

Old Documents of Korea

with special reference to official documents

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1. Synopsis of surviving documents.

The systematic study of old Korean documents is at present only in its infancy. However, partial investigations have been proceeding for some time now, and there are not only studies in which use is made of old documents, there being several publications of which old documents are themselves the subject.¹⁾ The first attempt at a systematic study was the series of lectures

- 1) Wada Ichirō 和田一郎, '*Chōsen ni okeru bunki sono ta no shōsho ni tsukite*' ('On written records and certificates in Korea'), included in *Chōsen tochi chizei seido chōsa hōkoku sho* (Report on investigation of the land-tax system in Korea), Government-General of Korea, 1920; Shūkō Shobō, 1967. Asō Takekame 麻生武龜, *Chōsen densei hō* ('A study of the Korean land system'), Chūsūin, Government-General of Korea, 1940. Kitō Hyōichi 喜頭兵一, *Chōsen no zaisan sōzoku hō* ('The law on inheritance of wealth in Korea'), Chūsūin, Government-General of Korea, 1936. *Chōsen shi henshū kai* (Association for the compilation of the history of Korea), *Chōsen shiryō shūshin* (Collection of Korean historical material), 3 cases, published by the Association, 1935, 1936, 1937. Oda Shōgo 小田省吾, '*Richō Taiso no shinsei shinpitsu to shōseraruru komonjo ni tsuite*' ('On the ancient documents said to be the personal composition and autograph of T'aejo 太祖 of the Yi Dynasty'), *Seikyū gakuō*, 17, August, 1934. Sudō Yoshiyuki 周藤吉之, '*Chōsen kōki no dentō bunki ni kansuru kenkyū*' ('Study of written records of paddy-fields in the late period of Korea'), *Rekishi-gaku kenkyū*, vol. 7, nos. 7, 8 & 9, July, August and September, 1937. (Also in *Shindai Higashi-Ajia shi kenkyū*, Nihon gakujutsu shinkō kai, March, 1972.) Same author, '*Kōrai makki yori Chōsen shoki ni itaru nuhi no kenkyū*' ('Study of slaves from the end of the Koryō period to the beginning of the Chosōn period'), *Rekishi-gaku kenkyū*, vol. 9, n. 1, January, 1939. Inaba Iwakichi 稲葉岩吉, '*Shin Chū-ichi shokei oyobi zuki*' (The reports and maps of Sin Ch'ung-il 申忠一), *Seikyū gakuō*, 29, August, 1937. Akagi Nihei 赤木仁兵衛, '*Pekin kyōshu ni aterareta Chōsen Kirisutokuyōto no shokan*' ('Letters from Korean Christians to the Bishop of Peking'), *Rekishi-gaku kenkyū*, vol. 9, nos 5 & 6, July, 1939. Yamaguchi Masayuki 山口正之, '*Kō Shiei hakusho no kenkyū*' ('Study of the petition in silk by Hwang Sa-yōng 黃嗣永'), Zenkoku Shobō, 1946. Marugame Kinsaku 丸龜金作, '*Chōsen no ichi komonjo*' ('A Korean document'), *Chōsen gakuō*, 9, March, 1955. Nakamura Eikō 中村栄孝, '*Chōsen kanpan no naishiki no kokuō in ni tsuite*' ('On the royal seal in the note of the royal gift of the Korean official blocks'), *Chōsen gakuō*, March, 1962. Same author, '*Nissen kōtsū no tōsei to shokei oyobi bun-in*', '*Jushoku Wajin no kokushin*', (The regulation of Japano-Korean intercourse, together with written contracts and documents'; 'The appointment of Japanese to official posts'), in *Nissen kankei shi no kenkyū*, vol. I. Same author, '*Chōsen no tōkō Washō Kin Chū-zen*' ('Kim Ch'ung-sōn 金忠善, A Japanese

given in 1931 by Professor Oda Shōgo 小田省吾, of Keijō Imperial University. The professor retired the following year, and unfortunately the lectures never appeared in print. In Korea, too, Professor I Pyōngdo 李丙燾 similarly lectured, at Seoul University, on the study of ancient documents, but these lectures also have not been printed. There has been gradually increasing interest in old documents among some scholars in recent years, and a certain number of studies has been published, though it cannot really be said that they were very numerous. However, a fine harvest was provided in 1972 by Professor Kim Tong'uk 金東旭 in his excellent book, *Collection of Old Documents—principally those prior to the 壬 Rebellion*. (古文書集—壬亂以前文書 *rŭl* 主 *ro*) published by Yōnse 延世 University Press. This contains 130 reproductions of items prior to King Sōnjo 宣祖 of the Yi Dynasty, and there is an appendix, "Introduction to a formal study of old documents—on the classification of Yi Dynasty documents." No descriptions of the reproductions are given; the formal classification is rigorously carried through, but it is a pity that abbreviated and alternative titles are left in disorder. Even so, as an attempt at a comprehensive classification of Yi Dynasty documents, it will prove extremely helpful to future researches in this field.

Just what is the situation in regard to the preservation of old Korean documents? Previously, nothing but epigraphy had been discovered for the Silla period. More recently, in 1953, some documentary fragments relating to Silla villages have been discovered in the Shōsōin. According to Professor Hatada Takashi's 旗田巍 valuable study,²⁾ these are fragments of registers and do not come within the category of "ancient documents". Again among the Shōsōin's treasures, there is a flowered rug and a purple rug, to each

general who surrendered to Korea.), 'Ri Shun-shin no ihō,' ('The treasure left by I Sun-sin 李舜臣'), 'Ryū Sei-ryū ke no jinshin teiyū Wa-ran shiryō,' (Material in the Yu Sōng-nyong 柳成龍 family on the Japanese invasions of 1592 and 1597), op. cit. vol. II, Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1965. Hatada Takashi 旗田巍, 'Shiragi, Kōrai no denken' (Land titles in Silla and Koryō), *Shigaku-Zasshi*, vol. 79, n° 3, March, 1970 (included in *Chōsen chūsei shakai shi no kenkyū*, Studies in the social history of Korea in the middle age, Hōsei Daigaku Press, 1972.) Tagawa Kōzō 田川孝三, 'Manreki Jūichi, jūni nen Keishū Keiteiri kokumoku dankan ni tsuite' ('On fragments of the reports of the liaison office of Kyōngju in 1583-4'), *Chōsen gakuho*, 49, March, 1968. Same author, 'Kōjin kankei monjo ni tsuite' ('On documents relating to the purveyors' guild'), in *Enoki Kazuo Hakase kanreki kinen tōyō shi ronsō* (Collection of articles to commemorate the sixty first birthday of Doctor Enoki Kazuo), Yamakawa Shuppansha, November, 1975. Li Kuang-t'ao 李光濤, 'Ch'aohsien shihlu chung chih shihla wēnshu 朝鮮實錄中之事大文書' ('Subservience documents in the "Veritable Records" of Korea'), *Kuoli chungyang yenchiu yüan*, Taiwan, 2nd series, last volume, December, 1955. Same author, 'Ch'aohsien kuo piaowén chih yenchiu 朝鮮國表文之研究' ('Study of the petitions to the Chinese emperors in Korea'), in the *Collection of Treatises on the documents kept in the Cabinet Library of the Ch'ing Court* 內閣大庫殘餘檔案論叢 n° 2.

- 2) Hatada, 'Shiragi no sonraku' ('Villages of Silla'), *Rekishi-gaku kenkyū*, nos. 226, 227., December, 1958, January, 1959. (*Chōsen chūsei shakai shi no kenkyū*).

of which small fragments of linen, with black ink writing on them, adhere, and these have been acknowledged to be articles from Silla,³⁾ but there are very few characters on them, and it is not finally clear whether or not they are in fact fragments of documents. With the Koryŏ period there are indeed some surviving documents, but they are very few in number, not to be compared with those of the Yi Dynasty. For this period, too, it may be said that it is characterised by the survival of epigraphy.

With the Yi Dynasty, there is a sudden increase in the quantity of documents, but in the course of the five centuries concerned, there is a perceptible difference in the manner of their preservation, falling about the end of the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th, a line dividing the reign of King Injo 仁祖 from that of the earlier Sŏnjo 宣祖. For some seven years before this period, there had been the invasion by the Japanese, then there were the subsequent campaigns of the Ch'ing troops, with a series of rebellions meanwhile. It was a period of chaos throughout the country, during which enormous numbers of books, archives and other records were lost, belonging not only to the court and the government but also to local officials and great and ancient houses. This period, then, was a dividing line, the survival of documents from the first half of the Yi Dynasty being conspicuously less than from the second half.

Round about the time of the Japanese annexation of Korea, quite a lot of material in the possession of the court and yamens was also lost. But that of the court was taken over en bloc into the Yi Royal Office 李王職, and that held by the yamens into the Government-General; and in 1930 it was all transferred to Keijō Imperial University. At present, the former has reverted to the keeping of the Office in charge of Korean National Cultural Materials 韓國文化財管理局藏書閣, and the latter to Seoul University Library. While sorting of ancient documents went on at Keijō Imperial University, zealous efforts were made to collect others, not only at the University Library but in the Korean Historical Research Office 朝鮮史研究室 and the Korean Economic Research Office 朝鮮經濟研究室. The present Seoul University has similarly worked at sorting and collecting material, and the total now amounts to some 60,000 items. Then there were the labours of the Chief Librarian of the former Government-General Library, Ogiyama Hideo 荻山秀雄, which were taken over by the National Central Library, which holds some 15,000 items; in the Office of the Compilation of Korean History 朝鮮史編修會 there are 62,000 items, including those of Sō clan of Tsushima 對馬宗家, which are at present in the charge of the Committee for the Compilation of the National History. Apart from these, collection is being actively pursued by Koryŏ and Yŏnse universities, and

3) Fujita Ryōsaku 藤田亮策, 'Seikyū ibun 青丘遺文' ('Epigraphs of Ancient Korea'), in *Chōsen-gaku ronkō*, Fujita Sensei kinen jigyō kai, March, 1955.

items in the possession of public organisations in Seoul alone amount to some 170,000. In the provinces there are many old documents handed down in the possession of the former houses of the civil and military official families 兩班, libraries, temples and others in Kyöngsang-pukto, Kyöngsang-namdo, Chölla-namdo and the eastern region of Kang'wön-do. Among the above mentioned public organisations, the National Central Library has published *Descriptive Catalogue of Old Documents* in 2 volumes (July, 1972). A total of 14,634 items is listed, all from the second half of the Yi Dynasty. They are listed chronologically according to the following classification:

Regional Documents, Population Registers, Official Applications, Dispatches, Education and Tax Documents, Examination Papers, Slave Records, Letters, Religious Addresses, Poetry, Miscellaneous Prose.

The category of Official Applications (*soji* 所志) above means written complaints or submissions; they are written in *idu* 吏讀. The Dispatches 咨 were a form of official document under the Ming, and was the name given to documents exchanged between officials of the second grade or above. The name 咨文 was used under the Ch'ing and under the Republic. When the king of Korea communicated with the Protocol Departments of the Ming and Ch'ing, he used the Dispatches called 咨 or 咨文, and there are many such here addressed to the Ch'ing. But, as well as memorials, documents connected with Japan are also included, so that the word seems to have been used in the sense of 'diplomatic documents'. The taxes referred to in the Tax Documents consisted of all sorts of commodities gathered into the yamens from local officials as tax in kind. They were later collected from the syndicates of merchants, and these Tax Documents mostly mean documents of purchase and sale of merchants' tax collecting rights. The category of Examinations contains answers to the literary papers in the state examination system. The category of Poetry contains manuscripts of exchanges of poems, that of Miscellaneous Prose, texts of reports to the king, royal proclamations on stone and letters etc. Whether or not the classification and headings are satisfactory, it is convenient to be able to ascertain the contents and character of each document, since the work lists the size of the document, the sender, the addressee, the date and an outline of the contents.

Apart from this, principally for diplomatic documents, the Korean Library Association has issued (March, 1970) *Descriptive Catalogue of Documents of the End of Old Korea* 舊韓末古文書解題目錄 in one volume. 1,600 documents are listed altogether, including diplomatic documents concerned with Japan, the United States, Russia, France and England, about the time of the opening up of the country, as well as documents connected with the administrative authorities and maritime customs in the treaty ports, and documents of all yamens from 1906 to 1910. The size, the number

of pages, the number of volumes, the sender and recipient, and an account of the contents are successively given, and the work has been done with great thoroughness. Then there is *Digest of Recent Documents Relating to Korean Foreign Relations* 韓國近世對外關係文獻備要, compiled by the Institute for East Asian Studies, attached to Seoul University (December, 1966), and *Collection of Korean Economic Documents* 韓國經濟關係文獻集成 (January, 1967) from the same institute. Here we are given careful classifications and minute explanations of diplomatic materials and documents, and economic records and documents. These should contribute greatly to future research, and are achievements of high value.

2. Epigraphy of Silla and ancient documents of Koryŏ.

I will next deal briefly with the ancient documents of Silla and Koryŏ. As already stated, all we know of Silla is epigraphy. One such item is the stone inscribed with an oath sworn in the 9th year of the 60 year cycle (Fig. 1).

壬申年六月十六日二人并誓記天前誓今自
三年以後忠道執持過失无誓若此事失
天大罪得誓若國不安大亂世叮寧
行誓之又別先辛未年七月廿二日大誓
詩尙書禮傳倫得誓三年

(34 cm. long, 2 cm. thick, 12 cm. wide.) This was discovered on 4 May, 1934, on a hill in the village of Kimjang-ri, Kyŏngok-myŏn 見谷面金丈里, at the north of Kyŏngju 慶州. It was formerly in the Kyŏngju branch of the Government-General Museum, and is now in the same branch of the Korean National Museum. It consists of 5 columns, with a total of 74 characters, and was entitled 'The 9th year oath stone' by Professor Suematsu Yasukazu. Here is the reading of it as interpreted by Professor Suematsu:⁴⁾

"On the 16th day of the 6th month of the 9th year of the cycle, two men recorded an oath, swearing before heaven. They swore that for three years from now they would conduct themselves with perfect loyalty. And they swore that, if they failed in this, they would be greatly guilty towards heaven. And they swore yet again so to behave, even though the country be disturbed and the world in a state of upheaval. And they swore another great oath on the 22nd day of the 7th month of the 8th year that in three years they would master the books of Poetry, History and Rites, and the *Tso chuan*."

This text is not pure Chinese prose. At an early stage in Silla, they invented the *idu* 吏讀 (or 吏吐) or 'official readings', whereby, in a text

4) Suematsu Yasukazu 末松保和, 'Jinshin seiki-seki' ('The ninth year oath stone'), appendix to *Shiragi shi no sho-mondai*, Tōyō Bunko, 1954.

using Chinese words, both the sounds of Chinese characters and their native equivalents were used to represent the particles and auxiliary verbs of the Silla language. This persisted for a long time, until the end of the Yi Dynasty. The text of this oath, however, is of the more archaic form in which the *idu* was not yet used. This 9th year corresponds to the 31st year of King Söngdök 聖德 (A.D. 732). The oath was probably sworn and inscribed by two members of the bands of young men, also known as Flower Youths (Hwarang 花郎), which arose at the time of the Silla unification among the sons of the aristocracy, and engaged in training in the martial arts as well as in scholarship and spiritual exercise. It is a relic that well evokes the earnest sincerity of the pure young men of that time. Apart from this, one may mention the famous inscription on the bell of Mujin 无盡 temple, the vow inscribed on the Vimala pagoda of the Ch'angnim 昌林 temple, or the vow recording the making of the statue of Maitreya Bodhisattva at the Kamsan 甘山 temple. Then there is the record of purchase of rice-land on the stone lantern of the Kaesön 開仙 temple, the unique example of a record of a land transaction from the Silla period.⁵⁾

We get a number of glimpses of the classes and types of documents of the Koryŏ period in the History of Koryŏ and literary collections, but extremely few documents have survived to this day. The following Injunction (*kyo* 教) of King Kongmin 恭愍 is a famous example (Fig. 2):

教

【寶】

福州牧使光道曰覽
所上牋賀捕賊事
具悉窮寇之來肆
毒有蜂蠆義
兵所至宣威奚啻
雷霆當其奏凱
而還嘉乃馳牋而
賀故茲教示想宜

【寶】

知悉春暄卿比平
安好遣書指不多
及

【寶】

至正二十年三月

By order of His Majesty the King:

We hereby say to Kwangdo 光道, Moksa 牧使 (Chief Civil and Military Officer) of Pokchu 福州, that We have seen and taken cognisance of your despatch in which you offer congratulations on the capture of the bandits. Terrible was the devastation wrought by the bandits, like wasps and scorpions,

5) Fujita, Hatada, *op. cit.* Katsuragi Sueji 葛城末治, *Chōsen kinseki kō*, (Study of Korean epigraphy) August, 1935 (Keijō, Osakayagō-shoten).

as they fled here from pursuit. The glory of the military might, shed wherever they went by the troops raised for our country's sake, was not mere thunder and lightning. As the moment of your triumphant return to the capital approached, you speedily sent a despatch with your congratulations, upon which We think it right to rejoice. This We hereby declare to you. We wish you to take cognisance thereof. We trust that in this warm springtime you are well and tranquil. The feelings that prompt the despatch of this document are not all to be expressed in word.

Chih-chêng 至正 20th year, 3rd month."

The size is not known, but it was probably about 60 cm. long by 180 cm. wide. The date, Chih-chêng 20, is the 9th year of King Kongmin 恭愍 (1360). The year before, a band of about 3,000 members of the White Lotus and Red Cloth Sects, that had arisen in the heart of the Mongol (Yüan) empire, had escaped from the pursuit of government troops, and, entering Koryŏ from Liaotung, plundered the north-western part of the peninsula, and even temporarily captured Sŏgyŏng 西京 (the Western Capital, now P'yŏngyang). Koryŏ appointed Kyŏng Ch'ŏnhŭng 慶千興 commander-in-chief of the north-western region and strove to defend herself. In the first month of this year, the Western Capital was recovered, the battle of Hamjong 咸從 won, and the marauders fled across the Yalu river. Kyŏng Ch'ŏnhŭng 慶千興 sent his despatch announcing victory on the 1st day of the 3rd month. When, immediately afterwards, Chŏng Kwangdo 鄭光道, Moksa 牧使 of Pokchu 福州, sent a despatch offering his congratulations on the victory, the king replied with this Injunction. Injunction (*kyo* 教) means 'royal commands', 'royal words'. Pokchu 福州 is Andong 安東 (Kyŏngsang-pukto). In the first period of Koryŏ, they used reign names and the expressions 'Edict' (詔) and 'Decree' (勅), but they then adopted the usage appropriate to a limitrophe vassal kingdom on the continent, and changed these terms to Injunction. This was to follow Ch'in 秦 law, which held, 'For kings and princes, it is to be called Injunction', and the *Wên-hsin-tiao-lung* 文心雕龍, by Liu Hsieh 劉勰, where the same rule is to be seen. The form of an Injunction was very different from that of the Yi Dynasty. At first, a single character 教 was written large on a single sheet of paper, while the recipients's personal name only appeared, not his surname. In the first period of the Yi Dynasty the form of 'submission' (*ch'ŏpchŏng* 牒呈) was used for yamens superior by one grade and above, in which the head of the yamen would append their names but not their offices. Likewise the officials of the yamens inferior by two grades and below were not allowed to write their surnames. In writing their names and not their surnames they were thus apparently following the example of Koryŏ. The seal was applied where the paper was sewn, at the date and in a third place, but the text of the seal is not clear. In the 8th year of King

Ch'ungnyöl 忠烈 (1282), the seal of 'Fu-ma-wang 駙馬王 (the son-in-law of the emperor)' had been granted by Shih-tsu 世祖 of the Yüan, but one cannot make out whether in fact it was used or not. This Injunction remained in Andong until it was taken into the governmental archives under the Yi Dynasty; it was transferred to Shrine for T'aesa 太師廟 (the honorific title given to Kwön Haeng 權幸 at the time of founding the Koryō Dynasty) there after the Japanese annexation of Korea, and there it remains to this day.

Apart from this, one knows of the Official Application for the attachment of slaves to Naero 乃老, priest of Susōn 修禪 Temple of the intercalary 8th month of Chih-yüan 至元 18 (7th year of King Ch'ungnyöl 忠烈, 1281) (in the possession of Songgwang 松廣 temple at Sunch'ōn 順天) and the house registers of I Sōnggye 李成桂 and others, of the 12th month of Hungwu 洪武 23 (2nd year of King Kong'yang 恭讓, 1390). Then there are the documents conferring the posthumous title of the 17th sovereign, Injong 仁宗, and other papers. And, as in the case of Silla, ancient documents may be found on stone pagodas, inscriptions on tombs, statues of the Buddha, temple bells etc. Local records are inscribed on the stele commemorating the burial of Aromatic Wood 埋香碑 at Samilp'o 三日浦 of Kosōng 高城, the epitaph of Chief Priest Ch'ōnsang 住持闡祥 at Hyōnhwa 玄化 temple, and the epitaph of Chief Priest Sehyōn 世賢 at Songch'ōn 松川 temple. The latter two are deeds of purchase of burial ground, deeds of purchase of real estate which were current under the influence of Taoist doctrine in China from the time of the Five Dynasties to the Sung.⁶⁾ According to Professor Niida Noboru's 仁井田陞 researches, many documents relating to transactions in real estate, engraved on lead, tile or stone, have been preserved from the second century B.C. and some centuries thereafter in China.⁷⁾ Under the Yi Dynasty, cooperative purchases of land were made for the maintenance of religious rites to ancestors, and these are to be seen inscribed on the tombstones or steles.

3. Old documents of the Yi Dynasty and documents for reference.

It may well have been the same in the Koryō period, but under the Yi Dynasty documents were known as 'writing' (*munja* 文字), 'deeds' (*mungwōn* 文券), 'records' (*mun'gi* 文記), 'articles' (*mun'gōn* 文件) and 'memoranda' (*munan* 文案), and they were counted in *to* (道 or 度) as well as in *t'ong* (通). The forms of documents were modelled on the Chinese system, but there were differences in meaning as to content. In form, as

6) Fujita, 'Chōsen kinseki sadan' ('Discussions of Korean inscriptions'), *Seikyū gakusō*, no 19, February, 1937, or *Chōsen-gaku ronkō*. Hatada, *op. cit.*

7) Niida Noboru 仁井田陞, *Chūgoku hōsei shi kenkyū—tochi torihiki hō* ('Study of the history of Chinese law—the law on land transactions'), (Tokyo University Press, 1960).

well as standard Chinese prose, there was also the official prose of China, that is to say, the special language called *imun* 吏文 (used in diplomatic materials), together with the *idu* peculiar to Korea. There were fixed rules to determine, according to the form, the kind of paper, the shape in which it was to be folded, and whether or not it had to be sealed. There was also a prescribed style of writing for the rank, office, (principal office and sometimes also other office held concurrently), surname, personal name, signature etc. Signatures were variously known as 'monogram' (*hwa'ap* 花押), 'hand seal' (*su'ap* 手押), 'hand sign' (*sugyöl* 手決) and 'hand usage' (*surye* 手例), those of common people and women being called 'palms' (*sujang* 手掌), and of slaves 'hand inch' (*such'on* 手寸). In addition to this, one character of the name was taken and written in 'grass' (cursive) script like the signature. This, I think, was equal to the so-called grass name (草名) in Japan, but there is also the view that it was called *myöng* 名 (name) and *ap* 押 (seal). The monogram might be made by choosing a character other than that of the personal name,⁸⁾ and, under the Yi Dynasty, were these characters not chosen from the Chinese Classics? However, this was between nobility and other higher ranks, while the common people probably left out one character of their name. The name and signature were used on both official and private documents; when they were both used together on official documents, this was known as 'full seal' 具押, 'name and seal' 署名着押 or 'office and seal' 着銜着押; when the monogram alone was used, it was known as 'single seal' 單押. Usage was regulated according to form of document.

The forms of royal and official documents under the Yi Dynasty were at first modelled on the Koryö system, but alterations were made under King T'aejong 太宗, followed by a number of further alterations, until finally fixed in the system laid down in the *Comprehensive Statutes for the Government of the Nation* (Kyöngguk-taejön 經國大典) published in the 16th year of King Söngjong 成宗 (1485). Apart from these Statutes, information about forms is to be found in various subsequent works written up to the beginning of the 19th century. On the development of yamens, the system of offices and precedents, there was, for the Board of Protocol, *Ch'ungwanji* 春官志 (compiled by I Maenghyu 李孟休, in 3 volumes); for the Board of Revenue and Population, *T'akchiji* 度支志 (compiled by Pak Irwön 朴一源, 10 volumes; Seoul University Classic Series, n° 10, 1 volume); for the Board of Punishment *Ch'ugwanji* 秋官志 (compiled by Pak Irwön 朴一源, 5 sections, 10 volumes; published by the Chüsün 中樞院 of the Government-General of Korea, 1 volume, 1939); *Hongmungwanji* 弘文館志

8) In the 'Veritable Record' of Chöngjo 正祖, there are the examples of Yöngjo 英祖 and Chöngjo 正祖, where not the name but another character has been selected and abbreviated. Compare also I Kyugyöng 李奎景, *Söap-pyönjüngsöl* 署押辨證說 ('A study on signatures and monograms') in 五州衍文長箋散稿上.

(compiled by I Noch'un 李魯春 and others, 1 volume); *Kyujanggakchi* 奎章閣志 (compiled by Sŏ Myŏng'ŭng 徐命膺, 2 chapters, 1 volume); each of these sets out the relevant forms for current use, while on official documents in general, there were *Paekhŏn-ch'ong'yo* 百憲總要 (compiler unknown, 2 volumes) and *Kosa-sinsŏ* 攷事新書 (compiled by Sŏ Myŏng'ŭng 徐命膺, 15 chapters 7 volumes). Then for such things as the form of complaint submitted to an official by a member of the public, or documents for transactions in land or house property, rents etc., there were *Yusŏ-p'ilchi* 儒胥必知 (compiler unknown, 1 volume) and *Imun-chamnye* 吏文雜例 (as above); and for letters and other correspondence, there was *Hanhwŏn-ch'arok* 寒暄筭錄 and *Kansik-yup'yŏn* 簡式類編 (as above) and so on. Further, for the issue and procedures relating to official documents, reference may conveniently be made to such works as *Ŭndaejorye* 銀臺條例 (*Ŭndae* 銀臺 is another name for Sŭngjŏng'wŏn 承政院; compiled at the command of King Kojong 高宗, 1 volume); *Ŭndae-p'yŏn'go* 銀臺便攷 (compiler unknown, 6 volumes); *Yukchŏn-chorye* 六典條例 (as above, 10 chapters, 10 volumes); and *Chŏllyul-t'ongbo* 典律通補 (compiled by Ku Yunmyŏng 具允命, 6 chapters, 4 volumes).

The period of the Yi Dynasty is extremely rich in material which preserves the contents of official documents. There are, of course, scattered references to form, nomenclature and procedures in relation to public and private documents to be found in the daily record of royal activities, in the 'Veritable Records' (實錄) of the successive reigns, and in the actual daily records the beginnings and endings of the various documents are omitted; but the contents have been recorded, and, apart from the removal of the *idu*, little alteration has been made, and there are even same passages which give incorrect language looking like Chinese prose style. The diaries and other records of the yamens, which were also used in the compilation of the 'Veritable Records', are mostly lost for the first half of the period, but they are quite well preserved for the second, and there remains a huge transcribed record, classified according to forms, of royal injunctions and proclamations, as well as memorials submitted by the various yamens and reports from regional officials.⁹⁾

Among diplomatic documents, there is, for the Ming, *Imun* 吏文, copied at the Sŭngmunwŏn 承文院 (Office in charge of diplomatic records) (1 volume

9) For example, for injunctions and proclamations, there are the Ordinances of Kwang-myŏ 光廟 (Kwang-myŏ 光廟 is the mausoleum name of King Sejo 世祖) and the Silken Words of Chŏngjo 正祖. For the various yamens, there are 議政府謄錄, 備邊司謄錄, 承政院日記, 典客司日記, etc.; among classified collections there are 諫議上疏謄錄, 諫議劄子謄錄, 箋文謄錄, 書啓謄錄; for regional offices, there are the 監營啓錄, 監營關牒 for each province (道) and the reports of local governments in inexhaustible quantity. For individuals, there are collections of submissions as well as material included in literary collections.

edition; also, with readings by Maema Kyōsaku, compiled and published by Suematsu Yasukazu, 1 volume, December, 1942. In addition, another work of the same name, in 15 volumes). There are also such compilations as *Sadae-mun'gwe* 事大文軌 (24 volumes) in movable type. For documents exchanged with the Ch'ing and Japan, there are *Tongmun-hwigo* 同文集考 (129 chapters, 99 volumes), where the documents are classified according to form, and an abridgement of this, *Tongmun-koryak* 同文考略 (26 volumes; photo-lithographic reprint published by the Institute for Oriental Studies of the Gakushū-in University, 1 volume, 1972). Under the Yi Dynasty, relations with China were known as 'subservience' (事大) and those with Japan as 'neighbourliness' (交隣), and the documents exchanged have been called, respectively, 'subservience documents' and 'neighbourliness documents'. One can see something about the forms in the above mentioned works, but there are detailed descriptions of 'subservience' style and 'neighbourliness' style in *Tongmun-koryak* 同文考略, while the styles are also recorded in *Kosa-sinsō* 攷事新書, as well as in *T'ongmungwanji* 通文館志 (by Kim Kyōngmun 金慶門 and others, 12 chapters, 6 volumes) and *Chūngjōng-Kyorinji* 增正交隣志 (by Kim Kōnsō 金健瑞, 16 chapters, 2 volumes; photo-lithographic reprint published by the Faculty of Law and Literature, Keijō Imperial University, March, 1940). In addition to this, there exist collections of both original texts and copies of them, of diplomatic documents after the opening up of Korea. They are kept separately, by countries, entitled 'Japanese papers' (日案), 'American papers' (美案) etc.; there publication is going forward as a continuous undertaking by the Institute for the Study of Asian Questions, attached to Koryō University, and *Diplomatic Documents of Old Korea* (*Kuhanguk-oegyomunsō* 舊韓國外交文書), in 21 chapters, has appeared in photolithographic reprint (Koryō University Press, 1965-71). In addition to the 'Veritable Records', all sorts of records of the various yamens still survive in large numbers; though they are not the original texts, there is nothing against calling them collections of old documents.

The *Comprehensive Statutes for Government of the Nation* only deals with the stylistic usage prescribed for a principal portion of official documents. There is absolutely no mention of royal commands or of 'subservience' and 'neighbourliness' documents. The space would simply not be available, were one to attempt to list and explain the classifications and forms in documents ranging from those of the king, princes, government, ministers, libraries, temples and monasteries, government clerks and other unofficial private communications. We will therefore limit ourselves here to royal documents and official documents, taken in the explanations given by the *Statutes* and adding a certain number of examples.

4. Royal documents.

On the 12th day of the 12th month of the 31st year of King Kojong 高宗 (1894), the king announced that he had thrown off the yoke of the Ch'ing and was now independent. Having styled himself first Great Prince, then Emperor, he used 'Edicts' as royal commands, having previously always used 'Injunctions', as in the Koryŏ period. Other royal commands were known as 'silken words' (綸音), 'proclamations' (諭), 'decrees' (旨) and 'orders' (批). 'Proclamations' (諭) were commonly used in compounds as 'proclamations of injunctions' (教諭), 'letters of proclamation' (諭書) and 'public proclamation' (宣諭). For commands involving admonition or pacification, 'decrees' (旨) were issued, variously known as 'decrees of injunction' (教旨), 'decrees of promulgation' (傳旨), 'decrees of possession' (有旨) and 'decrees of pardon' (宥旨). 'Orders' (批) were 'orders in answer' (批答) and 'orders handed down' (下批), which, together with 'judgement decrees' (判旨), meant decisions on submissions made by ministers or other subjects. In addition to these royal commands, there were such as 'royal warrants' (王牌) and 'memoranda' (備忘記). 'Silken words', 'letters of injunction' and 'letters of proclamation' were handed down, on occasions of grave importance for the court or the country, to (1) yamens, (2) court officials, or (3) the public at large, (4) the people of a certain region, and (5) individuals. Many of them were long texts. The usual procedure was that they were first printed by wood-blocks or metal movable type, then made into booklets and issued; they would then be copied by local officials and widely distributed by them throughout their jurisdiction. Examples of the first three are: (1) 'Silken words addressed to the High Court and the Board of Punishment' (諭金吾秋曹兩司綸音), of the 9th month of the 24th year of Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 (35th year of King Yŏngjo 英祖, 1759) (1 volume, 9 sheets. Wood block. 34 cm. deep, 21 cm. wide. Printed area, 22 cm. deep, 15.5 cm. wide. 5 columns, 11 characters per column.) (2) 'Silken words addressed to relatives of the king and all civil and military officials assembled at court' (諭入廷宗親文武百官綸音), 47th year of Ch'ien-lung (6th year of King Chŏngjo 正祖 1782) (1 volume, 4 sheets. Movable type. 31.3 cm. deep, 20.6 cm. wide. Printed area, 25 cm. deep, 17 cm. wide. 10 columns, 18 characters per column.) (3) 'Silken words warning against strong liquor' (戒酒綸音), 11th month of the 22nd year of Ch'ien-lung (1757) (1 volume, 34 sheets. Wood block. 33.2 cm. deep, 21 cm. wide. Printed area, 23.8 cm. deep, 15.8 cm. wide. 9 columns, 18 characters per column.) In this example, there is Korean script as well as Chinese. An example of (4) is provided by the 'letter of injunction to the military and civilian officials and people, old and young, of Cheju' (諭濟州父老軍民耆人等書) of the 14th year of K'ang-hsi 康熙 (1st year of King Sukchong 肅宗, 1675) (1 volume, 7 sheets. MS. 33.8 cm. deep, 22 cm. wide). As an example of (5), I will

cite the 'Letter of injunction awarding special rewards to trusty and meritorious Mach'önmok 馬天牧' (佐命功臣馬天牧賞勲教書), of which the text reads (Fig. 3):

教

翊戴佐命功臣折衝將軍
 雄武侍衛司上將軍馬天牧
 王若曰不遇盤根何以試利
 器不賴良士無以定國亂
 維爾蘊不羈之才秉難奪
 之節力可以扼虎勇可以兼
 人通變適用徇義忘身
 服勞
 王家夙著成績且精於射藝
 發而必中所謂熊羆之士
 爪牙之才者也當逆臣朴苞
 等陰挾宗親煽亂之日
 社稷之危間不容髮爾乃不
 愛軀命以徇大義奮臂
 而群兇攝伏長呼而大慙
 克清扶
 社稷於累卵之危措國家於
 大山之安予用嘉之曰篤
 不忘仍命有司繪形立閣
 紀績鐫碑兼錫土田臧獲銀
 帶一腰表裏一套廐馬一
 疋至可領也於戲膺茲異
 數懋昭乃勲對揚鴻休無
 替成命故茲教示想宜知悉
 [寶]
 建文三年二月 日

"Injunction

To our Venerating, Loyal, Meritorious Servant, bearing the title of Chölch'ung-changgun 折衝將軍, Valiant Commander of the Royal Guard, Ma Ch'önmok 馬天牧, We declare:

Unless we meet a gnarled root, how can we test the sharpness of a blade? Unless we rely on valiant warriors, we cannot pacify a troubled country. You possess no ordinary talent, you have loyalty of which no man could rob you, your strength could crush a tiger, and your valour is worth the valour of more than one ordinary man. You responded to the emergency with skilful dispositions, you carried out your duty, forgetful of your own self. You shattered your heart for the sake of Our House, and your exploits were early to be seen. In addition, you aimed your bow with skill, and when your arrows were shot, they never failed to find their mark. You have what we call the bravery of a bear, the talons and teeth of the warrior. When the rebellious servant Pak P'o 朴苞 and others seduced supporters of the Royal House and raised a rebellion, it was a

critical time for the survival of the foundation of the state. Without regard for your own life, you followed your greater duty to your country. You exerted all your powers to overthrow all the rebel bandits, branding the evil men for what they were and eliminating them, so that the state was rescued from its hazardous predicament and the country could be restored to the firmness of a great mountain. We rejoice at this and think never to let it fade from our heart. We have therefore commanded Our servants that a portrait be made of you and placed in the pavilion, and that a written record of your exploits be engraved on a stone tablet. We grant you land, slaves, a silver belt, a suit of robes, a horse from Our stables. You shall receive these things upon your arrival. With these special rewards, We mark your brilliant services, which we will eternally honour. This order is unatlerable. We therefore hereby declare this to you and trust that you will take cognisance hereof.

Chien-wên 建文, (seal) 3rd year, 2nd month."

(33.5 cm. deep, 90 cm. wide. Seal, "Royal Treasure of Korea," 11 cm. square)

Writing the word "Injunction" (教) first is the same as the Koryŏ system, but the form of the document is different, as may be seen in the illustration. Writing the characters for "Injunction" (教) "King (=We)" (王) and "Country" or "State" (社稷) one space higher than the rest is in imitation of Chinese practice, while the opening, "Injunction... We declare: "(教...王者曰), and the concluding words, "... take cognisance hereof"(想宜知悉), are in the "injunction" style. The style of "letters of proclamation" opened with, "Proclamation to such-and-such official" (諭某官), and ended with, "therefore it is proclaimed" (故諭), both with reign name and royal seal.

In the 1st month of the 2nd year of King Chŏngjong 定宗 (1401), the king had no legitimate heir, but he had three younger brothers Pang'ŭi 芳毅, Panggan 芳幹 and Pang'wŏn 芳遠. The first being ill and feeble, the second planned to place himself next in line. But the third had distinguished himself in the foundation of the dynasty, and Panggan 芳幹 was envious of the popular esteem he enjoyed, so raised troops with a view to his removal. However, he was defeated and, on the 11th day of the 11th month, Pang'wŏn 芳遠 accepted Chŏngjong 定宗's abdication. Immediately afterwards, in the 3rd year of Chien-wên (1st year of King T'aejong 太宗, 1401), he established an inspectorate of meritorious ministers (功臣都監), discussed services rendered, introduced the appellation of Loyal Meritorious Servant (佐命功臣), which was divided into four classes, gave a letter of injunction to each meritorious minister, while letters patent (錄券) were issued by the inspectorate. Ma Ch'ŏnmok 馬天牧 was in the 3rd class, and he received this injunction and letters patent. The expression, Chŏlch'ung-changgun (折衝將軍), is a title of nobility for military officers of the upper

3rd grade. Valiant Commander of the Guard (雄武侍衛司) is one of the guard commanders assigned to the guard of the Royal Palace. Senior General (上將軍) is an appointment. The letters patent, issued by the inspectorate of meritorious ministers on this occasion, have been handed down in the family of the descendant Ma Kihwa 馬騏華. According to these, the lands granted in the letter of injunction were 80 units (*kyöl* 結), with 8 slaves attached to each.¹⁰⁾ Next, the seal used on this letter of injunction was one struck at the beginning of the 4th month of the 2nd year of T'aejo, and it was used on injunctions, decrees etc., until a seal was granted by the Ming. At this time it was nearly ten years since the foundation of the dynasty, and repeated requests had been made to the Ming court for a grant, but it had not yet been accorded. Immediately after this, on the 12th day of the 6th month, a Ming envoy arrived in the country with a grant of a patent by the Chien-wên 建文 emperor, Hui-tsung 惠宗, and a gold seal in the name of "King of Korea (朝鮮國王)." However, at this time, at the end of the civil war that had been going on in the house of Ming against Chu Ti 朱棣, Prince of Yen, the latter emerged victorious and ascended the throne on the 17th day of the 7th month of this year. He was the Yung-lo 永樂 emperor, Ch'êng-tsu 成祖. Thus in the 4th month of the following year, Ch'êng-tsu of the Ming renewed the appointment, granting a patent and gold seal, the former patent and gold seal being returned. Thus from this point, Korea was recognised for the first time, both in name and in reality, as a frontier dependency of the Ming. The gold seal granted by Ch'êng-tsu was called the Great Treasure (大寶) and used on all kinds of documents.

When ministers were given audiences for royal commands, they either had oral interviews, or all such commands were transmitted to the secretariat Sŭngjŏng'wŏn 承政院 by a eunuch holding the office known as Sŭngjŏnsaek 承傳色 or Nae'al 內謁, Sa'al 司謁 (officials in charge of audiences). The palace was divided on the Chinese model into Inner Court and Outer Court, separated by a high wall. When the king issued orders in the Inner Court, the eunuchs mentioned above served as intermediaries. Accordingly, for the issue and reception of royal commands or submissions and reports from the government, yamens or ministers, the royal secretariat Sŭngjŏng'wŏn 承政院 was set up in the Outer Court, with a reception secretary Sŭngji 承旨 in charge. Royal commands concerned with ordinary, minor matters were passed by the official in charge of audiences Sa'al 司謁 to the reception secretary. He would copy them on to other paper, and, after checking of the copy with the official in charge of audiences the

10) A *kyöl* 結 was a unit for calculation of the land tax, its area varying with the fertility of the land. For first class land it was about one are, for sixth class, about 4 ares. Slaves were counted by *ku* 口, mouths, their children being enumerated as 'first born', 'second born' etc., to distinguish them from freemen.

original texts were returned, and the transcribed copies used for publication; these were known as memoranda (*pimanggi* 備忘記). Then, for articles needed in the Inner Court, known as interior requirement (內用), the reception secretary, to whom the orders had been transmitted from Nae'al 內謁, would again report to the king, would sign the orders with the royal warrant, and transmit them to the various yamens. Where governmental matters were concerned, the royal words were drafted in the secretariat. These were known as 'decrees' (旨), variously called 'proclaimed decrees' (諭旨), 'decrees of injunctions' (教旨), 'positive decrees' (有旨) or 'transmitted injunctions' (傳教). The following is an example of a 'transmitted injunction' from the secretariat, to which the reception secretary had transmitted a draft after receiving the royal command (Fig. 4).

左承旨吳 (押)

今見毛將揭帖以小爲浦老弱
令該管移處大雞島隸屬中
軍云蓋其意欲將占爲己有
也若此不已前頭必成無窮之
弊龍骨兵民亦將有漸次兼并
之慮其漸不可長也如有意外相
迫之事以受本國之命駐守信
地不敢擅移一步地雖蒙老爺
重譴斷不聽從之意卿其嚴辭峻
拒勿爲其所誤事有

旨

【實】

天啓七年六月二十一日

七月初六日禁軍袁士立賣來

"Reception Secretary of the Left O 吳 (signature)

At present we see from General Mao's 毛 orders that the old and young of So'wip'o 少爲浦 are being moved to Taegyedo 大雞島 for attachment to the Chinese army. It seems to Us that his intention is to have control of the people there. If this is so, there is likely to be limitless damage in the future. It is to be regretted that General Mao will gradually also make the soldiers and people of Yonggol 龍骨 his own. This sprout cannot be allowed to grow. If General Mao unexpectedly exerts pressure, you will be ordered by Our country to remain and guard the territory which should be guarded and on no account to move at all elsewhere. Even if a sharp reprimand is received from General Mao, you should show a spirit of absolute non-compliance, firmly refusing his orders and making no mistake in the matter. These are the orders of His Majesty the King. T'ien-ch'i 天啓, 7th year, 6th month, 21st day. (Order carried by Wŏn Sarip 袁士立 of the Palace Guard, 6th day, beginning of 7th month.)"

(32.3 cm. deep, 56.5 cm. wide. Stamped 'sealed by Royal Secretariat'.)

T'iench'i 7 was the 5th year of King Injo 仁祖 (1627), and this is a 'transmitted decree' from the secretariat of a 'proclaimed decree' of the king addressed to Chǒng Pongsu 鄭鳳壽 at Ch'ōlsan 鐵山, P'yōng'ando. In this year, T'ai-tsung of Chin 金 (later the Ch'ing) invaded Korea with the senior Beile, Amin, at the head of his troops. Injo 仁祖, who had avoided disaster at Kanghwa (江華) Island, concluded a treaty there on the 3rd day of the 3rd month, and the two nations swore to maintain fraternal relations. The Chin troops immediately returned to their own territory, but, on T'ai-tsung's orders, some were left at Ŭiju 義州 and other places. They met and attacked a sortie by the troops of the Ming military governor, Mao Wên-lung 毛文龍, based on Kado 椴島 and Sinmido 身彌島, and the northwest of P'yōngando was immediately transformed into a battlefield. Chǒng Pongsu 鄭鳳壽, who was dissatisfied with the treaty of friendship, raised loyal forces and, based on the mountain stronghold of Yonggol 龍骨 in that province, joined with the Ming general to repulse the Chin attack. Loyal troops were also raised to the west of the Yongch'ōn 龍川, at So'wip'o 少爲浦 and Sōnch'ōn 宣川, and resisted the Chin army. However, at the beginning of the 6th month the mountain stronghold of Yonggol finally fell, and Chǒng Pongsu 鄭鳳壽 fled to Taegyedo 大雞島 island on the 14th. Meanwhile Mao Wên-lung had been giving positive assistance to these loyal troops, sending them arms and military supplies or reinforcements, and conferring Ming titles on them, and, immediately after the fall of Yonggol, he tried to evacuate the soldiers and civilians of So'wip'o to Taegyedo island. In view of the very important effect of these activities of the Ming armies on relations with the Chin, immediately after the treaty of friendship with them, the Korean court issued these instructions as a warning on the attitude to the loyal troops of the Ming general. The last of the four written characters in the lower half of the first column of this document indicates O Suk 吳翹, the Receiving Secretary of the Left, who had then received the king's decree and carried out the procedure of composing and issuing the document, which accordingly bore the seal of the secretariat. At the bottom of the extreme left-hand column, the words, "6th day of 7th month, mean that this was the day the document reached its destination, the envoy being Wōn Sarip 袁士立 of the Palace Guard.

Among other royal texts were the eulogies on the occasion of the attribution of honorific titles to the preceding monarch, the grandmother and the dowager queen, which, together with the injunctions issued on the occasion of the appointment of royal consorts, were engraved on jade tablets (玉簡), and sewn together to form jade books (玉冊). Then there were the injunctions on the occasion of the appointment of heirs and heirs' consorts, which were written on bamboo strips, joined to form bamboo books (竹冊). There were also the mourning books (哀冊) on the deaths of these relations, as well as amnesty injunctions proclaiming the grace of a general amnesty

on occasion of great rejoicing for the royal house or nation. All the above are public, but there are private documents to be treated, such as gifts of assets (land, slaves, houses) to princes and princesses, and announcements or exhortations to temples and monasteries. I will give as an example of the last the exhortation on the refoundation of the monastery on Mount Odae 五臺山 (Fig. 5-1 and 2).

(前略)

世間有七重

三寶及父母君善知識

三寶爲出離之宗父母爲育命之宗君爲

保身之宗善知識爲導迷之宗自予

潛邸以來我

慧覺尊者早相知遇道合心和每提

攝於塵路使我恒懷浮念不沈欲坑致

有今日非

師之功耶非多劫之宿因安能如是契

合耶今聞我違和力疾下床晝夜奔

來數百里之外雖不事之高尙若度

生之大悲予聞驚動感淚無窮又

聞

師與悅師祖師爲我盡賣衣資重創

靈刹

師之爲我用心我之爲

師感恩非人所述我故爲

師等隨喜略助所費爲究竟之正因所

謂直心菩提者也於是付囑世子永

垂後嗣云

(諺文解略)

佛弟子承天體道烈文英武朝鮮國王李 (押) [寶]

慈聖王妃

[寶]

彩色

米五百石

綿布五百匹

正布五百匹

正鐵一萬五千斤

(beginning omitted)

"... There are seven important things in this world. There are the Three Treasures (三寶, i.e. Buddha, Law and Priesthood), our mother and our father, our prince, and priests of high virtue. The Three Treasures are the essential for separating us from worldly desires, our mother and father are the essential for giving us our upbringing, our prince the essential for the protection of our lives, and monks of high virtue the essential for guiding our wandering steps. Since the time of Crown Prince, We have ever been intimate with Hyegak-chonja 慧覺尊者 (Sinmi 信眉), sharing our

belief in Buddhist doctrine, knowing one another's hearts. Whenever We have been distressed by worldliness, he has always cleansed Our heart, and led Us so that We fell not into the abyss of desire. But for the Master's merit, how would We fare today? Had we not existences far in the past, how could we have such sympathy today? Now, having heard that We are ill, he has set aside his own illness, left his sick-bed, and come to Us from his remote dwelling, travelling hundreds of miles day and night. Though, as a monk, he has a spirit above the obligation to serve a prince, he has the great compassion of salvation. When We heard of this, We were deeply amazed and unable to arrest Our tears. We have further heard that the Master, together with Master Yöl 悅師 and Master Cho 祖師, has, for Our sake, sold even all his clothing, with the intention of building a miraculous temple. While the Master is thus taking thought for Us, no man could express in words the feelings We have for his care of Us. It is joyfully therefore that We are giving aid with expenses for the Master and his disciples, for the sake of the ultimate direct cause, what is called the perfect wisdom of the pure. We have further enjoined on Our heir that this work be continued by our successors in perpetuity.

(Korean script translation omitted)

Disciple of Buddha, ardent in letters, heroic in war, for the way of heaven, King Yi of Korea. (Signature) (Seal)

Tender and saintly, King's consort of the Yun 尹 family. (Seal)

Dyed coloured cloth, 500 *sŏk* 石 of rice, 500 *p'il* 匹 of silk, 500 *p'il* of standard cloth, 15,000 catties of iron tools."

(31.3 cm. deep, 385.5 cm. wide.)

In the first part of this there is the Exhortation to Sinmi 信眉, Reverencer of Wisdom and Perception, of the 18th day of the 12th month of T'ien-shun 8 (1464), then the translation in Korean script; next there is the Exhortation, with its Korean translation, of the previously mentioned King Sejo 世祖 and his consort of the Yun 尹 family, and there are the thirteen signatures and seals of Sejo 世祖 and his consort, his heir and his consort, and of princesses and other ladies of lower rank. That is to say, on the 8th day of the 12th month of the 10th year of Sejo 世祖 (1464), Sejo heard that Sinmi 信眉 was refounding the monastery on Mount Odae in Kang'wŏndo, and to mark his approval ordered the office of government requirements (Cheyonggam 濟用監) and the office of royal requirements (內需所) to present rice, cloth and iron, wrote this vow by hand, and enjoined on his heir that it should descend to his progeny in perpetuity. Master Yöl 悅 in the text is the disciple of Sinmi, Hagyöl 學悅, and Master Cho 祖 is also Sinmi's disciple, Hakcho 學祖. Sinmi was particularly attached to the successive rulers Sejong 世宗, Munjong 文宗 and Sejo 世祖. He was

very assiduous in the expansion of the Buddhist faith and achieved much in the publication of the canon and its Korean translation, as well as much work of revision in temples and monasteries. The expressions *Sŭngch'ŏn-ch'edoyŏlmun-yŏngmu* 承天體道烈文英武 ('ardent in letters, heroic in war, for the way of heaven') and *chasŏng* 慈聖 ('tender and saintly') are the honorific titles received respectively by the king and his consort on the 7th day of the 3rd month of the 3rd year of his reign, from his heir and all the officials. There are the signatures and seals of each; that of the king reads, 'Treasure of *ch'ech'ŏn* 體天' (9.4 cm. square), and that of his consort, 'Treasure of the king's consort, tender and saintly' (12.3 cm. square); the heir calls himself a subordinate, writes his name, and puts 'Heir Apparent Seal' (王世子印) (9.4 cm. square). The king's seal was newly struck on the 26th day of the 2nd month of the 4th year of his reign, but this does not necessarily seem to have been with the definite idea of using it. This is suggested by the fact that in the following intercalary 2nd month, he said to the secretariat, 'Though We have had this made, We do not yet know about using it.'

The Korean script was invented in the 25th year of King Sejong 世宗, and this piece of writing, 20 years later, is the oldest relic of the script. One can tell that it is the old style, with the tone marks attached, and it is to be very highly prized. The text is not a paraphrase but a literal translation of the Chinese text. Finally, the 'standard cloth' in the grant is linen.

5. Public documents prescribed by the Comprehensive Statutes for the Government of the Nation (經國大典).

The following are the forms, 'the form of words to be used', of official documents as prescribed by the Statutes.

1. Form for conferring status on civil and military officials of the fourth grade and over (文武官四品以上告身式).
2. Form for conferring status on civil and military officials of the fifth grade and under (文武官五品以下告身式).
3. Form for conferring status on wives of Palace Upper officials (堂上官妻告身式).
4. Form for conferring status on wives of officials of the third grade and under (三品以下妻告身式).
5. Red Warrant form (紅牌式).
6. White Warrant form (白牌式).
7. Miscellaneous White Warrant form (雜科白牌式).
8. Salary Warrant form (祿牌式).
9. Posthumous award form (追贈式).

10. Form of Warrant granted to provincial families, authorising exemption from service (鄉吏免役賜牌式).
11. Form of Warrant granting slaves and land (奴婢土田賜牌式).
12. Report text form (啓本式).
13. Memorandum form (啓目式).
14. Ordinary notification form (平關式).
15. Submission form (牒呈式).
16. Note form (帖式).
17. Legislation form (立法出依牒式).
18. Form for ordering return to duty from mourning (起復出依牒式).
19. Relief form (解由移關式).
20. Form of submission of Relief Warrant (解由牒呈式).
21. Religious Conversion Warrant (度牒式).
22. Form of Deed of Record (立案式).
23. Account form (勘合式).
24. Census form (戶口式).
25. Census certified copy form (准戶口式).

Of the above, (1) to (4) involve orders giving rank and office, and (9) may be said to be of the same kind. The division between civil and military officials of the fourth grade and over and those of the fifth grade and under, corresponds to the appellation of the former as *taebu* 大夫 and the latter as *sa* 士; and in connection with the ranks, too, civil officials were referred to as So-and-so Taebu, in the former case, and So-and-so Rang (郎) in the latter, while military officials were So-and-so Changgun (將軍) in the former case and So-and-so Kyo'wi 校尉 or Pu'wi 副尉 in the latter. Further, in the superior third grade (正三品), there were upper and lower classes; there, the civilian T'ongjǒng-taebu 通政大夫 and the military Chǒlch'ung-changgun 折衝將軍, and above, were Palace Upper officials (堂上官), while the civil T'onghun-taebu 通訓大夫 and the military Ōmo-changgun 禦侮將軍, and below, were Palace Lower officials (堂下官). In the early period, conferments of status on officials of the first grade to the fourth were known as official injunctions (*kwan'gyo* 官教), in that they were royal decrees (*chi* 旨). Officials of the fifth grade down to the ninth were granted injunctions received by the Supreme Administrative Office (Munhabu 門下府), later the Governmental Deliberative Office (Ŭijǒngbu 議政府), the supreme governmental deliberative organ, and these were called 'injunction warrants' (*kyoch'ŏp* 教牒), and all were known collectively as 'status conferments' (*kosin* 告身) or 'appointment warrants' (*chikh'ŏp* 職牒). For a time, all 'status conferments' under King Taejong 太宗 required a dossier certified by the Legal Department (Sahǒnbu 司憲府) or the Court of Censorship (Saganwǒn 司諫院), but very soon they reverted to the old system, whereby only those of the fifth grade or under were affected in this

way. The object was to make a careful selection of talent. A man's uprightness, lineage and criminal record were scrutinised, and, if no objections were found, the two departments would issue an authenticated dossier, which was then transmitted either to the Board of Civil Office (Ijo 吏曹) or the Board of War (Pyŏngjo 兵曹), and was known as a Court Report (*chosa* 朝射). On receipt of this, the two boards would issue a Court Report document (朝射帖) to the person concerned. At first, within the limits of grading, those of lower rank could also use only the Court Report document as an appointment document (*chikch'ŏp* 職帖), but later, status conferments (告身) were issued as well. Here are two examples (Fig. 6 and 7):

(1) 王旨

金摯爲通政大夫禮曹
右參議寶文閣直提學
世子右輔德者

〔寶〕
永樂八年四月十日

"His Majesty decrees that Kim Chi 金摯 be appointed T'ongjŏng-taebu 通政大夫, Counsellor of the Right U-ch'amŭi 右參議 on the Board of Protocol (禮曹), Chikchehak 直提學, Deputy Chief, of the Pomungak 寶文閣, Tutor of the Right U-podŏk 右輔德 to the Heir Apparent.

(treasure)

10th day of the 4th month of Yung-lo (永樂) 8."

(2) 吏曹奉

教通訓大夫行善山都
護府使金宗直妻令人
曹氏爲淑人者

〔印〕
成化十二年八月初三日

行正郎

行判書 參判 參議臣成 (押)

行佐郎臣金 (押)

"The Board of Civil Office has received an injunction to appoint to the rank of Sugin 淑人 the wife, née Cho 曹, of the rank of Yŏng'in 令人, of Kim Chongjik 金宗直, T'onghun-taebu 通訓大夫, and Acting (行) Governor (Tohobusa 都護府使) of Sŏnsan 善山.

(seal)

Ch'êng-hua 成化 12, 8th month, 3rd day.

Acting Senior Secretary (行判書)

Deputy Senior Secretary (參判)

Counsellor (參議) Official (臣) Sŏng 成 (monogram)

Acting Senior Clerk (行正郎)

Acting Junior Clerk (行佐郎) Official (臣) Kim 金 (monogram)

The first is 42 cm. deep, 34 cm. wide; the 'treasure' reads, 'Seal of the King of Korea (朝鮮國王之印)', 9.9 cm. square; the year Yung-lo 8 is the 18th year of King T'aejong 太宗 (1410); the document is an Injunction of Office (*kwan'gyo* 官教), as above mentioned. The form of words in the Statutes is, 敕旨/某爲某階某職者/年[寶]月日. 'Decree of Injunction/ that So-and-so of such-and-such rank is appointed to such-and-such office,/ —year—(seal) month—day', so there is a discrepancy in the first character here. At the beginning of the dynasty, all issues of information or injunctions to office from any yamen were 'Royal Decrees' (*wangji* 王旨), but they were changed to Decrees of Injunction in the 7th month of the 7th year of King Sejong 世宗, and in the 9th month of the 17th year, injunctions of office and warrants of nobility also took this form. Thus, hereafter, Decree of Injunction was invariably used. The 'Seal of the King of Korea' was the Great Treasure, granted by the Yung-lo emperor of the Ming. However, its use on Status Conferments did not continue for so very long. (i) 'Treasure of issue of commands' (*Simyŏngjibo* 施命之寶), (ii) 'Seal of issue of orders' (*Siryŏngjiin* 施令之印) and (iii) 'Issue of commands'¹¹⁾ (*Simyŏng* 施命) were successively or alternatively used. The first of these was a gold seal, newly struck in the 10th month of the 25th year of Se-jong 世宗, the second, the same, in the 8th month of the 31st year. The third was a jade seal newly made in the 1st month of the 12th year of King Sejo 世祖.

From the 30th day of the 9th month of the 24th year of his reign, King Sŏngjong 成宗 caused the newly struck 'Treasure of issue of commands' to be used; this was a silver-gilt seal, and the lettering was in the curved seal character, the size being the same as that of the Great Treasure seal. This new seal was restruck because of the risk that constant use of the Great Treasure might wear it out, and also because it was felt to be unfitting that the first of the three seals listed above, the 'Treasure of issue of commands', was larger than the Great Treasure. Accordingly, the Treasure that appears in the form of words given by the Statutes was the newly struck 'Treasure of issue of commands', and it remained in use for a long time afterwards. Next, there was the Board of Protocol (*Yejo* 禮曹); this was the one of the so-called six boards or government departments, which dealt with music, religious ceremonies, schools and the entertainment of foreign missions. Its counsellors held an office of the third rank, and were two in number, left and right, at the period under consideration, but in the official system according to the Statutes, there was only one.

11) The two-character seal of 'Issue of Commands' is shown in plate I of the book by Kim Tong'uk 金東旭, cited above, in the warrant conferring the title of Meritorious Servant on 精忠出氣敵愾功臣通訓大夫内贖寺正孫昭, Ch'ênghua 3, 11th month. Unfortunately, the dimensions are not given. Also, Kim is mistaken about the nature of the document, which is in fact a letter of injunction granting a reward.

The Pavilion of Precious Literature (Pomungak 寶文閣) had existed from the time of Koryŏ; it was not a separate department, being allotted only a title. Chikchehak 直提學 was the name of one of the offices in it, of which the duty was editing work on behalf of the king. Another appointment was that of Tutor of the Right Ubodŏk 右輔德 to the Heir Apparent. This involved giving lectures and guidance to the Heir Apparent from the time of his appointment to his accession to the throne. This position was held by Kim Chi 金摯 at this time, concurrently with his principal appointment as Counsellor of the Right on the Board of Protocol.

The second document quoted above is 44.5 cm. deep, 76 cm. wide, and is stamped 'Seal of Board of Civil Office' (吏曹之印), 8 cm. square. This document is a Status Conferment, granting a rise in noble rank to the wife of Kim Chongjik 金宗直, on the 3rd day, at the beginning of the 8th month of Ch'êng-hua 12, that is to say, the 7th year of Sŏngjong 成宗 (1476). The law on the ennoblement of principal wives was laid down at the same time as that on posthumous for ancestors, in the 5th month of the 5th year of King T'aejo 太祖 (1396). Titles of nobility were granted to honour the principal wives of ministers and officials, according to the seniority of the appointment of their husbands. They were the Court Ladies outside Palace (Oemyŏngbu 外命婦). There is a difference in the titles between the system at the beginning of the dynasty and that of the Statutes. T'onghun-taebru 通訓大夫 was of the superior third grade, so his wife was given the order of nobility of Sugin 淑人 corresponding to this grade. At this time Yŏng'in 令人 was 4th grade. It was the normal custom for women's personal names, apart from those of slaves, not to be written, the maiden name only being written, and this was the same in census records. The Board of Civil Office (Ijo 吏曹) was responsible for the appointment of civil officials, their honours and supervision of their activities. Senior Secretary (p'anso 判書) down to Junior Clerk (Chwarang 佐郎) were the names of officials on the Board of Civil Office, and in this case the ministerial signatures and seals of only two persons appear. According to the Statutes, even when the responsible officials' positions are all written on a document, their signatures are not necessarily all required to be affixed. This was a rule from earlier times, and probably the seals and signatures were only those of the officials directly concerned and on duty on the day in question. Since Status Conferments were issued on receipt of Injunctions, they were in the form of 'Official So-and-so' (臣某). The first example above corresponds to (1) in the list of 'form of words' above, the second to (4). Posthumous awards were made to render illustrious the ancestors to whom court officials of the sixth grade and above had to pray, rank and appointment being granted to the third generation. Father and maternal grandfather were given the same grade as the official in question, while paternal grandfather and grandmother, and paternal and maternal

great grandfather and great grandmother fell one class. These awards were made in accordance with (9) in the list above.

(5) (6) and (7) concerned the national examinations, that is to say, decrees of injunction regarding successful candidates in the different classifications. These were first known as Graduation Warrants (*Ch'ulsinp'ae* 出身牌). (5) was for the civil and military classifications, and red paper, of full width, was used. (6) was given to 1st and 2nd degree graduates (Saeng'wŏn 生員, Chinsa 進士), using white paper of half width. Both were stamped with the seal of the Treasure of Examinations (科擧之寶). Since 1st and 2nd degree candidates were permitted to enter the Palace Examination (*chŏnsi* 殿試), which was the last examination in the literary section, this was a kind of qualifying examination. (7), Miscellaneous White Warrant, covered the four sections of Medicine, Interpretation, Laws and *Yin-yang* (陰陽) studies. In the Interpretation section there were Chinese studies (Chinese language), Mongol studies (Mongolian language), Nüchên 女眞 i.e. Manchu studies and Japanese studies. In the 17th century the name of Nüchên studies became Ch'ing (清) studies. In *Yin-yang* studies there were astronomy, geography (geomancy) and the study of divination (命課學). For the Miscellaneous White Warrant, white paper of half width was used. The Board of Protocol received an injunction and certified the success of the candidate. Then an official of the rank of Senior Secretary or below would call himself an official (臣), sign his family name and apply the ministerial seal, the seal of the Board of Protocol being used, as in the second Status Conferment, quoted above.¹²⁾ Red Warrants were issued by

12) 紅牌式

教旨

某職或幼學姓名文科或武科某科第幾人及第出身者
(寶)

年 月 日

"Red Warrant form:

Decree of injunction that—(surname, personal name), of—office (or not occupied), has passed as number—, in —section of the civil (or military) section of the examinations.

(treasure)

—year —month —day."

白牌式

教旨

幼學姓名 生員或進士等第幾人入格者
(寶)

年 月 日

"White Warrant form:

Decree of injunction that—(surname, personal name), not occupied, has qualified as number—in the 1st (or 2nd) degree examinations.

(treasure)

—year —month —day

'Not occupied' (幼學) is one who is not yet in the public service. The 'treasure' reads *Kwagôjibo* 科擧之寶 (Examination Seal)."

the Board of Civil Office, White Warrants by the Board of Protocol.

(8) was the certificate of payment of official salary, payments being made in the first month each spring, by the Board of Civil Office to civil officials, and by the Board of War (Pyŏngjo 兵曹) to military. Salaries were divided into 18 rates according to appointment, from Superior 1st grade to Junior (從) 9th grade. Payments were made, according to rank, of half-hulled rice, unhulled rice, millet, small wheat, 'yellow' beans (soya beans), silk, linen and paper money (silk and paper money were abolished from the 25th year of King Sŏnjo 宣祖. But they had already fallen into disuse since the end of the 15th century.). These payments were made from the 25th to the 29th of the 1st, 4th, 7th and 10th months at the Kwanghŭng 廣興 Granary. Before this, a time-table of distribution of salaries was issued from the Board of Civil Office to every yamen, as well as the salaries to be distributed. On the day of payment, one would produce one's Salary Warrant (Nokp'ae 祿牌) and receive one's salary and a payment statement, which latter was attached to the Salary Warrant.¹³⁾ The

雜科白牌式

禮曹奉

教 具官某 某科幾等第幾人出身者

(禮曹之印)

年 月 日

判書臣某 參判臣某 參議臣某 正郎臣某 佐郎臣某

"Miscellaneous White Warrant form:

The Board of Protocol has received an injunction to the effect that—(surname, personal name), of —office, has qualified as number —in the —section examination.

(Seal of the Board of Protocol)

—year —month —day

Senior Secretary—

Deputy Senior Secretary—

Counsellor—

Senior Clerk—

Junior Clerk—"

13) 祿牌式

吏曹^{或者奉}
兵曹奉

教 賜具官某 某^干年第幾科祿者

(印)

年 月 日

判書臣某 參判臣某 參議臣某 正郎臣某 佐郎臣某

"Salary Warrant form:

The Board of Civil Office (or of War) has received an injunction to the effect that—, of —office, be paid the salary of — rank for the — year of the cycle.

(seal)

—year —month —day

Senior Secretary—

Deputy Senior Secretary—

Counsellor—

Senior Clerk—

Junior Clerk—"

The seal is the 'Seal of Issue' (頒賜之印).

Salary Warrant was stamped, 'Seal of Issue (頒賜之印).'

(10) and (11) were warrants of grants for merit. Provincial families (Hyangni 鄉吏), also known as 'Officer families' (Ijok 吏族), provided the indigenous strength of the regional provinces and prefectures, and were the ruling class of the peasantry. Since Koryŏ times, they had been hereditarily responsible for local government. Under the Yi Dynasty, since its foundation, they had been reduced in social status, received the same treatment as the ordinary people, the exercise of their functions being forced labour, but on one hand they were connected with the system of state authority. If any of them did the state particularly meritorious service, they were granted a special document relieving them from service, and this not only for the man himself, but for his descendants as well. The Warrant of Exemption from service (Myönyöksap'ae 免役賜牌) was conferred by royal command; at first the Great Treasure was used to stamp it, then from the 24th year of Sŏngjong 成宗 the Treasure of Issue of Commands was used.¹⁴⁾ (11) was a document rewarding meritorious officers. This was issued when slaves, land and house property were granted; there were two kinds, one making the grant only for the life of the individual, the other authorising inheritance (Fig. 8).

教旨

秉忠奮義靖國功臣通訓大夫行珍島郡守白壽長
頃者國祚中否神器將傾爾能奮義翊予興運以靖邦國
予嘉乃功特賜罪人時羅孫南部薰陶坊瓦家壹坐以賞
之可傳永世者

【寶】

正德四年十二月 日

"A Decree of Injunction

is hereby issued to Paek Sujang 白壽長, Meritorious Servant Steadfast and Staunch in Restoring Order, T'onghun-taebru 通訓大夫, acting governor (Kunsu 郡守) of Chindo 珍島: recently there was disorder in the country, and an attempt was made to overthrow Our throne. You rose up vigorously in loyal duty, helped Us to enhance the country's destiny, and brought peace to the nation. Your service has given Us

14) 書式

教旨

惟爾某道某邑鄉吏某有某功特命爾免役以及永世者

【寶】

年 月 日

"Form:

We consider that you, —, provincial family of —village, —province, have performed—meritorious service. We therefore specially order you that you be exempted from the duties of provincial clerk, and that this exemption shall continue for your

(treasure)

sons and grandsons. —year —month —day."

joy, and We reward you with the grant of a tiled house in Hundo 薰陶 ward (pang 坊) of the southern part of the capital, the property of the criminal Sirason 時羅孫. It shall pass on from generation to generation in perpetuity.

4th year of Chêng-tê 正德, 12th month."

(104 cm. deep, 78 cm. wide. Stamped, 'Treasure of Issue of Orders', 10 cm. square.)

The above is a warrant of Chêng-tê 4, that is to say, 12th month of the 4th year of King Chungjong 中宗 (1509), granting the reward of the residence of the criminal Sirason 時羅孫, confiscated by the government, to Paek Sujang 白壽長, Governor of Chindo 珍島, Meritorious Servant for Restoring Order. King Yönsangun 燕山君, the 10th king, ruled extremely tyrannically, and Pak Chong'wön 朴宗元 and others plotted together and drove him out, bringing Chungjong to the throne. On the 13th day of the 9th month of the 1st year of this monarch, this meritorious service was discussed, the title of Meritorious Servant for Restoring Order was bestowed, and Paek Sujang was enfeoffed as 3rd class Meritorious Servant, and titled as Chönghaegun 貞海君. Then, as well as granting the rewards laid down by the temporary office of Meritorious Service (功臣都監), the king also ordered that the criminals' houses, lands and slaves he shared out between the Meritorious Servants in proportion to their class, and Paek Sujang gradually came into possession of his reward in the course of the four years following the issue of the order.¹⁵⁾

(12) and (13) were a form of report (奏啓). It was not permitted that reports be made by all the yamens in the same style. The ranks of the yamens varied according to the grades of their chief executive officials, ranging from superior first grade to junior sixth grade. Those empowered to make direct reports were yamens of second grade and over, together with the Office of Slave Control (Changnyewön 掌隸院), the Censorship Office (Saganwön 司諫院) and the Office of Royal Genealogy (Chongbusa 宗簿寺), as well as Circuit Inspectors Kwanch'alsa 觀察使 of Provinces (To 道), and generals at the capital and in the field. Accordingly, the other yamens

15) 書式

教旨

惟爾某有功將臧獲幾口土田幾結特賜賞爾可傳永世者

[實]

年 月 日

"Form:

We consider that you have performed — meritorious service. We therefore specially reward you with — slaves and — *hyöl* 結 of land, and these shall pass to your sons and grandsons.

—year —month —day.

But in the case of the award being limited to the lifetime of the recipient, the words, 'these shall pass . . . etc. (可傳永世者)' were replaced by, 'you shall receive these (爾其受之).'

would report to whichever Board they belonged, but in matters of great public importance, the chief holding another appointment (Chejo 提調) could report direct. The form of reports was altered from the system prevalent in Koryŏ times during the reign of King T'aejong 太宗, what had formerly been called 'statements' (*changsin* 狀申) now being 'report texts' (*kyebon* 啓本), and 'informations' (*sosik* 消息), 'memoranda' (*kyemok* 啓目). This expression, 'informations', was in general use at this time with the meaning of writtens statements. When the king dealt with affairs of government, he fixed a day, and did so with all the officials assembled. The presiding official would read out 'report texts' on important matters of state, emanating from the various yamens, while an official of the section in charge (Changmubang 掌務房) would do the same for minor matters, in front of the steps of the palace. 'Memoranda' related to less important matters than did 'report texts', and they would be attached to the inter-office correspondence on the subjects from the various services subordinate to the Six Boards. This was known as an 'annex' (*chŏmnyŏn* 粘連). Apart from these, 'draft notices' (*ch'ogi* 草記) were used for ordinary notifications, while 'reports' (*changgye* 狀啓) were used by Circuit Inspectors, envoys abroad of 2nd grade and above, and, from the reign of King Chŏngjo 正祖, officials of the Royal Research Institute (Kyujianggak 奎章閣) when abroad.¹⁶⁾

- 16) Apart from the forms of report mentioned, there were: 'memorials' (*p'yo* 表), 'notes' (*chŏn* 箋), 'submissions' (*sangsŏ* 上疏), 'documents' (*tap* 劄), 'opinions' (*ŭi* 議), 'resignations' (*chŏngsa* 呈辭) and 'general submissions' (*sangsŏ* 上書). All those listed, down to and including 'resignations', were confined to officials, but 'general submission' were authorised for the general public, including slaves. 'Report texts' were folded first-draft paper, under the middle of the first side of which was attached a yellow slip, with the essential of the matter involved written on it. This folded document was known as a 'note' (*ch'ŏpcha* 帖子). The form was: 某司某職臣姓名謹啓爲某事云々, 令該曹稟處爲白只爲謹具啓聞, 大年號 (印) 某司某職臣姓着押 "Official—, of— appointment, has the honor to report the matter of—. I have the honor to await the issue of instructions to the appropriate Board. Great Era (i.e. Chinese) date (seal). Signatures (surnames only) and monograms in charge." Or, if it is a question of a decision from above, below the word, 'await' (聞), is written, 'and humbly submit to...' (伏候教旨謹啓). In the case of an official in the provinces, there is— appointment, — province.

'Memoranda' (*kyemok* 啓目): 某衙門啓目今某事據云云何如, 大年號 (印) 月日, 某官臣姓着押, 郎廳臣姓着押. "—yamen desires to raise the following matter of —. Great Era year, month, day. Official— (surname) (monogram) Clerk 郎廳— (surname)— (monogram)" Same as a 'report text' in the case of receipt of a superior decision.

'Draft Notices' (*ch'ogi* 草記): 某司啓云々如何 "—ministry raises the following matter." Or: 某司官員以提調意啓目云々何如. "—ministry —official reports the view of the concurrent chief (提調)". The date and office are not written at the end.

'Reports' (*changgye* 狀啓): these are folded to make a single width, but first is written, in the middle of the inside, the quality of the signatory, that is to say, his rank, together with primary and concurrent appointments, the official's surname and name being signed. The form of the text is: 謹啓爲某事云々, 令該司稟處爲白乎爾緣由馳啓爲白臥乎事詮次善啓向教是事, 大年號 (印) 月日. "I have the honour to report—

Next, in (14) to (20) are listed the documents exchanged between the various yamens and officials. The forms of these followed the system initiated in the reign of T'aejong 太宗, with a certain number of subsequent alterations. To a person of equal or superior rank, a 'submission' (*ch'öp-chōng* 牒呈) was used; to one of equal or inferior rank, an 'ordinary notification' (*p'yōng-gwan* 平關); further, to one's own subordinate officials, officials of seventh grade or below, and to ordinary military and civilians, a 'note' (*ch'öp* 帖).¹⁷ (17) was used for legislation or revision of legislation; (18) was essential for commanding a civil or military official, who had withdrawn for mourning, to end his mourning and return to his former appointment. A yamen connected with legislation or its revision, or the Board of Protocol having received such notification from the secretariat, would first report to the king, and, having obtained his consent, send it to the Legal Department or the Court of Censorship; this was for the purpose of examining the case, to find out if there was any conflict with existing legislation or anything counterfeit, or whether there really existed a situation so urgent as to justify bringing a man back to duty from mourning. The reply having been obtained, a document to this effect,

matter. Please be good enough to ensure that the ministry responsible inform His Majesty. Great Era, year, month, day." These 'reports' were in leather envelopes, the top and bottom being open and wrapped in paper of the same size, and the middle glued. At the top right of the glued side was written, 'to be opened by the secretariat', while the official's name was signed inside, at the bottom, where the glued portions met. When a number of sheets was used for these 'reports', 'report texts' or 'memoranda', there were signatures on the reverse.

17) 'Ordinary notification' (*p'yōng-gwan* 平關) form:

某衙門爲其事云云合行移關請照驗施行須至關者，右關，某衙門，大年號(印)月日，關字(黑印)某職押，某職押。

"—yamen notifies—matter. Please investigate and take appropriate measures. To —yamen. Great Era (seal) year, month, day. The character 關 (notification) in 'black seal.' —officer (monogram)." Only the names of office were written, the surnames of the officers being omitted. And on the left of the era name, '—matter' (某事) was written.

'Submission' (*ch'öpchōng* 牒呈) form:

某衙門爲某事云云爲白爲是良尔合行牒呈伏請照驗施行須至牒呈者，右牒呈，大年號(印)月日，某官姓署名着押。"—yamen submits the report about—matter. Please investigate and take appropriate measures. To—yamen. Great Era (seal) year, month, day. —officer, surname, (monogram)." On the left of the era name, 'submission of report' (牒報) was written. These 'submissions' had to be accompanied by their contents (書目). The contents were an abridged résumé of the submission of report, and their form area as follows: 某司某官書目，某々事，大年號月日，某官姓押。 No seal was used on the contents.

'Note' (*ch'öp* 帖) form:

某曹某官爲某事云云合下仰照驗施行須至帖者，右帖。下某，准此，大年號(印)月日，帖，判書押，參判押，參議押，正郎押，佐郎押。

"—Board—official communicates the matter of—. You are to investigate carefully. This communication is addressed to—for compliance. Senior secretary (monogram). Deputy senior secretary (monogram). Counsellor (monogram). Senior Clerk (monogram). Junior Clerk (monogram)."

that is to say, a 'compliance warrant' (*ŭich'ŏp* 依牒) was issued and sent out, in the case of (17) to the yamen concerned, in the case of (18), to the person to be recalled.¹⁸⁾ In respect of (19) and (20), the following are examples of annex documents (Fig. 9-1, 2 and 3):

18) 立法出依牒式

禮曹出依牒事 本曹據某司關 啓過蒙准後 行據司憲府司諫院回答該 卑司商量得所有某法並無違礙及詐冒勾當 請照例施行 得此依准上項司憲府司諫院回答 例出依牒 相應 合行移關 請照驗施行 須至關者, 右關, 某衙門, 年^{出依牒}_(印)月日, 關, 判書押 參判押 參議押 正郎押 佐郎押

"Legislation form:

Issue by the Board of Protocol of a report of an inquiry. This Board has made submission to His Majesty and received his assent on the basis of the notification made by—department. The notification was then sent to the Legal Department and the Court of Censorship, and their answers have been received. Generally, the Legal Department and the Court of Censorship made an inquiry, and found that, since there was no risk of conflict with any existing laws or of their distortion, the law should be enforced according to precedent. On receipt of this and on the basis of the above mentioned answers from the Legal Department and the Court of Censorship, it is our duty, in accordance with usage, to issue a report of the inquiry, and this we hereby do. Please investigate and take the appropriate measures. We make the foregoing report.

To—yamen.

—year (seal) —month —day
(compliance warrant)

Senior Secretary (monogram) Deputy Senior Secretary (monogram) Counsellor (monogram)
Senior Clerk (monogram) Junior Clerk (monogram)."

起復依牒式

禮曹爲出依牒事 某年月日 某承旨臣某 敬奉教旨 前某官某遭某親喪 比因某事緊關起復相應 着令禮曹知道 爲此本曹啓過蒙准後 行據司憲府司諫院回答該 卑司商量 得所據某員委係奪情起復之人 應出依牒 請照例施行 得此依准上項司憲府司諫院回答 所有依牒 合行出給者, 右牒付前某官某, 年^{出依牒}_(印)月日, 判書押 參判押 參議押 正郎押 佐郎押

"Form for ordering return to duty from mourning:

Issue by the Board of Protocol of a report of an inquiry. Official—, —reception secretary (承旨) had the honour to receive and injunction to instruct the Board of Protocol to inform the formerly named—, of—department, that in spite of his mourning for his—(parent), a matter of public importance had recently arisen, which necessitated the said official being sent back to duty. This Board, therefore, made a submission to His Majesty and received his assent. A notification was then sent to the Legal Department and the Court of Censorship, and their answers have been received. Generally, the Legal Department and the Court of Censorship made an inquiry, and found that, while it was certain that the feelings of the person in question were scarcely bearable, he had to be sent back to duty, and he should be informed of this, it being desirable that the order be enforced according to precedent. On receipt of this, and on the basis of the above mentioned answers from the Legal Department and the Court of Censorship, we hereby give notice to the person concerned.

To—, —office.

—year (seal) —month —day
(compliance warrant)

Senior Secretary (monogram) Deputy Senior Secretary (monogram) Counsellor (monogram)
Senior Clerk (monogram) Junior Clerk (monogram)."

(1) 禮泉郡守爲解由事今准通訓大夫前郡守金箕綯關該當職於辛丑六月二十四日政下 批七月十九日辭 朝同月二十六日到任署事甲辰二月二十六日政移 拜蔚山府使今將歷仕日月雜凡緣故該管物件逐日開座備細照詳解由成給事此本員元狀相同其餘任內實歷及雜凡緣故職掌該管物件圓簽磨勘叩準明白另款開座于後爲此合行牒呈伏請
照驗施行須至牒呈者
計 開
改 名 無

辛丑六月二十四日政下 批七月十九日辭 朝同月二十六日到任甲辰二月二十五日政移 拜蔚山府使自到任合日九百六十九日內小月十五日 國忌二百五十四日公故一百十日私故九十九日合緣故四百七十八日計除實歷四百九十一日
患 病 無
被 劾 無

管該物件秩
(物件細目略)
右 牒 呈
兼 巡 察 使

道光二十四年六月初十日行郡守金 (名・花押)
解由

“In the matter of the relief of the Governor of Yech'ŏn 禮泉:
Now, Kim Kihyŏn 金箕綯, (bearing the title of) T'onghun-taebu 通訓大夫 and former Governor reports: on the occasion of his appointment on the 24th day of the 6th month of the 38th year of the cycle, he received the royal assent, and, on the 19th day of the 7th month, took leave at court and set out, arriving at his post on the 26th of that month and taking up his duties. By an appointment made on the 26th day of the 2nd month of the 41st year of the cycle, he was transferred to the post of Prefect (Pusa 府使) of Ulsan 蔚山. The present Relief Certificate now issued to the former Governor is identical with the report submitted by the official himself, as has been confirmed by detailed investigation and comparison of his daily maintained report on the number of days he was en poste, his various leaves of absence and all the goods and articles of which he was in charge. In respect of his performance of his duties while en poste, his leaves of absence, the goods and articles for which his appointment rendered him responsible, the clerks have completed a comprehensive investigation, from which it is clear that there is no discrepancy. A separate itemised list has been prepared. This report is respectfully submitted, and it is requested that it be examined and dealt with appropriately. The foregoing is reported.

Record. The official did not change his name.

On being appointed on the 24th day of the 6th month of the

38th year of the cycle, he was confirmed in it by royal assent. He took leave of the court on the 19th day of the 7th month, and set out, arriving at his post on the 26th of the same month. From the total of 969 days at his post from the day of his arrival there, should be subtracted 15 days for 29 day months, 254 days of national mourning, 110 days for public holidays, 99 days for private reasons, a total of 478 days, leaving 491 days actually on duty. He suffered from no illness nor was he accused. The list of goods and articles in his charge... (the items omitted)

We have the honour to report as above.

To (the Inspector) and Circuit Inspector 巡察使
24th year of Tao-kuang (道光), 6th month, 10th day.
Acting Governor Kim 金 (name monogram)"

- (2) 守慶尙道觀察使兼巡察使爲相考事體泉前郡守解由事粘
連呈牒是去有良尔合行移關請
照驗施行須至關者

右 關
戶 曹

道光二十四年六月十四日

觀察使 (押)

都事

"The Inspector of Kyōngsang-do and Circuit Inspector has investigated. In the matter of the relief of the former Governor of Yech'ŏn 體泉, I now submit the following notice for annexure to the foregoing report. It is requested that it be examined and dealt with appropriately. I make the foregoing report.

To the Board of Revenue and Population (Hojo 戶曹) 24th year of Tao-kuang, 6th month, 14th day. (seal)

Inspector (monogram) Assistant Inspector (Tosa 都事)"

- (3) 戶曹爲解由事背書關及粘連牒呈內乙用良前

體泉郡守金箕綯等內解由無頃成出爲
去乎相考施行向事合行移關請

照驗施行須至關者

甲辰七月初七日吏曹

右 關
吏 曹

照記付本員

郎廳 (押)

道光二十四年七月 日

判書 (押) 參判

參議

正郎 佐郎
正郎 佐郎
正郎 佐郎

"From the Board of Revenue and Population, in the matter of a relief. In view of the notice written by the Inspector on the back of this report and what is written in the annex to it, we have the honour to report that a relief warrant has been drawn up for issue to Kim Kihyŏn 金箕綯, Governor of Yech'ŏn 醴泉, there being no impediment during his tenure of office. Please investigate and take appropriate measures. We make the foregoing report.

To the Board of Civil Office.

(7th day of the 7th month of the 41st year of the cycle.

The Board of Civil Office has investigated and will issue the document to the official in question. Nangch'ŏng 郎廳 (monogram))

Tao-kuang 24th year 7th month

(Board of Civil Office) Senior Secretary (monogram)

Deputy Secretary	Councillor	Senior Clerk	Junior Clerk
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"

"

"

"

(65 cm. deep, 14 cm. wide. Seals: (i) 'Seal of Governor of Yech'ŏn', 7.9 cm. square. (ii) 'Seal of Inspector of Kyŏngsang-do', 8 cm. square. Notice seal, 11 cm. deep, 7.5 cm. wide. (iii) 'Seal of Board of Revenue and Population', 7.4 cm. square. Notice seal, 8.7 cm. deep., 5.8 cm. wide.)

(1) above is the Submission of a Relief Warrant, issued in Tao-kuang 24 (12th year of King Hŏnjong 憲宗, 1844) by Kim Hangmo 金學模, Governor of Ye-ch'ŏn, Kyŏngsangdo, for the previous incumbent of the post, and submitted to Hong Chong'yŏng 洪鍾英, Inspector of this province and Circuit Inspector. (2) is the Notice 'annexed' to this, and submitted by Hong Chong'yŏng 洪鍾英, Circuit Inspector, to the Board of Revenue and Population. (3) is written on the back of this, and was the notice sent by Pak Yŏng'wŏn 朴永元, Senior Secretary at the Board of Revenue and Population to the Board of Civil Office. It was the rule in the case of Submissions of Warrants, Notices and Compliance Warrants, as well as Annexes, that the title be written in somewhat smaller characters to the left of the Great Era date (the date of the suzerain state), and in (1) and (3) we have Relief, and in (2) Investigation. Also, in Submission of Warrants, it was essential to add, 'Summary by official So-and-so, on such-and-such a matter...', giving an outline of the items of the Submission of Warrant, and, from the era date on, the official's surname and the name of his office are the same in form as in a Warrant, except that there is no monogram signature. In the Relief Warrant given here, this must originally have been present, and it has been taken out of the Annex. In Submission of Warrant (1) here, below the final 'Governor Kim 金', there is what looks like the name and monogram of a Senior Secretary. Above

is written a single abbreviated character of a name, known as the 'name' (*myŏng* 名); below, another single character has been chosen, and the seal of the name of the office gives both of these. As already stated above, the Notice of the Board of Civil Office was written on the back of that of the Circuit Inspector, and this was ordinarily called a 'back notice' (*paegwan* 背關). There are also many similar instances in cases where a Notice was issued in answer in respect of a Warrant. One may think that this was to save paper, but it may also have been to save trouble in sticking on the Annexes. Judgements given on Pledges (*wŏnsŏ* 願書) and Plaints (*sojang* 訴狀) were also written directly on the obverse of the paper, but when written on the back, they were known as 'back judgements' (*paeje* 背題).

A Relief Warrant was a document which, on the replacement of a civil or military official by another, testified that there was no impediment on grounds of inadequacy for his responsibilities on the part of the outgoing official during his period en poste, and certified his release from responsibility. It was also simply known as a 'release document' (*yujang* 由狀). A record was made showing whether, during his period of duty, the official had changed his name, been ill or accused, together with the dates of his being relieved of his previous post, his leaving court, his arrival at his new post and its handing over to him, his days of private and public mourning, his leaves of absence and his number of days on duty; there followed an inventory of all the items for which he had been responsible: the taxes in rice, other cereals and cloth, lead, iron, arms, census registers, documents, seals, books, printing blocks, land tax, tribute goods, military cloth, public buildings, carpets and screens, caps and clothes, religious articles, livestock and fortifications; the actual situation in respect of all these was fully recorded, and submitted by way of the Circuit Inspector to the Board of Civil Office. On receipt of this, the Board of Civil Office made a further investigation of the dates of the official's proceedings to his post and the handing over of the post; enquiries were made of the appropriate yamens; with receipt of the answering report, the procedure was terminated, the report being sent to the Board of Civil Office in the case of a civil official, to the Board of War in the case of a military, the appropriate Board then issuing the Release Document to the official concerned. In example (3) above, the passage, '7th day of the 7th month of the 41st year of the cycle. The Board of Civil Office has investigated and will issue the document to the official in question. Nanch'ŏng 郎廳 (monogram)' indicates that the clerk (Nangch'ŏng) of the Board of Civil Office had undertaken the procedure, and that this document would be issued to Kim Kihyŏn 金箕綸, whereby he was released from all liability during his period in office as Governor. In that which concerns the Board of Revenue and Population, the expression, *tŭng nae* 等内 means, 'while

at his post' and the character *t'al* 頗 is one invented in Korea, meaning 'obstacle', 'insufficiency'. Where there is an underline in this text, *idu* is indicated; that is to say, particles and verbal auxiliaries are expressed by the sound or reading of the Chinese characters. With the further im-mixture of Chinese 'clerical prose' (*imun* 吏文), the phraseology used in official documents, the text is in a peculiar style.

The next item, (21), Religious Conversion Warrant, was a certificate of authorisation issued by an official to those applying for permission to become Buddhist monks or nuns. The law concerning Religious Conversion Warrants had been established by Koryŏ, and was strictly enforced by the Yi Dynasty, as an accompaniment to its policy of oppression of Buddhism. This was limited, apart from the cases of orphans or virgins, to the offspring of meritorious civil or military families. The father or the mother, or one member of the family of the applicant reported the circumstances to the official. This was passed on to the Board of Protocol, who presented it to the king and obtained his assent. 100 rolls (*p'il* 匹) of cloth of five *sŭng* 升 (one *sŭng* was the equivalent of 80 strings *pon* 本 of warp) were levied as charge (丁錢), and only then was a Conversion Warrant issued. However, in actual fact, there were large numbers of the common people and slaves who shaved their heads to avoid military service and so on. Again, the kings Sejong 世宗, Munjong 文宗 and Sejo 世祖 were fervant believers in Buddhism, and they issued Conversion Warrants to large numbers of working monks, gathered together for Buddhist activities, the construction of temples and monasteries and royal tombs, and, since they also issued blank Conversion Warrants, which were traded at high prices, this law became increasingly a dead letter. There was, therefore, a change at the beginning of the reigns of Ye'jong 睿宗 and Sŏngjong 成宗, and the system based on civil status was abolished. Instead the applicant reported to the office of the Sŏnjong 禪宗 or of the Kyojong 教宗, and was examined in knowledge of the sutras, successful candidates being announced to the king, and required to pay 30 rolls of cloth as charge.¹⁹ Moreover, as

19) 度牒式

禮曹牒學生某年某甲本某官父某職某外祖某職某本某官本曹啓過准禪宗^{教宗}呈該某處住某職某狀告內男某願納丁錢出家爲僧名某伏乞出給度牒據此照遵舊例具本於某年月日某承旨臣某奉教依允敬此移關該司收訖丁錢合給度牒者

年(印)月日牒

判書押 參判押 參議押 正郎押 佐郎押

"Religious Conversion Warrant form:

Notice from the Board of Protocol:

Non-graduate—, born— year, place of origin—.

Having made submission to His Majesty, this Board understands from information furnished by the Office of Buddhists that, generally, a statement has been made by—, of— appointment, residing at—, as follows: "My son, —, applies to pay the charge and enter the priesthood, taking the name—. Please issue a Conversion Warrant.

this law also was ignored, and people became monks and nuns without leaving a trace, it was abolished one day in the reign of Yönsangun 燕山君. The law was subsequently revived, but frequent arguments for its abolition were presented at court, until finally, with the publication of the Statutes Continued (續大典) in the 20th year of King Yöngjo 英祖 (1744) regulations laid down covering prohibition on entering the priesthood.

Deeds of Record were certificates or written authorisations delivered by officials, according to the complaint or request, that is to say, the statement of facts (所志), put forward by members of the public. For important matters, the royal assent had to be obtained from the Board of Protocol. These would include cases of establishing the succession to the position of chief sacrificer to his ancestors (繼後 or 立後), for one who was not the eldest legitimate son of meritorious civil or military families, or requests for the establishment of gateposts to honour loyal subjects, filial sons or faithful wives, and a village exhibiting the gatepost with exemption from the various imposts, that is to say, local taxes and forced labour. But requests for certification of rights of ownership based on purchase of land, houses and slaves would be received by the Metropolitan Bureau (Hansöngbu 漢城府) in the capital, and by the province or prefecture having jurisdiction in the provinces; the record of purchase and sale of slaves would be investigated by the Office of Slave Control (Changnye'wön 掌隸院); then, once certificates or certified statements had been obtained from the various persons responsible, and these verified to ensure that there were no falsehoods or discrepancies, a Deed of Record would finally be delivered. While there were great differences in the procedure, depending on the contents and nature of the matter, the form of the Deed of Record was always the same.

Here is an example (Fig. 10-1, and 2):

- (1) 南部居出身李承吉父李彦孝 (手決)
 右謹陳所志矣段矣子承吉亦 反正之初被囚獄中乙仍于
 其矣買得耕食爲白如乎石乙串之田畚付文記等乙並只圖失
 爲白有置賣者姓名及田畚字庫員并以後錄爲白去乎依此
 立案成給以爲依左之地爲白只爲
 行下向教是事亦在謹陳 [漢城府尹]
 漢城府處分 初十戶
 天啓三年四月 日 所志

In conformity with established usage, the information of the Office of Buddhists was supplied to the secretariat, and, in —year —month —day, —reception secretary obtained His Majesty's assent, in accordance with which we are sending this notice to the department responsible. On receipt of the charge, the Conversion Warrant should be issued.

—year (seal) —month —day
 (warrant)

Senior Secretary (monogram) Deputy Senior Secretary (monogram) Counsellor (monogram)
 Senior Clerk (monogram) Junior Clerk (monogram)."

後

- 一 石乙串之伏在朴茂宗處買得給字家代田半日耕同字田一日半耕同字畚四斗落只印
- 一 同處伏在私奴孫伊處買得給字畚柴斗落只印
- 一 同處伏在李廷秀妻加屎處買得給字畚拾肆斗落只同字田一日耕印
- 一 同處伏在崔天福處買得畚拾斗落只印
- 一 同處伏在朴龍處買得平字田一日耕鍾岩詠字畚捌斗落只同字一田日耕印

際

【漢城府印】
闕失眞偽推

閱粘報向事 【漢城府印】

當部

堂上 (押) 判官 (押)

“I Ōnhyo 李彦孝 (signature), father of I Sūnggil 李承吉, residing in, and native of the Southern Section (of Seoul).

The above signed has the honor to submit: at the beginning of the coup d'état, 'return to the right' (反正), my son, Sūnggil 承吉, was imprisoned, and, as a result, he lost certificates relating to land he had bought and cultivated in Tolkot 石乙串. Since the names of the vendors and the cadastral numbers of the parcels were all subsequently written down, I have the honour to submit my request that the Metropolitan Office take measures to ensure that certificates be drawn up and that these be permanently certified.

T'ien-ch'i (天啓) 3, 4th month. Statement of facts.

(10th day. Ho (戶) (?) Seal of Metropolitan Office)

Subsequent:

Item: dwelling house and one half-day's ploughing of rice-land, cadastral number *kūp* 給, bought from Pak Mujong 朴茂宗 in Tolkot 石乙串; also, of the same cadastral number, one day's and a half ploughing of rice-land; also of the same number, 4 *turakki* 斗落只 sowing of paddy field.

Item: in the same place; 7 *turakki* sowing of paddy-field, cadastral number *kūp* 給, bought from the place of private slave Soni 孫伊.

Item: in the same place; 14 *turakki* sowing of paddy-field, cadastral number *kūp* 給, and 1 day's ploughing of rice-land, of the same number, bought from the place of Kahi 加屎, wife of I Chōngsu 李廷秀.

Item: in the same place; 10 *turakki* sowing of paddy-field, bought from the place of Ch'oe Ch'ōnbok 崔天福.

Item: in the same place; one day's ploughing of rice-land, of cadastral number *p'yōng* 平, 8 *turakki* sowing of paddy-field in Chong'am 鍾岩, cadastral number *yōng* 詠, one day's ploughing, same cadastral number, bought from Pak Nyong 朴龍.

(This loss is to be investigated and verified, and report is to be attached.)

(To the Section concerned (Seal of Metropolitan Office))

Palace Upper Official 堂上 (monogram) Officer 判官 (monogram)

- ii) 南部爲推閱事粘連所志及 府下帖內乙用良推閱次癸亥四月二十六日老職□□元
 年六十九書吏金應國年五十一奴李益富年四十八白等切隣接李□孝狀辭據家藏文
 記等闕失眞僞推閱教是臥乎在亦矣徒切隣居出身李承吉亦 反正之初去三月十三
 日被囚其家空棄之時爲人打破家藏之物□一應文記並只闕失事矣徒等切隣以各々
 見知的實是白有置相考施行教味各人招辭是置有良尔合行牒呈伏請

照驗施行須至牒呈者 五月初八日

右 牒 呈

漢 城 府

天啓三年四月 日 主簿 許 (名, 押) 參奉

"Investigation by the Southern Section.

(I ?) wŏn 李□元, Nojik 老職 69 years old, Kim Ŭngguk 金應國, clerk (sŏri 書吏), 51 years old, I Ikpu 李益富, private slave, 48 years old, hereby declare, on the 26th day of the 4th month of the 60th year of the cycle: in the matter of the attached statement and note, issued by the Metropolitan Bureau, and concerning the investigation carried out into the truth of the loss, alleged by our neighbour I (Ŏn)hyo 李彦孝, of certificates, which were in the house of I Sŭnggil 李承吉; that our neighbour, I Sŭnggil, was arrested at the beginning of the coup d'état on the 13th day of the 3rd month, ult.; that when his house was standing empty, it was destroyed, and that all his valuables, chattels and documents were lost; that these are facts that, we, who live near, all witnessed and know, and to which we all in common attest. We beg that the matter be investigated and appropriate measures be taken. We submit the foregoing report.

To: Metropolitan Bureau.

(5th month 8th day Ho (戶)(?) (Seal of Metropolitan Bureau))

T'ien-ch'i 3, 4th month (Seal of Southern Section)

Hŏ 許 Registrar (Chubu 主簿) (monogram) Clerk (Ch'ambong 參奉)"

- iii) 天啓三年五月初八日漢城府立案
 右立案爲成給事粘連所志及當部推閱牒呈
 是乎等用良粘連狀者李彦孝亦中成給爲遣
 合行立案者

左尹

判尹

庶尹

判官 (押)

兼參軍

右尹 (押)

"T'ien-ch'i 3, 5th month, 8th day. Metropolitan Bureau Deed of Record. (Seal of Metropolitan Bureau)

In the matter of the delivery of the above mentioned certificates. We

deliver to I Ŏnhyo 李彦孝, who made the attached statement, to serve as a Deed of Record, the statement and the report of the investigation carried out by this Section, here attached.

Left Deputy Chief

Chief of Bureau Head Officer Officer (monogram) Concurrent Clerk
Right Deputy Chief (monogram)

((1) 48 cm. deep, 60 cm. wide. (2) 48 cm. deep, 50 cm. wide. (3) 42 cm. deep, 35 cm. wide. Seal, 'Seal of the Southern Section', 'Seal of Metropolitan Bureau', 6 cm. square.)

The above are, in fact, the final parts of a 13-sheet Annex. It belongs to the 4th month of T'ien-ch'i, that is to say, the year of the accession of King Injo 仁祖 (1623). On the 13th day of the 3rd month of this year, Kim Yu 金瑬, I Kwi 李貴 and others successfully conspired to oust the previous king Kwanghaegun 光海君, and instal Injo 仁祖, and the new king acceded to the throne on this day. This political revolution, which led to the destitution of the monarch on account of his tyranny and wickedness, was known as 'returning to the right (*Panjŏng* 反正). At this time, I Sŭnggil 李承吉, a military graduate, was in prison. His house had been destroyed, and his land certificates, that is to say, his records of purchase, kept in the house, had been destroyed. Consequently, his father, Ŏnhyo 彦孝, drew up a record of the relevant facts, the locations of the lands owned, the names of the previous owners at the time of purchase, the types of land and their areas, and this constituted his statement, when he applied to the Metropolitan Bureau for a reissue of the certificates. In response to this, the Metropolitan Bureau ordered its Southern Section, in whose jurisdiction lay I Sŭnggil's 李承吉 former residence, to investigate the truth of the alleged loss of the certificates, and report, with this application attached. The characters written large on the left of (1) are the decision handed down by the Metropolitan Bureau, and 'the Section concerned' means the Southern Section. The Metropolitan Bureau's administrative district was divided into five sections, Central, East, South, West and North, each of which had a chief registrar and a clerk. The monogram of Tangsang 堂上 being the same as that of the Uyun 右尹 (Right Deputy Chief) in (3) we can tell that the Uyun 右尹 signed. The signature below it, of the P'angwan 判官, is also the same as that in (3). (2) is a Submitted Warrant, delivered to the Metropolitan Bureau by a certain office manager, Hŏ 許; the warrant says that, as a result of investigations and interrogations carried out into the Southern Section, of three neighbours of the father and son, I Ŏnhyo 李彦孝 and Sŭnggil 承吉, I 李, Nojik (老職), Kim Ŭngguk 金應國, a clerk 書吏, and I Ikpu 李益富 a private slave, according to what these three persons said, eye-witness proof had been

obtained that, on the 13th day of the 3rd month, I Sūnggil had been arrested, his house destroyed, and everything in it, chattels and documents alike, lost. (3) is the Deed of Record, issued to I Ōnhyo, confirming that, according to the report of the investigation made by Southern Section, the facts stated in I Ōnhyo's application were true. In (1), in the expression *chōndap* 田畓, 田 *chōn* means field(s), and *tap* 畓, a Korean invented character, means paddy field; and the character 給 etc. is an indicator of the location of the site, based on the Thousand Character Classic. Kadae 家代 is Kadae 家岱, that is to say, the site. Ilgyōng 日耕 (day's ploughing) is the unit to express the area of rice-fields and other fields, being the area that can be ploughed by one man and one ox in one day. *turakki* 斗落只 is the area that can be sown with one *tu* 斗 of seed-rice. 'Day's ploughing' was generally used for fields other than rice-fields, while 'turakki' was used for paddy fields, though in certain places it was also used for other fields. As a measure of the area of arable land, this was old among the common people and its usage widespread. The character 印 reads here *kot* 'place' in Korean. According to surveys actually carried out, in the north-western region of Kyōnggido, the greatest area for a day's ploughing is 51.6 ares, and the smallest is 29.8 ares. Measured by sowing area, the greatest is 76 ares, and the smallest is 25 ares. Each area is different, and one cannot hope to establish an accurate figure for different areas.²⁰ The expression Nojik 老職 is not clear; it may perhaps mean the warden of a 'ward' (corresponding to the Japanese *chō* 町), under the jurisdiction of the section. The clerk Sōri 書吏 was the civil servant responsible for investigating and reporting on the movements of the inhabitants, collecting taxes, and circulating orders received from above. Further, in addition to the Deed of Record, there is also a decree (立旨) concerning the facts, comparatively abridged, which was also issued from the office in the sense of a certificate or document of authorisation.

(23), Account, was evidence provided by a tally, that is to say, a split seal, for revenue and expenditure for each yamen under the Ming. This system was adopted in Korea in the 8th month of the 17th year of Sejong 世宗 (1435). In addition to its use for revenue and expenditure, of gold and silver, cash and grain, it was also used when troops were despatched or post-horses sent off, as well as for post-mortem examinations in cases

20) According to the single volume, 'Kyōnggido, Ch'ungch'ōngdo, Kang'wōndo section' of *Kankoku tochi nōsan chōsa hōkoku* (Report of investigation of agricultural production in Korea), published by the Agricultural department of the Ministry of Agriculture and Trade, 5 volumes, 1907, an average figure of 40.04 ares was determined for a day's ploughing in a total of 9 places in 開城府, 楊川郡, 豐德郡, 京城東大門外 and of 39.72 ares for a *turakki* in 11 places in 漣川郡, 金浦郡, 喬桐郡, 開城府, 豐德郡, 富平郡, 京城. However, considering the actual character of the various places, these average figures have probably not much significance.

of murder and the like, and for such matters as the infliction of the death penalty. The system involved folding over the extremity of the written order concerned, and laying it against the original register, and, at the point where the two joined, writing the date, a given character and given number, with a seal then affixed. The character was from the Thousand Character Classic. When the document was made, the characters and the seal were divided in half, and thus provided a tell-tale for subsequent proof.

(24) and (25) were concerned with the register of population, (24) being the report in Census form, (25) being the Census Certified Copy form, issued by the office, both also known as Census Papers 單子 (or 字). The census system had begun in Koryŏ times, but in the period of military tyranny, followed by the military chaos of the Mongol invasion, it became a dead letter, and was gradually revived at the end of the period. The Yi Dynasty followed the model, and then there were the intermittent operation of the Name Plaque Law (Hop'ae-pŏp 號牌法), the Neighbourhood Law (Inbo-pŏp 隣保法) or the Five Household Groups (Ogat'ong 五家統); these being in a way supplementary to the Census Law, the latter was gradually completed. This was the system according to which the head of every household in the country made a report every three years (in the years of Aries *cha* 子, Cancer *myo* 卯, Libra *o* 午 and Capricornus *yu* 酉), these years being known as the 'form years (*singnyŏn* 式年).' The items to be filled in were the date, domicile, number in the Five Household grouping system, rank and official appointment of the man and his wife; in the case of the common people, status, service, surname and personal name, year of birth, place of origin, four grandparents, sons and daughters, sons-in-law, nephews or nieces living at home, their dates of birth, hired labourers, slaves. The official verified the accuracy of the entries and made out a census statement, which was used as a standard for administrative and civil affairs (Fig. 11 and 12).

(1) 丙午正月 日府内面校洞里戸籍單子

第一統一戸生員崔世麟年五十六辛亥本慶州

父成均生員 祈永

祖學生 彦璫

曾祖成均進士 宗崔

外祖成均生員金熙高本義城

妻李氏年三十一丙子籍眞城

父學生 奎淳

祖通德郎 龜悆

[周換無改印]

曾祖通政大夫行敦領府都正 世伯

外祖學生金浩儒本光山

率庶子晚壽年三十丁丑

婦李氏年三十籍眞城

奴福孫又福同雲丁雲驗於日亥再元守業就慶得孫屎伊 干得 再得

大孫詰伊祿伊二丕福千述用命金達用福述伊學得德孫時丕

有福 婢丁心甲心貴女義節

奴光孫朴丕世萬守萬基本基福時居伊助

逃亡秩

奴萬丕婢戊辰奴朴三今孫婢白辰奴卜男福老末己孫好得每奴丁文

府尹 (押)

風憲 孫 (押)

"43rd year of the cycle, 1st month, day. Census return of Punaemyŏn 府內面 Village Kyodongni 校洞里 Section. Group 1, household 1. Graduate (生員 Saeng'wŏn) Ch'oe Serin 崔世麟. Age 56. Born in 18th year of cycle. Place of origin: Kyŏngju 慶州. Father: Kiyŏng 祈永, Student of National College 成均館. Grandfather: Ŏngyŏng 彦璫, Non-graduate. Great-grandfather: Chongnyul 宗輿, student of National College. Maternal grandfather: Kim Huisŏl 金熙嵩. Place of origin: Ŭisŏng 義城. Wife's surname: I 李. Age 31. Her father: Kyusun 奎淳, Non-graduate. Her grandfather: Kwibaek 龜栢, bearing the title of T'ongdongnang 通德郎. Her great-grandfather: Sebaek 世伯, bearing the title of To'ngjŏng-taebu 通政大夫, Acting Chamberlain for the Office for the Relatives of the Sovereign in the Female Line (Haeng Tonnyŏngbu-tojŏng 行敦寧府都正). Her maternal grandfather: Kim Hoyu 金浩儒, Graduate. Place of origin: Kwangsan 光山. Sons of concubine living in the house: Mansu 晩壽. Age 30. Born in 14th year of cycle. Daughter-in-law: surname I 李. Age 30. Place of origin: Chinsŏng 眞城. Slaves: Pokson 福孫; also, Poktong 福同. Unjŏng 雲丁. Unhŏn 雲驗. Oiltol 於日丕. Chae'wŏn 再元. Suŏp 守業. Ch'ugyŏng 就慶. Tŭkson 得孫. Hii 屎伊. Ch'ŏndŭk 千得. Chaedŭk 再得. Taeson 大孫. Ch'ŏri 詰伊. Nogi 祿伊. Idol 二丕. Pokch'ŏn 福千. Suryongmyŏng 述用命. Kimwi 金達. Yongkkŭt 用耑. Poksuri 福述伊. Haktŭk 學得. Tŏkson 德孫. Sidol 時丕. Yubok 有福. Female slaves: Chŏngsim 丁心. Kapsim 甲心. Kwinyŏ 貴女. Ŭijŏl 義節. Slaves: Kwangson 光孫. Paktol 朴丕. Seman 世萬. Suman 守萬. Kibon 基本. Kibok 基福. Sigŏ 時居. Ijŏ 伊助. Deserted slaves: male: Mandol 萬丕. Female: Mujin 戊辰. Male: Paksam 朴三. Kŭmson 今孫. Female: Paekchin 白辰. Male: Pongnam 卜男. Pongnomal 福老末. Kison 己孫. Hodŭk 好得. Maeno 每奴. Chŏngmun 丁文.

Chief of Metropolitan Bureau 府尹 (monogram) Son 孫, village head (P'unghŏn 風憲) (monogram) "Seal of Encirclements, insertions, no corrections."

(2) 乾隆四十八年 月 日 漢城府

考癸卯成籍戶口帳內西部盤石坊米壓下契第六十六統第一戶住朝奉大夫司圖署別提梁應民年七十二壬辰生本南原父嘉善大夫同知中樞府事 世益祖 折衝將軍僉知中樞府事 遇運曾祖 贈通訓大夫掌樂院正 敷信外祖學生金厚仁本金海率子廷齡年四十甲子生婦朴氏齡二十八丙子生籍密陽孫學春十八丙戌生

率奴婢秩婢占德年二十六父名不知母私婢占丹同婢一所生奴
 晚福年七丁酉生等庚子戸口准給者 [周扶無改印]
 堂上 (押) 郎廳 (押) 監董官 (押)

"Ch'ien-lung 48th year, month, day. Metropolitan Bureau (漢城府).
 Investigations in the Census returns registered in the 40th year of the
 cycle. The case of Yang Ŭngmin 梁應民, bearing the title of Chobong-
 taebu 朝奉大夫, the officer (Pyölche 別提) of the Kitchen Garden Office
 (司園署), residing in Group 66, household 1, Mijönhagye 米壓下契 street,
 Pansök 盤石 ward, Western Section. Age 72. Born in 29th year of
 cycle. Place of origin: Namwön 南原. Father: Seik 世益, bearing the
 title of Kasön-taebu 嘉善大夫, the fourth officer of Chungch'ubu 同知中
 樞府事. Grandfather: Usön 遇選, bearing the title of Chölch'ung-
 changgun 折衝將軍, the fifth officer of Chungch'ubu 僉知中樞府事. Great-
 grandfather: Pusin 敷信, posthumous T'onghun-taebu 通訓大夫, Chief
 of the Office of Music (掌樂院正). Maternal grandfather: Kim Huin
 金厚仁, Graduate. Place of origin: Kimhae 金海. Sons living in the
 house: Chönghyök 廷赫. Age 40. Born in 1st year of cycle. His wife:
 surname Pak 朴. Age 28. Born in 13th year of cycle. Place of origin:
 Miryang 密陽. Grandsons: Hakch'un 學春. Age 18. Born in 23rd year
 of cycle. Male and female slaves living in the house: female slave
 Chömdök 占德. Age 26. Father's name unknown; mother Chömdan 占丹,
 a female private slave belonging to another person. Slave's eldest son,
 slave Manbok 晚福. Age 7. Born in 34th year of cycle. The foregoing
 information is correct.

Delivered on comparison with the census return of the 37th year of
 the cycle.

Palace Upper Official 堂上官 (monogram) Clerk 郎廳 (monogram) Census
 officer 監董官 (monogram)."

In (1) above (Fig. 11), the 43rd year of the cycle is presumably the 2nd year
 of Yöngjo 英祖 (1726), the 10th year of Chöngjo 正祖 (1786) or the 12th
 year of Ch'ölchong 哲宗 (1846). The place is Kyöngju. The text gives
 the wife's great-grandfather as Tonnyöngbu-tojöng 敦領府都正, but the
 character *ryöng* 領 should be *nyöng* 寧, but *ryöng* was probably written
 here because *r* is pronounced *n* or *i*, and so the two sound similar; the
 character is wrong but the reading is identical. *sol* 率, meaning 'all', is
 short for *solgö* 率居, 'all resident', that is to say, 'of the same residence'.
söja 庶子 means son of a concubine, and *pu* 婦 means daughter-in-law. 33
 male slaves and 4 female testify to the prosperity of the household, and
 in addition to these, there were 9 male deserters and 2 female. P'unghön
 Son 風憲孫 means a certain Son 孫, who was head of Punaemyon 府內面.
 The smallest units in the regional administrative system were *myön* 面, *ri*

里 or *tong* 洞. The *myŏn* corresponded to the Japanese *mura* 村, village. Officers were appointed in them all, and their duty was to maintain contact with the official authorities as a supplementary organisation for the small administrative units. Their duties were wide, involving the transmission of official orders, movements of the inhabitants, encouragement of agriculture, collection of taxes, allotment of work, maintenance of public order, and so on, and they had to send signed reports to the authorities on the subject of any matters they investigated. Their signature was therefore required on census returns, and they made certain that there were no errors or omissions in them. There were also districts where headmen's assistant Yakchŏng 約正, were appointed, both these functionaries being chosen from the principal family of the locality; in the case of commoners they were known as *headmen of village* (面主人). The present census document is in the census form, and, as stated above, it is a census return. But in a general way, there are very few of this form in existence, the greater number being of the Census Certified Copy form (2 above). Further, the seal of the director at the prefecture and the seal 'encirclements, insertions, no corrections' are both wooden seals. 'Encirclements' means drawing a line round mistakes, 'insertions', writing in omitted characters at the side in the appropriate place, and 'corrections', the correction of erroneous characters. That is to say, an individual was not allowed to make any additions or deletions, all these being dealt with in the office. In the Statutes it says, 'When there are no encirclements, insertions or corrections, "negative" (無) is stated, written horizontally and stamped.' This was originally written by hand obliquely sideways, but from the end of the 17th century a wooden seal was used to save trouble. Similarly, the official signature was also frequently a wooden seal.

(2) corresponds to the Census Certified Copy form (Fig. 12). On completion of the procedure for making the register, this was issued by the office to the person making the return. The items on the register are the same as on the Census form, but there are differences at the beginning and at the end. At the beginning there had to be the year, month and day, and the name of the issuing official; this being a copy of the entry in the register based on the return made in that year; at the end there is written, 'Issuer of Certified Copy, year', and the seal of the official, meaning that comparison has been made with the previous 'form' year. The registration in this case is that of Yang Ŭngmin 梁應民, resident in the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Bureau, for the year Ch'ien-lung 48, that is to say, the 7th year (40th year of the cycle) of Chŏngjo 正祖 (1783). The title of Chobong-taebu 朝奉大夫 was of the junior 4th grade; the Kitchen Garden Office was the yamen in charge of the kitchen garden belonging to the royal household. In the list of slaves, the expression *ilsosaeng* 一所生, 'first born,' means the eldest son; for counting slaves, the numeral auxiliary *ku* 口,

'mouth,' is used, and their children are listed as first born, second born and so on, to distinguish them from freemen. The seal of 'encirclements, insertions, corrections' and the Palace Upper seal are wooden seals; the signatures of the secretariat and the Census officer are hand-written; the official seal is that of the Metropolitan Bureau.

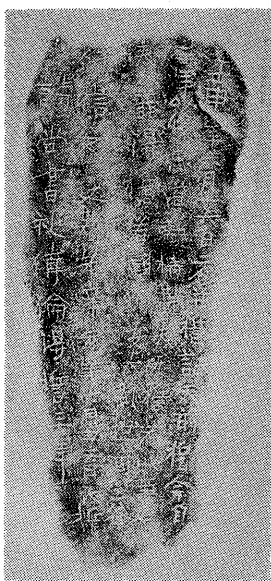


Fig. 1.

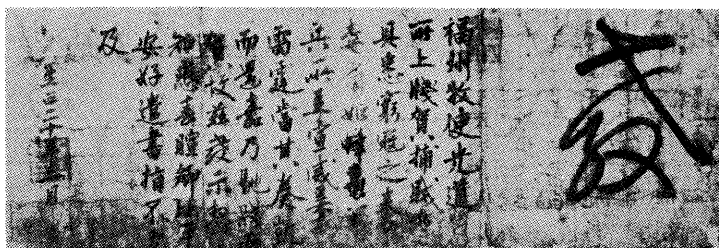


Fig. 2.

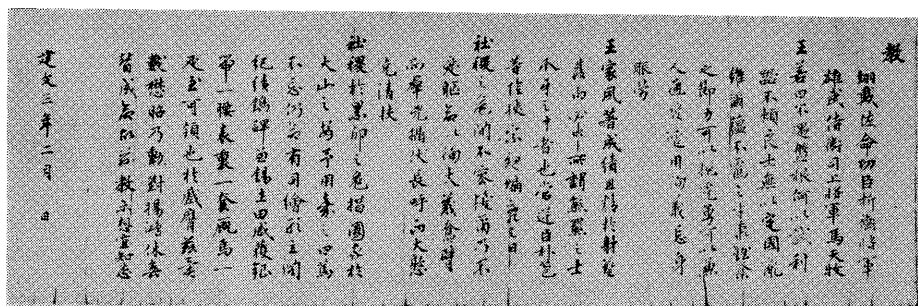


Fig. 3.

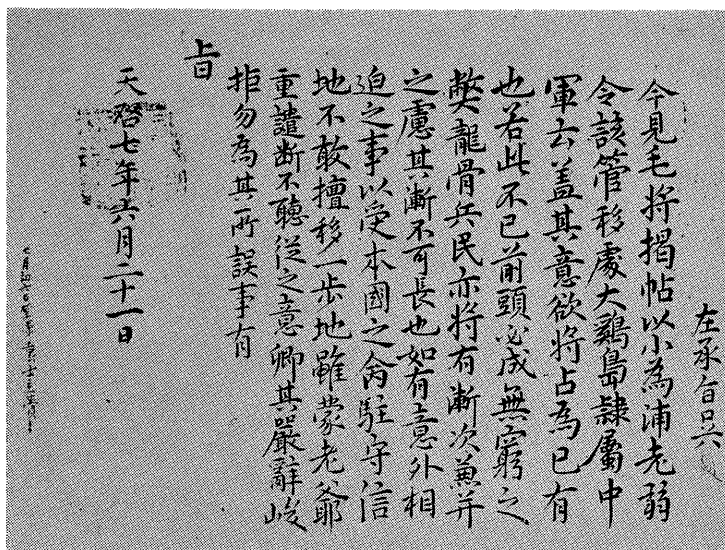


Fig. 4.

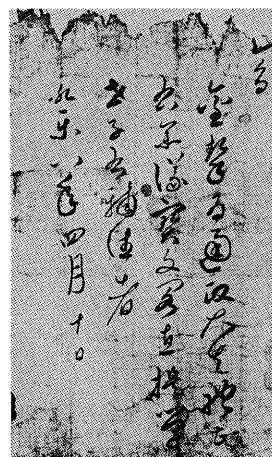


Fig. 6.

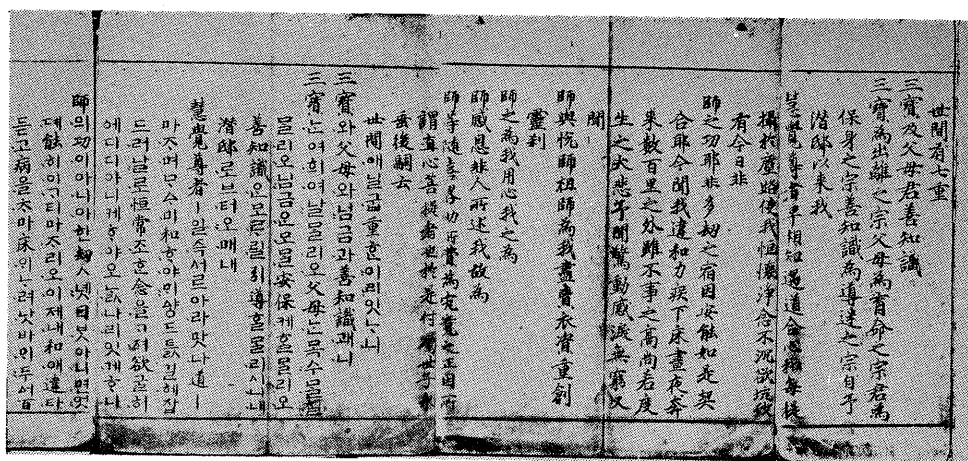


Fig. 5-1.

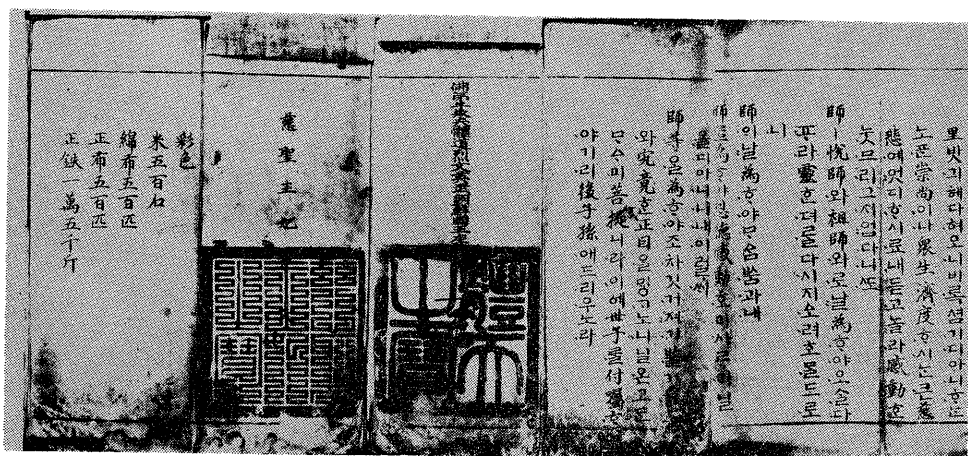


Fig. 5-2.

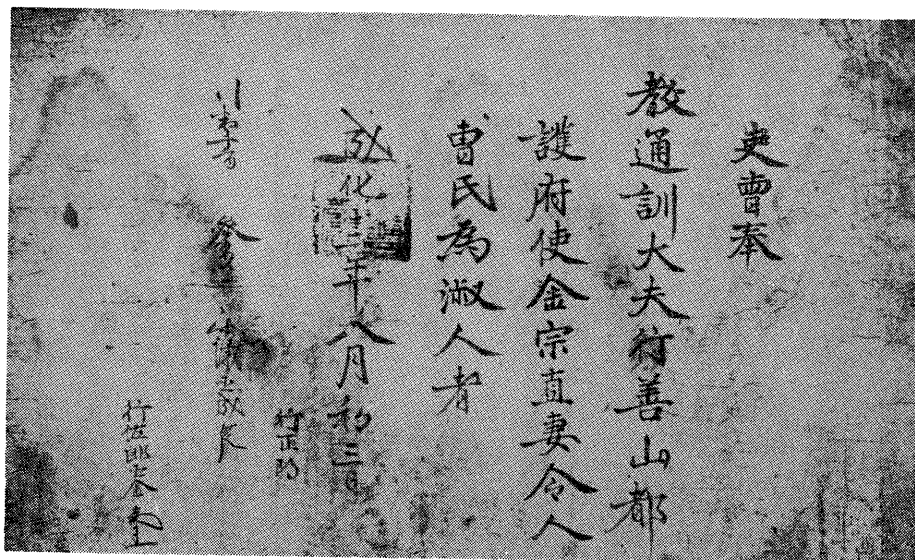


Fig. 7.

東忠奮義靖國功臣通訓大夫行孫島郡守白壽長
 頃者國難中奮神靈將領奮義鏖予興運以靖邦園
 予嘉乃特賜罪人時羅遜南部董陶坊元家堂生以賞
 之可傳永世者

正統四年十二月日

Fig. 8.

乾隆四十八年 月 日 庚辰府
 考父甲戌籍戶口帳內而部監戶坊米廣下坡東七
 刻提議應長年七十一上辰生本向原人嘉慶人同知中樞府事 世並祖折
 衡將軍餘知中樞府事 通達曹祖 贈通訓大夫掌樂院正 教信外祖學
 生金居仁本金海學子通順年四十甲子生婦科氏於三八內子生籍家傷源
 學春年十八丙戌生

堂上 即 監黃官

Fig. 12.

丙午正月 日府內面校洞豐戶籍單子
 第一統一戶生貧崔世麟年五十六卒安本廣州
 父成均生員 祈永
 祖學生 序職
 曾祖成均進士 宗律
 外祖成均生員金熙高本義城
 妻李氏年三十一丙子籍真城
 父學生 奎淳
 祖通德部 龜伯
 曾祖通政大夫行敦領府都正 世伯
 外祖學生金浩儒本光山
 李氏年三十一丁丑
 婦李氏年三十籍真城

奴福孫人福內堂丁亥經打日尾耳奇集執慶得孫居伊子得福得
 大孫林伊孫切二尾孫子達因命金達因福孫伊李得福孫尾
 有福 孫丁甲乙女孫節
 奴先孫林若世萬年萬李不金孫時居伊內
 孫亡孫
 奴若尾孫成孫林三金孫時白底孫 萬初老未亡孫時得金孫下

Fig. 11.

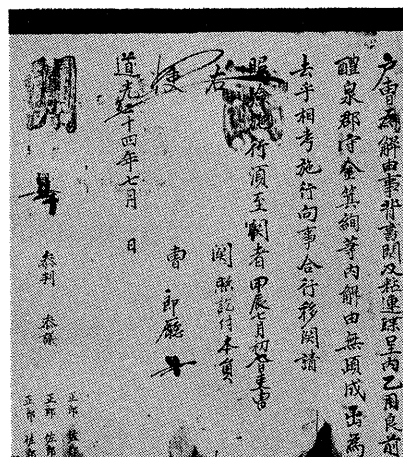


Fig. 9-1.

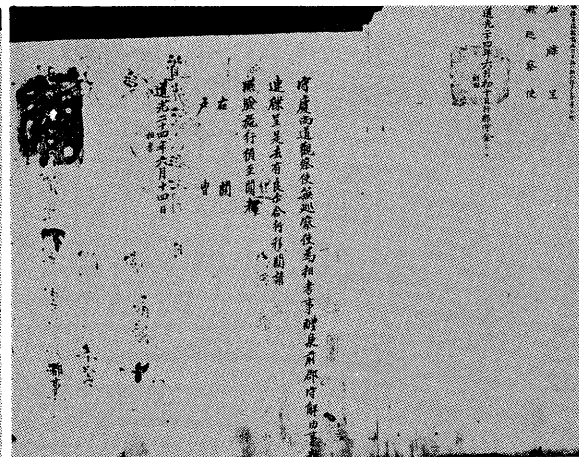


Fig. 9-2.

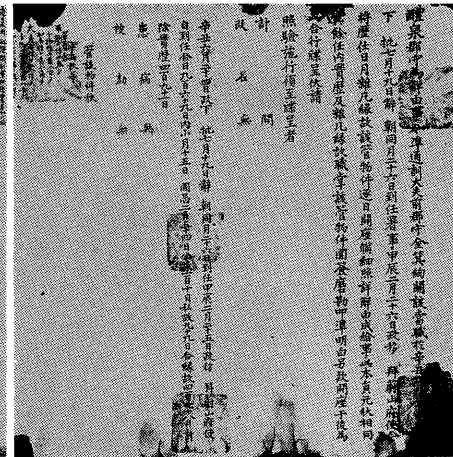


Fig. 9-3.

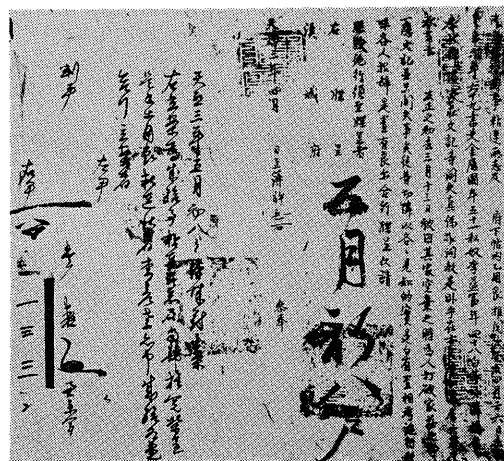


Fig. 10-1.

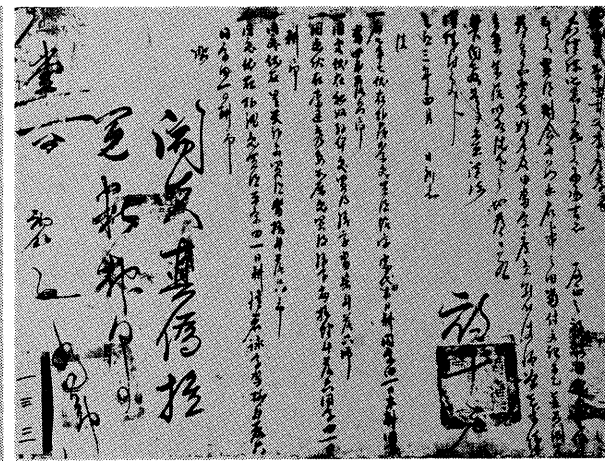


Fig. 10-2.