

Introduction to the Ri Dynasty Annals

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Foreword

1. Precedent: The Koryō Annals
2. Compilation
3. Preservation: The Sa-ko 史庫 and Printing
4. The Ri Dynasty Annals in Thirty-One Series

Foreword

Shih-lu 實錄 (Sir-rok in Sino-Korean) was originally a common noun which literally meant a record of facts. The oldest instance in which this term was employed as part of the title of a book was "the Tun-huang-shih-lu 燉煌實錄 (the Authentic History of Tun-huang)" in twenty books compiled circa 410 A.D. by Liu Ping 劉昉.⁽¹⁾ However, as Chou Hsing-ssü 周興嗣 circa 550 A.D. compiled "the Liang-huang-ti (Wu-ti) Shih-lu 梁皇帝 (武帝) 實錄 (the Authentic History of Emperor Wu 武帝)" in three books and soon afterward Hsieh Wu 謝吳 wrote "the Liang-huang-ti (Yüan-ti) Shih-lu 梁皇帝 (元帝) 實錄 (the Authentic History of Emperor Yüan)" in five books, it may be safely said that Shih-lu 實錄 came to have a special meaning in addition to that of the common noun. The special meaning referred to is that of a type of historical work, and this newly attached meaning was enlarged and established a century later in the T'ang period.

It was in the 3rd year of *Chên-kuan* 貞觀 (629 A.D.) that the Shih-kuan 史館 (History Hall) was founded as a bureau of the government of the T'ang dynasty. This is also regarded as the year in which the court diary, namely, Chi-chü-chu 起居注 (Daily life record) was edited as a shih-lu 實錄, and the process of compiling the so-called Kuo-shih 國史 (State history) was legally established. As to the time unit of the court diary, there were no definite rules at first, but after the Middle T'ang period (approximately, 780 A.D.), it became a custom to edit the diary of one emperor throughout

(1) Cf. Zehaku Tamai 玉井是博: *Tō no Jitsuroku Senshū ni kansuru Tchi-kō-satsu 唐の實錄撰修に関する一考察* (A study of the Compilation of the Authentic History of the T'ang Dynasty) included in the *Shina Shakai-keizai-shi 支那社會經濟史* (*A History of Chinese Social Economy*) published by Iwanami Shoten, Tokyo, 1942.

his reign. Therefore, it may be said that a shih-lu 實錄, as a type of history, had the following conditions: (1) it was based on the court diary (Chi-chü-chu 起居注 or writings of a similar nature); (2) it had the reign of each emperor as time-unit; (3) it was in the form of annals (in the form of a diary). The T'ang dynasty had more than thirty series of shih-lu 實錄, and among the succeeding dynasties, the Five-Dynasties 五代, Sung 宋, Liao 遼, Chin 金, Yüan 元, Ming 明, and Ch'ing 清, there was none but compiled its shih-lu 實錄. Above all the Ming-shih-lu 明實錄 (Authentic History of the Ming Dynasty) of fourteen series, and the Ch'ing-shih-lu 清實錄 (Authentic History of the Ch'ing Dynasty) of eleven series are extant in almost perfect condition, and published, and their actual state may be known.

It is possible, but not proved, that the system of the Shih-kuan 史館 (History Hall) of the T'ang dynasty was adopted by Silla or Sin-ra 新羅. As for the Koryō 高麗 dynasty which succeeded the Silla, it is difficult to suppose the existence of the system of the Sa-kwan 史館 (History Hall) or the Sir-rok 實錄 (Authentic History) at its earliest stage, but after at least 1010 A.D. the system did exist and by the end of the Koryō dynasty nearly thirty series of Sir-rok were compiled. And this tradition was succeeded by the next Ri dynasty, and was more and more vigorously observed, and in the course of twenty-seven reigns thirty-one series of Sir-rok 實錄 were written successively, and are completely extant to this day.

In the present paper entitled "Introduction to the Ri Dynasty Annals"⁽¹⁾, I have first given as its origin, a brief account of the Authentic History of the Koryō dynasty compiled during four centuries; then I have discussed, as the institution for compiling the Authentic History of the Ri dynasty, the personnel Sa-kwan 史官 (history officials) of the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan 春秋館, and the Sa-ch'o 史草 (history material) and Si-chōng-ki 時政記 (record of current political affairs) which corresponds to the Chi-chü-chu 起居注 of the T'ang dynasty; I have explained why the whole Ri Dynasty Annals for five centuries have to this day been preserved in almost perfect condition, and the system for preservation and other special items; and at last I have tried to present some formal explanations on each of the thirty-one series of the Annals of the Ri dynasty. The reason why I attempted to write the present paper is that, when the supreme importance of this history as a national asset in Korea was recognized, the complete publication of this authentic history as the fundamental material of the history of the Ri dynasty, the publication to the academic circles of the world has not yet been accomplished, but is still on the way, making little pro-

(1) Hereafter Sir-rok 實錄 will be translated as 'annals'.

gress. If the present paper should attract the attention of the academic world concerning the Ri Dynasty Annals which is still lingering on its way to publication and attract the attention of the public and serve to prompt its complete publication, namely, the project of printing a popular edition, I should be satisfied.

The point where I should like to make a few remarks in my Foreword is on the process up to date of the publication of the Ri Dynasty Annals, its far-reaching value as historical material, and the studies of my predecessors on it.

The very origin of the publication of the Ri Dynasty Annals, not as a secret history of a court, but as a material of scientific investigation was Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910. Even after this, however, an extremely limited number of men were permitted to read this book. The second step to make it a common property of the academic world was taken when from 1930 to 1932 the Keijō Imperial University printed a reduced size edition of twenty-nine series of the Annals (in total, 1893 Bks. in 888 volumes) from the T'a-cho 太祖 Annals to the Ch'ōr-chong 哲宗 Annals, and distributed the copies chiefly among the Government and public universities in Japan proper. However, the copies printed on this occasion were only thirty copies (thirty sets), and though the Western libraries eagerly demanded for it, they were disappointed.

Thus, it was not until the end of the Second World War that the Ri Dynasty Annals became to be circulated in reality. In 1946 in Seoul, the publishing of the popular edition of the Ri Dynasty Annals was undertaken. This is a reduced reproduction of about half a size of the facsimile reproduction of the Annals preserved by the Keijō Imperial University already mentioned, got up in Chinese binding in the same way as the original, in sixteen-mo. However, when the eleventh volume was published, the Korean War broke out and the publishing of this edition was discontinued. Then in 1953 in Tokyo, Gakushūin Institute of Oriental Culture began to publish another popular edition of the Ri Dynasty Annals in sixteen-mo⁽¹⁾, which is also a reduced reproduction of about half a size of the aforementioned facsimile reproduction kept by the Keijō Imperial University. The binding of this edition is in Western style. In the first six volumes, one page contains one page of the original but in the seventh volume and continuation, four pages of the original. By now, it has been published up

(1) The Ri Dynasty Annals of Korea

			Pages	Published
Vol. I	太祖: 定宗實錄	(~1400)	756	June, 1953
Vol. II	太宗實錄	Pt. 1 (~1406)	768	March, 1954
Vol. III	''	Pt. 2 (~1410)	761	Sept., 1954

to the part of the Ye-chong Annals in fourteen books, and several years more will be needed for its completion. Third popular edition was begun to be published in 1955 under the title of the Cho-sön-wang-cho-sir-rok 朝鮮王朝實錄 by the National History Compilation Committee of the government of the Republic of Korea. This edition is another reduced reproduction in octavo of the facsimile reproduction at the Keijō Imperial University, one page containing four pages of the original. The four-fifths of the whole, up to the Yōng-cho Annals, has been published in fourty-two books and one more year will enable them to complete the publishing of the whole.

Though the Ri Dynasty Annals were written reign after reign, successively for 500 years and therefore the form of writing as a history is roughly consistent, in the style and contents, they are not always of one and the same quality throughout the five centuries. The most conspicuous difference may be observed in the comparison of the Annals for the thitreen reigns down to the Myōng-chong 明宗 Annals and those for the fourteen reigns after King Sön-cho 宣祖. Of course this difference was caused by the split and segregation in the political parties and the subsequent development which grew apparent in the 1st year of King Sön-cho and by devastation of the whole land, the irrecoverable devastation and poverty brought forth by the invasion of the Japanese troops at the middle period of King Sön-cho. In other words, "before King Myōng-chong" meant the days prior to the party friction and prior to the Japanese invasions, while "after King Sön-cho" meant the days after the outbreak of party strife and after the Japanese invasion. The social conditions of the Ri dynasty for 500 years underwent a change at the end of the 16th century, which, it may be said, is reflected in the nature of the Annals. This change may be pointed out from two sides, internal and external. One was an intrinsic change while the other was a change in the value of external historical material. As for the latter, it may be said that through the Japanese invasion, a great quantity of the records and books of the two hundred years since the foundation of the dynasty was scattered and burnt up. Those more detailed, and more basic than the Annals, or those as valuable as the Annals were almost completely

Vol. IV	太宗實錄	Pt. 3	(~1414)	712	Dec., 1954
Vol. V	//	Pt. 4	(~1418)	814	March, 1955
Vol. VI	世宗實錄	Pt. 1	(~1421)	868	July, 1955
Vol. VII	世宗實錄	Pt. 1	(~1429)	680	March, 1956
Vol. VIII	//	Pt. 2	(~1438)	663	March, 1956
Vol. IX	//	Pt. 3	(~1450)	723	Sept., 1956
Vol. X	//	Pt. 4	(五禮·樂譜)	439	Dec., 1956
Vol. XI	//	Pt. 5	(地理志·七政算)	572	March, 1957
Vol. XII	文宗：端宗實錄		(~1455)	556	July, 1957
Vol. XIII	世祖實錄	Pt. 1	(~1463)	553	Sept., 1957
Vol. XIV	{ // 睿宗實錄	Pt. 2 }	(~1469)	560	Nov., 1957

lost sight of. This rendered the relative value of the Annals absolute.

After the Japanese invasion, while the contents of the Annals themselves were carelessly selected and unbalanced, the existence of the original materials themselves of the Annals such as Sŭng-chŏng-wŏn-ir-ki 承政院日記, Pi-pyŏn-Sa-tŭng-rok 備邊司謄錄, and Ir-sŏng-rok 日省錄 has decreased the relative value of the Annals. In spite of such inconsistency, none can deny the fact that, as a whole, the Ri Dynasty Annals make the nucleus of the historical materials in the study of the Ri dynasty which lasted for five centuries.

One would recall that Korea in the last part of the 19th century was called "The Balkan in the Orient" which of course showed their resemblance as the point of impact of several powerful countries. A more or less similar situation may be observed attending every dynasty in Korea. The Ri dynasty was quite frequently forced into an extremely complex international relationship. The circumstances and facts of each crisis were written in full detail in the Ri Dynasty Annals. It follows, therefore, that if the items on the foreign relations in the Ri Dynasty Annals should be selected, classified and arranged by countries involved, not only would the historical relations of the Ri dynasty with those countries be clarified, but also would be discovered such valuable accounts as are not found in the documents and books of the respective countries. For instance, part of the items on the relations with Ming in the first half of the 15th century concerns Manchuria, and the value of the Ri Dynasty Annals in the study of Ming's exploitation of Manchuria in those days may be seen in the paper by Dr. Sei Wada 和田清 entitled "Min-sho no Manshū-keiryaku 明初の滿洲經略 (The Exploitation of Manchuria by Chinese Government at the Beginning of the Ming Dynasty)"⁽¹⁾; and how much the historical studies of Chien-chou Nü-chih 建州女直 in Manchuria at the same period and the subsequent period depend upon the Ri Dynasty Annals will be proved by the study by Dr. Kazuki Sonoda 園田一龜 entitled *Min-dai Ken-shū Jo-choku-shi Ken-kyū* 明代建州女直史研究 (*Studies on the History of the Chien-chou Tribe of Juchen People under the Ming Dynasty*) in two books.⁽²⁾ What illustrates this point more systematically is *Min-dai Man-mô-shi-ryô* 明代滿蒙史料 (李朝實錄抄) (*Materials on Manchu and Mongolia in the Ming Dynasty—A Selections from the Ri Dynasty Annals*),⁽³⁾ which is almost completely published by

- (1) Sei Wada 和田清: *Tōa-shi Kenkyū (Manshū-hen)* 東亞史研究 (滿洲篇): (*Studies on the History of the Far East (Manchuria)*) Toyo Bunko, Publications Series A. No. 37, Tokyo, 1955.
 (2) The Toyo Bunko Publications Series A. No. 31, Vol. I, II. Tokyo, 1948, 1953.
 (3) *Materials on Manchu and Mongolia in the Ming Dynasty (A selection from the Ri Dynasty Annals)*.

		Pages	Published
Vol. I	太祖・定宗・太宗 (~1418)	381	March, 1954
Vol. II	世宗 (~1433)	580	March, 1956

the Literature Department of the Tokyo University. This is nothing but a selection of direct or indirect accounts on Manchu and Mongolia from the first half of the Ri Dynasty Annals (namely, the T'a-cho 太祖 Annals to the Sön-cho 宣祖 Annals).

A similar statement may be made on the accounts relating to Japan. Internal materials on Japan during the *Ashikaga* period (1400-1600 A. D.) are by no means scarce; however, accounts on the intercourse between the Ashikaga Shogunate or the powerful families in the various provinces and Korea are scarcely extant. The Ri Dynasty Annals, however, contain abundant accounts which would supply a number of important data in the study of the Japanese history of this period.

In addition to *Min-dai Man-mō Shi-ryō* 明代滿蒙史料 there is the necessity to compile and publish a Selection of the Ri Dynasty Annals (Materials on Japan).⁽¹⁾ It is never too late for this.

Though minimized both in time and quantity, accounts on the Loo-choo of the 15th and 16th centuries, and those on the South Sea Isles are also observed scattered; and those on the European and American exploration-ships which reached the Korean shores in the 19th century are nearly all treated in the Ri Dynasty Annals. In short, it may be said that the Ri Dynasty Annals not merely compose the fundamental material of the history of the Ri dynasty, but also occupy the most important position as the documents of the international relations in East Asia for the five centuries since the last part of the 14th century.

Among the bibliographic research papers published up to the present are "Ri-chō no Jitsuroku ni tsuite 李朝の實錄に就いて (On the Annals of the Ri Dynasty)"⁽²⁾ by Dr. Ryu Imanishi 今西龍; "Ri-chō Jitsuroku no Seiritsu ni tsuite 李朝實錄の成立に就いて (On the Composition of the Ri Dynasty Annals)"⁽³⁾ by Mr. Ri Chā-uk 李在郁; "The Ri Dynasty Annals

Vol. III	世宗 (～1438)	529	March, 1954
Vol. IV	世宗 (～1446)	523	November, 1954
Vol. V	{世宗 (～1450・地理志) 文宗・魯山君・世祖 (～1459)	506	March, 1955
Vol. VI	世祖 (～1467)	505	March, 1955
Vol. VII	{世祖 睿宗・成宗 (～1478)	497	March, 1956
Vol. VIII	成宗 (～1486)	504	March, 1956
Vol. IX	成宗 (～1492)	503	March, 1956
Vol. X	{成宗 燕山君・中宗 (～1507)	495	November, 1956
Vol. XI	中宗 (～1528)	519	March, 1957

(1) 李朝實錄抄 (日本史料)

(2) *Geibun* 藝文, Nos. 8. 9. 5th year, Kyoto, Aug., Sept., 1914.

(3) *Bunken Hōkoku* 文獻報國 Bk.18, Keijō, Dec., 1937.

of Korea”⁽¹⁾ by Mr. G. M. McCune; “Chosen no Shunjūkan to Ri-chō Jitsuroku no Senshū ni tsuite 朝鮮の春秋館と李朝實錄の撰修について (On the Shunjū-kan of Korea and the Compilation of the Ri Dynasty Annals)”⁽²⁾; and “Chōsen Zenshū Shiko Jitsuroku no Idō to Senso no Jitsuroku Fukuin 朝鮮全州史庫實錄の移動と宣祖の實錄複印 (Transference of the Annals in the Zenshū Library and the Reprint of The Annals of the King Sōn-cho 宣祖)”⁽³⁾ by Mr. Kinsaku Marugame 丸龜金作; “Ri-chō Jitsuroku Shozai no Idō ni tsuite 李朝實錄所在の移動に就いて (On the Transference of the Sites of the Ri Dynasty Annals)”⁽⁴⁾ and “Ri-chō Senso Shūsei Jitsuroku to Kensō Kaishū Jitsuroku 李朝宣祖修正實錄と顯宗改修實錄 (On the Revised Sōn-cho Annals and the Revised Hyon-chong Annals of the Ri Dynasty)”⁽⁵⁾ by Mr. Umakuma Seno 瀨野馬熊; and “Zenshū-shiko to sono Zōsho ni tsuite 全州史庫とその藏書に就いて (On the Zenshū Library and its Collection of Books)”⁽⁶⁾; and “Chōsen Zenshū no Shiko to sono Zōsho—Jin-shin Tei-yūno Ran to Tenseki no Hozon 朝鮮全州の史庫とその藏書—壬辰丁酉の亂と典籍の保存 (The Library at Zenshū in Korea and Its Collection of Books—The Wars of Jin-shin and Tei-yū and Preservation of Books)”⁽⁷⁾ by Prof. Hidetaka Nakamura 中村榮孝. It goes without saying that for this present paper I am indebted to the researches of all these predecessors. In concluding this Foreword, I desire to extend my profound gratitude and respect to these authors.

Chapter I

Precedent: The Koryō Annals

It is evident that the first compilation of the Annals in Korea dates back to the Koryō 高麗 period, but in the reign of what king of the Koryō period is not evident. All that can be said is that in the reign of King Mok-chong 穆宗 (998–1009), the custom of compiling Annals had already been introduced. Immediately ensuing the complete destruction of the state capital and documents and books in the government offices by the con-

- (1) *Transaction of Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 29, Seoul, 1938.
- (2) *Shigaku Zasshi* 史學雜誌 Vol. 54, Nos. 10, 11, Tokyo. Oct., Nov., 1943. (Über “Shunzyukan” in Korea und die Redaktion von “Richo-zitsuroku”)
- (3) *Ibid.* Vol. 49, No. 6., Tokyo. June, 1938. (Die Wandlungen der Geschichtsurkunde in historischen Archiv in Zenshu zu Korea und ihr Nachdruck von Senso)
- (4) Included in “*Seno Umakuma Ikō*” (Seno Umakuma: *Posthumous Works*) Keijō, 1936.
- (5) *Ibid.*
- (6) *Bunkyo no Chōsen* 文教の朝鮮, Sept., Oct., 1936.
- (7) *Nagoya Daigaku Bungaku-bu Kenkyū-Ronshū*, Nagoya, 1953. (The Royal Library called Sa-ko 史庫 at Chōn-ju 全州, Korea, and its Collection of Books—The War of the Im-jin 壬辰 and Tūng-yu 丁酉 Eras (the last years of the 16th century) and the Preservation of Books.)

flagration of the Chi-tan 契丹 invasion in the 2nd year of King Hyön-chong 顯宗 (1011), the king appointed officials named History Compilers for recompiling the annals of the ninety-two years under the reign of the first seven kings since the foundation of the kingdom. This resulted in compiling the history in thirty-six books.⁽¹⁾ And these thirty-six books, specifically speaking, were compiled, not as one series of annals, but as the respective annals of the seven kings which consist of thirty-six books.⁽²⁾ It may be admitted that this enterprise in the reign of King Hyön-chong was a restoration or recompilation of the history of each king, and thereby proves the existence of the custom of compiling history, if not from the founding of the dynasty, at least in the reign of King Mok-chong.

Therefore, compilation of the subsequent annals, or those after the Hyön-chong Annals, may be investigated directly or indirectly. The Hyön-chong Annals (1009-1031) is quoted in the Koryŏ-se-kye 高麗世系 in the *Koryŏ-sa* 高麗史. This was probably in the reign of King Tŏk-chong 德宗 and Chŏng-chong 靖宗 period (1031-1046). The next one the Tŏk-chong Annals 德宗實錄 is quoted by Ri Che-hyŏn 李齊賢, the official historian of the last period of the Koryŏ dynasty.⁽³⁾ It was probably compiled during the reign of King Chŏng-chong 靖宗 (1034-1046). As to the Annals of the next five kings, Chŏng-chong 靖宗, Mun-chong 文宗, Sun-chong 順宗, Sŏn-chong 宣宗, and Hŏn-chong 獻宗, no direct material is found, but it is supposed that the Chŏng-chong Annals 靖宗實錄 was compiled during the reign of King Mun-chong, and the Mun-chong Annals 文宗實錄 and the Sun-chong Annals 順宗實錄 in the reign of King Sŏn-chong 宣宗 and the Sŏn-chong Annals 宣宗實錄 and the Hŏn-chong Annals 獻宗實錄 in the reign of King Suk-chong 肅宗. As to the next Suk-chong Annals 肅宗實錄, as it is said that Ri Tŏk-u 李德羽 who died in the 2nd year of King In-chong 仁宗 (1124) had participated in compiling the Suk-chong Annals 肅宗實錄,⁽⁴⁾ this also was probably compiled during the reign of King Ye-chong 睿宗.

As for the next Ye-chong Annals 睿宗實錄 (1105-1122), immediately after the king's death, in September, the year of the enthronement of King In-chong 仁宗, Pak Sŭng-chung 朴昇中, Chŏng Kŭk-yŏng 鄭克永, and Kim Pu-sik 金富弼 were ordered to start its compilation.⁽⁵⁾ Though the date of its completion is not known, it is known that, at the beginning of the Ri dynasty, in April, the 4th year of King T'a-chong 太宗 (1404), this history

- (1) 高麗史 Bk. 95. 黃周亮傳.
- (2) Ibid. 高麗世系.
- (3) Ibid. Bk. 5. 史贊 at the end of 德宗世家.
- (4) Ibid. Bk. 15. 仁宗 2 年 3 月 (21 日).
- (5) Ibid. Bk. 15. 仁宗即位年 9 月 (19 日).
- Ibid. Bk. 99. 韓安仁傳.
- Ibid. Bk. 98. 金富弼傳.

was investigated.⁽¹⁾

The next one, the In-chong Annals 仁宗實錄 (1122-1146), was compiled at the beginning of the reign of King Ŭi-chong 毅宗, by Kim Pu-sik 金富軾 at the request of the Court.⁽²⁾ However, as Pu-sik died in February, the 5th year of King Ŭi-chong (1151), it is doubtful whether the work had been completed by that time.

As to the Ŭi-chong Annals 毅宗實錄 (1146-1170) the next one, it is known that the work was compiled by Mun Kŭk-kyŏm 文克謙 and others during the reign of King Myŏng-chong 明宗, moreover, that it reflects the character of the age when Ch'ŏ Se-po 崔世輔 the military officer, becoming a historian rewrote the facts so freely that it is notorious that the Ŭi-chong Annals contains a number of omissions and falsities.⁽³⁾

The next Myŏng-chong Annals 明宗實錄 (1170-1197) was completed in September, the 14th year of King Ko-chong 高宗 (1227) by the official historians, Ch'ŏ Pu-sun 崔甫淳, Kim Ryang-kyŏng 金良鏡, Im Kyŏng-suk 任景肅, Yu Sŭng-tan 俞升旦, and Ri Kyu-po 李奎報 and Kwŏn Kyŏng-chung 權敬中.⁽⁴⁾ The one peculiar fact known about this history is that when it was completed, one copy was placed in the Sa-kwan 史館 and another in the Temple Hă-in-sa 海印寺. That was the first instance of the provincial distribution of the Koryŏ Annals 高麗實錄. It may be considered that this was taken as a precautionary measure against the increasingly threatening relations with Mongolia following the invasion of the Chi-tan 契丹 remnants during the first years of this king.

The three following annals, the Sin-chong Annals 神宗實錄 (1197-1204), Hŭi-chong Annals 熙宗實錄 (1204-1211), and the Kang-chong Annals 康宗實錄 (1211-1213) are those compiled by order in October, the 8th year of King Wŏn-chong 元宗 (1267) by Ri Chang-yong 李藏用, Ryu Kyŏng 柳璣, Kim Ku 金坵, and Hŏ Kong 許珙.⁽⁵⁾

The next one, the Ko-chong Annals 高宗實錄 (1213-1259) was compiled by order in May, the 3rd year of King Ch'ung-ryŏr 忠烈王 (1277) by Ryu Kyŏng, Wŏn Pu 元傳, and Kim Ku⁽⁶⁾ thirty-four years later, however, in February,

(1) 太宗實錄 Bk. 7. 太宗 4 年 4 月 (27 日).

(2) 高麗史 Bk. 98. 金富軾傳.

(3) Ibid. Bk. 100. 崔世輔傳.

(4) Ibid. Bk. 22. 高宗 14 年 9 月 (4 日).

Ibid. Bk. 99. 崔均傳, 附甫淳傳.

Ibid. Bk. 101. 權敬中傳.

(5) Ibid. Bk. 26. 元宗 8 年 10 月 (29 日).

Ibid. Bk. 105. 許珙傳, 柳璣傳.

Ibid. Bk. 106. 金坵傳.

(6) Ibid. Bk. 28. 忠烈王 3 年 5 月 (14 日).

Ibid. Bk. 105. 柳璣傳.

Ibid. Bk. 157. 元傳傳.

the 1st year of King Ch'ung-sŏn 忠宣王 (1309), a second order was issued for compiling the annals of the reign of King Ko-chong 高宗 as the Ch'ung-hŏn-wang Annals 忠憲王實錄.⁽¹⁾ (The name Co'ung-hŏn-wang 忠憲王 is the posthumous title given in 1310 by the Mongolians.)⁽²⁾ The relations between these two are unknown. Was it recompiled because the former had remained unfinished? Or was it revised because, though the former had been finished, from a new standpoint after the relations with Mongols settled down? It must be because of either one or the other.

The order for the compilation of the Wŏn-chong Annals 元宗實錄 (1259~1274) as the Ch'ung-kyŏng-wang Annals 忠敬王實錄 was issued in November, the 3rd year of King Ch'ung-sŏn 忠宣王.⁽³⁾ In September, the 1st year of King Ch'ung-hye 忠惠王 (1331), however, another order for compiling the Ch'ung-kyŏng-wang Annals 忠敬王實錄.⁽⁴⁾ Probably this was the second order, not for recompilation, but for finishing the former which had been left incomplete. The name Ch'ung-kyŏng-wang 忠敬王 is the posthumous title given to King Wŏn-chong in 1310 by the Mongols.⁽⁵⁾

The order for compiling the following three annals, those of King Ch'ung-ryŏr 忠烈王 (1274-1308), King Ch'un-sŏn 忠宣王 (1308-1313), and King Ch'ung-suk 忠肅王 (1313-1330, 1332-1338) was issued in October, the 2nd year of King Ch'ung-mok 忠穆王 (1346) to Ri Che-hyŏn 李齊賢, An Ch'uk 安軸, Ri Kok 李穀, An Chin 安震, and Ri In-pok 李仁復,⁽⁶⁾ and when completed in 1347, the following year, it was deposited in the Sa-ko of Hă-in-sa 海印寺史庫.⁽⁷⁾

As to the next seven series of annals, namely, those of King Ch'ung-hye 忠惠王 (1330-1333, 1340-1344), King Ch'ung-muk 忠穆王 (1344-1348), King Ch'ung-chŏng 忠定王 (1348-1351), King Kong-min 恭愍王 (1351-1374), King U 禔王 (1374-1388), King Ch'ang 昌王 (1388-1389), and King Kong-yang 恭讓王 (1389-1392), nothing is known about each case; still it is believed that daily documents to be used as material for each annals were prepared, and a few plans for compilation were made; for instance, it is known that in January, the 10th year of King U 禔王 (1384), Ri Sung-in 李崇仁⁽⁸⁾ and

- (1) 高麗史 Bk. 33. 忠宣王元年 2 月 (24 日).
- (2) Ibid. Bk. 33. 忠宣王 2 年 7 月 (20 日).
- (3) Ibid. Bk. 34. 忠宣王 3 年 11 月 (3 日).
- (4) Ibid. Bk. 36. 忠惠王元年 9 月 (24 日).
- (5) Ibid. Bk. 33. 忠宣王 2 年 7 月 (20 日).
- (6) Ibid. Bk. 37. 忠穆王 2 年 10 月 (16 日).
- Ibid. Bk. 109. 字軸傳, 李穀傳.
- Ibid. Bk. 110. 李齊賢傳.
- Ibid. Bk. 112. 李仁復傳.
- 牧隱文藁 Bk. 15. 李仁復墓誌, 李齊賢墓誌.
- (7) Ibid. Bk. 18. 柳淑墓誌.
- (8) 高麗史 Bk. 28. 李崇仁傳.

Chǒng Mong-chu 鄭夢周 were in charge and in the 3rd year of King Kong-yang 恭讓王 (1391) Ri Sāk 李穡 and Ri Sung-in.⁽¹⁾ Thus by June, the 7th year of King T'ä-cho 太祖 of the Ri dynasty (1398), all the annals down to King Kong-yang 恭讓王 were somehow prepared.⁽²⁾

The above is all we can find out as to the compilation of individual annals in the Koryō Annals. We must add here that in January, the 1st year of King Ch'ung-suk 忠肅王 (1314), an abbreviated copy of the annals for each reign from the T'ä-cho Annals 太祖實錄 down was prepared by King's Order by Mīn Chi 閔漬 and Kwōn Pu 權溥.⁽³⁾ Preparing an abbreviated annals for each reign was nothing but preparing a general history of the Koryō dynasty. There was a tendency to prepare such a general history of the Koryō dynasty for about a century beginning from about this period to the end of the Koryō dynasty. Some causes may be considered, but the origin of this tendency was a demand from the Mongol government to submit an account of the facts of each reign of the Koryō dynasty, especially the facts relative both to Mongolia and Korea, in July, 1278.⁽⁴⁾ This order was nothing but a demand to Koryō to furnish the Mongol government with historical material for compiling its own annals. And this order prompted compilation of a general history of Koryō directly corresponding to it⁽⁵⁾ and at the same time realized a general history of Koryō for the Koryō dynasty itself.⁽⁶⁾ The compilation of an abbreviated annals for each reign in 1314 stated above was an affair in the stream of that tendency.

Another point to be mentioned on the Annals of Koryō Dynasty is that in November, the 33rd year of King Ch'ung-ryōr 忠烈王 (1307), the former

(1) 高麗史節要, Bk. 35. 恭讓王 3 年正月.

高麗史 Bk. 117. 鄭夢周傳.

(2) 太祖實錄. Bk. 14. 太祖 7 年 6 月 (12 日).

(3) 高麗史. Bk. 34. 忠肅王元年正月 (20 日).

(4) Ibid. Bk. 29. 忠烈王 4 年 7 月 (6 日).

(5) Ibid. Bk. 30. 忠烈王 12 年 11 月 (14 日).

吳良遇 and others were ordered to compile "國史".

Ibid. Bk. 忠烈王 21 年 3 月 (13 日). 任翊, 金聃, and others were ordered to compile the Annals of the 世祖 (Founder) of Mongolia.

Ibid. Bk. 35. 忠肅王 12 年 12 月 (7 日). A report of the services of the Koryō people toward Mongolia was sent out.

(6) Ibid. Bk. 29. 忠烈王 10 年 6 月 (30 日). 元傳, 許珙, 韓康 and others were ordered to compile "古今錄".

Ibid. Bk. 107. 鄭可臣傳. c. 1210, 金鏡錄 was compiled. Ibid. Bk. 107. 閔漬傳. c. 1300, 閔漬 and 權溥 compiled "世代編年節要" in 7 Bks.

Ibid., Bk. 34. 忠肅王 4 年 4 月 (4 日). 閔漬 compiled and presented "本朝編年綱目" in 42 Bks.

Ibid., Bk. 37. 忠穆王 2 年 10 月 (16 日). 李齊賢, 安軸 and others were ordered to revise and enlarge "本朝編年綱目" by 閔漬.

Ibid. Bk. 39. 恭愍王 6 年 9 月 (4 日). 李仁復 was ordered to compile "古今錄".

Ibid. Bk. 43. 恭愍王 20 年 5 月 (22 日). 李仁復 and 李穡 were ordered to revise and enlarge "本朝金鏡錄".

king (Ch'ung-sŏn 忠宣王) who was then visiting Tai-tu 大都 (Peking), the capital of Yüan 元 sent word that the entire annals themselves for all reigns be brought to Tai-tu.⁽¹⁾ Despite the objection of the courtiers to send abroad the annals of their ancestors of the Court, this was forced and realized, and five years later they were sent back to Koryŏ in 1312.⁽²⁾ The total number of the annals is recorded as 185 volumes.⁽³⁾ It may be suspected that this was based not on the necessity of King Ch'ung-sŏn himself, but on a demand from the Mongol government behind him.

Chapter II

Compilation

The origin of the organization for compiling the Ri Dynasty Annals is identified with the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan 春秋館 as a bureau of the Central Government. Its origin may be traced to the Să-kwan 史館 of the Koryŏ dynasty. Though little is known about the exact date of the first establishment of the Să-kwan (History Hall) of the Koryŏ dynasty, it is evident that the Să-kwan was already in existence about the 1st year of King Hyŏn-chong (1013). In the 1st year of King Ch'ung-sŏn (1308), the Să-kwan was annexed with the Mun-hwan-sŏ 文翰署 (Official Despatches Bureau) under the new name Ye-mun-ch'un-ch'u-kwan 藝文春秋館, which was again divided in the 12th year of King Ch'ung-suk 忠肅王 (1325) into the Ye-mun-kwan and Ch'un-ch'u-kwan. In the 5th year of King Kong-min 恭愍王 (1356), the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan was renamed Să-kwan: but in the 11th year of King Kong-min (1362) it was again named Ch'un-ch'u-kwan as before; but in the 1st year of King Kong-yang 恭讓王 (1389) the Ye-mun-kwan and Ch'un-ch'u-kwan were again annexed under the name Ye-mun-ch'un-ch'u-kwan. Three years later the Koryŏ dynasty fell and the Ri dynasty came into being.

According to the first government organization in the 1st year of King T'ă-cho 太祖 (1392), the Ye-mun-ch'un-ch'u-kwan was institutionalized exactly as it stood at the last stage of the Koryŏ dynasty. In the reformation of the organization in July, the 1st year of King T'ă-chong 太宗 (1401), the Ye-mun-kwan and the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan became each an independent bureau. Thereafter, for five centuries until the end of the Ri dynasty, there was no

(1) 高麗史·Bk. 32. 忠烈王 33 年 11 月 (25 日).

(2) Ibid. Bk. 34. 忠宣王 4 年 5 月 (7 日).

(3) Ibid. Bk. 32. 忠烈王 33 年 11 月 (25 日).

alteration of the name Ch'un-ch'u-kwan.⁽¹⁾

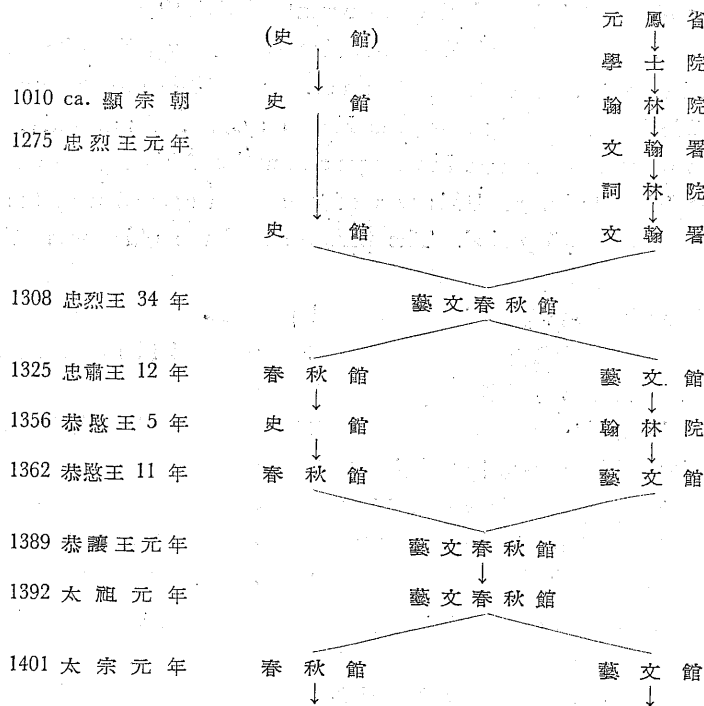
The outline of the first personnel of the Sa-kwan in the Koryŏ period was as follows:—

Kam-su-kuk-sa 監修國史	
Su-kuk-sa 修國史	above 2nd rank
Tong-su-kuk-sa 同修國史	"
Su-sŏn-kwan 修撰官	below 3rd rank
Chik-sa-kwan 直史館	4 persons

After the most important reforms effected in the 12th year of King Ch'ung-suk (1325) when the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan was separated and became an independent bureau, the personnel system was as follows:—

Ryŏng-kwan-sa 領館事	}	above 2nd rank
Kam-kwan-sa 監館事		
Chi-kam-sa 知監事	}	
Tong-chi-kam-sa 同知監事		
Ch'ung-su-sŏn-kwan 充修撰官	}	below 3rd rank
Cn'ung-p'yŏn-su-kwan 充編修官		
Kyŏm-p'yŏn-su-kwan 兼編修官		

(1) What has been mentioned so far in this chapter may be diagrammed of follows:



Su-sŏn 修撰	1 person
Chu-pu 注簿	1 "
Kŏm-yŏr 檢閱	2 "

Of this personnel, those who were engaged in the actual work of recording as permanent members of the personnel were the three classes Su-sŏn 修撰, Chu-pu 注簿, and Kŏm-yŏr 檢閱. These three classes were reformed in the 5th year of King Kong-min (1356) as follows:—

P'yon-su-kwan 編修官	1 person	7th rank senior
Kŏm-yŏr 檢閱	1 "	8th rank senior
Chik-kwan 直館	2 "	9th rank senior

Six years later (1362), they were further reformed as follows:

Kong-pong 供奉		7th rank senior
Su-sŏn 修撰		8th rank senior
Kŏm-yŏr 檢閱		9th rank senior

When, in the 1st year of King Kong-yang (1389), the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan and the Ye-mun-kwan were annexed under the name Ye-mun-ch'un-ch'u-kwan and Kong-pong 供奉, Su-sŏn 修撰, and Kŏm-yŏr 檢閱, formerly four in number were now increased to eight who were called P'ar-sa-han 八史翰. Over them were placed some concurrent officials such as Ch'un-su-sŏn-kwan 充修撰官, Ch'un-p'yŏn-su-kwan 充編修官, Kyŏm-p'yŏn-su-kwan 兼編修官, and there was introduced a system of dividing the work of recording between the P'ar-sa-han 八史翰 and the concurrent officials.⁽¹⁾

Only three years later in 1392, the Koryŏ dynasty fell and was replaced by the Ri dynasty. The first government of the Ri dynasty was propagated on July 28; it was mostly after the Koryŏ system. As an office for "deliberation of matters on royal messages and national history", there was the Ye-mun-ch'un-ch'u-kwan. This was of course an extension of the office at the end of the Koryŏ period. The personnel of the office was enlarged as follows:—

Kam-kwan-sa 監館事	1 person	
Tä-hak-sa 大學士	2 "	2nd rank senior
Chi-kwan-sa 知館事	2 "	
Hak-sa 學士	2 "	2nd rank junior
Tong-chi-kwan-sa 同知館事	2 "	
Ch'ung-p'yŏn-su-kwan 充編修官	2 "	
Kyŏm-p'yŏn-sa-kwan 兼編修官	2 "	above 4th rank
Ŭng-kyo 應教	1 "	5th rank
Kong-pong-kwan 供奉官	2 "	7th rank senior

(1) 高麗史 Bk.76. 百官志 1, 藝文館, 春秋館.

Su-sŏn-kwan 修撰官	2 persons	8th rank senior
Chik-kwan 直館	4 "	9th rank senior
Sŏ-ri 書吏	4 "	

However, it should be remarked that here again, among the various classes of the personnel above-mentioned, there were eight Sa-kwan 史官 who were the central figures.⁽¹⁾ It is supposed that they were two Kong-pong-kwan 供奉官, two Su-sŏn-kwan 修撰官, and four Chik-kwan 直館. For when, in February, the 4th year of King T'ä-cho (1395), "two Kyöm-kong-pong 兼供奉, two Kyöm-su-sŏn 兼修撰, four Kyöm-chik-kwan 兼直館" were for the first time adopted for the Ye-mun-ch'un-ch'u-kwan, it may be considered that these meant a doubling of history officials.

In cosequence of the reforms of the government organization in July, the 1st year of King T'ä-chong (1401), the Ye-mun-ch'un-ch'u-kwan was separated into two independent departments, namely, the Ye-mun-kwan and the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan. It was then that the personnel of the Ye-mun-kwan were stipulated as full-pay officials, while the personnel of the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan were all concurrent officials. The personnel of the Ye-mun-kwan is fully known, but it is a matter of regret that little or nothing is known of that of the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan.

Only there occurs an explanation: "The Pong-kyo 奉教, Tä-kyo 待教, and Kŏm-yŏr 檢閱 are all concurrently Ki-sa-kwan 記事官 of the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan". The term Ki-sa-kwan 記事官 had not appeared in any previous government organization. According to the list of the compilers of the T'ä-chong Annals completed in March, the 13th year of King Se-chong 世宗 (1431), the personnel of the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan at that time was as follows:—

Kam-kwan-sa 監館事
 Tong-chi-kwan-sa 同知館事
 Ki-chu-kwan 記注官
 Ki-sa-kwan 記事官

And according to the list of the compilers of the Se-chong Annals completed in March, the 2nd year of King Tan-chong 端宗 (1454), the personnel of the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan at that time was as follows:—

Kam-kwan-sa 監館事
 Chi-kwan-sa 知館事
 Tong-chi-kwan-sa 同知館事
 P'yon-su-kwan 編修官
 Ki-chu-kwan 記注官
 Ki-sa-kwan 記事官

(1) 太宗實錄 Bk. 25. 太宗 13 年正月 (16 日).

If so, the regulations concerning the personnel of the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan included in the *Kyōng-kuk-tä-chōn* 經國大典 distributed in the 16th year of King Sōng-chong 成宗 (1485) seem to have been completed by the year 1401 when the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan was separated as an independent department. The regulations included in the *Kyōng-kuk-tä-chōn* are as follows:—

Ryōng-sa 領事	1 person	
Kam-sa 監事	2 "	
Chi-sa 知事	2 "	2nd rank senior
Tong-chi-sa 同知事	2 "	2nd rank junior
Su-sōn-kwan 修撰官		3rd rank senior~4th rank junior
P'yōn-su-kwan 編修官		5th rank senior and junior
Ki-chu-kwan 記注官		6th rank senior~9th rank senior
Ki-sa-kwan 記事官		

Of these, the officials of the four classes from Su-sōn-kwan down are those reshuffled or increased of the officials of the six classes from Ch'un-gp'yōn-su-kwan 充編修官 included in the table of the personnel of the Ye-mun-ch'un-ch'u-kwan dated July 28th, 1392. The stipulation that all the personnel from Su-sōn-kwan 修撰官 down be not full-paid officials, but all concurrent officials, dates from the reforms enforced in July, 1401. However, that the whole personnel was composed of concurrent officials did not mean the negligence of the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan. For it was for the convenience of making records, the principal business of the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan. A study of the regulations of the personnel from Su-sōn-kwan down will prove this. The following members from government offices participated as concurrent personnel in the affairs of the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan.

Sūng-chōng-wōn 承政院	Sūng-ci 承旨
Hōng-mun-kwan 弘文館	below Pu-che-hak 副提學
Ūi-chōng-pu 議政府	Sa-in 舍人, Kōm-sang 檢詳
Ye-mun-kwan 藝文館	below Pong-kyo 奉教
Sa-kang-wōn 侍講院	Tang-ha-kwan 堂下官
Sa-hōn-pu 司憲府	below Chip-ūi 執義
Sa-kan-wōn 司諫院	Tang-ha-kwan 堂下官
Sūng-mun-wōn 承文院	"
Chong-pu-sa 宗簿寺	"
Ryuk-cho 六曹	"

In consequence of the above changes in the personnel organization of the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan, what changes occurred in the regulations concerning its aim, namely, keeping records? The first starting point of this consideration also goes back to the 1st year of King Kong-yang 恭讓王 (1389) in the last stage of the Koryō dynasty. It was the advice of Sa-kwan

史官 (history officers) Ch'ö Kyön 崔鑄, which was adopted and enforced.⁽¹⁾

(I) That the eight Sa-han 史翰 (history officers) should each prepare two copies of historical material; on transference to another post he should submit one copy to the Ye-mun-ch'un-ch'u-kwan and the other copy he should reserve in his private house for possible need in compiling annals:

(II) That each concurrent Sa-kwan should write down what he hears at his post and compile it as history material, and send everything to the Ye-mun-ch'un-ch'u-kwan.

(III) That the Ye-mun-ch'un-ch'u-kwan should circulate a bulletin to every office large and small, requesting it to report all its affairs to the Ye-mun-ch'un-ch'u-kwan to be employed as original sources for the records of the Ye-mun-ch'un-ch'u-kwan.

Three years later, in September, the 1st year of King T'ä-cho 太祖 (1392), when the Koryö dynasty fell and the Ri dynasty began, these regulations on the recommendation of the Ye-mun-ch'un-ch'u-kwan were enlarged and confirmed.⁽²⁾

Article I was then revised as follows:— “When state affairs are settled or subjects are received in audience in the Main Palace, the history officials shall also attend the king, and be allowed to hear whatever is uttered”. And to Article III, the following clause was added: “The Köm-sang-cho-rye-sa 檢詳條例司 of the To-p'yöng-üi-sa-sa 都評議使司 shall copy the whole text of each law (條例) and submit it to the Ye-mun-ch'un-ch'u-kwan at the end of every month.” What should be remarked on the revision of Article I is that, when seven months previous to this, namely in February, the 4th year of King Kong-yang (1392), the Ye-mun-ch'un-ch'u-kwan petitioned for an all-out attendance of the history officials, the King granted to history officials to attend him only during the Confusianistic lectures, on *a-ir* 衙日⁽³⁾, and when each bureau recommended to the king concerning administration.⁽⁴⁾ The new Article I was nothing but the confirmation of this practice. However, it was by no means easy to put this into perfect practice.

Attendance of the history officials upon the king and keeping records did not mean merely keeping records. For keeping records of the king's

(1) 高麗史 Bk. 76. 百官志 1. 春秋館.

(2) 太祖實錄 Bk. 2. 太祖元年 9 月 (14 日).

(3) *a-ir* 衙日 was a day when the king received his ministers in audience. This was practised once every five days in the Koryö period. It was also called *Yuk-a-il* 六衙日 (six audience days).

(4) 高麗史 Bk. 46. 恭讓王 4 年 2 月 (10 日).

speech and action had a function of controlling the king. For this reason, the king had to fear the history officials and records. It may be supposed that before and after the revolution, specially directly after the revolution, there were circumstances which made it extremely difficult to state the relations between the former dynasty and the new dynasty, and the relations between the king and his staff and subjects. Before the power of the history officials was settled down in the face of the existing circumstances, conflicts between the king and his subjects were repeated. The conflict between the king T'ä-cho and the history officials arose when submission of historical materials was demanded. (This will be treated again later.) King Chöng-chong 定宗 the second king, at the beginning of his reign, did not allow the history officials to approach him, and refused them to attend him even during the Confusianistic lectures,⁽¹⁾ but on the second recommendation of the Mun-ha-pu 門下府, his refusal was cancelled.⁽²⁾ At the beginning of the reign of King T'ä-chong 太宗 the third king, the history officials became so offensive that they even dared to spy his behavior in his living-room. The King rejected and punished them, and allowed them to attend him only on his conferences with the ministers on the six audience days.⁽³⁾ Later, at the request of the history officials, the extent of their attendance upon the king was gradually increased, until in June, the 5th year of King T'ä-chong (1405) their court attendance was admitted.⁽⁴⁾ However, in March, the 10th year of King T'ä-chong 太宗 (1410), as the history officials committed an impudence, they were expelled for some time, but in October the history officials were again allowed to attend on the king during the Confusianistic lectures.⁽⁵⁾ In July, the 12th year of King T'ä-chong (1412), the king again forbade the history officials to attend upon him.⁽⁶⁾ The Sa-hön-pu 司憲府 repeatedly entreated for cancelling the refusal, the king at last granted it in January, the following year (1413).⁽⁷⁾ The conflicts between the history officials and the kings were severest in the reign of King T'ä-chong. In November, the 7th year of King Se-chong (1425) two history officials were now allowed to attend, though prior to this time only one had been.⁽⁸⁾ It was a remarkable event,

(1) 太祖實錄 Bk. 15. 太祖 7 年 (定宗即位年) 12 月 (9 日)

(2) 定宗實錄 Bk. 1. 定宗元年正月 (7 日)

(3) 太宗實錄 Bk. 1. 太宗元年 2 月 (20 日), 3 月 (18, 23 日), 4 月 (25, 29 日), 6 月 (22 日), 7 月 (8, 11 日)

(4) Ibid. Bk. 9. 太宗 5 年 6 月 (14 日)

(5) Ibid. Bk. 20. 太宗 10 年 10 月 (29 日)

(6) Ibid. Bk. 24. 太宗 12 年 8 月 (26 日)

(7) Ibid. Bk. 24. 太宗 12 年 10 月 (24 日), 11 月 (20 日), 12 月 (6 日)

(8) 世宗實錄 Bk. 30. 世宗 7 年 11 月 (3 日)

but in his later years the history officials were often rejected.⁽¹⁾

As the reign of King Tan-chong was the one in which coup d'état was prepared and partly enforced, it was only natural that the movements of the history officials should have been strictly restricted by King Se-cho who had ascended the throne by a drastic method. At that time the king's oppression on the history officials may be imaginable. Probably the resistance of the history officials was also considerable. This tendency of conflict, after the reign of King Sǒng-chong, in the 4th year of King Yǒn-san-kun (1498), gave rise to the great scandal relating to the compilation of the Sǒng-chong Annals, which is the so-called Mu-o-sa-hwa 戊午史禍 (Historical Scandal of the Year Mu-O 戊午 (1498)). Partly because of this affair, and partly because of the degenerate and eccentric character of King Yǒn-san-kun himself, the system of the history officials confronted a precarious fate. In July, in his 11th year (1505), the concurrent history officials from Pong-kyo 奉教 of the Ye-mun-kwan were abolished and renamed Rok-ko-kwan 錄考官 and six Kyo-sa-kwan 校史官 were newly created.⁽²⁾ Such a renaming or creation of new officials was an unprecedented radical reformation. But as King Yǒn-san-kun was dethroned, the regulations of the *Kyǒng-kuk-tä-chǒn* 經國大典 came to be revived.

According to the regulations of the *Kyǒng-kuk-tä-chǒn*, the function of the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan lay in "management of recording Si-chǒng 時政 (current political affairs)".⁽³⁾ Si-chǒng here is a common term for "political affairs from time to time." However, another article⁽⁴⁾ in the same book reads: "The Si-chǒng-ki 時政記 (Records of Current Political Affairs) in the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan and the Mun-sǒ 文書 (Documents) in the Sǔng-mun-wǒn 承文院 shall be printed every three years and each shall be preserved in the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan 春秋館, Sǔng-chǒng-wǒn 承政院, Ŭi-chǒng-pu 議政府, and Sa-ko 史庫 (History Library). And as to the Records of Current Political Affairs in the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan, an explanation reads: "This shall be a selection of the journal of the Sǔng-chǒng-wǒn and the more important documents in the other government offices; and at the end of each year its total number of books shall be reported to the king." The Si-chǒng-ki here is no more common term but the proper name for the

(1) 世宗實錄 Bk. 78. 世宗 19 年 9 月 (7, 8 日)

Ibid. Bk. 113. 世宗 28 年 8 月 (30 日)

Ibid. Bk. 121. 世宗 30 年 7 月 (25 日)

(2) 燕山君日記 Bk. 58. 燕山君 11 年 7 月 (9 日).

錄考官 were 記事官 in the previous system.

(新增東國輿地勝覽 Bk. 2. 京都下, 文職公署, 春秋館)

(3) 經國大典 Bk. 1. 吏典, 京官職, 春秋館.

(4) Ibid. Bk. 3. 禮典, 藏文書.

document of the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan. When the Annals were compiled later, this "Records of Current Political Affairs" would become its fundamental material. Then, what kind of record was it?

The first institution of the Records of Current Political Affairs goes back to the 16th year of King Se-chong (1434), namely thirty-eight years prior to its inclusion in the *Kyōng-kuk-tū-chōn*. Until that date, the essence of the record of the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan was, as it had been since the Koryō period, the so-called Sa-ch'ō 史草, the records of the history officials; but it now became important to enlarge the system of recording in view of political security and development; while preserving its system of Sa-ch'ō as a means of its intensification as an institution, the system of Si-chōng-ki was established. Here I shall roughly describe the Sa-ch'ō for some forty years from the beginning of the Ri dynasty to the 16th year of King Se-chong (1434), and the origin of the Si-chōng-ki.

Following the regulation of 1389 even at the end of the Koryō dynasty, the Sa-ch'ō was produced day in day out, from month to month, a copy of which was deposited in the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan and another copy was deposited in the home of each history official, which was called Ka-sa 家史 "house histories" (history material preserved in his private house). However, on the occasion of compiling the Annals these "house histories" were surprisingly valued. For instance, when compilation of the T'ä-cho Annals was started in August, the 9th year of King T'ä-chong (1409), the history officials under the reign of King T'ä-cho were ordered to submit their "house histories" from the year of the enthronement of King T'ä-cho (1392) to the 2nd year of King Chōng-chong (1400).⁽¹⁾ And when compilation of the T'ä-cho Annals began in December, the 5th year of King Se-chong (1423), the history officials were ordered to submit their "house histories" from the year of the enthronement of King T'ä-chong (1400) to the 18th year of King T'ä-chong (1418) by the appointed date.⁽²⁾ Those who failed to submit them by the appointed date were to be punished heavily: that their descendants be forbidden to become government officials and fined twenty *Yang* 兩 in silver money. This punishment was continuation of the Koryō precedence. Considering from these facts, it is evident that

(1) 太宗實錄 Bk. 18. 太宗 9 年 8 月 (28 日).

(2) 世宗實錄 Bk. 22. 世宗 5 年 12 月 (29 日).

The date set for the history officials resident in the capital was the last day of February, the following year; that for those resident in the four provinces 京畿, 忠清, 黃海, 江原 the last day of March; that for those resident in the four provinces 慶尙, 全羅, 平安, 咸吉 the last day of April.

it was a rule for each history official to make two copies of Sa-ch'ò, one of which he had to submit to the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan and the other copy he had to preserve in his own home. The two copies were naturally not exactly identical, one being more detailed or condensed than the other; the "house histories" would somehow seem more elaborated. This would account for the demand for putting greater emphasis on the Sa-ch'ò or elaborating the same in the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan.

In November, the 14th year of King Se-chong (1432), Ch'ong Rin-chi 鄭麟趾 submitted a petition⁽¹⁾ in which, following the view of Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修⁽²⁾ of the Sung dynasty, he desired that the record of politics be compiled *from time to time* under the title Si-ch'ong-ki 時政記⁽³⁾ and matters as to state secrecy and as to the intelligence of men be recorded *as exactly stipulated in the traditional regulations*. However, as all the ministers objected to it, this was not put into practice at once. Ch'ong, not discouraged by this, in November, two years later (1434), in the name of the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan, he proposed "the policy to enlarge recording" and succeeded in securing the king's decision.⁽⁴⁾ This policy not merely enabled the Si-ch'ong-ki to come into being, but also rendered the records in the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan more substantial. There were included in the policy the following points: In spite of the existence of regulations requesting each central and local government offices to report to the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan about important political affairs, these had been disregarded; therefore these regulations should be confirmed afresh; also the number of the concurrent history officials should be increased. Especially on Si-ch'ong-ki there were the following regulations:

(I) That from among the men in the Ye-mun-kwan the most integral and literary be selected afresh as concurrent history officials and placed in charge of Si-ch'ong-ki.

(II) That Si-ch'ong-ki should without exception record, under each day, month and year, the documents forwarded from each government office, the systems of rituals and judicial affairs, and important political affairs of the government.

(III) That one of the senior staff members of the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan should once every month attend to the office and investigate whether the

(1) 世宗實錄 Bk. 58. 世宗 14 年 11 月 (27 日).

(2) This would probably refer to Lun-shih-kuan-jih-li-chuang 論史館日歷狀 in Ou-yang-wên-chung-kung-chi 歐陽文忠公集 Bk. 108.

(3) The development of the term 時政記 is given in full detail under 時政記 in the Shih-lüeh 史略 Bk. 3 by Kao Ssü-sun 高似孫.

(4) 世宗實錄 Bk. 66. 世宗 16 年 11 月 (5 日).

compilation of Si-chōng-ki is diligently conducted or not.

(IV) That a duplicate of Si-chōng-ki be prepared, and on the occasion of airing the Annals every three years, be deposited in the Ch'ung-chu-sa-ko 忠州史庫.

When the *Kyōng-kuk-tā-chōn* says in commenting on the Si-chōng-ki: "A selection of the Sūng-chōng-wōn-ir-ki 承政院日記 and the important documents of each government office; its total number of books should be reported at the end of each year", it refers to the fruit of the experiences for the following thirty-eight years. The regulation under Article IV mentioned above came to request that the documents *be printed* every three years and deposited not only in the Sa-ko but also in the Government. However, as to how long the regulation of printing Si-chōng-ki was continued, nothing is known.

It must be remembered that while the regulations of Si-chōng-ki were thus established successfully, production of the traditional "house histories" was continued just the same. The regulation concerning them reads: "That whatever one hears or witnesses, and matters concerning the wisdom or foolishness, merit or demerit of men, or concerning secrecy, should be honestly put down in full detail ready for future requisition."

Thus, the records in the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan of the fundamental material for compiling the Annals were now of two kinds, one the official Si-chōng-ki and the other the private Ka-sa 家史 (house history). In the *Kyōng-kuk-tā-chōn* established thirty-eight years later, nothing is mentioned on "house history", but as a matter of fact, house history in parallel with Si-chōng-ki was used as a material for the Annals. For instance, when compilation of the Se-chong Annals was started in February; the 2nd year of King Mun-chong 文宗 (1452) and the Ka-sa 家史 of the history officials were requisitioned, most of the history officials refused to submit them; their history materials contained a number of instances of ink erasures and emendations; in extreme cases, some were mere copies of the journal of the Sūng-chōng-wōn 承政院 under the title of historical materials Sa-ch'ō 史草.⁽¹⁾ And though compilation of the Mun-chong Annals was started in January, the 1st year of King Tan-chong (1353), presentation of the history materials of the history officials during the reign of King Mun-chong (1450-1452) was ordered and that to be fulfilled by the appointed date.⁽²⁾

The first special event to be mentioned in connection with the history materials of the history officials was the unprecedented measure of demand-

(1) 文宗實錄 Bk. 2. 文宗 2 年 2 月 (22 日).

(2) 端宗實錄 Bk. 5. 端宗元年正月 (10 日).

ing signatures on the history materials during the compilation of the Se-cho Annals from the reign of King Ye-chong 睿宗 to the 2nd year of King Sǒng-chong 成宗.⁽¹⁾ Though it was probably a precautionary or preventive step to suppress the exposure of the truth on the part of the retainers of King Se-cho 世祖 in order to compile the Annals of the king who had ascended the throne through a coup d'état, it proved the beginning to disgrace the dignity of the Sa-ch'ŏ 史草 (history materials.) It was during the next reign of King Yǒn-san-kun when the Sǒng-chong Annals was compiled, that the second affair, the greatest affair connected with the history materials came to pass. The fact that one of the history officials in the reign of King Sǒng-chong 成宗 named Kim Ir-son 金駟孫 wrote an item in his history material suggesting as if he denied the enthronement of King Se-cho 世祖 the previous king was revealed, and Kim Ir-son including the men in his circle was executed. The incident is not to be reproduced here. After this affair, orders were issued to limit the extent of reporting in the Si-chǒng-ki and to prohibit writing of house histories.⁽²⁾ With the abdication of King Yǒn-san-kun, writing the "house history" was resumed; the previous error of signing a house history was admitted in the 1st year of King In-chong 仁宗 (1545) when the Chung-chong 中宗 Annals was compiled, and no signature was requested any more.⁽³⁾ However, in the 4th year of King Myǒng-chong 明宗 (1549), the next reign, signing was again requested while the compilation of the In-chong 仁宗 Annals was under way.⁽⁴⁾ Some twenty years later, the so-called era of factional strife set in. Once the era set in, the "house histories", involved in party strife, whether signed or unsigned, had lost sight of their objectivity.

What became of the Si-chǒng-ki on the other hand? Since its institutionalization, it had become the essence of the records in the Ch'un-ch'ŭ-kwan promising the substantialization of the contents of the Annals to be compiled in the future. However, as anything institutionalized, it got impeded as well as assured. In April, the 4th year of King Sǒng-chong 成宗 (1476), forty-two years after its institutionalization, a request was submitted that the senior officials connected with the Ch'un-ch'ŭ-kwan report to the Hall regularly to superintend the compilation of the Si-chǒng-ki because it had not been compiled for the past few years.⁽⁵⁾ And in the next reign of King Yǒn-san-kun after the affair connected with the history

(1) 睿宗實錄 Bk. 5. 睿宗元年 4 月 (11, 18, 27 日).

(2) 燕山君日記 Bk. 62. 燕山君 12 年 4 月 (18, 19, 20 日).

(3) 仁宗實錄 Bk. 1. 仁宗元年閏正月 (17, 18 日), 3 月 (2, 3 日).

(4) 明宗實錄 Bk. 9. 明宗 4 年正月 (3, 13 日).

(5) 成宗實錄 Bk. 66. 成宗 7 年 4 月 (11 日).

materials in 1498, as part of the destruction of the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan system in July, his 11th year (1505), it was decided that the Si-chǒng-ki be compiled every five years.⁽¹⁾

The decision to compile the Si-chǒng-ki every five years during the reign of King Yǒn-san-kun, it is supposed, was cancelled with the abdication of the King; nevertheless, the authority of the Si-chǒng-ki was violated more and more. In February, the 3rd year of King Myǒng-chong 明宗 (1548) after the reigns of King Chung-chong 中宗 and King In-chong 仁宗, the Si-chǒng-ki came to be openly exploited in party strife. The government authorities, detecting in the Si-chǒng-ki of 1545 and 1546, the passages which might be suspected of sympathy with the opposition party, executed the writers Sun Hǔng-chǒk 孫弘績, An Myǒng-se 安名世, and Cho Pak 趙璞.⁽²⁾ Not only that, they caused the portions in the Si-chǒng-ki to be re-written.⁽³⁾ After this, Si-chǒng-ki was compiled regularly as stipulated, but its abuse as a means in party strife was exactly as in the case of the "house histories" as stated in foregoing. The final form of the Si-chǒng-ki is given in full detail under the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan in the *Ryuk-chǒn-cho-rye* 六典條例 (Bk. 6), compiled in the 2nd year of King Ko-chong 高宗 (1865).

It is evident that the history materials (house histories) and the Si-chǒng-ki became the most essential basis in compiling every Annals, but they did not become the Annals exactly as they stood. For instance, Ŏ Se-kyǒm 魚世謙 who was engaged in compiling the Sǒng-chong Annals in July, the 4th year of King Yǒn-san-kun (1498), says: "As a rule, it is customary to collect all the important documents, such as Sǔng-chǒng-wǒn-ir-ki 承政院日記, Si-chǒng-ki, the Journal of the Confucianistic lectures, and the documents of each government office, dividing the period into several sections, and forming several groups responsible for some sections, and thus making them compile the documents; and then adopt the whole "house histories" of the history officials under each date and insert them in the documents, not omitting or adding even a single word. When these are compiled, they are submitted to the To-ch'ǒng 都廳 (the Executive Office). The Executive Officer summons the senior compilers of each section to be engaged in deliberating on adoptions and omissions. Even trifling matters, if true and accurate, are retained; if otherwise, are omitted. It goes without saying that, in deliberating on propriety in recording important state affairs,

(1) 燕山君日記 Bk. 58. 燕山君 11年 7月 (8日).

(2) 明宗實錄 Bk. 7. 明宗 3年 2月 (13日).

(3) Ibid. Bk. 8. 明宗 3年 11月 (3日).

utmost discretion is used."⁽¹⁾

This is what one man says at one period, but it may well serve a typical statement of the processes and steps taken in compiling the Annals. In order to understand this description, one must remember the existence, at that time, of a special organ called the Annals Office 實錄廳. The old work of compiling the Annals for the personnel of the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan meant performance of a double rôle—that routine of compiling the Si-ch'öng-ki and this concurrent additional task for a certain period. However, this was found inefficient and inconvenient; so when a king died, and compiling the Annals of his reign was undertaken, a new special office called the Annals Office was created, in which the members of the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan were assigned new temporary duties in the new office. It is not known exactly when the Annals Office was created for the first time; nevertheless, the oldest instance is the one created for compiling the S'öng-chong Annals during the reign of King Y'ön-san-kun which may be supposed from the above quotation from Ö Se-kyöm 魚世謙. A direct introduction of the full system of such Annals Office is that in the My'öng-chong Annals Office established in August, the 1st year of King S'ön-cho 宣祖 (1568).⁽²⁾

總裁官 (President)	(1 person)			
都廳 (Executive Office)	{	堂上 (seniors) (3)		
		郎廳 (juniors) (4)		
各房 (Sections)	{	堂上 (seniors) (6)	{	
		郎廳 (juniors) (12)		一房 (Section 1) {
				堂上 (seniors) (2)
		郎廳 (juniors) (4)	郎廳 (juniors) (4)	
			Responsible for 8 years	
			二房 (Section 2) {	
			堂上 (seniors) (2)	
			郎廳 (juniors) (4)	
			Responsible for 8 years	
			三房 (Section 3) {	
			堂上 (seniors) (2)	
			郎廳 (juniors) (4)	
			Responsible for 7 years	
書吏 (Copiers)	(11)			
使令 (Messengers)	(25)			

The My'öng-chong Annals Office was provided with a compilation-room outside the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan while the President stayed within the H'ung-mun-kwan 弘文館 and the To-ch'öng-rang-ch'öng 都廳郎廳 (the Juniors of the Executive Office in the Ui-ch'öng-pu 議政府 (Government) and the N'ë-si-pu 內侍府 (Department of the Royal Household). And as a temporary store-room of the materials collected, a room in the H'ung-mun-kwan was accom-

(1) 燕山君日記 Bk. 30. 燕山君 4年 7月 (21日).

(2) 眉巖日記草 Bk. 1. 戊辰 (1568) 7月 12日, 8月 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19日.

modated. As soon as the appointment of the personnel from the President down was decided on, the Sir-rok-ch'öng-sa-mok 實錄廳事目 (Specifications of the Annals Office) was prepared and the work for which each section was responsible was assigned. Then the Sir-rok-ch'ör-mok 實錄節目 (Agreements of the Annals Office) was deliberated on. Ch'ör-mok 節目 (Agreements) were also called Pöm-ryöi 凡例 (Examples). There were items discussed on the compilation and the method of description. When compilation was completed, was published the Sir-rok-ch'öng-üi-kwe 實錄廳儀軌 (Records of the Annals Office) which include the Sa-mok 事目, the Ch'ör-mok 節目, and all the other items covering the whole term between the founding and closing of the Annals Office. The oldest Üi-kwe 儀軌 extant is, as given in the following table, the Sön-cho-sir-rok-su-ch'öng-ch'öng-üi-kwe 宣祖實錄修正廳儀軌 (Records of the Office for Compiling the Revised Son-cho 宣祖 Annals). However, it is probable that the first compilation of the Üi-kwe dates back to an earlier time.

宣祖實錄修正廳儀軌	1 vol.
光海君日記纂修廳儀軌	1 vol.
仁祖實錄廳儀軌	1 vol.
孝宗實錄纂修廳儀軌	1 vol.
顯宗實錄纂修廳儀軌	1 vol.
顯宗實錄改修廳儀軌	1 vol.
肅宗實錄纂修廳儀軌	1 vol.
景宗修正實錄儀軌	1 vol.
英祖實錄廳儀軌	1 vol.
正祖實錄刪節廳儀軌	1 vol.
純祖實錄刪節廳儀軌	1 vol.
憲宗實錄廳儀軌	1 vol.
哲宗實錄廳儀軌	1 vol.

Now, as to the Annals completed, was prepared the Sir-rok-hyöng-chi-an 實錄形止案 with the numbers of its books, volumes, the years and months of the contents in each book, and as it was deposited in the Royal Libraries the Sir-rok-pong-an-hyöng-chi-an 實錄奉安形止案 was prepared. The extant Sir-rok-hyöng-chi-an are the following eleven beginning with the Sön-cho-sir-rok-hyöng-chi-an.

宣祖實錄形止案	1 vol.	1616
宣祖修正實錄形止案	1 vol.	1657
光海君日記形止案	1 vol.	1624
仁祖實錄形止案	1 vol.	1653
孝宗實錄形止案	1 vol.	1661
顯宗實錄形止案	1 vol.	1677

顯宗改修實錄形止案	1 vol.	1683
肅宗實錄形止案	1 vol.	1728
景宗實錄形止案	1 vol.	1732
景宗修正實錄形止案	1 vol.	1781
英祖實錄形止案	1 vol.	1781

Besides these, there is one printed record entitled *Sir-rok-ch'ông-che-myông-ki* 實錄廳題名記. The only ones extant are those for the three Annals Offices for King Chông-cho 正祖, King Sun-cho 純祖, King Hôn-chong 憲宗. Probably there was none prior to them, and probably none after them either. The entries in them are the lists of the full names of those who participated in the compilation from the President down to the Ki-sa-kwan 記事官 (history officials) and the exact dates (years, months, and days) of the important events⁽¹⁾ from the initiative of compilation to the closing. It is a concise Ŭi-kwe 儀軌. In my view, the chief aim of this publication was to distribute it among the participants in commemoration of the honor.

Chapter III

Preservation: The Sa-ko 史庫 and Printing

The preservation of the entire Ri Dynasty Annals during the last five centuries is due, not merely to continued writing, but also to the establishment of the system of their custody and preservation from early times. It was a system initiated, advanced, and developed under the preceding Koryŏ dynasty.

In the case of China, as early as the 1st century, Ssŭ-ma Chien 司馬遷 in the last chapter of the *Shih-chi* 史記 definitely proposed the theory of preserving the original and the duplicate at two different sites, saying, "The original is to be preserved in a noted mountain, and the duplicate in the capital." The adoption of this method by Koryŏ dates from the beginning of the 13th century. This method was invented as the result of bitter experience. As already stated, the first disaster to literature in the capital of Koryŏ took place in the 2nd year of King Hyŏn-chong (1011) when the Chi-tan 契丹 troops invaded the country. In the civil war (the

(1) Appointment of senior officials. The first conference. Commencement of preparing the first draft. Completion of the first draft. Commencement of the second draft. Completion of the second draft. Commencement of the first proof-reading. Commencement of the second proof-reading. Commencement of printing. Completion of printing. Binding. Depositing the copies in the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan 春秋館. The Dinner Party in recognition given by the King. Destruction of history materials. Presentation of the letter of thanks for the King's dinner party.

Rebellion of Ri Cha-kyöm 李資謙) 115 years later, in the 4th year of King In-chong (1126), the palaces were burned down one after another, and the Annals in the History Hall (史館) were exposed to danger, but through the great efforts of Kim Su-ung 金守雄 the librarian, they were carried out, and they escaped destruction.⁽¹⁾

As the Annals of Myōng-chong 明宗 was completed in September, the 14th year of King Ko-chong 高宗 (1227), a copy was placed in the History Hall in the king's capital and another copy in the Hā-in-sa 海印寺 Temple (慶尚北道高靈郡)⁽²⁾. It was the first instance of depositing annals in a province, and two reasons may be given for taking such a measure: that for the past few years (1216-1219) the Chi-tan remnants, flowing into the northern frontier and confining themselves in the Kang-tong 江東 Castle, raged until they were subjugated by the combined forces of Koryō, Mongolia 蒙古 and Tung-chên 東眞 and that, after the subjugation, Koryō was continuously and keenly feeling the pressure of Mongolia and Tung-chên. The Annals separately kept on this occasion were probably only the Myōng-chong Annals, but the subsequent circumstances would indicate that the duplicates of the annals for the kings prior to King Myōng-chong came to be preserved in the Hā-in-sa Temple.

In June, the 19th year of King Ko-chong (1232), negotiations with Mongolia came to a rupture, and the whole government was transferred to Kang-hwa 江華 Island. It goes without saying that on that occasion all the Annals of the past kings were also carried to the island. The sojourn of the Koryō government in the island lasted as long as twenty-eight years, and it was only in the 11th year of King Wōn-chong 元宗 (1270) that the return to its former capital (開城) was completed. About the same time, the Annals were also carried back from Kang-hwa to the capital and the Buddhist Room (佛堂庫) in the palace became a temporary store for the Annals, but when in September, the year of the ascension of King Ch'ung-ryōl (1274), the Chung-sō-sōng 中書省 of the Che-sang-kung 堤上宮 was decided to be the History Hall (史館), the Annals were also removed there.⁽³⁾

In November, the 16th year of King Ch'ung-ryōl (1270), Ha-tan 哈丹 the remnants of the rebels of No-yan 乃顔 of Mongolia invaded from northeast (咸鏡道) and threatened to come down south, the Annals of the past kings and other important writings were transferred to Kang-hwa again.⁽⁴⁾ Though they certainly remained in the island until January, two

(1) 高麗史 Bk. 98. 金守雄傳.

(2) Ibid. Bk. 22. 高宗 14 年 9 月 (4 日).

(3) Ibid. Bk. 28. 忠烈王 卽位年 9 月 (25 日).

(4) Ibid. Bk. 30. 忠烈王 16 年 11 月 (5 日).

years later, (1292),⁽¹⁾ there is no record showing their return to the capital.

From the 8th year of King Kong-min (1359) to the 11th year (1362), Koryŏ suffered a serious disaster from the inflow of the party of Hung-chin-tsei 紅巾賊 (the Red Scarf Rebels), the Chinese itinerant robbers. In November, 1361, the capital was occupied by the rebels, and the king fled south. As soon as the rebels went and peace reigned again in January, the next year, Ri In-pok 李仁復 was dispatched to the capital and made him recover the Annals and other valuable books, but what he succeeded in recovering was only twenty per cent so it is reported.⁽²⁾ Though some people then suggested that the remaining annals be removed to the Hā-in-sa Temple, it was not realized.⁽³⁾ At any rate, it must be admitted, the Annals in the capital, after this trouble, were almost completely disfigured.

While the Annals in the capital were mostly destroyed by the foreigners who invaded from the north, the Annals in the Hā-in-sa Temple were removed from place to place against the foreigners who invaded from the south. The definite point of departure was September, the 5th year of King U 禡王 (1379); but before referring to the affair, we must mention the fact that prior to this, in May, the 10th year of King Wŏn-chong 元宗 (1269), a precautionary measure against the Japanese raid which had been reported threatening, the Annals preserved in the Island of Chang-sŏn Prefecture 彰善縣 (慶尚南道南海郡昌善島) were transferred to Chin-to 珍島 Island (全羅南道珍島郡) in the west.⁽⁴⁾ However as to when or whence the annals preserved in Chang-sŏn Island had been brought there, it is not known, nor as to what became of them after their transference to Chin-to Island.

A possible inference would be that sometimes during the thirty years when the government was removed to Kang-hwa and the Mongols raged north and south the Annals in the Hā-in-sa Temple had been transferred to Chang-sŏn Island, which were thence taken to Chin-to Island, and finally as the trouble with the Mongols was settled, were restored in the Hā-in-sa Temple. The 5th year of King U 禡王 (1379) previously referred to is about a hundred years later. In September of this year, the Japanese invaders penetrated far into the interior, ravaging the southern piedmont of Mt. Kaya 伽倻山; therefore, the Annals in the Hā-in-sa Temple were moved north to the Tŭk-ik-sa 得益寺 Temple at Sŏn-chu 善州 (慶尚北道善山郡).⁽⁵⁾ Further, in the 7th year of King U (1381) they were transferred to

(1) 高麗史 Bk. 30. 忠烈王 18 年正月 (24 日).

(2) Ibid. Bk. 40. 恭愍王 11 年正月 (23 日), 8 月 (24 日), 10 月 (4 日).

(3) Ibid. Bk. 111. 裨撰傳.

Ibid. Bk. 112. 白文寶傳.

(4) Ibid. Bk. 26. 元宗 10 年 5 月 (2 日).

(5) Ibid. Bk. 134. 辛禡傳.

東國輿地勝覽 Bk. 29. 善山郡, 佛宇, 得益寺.

P'o-mon-sa 普門社 at Pu-chu 甫州 (慶尚北道醴泉郡). However, this place stood in danger of Japanese invasion from the eastern coast, in July, this year, they were transferred northwest to the Kă-ch'ôn-sa 開天寺 Temple at Ch'ung-chu 忠州 (忠清北道)⁽¹⁾ and again in June, two years later (1383) further west to the Ch'il-chang-sa 七長寺 Temple at Chuk-chu 竹州 (京畿道竹山).⁽²⁾ In December, the 2nd year of King Kong-yang 恭讓王 (1390), to avoid the danger of Japanese invaders from the western coast the Annals at the Ch'il-chang-sa Temple were again moved to Ch'ung-chu.⁽³⁾ Only it seems that this time they were placed not in the Kă-ch'ôn-sa 開天寺 Temple, but near the Government office of Ch'ung-chu. In July, two years later the Koryŏ dynasty was overthrown. So it follows that the last places that protected the Koryŏ dynasty Annals were the capital for one copy and Ch'ung-chu for the other.

In July, 1392, the revolution succeeded and the Ri dynasty started. Ri Sŏng-kyu 李成桂 held the ceremony of enthronement in the Su-ch'ang-kung 壽昌宮, the palace of the Koryŏ dynasty. The History Hall system of the Koryŏ dynasty was taken over entire by the Ri dynasty, with Royal Library established in one of the rooms of the Su-ch'ang-kung Palace. In December, the 2nd year of King Chŏng-chong 定宗 (1400), a big fire broke out in the Su-ch'ang-kung Palace and the Annals were in danger, but were carried away through the efforts of Ro I 盧異 a man on night duty⁽⁴⁾; then the Royal Library was established in the Ch'ung-ch'u-wŏn 中樞院, but later moved to the Sang-ŭi-wŏn 尚衣院.⁽⁵⁾ In September, the 5th year of King T'ă-chong 太宗 (1405), as soon as transfer of the capital to Seoul (漢京) was decided on, the Royal Library was moved to Seoul,⁽⁶⁾ and installed on the 2nd of October in the Western gallery of Kŭn-chŏng-chŏn 勸政殿 Hall in the Kyŏng-pok-kung 景福宮 Palace,⁽⁷⁾ and then in the Chang-sŏng-chŏn 長生殿 Hall; and in May, the 13th year of King T'ă-chong (1413) in the Chă-kung 齋宮 of the Sa-hun-kak 思勳閣.⁽⁸⁾

As the Sa-kwan and the Sa-ko in the capital were those inherited from the Koryŏ dynasty, so the provincial Sa-ko of the Koryŏ dynasty at Ch'ung-chu survived as the provincial Sa-ko of the Ri dynasty. This was not merely the provincial Sa-ko, but as a store for literature, was valued

(1) 高麗史 Bk. 134 辛禔傳. 東國輿地勝覽 Bk. 14. 忠州, 佛宇, 開天寺.

(2) 高麗史 Bk. 135. 辛禔傳. 東國輿地勝覽 Bk. 8. 京畿, 竹山, 佛宇, 七長寺.

(3) 高麗史 Bk. 45. 恭讓王 2 年 12 月 (5 日).

(4) 定宗實錄 Bk. 6. 定宗 2 年 12 月 (22 日).

(5) 太宗實錄 Bk. 3. 太宗 2 年 6 月 (11 日).

(6) Ibid. Bk. 10. 太宗 5 年 9 月 (29 日).

(7) Ibid. Bk. 10. 太宗 5 年 10 月 (2 日).

(8) Ibid. Bk. 25. 太宗 13 年 5 月 (21 日).

more than the Sa-ko at the capital. The first annals of the Ri dynasty, (the T'ä-cho Annals) existed as an only fair handwriting copy at the beginning, but in December, the 7th year of King Se-chong 世宗 (1425) though the King proposed to make a duplicate of it and to put it in the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan in the capital, his proposal not being accepted, on the contrary, the only fair handwriting copy was placed in the Sa-ko at Ch'ung-chu.⁽¹⁾ Later, when the Annals of King Chǒng-chong and of King T'ä-chong were compiled, the only fair handwriting copies were also in the Ch'ung-chu-sa-ko. This was in March, the 13th year of King Se-chong (1431).⁽²⁾ Now, in June, the 21st year of King Se-chong (1439), the Sa-hǒn-pu 司憲府 pointing out the danger of keeping the Annals in the Ch'ung-chu-sa-ko alone, insisted that a few more duplicate copies be prepared and preserved separately in several mountains in several localities.⁽³⁾ As the result, in July, the same year, the establishment of two provincial Sa-ko took place.⁽⁴⁾ They were the Chǒn-chu-sa-ko 全州史庫 (全羅道全州) and the Sǒng-chu-sa-ko 星州史庫 (慶尚北道星州). Now there were four stores for the Annals, the Central Sa-ko in the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan at the capital, and three provincial Sa-ko at Ch'ung-chu, Chǒn-chu and Sǒng-chu, four in total. It was since December, the 27th year of King Se-chong (1445) that the equal number of the Annals were placed in these four Sa-ko. On completing the revision of the three series of Annals for King T'ä-cho, King Chǒng-chong, and King T'ä-chong, they made four handwriting copies and put them in four different sites.⁽⁵⁾ However, for some time the principle of preserving the Annals at four different sites was not to be established yet, as seen in the fact that, though in March, the 2nd year of King Tan-chong 端宗 (1454), the Se-chong Annals were completed,⁽⁶⁾ and November, the following year, the Mun-chong 文宗 Annals,⁽⁷⁾ only copy of each was prepared and placed in the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan. Therefore, in November, the 12th year of King Se-cho (1466), Ryang Sǒng-chi 梁誠之 presented a written opinion⁽⁸⁾ in which he suggested that three copies be printed of both the annals of King Se-chong and King Mun-chong and be preserved in the three different Sa-ko. This opinion was not approved. But two important

(1) 世宗實錄 Bk. 30. 世宗 7 年 12 月 (5 日).

(2) Ibid. Bk. 52. 世宗 13 年 3 月 (17 日).

Ibid. Bk. 53. 世宗 13 年 4 月 (25 日).

(3) Ibid. Bk. 85. 世宗 21 年 6 月 (26 日).

(4) Ibid. Bk. 86. 世宗 21 年 7 月 (3 日).

(5) Ibid. Bk. 110. 世宗 27 年 11 月 (21 日), 12 月 (18 日).

(6) 端宗實錄 Bk. 6. 端宗 2 年 3 月 (30 日).

(7) 世祖實錄 Bk. 2. 世祖元年 11 月 (10 日).

(8) Ibid. Bk. 40. 世祖 12 年 11 月 (17 日).

points in regard to the system of preservation of the annals can be noticed in it. The one concerned the printing. Ryang proposed that three copies of the Annals of Se-chong and Mun-chong should be printed. He desired also that as to the annals for Kings T'ä-cho, Chöng-chong and T'ä-chong, four printed copies of which were already in the custody of four Sa-ko at four places, one more copy be printed in order to secure perfect preservation. The other new point was that the sites of the three provincial Sa-ka being not only in danger of fire, but also helplessly threatened by foreign invaders, the Chöŋ-chu-sa-ko 全州史庫 be transferred to Mt. Chiri-san 智異山 (a high mountain on the province boundary between 全羅南道, 全羅北道 and 慶尚南道), the Söng-chu-sa-ko 星州史庫 to Mt. Kim-o-san 金鑿山 (慶尚北道善山郡)⁽¹⁾ the Ch'ung-chu-sa-ko 忠州史庫 to Mt. Wöl-ak-san 月岳山 at Ch'öng-p'ung 淸風 (忠淸北道堤川郡) and, as in the case of Buddhist temples grant farms and rice-fields to nearby villagers for guarding the Sa-ko.

Of the new proposals by Ryang, the first one of printing for preservation was adopted and realized. When the Se-cho Annals were completed in December, the 2nd year of King Söng-chong 成宗 (1471), and the Ye-chong 睿宗 Annals in May, the following year, three copies of each, in addition to as many copies of the previously completed Annals of King Se-chong and the King Mun-chong—four series of Annals, all told—were printed at the same time in June, the 4th year of King Söng-chong (1473) and four copies of each including the fair handwriting copy were deposited in the four Sa-ko.⁽²⁾

Thus the first and standardized printing of the Ri Dynasty Annals was for three copies, though it is not known whether three or four copies of the Annals compiled after this were printed. One may suppose that three copies were probably printed down to the time of King Sön-cho 宣祖, the precedence being followed.

The frailty of the provincial Sa-ko pointed by Ryang was partly proved on November 6, the 33rd year of King Chung-chong (1538) when a fire destroyed the whole Söng-chu-sa-ko. The government, by copying part of it from the Annals in the capital, and printing part (the Se-chong Annals and the Söng-chong Annals), restored them.⁽³⁾ Fifty-three years later, the

(1) Kim-o-san 金鑿山 is identical with Kim-o-san 金烏山 mentioned in 東國輿地勝覽 Bk. 29, under 山川 in 慶尙道善山都護府, 鑿 and 烏 being of the same pronunciation o (오).

(2) 成宗實錄 Bk. 31. 成宗 4 年 6 月 (8 日).
東國輿地勝覽 Bk. 14. 忠淸道忠州, 宮室, 實錄閣.

(3) 中宗實錄 Bk. 89. 中宗 33 年 11 月 (13 日), (16 日), 12 月 (16 日). 34 年正月 (14 日).

25th year of King Sŏn-cho (1592) witnessed the invasion of the Japanese troops, and Ryang's foresight was proved most strikingly. For two of the provincial Sa-ko and the Central Sa-ko at the capital were simultaneously destroyed completely. Only the Chŏn-chu-sa-ko escaped disaster, and that through extraordinary device and efforts.

On 13th April, the 25th year of King Sŏn-cho (1592), the vanguard of the Japanese troops landed on Pu-san 釜山⁽¹⁾, and on May 2, they entered Seoul, the capital.⁽²⁾ In the meanwhile the capture of Sŏng-chu 星州 by the third army under Nagamasa Kuroda 黒田長政 took place on April 27,⁽³⁾ and that of Ch'ung-chu 忠州 by the first army under Yukinaga Konishi 小西行長 on April 28.⁽⁴⁾ The complete destruction of the Sa-ko at Sŏng-chu and Ch'ung-chu probably took place on that occasion. The Annals and other literature in the capital were burnt up on a large scale by the citizens before the entry of the Japanese troops.⁽⁵⁾

It was in 1439 that the establishment of the Chŏn-chu-sa-ko was decided, and towards the end of 1445 that the Annals were for the first time deposited there, but the Sa-ko then was those temporarily provided in the Sŏng-i-sa 僧義寺 Temple inside the city.⁽⁶⁾ In the autumn, the 10th year of King Se-cho (1464), they were removed to the Chin-nam-ru 嶺南樓 also inside the city.⁽⁷⁾ King Se-cho issued an order for construction of a permanent building for the Sa-ko. Due to bad rice crops for succeeding years, however, this was not accomplished. In the spring of the 3rd year of King Sŏng-chong (1472), the Se-cho Annals and the Ye-chong Annals were completed and ready for storing. At that time a new site was chosen within the city near the South Gate (南門) and construction being rushed, until in May, the following year (1473) an independent building for the Chŏn-chu-sa-ko was completed,⁽⁸⁾ and the eight series of annals from the T'ä-cho Annals to the Ye-chong Annals were deposited. That the Sŏng-chong Annals, the Yon-san-kun's Diary (燕山君日記), the Chung-chong Annals, the Myŏng-chong Annals were deposited as they were finished one after another, is known by the "Up-to-Date Catalogue of the Chŏn-chu-sa-ko" dated the 21st year of King Sŏn-cho (1588) immediately before the war, and of the

(1) Hiroshi Ikeuchi 池内宏: *Bunroku Keichō no Eki* 文祿慶長の役 (Japanese Campaigns in Korea in 1592-1598), 別編第一. p. 8.

(2) Ibid. p. 50.

(3) Ibid. p. 57.

(4) Ibid. p. 27.

(5) 宣祖修正實錄 Bk. 26. 宣祖 25 年 4 月.

(6) 東國輿地勝覽 Bk. 33. 全羅道全州 (實錄閣).

(7) Ibid.

(8) Ibid. Bk. 33. 全羅道全州 (實錄閣).

成宗實錄 Bk. 33. 成宗 4 年 8 月 (26 日).

24th year (1591). They serve not only to show the contents of the Chŏn-chu-sa-ko but also to analyze roughly the contents of the Sŏng-chu and Ch'ung-chu-sa-ko immediately before their loss by war-fire.

That the Annals in the Chŏn-chu-sa-ko escaped and survived the war-fire was due to the fact that there was sufficient time to transfer the Sa-ko elsewhere before the entry of the Japanese army into Chŏn-ra-to 全羅道 and more than anything else that the Japanese when approaching a point near Chŏn-chu could not occupy it. The Japanese army under Takakage Kobayakawa 小早川隆景 attacked Chŏn-chu from July 8, the 25th year of King Sŏn-cho (1592) to the 10th, but not succeeding retreated. The Annals in the Chŏn-chu-sa-ko prior to this, by the end of June, had been transferred for safety to the Ŭm-pong-am 隱峯庵 (井邑縣內藏山) fifteen *ri* to the southwest and again to the Pi-rä-am 飛來庵 in the same mountain on the 14th. However, as the Japanese showed a sign to advance north from the direction of Chŏn-ra-nam-to in July of the following year the Annals were taken out of Mt. Nä-chang-san 內藏山 and transferred further north again and again, from Chŏng-ŭp 井邑, A-san 牙山, Su-wŏn 水原, Nam-yang 南陽, In-chŏn 仁川, Pu-p'yŏng 富平, Kang-hwa Island 江華島 to Hā-chu 海州 in August.

The complete loss of the three out of the four copies of the Annals preserved at four different sites made them have an exceedingly pessimistic view of the one remaining copy. In order to protect the only copy, there arose a desire to construct a Sa-ko in a mountain fortress near Hā-chu and to prepare a duplicate but it was postponed for some time. In November, 1595, the Annals were again transferred to Kang-hwa Island which was considered a safer site and deposited in the government office there. As the Japanese began to invade for a second time in 1597, preparation of a duplicate was undertaken, but as war-disaster approached, the work was suspended. In September, the same year, the Annals were transferred to the Po-hyŏn-sa 普賢寺 Temple in Mt. Myo-hyang-san 妙香山 in P'yŏng-an-to 平安道 (平安北道熙川郡). Three years later, two years after the withdrawal of the Japanese, namely, in March, the 33rd year of King Sŏn-cho (1600) the government for a third time deliberated on the plan of preparing duplicates of the Annals which narrowly escaped the disaster and preserving at several sites to establish the means of preserving them permanently. The Annals were now moved from Mt. Myo-hyang-san to Yŏng-pyŏn 寧邊 in the spring the following year, and in August, the following year (1602), to prompt the process of preparing duplicates, transference of the Annals to Kang-hwa Island was discussed, and this was carried out in May, the 36th year of King Sŏn-cho (1603). After a while, however, it was found

that printing was more advantageous than copying, and from July, the same year, movable type printing of the Annals from the T'ä-cho Annals down was undertaken at the capital. In two years nine months, in April, the 39th year of King Sön-cho (1606), printing three copies of the Annals for thirteen reigns down to the war, 804 volumes in total were completed. Three new copies, one proof copy, and the original (formerly the Chön-chu-sa-ko copy), five copies in all, of the Annals were completed. Four new copies were desirable, but in order to economize postwar materials, the proof copy was utilized to make another copy. It was considered an ideal plan to print all five copies of the Annals to be compiled in the future, but this was realized only after the In-cho Annals which were completed in the 4th year of King Hyo-chong 孝宗 (1653).

Now as to the five sites for preserving the five copies of the Annals, this had been being discussed since October, the 38th year of King Sön-cho (1605). While the copies were in the press the five following sites were chosen: (1) the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan in the capital, (2) Kang-hwa Island 江華島, (3) Mt. Myo-hyang-san 妙香山, (4) Mt. T'ä-päk-san 太白山 and (5) Mt. O-t'ä-san 五台山. The copies were distributed as follows: one set of newly printed copies to the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan, the original copy to the Kang-hwa Island, a set of the newly printed copies respectively to Mt. Myo-hyang-san and Mt. T'ä-päk-san, and the proof copy to Mt. O-t'ä-san.⁽¹⁾

Nevertheless, the Annals in the capital was as ever in unsatisfactory condition. In the 2nd year of King In-cho 仁祖 (1624), only seventeen years after the installation of one set of the newly printed copies of the Annals for thirteen reigns, there arose the rebellion of Ri Kwä 李适. It is said that when the rebels entered the capital, not a few government records and documents were lost.⁽²⁾ Some suppose that the Annals suffered much damage. There was even a rumor in later days that all the Annals had been destroyed.⁽³⁾ Ensuing this, in January, the 5th year of King In-cho (1627), there came the first Manchurian invasion. The king with his government escaped the disaster in Kang-hwa. Though on this occasion the occupation of the capital by the invaders was spared, the documents were partly transferred to Kang-hwa.⁽⁴⁾ In the second invasion by the Manchurian army in the 14th year of King In-cho (1636), the king and his government planned to flee to Kang-hwa again, but did not succeed. For

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- (1) 明宗實錄 刊記 at the end.
 (2) 仁祖實錄 Bk. 4. 仁祖 2年 2月 (22日).
 (3) 純祖實錄 Bk. 14. 純祖 11年 閏 3月 (7日).
 (4) 仁祖實錄 Bk. 28. 仁祖 11年 8月 (10日).
 Ibid. Bk. 29. 仁祖 12年 5月 (22日).

the Manchurian troops had reached Kang-hwa before they did and burned down a greater part of the local castle. On this occasion most of the Annals and other documents of the Central Sa-ko temporarily transferred to Kang-hwa were lost.⁽¹⁾ Therefore, since 1636 the Sa-ko in the capital had only the In-cho Annals down as they were compiled and installed thereafter. Even these did not remain intact, for in March (intercalary), the 11th year of King Sun-cho 純祖 (1811), a fire which broke out in the Ye-mun-kwan 藝文館 destroyed sixty-six cases of the Annals out of the seventy-two cases preserved in the hall.⁽²⁾ This accounts for the fact that on the last day of the Ri dynasty, it is said, there was almost no annals left in the Seoul Sa-ko.

On the other hand, the provincial Sa-ko three in number before the war, now increased to four, and in cities before the war, now transferred to remote mountains, proved successful, if only judged from the results. As to the Kang-hwa-sa-ko which preserved the original Annals (formerly the Chŏn-chu-sa-ka copy), they did not enjoy peace. The Kang-hwa-sa-ko was newly constructed in 1606 in Mt. Ma-ni-san 摩尼山 near the southwestern corner of the island, but it is doubtful whether the Annals were deposited there at once, because, as stated previously, there was the second Manchurian invasion, and as the Kang-hwa Castle fell, in addition to the Annals temporarily transferred from the Seoul Sa-ko, the Annals in the Kang-hwa-sa-ko suffered considerable damages.⁽³⁾ It was estimated that the Annals, of which all books were lost, numbered 280 and the pages lost in partly-lost books numbered 2778.⁽⁴⁾ Traces indicated that in those days the Sa-ko had been in the west of the Pong-sŏn-chŏn 奉先殿 palace in the city.⁽⁵⁾ These numerous defects were later supplemented by referring to another copy. For this work three hundred students from Chŏn-ra-to 全羅道 and Kyŏng-sang-to 慶尚道 were mobilized. The Annals thus restored were, in 1660, installed in the newly built Sa-ko in the Chŏng-ch'ok 鼎足 Mountain-fortress about one *ri* to the east of Mt. Ma-ni-san 摩尼山, and two custodians were appointed.⁽⁶⁾ In the Chŏng-ch'ok 鼎足 Fortress there was an old temple named Chŏn-tŭng-sa 傳燈寺, and it is considered that the priests of the temple were made to defend the Sa-ko in case of

(1) 仁祖實錄 Bk. 34. 仁祖 15 年 2 月 (27 日).

Ibid. Bk. 45. 仁祖 22 年 8 月 (6 日, 27 日).

(2) 純祖實錄 Bk. 14. 純祖 11 年閏 3 月 (6 日).

(3) 仁祖實錄 Bk. 45. 仁祖 22 年 8 月 (6 日).

(4) Iwakichi Inaba 稻葉岩吉: "Sekishō Shiko Hōmon-ki 赤裳史庫訪問記" Chōsen Shigaku 朝鮮史學 No. 7.

(5) 沁都志. 殿閣. 史閣.

(6) 江幸府史. 卷上. 宮殿. 史閣.

emergency. The Sa-ka was not transferred until the end of the Ri dynasty.

The Sa-ko in Mt. Myo-hyang-san was built within the premises of the Po-hyön-sa 普賢寺 Temple in which, as stated previously, the Annals in the Chön-chu-sa-ko had been kept for about three years during the war. When the 5th year of King In-cho (1627) witnessed the first Manchurian invasion, some people proposed that the Sa-ko be transferred south to Mt. Ch'ök-sang-san 赤裳山 (全羅道裳朱郡)⁽¹⁾, and finally in January, the 11th year of King In-cho (1632), the plan was realized.⁽²⁾ Mt. Ch'ök-sang-san 赤裳山 had recently been reconstructed as a mountain-fortress with a military purpose; for its defence a temple had been founded and much was expected of the priests in the protection of the Sa-ko.⁽³⁾ Neither was the Sa-ko transferred until the last days of the Ri dynasty.

The Sa-ko in Mt. T'ä-päk-san were built near the Kak-hwa-sa 覺華寺 Temple in the mountains over five *ri* to the northeast of Pong-hwa 奉化 (慶尚北道) at the southern foot of Mt. T'ä-päk-san. The Sa-ko in Mt. O-t'ä-san 五台山 was established between the Sang-wön-sa 上院寺 Temple and the Wöl-chöng-sa 月精寺 Temple in the O-t'ä 五台 mountains (江原道). These two had custodians and much was expected of the priests' assistance in defending the Sa-ko, as in the case of other Sa-ko, and like them these were not transferred until the end of the dynasty. Furthermore, their original construction had remained intact since their completion in 1606. These Sa-ko consisted of two similar buildings surrounded by a low earthen wall. On the outside of the wall and adjacent to it stood the custodians' house. The two buildings were each a two-storied wooden house approximately six metres square. One was called Sa-kak 吏閣 or Sir-rok-kak (實錄閣) (Annals House) and accommodated the Annals of the succeeding reigns primarily, and also all sorts of books published by the government. The other was called Sun-wön-kak 璿源閣, and accommodated the genealogies of the king's family and the like. As for their scale, according to the last inquiry made of the Ch'ök-sang-san as of 1910, there were in the Sir-rok-kak 824 of the Annals, 260 volumes of documents and other 2,984 volumes. In the Sun-wön-kak 璿源閣, there were 1446 volumes of genealogy. These figures represent fairly well those of others

There is one circumstance to be mentioned in connection with the suc-

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- (1) 仁祖實錄 Bk. 19. 仁祖 6 年 7 月 (18 日).
Ibid. Bk. 25. 仁祖 9 年 11 月 (1 日).
(2) Ibid. Bk. 28. 仁祖 11 年正月 (23 日).
(3) Ibid. Bk. 38. 仁祖 17 年 10 月 (8 日).
Ibid. Bk. 40. 仁祖 18 年正月 (6 日), 5 月 (21 日).
Ibid. Bk. 46. 仁祖 23 年 6 月 (2 日).

cessful reservation of the entire Annals of the Ri dynasty in the four provincial Sa-ko. It is a trifling practice of airing (曝晒) which was adopted from earliest times. Airing—exposing to the sun and the wind—was practised for prevention of damp and moths. A precedence in literature shows the practice at the Hā-in-sa 海印寺 Temple in the Koryō period. Ri Hon 李混 (1252-1312), among his poems, has a long farewell poem on a man departing for the Hā-in-sa Temple to air the Annals of that time preserved there.⁽¹⁾ While the Koryō Annals were transferred for safety to the Ch'il-chang-sa 七長寺 Temple at Chuk-chu 竹州 in September, 1383, P'ä Kyu 裴規 was dispatched for airing the books. Ri Hon his friend composed farewell poems for him. A preface by Kwön Kün 權近 to the collection of the poems is extant.⁽²⁾ In the Ri dynasty, the practice of airing was legalized. In the 28th year of King Se-chong (1446), airing, once every three years came to be enforced.⁽³⁾ Though almost nothing is known about the situation prior to the Invasion of Im-chin 壬辰 (1592), the rule was probably observed essentially. Concerning the situation after the war of Im-chin 壬辰, all the details are known by referring to the record of each instance of airing entitled "P'ok-sō-hyōng-chi-an 曝晒形止案 (Records of Airing)" preserved at the respective Sa-ko and giving the dates of airing and the numbers of books then in custody. According to this, the custom of airing once every three years was not always strictly observed.

Incidentally, the respective Sa-ko had the records concerning the goings and comings and all other removals of the Annals in custody. The records were named Hyōng-chi-an 形止案, chief among them was the above-mentioned "P'ok-sō-hyōng-chi-an 曝晒形止案". Besides this, there were the "Pong-an-hyōng-chi-an 奉安形止案" for receiving the Annals newly compiled, "K'o-ch'ul-hyōng-chi-an 考出形止案" for investigating special items, if specifically classified.

For the protection of the substance of paper, another means was adopted,—that of waxing the whole sheets. It was called *Yōm-rap* 染蠟 (wax-dyeing). Though it was a device for prevention of damp and moths, it rather tended to increase inflammability. Waxing was not enforced generally or periodically. To cite the actual case, only the Kang-hwa-sa-ko copy, and that of only the Annals prior to the war of Im-chin 壬辰, namely from the T'ä-cho Annals to the Myōng-chong Annals, were waxed. It is not definitely known in what year waxing was done. The only record remained is the

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- (1) 三韓詩龜鑑, 卷下, 政承李混.
 (2) 陽村集 Bk. 16. 送裴仲員修撰晒史七長寺序 (規).
 (3) 世宗實錄 Bk. 114. 世宗 28 年 10 月 (8 日).

“Ch'öng-chok-san-sir-rok-yöm-rap-kup-syu-po-sa-hyong-chi-an 鼎足山城實錄染蠟及修補時形止案” dated the 25th year of King Suk-chong 肅宗 (1699).

During the last days of the Ri dynasty from the year 1910-1911 the Japanese Residency General in Korea examined the four provincial Sa-ko and ascertained that they were all in perfect condition. As soon as the Government-General came into being, it was decided to abolish the system of the provincial Sa-ko but to collect and preserve all the Annals in Seoul. First, the Ch'ök-sang-san-sa-ko 赤裳山史庫 copy was placed in the Archive (藏書閣) of Prince Ri Household and the T'ä-päk-san-sa-ko 太白山史庫 copy and the Kang-hwa-ch'öng-chok-san-sa-ko 江華鼎足山史庫 set were transferred to the Kyu-chan-kak 奎章閣 of the Government-General. The O-t'ä-san-sa-ko 五台山史庫 set was donated to the Tokyo Imperial University, but nearly all of it was destroyed in the great Kwanto earthquake in September, 1923. The two sets (the T'ä-päk-san set and Kang-hwa set) in the Kyu-chang-kak were, in October, 1930, transferred to the Library annexed to the Keijō Imperial University. In the preceding year (1929) the University had undertaken to publish a photographic reduced-size edition and completed it in 1932. It was the T'ä-päk-san copy that was employed as its basic text only a small part of it (光海君日記) was doubly reprinted from the Kang-kwa copy (The significance of this double reprint will be explained in another chapter). Only it is regrettable that the reprint by the Keijō University was limited to only thirty copies, and mostly distributed within Japan and Korea, so very far from the ideal of publishing the Ri Dynasty Annals. When the relations between Japan and Korea underwent a radical change, after the conclusion of the Second World War with a view to prompt the study of modern Korean history and to popularize the Ri Dynasty Annals as the basic material, the Gakushūin Institute of Oriental Culture 學習院東洋文化研究所 started to print a popular edition of the Ri Dynasty Annals, and at present (July, 1958) has reprinted it down to the Song-chong Annals. This popular edition is based on the reprint copy by the Keijō University, but reduced in size to the A-5 type. From the Se-chong Annals on the edition has been further reduced so that four pages of the original are condensed into one page of the A-5 type. If continued in this style, with an average of 700 pages of the A-5 type per volume, the whole copy is estimated to be completed in about fifty volumes.

Chapter IV

The Ri Dynasty Annals in Thirty-One Series

As the result of continuing and preserving the annals, as the traditional task since the Koryŏ period, for the five centuries of the dynasty, in spite of all troubles both at home and abroad, the series of annals were preserved almost intact to this day number thirty-one. As each series differs in the numbers of its books and volumes, so does it vary more or less in the way of description, the historical value, the conditions of preservation, and other points. For this reason, to attempt to describe the thirty-one series of annals, it would be necessary to enumerate their differences, namely the characteristics of each series of annals, and also to point out the presence of the aspect common to nearly all in spite of such differences. This is a propensity in a certain sense. It goes without saying that this propensity is in parallel with the strength and pitch of party strife and party opinion which characterize the history of the Ri dynasty.

In the following description, I shall first give the names and the numbers of those accepted in the academic circle, and then proceed to explain in order:—

- (A) The outer title (the title given on the title page of the text);
 - (B) The inner title (the title given on the first line of the text);
 - (C) The period covered by the contents;
 - (D) The circumstances of its compilation, and other matters. It must be noted that the state of preservation is as of August, 1945.
- (1) The T'ä-cho Annals (15 Bks.)

- (A) 太祖實錄
- (B) 太祖康獻大王實錄
- (C) July, 1392~December, 1398 (six years and six months)

(D) As stated in the Introduction,—the annals being a record of the reign of each king, one would think it would have been possible to compile the T'ä-cho Annals immediately following the abdication of King T'ä-cho; however, as even after his abdication, he survived ten years still participating in politics as Sang-wang 上王 (King's father) or T'ä-sang-wang 太上王 (King's grandfather), the annals of his reign was left unwritten all through the period. In the 9th year of the reign of King T'ä-chong (1409) a year and four months after his death, by order of the king, Ha Ron 河崙, Ryu Kwan 柳觀, Chŏng I-o 鄭以吾, Pyŏn Kye-ryang 卞季良 as

principal historians began to compile the Annals.⁽¹⁾ Since most of his favorite subjects were still living, after the death of King T'ä-cho, King T'ä-chong forced them to compile the Annals in spite of the oppositions that it was still too early. The Annals were completed in fifteen books, by March, the 13th year of King T'ä-chong (1413).⁽²⁾ This should be called the first manuscript copy. Though on its completion some favored printing the manuscript at once, it was postponed for some revision,⁽³⁾ and revision was started. The result of this revision is not known. Still it is possible to suppose this revised copy as the second manuscript copy of the T'ä-cho Annals.

By the 20th year of King Se-chong (1438), the Chǒng-chong Annals and the T'ä-chong Annals, which will be discussed below, had been completed. King Se-chong had an opportunity to read these two series and admitted the presence of a number of slips in them.⁽⁴⁾ In September, the 24th year of King Se-chong (1442), an all-round revision of the three series of Annals of Kings T'ä-cho, Chǒng-chong, and T'ä-chong was ordered.⁽⁵⁾ The chief point of this revision was with reference to the facts between the Rebellion of Chǒng To-chǒn 鄭道傳 in the 7th year of King T'ä-cho (1398) and the Rebellion of Pak P'ŏ 朴苞 and Pang-kan 芳幹 in the 2nd year of King Chǒng-chong (1400).

The copy thus revised may be called the third manuscript copy of the T'ä-cho Annals. The date may be inferred to have been about November, the 27th year of King Se-chong (1445), because on the 21st of this month was reported the completion of the four hand-writing copies of the T'ä-cho Annals, the Chǒng-chong Annals, and the T'ä-chong Annals, and each copy was deposited in the Sa-ko at the four different sites.⁽⁶⁾ Later in the 30th year of King Se-chong (1448), Chǒng Rin-chi 鄭麟趾 and others further revised the T'ä-cho Annals.⁽⁷⁾ This was the fourth manuscript copy of the T'ä-cho Annals. In September, the 1st year of King Mun-chong (1456), rewriting of some proper names in the T'ä-cho Annals.⁽⁸⁾ Strictly speaking, this was the fifth copy and the final decisive form of the T'ä-cho Annals.

The T'ä-cho Annals were thus fixed in its final form only after these

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- (1) 太宗實錄 Bk. 18. 太宗9月8年(28日).
 - (2) 太宗實錄 Bk. 25. 太宗13年3月(22日).
 - (3) Ibid. Bk. 25. 太宗13年3月(23日).
 - (4) 世宗實錄 Bk. 82. 世宗20年9月(25日).
 - (5) Ibid. Bk. 97. 世宗24年9月(4日).
 - (6) 世宗實錄 Bk. 110. 世宗27年11月(21日), 12月(18日).
 - (7) 太祖實錄. 增修記 at the end.
 - (8) 文宗實錄. Bk. 9. 文宗元年9月(11日).

several revisions, in more than fifty years after his abdication, in more than forty years after his death. It took such a long time, first probably because it was difficult to decide how to explain the revolution which overthrew the Koryŏ dynasty for the Ri dynasty; and secondly because they did not know how to interpret the succession of the three Kings T'ä-cho, Chŏng-chong, and T'ä-chong, and the political affairs they brought forth. Of the several revisions of the T'ä-cho Annals, the synthetic revision of the three series of Annals which was started in 1442 was the most significant. For convenience's sake, the three series are separately explained here, but the three series make up one composite history. The fact that the T'ä-cho Annals which should end with the day when King T'ä-cho abdicated, end with the last day of December of the year of his abdication, would show that preference lay in combining the three series into one of the history of *Kang-mu* 綱目 style rather than in compiling the T'ä-cho Annals as an independent history.

Prior to the stabilization of the contents of the T'ä-cho Annals in 1451, that is, in the 27th year of King Se-chong (1445), four fair-copies were completed and deposited in the Sa-ko at the four separate sites in and out of the capital.⁽¹⁾ Every time the annals were revised, each copy was probably rewritten. One of these fair copies is extant today as the Kang-hwa 江華 copy.⁽²⁾ The first printing of the Annals took place in the last years of King Sŏn-cho (1603-1606) when all the previous Annals were reprinted. Two copies of this printed Annals are preserved intact to-day as the T'ä-päk-san 太白山 copy, and the Ch'ok-song-san 赤裳山 copy.

(2) 定宗實錄 The Chŏng-chong Annals (6 Bks.)

(A) 定宗大王實錄

(B) 恭靖王實錄

(C) January, 1399~December, 1400 (two years)

(D) As King Chŏng-chong survived nineteen years after his abdication as King's father or King's grandfather, his annals was not compiled immediately after his abdication. Collecting the materials (史草) for his annals was started in the 9th year of King T'ä-chong (1409) when the above-mentioned compilation of the T'ä-cho Annals, and simultaneously with collecting materials for the Annals.⁽³⁾ Compiling the Chŏng-chong Annals based on

(1) 世宗實錄. Bk. 110. 世宗 27 年 11 月 (21 日).

(2) Of all the fifteen books, only the following eight books are of the original: Bks. 1, 3, 4, 6, 9, 12, 14, and 15.

(3) 太宗實錄. Bk. 18. 太宗 9 年 8 月 (28 日).

these materials was started in December, the 5th year of the next ruler King Se-chong (1423) simultaneously and in conjunction with compiling the T'ä-chong Annals.⁽¹⁾ In August, the 8th year of King Se-chong (1426), the Kong-chǒng-wang 恭靖王 Annals in six books were completed by Yun Hui 尹淮, Sin Chang 申樞 and others.⁽²⁾ This is the first manuscript copy of this series. The second manuscript copy was completed as a result of the synthetic revision of the three series of Annals (those of Kings T'ä-cho, and T'ä-chong besides him) which was started in September, the 24th year of King Se-chong (1442). This was the last finished copy of the Annals. The date is inferred to have been about November, the 27th year of King Se-chong (1445). This revision is also apparent in the form of this series of annals. That is, the Annals does not end with the day of the king's abdication, but includes the rest of the year. As in the case of the T'ä-cho Annals, it was because preference lay in compiling the three series of annals as a consistent history of *Kang-mu* style, rather than compiling this series of annals as an independent history.

The fact that this series of annals was not entitled the Chǒng-chong Annals until the 7th year of King Suk-chong 肅宗 (1681), in other words, the fact that the king was only presented with the posthumous name Kong-chǒng 恭靖, but not the mausoleum title King Chǒng-chong 定宗 until 1681⁽³⁾ must be explained by the political situation at the time of his death (1419) which failed unconditionally to recognize and laud his reign for two years (1398-1400) and lingered on even for a century.⁽⁴⁾ This was by no means a simple matter of formal titles. For individual items, no date is given, except astronomical items. This was not because the dates were not available, it would seem, but because they were purposely omitted at the time of compilation.⁽⁵⁾

As in the case of the T'ä-cho Annals and T'ä-chong Annals, four fair copies were prepared in the 27th year of King Se-chong (1445), and deposited in the Sa-ko at the four different sites in and out of the capital. One of the fair copies is extant today as the Kang-hwa copy.⁽⁶⁾ The first printing

(1) 世宗實錄. Bk. 22. 世宗 5 年 12 月 (29 日).

(2) Ibid. Bk. 33. 世宗 8 年 8 月 (15 日).
定宗實錄. 撰進記 at its end.

(3) 肅宗實錄. Bk. 11. 肅宗 7 年 5 月 (18 日).
Ibid. Bk. 12. 肅宗 7 年 9 月 (18 日).

(4) 睿宗實錄. Bk. 7. 睿宗元年 9 月 (24, 25 日).
成宗實錄. Bk. 143. 成宗 13 年 7 月 (20 日).
中宗實錄. Bk. 22. 中宗 10 年 8 月 (7 日).

(5) The situation was similar to that method adopted in presenting, in the 高麗史 辛禔, 辛昌列傳.

(6) Of all the six books, only the following three books are of the original: Bks. 4, 5, and 6.

of this series took place in the last years of King Söng-cho (1603-1606) when all the Annals then extant were reprinted. Two of the copies then printed are extant to-day as the T'ä-päk-san copy and the Ch'ök-sang-san copy.

(3) 太宗實錄 The T'ä-chong Annals (36 Bks.)

(A) 太宗實錄

(B) 太宗恭定大王實錄

(C) January, 1401~August, 1418 (seventeen years and seven months)

(D) Preparations for compiling this series of Annals were started in December, the 5th year of King Se-chong (1423), the year following his death, in conjunction with those for the Chöng-chong Annals,⁽¹⁾ and compiling was officially undertaken in March, the following year.⁽²⁾ The chief of the staff was first Pyön Kye-ryang 卞季良, but on his death in April, the 12th year of King Se-chong (1430), Hwang Hüi 黃喜 and Mäng Sa-söng 孟思誠 took his place for giving the final touches.⁽³⁾ It was completed on 17th, March, the 13th year of King Se-chong (1431).⁽⁴⁾ This was the first manuscript copy of the Annals. In September, the 24th year of King Se-chong (1442), Sin Kä 申槩, Kwön Che 權躋, An Chi 安止 and others, pointing out the defects in the three series of Annals for the three kings T'ä-cho, Chöng-chong and T'ä-chong, insisted on their revision until the plan of revision was approved.⁽⁵⁾

The result was the second manuscript copy and the final form of the Annals of this king. The date is inferred about November, the 27th year of King Se-chong (1445) as stated previously. In this series, for the first time, its end coincides with the account of the abdication of the king, and it is supplemented with items on the honorific title the king received on abdication, his funeral service, and the inscription on his tomb. Here is realized the formal principle of the Annals. Furthermore, at the end of the book, is added a list of all the compilers who participated in the work.

As in the case of the T'ä-cho Annals and the Chöng-chong Annals, four fair copies were made in the 27th year of King Se-chong (1445) and were deposited in the Sa-ko at the four several sites in and out of the capital. Of these, one copy is extant to-day as the Kang-hwa copy.⁽⁶⁾

(1) 世宗實錄 Bk. 22. 世宗 5 年 12 月 (24, 29 日).

(2) Ibid. Bk. 23. 世宗 6 年 3 月 (1 日).

(3) Ibid. Bk. 48. 世宗 12 年 4 月 (26 日).

(4) Ibid. Bk. 51. 世宗 13 年 3 月 (17 日).

(5) Ibid. Bk. 97. 世宗 24 年 9 月 (4, 5 日).

(6) Of the thirty-six books, only the following twenty-seven books are of the original: Bks. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, and 36.

This was first printed in the last years of King Sön-cho (1603-1606), when all the then extant Annals were reprinted. Two copies of the printed edition at that time are extant intact as the T'ä-päk-san copy and the Ch'ök-sang-san copy.

(4) 世宗實錄 The Se-chong Annals (163 Bks.)

(A) 世宗莊憲大王實錄

(B) 世宗莊憲大王實錄

(C) August, 1418~February, 1450 (thirty-one years and six months)

Supplements

Five Rites 五禮 in 8 Bks.

Court Music Notes 樂譜 in 12 Bks.

Geographical Notes 地理志 in 8 Bks.

Seven Calendar Calculations 七政算 in 8 Bks.

(D) Compilation of this series of Annals was started two years after the death of King Se-chong, in February, the 2nd year of King Mun-chong (1452)⁽¹⁾; the whole reign covering thirty-one years and six months is divided into six parts,⁽²⁾ with compilers responsible for each division assigned, and with Hwang-pu In 皇甫仁, Kim Chong-sö 金宗瑞, Chöng Rin-chi 鄭麟趾 as chief compilers. It was completed in March 1454.⁽³⁾ As to the completion of this series of Annals (163 Bks.) in such a short time, two reasons may be considered. One was that, during the reign of King Se-chong, the monthly, and yearly registers of each department of the Government had been arranged beforehand. And the other was that these registers were adopted almost entire as manuscripts. As already stated, the annals for the first three reigns, had been compiled as an independent history consistent in the *Kang-mu* style. In the case of this Annals, the form of annals was adopted as a temporizing measures.⁽⁴⁾ At the beginning of the compilation, the defects of this latter system (i. e. annal) were pointed out, but considering from the result, it may be said that the system had proved more valuable as historical material. During the short time spent for compiling this series of annals, there was a conspiracy of Su-yang-tä-kun 首陽大君 and his party in October, the 1st year of King Tan-chong 端宗 (1453), and Hwang-pu In 皇甫仁 and Kim Chong-sö 金宗瑞 and others of the opposing party were slain. Therefore, the last finishing touches to this series were given by Chöng Rin-chi 鄭麟趾, and Kim Cho 金銚, Ri Kye-

(1) 文宗實錄 Bk. 12. 文宗 2 年 2 月 (2, 22 日).

(2) Ibid. Bk. 13. 文宗 2 年 5 月 (2 日).

(3) 端宗實錄 Bk. 10. 端宗元年 3 月 (30 日).

(4) 文宗實錄 Bk. 12. 文宗 2 年 3 月 (29 日).

chŏn 李季甸 and others favoring the party of Prince Su-yang. This fact would suggest the possibility of unfairness lurking in the details of this series. From the list of compilers attached at the end of the book, the names of Hwang-pu In, Kim Chong-sŏ and their followers are eliminated, and in the Tan-chong Annals at least which followed this frequently refers to Hwang-pu In and Kim Chong-sŏ as controlling and falsifying historical facts while compiling the Se-chong Annals.⁽¹⁾

Of the 163 books of the Annals, the main substance is up to Bk. 127, and the rest are supplements which consist of four parts: 五禮 (Five Rites), 樂譜 (Music Notes), 地理志 (Geographical Notes) and 七政算 (Seven Calendar Calculations). The only one other instance in which the Annals include such compilations as supplements is the Se-cho Annals to be mentioned later. Considering the fact that this reign was a period of cultural decoration in all fields it would be the best and most eloquent representation of the reign that these works were supplemented to the history of the king.

The O-rye 五禮 (Five Rites) must be the O-rye-üi-chu 五禮儀注 (Notes on the Five Rites)⁽²⁾ adopted by the king's order after deliberation by Pyŏn Hyo-mun 卞孝文, Chŏng sŏp 鄭陟, and Min Wŏn 閔瑗 in October, the 26th year of King Se-chong (1444). As in September, 1452, two years after the death of King Se-chong, this compilation was roughly completed, its adoption in the Annals was deliberated, but owing to the objection of Kim Chong-sŏ, this plan was rejected once.⁽³⁾ However, when the Annals were in their final stage of compilation, the opinions again favored the original plan and the O-rye-üi-chu was finally adopted and supplemented to the Annals in the next year (1453).

The Ak-po 樂譜 (Music Notes) must be more properly "Court Music Notes 雅樂譜". It was completed in December (intercalary), the 12th year of King Se-chong (1430).⁽⁴⁾ The practical performance had taken place in June, the 29th year of King Se-chong (1447).⁽⁵⁾ About June, the 1st year of King Tan-chong (1453) it had already been printed in book form.⁽⁶⁾

The Chi-ri-chi 地理志 (Geographical Notes) was a book compiled in January, the 14th year of King Se-chong (1432) by Mäng Sa-sŏng 孟思誠,

- (1) 端宗實錄 Bk. 6. 端宗元年 5 月 (7 日).
Ibid. Bk. 7. 端宗元年 8 月 (8, 27 日).
Ibid. Bk. 10. 端宗 2 年 5 月 (2 日).
- (2) 世宗實錄 Bk. 106. 世宗 26 年 10 月 (11 日).
- (3) 端宗實錄 Bk. 3. 端宗即位年 9 月 (13 日).
- (4) 世宗實錄 Bk. 50. 世宗 12 年閏 12 月 (1 日).
- (5) Ibid. Bk. 116. 世宗 29 年 6 月 (5 日).
- (6) 文宗實錄 Bk. 4. 文宗即位年 11 月 (22 日).
端宗實錄 Bk. 6. 端宗元年 6 月 (23 日).

Kwŏn Chin 權軫, Yun Hui 尹淮, and Sin Chang 申樞 to which later changes were added.⁽¹⁾ The Ch'ir-chŏng-san 七政算 (Seven Calendar Calculations) had been started from a study of Calendars ordered by the king in July, the 13th year of King Se-chong (1431). It had been carried out by Chŏng Rin-chi 鄭麟趾, Chŏng Ch'ŏ 鄭招 and others.⁽²⁾ About the 15th year of King Se-chong (1433), the Ch'ir-chŏng-san Nā-p'yŏn 七政算內篇 (Seven Calendar Calculations, Part 1), and later through the efforts of Ri Sun-chi 李純之 and Kim Tam 金淡, its Ö-p'yŏn 外篇 (Seven Calendar Calculations, Part 2) was completed.⁽³⁾ It is reported that this was printed in the 26th year of King Se-chong (1444).⁽⁴⁾

In June, the 4th year of King Sŏng-chong (1473), three copies of this series of Annals were printed at the same time with the Mun-chong 文宗 Annals, the Se-cho 世祖 Annals, and the Ye-chong 睿宗 Annals.⁽⁵⁾ One of the three copies is extant today as the Kang-hwa 江華 copy.⁽⁶⁾ When the Sŏng-chu-sa-ko 星州史庫 was burnt up,⁽⁷⁾ in November, the 33rd year of King Chung-chong 中宗 (1583), in order to restore the Annals, the Annals in the capital was copied, but it is reported that the bulkiest Annals, namely the Se-chong Annals and the Sŏng-chŏng Annals were printed.⁽⁸⁾ That was the second copy of the Annals.

The edition of this series of Annals, however, as the Sŏng-chu-sa-ko was completely destroyed in the 25th year of King Sŏn-cho (1592), nothing is to be seen of the copy. The third copy of this series of Annals is a copy printed in 1603-1606 when all the then extant annals were reprinted. Two of the three copies are extant intact today as the T'ä-päk-san copy and the Ch'ök-sang-san copy.

In the reprint copy of 1603-1606 on the backside of the leaf no. 8, Bk. 26, contains a blank where fourteen lines are missing. It may be accounted

(1) 世宗實錄 Bk. 55. 世宗 14 年正月 (19 日).

Ibid. Bk. 148. 地理志序.

(2) Ibid. Bk. 53. 世宗 13 年 7 月 (11 日).

(3) Ibid. Bk. 156. 七政算序.

Ibid. Bk. 107. 世宗 27 年 3 月, 諸家曆象集序 (李純之).

(4) 朝鮮圖書解題 (1919) p. 427.

(5) 成宗實錄 Bk. 31. 成宗 4 年 6 月 (8 日), 7 月 (5 日).

(6) Of all the 163 books, the following books are of the original: Bks. 3, 4, 7, 8-25, 28, 29, 31-33, 35-43, 44 (partly), 45-51, 52 (partly), 53-55, 57, 59, 60, 61 (partly), 62-75, 77 (partly), 80, 85, 92-96, 97 (partly), 99 (partly), 100-103 (respectively, partly), 104, 105, 106 (partly), 107-109, 111 (partly), 112, 114, 116 (partly), 117 (partly), 118, 120 (partly), 121 (partly), 122, 123-5 (respectively, partly), 126, 127, 128 (partly), 129 (partly), 130, 131 (partly), 132-134, 135 (partly), 136-145, 147, 148, 150-154, 157, 158, 160, 161, 162 (partly), 163.

(7) 中宗實錄 Bk. 89. 中宗 33 年 11 月 (13, 16 日).

(8) Ibid. Bk. 91. 中宗 34 年 6 月 (15 日).

for by the fact that the former Chŏn-chu-sa-ko copy used as its original in copying had half a leaf missing there. The original should be found in the Kang-hwa copy, but Bk. 26 in the present Kang-hwa copy being a new manuscript copy dated after 1606, the foregoing guess could not be ascertained.

(5) 文宗實錄 The Mun-chong Annals (13 Bks. of which one is missing)

(A) 文宗恭順大王實錄

(B) 文宗恭順大王實錄

(C) February, 1450~May, 1452 (two years and three months)

(D) Preparations for this series of Annals were undertaken soon after the death of King Mun-chong, namely in January, the 1st year of King Tan-chong (1453)⁽¹⁾, and compilation from April, the next year, (1454)⁽²⁾, and completed in November, the 1st year of King Se-cho (1445).⁽³⁾ The chief compilers were Chŏng Rin-chi 鄭麟趾, Chŏng Ch'ang-son 鄭昌孫, Kim Cho 金銚, Ri Kye-chŏn 李季甸, and Ch'ŏ Hang 崔恒, almost identical with those of the Se-chong Annals.⁽⁴⁾

What must be specially mentioned about this series of Annals is that Bk. 11 for the period of two months (December, the 1st year of King Mun-chong—January, the 2nd year) is completely missing. In the whole of the Ri Dynasty Annals, this is the only instance where the whole book is missing. This fact was found out in August, the 33rd year of King Sŏn-cho (1600) when the former Chŏn-chu-sa-ko copy was examined and it was made clear that Bk. 11 was a duplicate of Bk. 9 in contents though the book is numbered eleven on its title leaf.⁽⁵⁾ As to the reasons why such an error could be committed, a few cases might be guessed; but nothing definite is known about it.

This was first printed in June, the 4th year of King Sŏng-chong (1473) at the same time that the Se-chong Annals, the Se-cho Annals, and the Ye-chong Annals were printed. The number of copies printed was three. Of these, one copy is extant today as the Kang-hwa copy.⁽⁶⁾ The second printing was done from the year 1603 to 1606 when all the Annals were reprinted. Of these two are extant intact today as the T'ä-päk-san copy

(1) 端宗實錄 Bk. 5. 端宗元年正月(6, 11日), 2月(4日).

(2) 文宗實錄 撰進記 at its end.

(3) 世祖實錄 Bk. 2. 世祖元年 11月(10日).

(4) 文宗實錄 編修者列記 at its end.

(5) 宣祖實錄 Bk. 128. 宣祖33年 8月(29日).

(6) The twelve books extant are all of the original copy.

and the Ch'ök-sang-san copy.

(6) 端宗實錄 The Tan-chong Annals (14 Bks. with a supplement in one volume)

(A) 端宗大王實錄

(B) 魯山君日記 (The Diary of King Ro-son-kun 魯山君)

(C) May, 1452~June (intercalary), 1455. (three years and one month)

(D) King Tan-chong, the hero of this diary, received the honorific title of T'ä-sang-wang 太上王, but three years later (1457) he was demoted and called Ro-san-kun 魯山君, and murdered to be the first abolished king of the Ri dynasty. From this political situation, the record of his reign was compiled under the name, not a series of Annals 實錄 but a Diary 日記. Neither the compilers nor the date are known. However, the materials for the diary, as in the other cases, had been adjusted beforehand during the reign, and were compiled in parts during the reign of King Se-cho⁽¹⁾; and the diary would seem to have been completed by April, the 1st year of King Ye-chong (1469) at the latest as the Ro-san-kun-ir-ki 魯山君日記 (The Diary of King Ro-san-kun).⁽²⁾ The date of the first printing is not known, either but one copy which is extant to-day as the Kang-hwa copy was very probably printed at the same time when the four series of Annals for Kings Se-chong, Mun-chong, Se-cho, and Ye-chong were printed.⁽³⁾ When all the Annals were reprinted from the year 1603 to 1606, this Diary was also reprinted. Two copies of these are extant intact to-day as the T'ä-päk-san copy and the Ch'ök-sang-san copy.

For a long time after its compilation, this remained the Ro-san-kun-ir-ki 魯山君日記 until the 24th year of King Suk-chong (1698) when the abolished king was posthumously enthroned as king with an honorific mausoleum title Tan-chong 端宗,⁽⁴⁾ and his Diary was revised to read 端宗大王實錄 though only on its title leaf,⁽⁴⁾ and furthermore the record concerning the posthumous enthronement was compiled and printed as "supplement" and deposited in each Sa-ko.⁽⁵⁾

(1) 世祖實錄 Bk. 2. 世祖元年 8 月 (27 日).

Ibid. Bk. 34. 世祖 10 年 10 月 (14 日).

Ibid. Bk. 40. 世祖 12 年 11 月 (17 日).

(2) 睿宗實錄 Bk. 5. 睿宗元年 4 月 (18 日).

(3) Of all the fourteen books the following thirteen books are of the original: Bks. 1 (partly), 2-6, 8-14.

(4) 肅宗實錄 Bk. 32. 肅宗 24 年 11 月 (6 日).

(5) Ibid. Bk. 40. 肅宗 30 年 8 月 (5 日), 11 月 (29 日).

(7) 世祖實錄 The Se-cho Annals (49 Bks, with Music Notes as a supplement)

(A) 世祖惠莊大王實錄

(B) 世祖惠莊大王實錄

(C) June (intercalary), 1455~September, 1468. (thirteen years and four months)

(D) In April, the 1st year of King Ye-chong (1469), seven months after the King's death, compiling the Se-cho Annals was started⁽¹⁾; at first the work was divided for six departments with compilers assigned for each, but in December, the same year, the departments were decreased to three⁽²⁾; and in December, the 2nd year of King Sǒng-chong (1471) the Annals were completed.⁽³⁾ As to the date of the compilation, nothing deserve special mention but in the process of the compilation, there happened quite an epochmaking incident, the incident of cancelling historical materials, which gave rise to serious political and ideological questions as to whether the enthronement of this king (Se-cho) was legitimate or not, as briefly stated in another chapter (the chapter on compilation). The Annals thus completed after passing through such an incident are naturally descriptions from a subjective stand-point of this king (Se-cho) and his party.

The first printing of this series took place in June, the 4th year of King Sǒng-chong (1473) at the same time when the Annals for the Kings Se-chong, Mun-chong and Ye-chong were printed.⁽⁴⁾ One of the printed copies is extant today as the Kang-hwa copy.⁽⁵⁾ Two copies of the second printing in the last years of King Sǒn-cho (1603-1606) are extant intact to-day as the T'ā-pāk-san copy and the Ch'ök-sang-san copy.

(8) 睿宗實錄 The Ye-chong Annals (8 Bks.)

(A) 睿宗襄悼大王實錄

(B) 睿宗襄悼大王實錄

(C) September, 1468~November, 1469 (one year and three months)

(D) Collecting the historical materials for compiling this series was started in February, the first year of King Sǒng-chong (1470).⁽⁶⁾ As it was

(1) 睿宗實錄 Bk. 5. 睿宗元年 4 月 (1 日).

Ibid. 撰進記 at its end.

(2) 成宗實錄 Bk. 1. 成宗即位年 12 月 (5 日).

(3) Ibid. Bk. 13. 成宗 2 年 12 月 (15 日).

Ibid. 撰進記 at its end.

(4) Ibid. Bk. 31. 成宗 4 年 6 月 (8 日).

(5) Of all the forty-nine books, the following thirty-one books are of the original: Bks. 1-5, 7-12, 13 (partly), 14, 16, 17 (partly), 31, 34-44, 46-49.

(6) 睿宗實錄. 撰進記 at its end.

then that the compilation of the Se-cho Annals was going on, this series was compiled immediately after the Se-cho Annals and completed in May, the 3rd year of King Sǒng-chong (1472).⁽¹⁾ For this reason, the compilers of this series were almost identical with those for the Se-cho Annals.

The first printing took place in June, the 4th year of King Sǒng-chong (1473) at the same time when the Annals for the Kings Se-chong, Mun-chong, and Se-cho were printed.⁽²⁾ One of the printed copies is extant to-day as the Kang-hwa copy.⁽³⁾ The second printing took place in the last years of King Sǒn-cho (1603-1606), two copies of which are extant today as the T'ä-päk-san copy and the Ch'ök-sang-san copy.

(9) 成宗實錄 The Sǒng-chong Annals (297 Bks.)

(A) 成宗大王實錄

(B) 成宗康靖大王實錄

(C) November, 1469~December, 1494. (twenty-five years and one month)

(D) The compilation of this series was started in April, the 1st year of King Yǒn-san-kun 燕山君 (1495)⁽⁴⁾, and was completed in February, the 5th year of the King (1499).⁽⁵⁾ During the following month, copies were deposited in the Sa-ko outside the capital.⁽⁶⁾ For the great quantity, this series was compiled in a comparatively short time; but that towards the end of the period of compilation, in July, the 7th year of King Yǒn-san-kun, it gave rise to the scandal of Kim Ir-son 金駟孫 in connection with the historical material (the Historical Scandal of the Year of *Mu-o* 戊午 or the Nobility Scandal of the Year of *Mu-o*) should be remembered. The direct connection between party strife and the compilation of the Annals dated from this.

The first point that deserves special mention about this series is that, there is in this series an explicit record of the fact that as previously stated in another chapter, the Annals Bureau was established, with the functions of the President, Senior Officials and Junior Officials defined.⁽⁷⁾ The second point is that while the custom was to print annals after the compilation of the whole are completed, this series was printed part after

(1) 睿宗實錄. 撰進記 at its end.

成宗實錄 Bk. 18. 成宗 3 年 5 月 (9, 10, 11, 16 日).

(2) Ibid. Bk. 31. 成宗 4 年 6 月 (8 日).

(3) Of all the eight books only two books are of the original : Bks. 1 (partly) and 3.

(4) 燕山君日記 Bk. 4. 燕山君元年 4 月 (19 日).

(5) Ibid. Bk. 32. 燕山君 5 年 2 月 (22 日).

(6) Ibid. Bk. 32. 燕山君 5 年 3 月 (15 日).

(7) Ibid. Bk. 30. 燕山君 4 年 7 月 (21 日).

part; that is, compiling and printing were executed simultaneously in parallel. According to the report on 21st of July, the 4th year of King Yŏn-san-kun (1498), the manuscript completed by that time then was up to the 16th year of King Sŏng-chong (1485) while printing was finished up to the 6th year of King Sŏng-chong (1475).⁽¹⁾ The third point is that when the part of the supplement, the Sŏng-chong-hăng-sang 成宗行狀 (the Behavior of King Sŏng-chong) was revised later in May, the 4th year of Chung-chong (1509) a great number of misprints were pointed out.⁽²⁾ One of the first-print copies of this series deposited in the Sa-ko outside the capital is extant today as the Kang-hwa copy.⁽³⁾ Two reprint copies of the second printing in the last years of King Sŏn-cho (1603-1606) are extant intact to-day as the T'ä-päk-san copy and the Ch'ök-sang-san copy. As to the other copy, the O-t'ä-san 五台山 copy, only fifty-seven books (nine volumes)⁽⁴⁾ have been spared from fires.

(10) 燕山君日記 The Diary of King Yŏn-san-kun (63 Bks.)

(A) 燕山君日記

(B) 燕山君日記

(C) December, 1494~September, 1506. (eleven years and nine months)

(D) Though the tenth king of the Ri dynasty reigned for twelve years, he was at last dethroned and called Yŏn-san-kun. Therefore, the register of his reign was named, not a "series of Annals" (實錄), but a "diary" (日記). The Diary Bureau for compiling this "diary" was established in November, the 1st year of King Chung-chong (1506)⁽⁵⁾; the work of compilation was started in June, 1507, the following year⁽⁶⁾, and was completed in September, the 4th year of King Chung-chong (1509).⁽⁷⁾ The Diary was compiled by the men who took the position of flatly denying the reign of King Yŏn-san-kun. So far as this is concerned, it would be anticipated that

(1) 燕山君日記 Bk. 30. 燕山君 4年 7月 (21日).

(2) 中宗實錄 Bk. 8. 中宗 4年 5月 (6, 10日).

(3) Of all the 297 Bks., the following books are of the original: Bks. 1-3, 4 (partly), 5, 6 (partly), 7, 8 (partly), 9, 10 (partly), 16-18 (respectively, partly), 19, 23-28, 29 (partly), 31, 32 (partly), 33, 36-38, 39 (partly), 44 (partly), 45, 47, 48 (partly), 51 (partly), 52-55, 56 (partly), 57, 58, 60, 61, 68, 70-79, 82 (partly), 83-90, 132-145, 146 (partly), 147, 148, 149 (partly), 150-155, 158, 159, 163-172, 173 (partly), 174, 178-181, 182 (partly), 183-189, 199-204, 205 (partly), 212-224, 225-227 (respectively, partly), 230-253, 257-261, 262 (partly), 264 (partly), 265 (partly), 266-270, 275, 276, 280, 285, 286 (partly), 287-291, 295-297.

(4) Bks. 51-107 (57 bks. 9 vols. in total) are in the possession of the Library of the University of Tokyo.

(5) 中宗實錄 Bk. 1. 中宗元年 11月 (16日).

Ibid. Bk. 2. 中宗 2年 2月 (17日), 4月 (11日).

(6) Ibid. Bk. 3. 中宗 2年 6月 (2日).

(7) Ibid. Bk. 9. 中宗 4年 9月 (1, 12, 14日).

(B) 中宗恭僖徽文昭武欽仁誠孝大王實錄

(C) September, 1506~December, 1544. (thirty-eight years and three months)

(D) It is not definitely known when the compilation of this series commenced. It was completed in October, the 5th year of King Myōng-chong(1550)⁽¹⁾, and the ceremony of Sō-cho 洗草 was held in March, the next year.⁽²⁾ During the reign of King Chung-chong, the Scandal of the 14th year (1519) created a number of criminals, but now that King Chung-chong died and King In-chong ascended the throne in 1545, the table was turned and the party of criminals came into power to take charge of the compilation of the Chung-chong Annals. Chōng Sun-myōng 鄭順朋 who was appointed the first President of the Compilation Bureau, resigned on the pretext of having been one of the criminals in the Scandal of 1519, and Ri Ki 李芑 succeeded him. On the same pretext, Ri also wished to resign but was not allowed to do so.⁽³⁾ The list of all the compilers is given at the end of this series.

The historical material which served as the basis of this series most probably contained a great deal of one-sided narration through the influence of the Scandal of 1519 in its part after the Scandal, especially the part for the twenty-five years that was compiled by the historians taking an opposing position. The Chung-chong Annals, the fruit of all this, could never be free from partiality. It may be noted that, as a characteristic of this, personal names in this series are frequently attached notes in which comments are made on the persons.

This series does not end with November 15, 1544, the day when the king died, but with the last day of that year. It would seem that this was adopted for the convenience of compiling this series in conjunction with the In-chong Annals. The first printing of this series may be completed in March, 1551, when the ceremony of Sō-cho took place. One of the printed copies is extant today as the Kang-hwa copy.⁽⁴⁾ The second printing took place in the last years of King Sōn-cho (1603-1606), two copies of which are extant as the T'ä-päk-san copy and the Ch'ök-sang-san copy. As for another copy, the O-t'ä-san 五台山 copy, only sixty-eight books (thirty-four

(1) 明宗實錄 Bk. 10. 明宗 5 年 10 月 (9, 10 日).

(2) Ibid. Bk. 11. 明宗 6 年 3 月 (20 日).

(3) Ibid. Bk. 6. 明宗 2 年 12 月 (14, 16, 20, 26, 29 日).

(4) Of all the 105 books, the following books are of the original: Bks. 2, 4 (partly), 6 (partly), 7, 9-12, 13 (partly), 16 (partly), 18, 19, 24 (partly), 25, 27-29, 33-41, 43-48, 50, 51 (partly), 52, 53, 54 (partly), 55, 57 (partly), 58-60, 63-68, 69 (partly), 70, 71 (partly), 72, 74 (partly), 76, 83 (partly), 84 (partly), 85, 88, 89, 92-95, 96 (partly), 97-99, 101, 102 (partly), 103, 104.

this diary in its narration should contain certain partiality. Besides, the historical material of the reign of King Yŏn-san-kun, for the diary was quite inadequate. So it was natural that the diary based on this should reflect the inadequacy of the material, which lay in this that the king (Yŏn-san-kun) hated and tyrannized the history officials so much that especially after the History Scandal in 1498 the history officials, afraid of a future misfortune, were determined not to write any more on political affairs.⁽¹⁾ Though the material was of this nature, without it a diary could not be compiled. Therefore, the Diary Bureau requested each history official to hand in his own material by the end of May, the 2nd year of King Chung-chong (1507). But as the history officials hesitated to do so, the government had to enact a law to keep the secrecy of the material.⁽²⁾ However, many of the appointed historians begged to be excused from their duties of compilation for various invented reasons. The government was compelled to take a firm attitude to refuse all such entreaties.⁽³⁾

It was a custom for each series of Annals since the T'ä-chong Annals to have a list of the compilers, but this diary contains no such list. From the accounts in the Chung-chong Annals we can tentatively pick up such names as Kim Kam 金勘, Sin Yong-kä 申用漑, Söng Hui-an 成希顔, Kim Chön 金詮, Kim Pong 金嶽, Söng Se-myöng 成世明, Cho Kye-sang 曹繼商, An Tang 安瑯⁽⁴⁾

The first printing of this diary probably took place in September, the 4th year of King Chung-chong 中宗 (1509) when it is reported to have been completed and deposited in all the Sa-ko in and out of the capital. One of the printed copies is extant to-day as the Kang-hwa copy.⁽⁵⁾ The second printing was done in the last years of King Sön-cho (1603-1606), two copies of which are extant intact to-day as the T'ä-päk-san copy and Ch'ök-sang-san copy.

(11) 中宗實錄 The Chung-chong Annals (105 Bks.)

(A) 中宗大王實錄

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- (1) 中宗實錄 Bk. 3. 中宗 2 年 6 月 (2 日).
 (2) Ibid. Bk. 3. 中宗 2 年 6 月 (17 日).
 (3) Ibid. Bk. 3. 中宗 2 年 7 月 (15 日), 8 月 (13 日).
 (4) Ibid. Bk. 1. 中宗元年 11 月 (16 日).
 Ibid. Bk. 2. 中宗 2 年 2 月 (17 日), 4 月 (11 日).
 (5) Of all the sixty-three books, the following books are of the original: 1, 2, 4 (partly), 8, 9 (partly), 10, 11, 12 (partly), 13, 15 (partly), 16 (partly), 18, 21 (partly), 22 (partly), 23-26, 32-37, 44, 45, 46 (partly), 48 (partly), 49 (partly), 50, 51, 53, 54, 55 (partly), 56 (partly), 57, 58, 59 (partly), 60 (partly), 61, 62, 63 (partly).

volumes) have escaped fire.⁽¹⁾

(12) 仁宗實錄 The In-chong Annals (2 Bks.)

(A) 仁宗大王實錄

(B) 仁宗榮靖獻文懿武章肅欽孝大王實錄

(C) January~July, 1545. (seven months)

(D) This series compiled in conjunction with the Chung-chong Annals was completed in October, the 5th year of King Myōng-chong (1550).⁽²⁾ The reign of this king lasted only nine months, the portion of this series for the first two months is included in the last part of the Chung-chong Annals.

As to the first printing, the second printing, and the condition of preservation, they are exactly similar to those of the Chung-chong Annals.

A list of the compilers is given at the end.

(13) 明宗實錄 The Myōng-chong Annals (34 Bks.)

(A) 明宗大王實錄

(B) 明宗大王實錄

(C) July, 1545~June, 1567. (twenty-one years and two months)

(D) For compiling this series, the Annals Bureau was established in August the 1st year of King Sōn-cho (1568), a year after the death of King Myōng-chong, and the compilers were appointed, compilation started,⁽³⁾ and printing finished in April, the 4th year of King Sōn-cho (1571).⁽⁴⁾ The copies were deposited in the Sa-ko in and out of the capital. What must be mentioned as a characteristic of this series is that the details of the personnel of the Compilation Bureau are known and that the compilers were divided into three groups, for each of which one-third of the compilation of the annals for the twenty-two years was assigned, as follows:

Group No. 1 1545, '48, '51, '54, '57, '60, '63, '66

Group No. 2 1546, '49, '52, '55, '58, '61, '64, '67

Group No. 3 1547, '50, '53, '56, '59, '62, '65

(1) Of the sixty-eight books, those in the possession of the Library of the University of Tokyo are: Bks. 21-46, 49-60, 88, 89, 91-97, 101-105, fifty-two books in fourteen volumes in total.

(2) 明宗實錄 Bk. 10. 明宗 5 年 10 月 (9, 10 日).

(3) 宣祖實錄 Bk. 2. 宣祖元年 8 月 (12 日).

宣祖修正實錄 Bk. 2. 宣祖元年 8 月.

眉巖日記草 2. (1568) 7 月 (12, 24 日), 8 月 (12, 14, 15, 19 日).

(4) 宣祖實錄 Bk. 5. 宣祖 4 年 4 月 (30 日), 5 月 (2, 3 日).

眉巖日記草 6. (1571) 4 月 (25, 27, 30 日), 5 月 (2, 3 日).

明宗實錄. 撰進記 at the end.

The first printing of this series, as stated above, was completed in April, the 4th year of King Sŏn-cho (1571). One of the printed copies is extant to-day as the Kang-hwa copy.⁽¹⁾ The second printing was done in the last years of King Sŏn-cho (1603-1606), two copies of which are extant as the T'ä-päk-san copy and the Ch'ök-sang-san copy.

At the end of the copy of the second printing is given an account of the circumstances of this reprinting.

(14) 宣祖實錄 The Sŏn-cho Annals (221 Bks.)

(A) 宣祖昭敬大王實錄

(B) 宣祖昭敬大王實錄

(C) July, 1567~February, 1608. (forty years and seven months)

(D) In July, the 1st year of King Kwang-hä-kun 光海君 (1609), the Annals Bureau of this series was organized⁽²⁾; in November, the 8th year of King Kwang-hä-kun (1616) was completed the compilation⁽³⁾ and in August the next year, the printing.⁽⁴⁾ The characteristics of this series may be pointed out from three points. One is internal, political chang, the origin of which may be traced back to a slip among the court retainers caused by the Scandal of 1498; after some eighty years, about the 1st year of this king (宣祖) (1575), this developed into two opposing political parties Tong-in 東人 (Eastern Men) and Sŏ-in 西人 (Western Men); to make the matter worse, the greater one, the party of Tong-in, in about 1591, further broke into two parties named Nam-in 南人 (Southern Men) and Puk-in 北人 (Northern Men) and attacked each other. For about fifteen years the Nam-in was predominant and took the helm of state affairs. It was natural that this political situation should have reflected the partisanship in the everyday government records. However, towards the end of this reign (about 1607) the political situation took another turn, when the Puk-in became powerful. King Sŏn-cho died the following year, and the new government of the new king (光海君) was monopolized by the Puk-in; then the Puk-in party was further divided into two parties, Tā-puk 大北 (Greater Northern Men) and So-puk 小北 (Smaller Northern Men), one of which took charge of compiling this series. A study of the list of the compilers given

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- (1) Of all the thirty-four books, the following books are of the original: Bks. 1 (partly), 2 (partly), 3, 4 (partly), 5 (partly), 6, 7 (partly), 9, 10 (partly), 11-13, 14 (partly), 15, 17-22, 24-28, 29 (partly), 30, 31, 32 (partly), 33, 34.
- (2) 光海君日記 Bk. 8.光海君即位年 9 月 (17 日).
Ibid. Bk. 18.光海君元年 7 月 (13 日).
- (3) Ibid. Bk. 109. 光海君 8 年 1 月 (28 日).
- (4) Ibid. Bk. 108. 光海君 9 年 8 月 (28 日).

at the end of this series shows, the superior overseers were Ki Cha-hön 奇自獻, Ri Hang-pok 李恒福, Ri Ho-min 李好閔, Ryu Kün 柳根, Ri I-ch'öm 李爾瞻 and Ri Yön-kui 李廷龜, all Tā-puk-tang 大北黨 (Greater Northern Men). That during the period at which party strife was quite keen, (that is, during the reign of King Sön-cho) one of the parties (that is, Tā-puk-tang 大北黨 (Greater Northern Men) did compile the history, is the second characteristic to be pointed out.

The third characteristic to be pointed out is that, soon after the former half of this reign, there was an invasion of the troops of Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豐臣秀吉, and as a nearly all Korea became the battle-field for seven years, the records in the capital and provinces were destroyed, and that during the seven war years and ten post-war years the records were defective. The loss by fire of the former half and the defects of the latter half brought about the weakness of the material.

In order to restore the burnt-up records and supplement the defects of the latter half, the records of individuals were valued and adopted. Above all, the descendents of Pā Sam-ik 裴三益, Ri Ki 李壑, Ri Su-ch'un 李壽俊, and Ryu Cho-in 柳祖認 were ordered to submit the records preserved in their homes; not only the government officials but also common people were ordered to write down what they had personally heard and seen and submit the writings. Thus the scope of collecting material was broadened to the maximum degree.⁽¹⁾ Despite such efforts, when the Sön-cho Annals were completed the number of blanks for the space of a whole month amounted to sixty-one.

The originals of this series were printed in August, 1617, of which two copies, namely, the T'ā-pāk-san copy and Ch'ök-sang-san copy are extant in perfect condition. Most part of the Kang-hwa copy⁽²⁾ and part of the O-t'ā-san copy are extant.⁽³⁾

(15) 宣祖修正實錄 The Revised Sön-cho Annals⁽⁴⁾ (8 Bks.)

(A) 宣祖昭敬大王修正實錄

(B) 宣祖大王修正實錄

(1) 光海君日記 Bk. 8. 光海君即位年 9 月 (17 日).

Ibid. Bk. 21. 光海君元年 10 月 (5 日).

(2) Of the Kang-hwa copy, the following are later supplements: Bks. 34, 47-50, 51 (partly), 68, 76, 83-86, 92, 94-97, 123, 124, 133, 155-157, 166-169, 174-176, 189-190, 201, 202, 211-214, 220, 221.

(3) Thirteen books are preserved at Keijō University; thirteen books (seven vols.), at Tokyo University. The latter include Bk. 1 through Bk. 13.

(4) "Ri-chō Senso Shūsei Jitsuroku to Kensō Kaishū Jitsuroku ni tsuite (On the Revised Sön-cho Annals 宣祖修正實錄 and the Revised Hyön-chong Annals 顯宗改修實錄 of the Ri Dynasty" included in *The Posthumous works of Umakuma Seno op cit.*

(C) June, 1567~February, 1608 (fourty years and eight months)

(D) This is, as it were "the Second Sŏn-cho Annals." Seven years after the compilation of "the First Sŏn-cho Annals" by the hands of the Tă-puk-tang 大北黨 (Greater Northern Men), a drastic political change took place in 1623 when the Tă-puk-tang fell to be replaced by the Sŏ-in-tang 西人黨 (Western Men). King Kwang-hă-kun was abolished and King In-cho 仁祖 was enthroned. Yun Pang 尹昉 one of the leaders of the new government, pointing out the unfair attitude in compiling "the First Sŏn-cho Annals", insisted on the necessity of its revision.⁽¹⁾ However, in 1624, the following year, the rebellion of Ri Kwar 李适 broke out; in 1627, there was an invasion of the Manchurian army, and in 1636 a second invasion of the Manchurian army. Therefore, eighteen years elapsed before the revision of the Sŏn-cho Annals was launched. As in February, the 19th year of King In-cho (1641) Ri Sik 李植 newly insisted on the necessity of revising "the First Sŏn-cho Annals"⁽²⁾, the plan was finally adopted. Premier Kim Ryu 金瑬 ordered Ri Sik 李植 to preside over the enterprise. But before its completion, Ri Sik died in 1647, and the work was discontinued. In the 8th year of King Hyo-chong 孝宗 (1657), Vice-Premier Sim Chi-wŏn 沈之源 ordered Kim Yuk 金堉, Yun Sun-chi 尹順之, Ri Ir-sang 李一相, Ch'a Yu-hu 蔡裕後 to resume the work of revision, which was completed.⁽³⁾ The "Second Sŏn-cho Annals" revised under these circumstances were actually the Annals by the Sŏ-in 西人. The first thirty books (from 1567 to 1596) were compiled by Ri Sik and the other twelve books (from 1597 to 1608) by Ch'a Yu-hu and others.⁽⁴⁾

This series at the end gives "Explanatory Notes on Revision", "Reason for Revision, and Its Process", "Proposal for Revision by Ri Sik" which make this series a unique one.⁽⁵⁾

(16) 光海君日記 The Diary of King Kwang-hă-kun (Fair copy) (187 Bks.)

(A) 光海君日記

(B) 光海君日記

(C) February, 1608~March, 1623 (fifteen years and two months)

(1) 仁祖實錄 Bk. 2. 仁祖元年 8 月 (20 日).

(2) Ibid. Bk. 42. 仁祖 19 年 2 月 (12 日), 4 月 (6 日).

(3) 孝宗實錄 Bk. 2. 孝宗即位年 10 月 (17 日).

Ibid. Bk; 12. 孝宗 5 年 4 月 (19 日).

Ibid. Bk. 18. 孝宗 8 年正月 (3, 12, 20 日), 3 月 (15, 17 日).

Ibid. Bk. 19. 孝宗 8 年 3 月 (15 日).

(4) Ibid. Bk. 18. 孝宗 8 年 3 月 (15 日),

(5) As a record of the circumstances of the revision is extant 宣祖實錄修正廳儀軌.

(D) Compilation of this diary was started in June, the 2nd year of King In-cho 仁祖 (1624), one year and three months after King Kwang-hä-kun was dethroned, but owing to major events both at home and abroad it was completed only in May, the 12th year of King In-cho (1634). The first major event affecting the compilation of this diary was the rebellion of Ri Kwar 李适 which took place previous to the start of this enterprise. In February, 1624, the rebels entered the capital, and the king fled to Kong-chu 公州 in the south to escape danger. On this occasion a large quantity of basic material for compilation was scattered and lost.⁽¹⁾ The second major event was the first invasion of the Manchurian Army in the 5th year of King In-cho (1627). On receiving the news that on the 13th of January, this year, the vanguard of the Manchurian army had already crossed the Yalu River and surrounded Ŭi-cho 義州, the king on the 26th left his capital for the Kang-hwa Island. On this occasion, part of the material in the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan was buried in the garden of Nam-pyör-kung 南別宮, and the rest of it was transferred to the Kang-hwa Island.⁽²⁾ It may be imagined that these two events internal and external led to the scattering and confusion of the historical material. A still more fundamental pressure came from the internal party strife. The king's for fifteen years, generally speaking, was a period at which the Puk-in 北人 (Northern Men) took the helm of state affairs; if studied more carefully, it was a period at which the Puk-in was further divided, that is, the Puk-in were first divided into Tā-puk 大北 (Greater Northern Men) and So-puk 小北 (Smaller Northern Men); and Tā-puk was again divided into three subdivisions Chung-puk 中北 (Middle Northern Men), Yuk-puk 肉北 (Fleshy Northern Men), and Kor-puk 骨北 (Bony Northern Men); while So-puk was subdivided into Ch'öng-puk 淸北 (Clear Northern Men) and T'ak-puk 濁北 (Muddy Northern Men). It must be considered that such party strife caused to bring partisanship into the daily records themselves. The men who compiled this diary on the basis of these records were those of the Sö-in who stood on a position diagonally opposite to Puk-in. Therefore, they started with the revision of the Söng-chöng-wön-ir-ki 承政院日記, the Si-chöng-ki 時政記 and other basic historical materials.⁽³⁾ Following this, the Bureau of Compilation of

(1) 仁祖實錄 Bk. 4. 仁祖 2 年 2 月 (22 日).

Ibid. Bk. 28. 仁祖 11 年 9 月 (2 日).

However, it is said that through the efforts of Hong Tök-rin 洪德麟, a calligrapher of the Ch'un-ch'u-kwan 春秋館, Si-chöng-ki 時政記 (75 Bks.) Söng-chöng-wön-ir-ki 承政院日記 (26 Bks.), and all the Cho-po 朝報 since the enthronement of King Kwang-hä-kun were rescued. 仁祖實錄 Bk. 29. 仁祖 12 年 5 月 (17 日).

(2) 仁祖實錄 Bk. 29. 仁祖 12 年 5 月 (17 日).

(3) Ibid. Bk. 5. 仁祖 2 年 4 月 (11 日).

Ibid. Bk. 6. 仁祖 2 年 5 月 (5 日), 6 月 (29 日).

King Kwang-hä-kun Diary was established.⁽¹⁾ In January, the 8th year of King In-cho (1630) the manuscripts for one hundred and thirty months out of one hundred and eighty months under the reign of King Kwang-hä-kun were finished.⁽²⁾ In December, the 11th year of King In-cho (1633), the whole task of compilation was completed.⁽³⁾ Prior to this, since about September, they had begun to print the opening chapters.⁽⁴⁾ Progress was so slow that, according to the opinion that handwriting copies would economize both time and money, some fifty men in four squads were engaged in making fair handwriting copies. In May, the following year (1634), two fair handwriting copies were completed. The manuscript copy was bound up to make another copy. These three copies in total were deposited in Kang-hwa, T'ä-päk-san, and Ch'ök-sang-san.⁽⁵⁾ The manuscript copy was deposited in T'ä-päk-san and the fair copies in Kang-hwa and Ch'ök-sang-san. Later on (date unknown), another fair copy was made and deposited in O-t'ä-san. Those extant to-day are T'ä-päk-san copy, the Ch'ök-sang-san, and the Kang-hwa copy.⁽⁶⁾ The T'ä-päk-san copy is called the manuscript copy, but it is not a mere manuscript copy; it should be treated as the original independent of the Kwang-hä-kun-ir-ki in its final form. So it will be explained under another heading.

(17) 光海君日記 The Diary of King Kwang-hä-kun (Manuscript copy⁽⁷⁾)
(187 Bks.)

(A) 光海君日記

(B) 光海君日記

(C) February, 1608~March, 1623. (fifteen years and two months)

(D) When in May, the 12th year of King In-cho (1634) the final manuscript of this diary was completed, though five copies were to be made according to the precedent, only two fair copies were prepared, and manuscript copy with numerous emendations was bound up to make another

(1) 仁祖實錄 Bk. 6. 仁祖 2 年 6 月 (29 日).

(2) Ibid. Bk. 22. 仁祖 8 年正月 (27 日).

(3) Ibid. Bk. 28. 仁祖 11 年 12 月 (25 日).

(4) Ibid. Bk. 28. 仁祖 11 年 9 月 (2 日).

(5) Ibid. Bk. 29. 仁祖 12 年 5 月 (17 日).

As a record of circumstances of compilation, is extant 光海君日記纂修廳儀軌 (Regulations of the Bureau of the Compilation of the Diary of King Kwang-hä-kun.)

(6) As for the Kang-hwa copy and the Ch'ök-sang-san copy, only Bks. 1-5, a part of Bk. 6 (Leaves 1-14), and part of Bk. 7 (Leaves 1-8) were printed. The rest were all hand-copied.

(7) Cf. Iwakichi Inaba 稻葉岩吉: "Taihaku-san-bon Kōkai-kun Nikki no Yurai 太白山本光海君日記の由來 (Origin of the T'ä-päk-san copy of the King Kwang-hä-kun Diary)" included in *Kokai-kun Jidai no Man-sen Kankei* 光海君時代の滿鮮關係 (*Relationship between Manchuria and Korea in the Days of King Kwang-hä-kun*).

copy. The fact that there were made only three copies including the manuscript copy was of course primarily due to economizing material and labor, but there must have been some other reason.

A study of the Diary of King Kwang-hä-kun in the manuscript copy, namely the T'ä-päk-san copy, shows that the number of the characters written in it is estimated to be more than twice as many as that in the fair copies, (the Kwang-hwa and Ch'ök-sang-san copy). In other words, the fair copy is a fifty-per-cent abridgment of the manuscript copy. If the abridged sections were stricken off to be illegible, the manuscript copy would be simply a manuscript copy. However, they are not so. The cancellations, in most cases, are merely marked in red ink. No matter what the intention of the cancellers or compilers was we at least should treat the manuscript copy as the Diary of King Kwang-hä-kun twice as much detailed, while the fair copies as its abridged edition. Besides there is another reason why the manuscript copy should be treated independently, that is the number of abridgments and emendations are made not only for the purpose of decreasing the number of characters, but because of the difference in opinion of the parties. However, the fact that cancellations were made not to render them illegible, but rather to render them legible to posterity seems contradictory to their intention. Here underlies something all the more interesting to us.

In November, the 12th year of King Suk-chong 肅宗 (1686), fifty years after the compilation of this diary, Premier Kim Su-hang 金壽恒, knowing that the T'ä-päk-san copy was the manuscript copy as explained in the foregoing, thought it unreasonable to preserve the manuscript copy, and insisted on the necessity of having it printed, but on account of lean years, the plan after postponement died down.⁽¹⁾ A century later, in September, the 18th year of Chöng-cho 正祖 (1794), Min Chong-hyön 閔鍾顯 after looking at the T'ä-päk-san-sa-ko emphasized the necessity of having it printed, but it was not realized after all.⁽²⁾ In January, the 2nd year of King Sun-cho 純祖 (1802), O Yön-sang 吳淵常 also disapproved of leaving this diary in the manuscript form, but his view was not favored.⁽³⁾ Thus this manuscript copy of the Diary of King Kwang-hä-kun exists to-day as the only manuscript copy of all the Ri Dynasty Annals.

(18) 仁祖實錄 The In-cho Annals (50 Bks.)

(A) 仁祖大王實錄

(1) 肅宗實錄 Bk. 17. 肅宗 12年 11月 (3日).

(2) 正祖實錄 Bk. 41. 正祖 18年 9月 (30日).

(3) 純祖實錄 Bk. 4. 純祖 2年正月 (17日).

(B) 仁祖大王實錄

(C) March, 1623~May, 1649 (twenty-six years and two months)

(D) The compilation of this series was started in April, the 1st year of King Hyo-chong 孝宗 (1650)⁽¹⁾, and completed in June, the 4th year of King Hyo-chon (1653),⁽²⁾ and printed in the next month.⁽³⁾ The compilers in charge were Ri Kyōng-yō 李敬輿, Kim Yuk 金堉, O Chun 吳竣, Ri Hu-wōn 李厚源, Yun Sun-chi 尹順之, Cho Sōk-yun 趙錫胤, Ch'ä Yu-hu 蔡裕後.⁽⁴⁾ Since the history of the period at which the Sō-in (Western Men) were in power was compiled by the men of the same party, there occurred no trouble such as seen in the case of Sōn-cho Annals or the Diary of King Kwang-hä-kun.

(19) 孝宗實錄 The Hyo-chong Annals (21 Bks. with a supplement in one volume)

(A) 孝宗大王實錄

(B) 孝宗大王實錄

(C) May, 1649~May, 1659 (ten years and one month)

(D) The compilation of this series was begun in May, the 1st year of King Hyōn-chong 顯宗 (1660)⁽⁵⁾, completed and printed in February, the next year.⁽⁶⁾ The compilers were Ri Kyōng-sōk 李景奭 (head), Hong Myōng-ha 洪命夏, Ch'ä Yu-hu 蔡裕後, Ri Ir-sang 李一相, Hō Chōk 許積, and Kim Su-hang 金壽恒.⁽⁷⁾ The reign of King Hyo-chong was a period when the Sō-in were in power like the reign of the preceding king In-cho. However, Kyōng-sōk the Nam-in (Southern Men) were not perfectly refused. That Ri and Hō Chōk who belonged to the Nam-in Party were appointed compilers was a result of such situation.

This series has a supplement in a separate volume, which contains Hai-sang 行狀 (an account of the private life of the kings), Chi-mun 誌文

(1) 孝宗實錄 Bk. 3. 孝宗元年 4 月 (23 日).

(2) Ibid. Bk. 10. 孝宗 4 年 6 月 (26 日).

仁祖實錄. 撰進記 at its end.

(3) 孝宗實錄 Bk. 11. 孝宗 4 年 7 月 (1 日).

(4) At the end of the In-cho Annals a list of the men concerned is printed. As a record of the circumstances of the compilation is extant 仁祖實錄廳儀軌 (Regulations of the Bureau of the Compilation of the In-cho Annals) in one volume.

(5) 顯宗實錄 Bk. 2. 顯宗元年 5 月 (11 日).

顯宗改修實錄 Bk. 3. 顯宗元年 5 月 (11 日).

(6) 顯宗實錄 Bk. 4. 顯宗 2 年 2 月 (18 日).

顯宗改修實錄 Bk. 5. 顯宗 2 年 2 月 (18 日).

(7) At the end of the Hyo-chong Annals is printed a list of those concerned in the compilation. As a record of the circumstances of the compilation is extant 孝宗實錄纂修廳儀軌 (Regulations of the Bureau of the Compilation of the Hyo-chong Annals).

(Inscription on the stone buried in front of a tomb). These were, in the previous series of Annals, compiled in the text of the Annals, but this series became the forerunner to prepare them in a supplement.

(20) 顯宗實錄 The Hyön-chong Annals (22 Bks. with a supplement in one volume)

(A) 顯宗大王實錄

(B) 顯宗純文肅武敬仁彰孝大王實錄

(C) May, 1659~August, 1674 (fifteen years and three months)

(D) The compilation of this series was started in the 1st year of King Suk-chon (1675), completed and printed in September, the 3rd year of King Suk-chong (1677)⁽¹⁾. During the fifteen years under the reign of King Hyön-chong, though the Sō-in (Western Men) were in power, the Nam-in (Southern Men) were gradually regaining power until in 1674, the last year of the reign, Hō Chōk, the head of the Nam-in became the premier and seized the opportunity for the party to rise to power. Since this series was compiled under the leadership of the Nam-in much factional contortion may be traced in the Annals. This accounts for the demand for revision of this series within a few years when the table was turned for the Sō-in to control the government.

(21) 顯宗改修實錄⁽²⁾ The Revised Hyön-chong Annals (28 Bks. with a supplement in one volume)

(A) 顯宗大王改修實錄

(B) 顯宗純文肅武敬仁彰孝大王改修實錄

(C) May, 1659~August, 1674. (fifteen years and three months)

(D) The compilation of this series which might be called the Second Hyön-chong Annals was started in May, the 7th year of King Suk-chong (1681)⁽³⁾, completed and printed in March, the 9th year of King Suk-chong (1683).⁽⁴⁾ Though the so-called First Hyön-chong Annals previously mentioned was completed in September, 1677, as a work teeming with the

(1) 顯宗實錄 Bk. 6. 顯宗 3 年 9 月 (11 日).

As a record of the circumstances of the compilation is extant 顯宗實錄纂修廳儀軌 (Regulations of the Bureau of Compilation of Hyön-chong Annals) in one volume.

(2) Cf. Umakuma Seno: "Ri-chō-Senso-Shūsei-Jitsuroku to Kensō-Kaishū-Jitsuroku ni tsuite 李朝宣祖修正實錄と顯宗改修實錄に就いて (On the Revised Sōn-cho Annals and the Revised Hyön-chong Annals of the Ri Dynasty)" *op. cit.*

(3) 肅宗實錄 Bk. 11. 肅宗 7 年 5 月 (22 日).

(4) Ibid. Bk. 14. Pt. 1. 肅宗 9 年 3 月 (11 日).

As a record of the circumstances of the compilation is extant 顯宗實錄纂修廳儀軌 (Regulations of the Bureau of Revision of the Hyön-chong Annals) in one volume.

factional sentiment of the Nam-in in May, the 6th year of King Suk-chong (1680). Three years later, the political superiority of the Nma-in fell and the influence of the Sō-in was established in a way so much more drastic than ever that in July demand for the revision of the First Hyōn-chong Annals was voiced by Chōng Myōn 鄭勳⁽¹⁾ and his motion was approved. Thus the work of revision was under way. In October, the history officials were ordered to submit their history material for the fifteen years of this reign in their private possession.⁽²⁾ As this shows, the work of revision was not a mere task of revision, but aimed at a radical reconstruction of the Hyōn-chong Annals. However, the 9th year of King Suk-chong (1683) when this series was completed, was the year in which the Sō-in Party which had held power began to divide itself into two sections Ro-ron 老論 (Senior Critics) and So-ron 少論 (Junior Critics). The murder of Song Si-ryōr 宋時烈, head of the Ro-ron, six years later, in February, the 15th year of King Suk-chong (1689), marked a stage of the violent opposition between the Ro-ron and the So-ron. In January, the 16th year of King Suk-chong (1690), a revision of the Hyōn-chong-hāng-sang 顯宗行狀 (Memoirs of King Hyōng-chong) and Chi-mun 誌文 (Inscription) which form the supplement of the Revised Hyōn-chong Annals was proposed because Song Si-ryōr 宋時烈 and Kim Sōk-chū 金錫胄 were alleged to have participated in compiling the supplement.⁽³⁾ However, this proposal was not adopted.

(22) 肅宗實錄 The Suk-chong Annals (65 Bks.)

(A) 肅宗大王實錄

(B) 肅宗顯義光倫睿聖英烈章文憲武敬明元孝大王實錄

(C) August, 1674~June, 1720 (forty-five years and ten months)

(D) The compilation of this series was started four months after the death of King Suk-chong, in November, the year of the enthronement of King Kyōng-chong 景宗 (1720)⁽⁴⁾ and the draft was finished in September, the 3rd year of King Yōng-cho 英祖 (1727), when a sudden political change gave rise to the proposal for its revision⁽⁵⁾; and in about February, the following year (1728) the revision was completed⁽⁶⁾ to be printed.

(1) 肅宗實錄 Bk. 9. 肅宗 6 年 7 月 (13, 15 日). 續燃黎室記述. Bk. 3.

(2) 肅宗實錄 Bk. 10. 肅宗 6 年 10 月 (5 日).

(3) 肅宗實錄 Bk. 22. 肅宗 16 年正月 (3 日), 3 月 (3 日).

(4) 景宗實錄 Bk. 2. 景宗即位年 11 月 (9 日).

(5) 英祖實錄 Bk. 13. 英祖 3 年 9 月 (1 日).

(6) Ibid. Bk. 15. 英祖 4 年 2 月 (27 日).

As a record of the circumstances of the compilation is extant 肅宗實錄纂修廳儀軌 (Regulations of the Bureau of the Compilation of the Suk-chong Annals) in two volumes.

The forty-six years of the reign of King Suk-chong marked the most violent factional rivalry. For the first six years (1675-1680) the Nam-in were in power, when the Sō-in came to power again, but the Nam-in did not despair of regaining power. The Sō-in adopted two measures one violent and the other moderate for confronting the Nam-in. Herein lay the danger of the sub-division of the Sō-in Party into Ro-ron 老論 and So-ron 少論 and it came to a head. For nearly thirty years since about the 20th year of King Suk-chong (1694), the Ro-ron and the So-ron competed for each other for political power. In the last year of the strife the Ro-ron found themselves in power.

It took ten years for this series which was begun immediately after the close of the reign of King Suk-chong to find itself in its final form in 1728. During this decade, the Ro-ron and the So-ron had vicissitudes of fate by turns. The political change in July, the 3rd year of King Yōng-cho 英祖 (1727) led to a supremacy of the So-ron under the leadership of Ri Kwang-chwa 李光佐. It was an epochmaking political change. By that time the Suk-chong Annals had roughly been compiled, but its general tone being too much in the vein of the So-ron, Ri Kwang-chwa as soon as he gained power, became himself President of the Bureau of the Compilation and ordered Song In-myōng 宋寅明 to devote himself to the revision of the annals.⁽¹⁾ But since the political situation was not yet enough settled to start radical revision of the Annals and there was even much opposition against revision⁽²⁾, the completed manuscripts were preserved as they stood, and Po-kwōr-chōng-o 補闕正誤 (Supplements and Corrections)⁽³⁾ was attached to the end of each book in stead. It was intended to rectify the contortions of the Ro-ron in the completed manuscripts and replace them with the inclinations to the So-ron. The Suk-chong Annals thus completed in sixty-five books, with the exception of the fourth and fiftieth (latter part) books are each provided with Po-kwōr-chōng-o 補闕正誤. This form is quite unique, neither preceded nor followed by any other series. However, in essence, there had been left for posterity two editions of the Suk-chong Annals one by the Ro-ron and the other by the So-ron.

(23) 景宗實錄 The Kyōng-chong Annals (15 Bks.)

- (A) 景宗大王實錄
(B) 景宗德文翼武純仁宣孝大王實錄

(1) 英祖實錄 Bk. 12. 英祖 3年 7月 (10日).
Ibid. Bk. 13. 英祖 3年 9月 (1, 18, 24日).
(2) Ibid. Bk. 13. 英祖 3年 9月 (18日), 10月 (26日).
(3) Ibid. Bk. 15. 英祖 4年 2月 (27日).

(C) June, 1720~August, 1724 (four years and two months)

(D) The compilation of this series is said to have been started two years after the death of King Kyōng-chong in August, the 2nd year of King Yōng-cho 英祖 (1726)⁽¹⁾; but due to the incompleteness of the above-mentioned Suk-chong Annals, the work was not in progress; it was actually started after October, the 5th year of Yōng-cho (1729)⁽²⁾ and was completed in February, the 8th year of King Yōng-cho (1732).⁽³⁾

The reign of King Kyōng-chong, as an extension of the preceding reign (the reign of King Suk-chong) still saw the violent conflict between the Ro-ron and the So-ron, and marked a period in which the So-ron dealt temporary but deadly blows at the Ro-ron, which was achieved through clever tactics. The most striking triumph of the So-ron was accomplished in July, the 3rd year of King Yōng-cho (1727). Nevertheless, they were defeated in 1729, only two years later. It was a time when both parties had dealt every possible attack at each other and they had exhausted themselves in factional warfare. As the result, a coexistence of both parties was advocated and being put into practice. This series compiled under such circumstances by Ri Chip 李堦, Cho Mun-myōng 趙文命 as presidents and Ri Tōk-su 李德壽 and Sō Myōng-kyun 徐命均 as compilers, could not be free from factional contortions.

(24) 景宗修正實錄 The Revised Kyōng-chong Annals (5 Bks.)

(A) 景宗大王修正實錄

(B) 景宗德文翼武純仁宣孝大王修正實錄

(C) June, 1720~August, 1724 (four years and two months)

(D) An outcry for the necessity of revising the above-mentioned Kyōng-chong Annals which was completed in February, the 8th year of King Yōng-cho (1732), was raised as early as October, the 17th year of King Yōng-cho (1741).⁽⁴⁾ In October, the 1st year of King Chōng-cho 正祖 (1777), necessity of revising the Annals was advocated again. The reason was that since the compilers were all traitors, right and wrong are reversed in their writings and no justice is done.⁽⁵⁾ Revision was decided and it was to be enforced simultaneously with the compilation of the Yōng-cho Annals mentioned in the next item. It seems that it was roughly completed in July, the 3rd year

(1) 英祖實錄 Bk. 8. 英祖元年 11 月 (14, 18, 25 日).

Ibid. Bk. 31. 英祖 8 年 2 月 (18 日).

(2) Ibid. Bk. 24. 英祖 5 年 10 月 (9 日).

(3) Ibid. Bk. 31. 英祖 8 年 2 月 (18 日).

(4) 英祖實錄 Bk. 54. 英祖 17 年 10 月 (30 日).

(5) 正祖實錄 Bk. 4. 正祖元年 10 月 (29 日).

of King Chǒng-cho (1779). At that time a view was expressed that now that a revised edition was completed, the first edition should be destroyed.⁽¹⁾ But this was not approved and it was decided to preserve both the old and new editions simultaneously. This was in final form in July, the 5th year of King Chǒng-cho (1781) at the same time as the Yǒng-cho Annals.⁽²⁾

(25) 英祖實錄 The Yǒng-cho Annals (127 Bks.)

(A) 英祖大王實錄⁽³⁾

(B) 英宗至行純德英謨毅烈章義弘倫光仁敦禧體天建極聖功神化大成廣運開泰基永堯明舜哲乾健坤寧翼文宣武熙敬顯孝大王實錄

(C) August, 1724~March, 1776 (fifty-one years and seven months)

(D) The compilation of this series was begun in June, the 1st year of King Chǒng-cho (1777)⁽⁴⁾ one year and three months after the death of King Yǒng-cho, and completed in July, the 5th year of King Chǒng-cho (1781).⁽⁵⁾ The head of compilers was Ri Hui-chi 李徽之. According to the account of the Chǒng-cho Annals,⁽⁶⁾ the text of this series was in eighty-three volumes and accompanied by one volume of supplement, but all the three copies extant today lack the one volume of supplement.

(26) 正祖實錄 The Chǒng-cho Annals (54 Bks. with a supplement in two volumes)

(A) 正宗大王實錄⁽⁷⁾

(B) 正宗文成武烈聖仁莊孝大王實錄

(C) March, 1776~June, 1800. (twenty-four years and three months)

(D) The compilation of this series was begun in December, 1800,⁽⁸⁾ the year in which King Chǒng-cho died, and completed in August, the 5th

(1) 正祖實錄 Bk. 7. 正祖 3 年 7 月 (28 日).

(2) Ibid. Bk. 12. 正祖 5 年 7 月 (6 日).

As a record of the circumstances of the compilation is extant 景宗修正實錄儀軌 (Regulations of the Bureau of the Compilation of the Revised Kyǒng-chong Annals) in one volume.

(3) The posthumous title of this king was first Yǒng-chong 英宗, but on December 5th, the 26th year of King Ko-chong 高宗 (1889) was altered to Yǒng-cho 英祖.

(4) 日省錄 正祖元年 6 月 (10 日).

正祖實錄 Bk. 5. 正祖 2 年 2 月 (6 日).

(5) Ibid. Bk. 12. 正祖 5 年 7 月 (6 日).

As a record of the circumstances of the compilation is extant 英祖實錄應儀軌 (Regulations of the Bureau of the Compilation of the Yǒng-cho Annals) in two volumes.

(6) See Note (2).

(7) The posthumous title Chǒng-chong 正宗 was altered to Chǒng-cho 正祖 on November 17th, the 36th year of King Ko-chong 高宗 (1899).

(8) 純祖實錄 Bk. 1. 純祖即位年 12 月 (2 日).

year of King Sun-cho 純祖 (1805).⁽¹⁾ The compilers in chief were Ri Pyŏng-mo 李秉模, Ri Si-su 李時秀, Sŏ Ryong-po 徐龍輔, Sŏ Mä-su 徐邁修, Kim Cho-sun 金祖淳, Ri Man-su 李晚秀, and Hong Ryang-ho 洪良浩.⁽²⁾ At first there was only one volume of supplement, but as later in April (intercalary), the 4th year of King Hŏn-chong 憲宗 (1838) sequence to the supplement in one volume was printed simultaneously with the Sun-cho Annals, the supplement now stands in two volumes.⁽³⁾

(27) 純祖實錄 The Sun-cho Annals (34 Bks. with a supplement in two volumes)

(A) 純宗大王實錄⁽⁴⁾

(B) 純宗淵德顯道景仁禧文安武靖憲敬成孝大王實錄

(C) June, 1800~November, 1834. (thirty-four years and five months)

(D) The compilation of this series was commenced in May, the 1st year of King Hŏn-chong 憲宗 (1835)⁽⁵⁾ and completed in April (intercalary), the 4th year of King Hŏn-chong (1838).⁽⁶⁾ The chief compilers were Ri Sang-hwang 李相璜, Sim Sang-kyu 沈象奎, Hong Sŏk-chu 洪奭周, Pak Chong-hun 朴宗薰, Kim Ro-kyŏng 金魯敬, and Kwŏn Tun-in 權敦仁.⁽⁷⁾ The supplement was originally in one volume, but later in May (intercalary), the 2nd year of King Ko-chong 高宗 (1865), sequence to the supplement in one volume was added; so the supplement now stands in two volumes.

(28) 憲宗實錄 The Hŏn-chong Annals (16 Bks. with a supplement in one volume)

(A) 憲宗大王實錄

(B) 憲宗經文緯武明仁哲孝大王實錄

(C) November 1834~June, 1849 (fourteen years and seven months)

(D) The compilation of this series was started in November, 1849, the year in which King Hŏn-chong died,⁽⁸⁾ and completed in October, the 2nd

(1) 純祖實錄 Bk. 1. 純祖 5 年 8 月 (2 日).

As a record of the compilation of this annals is extant 正祖實錄刪節廳儀軌 in one volume.

(2) 正祖實錄題名記.

(3) 憲宗實錄 Bk. 5. 憲宗 4 年閏 4 月 (13 日).

(4) The posthumous title Sun-chong 純宗 was altered to Sun-cho 純祖 in the 8th year of King Hŏn-chong 憲宗 (1842).

(5) 憲宗實錄 Bk. 2. 憲宗元年 5 月 (10 日).

(6) Ibid. Bk. 5. 憲宗 4 年閏 4 月 (13 日).

As a record of the compilation of this series is extant 純祖實錄刪節廳儀軌 in one volume.

(7) 純宗實錄題名記.

(8) 哲宗實錄 Bk. 1. 哲宗即位年 11 月 (15 日).

year of King Ch'ör-chong 哲宗 (1851).⁽¹⁾ The chief compilers were Cho In-yöng 趙寅永, Chöng Won-yöng 鄭元容, Kwön Tun-in 權敦仁, and Kim To-hüi 金道喜.⁽²⁾

(29) 哲宗實錄 The Ch'ör-chong Annals (15 Bks. with a supplement in one volume)

(A) 哲宗大王實錄

(B) 哲宗熙倫正極粹德純聖文顯武成獻仁英孝大王實錄

(C) June, 1849~December, 1863 (fourteen years and six months)

(D) The compilation of this series was begun in April, the 1st year of King Ko-chong (1864)⁽³⁾, and completed in May (intercalary), the following year (1865).⁽⁴⁾ The chief compilers were Chöng Wön-yong 鄭元容, Kim Hüng-kün 金興根, Kim Pyöng-kuk 金炳燾, Kim Pyöng-hak 金炳學, Hong Chä-ch'ör 洪在詰.

(30) 高宗實錄 The Ko-chong Annals (48 Bks., Index in four volumes).

(A) 高宗太皇帝實錄

(B) 高宗統天隆運肇極敦倫正聖光義明功大德堯峻舜徽禹謨湯敬應命立紀至化神烈巍勳洪業啓基宣曆乾行坤定英毅弘休壽康文憲武章仁翼貞孝太皇帝實錄

(C) December, 1863~July, 1907 (forty-three years and seven months)

(D) King Ko-chong 高宗 abdicated on July 19th, 1907, and died on January 22nd, 1919. The collection of the materials for this series was started in 1919 by Ri-wang-chik 李王職 (Prince Ri's Household Department), and in 1930, the compilation committee of twenty-one members were appointed and the compilation was commenced,⁽⁵⁾ and completed in 1935. A photograph copy was made of the fair hand copy, but was not distributed officially.

(1) 哲宗實錄 Bk. 3. 哲宗2年9月(29日), 10月(3日).

As a record of the compilation of this series is extant 憲宗實錄廳儀軌 in one volume.

(2) 憲宗實錄廳題名記.

(3) 高宗實錄 Bk. 1. 高宗元年4月(29日).

(4) Ibid. Bk. 2. 高宗2年閏5月(16日).

As a record of the compilation of this series is extant 哲宗實錄廳儀軌 in one volume.

(5) The chairman of the compilation committee was the President of Prince Ri's Household Department and as editing committee, two Japanese, four Koreans, and as compilation committee, six Koreans were appointed. I have consulted: Jisaku Shinoda 篠田治策: "Ri-Taiō Jitsuroku no Hensan 李大王實錄の編纂 (Compilation of the Ri-t'ä-wang Annals)"; *Sei-kyū-gaku-sō* 青丘學叢 No. 1. Shōgo Oda 小田省吾: "Ri-ō-shoku no Jitsuroku Hensan Jigyō ni tsuite 李王職の實錄編纂事業に就いて (Concerning the Compilation of the Annals in Prince Ri's Household Department)." Ibid, No. 13. Koku-chō-hōkan no Hensan ni tsuite 國朝實鑑の編纂に就いて (Concerning the Compilation of the Kuk-cho-po-kam 國朝實鑑)." Ibid. No. 25.

Though the pattern of this series is said to be after the Ch'ör-chong Annals, in fact it did not follow it. Firstly, in its details of the items treated, it is almost ten times as detailed as the Hön-chong Annals or the Ch'ör-chong Annals. Secondly, the table of contents is of an entirely new type; it is essentially "a daily report."

(31) 純宗實錄 The Sun-chong Annals (4 Bks. with an index in one volume and supplement in seventeen volumes)

(A) 純宗皇帝實錄

(B) 純宗文溫武寧敦仁誠敬孝皇帝實錄

(C) July, 1907~August, 1910 (three years and one month)

(Supplement) August, 1910~January, 1919

(D) This annals was compiled, following the compilation of the Ko-chong Annals⁽¹⁾, and completed in 1935, and a photograph copy was made of the fair hand copy. The Supplement is the daily record of the King's family, above all, his movements from the time of his abdication to his death.

(1) The organization of the compilation committee was identical with the one for the Ko-chong Annals.