

COMPILATION AND PUBLICATION OF KOREAN HISTORICAL MATERIALS UNDER JAPANESE RULE (1910-1945)

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The years 1910-1945, during which the Japanese-controlled *Sōtokufu* (Government-General) dominated the Korean political scene, are commonly imagined as uniformly tragic and ruinous years for the Korean people. Little attention has so far been given to the positive accomplishments in the realm of historical scholarship made by both Japanese and Korean scholars during this period. Some idea of the scope of the compilation and republication activities undertaken during the years of Japanese occupation will be had from a review of the list enumerated below, although the tremendous significance for Korean culture of the works actually rescued from the process of decay and disintegration will not easily be grasped by someone unfamiliar with works themselves. To correct this deficiency, I have appended to each heading in the list a brief description of the contents. In addition, there are summarized below the great names in the field of Korean cultural studies whose efforts we see crystallized in the bibliographical output that is the main subject of this paper. That many Japanese scholars have earned a place among the guardians of Korea's cultural tradition is something that ought not to be forgotten when we Koreans look back upon our colonial past.

I

Japan and Korea responded completely differently to the encroachment into Asia of European and American influence during the second half of the 19th century. Under the influence of such prominent Westernizers as Yukichi Fukuzawa, Meiji Japan turned her back upon her Asian past and set about the construction of a modern nation-state. Yi Chosen, by contrast, clung to her outdated political structure and pretended to ignore the menacing developments in Europe and Japan; if anything, the worst aspects of the old system were allowed to flourish, and palace intrigues and plots multiplied by the hour. The logical consequence of this growing disparity between Japan and Korea was a rapid evaporation of the sense of cultural unity that had previously brought the two nations close together. As Japan came to view herself more and more a Western-type nation, her sense of distance from the still very Asian situation in Korea inevitably increased. But it was not until after her successive triumphs in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese wars (1894-1895, and 1904-1905) that Japan found herself in a position to enforce on a real-political level the international attitudes to which she felt her rapid and successful political transformation entitled her.

In the case of Korea, these attitudes found expression in the modified form of European colonialist policy which Japan attempted to impose upon the Korean people. During the first years of the occupation, from 1910-1919, the Japanese military were responsible for the new colony. From shortly after the outbreak of the China War until the end of Japan's Pacific Empire (1937-1945) on the other hand, an attempt was made to integrate Korea completely into the Japanese economic order, and a policy of assimilation was pursued. But in the critical years 1919-1938, the Japanese government adopted a somewhat more lenient attitude, and, in keeping with the so-called "Korean Cultural Policy," gave its approval to the efforts of both Japanese and Korean scholars to collect and

publish historical materials of key importance to the preservation and understanding of the Korean cultural tradition. These efforts resulted in several new historical studies, among them the exhaustive 35-volume, 24,000-page *Chosen-shi* (History of Korea). But the bulk of the scholarly activity during this period was centered on collection and compilation of scattered and out-of-print historical records, and the restoration of famous historical relics and remains. Through cooperation in such efforts, sympathy and understanding between Japan and Korea began to revive, and the anti-Asian prejudices of Meiji and early-Taishō Japanese politics began to fade.

II

As a consequence of the Treaty of Annexation concluded between Japan and Yi Chosen on August 22, 1910, the *Chosen Sōtokufu*, or Chosen Government-General—an organ of the Japanese government—became supreme political authority of the Korean state. But the Japanese government had been engaged in research and propaganda on the subject of its neighbor across the sea since well before the actual inauguration of colonial rule. As early as 1905, the Meiji government had undertaken the collection and publication of data on the landownership system and agricultural resources of Korea, *Kankoku tōchi nōsan hōkokusho*, a document which was later to become the basis of the landlord confiscation policy enforced by the *Sōtokufu*. Immediately after Annexation, the *Sōtokufu* undertook publication of a picture-atlas of the new Japanese possession (*Kankoku shashin chō*) the contents of which were designed to justify Japanese suzerainty over Korea. And the rural survey task begun by the *Kankoku tōchi nōsan hōkokusho* was extended in a comprehensive report on the *Myon* and *Dong* administrative system that had been enforced under the now defunct Yi dynasty. Also included in this report which was published in nos. 4 and 5 of the first volume of the *Chosen Sōtokufu gepō*—was a considerable amount of information on local custom, likewise assembled with an eye toward legitimizing the reforms the Japanese administration saw fit to make in the land tenure system.

III

At the same time as the Government-General was going about the business of tightening its control over the new colony and justifying the changes in the traditional order that it found necessary to make, private Japanese scholars, operating in a non-official capacity, were engaged in the more long-range task of resurrecting and cataloging surviving historical documents. In 1909 Fusanoshin Ayugai, Shōgo Oda, and Kōmin Kawai—to name but a few—came together to form the *Chosen koshō kankōkai* (Historical Documents Publication Association) under the auspices of which organization a vast number of old texts were collected and republished in modern annotated editions. Aside from the 96 vol. (13 book) encyclopaedic *Chosen gunsho taikei* 朝鮮群書大系 (Anthology of Korean Historical Literature), the Association undertook also the publication of various sources of a more limited and specific interest, a sampling of which is enumerated below.

- (1) The *Daedong Yasung* 大東野乘 (13 vols, 13 books). The compiler and year of compilation of this work are unknown, but the contents suggest a late 17th century date. The work itself is an anthology of some 53 minor sources, ranging in time from the first part of the Yi dynasty until the mid-17th century, which provide an indispensable wealth of information on the customs of the age. Republication began in 1909 and was completed by 1911.
- (2) The *Samkuk Yusa* 三國遺事. Exact date of the original is unknown, but the

author has been identified as the eminent priest Il Yon. In the *Samkuk Yusa* are collected a wide variety of legendary and historical tales, including the tale of *Tangun*, relating to Korean history since the establishment of the three states of Shilla, Paikjae, and Kokuryo, as well as accounts of folk customs and beliefs dating from an earlier period. The republication of this work, accomplished in 1908, was based on a photo reprint of a 1512 edition, itself a republication of the considerably earlier first edition, which has since become lost.

(3) The *Pall Yokji* 八域誌, known alternatively as the *Takriji* 擇里誌 compiled in 1714 by Joong-whan Lee. The *Pall Yokji* is organized as a geography of Chosen under Yi rule, but like most so-called geographical works of the time, it goes to great pains to collect information on popular faiths and superstitions, local customs, and regional products.

(4) The *Sagunji* 四郡志, a middle-18th century work from the pen of Tuk-kong Yu, which sets forth various details of social organization and economic life in the four districts (*sa-gun*) of the state of Hahn in a style modelled on the great local anthologies (*lifang chih*) of Ming and Ch'ing China.

(5) The *Pukhanji* 北漢志, originally published in 1711 under the name of *Sansong Gisa* 山城記事, gives an account of the locations, historical background, and attending officers for mountain castles and fortifications in the early Yi period.

(6) The *Tonggyong Jappki* 東京雜記, which survives only in a re-edition ordered by the current governor of Kyung-joo (capital of Shilla), Joo-myun Min, in 1669, who must have found its detailed observations on popular culture in the state of Shilla of some use to him in governing the country. Alternatively titled *Tonggyong Tongji* 東京通志, this work was republished in its modern edition in 1910 as an appendix to the combined edition of (3), (4) and (5) that came out in that year, to which collection was also appended a comprehensive set of officially-compiled district and prefectural historical records from the pre-modern period.

(7) The *Gynyun Aram* 紀年兒覽, originally edited by Man-oon Lee in the year 1778. This work, which was to become a basic textbook for local private academies during the Yi dynasty, followed the model of Chinese multi-dynastic historical accounts, providing a chronology of major events from the ancient past to the present, a genealogy of the various ruling houses, and a collection of local maps covering both Chosen and China.

(8) The *Samkuk Saki* 三國史記, an old work, dating from 1145, when it was completed under the editorship of Poo-shik Kim, which is still the most comprehensive historical document on the period when Korea was split into the three rival states of Shilla, Paikjae and Kokuryo (i.e. from the early 4th century to the middle of the 7th century). The *Samkuk Saki* was actually the first of the officially-edited histories (which puts it in a different category from the privately compiled *Samkuk Yusa*), and, as such, predictably adopted the form laid down by the great Han historian Ssu-ma Ch'ien, whose *Shih chi* 史記 inaugurated the period of modern historiography in China.

(9) The *Munhon Challyo* 文獻撮要, published for the first time in 1911, a bibliographical work on the subject of pre-modern Korean historical documents.

(10) The *Yongbi Ochonka* 龍飛御天歌, a work compiled and published by the order of King Sei-jung in the year 1445, in order to celebrate the founding of a new dynastic house. The historical significance of the work derives chiefly from the fact that it marked first attempt to compose a literary work in the native Korean language (*Han-gul*). Republication was completed in 1911.

(11) The *Tongkuk Tonggam* 東國通鑑, originally compiled in 1484 by the order of King

Sei-jo, and republished under the auspices of the Historical Documents Publication Association in 1911. Taking its title from the famous *T'su-chih t'ung-chien* of Ssu-ma Kuang, this work covers in chronological fashion the period from 57 B. C. to the year 932 A. D., emphasizing the Three Kingdoms Period, when Korea was divided under the rule of the three houses of Shilla, Paikjae and Kokuryo, and the subsequent unification achieved by the house of Shilla and inherited eventually by the Koryo Dynasty. Of interest is the detailed rendering of the story of *Tangun*—supposedly the founding ancestor of Korea—given in the unofficial histories section.

(12) The *Yonryoshill Kisul* 然藜室記述, edited by Kung-ik Lee, and published in the last part of the 18th century. This work preserves for us an account of over 400 different historical aspects of the rule of the Yi monarchs, from the founding of the dynasty in 1392 until the reign of King Hyun-jong (1674). Together with a supplementary work by the same author on the reign of King Suk-jong (1660-1674), these informative chronologies were republished as one collection in 1912, and became in the subsequent period, the most commonly imitated type of historiography.

(13) The *Jingbi-rok* 懲錄, originally compiled by Sung-yong Yu in the first part of the 17th century, but not published until 1663 when the son of the original editor managed to have the work set in print. The *Jingbi-rok* provides us with the Korean point of view on the invasion of their homeland by the adventurous Japanese militarist Hideyoshi Toyotomi. In this account we see Hideyoshi and his army waging seven years (1592-1598) of devastating and almost successful warfare against the Yi state for reasons and in a fashion that can only be judged as barbarian; indeed the Japanese general is inevitably referred to in the text by the pejorative "brigand" or "pirate". The republication undertaken by the Association in 1913 was based upon not the original text but a reprint sponsored by the Yamatoya of Kyoto in 1695.

(14) The *Tongsa Kangmok* 東史綱目, a mid-18th century work, attributed to Jong-bok Ahn. The author provides a chronology of important historical events from the inception of *Kija* rule over northern Chosen in 1122, choosing as his starting point the flight and subsequent establishment of *Kija* authority from China to Korea in 1122 (an episode discussed in the Chinese *Houhan Shu* 後漢書), rather than the more difficult to verify *Tangun* tale, which had its roots in Korean folk mythology. Written as a style deliberately mimicking that adopted by the well-known Sung historian Chu Hsi in his *Tung-chien Kang-mu* 東鑑綱目, the *Kangmok* follows the tradition of private (as opposed to official) histories in its narrative of events until the last period of Koryo dynasty. The work was republished in 1915.

IV

We come to a list of the publications undertaken by the Chosen kenkyukai, or Korean Studies Society, a group active in the period from 1911 to 1917. Among the volumes brought out by the Society were:

(1) The *Kakkansong Shillgi* 角千先生實記, compiler unknown, dated 1842. Although the title indicates an orthodox historiographical work, more than half the stories recounted in this biography of the hero Yu-shin Kim (595-673) are evidently fictitious. The appellation *Kakkan* by which Kim was distinguished was the highest official rank in the Shilla bureaucracy: Kim received the title as a result of his efforts on behalf of the Shilla ruling house in its eventually successful attempt to unify the Korean peninsula.

(2) The *Kanyang-rok* 看羊錄, a 17th century account of Japanese political and military

- affairs as seen through the eyes of a Korean captured by the forces of Hideyoshi Toyotomi in 1592. The work was first published in Korea in 1668, well after the death of its author Hang Kang.
- (3) The *Sashi Namjongki* 謝氏南征記, a 17th century fictional work in Korea by Man-joong Kim. Completed in exile between the years 1689-1692, the work depicts the tragic progress of factional struggle within the palace government—though the author is careful to bring the story to an end with the triumph of the forces of good over the forces of evil.
- (4) *Senjin no kiseru Ho-taiko seikan senki* 鮮人の記せる豊太閤征韓戦記, a Japanese translation of a Korean account of Hideyoshi Toyotomi's invasion of Chosen in the late 16th century.
- (5) The *Ku-oon Mong* 九雲夢, another novel of Man-joong Kim. Completed, like the *Sashi Namjongki*, in exile (1689), the story is based upon the author's recollections of his mother; but, unlike the later work, the tone is pessimistic, reflecting the Buddhist view of life as but an empty dream.
- (6) The *Sanrim Kyongjae* 山林經濟, a 15 volume work on various aspects of rural life. Penned by Man-sun Hong in the late 17th century, it covers a wide range of topics, including improved farming methods, sericulture, geomancy, and popular health and hygienic techniques.
- (7) The *Haeyu-rok* 海遊錄, an account of a trip to Japan made in the late 17th century by the Korean Yu-han Shin.
- (8) The *Mohadangjip* 慕夏堂集, a posthumous collection of the works of Chung-sun Kim, published by the descendants of the author in 1842. Kim was supposed to have been a commander in the invading army that attacked Korea under Hideyoshi Toyotomi's leadership in 1592 who eventually went over to the Korean side and became a loyal servant of the Yi court.
- (9) The *Handang Yusa* 漢唐遺事, a historical novel of the later T'ang dynasty in China, written in classical Chinese style by the Korean Tae-suk Park in 1893.
- (10) The *Choson Waekoosa* 朝鮮外寇史, a two-volume short history of foreign (i. e. Japanese and Chinese) military intervention in Korea.
- (11) The *Tongkuk Byonggam* 東國兵鑑, a military history of Korea compiled at the order of King Moon-jung in 1451.
- (12) The *Taahan Kangyokko* 大韓疆域考, Ji-yon Chang's 1903 continuation and supplement to Yak-yong Jung's early 19th century geographical history of Korea *Kangyokko*. Nine volumes.
- (13) The *Yollha Ilki* 熱河日記. In 1780 the Korean Ji-won Park set out for Peking to attend the celebration of the Ch'ing emperor Ch'ien-lung's seventieth birthday. On his way thither, he passed through the Manchurian province of Jehor (Yollha in Korean). The *Yollha Ilki* is an account of what Park saw along the route of his trip, as well as of the customs of the Peking court, then at the height of its prosperity. Included also are descriptions of Chinese economic and military institutions and essays on the subjects of astronomy, geography, and historical culture. The original edition contained twenty-six volumes, all of which have been republished.
- (14) The *Yosa Jaekang* 麗史提綱, a 23-volume, early 18th century history of the Koryo dynasty in the style of Chu Hsi's *Tung-chien Kang-mu*, edited by Keh Yu. The work is based upon the much longer 139-volume biographical-style history of the Koryo—*Koryo-sa* 高麗史—that had been compiled in 1454 at the behest of King Sei-jung.
- (15) The *Lee, Soon-shin Jonjip* 李舜臣全集, a posthumous collection of the writings of Korean hero Soon-shin Lee who defeated Hideyoshi Toyotomi's invading army in

1598 in the naval battle at Noh-ryang. Two volumes.

(16) The *Jibong Yusol* 芝峯類說, a twenty-volume collection of extracts from historical works on the subject of supernatural, metaphysical, and ceremonial matters. Compiled by Soo-kwang Lee (pen name Jibong) in 1614, it provides the modern historian with a wealth of information on ancient superstition and learning in Korea. The table of contents runs as follows:

- Vol. 1. Astronomy and the Four Seasons
- Vol. 2. Natural Disasters and Calamities. A Geography of Korea
- Vol. 3. Military and Ceremonial Practices
- Vol. 4. Table of Official Ranks and Positions
- Vol. 5. Confucian Practices and Teachings
- Vols. 6-7. Index of Confucian Works
- Vols. 8-14. On Writing
- Vol. 15. A Personal Critique. The Character, Conduct and Form of the Human Body
- Vol. 16. On Language
- Vol. 17. On Proper Greeting and Other Ceremonial Affairs
- Vol. 18. The Arts and Crafts. On Moral Perversion
- Vol. 19. The Royal Palace. Medical Practices
- Vol. 20. Foods. On the Flora and Fauna.

(17) The *Kukcho Pogam* 國朝寶鑑, or chronicles of the Yi dynasty. Compilation was initiated at the order of King Sei-jung in the mid-15th century, and was continued at irregular intervals until the end of the reign of King Soon-jung in 1908.

(18) The *Wonjo Pisa* 元朝秘史, a fifteen-volume "secret" history of the Mongol dynasty that ruled over China in the 13th and 14th centuries. The original version of this work is supposed to date from 1240, although the oldest traceable edition is that included in the 15th century Chinese compilation *Yung-lo Taitien* 永樂大典. The *Pisa* contains much information on the state of ceremonial practice and language during the Koryo dynasty.

(19) The *Sohua Waesa* 小華外史, a diplomatic history of relations between the Ming and Yi states. Written by Kyong-won Oh, it was first published in 1830.

In addition to the above works, the Korean Studies Society also republished versions of the *Tonggyong Jappki*, *Samkuk Saki*, *Tongkuk Tonggam*, and *Samkuk Yusa* (see III, 6, 8, 11, 2).

While the Japanese scholars affiliated with the Historical Documents Publication Association and the Korean Studies Society were engaged in the restoration, reediting, and republication of the above listed works, Korean scholars were not idle either. Organized soon after the Japanese takeover, the *Kwang-moon Whae* under the able leadership of Nam-sun Choi—one of the most famous of Korean historians—undertook the reissuing in 1912 of the *Takriji* (ibid. III. 3) and the *Yonryoshill Kisul* (ibid. III. 12), and in the next year of the *Haedong Yoksa* 海東釋史 a seventy-volume, six-book history of Chosen from *Tangun* times (2333 B. C.) to the Koryo dynasty. This latter work is of particular value for the study of early Korean history, as its late eighteenth-century author, Chi-yun Hahn, used a broad collection of historical sources—some 545 in all—both Korean and foreign (Chinese and Japanese) to complete his study.

The works that saw republication in the early days of Government-General rule over Korea were, as we have seen, essentially scholarly works, dealing for the most part with the earlier periods of Korean history. In the *Samkuk Saki*, *Samkuk Yusa* and *Tongkuk Tonggam* (cf. III. 8, 2, and 11) are related ancient versions of the *Tangun* legend, a legend of equal significance for the study of Korean culture as the *Amaterasu* myths related in the

Nihonki are for the understanding of Japanese history. The efforts of scholars, both Japanese and Korean, to revise and republish works of such a fundamental and cultural nature at a time when the political situation favored a much less nationalistic and much more practical type of scholarship surely deserves our admiration. The scholarly patience and fastidiousness of these men served as perhaps the only real limit to the abuse of power by the Government-General, insofar as it countered the research and publications policy the new colonial government was attempting to implement.

V

But of all the scholarly activity carried out in the early years of colonial rule over Korea, the compilation and publication of the *Chosen-shi* (History of Korea) stands as the most impressive achievement. In December of 1922, the Government-General set up under its control a Committee for the Compilation of a History of Korea (*Chosen-shi henshūkai*). Under the able chairmanship of Dr. Katsumi Kuroita, the Committee set about collecting some 3,538 books and manuscripts, and had copied over 3,000 items, as well as photographed some 5,000 more. In addition, the researchers undertook the arranging and study of the 60,000-old manuscripts—including historical records, deeds, and maps—which had been amassed under feudal rule on the island of Tsushima, as well as of similar materials that had been collected by various important traditional Korean families. In 1935 the fruit of all this preparatory research was published in the form of the 35-volume, 24,000-page *Chosen-shi* itself.

The *Chosen-shi* was written in six enormous chapters each dealing with a significant number of years of Korean history. Chapter One, in three volumes, was edited by Ryō Imanishi, Yasukazu Suematsu, and Yong-kyoon Yoon, and examines the long period preceding the unification, under Shilla rule, of the three rival states of Shilla, Paikjae, and Kokuryo. The one volume second chapter, penned by the same authors as the first, treats of the years of Shilla hegemony, from 669 to 935. Chapter Three, in seven volumes, was authored by Iwakichi Inaba, Hideo Ogihara, and Chan-so Goo, and deals with the Koryo dynasty (936-1392). The Yi dynasty period is subdivided, for the sake of more detailed study, into three separate chapters. Chapter Four, edited by Hidetaka Nakamura, Sok-ho Shin, Shōzō Kuroda, Kinsaku Marugame, Ukichi Kawaguchi and Yoshiyuki Sutō, describes in ten volumes the first part of the Yi Chosen, from 1392 to 1608. The middle part of the same dynasty is covered by Chapter Five (also 10 volumes), a combined endeavor of Iwakichi Inaba, Hi Hong, Yasukazu Suematsu, Takuji Takahashi, Batai Seno, Han-jik Cho, Toshio Ishihara, Noong-wha Lee, and Hanjirō Tanaka, which takes up to the close of the 18th century. The final Sixth Chapter studies the last part of Yi rule over Korea, from 1800-1894, and was penned by Kiyoshi Tabohashi, Takuji Takahashi, Kōzō Tagawa, Yojirō Sonoda, Chan-so Goo, Noong-wha Lee, and Han-jik Cho. The final two volumes of the History of Korea consist of an appendix in which are listed all the available sources on Korean history (in itself a major editorial accomplishment), and an index to the main text.

The basic texts followed by the *Chosen-shi* in its study of the Koryo and Yi dynasties were the *Koryo sa* (see IV. 14), and the *Yi-cho Shill-rok* 李朝實錄 or a Chronicle History of the Yi dynasty. It is perhaps the major accomplishment of the *Chosen-shi* to have reworked the massive amount of detail recorded in the *Shill-rok* series into a form more practical and digestible for historical research. As the original *Shill-rok* has been such an important source of information, I feel it is in order to interrupt our narrative in order to present a list of the actual volumes of this work used in the editing and compilation of the *Chosen-shi*.

The *Shill-rok* chronicles of the Yi dynasty were modeled, both in form and in literary style, on the Chinese *Shih-lu*, or dynastic chronicles, that had become the major source of historiographical compilation by the Ming dynasty. The text is composed of day-to-day entries, centered around the activities of the monarch. Most of the interesting information enclosed in these chronicles is to be found in the texts of the reports and monarchical rescripts which were copied, either in summary or in their entirety, into the daily record. The accumulated record of a deceased ruler was customarily printed in Chinese characters (woodblock engraved) at the order of his successor. The *Yi-cho Shill-rok* comprises in its totality some 1,893 volumes, or 888 books, and covers the years from the first Yi monarch, King Tae-jo (from 1392) to the end of the reign of the twenty-fifth Yi ruler (Choll-jung) in 1863. The 27 editions used in the compilation of the *Chosen-shi* are listed below.

<i>Shill-rok</i> Edition	No. Volume	Monarch	Reign Period
1. <i>Tae-jo Shill-rok</i>	15 (3 books)	Tae-jo	1392-1398
2. <i>Jung-jung Shill-rok</i>	6 (1 books)	Jung-jung	1398-1400
3. <i>Tae-jung Shill-rok</i>	36 (16 books)	Tae-jung	1400-1418
4. <i>Sei-jung Shill-rok</i>	137 (67 books)	Sei-jung	1418-1450
5. <i>Moon-jung Shill-rok</i>	12 (6 books)	Moon-jung	1450-1452
6. <i>Tan-jung Shill-rok</i>	14 (6 books)	Tan-jung	1452-1455
7. <i>Sei-jo Shill-rok</i>	49 (18 books)	Sei-jo	1455-1468
8. <i>Yeh-jung Shill-rok</i>	8 (3 books)	Yeh-jung	1468-1469
9. <i>Sung-jung Shill-rok</i>	297 (47 books)	Sung-jung	1469-1494
10. <i>The Yonsan-koon Ilki</i> ¹	63 (17 books)	Yonsan-koon	1494-1506
11. <i>Choong-jung Shill-rok</i>	105 (53 books)	Choong-jung	1506-1544
12. <i>In-jung Shill-rok</i>	2 (2 books)	In-jung	1544-1545
13. <i>Myong-jung Shill-rok</i>	34 (21 books)	Myong-jung	1545-1567
14. <i>Sun-jo Shill-rok</i>	221 (116 books)	Sun-jo	1567-1608
15. <i>The Sun-jo Keh-soon Shill-rok</i> ²	42 (8 books)		
16. <i>The Kwanghae-koon Ilki</i> ³	187 (64 books)	Kwanghae-koon	1608-1623
17. <i>In-jo Shill-rok</i>	50 (50 books)	In-jo	1623-1649
18. <i>Hyo-jung Shill-rok</i>	21 (22 books)	Hyo-jung	1649-1659
19. <i>Hyun-jung Keh-soo Shill-rok</i> ⁴	28 (29 books)	Hyun-jung	1659-1674
20. <i>Sook-jung Shill-rok</i>	65 (73 books)	Sook-jung	1674-1720
21. <i>Kyung-jung Shill-rok</i>	15 (17 books)	Kyung-jung	1720-1724
22. <i>Kyung-jung Keh-soo Shill-rok</i> ⁵	5 (3 books)		
23. <i>Yong-jo Shill-rok</i>	127 (83 books)	Yong-jo	1724-1776
24. <i>Jung-jo Shill-rok</i>	54 (56 books)	Jung-jo	1776-1800
25. <i>Soon-jo Shill-rok</i>	34 (36 books)	Soon-jo	1800-1834
26. <i>Hon-jung Shill-rok</i>	16 (9 books)	Hon-jung	1834-1849
27. <i>Choll-jung Shill-rok</i>	15 (9 books)	Choll-jung	1849-1863

As has been mentioned above, it was standard procedure for the records of a deceased

¹ (10) is denied the orthodox title *Shill-rok* but rather termed *Ilki* (diary) because Yonsan-koon was driven off the throne by his brother in reprisal for his tyranny.

² (15) is a revised and condensed edition of (14).

³ Kwanghae-koon was driven from the throne in 1623 by his nephew, supposedly with popular support. As in the case of Yonsan-koon (No. 10), this ignominy is the reason for the substitution of the private designation "diary" (*Ilki*) for the official *Shill-rok*.

⁴ The revised and condensed edition of the *Hyun-jung Shill-rok*.

⁵ (22) is the revised and condensed version of (21).

ruler to be published by his successor under the title of *Shill-rok*. The chaos of the last part of the 19th century and Annexation in 1910 prevented, however, the orthodox compilation of *Shill-rok* for the last two reigns of the Yi dynasty—those of Koh-jung (1863–1907), and Soon-jung (1907–1910). To correct this deficiency, the Government-General organized, soon after its assumption of power, a Commission for the Compilation of the *Koh-jung* and *Soon-jung Shill-rok*. Jisaku Shinoda served as chairman of the Commission, and was assisted by Hang-koo Lee as Vice-chairman; Shōgo Oda, Man-cho Jung, Soong-bong Park, Sekiuchi Narita, Myong-soo Kim, and Man-soon Suh as Editorial Supervisors; Sang-un Suh, Kyu-hi Nahm, Myong-ik Lee, Kyung-koo Cho, Jong-han Hong, and Soon-koo Kwon as Compilers; and Choo-bin Park, Won-soong Lee, Noong-wha Lee, and Kenjō Kikuchi as Document Secretaries. The efforts of the above scholars eventually crystallized in the publication of a 48-volume (48 books, 4-volume Table of Contents) *Koh-jung Shill-rok* and a 4-volume (with three books of appendices) *Soon-jung Shill-rok*. As the *Chosen-shi* does not deal with events after the June 21, 1894 “Kabo” Restoration (a date which marked the first of a series of reforms in political, economic, and social administration carried out by the Yi government in a belated attempt to modernized itself), the two *Shill-rok* compiled under the auspices of the Government-General are the main sources of information on the years between the inauguration of self-reform and the final collapse of the dynasty in 1910. It should be noted that, paralleling the administrative reforms undertaken by the Yi regime after 1894, increased use of the native Korean language (albeit mixed with Chinese words) was encouraged in the cultural field, as a result of which the diaries upon which the *Koh-jung* and *Soon-jung Shill-rok* were written down for the first time in a combination Korean and Chinese script.

VI

The Committee for the Compilation of a History of Korea did not rest on its laurels with the completion and publication of the *Chosen-shi*. In December 1932 it commenced a long list of reprints and bibliographical summaries of important Korean historical materials. In accord with a resolution passed at the first meeting of the Committee in January, 1923, the *Chosen Historical Materials* series set out to republish, in the original form (i.e., by photographic reprint, whenever possible) various out-of-print key historical sources, to which would be appended bibliographical notices. A list of the major works published in this series follows.

- (1) The *Koryosa Jull-yo* 高麗史節要. Republished in 1932. This work is a compilation of authentic, non-summarized historical materials originally dating from the Koryo period (918–1392); its first publication took place in 1542.
- (2) The *Gunmoon Dung-rok* 軍門騰錄, republished in 1933. The *Gunmoon Dung-rok* is a compilation of military dispatches received and sent by the Yi court during the height of the Japanese invasion (1595–1596) led by Hideyoshi Toyotomi.
- (3) The *Tangjang So-chop* 唐將書帖. Reprinted in 1934. A set of letters of the military commanders dispatched by the Ming between 1592 and 1598 to help the state of Yi Chosen in its campaign to defend against Hideyoshi Toyotomi's invasion.
- (4) The *Tangjang Shi Wha-chop* 唐將詩畫帖, a companion volume to (3), in which are collected poems and portrait by Ming admiral Ri Zu Tsewng himself. 3 volumes, 3 books.
- (5) The *Nanjoong Ilki-cho* 亂中日記草. Soon-shin Lee's (cf. IV. 15) war diary, covering the period from May 1, 1592 to September 17, 1598, from the outbreak of war with Japan until the writer's death in battle. Reprinted in 1935.

- (6) The *Imjin Jang-cho* 壬辰狀草, likewise reprinted in 1935, consisting of 181 pages (original binding) of battle reports and memorials to the throne by Soon-shin Lee.
- (7) The *Jaesung Bang-ryak* 制勝方略, a 1936 reprint. Written by Jong-so Kim in the early 15th century, this work comments upon the military defense problems for the Ham-kyung Do border, lying along the northern edge of Korea.
- (8) The *Nanjoong Japp-rok* 亂中雜錄, a 2-volume, 2 books, 1936 reprint. In this work are collected miscellaneous records pertaining to the war against Hideyoshi Toyotomi. Authored for the most part by Kyung-nam Cho, a partisan general operating the Japanese from a base in the southwestern part of Korea (Nam-won), the *Nanjoong Japp-rok* is of added interest to the modern historian because of its employment of the *li-doo* script (a system of writing by which Korean words were written down with Chinese characters used phonetically, often used by inferior officials and local authorities during the Yi period) rather than the official Chinese language.
- (9) The *Chobon Jingbi-rok* 草本懲摠錄, reprinted in 1936 as an alternative edition (*chobon* means "manuscript" copy) to the *Jingbi-rok* edition already reprinted by the Historical Documents Publication Association in 1913 (cf. III. 13).
- (10) The *Jinkwan-byung Pyun-o-cheh* 鎮管兵編伍冊, 2 books, 1936 reprint. This work is an anonymous study of the organization of garrison troops along the northern border of the Yi state. As the title suggests, the basic unit of organization discussed in the narrative is the *o*, or five-man squad, which formed the kernel of the Yi border army, and permitted no rank distinctions within its number.
- (11) The *Sadae Moon-kwe* 事大文軌, a 24-book, 1936 reprint, in which are collected a variety of documents relating to Yi-Ming diplomacy.
- (12) The *Miam Ilki-cho* 眉巖月記草. Five books, reprinted in 1936. Compiled by Hui-choon Yoo (pen name Miam), the *Ilki-cho* supplies us with extracts from the deliberations of the Privy Council under the Yi monarch Sun-jo over the years 1568-1577. It must be considered an important supplement to the *Shill-rok* compiled for the Sun-jo reign.
- (13) The *Sok Moo-jung Bogam* 續武定寶鑑. 5 volumes, 2 books; 1937 reprint. Compiled in 1548 at the behest of the newly ascended Myong-jung (1545-1567), this work collects for us sources relating to the repression of popular rebellion and defense against foreign aggression over the years 1469-1546. The *Sok Moo-jung Bogam* is actually a sequel to the still extant *Moo-jung Bogam*, which records domestic and diplomatic activity for the first part of the Yi dynasty (until 1468).
- (14) The *Sosoo Sowon Dung-rok* 紹修書院騰錄, a 1937 reprint. The *Dung-rok* comprises extracts from the archives of the *Sosoo Sowon*, the first officially established institute in Korea for the study of Confucianism (founded 1543).
- (15) The *Choson Bu* 朝鮮賦, also reprinted in 1937, originally a *fu* 賦 (variety of long-winded descriptive poem popular in China since the Han dynasty) detailing the scenic features of Yi Chosen as they appeared to the Ming envoy (Youe Toong). The poem was first published in China in the mid-sixteenth century, but the above reprint was made from a 1697 Yi edition.
- (16) A supplement and Appendix to the *Koryosa Jull-yo* (cf. 1 above), reprinted in 1938.

VII

While the Chosen-shi henschukai was turning out the above listed reprints, the Central Council of the Government-General was engaged in the republication of the laws and statutes of the now defunct Yi dynasty. In spite of the colonialist nature of the editor-

ship that oversaw the reprinting of these collections of statutes and precedents, the reproductions with which the efforts of the Government-General's Central Council have endowed us cannot for a moment be denied. With this in mind, I take the liberty of listing below some of the more important reprints in this series.

(1) The *Kyung-kook Dae-iun* 經國大典, republished in 1934, is a standard collection of Yi statutes pertaining to national administration first printed in 1485. It comprises six sections: (1) statutes relating to government organization, rank, and civil service appointments; (2) statutes pertaining to civil affairs (litigations, etc.); (3) statutes relating to diplomatic procedures; (4) statutes of military administration; (5) statutes pertaining to criminal affairs; and (6) statutes promulgated for the office of Technology and Crafts.

(2) The *Dae-jun Sok-rok* 大典續錄, republished in 1935, was originally compiled at the behest of King Sung-jung in 1492 as a supplement to the already obsolete *Dae-jun* (of 1485).

(3) The *Sok Dae-jun* 續大典, also a 1935 reprint, had been printed for the first time in 1746, by order of King Yong-jo; it summarized the contents of (1) and (2) above as well as of the *Soo-kyo Jip-rok* (cf. 8 below), while supplying a considerable amount of detail on popular and court custom prevailing at the time.

(4) The *Dae-myung-yul Jik-hae* 大明律直解, re-issued in 1936, is a set of translations from the great Ming code *Ta-ming Lu*, originally published in 1395. In its first form it consisted of translations of the Chinese into *li-doo*, done in 1392 by Sa-kyung Koh and Ji Kim; in 1395, the *li-doo* text was re-edited by Do-jun Jung and Sung Tang in order to bring it into line with Yi practice. The *Dae-myung-yul Jik-hae* set the pattern for the drawing up of Korea's first Chinese type statutory compilation, the *Kyung-kook Dae-jun* (cf. 1 above).

(5) Takekame Asafu's *Study on the Statutes of the Yi Dynasty* (1936 reprint) describes the process by which Yi statutory law was developed during the course of the many centuries of Yi hegemony over Chosen. The useful Appendix to this work contains chapters on the classification of statutes and the classification of catalogues, as well as a table describing the various types of official documents.

(6) The *Choo Kwan Ji* 秋官志, republished in 1939, was compiled by Il-won Park in 1781 and summarizes criminal law during the reign of King Jong-jo (late eighteenth century).

(7) The *Dae-jun Whae-tong* 大典會通 was compiled in 1865 at the order of King Koh-jung. It is the most comprehensive collection of Yi dynastic law, being a revision and expansion of the earlier *Dae-jun Tong-pyun*, a work that had assembled not just the contents of the *Kyung-kook Dae-jun* and *Sok Dae-jun* but the host of precedents established by monarchical rescript and common law. Re-publication was completed in 1939.

(8) The *Soo-kyo Jip-rok* 受教輯錄, republished in 1934, was originally compiled at the order of King Sook-jung in 1698: it contains a complete collection of the rescripts and edicts issued by Yi rulers over the years 1543-1698.

VIII

The changes in Korean life wrought by Japanese and Koreans during the years of Japanese rule (1910-1945) were not inconsiderable. But, looking at the matter in retrospect, the role played by the Japanese who came to Korea as scholarly friends and investigators, rather than politicians or merchants, militarists or adventurers, and the accomplishments

of the Koreans who worked side by side with these men of learning, looms larger than any temporary material accomplishments. On the Japanese side, these years saw the blossoming of the scholarly talents of such men as Fusanoshin Ayugai, Kyosaku Maima, Tōru Takahashi, Ryū Imanishi, Shōgo Oda, Ryosaku Fujita, Katsumi Kuroita, Iwakichi Inaba, Hidetaka Nakamura, Shōei Mishina, Kiyoshi Tabohashi, Yasukazu Suematsu, Hideo Ogihara, Batai Seno, Shosuke Matsumoto, Torajirō Naito, Takuji Takahashi, Hideo Ogihara, Tatsukichi Tsurumi, Kizo Ushioda, Ukichi Kawaguchi, Keizō Shibue, Gan'ichi Matsuoka, Hanjirō Tanaka, Toshio Ishihara, Yojirō Sonoda, Yoshiyuki Suto, Kinsaku Marugame, Shōzō Kuroda, Tomoe Imamura, Kō Matsuda, Chijun Murayama, Rintarō Asami, Eisuke Zensho, Hiroshi Shikata, Zen'ichi Inoya, Kōzō Tagawa, and Tameo Tabana. Together with them labored the Korean scholars Hi Hong, Nam-sun Choi, Sok-ho Shin, Noong-wha Lee, Yong-kyoon Yoon, Han-jik Cho, Yong-koo Park, and Chan-so Goo.

Nor has Japanese interest in Korean history and traditions fed with the passing of the years. Still at work in Japan are such notable talents as Prof. Hidetaka Nakamura (Tenri University), Prof. Hiroshi Shikata (professor emeritus, Nagoya University), Prof. Shōzō Kuroda of Kokushikan University, Kōzō Tagawa (researcher, Tōyō bunko) Prof. Tameo Tabana (professor emeritus, Osaka University), and many others whose names must go unmentioned here. I dare say their efforts are admired and appreciated by the Korean people as a symbol of the bonds of friendship and mutual understanding linking the countries of Japan and Korea.

IX

The 20th century has seen many injustices inflicted by the Japanese government on the Korean people, and the rule of the Government-General over a colonized Korea certainly marked a low point in Korean-Japanese relations. But the time has passed, I am convinced, when Korea can profit from making political capital of the rancor generated by past Japanese mistakes. We Koreans must greet the future with a practical and unbiased view of our past. In this connection it is my hope that an understanding of the significance of our Japanese colleagues' efforts at reviving and forwarding the study of Korean national history—at a time when it was hardly politically advantageous to do so—might be of some small service in dispelling the unproductive anti-Japanese bias that has haunted Korean thought in the postwar period.