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**THE YI DYNASTY ANNALS OF KOREA**

1857, 8th moon, 4th day. The Border Defence Commission reported the court concerning a letter from the French shipwrecked crew “....the words of the letter ask only for food and a ship... so it appears that no invasion is intended. ......”

1729, 5th moon, 19th day. The king welcomed the Chinese envoy in one of the palace buildings. After returning to his quarters he went to the sacrificial building to observe the ceremony of mourning Today it was reported that in Asan, a cow gave birth to a calf with one body and two heads. 1

The above are typical extracts from the Yi Dynasty Annals (*Yijo Sillok* 李朝實錄이조실록) which record the affairs of the Korean court, day by day, throughout the five centuries of the dynasty. These chronicles, originally in a set numbering over seventeen hundred books, are now pub- lished in a set of eight hundred and forty nine volumes, the facsimile edition of Keijo Imperial University.

The most striking feature about these Annals is the particular emphasis placed upon objectivity in their compilation. Each king at his inauguration established a Board of Annals, the Sillokch’ŏng 實錄廳 실록청, composed of the leading scholars of the kingdom, to edit the records of the previous king’s reign. These men had access to all the records of the government. They also used the notes which had been privately kept by the official historians concerning the daily affairs of the court. When the Annals of each reign were completed no one was allowed to read them, not

*1. The first extract is from the Hŏngjong Annals. Bk. 14, p 7 r; the second from the Yŏngjong* Annals. Bk 22, p 27 r. In citing the Annals in the following article, the date of the entry in the Korean calendar plus the book and page number is usually given. The Romanization is strictly in accord with the McCune-Reischauer system, explained in this issue of the Royal Asiatic Society *Transactions*, except for the surname 李 which is Romanized in the optional form Yi rather than I. Names of kings are not accompanied by Chinese characters or *ŏnmun*, since they are listed in the appendix. Other Korean names are followed by the Chinese characters (hanmun) and also native script (ŏnmun). The ŏnmun spelling follows the *Han’gŭl*, or Unified System.

[page 58] even the king. This inviolability was established very early in the dynasty, as is shown by the following incident :

“In 1431 the king asked to see the *T’aejong Annals* (1401-1419) which had just been completed. Maeng Sasŏng 孟思誠 맹사성, the Minister of the Right, however, answered that the Annals were a true record .... the purpose of which was to provide for future generations an unbiased account of the events of the king’s reign. ‘Even though Your Majesty should read them,’ he concluded, ‘you probably should not wish to alter them. And if you see them, other kings after you will wish to do likewise. The historical officers will thus be afraid to write accurately, thinking that they might be dishonestly accused ......’ The king saw the wisdom of this advice and followed it.”2

An attempt to break the precedent in the following century is recorded in the Official Encyclopedia (*Munhŏn Pigo* 文獻備考 문헌비고) ：

“In the first year of Sŏnjo (1568, when the records of the late king were to be published, the Court ministers petitioned the king to allow them to read them and certify as to their correctness. The historians, however, presented a counter memorial, urging the king to forbid the violation of the Annals. The historians were supported by the two chief government offices, the Ch’unch’ugwan 春秋舘 춘추관 and Sahŏnbu 司憲府 사헌부. The request of the ministers to permit the reading of the Annals was denied.”3

However, in spite of the reverence with which the Annals were regarded, one is struck by the pettiness of a great many of the entries, which deal for the most part with the small affairs of the court words and actions of the King, his kindness to his ministers and their families, or his debauchery and cruelty. Memorials are quoted which concern a request for a small plot of land, a pension for an old official, or relief from a rapacious governor. Edicts concerning the building of a new gate, appointment of officials, and recognition of worthy service fill many page s. Entries like this are put side by side with those of an important nature, such as a memorial concerning a plan for defense against tribal invasions from Manchuria, the report of an embassy returning from Peking, and an edict for the promulgation of

2. *Kukcho Pogam* 國朝寶鑑 (History of the Dynasty), Vol. 1, p 21-22. See also Yi Chaeuk 李在郁, “Richo Jitsuroku no Seiritsu ni Tsuite” 李朝實錄の成立に就て (cncerning the formation of the Yi Dynasty Annals), repainted from *Bunen Hokoku* 文獻報考, No. 18, Keijo, 1937, p 13.

3. *Chŭngbo Munhŏn Pigo* 增補文獻備考 (Enlarged Official Encyclo-pedia), Soul, 1008. Bk. 221, p 22 r. See also Seno Batai 瀨野馬態 “Richo Jitsuroku Shozai no Ido ni Tsuiie” 李朝寶錄所在の移動ニ就テ (Concerning the removal or the depositing places of the Yi Dynasty Annals) Seikyu Gak iso 靑丘學 No. 4 (1930), pp 102.

[page 59] a new alphabet or the manufacture of movable type. In spite of this melee of the important with the petty, the *Yi Dynasty Annals* are an indispensible source for the study of Korean history during the dynasty, as well as for the study of general Far Eastern history throughout this period of five hundred years.

The Annals of the reigns of the last two kings, Kojong (1864 1907) and Sunjong (1908-1910), have not yet been published although they have been written. The compilation of these last Annals was effected in the years 1930 to 1934 by a specially appointed board of Japanese and Korean historians. For the reign of Kojong there are reportedly fifty eight volumes, and for Sunjong five volumes. No announcement has yet been made as to the time when these will be available for research.

The history of the compilation and preservation of the *Yi Dynasty Annals* is an interesting one, showing the great care taken to keep them intact as well as the high regard paid to the historians and keepers. Even such minor details as the periodical sunning and drying were attended to by a formal ceremony conducted by high officials. Several complete sets of the Annals were preserved in storehouses located in various parts of the country. Despite precautions, however, these histories narrowly escaped destruction upon several occasions, as will be described in the following pages. [page 60]

**I THE COMPILATION OF THE ANNALS**

The Court Historians.

The board of editors which was appointed upon the death of a king came to be called the Board of Annals (Sil- lokch’ŏng). It was the duty of this board to compile the True Record (Sillok) of the late king’s reign. This board was not composed of official historians only, but of other government officials and literary men of recognized integrity as well. Most of them continued their regular duties during the compilation of the Annals. The office, therefore, was only temporary.

There was, however, a permanent office, that of court historian, the officers of which came to be known by the name of Hallim 翰林한림.1 The Hallim’s records constituted the major source used in the editing of the Annals.

The Munhŏn Pigo, under the heading of the Spring and Autumn Office (Ch’unch’ugwan 春秋舘춘추관) 2, states that there were historical officers in all of the dynasties of Silla 新羅신라, Koguryo 高句麗고구려 and Paekche 百濟백졔.

“At the time of King Chinhŭng 眞興王진흥왕 (540-576 A. D.) of Silla, Yi Sabu 異斯夫이사부 memorialized the throne concerning the writing of a national history. He urged that it was necessary to record the good and the evil of the king and his subjects. ‘If there is no record,’ he queried, ‘how can the next generations condemn or praise the past?’ The king then commanded Kŏ Ch’ilbu 居柒夫거칠부 and others to collect and compile the history.

“Also the contemporary kingdom of Koguryo possessed from its early years one hundred volumes of historical books called the *Yugi* 留記유긔 (Remaining Record). King Yungyang 嬰陽王영양왕 (590-617 A. D.) ordered Yi Munjin 李文眞 이문진 to revise them.

1. It should be noted that the Korean and Chinese institutions bearing the same Chinese name 翰林한림 (Hamlin and Hallim), are not the same. The Chinese institution was a government office, the National Academy, whereas the Korean, at least in recent times, was the title of an official court scholar whose duties were largely historical bat partly literary.

2. The Ch’unch’ugwan might be called the Historical Office. In this office, however, certain literary projects of the court were carried out also, as well as those of an historical nature.

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“In Paekche also, a scholar by the name of Kohŭng 高興고흥 was commanded by royal authority to write a national history. Thus we know that all of three dynasties had historical officers, although their official title is not known.”3

The *Munhŏn Pigo* tells in further detail of the development of the institution of historical officers during the Koryo dynasty (918-1392 A. D.) 高麗고려. An historical office (Sagwan 史官사관) which kept the records of the administration was established at the beginning of the dynasty. The office was renamed and then divided into two parts, one of which the Spring and Autumn Office (Ch’unch’ugwan), was put in charge of the editing of the Annals of a deceased king and of preserving the sets of Annals located in the palace and in the storehouses. The other, called the Hyemun’gwan 藝文舘예문관, was the office of the court historian, as well as a general literary department The title Hallim for the court historians, was probably adopted during the Koryo dynasty. These institutions were continued by the Yi dynasty.4

A system of “right and left historical officers”, attributed to the precedent of the Chinese court, was adopted. One officer sat on the king’s left at meetings of state and wrote down his words, and another sat on his right and recorded his actions. The latter office gradually became the

*3. Munhŏn Pigo*, Bk. 221, p. 17 (1). The material concerning the Silla compilation was probably extracted from the Samguk Sagi 三國史記 (History of’ the Three Kingdoms) where much the same information is to be found See *Chosen Shi* 朝鮮史 (35 Vols., Keijo, 1931-8) Part 1, Vol. 1, pp 456 57, 7th month, 545 A. D. Regarding Koguryŏ the Samguk Sagi contains the following; “By royal decree the king commanded Yi Munjin to simpiny the ancient history and to make a new collection of five volumes, *Sinjip Ogwŏn* 新集五卷. At the beginning of the kingdom, when writing was first introduced, there was a man who wrote down one hundred volumes of past events, the name of which was *Yugi*. Now part of this compilation was omitted and part revised.” Ibid., p. 530, 600 A. D. No definite date is given in the ancient histories for the Paekche compilation. Kohŭng, however, became an official in 375 A. D., according to the Korean Biographical dictionary (Chosen Jimmei Jisho 朝鮮人名辭書), Keijo, 1937, p. 1,348.

4. It should be noted that these institutions varied in name and in scope of activity from time to time throughout both the Koryo and Yi dynasties.

[page 62] more important and in time preempted the title, Hallim. The officer at the left, who wrote down the king’s words, received the title of Chusŏ 注書주서 or Chief Clerk.5

The diary of the Hallim was called the Administrative Record (Sijŏnggi 時政記시졍긔) or the Historical Notes (Sach’o 史草사초). This included the uncensored observations which it was the special privilege of the Hallim to make; these officers attended the king upon all occasions. They also used the various departmental records in writing their daily record, which, when completed, contained three parts : (1) accounts of the business of state which was transacted between king and ministers (*Ŏjon P’ilgi* 御前筆記 어전필긔. (2) critical comment upon the acts of the court and upon other public affairs (*Sadan* 史斷사단), usually inserted in the Annals without revision, and (3) criticism of the conduct of officials and famous persons after their death

5. A famous Korean minister and historian, Yi Sugwang 李晬光이수광 (1563-1629) in his collected works, *Chibong Yusŏl* 芝峯類說지봉유셜, wrote: “The Chinese system of former ages provided that the left historical officer wrote the speech and the right recorded the movements of the king. The other happenings in the palace were also recorded by these officers. The Hallim was the title of the Historical Officer. He takes his materials from the messages to and from the king and his ministers to all government departments, including the Tax, Domestic, Ceremonial, Army, Law and Industrial Offices. These he examines and organizes as a single record...... The method of writing history in our country generally follows this form.” Quoted by Yi Chaeuk, loc. cit., pp 10-11. The titles and duties of these officials changed from time to time and are impossible to define clearly. The *Munhŏn Pigo* gives 1457 as the date when the Chuso was given the duties of clerk, and thus distinguished from the Hallim. Bk. 221, p 20 r, under Ch’unch’ugwan. The following comment regarding the system of right and left historians as it was adopted early in the Yi dynasty is also contained in the *Munhŏn Pigo*: “In 1389 the historical officers were first allowed to be present in the king’s lecture room An officiary, Mun Habu 門下府문하부 advised the king that it was the proper duty of that officer to be present to record the words and acts of the king and to write other information concerning the national policy and public events. Without ill feeling he should record the truth. In the last years of the Koryo dynasty, the honest writing of the historical officers was discouraged be cause of the evil condition of the state. Thus the king disliked the officer to be near him. By seeing the faults of the former dynasty, the king should command the historians to take their places near him, one on each side, each day, so that they might record the political events of the time as well as the words and conduct of the king These comments should nor be limited to the king, but should include the language and conduct of the ministers as well. Thus it would be a model for future generations The king consented to this advice.” Bk. 220, p 4 r, under Lecturing Office.

[page 63] (*Sŏjol* 書卒서졸). These records, incorporated into the Administrative Record *Sijŏnggi*), proved to be the most valuable single source used by the Board of Annals in their compilation at the close of each reign.

At the beginning of the dynasty, the historial officer (Hallim) was not an important official as is evidenced by the following quotation :

“In 1490 the chief Hallim, Yi Chu 李胄이주, said to the king, ‘The historical officers in China stand on the right and left of the Emperor and record what they see and hear; but the officers of our country, bowing to the floor, write their records with difficulty. I think that this is not proper.’ The king then commanded that the historical officers were to write their accounts sitting on each side of the king rather than with their heads bowed.”6

King Sejo in the 15th century and King Chungjong in the 16th century both are on record as having urged the historians to write the truth, even though it might be disparaging.7 The following quotation shows the esteem in which historical integrity was held at the end of the 16th century.

“At the time of the Hideyoshi invasion all the people of the palace moved to Uiju 義州의주, but there were not enough historical officers present to attend to the proper records. A man by the name of Ki Chahŏn 奇自獻긔자헌 was appointed to act as Hallim, but he was not highly esteemed. In the ceremony of induction, a special clause was added to the usual wording which read : ‘Because of war and the lack of capable officials, we cannot recommend this man highly.’ Hearing this all the people felt very sorrowful.”8

In the 17th century, however, the infamous party rivalry in the Korean court began to influence the writings of the Hallim. It was reported that in the compilation of the injo

6. Ibid , Bk 221, p 21 r, under Ch’unch’ugwan.

7. Ibid.. Bk. 121, p 20 r, under Ch’unch’ugwan. “King Sejo gave instructions to the Hallim in 1466 as follows: ‘What I do right and wrong all people see. It is not right that anything should be hid. The historical officers should record in detail what actually happens.’ “ *Yŏllyŏsil-kisul Pyŏlchip*: In 1508, Chungjong gave forty hair pens ana twenty ink stones to the Chongwon 政院정원 and Hemungwan and gave instructions written in his own hand that each of the officers should use them for writing down exactly what the King did, whether it be right or wrong, without hesitation.” *Munhŏn Pigo*, Bk. 218, p 16 1. under Sungjongwon.

8. Munhon Pipo, Bk. 221, p 15 r, under Hemungwan, quoting *Chibong Yusŏl*, see f. n. # 5, p 6.

[page 64] Annals (1623-1650) the Administrative Record of the Hallim could scarcely be used.9 In the early eighteenth century the practice of destroying these records as soon as the Annals were compiled was well established.10 By the middle of this century the Hallim had begun to lose their position. First they began to omit the critical comment (*Sadan*) from their records and in the 19th century even the criticism of officials (Sojol) was discontinued. During the reign of Kojong (1864-1907) the Chusŏ or clerks took over all the work of recording the affairs of state, leaving the Hallim nothing but their titles.11

There is a story, dating from the early nineteenth century, concerning a Hallim who was punished for tampering with the records. Chong Wonyong 鄭元容정원용, a Chusŏ who was famous for his fast writing, one day recorded the state meeting of three chief ministers, and having corrected and copied his account, took it to the king. The king read it and gave orders for it to stand as written. But a lower Hallim, Sŏ Kisu 徐淇修서긔수, who had left the palace earlier in the day, did not hear the order, and by request of his uncle, the prime minister, changed the words of the speakers. For this he was condemned to exile for twenty years.12

9. Cho Kŭksŏn 趙克善조극선, Yagok Samgwan’gi 冶谷三官記야곡삼관긔. “In compilation of the Injo Annals the records of the historical officers were so poor that they had to be corrected in every article.”

10. *Chŏsen Shi*, 5th series, Vol. 8, p 92 ; 1728, 2m, 27 d. “At this time, Yi Kwangjwa 李光佐이광좌 asked the king not to allow the washing away (obliteration) of the Hallim Sijŏnggi, The king replied that if the record remained, some evil result was certain to occur. Yun Sun, 尹淳윤순 said that the washing of the manuscript was a recent practice, and was not so in former times. The king answered, however, that the mountains and valleys had provided a just opinion. So the advice of the ministers was not followed.”

11. The Sadan was probably discontinued at the end of Yŏngjo’s reign (1777), and the *Sŏjol* at the beginning of Ch’ŏlchong’s reign (1850). Each Hallim had a box made of wood, about 5 feet long, 3 feet deep, and 2 feet wide, in which he kept his records. None of the Hallim could look inside the box of another, and because of their shape and size they were called the Hallim coffins. When a Hallim was appointed to the office he was given one of these boxes, and when he left he could take it with him as a mark of distinction. Even after the Hallim ceased to keep the records, the office was continued and each Hallim had an empty box which he took home with him. A former Hallim gave the writer this interesting information.

12. This anecdote was told the writer by an official connected with the Ch’unch’ugwan of the former Korean government.

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In spite of the Hallim’s decline in importance and re-putation during the later period of the dynasty, their contri-bution to the accuracy and completeness of the Annals was considerable and should not be underestimated.

**The Writing of the Annals.**

We now turn to an examination of the work of the special Board of Annals (Sillokch’ong) which compiled the record at the end of each reign. The Annals for each reign form a complete set in themselves, the volumes being numbered from one up in each set Appended volumes are sometimes added, containing further notes on the reign. Each reign’s Annals are given a full title, for example the first king’s Annals are called the *T’aejo Kanghŏn Taewang Sillok* 太祖康獻大王實錄 태조강헌대왕실록.

During the first two centuries of the dynasty the Spring and Autumn Office (Ch’unch’ugwan) was responsible for the editing of the Annals, and in this office the work of compilation was done by a board of editors especially appointed to do it This board was later given the title, Board of Annals.13 At the end of the first six months of mourning for the deceased ruler, the ministers presented a request that the editorial board be appointed. Soon afterward a series of ceremonies connected with the establishment of the Board of Annals began. Divine aid was first invoked for the proper appointment of members, the appointees were then presented for confirmation, finally they were invested with their office and then only did they start their work of compilation.

l3. Added to each king’s Annals is the date upon which the king issued the order for the compilation, the date of its completion, and the names of the officers who compiled it, together with other pertinent data. An examination of this data shows that for the Annals of the first 15 kings, 12 are attributed to the Ch’unch’ugwan and three Tanjong (1453 56). Yŏnsangun (1595 1507), and Kwanghaegun (1609 23) have no mention of the compiling office, though it was probably the same. From Injo (1623, 1650) on they were compiled by the special board known as the Sillokch’ŏng or Sillok Inch’ulch’ŏng 實錄印出聽실룩인출청.

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This was by no means an easy task. The Board was usually composed of about thirty officers, most of whom had other positions of importance in the goverment. The chairman of the three chief ministers, directed the editing. Three high-ranking officers were the final “editors”, each being responsible for a certain period of the reign. Under them were several “compilers” usually six in number, who further subdivided the reign and proceeded to go through all the sources to choose which parts should be included in the Annals. Each of the officers had a number of clerks to copy the materials at his direction.14

The “compilers” gathered together all the source materials of the reign, checked the entries which were important and passed the documents to their clerks to copy. This vast compilation was turned over to the “editors” who made a further revision in the account before giving it to their assistants to copy. The ranking officer then corrected the final copy of the Annals and turned it over to the printing office for publication.15 The *Sunjo Annals*, 36 volumes recording

14. The following list of officers is taken from the Myŏngjong Annal (1546 1568), chosen as illustrative of the usual Board.

1. Ch’ongjaegwan 總裁官총재관 (Chairman)

2. Three Toch’ong Tangsang 都廳堂上도청당상 (Editors)

3. Six Pang Tangsang 房堂上방당상 (Compilers)

4. Sixteen Nangch’ong 郞廳랑청 Clerks)

15. The following dates from the record of the Sillokch’ong compiling *Sunjo Annals* are an interesting account of the progress of writing.

Death of Sunjo … … 1834 11 m, 13 d

The Board reported readiness to begin compilation 1835 5 m, 10 d

The Board of Annals met and decided procedure … … 6 m, 19 d

Dropping out of useless materials begun 6 m, 25 d (Extra month)

Ending of this work … … 9 m, 20 d

Compilers revision and copying begun 11 m, 10 d

Ending of this work … 1836 7 m, 8 d

Beginning of correction (editing) 7 m, 21 d

Beginning proof-reading of manuscript … 1838 3 m, 8 d

Packing … … … … 4 m, 18 d

Placed in Ch’unch’ugwan … … 4 m, 21 d

Feast given to officers … … 4 m. 27 d

Manuscripts destroyed … … 4 m, 28 d

King thanks the Board … … 4 m, 29 d

15.End of correction, proof-reading and printing … … 4 m, 10 d (Extra month)

[page 67] Sunjo’s reign (1801-1835), took about three years to complete; over one year for the work of the ‘‘compilers” most of which was taken up with copying, a year and a half for the editing, and over two months for the printing and final correction.

The most important single source in this compilation, as mentioned above, was the Administrative Record (*Sijŏnggi*) of the Hallim; The second most valuable collection was the Diary of the Office of the Royal Secretaries (*Sungjŏngwŏn Ilgi* 承政院日記승정원일긔) which contained the records of the Chusŏ. This included all of the official state documents, memorials, edicts, court orders, as well as a verbatim record of court and ministerial business.16 This diary dated from the beginning of the dynasty, but during the Hideyoshi invasion in 1592 all of the previous records were destroyed. These archives, however, are intact from 1623 down to 1894, numbering 3,407 volumes in all The records after 1894 were kept in a different form but they likewise survive. They are at present kept in the fireproof vaults of the Keijo Imperial University library, together with the other manuscript sources mentioned below. This diary naturally provides the most complete and well-documented record of Korean court affairs since the 16th century. The most important items have been culled from it, of course, for inclusion in the dynasty Annals.

The third important source was the Daily Reflections (*Ilsŏnglok* 曰省錄 일성록) of the king and his chief ministers, begun in 1760, which soon took the place of part of the Administrative Record (Sijonggi). When Chŏngjo (1777-1801) was still a prince he began to write the Ilsongnok as diary, and he continued the record after he became king. For this

16. There is a study concerning this Diary by a Japanese scholar, Nakamura. 中村榮考. “Chosen Eisocho no Shoseiin Nikki Kaishu ni Tsuite,” 朝鮮英祖朝の承政院口記改修に就て. “Concerning the alteration of the Sungmungwon Ilgi of Yongjo’s reign (1726-1777).”

[page 68] purpose he set up a special library, called the Kyujanggak 奎章閣 규장각 in which the Daily Reflections were collected and kept His chief ministers wrote their impression of the daily state meetings, which he compared with his own records, making corrections and additions. The custom was continued after his death and lasted until the end of the dynasty in 1910. During 150 years, 2,329 volumes were written and are still preserved.

The records of the other departments of the government were also used in writing the Annals, most important of which were the following : The Record of Military Defence (Piguk Tungnok 備局謄錄 비국등록), kept by a special Border Defense Commission (Pibyonsa 備邊司 비변사), estabished in 1556 because of the repeated Japanese pirate invasions along the coast, and maintained as a war office; and the archives of the foreign relations office (Sŭngmunwŏn 承文院 승문원),17 which were usually considered of minor value except when foreign affairs definitely overshadowed court routine.

When the work of the Board of Annals was over, and the finished draft had been printed and bound, the various ceremonies connected with disbanding the Board took place. Unique among these was the ceremony whereby the man-uscripts which had been used in the compilation of the Annals were destroyed, commonly called the “Washing of the Rough Draft”. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries this included the disposal of the Hallim’s records for the preceding reign. All of these materials were taken to a paper manufacturing establishment outside the Ch’angui-mun 彰義門 창의문 where the ink was washed from the paper under the direction of the members of the Board.

The removal of the Annals to the storehouses was ac-companied by elaborate ceremonies. The following memorial of the Minister of Ceremonies, presenting the ceremonial

17. The Sŭngmunwŏn was the Royal College of Literature, literally translated, but the office was in charge of all relations with foreign states including China.

[page 69] program to the new king in 1661, illustrates the significance of the event.

“The officials should wear colored costumes for this ceremony, and they should be preceded by musicians to play drums and instruments according to ancient custom. However, the historians have completed the compilation of the Annals in less than three years after the death of the late king, which is quite unusual, so it is necessary to alter the ceremony in keeping with the period of mourning still in force.

“In this instance, therefore, a special ceremony must be formulated which will omit the use of musical instruments and will allow the wearing of white mourning hats and clothing instead of the official colored headdress and costume. Since this would not be adequate for the occasion, it might be best to postpone the ceremony until the autumn season when the period of mourning has elapsed. The Annals may be temporarily stored in the Spring and Autumn Office by a special ceremony with the ministers wearing mourning clothes, until the time when proper ceremonies may be conducted.

“The king followed his suggestion and the removal of the Annals to the storehouses was postponed until later that year.”18

When this ceremony was over the specially appointed officers, each with a set of the Annals, started for the store-houses which were in various parts of the country, four in number after the Hideyoshi invasion.

In 1571, the fifth month, the *Myŏngjong Annals* (1546-68) were completed, but because of a famine throughout the country, the Minister of Ceremonies urged that the distribu-tion to the storehouses be delayed until autumn. The Minister of the Right objected to the delay and in his memorial suggested that the usual celebrations be simplified and his suggestion was accepted. Usually the officer who carried the Annals (Pongansa 奉安使 봉안사), was met outside the walls of each city enroute by great crowds of people, who were entertained by dwarf tumblers and other professional entertainers.19 The city officials, attended by dancing girls,

18. Seno, loc. cit., 93.

19. Yi Chaeuk, loc. cit. p 14, quotes from the memorial of Yi Imyŏng 李頥命 (1658-1723), a favorite minister of King Sukchong (1675-1721), found in his collected works, Sojaejip 疏齋集, vol. 5 *:*

[page 70] likewise gathered to greet the Pongansa. Because of the famine at this time, however, no entertainment of this na-ture was provided.19

The following section discusses the means taken for the preservation of these honored documents and the history of their safekeeping. It is interesting to note that even the periodical sunning and drying was an occasion for special ceremonies. Usually every year officers were sent from the capital to examine the condition of the Annals in each of the storehouses. They performed their duties according to the established ritual, (such as carrying the books held high over their heads) and when they returned reported in detail as to the state of preservation of the volumes.20

19 *contd.* “Your majesty has honored me greatly by appointing me Pongansa to Taebaeksan, but I beg to ask your majesty to change the usual forms in regard to the ceremonies in the transportation of the Annals to the store-house. Because the people of the cities and country and the governors of the provinces are especially busy at this season of the year, I urge that the cities not be permitted to present the customary elaborate entertainment, and that only a few. attendants accompany me. If this is done, the people will be happy in this year of famine.”

20. This report was called the Pokswae Hyŏngjian 曝曬形止案. Yi Chaeuk, loc. cit., makes use of this report to trace the movement of the Annals from storehouse to storehouse, and to determine the comparative care in preservation.

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**II. THE PRESERVATION OF THE ANNALS**

The credit for the preservation of the unbroken series of Annals is largely due to the Korean court’s faithful adherence to the plan of distributing the Annals among several storehouses in different parts of the country. Even with this system of safeguarding them, they barely escaped destruction several times. The precedent for the historical storehouse probably came from China. In the preface to the Records of the Board of Annals, Yi Chonggu 李廷龜 이정구 (1564-1636), a famous Korean scholar wrote :

“At the beginning of the Yi Dynasty the Spring and Autumn Office was established in the western part of the Kyŏngbok Palace 景福宮경복궁. The officers of this department were put in charge of the Administrative Record (Sijonggi). All of the historical documents of successive reigns were stored here. They also made three copies which were distributed to Chonju 全州 전주. Sŏngju 星州성주, and Ch’ungju 忠州충주. These were frequently examined and aired and a system for their preservation was formulated. This is in reality the principle of Ssŭ-ma Ch’ien 司馬遷 who wrote, ‘The original should be kept in the famous mountain and duplicate copies in the capital.’ This principle was responsible for preserving the national history safely and long.”21

The system was much the same as that employed by the Ming and Ch’ing dynasties of China, but in Korea even greater pains were taken to insure safekeeping.22 The Koryo dynasty had also made use of historical storehouses, and the Yi dynasty no doubt carried on the tradition without much

21. Yi Chaeuk, loc. cit., p 3, quotes from Yi Chonggu’s Preface to the *Sillok Inch’ulch’ŏng Chemyongnok*, vol. 39 of *Wŏlsajip* 月沙集三九卷實錄印出聰題名錄. Yi Chaeuk further amplifies the theory that the practice of storehouses was adopted according to the principles of the famous Chinese Han historian, Ssu ma Ch’ien, quoting memorials of other officials in which the same words occur : 藏之名山副之京師. This quotation is said to have been taken from the preface to that historian’s well known work the Shih Chi.

22. The Ch’ungju repository, where the Koryŏ dynasty had stored its history, was probably the first one used by the Yi dynasty. An account of the Kaech’ŏn temple 開天寺 개천사 there contains a brief history of the Koryŏ repositories.

[page 72] interruption.22 The first definite mention of the distribution of the Annals to storehouses is in the Sejong Annals, where, for the year 1443, is a reference to the allocation of the Annals to four repositories : The Court, Ch’ungju, Sŏngju, and Chŏnju.23 These Annals, which included the records of the first three kings of the dynasty, 1392-1419, had all been written and copied three times by hand. The task was an enormous one, and only one set apiece was written for the next two kings. An important minister, Yang Songji 梁誠之양성지, was much disturbed by this negligence and in 1467 presented a long memorial to the king, called the “Ten Articles concerning Books,” in which he urged the necessity for copying the Annals and taking further steps for their protection.

“Four sets of the Annals of the first three kings were made and distri-buted, but of the last two kings only one copy has been made. This is not proper. Happily now we can cast small letters, our prized discovery, which will make the reproduction of the Annals much easier. I beg your majesty to command your printing department to print three more sets and preserve them in the three storehouses..... Now that we have the “small letters”, it is also possible to bind the books without the iron decoration and to use silk cloth for their better preservation.

22 “The Annals of the Koryŏ dynasty were first kept in the Haein temple in Hyŏpch’ŏn 陜川海印寺 협천해인사 but because of the Japanese piratical raids they were removed to Sonsan 善山선산. Next they were brought to this temple (Kaech’ŏn), but were taken soon after to the Ch’ilchang temple in Chukchu 竹州七長寺죽주칠장사. In 1390, however, because of the frequent Japanese raids which imperiled them again, they were brought back to the Kaech’on temple. At the time of Sejong of the Dynasty these books were brought to Soul for the editing of the Koryŏ history.” *Sin Tongguk Yoji Sungnam*, 新東國輿地勝覽 vol. 14. Yi Chaeuk, loc. cit., p. 6.

23. *Seyo Annals*, Bk. 110, 1445, 11 m, 21 d. The following volumes were distributed at this time : *T’aejo Annals*, 15 vols., *Chŏngjong Annals*, 6 vols., *Taejong Annals*. 36 vols. An earlier mention in the Annals occurs in 1439, when it is recorded that the storehouses of Songju and Chonju were built. *Sejo Annals*, Bk. 86, 1439, 7 m, 3 d. Yi Chaeuk, loc. cit., gives a detailed history of the repositories. He concludes that the Chŏnju repository was not built until 1445, although the other two may have been used earlier, taking his information from the records of the Chŏnju repository itself, written by Kim Kilson 金吉孫.

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“I beg you also to remove the storehouses to safer locations. This would probably be best accomplished by taking them from the cities and putting them in remote mountain temples which will be far removed from invasion or from people who might want to destroy the record......”24

Yang Songji’s recommendation that the Annals be printed was evidently accepted, for from this time onward they were always printed. But his suggestion to move the store-houses away from the cities was not carried out, and so a century later all but one of the repositories were destroyed by the Japanese in the Hideyoshi invasion. This one storehouse escaped because it happened to be located out of the line of the Japanese march. When the storehouses were once again established after the invasion they were situated in mountain retreats.

Before the Japanese invasion in 1592 there was only one major accident to the Annals. In 1538, the caretakers of the Songju repository accidentally set the building on fire when trying to smoke out the wild pigeons which nested under the eaves. The entire set stored there was destroyed.25 It was later recopied, however, from the original copy in the capital, and a new repository was built in 1543.26 Fifty years later the Japanese destroyed this new set also.

Three out of four sets were destroyed during the Hide-yoshi invasion as mentioned above. The way in which the Chŏnju set was saved is ably summarized in the *Chŏsen Shi* (History of Korea) :

24. Yang Sŏngji*, Nulchaejip* 訥齋集, vol. 3. Cited by Seno, loc. cit., p 95, and by Yi Chaeuk. loc. cit., p 3-6.

25. *Chungjong Annals*, Bk. 89, pp. 20. 21, 1539, 11 m, 13 and 16 d Also p 34, 12 m, 1 d. where another report indicates that the burning might have been incendiary.

26. Yi Chaeuk, loc. cit., mentions the interesting fact that in Sŏngju one of the districts of the town is known as *sakkol* 사꼴 (history-town), dating back probably to the time when the Annals were stored there.

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“During the Hideyoshi invasion, one of the Japanese detachments approached to attack the walls of Chŏnju, having passed through Ich’i 梨峙 이치 A certain man, Yi Chongnan 李廷鸞이정난 who bad formerly been the officer in charge of the books, led the citizens of Chŏnju in preparing its defense. The provincial governor, Yi Kwang 李恍 이광 arranged his line of battle outside the city at Yongamdae 龍巖臺 용암대 and during the day set up artificial soldiers and filled the mountains with waving flags. At night, he ordered his men to light long lines of torches. By this means they prepared to defend themselves against the enemy. The Japanese soldiers, fearing to enter farther into the region with their unsupported force, did not dare to attack the walls of Chŏnju but retreated, never to return.

“At this time, O Higil 吳希吉오희길, who was one of the officials in charge of the Annals, together with others, took the portrait of T’aejo, the founder of the dynasty, and the Annals to a safe hiding place located on Naejang Mountain 內藏山내장산. O Higil, An I, and others were put in charge alternately to guard them until the seventh month of the following year”27

The court fled from the capital northward to Uiju on the northern border. The next year he moved southward to Kangsŏ 江西강서, near P’yŏngyang 平壤평양, to which place the magistrate of Chonju urged him to have the rescued volumes brought.

*Sŏnjo Annals* give an account of the plans for removing these valuable documents to the north.

“The Minister of Ceremonies reported as follows to the king: “The Annals of the preceding kings were preserved by the governor of Cholla Province by his keeping them hidden in a safe place, but now the enemy is about to invade the district and the Chonju magistrate is fearful lest he will be unable to protect them further from possible misfortune. He therefore asks that they be removed to the place where the king is staying. The matter was discussed with the chief historian. He recommended that the Annals of the founder of the dynasty first be brought, and then if the enemy

27. *Chŏsen Shi*, Series 4, Vol. 9, p 528, summarized from various sources including the *Sŏnjo Annals*, Bk. 30, 1592, 9 m. 13 d.

[page 75] should approach closer to the refuge, the remainder should be moved to a safer place until they could be brought to the king.”28

Two weeks later the Annals record that the plan was made definite for their removal.

‘‘Now the power of the enemy has become stronger and stronger, ac-cording to a report from the Administrative Department. The pictures of the founder of the dynasty and the historical books in Naejangsan must be immediately removed at all costs...... An historical officer should be appointed especially for this mission, thus to remove the books and bring them to the king.

“The king agreed to this proposal and also recommended that the official should be accompanied by an assistant since there was so much danger enroute. The king also thought that the land route would be very difficult although shorter, whereas if the sea route were employed, although it was dangerous, several stops might be made enroute. He therefore instructed the Administrative Department to investigate the matter carefully and decide which route would be preferable. The department decided that the historical officers should go to the places where the books were kept, and then decide according to the exigencies of the situation as to the safest means of bringing them back.”29

This surviving set of the Annals was destined to travel about the country for a number of years before, order being restored, they could be recopied. According to the diary of one of the men who guarded these books, it appears that they were first moved overland by a twenty-horse caravan to Asan 牙山아산, on the coast, then by sea to Haeju 海州 해주, where the king had gone from Kangsŏ. King Sonjo was able to return to Soul, the capital, that same year, and moved the books back with him, storing them on the island

28. *Sŏnjo Annals*, Bk. 40 (Vol. 20), p 12-1; 1593, 7 month, 9 day.

29. Ibid., p 35-1 to 36-r; 1593, 4 month, 17 day.

[page 76] of Kanghwa nearby.30 But soon, the king was convinced that they were not safe there either because of continued Japanese attacks. He therefore decided to have them taken far into the mountains in northern Korea, to a special mountain retreat previously suggested as a repository. The plans are recorded as follows in the Annals:

“The king said that the Annals would be unsafe if they were kept in Kangwha and might well be moved to Myohyangsan 妙香山묘향산. He asked the chief minister if that were not true. The minister replied that the Pohyŏn temple 普賢寺보현사 in Myohyangsan was very high, so that it could not be approached except by high ladders. The king was pleased and said that the Annals should be kept there. He appointed the chief historian to go to examine the place to see if it would be suitable.”31

The Annals were soon thereafter moved, for the records of the drying indicate that they were in good condition at Myohyangsan three years later.32

30 *Munhŏn Pigo*. Bk. 59, p 71 . “In 1592 because of the Hideyoshi invasion, the officer of the government building in Chŏnju, whose name was O Higil, carrying the portrait and the Annals, went to Naejangsan in Chŏngup-hyŏn 井邑縣, and then by government order they were removed to Asan by ship and then to Kanghwa city. In the same reign, 1537, they were removed from Kangwha to the Pohyon temple on Myohyangsan near Yong-byon.”

Yi Chaeuk, loc. cit., quotes from various sources regarding the removal of the Annals. He quotes a Japanese writer as follows : “In August, 1936, I had the opportunity to see a book belonging to An l’s descendants, called Imgye Kisa 壬癸記事, in which written concerning the removal and guarding of the Annals and the portrait for T’aejo which were in Chonju...... They escaped the military attack by removal to Naejangsan, and then by government order they were carried under guard to Asan. After An I, with others, took them from Asan to Kangwha. The diary covers their movements up to that time They reported the delivery of the bocks to the king who had fled to Kangso. He congratulated them for their excellent care of them, and the documents, indicating his pleasure, are included in the Imgye Kisa.”

Seno, loc. cit., shows that the Annals were kept in Haeju for sometime, since the records of the drying of the books show that they were there in 8th month of 1594.

*Sŏnjo Annals*, Bk, 57, 1595, 11 month. “The Spring and Autumn De-partment reported to the king that the Annals were now to be removed from Haeju to Kangwha. The magistrate of the latter city had been commanded to prepare a place where they could be properly kept, and to arrange for their careful handling. The department, however, doubted whether any official house contained the proper furnishings and was built by suitable architecture......”

31. *Sonjo Annals.* Bk. 82 (Vol. 51), p 211; 1596,11 month, 7 day.

32. Seno, loc. cit., 98.

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As soon as the Japanese danger was over, the problem of recopying the Annals came up. “After the king returned to the capital,” wrote Yi Chŏnggu, “all the people dis-cussed the problem of revising and printing the Annals. The King was anxious that new copies be made also. After some delay the work was at last begun in the 7th month of 1603 and the task was completed in the 4th month of 1606.”33

The Annals tell considerable of their own history at this time.

The Spring and Autumn Department memorialized the king as follows : ‘We have examined the Annals and count the total to be 577 volumes. All the words in these volumes are very numerous. Even though they be copied by fast writing hands, we are afraid that we will receive your displeasure for slowness and inaccuracy. Although there are ten of us members of this department, the number is insufficient Even if our number were doubled it would take one month for us to copy thirty volumes, writing every day with great diligence. Two years would pass in the copying of only one set.

“ ‘From these facts it seems best that the Annals be printed. But even by printing the task is very difficult because of the lack of type. If we use all the type available in all government offices, we will be able to finish three sets in about five years time, thus taking the same time as we would take in copying only one set by hand with our present membership.

‘The king said that the volumes indeed were not small and that the writing was not easy, so that the literary officers could scarcely be expected to copy three sets. He suggested having a printing office established on Kangwha island to do the printing. Thus discussion arose as to how the printing would best be accomplished.”34

In order to carry out the plan of duplicating the Annals, the surviving set was brought from the northern mountain refuge back to Kangwha, but rather than set up a printing establishment there, it was decided that the work be done at the capital. All of the volumes were not brought

*33. Ibid., quoting from Yi Chonggu, vol. 39 of Wŏlsajip*. See f. n. 21.

34. *Sŏnjo Annals*, Bk. 162 (vol. 93), pp 12-1 to 13 r; 1603, 5th month 16th day.

[page 78] up at once, however, but only a few at a time. When these had been duplicated they were returned to Kangwha and exchanged for more.35 In three years the work was completed. The new sets were composed of 256 volumes by combining books of the previous edition.

In 1606, this edition of the Annals was distributed to newly built storehouses throughout the country. This time the repositories were built outside the cities in inaccessible locations. The original copy of the Annals was kept on Kangwha, first in Manisan 摩尼山 마니산, storehouse, then Chŏngjŏksan 鼎足山 정족산. One copy was put in the palace as usual; one set was sent to Myohyangsan, the temple repository in the north;36 and one set was sent to T’aebaeksan 太白山 태백산, in a particularly inaccessible region north of Andong 安東 안동, in north Kyŏngsang Province 慶尙道 경상도. There was a fifth set also, probably the final proof of the printing, which was sent to Odaesan 五臺山 오대산, in Kangwŏn Province 江原道강원도.37

These storehouses were specially constructed and the personnel of the guard likewise carefully selected. The

35. Ibid., pp 15-1 to 16-r; 1603, 5th month, 10th day. Seno, loc cit., p 99, in examining the records of the drying of the books found that the first five boxes, containing the records of the first two kings, were not in the Kangwha repository on the 18th of the 10th month this year, showing that they were probably being copied in the capital at that time.

36. This set was removed in 1633 to a specially built storehouse in north Cholla province, Chŏksangsan 赤裳山, probably because of the rebellious region in which Myohyangsan was located. This latter storehouse was built in 1614, and after repeated memorials urging the removal it was at last accomplished. Yi Chaeuk, loc. cit., p 9, who quotes at length from the Records of the Chŏksangsan Castle, *Chŏhsongji* 赤誠誌, vol. 5. For the removal see Injo Annals, Bk. 29; 1633, 1st month, 23rd day.

37. The publication data at the end of the Myŏngjong Annals indicates that this was true. Seno, loc. cit., 100, provides some interesting personal data, “After the annexation of Korea by Japan, the Odaesan set was sent to Tokyo Imperial University where I saw it several times. This extra copy actually was probably the proof copy of the re-edition after the Hideyoshi invasion, there are many corrections written into the text and because the part before Sŏnjo’s reign is apparently not complete nor fully correct when compared with the Taebaeksan set. There is also much writing on the inside of the double sheets, which may show that it was printed on waste paper. Since this set was destroyed in the Tokyo earthquake of 1923, further examination of this unique phenomenon is impossible.”

[page 79] following description of one of the storehouses is illuminating :

Buildings :

Storehouse proper. 24 by 32 feet (12 kan 間간), made of stone.

Special guardhouse. 16 by 24 feet (6 kan) The royal messenger stays here when he comes yearly.

Geneological record house. Same size, Two guards live here.

Guardhouse for resident monks. Same size. Abbott and monks numbering twenty-seven men stay here.

Storehouse for arms. A little larger (7 kan).

Munition storehouse. 8 ft. sq. (1 kan).

Personnel: Chief official, one man.

Military guards, numbering 131 persons, eleven of whom were replaced each months.

Archers, 24 men, two replaced each month.

Military officer, one man.

Common soldier-guards, 40 men, 12 changed each month.38

Because of these precautions the Annals did not again run the risk of complete destruction. A serious internal rebellion in 1624 was responsible for the loss of most of the palace set.39 The Manchu invasion of 1636 resulted in the destruction of many volumes of the old original set at that time stored on Kangwha island. A fire in 1653 destroyed two more volumes of this same old set Previous to this there had been suggested a plan for filling out the missing volumes of the two mutilated sets, but this was postponed until as late as 1665 on account of political disorder in the

38. Yi Chaeuk, lac. cit., pp 9-10, has copied these figures from the records of the Chŏksangsan storehouse, the last one built.

39. Seno, loc, cit., and Yi Chaeuk, loc. cit., have both investigated in detail the history of the Annals subsequent to the Hideyoshi invasion. Seno quotes from the *Sŭngsŏnuon Ilgi* 承宣院日記, the following: “The Ch’unch’ugwan has reported that the Annals of the storehouses outside the city have been safely preserved. But the set in the palace was lost by the calamity of the rebellion of Yi Kwal (Igwallan 李适亂). An historical officer should be sent to Kangwha to examine the set there to see if anything has happened to it.”

Seno adds: “One source indicates that an official collected what he could of the books before the revolt, sending some away and burying some It might be true that some of the Annals were saved then but it is doubtful, I examined the sets which were kept in the Government General building some years ago and found that besides the sets which had been brought from Kangwha and Taebaeksan, there seemed to be part of another set from which many volumes were missing. It may be that they were the remains of the palace set which were later recovered and moved to Kangwha.”

[page 80] country. One of the officials in charge of the copying at this time wrote a volume entitled “The Painfulness of Copying the *Chŏksangsan Sillok Tunggyo Tonggorokki* 赤裳山實錄騰校同苦錄記 적상산실록등교동고록긔 explains the difficulties involved.

“The national history was well preserved in the famous mountains, and was thoughtfully cared for to avoid calamity. But unfortunately the Kangwha set not able to escape the invasion, so that the Annals from T’aejo to Sunjo and the *Kwanghaw Ilgi* 光海曰記 광해일기, (Diary of Kwanghae-gun) were lost to the number of 280 volumes. At that time it was proposed to copy the Choksangsan set, but because of other business it was postponed for twenty years. Now, however, the king and his ministers have decided to embark upon this work, for which officers have been appointed.

“From the southern province, 300 scholar copyists were employed to copy it by hand. Also 31 special messengers to handle the volumes. The work was begun in the 6th year of Hyonjong (1665), 21st day of the 12th month, and was finally completed on the 9th day of the 12th month of the following yean It has now been removed to Kangwha.’’40

However, Yi Sangjin 李尙眞 이상진, the writer of the above extract, discovered that one volume from the *Munjong Annals* was missing. It could not be found in any of the storehouses, neither was there any trace of what had become of it Probably it was lost at the time of the reproduction of the Annals after the Hideyoshi invasion. Fortunately the missing volume covers only a two month period.41

Fortunately, also, although certain portions of the Annals have been rewritten in later generations, never has the original history been destroyed. The revised account was simply deposited with the original The Annals of three kings’ reigns were rewritten, either because of suspected inaccuracy or because of omissions in the original, and additional volumes were placed with the records of two or three other reigns.. The Annals of Son jo, king at the

40. Quoted by Seno, loc. cit, p 101.

41. The missing volume is Bk. 12, covering 12th, 1451, and 1st month, 1452.

[page 81] time of the Hideyoshi invasion, were the first to be revised. The additional volumes numbered forty-two, and were added to the 221 already compiled for the reign. They were written mainly by a famous minister, Yi Sik 李植 이식, who had participated in the government during many years of S5njo’s reign.42

The Annals of Hyonjong (1660-1675) were rewritten by members of another political party when they came into power. The leader, Prime Minister Kim Suhang 金壽恒 김수항, memorialized the king, “The *Hŏngjong Annals* are too brief and contain many errors concerning officials, their names and rank. Since there is a precedent for revising： them as the *Sŏnjo Annals*, allow us to do so and place the revision with the original Annals.”43 The king finally agreed, and so twenty-eight books, bound in twentynine volumes, were added. These gave more detailed history and were probably more accurate in many respects than the previous record.44

After the rewriting of the Annals of Kyŏngjong (1721- 1725) there was an effort made to destroy the original History. Yi Saryŏm 李師濂 이사렴, memorialized the king, “The editors were disloyal and there are many places where they confused black and white and right and wrong. There-

42*. Injo Annals*, Bk. 42, 1641, 2nd month. A long memorial of Yi Sik’s is quoted here, tracing the controversy regarding revision. The revision was begun in 1 644 but not completed until 1657. Kim Yuk 金堉, finished the work after Yi Sik died. The main reason for the revision is that an intense parly rivalry became manifest in the early years of Sonjo’s successor, Kwanghaegun, who is noted for his incapacity as King, which influenced the writing of the *Sŏnjo Annals*.

43. Yi Chaeuk, loc. cit., 16: *Sukchong Annals* Bk. 11, 1681, 5th month, 22nd day.

44. The previous Annals contained only 22 volumes. The revision was completed in 1683*. Sukchong Annals*, Bk. 14, 1683, 3rd month, 11 day.

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fore they are very untrustworthy.”45 When the first draft of the revision was completed a memorial was presented to the king asking for permission to burn the first-written Annals, but the precedent for retaining the original was firmly enough established so that the king decided to keep both records.46

Thus were the Yi dynasty Annals written and preserved, and by the Korean terminology, “delivered” to future generations In 1923, the Tokyo earthquake resulted in the destruction of the Odaesan set which had been taken to the Tokyo Imperial University,47 thus justifying once more the advice of the Han historian that there should be duplicate copies kept in safe storehouses.

There is now no longer any danger that the Annals will be lost, for the Keijo Imperial University has published a facsimile reproduction and distributed this edition among Japanese Imperial Universities and other educational institutions.48 This reproduction of about 40 sets comprising 849 volumes each was completed in 1933, and cost subscribers ￥6,000 apiece. The success in the tremendous work of faithfully reproducing these Annals demonstrates the industry and care for accuracy which characterizes Japanese scholarship at its best.

45. *Chŏngjang Annals*, Bk. 4, 1777, 10th month, 29th day. The king ordered that the revision begin.

46. *Chŏngjong Annals*, Bk. 7, 1779, 7th month, 28th day. The first drafts of the revised Annals were completed and after some discussion, it was decided to keep both new and old compilations. Ibid., Bk. 9 :1780, 4th month, 16th day, there was a memorial presented indicating that the revised Annals needed further work for completion. Also Ibid., Bk. 11; 1781, 2nd month, 16 day. The final completion was sent to the repositories in 1781, Ibid., Bk. 11, 1781, 7th month, 6th day.

47. Of this set, 67 volumes, comprising 157 books, survived, having been taken to the home of a professor for examination against the regulations of the University library.

48. The exact number of sets printed was not made public. The University library manuscript custodian informed the writer that about forty sets were made, about twenty of which have been distributed. Unfortunately there has been no provision for the distribution of any of these sets to foreign Universities.