affiliated research institution, has developed supplementary teaching materials on Takeshima titled ‘Learning about Dokdo’, which have been used in classrooms nationwide. Since the development of these supplementary materials in 2011, new editions were published annually from 2013 to 2017. Additionally, a teaching guide titled ‘Teaching-Learning Process and Learning Magazine’ and reference materials, including ‘Meet our Land Dokdo Island’ (first published in 2011) by the Northeast Asian History Foundation, have been made available.

Japan’s Takeshima education has only just begun. Even though Takeshima is mentioned in Japan’s ‘The Courses of Study’, there are no supplementary materials, no teaching guidelines or ‘Teaching-Learning Process and Learning Magazine’, nor any reference materials like South Korea’s ‘Meet our Land Dokdo Island’. Under these circumstances, simply outlining the policy for Takeshima education leaves Japanese teachers uncertain about what

and how to teach.

This booklet aims to clarify what is being taught in South Korea's Dokdo (Takeshima) education, focusing on the historical section of the 2016 edition of 'Learning about Dokdo (High School Version)', and to identify the issues therein.

### **(1) The Takeshima Dispute and South Korea's Takeshima (Dokdo) Education**

The 2017 edition of 'Learning about Dokdo (High School Version)' is available on the website of the Dokdo Research Institute, a subordinate organization of the "Northeast Asian History Foundation", and is accessible to the public. The chapters include "Dokdo in Ancient Records", "Dokdo in the Joseon Era, Recognized by Japan", "Searching for Our Territory Dokdo in Old Maps", and "Modern Dokdo and Japan's Invasion of Dokdo", and consist of 86 pages.

The revised edition of 'Learning about Dokdo' (for elementary, middle, and high school students) was released just a month after Japan's Ministry of Education included the Takeshima dispute in the 2017 edition of its 'The Courses of Study'.

Although the revised edition was probably prepared in advance, this quick and strategic response by South Korea is far superior to Japan's.

In 2008, when Japan's Ministry of Education first included the Takeshima dispute in the 2009 edition of its 'The Courses of Study for Junior High School Social Studies', the Korean Ministry of Education, Science and Technology quickly announced the "Elementary, Middle, and High School Dokdo Education Content System" in February 2011. By December of that

year, South Korea had developed supplementary materials titled ‘Learning about Dokdo’ for elementary and high school students and ‘Our Eternal Territory, Dokdo (Junior High School Version)’.

South Korea’s rapid and accurate response is attributed to the existence of the “Northeast Asian History Foundation”, which specializes in research and policy recommendations on the Takeshima dispute. The supplementary materials ‘Learning about Dokdo’ were compiled based on previous works by the “Northeast Asian History Foundation”, such as ‘Ten Truths About Dokdo Not Known in Japan’ (Northeast Asian History Foundation, 2011), ‘Dokdo and the East Sea in Old Maps’ (Northeast Asian History Foundation, 2010), and ‘Dokdo: Our Desired Territory to Visit’ (National Museum of Korea, 2006).

The development of these supplementary materials in South Korea was triggered by Japan’s Ministry of Education’s decision to include several lines on Dokdo (Takeshima) in its ‘The Courses of Study for Junior High School Social Studies’ (“Geography”, “History”, and “Civics”) in 2008.

Regarding the Northern Territories (the Habomai Islands, Shikotan Island, Kunashiri Island, and Etorofu Island) and Takeshima, it is necessary to accurately address their locations and extents, recognizing that these are inherently our nation’s territories, but are currently being illegally occupied by the Russian Federation and South Korea, respectively. For the Northern Territories, we are demanding their return from the Russian Federation, and regarding Takeshima, we have repeatedly lodged protests with South Korea. It is also essential to deepen understanding of our nation’s territories and territorial waters. (“Geography Section”, p. 49)

In the context of “Determining National Boundaries”, topics such as the establishment of territorial boundaries with Russia, the Ryukyu issue, and the development of Hokkaido are addressed. In this context, a historical process is mentioned by which our nation, based on legitimate grounds under international law, formally incorporated Takeshima and the Senkaku Islands into its territory. (“History Section”, p. 99)

It is important to convey that unresolved issues remain concerning the Northern Territories and Takeshima, which are inherent territories of our nation, and to explain the circumstances leading to the current situation, the legitimacy of our nation’s claims, and the efforts we are making toward a peaceful resolution. (“Civics Section”, p. 141)

However, what is presented here is merely a teaching guideline. It states that “our country incorporated Takeshima into its territory based on legitimate grounds under international law” and that “Takeshima is currently being illegally occupied by South Korea”. The guideline continues by stating that it is necessary to “make students understand that our country is making efforts for a peaceful resolution through legal means”.

On the other hand, in the “Elementary, Middle, and High School Dokdo Education Content System” established by the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology of Korea, the practical strategy for Dokdo (Takeshima) education is clearly articulated, stating:

To counter Japan’s provocations regarding Dokdo (Takeshima) and to spread the recognition that Dokdo (Takeshima) is our territory not only within Japan but also in the international community, we must first

properly understand Dokdo (Takeshima) ourselves. If we know the facts correctly, we can logically argue our case and persuade the other party. [...] To effectively respond to Japan's provocations, we must adopt a method that is more meticulous and sustained than Japan's. (2011 edition of 'Our Eternal Territory, Dokdo (Junior High School Version)').

The goal of South Korea's Dokdo (Takeshima) education is strategic and sophisticated, aiming to "spread the recognition that Dokdo (Takeshima) is our territory not only within Japan but also in the international community". However, the actual state of Takeshima education in Japan is neither as meticulous nor as sustained as the Korean Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology has emphasized, stating "We must respond in a more meticulous and sustained manner than Japan". In response, South Korea developed the supplementary materials 'Learning about Dokdo', emphasizing that "we must first properly understand Dokdo (Takeshima) to spread this recognition in the international community". The preface of the 2011 high school edition of 'Learning about Dokdo' describes South Korea's "historical perspective" on the Takeshima dispute as follows:

Japan seized Dokdo (Takeshima) in the process of colonizing Korea and has been forcefully claiming it as its own territory ever since liberation. Recently, Japan has been educating the next generation of elementary, middle, and high school students that Dokdo (Takeshima) is Japanese territory. However, Dokdo (Takeshima) is a territory inherent to the Republic of Korea, a symbol of independence and sovereignty. Therefore, we are reluctantly placed in a situation where we must historically, legally, and



geographically explain to the Japanese, who have been educated to believe that “Dokdo (Takeshima) is Japanese territory”, that Dokdo (Takeshima) is indeed Korean territory.

The purpose of South Korea’s Dokdo (Takeshima) education is to explain to the Japanese, who have been taught that Takeshima is Japanese territory, that Dokdo (Takeshima) is Korean territory. Therefore, in addition to the supplementary materials ‘Learning about Dokdo’, South Korea also developed ‘Teaching-Learning Process and Learning Magazine’ like ‘Meet our Land Dokdo Island’, compiled by the Northeast Asian History Foundation.

In ‘Learning about Dokdo’, how does South Korea teach that Dokdo (Takeshima) is Korean territory? South Korea has used sources such as ‘Samguk sagi [History of the Three Kingdoms]’, ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo [Reference Compilation of Documents on Korea]’, “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’ (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong’s Reign), ‘The Map of Eight Provinces of Korea’, ‘Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu’, ‘Kaisei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu’, “The Dajokan Order”, and “Imperial Ordinance No. 41” as evidence that Takeshima is Korean territory. In the following sections, we will examine whether the interpretations of these sources presented in ‘Learning about Dokdo’, particularly in Chapter 4, “Dokdo (Takeshima) in Ancient Records”, are appropriate.

## Chapter 2: ‘Samguk sagi’ and ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’

The South Korean side has long claimed that “Takeshima (Dokdo) has been Korean territory since the 6th century”. In making this assertion, they have relied on the ‘Samguk sagi’. In the section titled “Dokdo in Ancient Records” from ‘Learning about Dokdo’, this is explained as follows:

In our country, records about Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) and Dokdo (Takeshima) appear in the ‘Samguk sagi’ (1145). Here, it is recorded that Isabu of Silla brought “Usan Country” under Silla’s control. This Usan Country included not only Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) but also Usando (Usan Island), which is today’s Dokdo (Takeshima). This can be understood from ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (1770), which states that “Utsuryo and Usan are both territories of Usan Country”. (From “Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) and Dokdo (Takeshima) in the Three Kingdoms Period” section).

The sources cited in ‘Learning about Dokdo’ are the ‘Samguk sagi’ (“The Annals of Silla” section) entry for the “13th year of King Jijeung (512 AD)” and ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (“Yeojigo” section) compiled in 1770. The “13th year of King Jijeung” entry of ‘Samguk sagi’ indeed contains a record stating that “Usan Country submitted” to Silla, indicating that “Usan Country” was brought under Silla’s control. The evidence that “today’s Dokdo (Takeshima) was included” in Usan Country is based on ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (“Yeojigo” section).

In the “Uljin Prefecture Article” of ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (“Yeojigo”

section), there is an annotation that states, “Utsuryo and Usan are both territories of Usan Country”. Based on this, ‘Learning about Dokdo’ interprets Usan as “today’s Dokdo (Takeshima)” and asserts that “Usan Country” (Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island)) included Dokdo (Usan Island). Since this corresponds to the ‘Samguk sagi’ (“The Annals of Silla” section) entry for the “13th year of King Jijeung”, it is claimed that Dokdo (Takeshima) has been Korean territory since the 6th century.

However, to use a document compiled in 1770 as evidence that ‘Usan Country’ mentioned in the ‘Samguk sagi’ written in 1145 “included today’s Dokdo (Takeshima)” is hasty.

It requires a critical examination of ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ and verification of the annotations in ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ on which this claim is based. Therefore, upon reviewing the “Uljin Prefecture Article” in ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (“Yeojigo” section), the following is written:

“In the Yeojiji, it is said that Utsuryo and Usan are both territories of Usan Country. Usan is the island known to the Japanese as Matsushima”.

This annotation indicates that ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (“Yeojigo” section) was quoting another document titled ‘Yeojiji’ when it stated that “Utsuryo and Usan are both territories of Usan Country”. However, ‘Learning about Dokdo’ relies only on the first half of the annotation - “Utsuryo and Usan are both territories of Usan Country” - while ignoring the second half, “Usan is the island known to the Japanese as Matsushima”. This is because the statement “Usan is the island known to the Japanese as Matsushima” is inconvenient for the Korean side, which claims that Dokdo (Takeshima) is

Korean territory.

The phrase “Usan is the island known to the Japanese as Matsushima” originates from the testimony of Ahn Yong-bok, who in June 1696, after secretly traveling to Tottori Domain, stated to the Korean government that “Matsushima is Usan. This, too, is our land”. Therefore, ‘Learning about Dokdo’ likely avoided the fact that the evidence for “Usan Country included not only Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) but also Usando (Usan Island), which is today’s Dokdo (Takeshima)” was based on the testimony of a 17th-century stowaway, fearing that it would cast doubt on its credibility. (For details on Ahn Yong-bok’s false testimony, refer to ‘Ahn Yong-bok’s Statement and the Takeshima Dispute’ by the General Affairs Division, Department of General Affairs, Shimane Prefectural Government).

Moreover, since the annotation in the “Uljin Prefecture Article” of ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (“Yeojigo” section) begins with “According to the Yeojiji”, it is necessary to verify this portion in the ‘Yeojiji’. The ‘Yeojiji’ referred to is the ‘Dongguk Yeojiji’ compiled by Yu Hyeong-won in 1656, which is frequently cited in ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (“Yeojigo” section). However, if the testimony of Ahn Yong-bok, given forty years after the compilation of the ‘Dongguk Yeojiji’ in 1656, is recorded there, it must be critically examined.

Upon checking the existing ‘Dongguk Yeojiji’, under “Uljin Prefecture Article”, it contains an article that states, “Some say that Usan and Utsuryo are actually one island”, but it does not include the description found in ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (“Yeojigo” section) annotation. This fact indicates that the annotation in ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (“Yeojigo” section) on which ‘Learning about Dokdo’ relies was newly added during the compilation of

‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (“Yeojigo” section).

So far, the South Korean side has relied solely on the annotation in ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (“Yeojigo” section) as evidence that Usando (Usan Island) is Dokdo (Takeshima) and has claimed that Takeshima has been Korean territory since the 6th century. However, the wording of that annotation did not exist in the original ‘Dongguk Yeojiji’ (under “Uljin Prefecture Article”). This means that South Korea has no document proving that “Usan Country included not only Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) but also Usando (Usan Island), today’s Dokdo (Takeshima)”, and the claim that “Dokdo (Takeshima) has been Korean territory since the 6th century” cannot be sustained.

Moreover, in ‘Learning about Dokdo’, it is stated that “records of Dokdo (Takeshima) appear in the ‘Samguk sagi’ (1145)”, but there is no description in the ‘Samguk sagi’ that can substantiate this. The ‘Samguk sagi’ entry for the “13th year of King Jijeung” reads as follows:

In the summer, sixth month of the 13th year, Usan Country submitted. They paid tribute annually with local products. Usan Country is an island in the sea directly east of Myeongju, also known as Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island). It measures 100 ri in all directions. (Usan Country submitted. They paid tribute annually with local products. Usan Country is an island in the sea directly east of Myeongju, also known as Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island). It measures 100 ri in all directions.)

From this ‘Samguk sagi’ entry for the “13th year of King Jijeung”, ‘Learning about Dokdo’ quotes only the first part, “Usan Country submitted in the summer, sixth month of the 13th year”. However, the important

description comes in the latter part, which states that the extent of Usan Country's territory was "100 ri in all directions". The 'Samguk sagi' ("13th year of King Jijeung" entry) refers to Usan Country as "100 ri in all directions", indicating that its administrative area was equivalent to the size of a "county". "100 ri in all directions" is a standard phrase indicating the size of a "county". Furthermore, stating that "it is also known as Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island)" implies that Usan Country consisted of just Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) alone. The entry for the "13th year of King Jijeung" in the 'Samguk sagi' contains no mention of present-day Takeshima.

This fact is confirmed by the "King Jijeung" entry in the 'Samguk yusa' (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdom), compiled in the 13th century. In the "King Jijeung" entry of the 'Samguk yusa', it states that the territory of Usan Country measured "26,730 steps around" (one step is approximately 1.6 meters according to Tang measurements).

This "26,730 steps around" refers to the "circumference" of Usan Country, which was the distance around Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island). Within these "26,730 steps around" (about 43 kilometers), Takeshima is certainly not included. Takeshima is located about 90 kilometers southeast of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island). Although 'Learning about Dokdo' relies on the "13th year of King Jijeung" entry in the 'Samguk sagi', it ignores the fact that the territory of Usan Country was "100 ri in all directions" and the description in the 'Samguk yusa' stating that the territory of Usan Country measured "26,730 steps around". "100 ri in all directions" and "26,730 steps around" indicate that Takeshima was not included in Usan Country's territory, which is an inconvenient truth.

'Learning about Dokdo' overlooks this inconvenient truth and instead

relies solely on the annotation in ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (under “Uljin Prefecture Article”) that states “Utsuryo and Usan are both territories of Usan Country”, claiming that “Usan Country included not only Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) but also Usando (Usan Island), which is today’s Dokdo (Takeshima)”.

This also calls for a critical examination of Shin Gyeongjun’s ‘Ganggyegi’, which served as the original source for ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (“Yeojigo” section). Why was the phrase in the ‘Dongguk Yeojiji’, which stated, “The Yeojiji says that Usan and Utsuryo are actually one island”, rewritten in ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (“Yeojigo” section) as “Utsuryo and Usan are both territories of Usan Country. Usan is the island known to the Japanese as Matsushima”?

Therefore, next, I will examine Shin Gyeongjun’s ‘Ganggyeji’, which served as the original source for ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (“Yeojigo” section), and its annotations.

## Chapter 3: ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (“Yeojigo” section) and Shin Gyeongjun’s ‘Ganggyeji’

### (1) About ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (“Yeojigo” section)

‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (“Yeojigo” section) is a type of government-compiled geographical record, created in 1770. It is clear that this ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (“Yeojigo” section) was based on Shin Gyeongjun’s ‘Ganggyeji’ (compiled in 1756) because, as mentioned in the ‘Yeongjo Sillok’ (“Yeongjo 46th Year, Leap May, Sin-yu Entry” section), “The completion of the Bigo is based on Shin Gyeongjun’s Ganggyeokji, and a special order was given to add to it”.

In reviewing the relevant section of ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (“Yeojigo” section) and comparing it to Shin Gyeongjun’s ‘Ganggyeokji’ (hereafter referred to as ‘Ganggyeji’), we find the following commentary by Shin Gyeongjun:

In my opinion, the Yeojiji states that some say that Usando (Usan Island) and Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) were originally the same island. However, when looking at various maps and geographical records, they are depicted as two separate islands. One of these is the island known to the Japanese as Matsushima.

(Presumably, the Yeojiji states that “One theory is that Usando (Usan Island) and Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) were originally the same island”. However, when looking at various maps and geographical records, it shows as two islands. One of them is Japan’s so-called Matsushima, and it is likely that both Usando (Usan Island) and Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) are part of



the territory of Usan Country).

What is clear from this commentary is that Shin Gyeongjun quoted from Yu Hyeong-won's 'Dongguk Yeoiji', specifically the phrase, "Some say that Usando (Usan Island) and Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) were originally the same island". The rest of the passage follows but is Shin Gyeongjun's personal opinion. In fact, upon reviewing Yu Hyeong-won's 'Dongguk Yeoiji', it only states that "Some say that Usando (Usan Island) and Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) were originally the same island" and does not mention "Utsuryo and Usan are both territories of Usan Country" or "Usan is the island known to the Japanese as Matsushima". However, in 'Dongguk Munheon Bigo' ("Yeojigo" section) where the 'Dongguk Yeoiji' is cited, it is written that "Utsuryo and Usan are both territories of Usan Country. Usan is the island known to the Japanese as Matsushima", thus separating Usan and Utsuryo into two distinct islands. Furthermore, the phrase "the island known to the Japanese as Matsushima" was not originally supposed to appear in the cited 'Dongguk Yeoiji' but was included anyway. This phrase "the island known to the Japanese as Matsushima" originates from the testimony of Ahn Yong-bok, who, after illegally traveling to Tottori Domain in 1696, stated upon his return, "Matsushima is Usan. This, too, is our land". That this phrase appears in the 'Dongguk Yeoiji', which was compiled in 1656, is unnatural.

Why, then, was the phrase "the island known to the Japanese as Matsushima", which should not have existed in the original text, added to the annotation of 'Dongguk Munheon Bigo' ("Yeojigo" section) and why was the quotation rewritten? The reason lies in Shin Gyeongjun's commentary. Shin Gyeongjun referred to "Some say that Usando (Usan Island) and Ulleungdo

(Utsuryo Island) were originally the same island” from the ‘Dongguk Yeojiji’ and then added his own opinion: “However, when examining various maps and gazetteers, they are shown as two islands. One of these is the island known to the Japanese as Matsushima, and presumably, both islands are part of Usan Country”.

As I will explain later, Sin Gyeongjun’s personal opinion was inserted into the annotation during the compilation of ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (‘Yeojigo’ section), which was based on his ‘Ganggyeji’.

This annotation in ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (‘Yeojigo’ section) was the only source for South Korea to claim that Usando (Usan Island) was “the island known to the Japanese as Matsushima”. If this sole piece of evidence was altered during the compilation of ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (‘Yeojigo’ section), the South Korean argument that Usando (Usan Island) depicted in ancient records and maps was Takeshima would collapse, leaving South Korea without any historical evidence to claim sovereignty over Takeshima.

Therefore, when the “theory of alteration in the annotations” of ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (‘Yeojigo’ section) emerged, South Korea shifted its focus to other sources, such as ‘Man’gi Yoram’ and ‘Jeungbo Munheon Bigo’, to claim that Usando (Usan Island) was Takeshima (Dokdo). ‘Learning about Dokdo’ follows this example, relying on ‘Man’gi Yoram’ and ‘Jeungbo Munheon Bigo’ as evidence for identifying Usando (Usan Island) with Takeshima (Dokdo).

However, the ‘Man’gi Yoram’ entry is simply a quote from ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (‘Yeojigo’ section), and ‘Jeungbo Munheon Bigo’ was a supplement to ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ created in 1908. Neither of these sources provide sufficient evidence to establish that Usando (Usan Island) was

today's Dokdo (Takeshima). Why, then, did Shin Gyeongjun add the phrase "the island the Japanese call Matsushima" in his commentary in 'Ganggyeji'? I will discuss the relationship between Shin Gyeongjun's 'Ganggyeji' and Lee Menghyu's 'Chungwanji', which served as its original source.

## **(2) Shin Gyeongjun's 'Ganggyeji' and Lee Menghyu's 'Chungwanji'**

As mentioned earlier, the "Uljin Prefecture Article" in 'Dongguk Munheon Bigo' ("Yeojigo" section) was South Korea's only ancient document claiming that Usando (Usan Island) depicted in historical records and maps was Takeshima (Dokdo). The annotation there, states that "Ulleung (Utsuryo) and Usan are both territories of Usan Country. Usan is the island the Japanese call Matsushima".

However, this annotation was based on Shin Gyeongjun's commentary in 'Ganggyeji', where he wrote, "When checking various maps and geographical records, they are depicted as two separate islands. One of these is the island known to the Japanese as Matsushima. Presumably, both Usando (Usan Island) and Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) are part of Usan Country". This commentary was derived from the testimony of Ahn Yong-bok, who stated in 1696 that "Matsushima is Usan". In 'Dongguk Munheon Bigo' ("Yeojigo" section) annotation, part of this commentary was attributed to 'Dongguk Yeoji', compiled in 1656.

Why did Shin Gyeongjun add the phrase "the island known to the Japanese as Matsushima" based on Ahn Yong-bok's testimony? The reason is that Shin Gyeongjun's 'Ganggyeji' entry on "Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island)" and "Ahn Yong-bok's Incident" was a copy of the "Ulleungdo Dispute" section from Lee Menghyu's 'Chungwanji' (compiled in 1745 under orders from

King Yeongjo). Shin Gyeongjun added his own commentary in sections where his opinion differed from Lee Menghyu's views in the "Ulleungdo Dispute" section.

Where Shin Gyeongjun wrote in his commentary, "One of these is what the Japanese call Matsushima. Presumably, both Usando (Usan Island) and Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) are part of Usan Country", Lee Menghyu's 'Chungwanji' described Usando (Usan Island) as follows:

This island (Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island)) is called Takeshima because it produces bamboo. It is also called Samseongdo because of its three peaks. Usan, Hureung, Utsuryo, Mureung and Isotakeshima are all different names for this island.

Lee Menghyu stated that Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) is called Takeshima because it produces bamboo and is also referred to as Samseongdo due to its three peaks. He believed that Usando (Usan Island), Hureung Island, Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), Mureungdo (Mureung Island), and Isotakeshima were all names that had changed phonetically over time and that they all referred to the same island, Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island). Shin Gyeongjun disagreed with Lee Menghyu's view that Usando (Usan Island) was simply another name for Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island). In his commentary, he wrote, "However, in consideration of various maps and geographical records, there two separate islands" (However, if you check various maps, there are two islands), inserting his own interpretation.

There was a reason why Shin Gyeongjun interpreted Usando (Usan Island) and Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) as two separate islands, while Lee

Menghyu regarded Usando (Usan Island) as Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island). This is because on the maps depicting Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) at the time, Usando (Usan Island) and Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) were depicted as two separate islands. Therefore, Shin Gyeongjun stated in the annotations, “In consideration of various maps and records, there are two islands”.

The maps were influenced by the testimony of Ahn Yong-bok in 1696, who, after negotiating with the lord of Tottori Domain, claimed that both Usando (Usan Island) and Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) were recognized as Korean territory. In response to Ahn Yong-bok's stowaway incident, the Korean Government decided to dispatch an inspection mission to Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island). At that time, the inspectors drew ‘Ulleungdo Map’ depicting the geographical features of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) to restore the situation of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) and its surroundings. Among the ‘Ulleungdo Map’, the map that greatly influenced later maps of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) was the ‘Ulleungdo Map’ created by Park Seok Chang who explored the island in 1711. Since the ‘Ulleungdo Map’ labeled present-day Jukdo as “the so-called Usando (Usan Island)”, Usando (Usan Island) has since been depicted to the east of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island).

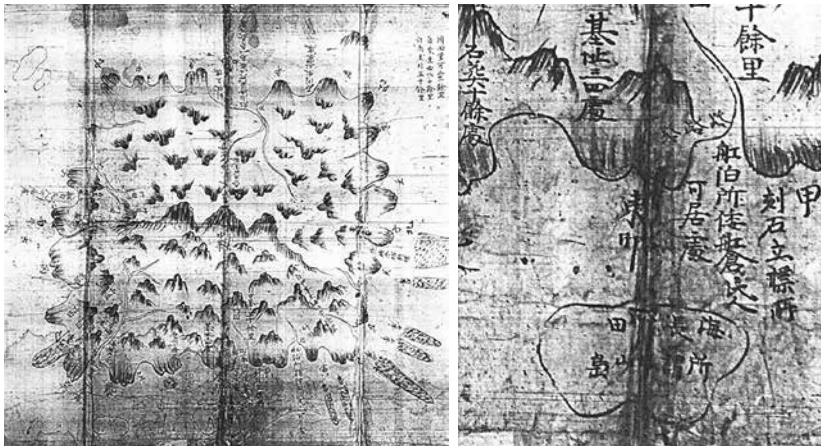
However, the “so-called Usando (Usan Island)” depicted in this map was not present-day Takeshima (Dokdo). This fact is confirmed by Jang Hansang's ‘Ulleungdo Records’, written in 1694 during his government-ordered survey of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island).

In these records, Jang reported that a small island covered with ‘Haejang Bamboo’ (*Arundinaria simonii*) was located “5 ri (approximately 2 kilometers) to the east” of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island). Further out, “300 ri (about 120 kilometers) to the east” of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), was another island

about one-third the size of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island). Since ‘Learning about Dokdo’ identifies the larger island as present-day Takeshima (Dokdo), it is clear that the small island located 5 ri (approximately 2 kilometers) to the east of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) was not Dokdo (Takeshima).

Seventeen years after Jang Hansang’s survey, Park Seok Chang, another inspector sent to Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), also depicted a small island labeled “the so-called Usando (Usan Island)” on his ‘Ulleungdo Map’, with an annotation describing it as “covered with Haejang Bamboo”.

Jang Hansang described that the small island located “5 ri (approximately 2 kilometers) east” of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) is covered with “Haejang Bamboo”. Park Seok Chang also noted that there is a “Haejang Bamboo field” on the small island labeled “the so-called Usando (Usan Island)” in ‘Ulleungdo Map’. The “Haejang Bamboo field” here does not refer to a farm field but rather indicate areas where Haejang Bamboo grows densely. The small

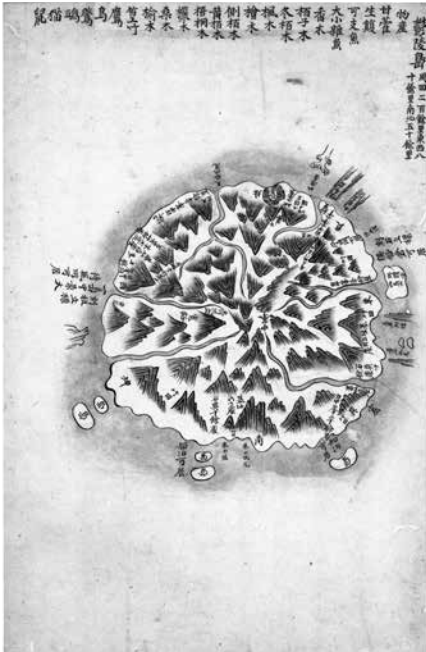


[Photo 1] ‘Ulleungdo Map’ by Park Seok Chang (Collection of Kyujanggak, Seoul National University)  
/ Right: Partial enlargement of the same map

island identified as “the so-called Usando (Usan Island)” by Park Seok Chang and the one described by Jang Hansang as “located 5 ri east” (approximately 2 kilometers) of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) refer to the same island. In comparing this to the islands near Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) today, the island that fits the description of “covered with Haejang Bamboo” and located “5 ri to the east” is Jukdo. The small island labeled “the so-called Usando (Usan Island)” in the ‘Ulleungdo Map’ and later referred to as Usando (Usan Island) was not Takeshima (Dokdo) but Jukdo.

After Ahn Yong-bok’s incident, the late Joseon-era maps of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) began to depict a small island to the east of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) labeled as Usando (Usan Island). This trend continued in maps created after Park Seok Chang’s ‘Ulleungdo Map’, such as the ‘Haedong jido’, ‘Yeoji Map’, and ‘Gwangyeo Map’, which labeled the small island initially described by Park Seok Chang as “the so-called Usando (Usan Island)” as simply “Usando (Usan Island)”.

This is why Shin Gyeongjun wrote in his commentary in ‘Ganggyeji’, “when checking various maps and geographical records, they are depicted as two separate islands”.



[Photo 2] ‘Haedong jido’ (included in the ‘Old Maps of Korea’ by Lee Cham)

Since Park Seok Chang's 'Ulleungdo Map', Usando (Usan Island) has been depicted to the east of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island).

The problem arises from Shin Gyeongjun's mistaken identification of Usando (Usan Island) (Jukdo) as "the island known to the Japanese as Matsushima". The Usando (Usan Island) depicted in Park Seok Chang's 'Ulleungdo Map' and labeled "the so-called Usando (Usan Island)" was covered with Haejang Bamboo, which Matsushima (the Japanese name for Takeshima during the Edo period) does not have. Thus, it is clear that the Usando (Usan Island) depicted in Park Seok Chang's 'Ulleungdo Map' was not "the island known to the Japanese as Matsushima". What then led Shin Gyeongjun to mistakenly identify Jukdo as "the island known to the Japanese as Matsushima"?

The reason lies in Seong Hae-eung's 'Yeongyejae Jeonjip', which states, "Ahn Yong-bok's biography was included in Lee Menghyu's Chungwanji". Shin Gyeongjun copied Lee Menghyu's 'Chungwanji' ("Ulleungdo Dispute" section) almost verbatim when writing his Ganggyeji. When Shin Gyeongjun transcribed the "Ulleungdo Dispute" section from his 'Chungwanji' into the 'Ganggyeji', he separated it into two sections: "Ulleungdo" and "Ahn Yong-bok's Incident".

Shin Gyeongjun created a separate entry for "Ahn Yong-bok's Incident" because he was particularly interested in Ahn Yong-bok's activities. In Lee Menghyu's 'Chungwanji' ("Ulleungdo Dispute" section), Ahn Yong-bok's testimony upon his return from Tottori Domain, stating that "Matsushima is Usan. This, too, is our land", was included, portraying Ahn Yong-bok as a hero. Shin Gyeongjun, believing in Ahn Yong-bok's testimony, added his own opinion in the commentary of 'Ganggyeji', writing, "One of these is the island



known to the Japanese as Matsushima, and presumably, both islands are part of Usan Country”, thus referring to Usando (Usan Island) as “the island known to the Japanese as Matsushima”.

However, in Lee Menghyu’s ‘Chungwanji’, Usando (Usan Island) was considered another name for Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island). Shin Gyeongjun, blindly following Ahn Yong-bok’s testimony that “Matsushima is Usan”, opposed Lee Menghyu’s view that Usando (Usan Island) was Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) and inserted his own commentary.

But Ahn Yong-bok’s testimony that “Matsushima is Usan. This, too, is our land” was false. The Usando (Usan Island) Ahn Yong-bok referred to was not Matsushima.

According to the ‘Memorandum of the Korean Boat Landing in the Ninth Year of Genroku’ (June 1696), when Ahn Yong-bok illegally traveled to Oki Island, he argued, based on a Korean map he brought with him, that Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) and Matsushima (present-day Takeshima) were attached to Gangwon Province in Korea. However, as I will explain later, the “Korean map” he used predated Park Seok Chang’s ‘Ulleungdo Map’, and the Usando (Usan Island) depicted on it was not Matsushima (Takeshima) but another island near Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island).

Upon his return, Ahn Yong-bok testified to the Korean authorities, “Matsushima is Usan. This, too, is our land”. Shin Gyeongjun accepted this testimony at face value and wrote in the commentary of ‘Ganggyeji’ (“Ulleungdo” section) that “One of these is the island known to the Japanese as Matsushima. Presumably, both Usando (Usan Island) and Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) are part of Usan Country”, inserting his own opinion.

This personal opinion of Shin Gyeongjun was rewritten during the

compilation of ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (“Yeojigo” section) as if it were a direct quote from ‘Dongguk Yeoji’. Kim Chi-in, who was involved in the compilation of ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’, partially explained this process, stating, “Gyeongjun drafted it, and Gyehee polished it” (‘Seungjeongwon Ilgi, the Diaries of the Royal Secretariat’, Yeongjo 46th Year, Leap May 2nd Entry). Shin Gyeongjun’s commentary in ‘Ganggyeji’ (“Ulleungdo” section) was edited by Hong Gyehee during the compilation and was transformed into a quote from ‘Dongguk Yeoji’.

In Lee Menghyu’s ‘Chungwanji’, Usando (Usan Island) was identified as Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island). However, after passing through Shin Gyeongjun’s ‘Ganggyeji’ (“Ulleungdo” section), it was altered in ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (“Yeojigo” section) to state that “Usan is the island known to the Japanese as Matsushima”. For the South Korean side, which relied solely on the annotations, has been interpreting Usando (Usan Island) depicted in ancient documents and maps as Dokdo (Takeshima), this means there is no longer any document proving that Usando (Usan Island) was present-day Takeshima (Dokdo). Thus, Dokdo (Takeshima) was not Korean territory.

So, what island did Usando (Usan Island) refer to before Ahn Yong-bok testified that “Matsushima is Usan”? Before testifying that “this is also the land of our country”, which island was Usando (Usan Island) referring to?

## Chapter 4: Usando (Usan Island) in the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’ and ‘The Map of Eight Provinces of Korea’

The 2016 edition of ‘Learning about Dokdo’ (in the chapter “Dokdo in Historical Records”) states that the Usando (Usan Island) that appears in Korean historical documents is Dokdo (Takeshima). As evidence, it claims that “historical records state that Usando (Dokdo) is visible from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island)”, and elaborates as follows:

Dokdo (Takeshima) is recorded along with Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) in old records and maps. Historical sources mention that Usando (Dokdo) can be seen from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), indicating that our ancestors have recognized Dokdo (Takeshima) since ancient times. When did our ancestors first recognize Dokdo (Takeshima)? (“Opening Thoughts”)

The historical documents that ‘Learning about Dokdo’ refers to as mentioning “Dokdo (Takeshima) being recorded along with Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) in old records and maps” are the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’ (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong’s Reign), and the “The Map of Eight Provinces of Korea” found in the ‘Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam [Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea]’ (compiled in 1481 as ‘Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam [Survey of the Geography of Korea]’ and supplemented in 1530). Both documents contain descriptions of Usando (Usan Island), and the “The Map of Eight Provinces of Korea” depicts

Usando (Usan Island).

However, historically, there are two different Usan islands, and it is necessary to distinguish between them.

One Usando (Usan Island) was the island that Ahn Yong-bok identified in 1696, claiming that “Matsushima is Usando (Usan Island)”, and maps such as Park Seok Chang’s ‘Ulleungdo Map’ show this island as a small island located approximately 2 kilometers east of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), which is now known as Jukdo. The other Usando (Usan Island) mentioned in ‘Learning about Dokdo’ refers to the island recorded as “visible from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island)”. This Usando (Dokdo) is the one found in the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’, under “Uljin Prefecture Article”.

In recent years, the South Korean side has interpreted the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’ (under “Uljin Prefecture Article”) to indicate that Usando (Usan Island) and Mureungdo (Utsuryo Island) are two distinct islands located in the sea directly east of Uljin Prefecture and that “on a clear day, one can see them”. The phrase “one can see them” has been interpreted to indicate that Dokdo (Takeshima) is “visible” from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), thus identifying Usando (Usan Island) as Dokdo (Takeshima). This interpretation gained prominence following the “alteration theory” concerning ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’ (“Yeojigo” section) annotation which states, “Usan is the island known to the Japanese as Matsushima”. Since South Korea occupies Takeshima (Dokdo), it was compelled to develop a new rationale to justify its occupation.

The “alteration theory” emerged between 1996 and 1998 during a series of debates with South Korean National Defense University professor Kim Byongryul on the pages of the South Korean magazine ‘Korean Forum’, in which I argued that “the grounds for claiming that Takeshima is Korean

territory have been distorted” (‘Korean Forum’, May 1996), “Show the evidence and prove it” (‘Korean Forum’, August 1996), and “Issues with the Takeshima Dispute” (‘Korean Forum’, August 1998). I continued these arguments in “Challenges of the Takeshima Dispute” (‘Contemporary Korea’, July-August 2005).

In response, the South Korean side did not directly challenge the inconvenient fact of the alteration, but instead began emphasizing that Takeshima (Dokdo) is “visible” from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) as proof of Korean sovereignty over Dokdo (Takeshima). Consequently, the ‘Northeast Asian History Foundation’ conducted a “Dokdo Visibility Survey” from July 2008 to December 2009 on Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island). According to the survey, Dokdo (Takeshima) was visible from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) for 56 days during the observation period. Based on these results, the ‘Northeast Asian History Foundation’ interpreted the phrase “on a clear day, one can see them” in the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’ (under “Uljin Prefecture Article”) to indicate that Takeshima is “visible” from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), thus claiming that Dokdo (Takeshima) is Korean territory.

The basis for ‘Learning about Dokdo’s’ assertion that Dokdo (Takeshima) is Korean territory comes from the survey results of ‘Northeast Asian History Foundation’, which state that Takeshima is “visible” from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island). Relying on this geographical condition, the South Korean side interpreted the phrase “visible” from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) in the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’ (under “Uljin Prefecture Article”) as evidence that “our ancestors recognized Dokdo (Takeshima) from ancient times”. In the 2016 edition of ‘Learning about Dokdo’ (in the section “Location and Territory of Dokdo”), the reasons why Dokdo (Takeshima) is Korean territory

based on the “Dokdo Visibility Survey” are explained as follows:

On a clear day, Dokdo (Takeshima) is visible to the naked eye from our country’s Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), but it is not visible from Japan’s Oki Islands. From several locations such as the Dokdo (Takeshima) observation platforms at Seokpo and Dodong in Utsuryo County, Dokdo (Takeshima) can be observed on clear days. The fact that Dokdo (Takeshima) is visible from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) is significant. Because Dokdo (Takeshima) is visible from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), the residents of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) have been going to Dokdo (Takeshima) to fish since ancient times. This means that Dokdo (Takeshima) has always been part of the living area of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island)’s residents.

(“The Importance of Dokdo (Takeshima) Being Visible from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island)”)

In this context, the fact that “Dokdo (Takeshima) is visible to the naked eye from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) on clear days” is presented as proof that “the residents of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) have been fishing at Dokdo (Takeshima) since ancient times”, and that Dokdo (Takeshima) has always been part of “the living area of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) residents”. However, the mere fact that Dokdo (Takeshima) is “visible” does not prove that fishing activities were conducted there, nor does it serve as definitive proof that Dokdo (Takeshima) was part of “the living area of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) residents”. Why, then, does the South Korean side place such importance on the “visibility” of Dokdo (Takeshima) from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo

Island)? This focus stems from the longstanding debate between Japan and South Korea since the 1950s over the interpretation of the following passage from the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’ (under “Uljin County Article”).

“Usan and Mureung are two islands in the sea directly east of the prefecture. [Annotation] The two islands are not far apart. On clear days, one can see them.” (The two islands are not far apart. On clear days, one can see them).

‘Learning about Dokdo’ reads this annotation as “the two islands are not far apart, so on clear days, they can be seen from one another”, and interprets the phrase “can be seen” to mean that Usando (Usan Island) is “visible” from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island).

However, there is no phrase in the annotation that suggests the two islands “can see each other”. In ‘Learning about Dokdo’, the phrase “mutually”, which is not in the annotation, is arbitrarily added, making the main text read as Usando (Usan Island) and Mureungdo (Utsuryo Island) “can be seen from one another”.

On the other hand, if we interpret the annotation without adding “can see each other”, it reads as “The two islands are not far apart. On clear days, one can see them”. This can be interpreted as “Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) and Usando (Usan Island) are not that far apart, and on a clear day, one can see it”.

The issue is that it is not clear from where and to where the phrase “one can see them” refers. South Korea, following the interpretation of ‘Learning about Dokdo’ that the two islands “can see each other”, added the phrase “can see each other” and interpreted the record to mean that Usando (Usan

Island) is visible from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island). Since no other island besides Dokdo (Takeshima) is visible from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), they concluded that the Usando (Usan Island) visible from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) must be Dokdo (Takeshima).

Japan, on the other hand, interpreted “can be seen” to mean that Utsuryo Island is visible from the Korean Peninsula, and argued that Usan Island has no connection to Takeshima. However, neither Japan nor South Korea were able to provide conclusive evidence for their respective interpretations, leaving the issue unresolved.

In an effort to break this deadlock, Kenzo Kawakami, a researcher working for Japan’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in 1996 calculated that Takeshima could only be visible “if one climbs to an altitude of over 200 meters”. He concluded that Takeshima “could not be seen” from Utsuryo Island’s lowlands. Naturally, South Korea objected to this conclusion, as Takeshima is indeed “visible” from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), rendering Kawakami’s calculation unconvincing.

Interest in Kenzo Kawakami’s calculation resurfaced in March 2005 when the Shimane Prefectural Assembly passed the “Takeshima Day” ordinance, reigniting the Takeshima dispute. South Korea, seeing this as an opportunity to target “Japan’s Takeshima research”, responded by conducting the “Dokdo Visibility Survey” on Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island). Based on the survey results, the South Korean side considered the “visibility” issue mentioned in the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’ (under “Uljin Prefecture Article”) to be resolved.

The “Northeast Asian History Foundation” published the survey results in the book ‘Dokdo! Visible from Ulleungdo’ (published in 2010), and since



then, South Korea has cited the result of “Dokdo Visibility Survey” as evidence that Takeshima (Dokdo) is Korean territory. In ‘Learning about Dokdo’, it is emphasized that “On clear days, Dokdo (Takeshima) can be seen with the naked eye from our country’s Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), but it is not visible from Japan’s Oki Islands”. This is why it is emphasized that “the fact that Dokdo (Takeshima) is visible from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) is significant”.

However, both Kenzo Kawakami’s calculation and the “Dokdo Visibility Survey” on Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) are based on an arbitrary interpretation of the annotation in the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’ (under “Uljin County Article”), and neither provides conclusive evidence.

In the case of a geographical record like the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’ (completed in 1454), it was compiled according to “editorial guidelines”, and the interpretation should adhere to these guidelines. Furthermore, the main text of the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’ (under “Uljin Prefecture Article”) included the phrase “Usando (Usan Island) and Mureungdo (Mureung Island) are two islands in the sea directly east of the county”, and if this is followed by annotation, then the annotation contains articles related to Usando (Usan Island) and Mureungdo (Mureung Island). If we examine the articles related to Usando (Usan Island) in the annotation, we can clarify what kind of island Usando (Usan Island) actually was.

Furthermore, in the preface of the ‘Gyeongsang-do Jiriji’ (which served as one of the original sources for the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’), the governor of Gyeongsang-do, Ha Yeon-yeon, wrote about the “guidelines”, stating, “We made each do submit the matters under investigation following the guidelines we had established”. During the compilation of the geographical records, the central government had pre-established “guidelines”, and each do was required

to “investigate” and “submit” reports in accordance with those guidelines to the central government.

The ‘Gyeongsang-do Jiriji’ became part of the original source for the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’. Similar “guidelines” for the compilation of geographical records were provided to all do, just as they were for Gyeongsang-do. The ‘Gyeongsang-do Jiriji’ contains these “guidelines”, and for islands, the following information was to be recorded.

1. Distance between islands and land, and the existence of inhabitants and farming activities on the island

In the case of the islands, the “guidelines” required recording “the distance by sea route between the islands and the mainland” and clarifying how far the islands were from the mainland. According to these “guidelines”, the phrase “on a clear day, one can see” in the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’ should be interpreted as meaning that, on clear days, Mureungdo (Mureung Island) “can be seen” from Uljin Prefecture on the mainland.

This is because the only mention of distance in the phrase “on a clear day, one can see” is related to “visibility”, with no further explanation. Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) is quite far from the Korean Peninsula, so it is interpreted as being within the “visible” distance from the mainland. ‘Learning about Dokdo’ interpreted “visible” to mean that Dokdo (Takeshima) can be seen from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), but this interpretation disregards the existence of the “guidelines” and is thus a subjective interpretation.

During the Joseon period, the country operated under a centralized administration system. Therefore, officials were dispatched from the central

government to the local areas, where they governed administrative units known as counties (gun) and prefectures (ken). At that time, it was necessary to record information about the territories they governed. This led to the compilation of geographical records, such as ‘Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam’ (completed in 1481). Seo Geojeong, who compiled the text, described it as “as clear as pointing to something in the palm of your hand without leaving the house”. The “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’ was compiled to meet that need, and its continuation was edited as the ‘Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam’. Therefore, when ‘Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam’ was being compiled, it was done according to the “guidelines” known as ‘Jiriji Sokchan Samok’. The ‘Jiriji Sokchan Samok’ required the following details to be recorded about the islands:

1. The island is located in a certain direction from the main district; what is the distance by sea route? How far is it from the mainland? What is the circumference of the island? Are there any fields? Are there any houses? (The island is located in a certain direction from the main district? What is the distance by sea route? How far is it from the mainland? What is the circumference of the island? Are there any fields? Are there any houses?)

In the case of ‘Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam’, information regarding the islands included their direction from the controlling administrative office, the distance by sea route, and the distance from the mainland.

The ‘Jiriji Sokchan Samok guidelines’ and the ‘Gyeongsang-do Jiriji’ document recorded similar rules, with little difference between them. As a result, when ‘Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam’ was expanded into ‘Shinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam’ a supplement to ‘Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam’ created

in 1530), it was written as a sequel to the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’ under the “Uljin Prefecture Article” section as follows:

“Usando (Usan Island) and Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) [Annotation] are two islands located directly east of the prefecture. Their three peaks rise high into the sky, and the southern peak is somewhat lower. On a clear day, the trees on the peaks and the sandy shores of the mountains are clearly visible”.

In the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’ (under “Uljin County Article”), the record only mentions that “one can see” them, but the ‘Shinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam’ (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea) expands on this by describing the scenery that “can be seen” from a distance. On “clear a clear day”, the “trees on the peaks and the sandy shores of the mountains” are clearly “visible”.

Of course, these “trees on the peaks and the sandy shores” would not be a distant view of Takeshima (Dokdo) from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) because Takeshima (Dokdo), being little more than a rocky island, does not have any trees or sandy shores. Because Takeshima, which is merely a rocky islet, does not have thriving trees, nor does it have sandy shores. Therefore, the “visibility” mentioned here refers to the view of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) from the mainland, as described according to the guidelines of the ‘Jiriji Sokchan Samok’ (“How far is it from the mainland?” section), which was covered in thick forests. Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) was covered by dense, lush trees.

This confirms that the “visible” phrase in the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’ (under “Uljin Prefecture Article”), which should have specified “what is the

distance by sea route?”, must be interpreted as referring to the mainland being “visible” Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), not Dokdo (Takeshima).

The same conclusion is reached in the article that continues from ‘Shinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam’ (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea), known as ‘Book on Our Country [Land]’ (compiled between 1757 and 1765). The main text in the “Samcheok-bu” section of ‘Book on Our Country [Land]’ shows that the Usando (Usan Island) was removed in the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’ and only Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) remained, with “the trees on the peaks and the sandy shores” being visible from the mainland. The compilers of ‘Book on Our Country [Land]’ interpreted “visible” as meaning that Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) could be seen from the mainland.

By the 19th century, geographical studies had advanced, and Kim Jeongho’s ‘Daedong Jiji [Geography of the Great East]’ (under “Uljin Prefecture Article”) included more accurate annotations. In ‘Daedong Jiji’ (under “Uljin Prefecture Article”), it is written: “Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) [Annotation] is located directly east of this prefecture (...), and on a clear day, when one climbs to a high place, Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) is visible like a cloud”. The phrase “when one climbs to a high place on a clear day” indicates that Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) looks like a cloud when seen from a high place on clear days.

Kim Jeongho’s ‘Daedong Jiji’ (under “Uljin Prefecture Article”) follows the descriptions in the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’ and ‘Shinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam’ (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea), interpreting “visible” to mean that Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) “could be seen” from the mainland (Uljin Prefecture).

So, which island is referred to by Usando (Usan Island) in the main text of “Jiriji” in ‘Sejong Sillok’ (under “Uljin Prefecture Article”) and ‘Shinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam’ (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea) (under “Uljin Prefecture Article”)? The answer lies in the annotations within the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’ (under “Uljin Prefecture Article”). If there is a main text and an annotation, the information related to the main text will appear in the annotation. This is seen in both the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’ (under “Uljin Prefecture Article”) text, which states, “During the reign of King Taejo, many refugees fled to this island”, and the annotation in ‘Shinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam’ (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea) (under “Uljin Prefecture Article”), which says, “During the reign of King Taejong, many refugees fled to this island”.

In the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’ (under “Uljin Prefecture Article”), the phrase mistakenly states “during the reign of King Taejo” instead of stating “during the reign of King Taejong”, but this is a transcription error from the same article in the ‘Taejong Sillok [The Annals of King Taejong]’.

In the ‘Taejong Sillok’ (“17th Year, February” Article), there is an article stating that Kim In-u, an inspector dispatched to Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), “returned from Usando (Usan Island)” and reported that Usando (Usan Island) had “approximately 15 households with a total of 86 men and women”. Since Kim In-u was sent to Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) and “returned from Usando (Usan Island)”, his title was changed from “Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) inspector” to “Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island)-Usando (Usan Island) inspector”, indicating that they recognized Usando (Usan Island) as a separate island. The reason for this is the recognition that, in addition to Ulleungdo (Utsuryo

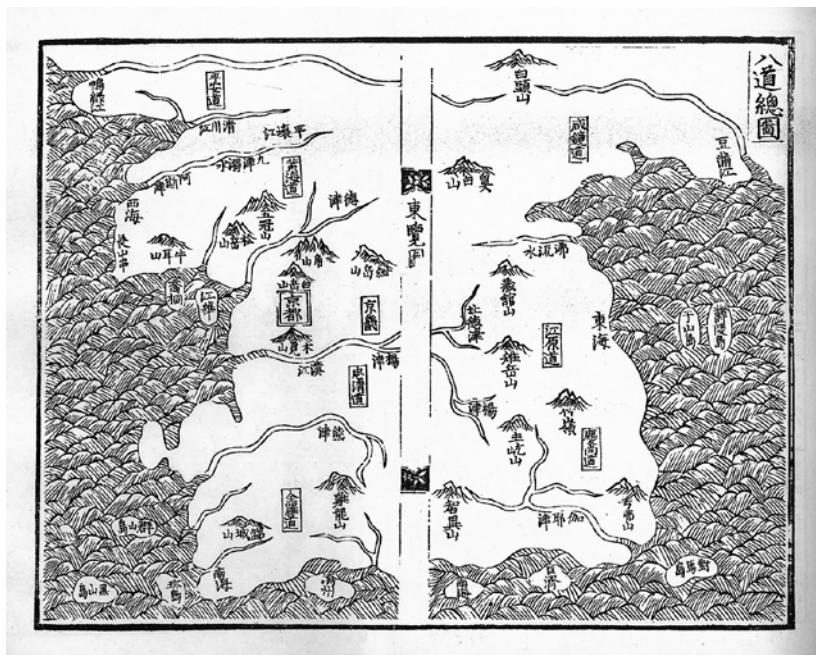
Island), there is another island called Usando (Usan Island). Usando (Usan Island) had “approximately 15 households and 86 people”, and there were also “15 households” that had settled on Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) (‘Taejong Sillok’, 16th Year, August).

At that time, it was still unclear whether Usando (Usan Island) and Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) were two separate islands or one island that was referred to by different names. As a result, ‘Shinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam’ (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea) (under “Uljin Prefecture Article”) included the phrase “the two islands are not far apart” in the main text while adding the annotation “some say Usando (Usan Island) and Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) were originally one island” for future research. Similarly, the “Jiriji” of ‘Goryeosa [The History of Goryeo]’ (under “Uljin Prefecture Article”), Compiled in the same period as the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’, also treated Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) as one island in the main text, while the annotation stated, “Some say Usando (Usan Island) and Mureung were originally two islands”, avoiding a definitive judgment.

Because of this ambiguity, “The Map of Eight Provinces of Korea” in ‘Shinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam’ (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea) depicted Usando (Usan Island) as being about two-thirds the size of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), between the Korean Peninsula and Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), even though such an island did not exist. Han Baekgyeom identified Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) as Usando (Usan Island) in his ‘Dongguk Jiriji’ (1614), and Lee Menghyu also stated that Usando (Usan Island) was simply another name for Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) in his ‘Chungwanji’ (“Ulleungdo Dispute” section).

In 1696, Ahn Yong-bok, who had traveled illegally to Tottori Domain, brought with him a map based on “The Map of Eight Provinces of Korea”, and he identified the depicted Usan Island as “Matsushima”. As a result, his testimony was later passed down, and in ‘Dongguk Munheon Bigo’, it was written that “Usan is the island known to the Japanese as Matsushima”.

However, by the time of the ‘Book on Our Country [Land]’ and Kim Jeongho’s ‘Daedong Jiji’ (under “Uljin Prefecture Article”), Usando (Usan Island), as described in the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’ (under “Uljin Prefecture Article”) and the ‘Shinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam’ (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea) (under “Uljin



[Photo 3] ‘The Map of Eight Provinces of Korea’ included in ‘Shinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam’



Prefecture Article”), had been removed from the records, and Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) was the only island that remained. Following Ahn Yong-bok’s illegal travels, the Usando (Usan Island) depicted as “so-called Usando (Usan Island)” in Park Seok Chang’s “Ulleungdo Map” came to refer to Jukdo, located “5 ri to the east” of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island).

‘Learning about Dokdo’ begins its explanation of the Takeshima dispute with the following:

“Dokdo (Takeshima) and Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) appear together in ancient records and maps. Historical records state that Usando (Dokdo) is visible from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), indicating that our ancestors recognized Dokdo (Takeshima) from ancient times. When did our ancestors begin recognizing Dokdo (Takeshima)? Ahn Yong-bok crossed to Japan twice and asserted that Dokdo (Takeshima) was our territory. What was the reason for him taking such a risk to return to Japan?”

However, contrary to the explanation in ‘Learning about Dokdo’, no records exist showing that “Dokdo (Takeshima) and Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) appear together in old records and maps”, nor is there any document that states, “Usando (Dokdo) is visible from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island)”. The “visible” described in the “Jiriji” of ‘Sejong Sillok’, under “Uljin Prefecture Article” must be interpreted, according to the “guidelines”, as meaning that Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) is “visible” from the mainland. Therefore, there is no document within the references cited by ‘Learning about Dokdo’ that proves that “our ancestors recognized Dokdo (Takeshima) from ancient times”.

However, the records do show that Ahn Yong-bok “crossed to Japan

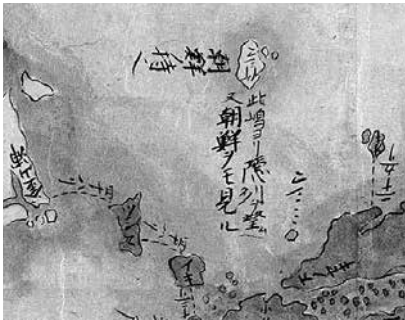
twice”. But there is no evidence to support Ahn Yong-bok’s claim that he negotiated with the lord of Tottori Domain to establish Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) and Dokdo (Takeshima) as Korean territory. According to the records of Ahn Yong-bok’s illegal travels, ‘The Records of the Korean’s Landing in Inaba Province and the Communication with Lord Toyomori included in Collected Japanese Sources on Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) and Dokdo (Takeshima)’ (included ‘Collected Japanese Sources on Ulleungdo and Dokdo I’ published by the Northeast Asian History Foundation in 2012), the lord of Tottori Domain expelled Ahn Yong-bok under orders from the Edo Shogunate. Therefore, ‘Learning about Dokdo’ teaches a version of history that is not in line with the facts.

## Chapter 5: Hayashi Shihei's 'Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu' and Nagakubo Sekisui's 'Kaisei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu'

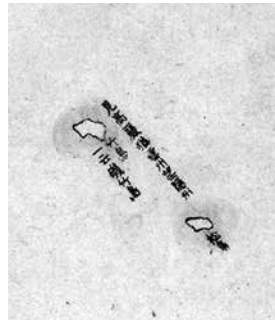
### (1) Nagakubo Sekisui's 'Kaisei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu'

In the 2016 edition of 'Learning about Dokdo' (in the chapter "II: Dokdo in the Pre-Modern Period"), it is claimed that even ancient Japanese maps indicate that "Takeshima is Korean territory". As evidence, the book cites Nagakubo Sekisui's 'Kaisei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu' and Hayashi Shihei's 'Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu'. The reasoning is explained as follows:

"The ancient Japanese maps that depict Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) and Dokdo (Takeshima) mostly show both islands being outside of Japanese territory. In most cases, Dokdo (Takeshima) is colored the same as the Korean mainland and drawn near Korea." ("Dokdo on Maps" section)



[Photo 5] A part of the 'Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu' by Hayashi Shihei (private collection)



[Photo 4] A part of the 'Kaisei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu' by Nagakubo Sekisui (private collection)

According to ‘Learning about Dokdo’, even ancient Japanese maps depict “Dokdo (Takeshima) colored the same as the Korean mainland and drawn near Korea”, which is presented as proof that Dokdo (Takeshima) was considered Korean territory. The maps that are cited as evidence are Nagakubo Sekisui’s ‘Kaisei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu’ and Hayashi Shihei’s ‘Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu’.

In the case of ‘Kaisei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu’, the claim is that “Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) and Matsushima (Dokdo) are depicted as islands outside of Japanese territory, as they are not colored the same as the Japanese mainland”. ‘Learning about Dokdo’ further explains this by saying:

“The note on ‘Kaisei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu’ beside Takeshima reads “Viewing Koryo (Korea) is the same as viewing Onshu (Oki) from Unshu (eastern part of today’s Shimane prefecture) (見高麗猶雲州望隱州)”. This note comes directly from the content of the ‘Onshu Shicho Gakki [Records on Observations in Oki Province]’ and clearly shows that the two islands are Korean territory.”

Indeed, in the Nagakubo Sekisui’s ‘Kaisei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu’, there is a note next to Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) that reads “Viewing Koryo (Korea) is the same as viewing Onshu (Oki) from Unshu (eastern part of today’s Shimane prefecture) (見高麗猶雲州望隱州)”, which is derived from the ‘Onshu Shicho Gakki’ (“Kokudai-ki” section).

However, the existence of this note does not automatically mean that “the two islands are clearly recognized as Korean territory”. The note states, “Viewing Koryo (Korea) is the same as viewing Onshu (Oki) from Unshu

(eastern part of today's Shimane prefecture) (見高麗猶雲州望隠州)", which could also be interpreted as meaning that "One can see Koryo (Korea), just as one can see Oki from Unshu (eastern part of today's Shimane prefecture), implying that the place from which Korea is visible (i.e., Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island)) is naturally part of Japanese territory". If this is interpreted literally, the place from which Korea (Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island)) is viewed would naturally be considered Japanese territory. Furthermore, Korea is not visible from Oki Island. This note, which states that "Korea is visible", could be understood as evidence that Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) was considered Japanese territory. So why is this note interpreted as proof that "the two islands are Korean territory" based on the 'Onshu Shicho Gakki'?

Nagakubo Sekisui, who created 'Kaisei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu', recognized the two islands as Japanese territory. Although the Edo Shogunate prohibited travel to Utsuryo Island in 1696, recognizing it as Korean territory, there were those who doubted this decision. Aoki Konyo, in 'Sourozoudan', expressed this skepticism, stating, "Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) has always been our land", and questioning, "Why was Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) given to Korea?" and "Was this a mistake by the authorities?". Nagakubo Sekisui similarly recognized Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) and Matsushima (Takeshima) as Japanese territory. This fact is confirmed in the "Jiriji" of 'Dai Nihonshi', compiled by the Mito Domain. Nagakubo Sekisui, a Mito Domain retainer, participated in its compilation and was responsible for the "Jiriji" of 'Dai Nihonshi'. In the section on "Oki Province", Nagakubo Sekisui wrote, "It is already called Takeshima and Matsushima. Anyone with intelligence knows without question that these islands are part of our territory", thus asserting that Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) and Matsushima (Takeshima) were "Japanese

territory”.

Nagakubo changed the note from the ‘Onshu Shicho Gakki’ from “Looking at Koryo (Korea) is like looking at Oki from Unshu (eastern part of today’s Shimane prefecture) (見高麗、如自雲州望隱岐)” to “Viewing Koryo (Korea) is the same as viewing Onshu (Oki) from Unshu (eastern part of today’s Shimane prefecture) (見高麗猶雲州望隱州)” and added to his ‘Kaisei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu’ because he regarded Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) and Matsushima (present-day Takeshima) as Japanese territory. Therefore, if Nagakubo included the note from the ‘Onshu Shicho Gakki’, “Koryo (Korea) is visible just as Onshu (Oki) is visible from Unshu (eastern part of today’s Shimane prefecture)”, as “Viewing Koryo (Korea) is the same as viewing Onshu (Oki) from Unshu (eastern part of today’s Shimane prefecture) (見高麗猶雲州望隱州)” next to the islands on his map, it must also be understood that Saito Hosen, who wrote the ‘Onshu Shicho Gakki’, similarly regarded Utsuryo Island as the northwestern boundary of Japan.

In the “Kokudai-ki” section of the ‘Onshu Shicho Gakki’, Saito Hosen explained the geographical position of Oki Island by using Saigo in Oki as a reference point and describing the surrounding areas in all four directions. Among these, the phrase “Koryo (Korea) is visible just as Onshu (Oki) is visible from Unshu (eastern part of today’s Shimane prefecture)” is part of the description applied to Utsuryo Island. In the first part of the “Kokudai-ki” section, Saito Hosen described the geographical distances from Oki Island: “To the south, Oki is 35 ri from Miho Cape in Unshu (eastern part of today’s Shimane prefecture)” and “To the southeast, it is 40 ri to Akasakiura in Hakushu (Hoki Province)”. Regarding Utsuryo Island and Matsushima, he described them as follows:

“Traveling in the direction of Bohai (northwest), after two days and one night, one reaches Matsushima. After another day’s journey, one arrives at Takeshima (Utsuryo Island). These two islands are uninhabited lands. From this point, Koryo (Korea) is visible just as Onshu (Oki) is visible from Unshu (eastern part of today’s Shimane prefecture). Therefore, this province (此州) marks the limit of Japan’s (northwestern) territory.”

Here, Saito Hosen placed “Matsushima” and “Takeshima (Utsuryo Island)” to the northwest of Oki Island, and from these islands, “Koryo (Korea) is visible just as Onshu (Oki) is visible from Unshu (eastern part of today’s Shimane prefecture)”. Therefore, the islands from which Korea is visible were recognized as marking the limit of Japan’s northwestern territory.

In ‘Learning about Dokdo’, however, “this province (此州)” is interpreted as referring to Oki Island. Thus, ‘Kaisei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu’, which included the note “Koryo (Korea) is visible just as Onshu (Oki) is visible from Unshu (eastern part of today’s Shimane prefecture)” taken from ‘Onshu Shicho Gakki’, is presented as an ancient Japanese map that “depicts Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) and Dokdo (Takeshima) outside Japanese territory”.

However, Nagakubo Sekisui added the note “Viewing Koryo (Korea) is the same as viewing Onshu (Oki) from Unshu (eastern part of today’s Shimane prefecture) (見高麗猶雲州望隱州)” near Utsuryo Island because he recognized Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) and Matsushima (Takeshima) as “Japanese territory”. Why then does ‘Learning about Dokdo’ claim that Nagakubo’s note “clearly shows that the two islands are Korean territory”?

This is because, based on the logic of Professor Satoshi Ikeuchi from Nagoya University, who argued “this place (此州)” as “Oki Island”, Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) was not Japanese territory.

Ikeuchi’s argument is based on the passage in the ‘Onshu Shicho Gakki’ (“Mototani Village” section), which describes “Onshu (Oki) is the extreme northwestern point”. Using this as evidence, Ikeuchi concluded that “this province (此州)” mentioned in the “Kokudai-ki” as “the province marks the limit of Japan’s (northwestern) territory”, must refer to Oki Island itself, the extreme northwestern point.

However, this is a flawed argument. In the “Kokudai-ki”, Saito Hosen described that “this province (此州) marks the limit of Japan’s (northwestern) territory” he was likely referring to “this province (此州)” as the northwestern limit, with Oki Island as the base point. In contrast, the phrase “Onshu (Oki) is the extreme northwestern point” cited by Professor Satoshi Ikeuchi refers to Oki Island as the “extreme northwestern point” when viewed from Japan’s mainland. At first glance, “Japan’s (northwestern) territory” and “Onshu (Oki) is the extreme northwestern point” may seem the same, but if their reference points differ—whether Oki Island or the mainland of Japan—then naturally “this province (此州)” beyond that point will also differ. Interpreting “this province (此州)” as “Oki Island” is a sophistry by Toshi Ikeuchi. This is because the only place that can be said to “mark the limit” of “Japan’s (northwestern) territory”, from which Korea is visible with Oki Island as the starting point, is Utsuryo Island, located northwest of Oki Island.

Moreover, the “州” (province/territory) mentioned here does not refer to the “province” of Oki province (Onshu), but rather to an island, as islands were sometimes referred to as “州” in classical Chinese. Following Ahn Yong-



bok's incident, the Korean government began to regard Ahn as a "hero". Yi Ik, the father of Yi Menghyu (who compiled *Chungwanji*), praised Ahn Yongbok, stating that "he resolved disputes that had persisted for generations and restored the land of one territory" ('Seongho Saseol', "Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) Article"). In this case, "one territory" refers to Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island).

When Saito Hosen wrote, "Koryo (Korea) is visible just as Onshu (Oki) is visible from Unshu (eastern part of today's Shimane prefecture), and thus the northwestern boundary of Japan is marked by this province", he meant that the island from which Korea was visible marked the boundary. This island is Utsuryo Island, not Oki Island as Ikeuchi claims.

The argument made in 'Learning about Dokdo', which claims that the 'Onshu Shicho Gakki' is "the first Japanese document to mention Dokdo (Takeshima) and that it describes the northwestern boundary of Japan as Oki Island", relies on Ikeuchi's misinterpretation of "this province" as Oki Island.

Nagakubo Sekisui depicted Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) and Matsushima (Takeshima) in his 'Kaisei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu' and noted that "Viewing Koryo (Korea) is the same as viewing Onshu (Oki) from Unshu (eastern part of today's Shimane prefecture) (見高麗猶雲州望隱州)" because he recognized these islands as "Japanese territory". The claim that Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) and Matsushima (Takeshima) in 'Kaisei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu' are depicted "outside of Japanese territory" due to their lack of color is an incorrect interpretation based on a failure to critically examine the documents.

In Korean research on Takeshima, including 'Learning about Dokdo', there is a tendency to neglect critical examination of historical sources and instead offer arbitrary interpretations. This issue also arises in the case of

Hayashi Shihei's 'Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu'. Due to the fact Hayashi Shihei had added the note "belongs to Korea" to Takeshima (Utsuryo Island), to which Nagakubo Sekisui had originally annotated "Viewing Koryo (Korea) is the same as viewing Onshu (Oki) from Unshu (eastern part of today's Shimane prefecture) (見高麗猶雲州望隱州)" in his 'Kaisei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu'. Therefore, the Korean side argues, based on Hayashi Shihei's 'Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu,' which includes the annotation "belongs to Korea," that "most old Japanese maps depicting Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) and Dokdo (Takeshima) place these islands outside Japan's territory." But what does the note "This belongs to Korea" actually refer to?

## **(2) Hayashi Shihei's 'Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu'**

'Learning about Dokdo' provides the following explanation about Hayashi Shihei's 'Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu':

It is one of five supplementary maps included in the Hayashi Shihei's 'Sangoku Tsuran Zusetsu'. In the East Sea (Sea of Japan) portion of the map, Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) and another unnamed island to its right are colored in the same yellow as the Korean mainland, and the note "This belongs to Korea" is clearly written. Japan is colored green.

In this explanation, the map described as "one of five supplementary maps included in 'Sangoku Tsuran Zusetsu'" is Hayashi Shihei's 'Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu'. In 'Learning about Dokdo', it is stated that in the East Sea (Sea of Japan) section of the 'Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu', Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) and a small island located to the upper right

of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) are colored the same yellow as the Korean Peninsula, and Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) is clearly labeled as “belongs to Korea.” Therefore, ‘Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu’ is presented as evidence that the Japanese side recognized Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) and the small island as Korean territory.

Hayashi Shihei created the ‘Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu’ amid rising awareness of maritime defense, particularly with Russia approaching Ezo (Hokkaido). As a result, Hayashi Shihei stated, “I have a humble intention of newly illustrating a map with Japan at the center, incorporating Korea, Ryukyu, Ezo, and the Bonin Islands”. Hayashi drew on Nagakubo Sekisui’s ‘Kaisei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu’ and added maps such as the ‘Map of Korea’ (“Map of the Eight Provinces of Korea” section), ‘Map of Ryukyu’, ‘Map of Ezo’, and ‘Map of the Uninhabited Islands’ to compile the ‘Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu’. The five maps used in this process were all included in ‘Sangoku Tsuran Zusetsu’.

Korean scholars have focused on the fact that in ‘Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu’, Hayashi Shihei added the note “This belongs to Korea” next to Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) and that a small island was drawn to the upper right of Utsuryo Island on the map. Some Korean researchers identify this small in the upper right of Utsuryo Island as present-day Takeshima, and based on the note “This belongs to Korea”, they argue that this map proves that Japan recognized Takeshima as Korean territory.

However, in ‘Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu’, Hayashi Shihei did not originally include Matsushima (present-day Takeshima), which was depicted in Nagakubo Sekisui’s ‘Kaisai Nihon Yochi Roi Zenzu’.

When Nagakubo Sekisui created ‘Kaisei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu’,

he depicted both Utsuryo Island and Takeshima based on Saito Toyosen's 'Onshu Shicho Gakki'. The "Kokudai-ki" describes two islands -Matsushima (Takeshima) and Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) - stating that Matsushima is "two days and one night away" and Takeshima is "one more day away". Nagakubo followed this description, drawing Matsushima (Takeshima) and Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) with some space between them.

However, Hayashi Shihei, when creating his 'Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu' based on 'Kaisei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu', did not depict Matsushima (present-day Takeshima). This can be confirmed by looking at 'Nihon Enkin Gaikoku no Zu' (held at Sendai City Museum), a draft map created by Hayashi Shihei three years before the completion of 'Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu'. In 'Nihon Enkin Gaikoku no Zu', only one island, labeled "Takeshima" (Utsuryo Island), is drawn, and it is marked with the note "This belongs to Korea". This reflects the Edo Shogunate's decision in 1696 to ban Japanese people from traveling to Utsuryo Island.

Moreover, in 'Kaisei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu', only one island - Utsuryo Island - was depicted, but in Hayashi Shihei's 'Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu', a small island was added to the upper right of Utsuryo Island. This likely occurred when completing 'Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu' based on the 'Nihon Enkin Gaikoku no



[Photo 6] A part of the 'Nihon Enkin Gaikoku no Zu' by Hayashi Shihei (held at Sendai City Museum)

Zuthe', Hayashi Shihei obtained a more accurate map of Utsuryo Island, which included a small island to the east of Utsuryo Island.

This is because Hayashi Shihei himself stated in 'Sangoku Tsuran Zusetsu' that "the map of Korea is based on what was passed down from a Korean interpreter (Taisho)". There is also a "precious map held by Mr. Narabayashi of Sakiyo", so he used two types of maps regarding to Korea. These were "the map of Korea" and the "precious map held by Mr. Narabayashi of Sakiyo". Among them, the map referred to as "the map of Korea, based on what was passed down from a Korean interpreter (Taisho)", is 'Map of Korea' ("Map of the Eight Provinces of Korea" section) as included in 'Sangoku Tsuran Zusetsu'. Hayashi Shihei also mentioned in the inscription of 'Nihon Enkin Gaikoku no Zu' that "the map of Korea was transmitted by a great official of Tsushima", so the "map of Korea" in 'Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu' can be considered to be the same as the 'Map of Korea' ("Map of the Eight Provinces of Korea" section) included in 'Sangoku Tsuran Zusetsu'.

Thus, the small island drawn next to Utsuryo Island in 'Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu' likely came from this "precious map" held by Mr. Narabayashi, which is referenced as the "precious map held by Mr. Narabayashi of Sakiyo" in the 'Sangoku Tsuran Zusetsu'.

Following the Ahn Yong-bok incident, Korea began sending inspectors to Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) every three years, resulting in the island being depicted as 'Ulleungdo Map'. A representative version of this 'Ulleungdo Map', as previously mentioned, is Park Seok Chang's map. In it, a small island labeled "the so-called Usando (Usan Island)" was drawn about 2 kilometers east of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island). The 'Ulleungdo Map' subsequently incorporated into later map of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), such as 'Haedong jido', 'Yeoji

Map', and 'Gwangyeo Map'. In these, Park Seok Chang's small island labeled "the so-called Usando (Usan Island)" is simply marked as "Usando (Usan Island)" and depicted as a single small island to the upper right or right side of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island). That small island is the present-day island of "Jukdo".

The "precious map held by Mr. Narabayashi of Sakiyo", mentioned by Hayashi Shihei in 'Sangoku Tsuran Zusetsu', is likely a map of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) from the lineage of 'Ulleungdo Maps'.

This is because Hayashi Shihei himself did not depict Takeshima (Dokdo) from the beginning in his 'Nihon Enkin Gaikoku no Zu', and the only change in the 'Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu', which was drawn based on the 'Nihon Enkin Gaikoku no Zu', was regarding Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island). This indicates that Hayashi Shihei had obtained a more accurate map of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) when he was drawing the 'Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu'.

When Hayashi Shihei was studying in Nagasaki, 'Ulleungdo Map' that depicted small islands on the right or upper right of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), based on Park Seok Chang's Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) Jogeung, already existed. This is likely the "a precious map held by Mr. Narabayashi of Sakiyo" that was referred to as the "precious map" held by Mr. Narabayashi.

The important point here is that neither 'Nihon Enkin Gaikoku no Zu' nor 'Sangoku Tsuran Yochi Rotei Zenzu' ever depicted present-day Takeshima. Additionally, Hayashi Shihei depicted the small island to the upper right of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), which he labeled with "This belongs to Korea". This island is not present-day Takeshima, and identifying it as such is an arbitrary interpretation that ignores the existence of 'Nihon Enkin Gaikoku no Zu'.

## Chapter 6: The Dajokan Order and “Takeshima and another Island”

In the 2016 edition of ‘Learning about Dokdo’, the chapter “III: Modern and Contemporary Dokdo” discusses the “The Dajokan Order that recognized Dokdo (Takeshima) as Korean territory”. It refers to the directive issued by the Dajokan (the Grand Council of State) on March 29, 1877, which stated, “With regard to the matter of Takeshima and another island, it should be understood that they are not related to our country” (i.e., the matter concerning Takeshima and another island is not related to our country). Based on this The Dajokan Order, the Japanese government claims, “Dokdo (Takeshima) is recognized as Korean territory”.

The origins of this directive go back to October 5, 1876, when the Geography Bureau of the Meiji government requested the Shimane Prefecture cadastral office to submit ancient records and maps related to Takeshima (Utsuryo Island). In response, on October 16, Shimane Prefecture submitted a “Request for Compilation of Cadastral Records for Takeshima and another Island in the Sea of Japan” and a “Rough Map of Isotakeshima” to the Minister of Home Affairs, Okubo Toshimichi. The Home Ministry then sought the judgment of the Dajokan, and the conclusion reached by the Dajokan was that “Takeshima and another island are not related to our country”.

The Korean side raised this issue, claiming that in 1905, during the Russo-Japanese War, Japan incorporated Matsushima (the “another island” previously declared as not Japanese territory by the The Dajokan Order) as “terra nullius” (ownerless land) and annexed it as part of Japan. In ‘Learning about Dokdo’, the book explains the issue and the process by which the

Dajokan recognized Takeshima as Korean territory, as follows:

The Home Ministry, after a five-month investigation into the records submitted by Shimane Prefecture, as well as documents exchanged with Korea in the late 17th century, and materials related to Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) and Dokdo (Takeshima), concluded that the two islands were not Japanese territory. However, since this was a significant territorial decision, the Ministry requested a final ruling from the Dajokan. In response, on March 29, 1877, the Dajokan issued a directive stating, “With regard to the matter of Takeshima and another island, it should be understood that they are not related to our country (Japan)”. This directive is an official document in which the Japanese government recognized that Dokdo (Takeshima) was not part of Japanese territory.

Some Japanese scholars argue that the “Takeshima and another island” mentioned in the The Dajokan Order does not refer Dokdo (Takeshima). However, in the “Rough Map of Isotakeshima” the “another island” outside Isotakeshima is labeled as Matsushima, clearly indicating that this island refers to Matsushima, which is Dokdo (Takeshima).

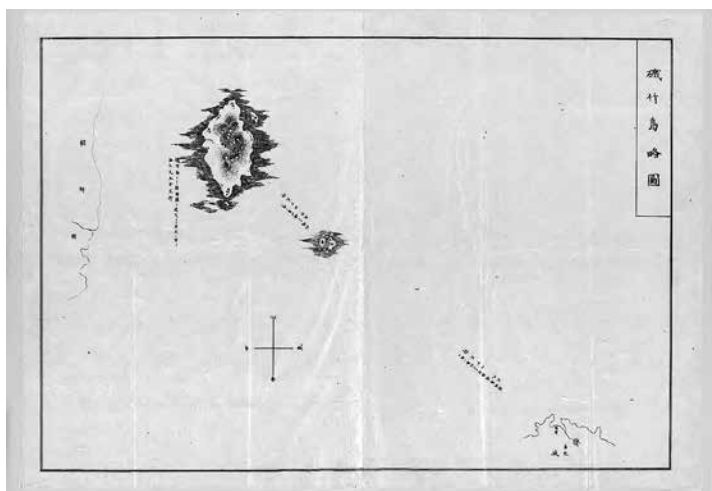
Here, ‘Learning about Dokdo’ asserts that the “another island” in “Takeshima and another island” refers to Matsushima, i.e., Takeshima, based on the “The Dajokan Order” and the “Rough Map of Isotakeshima” submitted by Shimane Prefecture. Indeed, if one interprets the directive literally without critically analyzing the documents, the “Takeshima and another island” mentioned in the directive would refer to Isotakeshima (Utsuryo Island) and Matsushima (present-day Takeshima) as depicted on the “Rough Map of



Isotakeshima”. However, before making such a conclusion, it is necessary to critically examine whether the islands recognized by the Dajokan as “Takeshima and another island” were the same as those depicted on the “Rough Map of Isotakeshima”.

This is because, when Takeshima was incorporated into Shimane Prefecture as a new island in 1905, Oki Island Magistrate Higashi Bunsuke explained the reason for naming the new island “Takeshima” as follows:

Although Utsuryo Island is commonly referred to as Takeshima, it is actually Matsushima, as it is clearly indicated by nautical charts. Therefore, there is no other island to which the name Takeshima could be applied to except this new island. Thus, it is appropriate to transfer the previously misused name Takeshima to the new island.



[Photo 7] 'Rough Map of Isotakeshima' (held at the National Archives of Japan)

According to Oki Island Magistrate Higashi Bunsuke, the new island should have originally been named Matsushima, but Utsuryo Island is already referred to as “Matsushima” in nautical charts and other documents. Therefore, he answered that the newly incorporated island should be named Takeshima, which was the former name of Utsuryo Island.

Higashi Bunsuke explained that, originally, Utsuryo Island had been commonly referred to as Takeshima, but nautical charts labeled Utsuryo Island as Matsushima. As Higashi Bunsuke mentioned, “Although Utsuryo Island is commonly referred to as Takeshima, it is actually Matsushima”, reflecting how in Siebold’s ‘Map of Japan’ (1840), Argonaut Island was labeled as Takeshima and Dagelet Island was labeled as Matsushima. At that time, Utsuryo Island was labeled as Matsushima.

Siebold, who had stayed in Japan, took maps and other materials with him upon his return to Europe. Based on these materials, he created the ‘Map of Japan’, where he placed Matsushima at “37°25’ N latitude, 130°56’ E longitude”. This position corresponds to present-day Utsuryo Island, not present-day Takeshima, which is located at 131°55’ E longitude. Furthermore, in Siebold’s ‘Map of Japan’, the location of Argonaut Island, labeled as Takeshima, marked as “37°52’ N latitude, 129°20’ E longitude”, yet no island exists at this location. Siebold had mistakenly assigned the name Matsushima (originally referring to Takeshima) to Utsuryo Island (Dagelet Island).

This fact indicates that when the Dajokan stated that “Takeshima and another island are not related to our country”, “Takeshima and another island” may have been referring to Argonaut Island (Takeshima) and Dagelet Island (Utsuryo Island), as depicted on Western maps and nautical charts, rather than the Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) and Matsushima (Takeshima) depicted on the

“Rough Map of Isotakeshima” submitted by Shimane Prefecture.

Moreover, the Argonaut Island labeled as Takeshima in Siebold’s map, depicted with a dashed line, was later marked as “Takeshima or Argonaut Island” and annotated as “PD” (Position Doubtful) in the British Admiralty chart ‘Japan: Japan, Kyushu, Shikoku, and part of Korea’ (1863 version), as referenced in the revised and expanded edition of Professor Lee Jin Myung’s ‘Dokdo: A Geographical Rediscovery’ (2005). The designation “PD” (Position Doubtful) indicated that the island’s location is uncertain, as its existence could not be confirmed. The island of Takeshima (Argonaut Island) was removed from the British Admiralty Japanese Nautical Chart ‘Japan: Japan, Kyushu, Shikoku, and part of Korea’ (1876 edition), and instead, Matsushima (Utsuryo Island) and the Liancourt Rocks (present-day Takeshima) were depicted. This change occurred because in 1849, the French whaling ship Liancourt discovered present-day Takeshima, which was subsequently marked as the Liancourt Rocks on nautical charts and maps.

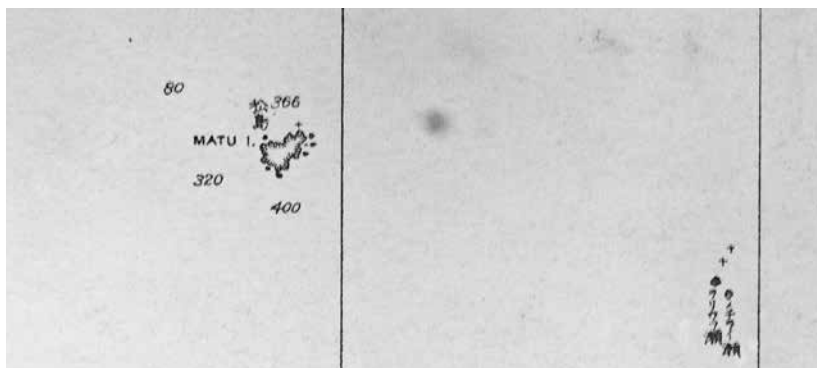
In fact, a year before the “The Dajokan Order” was issued (March 1876), Hidekatsu Ojiri, the head of the Cartography Department of the Japanese Navy’s Hydrographic Office, produced the ‘Map of the Seas and Lands of Greater Japan and All of Korea Including Sakhalin’ (hereafter referred to as ‘Map of the Seas and Lands of Greater Japan’). This map depicted “Matsushima” (Utsuryo Island) and current Takeshima was labeled as “Oriutsu Reef” (Nishijima Island) and “Menkole Reef” (Higashijima Island), but it did not depict Argonaut Island (Takeshima).

Furthermore, in December 1876, the Japanese Navy’s Hydrographic Office published the ‘Map of the Eastern Coast of Korea’. In the ‘Map of the Eastern Coast of Korea’, Utsuryo Island is labeled as Matsushima, and

the current Takeshima is labeled as “Oriutsu Reef” and “Menkole Reef”. According to the “Note” on the ‘Map of the Eastern Coast of Korea’, this map was based on “surveys conducted by the Russian naval officer Grauve in 1857”, and it states that “Menkole Reef was discovered by the warship Oriutsu in 1854”, showing that the map was based on a Russian naval chart.

In 1877, when the The Dajokan Order was issued, stating that “Takeshima and another island” are “not related to Japan”, there were two types of foreign maps and nautical charts: those depicting Takeshima (Argonaut Island) and Matsushima (Utsuryo Island), and those depicting Matsushima (Utsuryo Island) and the Liancourt Rocks (present-day Takeshima). This fact suggests that if the Dajokan had relied on the former map and nautical chart to determine that “Takeshima and another island are not related to Japan,” then the “Takeshima and another Island” (Matsushima) would refer to Utsuryo Island.

‘Learning about Dokdo’ claims that the The Dajokan Order, issued after the Home Ministry conducted “a five-month investigation into documents



[Photo 8] A part of the ‘Map of the Seas and Lands of Greater Japan’ by Hidekatsu Ojiri (private collection)

related to Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) and Dokdo (Takeshima), concluded that the two islands were not Japanese territory”, and that “the Dajokan’s final decision” was an “official document recognizing that Dokdo (Takeshima) was not Japanese territory”. However, this overestimates the role of the Dajokan. At that time, shortly after the Meiji government was established, Japan had not yet developed a formal Cabinet system, which only came into existence in 1885. Before that, the Dajokan was a transitional administrative body. As a result, the Dajokan issued directives on a variety of miscellaneous matters, including the “Cadastral Survey for Takeshima and another Island” requested by Shimane Prefecture, alongside other requests such as the “Transfer of Hospital Land to the Pharmacy” and “Compilation of Records for Former Shinto Priests”. The Korean side emphasizes the Dajokan as the highest administrative authority, but the content of its directives was diverse.

In fact, ‘Learning about Dokdo’ claims that the Home Ministry conducted a “five-month investigation into materials related to Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) and Dokdo (Takeshima)”, but three years later, the “another island” referred to in the The Dajokan Order (Matsushima) was identified as Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island).

This clarification came on September 13, 1880, when the Japanese warship Amagi surveyed Matsushima and confirmed that Matsushima was actually Utsuryo Island. Meanwhile, Takeshima was identified as Jukdo, located 2 kilometers east of Utsuryo Island. This conclusion was reached in August 1881, when Foreign Ministry official Kitazawa Masanari clarified the matter in his report ‘Takeshima Kosho’. According to this, the “another island” referred to in the The Dajokan Order (Matsushima) was identified as Utsuryo Island, and Takeshima was identified as Jukdo, located 2 kilometers east of

Utsuryo Island.

Some South Korean researchers have found it puzzling that an island without trees was named Takeshima. However, according to Oki Island Magistrate Higashi Bunsuke, the reason for naming the island Takeshima was that “although Utsuryo Island is commonly referred to as Takeshima, it is actually Matsushima, as is clearly shown by nautical charts”. Because foreign nautical charts and maps labeled Utsuryo Island as Matsushima, the name Takeshima, which had previously been applied to Utsuryo Island, was used for the new island.

In ‘Learning about Dokdo’ (in the section “The Russo-Japanese War and Japan’s Seizure of Dokdo”), the The Dajokan Order is explained as follows:

In 1877, Japan made it clear through the The Dajokan Order that Dokdo (Takeshima) was not part of Japanese territory. Nevertheless, in 1905, Japan incorporated Dokdo (Takeshima) into its own territory. Let’s try to understand the reasons behind this.

This explanation suggests a historical understanding that Japan, having declared through the The Dajokan Order that Takeshima was not part of its territory, later incorporated Takeshima as “terra nullius” (ownerless land) during the Russo-Japanese War. The South Korean perspective holds that five years before Shimane Prefecture’s incorporation of Takeshima, Dokdo (Takeshima) was recognized as Korean territory. This historical view is based on the subsequent “Imperial Ordinance No. 41”.

## Chapter 7: Sokdo (Ishijima) in “Imperial Ordinance No. 41”

In response to the Shimane Prefectural Assembly’s establishment of “Takeshima Day”, some local governments in South Korea have designated October 25 as “Dokdo Day”. This date marks October 25, 1900, when the Korean Empire issued “Imperial Ordinance No. 41”, upgrading Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) to Uldo-gun County (Utsu Island County) and establishing its jurisdiction over “the entire island of Ulleung and the islands of Jukdo and Sokdo (Ishijima)”. The South Korean side interprets “Sokdo (Ishijima)” in this administrative jurisdiction as referring to the present-day Dokdo (Takeshima), claiming that this proves Dokdo (Takeshima) was Korean territory five years before Japan declared it as part of its territory.

From the South Korean perspective, South Korea wants to assert that Dokdo (Takeshima) became Korean territory five years earlier than it did for Japan. Due to the fact, five years later in 1910, when the Korean Empire was annexed by Japan, the Korean side considered Dokdo (Takeshima) as the first victim of Japan’s invasion of Korea. As a result, the Korean side regards Dokdo (Takeshima) as a “symbol of independence” and “national pride”, framing the Takeshima dispute as a “historical issue”.

The key issue here is the identity of Sokdo (Ishijima) mentioned in “Imperial Ordinance No. 41”. In the 2016 edition of ‘Learning about Dokdo’ (in the section “Sokdo” in “Imperial Ordinance No. 41” of the Korean Empire), Sokdo (Ishijima) is regarded as Dokdo (Takeshima), and the following explanation is provided:

The entire island of Ulleung, as stated in “Imperial Ordinance No. 41” of the Korean Empire, refers to the main island of Ulleungdo. Takeshima refers to Jukdo adjacent to Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), and Ishijima refers to Dokdo (Takeshima). At that time, people from Jeolla Province who frequently visited Ulleungdo called Dokdo (Takeshima) “Toksom”. “Tok (Dok)” is the Jeolla dialect for “Tol (Rock)”. In other words, “Toksom (Dokdo)” means “Tolseom (Rock Island)”. Following the meaning of “Tolseom”, it would be written in Chinese characters as “石島” (Rock Island), while following the pronunciation of “Toksom”, it would be written as “独島” (Dokdo). Thus, “Tolsom (Rock Island)”, “Toksom (Dokdo)”, and “Sokdo (Ishijima)” all refer to “Dokdo”.

This explanation assumes that Sokdo (Ishijima) in “Imperial Ordinance No. 41” refers to Dokdo (Takeshima), based on a linguistic deduction. However, the historical fact is that the naming of Takeshima as Dokdo on the Korean side was first used in September 1904 in a report by the Japanese warship *Niitaka*, which stated, “In Korea, it is written as Dokdo, and Japanese fishermen call it Liancourt Island”.

Looking at the timeline, Sokdo (Ishijima) appeared in “Imperial Ordinance No. 41” in October 1900. On the other hand, the name Dokdo began to be used around 1904. The argument that the name Dokdo influenced “Imperial Ordinance No. 41” four years earlier, causing Dokdo (Takeshima) to become known as Sokdo (Ishijima), lacks persuasiveness. Moreover, the inhabitants of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) did not engage in fishing near the island until after 1903, when rich squid fishing grounds were discovered. Prior



to that, the inhabitants of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) primarily engaged in agriculture. It is difficult to assert that Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island)'s residents regarded Dokdo (Takeshima) as part of their "living area".

The claim that Sokdo (Ishijima) in "Imperial Ordinance No. 41" refers to Dokdo (Takeshima), based solely on the fact that people from Jeolla Province frequently traveled to Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), is speculative. In 'Learning about Dokdo', it is stated that "people from Jeolla Province who frequently visited Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) referred to Dokdo (Takeshima) as 'Toksom'". However, this only explains the name used for Dokdo (Takeshima) and does not serve as evidence that this "Toksom" was the same as Sokdo (Ishijima).

Additionally, long before "Imperial Ordinance No. 41" defined the jurisdiction of Uldo-gun County (Utsu Island County) as "the entire island of Ulleung and the islands of Jukdo and Sokdo (Ishijima)", the territorial extent of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) had been established during the Joseon period. Ignoring these historical boundaries and relying solely on linguistic interpretation to equate Sokdo (Ishijima) with Dokdo (Takeshima) is arbitrary.

The territorial boundaries of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) were established following Ahn Yong-bok's illegal travels to Japan, which led to the dispatch of inspectors to Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island). These inspectors produced the 'Ulleungdo Map', which defined the island's territory. The prototype for this map was the 'Ulleungdo Map' created by Park Seok Chang in 1711. In his 'Ulleungdo Map', Park Seok Chang recorded the dimensions of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) as "80 ri in length and 50 ri in width", referring to Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) alone. This refers only to Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), and in that 'Ulleungdo Map', the present-day Takeshima, which is

nearly 90 kilometers away from Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), is not depicted.

These territorial boundaries of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) remained unchanged in the 'Map of Outside Ulleungdo' created by Lee Kyu-won, who was ordered by King Gojong to survey Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) in 1882. Lee Kyu-won measured Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island)'s width as "60 ri from east to west" and its length as "50 ri from north to south", also depicting Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) as a single island. In Lee Kyu-won's 'Map of Outside Ulleungdo', the small island that Park Seok Chang had labeled "the so-called Usando (Usan Island)" was renamed "Jukdo (Chikuto)" and drawn to the northeast of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island). Even in Lee Kyu-won's 'Map of Outside Ulleungdo', Dokdo (Takeshima) was not depicted, and it was not considered part of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island)'s territory.

The publication of "Imperial Ordinance No. 41", which 'Learning about Dokdo' cites as evidence, was necessitated by ongoing logging by Japanese people on Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), prompting the need to establish an administrative body to manage the island. A joint Japanese-Korean inspection of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) was conducted during this period.

The Korean Empire dispatched Interior Inspector Woo Yongjeong and other Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) inspection committee members to the island, accompanied by Vice Consul Akatsuka Shosuke from the Japanese Consulate in Busan. The inspection took place from June 1 to 6, 1900, and Akatsuka Shosuke's report, 'Overview of the Utsuryo Island Forest Survey', provided the following details about Utsuryo Island's boundaries:

Utsuryo Island belongs to Gangwon Province in Korea and is also known as Matsushima or Takeshima. The coordinates are 130°8'2" E

longitude, 37°5' N latitude... the island measures approximately 6 miles from east to west and 4 miles from north to south, with a circumference of about 20 miles.

This clearly refers to the island of Utsuryo Island. Furthermore, in 'Overview of the Utsuryo Island Forest Survey' by Akatsuka Shosuke, a map of Utsuryo Island is included, which shows not only Utsuryo Island itself but also three islands labeled as "Jukdo", "Domok", and "Kongdo". These three islands correspond to Jukdo (Chikuto), Neck Island, and Kongam as depicted in Lee Kyu-won's 'Map of Outside Ulleungdo'. The name "Domok" (Songmok) is used for Neck Island because it reflects the Korean pronunciation written in Chinese characters. The same applies to "Kongdo", where Kongam (Kong-an) was treated as an island and written as "Kongdo" following the Korean sound. The map of Utsuryo Island that Akatsuka submitted followed the 'Map of Outside Ulleungdo' first drawn by the inspector Park Seok Chang, which was later completed as the 'Map of Outside Ulleungdo' by Lee Kyu-won.

The territorial boundaries of Utsuryo Island shown by Akatsuka overlap with those reported by Inspector Woo Yongjeong, who surveyed the island. The issuance of 'Imperial Ordinance No. 41' occurred after Woo Yongjeong's report, and on October 24, 1900, Minister of the Interior Yi Gonha submitted 'The Petition to Rename Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) to Uldo (Utsu Island) and Upgrade the Island's Administrator from County Magistrate to the Council of Ministers'. In this petition, the territorial boundaries of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) are clearly stated as "80 ri in length and 50 ri in width". These dimensions are identical to those recorded on the 'Ulleungdo Map' drawn by Inspector Park Seok Chang in 1711. This indicates that, as shown in Park Seok

Chang's 'Ulleungdo Map', Dokdo (Takeshima) was not depicted, meaning that the jurisdiction of Uldo-gun County (Utsu Island County), which includes "the entire island of Ulleung and the islands of Jukdo and Sokdo (Ishijima)", does not encompass Dokdo (Takeshima).

Furthermore, the year before Inspector Woo Yong-jeong was dispatched to Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), the Korean Empire published 'The Korean Geography' (1899), translated and compiled by Hyeon Chae. It clearly defined the boundaries of the Korean Empire as stretching "from 124°30' E longitude to 130°35' E longitude". Therefore, Takeshima (Dokdo), located at 131°55' E longitude, was not included within these boundaries.

So, what do the names Jukdo and Sokdo (Ishijima), listed in 'Imperial Ordinance No. 41' as part of Uldo-gun County (Utsu Island County)'s jurisdiction, refer to? When examining Inspector Lee Kyu-won's 'Map of Outside Ulleungdo' along with his report 'Gyechobon' and 'Inspection Diary of Ulleungdo', it becomes clear that the two islands under Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island)'s jurisdiction were Jukdo and Neck Island.

Of the two islands, Jukdo refers to Jukdo which was labeled as "the so-called Usando (Usan Island)" in Park Seok Chang's 'Ulleungdo Map', which was created in 1711.

Therefore, the Sokdo (Ishijima) listed under Uldo-gun County (Utsu Island County)'s jurisdiction likely refers to Neck Island, which Lee Kyu-won described in his 'Inspection Diary of Ulleungdo' as "an island with nothing but bamboo".

Lee Kyu-won named the small island to the east of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) "Neck Island" because its shape resembled "a lying cow". In nautical chart No. 306 (Chikpyon Bay to Suwon Point), Neck Island is labeled as

“Mouse Neck Island”, and its reading is given in English as [So moku Somu]. In Korean, this name means “island of the cow’s neck” (the word Neck being used to mean the back of the neck). “Mouse Neck” is thus a borrowed pronunciation of the Korean name “Cow’s Neck”, and it is not read in the Han reading.

However, when we look at the jurisdiction of Uldo-gun County (Utsu Island County) described in “Imperial Ordinance No. 41”, which lists “the entire island of Ulleung and the islands of Jukdo and Sokdo (Ishijima)”, all names are written in the Han reading. The entire island of Ulleung and Jukdo were already written in the Han reading, but Neck Island (Mouse Neck Island) was written using Korean sounds borrowed into Chinese characters.

To convert the name Mouse Neck Island into the Han reading, a traditional Fanqie method of combining sounds from two Chinese characters can be used to generate a single tone. Using this method to read Mouse Neck Island (Somoku), the result is “Sokdo (Ishijima)” (‘Soku = Rock’ Island).

[Fanqie is a method of combining the initial consonant of one character with the final vowel sound of another character to produce a single sound. As a result, Somoku (鼠項) loses the ‘om’ sound, becoming Soku (石), with Somoku thus rendered in the Han reading as Soku (rock).]

When the jurisdiction of Uldo-gun County (Utsu Island County) was established as “the entire island of Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island) and the islands of Jukdo and Sokdo (Ishijima)” in “Imperial Ordinance No. 41”, the Korean name for Neck Island (Mouse Neck Island) was converted into the Han reading, producing “Sokdo”.

In South Korean research on Takeshima, some scholars intentionally read Neck Island (Mouse Neck Island) as “Do-Hang” in the Han reading to obscure the connection between Neck Island and Sokdo (Ishijima). Others have tried to claim that Neck Island is actually Kannon Island, further clouding the link between Neck Island and Sokdo (Ishijima).

However, it is clear that at the time “Imperial Ordinance No. 41” was issued, Neck Island was referred to as “Seommok”, as evidenced by Akatsuka Shosuke’s map of Utsuryo Island, where Neck Island is labeled as “Seommok”.

The inclusion of Sokdo (Ishijima) in Uldo-gun County (Utsu Island County)’s jurisdiction in “Imperial Ordinance No. 41” occurred because Neck Island (Mouse Neck Island) was written phonetically in the Han reading. Therefore, Takeshima (Dokdo) was not included in the administrative region established by “Imperial Ordinance No. 41”, and Sokdo (Ishijima) cannot be used as evidence that Dokdo (Takeshima) was Korean territory.

It appears that South Korea has recognized this fact. Up until the 2016 edition of ‘Learning about Dokdo’, it was understood that “Dok (독) is the Jeolla Province dialect for rock”, and that “Tolsom (Rock Island)”, “Toksom (Dokdo)”, and “Sokdo (Ishijima)” all refer to the same place. However, this explanation was removed from the 2017 revised edition of ‘Learning about Dokdo’.

On January 28, 1905, the Meiji government issued a Cabinet decision placing Takeshima under the jurisdiction of the Oki Islands magistrate, and the Minister of Home Affairs instructed the Governor of Shimane Prefecture accordingly. Based on this Cabinet decision and the Home Ministry instructions, Shimane Governor Matsunaga Takekichi issued “Shimane Prefecture Notice No. 40” on February 22, placing Takeshima under the

jurisdiction of the Oki Islands magistrate. At the time, the Meiji government determined that there were “no indications that another country had claimed the island” and that “there was a fact of occupation under international law”, thereby asserting Japan’s sovereignty over the island.

Until now, South Korea has claimed that Sokdo (Ishijima), mentioned in “Imperial Ordinance No. 41”, refers to Dokdo (Takeshima), and that Dokdo (Takeshima) became Korean territory in 1900. However, Sokdo (Ishijima) refers to Neck Island, which Lee Kyu-won described in his ‘Inspection Diary of Ulleungdo’ as “shaped like a lying cow”. Therefore, Dokdo (Takeshima) was not recognized as Korean territory under “Imperial Ordinance No. 41”.

On January 18, 1952, the South Korean government declared the “Syngman Rhee Line” and claimed Takeshima as Korean territory. In the 2016 edition of ‘Learning about Dokdo’, this action was justified by referencing the Cairo Declaration, with the following explanation:

As World War II drew to a close, the Allied forces agreed on the principle that Japan must withdraw from all territories it had seized through violence before the war. These territories included Dokdo (Takeshima).

In the 2017 edition of ‘Learning about Dokdo’, this was revised to ask, “How did the Allies handle Dokdo (Takeshima) after the war?” and in November 1943, as the Allies began to gain the upper hand in World War II, the leaders of the United States, the United Kingdom, and China met in Cairo, Egypt. The Cairo Declaration outlined the basic Allied policies for postwar Japanese territorial settlements and referred to Korea’s independence. The three leaders (Roosevelt, Churchill, and Chiang Kai-shek) agreed in the

‘Cairo Declaration’, that Japan must “be expelled from all territories which it has taken by violence and greed”.

However, as has been repeatedly stated, Takeshima was never Korean territory in the past. Therefore, it does not fall under the category of territories Japan had “taken by violence and greed”. Rather, Takeshima is Japanese territory that South Korea “took by violence and greed”. ‘Learning about Dokdo’, developed by South Korea’s “Northeast Asian History Foundation”, was a supplementary textbook created to justify the historical seizure of Takeshima.



## Conclusion

Looking at the Takeshima dispute from a historical perspective, it should be clear that the documents and old maps that the South Korean side has used as evidence hold no probative value. In South Korea's Dokdo (Takeshima) education, a false history without historical evidence is being taught, which has become part of their "historical consciousness", amplifying anti-Japanese sentiment.

Unless Japan and South Korea can overcome this reality, they will continue to maintain a mutually uncomfortable relationship. This is because South Korea frames the issue of past history through its "historical consciousness", while Japan remains indifferent to its past history, reflecting the differences in the social foundations of the two countries.

In the case of South Korea, there is a tendency to publicize its legitimacy in the international community rather than engage in dialogue. In contrast, Japan does not take historical issues seriously, even when they escalate. This difference stems from the centralized nature of society on the Korean Peninsula and the long-standing decentralized social system in Japan.

When Japan and South Korea have disputes over "historical issues" like the Takeshima or comfort women issues, it's important to understand South Korea's tendency to frame these issues as a "historical consciousness problem". To prevent these conflicts, Japan needs to address these claims. Japan currently lacks an organization similar to South Korea's "Northeast Asian History Foundation", which serves as a central command center.

Japan and the Korean Peninsula must broaden their perspectives and build a relationship that allows them to examine past history while considering

each other's historical backgrounds. When we examine "Learning about Dokdo", a book that discusses history from the perspective of "historical consciousness" rather than historical fact, the reasons behind these issues become clear.

Soon, the Takeshima dispute will become part of Japan's educational curriculum. Through this opportunity, I hope to create a platform for mutual understanding, not only between Japan and the Korean Peninsula but also in the broader Asia region, by considering the region's historical characteristics. I hope this book serves as a catalyst for such dialogue.

[Profile of the Author]



**SHIMOJO Masao**

Born in Nagano Prefecture in 1950. Holds a PhD from Kokugakuin University. Served as a head lecturer at Samsung Research Institute in Korea in 1983, and was a visiting professor at Incheon National University, before returning to Japan in 1998. He took the position of professor at the Institute for International Development, Takushoku University, in 1999, and became a professor in the Department of Asia Pacific Studies, Faculty of International Development in 2000, and retired in March 2021. From April, he became a visiting professor at Shimane Prefectural University and Tokai University. In June, he became a Professor Emeritus at Takushoku University and still holds the same position.

Dr. Shimojo majored in Japanese history. He served as the Chair of the First to Third Shimane Takeshima Issue Research Group and was also the former director of the Web Takeshima Issue Research. He is the author of '*Japan and Korea: How To Overcome History*' (Tendensha), '*Does Takeshima Belong to Japan or Korea?*' (Bunshun Shinsho), and other publications.