Kyujanggak
Rediscovering its History and Culture
Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies
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Foreword

Kyujanggak was founded by King Jeongjo of Joseon in 1776 as a royal library, and it was also an office staffed by officials who served as special consultants to the king. Since its foundation, countless books, documents and all kinds of material were collected by Kyujanggak and put in custody there. Unfortunately, Kyujanggak was shut down when the Daehan (Great Han) Empire fell, and all the collected items were transferred to the Joseon Governor General office. Later, they were relocated to Gyeongseong Imperial University, and today they are under care of Seoul National University. The current collection encompasses more than 250,000 items of age-old books and documents, and also includes materials generated by the Daehan Imperial government, as well as various types of pictures, calligraphy, maps and even wooden printing blocks. Among them, 7 items are now designated as National Treasure, and 25 of them are named as Treasures. The Annals of the Joseon dynasty, the Seungjeongwon Ilgi, and the Uigwe protocol manuals have also been designated as part of World Heritage by UNESCO. The Kyujanggak collection is a vast trove of treasures, which could help us learn the history and culture of the Joseon dynasty. Many scholars from Korea and abroad continue to visit Kyujanggak today, in order to consult all these materials in their studies of Korea’s past.

In 2006, Kyujanggak and the Institute of Korean Studies merged with each other, and formed the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies inside the Seoul National University. Preservation, management, publication and research of all the materials in custody came to be regulated by a unified authority. As a result, studies of Korean history and culture were boosted once again, while efforts to share the accumulated results of current studies with a larger group of people and also enhance the global society’s understanding of Korean history and culture continued. The Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies does not only deal with the pre-modern history and culture of Korea, it has also been engaged in the examination of materials on the history and culture of the modern period as well. As our ancestors did in the past, Kyujanggak bears the solemn duty of not only preserving the materials inherited from the past but also collecting new materials and putting them to good use, and ultimately handing them over to the next generation of Koreans. We assure everyone that Kyujanggak will not rest until that duty is satisfactorily performed.
It has been suggested that in order to clarify the duty and functions of Kyujanggak once again, we should take a comprehensive look upon the past and present of Kyujanggak and reevaluate the historical and cultural meaning of all the books it currently holds. So a plan for a series of publications entitled “The History and Culture of Kyujanggak” was established in September 2008, and a decision was made to publish English versions of the individual installments as well, to allow foreign readers to understand the history and collections of Kyujanggak. As part of such efforts, “Kyujanggak: Rediscovering its History and Culture” and “Kyujanggak and the Cultural History of Books” were published in August 2009, and now we present you with the English versions of those publications.

Many people contributed to the publication of these English versions. Many thanks to Professor Lee Kang Hahn who translated the original contents from Korean to English, and our deepest gratitude to Professors Milan G. Hejtmancik and Sem Vermeersch who both provided meticulous proofreading of the translation. Most of all, we acknowledge the fundamental contributions made by all the original authors: Professors Kang Moon-sik, Kim Moon-sik, Kim Tae-woong, Shin Byung-ju and Yeon Kab-soo for the “Kyujanggak: Rediscovering its History and Culture” and Professors Kim Moon-sik, Ok Yeong-jeong and Lee Jongmook for the “Kyujanggak and the Cultural History of Books.” And finally, we humbly recognize the most active and generous support that was provided from the Daewoo Foundation which enabled this project to go forward, and all the gracious hard work that was done by the editing staff of Acanet publications.

We sincerely hope that these books will be helpful to anyone in the world who is genuinely interested in everything Korean. Hopefully our efforts would eventually help raise the global society’s awareness of the rich culture and history that the Koreans have fostered and nurtured in the past for several millennia. Thank you very much.

December 2010,

Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, Seoul National University

Director Noh Tae-don
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1

Kyujianggak in King Jeongjo’s era

King Jeongjo was officially designated the son of the Crown Prince in 1759 at the age of eight. In 1762, after his father was executed, he inherited the position of the official successor to the sitting King Yeongjo. At this time, he moved his residence from Changdeok-gung to Gyeonghuigung, and resided there until he ascended to the throne in 1776. His grandfather Yeongjo also frequently came there for prolonged visits.

‘Donggung (as he was referred to before his enthronement)’ Jeongjo, while residing in Gyeonghuigung, created a special office. He built a two-story building on the southeast side of the Huijeongdang structure, and named the second floor as ‘Juhamnu 宥合樓’, and the first floor ‘Jonhyeongak 優賢閣’. He then made this place a center of his own studies. The term ‘Juhap’ comes from the title of a chapter in Guanzi 吳子, and referred to a merging of the universe and the world in all directions (四海) in one large mass. People believed that it would only be
possible to reach such state when both the King and his officials were benevolent and wise. ‘Jonhyeon’ referred to the act of honoring wise men who had both intelligence and benevolence, and the term was chosen especially because the Jonhyeongak was built on the ground where Chinhyeongak 親賢閣, the site of Donggung’s education, had originally stood. ‘Jonhyeon’ and ‘Chinhyeon’ have similar meanings. Jeongjo also built a personal study called Jeongsaekdang 貞閣堂 near Juhamnu and kept various kinds of books there, under the jurisdiction of a new office he called Biseogwan 秘書館. In other words, Jeongjo already established what would later become Changdeokgung’s Kyujanggak, only on a smaller scale, in his Gyeonghuigung days.

Seo Myeong-eung was named royal preceptor to Donggung in 1772, and in order to educate Jeongjo properly he involved himself in the task of creating teaching materials, and establishing the Gyeonghuigung area as a place of study and character-building for the Crown Prince. Seo drafted a document explaining the establishment of Juhamnu and Jeongsaekdang, in which he emphasized that the way of governing a country can be found in books, so it is important to collect them and preserve them. Yet what should be even more important is Jeongjo’s attempt to build a character benevolent in nature and eager to repel greed.” Later when King Jeongjo founded the Kyujanggak and promoted programs of academic study, Seo became his right arm, and was put in charge of overseeing all relevant projects.

2. Foundation of the Kyujanggak at Changdeokgung

In March 1776, King Jeongjo ordered the foundation of the Kyujanggak in the rear garden of Changdeokgung 昌德宮, on the very day following his enthronement. This was not entirely without antecedent. It was a renovation of an old office that had existed before, and the renovation was accomplished in the spirit of “Perceiving the past as a model, and creating new things based upon it” (法古創新).
The person who first suggested the foundation of Kyujanggak was Yang Seong-ji 梁誠之, an official from the reign of King Sejo. In 1463 (the 9th year of King Sejo’s reign), Yang cited the fact that Song 宋 dynasty emperors built a structure independent from other offices in order to keep royal writings (御製, authored by emperors or kings) and to provide those books with ideal custodial conditions, and he proposed the
foundation of an office called Kyujanggak 奎章閣, to house the Joseon dynasty’s king’s own writings. He also made detailed observations about the institution that would be required for running the Kyujanggak. He suggested that the separate chamber on the east side of Gyeongbokgung’s Injidang 錦雉堂 be converted into a place to store the king’s writings and that the chamber be named as ‘Kyujanggak’, and officials such as Daejehak, Jehak and Jikjehak be stationed there. Unfortunately, his suggestions were never made policy.

The Kyujanggak building was first built in 1694 (the 20th year of King Sukjong’s reign). King Sukjong established a separate building at the Jongjeonssi office (宗正寺, which was in charge of overseeing affairs related to royal family members), and stored all royal writings and calligraphy (御筆) there. Sukjong also personally wrote the characters ‘Kyujanggak 奎章閣,’ on a board to be hung on the front of the building. Yet at this point, the institution of the Kyujanggak was not yet established. The term ‘Kyujanggak’ literally meant “a building shining with the Gyuseong (奎星) star.” ‘Gyuseong’ was one of the 28th constellations in the sky, and Gyuseong in particular was the overseer of the people’s academic activities and studies. Also, writings of emperors and kings were sometimes referred to as ‘Gyuhan 奎翰.’ So ‘Kyujanggak’ could be interpreted as a title proclaiming, “a building shining with the king’s own writings.”

The Kyujanggak that King Jeongjo opened in September 1776 was a successor to this institution from King Sukjong’s era, but it was also equipped with a variety of new functions. Sukjong’s Kyujanggak only served as a custodial site for the king’s royal writings and calligraphy, while Jeongjo’s Kyujanggak was designed not only to house these items but also other important ones related to the royal family, and all kinds of books produced either in China or Joseon. Added to that, Jeongjo’s Kyujanggak was also developed as a center of political activity, where crucial dynastic policies were formulated, with a number of carefully selected elite officials in charge of the entire process.

Jeongjo’s Kyujanggak first started to compile and publish former King
Yeongjo’s royal writings. The new King Jeongjo commenced the task of compiling the Annals of Yeongjo’s reign, and in the process he carved Yeongjo’s writings on wooden tablets, engraved Yeongjo’s own calligraphy on stones, and collected and copied Yeongjo’s writings scattered throughout the country to place a complete copy of Yeongjo’s writings at the Wolleung 元陵 royal tomb (Yeongjo’s tomb), as well as one copy in the palace for the time being.

With this task nearing its end, Jeongjo ordered a new building to be built in the rear garden of Changdeokgung, in order to house Yeongjo’s writings and calligraphy there. Construction began in March 1776 and was completed in September the same year, featuring the second floor as an attic and the first floor as a veranda. Here not only were kept Yeongjo’s writings and calligraphy but also those of the former Kings (yet later they were moved to another site when King Jeongjo’s own writings and calligraphy, portrait (御鑒) and seal were placed here).

When the construction of the structure was completed, at first it was referred to as ‘Eojegak 御製閣’ or ‘Eojejongak 御製堂閣’, to indicate that the building housed Yeongjo’s writings and personal effects. Then
Jeongjo took the 'Kyujanggak' hanging board created by Sukjong, which still hung at the Jongjeongsi office, and moved it to the new building, in consideration of the fact that the year the hanging board had been made (1694) was also the year King Yeongjo was born. Jeongjo's intention was to emphasize the notion that the legitimacy of the royal family that derived from Sukjong and Yeongjo now resided with him. With the arrival of the old board, the 'new' Kyujanggak came to feature two hanging boards, Sukjong's old one and Jeongjo's new 'Juhamnu' board.

Additional buildings housing books were built around the Kyujanggak structure. The first was the Bongmodang 奉模堂, built on the southwest side of Kyujanggak. Kyujanggak needed more space to house King Jeongjo's own items, so those of the ancestral Kings were moved to the Bongmodang, which was built on the site where the Yeolmujeong 閣武亭 originally stood. Also, the Gaeyuwa 皆有窟 and the Yeolgogwan 閣古觀 were built on the south side of the Kyujanggak to house Chinese texts, and the langak 移安閣 was built on the west side of the Kyujanggak to provide a space for the task of removing all the materials in the

Photo 1-5 Photo of Yeolgogwan and Gaeyuwa, from *Joseon Gojeok Dobo* (Pictorial book of Joseon's old vestiges)
Kyujanggak and the Bongmodang to expose them to sunlight (to dry them) on a regular basis. A building for book storage (西庫) was constructed on the northwest side of the Kyujanggak to house Joseon texts.

3. Merging of the Gyoseogwan office and the casting of printing type

In December 1777 (the first year of King Jeongjo’s reign), Jeongjo had the Gyoseogwan office (what was essentially the dynasty’s publishing office) merged with the Kyujanggak. It was Seo Myeong-eung, serving as Jehak at Kyujanggak, who argued that Gyoseogwan should be attached (become an subordinate office) to Kyujanggak. He argued that only when the Gyoseogwan office was reestablished as the Kyujanggak’s outer division (外閣), the essence (體, Kyujanggak) and variation (用, Gyoseogwan) would correspond with each other, and he also suggested that in order to facilitate publication projects it would be convenient to move the Gyoseogwan to a nearby location outside the palace. Jeongjo concurred and designated the Gyoseogwan office as Kyujanggak’s outer division. As to the managing of Gyoseogwan’s original functions, Jeongjo originally believed that having the Hongmunwan’s Daejehak official assume the Jejo role of the Gyoseogwan office would be appropriate, yet Seo argued that Kyujanggak’s Dangsanggwan official should assume the role of the Gyoseogwan’s Jejo seat while the Kyujanggak’s Nangecheong official assumed the Gyoseogwan’s Gyori seat, and that the Kyujanggak institute should be put in charge of all publications. In the end, the King accepted all of Seo’s suggestions. The Kyujanggak institute came to oversee both the Gyoseogwan office and all the officials serving there.

The Gyoseogwan building was originally located in the capital’s south district on Hundo-bang street, and was quite distant from Changdeokgung where the king was governing the dynasty. In 1782 (the 6th year of King Jeongjo’s reign), Jeongjo moved the Gyoseogwan office to
a location outside Changdeokgung's Donhwamun gate, at the suggestion of Seo Myeong-eung. Gyoseogwan was moved to this new site in order to facilitate the whole process of receiving orders from the king and publishing compiled materials.

In order to publish books, printing types were required. Jeongjo had been interested in manufacturing them for a very long time, since his Donggung days. During his reign he produced more than a million pieces of printing type over five separate occasions. Among the printing type sets of the Joseon dynasty's early half period were the Gyemi-year type (Gyemija) and the Gabin-year type (Gabinja). Gyemija was a bronze-based printing type cast in 1403 (the 3rd year of King Taejong's reign), and more than one hundred thousand pieces of type were forged based upon the Juso 注疏 of the Shijing, Shujing and Chunqiu zuozhuan. Gabinja was a bronze-based printing type cast in 1434 (the 16th year of King Sejong's reign), and more than two hundred thousand type pieces were created based upon the works Hyosun sasil, Wison eunjeul. The Gabinja type in particular was also nicknamed the "Master Wei type (衛夫人字)," as its features were quite similar to the writing style of a Chinese calligrapher named Master Wei (衛夫人) from the ancient Jin dynasty days who taught calligraphy to yet another renowned calligrapher Wang Xizhi 王羲之. Unfortunately, both types sets were rendered unusable due to abrasion with the passage of time.

The type sets that were first created by King Jeongjo were the Imjin-year type set (Imjinja) of 1772 and the Jeongyu-year type set (Jeongyuja) of 1777. They were both modeled after the Gabinja type set, and respectively 150,000 and 300,000 pieces were cast. The person put in charge of the actual casting process was also Seo Myeong-eung. The Imjin-ja type set was created when he was serving Donggung Jeongjo as his instructor, and the Jeongyuja type set was created when he was serving as the Pyeongan-do provincial governor. Both type sets were relatively large in size, so it was convenient to use them in printing editions of classic texts or history books.

The type Jeongjo created for the third time was the Iminja set in 1782.
This type set was smaller than the above-mentioned two type sets, so it was more frequently used in printing texts authored by the various ‘philosophers’ (諸子) or personal anthologies of individuals. The Iminja type was modeled after the writing style of a Joseon calligrapher named Han Gu 韓構, so it was also referred to as ‘Hanguja 韓構字’. Seo Myeong-eung’s son Seo Ho-su cast 80,000 pieces of this type when he was serving as the Pyeongan-do provincial governor. A total of three out of five type sets attributed to Jeongjo were actually created by the Seo family’s father and son.

The fourth type set created by Jeongjo in 1792 was the ‘Saengsaengja’ set. It was a wooden printing type, modeled after the writing style of the
Chinese character dictionary, and 320,000 pieces were created. The fifth type set created by Jeongjo in 1795 was the ‘Jeongnija’, a bronze-based type set specially created for the publication of Jeongni uigwe 整理儀軌, which documented the 60th birthday celebration of Hyegyeonggung Queen Hong and the subsequent banquet held in honor of her in 1795. Some 300,000 pieces of Jeongnija type were cast, and they were used not only in publishing Jeongni Uigwe but also in publishing Hwaseong seongyeok uigwe 華城城役儀軌 (which documented the construction of the Hwaseong city), Hongjae jeonseo 弘齋全書 (Jeongjo’s personal anthology), Neungheogak mango 凌虛閣漫稿 (Crown Prince Jangheon/Sado’s personal anthology).

Seo Myeong-eung, who directed type casting during the reign of Jeongjo, considered printing types as national treasures, as publication of books enabled by printing types could effectively contribute to the training of countless numbers of elite students who would serve the
government in the future.

Printing types such as the ones created by King Sejong are akin to auspicious charms for our country. Their appearance is that of beautiful jade marbles, and in form they are neatly arranged. Countless millions of books have been printed with them, and thousands of men were trained and edified with these very types. Even numerous bouts of war could not destroy them all. They shared the fate of the dynasty and endured all its plights. Their size is much smaller and much lighter than the nine cauldrons (Jiu-ding 九鼎) of King Yu or the stone drum (Shi-gu 石鼓) of the Zhou dynasty’s King Xuan, yet their functions are more comprehensive and their contributions are more diverse, much more than either Jiu-ding or Shi-gu.

The office that stored the printing types and was in charge of publishing works with them during King Jeongjo’s reign was the Gaminso 監印所 office. Its location was the site of the original location of the Hongmun-gwan office inside the Changgyeonggung palace, and it was near the Yeongchunheon 迎春軒 hall where Jeongjo had been residing. In December 1796 (the 20th year of Jeongjo’s reign) Jeongjo changed the name of the office to Jujae 造字所, which was originally the name of the office that created the Gyemija type in 1403 (the 3rd year of King Taejong’s reign) and printed books. On the day of the name change, Jeongjo described the types he created as follows.

When I was at Chungung, I ordered 150,000 pieces of printing type to be cast, modeled after King Sejong’s Gabinja type. That was the type set which was used in printing Gyeongseo jeongmun 經書正文. In the first year of my reign (1776, the Jeongyu year), I ordered the Pyeongan magistrate to cast an additional 150,000 pieces of printing type modeled after the Gabinja type, and had them put under custody of the Naegak (Kyujanggak). This type was used in printing Palja baekseon 八子百選 and also in newly printing Gyeongseo daejeon 經書大全. In the Gabin-year (1794) 100 chapters of Zhu Xi’s texts were selected to be printed with the type set at Naegak. So
ordered the repair of the old Hongmungwan building at the Changgyeonggung palace, and moved the type set there.

In the spring of Euulmyo year (1795), I returned from the Bongsudang banquet with my mother (Hyegeonggung). In order to compile and publish Jeongni uigwe, 300,000 bronze-based pieces of printing type were produced and were labelled as ‘Jeongnija’. First Yeongchunheonji huigaengjae chuk 迎春軒志喜唐載軸 and other poems listed as well written around the time of the banquet were all printed, and then Eojeong kuyjang jeonun 御定奎章全韻 was issued with woodblock printing, and the printing tablets were moved here. In this year (1796), Eojeong sagi yeongseon 御定史記英選 was reprinted with Jeongnija types and distributed. In case of printing ‘Eojeongseo’ materials, they were printed right here.

This is because I wish to adhere to the practices and principles that I inherited from my ancestors from the early days of this dynasty. Because I never named the office, the officials at Kyujanggak temporarily have called it as ‘Gaminso.’ From this time, it will once again be called as ‘Jujaso’, the title it had in the early days of this dynasty.

The fact that King Jeongjo merged Gyoseogwan with Kyujanggak and created various sets of printing types, reveals Jeongjo’s intention of having Kyujanggak be in charge of compilation and publication.

4. King Jeongjo’s lectures of Jinsi-lu (Geunsarok) and Xin-jing (Simgyeong)

On March 1781, Jeongjo held a royal lecture (Gyeongyeon) at Kyujanggak and the Hongmungwan office. On this day, Jeongjo visited Kyujanggak’s Imunwon office, and debated the Daoti (道體) chapter of Jinsi-lu 近思錄, with the former and present staff of Kyujanggak in attendance. The Hongmungwan officials involved in the royal lecture were present as well, and listened to the lecture. After the Imunwon lecture, Jeongjo moved to Hongmungwan and debated the contents of
Xin-jing 心經 with the royal lecture officials. This time, Kyujanggak’s former and present staff attended and listened to the lecture. Things that were discussed between Jeongjo and the officials were documented in the three volumes of Gwangak gangui (館閣講義: Lectures at Kyujanggak and Hongmungwan).

Around the time of these lectures, Jeongjo was gearing up to promote the activities of Kyujanggak on a full scale. In September 1779 (the 3rd year of Jeongjo’s reign), Jeongjo eliminated his own political ally Hong Guk-yeong. Hong was one of the most trusted advisors and was most meritorious in Jeongjo’s ascension to the throne, but his power started to threaten even the King and to challenge the King’s own authority. So Jeongjo, being certain that he could handle the governing of the country
without Hong, swiftly put him to death. In 1781, Jeongjo established the 
Gangje jeolmok 講製節目 to instruct and educate Chogye literary 
officials, and moved the Imunwon building from Changdeokgung’s rear 
garden to the location near the King’s residence, where the late Owido 
chongbu headquarters were standing. There he hung a sign board saying 
‘Imunjiwon (摛文之院)’ which featured his own handwriting. Jeongjo was 
about to launch his own elite training program, and the above-mentioned 
lectures were arranged as a special gathering of high ranking officials 
right before the commencement of his own plans. The names of officials 
who participated in Jeongjo’s lectures this day, are as follows.

**Kyujanggak**

**Jehak**  Gim Jong-su, Yu Eon-ho (new members), Yi Hwi-ji, Hwang 
Gyeong-won, Yi Bok-won, Seo Myeong-eung (existing members)

**Jikjehak** Jeong Min-si, Sin Nyeom-jo (new members), Seo Ho-su (existing 
member)

**Jikgak**  Seo Jeong-su (new member), Jeong Ji-geom, Gim Hui, Seo U-jin 
(existing members)
Daegyo: Jeong Dong-jun (new member), Seo Yong-bo (existing member)

Hongmungwan
Yeonggyeongyeonsa: Seo Myeong-seon, Yi Hwi-ji
Jigyeongyeonsa: Jeong Sang-sun, Gim Ik
Dongjigyeongyeonsa: Yi Myeong-sik, Jeong Chang-seong
Chamchangwan: Yi Ab, Seo Yu-bang, Sin Eung-hyeon, Jo Si-wi, Gim Wu-jin, Jeong Ji-geom
Siganggwan: Bak Cheon-hyeong
Sidokgwan: Yi Si-su, Yi Jeong-wun, Yi Gyeom-bin, Yu Maeng-yang
Geomtogwan: Jo Jeong-jin, Bak Cheon-haeng, Gwon Yi-gang, Hong Mun-yeong

We can see that Jeongjo enlarged the usual scope of the Gyeongyeon lecture, by not only having the royal lecture officials attend but also inviting all the Kyujanggak staff as well. In other words, he summoned practically all the officials engaged and involved in high-level academic studies. Also, Jeongjo did not assume the position of a listener, learning whatever the officials had to teach the King. He rather acted as an instructor to the officials, asking questions and awaiting answers from them, and in the end he presented final solutions to the suggested questions, issues or problems. He acted as a ‘Schoolmaster King (君師)’, as if he were in charge not only of politics but also of academics.

Jeongjo emphasized the fact that the lectures held on that day were not solely aimed at determining the literal meanings of texts inside Jinsi-lu and Xin-jing. He argued that such lectures were needed because he wished that on such occasions, with his officials in attendance that debating various issues such as his own governance or the livelihood of the public or the achievements of former Kings, would be helpful to his character-building efforts, not to mention the dynastic governance in general. Staying true to his words, Jeongjo engaged in full-blown academic debates with the officials, by questioning the concepts within
Jinsi-lu, and inviting the officials into discussion. Throughout the debates, Jeongjo often accepted and agreed with the officials’ opinions, but when he believed that the responses were not complete, he presented his own opinion quite passionately, and sought for the officials’ consent.

He also explained his own plans and policies, for which he asked counsel to the officials. He explained why he had opened Kyujanggak and why he recruited Chogye literary officials. He also asked for solutions which would help him promote the academic trend of the time (文風), restore the way of governance (治道), train elites and also rectify problems in the military institutions (軍政). He had strong opinions regarding these issues. For example, when Sim Nyeom-jo suggested that the Sahak (四學: Four Schools) instructors should be put in charge of teaching Xiaoxue to children, Jeongjo countered this proposal and argued that ‘Jeongjwa (靜坐: quiet sitting)’, the most important virtue of students, should instead be required of them.

But in the subsequent periods, the royal lectures were not held that frequently. Jeongjo displayed a decidedly superior position to his officials in terms of academic studies, and therefore it turned out to be less than practical to continue such efforts. So instead Jeongjo shifted his efforts entirely to promoting the elite training program through Kyujanggak.

5. Implementation of the ‘Chogye Munsin’ program

In February 1781, Jeongjo initiated the Kyujanggak Chogye literary officials program (抄啓文臣制). Since its foundation, Kyujanggak mainly had functioned as a place to house royal writings and calligraphy. Yet with the initiation of this program, Kyujanggak was granted a new function of primarily training and reeducating elites needed for the governing of the country. This program was a multi-faceted reeducation program. It selected low-ranking civil officials under the age of 37 who were considered to be talented. Then it educated them, and in the end
graduated them at the age of 40. There had been similar programs in the past, such as the Saga dokseo 賜暇讀書 program (providing leave to engage in extensive reading) or the Dokseodang (讀書堂: reading place) program. Jeongjo’s program was another version of such earlier models.

Jeongjo made the reasons behind his initiation of this program very clear, by establishing Munsin gangje jeolmok 文臣講製節目, which defined the curriculum for the Chogye officials. He argued that the atmosphere of academic training had become weak, because the task of educating human resources had lost its way. So accordingly, he suggested that educating valuable talent should be promoted immediately. He was particularly annoyed by the current trend shared by young officials who were only interested in passing national examinations and who stopped studying after succeeding in the exams. He also pointed out that the existing institution that required the civil officials not only to study classics but also to perform certain assigned tasks was no longer being properly observed.

Jeongjo selected elite officials from the Chamsanggwan 参上官 and Chamhagwan 参下官 officials as ‘Chogye literary officials’, and had them engage extensively in classical studies, examination of historical texts and in literary activities, for a certain period of time. Selected personnel would be exempted from their duties, and personnel with no assignments would be provided with a military title (軍職), to allow them to invest all their time in academic studies.

They were tested every month, and depending upon the results they were either rewarded or reprimanded. They took the test of ‘reading of the classics’ (講經) twice a month, and a test of composition (製論) once a month, under the supervision of the Kyujanggak officials. Aside from these tests, once a month they were also
required to take a test which King Jeongjo himself presided over (親臨). The questions came from the King, and the results were inspected by him as well.

Kyujanggak closed during the intense heat of the summer and bitter cold of the winter. During those periods, Jeongjo distributed questions (called Jomun 疊問) to the officials, and had them prepare answers at home for later submission to the King. The ‘Gyeongsa gangui 經史譜義’ chapter included in Hongjae jeonseo 弘齋全書 is a collection of excerpts from both the questions issued by Jeongjo, and the answers submitted by the Chogye officials that were also considered to have displayed a certain level of excellence. Jeongjo prepared the questions with all the academic information of his command, so the Chogye officials had to study hard in drafting an appropriate answer. Jeongjo’s ‘Gyeongsa gangui’ is mostly based upon the Four Books (四書) and Three Classics (三經), Thirteen classics (十三經) in the area of philosophy, Chunqiu zuozhuan (春秋左氏傳) and Zizhi tongjian gangmu (資治通鑑綱目) in the area of history. ‘Gyeongsa gangui’ rounds were conducted from 1781 through 1794. Lectures were held in the most concentrated fashion in the 1780s.

King Jeongjo based his studies upon Neo-Confucianism, but was also fully aware of and well versed in the new ‘evidentiary studies’ imported from the Chinese Qing dynasty. Through his questions, he asked for a description of the contemporary landscape of academic studies or appraisal of its future development, and the Chogye officials had one hell of a time preparing answers to those questions. Jeongjo considered the Chogye officials to be his companions in academic studies, so he discussed with them the contents and explanatory notes that should be inserted in compiled publications, and he also sought their advice in devising means to suppress the current Paegwan sopum 神官小品 composition style and instead to resurrect purer styles of writing that hailed from the ancient days (古文). The Jeongsi munjeong 正始文程 published in 1795 was a collection of exemplary work, drawn from the Chogye officials’ answers to Jeongjo’s questions.
Following the enlistment of 20 Chogye officials in 1781, a total of 142 officials were selected for the program, over 11 separate recruitments. *Chogye munsin jemyeongnok* 抄啓文臣題名錄 contains a list of Chogye officials who served at Kyujanggak, although the names of four people (Jeong Dong-jun, O Tae-hyon, Jo Heung-jin, Gim Hui-chae, recruitments of the year 1781) are missing. The list of all 142 selected by Jeongjo, is below.

1781 the 5th year of Jeongjo’s reign

Seo Jeong-su, Yi Si-su, Hong Yi-geon, Yi Ik-un, Yi Jong-seop, Yi Dong-jik, Yi Hyeon-muk, Bak Jong-jeong, Seo Yong-bo, Yi Jip-du, Gim Jae-chan, Yi Jo-seung, Yi Seok-ha, Hong In-ho, Jo Yun-dae, Yi No-chun, Jeong Dong-jun, O Tae-hyon, Jo Heung-jin, Gim Hui-chae

1783 the 7th year

Yi Hyeon-do, Jeong Man-si, Jo Je-no, Yi Myeon-geung, Gim Gyae-rak, Gim Hi-jo, Yi Gon-su, Yun Haeng-im, Seong Jong-in, Yi Cheong, Yi Ik-jin, Sim Jin-hyeon, Seo Hyeong-su, Sin Bok, Yi Yu-su, Gang Se-ryun

1784 the 8th year

Yi Seo-gu, Jeong Dong-gwan, Han Chi-eung, Han Sang-sin, Yi Hyeong-dal, Hong Ui-ho, Han Heung-yu
1786 the 10th year
Jeong Man-seok, Song Sang-ryeom, Gim Jo-sun, Hong Nak-jeong, Jang Seok-yun, Yi Sang-hwang

1787 the 11th year
Yu Jeong, Yun Yeong-hui, Yun Gwang-an, Yi Hi-gwan, Sin Seo

1789 the 13th year
Seo Yeong-bo, Jeong Yak-yong, Sim Gyu-no, Seo Yu-mun, Yun In-gi, Sim Neung-jeok, Sim Sang-ghu, Yi Dong-myeon, Gim Hi-sun, Yi Gigeong, Bak Yun-su, Gim I-gyo, An Jeong-seon, Yi Rae-hyeon, Yu Han-u

1790 the 14th year
Jo Deuk-yeong, Yun Ji-nul, Gim Gyeong, Choe Byeok, Sin Seong-mo, Song Ji-ryeom, Yi Hi-gap, Jeong No-yeong, Gim I-jae, Yi Myeong-yeon, Seo Yu-gu, Bak Jong-sun, Han Yong-tak, Eom Gi, Jeong Yak-jeon, Gim Dal-sun, Hong Su-man, Yun Haeng-jik, Bak Jong-gyeong

1792 the 16th year
Yi Jo-won, Gim Hui-hwa, Yi Wi-dal, Nam Gong-cheol, Yi Wun-hang, Han Gi-hang, Gwon Gi, Im Gyeong-jin, Sim Ban, Min Chi-jae

1795 the 19th year
Sin Bong-jo, Gim Hui-ju, Gim Cheo-am, Yi Yeong-bal, Hong Seok-ju, Gim I-yeong, Gim Gyae-on, Yi Sang-gyeom

1800 the 24th year
Yi Yeong-ha, Yeo Dong-sik, Gim Mae-sun, Gim Gi-eun, Sin Wi, Yun Il-gyu, Sim Yeong-seok, Jo Jeong-hwa, O Yeon-sang, Gim Hu, Jo Jong-yeong, Yun Jeong-yeol, Jo Seok-jeong, Gim Seok-hyeon

According to this list, Jeong Yak-yong was recruited as a Chogye official in 1789, and his older brother Jeong Yak-jeon was selected in 1790. Also, Kim Jo-sun, who led the ‘Sedo politics’ that the 19th century had to witness, was also selected as Chogye official in 1786.

Chogye officials were the closest allies of Jeongjo, trained heavily by the King himself. They devised policies and solutions for various issues and agendas, including the academic trends of the day, writing styles in fashion, not to mention a wide of variety of political problems of the
Jeongjo reign. After completing the Chogye program, they served as the most instrumental workforce in Jeongjo's reforms, and they were fully prepared for the job, thanks to all the extensive reeducation that provided them with not only academic expertise but also management skills.

6. Compilation of Kyujang chongmok (General Inventory of materials at Kyujanggak)

In June 1781, Kyujang chongmok 奎章總目 was completed. This book is the inventory of all the books in custody of Kyujanggak, categorized according to their themes and formats, with detailed introductions and explications attached as well.

The history of the Kyujanggak books began when Jeongjo was still a Crown Prince and living at Gyeonghuigung. Jeongjo established a personal study called Jeongsaeckdang near Juhamnu, and started to collect books. Subsequently they were transferred to Kyujanggak. The task of collecting books was under the jurisdiction of Kyujanggak. In case of Joseon books, the Kyujanggak's Imunwon office would request the purchase, and either Takjibu or Bibeonsa would fund it. In case of Chinese books, Imunwon would report to the King, and after his approval the Kyujanggak staff would provide the head translator (首譯) who was scheduled to visit Beijing with the necessary amount of money to purchase the book in China.

There was an interesting incident that occurred during an attempt to purchase some Chinese books. In 1777, the Joseon government succeeded in buying the complete collection of Gujin tushu jicheng 古今圖書集成. Earlier in 1776, right after his enthronement, Jeongjo ordered Head emissary Yi Eun and vice head of the envoy Seo Ho-su to purchase Siku quanshu 四庫全書 during their stay in Beijing, because he had heard in 1772 that the compilation process for the Siku quanshu had been initiated. Yet at the time of the emissaries' visit Siku quanshu was still being compiled, and even after the compilation was completed, it turned
out that foreign entities were not allowed to purchase it. So, the envoy in Beijing instead purchased the complete edition of Gujin tushu jicheng. This collection featured 5,022 chapters in 10 thousand volumes, and is now in the custody of Kyujanggak, fully intact.

In February 1781, Jeongjo ordered Seo Myeong-eung to compile Kyujang chongmok, inventory of all the books in custody of Kyujanggak. And his son Seo Ho-su, who was serving as Kyujanggak’s Jikjehak official (and also the vice head of the aforementioned envoy to Beijing), submitted a completed inventory to the King in four months. Today, 4 volumes of Gaeyuwa seomok 皆有高書目 (labeled as ‘Kyujang Chongmok’) are in custody of Kyujanggak, and total of 19,665 volumes are listed in these volumes.

At the time of Kyujang chongmok’s compilation, a total of 30,000 books, including more than 20,000 Chinese books and 10,000 Joseon books, were in custody of Kyujanggak. The collection was a conglomeration of all the books Jeongjo kept at Jeongsaeckdang when he was at Gyeonghuigung, books that were transferred from Hongmungwan, the Ming dynasty books that had been kept in the temporary palace of Ganghwabu, and the books that were purchased from the Qing dynasty based upon Naegakbang seorok 内閣訪書錄, all of
them.

In the introductory remarks placed in the beginning of Kyujang chongmok, Seo Ho-su provided the readers with a general introduction to the inventories made in China, then explained that Kyujang chongmok was a new type of inventory based upon those earlier foreign models. At the end of the article he finally exhibited a certain level of pride in his work by saying that even a collection of hundreds or even thousands of books could be efficiently categorized based upon the inventory system pioneered in Kyujang chongmok. Kyujanggak books were classified into four categories (部): Classics (經), History (史), Philosophers (傳), and Anthologies (集). According to the result of categorization, all books received colored tags (籤): red, blue, yellow and white. In Kyujang chongmok all the books were classified into a ‘4 Categories (部) / 37 Types (類)’ system, and the title, number of volumes, compiler’s identity, format of the book, foreword and postscript inside the book were all indicated, in order to let the viewers access a comprehensive set of knowledge regarding a particular book by having a glimpse at the overall information.

7. Compilation of Royal writings and Royal portraits

Since its inception, Kyujanggak deeply concerned itself with King Yeongjo’s own royal writings (eoje 御製). Upon creating Kyujanggak, Jeongjo ordered the publication of former King Yeongjo’s own royal writings, and also a dynasty-wide search for Yeongjo’s writings scattered throughout the country to be copied in handwriting. So, in July 1776, Yeolseong eoje 列聖御製 which contained Yeongjo’s writings was
published, and the compilation of the *Annals of Yeongjo’s reign* was initiated as well. It was completed in July 1781.

With the compilation of Yeongjo’s royal writings complete, Jeongjo shifted his interest to compiling his own writings. In the past, the King’s royal writings would only be compiled after the King’s death, yet Yeongjo compiled and published his own writings several times while he was still alive, and so did Jeongjo.

Jeongjo’s royal writings entered the compilation process in winter of 1777. Jeongjo ordered Seo Myeong-eung to oversee the task, and at the end of that year Seo Myeong-eung submitted 12 volumes of *Hongiae jeonpyeon* 弘齋全篇 which contained Jeongjo’s own poems and articles authored from his Crown Prince days. And another task that involved his writings was set into motion in 1781. The Kyujanggak at the time was to function as the office of categorizing the royal writings, and Jeongjo’s writings were categorized into 22 categories.

Categorization of Jeongjo’s writings differed according to the genre of a particular writing in question. Poems were categorized according to writing styles as soon as they were completed. Edicts (傳敟), memoirs (備忘記), orders (判付) and responses (批答) were classified according to date, with only the essence extracted, hand copied and proofread. Lectures of classics (釋史講義) were preserved in their original format. Jeongjo’s writings were processed in Kyujanggak and later used in compiling *Hongiae jeonseo*, Jeongjo’s own personal anthology.

Jeongjo also had his portrait drawn and housed at Kyujanggak. In August 1781, he ordered the artist Gim Hong-do to create his portrait, in the tradition of former King Yeongjo’s, which dictated the royal portrait be updated every ten years. The process of the creation of Yeongjo’s portrait can be documented as follows, based upon Jeongjo’s own remarks.

1714 the 40th year of Sujong’s reign, age 21

1 piece (housed at Changuigung), 1 piece (minor, housed at Seonwonjeon)

1724 the year Yeongjo was enthroned, age 31
1 piece (first draft)

1733  the 9th year of Yeongjo’s reign, age 40
   1 piece (housed at Seonwonjeon), 1 piece (minor, housed at Yuksanggung)

1744  the 20th year of Yeongjo’s reign, age 51
   1 piece (housed at Yeonghuijeon), 1 piece (housed at Mannyeongjeon)

1754  the 30th year of Yeongjo’s reign, age 61
   1 piece (housed at Yuksanggung), 1 piece (minor, housed at Changuigung)
   (above, as of 1757)

1763  the 39th year of Yeongjo’s reign, age 70
   1 piece (housed at Seonwonjeon)

1773  the 49th year of Yeongjo’s reign, age 80
   1 piece (housed at Seonwonjeon), 1 piece (minor, housed at Yuksanggung)

Jeongjo’s portrait was first painted in 1773, when he was still the Crown Prince, at the age of 22. It featured Jeongjo in his youth and was later deemed not to be reflecting Jeongjo’s actual look, so it was subsequently destroyed. And (at least before he became king) further portraits were never created. In August 1781 (the 5th year of his reign), observing the practice initiated by Yeongjo, Jeongjo had his portrait created every decade, and preserved at Kyujanggak. It was an order made in the tradition of the Chinese Song dynasty’s Tianzhang-ge (天章閣) structure, which housed royal writings and portraits (御容) of former emperors. Jeongjo’s portrait was completed on September 16th, 1781, and was housed at Kyujanggak’s Juhamnu structure. At the same time, Jeongjo issued Bongsim jeolmok 奉審節目, and instructed the Kyujanggak officials to inspect the portrait on a regular basis. It was one of the more important functions of Kyujanggak, to create and preserve the royal writings and portraits of the kings.

8. Foundation of the Oe-Kyujanggak building

In February 1782 (the 6th year of Jeongjo’s reign), the Oe-Kyujanggak
building was established on Ganghwa-do island. It was placed on the east side of the royal Haenggung residence and the west side of the Jangnyeongjeon 長寧殿 structure. The reason Jeongjo built this structure on Ganghwa-do was because of its geographic location and its strategic value.

In the Joseon dynasty period, unlike today, the inland routes were of lesser value than the water routes such as streams, rivers and the sea. There was no need to build a road on sea, so natural conditions could be freely used. Water routes were favorable in defending against invasions from cavalry-based forces from northern people as well.

Ganghwa-do was located in a gateway position that led to Seoul through the Hangang river from the south. Its position could be compared to the neck in a human’s body, which connects the head and the rest of one’s body. Because of such a location, Ganghwa-do served as a transportation route for the tributary items collected from Gyeongsang-do and Jeolla-do provinces headed for the capital, and in emergency situations it served as a frontline in defense of the capital.

Jeongjo utilized the geographic advantages of the area, and established it as a strategic base for military operations. He also had Sukjong’s royal orders (敘命), Chaekbo 刊賞 materials, along with former kings’ royal writings, calligraphy, books and records housed at a separate repository. Yet even after so doing, there was still no governmental officer posted there with the specifically designated duty of guarding the facility. Any time royal items were to be put into storage, only a middle-level official (中官) was dispatched singlehandedly to carry such items, placed in a wooden box, riding on a horse, without any kind of escort. Yeongjo intended to address the problem, but did not have the opportunity.

When the Oe-Kujujanggak building was completed, Jeongjo ordered all the items inside the Ganghwa-do repository to be moved to the new facility. He also moved the royal items that were previously in the custody of the Jujianggak’s Bongmodang structure. Also the Uigwe materials that were placed at Jujianggak for royal inspection were moved to Ganghwa-do as well.
Photo 1-12 Map of Ganghwa-do, drawn in the latter half of Joseon
Jeongjo also established protocols for the management of the Oe-Kyujanggak facility. Whenever a royal item was to be deposited there, one of the Jehak and Jikjehak officials from Kyujanggak, and one of the Jikgak and Daegyo officials from the same office had to be present, and for the biannual drying process of the materials, either Jikgak or Daegyo had to be present as well.

The items and materials of Oe-Kyujanggak remained safe, until the military conflict with the French troops broke out in 1866.

9. Publication of Kyujanggakji

In June 1784 (the 8th year of Jeongjo’s reign) Kyujanggakji, printed with Jeongyu-year printing types, was published. It was August 1777 (first year of Jeongjo’s reign) when Jeongjo ordered Kyujanggak office’s Jehak official Seo Myeong-eung to oversee the publication of Kyujanggakji. Yet seven years had to pass before the publication, and it was because Kyujanggak was in a state of flux, continuously undergoing institutional changes. Extant at present at Kyujanggak are two versions of hand-copied transcripts of Kyujanggakji, which were all created before the printed versions. From them we can see the transformation that Kyujanggak had to undergo at the time. The aforementioned two versions of Kyujanggakji are referred to as ‘Chochobon (初草本: preliminary first draft)’ and ‘Jaechobon (再初本: secondary first draft).’ The former seems to have been created in 1779 (the 3rd year of Jeongjo’s reign), and the latter in August 1783.

The main cause for the delay of Kyujanggakji’s publication was the
issue of defining the line between Kyujanggak’s functions and Hongmungwan’s functions. Following the opening of Kyujanggak, Jeongjo reinforced Kyujanggak’s regulations and functions based on the Hongmun-gwan model, and around 1781 that task was completed. As a result, Kyujanggak came to subsume most of the functions which had been previously covered by other offices (館衙) including Hongmungwan. It became the single most authoritative office in charge of academic studies. Jeongjo published ‘Gwanseoji’ to finalize such changes. In 1784–5, Kyujanggakji 奎章閣志, Hongmungwanji 弘文館志 and Taehakji 太學志 were published featuring similar internal structures. Jeongjo termed them ‘Samji 三志 (Three office journals).’

The final version compiled and published in 1784 was composed of six parts: table of contents (卷首), history (沿革), description of the internal structure of the office (職制), list of collected books (書籍), regulations and protocols of the office (院規), and an epilogue (敘文). There was a prologue in the table of contents authored by Jeongjo himself. He noted that with Kyujanggak in place, the ‘exterior’ had been established, and now it was time to develop further the interior. In the ‘history’ section, how Kyujanggak came into existence, and what kind of
buildings it had, were elaborated. According to the contents of this section, Kyujanggak was inside the Changdeokgung palace, the Gangdo oegak (江都外閣) building was on Ganghwa-do island, and there were as well the Imunwon (請文院) office, where the Kyujanggak officials stayed and tended to their duties, and the Gyoseogwan 教書館 office, which was later merged with the Oegak chamber.

In the section that listed the office’s regulations and protocols, the personnel assigned to serve at Kyujanggak were elaborated as follows.

**Kyujanggak Gaksin officials : 6 persons**

**Jehak 提學 : 2 (won 翰).** Officials that rank from Jong 1-pum to Jong 2-pum. A person who was recommended for the Daejehak position of Hongmungwan, or the Jehak seat of either Hongmungwan or Yemungwan.

**Jikjehak 直提學 : 2.** Officials that rank from Jong 2-pum to Jeong 3-pum (Dangsanggwan). A person who was recommended for the Bujejak seat of Hongmungwan.

**Jijkak 直閣 : 1.** Official that ranks from Jeong 3-pum to Jong 6-pum (all Dangha-gwan). A person who once served at Hongmungwan.

**Daegyo 待敎 : 1.** Official that ranks from Jeong 7-pum to Jeong 9-pum. A person who was recommended for the Hallim 翰林, Juseo 注書, Seolseo 説書 posts.

**Kyujanggak Jabjik (miscellaneous) positions : 35 persons**

**Gakgam 閣監 : 2.** According to rank, serve at the place where the royal portrait is housed.

**Sagwon 司卷 : 2.** 5-pum. (Like the Saal 司筆 figure of the Seungjeongwon office) In charge of relaying orders from the king, and advancing reports to the king (秉啓).

**Geomseogwan 檢書官 : 4.** 5-pum. Assists the Gaksin officials, in charge of proofreading and handcopying books, and serves as official-on-standby Chabigwan (差備官) for whatever events involving Kyujanggak arise.

**Yeongcheom 令箋 : 2.** 5-pum. In charge of proofreading and housing Eoje
articles (royal writings), and serves as official-on-standby Chabigwan (差備官) for whatever events of Kyujanggak might arise.

Geomul 檜律: 1. Selected from among the Geomul officials of the Hyeongjo office (Ministry of Penal affairs). In charge of inspecting and dealing with people who would come in last on the Chogye literary officials' test (講即), and other miscellaneous officials as well.


Gamseo 監書: 6. (Same with the Changjun 哈準 figure of the Gyoseogwan office) In charge of inspecting documents relayed to Kyujanggak, and documents drafted as royal orders (應製).

Kyujanggak clerks (吏屬): 70 persons

Seori 霄吏: 10 (in 人). Held by a person with a concurrent post.

Seosari (書寫吏, clerk in charge of writing and transcribing): 2. Held by a person with a concurrent post.

Gyeomri 俳吏: 6. Filled by people from individual ‘Bang’ units inside Seungjeongwon. In charge of relaying royal orders (傳敟) to Kyujanggak for swift implementation.

Jeongseo jobori 正書朝報吏: 2. In charge of transcribing royal orders and royal responses (批答).

Gakdong 聞童: 4

Jik 直: 2

Daecheongjik (大廳直, attendants for the main hall): 2

Saryeong 使令: 15

Inbae 引陪: 4

Ganbae 間陪: 4

Jorachi 照羅赤: 2

Bangjik 房直: 2

Sugong 水工: 2

Gunsan 軍士: 7

Gujong 丘從: 6
Gyoseogwan (Oegak) : 14 persons
Jejo 提調 : 2. Officials that rank from Jong 1-pum to Jong 2-pum. Held by a person concurrently serving as Jehak at Kyujanggak.
Bujejo 副提調 : 2. Officials that rank from Jong 2-pum to Jeong 3-pum (Dangsan-gwan). Held by a person concurrently serving as Jikjehak at Kyujanggak.
Gyori 校理 : 2. Jong 5-pum. One of two seats held by a person concurrently serving as Jikgak at Kyujanggak, and the other one held by a literary official dispatched (分館) to Gyoseo-gwan.
Baksal 博士 : 2. Jeong 7-pum. Under the level of Baksal, one seat is filled by a Daegyo official from Naegak, according to one’s rank.
Jejak 著作 : 2
Jeongja 正字 : 2
Bujeongja 副正字 : 2. Jong 9-pum

Gyoseogwan jebik (miscellaneous) seats : 11 persons
Sajun 司準 : 10. Renamed as Changjun (昌準)
Sagam 司勘 : 1. Renamed as Bojagwan 补字官, same as the Naegak’s Gamseo 監書

Gyoseogwan clerks : 20 persons
Seori 書吏 : 10
Gojik (庫直, storage house keeper) : 2
Saryeong 使命 : 7
Gunsa (軍士, soldier) : 1

Kyujanggak was in charge of housing books, so Kyujanggakji included detailed regulations concerning books. Such regulations comprised rules dictating the procedure of housing (depositing) royal writings and portraits (the Bongan 拳安 process), protocols that should be observed in Eoje (royal writings) compilations (the Pyeocha 編校 protocol), and rules regarding processing and publishing ordinary materials (the Seojek 書籍 rules). For example, according to the Pyeocha protocols,
the King’s own royal writings were to be ordered into 22 categories, and royal writings were to be processed at once, whenever the King produced one.

In the section of regulations and protocols (院規), the honorific treatment of the Kyujanggak Gaksin figures, the process to be observed by personnel in service, and their assigned duties and allocated responsibilities, are all elaborated upon.

The epilogue (跋文) was authored by former Jehak officials Yi Bok-won, Yi Hwi-ji, Hwang Gyeong-won, Seo Myeong-eung, and newly arrived Jehak official Kim Jong-su. They were all integral figures of the office, having played instrumental roles in Kyujanggak’s foundation and the establishment of all the necessary institutions. Kim Jong-su in particular was known to ‘have the ears’ of King Jeongjo.

![Photo 1-15](Portrait of Gim Jong-su, who served as Jehak at Kyujanggak)

10. Launching the Binheunggwa examination system

Coming into the 1790s, Jeongjo promoted a new policy of educating and training elite students both in the capital and in the local regions. Success from the Chogye literary officials program at Kyujanggak encouraged him to widen the scope of his own efforts. He started with training Confucian students at Seonggyungwan and at the Four Colleges (四學), and just like the Chogye program he had students selected for further studies and extensive training by having them take tests on knowledge of the classics (講經) and exposition (製詣, which was actually considered more prominently than knowledge of classics, likely in consideration of the fact the candidates were still in their early phases of study). Most
importantly, King Jeongjo personally oversaw the entire process.

In 1792, Jeongjo opened up the circle of trainees to include all the Confucian students throughout the country. He launched a Binheunggwa 資興科 test to select students from each and every region, and published Binheungnok 資興錄, which contained documentation of the selection process and also the exemplary answers submitted by the testees. The term ‘Binheung 資興’ was from the ‘Personnel test program’ of the Chinese Zhou dynasty. It referred to the dynastic efforts of having qualified students recommended for governmental seats and appointing them to join the government.

The areas that needed to be studied in preparation of the Binheunggwa examination came down to ‘Ganggyeong’(knowledge of the Classics) and ‘Jesul’(exposition). Yet the former was only tested in selected regions, so local Confucian students were more frequently tested with the latter. The process was as follows,

1. The Gwanchalsa magistrate would select Confucian students to take the Jesul examination and also students to take the Ganggyeong examination, and report the list to the King
2. Confucian students to take the examination would gather at the local office on the day of examination
3. A governmental official from the capital would bring the examination questions devised by Jeongjo himself to the local offices and have the students take the preliminary examination
4. That official would bring all the answer sheets to the capital, and Jeongjo himself would personally grade them all, and select students to take the secondary examination
5. Selected Confucian students would come to the capital and take the secondary examination in front of the king
6. Finalists would be selected, to be declared as passers of the national examination according to their grades, or to be exempted from the Choshi state exam and provided with writing materials
7. Binheungnok would be published and distributed to local Confucian
students who applied for the examination

As may be seen, Jeongjo was personally in charge of the entire process. And the duties of conveying Jeongjo’s questions to local regions, or overseeing the secondary examination held in the capital, were mostly assumed by the Kyujanggan Gaksin figures, and officials with a Chogye program background. They had been trained and fostered since 1781 to become an integral part of Jeongjo’s education policy.

During Jeongjo’s reign, a total of six Binheungnok items were compiled, which included Gyonam binheungnok 嶗南賓興錄 (1792) for
the Confucian students in the Yeongnam region, *Gwandong binheungnok* 關東賓興錄 (1793) for the Confucian students in the Gangwon-do region, *Tampa binheungnok* 膜羅賓興錄 (1794) for the Confucian students in the Jeju-do region, *Pungpae binheungnok* 豐沛賓興錄 (1795) for the Confucian students in the Yeongheung and Hamheung regions, *Gwanbuk binheungnok* 關北賓興錄 (1797) for the Confucian students in the Hamgyeong region, and the *Gwanseo binheungnok* 關西賓興錄 for the Confucian students in the Pyeongan region (1798). These binheungnok materials included a wide variety of official documents regarding the examination, lists of supervisors who attended those exams, the questions devised by Jeongjo himself, and also the exemplary answers. They were all printed by local offices with woodblocks to be distributed to local Confucian students. The Binheung-gwa examination hugely contributed to encouraging local students to further their own studies, and it also served as an important channel that led them to enter the government.

### 11. Books that were published during King Jeongjo’s reign

In 1777, still in the early days of his reign, Jeongjo merged the Gyoseogwban office with Kyujanggak, and made it the Oegak facility of Kyujanggak. Then he embarked upon the task of fashioning several sets of printing type to facilitate Kyujanggak’s function of publishing materials. As a result, Kyujanggak could launch various publication projects, including the task of compiling and publishing Jeongjo’s own writings. The reason we call the 18th century the ‘period of Renaissance’ for the Joseon dynasty is because of the impressive culture of publication, which was based upon the overall policies of Yeongjo and Jeongjo that reinvigorated the country’s institutions and culture.

The books published by Kyujanggak during the reign of Jeongjo can be well grasped by a work entitled *Ganseo pyogi* 群書標記. This book was essentially a catalogue of books that were published from 1772 (the
48th year of Yeongjo’s reign, the year when Jeongjo was 21) and through 1800 (the year when Jeongjo died). Seo Hyeong-su authored the introductory remarks for this book, and praised the quantity and quality of books created during King Jeongjo’s reign.

The age of the three sage kings was an elevated one. Yet since the Han and Tang periods, the tasks of writing has all been undertaken by inferior scholars, who tinkered with short brushes and white silk, pandering around their entire lives. People who left their theories and studies to their posterity can merely be found in Kong Anguo 孔安国 and Zheng Xian 鄭玄, and the situation remained the same through the Song and Ming dynasties period, while it has been very hard to come by a tale of a King who created such beautiful writings himself. Only Song dynasty’s Taizong left royal writing (御撰) which counted as 18 items and 240 volumes, and Renzong’s counted as 100 volumes while Shenzong’s counted as 90 volumes. Considering the fact that royal compilations (御集) are counted within them, one could not say that they were that many.

Our King (Jeongjo) has dedicated himself sincerely to studies since his Crown Prince days. He did nothing else but read, from daylight up until the chiming of a new dawn was heard. When he finally became king, he searched for and eagerly collected all manner of lost or missing books, from everywhere throughout the country. Then he processed them (章程), and he also created Gunseo pyogi, a catalogue of more than hundreds of books that either he himself compiled or ordered the officials to create (命撰).

In this passage, Seo Hyeong-su is emphasizing the sheer quantity of books compiled and published during King Jeongjo’s reign. According to him, during the three dynasties period, the emperor was in charge of both politics and academic studies, yet later, since the Han dynasty era the generation of academic studies became the scholars’ responsibility. Since then, emperors who bequeathed their own writings have been very few, and the total amount of their remaining writings only reached 100 or 200 volumes. Then during the reign of Jeongjo, the number of books
compiled by the King himself turned out to be over 2,000. The number of books catalogued in Gunseo pyogi reaches almost 4,000, of which the 184 volumes of King Jeongjo’s personal anthology Hongjae jeonseo are not even counted.

The writings of our own day are not free from the criticism of being useless. Why do they have such short life cycles, and why are they eventually put above a fancy shelf in the morning and then suddenly thrown into a bamboo basket in the evening? They are surely collections of what our seniors and elders have said, and they seem to be new to the established protocols, but in reality they contribute nothing whatsoever to the overall enlightenment of the world, and they bear no practical good for our descendants either.

Among books catalogued in Gunseo pyogi, especially the books listed in the Classics (經) section are official proposals (公案) regarding issues that have not been resolved since the days of Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi. Books in the History (史) section reflect the writing style and perspectives of Sima Qian (司馬遷) and Ban Gu (班固) which have not surfaced in the world for a very long time. And the other books all involve a variety of issues, so reading this catalogue and examining all the books listed inside would lead and help one to have a glimpse at the current institutions, their merits for the world, and the differences that derive from language and writing. Readers will be able to find the ‘Way’ as the essential base of one’s mind, attempt to build their character and accumulate virtue, attend to their tasks and realize the principles embedded in them. It has been said that “One can manage the entire world, encourage harmony, and fulfill the task of a sage,” which is exactly what our king has done. A rare thing to see in one’s lifetime, and
even in the history of the world.

The thing that Seo Hyeong-su emphasized was not the total number of books, but the quality they embodied. According to him, the books catalogued inside *Gunseo pyogi* were not only elegant in style. He emphasized their substance. According to him, books concerning classics managed to resolve the philosophical problems and issues that had existed since the time of Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi, and books regarding history inherited the perspectives of Sima Qian and Ban Gu, renowned historians of the ages. Additionally, the other books as well were helpful as they would encourage readers to have both moral values and practical expertise and knowledge. Seo Hyeong-su was emphasizing that books catalogued in *Gunseo pyogi* were all excellent ones, in terms of both quantity and quality.

Jeongjo continued to write books from his days as a Crown Prince, and based upon *Gunseo pyogi* we can see that his works totaled 89 items in 2,490 volumes. When the books that he did not compile himself and instead delegated the task of compilation to his officials are taken into account (64 items, 1,501 volumes), the figures rise once again, reaching a total of 153 items in 3,991 volumes.

*Gunseo pyogi* separated books into several categories; first the works compiled by Jeongjo in the Eojeongseo 御定書 category, and then the works compiled by the joint efforts of the officials in the Myeongchanseo 命撰書 category. It detailed the books’ titles, size, compilation process, compiler’s identity and provided a brief summary of the books’ respective contents. All the books can be listed in chronological order.

**12. Kyujanggak after King Jeongjo**

In June 1800, Jeongjo died before his time, at the age of only 49. Kyujanggak, which operated as an essential governmental body for
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<th>Year</th>
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<th>Book List</th>
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<tr>
<td>1772</td>
<td>Eojeongseo</td>
<td><em>Haedong singam</em> 海東臣鑑 (2 volumes, handcopied)&lt;br&gt;<em>Songsa jeon</em> 宋史箋 (150 volumes, handcopied)&lt;br&gt;<em>Songsa chwalyo</em> 宋史撮要 (3 volumes, handcopied) (compiled by Jeongjo)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Myeongchanseo</td>
<td><em>Yeokhak gyemong jipjeon</em> 易學啓蒙集箋 (4 volumes, published) (compiled by officials)</td>
</tr>
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<td>1773</td>
<td>Eojeongseo</td>
<td><em>Sinjeong jachi tonggam gangmok sokpyeon</em> 新訂資治通鑑箋目續編 (27 volumes, published)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Myeongchanseo</td>
<td><em>Jachi tonggam gangmok sinpyeon</em> 資治通鑑箋目新編 (20 volumes, handcopied)&lt;br&gt;<em>Myeonggi jeseol</em> 明記提挈 (20 volumes, handcopied) (compiled by Jeongjo)</td>
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<td>1774</td>
<td>Eojeongseo</td>
<td><em>Yanghyeon jeonsimnok</em> 雙賢傳心錄 (8 volumes, handcopied)&lt;br&gt;<em>Yanghyeon jeonsimnok burok</em> 雙賢傳心錄附錄 (1 volume, handcopied) (compiled by Jeongjo)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Myeongchanseo</td>
<td><em>Juja hoseon</em> 子子會選 (48 volumes, handcopied) (compiled by officials)</td>
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<td><em>Gyeongseo jeongmun</em> 經書正文 (10 volumes, published)&lt;br&gt;<em>Jeonsa jeonpyeong</em> 全史箋評 (80 volumes, handcopied)&lt;br&gt;<em>Yeokdae ginyeon</em> 歴代紀年 (3 volumes, handcopied)</td>
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<td>1775</td>
<td>Eojeongseo</td>
<td><em>Jayangja hoeyeong</em> 紫陽子會英 (3 volumes, handcopied)&lt;br&gt;<em>Seonghak jimnyak</em> 勝學輯略 (6 volumes, handcopied)&lt;br&gt;<em>Sachil sokpyeon</em> 四十七箋目 (1 volumes, handcopied)&lt;br&gt;<em>Sumin myojon</em> 壽民妙詮 (9 volumes, handcopied)&lt;br&gt;<em>Sawon yeonghwai</em> 詞苑英華 (6 volumes, handcopied) (compiled by Jeongjo)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Myeongchanseo</td>
<td><em>Gungwonu</em> 宮園儀 (4 volumes, published)&lt;br&gt;<em>Gokbu hamnok</em> 軍簿合錄 (10 volumes, handcopied) (compiled by officials)</td>
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<td>1776</td>
<td>Eojeongseo</td>
<td><em>Heumhyul jeochik</em> 欽愜典則 (1 volume, published) (compiled by Jeongjo)</td>
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<td>Myeongchanseo</td>
<td><em>Wonsok myeongwurok</em> 原讀明義錄 (4 volumes, published) (compiled by officials)</td>
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<td>1777</td>
<td>Myeongchanseo</td>
<td><em>Gyujangwunseo</em> 奎章錄瑞 (8 volumes, handcopied)&lt;br&gt;<em>Namhanji</em> 南漢志 (2 volumes, handcopied) (compiled by officials)</td>
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<td>Eojeongseo</td>
<td><em>Siaek hwaseong</em> 詩樂和聲 (10 volumes, handcopied) (compiled by Jeongjo)</td>
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<td>1779</td>
<td>Myeongchanseo</td>
<td><em>Juui chanyo</em> 奏議纂要 (8 volumes, handcopied)&lt;br&gt;<em>Myeongsin juui yoryak</em> 名臣奏議要略 (16 volumes, handcopied) (compiled by officials)</td>
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<td>Year</td>
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| 1781 | Eojeongseo | *Gukjo siak* 國朝詩樂 (5 volumes, handcopied)  
*Ja saeontong* 朱子選統 (3 volumes, handcopied)  
*Gyeongseolgo* 鏡屑稿 (1 volume, handcopied)  
*Yeijin tongbang* 隱陳總方 (1 volume, published)  
*Palja baekseon* 八字百選 (6 volumes, published) (compiled by Jeongjo) |
| 1782 | Myeongchanseo | *Gyujang chongmok* 奉章總目 (4 volumes, handcopied)  
*Gwangak gangui* 道闇講義 (3 volumes, published) (compiled by officials) |
| 1783 | Eojeongseo | *Jahyul jeonchik* 字惟典則 (1 volume, published) (compiled by Jeongjo) |
| 1784 | Eojeongseo | *Gyujanggakji* 奉章閣志 (2 volumes, published)  
*Hwanggeukpyeon* 皇極編 (13 volumes, handcopied) (compiled by officials) |
| 1785 | Myeongchanseo | *Hongmungwanji* 弘文館志 (1 volume, published) (compiled by officials)  
*Yeolja gaeingjaugak* 列朝表編纂 (8 volumes, published)  
*Daejeon tongpyeon* 大全通編 (6 volumes, published)  
*Taehakji* 太學志 (14 volumes, handcopied)  
*Byeonghaktong* 兵學通 (2 volumes, published) (compiled by officials) |
| 1787 | Eojeongseo | *Munwon bobul* 文苑編纂 (42 volumes, published) (compiled by Jeongjo) |
| 1788 | Myeongchanseo | *Byeonghakjinam* 兵學指南 (5 volumes, published) (compiled by officials)  
*Chungwan tonggo* 春官通考 (96 volumes, handcopied)  
*Takijji* 底支志 (22 volumes, handcopied)  
*Jangcha hwipyeon* 詩前彙編 (60 volumes, handcopied) (compiled by officials) |
| 1789 | Myeongchanseo | *Sinbeop nuju tongui* 新法編纂通義 (1 volume, published)  
*Sinbeop jungseonggi* 新法中星紀 (1 volume, published)  
*Sim chungjang yusa* 金忠壯遺事 (5 volumes, published) (compiled by Jeongjo) |
| 1790 | Eojeongseo | *Muye dobo tongji* 武藝圖譜通志 (5 volumes, published)  
*Muye dobo tongji chongbo* 武藝圖譜通志總譜 (1 volume, published) (compiled by Jeongjo) |
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<th>Year</th>
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| 1791 | Eojeongseo | *Hyeolhyungwonji* 頤隆圖志 (12 volumes, handcopied)  
*Juyeok gangui* 周易譯義 (5 volumes, handcopied)  
*Sangseo gangui* 尚書譯義 (8 volumes, handcopied)  
*Daehak gangui* 大學譯義 (3 volumes, handcopied)  
*Noneo gangui* 諳譯義 (5 volumes, handcopied)  
*Maengja gangui* 孟子譯義 (4 volumes, handcopied)  
*Jwajeon gangui* 左傳譯義 (1 volume, handcopied)  
*Aktong* 業通 (1 volume, handcopied)  
*Jachi tonggam gangmok gangui* 資治通鑑纲目譯義 (10 volumes, handcopied)  
*Jangneung baeshingnok* 莊陵配食錄 (2 volumes, handcopied) (compiled by Jeongjo) |
| 1792 | Myeongchanseo | *Chugwanji* 秋官志 (10 volumes, handcopied)  
*Nuijaeup* 新語集 (6 volumes, published)  
*Im chungmingong Sili* 林忠愍公實紀 (5 volumes, published)  
*Gyeongnim munhuirok* 理明聞喜錄 (5 volumes, published) (compiled by officials) |
| 1793 | Myeongchanseo | *Gyonam binheungnok* 嵯南賓興錄 (2 volumes, published)  
*Hyeopgi tongui* 協吉通義 (22 volumes, published)  
*Gwandong binheungnok* 閑東賓興錄 (5 volumes, published) (compiled by officials) |
| 1794 | Eojeongseo | *Kyujang jeonun* 奎章全韻 (2 volumes, published)  
*Seongje doseol* 城制圖說 (3 volumes, handcopied)  
*Inseorok* 人瑞錄 (4 volumes, published)  
*Juseo baekseon* 朱書百選 (5 volumes, published) (compiled by Jeongjo) |
| 1795 | Myeongchanseo | *Tanna binheungnok* 鄉羅賓興錄 (1 volume, published) (compiled by officials)  
*Hamheung bongunguisik* 咸興本宮儀式 (2 volumes, published)  
*Yeongheung bongunguisik* 永興本宮儀式 (2 volumes, published)  
*Jeongni uige tongpyeon* 整理儀軌通編 (10 volumes, published) |
| 1795 | Eojeongseo | *Sagi yeongseong* 史記英選 (6 volumes, published)  
*Gullyea daeseong* 軍旅大成 (5 volumes, handcopied)  
*sanggun chonggo* 三軍指致 (10 volumes, handcopied) |
| 1795 | Myeongchanseo | *Jeongjeong eupchwi heonjip* 增訂衍翼軒集 (4 volumes, published)  
*Yi chungmugong jeonseo* 李忠武公全書 (14 volumes, published)  
*Pungnpe binheungnok* 豐沛賓興錄 (2 volumes, published)  
*Jeongsi munjaeong* 正始文程 (3 volumes, published) (compiled by officials) |
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<td>1796</td>
<td>Myeongchanseo</td>
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<td><em>Chunchu jwassijeon</em> 春秋左氏傳 (28 volumes, published)</td>
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<td><em>Jangneung sabo</em> 莊陵史補 (10 volumes, handcopied)</td>
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Jeongjo’s own governance, also was dealt a blow by Jeongjo’s death. It did remain intact, and fared relatively well compared to the Jangyongyeong 壯勇營 military headquarters which had earlier served as the royal guard for Jeongjo yet was swiftly dismantled after the King’s
death. However, Kyujanggak had to suffer its own diminution, as certain special privileges granted to the Kyujanggak Gaksin figures were rescinded, and the office was no longer able to function as a political wing inside the government. Only the function of housing and preserving items and books of former kings, or the function of compiling and publishing books, survived. It should be noted that Kyujanggak managed to publish Jeongjo’s personal anthology Hongjae jeonseo and former Crown Prince Jangheon (Sado Seja)’s anthology Neungheogak mango at the same time, in 1814 (the 14th year of Sunjo’s reign).

Officials continued to be appointed to Kyujanggak’s Gaksin posts, yet those assignments were more of an honorary nature, and their duties more or less consisted of proofreading materials such as Eoje items slated for publication. During the post-Jeongjo period, compared to Gaksin figures the Geomseogwan officials had a greater number of tasks. They continued to compile the Kings’ journals in the form of Ilseongnok 日省録, and supervised the publication of the Eoje (royal writings) materials.

In 1857 (the 8th year of King Cheoljong’s reign) the Bongmodang 奉譜堂 structure erected in the rear garden of the Changdeok-gung palace was moved to the Daeyujae 大有齋 structure which was attached to the Imunwon office. The function and status of the Imunwon office, where the Kyujanggak Gaksin figures had originally served, had already suffered decline, so it was necessary to have the functions of preserving former kings’ Eoje materials transferred, in order to accommodate and facilitate such tasks.

Kim Moon-sik professor, Dankook University
Historical changes during the reign of King Gojong and Kyujanggak
1. Kyujanggak before the enthronement of King Gojong

Kyujanggak was founded by King Jeongjo, who pursued a literary governance (文治) more than achieving military strength. Yet when King Jeongjo died, and the era of the so-called ‘Sedo 勢道 (government by in-laws)’ politics emerged, the nature of the Kyujanggak institution was also forced to change. It would no longer be a governmental body that could serve the cultural policies of the government and represent the King’s own philosophy. It rather became an office with the mere task of ‘maintaining the will of former Kings.’

Such changes that Kyujanggak underwent, can be confirmed in several ways. The Chogye literary official (抄啓文臣) program, which was initiated to educate and train elite officials, was simply discontinued.

The Kyujanggak operations were essentially guided by none other than the Gaksin 閣臣 officials, such as Jehak 提學, Jikjehak 直提學, Jikgak 直閣 and Daegyo 待敎, who were all carefully selected from among all the officials inside the government. Yet to support the cultural
governance Jeongjo intended to provide, they alone were not sufficient. So during Jeongjo’s reign, a total of 140 Chogye literary officials (a cumulative figure), served Jeongjo’s reforms everywhere inside the government. However, after Jeongjo’s death, this program was summarily abandoned. In the latter half of Heonjong’s reign, the program was resurrected, and Chogye literary officials were selected two more times, yet the criteria applied to the selection process were no longer as strict as it had been during Jeongjo’s days, and with the death of Heonjong, the program became nothing more than a titular one, once again. In the end, only a handful of Gaksin officials, who claimed that they were upholding Jeongjo’s philosophy, came to monopolize the posts inside Kyujanggak.

We can see that the entire scope of Kyujanggak operations was significantly reduced as well from the fact that a considerable number of the Japjik 雑絹 officials, who were in charge of the actual works of Kyujanggak, were simply let go. Sagwon 司巖, Yeongcheom 領箋 and Gamseo 監書 posts were abolished, and only the Gakgam 閣監 and Geomseogwan 検書官 posts survived. Other than them, eight scribes (sajagwan 寫字官) and 10 artists (hwawon 書員) remained, and a Geomnyul 檢律 official was dispatched from the Hyeongjo office.

This reduction in scope of the Kyujanggak’s operations that continued during the so-called ‘Sedo politics’ period, led to the overall deterioration in quantity and quality of the publications that were produced by Kyujanggak. Ilseongnok 日省錄 and Naegak illyeok 內閣日曆 continued to be published, but the overall quantity of records and the quality displayed by them dropped to a level that was too small and too low, compared to those featured in the era of Jeongjo. Only a handful of accomplishments were achieved by either the King himself or the Kyujanggak in general during this period, so there was not that much to be created or converted into official records to begin with. And the fact that there was no longer a sufficient number of personnel at hand to take charge of all the necessary tasks, also contributed to the overall decline in the general quality of published records.
Thus, we can see that Kyujanggak’s primary function of training necessary personnel, who would assist Jeongjo in his pursuit of a literary governance, had nearly disappeared, and that the overall capability of Kyujanggak to function as an academic body was significantly compromised. Kyujanggak was no longer what it was under Jeongjo’s leadership. It was only a mere echo of what it had once been. And in what could be seen as quite an ironic turn of events, it became an office that represented and reproduced the nature and characteristics of the Sedo politics era, much to its own chagrin.

In Korean history, the so-called ‘Sedo political era’ refers to the reigns of Kings after Jeongjo: those of Sunjo, Heonjong and Cheoljong. This particular form of politics featured a situation in which powerful houses that resided in the capital area for decades (which earned them the nickname of *massive and illustrious houses in the capital*: 京華巨族), including the in-law houses of the royal family, monopolized the important posts and seats inside the government, and even challenged the King’s own royal authority. In the latter half of the Joseon dynasty, intricate commercial networks were being developed, and economic wealth was accumulating exponentially, especially in the capital area. In the wake of such overall economic growth, the political factions which survived the fierce competition amongst themselves started to establish themselves as prominent houses. This provided a perfect atmosphere for certain forms of politics such as Sedo politics to flourish. Power factions in the form of prominent lineages took over the government, while the most prominent figures who were called ‘Sedoga’ entities of those factions and lineages continued to wield power and impose influence upon the government from the outside of it as well.

Yet, while they very much threatened and almost neutralized the King’s legal authority at times, they could never totally negate the King’s status and position. The primary sentiment (more like an excuse) that used to justify Sedo politics was that there had been a final request from the former King who asked that the powerful take care of the young sitting King. In that regard, Kyujanggak in this period became a perfect pawn
for those who needed a justification to gain and exercise power.

Kyujanggak was the very body through which Jeongjo's pursuit of a literary governance was realized. In that regard, with its general functions either gone or significantly weakened, it was still a governmental body that could be used in granting those who would claim to be upholding the philosophy of late King Jeongjo a certain level of legitimacy. The Gaksin offices of Kyujanggak could still argue that they were the ones maintaining the traditions of Jeongjo's era, especially when there were no longer any Chogye literary officials newly selected. Those handful of Kyujanggak officials could do whatever they wished.

A position at Kyujanggak was not open to just any official inside the government. The King appointed them from among personnel who were internally selected by the Kyujanggak's own former officials. The details of the selection process will be discussed later, but it would be safe to say that officials with the most advantageous backgrounds had the best chance being included in the final circle of candidates. In this manner, members from the so-called massive and illustrious lineages came to occupy exclusively the seats of Kyujanggak.

So, in a sense, Kyujanggak maintained a level of relevance, and being assigned to a post inside Kyujanggak was still deemed very important (although it was no longer serving any vital or significant functions), because a handful of members from the Sedo houses were able to remain in power with the sole claim that they were maintaining the will of Jeongjo at Kyujanggak. Naturally, people wanted to retain at least the title of Geomgyo 檢校, which would allow former Kyujanggak officials to resume their duties once again at Kyujanggak, rather proudly. It was why Gim Jo-sun 金祖淳, the most prominent member of the Andong Gim
house in the 19th century and also known as the founder of Sedo politics, remained only as the Geomgyo Jehak official at Kyujanggak, without assuming any other important titles or posts for a long time.

Kyujanggak, a body through which Jeongjo's philosophy of literary governance was once pursued and realized, turned into a mere nominal body which ended up assisting the powerful lineages that transformed into Munbeol 門閥 entities, and reinforcing the monopolistic nature of those lineages.

2. The weakened status of Kyujanggak, due to the reinforcement of the Jongchinkbu and Hongmungwan offices during the reign of Daewongun

In a tumultuous era, which witnessed the fall of Beijing by the invasion of the British-French allied forces in 1860, and in Joseon the Peasant Revolt of 1862, King Gojong ascended to the throne in January 1864. And Gojong's father Heungseongun was named Daewongun, and seized power within the government.

The new leadership of the government, including Daewongun, believed that the current crisis they were facing was due to the unestablished nature of the state's own authority, the order of the state. For the purpose of firming up the order of the state, the one thing that had to be firmly established first was the authority of the King, which had severely been challenged by the in-law lineages. Accordingly the new leadership had no choice but to make the task of weakening the in-law lineages and reestablishing the authority of the royal family its top priorities.

To achieve that, Daewongun reinforced the Jongchinkbu office (the office for the Royal family, which led to the deterioration in the Kyujanggak’s authority). He believed that repeated doubts of conspiracies against the king that subsequently led to the demise of many royal family members merely because their names came up in the investigations, ended up
weakening and almost destroying the royal family itself.

Yet he also found problems in the earlier regulations regarding the treatment of royal family members as well. There were two offices to serve that function, the Jongbusi 宗簿寺 and the Jongchinbu 宗親府 offices. The primary duty of the first was to compile the royal family’s genealogical record (the Seonwon bocheop 善源諸譜), and also monitor some wrongdoings of the royal family members. The primary duty of the second was to manage all the honorary titles that were to be bestowed upon the royal family members (封號・贈戸).

Jongbusi’s functions were particularly important, as the task of compiling the royal family’s genealogical records could serve as a linchpin to unite the entire royal family. Also, the office’s functions could lead to the office’s own monitoring and prevention of certain questionable actions that might be committed by some royal family members (and subsequent urging of them to behave themselves). Furthermore, the office had an almost sacred image of itself, as it had been housing all the royal portraits (御箋), royal writings (御製) and calligraphy (御筆) left by former Kings, before the Jeongjo era.

Yet coming into the Jeongjo era, such items were transferred to Kyujanggak. And the Dojejo post of the Jongbusi office, which was usually assumed by one of the royal family members, was eliminated. Only the post of the Jejo remained, which was assumed by an ordinary official of the government. It was Daewongun’s belief that Jongbusi became an office in which an ordinary governmental official could monitor and inspect the royal family members.

So in May 1864 (the first year of King Gojong’s reign), the Jongbusi office was assimilated by the Jongchinbu office, and placed once again under the leadership of the royal family members. And in March the next year, the Jongchinbu office was renovated. This was done to reinforce the official bodies that would oversee the ‘rightful’ treatment of the royal family members. The remaining task was to reestablish its own authority, which included its past functions, such as re-obtaining the function of housing all the royal materials.
Kyujanggak was born, when the hanging board which had been hung at the Jongbusi office (with the words ‘Kyujanggak’ written upon it by no other than King Sukjong) was taken from the office to be newly hung at the Changdeokgung palace’s Juhamnu building, during King Jeongjo’s reign. This hanging board had been hung at a structure inside the Jongbusi office since the reign of King Sukjong, yet Jeongjo removed it and hung it at Juhamnu, where he ordered all the royal materials, the sitting Kings’s royal portrait, royal writings and calligraphy, lineage records (bochaek 譜冊) and seals (印章) to all be put into custody. The royal portrait of the sitting King would be transferred to Seonwonjeon 瑞源殿 when that King died and a three-year mourning period was completed. Then a portrait of the new King would be placed at Juhamnu. In the early days of King Gojong’s reign, there was the royal portrait of King Cheoljong kept at Kyujanggak.

What exactly happened to the Kyujanggak structure inside the Jongbusi office, after it was ‘robbed’ of its own hanging board? It would have been reduced to a structure of no importance. After all, the royal materials in its custody were all transferred away. Yet, when Jongbusi was merged with Jongchinbu in 1864, it seems that the old Kyujanggak structure attracted the attention of Daewongun. He might have reasoned that the structure could serve the newly reinforced Jongchinbu office as a symbol of support to its authority. So the old Kyujanggak structure at Jongbusi was dismantled, and was rebuilt at the new Jongchinbu office.

Another structure that was dismantled at Jongbusi and rebuilt at the new Jongchinbu office was the Seonwongak 瑞源閣 structure. Later this Seonwongak was renamed as Jangpangak 藏板閣, and all the royal family lineage materials were moved to the Jongchinbu office’s Kyujanggak structure. We can see that it was no other than Daewongun’s intentions to elevate both the image and authority of the Jongchinbu office, and also promote the Kyujanggak structure as a symbolic element of the Jongchinbu office. So, during the reign of King Gojong, two Kyujanggak offices came to exist simultaneously. One was at the Changdeokgung palace’s Juhamnu structure, and the other one was at the...
Jongchinbu office, located outside the Geonchunmun gate of the Gyeongbokgung palace.

The elevation of the Jongchinbu’s Kyujanggak was not a favorable thing for the Changdeokgung’s Kyujanggak. For example, it had to release the hanging board, which it had taken from no other than Jongchinbu in the first place. Records show that the queen, who was overseeing the government’s operations, moved (활용) the Kyujanggak hanging board ‘inside’ (大內) in December 1865 (the 2nd year of Gojong’s reign). Whether this board was moved to the Jongchinbu Kyujanggak or not is unclear, and it cannot be verified, as the original Kyujanggak hanging board no longer exists. Yet it would be safe to say that the Changdeokgung Kyujanggak, without the hanging board, was no longer the same as it had been.

The situation of two Kyujanggaks coexisting with each other led to the splitting of functions as well. The legal description of Kyujanggak’s functions was to manage and oversee former kings’ royal writings, calligraphy, lineage records (塔譜・世譜), royal orders (懿命), and the sitting king’s portrait, writings and calligraphy. Yet the newly reinforced Jongchinbu office (which assimilated the Jongbusi as well) was also delegated a similar function. According to the regulation in Gyeongguk daejeon of the Joseon dynasty’s early days, Jongchinbu was the office for ‘royal family members (諸君)’, and Jongbusi was the office of ‘compiling lineage records (Seonwonbocheop) and monitoring the royal family members’ probable flaws and wrongdoings’. So the new Jongchinbu’s function was modified: keeping former Kings’ royal lineage records (御譜) and portraits, and providing Yanggung (兩宮: two of the founder King’s original residences) with clothes (衣贍) necessary for memorial services, and managing all the houses (諸家) of ‘Seonwon’ (塔樸: royal family).

In appearance, the most notable change in the Jongchinbu’s functions in political terms was that the office was put in charge of not only the royal family members but all the people of the Jeonju Yi lineage. However, it should be noted as well that among its legal functions the
duty of keeping former Kings’ royal genealogical records and portraits was mandated before all else, and that it could have quite possibly overlapped with the function of Changdeokgung’s Kyujanggak. In case of portraits, the ones to be kept in custody of the Jongchinbu office were clearly stated as ‘those of former Kings’, in order to avoid overlapping of functions, yet we can see that Jongchinbu was clearly being provided with additional authority, with the mention of ‘royal materials’.

Following that, a new structure known as the Cheonhanjeon (天漢殿) hall was built at Jongchinbu, and Cheoljong’s portrait was placed there in March 1866, enhancing the Jongchinbu’s authority once again. Kyujanggak’s authority, which had been supported by Jeongjo, was now being shadowed by the rise of Jongchin-bu.

Preparing the clothes (衣禮), incense and candles to be used in memorial services held in both of Founder King Taejo’s original residences (bongung 本宮) in Hamheung and Yeongheung, was also part of Kyujanggak’s duties until the days of Cheoljong. Yet in 1864, Jongchinbu started to take over that duty as well. Kyujanggak’s status as an attendant office to the king was being compromised, to say the least.

Also, a more subtle challenge was made to the composition of Kyujanggak officials, by a certain modification that was made to the Hongmungwan 弘文館 office.

During the era of ‘Sedo politics’, the so-called Gyeonghwa geojok lineages (capital-based, massive and illustrious lineages) monopolized the seats inside Kyujanggak, as the qualifications for becoming a Kyujanggak official were too strict.

In the meantime, the Hongmungwan office had a traditional practice of predetermining candidates for certain official seats. Because Hongmun-gwan was in charge of the royal lecture sessions and was also considered as an office which had to be manned by people with high integrity (清職), the official appointment process was more complicated than those of the other offices. In short, it was required to create a Hongmunnom弘文錄 list, and a Dodangnom 都堂錄, list. The officials of the Hongmun-gwan office gathered around, selected preliminary
candidates, and created a list of them, which was the Hongmunnok list. The final list of people, who were to be officially appointed to governmental seats, was the Dodangnok list. They were given the opportunity to participate in royal lecture sessions, and also earn the acquaintance of the King. They were more quickly promoted than other ordinary officials, who merely passed the national examination yet were not picked up to be included in the aforementioned lists. And they were more likely to reach the highest seats in government. In other words, this practice served as a device of selecting officials who would wield more political power than others in the future.

All these officials, who just passed the national examination, were only in the initial phases of their careers, so people with more favorable backgrounds would have been at an advantage to be selected in such process. This practice ultimately reinforced the atmosphere and environment that favored lineages with formidable political and academic influences, throughout the Joseon dynasty period.

Kyujanggak’s official appointment system also abided by this tradition, and for the Dangha-gwan officials it had an even stricter policy. In case of Kyujanggak’s Dangsanggwan officials, Jehak seats were assumed by people recommended as candidates for the Hongmungwan office’s Daejehak seat or the Jehak seat of either Hongmungwan or Yemungwan offices, and Jikjehak seats were assumed by people who were recommended as candidates for the Bujejak seat of the Hongmungwan office, yet the positions were open to officials with their own separate posts. This was due to Kyujanggak’s intention to share human resources with Hongmungwan and Yemungwan (especially their candidates for Daejehak and Jehak), in terms of its own Jehak and Bujejak candidates.

Yet for the Jikgak seat, people who had once served at Hongmungwan were considered (會閥), and for the Daegyo seat Geomyeol 檢閱, Juseo 注書 and Seolseo 說書 figures (in other words, people who were recommended as ‘Integrity officers (清官)’) were considered (會閥). This was a re-selection from a group of people who had already had their integrity inspected by
serving in the Hongmungwan office. Only people with prestigious background could pass such a narrow set of criteria. And the Kyujanggak office came to be filled with only the members from the Gyeonghwa geojok lineages who monopolized power inside the office. The Hongmungwan office’s role was rendered practically meaningless, and the Dodangnok list based upon a list that was made by Hongmungwan also became irrelevant. During the reign of King Cheoljong, it lost any significant political meaning it had once held.

Daewongun turned his eyes to this compromised Hongmungwan office, and decided to reinforce its functions once again to make room for new blood to enter the government. In December 1865, he turned the Bujehak and Jeonhan 典翰 seats into fully functional roles (官職). The Bujehak post was turned into a permanent one just like the Jehak seat, and people to be assigned to Jeonhan seats were inspected (hoegwon 會闈) through the Kyujanggak Jikgak’s practice. Also, the task of drafting Gyoseo orders for the King was taken from Kyujanggak and this time assigned to the Hongmungwan office. Among the Japjik seats, the Geomseogwan 檢書官 official was placed inside Hongmungwan as well, and two people from former Kyujanggak Geomseogwan officials were chosen and assigned as Hongmungwan Geomseogwan officials. The Kyujanggak’s regulations concerning official appointments were based upon the authority of Hongmungwan during Jeongjo’s reign, yet later during Gojong’s reign regulations for Hongmungwan was devised based upon the authority of Kyujanggak, in quite a reversed fashion. Such series of events paved the way for Hongmun-gwan to build its own web of human resources (with powerful families and houses) and political power.

As we can see, during the time of Daewongun in power, Kyujanggak was no longer the enforcer of reforms. Instead, it became the object of such reforms. Its superior authority as an attendant office to the king was split and moved over to other offices such as Jongechnbu and Hongmungwan. The pride of ‘passing the hardest tests to become an official’ no longer belonged only to the Kyujanggak officials. Hongmungwan officials came to share such pride as well. Kyujanggak,
which no longer had any practical functions and merely served the Gyeonghwa Geojok members in reinforcing their status as formidable houses, was witnessing severe decline of itself.

Yet Daewongun’s reform of Kyujanggak had its own flaws as well. By reinforcing the power and authority of Kyujanggak’s rival offices, Daewongun only weakened Kyujanggak by comparison. He never made modifications to the internal system of Kyujanggak. Legal descriptions of Kyujanggak’s primary tasks and duties remained unchanged. Its function of reinforcing certain houses’ political status continued as well. Daewongun and others had no choice but to respect that.

In 1870 (the 7th year of Gojong’s reign), Han Gyeong-won 韓敬源 from the Southerners party and Nam Jeong-sun 南廷順 from the Northerners party were named as Kyujanggak Jikjehak officials. To the Jikgak and Daegyo seats, which required candidates to go through an extensive
Hoegwon process, the Hong Eun-mo (洪殷謨, Southerner) and Gang Chan (姜舜, Northerner) pair, and the Kim Gyu-sik (金奎植, Southerner) and Han Gi-dong (韓喜東, Northerner) pair were assigned respectively. Such appointments marked a departure from the ordinary ones that had earlier been made. It was a clear sign that Kyujanggak was now under Daewongun’s power. The authority of the Gyeonghwa geojok members were being effectively compromised. Yet without certain necessary changes to the Kyujanggak’s appointment process itself, Daewongun’s efforts would only result in creating yet another new faction with direct access to power, instead of bringing down the unfavorable system of certain houses and families, which had been monopolizing power and wielding them as they saw fit.

3. Changes made to the Kyujanggak building’s disposition, and the plight of the Oe-Kyujanggak building

While Daewongun was in power, Gyeongbokgung palace was renovated, and Gojong moved to the renovated palace in August 1868 (the 5th year of his reign). At the time, Kyujanggak at the Changdeokgung palace also moved to Gyeongbokgung. It was placed at the southwest end of the pool where Gyeonghoeru tower was standing. There was Chwigyuru 聚奎樓 at the north side wall of the Naegak building, and at the east side there were Geomseocheong 檢書廳 and Soyujae 小西齋 standing.

Meanwhile, in June 1872 (the 9th year of Gojong’s reign) Gojong’s own portrait was created, and the King sent it down to Kyujanggak, in October the same year. So a new structure to house the portrait was needed. Earlier, during the ‘Changdeokgung Kyujanggak’ days, the sitting King’s portrait was housed in the Juhamnu structure, the most essential one at Kyujanggak. Now, the structure to newly house Gojong’s portrait was to become the signature structure of the new Kyujanggak, and inside Gyeongbokgung, Sujeongjeon 修政殿 was selected to carry
such status. During Kyujanggak’s ‘Changdeokgung days’, Kyujanggak was composed of Juhamnu in the back garden and other buildings nearby. Imunwon was on the west side of Injeongjeon structure where place scholars were gathered. But after it moved to Gyeongbokgung’s Sujeongjeon, at the south end of the Gyeonghoeru pond, and structures on the west side of it came to constitute the Kyujanggak office area.

Unfortunately in January 1874 (the 11th year of Gojong’s reign), there was a huge fire at Gyeongbokgung palace, and the King had to move back to Changdeokgung. At the time, Gojong’s portrait, which was in Sujeong-jeon, had to be moved not to Juhamnu (which no longer had the ‘Kyujanggak’ hanging board), but to the Seohyanggak 書香閣 structure, which was usually used to dry the materials in custody. Juhamnu instead received materials (chaekbo 冊寶) from other several structures (gakjeon 各殿). The King was back in Changdeokgung, but Juhamnu never regained the status of being the central building of Kyujanggak. It was Seohyanggak which inherited that position.

Later the Gyeongbokgung palace was renovated, and Gojong returned to Gyeongbokgung in June 1875 (12th year of his reign). With the King’s return, the royal portrait in Seohyanggak and the materials in Juhamnu all returned to Sujeongjeon once again. Yet in October the same year, the portrait and royal order documents (敘命冊寶) were moved to the Geoncheonggung palace’s Gwanmungak 觀文閣 structure (whose previous
title had been Gwanmundai 観文堂 and was changed on this occasion). In
short, the central building of the Gyeongbokgung palace’s Kyujanggak
was changed from Sujeong-jeon to Gwanmundai. Later, the portrait was
transferred to Gahoejeong 嘉會亭, Hyeopgildang 協吉堂 and ultimately
to Jibokje 束玉齋.

As we can see, the Kyujanggak’s central building continued to shift
from one structure to another during the Gyeongbokgung palace days:
from Sujeongjeon to Gwanmundai to Gahoejeong to Hyeopgildang and
to Jibokje. And in Changdeokgung palace, it was the Seohyanggak
structure. Such changes continued until the Gabo-year reforms of 1894.

When Gojong moved to Gyeongbokgung in August 1868 (the 5th year
of his reign), most of the Kyujanggak officials moved to Gyeongbokgung
as well. At the time, the Gyoseogwan 检書館 office, which was the
Oegak 外闕 chamber (of Kyujanggak), was moved to the inside of
Gyeongbokgung as well. Yet, in order to maintain the Naegak structure
that remained at Changdeokgung palace, some of the officials (閲監ㆍ兼檢
書官) had to serve periodically there and man the facility as well. Also, in
order to man the Bongmodang 奉議堂 structure too, the officials (兼検書
官) who had been dispatched to Hongmungwan were sent to
Bongmodang as well. This suggests that even after moving to the
Gyeongbokgung palace, the materials of Bongmodang remaining at
Changdeokgung, Seohyanggak as well was continuing to function, by
housing the materials (Chaekbo orders for the Queens’ titles). Also there
were some books remaining at Juhamnu as well.

There are no clear records concerning the transfer of individual books
that had been inside Kyujanggak, so it is hard to ascertain how many of

1 Also, the Manhwadang 萬和堂 structure on the southeast side of the Hyangwonjeong 賞還亭 pool
seems to have been related to Kyujanggak as well. On June 8th, 1872, it is known that Gojong
visited Imunwun and slept there (淵府), and record shows that Gojong, on his way there, entered
the Yongseongmun 用成門 gate and arrived at the front lawn of the Naegak. Yongseongmun was
the north gate of Manhwadang, which was used to house the royal portrait when Gyeongungung
畫院 was renovated after Gojong moved to the Russian consulate in 1896. This suggests that
Manhwadang was related to Kyujanggak or the function of housing Gojong’s royal portrait, to a
certain degree.
them were in one location, and how many of them were in another. From
a book named *lnha pilgi*, authored by Yi Yu-won in the fall of 1871 (the
8th year of Gojong’s reign), we can learn that there were stack facilities
attached to Kyujanggak inside the Gyeongbokgung palace, such as
Yungmunnu 隆文楼, Yungmuru 隆武楼, and Dongiru 東二樓. Also, from a
record of a later period, *Jipgyeongdang poswae seomok* (掛敬堂模耀書目:
List of books dried at Jipgyeongdang) (卷11704), we can know that there
were books at Gyeongbokgung’s Jipgyeongdang as well. This would
likely have been due to the move of Imunwon to the Hyangwonjeong
pool area and the fresh need that emerged to house some books in
adjacent buildings. Even after the King moved to Gyeongbokgung, we
can see that not all the books stored at Changdeokgung moved with him,
and that some of them instead stayed at Changdeokgung.

It is also not clear whether the number of books in Kyujanggak
increased or not during this period. In fact, it is entirely possible that it
might have decreased a bit. During Jeongjo’s reign, Kyujanggak had
collected books from other offices. Yet in King Gojong’s period the
functions of other academic offices were being reinforced, and in the
process some portions of the Kyujanggak collection had to be transferred
to those offices, in order to accommodate such reinforcement. For
example, in 1869 (the 6th year of Gojong’s reign), Seonggyungwan’s
functions were strengthened, so the King ordered some Kyujanggak
books to be transferred to Jongyeonggak 僧經閣. Such splitting up of the
Kyujanggak collection was yet another sign of its manifestly
deteriorating position.

There were other natural causes that resulted in general decrease in the
Kyujanggak collection. Loss by fire was the most notable one to be sure.
In one case, the King wished to inspect the Kyujanggak books and had
them brought to himself (內藏), only to have them destroyed in fire.9

Yet the pillaging that was done by the French troops inflicted a much
bigger, actually unprecedented damage upon the Kyujanggak collection.
After French missionaries were discovered and executed by Joseon
authorities, French troops invaded Joseon in October 1866 (the 3rd year of
Gojong’s reign). Joseon soldiers were overwhelmed by the superior firepower they displayed, and were severely disadvantaged by their surprise attack. The Joseon troops were not able to offer sufficient resistance, and the Ganghwabu leadership surrendered to the French troops without even putting up a fight. Ganghwa-do island had been the safe haven for the Goryeo government in the 13th century, so it was believed to be a safe and sound place to stage a defense against Northern tribes’ possible invasion of Korea, yet with the international situation transformed, it became a gateway inviting foreign (Western) invaders.

All the silver reserve (封庫銀), Okchaek 玉冊 materials and weapons stored at the Ganghwabu archive, including the materials which were in custody of the Oe-Kyujanggak structure, were pillaged by the French soldiers. During the reign of Cheoljong, roughly 6,000 items had been in storage in the Oe-Kyujanggak. French soldiers stole 191 titles comprising 297 volumes of Uigwe 儀軸 materials and maps. They were all beautifully wrapped with high quality silk, mainly to be presented for the King’s own inspection, so it seems that the French troops took them for their artistic quality instead of their academic value.

Yet the rest of the material was incinerated in the aftermath of the invasion. The French troops were defeated by Yang Heon-su’s troops at the Jeongjok sanseong battle, so they had to depart immediately, but not before destroying and setting fire to the remaining buildings, the Ganghwa Yusubu headquarters, the royal Haenggung residence, and the Oe-Kyujanggak structure. All the materials that were inside were destroyed, in such a criminal and calamitous action by the French soldiers.

The Oe-Kyujanggak books that the French soldiers took to France

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2 In Bombu bongan geonjanggane iphoerok mihacheak 本府奉安設備州人文回錄未下冊 (Kyu 7898), there is a list of books lost (30 items of Seonmon boeyak 禪門語略, 3 items of royal calligraphy (coopi 師等), 24 items of Seonmon boeyak sejong seugo 儀軸語略修正儀軸) in the Gyeongbokgung palace’s fire that occurred on November 4th, 13th year of Gojong’s reign. They were amongst the Jongchunbuk collection, and was brought in for the King’s inspection (內藏). Books from the Kyujanggak collection would have also been vulnerable to such circumstances, and must have met the same fate.
remained unnoticed for nearly a century. They were only mistakenly considered to be Chinese works, and were practically ‘discovered’ by Dr. Bak Byeong-seon, who was working at the National Museum of France, in 1975.

On the other hand, the Annals of the Joseon dynasty, which was in custody of the Jeongjok sanseong archive, did not share the same fate of the Oe-Kyujanggak books as the Joseon troops defeated the enemy troops. They also survived the Japanese occupation and the Korean war, and are still being studied as important materials.

The argument that such pillaging committed during wartime ended up ‘preserving’ certain materials that should be protected as world’s cultural heritage, or the argument that because they were moved to developed countries they were well preserved and became objects of academic research, are all nothing but shameful lies. The fate of the Oe-Kyujanggak books, and the preservation of the Annals, vividly demonstrate that.
4. Recovery of Kyujanggak’s functions under Gojong’s rule, and Collection of books with ‘Enlightenment’ themes

In order to elevate his status, which had been suppressed by his own father Daewongun, King Gojong ordered several changes that had been made to the political institutions of the government by his father to be nullified, and had former institutions revert to their former status. Especially, the role of the Jongchinbu office, which had been rather ‘abnormally’ enlarged during Daewongun’s watch, was once again reduced. The function of preparing clothes for the Yanggung residences that had been relegated to the Jongchinbu office since 1864 (the 1st year of King Gojong’s reign) was returned to Kyujanggak once again, after Daewongun lost power. And former King Cheoljong’s portrait, which was housed at Jongchinbu office’s Cheonhanjeon structure, was transferred to the Gyeongmogung 景慕宮 palace’s Mangmyorit望廟樓 tower, in the winter of 1875 (12th year of Gojong’s reign). So Jongchinbu was left only with the function of managing general matters involving the Jeonju Yi lineage members. The ‘Hongmungwan Jeban Uijeol’ which had been revised during Daewongun’s time in power was modified (restored) once again, in 1874 (the 11th year of Gojong’s reign). Hongmungwan’s Hoegwon practices ceased as well. As a result, Hongmungwan was no longer an office confronting Kyujanggak, as it had been during Daewongun’s days.

This series of changes led to reinforcement of the Kyujanggak’s original status. In fact, Gojong ordered a list of changes that happened to Kyujanggak since 1874 to be submitted, and he ordered that the Naegak’s general protocols and procedures be restored, as if he were trying to restore Kyujanggak of Jeongjo’s reign. He was certainly trying to recreate a version of Kyujanggak as it had been before Daewongun came to power.

Yet it should be noted that the reason Kyujanggak did not display any meaningful existence during the era of Sedo politics was not because Kyujanggak was institutionally weakened compared to the status it had.
during the era of Jeongjo, but because it no long had the chance to perform any meaningful role. Gojong’s will was to restore Kyujanggak to the way it had been, and to do wise things, just as Jeongjo had done. But his orders turned out to be overly hostile to the changes which had been implemented by Daewongun, so in some cases his revisions turned out to be ill-conceived, rather than beneficial to the overall governance of the country. He also allied himself too strongly with the Gyeonghwa geojok officials, which included the Yeoheung Min house, that had been in conflict with Daewongun.

We can identify such changes in policy from those changes that involved the Kyujanggak officials. Only one month after Daewongun’s retreat from power, Min Gyu-ho 閔奎镐 was appointed to the Jik-Jehak post in March 1874, Min Yeong-mok 閔泳穆 to the Jikgak seat in June the same year, and Yi Jae-geung 李載鎔 (son of Heungin-gun Yi Choe-eung, who was Daewongun’s brother and collaborated with the Min members to throw Daewongun out of government, to become one of the central figures of the Min regime) was named to the Daegyo post in February of the next year. Figures who would later serve in key positions of the government took over important posts inside Kyujanggak, right after Daewongun’s retreat, and they shared many traits with members of former political factions (powerful lineages) who had been in power before Daewongun’s assumption of governmental control.

Similar changes can be found right after the Imo-year’s military revolt of 1882 (19th year of Gojong’s reign). Daewongun was reinstated thanks to the revolt, but his new regime collapsed after only 33 days, when Daewongun was kidnapped by the Qing dynasty on August 26th. Later, Gim Yun-sik 金允植 and Eo Yun-jung 魚允中, who were supported by the Chinese Qing dynasty, seized power in the government. They were appointed to the Jikjehak and Jikgak seats respectively in November and September of 1882. We can see once again that Kyujanggak and its internal seats were serving as a barometer of political changes happening inside the government. And the fact that they were all members of the Gyeonghwasajok families made it all the easier for them to gain control.
over Kyujanggak.

In 1884 (21st year of Gojong’s reign) the new ‘Enlightenment government’ which came to power with the Gapsin-year political coup tried to abolish Kyujanggak. Although it would be inappropriate to determine one regime’s intentions based upon mere regulations suggested by such regime, such an attempt harbored not an insignificant meaning, considering the political history of the Joseon dynasty. As we have seen before, Kyujanggak was operated by members who came from powerful houses, and they wielded significant power in recruiting new members who would be accepted into the government. With the exception of the time when Daewongun was in power (especially the latter half of Daewongun’s days), members of powerful houses had no difficulty in becoming Kyujanggak officials. So it seems that the reason the Enlightenment party wished to abolish Kyujanggak was because they needed to do something to promote their other causes, such as abolishing the Munbeol practices, and dismantling the vested rights of the powerful lineages.

Yet the Enlightenment party was dismantled after only three days of existence, so Kyujanggak managed to weather the storm, and it remained intact until it was transformed into ‘Gyujangwon’ under the authority and jurisdiction of Naejangwon, as a result of certain reforms overseen by Gojong in 1895 (32nd year of his reign).

After Daewongun was relieved from power, Kyujanggak’s earlier functions were restored, and so was its function regarding the acquisition of books. Catalogues (書目) of books in custody of Kyujanggak were frequently compiled and published during this period, including Imunwon seomok 携文院書目 (Jang 萬 2-4657 v.1), Yeolgogwan seomok 閣 古觀書目 (龜 2-4654), and Seogo seomok 世庫書目 (龜 2-4963). Bongmodang seomok is also believed to have been published as well, but it is not extant. These lists seem to be part of a single series of lists, and they seem to have been produced at some time between September 1874 (the 11th year of Gojong’s reign, not long after he started to rule the government without his father) and June 1875.
'These three ‘Seomok’ catalogues all display the traditional four-part (四部) system of Gyeong-Sa-Ja-Jip 經史書集, and in case that there were too many books to categorize, ‘Ryu’ 部 sub-categories were placed under the Bu 部 categories (and in other cases of lesser books, the titles of the books were simply recorded, without the four class categorization). The Yeolgogwan seomok contains not only the list of books in custody of Yeolgogwan but also catalogues of books that were held by Gaeyuwa Bukbang 慈有窩, Munheongak 文獻閣 and Yeongyeongdang 演經堂. Through these catalogues, we can see that there were stack facilities such as Imunwon, Yeolgogwan, Gaeyuwa Bukbang, Munheongak, Yeongyeongdang and also Seogo 西庫 at Kyujanggak during the early days of Gojong’s direct rule. During the reign of King Jeongjo, Yeolgogwan and Gaeyuwa served as stack facilities for Chinese books, but in Gojong’s time Joseon books were housed there as well. We can see that the protocols concerning stack facilities had changed.

Quite interestingly, along with these Seomok catalogues created for the books housed at individual stack facilities, appendix volumes based upon the pronunciation of the books’ titles were created as well. That was Naegak jangseo hwipyeon 內閣藏書彙細, which categorized books under categories such as Illyu 一類, Imnyu 任類, Imnyu 入類, Eungnyu 應類 and Uiryu 宜類, and also into group of books whose first/last letter in the title ended with either consonants such as ‘ㄹ’, ‘ㅁ’, ‘ㅂ’ or a vowel such as ‘ㅏ’. This kind of categorization was to let the visitors of the stack facilities readily ascertain whether the book they wished to inspect was inside the Kyujanggak collection or not. The production of these kinds of catalogues suggests that the books and materials inside the Kyujanggak collection were frequently inspected and consulted by the people at the time, which could in itself be considered as an indication of the fact that the status of Kyujanggak was already more elevated than it had been during Daewongun’s time.

In the meantime, Naegak jangseo hwipyeon revealed new books that were not catalogued inside the above-mentioned three Seomok catalogues. Those books can be found in the Sinmaeha seomok 新內下書
目 and Chunandang seomok 春安堂書目, positioned in the rear part of the second volume (hacheak 下冊) of Naegak jangseo hwipyeon. Books that were included in the former and books included in the latter were of a similar nature, and they were all marked as ‘Sinnaeha (新內下: Newly bestowed by king)’ in the Gyujanggak seomok 奎章閣書目 (奎11670), which was going to be compiled in the early years of the Gwangmu era. We can see that Gojong continued to collect books in the early days of his own direct rule, and when space to house them all ran out he started to use Chunandang as a new stack site. Chunandang was a structure attached to the Yungmundang structure, which was located in the rear garden of the Gyeongbokgung palace.

As we can see, due to the ‘Naeha 内下’ practice, which was essentially a bestowal from the inside (from the King), the overall size of the Kyujanggak collection was expanding. As a result, lists and catalogues of such newly bestowed books were needed, like Naeha chaekja mongnok 内下冊子目錄 (Jang 裹 2-4960), which was a catalogue for 600 types (items) of books, created in 1884. Most of the books catalogued in this list are now held by today’s Kyujanggak, and that suggests that this was a list of books that King personally sent to Kyujanggak as well.

The thing that should be noted is, that from Naegak jangseo hwipyeon’s Sinnaeha seomok & Chunandang seomok or Naeha chaekja mongnok, we can find many books that were published in China with themes related to the Western civilization. This shows that the leadership in government, the King and the officials in power, were actively pursuing the import and embracement of the modern culture and techniques from the Western world, under the sense of ‘putting the Eastern way into Western devices’.

The government was in the process of purchasing many books, and was in need of information regarding works newly published in China. Sanghae seojang gakjong seojek docheop seomok 上海書莊各種書籍圖帖書目 (Jang 裹 2-4650) was created to address this need. It was composed of three parts, Heaven (Cheon 天), Earth (Ji 地), People (In 人), and was a compilation of book sale lists collected from 16 bookstores located in the
Shanghai area. The identity of the compiler is unknown, yet the seal of the Jibokjae printed inside suggests that it was created for the King’s own inspection. In this catalogue, from 100 to 400 items of books from each of the Shanghai-based bookstores are included, listing all the prices, location of the bookstores, and the stores’ invitation to outside clients and consumers.

All the stores presented book lists of lithographic or stereotype editions, and such lists all made it clear that there were other books in the stores as well. This suggests the possibility that the entity who requested such lists in the first place actually requested the lithographic and stereotype editions lists only. This book list was published with Western techniques that were introduced into China in the 19th century. Most of the Western-themed books published in China these days must have been
printed with such techniques as well. We can presume that the book list was a response to a request asking for ‘New-fashioned books (新式書籍)’ only.

The greetings of the bookstore owners were in most cases (cases in which dates are identifiable) made in 1888 (only one case was made in 1887), so this book list as well must have been created around 1888. We can see that this list of books was compiled for no other purpose than to be inspected by the King.

All the activities mentioned above show us that Gojong restored Kyujanggak’s functions suppressed by his father, and once again started to utilize it as an attendant office to the King, and as part of such effort also provided Kyujanggak with a considerable number of books. Especially after the country was opened to the outer world, he actively supported the task of collecting Western-themed books, and placed them under the custody of Kyujanggak, in an effort to secure information which would be necessary for his Enlightenment policies.

The collection of Enlightenment-themed books through Chinese channels served as a basis for the ‘Dongdo seogi’ policy that Gojong promoted in the 1880s. Yet, unlike Jeongjo, Gojong was still not able to deploy a wide variety of policies, such as continuous publication of books or training of human resource needed for furthering the King’s policies. This also had something to do with Gojong’s not being able to secure a large enough web of useful personnel that would ensure the presence of a wider base of support for his policies.

5. Kyujanggak’s changes after the Gabo-year reforms

When the Qing dynasty dispatched troops into Joseon in 1894, in order to subdue the insurrection staged by the Donghak-affiliated peasants, Japanese troops responded by also moving military forces into Joseon. They subsequently refused to withdraw, even after the peasant army dissolved itself and the Qing troops withdrew from Joseon. Their
pretext was the need to oversee internal reform of Joseon. They even risked an all-out war with the Qing dynasty by seizing control of the Gyeongbokgung palace and establishing a pro-Japanese cabinet composed of Enlightenment party members inside the Joseon government.

With the support of the Japanese troops, the ‘Enlightenment regime’ with Prime Minister Gim Hong-jip at the helm, conducted several reforms through a provisional office termed Gunguk gimucheo 軍國機務處. The reforms that were conducted under the oversight of Gunguk gimucheo from July 1894 through December the same year are usually referred to as ‘Gabo Reforms, phase one’. The reform efforts tackled several issues that ranged from political to economic. And it should be noted that (in order to reduce the magnitude of the King’s power) governmental affairs and affairs involving the royal family were strictly divided, and an office called Gungnaebu 宮内府 was newly established. On July 30th it was decided to establish such office, and then Kyujanggak was placed under its jurisdiction, provided with new duties regarding royal edicts (校書), pictures (圖畫) and published copies (寫字). Kyujanggak remained as an entity subordinate to the Gungnaebu office until the Daehan empire was assimilated into the Japanese empire, and Kyujanggak was closed once and for all.

Details of the Gungnaebu office’s internal structure were finalized on August 22nd. Kyujanggak was authorized to house royal portraits, and manage royal precepts (謹諱) and books (圖書).

At Kyujanggak, one Haksal 學士, 1 Jikhaksa 直學士, 1 Jikjeon 直殿, 1 Daeje 待制, 2 Biseojuussa 秘書主事, 2 Dohwajussa 圖書主事, 2 Sajajusa 寫字主事, and 2 Gakgamjussa 閣監主事 were stationed. Their responsibilities mirrored those of Jehak, Jikjehak, Jikgak, Daegyo, Geomseogwan, Hwawon 書員, Sajagwan 寫字官 and Gakgam respectively. Only the title of ‘Jusa’ was added, reflecting the modern nature of the new governmental structure. Jikjeon and Daeje titles replaced their old counterparts, to reflect the fact that the status of the King was elevated from that of a lord to that of an emperor.
Still, the changes were mostly titular, and the function Kyujanggak served as a generator and enforcer of Munbeol values remained. The new Jikjeon and Daeje figures had to go through the Hocheon 會齋 process, and the Kyujanggak officials’ appointments went forward observing the regulations dictated in Kyujanggakji.

At first glance, one might say that Kyujanggak was not much changed, and was only provided with a wider range of responsibilities. Yet we should remember that the Gungnaebu office was opened to separate affairs of the government from those of the royal family. In the wake of such changes, Kyujanggak was to be excluded from the ring of powerful entities advising the King, not to mention performing crucial operations concerning the country’s governance in general.

On December 17th, 1894, a coalition cabinet represented by Gim Hong-jip and Bak Yeong-hyo was organized, and continued to function until Bak was charged with conspiracy to commit treason and took refuge in Japan in lunar May the next year. The reforms conducted in this period are usually referred to as ‘Gabo Reforms, phase two’. During this phase, as a political reform, the Uijeongbu system was abandoned and a new cabinet system of Japanese style was selected. Gungnaebu office was modified to feature a Six Won院 system under the leadership of the Daesingwanbang 大臣官房. Accordingly, Kyujanggak became Kyujangwon 奎章院.

This new Kyujangwon was to house royal materials and records, not to mention royal writings, calligraphy and the sitting King’s portrait. One Gyeong卿 (as a Chigimwan) and two Jusa (主事, as a Panimgwan) officials were posted there. Also there were Gyoseosa 校書司 and Giroksa 記録司 offices inside, with the former in charge of housing genealogy records of the kings (王統譜) and the royal family (王族譜) along with the metal printing types, and the latter in charge of maintaining documents and records under its custody. At the former office 1 Jang 長 (as a Juimingwan) and 1 Jwagyoseo 左校書 (as a Panimgwan) and Ugyoseo 右校書 (as a Panimgwan) figures were stationed, while at the latter 1 Jang 長 (as a Juimingwan) and 4 Jusa 主事 (Panimgwan) figures were stationed.
The Jwagyoseo and Ugyoseo of the Gyoseosa office seem to have inherited the roles of Jikjeon (稽閱) and Daeje (大傑), the Danghajik officials of Kyujanggak. Yet there were no rules regarding the Hoecheon 會議 process, and this meant the Kyujanggak’s age-old authority as an entity of scathing criticism and great integrity was now part of mere history. As Uijeongbu was moved to the Sujeongjeon structure of the Gyeongbokgung palace and was transformed into a new Naegak 内閣, the Kyujanggak was no longer permitted to use the nickname of ‘Naegak’. Kyujanggak’s political functions and authority as an attendant office to the King were entirely eliminated.

Reforms conducted in Phase 2 were deeply radical in nature, yet they were disrupted when three foreign countries opted to step into Joseon’s internal matters in May 1895, and when Bak Yeong-hyo was charged with treason and sought for an asylum in Japan in July the same year. Then, on August 24th, 1895, the 3rd Gim Hong-jip cabinet was formed. Yet again, Japan’s assassination of Queen Myeongseong backfired, and resulted in Japan’s facing severe criticism on an international scale. At the same time, the reforms conducted by this cabinet, such as acceptance of the solar calendar and the order to cut people’s hair to assume a more modern look, met with serious opposition. In the wake of all this, the Gungnaebu office was growing needlessly larger once again, as it had been before the implementation of phase 2 reforms.

The Kyujangwon’s functions were enlarged as well. Kyujangwon’s new responsibilities included housing royal materials and records, royal portraits and the calligraphy of former Kings, the sitting King (大君主, Gojong)’s portrait and genealogical records (王統譜, 王族譜錄). Those duties were similar to those dictated during the time of phase 2, yet there were more details this time.

Gyoseosa and Giroksa were replaced by Girokgwa and Bonggakgwa 奉閣課. Other than the fact that the Sa 司 offices were transformed into Gwa 課 offices, the real change was the transformation from the Gyoseosa office to the Bonggakgwa office. In terms of the title, the latter harbored a nuance of serving something holy (the royal authority of the
King), more strongly than before.

There was one Gyeong (Chigimongan) to oversee the functions and personnel of Kyujangwon, and there were also 1 Jikhaksja (Juimongan), 2 Gyoseo (Panimongan), 4 Jusa (Panimongan, which were posted in Girokgwa and Bonggakgwa in pairs). However, there was also no Hoegwon process mandated regarding their appointments. This suggests that there were no longer any traditional procedures that would ensure the senior authority of the Kyujanggak officials.

King Gojong, whose own life was being threatened after the assassination of Queen Myeongseong, finally left his own palace at dawn on February 11th 1896 and took refuge in the Russian legation. During his stay there, he announced a series of policies that were designed to negate the reforms that had been conducted during the phases of the Gabo reforms. Furthermore, after returning to the palace on February 20th, 1897, he initiated the so-called ‘Gwangmu Reform’, for the purpose of promoting reform efforts based upon inherited ‘past achievements’ while also consulting the ‘new ways’ (舊本新參). Compared to the Gabo reforms, the Gwangmu reforms were developed from a conservative mindset, and in some aspects they even turned out to be quite reactionary. The entity that led those reforms was King Gojong who had transformed himself into an Emperor, and as a result the ultimate direction he took was toward the reinforcement of his own ruling authority.

The office he used for furthering his agenda was Gungnaebu. This office was originally conceived by the pro-Japanese officials during the Gabo reform period as an agency that would suppress the might of the King, yet instead of abolishing it Gojong granted more power to Gungnaebu and reinforced his authority using that office. During the third phase of Gabo reforms, which was led by the Gim Hong-jip cabinet, the status of the Gungnaebu office was already elevated (from what it had been in the second phase), and the Gungnae-bu system of the Daejan empire maintained the office’s general structure as well.

This was also the general picture of Kyujangwon inside Gungnaebu.
Kyujangwon’s internal structure remained the same during Gojong’s stay in the Russian legation, and it was only partially changed on January 4th 1897, right before Gojong’s return to Gyeongungung. Its title was restored to Kyujanggak, and Kyujangwon’s Gyeong were renamed Haksa 學士. Additionally after the King’s return, 2 Gyseo 校書 figures were replaced by 1 Jikgak 直閥 and 1 Daeje 待制. It was the resumption of Jikgak from the old days, which returned only after Jikjeon 直閥 → Jwagyoseo → Gyoseo seats ran their course. It was the same for Daeje as well, reinstated after figures like Daegyo 待教, Ugyoseo and Gyoseo all having seen their days. This was yet another display of the resiliency of the Kyujanggak tradition which appointed Dangha officials through a vigorous selection process. Yet there were no longer any Hoegwon 會圍 regulations, and there are currently no extant government records that may suggest otherwise. The title as a Kyujang official might still have been honorable, but it was no longer able to produce any kind of Munbeol values or power.

Also, the old practices of Kyujanggak began to be resurrected. In September 1896, Naegak 内閣 was abolished and the Uijeongbu office was reinstated, so it became possible once again to call Kyujanggak by its original nickname ‘Naegak’. And in May 1897 the Geomgyo 檢校 seat was restored. The principle of selecting Geomgyo figures among the officials who had once served at Kyujanggak remained the same, yet a new rule was added to select them only from among people who were in service (實職) inside the Gungnaebu office. Alongside the restoration of Geomgyo, Gojong ordered the resumption of the Ilseongnok publication that had been put on halt for quite some time. Although the publication only resumed after a time in 1901 (the 5th year of the Gwangmu reign), this was still a clear demonstration of Gojong’s determination to restore the functions of Kyujanggak as it had been in the past.

In the meantime, the Japanese won the Russian-Japanese war, and in November 1905 forced the Joseon government to sign the Eulsa-year Treaty which deprived Joseon of its diplomatic sovereignty. Before that, when the war broke out in February 1904, the Japanese empire blatantly
ignored the Daehan empire’s proclamation of neutrality and forcibly requested the signing of the Korea-Japan Protocol. The Japanese continued to trample upon the Daehan empire’s sovereignty. In October 1904, the Japanese established the Gwanje ijeonso 官制監整所 office, and initiated preparations for the complete renovation of Daehan imperial government’s political branches and administrative systems. In February 1905 the central governmental system including the Uijeongbu system was changed entirely, with offices either merged or abolished.
The Gungnaebu system, which was the basis of the emperor’s power, had to change as well, in March 1905. All entities in charge of the royal family affairs were merged, while offices that had been involved in modernization projects such as Gwanghakguk 鐵駕局 (for mining projects) or Cheoldoguk 鐵道局 (for railways) were dismantled. The Gwangmu reforms, which were conducted through the Gungnaebu office, were effectively shut down, and ceased to exist.

In the wake of all these changes, Kyujanggak had to go through some changes as well. It was newly designated as an archive for the royal family’s materials (jeonbcom 典範) and records, and also the past King’s royal writings, calligraphy and portraits. 1 Haksa, 1 Jikhaksa (Chigim), 1 Jigak, and 1 Daeje (both Juim), 2 Jusa (Panim) were stationed. Yet among them Haksa and Jikhaksa figures were only honorary. Only the others received a salary. From the fact that Juseo figures were cut from 4 to 2, we can see that the scope of the general operation of Kyujanggak was reduced as well.

Still, a major change was yet to come, in 1907 when Gojong was forcibly removed from the throne and the royal family fell under full control of the Japanese. Gungnaebu system was renovated once again in November 1907, and was reduced to only 11 posts under the Daesin Gwanbang minister. With several offices under Gungnaebu merged, Kyujanggak was provided with the responsibilities of the late Hongmungwan office as well. As a result, the rank authorized to assume the post of the Kyujanggak’s director was elevated from Haksa to Daejehak (Chigim, honorary). And the overall number of its personnel jumped to 10 Jehak (maximum, Chigim, honorary), 10 Bujehak (maximum, either Chigim or Juim, honorary), and 10 Jigak (maximum, Juim, honorary) figures.

Additionally for consultants to the Kyujanggak affairs, 10 Jihugwan 畿候官 (Chigim, honorary) officers were stationed. The reason for the presence of all these honorary officials was to respond to the fresh need of additional personnel required for lectures (Sigang 侍講), as Kyujanggak was now in charge of the late Hongmungwan as well. At the same time,
it was necessary to appease the royal family members, who were very much frustrated by the reduction of Gungnaebu’s functions and overall authority.

For the actual functions, staff included 1 Gyeong (Chigim) to oversee the functions and personnel of Kyujanggak, and 2 Gijugwan 記注官 (assistants for the Gyeong, either Chigim or Juim), 2 Jeonjegwan 典製官 (either Chigim or Juim), 4 Jusa (general managers, Panim). As we can see, the number of personnel for ordinary functions of Kyujanggak was significantly increased, likely due to projects of inspecting and creating catalogues for the Kyujanggak materials in process at the time.

The Japanese imperial authorities initiated projects to catalogue the Kyujanggak books through this enlarged structure of Kyujanggak. In September 1908, they also opened 4 Gwa 課 offices, Jeonmogwa 典漢課, Doseogwa 圖書課, Girokgwa and Munsagwa 文事課, to oversee different areas of the project.

The Kyujanggak’s internal structure was enlarged because the composition of books under Kyujanggak’s care had changed, and because the total number of books held by Kyujanggak significantly grew as well. Kyujanggak was now in charge of not only the books originally under its care, but also the books that had originally been in custody of Hongmungwan, Sigangwon, Jibokjae and the historical archives (Sago 史庫) as well. Kyujanggak also started to survey some of the books held by the local Seoweon schools, and was also in preparation for the publication of Gukjobogam.

Naturally, a comprehensive catalogue that would cover all these books from all kinds of different sources, became a sorely needed item. *Kyujanggak seomok* was created for the original Kyujanggak books, and catalogues such as *Jibokjae seojjeok mongnok*, *Jibokjae mongnok oeseochaek* and *Kyujanggak seomok* were created for the books from the Jibokjae facility at the Gyeongbokgung palace. *Chunbang jangseo chongmok* was for the Sigangwon collection, and the Hongmunwan collection was catalogued in the third chapter of *Kyujanggak seomok*.

With the survey completed, Japanese authorities defined the entire
collection managed by the Doseogwa office of Kyujanggak, in other words the entire collection of more than 1,000,000 books gathered from not only Kyujanggak but also Hongmungwan, Sigangwon, Jibokjae and the Mt. Bukhansan historical archive, as the ‘Royal Chamber Collection (帝室圖書)’, and newly catalogued them into several categories such as Korean books, Chinese books, invaluable items and separated archived collection (別庫).

The books were then again re-categorized into 4 Bu units, Classics, History, Philosophers and Anthologies (經·史·子·集), and also into more than 10 sub-categories each of every Bu unit. This categorization still remains effective. In November 1909, Jesil doseo mongnok was published. Regulations necessary for inspecting and renting books were established as well.

During the Tonggambu period, the Girokgwa office of Kyujanggak was put in charge of housing, managing and publishing the documents generated by the Gungnaebu office. Gungnaebu materials were to be sent to the Kyujanggak’s Girokgwa office one year after its advent. This was an addition to the traditional job description of Kyujanggak, a ‘modern style’ management of the materials produced by governmental offices. Yet Kyujanggak was not yet in charge of managing materials generated by all the other offices as well.

As we can see, the Kyujanggak’s political functions, which it had maintained since the Gwangmu years, were removed by the Japanese aggression especially following the end of the Russian-Japanese war. After the Tonggambu office’s installation, it was transformed into an office merely in charge of collecting and managing books under its control.

Yeon Kab-soo  HK Prof. Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies
Kyujanggak in the Japanese Occupation period
1. Japanese authorities’ takeover of Kyujanggak, and the ‘Survey project of the Old practices and Institutions’

The Japanese Imperial authorities forcibly occupied the Daehan Empire on August 29th, 1910, and abolished Kyujanggak. Then they ordered the Yi household office to manage the materials held by the Kyujanggak library (properties of the royal family) and other books as well. Among these books, there were books from Kyujanggak, books that had originally been in custody of the Ganghwa island storage facility of historical materials (江華史庫: ‘historical archive’ from here on) and were later transferred to the Gyeongbokgung’s Gyeongseongjeon 慶成殿, building, and also books which were under the authority of the Gungnaebu office and stored in Gyeongsangbuk-do province’s Mt. Taebaeksan facility, Gangwon-do province’s Mt. Odaesan facility, and Jeollabuk-do province’s Mt. Jeoksang-san facility.

Then, in February 1911, Japanese authorities decided to assimilate the Kyujanggak books into the property of the Joseon Governor General’s
office (‘JGGO’ from here on), and in June the Chwijo-guk 取調局 office of JGGO obtained them. Among them, the genealogy records of the Joseon dynasty royal family, and 5,519 volumes from the Mt. Jeokseongsan archive, were handed over to the royal family’s custody. As may be seen, more than 150 years of history of Kyujanggak, which was opened in 1776, ended with the fall of the dynasty. The name Kyujanggak 奎章閣 survived the library’s demise, and continued to be used for libraries. Yet Kyujanggak as an institutional office was closed once and for all, and it was assimilated into the Chwijo-guk office (Office of Investigation).

In the meantime, Chwijo-guk (‘Ool’ from here on) secured non-Kyujanggak books as well. They were handed over from the old Tonggambu office, former Joseon cabinet offices, and the Gungnaebu office. Among them, books from the former two sources were governmental documents which were generated and preserved by individual offices, such as Uijeongbu, Gungnaebu, Naebu, Oebu, Takjibu, Gunbu, Beopbu, Hakbu and Nongsanggongbu.

Also, all the documents and registers either collected or self-produced by the Japanese authorities around 1905 (the year of the Eulsa-year Treaty) during the assimilation of royal family’s properties, were transferred to the Office of Land ownership survey, the Takji-bu office, and then to the Ool, after the Provisional Office of Properties (臨時財産整理局) was dismantled. The final result gathered together included books (5,333 types, 100,187 volumes), documents (11,730 vol.), cast type (録字: 653,291 pieces, 71 cases 盒), woodblocks (板木: 9,057 pieces), miscellaneous items (12 types), 471 wooden engravings of royal documents (御製) and writings (御筆), 53 pieces of wooden notebook (Sucheop) engravings (手帖木刻板), and 24 hanging boards (額). But what should also have been among this collection, 77 types of 1.028 volumes of material, including

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3 JGGO’s Ool (朝鮮總督府 取調局), 1911 Book-related documents file (圖書關係書類案) (Gyu 儀 26764).
4 Please consult explanatory materials regarding the Comprehensive list of Korean Books in the Kyujanggak collection (奎章閣圖書韓國本総合目錄) (1981). According to the survey report of the JGGO’s Junghuwon 中樞院 office, the figure is estimated as somewhere between 120,000 and 150,000, as of the late 1930s (History of the Joseon’s old practices and institutions survey 朝鮮舊慣調查. Volume 2).
invaluable materials such as *Donggak japgi* 東閣雜記, were secretly moved to Japan by Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 in July 1909. The *Sinhan minbo* newspaper, published by a group of Koreans living in the U.S., reported this smuggling in their August 24th, 1909 issue, saying “A national treasure is being smuggled once again (又盜國寶).” Such shameful incidents continued, as some picture books were transferred to JGGO as well.

What could have been the reason behind the Japanese authorities’ sudden abolishment of Kyujanggak as soon as they brought down the Daehan empire, and why did they so quickly delegate jurisdiction over the materials to Ool under JGGO, and then to the Divisional office of the Councilor (DoC: Ool’s successor)? And why did these offices invest so much money and human resources into the task of sorting and examining these materials, not to mention in such a hurry? It was because they were keenly aware of the urgent necessity to complete the survey project of Joseon’s ‘Old Practices and Institutions (舊慣制度; OP&I)’, which had been in progress since before the 1910’s occupation of Korea. The Japanese authorities wanted to complete a systematic survey of the Joseon laws, traditions, conventions and customs as soon as possible, in order to establish a stronger ruling authority and therefore secure Japanese interests. Then they proceeded to enact a series of colonial laws such as the ‘Joseon Civil Orders (朝鮮民事令)’ and the ‘Joseon Criminal Orders (別冊)’. The Japanese authorities calculated that, instead of attempting to rather abruptly transform Korean citizens into Japanese citizens by forcibly imposing the Japanese legal system upon Korea, it would be more favorable to change the Koreans’ nature slowly and

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5 Yi Sang-chan 李相 Ön, 2002 “Survey of Old books stolen by Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文” *Hanguk Saron 韓國史論* 48. According to the report of the *Sinhan Minbo* 新韓民報’s August 24th issue of 1909, Itō Hirobumi smuggled out of Korea more than 800 books including *Paliyeok Jodo* 八旗地圖 (compiled during the reign of Joseon dynasty’s King Taejo) when he returned to Japan in 1909. This figure almost matches the figure of 828 volumes, which was the number of books reportedly stolen by Itō (1028), when the 200 volumes that JGGO handed over to Ito are excluded. Yet cross-checking with Yi Sang-chan’s paper on *Paliyeok Jodo* reveals that *Sinhan Minbo* was actually in error.

6 *Sinhan Minbo* 新韓民報 July 12th, 1911
gradually, by enacting a series of laws based upon (or at least less unfriendly to) Joseon’s own customs, culture and history, as such approach would more greatly and efficiently contribute to the goal they wished to accomplish, stable Japanese colonial rule of Korea. It was nothing other than a strategic implementation of the ‘Gradual Assimilation’ (同化主義) policy. In the eyes of the Japanese authorities, the frustration, rejection and resistance from the Koreans, who had long fought the Japanese in defense of their own history and culture, had to be addressed and alleviated first, in order to enhance the level of Japanese rule in Korea.

Accordingly, surveying the Joseon dynasty’s OP&I became the primary mission of Ool, after the Kyujanggak materials were secured. Especially following the occupation that started in August 1910, it was important and imperative for the Japanese authorities to establish a frame of legal reference, which would serve as the basis for colonial ruling in Joseon and not to mention for all the legal processes that would continue in Korea in the future. So, not only issues related to the civil and criminal orders, but also a variety of other things were also included in the survey. The surveyed areas can be listed as follow:

1. Land distribution and ownership system
2. Kinship system
3. Institutions involving local Myeon and Dong units
4. Institutions involving religion and religious places
5. Institutions involving libraries (書房) and Hyanggyo schools
6. Institutions involving Yangban figures
7. Origin and history of the Four political factions (四色), and their status inside the political - social climate of Joseon
8. System of the Four Ritual protocols (四禮制度)
9. Livelihood of the ordinary people
10. Social relief practices in Korea
11. Translation (into Japanese) of major law codes enacted in Joseon
12. Economy of agricultural households in Joseon
13. Research into the Western countries’ institutions created for their colonies and protectorates, which could be consulted by the Japanese ruling of Joseon

14. Completion of the survey project conducted by the Survey Office of Old (previous) Laws (舊法典調査局)

15. Local administration

16. Prior practices and institutions regarding irrigation

17. Survey of the Amnokgang and Dumangang rivers

18. Compilation of a Joseon language dictionary

Apart from these, tenancy relationships and issues of water supplies were surveyed as well.

The survey of old practices consulted the books of Joseon and also the local practices that had been long observed in several regions, while the survey of institutions had to consult Joseon’s history of institutions and also the institutions of several Western countries. Also, if necessary, personnel would be dispatched to local regions for field survey, as a general policy. Surveys of the Myeon 面 and Dong 邑 local administrative units, examinations of the ‘four political factions’, the social relief programs that had involved rice distribution (社還米制度), the custom of honoring sacred Three-deities (三神), research into the history of local administration in the Three-dynasties (kingdoms) period and the ‘Han dynasty’s Four Commanderies’ period, and also such history of the Ibu 二府 and Goryeo and Joseon periods, and even survey of the irrigation status of the Amnokgang river area, were all initiated in January 1911, and completed in June the same year.

Also, surveys of land tax and other miscellaneous taxes, customary practices, the peasantry economy and their living conditions, future budgets for local regions and districts, responsibilities of the Japanese and the Koreans, pictures and pictorials describing the boundaries of Korea since the days of Old Joseon (고-조선), history of land distribution since the Goryeo dynasty, the functions and status of the clerks (吏胥), and the Yangban system in general, were all initiated in July.
and completed in December.

Added to those, tenancy relationships in various countries, the practice of setting fire to agricultural lands (火田), and the situation of the northwest (Seobuk) area of the Korean peninsula, were surveyed as well. The Ool also gathered the overall survey results generated by the former Survey office of Law codes (法典調查局), and published the Old Practices Survey report in March 1913.

Survey of the old practices and institutions (OP&I) not only proceeded in the field, but also with document examination and inspection of legal codes. Yet the result of document examination turned out to be less than desirable, even with the advantage of providing viewers with all the historical, legal and cultural details of the survey results. (The problem was the quantity.) Documents that were examined in the process (other than the law codes) were only four types. The examination process did not even remotely come close to examining all the material that should have been examined, and the process only ended up covering books related to ritual protocols (禮書). A much wider pool of books had to be examined. So entities in charge examined the materials that came from Kyujanggak, translated and published Daejeon hoetong 大典會通, examined the Annals of the Joseon dynasty, published the Joseon Language Dictionary (朝鮮語辭典), and added explications and introductions to Joseon books and then published them all.

The Japanese authorities renovated the structure of the Joseon Governor General’s office in April 1912, abolished the Ool, and assigned the task of surveying Joseon’s Old Practices and Institutions (the ‘OP&I Surv-Proj.’ from here on) to the Divisional office of the Councilor (DoC), to whom Ool’s general functions as well were transferred. DoC made the completion of this task its highest priority. We shall examine the scope and objects of this task.

Previous surveys covered both the civil issues (民事) and commercial

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7 JGGO (朝鮮總督府), 1913 Old Practices Survey Report (舊慣調查報告書).
issues (商事), but subsequent surveys only targeted issues in which applying (existing) customs for a resolution were allowed, as the Civil Orders dictated. And then the items and areas to be surveyed were officially determined. Forty-eight field survey spots were selected, and agents were dispatched. In late 1913, survey of kinship relationships (as an issue of civil customs and conventions) was completed, and in late 1914, survey of customs and conventions involving property rights (real rights) and bonds were completed as well.

Field surveys of customs, and document examinations of law codes, proceeded side-by-side. For document examinations, both Joseon and Chinese materials were examined, with relevant portions extracted and separately published. For field surveys, officials were dispatched to offices of Bu or Gun units or even the entire provinces, then personnel who were summoned would offer adequate responses to the inquiries regarding Joseon customs and conventions, for several rounds of extensive interviews.

As a result of these surveys, partial investigation reports were published. Reports of laws, and reports of customs were published separately. These surveys continued through 1914. In the end, total of 123 volumes of field survey reports, and 83 volumes of document examination results, were submitted to the authorities.

The DoC as well, inheriting the job of the late Ool, extracted essential portions out of the Annals of the Joseon dynasty. From King Seonjo’s reign and also from subsequent periods, more than 30 areas, such as legal codes, kinship relations, inheritance and succession (相繼), wills, households, currency, name tablets, Nobi servants, commoner obligations, all kinds of land units (諸田), special taxation (貢賦), ordinary taxation (稅制), and four types of ritual protocols, were all extracted from the ‘Annals’ and published in total of 555 volumes, with an overall appendix attached to the end. Then the authorities shifted their efforts to the task of examining the Seungjeongwon ilgi (Diary of the Royal Secretariat, Seungjeong-weon Diary from here on).

In the meantime, Japanese authorities started to survey epigraphic
materials and other related materials in February 1913. In late 1913, 1,040 types of epigraphic materials were already examined. By late 1914, that number jumped to 1,377 types (including epitaphs and inscriptions on tablets and bells 鎮誄), and by late 1915, again to 1,579 types. Subsequently, all the materials were transferred to the Office of General Affairs (the museum) in March 1916.

Thereafter, the authorities intended to collect Joseon books and local gazetteers (Eupji) from all over the country. Other than the books secured by DoC, the authorities proceeded either to purchase or examine all kinds of books authored during the Joseon period, and in the end obtained 59 types in 691 volumes.

They processed local gazetteers that came from the DoC and also from the Naemubu office, and in case of insufficient materials they requested that the local units provide more materials, or instructed personnel already out there to secure such materials themselves. They also sought for more detailed local records in case the already secured ones were too short or briefly documented. We can see that much effort went into the entire task. As a result, in 1915 959 types of local gazetteers were accumulated. Also, they collected or copied old documents and engravings, obtaining 67 types of old documents. In case of (wooden) engravings, assigned personnel would tour not only the local offices but also temples and civilian residences, and collect other miscellaneous items as well, such as roof tiles or old pieces of porcelain.

The Japanese authorities intended to translate Daejeon hoetong as well. This was because they needed to examine and consult it during the enactment process of enacting several laws, including the civilian and criminal codes. Daejeon hoetong was literally a comprehensive culmination of all the prior legal codes, such as Gyeongguk daejeon, Sok daejeon, Daejeon tongpyeon. So studying it would provide an informative overview of all the legal codes that had existed throughout five hundred years of the Joseon dynasty. Yet before translating the material, even reading it was a far from easy task. Misinterpretation that could cause mistakes and difficulties had to be avoided, so the text itself
had to be modified to be used by the clerks in the field.

The translation process began in November 1910, and was completed almost a year after. A scholar of Chinese studies, Jeong Byeong-jo 鄭丙朝, and calligrapher Gim Don-hui 金敦熙 and others, participated in the project. When need for a revised version emerged, the DoC retranslated it, based upon the original translation, and completed the job in 1913.

2. Ool and DoC’s management of the Kyujanggak materials

In June 1911, Ool received materials from the Gungnaebu office and other sources, and initiated the examination of the materials straight away, because they had to achieve their goal of surveying Joseon’s old practices and institutions (OP&I) as fast as possible.

First, they modified the existing method of sorting materials. Before August 1910, the Gungnaebu office had created the books inventory and the documents inventory separately, and also separated the Jopan 朝板 versions from the Dangpan 唐板 versions, following the classical assortment system displayed in the Four Treasures Collection (四庫全書). Yet the Ool, instead of following such system, established a different system. It changed the ‘Jopan’ and ‘Dangpan’ titles to the ‘Joseon versions’ and ‘Chinese versions’ respectively, and created inventories meant for both books and documents, without separating them. Only the primary boundaries, namely the four major areas of Classics (經部), History (史部), Philosophers (子部) and Anthologies (集部), remained. The History section was the one which went through the biggest revision, and it was revised as seen in Table 3-1.

This classification system was chosen with a blatant disregard for the existing one, namely the one featured in the Four Treasures Collection system and was also used in creating the List of Royal Family Books (帝室圖書目錄). It was a new system that was developed by the Japanese authorities, and the materials inside the History section were reassorted according to this new system. As we can see from the ‘Lineage Records
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Gungnaebu (1900)</th>
<th>Chwijooguk (1912)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>official history</td>
<td>特定史</td>
<td>genealogies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chronology type records</td>
<td>特定史 1 (朝鮮史)</td>
<td>miscellaneous history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>special history</td>
<td>特定史 2 (朝鮮史)</td>
<td>politics and law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orders &amp; pleas</td>
<td>特定史 3 (朝鮮史)</td>
<td>biographies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biographies</td>
<td></td>
<td>geographical records</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>political papers</td>
<td></td>
<td>almanacs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>historical reviews</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lists</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Reference**

- In November 1909, the Gungnaebu office published an inventory entitled *List of Gungnaebu records* (宮內府紀錄總目錄), which was a different inventory from *List of Royal family books* (帝室圖書目 MOTOR, rejoice.
- Inventory of Book lists (書籍目錄臺帳), registration numbers are not allotted.
- Later, in *List of all Joseon books* (朝鮮圖書總目錄) (1917), the final registration number appears as Jo 朝 15025.

**Source**

- Jesil doseo mongnok 帝室圖書目錄 (kyu 奠 25243)
- Seojong mongnok daesang 書籍目錄臺帳 (kyu 奠 26768)

*Note:*(籍譜記録)*, books and documents were not separated.

There were also other changes. In the days of the Gungnaebu office, stack rooms were established in directions of East, West, South and North, and in the West room Joseon books were stored. On the other hand, in the Ool days, Joseon books were placed upon the stairway, while the Joseon dynasty Annals, lineage records and royal memoirs were respectfully placed under the stairway. On the other hand, Chinese books were stored in the East, South and North rooms. And in the West room, Uigwe manuals were respectfully placed. In the meantime, a special room was designated to house damaged Joseon books or superfluous editions of Chinese books. All these materials were divided in separate sections (classics, history, philosophers and anthologies) inside their respective stack rooms.

In the meantime, official documents were classified as well, yet the existing system was abolished and modern documents generated by the
government were put inside the History section. Around 1912, the modern day government documents were not considered to be materials requiring an inventory, yet later DoC designated them as general materials, and opened the door for them to be processed alongside the Kyujanggak books in the future. This led to a practice whereby documents created by the Korean government were not classified based upon the offices that generated them but instead based upon their themes, just like the Kyujanggak books.

Ool also created Inventory of Book lists (書籍目錄叢書), which included a total of 3,100 items. This grand inventory included books from a wide variety of sources, the Hongmungwan office, Sigangwon office, Jibokjae, Ganghwa island’s history archive, Chunbang, Singo, Gungnaebu office and even from the Joseon Governor General’s office. Yet not all the books that had been gathered were included in this inventory. Also, books from the old library were not yet completely transferred either. It was an incomplete list, and did not display much of a systemic classification. It featured information in the order of book name, number of parts in the book, number of volumes, number of missing volumes, author, literary style name (字), penname (號), era, type, and shelf number (架數).

And when Ool was closed in April 1912, and DoC was put in charge of the materials, all the books were moved to the old Jongchinbu office’s stack room located in Sogyeok-dong, in the east of the Gyeongbokgung palace.

In June 1913 DoC conducted a survey of the Joseon and Chinese books, examining the number of volumes, authors, authored dates and

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8 Because the Joseon Governor General’s office had considered all the documents as books, from now on they will be counted in this article as part of the ‘Kyujanggak collection’ as well.

9 Kim Tae-won, 2007 “Structure of the ‘local administrative office documents (朝鮮總督府)’ amongst the Kyujanggak collection, and future directions of managing them” Kyujanggak 30.
types. In July, more than 40,000 books from the south and north stack rooms were classified, copies of 67 volumes and newly purchased books were added, and then an inventory grouped into four lists (classics, history, philosophers and anthologies) was published. The pace was incredible, with more than 1,000 books examined and assorted every day. Naturally, the Japanese authorities admitted that the process ended up creating many problems.

The task of assorting books, proceeded with separating Joseon books from Chinese books, based upon the status of the materials’ being either printed (印制) or copied (抄写). Whether the author or the compiler was either a Joseon or a Chinese was not a factor considered in determining whether such book was a Joseon one or a Chinese one. Chinese books either printed or copied in Joseon were all assorted as Joseon books. And the books were not number-labelled. They were simply repositioned inside the stack rooms. Also, a reserve room (庫部) was established to house superfluous materials, yet they were not fully examined either. So on July 1st, librarians were newly appointed as follows—.10

Japanese authorities were in too much of a hurry, obsessed with the goal of achieving visible accomplishments in the OP&I survey project, instead of taking their time and the necessary steps. So DoC had to revise the work plan.

1. First, determine whether a book is a Joseon book or a Chinese book, based upon whether the author or the compiler was a Joseon person or a Chinese person, and then number-label them

2. Create a new inventory, and register all books in the order of their number labels

3. Designate books, such as the ones that are extremely important or hard to

10 Joseon Governor General’s office, Junghuwon office, Ibid.
obtain or in special needs of preservation, as ‘special editions’

4. Create sectional inventories as well
5. Create book cards and a card inventory, and utilize it

DoC assigned a book number to every book, while placing them on the shelves. In July 1914, DoC also created book cards to prepare for the library opening and inspection rounds. First, books were sorted into Joseon books and Chinese books, and then were rearranged with the first letter in the title, in the order of the forty-seven sounds of the Japanese Syllabary (いろは歌順). It seems that the people in charge intended to provide the Japanese governmental scholars all the convenience they could provide. Additionally, card numbers were also established. In cases where there were too many books for one edition, sub-numbers were attached to the contents list (冊次) and a card was separately generated to write down the information. There were two types of cards: Joseon books received blue cards, and Chinese books received yellow cards. As a separate category, special items received white cards. In front of the Card number, the letter ‘Jo 朝’ or ‘Ji 支’ was added to identify the book as either of Joseon or Chinese origin. Number tags were also prepared and attached to the front cover of each book. Book appendices were also created in this fashion. The assigning of card numbers continued until late 1915. In the wake of all this, in November 1914, books that were in custody of the history archives at Taebaek-san and Odaesan mountains were transferred to Seoul (however, the Annals of the Joseon dynasty that were housed at the Odaesan facility had already been moved to Tokyo Imperial University of Japan).

However, there was still a problem with the process: the change in the positions of the books. For example, books that fell under the category of the Four Books and Five Classics (四書五經類) had been positioned on the first bookshelf (架) in 1909, yet at this juncture they were moved to the 59th. Because books were assigned book numbers at the time they were placed on the shelf, any consideration of their possible or probable relationship with other books that were yet to be sorted could not be
Table 3-2. Kyujanggak books, as of December 1915.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>storage</th>
<th>Chinese books</th>
<th>Joseon books</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>types 部數</td>
<td>volumes 册數</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Room 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Room 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Room 3</td>
<td>2,467</td>
<td>18,041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Room 4</td>
<td>4,014</td>
<td>63,886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Room 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Room 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special room</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sub-Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>types 部數: 19,141</td>
<td>volumes 册數: 151,159</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reference: Joseon Governor General’s office 朝鮮總督府, 1913 Joseon chongdokbu chamsagwan bunsil gwangye seoryu 朝鮮總督府參事官分室關係書類

suggested. In 1916, in the process of creating an inventory, the existing book number system was abolished, and card numbers that were newly created to make inspection and book-searching more convenient replaced the previous book numbers. This kind of book management continued until later years. The Kyujanggak book numbers we see today are designated by the first letter of the individual books’ titles. In other words, they are determined by the letter’s pronunciation and its status in the order of the Japanese syllabary.

As a result, books with identical names were not given adjacent book numbers but distantly separated numbers, and were positioned upon different shelves or even in different stack rooms, due to being sorted not at the same time. Also the confusion that was caused by the abolishment of the existing book number system and its replacement by a new card numbering system (rearranged by the order of the Japanese syllabary), was extreme to say the least. For example, in case of Takji jeongnye 度支定例, it was designated with book numbers such as 1, 2, 71, 172, 183, 198, 1856, 2022, 2367, 2368, 3513, 4206, 7879, 9917, 11436, 11485, 11957 etc., as of the year 1917.
The authorities also rearranged the interior of the stack rooms. They placed Joseon books in rooms 1 and 2, Joseon editions of Chinese books in room 3, special items of Joseon books upon the stairway (階上) of room 4, and Chinese editions of Chinese books under the stairway (階下) of room 4, and the Uigwe manuals in rooms 5 and 6. These stack rooms were all made of wood, leaving the books highly vulnerable to fire hazard, so the authorities decided to build a new stack annex and move the books over there. (Table 3-2) shows the status of the Kyujanggak stack rooms, as of December 1915.

Also, in order to enhance convenience for borrowing, books inside the stack annex were rearranged according to their book numbers. As a result, books in each of the stack areas were positioned as we can see from (Table 3-3).

In short, Japanese authorities did not establish a long term plan and a systemic catalogue structure, and instead ordered a certain amount of
workloads to be done whenever it was necessary. Only books on the shelves were sorted, and book numbers were designated instantaneously. As we can see from the book number designation process, it was all done for their own convenience.

So the Japanese authorities’ cataloging of the books only increased confusion and chaos, with the frequent moving of the books, a sorting process without any sustainable principle, designation of temporary book numbers that had nothing to do with the Four section catalogue system (四部分類方式), and the use of the Japanese syllabary. As a result, the Joseon dynasty’s existing book cataloging system was distorted to the extreme, and ultimately rendered irrelevant.

These problems also had very much to do with the Japanese authorities’ style of allocating duties. Certain tasks, such as transfers, cataloging and number designations were allocated to various entities, and because the overall process was scheduled to be completed within a year, all those individual tasks had to proceed simultaneously, eliminating the possibility of cross-checking and consulting with each other, once and for all. Also, it should be noted that the task of creating
explications and introductions, and the task of extracting necessary materials as well coincided with the aforementioned tasks, elevating the degree of chaos to the next level. And all this mess was to complete the OP&I survey as soon as possible.

In the meantime, the Japanese authorities began the ‘introductions’ task in June 1911, even before they secured all the Kyujanggak books, because their intention was to utilize fully the Kyujanggak books as primary resources they could consult in their colonial rule of Joseon. So the Japanese authorities considered the ‘introductions’ task actually more important than the cataloging process. They established a plan to make explications and introductions for over 10,000 books before the end of 1912.

First, ‘genuine’ Joseon books were selected, and the task of creating explications and introductions (E&I) for them began. As of 1912, the creation of E&I for 360 items of the History section, 60 items of the Philosophers section, and 120 items of the Anthology section was completed. In March 1913, additional E&I for 1,121 types of material was completed. Yet in many cases the E&I was too short or brief, and because there were so many authors involved, the final collection of the E&I materials displayed a serious lack of unity. So the end result had to receive additional touches. The DoC appointed one senior staff in July 1913, and started the revision. At the time, materials in the Classics section and History section were put in charge of Jeong Man-jo 鄭萬朝, materials in the Philosophers section were put in charge of Chiba (千葉昌胤), and materials in the Anthologies section were put in charge of Jeong Byeong-jo 鄭丙朝. Preliminary results of the revision continued to be written down and translated into Japanese. Even the individual lines were polished, and E&I for the newly purchased or copied items were also created. Finally, in the end of 1914, some of the E&I went into publication. In 1917, E&I for the Joseon books were completed (for the time being), under the supervision of several Joseon figures such as Eo Yun-jeok, Jeong Byeong-jo, and Jeong Man-jo.

Also, extracting portions from chronological records including the
Annals of the Joseon dynasty proceeded quickly as well. This task was also overseen by Korean figures. Toward the end of 1913, the reigns of Kings from Taejo to Cheoljong depicted in Annals of the Joseon dynasty, Seungjeongwon Ilgi and Ilseongnok were all examined, and relevant materials were extracted from them to be organized into a list. In January 1914, other materials began to be extracted as well.

At the time, mainly extracted were the portions related to foreign relationships, territory issues, law codes, Nobi servants, taxation, legal processes (lawsuits), local administration, religion, economy and commercial transactions. Based upon such extracted materials, appendix books for the Annals of the Joseon dynasty and Ilseongnok were published in the late 1920s and early 1930s. What should be noted is the fact that these particular topics were important ones that could contribute to the ongoing OP&I survey project. We can see that the task of extracting materials from chronological records was also designed to serve the ultimate objective of surveying the old principles and institutions of Joseon.

Based upon all these results, the Japanese authorities established their policies and plans for so-called ‘cultural policies’ in the 1920s, and initiated a task of distorting practically everything in the realm of Korean history and culture. Especially in the area of history, the primary basis for the so-called ‘colonial history studies’ was founded. In the 1920s and the 30s, several publications including Joseon History 朝鮮史 and other survey reports as well literally poured out. All those materials that had been collected and accumulated over the years were used against the Korean people, in a coordinated effort determined to eliminate the very essence of the Koreans. The management project of the Kyujanggak books was part of such intentions as well. In the process, the existing library system of the Joseon dynasty was one of the first victims to be caught in the crossfire as well.

It should also be noted that, while processing both old books and governmental records, the Japanese authorities inserted the modern day governmental records in the ‘History’ section, in order to secure primary
information for the OP&I survey project. These official records had not been included in the inventory during the early 1910s, yet coming into the mid-1910s, when inventories were being created in the most concentrated fashion, it was decided to categorize such official governmental records into the 'history section'. As of 1916, the final figure number designated for a book shows 'Jo 15035.' Later in 1921, they were included in the 'History section' as 'records', but the relationship between the records themselves and the offices that generated them was already severed. The last number of the last book was 'Jo 17539', which indicates roughly 17,000 types of books were processed. And in 1934 the final book number was 'Jo 17684.' In the process, many official documents were re-clipped and refiled arbitrarily, and the original features (that showed their original conditions) were dismantled and disrupted. For example, *Takjibu gakbunon deung gongmun georaemun* 度支部各部院等公文去來文, which was processed in the years between 1921 and 1934, is composed of total of five types of document files that were all generated by different offices. They were randomly put together as a singular document file, under a title that was arbitrarily chosen.

The DoC continued to either purchase or copy books, and assimilated all the registers and document files (記録簿冊類) remaining in local offices, literally whenever they found them. As of late 1915, the number of those books amounted to 678 items in 2,539 volumes. And in August 1921, 7,000 types and 85,000 volumes of Joseon books, and 4,000 types and 80,000 volumes of Chinese books were obtained. From November 1922, the divisional chamber of the Hangmuguk's Hangmugwa office started to take care of the Kyujanggak materials.

There were still many unexamined materials, yet the authorities could not afford to scrutinize them as well, and they were only trying to take them into their collection. (Table 3-4) shows the materials that were either examined and sorted or at least collected, during the time period between 1910 and August 1921.

In the meantime, around 1910 and the annexation of Korea, the
Table 3-4 Current status of the Kyujanggak materials, 1910–1921

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Korean material</th>
<th>Chinese material</th>
<th>purchased material</th>
<th>copied material</th>
<th>donated material</th>
<th>total items/volumes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August, 1910</td>
<td>120,000</td>
<td>140,804</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August, 1914</td>
<td>18,691</td>
<td>148,089</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December, 1914</td>
<td>16,722</td>
<td>137,741</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October, 1915</td>
<td>19,877</td>
<td>153,040</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October, 1916</td>
<td>20,254</td>
<td>153,819</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May, 1917</td>
<td>21,030</td>
<td>155,944</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October, 1918</td>
<td>21,202</td>
<td>158,536</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November, 1919</td>
<td>9,413</td>
<td>156,734</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August, 1921</td>
<td>12,000</td>
<td>165,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Jungchuwon 中垣院 office, Joseon Governor General’s office (朝鮮總督府), Latter half 1930s estimated, History of the Joseon’s old practices and institutions survey 朝鮮舊慣制度調查沿革調查, Volume 2

Japanese authorities also wanted to obtain several collections including the Annals of the Joseon dynasty which was held in various storage facilities (historical archives 史庫). That was also part of the OP&I survey project.

First, the authorities widened the boundaries of books to be put under Kyujanggak’s jurisdiction. In 1907, they dictated not only the original Kyujanggak books but also books from Hongmungwan, Sigangwon and Jibokjae, and also those in historical archives to be included in the process and jurisdiction. As a result, books at the Gyeonggi archive (the royal residence at the Bukhansanseong fortress), all the materials, plates and printing types at Jangpangak 藏板閣, and books stored at the Ganghwa island’s Jeongjoksan mountain, the Taebaeksan mountain, the Odaesan
mountain, and the Jeoksangsan mountain, were all involved in the process.

The Japanese authorities conducted an extensive survey of various types of books including the Annals stored at the historical archives. Officer of the Gungnaebu office Muraue 村上龍信 examined them, and had them moved to the capital. According to a 1909 report upon the materials at the Odaesan archive, there were total of 3,610 volumes of material stored there, including 761 volumes of the ‘Annals (until the reign of King Cheoljong)’, 380 volumes of Uigwe manuals, and 2,469 volumes of other books. Some of the materials at the Jeongjoksan archive were moved to the capital, yet materials at other locations had to stay where they were, for budgetary reasons. Yet they all came under the control of Kyujianggak.

When Ool got their hands on the Kyujianggak materials with the annexation of Korea in August 1910, they initiated a separate investigation of the Annals of the Joseon dynasty. At the time, the copy that was at the Jeoksangsan archive, and 5,519 volumes of other books were released to the custody of the Joseon royal family. After DoC inherited and took over all the projects of Ool, they established a plan to ‘process’ the materials at the Taebaeksan and Odaesan archives as well. Then a professor and a scholar of East Asian history named Shiratori 自鳥庫吉 at the Tokyo Imperial University, made a request to Joseon Governor General Terauchi 寺内正毅, asking for the ‘transfer’ of the Annals. His request was granted in October 1914. Terauchi must have approved the request in consideration of the fact that Tokyo Imperial University had an institute dedicated to historical compilation, and that leading historians in the area of Imperial historical studies were grouped there. Why would Professor Shiratori, being one of those historians,

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12 Among them, the survey report of the collection that had been stored at the Odaesan archive (of historical materials) remains. 附屬三年十月二十五日五老山資料簿費形止案, end of book (in custody of Jangseogak) ; compiled by JGGO’s DoC (朝鮮總督府 參事官館), 1914-15 Odaesan Sago Jangseo Mongnok 五老山史庫藏書目錄 (Kyusyu 26735)
13 Regarding Japan’s Tokyo Imperial University’s Institute of Historical Materials Compilation, please consult Yi Taegjin, 1994 The Dynasty’s Legacy Search for the Oc-Kyujianggak building, Jishik sancopsa, 144-145pp.
have wanted to obtain the Annals of the Joseon dynasty of the Odaesan archive? There could have been many reasons, yet it seems that he deliberately chose that particular version of the Annals, only after careful consideration of its specific merit. It was the most complete collection, and it was also a ‘proofread’ version with all the memos and notes in handwriting all over the material. Such memos and notes would allow the readers to have a glimpse at the general process of adding or rectifying the contents, and that made the Odaesan version a very important and attractive historical material in terms of process studies of the Annals’ very compilation.  

So the Japanese authorities dispatched officers of the Governor General’s office, the manager of general affairs of the Pyeongchang-gun county Okeguchi (桶口), and a hired helper named Jo Byeong-seon 趙秉顯 to the Woljeongsa temple, and had them transport 160 cases of historical records (史牒) stored at the archive (and also the Seonwonsogak chamber), to the Jumun-jin port of Gangneung-gun, where the materials

were shipped out to be transferred to Tokyo Imperial University in November 1913. Quite aroused by this event, the Kyoto Imperial University staff as well expressed their desire to receive a donation too, threatening the other remaining versions of the Annals in Korea. Yet, to the DoC the OP&I survey project was still the top priority, and likely because of that no more Annals were to be shipped out of the country. But quite tragically, the Annals that were taken to Tokyo University were incinerated and lost during the Kanto Earthquake catastrophe of 1923. Only 73 volumes that were signed out to the research lab were spared from elimination. Twenty-seven of them were later returned to Korea, and put under custody of the Gyeongseong Imperial university in 1932. The reason they were returned to the Korean people is not clear, but it seems to have had something to do with the fact that the university was at the time collating the Odaesan material with the materials from
Taebaeksan and Jeongjoksan. These 27 volumes, final survivors of the Odae-san Annals were registered on May 28th, 1932. The remaining 46 volumes which were still in custody of Tokyo University, included 29 volumes of King Jungjong’s period, 8 volumes of King Seonjo’s period, and 9 volumes of King Seongjong’s period.

3. The Gyeongseong Imperial University Library’s management of the Kyujanggak documents

During the latter half of the 1920s, the Hangmuguk office decided to move the Kyujanggak materials from the stack facility inside the Jongchinbu office (located in the capital city’s Sogyeok-dong area) to the library of the Gyeongseong Imperial University. The transfer took a total of three trips, which began in 1928, and was completed on November 29th, 1930. To facilitate the move, the Hangmuguk office and the university’s library jointly created a book-transfer list. On the first trip (1928. 10. 29), 2,074 items, 9,551 volumes of Joseon books were moved. On the second trip (1930. 5. 28), 1,086 items, 15,970 volumes of Chinese books were moved. And on the third trip (1930. 10. 29), documents such as Bibeonsa deungnok and other yet to be examined materials (total of 13,471 types, 136,638 volumes) were moved. In the end, a total of 151,510 volumes were taken from the Jongchinbu stack facility and found a new home in the university’s library. In the midst of all this activity, the Second stack facility, built of concrete, was completed in June 1930. The spacial arrangements inside the University’s library are shown in (photo 3-5).

16 Thanks to the efforts of SNU and citizen organizations, they were returned to SNU’s Kyujanggak in 2006.
17 Compiled by Gyeongseong Imperial university library, 1928-1930 Catalogue of books being preserved and transferred. 保管轉換引繼圖書目 volumes 1-3.
Kyujanggak materials were placed in the second floor’s G sector, adjacent to the inspection seats meant for the special items (M), and the research lab for the Department of Law and Literary studies/DLL (K) was housed in the same building. This indicates that the DLL would serve as the leading entity in studying the Kyujanggak materials and as well as everything else related to both Joseon and the East Asia. Also, at the (attached) library, unlike 1927 when only one head official (小倉進平), one librarian officer, one secretary, and two librarians were working, in 1931, one head official (大谷勝勇), one librarian officer, one secretary, four librarians and two hired clerks were working. It seems that, with the transfer of the Kyujanggak materials, additional personnel were required, and some of them may have been assigned to manage the Kyujanggak materials.

This shows that it was the Joseon Governor General’s office’s intention to provide the Gyeongseong University’s DLL professors with more convenience in their inspection of the Kyujanggak material. As

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18 During the early days of the Gyeongseong imperial university library this term ‘Special Items’ seems to have referred to the Kyujanggak books. Regarding this, please consult Seoul National University Library 1996. 50 Years of History, Seoul National University Library, 1946–1996, p.13.

we have seen from the ‘Office of Historical Materials Compilation’ at the Tokyo Imperial University, the Joseon governor general’s office wished to assign the task of dealing with all the materials needed for studies of the Joseon history to a specifically designated entity.

Furthermore, this desire was ultimately related to their intention of stable rule the already colonized Joseon. As can be see from the foundation of the Gyeongseong university itself, the Japanese authorities needed to conduct an analysis of everything Korean, from the past to present, ranging over a variety of subjects such as politics, law, economy, history, language, literature, philosophy, religion, and customs, in order to address the Koreans’ resistance which was well demonstrated through the March 1st movement. It was a grand task and mission for them which went way beyond the mere cataloging projects of materials that were conducted by either the Ool or DoC or the divisional chamber of the Hangmuguk’s Hangmugwa office. It was nothing other than the establishment of a new tradition of ‘Colonies studies’, based upon the collection of documents and also the examination of them. We can see that the DLL of the Gyeongseong Imperial university was designated to provide academic support for the Japanese authorities’ implementation of its ‘Assimilation strategy’.

The focus of their studies was not to explain the essence and developmental process of Joseon culture. Studies were focused upon determining the essence of the East Asian culture and its impact upon Joseon society. The dominant sentiment behind such studies was to “march forward with the Japanese spirit, armed with daily-developing studies (日新).” Also, in the name of “conducting Joseon studies, in terms of examination of Joseon’s relationship with both China and Japan, and therefore establishing an influential presence in the area of Eastern cultural studies,” most of the collected and published materials were the ones that contained references to Joseon’s relationship with China and

20 Joseon Governor General’s Office, 1926 “Gyeongseong Jeguk Daehak Sieopsik no Chongjanghunsu 京城帝國大學 始業式의 短祈”，Mungyongjoseon 文教の朝鮮 June 1926
First, in March 1935, the Gyeongseong Univ. DLL’s Committee of Classic Materials Translation (古典資料委員會) designated Simyang janggye 滄陽雜記 as ‘Kyujanggak Collection No.1 奎章閣叢書第一’, and published the material. Simyang janggye was a highly important document that could shed some light on the diplomatic relationships Joseon had with the declining Ming and rising Qing dynasties. Yet the material was very difficult to read because of its grass-style calligraphy, not to mention the inconvenient nature of inspection. Later the Committee of Classic Materials Translation published cast-printed versions, one volume a year, including Jeungjeong gyorinji 增正交際志 (1940), Gosa chwalyo 敕事撮要 (1941). And in 1944 the committee published Nogeoldae eonhae 老乞大解詮 as ‘Kyujanggak Collection No.2.’ The Joseon Historical Studies lab at the Gyeongseong university was in charge of this task, and it provided introductory articles for the publications as well. Fujita 藤田亮策 and Suemasu 末松保和 respectively provided introductions for the Bak tongsa eonhae 朴通事解詮 and Nogeoldae eonhae 老乞大解詮. "Table 4-5" shows us the Kyujanggak Collection that was published by the Gyeongseong university since 1935 through 1944.

21 The valuable nature of the Simyang janggye 滄陽隨筆 was commented upon in an explanatory article, which contained part of the Simyang ilgi 滄陽日記 and was published as the 9th volume of ‘Manchurian-Mongolian collection, Vol.9 (滿蒙書第七卷)’ authored by Professor Naito Konnan 内藤湖南 at the Kyoto university. This recognition of the material’s importance was derived from the argument of ‘Joseon and Manchuria as one, and indivisible (滿鮮不可分論)’ which insinuated the China’s huge and ultimately definitive influence upon the Korean peninsula. On the other hand, Professor Imanishi Ryū 今西龍 of the Gyeongseong Imperial university wanted to publish Simyang janggye 滄陽隨筆 as part of the Joseon studies series ‘Joseon Studies Collection (朝鮮學叢書). This was an attempt to place and studying Joseon history as part of the Japanese history, with the argument that ‘Japan and Joseon shared the same ancestry’(日鮮同源論). Yet Imanishi Ryū 今西龍 died rather abruptly, so the title of series was changed. Regarding this, please consult explanatory articles of Mammon seonok Jegugwon Simyang ilgi 滿蒙叢書 第九卷 滄陽日記 (Mammon chongseo Ganhaenghoe 滿蒙叢書刊行會. Tokyo, 1923) and Simyang janggye 滄陽隨筆 (Beopmunhakbu 京城帝國大學 法文學部, Gyeongseong, 1935). The relationship between Mammon chongseo and the Kyujanggak collection should be examined in terms of the relationship between Manseon sagwane 滄鮮史觀 (historical perspective based upon the aforementioned ‘滿鮮不可分論’), and the aforementioned ‘Ilseon dongjorun 日鮮同祖論’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication date / Registry number in the collection</th>
<th>Book name / Author of the Introduction</th>
<th>Publication date / Registry number in the collection</th>
<th>Book name / Author of the Introduction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1935 / No.1</td>
<td>Simyang janggye 濟陽狀啓 / Fujita Ryosaku 藤田亮策</td>
<td>1940 / No.6</td>
<td>Jeungjeong gyorinji 增正交聞志 / Fujita Ryosaku 藤田亮策</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936 / No.2</td>
<td>Daedong yeojido 大東與地圖 Daedong yeojido saekin 大東與地圖索引 (separate book)</td>
<td>1941 / No.7</td>
<td>Gosach waryo 攻事要 / Suematsu Yasakazu 末松保和</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937 / No.3</td>
<td>Pachwiheo yugo 把翠軒遺稿 Nuljae seonsaeng jip 請齋先生集 Biseongwi seonsaeng jip 批選亀先生集 / Takahasi Toru 高橋亨</td>
<td>1942 / No.8</td>
<td>Bak tongsa eonhae 朴通事譯解 / Suematsu Yasakazu 末松保和</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938 / No.4</td>
<td>Yongbi eocheonga 龍飛御天歌 上 / Fujita Ryosaku 藤田亮策</td>
<td>1944 / No.9</td>
<td>Nogeoldae eonhae 老乞大譯解 / Suematsu Yasakazu 末松保和</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939 / No.5</td>
<td>Yongbi eocheonga 龍飛御天歌 下 / Fujita Ryosaku 藤田亮策</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Seoul National University, List of materials in custody of the Old archive

The Japanese governmental scholars were particularly interested in materials related to foreign relations and linguistic studies, which was also in line of the DLL’s very purpose inside the Gyeongseong university.

The Japanese authorities also initiated photo-reproduction of the Annals of the Joseon dynasty, in order to promote related studies and also address the issue of preservation that surfaced due to the Kanto earthquake. This was ultimately deemed important to the task of “(preserving) primary sources for historical and cultural studies, and enriching the history of Japan, the history of the Chinese continent and especially the history of the nearby Manchurian people.” As discussed previously, the Japanese authorities approached all these efforts from the perspective that considered Korean history as part of Japanese or
Manchu history. So, the Gyeongseong Imperial university initiated the photo-printing process of the Mt. Taebaeksan collection of the Annals. They started in November 1929, and completed the task in March 1933. The number of volumes that were processed was over 800, and the number of entries amounted to more than 120,000. The cost of publication turned out to be 120,000 Korean weon, and a total of 20 editions were published (which meant the cost of each edition was 6,000 won). Only a limited number of copies were distributed, to a handful of institutes such as the Gyeongseong Imperial university, the Joseon Governor General’s official library, and Tokyo Imperial University, etc. A person named Yi Jae-ryang 李載亮, who served as an official in the late Daehan imperial government, was most frustrated by the fact that no Joseon civilian school could have one of these precious versions of the Annals, so he donated 6,000 Weon to the Yeonhi Special School in June 1930 and had the school purchase an edition, and then donated it to the Boseong Special school in March 1935.

Subsequently the Japanese authorities began to examine and process the Annals of the Joseon dynasty. First, Professor Suematsu 杉本 (末松保利) of Gyeongseong university’s DLL compiled in 1941 the *Joseon yeokdae sillok illam* 朝鮮歷代實錄一覧, in order to provide researchers with viewing convenience. Twenty-nine types (sections) for 25 reigns were included here (the “Gwanghaegun Ilgi 光海君日記” came from the Jeongjoksan collection). Indication of the reign, order of contents of the photo-copied version, volume number, year, month, date (indicated in Chinese sexagenary cycle), indication of the first entry of the month in indicated with the page number and register, the period title of the Chinese Ming (明) dynasty and the year in that period, the period title of Japan and the

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25 Suematsu Yasukazu 末松保利, 1941 *Joseon yeokdae sillok illam* 朝鮮歷代實錄一覧, Gyeongseong Imperial University, attached library.
year in that period, and Japanese consecutive chronology were all indicated. In the supplement, ‘Joseon Annals’ Volumes Indicator Table (朝鮮歷代實錄冊卷一覽表)’ and a Ganji table (干支表) were added. The Gyeongseoong university library’s later plans were to publish Annals-related studies.

The Japanese authorities’ intentions were also very political. They sought to use these studies to facilitate the promotion of their own agenda, the rule of colonized Joseon, so access to the Kyujanggak materials for inspection and examination was limited only to Japanese governmental scholars who monopolized the studying of the Joseon culture. Previously, such materials had also been accessible by some of the Joseon people, but after they were moved to the GIU-L (Gyeongseoong Imperial university library) the general atmosphere was such that they would no longer be made available to the Joseon people, under the guise of ‘protecting the materials’. So the frustrated Joseon people started to voice their concerns. Newspapers like Joseon ilbo warned that the Kyujanggak materials could be damaged or incinerated in fire, just like the Odaesan Annals, and such limited accessibility to the material would seriously hinder the renaissance of Joseon studies and not to mention significantly discourage the aspirations of the Joseon students. They believed that ‘academic monopoly’ was in progress. The Joseon royal family was also worried, and expressed their concerns. At the time the Joseon people considered Kyujanggak as the ‘Treasury of Joseon studies’ and ‘Resources for East Asian academic studies.’ Also, they were hoping that opening up the Kyujanggak materials would provide the study of Joseon culture with much needed encouragement and convenience.

Before long, the Koreans’ concerns indeed became a reality. Civilian scholars who had earlier managed to examine them with ‘special permissions’ (such as those from the Hakmu-guk office) were no longer

allowed to examine them.27

So, in order to alleviate the frustration and displeasure of the Korean people, the Japanese authorities, in commemoration of the 7th anniversary of the University’s opening, opened up the facility on May 2nd, 1931, from 1:00 PM to 4:00 PM. Mostly historical records were displayed, both Joseon works and Chinese works.28 For the former, Samguk sagi, Samguksa jeolyo, Goryeosa, Goryeosa jeolyo, King Taejo’s Annals, Simyang janggye, Myeongseong hwanghu gukjang dogam uigwe, Daegu buhojeok, Gyeongsang-do jiriji, Gyeongguk daejeon, Ilbon munbuseong sichalgi, Yangchonjip, Beobhwagyeyeong, and total of 133 types of history records, Uigwe manuals, census registers, regional chronicles, law codes, modern inspection reports, and Buddhist scriptures were all exhibited. As for the latter, 21 types of materials such as Juyeok gyeomui 周易兼義, Huhanseo 後漢書, Namsa 南史 were exhibited. On October 3rd and 4th the same year, GIU-L arranged an exhibition of Joseon dynasty’s printing types (printed editions).29

However, the Japanese authorities’ efforts at processing and publishing the Kyujanggak materials were not much welcomed by the Korean people. The Koreans were actually very critical of the course of actions undertaken by the Japanese. Joseon ilbo reported that in the morning edition of the January 21st, 1939 issue, under the title of ‘The homeless Kyujanggak materials’, and criticised the GIU-L’s management of the Kyujanggak materials.

28 Gyeongseong Imperial University, attached library (京城帝國大學 附屬圖書館), 1931 Gaehak chiljumyeon gineyom Godoseo jeonsigwan mongnok 開學7周年記念 古國書展覧目録; Gyeongseongilbo 京城日報 October 3rd, 1931.
29 Gyeongseong Imperial University, attached library (京城帝國大學 附屬圖書館), Joseon hwalja insane jaryo jeomsu jambijasa jaryo 朝鮮活字印刷資料展示準備調査資料 (Gyu 年 26793); Joseon ilbo 朝鮮日報 October 2nd, 1931.
It was only 9 years ago, in the 5th year of the Showa era, that the valuable Kyujanggak collection of books, the collection of more than 130,000 books that had been preserved deeply inside the Joseon dynasty’s royal palace for the past five hundred years, were moved by the Joseon Governor General office to the Gyeongseong Imperial university. Yet before even a decade has passed from that incident, invaluable books are (once again) being pushed aside in favor of the more recently published books that have practically nothing to offer in academic terms, and that is just because the facility would not afford 40,000 weon to renovate itself. Worst of all, the collection has even been moved out of its own rightful place, and now is stuck in a small corner which is equipped with no fire-proof system whatsoever. This is a startling thing for anyone hearing such news.

At the time, the Joseon people, while worried about the GIU’s possession of the Kyujanggak materials, were hoping that the materials, in custody of this modern-style library of the number-one academic facility in Joseon, would be accessible to the scholars engaged in relevant areas of scholarship. Yet reflecting the reality of a colonized country, the Kyujanggak materials were forced to make way for other newly published materials, and were eventually stored in the security guard’s office (although the library put out a statement that it was only a temporary positioning, and that they were not being negligent in the management at all, and that the library would do everything in their power to preserve the material). 30

Yet we can clearly see that the Japanese authorities considered newly published books to be more important than the Kyujanggak materials. Such mistreatment served as well as an indicator of the very hollow nature of the authorities’ so-called ‘cultural policies’. To them, the processing of Kyujanggak materials was only part of the OP&I Survey project, nothing more. To them, these materials were not the legacy of

Korean culture and part of the world cultural heritage. Rather, they were only the cultural remnants of a colonized dynasty which had fallen to become a second-rate country. In that regard, they could not have cared less. That was the nature of their so-called ‘cultural policy’ for a colonized country. And the task of examining and dealing with Kyujanggak materials in a proper manner, and rebuilding the country’s spirit and culture, was left to the Korean people.

Was the liberation of August 1945 really a turning point for the Korean people that enabled us to rebuild our very own culture? Unfortunately, it was only an indicator that the future of academic and cultural studies would be a bumpy one at best. Maeil sinbo reported in its October 14th, 1945 issue, about the ordeals that the Kyujanggak materials were currently undergoing.

The chairperson of the Autonomous committee of the Gyeongseong Imperial University’s College of Law and Literature, Yi Myeong-seon, commented upon the incident that involved the college’s Kyujanggak Library books (in which several books were stolen), as follows. “The Kyujanggak library, at the Gyeongseong Imperial university’s College of Law and Literature, one of the leading cultural heritages of the Korean people which represents the proud culture of the Koreans’ five thousand years of history, were placed under custody of the U.S. troops, which came to Joseon to assist the complete liberation and independence of Joseon. Yet in the meantime, one of the committee members witnessed the collection being tampered with, and warned the U.S. military government more than one or two times. Later, five volumes from the collection were spotted in a bookstore, and were repurchased back into the collection. From my point of view, such an occurrence should never be allowed to happen again. I requested and was therefore granted an authorization to enter the East Chamber. Entering the chamber, many of the national treasure-level books that were to be found only here, and many of the newspaper materials that have been preserved here for future research as well, were all either burnt or gone, due to the deeds of inconsiderate and flat-out bad people. A detailed
survey of the damages sustained is underway. Cataloging the entire collection, considering its current status of mess, would take months. It is better late than never, that the collection is now under constant monitoring and care.

This kind of theft is unbecoming of the American troops, the U.S. citizens, the most enlightened people in the world. It is indeed frustrating that such incidents did occur due to the incomplete care and careless management, even when we were promised that the collection was in good hands. All the more, the Koreans aiding the American troops should be well aware of the invaluable nature of this collection, yet they failed to alert and inform them that the collection should be preserved more thoroughly. It is quite annoying that they did not do that, and eventually let all the important materials vanish like this, like garbage. And to the entire public, I urge that in case anyone finds even a single volume that could have come from the Kyujanggak collection, would return it to us, so that they could be used in historical studies and placed for future preservation. We eagerly await any kind of report.”

The military occupation by U.S. and U.S.S.R. forces in both parts of the Korean peninsula that immediately followed the liberation, and the setbacks that occurred in the rebuilding efforts of the Korean culture, was only foretelling that the future was to be a bumpy one, and was only warning that such efforts should be doubled and tripled. The academic society had to secure support and interest of the government and the people, to rebuild the crippled Korean culture, and SNU’s Kyujanggak had to come up with ways to preserve the Koreans’ cultural legacy of producing and keeping written documents.

Kim Tae-woong Prof. Seoul National University
Changes and Development
Kyujanggak has gone through since 1945
1. The Korean war, and the ordeals for the Kyujanggak books

After the liberation on August 15th 1945, Gyeongseong Imperial University was transformed into ‘Gyeongseong University’ on October 16th the same year. And the building that housed the attached library, and all the books inside it, were handed over to the Korean staff. In the process, a total of 151,519 volumes of books that had come to the Gyeongseong Imperial university from the Joseon Governor General office in 1928–1930, came under the Koreans’ custody as well. In August 1946, according to the ‘Order Establishing National Universities,’ Gyeongseong University was transformed into ‘Seoul National University’, and the official title of the library was changed into ‘Central Library of SNU’ (‘SNU library’ from now on). From then on, the SNU library was put in charge of taking care of all the Kyujanggak materials. Yet, systematic management and inspection of the materials remained a task with only a low-level priority, in the wake of all the fierce ideological strife that continued during the U.S. Military
government period and the foundation phase of the Korean governments. Contributing to the situation as well, was the extreme political turmoil that ensued, the public’s rather startling indifference to one of the proudest cultural heritages of Korean history, not to mention shortage of manpower and funding.

On June 25th, 1950, when the Korean War broke out, the Kyujanggak books were again put in grave danger. The war took everyone by surprise, and the SNU library did not have any contingency plans for such all-out warfare. It had no working plans for the protection of all the books in custody, so when the North Korean troops occupied the Seoul area for the first time, personnel of the library had to evacuate, leaving all the books, including several national treasures, behind. At the time, some of the books were damaged, and the Annals of the Joseon dynasty 朝鮮王朝實錄, which had been stored at the Jeoksansan archive 赤裳山史庫 and later transferred to the Jangseoogak facility inside the Changgyeonggung palace, were taken to the North by North Korean troops, but thanks to the efforts of the library staff who could not evacuate, the national treasures inside Kyujanggak were preserved.31

Seoul was reclaimed by South Korean troops on September 28th, 1950, yet North Korean troops approached Seoul once again in winter of the same year. This time the valuable materials inside the Kyujanggak collection were wrapped up and transported to another location. The evacuation was described in a confirmation report that a person named Baek Rin 白鱉, who was a SNU library staff member at the time, sent to the Revolution’s senior prosecutor on January 25th, 1962.

According to Baek Rin’s confirmation report, on December 10th, 1950, at the order of the Director of the Library Professor Yi Byeong-do 31 Jang Ji-tae, who served as the first librarian officer of the SNU library after the ROK government’s foundation, was not able to evacuate due to his old age. Yet he witnessed a North Korean soldier cutting a book, which was volume 1 of the Seungjeongwon (儀) (which contained records of the September entry of King Yeongjo’s 38th year) into pieces. After the soldier left, he then risked his life to collect all the pieces, and restored the book to its original state, and returned it to the library, after the Seoul area was reclaimed by South Korean troops. [50 years of history of the Seoul National University (1996, SNU Press) p.23].
李丙薰, the first convoy, guarding 3,045 volumes of the *Seungjeongwon ilgi* 承政院日記, left for Busan. One week later, on December 17th, they were stored on the fourth floor of the Busan Gwanjaecho 管財處 (Office of Property Management, in Busan's Gwangbok-dong) storage facility, with books that came from other institutes as well, such as the National Museum, Folklore Museum, Deoksugung Museum, and the National Library. Then a second convoy was launched, on December 22th. Professor Kim Du-jong 金斗鍾, who was the director of the SNU Hospital, took charge of moving 1,188 volumes of the Jeongjoksan *Annals* (鼎足山史庫本) and 2,329 volumes of *Ilseonglok 日省錄* as well to Busan. However at this time, there was no space left inside the Gwanjaecho facility, so the books had to be stored elsewhere, and were placed in the lower decks of the Gyeongnam Daehan Buinhoe (Korean Women’s Association of Gyeongsangnam-do Province in Busan Daegyo-dong) storage house. And finally, the third convoy was launched under the supervision of Mr. Ho Gi-hyeon 崔基顯, who was the librarian of the SNU College of Law, on December 28th. 864 volumes of the TaebaekSAN *Annals* (大白山史庫本) and 273 volumes of *Bibyeonsa deunglok* 個逸司陵錄 as well were moved to Busan and stored at the same place where the 2nd convoy had ended up. Then, on January 23rd, 1951, the Gwanjaecho store house’s *Seungjeongwon ilgi* (of the 1st convoy) were moved to Store House No.2 of the Accounting Office of the Dept. of Internal Management at the Gyeongsangnam-do Provincial building, and 2nd and 3rd convoy materials were moved to there as well. The status of evacuation of all books can be broken down to the figures featured in the table below.

As we can see, the books of Kyujanggak at the level of National treasures were all safely relocated to the Busan area. And other valuable materials of the SNU library, either of Eastern or Western origin, were also moved to Busan in December 1950, along with artifacts of the National museum as well, to be stored at the Gyeongsangnam-do Provincial building (according to the testimony of Dr. Kim Won-ryong 金元隆, who was serving as the Research Leader at the National Museum of Korea),
Table 4-1 Status of the Kyujanggak collection’s evacuation, during the Korean war

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>date</th>
<th>evacrated books</th>
<th>personnel in charge</th>
<th>evac. location</th>
<th>reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st envoy</td>
<td>12.10–12.17 <em>Seungjeongwon ilgi</em> (3,045 volumes)</td>
<td>Yi Byeong-do (Library director)</td>
<td>storehouse Busan, Gwanjaecho office</td>
<td>(at Gwangbok-dong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd envoy</td>
<td>12.22 <em>Annals of the Joseon dynasty: Jeongjoksan collection</em> (1,188 volumes);</td>
<td>Gim Du-jong (Head, SNU Hospital)</td>
<td>storehouse, ‘Gyeongnam’ Korean</td>
<td>all moved to the stack house of Gyeongnam Provincial building in January</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Ilseongnak</em> (2,329 volumes)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Women’s Association (at Daegyo-dong)</td>
<td>1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd envoy</td>
<td>12.28 <em>Annals of the Joseon dynasty: Taebaeksan collection</em> (864 volumes);</td>
<td>Ho Gi-hyeon (Librarian, College of Law)</td>
<td>same as above</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Bibyeonsa deungnak</em> (273 volumes)</td>
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Yet many other books that were not evacuated had to stay at Kyujanggak and the SNU library, and remained there unattended and unmanaged, until a cease-fire was established in July 1953, and the government returned to Seoul in August the same year.

In the meantime, on July 25th 1953, two days before the cease-fire came into effect, the family of late Professor Ilsa Bang Jong-hyeon 方錚鉉 (1905–1952), graciously donated the professor’s own collection of more than 5,500 volumes of 2,200 items to the SNU library. This collection was entitled the ‘Ilsa Mungo (일사 문고: collection of Ilsa’s books), after the pen name of the professor. Among them, rare books in particular were catalogued separately, and were incorporated into the Kyujanggak collection in 1975.

In July 1953, the cease-fire treaty was established. The government returned to Seoul in the next month, and the SNU library also returned to Seoul on September 16th. The authority’s subsequent inspections revealed that the library’s books, including those of Kyujanggak as well, had sustained heavy damage during the war. The accounts of Professor Min Yeong-gyu 閔泳珪, who was the director of the Yonsei University library and who visited SNU to inspect the condition of the Yonsei
University books which were with the SNU library books, well indicate the damaged condition of the Kyujanggak books.

The stacks are empty, and the Kyujanggak books are carelessly piled up like some old rice bags in this barren store. It was truly an odd scene to witness. Rare books piled up everywhere like stones and garbage, up to the ceiling. Librarian Baek Rin was digging them up one by one, which were covered with black dust. It was like a miner digging coal in a mine.32

The horrific situation the Kyujanggak books had to endure vividly illustrates the situation of the SNU library at the time. Library personnel returned to Seoul, only to see those books lying around literally everywhere. There were only 9 staff members reporting for duty, and they had to put all the books—700,000 plus volumes—back upon the shelves, and deal with the book cards again. They worked around the clock, and with their efforts and their devotion, the library was reopened on December 1st, 1953. On June 18th the next year (1954), the Kyujanggak books that were moved to Busan returned as well. The task of restoring those books into custody and inspecting them all, began on June 26th and was completed on July 10th.

2. Reconstruction of the SNU library, and inspecting and managing the Kyujanggak books

After the Korean war, SNU promoted many projects in order to reconstruct the library that had been devastated by the war. The University received much assistance from both inside and outside the country, especially from the Americans. They provided the Koreans with much help, in terms of both financial support and human resource

availability, through the Korea-America Foundation, and the ‘Minnesota Project’. The close relationship between the SNU library and the U.S. led to the arrangement of the ‘Exhibition of Rare books, in celebration of the 8th anniversary of the SNU foundation, and the 200th anniversary of the Columbia University’s foundation’, on the anniversary day of SNU’s foundation, in 1954.

This exhibition, which displayed age-old books that were in custody of Kyujanggak, was the first ever exhibition arranged by the SNU library, and was the first display of Kyujanggak books in nearly 20 years, since an exhibition was held by the Gyeongseong Imperial University Library in 1936.

The most important priority in the SNU library’s Reconstruction projects was to restore to the collection all the materials that were scattered around the country. One of the most important tasks that involved the Kyujanggak books was actually the processing of rare manuscripts. At the time, there were more than 52,000 pages of rare manuscripts in custody of the SNU library. Contents of those documents involved a variety of topics, from issues related to the palaces, offices, religious temples, Confucian academies (Seowon) of the Joseon dynasty, to all kinds of documents exchanged between civilian houses and private individuals as well. They turned out to be part of the most vital materials in historical studies of the Joseon period’s politics, legal system, economy and social institutions. Yet they remained unattended for a long time. Primary inspection and management took place in the 1958~1959 season. At the time, documents that were related to each other to a certain degree in terms of topics were put inside the same envelope. It was done in such a rudimentary fashion, quite differently from the

33 The ‘Minnesota project’ was a joint project launched on September 28th, 1954 and promoted by the FOA of America and the University of Minnesota. Through this project, a total of $10,430,000 (including $1,400,000 for purchasing new books) was provided to the SNU library from 1955 through 1961. Also, Harald Ostvold, a university library expert dispatched to SNU for the project served as a consultant for the Korean SNU library director, and took charge of educating the staff with categorization systems, registers, and other issues of management of the library.[50 years of History, Seoul National University Library (1996, SNU Press), p.30].
management projects of the 1960s and 70s.

In the 1960s, the SNU library newly established its institutions and internal structure. On April 15th 1961, the posts of librarians (司書) were established according to the Order of Appointing Civil Servants (Order of Gungmuwon No.204). On May 4th, the Order of Establishing National Schools was partially amended (Order of Gungmuwon No.254), and according to the amendments, the institution and official functions of the SNU library were legally established for the first time. At this time, the Kyujanggak books were put under the jurisdiction of the Rare Books Desk (古書係) of the Office of the Librarian (司書課).

With the establishment of the library’s institution and internal structure, internal regulations as well as several committees were established to facilitate the promotion of library affairs. On September 29th 1961, the existing regulations were all abandoned, and the ‘SNU Central Library Regulations’ (Seodaechong, No.1782) were newly enacted and implemented. And in November 1962, the ‘Kyujanggak Books Committee’ was launched. The Committee was designed to discuss how the National treasure-level Kyujanggak books in custody of the SNU library should be managed, preserved and utilized, and it was also expected to provide the university head with necessary counsel. The committee was placed under the jurisdiction of the University President. The Library Director was named chairperson of the committee, and people recommended by the Library Director and approved by the university head, were named as committee members.

In the committee’s first meeting, held on February 6th, 1963, the ‘Standing Committee for Kyujanggak Books’ was organized. The standing committee discussed and passed the ‘Internal Regulations for

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34 At the time, according to the amendment of the Order of Establishing National Schools, three offices, General Management, Librarian, and Inspection, were established inside the SNU library. Desks of General Affairs and of Accounting were placed inside the General Management Office, while desks of Reception, Management and Rare Books were placed in the Librarian Office. And desks of Book Circulation, Book Custody and References were placed in the Inspection Office.
Kyujanggak Books Designation’, over the course of three separate meetings held in February the same year. Article 1 of this regulation dictated that ‘The books that were transferred from the Joseon Governor General’s office’s Hangmugwa office to the Gyeongseong Imperial University, and now in custody of this library, are to be designated as Kyujanggak books’, establishing the definition of the ‘Kyujanggak books’ for the first time.

In the meantime, in August 1963, the family of the late Yi Byeong-gi 李秉岐 (1891–1968) donated the professor’s personal collection of 4,300 volumes of 1,405 items (冊) to the library. This collection was labelled ‘Garam Collection’ after the professor’s pen name, and among them rare books were specifically selected from among the rest of the books and were established as part of the Kyujanggak collection in 1975.

From 1963, the SNU library, funded by the Yenching Research Institute of Harvard University, embarked upon the Management Project of the Kyujanggak books. The very first task that was initiated was the creation of a catalogue for all the books. For a start, cataloging of the Korean books proceeded, and resulted in several lists for inspection, such as the authors list and the book titles list, and also a management list for the librarians. And in 1964 a copy of List of Korean books in the Anthology section of Kyujanggak was issued, which was followed by other lists of books inside other sections (冊). In 1965, the sum of all of them, the Comprehensive List of Korean books in Kyujanggak was finally established.

Next come the Chinese books, a task that started in January 1965. Cataloging was completed in December 1967, and in 1972 Comprehensive List of Chinese books in Kyujanggak was published. In May 1966, List of Authors of the Rare Books inside the Ilsa and Garam Mungo (Ilsa・Garam mungo Goseo jeoja mongnok 一囊・Garam文庫 古書著者 目錄), a selection of 2,554 volumes (of 1,033 items) of valuable rare books from the Ilsa collection, and 1,606 volumes (of 707 items) of books with the same quality from the Garam collection, was published.

In 1964–1966, the manuscript materials held by Kyujanggak were
processed as well. They had already been processed once in 1958–1959, and in 1964, they went through the process again with the cooperation of the Donga Cultural Research Institute (東亞文化研究所). From September 1st, 1964 through May 31st, 1965, 27,616 sheets out of roughly 52,000 were processed, and later, through 1966 the remaining 30,000 sheets were processed as well. Later in 1969–1970, the task of preparing introductions and explications for the documents that originated in the final days of the Joseon dynasty and the Daehan Empire (1,154 items) were initiated (resumed).

In July 1965, according to the Amendment of the Order of Establishing National Schools (Presidential order, No.2171), the Office of Research (composed of the Desk for Humanities & Social Sciences, and the Desk for Natural Sciences) was newly opened at the SNU library. Among them, the desk for Humanities & Social Sciences was primarily in charge of managing, processing and publishing the Kyujanggak books and materials. In 1967, in order to produce photocopied publications for all the rare books in custody of Kyujanggak, the ‘Committee of Classics Publication, of the SNU Academic Research Foundation’ was launched (with the library director as chairperson), as part of plans to publish and process the Kyujanggak books. With such efforts, rare books in Kyujanggak, such as Cheonjianggwan jeonseo 靑莊館全書, Takiji 度支志, and Ilseongnok 日省錄 (Gojong era, 5 volumes), were all photocopied, published and distributed to the public.

In June 1971, the family of the late professor Yi Sang-baek 李相伯 (1904–1966) donated 7,645 volumes of books that the professor had owned to the library. These books were labelled as ‘Sangbaek Collection (想白文庫)’ after his pen name, and valuable rare books were put inside Kyujanggak collection, alongside those from the Ilisa and Garam collections, in 1975.

In 1973, most valuable items in the custody of Kyujanggak were designated as National treasures. First, on July 10th 1973, Sipchilsachan gogeum tongyo 十七史纂古今通要 (1 volume, National Treasure No.148) and Songjo pyojeon chongnyu 宋朝表散總類 (1 volume, National Treasure
No.150) were designated as such, and on December 30th the same year, the Annals of the Joseon dynasty (1,276 volumes, National Treasure No.151-1 - 3), Bibyeonsa deungnok (273 volumes, National Treasure No.152), Ilseongnok (2,329 volumes, National Treasure No.153) were designated as well.

In 1974, the task of securing the plates (冊板) that had been in custody of the Gyeoseogwan office during the Joseon dynasty period and later stored at the Gyeongbokgung palace, began. SNU library had been making preparations to retrieve them since 1971, and in May 1974 the library commenced a survey of the 17,637 Gyeoseogwan plates which were stored at the four stack rooms (字庫) of Cheon 天 (heaven) · Ji 地 (earth) · Hyeon 玄 (black) · Hwang 黃 (yellow) inside the corridors of the Gyeongbok-gung palace’s Geunjeongjeon structure. After 1975 when SNU moved to the Gwanak campus, these plates were finally retrieved by the SNU library.
In 1975, when SNU moved to the Gwanak campus, the library went through organizational modifications, and in the process the ‘Management Center for Kyujanggak Books’, which was in charge of preserving, processing and managing all the Kyujanggak books, was newly opened. This new center had numerous internal offices that respectively took charge of various tasks, such as surveying the materials, preparing introductions for them, or managing and storing and preparing them for public usages and inspection. The center was led by professors of SNU. This center also had desks for management, survey and processing. After this new center was opened, a separate budget was earmarked by the government for its operations, namely the management tasks of the Kyujanggak books. Such support paved the way for more the systemic tasks of processing and studying the Kyujanggak books.

The Kyujanggak books were stored on the first and second floors of the SNU library building (Bd. No.62), and the storage rooms were equipped with automatic fire suppressant systems using carbon dioxide gas, and also other necessary instruments and devices for the preservation of valuable rare books. With the completion of the transfer of the Kyujanggak books and subsequent processing of them, a room for visitors (the reading room) who would come to read and inspect the Kyujanggak books was established on the first floor of the central library in June 1975. Visitors were allowed to request Kyujanggak books (including the rare ones) at the counter, and read or copy them. In March 1978, the ‘Room for Korean Studies Materials’ was opened, inside the reading room. More than 2,300 items, including photocopies of rare books and documents, translations of major classics, a general collection of books related to Korean studies, papers, dissertations and journals published in the area of Korean studies, newspaper materials from the closing days of the Joseon dynasty and the Daehan empire, copies of
materials that are only in custody of Kyujanggak, were placed in this ‘Material room’ to be read and consulted on open shelves.

After the opening of this center, surveys, preparations for introductions and other kinds of processing tasks continued in a systematic fashion. Following the level one processing of the Kyujanggak books that was conducted in 1963–1973, level two initiated in 1973, and the primary task that went forward in this period was preparing individual introductory texts for the Kyujanggak materials.

This task of preparing individual introductions for the materials in custody, first started in the area of Korean books. Kyujanggak books had been split into 4 major categories, namely Classics (經) · History (史) · Philosophers (子) · Anthologies (集). Scholars of Korean studies in and out of the country were summoned to select items (in their own individual areas of expertise), and were requested that they prepare introductory materials (based upon their own fields of major interest) for the individual items in custody of Kyujanggak. From May 1978, results of those efforts began to be published. In December 1978, Introduction to Korean books in Kyujanggak: The Classics section and the Philosophers section was published, and it was followed every year by new volumes. Up until 1984, one volume for the books in the Classics and Philosophers sections, two volumes for the books in the Anthologies section, and four volumes for the books in the History section were published. In 1987 a comprehensive index for all of them was also published, bringing a bookend to the phase one task of preparing introductory materials for Kyujanggak items. A total of 13,362 types of Kyujanggak materials received introductions at this point. These introductory books provided readers with basic information on the Kyujanggak books, and contributed to enhancing the materials’ accessibility to the public and the scholars.

From 1978, the rare manuscripts, which had already once been processed in 1964–1966, started to be processed again. The task proceeded in two directions, the task of creating document cards which would contain basic information of the contents of those documents, and
the task of transcribing the contents in standard writing style (楷書) instead of the Grass-form writing style (草書). Publication of the results began in 1986, in the form of a regular bulletin entitled Gomunseo 古文書 (Rare documents).

In Gomunseo, all the contents of the rare documents are provided in the standard writing style so that scholars not well versed in grass-form writing style can apprehend the material with no undue difficulties, and the contents are proofread several times so that there will be no errors that might occur in the 'Talcho' (interpreting characters written in Choseo-style calligraphy) process if not proofread. Also, the exact features of the original format of the documents are preserved and featured, and bibliographical information is presented as well. The table of contents is displayed with information regarding who created the document, who was the recipient, and when it was created, in order to enhance the level of user-convenience. The bulletin started to be issued in 1986, and as of the end of 2008, Vol. 33 has been published.

In the 1980s, revision of the catalogues of the Kyujanggak books commenced. The first target of this task was the catalogue of Korean books, and the revised version (two volumes) was published in 1981 (Kyujanggak doseo Hangukbon jonghap mongnok 奎章閣圖書韓國本綜合目錄). In this new catalogue, the list of books that were originally catalogued in 1965, a list of books that were not included in 1965, and the list for other rare books (113,820 volumes) that were collected after the liberation were all included, with necessary bibliographical information presented as well. Of course, revision of the Chinese books catalogue ensued as well, and the result was published in 1982, in the form of a single volume. In this catalogue, a list of books that were either included or not included in the 1972 original, total of 73,406 volumes (the entirety of the Chinese collection in custody of Kyujanggak), are catalogued, and as a supplementary attachment, a list of Japanese and Western books, and index for all the book titles and the names of entities who served as either authors or compilers for such publications, are presented in this new catalogue as well.
In 1982, the task of selecting important materials from the Kyujanggak collection and photocopying and not to mention publishing them all began. The first item to be reproduced was none other than the *Ilseongnok* 日省錄 (Daily Memoirs). *Ilseongnok* began as a diary that Jeongjo wrote from his days as the Crown Prince. He maintained his habit of keeping a diary even after he ascended to the throne. Kyujanggak was put in charge of compiling them, and the entire practice continued until the very end of the Joseon dynasty. The entries in entirety cover one hundred and fifty years of history, from 1760 through 1910. It is composed of 2,329 volumes, and the task of photocopying and publishing them continued for 15 years. In 1996, 86 volumes of photocopied version of the material were finally published.

In August 1990, the late CEO of the Geumho Group Mr. Bak Seong-yong 朴晟容 donated five hundred million won under the title of ‘Geumho Fund for Korean Studies (錦湖國學研究基金)’. Kyujanggak used this funding to select important materials particularly necessary for Korean studies, and later published photocopied versions of them. In 1991, Kyujanggak also started publication of ‘Kyujanggak Collection of Materials: The Geumho 錦湖 Series’, and continues to publish new volumes of the series.  

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35 The title Geumho 錦湖 Series is meant to highlight and honor the donation of CEO Park. From 1991 and up until 2008, total of 104 volumes of books were published as part of the ‘Kyujanggak Collection of Materials: The Geumho Series.’ From 1991 and until 2004, materials related to the Korean history of foreign relations and the Korean modern history were published, and from 1994 and through 1996, the Uigwe materials that were in custody of Kyujanggak were selected and published as well (The project of publishing Uigwe materials were transformed into ‘Kyujanggak Collection of Materials: The Uigwe series’ in 1997). From 2005, the ‘Kyujanggak Collection of materials: the geographical materials’ is being published as part of the Geumho Series.
After the Management center for Kyujanggak books was opened, some of the SNU library books were transferred, to become part of the Kyujanggak collection. In February 1975, the rare books that had been purchased by the SNU library after the liberation of 1945, valuable rare books from the Ilsa, Garam and Sangbaek collections, and the books that were in custody of the former Economy Research Institute [The Economy Collection (經濟文庫)], were transferred to the custody of Kyujanggak. Additionally, as mentioned above, the Gyeongbokgung palace’s Gyoseogwan printing plates were transferred to SNU library and became part of the Kyujanggak collection as well. In 1979, 1,200 items of age-old documents were newly purchased. In December 1985, 1,486 items of age-old documents were newly registered. In 1988 and 1989 respectively, a total of 1,795 items and 520 items of ancient documents were additionally purchased. As a result, the number of Kyujanggak books and materials that were to be managed and preserved by the ‘center’, significantly increased.

In May 1984, among the Kyujanggak books, a total of 19 volumes of 5 types of material, including Daebuljeong yeorae mirin sujeung youi jebosal manhaeng suneungeomyeong 大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經 (two types), Moguja susimgyeol 牧牛子修心訣, Banyabaramilda singyeong yakso 般若波羅蜜多心經略疏, Geumgang banyabaramilgyeong 金剛般若波羅蜜經, were all designated as treasures. And in November 1986, the woodblocks of Gonyeo jeondo’s 坤輦全圖 木板 (3 items) were designated as treasures, and in September 1991, Byeogyok sinbang 辟疫神方 and Sinchang byeokonbang 新纂辟瘟方, which were medical manuals compiled by Heo Jun 許浚 the order of the King in 1613 (the 5th year of Gwanghaegun’s reign) were designated as treasures as well. And on March 22nd, 1985, 848 volumes of the Taebaeksan Annals which had been in custody of the center, were transferred to the National Archives of Korea.

In 1975, when the Management center was opened, the preservation, processing and management of the Kyujanggak books became more systemic and meticulous. The public’s and the academic society’s
awareness of the existence and importance of the Kyujanggak books was rightfully enhanced, and frequency of using Kyujanggak books in either individual or group studies increased as well. Yet, in order to more appropriately address the interest and needs of the scholars and other people, some issues had to be resolved rather quickly. First, an independent building which would be able to house the Kyujanggak books more safely and efficiently was duly required, and second, an internal structure of human resources which would continue to manage and study the Kyujanggak books had to be devised and secured.

The necessity for an independent building has been argued since the mid-1980s. After SNU moved to the Gwanak campus, the Kyujanggak books were stored on the first and second floors of the SNU library, yet the space was never sufficiently large, and most importantly the space itself was not designed to house all these valuable, rare materials. So SNU prepared a construction plan for a new Kyujanggak building in April 1984, selected a site for the construction in January 1985, and initiated construction in October the same year. Construction was originally scheduled to be completed in the end of 1987, but the building was completed only in October 1989. In the new building, a thermo-hydrostat system which is crucial for storing and preserving age-old books, a protection grid for unexpected explosions and bombing, and a self-activating fire extinguisher system and not to mention an internal power generator, were all installed. In other words, the building was equipped with an array of state-of-the-art systems, to safely store and preserve the Kyujanggak books.

After the new building was constructed, the management center tested the facility and its internal system, and made preparations for the move of all the books to the new building. In March and April of 1990, books to be moved were all inspected and wrapped up, and actual transfer of all those books took place between June 5th and 14th the same month. On September 11th the same year, an opening ceremony was held and a special exhibition was arranged in celebration of the opening of a new building. And in October and November, 17,821 Gyoseogwan plates at
Photo 4-1 Photo of the stack house (for the national treasures)

Photo 4-5 Photo of the stack house (for the ordinary books)
the SNU library were moved to the new Kyujanggak, finalizing the transfer of Kyujanggak materials from the SNU library to the new Kyujanggak building.

Securing an in-house research staff to survey and process the Kyujanggak books was also a matter of priority that had to be addressed quickly. Up until 1990, the research staff of the management center was only composed of two assistants, so Kyujanggak was basically unable to launch a self-sustainable survey project of the assets it had. As a result, projects of processing the Kyujanggak materials, or the tasks of preparing introductory materials for the Kyujanggak books all had to be out-sourced to external personnel. So doing caused some problems, which prevented the overall projects and tasks of surveying and studying the Kyujanggak books from maintaining a level of consistency and systemic integrity.

After the 1980s, the size of projects, of processing, creating introductory materials, photocopying and publishing them, all grew to be such huge tasks that became impossible for Kyujanggak to do on their own, with only the help of outside assistance. Internal human resources had to be established, to plan and launch and see through all these tasks. Since 1988, suggestions were made regarding the organizational modification of the Kyujanggak institution. As a result, in 1990 the Institution of Research Officers was newly established, and five officers were newly designated to Kyujanggak. With all these new personnel, the Kyujanggak Books Management center finally secured an in-house infrastructure to process and research all the books and materials in custody of Kyujanggak, competently on its own.

4. The Independence of Kyujanggak and strengthened research functions

With an independent building and in-house research staff in place, the Kyujanggak Institute of Korean studies became an institute with the
capability of a library and also a research center. To achieve a more appropriate status as a research center, separation from the SNU library was also pursued. As a result, on March 6th, 1992, the SNU Order of Establishment was amended, and the ‘Kyujanggak Books Management Center’ was detached from the SNUL, and became an independent entity entitled ‘SNU Kyujanggak’, as an attached facility of SNU.

On May 30th, 1992, ‘Regulations of SNU Kyuyanggak’ (Regulations No.870) were enacted, and basic regulations for the Kyujanggak operation were established. According to them, the directorship of Kyujanggak was to be assumed by professors of SNU, and an Operations Committee was to be convened to discuss important issues involving Kyujanggak. Also it was established that the operations of Kyujanggak would include 1) inspection of materials in custody and conducting studies of prior scholarship conducted inside and outside of the country, 2) studying, managing and publishing materials in custody of Kyujanggak and providing visitors with user-convenience in utilizing the materials, 3) scientific preservation and management of materials in custody, and 4) collecting, managing and preserving materials related to Korean studies from inside and outside of the country. And several new subordinate bodies, such as the Materials Research Office, Materials Management Office, and the Administration office were established to support and ensure efficiency in all Kyujanggak operations. Also, other than Research officers, Special Researchers (Researchers-in-charge and Senior researchers since 2002) were appointed to oversee and take charge of management & publication projects, resulting in the enlargement of the in-house staff of Kyujanggak.

With the institution’s separation from SNUL, the annual budget of Kyujanggak also increased. Since 1994, the funding that came directly from SNU’s budget increased from 200 million to 700 million won. With such an increase in budget, Kyujanggak became able to launch several new projects, such as the tasks of restoring damaged or corroded portions of materials (repairing or mounting), micro-filming the materials in custody, and the task of fumigation, that would all ensure the semi-
permanent preservation of Kyujanggak materials. Also, with the increased budget, Kyujanggak’s other functions such as surveys and researches of the Kyujanggak books, provision of materials created in the form of photocopies, distributing publications and online materials, organizing academic conferences and special exhibitions, were all strongly reinforced, and that contributed in return to the overall enhancement in Korean studies.

In April 1999, the Seungeongwon ilgi 承政院日記 (3,243 volumes) was designated as National Treasure No.303, and in April 2003 Samguk yusa 三國遺事 was designated as National Treasure No.306-2. In October 1997, the Annals of the Joseon dynasty was designated as UNESCO’s ‘Memory of the World’, and in 2001 the Seungeongwon ilgi was designated so as well. With all these designations, Kyujanggak materials finally came to receive the worldwide recognition they so duly deserved. And the institute firmly established itself as the top facility for rare books and manuscripts in Korea as well.

The most notable difference that came with the Kyujanggak’s separation in 1992, was the expansion and reinforcement of Kyujanggak’s own research functions and capabilities. As mentioned before, Kyujanggak managed to secure academic researchers and special researchers since 1990, and established an infrastructure that would enable the launch of self-sustainable projects of surveying and studying Kyujanggak books and creating introductory materials for them. There was also the increased budget for the institute. However, it was still very difficult to sustain a variety of projects solely with Kyujanggak’s own budget. So, in order to overcome such problem, Kyujanggak has been participating in several research projects funded and supported by the Ministry of Education (today, Ministry of Education, Technology and Science) and the Korea Research Foundation, and is promoting many research projects with funding from those entities.

Since 1993 up until today, ‘Primary Materials for Korean Studies’ project is proceeding, with the funding of the MoE. This task proceeded on three fronts: creating introductory materials for books that had not
been included in previous projects, surveying and studying materials related to the history of philosophy in Korea, and surveying and studying modern period materials that originating from governmental bodies. The first task was completed in 2004, with the completion of the task that resulted in new Introductory materials (published in 10 volumes as Introduction to Korean Books in Kyujanggak: Supplementary Materials) for more than 9,000 types of books and materials that had not been previously covered in the 1978–1987 publication, which was published as Introduction to Korean Books in Kyujanggak (seven volumes). Also in 2004, the Overall Index for the Introduction to Korean Books in Kyujanggak (both versions) was published, to provide researchers and scholars with a handy resource for their studies.

‘Surveying and Studying Materials related to the history of philosophy in Korea’ is essentially a task of managing and processing all the ‘anthologies’ in custody of Kyujanggak. Under this project, introductory materials that contain information regarding anthologies authored by Koreans are being published. In the meantime, ‘Surveying and studying Modern Period Materials Originated by Governmental Bodies’ is a task of surveying and managing documents that had been exchanged between governmental offices in the capital and local regions, and also between offices and individuals, after the country’s opening to the world, as well as general trial records.

In the meantime, Kyujanggak has also been promoting other research projects involving Kyujanggak materials, with the funding from the Korea Research Foundation under the title of ‘Supporting Primary studies: Studies of Korean classics’ since 2002. Experts and scholars who are well versed in the area of history, literature, linguistics and art of Korea are participating in this project, and currently conducting studies on a variety of subjects.

Also, Kyujanggak conducted a three-year survey research project from February 1997 of the linguistic and literature materials in custody of Kyujanggak, and as a result published Linguistic and Literary Materials of Kyujanggak 奎章閣所藏語文學資料 (five volumes). In 2000, as part of
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>projects</th>
<th>research term</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preliminary study for Cataloging land ownership documents (土地文記) in custody of Kyujanggak, and for publishing a catalogue (目錄集)</td>
<td>2003. 8.–2006. 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project of cataloging border area-related documents originated in the North Korean region during the late Joseon dynasty period (in Gun and Hyeon regions), and of studying the military defense system of the past</td>
<td>2003. 8.–2006. 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Developing a structure to preserve modern national documents-classification and utilizing the official documents from King Gojong's reign and in custody of Kyujanggak</td>
<td>2004. 8.–2007. 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Translating and annotating the <em>Hwaeongyeong</em> 華嚴經 annotations in <em>gakpit</em> 角筆・<em>bujeon</em> 符點・<em>gugyeol</em> 口訣</td>
<td>2005. 8.–2007. 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Searching for, managing, and categorizing official documents regarding the royal family's financial and monetary status during the Daehan empire period</td>
<td>2007. 9.–present / scheduled to be completed in 2010. 8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cataloging the land survey reports originating in the latter half period of Joseon and the Daehan empire period, and creating explanatory materials for them</td>
<td>2007. 9.–present / scheduled to be completed in 2010. 8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A pictorial encyclopedia of the royal family culture during the Joseon dynasty period</td>
<td>2008. 9.–present / scheduled to be completed in 2011. 8.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the digitalization project of Kyujanggak materials, a project of creating introductory materials for the Chinese books in custody of Kyujanggak went forward, and the results were posted on the internet. Users could access them through the webpage of the Kyujanggak Institute. And in
2002, *Comprehensive List of Uigwe* 儀軌 *Materials in Custody of Kyujanggak* was published, containing lists that are created, organized by chronology and category, with bibliographical information appended.

The reinforced functions of Kyujanggak’s research facility also elevated the relevant personnel’s awareness of the necessity to devise ways of conveying all the newly developed materials to the public and scholars in the field. Kyujanggak has been arranging academic conferences since 1993, in which all the results of researches are presented and debated. Additionally various kinds of research and studies are announced through the institute’s journal *Kyujanggak*, which had been in publication since 1977. Other projects, such as running permanent exhibitions, holding special displays, and arranging educational classes for the public and students who would like to enhance their understanding of the history and culture of Korea, are in progress as well.

After the separation, publication and distribution of Kyujanggak books increased as well. The *Ilseongnok* project, which had continued since the days of the Kyujanggak books management center, was completed in 1996. Publication of the *Rare Manuscripts* journal and the ‘Kyujanggak collection: Geumho Series’ continued. Since 1994, the ‘Kyujanggak Materials Collection’, a collection of photocopied/published books selected to be of importance from the overall Kyujanggak collection, has been being published, resulting in *Hwaseong seongyeok uigwe* 華城城役儀軌 (two volumes) and *Boinbusin chongsu* 賓印符信總數 (1 volume) in 1994, *Mudang naeryeok* 林堂來歷 (one volume) in 1995, *Hogu chongsu* 戶口總數 (1 volume) in 1996. And in 1995, the project of surveying, studying, photocopying and publishing age-old ‘maps’ in custody of Kyujanggak commenced as well.

In 1997, the ‘Kyujanggak Materials Collection’ began to focus on publishing books in specialized areas, in order to more easily categorize the photocopied publications, and provide the readers with more efficiency in their studies. From the beginning, publications comprised four different areas: Legal codes, Literature, *Uigwe* manuals and local
gazetteers. In 2001, the legal codes’ publication was completed, so in 2002 publications of Gwanseo jipyeon materials were processed and published. In 2000, materials related to Confucianism, in 2003 linguistic materials, in 2006 materials related to the area of science and technology, and also to the area of art, were added to the list of publications. Now publications are proceeding in total of eight individual areas have.

All this photocopying and publishing of Kyujanggak books allowed scholars who have been engaged in Korean studies both inside and outside of the country to approach the overall mass of materials more easily, and in that regard those tasks hugely contributed to the overall development in Korean studies today. Yet with only a limited budget, publishing and distributing all the materials held by Kyujanggak was still an impossible task. An alternative had to be pursued, in order to provide service to an even larger group of users and scholars, and the solution that arose was none other than the ‘digitalization’ project. From 2000, Kyujanggak participated in the ‘Digitalization Project of the Original Contents of Korean Classics’ which was funded by the Ministry of Information and Communication. With such help, Kyujanggak embarked upon the task of bringing all the materials of Kyujanggak into a digitalized form, and therefore ‘on-line’.

The objective of the ‘Digitalization project of the original contents of Korean classics’ was to establish a database drawing upon all the materials held by Kyujanggak, and link them with the ‘Korean History On-line’ system, and provide the scholars and ordinary users with free
Photo 4-7  Photo of the exhibition room

Photo 4-8  Photo of the special exhibition
access to all the classics in custody of Kyujanggak that were put on the Web. It began in 2000, and the eight-year project was completed in 2007. From 2008 the project is still continuing with Kyujanggak’s own internal budget. With this project, the public’s level of access to the Kyujanggak materials, and the quality of usage of them as well was distinctly improved and enhanced. Currently, all the materials that are made available through the ‘Digitalization Project of the Original Contents of Korean Classics’ are available through the webpage of the Kyujanggak Institute of Korean studies (http://e-kyujanggak.snu.ac.kr).

As may be seen, the functions of Kyujanggak and the projects undertaken by it all showed a huge increase, and the size of staff in charge of those projects grew as well. As a result, the existing Kyujanggak building found itself no longer sufficiently large enough to
house all those activities. So in May 2003, Kyujanggak commenced a renovation of the building which was designed to more than double the original size of the building. Renovation was completed in December 2004, and after moving all the materials and office spaces to the new chambers, an opening ceremony for the renovated building was held in April 22th, 2005. Kyujanggak was enabled to house and preserve all the materials in custody more safely and more efficiently, and most importantly it established an infrastructure for an even more vitalized activities in research, education and publication of the materials held by Kyujanggak.

5. Launch of the Kyujanggak Institute of Korean Studies

On February 1st, 2006, Kyujanggak took another huge leap in order to reinvent itself once again in terms of its research capabilities, by merging itself with the Institute of Korean culture, and transforming itself into a new ‘Kyujanggak Institute of Korean Studies.’

In the past, Kyujanggak, as more than a treasury of Korean rare materials and Korean culture in general, achieved many great things by surveying, processing, studying and publishing the materials and providing them to the public. Yet its status was still a subordinate one to SNU, and was not recognized as an independent institute. In the meantime, the Institute of Korean Culture had been an integral part of Korean studies which were undertaken by SNU as well, but it too was still an institute under jurisdiction of the College of Humanities, and was still in a rather difficult position to lead on-going Korean studies inside SNU. So, in order to establish a systemic structure of Korean studies’ research inside SNU, and create a quintessential center of Korean studies, these two bodies that had both been dedicated to Korean studies were merged, to form the new ‘Kyujanggak Institute of Korean studies’. The existing ‘Korean Studies Project Management Committee’ which had been established inside the Institute of Korean Culture and had been
overseeing the SNU’s ‘Long-term Primary Korean Studies Research Project,’ was absorbed into the new institute, and launched itself under the new title of ‘Korean Studies Project Committee.’

The launch of the Kyujanggak Institute of Korean studies was a huge step forward for Korean studies in general, as the organization and functions of the previous two bodies were merged to create a synergistic effect, in all aspects of the new institute’s operations, such as preservation, management, research, publication, education, distribution, which would all enable the institute and its involved personnel as well to operate in a more comprehensive and efficient fashion.

Following the inauguration of the new institute, five subordinate offices were established: the Royal Archives and Rare Books Division, the Archive Research Division, the Research Planning Division, the Publication Division, and the Education and Exchange Division. Also, after the launch of the new institute, international exchanges involving Korean studies were increased, and the public’s awareness of the importance of such exchanges was heightened as well. So in December 2007, the ‘International Center for Korean Studies’ was newly opened to superintend international exchanges and related affairs (which had been formerly overseen by the Office of Education and Exchange). The academic research and education affairs were delegated to a new office, the Conference and Education Division.

Also, there were some important changes made to the materials in custody of the new institute. One of the more important events was the return of 47 volumes of the Odaesan Annals, that had been in custody of the Tokyo University Library, to the Koreans and into custody of the Kyujanggak institute of Korean studies, on July 14th, 2006.

The Odaesan Annals were moved to Japan in 1913 during the Japanese occupation period, and had been held by the Tokyo University Library ever since, and were nearly completely destroyed in fire caused by the Kanto earthquake of 1923. Only 74 volumes managed to survive the catastrophe, and 27 volumes of them were transferred to the Gyeongseong Imperial University in 1932 in the form of ‘custodial
### Table 4-3 Responsibilities of each office inside Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Division</th>
<th>Responsibilities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Royal Archives and Rare Books Division</td>
<td>Preserving, managing, inspecting, displaying, advertising Kyujanggak materials, and collecting &amp; digitalizing all kinds of materials related to Korean studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archive Research Division</td>
<td>Managing and studying Kyujanggak materials, as the basis of Korean studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Planning Division</td>
<td>Conducting research projects, and overseeing the performances of such projects, that are related to Korean studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication Division</td>
<td>Editing &amp; publishing academic journals as well as a series of an academic research achievements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conference and Education Division</td>
<td>Educating people of the achievements of Korean studies, publicizing &amp; distributing them to the public, and conducting academic exchanges with both domestic and foreign bodies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Center for Korean studies</td>
<td>Overseeing international activities related to Korean studies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

transfer’ to become part of the Kyujanggak collection again. The remaining 47 volumes were returned to Korea in 2006, according to an agreement reached by both the Tokyo University and SNU.

These 47 volumes of the Odae-san Annals were accepted into the care of Kyujanggak Institute for Korean studies on July 14th 2006, with an official transfer ceremony arranged in the main hall of the institute. Later they were delivered to the Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea for inspection needed for the designation process as a National Treasure and also for exhibitions. They were later returned to the Kyujanggak institute in October 2006, and are now stored in the National Treasure Storage facility inside the institute. These returned Annal volumes went through a verification process, and were additionally designated as National Treasure No.151-3 in February 2007.

In June 2007, at the International advisory committee (IAC) of UNESCO for designating ‘Memory of the World’, which was held in the Republic of South Africa, the Joseon dynasty’s Uigwe 儀軌 materials
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006 May 15th</td>
<td>Tokyo University's head offer to return the Odaesan collection of <em>Annals of the Joseon dynasty</em> to the Seoul National University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 27th</td>
<td>SNU accepts the offer of Tokyo University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 31st</td>
<td>Acceptance (Retrieval) committee of SNU is launched</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 19th</td>
<td>Members of the committee visit Tokyo University, to inspect the material and discuss the retrieval procedures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 7th</td>
<td>Annals arrive in Korea, and be placed in custody of the National Treasure storage room of Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 12th</td>
<td>Japan, Tokyo University's chief of information service visits Korea, to prepare for the hand-over of the materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 14th</td>
<td>A ceremony of handing over and accepting (retrieving) the materials is held, at the main hall of Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 18th</td>
<td>At the request of the Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea, the materials are loaned, for inspection necessary to be designated as a National Treasure, and to be displayed at the royal palace museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 11th</td>
<td>47 volumes of the Odaesan collection were retrieved, and placed in the national treasure storage room</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007 February 26th</td>
<td>Retrieved materials (47 volumes) additionally designated as National Treasure 151-3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

were designated as part of the 'Memory of the World'. With such designation, Kyujanggak came to possess total of three items that are certified as ‘Memory of the World’, which included *Annals of the Joseon dynasty* and *Seungjeongwon ilgi* as well.

Also, after the launch of the new institute, four items were additionally designated as Treasures. In 2006 *Portrait of Yu Eon-ho* (俞彦搔肖像) (one scroll) was designated as Treasure Item No.1504. In March 2008, *Yogyaejongwanbang jido* 遼蓟關防地圖 (10-paged folding screen) was designated as Treasure Item No.1542, and in April the same year *Doseongdo* 都城圖 (1 scroll) was designated as No.1560. And in August also the same year, *Dongui bogan* 東醫寶鑑 (2 types, 41 volumes, medical manual of the middle period of the Joseon dynasty) was designated as
No.1085-3. As of today, there are a total of 7 National Treasures and 25 Treasures, in custody of this institute.

The Kyujanggak Institute of Korean studies also inherited the projects of research and publication from the original Kyujanggak and the Institute of Korean Culture. The ‘Primary materials for Korean studies’ project undertaken by Kyujanggak, and the ‘Korea Research Foundation Funded Research Projects’ that belonged to the Institute of Korean culture, are all continuing. Also Kyujanggak’s ‘Kyujanggak Materials Collection’ and the ‘Kyujanggak Collection: Geumho Series’ are continuing publication. In 2006, ‘Art Collection,’ and the ‘Science and Technology Collection’ were added to the group of projects. The Institute of Korean Culture’s ‘Collection of Korean Cultural Researches’ and ‘Collective Research on Korean Studies,’ and ‘Compendium of Korean Studies, Materials, and Monographs’ series, which published the concluding results of the Long-term Korean Studies Research Project, are also transferred to the new institute and is currently proceeding as well. Journals such as Kyujanggak and Han'guk munhwa and Seoul Journal of Korean Studies are also being published.

One of the new research projects is the ‘Humanities Korea (HK)’ project. The institute was designated as a participant in this project by
KFAS in 2008, and is scheduled to conduct a 10-year research project with the theme of the 'Joseon dynasty's culture of written records, and Korean studies with the spirit of creating the future based upon the past (法古創新).'

The most noticeable characteristic of the HK project is the fact that research professors with a guaranteed tenure-track are allowed to be stationed inside the HK project group. Currently there are Academic Officers and also Researchers-in-charge and Senior Researchers. Yet the former figures are designated as civil servants and have to care for administrative duties of the institute as well, so they cannot invest all their time into research. The latter figures are contracted to serve on projects funded by the KFAS or others which usually last for three-plus years, so their functions are somewhat limited in terms of timetable, and so are the consistency and completeness of their results. Acquiring such tenured assets through the HK project would resolve such issues, and enable the institute to arm itself with a more comprehensive in-house staff, and even more strongly reinforce its own capabilities of research.

Also, the 'Korean Studies Materials Center' project is proceeding in a three-phase schedule that would take place over the next ten years, beginning in 2008. This project is designed to establish a database of all the contents of the classical texts, and to create contents such as detailed bibliographical information, so that they could be used in research, introduction and education.

A variety of academic conferences and events are being arranged and held as well. 'Academic seminars,' at which the institute's research personnel's recent research achievements are presented, and 'colloquia' where Korean studies scholars inside and outside of the country exchange concerning their most recent researches, are being held on a regular basis. Also, international conferences and symposiums, where domestic and foreign Korean-studies scholars could meet, associate, exchange ideas, inform each other of the current status and research result in many areas of scholarship (including Korean studies), and jointly plan the future direction and prospects for the Korean studies in general,
are being frequently arranged. Additionally, smaller events such as ‘Kyujanggak International Workshops’ where the research results of Korean studies inside and outside of the country are announced, shared, discussed and debated, are continuing to be held as well, since the launch of the new institute in 2006.

The function of education was reinforced after the launch of the new institute as well. First the Jaha seodang 紫霞書堂 class (teaching Chinese classics, how to read and interpret them) which was under the jurisdiction of the Donga Culture research center (東亞文化研究所) of the SNU’s College of Humanities, was absorbed into Kyujanggak on September 1st, 2006. Subsequently it became a new educational body of the new institute. Currently in this Jaha Seodang school, classes for calligraphy, the reading of Chinese texts, and Grass-style calligraphy are in session. Also, since 2008, the ‘Kyujanggak Friday citizen class’ has been held, in order to let the public more easily approach and understand scholarly advances in the areas of Korean studies based upon Kyujanggak
materials.

After the launch of the new institute, the most highly augmented area has been international exchanges. Since its launch in 2006, the new institute made it a priority of leading the globalisation efforts inside SNU, and also of functioning as a hub of Korean studies throughout the world. Subsequently Kyujanggak began to promote various programs, designed to enhance its level of international participation. Currently there is the Kyujanggak Fellowship Program, the Visiting Scholar Program, the Kyujanggak Archive Travel Grant, the KFAS-Kyujanggak Fellowship Program, and the Kyujanggak Korean Studies Summer Workshop, through which recent graduates and foreign post-graduate students who are currently engaged in Korean studies can learn about the current status and achievements of Korean studies inside Korea.

Kang Moon-sik  Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies
5

The Important Materials at Kyujanggak
1. Documentary heritage of the world

The Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies inside Seoul National University holds three items that are designated as ‘Memory of the World’ by UNESCO. The value of the written documents currently held by the Kyujanggak archives is recognized by people inside and outside of Korea. In 1997, the *Annals of the Joseon dynasty*, in 2001, the *Seungjeongwon ilgi* (Diary of the Royal Secretariat), and in 2007, the ‘Uigwe’ materials held by both Kyujanggak and the Jangseogak archive were all designated as ‘Memory of the World.’ In this article, written documents that exemplify the spectacular collection that is Kyujanggak will be given an introduction.

At Kyujanggak, there are currently seven National Treasures and twenty-five Treasures. Materials designated as National Treasure and Treasure Items are materials that are distinguished by their rarity and unique value as historical artifacts, and if one were to select one single item that could represent the entire Kyujanggak collection, that item
would be the *Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*. Apart from that, in Kyujanggak there are also many other chronological records that document the history of the Joseon dynasty, officially and systematically. *Bibyeonsa deungnok* (Journals from the Bibyeonsa Office (Border Defense Council)) is a record of the daily conferences that were held at the Bibyeonsa office, which was established to address and respond to any emergency situation that might fall upon the Joseon government and the dynasty in general. This office was a key office within the Joseon government and was put in charge of all the crucial functions of the government from the middle period of the dynasty. Records of 250 years of history, ranging over the reigns of 11 Kings, from 1617 (the 9th year of King Gwanghaeun 光海君's reign) through the era of King Cheoljong 世宗, currently are extant. *Ilseongnok* (Daily Memoirs) is a chronological record of Joseon governance, created in the form of daily journals for 150 years, since 1760 (the 36th year of Yeongjo’s reign) through 1910 (the 4th year of the Yunghui period). Documentation of this item was initiated in 1760 when Jeongjo (as a Crown Prince) began to record all his remarks, his actions, and progress of his studies. *Ilseongnok* (Daily Memoirs) contains detailed records of the political events of the time as well as the local societies’ conditions, therefore it complements the *Annals of the Joseon Dynasty* with its depiction and recreation of the history of the Joseon dynasty’s latter half period. The *Seunjeongwon ilgi* is a diary created by the Seunjeongwon 承政院 office, which served as the secretariat for the Joseon Kings. The office was in charge of relaying the Kings’ orders, overseeing administrative issues and ritual protocols, and the *Seunjeongwon ilgi* records reflect the office’s functions. The office had kept records since the early days of the dynasty, yet most of them were burned in the war with the Japanese during the 1590s. Only the records totaling 272 years (after the war) from March 1623 (the 1st year of Injo’s 仁祖 reign) through June 1894 (the 31st year of Gojong’s 高宗 reign) remain today. *Bibyeonsa deungnok, Ilseongnok, and Seunjeongwon ilgi,* alongside *Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*, are being closely examined and widely consulted as primary historical materials, conducive to a vivid
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book title</th>
<th>Volumes</th>
<th>Designation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Sipchilsachangogumtongyo</em> 十七史纂古今通要</td>
<td>1 Volume</td>
<td>National Treasure No.148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Songjo pyojeon chongnyu</em> 宋朝表録總類</td>
<td>1 Volume</td>
<td>National Treasure No.150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Annals of the Joseon dynasty</em> 朝鮮王朝實錄</td>
<td>1,229 Volume</td>
<td>National Treasure No.151-1, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bibyeonsadeungnok</em> 偏邊司勝錄</td>
<td>273 Volume</td>
<td>National Treasure No.152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ilseongnok</em> 日省錄</td>
<td>2,329 Volume</td>
<td>National Treasure No.153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Seungjeongwonigi</em> 承政院日記</td>
<td>3,243 Volume</td>
<td>National Treasure No.303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Samgukyusa</em> 三國遺事</td>
<td>2 Volume</td>
<td>National Treasure No.306-2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other than these, *Sipchilsachan gogum tongyo* 十七史纂古今通要 and *Songjo pyojeon chongnyu* 宋朝表録總類 are designated as National Treasures as well. They are printed with the Joseon dynasty’s first bronze printing type (銅活字), the so-called Gyemija (癸未字) type, which were cast in 1403 (the 3rd year of Taejong’s reign). They were printed prior to the advent of the famous year of 1453, when the German technician Gutenberg is credited with having used moveable metal printing types for the first time.

Most of the Treasure Items in Kyujanggak are very old documents. Items from periods before the Imjin-year war with the Japanese (1592-1598) are considered particularly important and valuable, as most of the records created before that time were destroyed during the war. Items created before the 15th century and designated as Treasure Items are *Daebuljeong yeoraesirin sujeung youi jebosa manhaeng suneungeomgyeong* 大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經 (two pieces), *Moguja susimgyeol* 牧牛子修心訣, *Banyabaramilda simgyeong yako* 幡若波羅密多心經略疏, *Geumgang banyabaramilgyeong* 金剛般若波羅密經. As may be seen, they are all Buddhist materials. From the
Table 5-2 Treasures in custody of Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies (12 items)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book title</th>
<th>Volumes</th>
<th>Designation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daebuljeong yeorae mirin sujeung youi jebosal manhaeng suneungeomgyeong</td>
<td>2 Volume</td>
<td>Treasure Item No.761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>大佛頂如來密因修證義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daebuljeong yeorae mirin sujeung youi jebosal manhaeng suneungeomgyeong</td>
<td>1 Volume</td>
<td>Treasure Item No.765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>大佛頂如來密因修證義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maguja susimgyeo牧牛子修心詣</td>
<td>1 Volume</td>
<td>Treasure Item No.770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banyabaramilda simgyeong yakso般若波羅密多心經略疏</td>
<td>1 Volume</td>
<td>Treasure Item No.771</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geumgang banyabarami gyeong金剛般若波羅密經</td>
<td>4 Volume</td>
<td>Treasure Item No.773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gonyeo jeondo坤輿全圖木板, woodblock</td>
<td>3 Volume</td>
<td>Treasure Item No.882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byeogyeoek sinbang辟疫神方</td>
<td>3 Volume</td>
<td>Treasure Item No.1086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinchan byeogonbang新纂辟瘟方</td>
<td>3 Volume</td>
<td>Treasure Item No.1087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yu Eon-ho portrait俞彦鎭肖像</td>
<td>1 Volume</td>
<td>Treasure Item No.1504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yogye gwanbang jido遼朝關防地圖</td>
<td>1 Volume</td>
<td>Treasure Item No.1542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doseongdo 都城圖</td>
<td>1 Volume</td>
<td>Treasure Item No.1560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dongui bogam東醫寶鑑</td>
<td>41 Volume</td>
<td>Treasure Item No.1085-3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Treasure Items held by Kyujanggak, we can apprehend that publication of Buddhist materials was also very much active at the time.

Apart from that, Byeogyeoek sinbang 辟疫神方 and Sinchan byeogonbang 新纂辟瘟方, which were medical texts authored by Heo Jun in the early 17th century, and three pieces of the Gonyeo jeondo woodblocks (坤輿全圖木板), which were created in 1860 (the 11th year of King Cheoljong) to reprint (重刊) the world map which had earlier been created by Ferdinand Verbiest (Korean name: Nam Hwoe-in 南懷仁, 1623-1688), are all designated as Treasure Items.
1. *Annals of the Joseon Dynasty*

1) The Annals' Compilation

*Annals of the Joseon Dynasty* (“the Annals” from now on) is an official, chronological record which documented the history of 472 years (1392~1863), from the era of Founder King Taejo, through the era of 25th King Cheoljong. In custody of Kyujanggak is the Jeongjoksan version (慶及山本), and it is a complete one as well. It is composed of a total of 1,707 chapters in 1,187 volumes (approximately 64,000,000 characters), and contains historical records of literally everything there was to be remembered during the Joseon dynasty period: politics, diplomacy, economy, military, law, philosophy and the people’s livelihood. One might even call it a virtual time capsule sent to us from the Joseon dynasty period. “The Annals” is designated a National Treasure, and was designated as “Memory of the World” by UNESCO on October 1st, 1997. Its magnificent value is recognized throughout the global community.

Our ancestors established a protocol which did not allow even the sitting Kings to inspect the historical records created by the official historians, in order to maintain the records’ own objectivity, integrity and neutrality. They also suffered a wide variety of hardships in order to ensure that the Annals were kept and preserved in the safest fashion as possible. In that regard, it can be said that the Annals reflect the strongest determination of Koreans to produce and preserve historical records.

First, we shall examine the compilation process of the Annals. When the King died, a temporary office for the Annals’ compilation (Sillokcheong) would be established, and key officials of the government led by the prime minister would gather there and initiate the process. At the Sillokcheong, the historians would widely collect the ‘primary drafts (Sacho 史草)’ and ‘governance records (Sijeonggi 時政記)’, and then commence the compilation. Primary drafts were completed and obtained through a three-step process, from the obtaining of the first drafts created by the historians (Chocho 初草), then proofreading them and processing
them into a second version (*Jungcho* 中草), and then moving them into the final draft of the Annal records of the deceased King’s reign (*Jeongcho* 正草). The first and second drafts (*Chocho* and *Jungcho*) would be washed, so that the contents would be obliterated and the cleansed paper would be recycled. This ‘washing’ of the first two drafts were referred to as "*Secho* 洗草 (washing away the drafts)", and the process usually took place in today’s Segeomjeong (washing away the black (letters)) area of Seoul. The washed paper was dried upon a broad stone called Chairam 遮日巖, and then reprocessed at the Jojiseo 造紙署 office (in charge of paper production). The streams where the drafts were washed and the location of the Jojiseo office are all clearly indicated on Joseon period maps. After the *Secho* process, ceremonies in celebration for such washing were held as well.

Governance records (*Sijeonggi*) were produced by the Chunchugwan office, which received regular governance reports from all the offices in both the capital area and the province, and then important ones would be selected and modified into Sijeonggi records. For example, *Gwansanggam ilgi*, *Chunchugwan ilgi*, *Uiyeongbu deungnok*, *Nauiwon ilgi*, *Seungjeongwon ilgi* was originally based upon *Sijeonggi* records. They were compiled into books every year, and they served as important materials in the Annals’ compilation. Consultation of such records prevented the Annals from merely becoming a record with a sole concentration upon the King’s remarks and actions. Records of natural disasters, the lives of female medical personnel, stories of the elephants and other odd things from the people’s own living of the Joseon period all came from these *Sijeonggi* records.

All the works that were published in the Joseon period were reported to the King after compilation, yet the Annals were an exception. The Chongjjaegwan (official in charge) would report the completion of the Annals to the King, then there would be a brief ceremony at the Chunchugwan office of ‘placing it in custody’, then one copy of the Annals would be stored at Chunchugwan and other copies would be sent to the local archival facilities designed to store historical records (*Sago* 故})
The King was prevented from inspecting the material, so that the independence granted to the historians would not be damaged, and the historical truth inside the final material would be kept intact.

2) Annals stored in the mountains' Historical archives (史庫)

As mentioned previously, in the early half period of Joseon one copy of the newly completed Annals was stored at Chunchugwan in Seoul, and others would be placed at the provincial archival facilities for historical records, the Sago archives in Chungju, Jeonju, Seongju. Yet those local centers were not safe from fire or pillaging. In fact, during the reign of Jungjong, the Nobi (servants) who were affiliated with local governmental offices accidently set fire to the Seongju archive, trying to catch a pigeon. Yet in spite of such occurrences, the archives were still maintained in provincial centers. What brought changes to the government’s naive stance toward the issue was the obliteration of the Annals in the Imjin war by the Japanese. With the war that started in 1592, all the copies of the Annals but one, the one at the Jeonju archive, were destroyed, and the argument that the Sago archives should be moved to remote mountain areas began to carry some weight.

The war with the Japanese demonstrated how those ‘Sago’ Historical archives could easily be placed in danger, since they were located in local governmental centers, where traffic and population were concentrated. They were on the very routes the Japanese troops took in their invasion of Joseon. Seoul’s Chunchugwan and archives in Chungju and Seongju all vanished after the Japanese troops’ passage. Quite fortunately, the annals stored in Jeonju were moved to the Naejangsan mountain and escaped the certain prospect of destruction, thanks to the honorable efforts of a Chambong official named Oh Hui-gil, and other people as well such as Jeonju’s local Confucian scholars Son Hong-nok and An Ui. After the war, all the archives were relocated to mountain areas. Although several copies of the Annals were kept separately here and there, and as a result at least one complete copy of it survived, it was already abundantly clear that a locale with a certain level of accessibility
would not be able to protect the Annals from either fire, war or theft. Moving them to mountainous areas would create much greater difficulties for the people at the time to manage all those records, but they chose to do so anyway, in order to preserve the Annals and pass on the materials to their own posterity, to us.

After the war, a separate storage policy using five archives was established. Seoul’s Chunchugwan, Ganghwa-do islands’s Mt. Manisan archive, Pyeongan-do province’s Yeongbyeon area’s Mt. Myohyangsan archive, Gyeongsang-do province’s Bonghwa area’s Mt. Taebaeksan archive, and Gangwon-do province’s Pyeongchang area’s Mt. Odaesan archive were chosen. Archives were established in the most inaccessible spots of each of the mountains. Later the Myohyangsan archive was moved to Jeolla-do province’s Muju areas, the Jeoksangsan archive (surrounded by the Jeoksangsanseong fortress) to protect the Annals from the expected invasion of Manchus (predecessor to the later Qing dynasty), and the Manisan archive was moved to the near Jeongjoksan archive in 1660 (the first year of Hyeonjong’s reign) for other reasons as well. In the latter half of the Joseon period, mountains such as Jeongjoksan, Jeoksangsan, Taebaeksan and Odaesan were established as the four main locations for the archive, until the very end of the dynasty. Around the archives, Buddhist temples to serve as protectors of the Annals were accordingly constructed: Ganghwa-do’s Jeondeungs temple (Jeongjoksan), Muju’s Anguksa temple (Jeoksangsan), Bonghwa’s Gakhwasa temple (Taebaeksan), and Pyeongchang’s Woljeongsa temple. It was indeed our ancestors’ wisdom and devotion which allowed us to have and appreciate the very existence of the Annals today.

3) The value of the “Jeongjoksan” Annals as historical material

During the Japanese occupation period, all the Annals in custody of the four main archives were confiscated by the Office of the Japanese Governor General. Subsequently, the Annals that had been at the Jeongjoksan and Taebaek-san archives were transferred to the Gyeongseong Imperial University, and the Annals at the Jeoksangsan
archive were moved to the Changgyeonggung palace’s Jangseogak facility (which was a library in the Yi Royal Household office). And the Annals at the Odaesan archive were taken from the country and moved to Japan’s Tokyo Imperial University in 1913.

The Annals at the Jeongjoksan archive is now currently in custody of Seoul National University’s Kyujanggak, and the Annals at the Taebaeksan archive are in custody of the National Archives of Korea (Busan division). The Annals at the Jeoksangsan archive were reported missing during the Korean war, and rumor has it that it is now in North Korea. The Annals that were at Odaesan was in custody of Japan’s Tokyo Imperial university and was obliterated in 1923 by the Kanto Earthquake. Only part of it remained extant in Tokyo (47 volumes) and at Seoul’s Kyujanggak (27 volumes), and in July 2006 the 47 volumes in Tokyo were returned to Seoul Kyujanggak, after 93 years, since it was taken from Korea and smuggled to Japan in 1913.

The Jeongjoksan Annals are currently in custody of Kyujanggak, and the collection is none other than the one that was in Jeonju and survived the Japanese war. It shows us the original features of the Annals that were created in the early half of the Joseon period. The early Annals had every individual page coated with wax in order to make them mothproof and moistureproof. Yet these waxed pages actually and most ironically showed more deterioration than pages that were not waxed, so Kyujanggak institute of Korean studies, in cooperation with the National Research Institute of Korean Heritage, is developing better ways to preserve these wax-coated pages.

4) ‘Odaesan’ Annals’ Return

On May 30th, 2006, Seoul National University and Tokyo University held a joint press conference. It was an announcement, providing us with a surprising and happy news, that the 47 volumes from the Odae-san Annals that had been shipped to Japan and held by Tokyo University in 1913 were to be returned to the Republic of Korea unconditionally (Tokyo University used the term ‘donation’). And on July 14th, they finally
came back to Korea, and were put in safe-keeping of the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

The Odaesan Annals was actually a printed version prepared for a final proofreading just before the final printing commenced, so it shows us the compilation process of the Annals in general. The reason that a version created for proofreading was stored instead of a finalized version, was because it was not an easy task to create a whole new version, considering the sheer amount of paper reserves that would have been required for final printing. From the Taejo Annals to the Myeongjong Annals, the printing types needed for publication were already cast, but securing the paper to print those types on was another matter. So, as a result, an incomplete version ended up being stored at the Odaesan archive.

The noticeable examples of the proofreading process that appeared inside the Odaesan Annals are as follow.

Inside the Odaesan Annals, only from the Taejo Annals to the Myeongjong Annals is the aforementioned proofread version. The only remaining ones are the Seongjong Annals, Jungjong Annals, and the Seonjo Annals. According to Odaesan Annals Introduction (Hyeongjian), Odaesan Annals' Jungjong Annals is composed of total of 53 volumes, and with the exception of 3 volumes (chapters 11-12, 47-48, 98-99), 50 volumes remain extant today. Most of them remain intact, and help scholars engaged in an examination of how Annals were created and what was the bibliographical nature of them.

In 1913, the Odaesan Annals were seized by the Japanese. The Gangwon-do province's Pyeongchang-gun area was close to the East coast region, so it must have been quite convenient for the Japanese to take the Annals in the Odaesan archive. The Annals were shipped through the Jumunjin harbor, and then transported to Japan's Tokyo Imperial University Library. However, later it suffered a catastrophe.

In 1923, the so-called Kanto Earthquake took place in the Japan's Gwandong area, and in the wake of it most of the Odaesan Annals were incinerated and lost. Yet fortunately 74 volumes survived the
Table 5-3 Examples of corrections in the Odaesan Annals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of correction</th>
<th>How it was indicated in the proofreading process</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>change a character</td>
<td>write again (write over or write at the side) in either red or black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>add a character</td>
<td>draw a red dot, and insert explanations in red ink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>straighten slanting line</td>
<td>draw a slash or draw a mark in red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>straighten a character</td>
<td>draw a red dot right next to the letter, and insert the right letter at the immediate side of that letter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take out a character</td>
<td>place X, 0 upon letters that would have to be removed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>delete space(s)</td>
<td>linking separated portions inside a sentence with ---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>insert space(s)</td>
<td>insert as many 0 as needed to indicate the length of the necessary blank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exchange the place of character</td>
<td>indicate ✓ at the side of the above letter, and ◯ at the side of the lower letter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

catastrophe. Twenty-seven of them were returned to Gyeongseong Imperial University in 1932, and were later put in custody of Kyujanggak. The remaining 47 volumes were returned to the Korean people in 2006. Although Tokyo University made it clear that they were ‘donating’ those 47 volumes to the Seoul National University, Seoul National University made it clear that it was a ‘returning’. The year 2006 shall be remembered for many years, as the year that one of the most important national treasures of the Korean people was reclaimed.

2. The Seungejeongwon ilgi

In 2001, UNESCO’s advisory committee for the “Memory of the World” had a fierce debate over Korea’s submission of one of its cultural heritage. The issue of that debate was whether to acknowledge the value of the Seungejeongwon ilgi, as part of ‘Memory of the World.’ The Annals of the Joseon Dynasty had already been designated as “Memory of the
World”, so people of the world found Korea’s separate submission of a similar type of heritage a bit odd, and did not understand why Seungjeongwon ilgi should be designated as another “Memory of the World.” Yet in the end, a decision was made to designate it. The fact that not one but two items created as a dynasty’s official chronological record are designated as “Memory of the World” clearly shows us that the culture of producing written documental records of the Joseon dynasty was evincing its highest levels.

1) Seungjeongwon ilgi compilation

The Seungjeongwon ilgi is a collection of daily record documents concerning events that were addressed by the Seungjeongwon office (Royal Secretariat), which was in charge of relaying royal orders and also served as the secretariat for the King. This record is believed to have been compiled since the foundation of the dynasty, but currently 3,243 volumes, records from over 288 years, from 1623 (the 1st year of Injo’s reign) through 1910 (the 4th year of the Yunghui era), remain. Seungjeongwon ilgi is a historical record that had continued to be recorded for the longest period in world history. It was designated as National treasure No. 303 on April 9th, 1999, and in September 2001, it was designated as “Memory of the World”.

The most minute details exhibited by the politics of the time, the weather reports that were recorded daily and consistently and also without any omission for 288 years, meticulous description of the dynasty’s foreign relations that continued with many countries from the 1870s, are only few of the special characteristics featured by the Seungjeongwon ilgi.

Seungjeongwon ilgi, alongside the Annals of the Joseon Dynasty (National treasure No.151, 1973), Bibyeonsa deungnok (National treasure No.152, 1973), Ilseongnok (National treasure No.153, 1973), shows us the excellence that was the Joseon dynasty’s tradition of creating official chronological records. Size of individual volumes differed at times, but usually they are 40cm in height and 28cm in width. The length of an
individual volume would range from 70 pages to 200 pages, approximately. The total page count of the 3,243 volumes (among them, 3,045 volumes are labelled as Seungjeongwon ilgi, and the rest are the offspring volumes of Seungjeongwon ilgi; please consult relevant table) is 382,487 pages, so the average page count for an individual volume would be roughly 125 pages. The period it covered, namely 288 years, and the sheer volume combined (a total of 240 million characters) makes Seungjeongwon ilgi one of the largest historical records ever conceived in the world.

Seungjeongwon ilgi was the most primary material used in compiling the Annals. Because the office itself served as the Kings' own secretariat, the office was able to record the most minute details of all the Kings said and did. In the Joseon dynasty period, it is known that when the portrait of the King (Eojin 御親) was being drawn, they tried not only to convey their appearance but also their spirit (transmitting the spirit 傳神). The Seungjeongwon office served as the most intimate institution to reach the King (喉舌: like one's own throat and tongue), and the records it created also reflected literally everything concerning the kings: the Kings' mood, and the Kings' breath.

Seungjeongwon ilgi is a daily record and also a monthly collection of those daily records of the King's own governance, created by the Seungjeongwon office. One of the most important functions of Seungjeongwon was to compile its own Diary. Compilation was put in charge of the Seungji officials (called Seungsar 史司 and Juseo 主書), and the final drafting was left to the Juseo officials. Military officers could be named as Seungji as well, but in case of Juseo, only literary officials who were recognized for their academic level and writing skills were appointed. They were also named as Chunchugwan office's historiographers as well, and they scrutinized not only the documents and records that traveled through Seungjeongwon, but also other records that were consulted in compiling the Annals, and then they processed them all.

Seungjeongwon ilgi was literally a daily record of the Joseon
dynasty's governance. If portions from the earlier periods of the dynasty had remained, the size of the entire collection would have reached roughly 6,400 volumes. Yet they were either destroyed in the Imjin-year war with the Japanese or in other incidents such as the Insurrection of Yi Gwal in 1624. As a result, only the records created since King Injo's reign remain today. Even some of them have been lost as well, in the fire of 1744 (the 20th year of Yeongjo's reign) and of 1888 (the 25th year of Gojong's reign). Yet in such occurrences, other materials such as Chunbang ilgi 春坊日記 (records from the Sigangwon office, in service of the Crown Prince), “Jobo 朝報”, Danghu ilgi 堂後日記 (records left by the Juseo officials), and records collected and secured from the most local areas, could be consulted to fill in the missing portions and gaps.

The title of the Seungjeongwon ilgi went through some changes in the modern period when the government’s structure was being altered as well. New titles included Seungjeongwon ilgi, Gungnaebu ilgi, Biseogam ilgi, Biseowon ilgi, Kyujanggak ilgi, etc. These various new titles continued to surface from 1894, along with some changes that the secretariat office of the King had to go through itself. This shows that Seungjeongwon ilgi had to go through the same pain and anguish the country itself had to go through. And even in such painful time, the officials involved kept producing journals, and produced a total of 3,243 volumes.

2) Comparison with the Annals of the Joseon Dynasty

Seungjeongwon ilgi is very important, essentially because it was created as an accumulation of daily reports. It was documented without even a day's omission, so the record in general shows us the organic flow of, for example, the politics of a day, of a month, and even a year. The King’s actions, the most relevant issues of a particular period, appeals that were submitted to the government from figures in either central or local areas (mostly in its original form), are included. Descriptions of the kings’ health, their mood and psychological condition, and their locations (with records of where they actually stayed to govern the country, in
specific time frames), are all in here. Also, descriptions of certain ceremonies that directly involved the Kings are much more detailed than those provided by other materials.

We should try to compare how the same event was recorded in both the Annals and the Seungjeongwon ilgi.

The July 25th entry of the 26th year of Sukjong’s reign, recorded in the Sukjong Annals, reveals that the Jwauijeong Minister Yi Se-baek informed the King that people of the Pyeongan-do area were showing heightened determination for academic achievements, and that scholars were demanding a prefect (magistrate) with a literary background in hopes of some academic guidance. According to the record, the King granted that request. In the Sukjong Annals this dialogue was recorded over a total of 10 lines (one line was composed of exactly 30 characters), while the Seungjeongwon ilgi recorded it over 4 pages (1 page=30 lines, 1 line=27 letters) and 21 lines.

While the Sukjong Annals recorded only the essence of the dialogue that was exchanged between the King and Yi Se-baek, and also in addition the result of the request, the Seungjeongwon ilgi recorded all the

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Table 5-4  *Seungjeongwon ilgi* and related materials’ designation as national treasure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Designated date</th>
<th>Designated No.</th>
<th>Book’s title</th>
<th>volume numbers</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 9th, 1999</td>
<td>National Treasure No. 303</td>
<td><em>Seungjeongwon ilgi</em> 承政院日記</td>
<td>3,045</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Seungseonwon ilgi</em> 承宣院日記</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Gungnaebu ilgi</em> 宮內府日記</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Jeon Biseogam ilgi</em> 前秘書監日記</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Biseowon ilgi</em> 秘書院日記</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Hu Biseogam ilgi</em> 後秘書監日記</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Kyujanggak ilgi</em> 奎章閣日記</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>total</td>
<td>3,243</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
details of that dialogue. The king’s own opinions, and terms like ‘The King said (上曰)’ or ‘Yi Se-baek said 李世白’ continue to appear, revealing literally everything Yi Se-baek included in his appeal. In the end, Yi Se-baek was granted his request, after he argued that a prefect with a literary background would serve the public much better than a prefect with a military background, and such prefect would serve them well in terms of eliminating social problems that were plaguing the public. The King authorized the request and sent prefects with literary background to areas such as Jeongju 定州, Gasan 嘉山 and Bakcheon 博川. As we can see, the Seungjeongwon ilgi described the entire process of discussion that led to the conclusion that was described in the Annals.

The Seungjeongwon ilgi, being the record created by the secretariat office, reveals all the secret dialogues that were exchanged by the kings and his officials, and it even describes the Kings’ facial expressions and emotional conditions. Also, a considerable number of pages were devoted to describing the kings’ feelings, their state of health, and also the health conditions of other members of the royal family. For example, there are scenes in which Kings talked to their officials about their own health problems and symptoms, and consulted medical practitioners as well. The producers of these records were truly devoted to recording literally everything of the Kings, and that was what made the birth of these journals possible in the first place.

Of course, the Seungjeongwon ilgi could not contain ‘all’ the information that existed, for the entire duration of the dynasty. Its primary focus was fixed upon the king, as it was the records created by the kings’ own secretariat office. So things that did not involve the kings in a direct fashion, like ceremonies that did not require the kings’ presence or events that happened in local regions of the peninsula, were recorded even more briefly than they were described in the Annals of the Joseon Dynasty. For example, regarding the entrance ceremony held for Crown Prince Hyomyeong on March 11, 1817 (17th year of Sunjo’s reign), the Sunjo Annals left a most detailed account of that event, the entire process of that particular ritual, yet the Seungjeongwon ilgi chose only to
include a brief report submitted from the official in charge of the ceremony, and some related orders regarding the ceremony that came from the sitting king as well. Also, natural disasters that occurred for centuries throughout the Joseon dynasty are described most meticulously in the Annals and not in the Diary, as the former record contains comprehensive collection of all the reports that came from all the provincial offices.

There is yet another difference between them. The Annals provide the opinion of the historian themselves (similar to the editorials and comments we can see in today’s newspapers), which are essentially ‘past comments’ of a particular event or incident. On the other hand, the Seungjeongwon ilgi concentrates upon delivering all the facts. As a result, they truly became records that could complement each other, and raise each other’s value as fellow historical records.
3. Ilseongnok (Daily Memoirs)

Ilseongnok (Daily Memoirs) is composed of 2,327 volumes, and contains the history of 150 years of the Joseon dynasty, from King Jeongjo to King Sunjong, the last King of the dynasty. Jeongjo was a unique individual, and he set an example for all the Joseon Kings in many areas of dynastic governance. He was also well known for his daily journals, which he modified into a steadfast record of his own governance, and a record which would continue for centuries. He had been writing a diary since his days as a Crown Prince, and he maintained
that habit even after he ascended to the throne. After 1783 (the 7th year of Jeongjo’s reign) his officials took charge of the actual task of documenting, but Jeongjo or his successors still continued to devote themselves to writing diaries regarding their own governance. The records created in such fashion were later gathered and compiled, and became *Ilseongnok* 日省錄 (Daily Memoirs). The term ‘Ilseong’ came from a line inside the classic *Lunyu* (The Analects of Confucius), which said ‘perform introspection of oneself, three times a day.’ It is designated as National Treasure No.153.

1) Compilation of the *Ilseongnok*

*Ilseongnok*’s very origin was the *Jonhyeongak ilgi* 尊賢閣日記, which was authored by Jeongjo since his days as Crown Prince. Jeongjo was deeply inspired by a comment made by Confucius’ student Zengzi, which was ‘I look back upon myself three times a day (吾日三省吾身)’, and acting upon such inspiration, he developed a habit of writing a daily diary. We can confirm this by reading Jeongjo’s own remarks, ordering the compilation of *Ilseongnok*, in which he quoted the aforementioned saying by Zengzi. In 1785 (the 9th year of Jeongjo’s reign) he ordered the compilation of his own diaries in a Gang 綱 and Mok 目 structure, based upon certain primary materials such as *Jonhyeongak ilgi* which contained records regarding things that had happened since his own birth and also during his Crown-Prince days, and *Seungjeongwon ilgi* which contained records made after his ascension to the throne. Kyujanggak officials were put in charge of the task, and records of the years from 1760 (36th year of Yeongjo’s reign, when he was the Crown Prince) were compiled.

Because there was already the *Seungjeongwon ilgi* documented by the Kings’ own secretariat office, Jeongjo ordered a totally different type of record to be compiled, and as a result *Ilseongnok* was created in a form that would allow readers to search for and find important themes related to governance, by inspecting the Gang and Mok categories. It was decided to use Zengzi’s words ‘Ilseong’ as a title, and the compilation process continued for 151 years, up until 1910, the last year of the
Ilseongnok was an abbreviated record of literally all the things that happened around the King everyday. The officials’ appeals to the Kings, the Kings’ own actions and Yuneum 素音 (proclamations) meant for either the officials or the public, reports of the officials who were secretly dispatched to local areas to monitor public injustice, plans to respond to natural disasters such as draughts or floods, trials of prisoners, books that were compiled by the government, civil appeals and petitions that were received and processed during Kings’ travels, are all recorded in monthly and daily entries. All the relevant matters were presented with brief introductions, and they were all tagged with labels so that the readers would find them easily. For example, in case of March 4th, 1776 (the year Jeongjo ascended to the throne), the tag label says, “the price of Ginseng in the Ganggye area, and the problems of the Hwangok practice, are all ordered to be rectified.” We can see that the matter at hand that required government’s attention was the Hwangok (grain loan system) issue at the time.

Ilseongnok entries always start with a weather report. These records, along with those of the Seungjeongwon ilgi, inform us not only of the weather changes but also periodic trends in the climate of the Joseon dynasty period, in a systematic fashion. Perhaps, the habit of contemporary children of always recording the day’s weather in their diary, almost without any exception, may have stemmed from this kind of tradition of the Koreans.

Records were written with brushes, and the most noticeable character that we find here is ‘Yeo 子,’ which mans ‘I.’ Unlike the Annals of the Joseon Dynasty or the Seungjeongwon ilgi, this clearly shows us that Ilseongnok was a record originated by the King.

Ilseongnok reflects the intentions and actions of Jeongjo, who strove to enhance the welfare level of the public. There are more than 1,300 cases of him receiving Gyeokjaeng 撃錶 (beating a gong to express one’s chagrin (similar practice=Sangeon 上言-forwarding words to resolve one’s own chagrin or undeserved charges)) appeals from the public, recorded here. Whenever he
was on travels, Jeongjo listened to the public and ordered resolution of
their problems to his officials.

Many things that were not described in the Annals or the Journals, are
recorded in Ilseongnok. For example, the royal matrimony that Jeongjo
went through when he was a Crown Prince, was described very briefly in
the Yeongjo Annals and the Seungjeongwon ilgi, but were depicted with
great detail in Jeongjo’s own diary.

The numbers in Ilseongnok are very meticulously documented as well.
This was done to establish the record itself as a helpful guide for future
governing. Ilseongnok is also especially useful in determining the actual
history of the Gojong and Sunjong eras. The Annals of this period were
compiled in an oppressive atmosphere of heavy intervention from the
Japanese, and therefore they transmit a distorted view of history. The
Kings’ own diaries in the Ilseongnok may be the only records available
to correct those distortions.

2) Relationship between Ilseongnok and the Seungjeongwon ilgi

This type of record most similar to Ilseongnok would be the
Seungjeongwon ilgi. Ilseongnok was in nature the kings’ own diary-like
journals produced to assist the Kings’ own efforts at character-building
(修己) rather than to serve as a professional historical record. Yet it
contains not only trivial details but also views from a broad perspective
of the government’s operation and the activities of the officials who were
involved. In Hongjae jeonseo, Jeongjo notes:

Ilseongnok, compiled by Naegak 内閣 (Kyujanggak), was not in existence
before 1776 (丙申年). Yet the documentation turned out to be so detailed and
meticulous that even the Juseo officials’ efforts at the Seungjeongwon office
would never be a match. Dialogues with the officials and debates at the
Gyeongyeon lectures, discussion by officials of current affairs, their appeals
and suggestions, are all here. Decisions over all kinds of issues, and reports
from all across the country, make Ilseongnok the most magnificent record of
history, and consultation source for governance…
As we can see, Jeongjo emphasized the sheer size of Ilseongnok compared to the Seungjeongwon ilgi. It was of course done to justify initiating a task of such magnitude, even in the presence of another comprehensive record. Jeongjo also commented upon the Chinese tradition (Si jeonggi records were stored at the Jungseseong ministry office since the Tang dynasty, and the Naejeong Illyeok 丙廷日歷 record at the Chumirwon office) and argued that Joseon as well stored a Diary at Seungjeongwon and Ilseongnok at Naegak (Kyujanggak). In essence, he was arguing that the practice of documenting both Ilseongnok and Seungjeongwon ilgi at the same time was a legitimate one, considering the existence of similar practices in China.

In other words, Jeongjo reasoned that Ilseongnok compiled by Kyujanggak would be a good partner to Seungjeongwon ilgi. The fact that both records were designated as “Memory of the World” shows us that Jeongjo’s initial reasoning of his own decision was indeed correct.

2. Royal writings and documentary pictures

Kyujanggak evolved out of a royal family library, so it held many items related to the royal family members. Among them, calligraphy of the Kings and queens, and pictures depicting ceremonial occasions that involved the royal family member, all transmit the sheer beauty and dignity of the royal family to us, in quite visible terms.

Kyujanggak, which was established in 1776 (the year Jeongjo ascended to the throne), was originally a royal family library. So at Kyujanggak items related to the royal family were primarily stored. Royal calligraphy, books they authored themselves, the genealogical records of the royal family, Uigwe materials that recorded ceremonial occasions involving the royal family, were all important assets that enabled Kyujanggak to maintain the authority and dignity as a royal family library. Among them, the Kings’ own calligraphy shows us their character and moods most vividly. Writings of Seonjo, Hyojong,
Sukjong, Gyeongjong, Yeongjo and Jeongjo are all held by Kyujanggak, and so are the writings of other Crown Princes and queens, including the writings of Crown Prince Sado seja (at the age of eight), 33 letters written in Korean alphabet by Queen Sunwon Wanghu, and the writing from Regent Heungseon Daewongun in 1870.

1. Royal calligraphy (Eopil 御筆)

1) Writings of Kings Seonjo, Hyojong, Sukjong and Gyeongjong

The oldest royal calligraphy from a King is that of King Seonjo’s. His writing can be examined from a handwriting book (21 sheets, 42 pages) printed with woodblocks and titled Seonmyo eopil 宣廟御筆 (Royal Calligraphy of King Seonjo). This book was printed with woodblocks in 1630 by Uichanggun 義昌君 Yi Gwang 李煥, who received from Seonjo (1552~1608) some poems (漢詩) authored by Chinese literary figures. King Seonjo was very good at calligraphy and drawing (書畫). In this work Seonmyo eopil there are total of nine poems written by figures like Han Yu 韓愈, the monk Yeongcheol 靈徹, Yi Gun-ok 李群玉, and an epilogue written by Uichanggun. He wrote that during the war that he lost the writings Seonjo gave to himself, so he published what was left of them, for future generations.

Hyojong daewang eopil 孝宗大王御筆 (Royal calligraphy of King Hyojong) (9 sheets, 16 pages) was the writing of Hyojong (1619~1659), who led the planning for the Northern expedition. In this royal calligraphy book, four letters written by Hyojong, registry of the items (物目), and an article entitled “Hongseonjeon 紅線傳” are included. Three of the four letters were written in 1641 (the 19th year of Injo’s reign) and 1642, when Hyojong was a Prince (Bongnim Daegun) and was held captive in Shenyang (瀋陽). These letters were sent to the residence of Neungseong Buwongun 綾城府院君宅, the home of Queen Inheon Wanghu 仁獻王后 (Hyojong’s grandmother). They were written in grass-style calligraphy, and they reflected Hyojong’s frustration and sadness of being a prisoner, far from home.
Sukjong daewang eopil 肅宗大王御筆 (Royal calligraphy of King Sukjong) is a royal calligraphy book (御筆帖) published with engravings (陰刻) of poems that King Sukjong (1661–1720) wrote himself and bestowed to the Princesses, Princes and officials. We can see that he had a magnificent calligraphic style. Poems were written for Princess Sukmyeong 淑明公主, Princes Yeoninggun 延頴君 and Yeollyeonggun 延齡君, and officials such as Kim Su-hang 金壽恒 & Nam Gu-man 南九萬, and other Princes like Imchanggun 臨昌君 and Nangwongun 郎原君. One of the more notable inclusions is an article written in celebration of the recovery of Yeoninggun (later Yeongjo) from an illness.

Gyeongjong supil 景宗手筆 is royal calligraphy book, published via woodblocks featuring the calligraphy that Gyeongjong (1688–1724) bestowed to Min Jin-won 閔蘊遠 in 1696 when Gyeongjong was still a Crown Prince. This handwriting book is composed of 10 sheets, and 8 of
them feature Gyeongjong’s large character (大字), Haeseo 楷書 style writing of the sentence, “Gyeongijiknae 敬以直内, Uibangoe 義以方外.” This sentence was from Juyeok 周易 (Book of Changes), and it meant “Straighten the inside with respect, and correct the outside with righteousness.” In his epilogue, Min Jin-won recorded how he received this writing from Gyeongjong. He described Gyeongjong’s writing style as straight, like a Bonghwang (phoenix) figure dancing and a dragon flying around.

2) Power of Yeongjo’s writing style

Yeongjo eopil 英祖御筆 (Royal calligraphy of Yeongjo) is a royal calligraphy book that was printed in July 1776 (during the reign of Yeongjo), with poems (詩句) that were written by Yeongjo (1694~1776) and bestowed to Yi Choe-jung 李最中. It is a single volume with 13 pages. In the forward section, there is a record of Yeongjo bestowing Yeongjo’s royal calligraphy to a ‘Bongjoha’ (奉朝賀: a special rank granted to officials who retired from positions above Jong 2-Pum rank/ the rank was without any significance, but the Bongjoha officials were requested to attend dynastic ceremonies) official Yi Choe-jung (1715~1784) on July 30th, 1776. Yeongjo’s royal calligraphy were poems in four of five character stanzas. They were mostly written in the large character (大字), Haeseo 楷書 style. The sentence that says “auspicious snow is signalling a generous harvest, so next year’s yield would be good (瑞雪驗豐, 明農登熟, 仍此有祝, 近八親書)”, and the particular emphasis upon ‘Seoseol 瑞雪 (auspicious snow)’ impart Yeongjo’s will and determination, in the most artistic fashion.

Donggung bomuk 東宮寶墨 was a handwriting book that contained calligraphy which the unfortunate Crown Prince Sado Seja (1735~1762) wrote when he was eight, on February 11th, 1742 (18th year in Yeongjo’s reign) to a person named Gapdeuk (son of Yi Il-jun who was a Cheomjjeong official at the Janggakwon office). The sentence, composed of 13 characters, saying “Kings and officials have their own code of conduct, the King should be righteous and the official should be loyal, then their roles would be complete (君臣有義, 君義臣忠, 君臣之分義)” were written in
a large character (大字), Haeseo 楷書 style. There is an epilogue written by Yi Ik-jun. We can feel the presence of Crown Prince Sado seja, who would have dreamed of the role of a King since his very childhood.

3) Writings of Regent Heungseon Daewongun

The most illustrative item that could effectively display the writing style of Jeongjo (1752–1800), who was the very figure who reinvented the institution of Kyujanggak, would be the Eojeon chinmak jemyeongcheop 御前親筆題名帖. It is a single book with 17 sheets, and was printed with woodblocks. It contains Jeongjo’s foreword and personal calligraphy. It refers to diverse issues, such as the Byelgunjik 別軍職 issue, forms of issuing orders (Jeollyeoong 傳令), and other titles (Jemyeong 駕名) all together. ‘Byelgunjik’ positions were from the Crown Princes’ guard units (侍衛軍官) during the Byeongja Horan period (period that started with the Byeongja-year war with Qing dynasty, in 1636-1637), and they were later put in charge of guarding the Main Hall (Daejeon 大殿). Jeongjo wrote this item in 1787 (the 11th year of his reign) about the origin of these figures, their primary missions, and then he bestowed his own writings of sentences like ‘Eojeon chinmak 御前親筆’ and ‘Eojeon chinbijjungyo 御前親筆直騷’ to them. In this material, there is the list of 108 figures who were appointed to the Byelgunjik status from 1776 through 1831.

Daewongun chinpir 大院君親筆 is a handwriting book that contains letters and journals written by King Gojong’s father the Regent Heungseon Daewongun Yi Ha-eung (1820–1898). Heungseon Daewongun learned how to write from Gim Jeong-hui 金正喜, a renowned calligrapher who lived during the latter half period of Joseon, and was also very good at drawing pictures. Heungseon Daewongun was also known to have a very special talent for drawing orchids. This work is composed of two volumes, and it also contains his diaries and letters written in 1872 and 1873, describing his personal life and his opinion of the ongoing political events as well. The style of the letters clearly reflect influence from the Chusa-style. And from all the preciseness and
straightness of the letters, we can feel the delicate and tender nature that Daewongun had deep inside him. Among the contents, there are some accounts related to social and economic issues of the time, such as advising the public not to submit Daedongmi 大同米 tax in money but in rice, which was an answer made to a query of whether one could submit it in money or not.

4) Queens' letters written in Korean alphabet, which feature Gungche writing style

From the letters written by the royal family members, those which were written by Queens Inmok Wanghu and Sunwon Wanghu are
particularly worth mentioning. These letters were written in the Korean alphabet, informing us that the female members of the Joseon Royal family used Korean alphabet frequently and generally. Inmok wanghu piljeok 仁穆王后筆蹟 is a collection of handwriting of Inmok Wanghu (1584–1632), who was the queen of King Seonjo. In this work, there are letters written in 1603 (36th year of Seonjo’s reign) and also in Korean alphabet, part of Wang Bo’s 王勃 “Deungwanggak seo 膳王閣序”, Tao Qian 陶潜 (Tao Yuanming) “Sasi 四時 (Four Seasons)”, and four poems including a seven-syllable resulated poem whose author is unknown. The letters written in Korean alphabet referred to an occasion of visiting a patient on January 19th 1603. The early period Korean letters featured here are very important ones for the study of the Korean language and historical linguistics.

The other set of 33 letters that were also written in Korean alphabet, draw some attention as well. The person who initiated those letters was Queen Sunwon 純元王后. She was the daughter of Andong Gim house’s Gim Jo-sun, and was named queen in 1802 (the 2nd year of Sunjo’s reign). She oversaw the government after Sunjo’s death, and was at the heart of the so-called ‘governance of powerful houses’ during the early half of the 19th century. The collection of these letters is labelled Sunwon wanghu eopil bongseo 純元王后御筆封書, and most of them were written and then sent to her cousin (再從) Kim Heung-geun and his son Gim Byeong-deok 金炳德, in the waning years of King Heonjong’s reign and the early years of King Cheoljong’s. Most of them were letters asking about the health of relatives, and consoling others for having to make long-distance trips. The letters were all individually folded and stored, showing the touch of a female. Her affection for her relatives and her interest in contemporary political issues were all well described in the letters, and the writing style also featured a decent Gungche 宮體 style. They are all invaluable materials for current studies of the 19th century Korean alphabet, the language of the time, and the writing style of the past.
2. Seonbyeon yeongjeong cheop 先賢影幀帖 and Jinsin hwasong cheop 捧神畫像帖

In Kyujanggak, there are portrait books such as Jinsin hwasong cheop or Seonbyeon yeongjeong cheop, which contain portraits of royal figures. Through these portrait collections, we can witness their characteristic portrayals, as well as other people as well who lived in the same period. For example, the Yu Eon-ho portrait, which was recently donated from the Gigiye Yu lineage, is a fine piece of art which is designated as a Treasure Item.

1) Seonbyeon yeongjeong cheop (File of portraits of past officials)

Seonbyeon yeongjeong cheop is a collection of portraits of former
high-ranking officials, who served the government during the reigns of Kings Sukjong, Yeongjo and Jeongjo. The identity of the compiler is unknown, and it is presumed to have been compiled in the early 19th century. It is composed of two bindings (cheop帖), filled with colored, handwritten manuscripts, and is 39cm in height and 29.4cm in width. Most of the figures described inside are officials who held the rank above Panseo ministers during Yeongjo and Jeongjo’s reigns, and they are described in full uniform code. Portraits of the people who were no longer alive as of the 1790s, were redrawn based upon earlier portraits.

Fourteen figures who had their portraits collected in the first binding include Yi Yeo 李龠, Gim Jae-no 金在鲁, Yu Cheok-gi 俞拓基, Yi Cheon-bo 李天輔, Yi Hu 李厚, Sin Man 申晚, Min Baek-sang 闵百祥, Hong Nak-seong 洪樂性, Jo Gwan-bin 趙觀彬, Yi Gi-jin 李箕鎰, Yun Geup 尹揆, Hong Sang-han 洪象漢, Yun Bong-o 尹鳳五, Jo Myeong-jeong 趙明鼎.

10 figures who had their portraits collected in the second binding include Heo Mok 許穆, Geon Dae-un 權大運, Mok Nae-seon 睦來善, Yi Myeong 李溟, Im Jeong 任琩, Im Won-gun 林原君, Seopyeonggun 西平君, Nakchanggun 洛昌君, Anheunggun 安興君, Yi Rim 李霖.

The name and rank of the person portrayed were indicated in the upper right section of the portrait, and most of them were Jeongseung and Panseo figures. The 14 people in the first binding were all from the Noron party. Among them Gim Jae-no, Yu Cheok-gi, Yi Cheon-bo, Sin Man, Hong Nak-seong reached the rank of Yeonguijeong ministers (Prime ministers), and the rest of them served as Panseo figures and above. Gim Jae-no, Yu Cheok-gi, Yi Gi-jin were luminaries of the Noron party, and they all strongly argued for a firm punishment against the Soron party members, and also the restoration of the honor of the Noron party members who were killed in the Sinim-year political purge which occurred in 1721 and 1722 (as a conflict between the Noron and Soron parties). We can see that binding one was a collection of portraits of the major figures of the Noron party who served as high-ranking officials in the government during the latter half period of the Joseon dynasty.

In the meantime, in the second binding politicians from the Namin
party such as Heo Mok, Gwon Dae-un, Mok Nae-seon, certain members of the royal family, and Yi Sam 李森 who was named as Bunmu gongsin 奉武功臣 (merit subject), are portrayed. Compared to the first binding, portraits of people from a longer period of time are collected in the second one, and unlike the first binding which gathered only the portraits of the Noron party members, there seems to be no similarity among the people whose portraits are collected in binding two. In the first binding, Noron figures are listed not in the order of their birth year but by their official ranks, and their names and ranks indicated are only in the upper right section. Yet in the second bind there seems to be no rules of such kind, which suggests that binding two was put together as a selection containing portraits of Namin and royal family members who lived at the same time, in the process of creating a portrait collection focusing upon the Noron members. The second bind must have been compiled by artists who were under the supervision of the Noron party members.

Some of many attractions of this portrait collection include the portrait of the Namin party’s leader Heo Mok who had white beard and eyebrows. Yi Cheon-bo had a quite dark face, and Yu Cheok-gi had a ruddy nose. It should be noted that these works depict the real figures of famous people who led politics and not to mention the philosophical community during the latter half period of the Joseon dynasty.

2) Jinsin hwasang cheop

Jinsin hwasang cheop is a collection of portraits of officials who served during the reign of Yeongjo and through the reigns of Jeongjo and Sunjo as well. The identity of the compiler is unknown, and it is presumed to have been compiled in the early 19th century. It is composed of a single binding (with 11sheets and 12pages), filled with colored handwritten manuscripts, and is 44.6cm in height and 32.2cm in width. twenty-two officials are portrayed, dressed in uniforms, and most of them were the Six Jo (Yukjo: Six Ministries) offices’ Panseo, Champan and Chameui officials (ranks that were lower than those held by the figures described in Seonhyeon yeongjeong cheop) in the waning years of Yeongjo’s
reign. Even people who served as Seoyun (庶尹) and County magistrates (Gunsu) are included as well. For example, Yun Sa-guk (尹師國: 1728–1809) served as Panseo ministers for the Gongjo and Hyeongjo ministries during King Jeongjo’s reign, and Sim I-ji (沈履之: 1720–1780) served as Daesaheon and a Champan vice-minister for the Hyeongjo office during King Yeongjo’s reign. People like O Jae-so are pockmarked, so we can see that many people had suffered through smallpox at the time.

3) Portrait of Yu Eon-ho

The most noticeable portrait in custody of Kyujanggak, is the portrait of Yu Eon-ho (金彦鎬: 1730–1796). It was a description of Yu when he was 58, and the portrait shows us a straight Seonbi figure. This portrait was in the possession of the Gigiye Yu lineage, a descendant of Yu Eon-ho, and was donated to Kyujanggak on February 11th, 1997. It was designated as a Treasure Item in 2006. The fact that Yi Myeong-gi 李命基, one of the greatest artists of the time, was involved in the portraying of him suggests the formidable nature of Yu Eon-ho. There is a royal comment (御贊) made by King Jeongjo himself, recorded in the upper side of the portrait.

To meet a good official (相見于廊),
First I had a dream (先卜於夢).
The bow and leather which complement each other (一弦一柱),
That I saw from Kim (Jong Su) and Yu (Eon Ho) (示此伯仲).

It was only in a rare occasion that a King would provide a direct comment for an official’s portrait, and it shows Jeongjo’s deep trust in Yu Eon-ho. He served at the side of Jeongjo from the days when Jeongjo was still a Crown Prince, and after Jeongjo ascended to the throne he

36 Bowstrings are strongly pulled, and leather is generally gentle, so they represent haste and ease.
joined the task of founding Kyujanggak and also served as a Jikjehak figure at the institute. Later he reached the rank of Jwauijeong minister. This portrait is all the more important because it was a portrait of a person who was an integral figure in the history of Kyujanggak. The portrait of Yu Eon-ho was designated as a Treasure Item in 2006.

3. Chamuijong sayeondo 参議公賜宴圖, 3 items

In July 1817 (17th year of King Sunjo’s reign), Seo Jeong-bo 徐鼎輔 participated in a ceremony celebrating Ikjong’s (翼宗/1809~1830: Sunjo’s son Crown Prince Hyomyeong, who was later given the posthumous title of a King, “Ikjong”) entrance into the Seonggyungwan university. He was the Bodeok 輔德 official of the Sigangwon office, which was in charge of the education of the Crown Princes. In 1828, in order to commemorate the occasion that had taken place 11 years ago, he created Ikjong daewang iphakdo 翼宗大王入學圖 (Picture of King Ikjong’s entrance into school), and stored it in a wooden box, along with other materials such as Seoyeongwan sayeondo 書筵官 賜宴圖, which was produced by his 10th ancestral grandfather Seo Go (徐固, a scholar and official who lived during King Jungjong’s reign) and Namji girohoedo 南池耆老會圖, which was produced by his eighth ancestral grandfather Seo Seong (徐澄, a scholar and official who lived during the reigns of Kings Gwanghaegun and Injo). On the front side of the box, there was a label saying Chamuijong sayeondo attached, meaning the 10th ancestral grandfather who served as a Chamui official in the government received a banquet from above.

They are all colored, handwritten manuscripts, and each individual picture measures 41cm in height and 26.5cm in width. Three items are put together, in the order of Namji girohoedo,
Iphakdo, and Seoyeongwan sayeondo.

1) Seoyeongwan sayeondo 書筵宮賜宴圖

Seoyeongwan sayeondo is a picture describing a banquet in 1535 (30th year of King Jungjong’s reign), where 39 people (including the Seoyeongwan officers) who had a close relationship to the Crown Prince were invited, in commemoration of the 16th anniversary of King Injong’s Investiture as the Crown Prince. ‘Seoyeon’ referred to a royal lecture session where the Crown Prince and the officials who were in charge of educating the Crown Prince gathered together to read and debate issues. It was similar to the sessions where the king and officials gathered and discussed their studies and the governance of the dynasty as well. In order for the Crown Prince to devote considerable time to personal studies and build its own character as a future king, the Seoyeon sessions for the Crown Prince were held three times a day, just like the kings’ Gyeongyeon sessions, in the morning (朝講), lunch (晝講), and evening (夕講: held in roughly at 2 o’clock in the afternoon). And irregular lectures such as Sodae (召對: summoned dialogue) or Yadae (夜對: dialogue at night) were held as well. Even in times of national crises, such as the Jeongmyo-year war with the Manchus in 1627, Seoyeon sessions for the Crown Prince Sohyeon Seja continued, showing the royal family’s determination to maintain this particular practice.

‘Sayeon 賜宴 banquets (banquets bestowed by the King)’ were often held by the adult Kings to express their own appreciation for the masters who had taught them in their youth, during their days as Crown Prince. Such banquets were held in an atmosphere that commanded respect for their venerated masters. They were held at the Gyeongbokgung palace, and Seo Jeong-bo’s 10th ancestral grandfather Seo Go 徐固 was in attendance at one of them, as Jwarang-rank official of the Ijo Ministry. Seo Go was the grandson of Seo Geo-jeong, the acclaimed official who lived in the early days of Joseon. He served as a Chamui-rank official of the Yejo Ministry during King Myeongjong’s reign, and died on a journey to the Chinese Ming dynasty as an emissary. Listed in the front part are Seo
Jeong-bo’s *Seoyeongwan sayeondogi* 書筵官賜宴圖記: Foreword, which explained how the picture came into Seo’s possession, and the list of 39 people who were in attendance such as Gim Geun-sa, Gim An-ro, Sim Eon-gyeong, Chae Se-yeong, and then the “Seoyeongwan sayeondo” itself. Sigangwon office’s officials with their head pieces decorated with flowers and wearing red robes (紅袍) were seated in three rows, and were waiting for the King to fill their glasses. In front of them there were dancers and musicians providing entertainment. Quite amusingly, already drunken officials were depicted to be exiting the palace with assistance, and the mountains around the palace are depicted in quite an elegant fashion. Seo Jeong-bo provided a comment of his own as well, praising that the ceremony fulfilled the spirit of respect, that hailed from the past sages’ practice of ‘inviting the elders and asking for sound advice (養老乞言).’
2) Namji giroboedo 南池香老會圖

This is a picture of a Girohoe gathering, which was attended by 12 people, including a person named Seo Seong (徐崇: 1558–1631, 8th ancestral grandfather of Seo Jeong-bo). The gathering was held at Hong Eun-hyo 洪恩燾's house outside the Sungnyemun gate, on June 5th, 1629 (the 7th year of King Injo’s reign). Seo Seong’s pen name was Yakbong 業峯, and he served as Panseo ministers for the Hojo and Byeongjo ministries during the reigns of Seonjo, Gwanghaegun and Injo. He left a personal anthology entitled Yakbongjiip.

Giroyeon ceremonies were offered to officials over the age of 70. At the time, reaching the age of 70 was considered to be attaining a high age. Only four Kings (Taejo, Sukjong, Yeongjo, Gojong) were able to enter the Giroso chamber. Namji girohwoedo refers to a Giroyeon party held at the Namji pond 南池 (Southern pond). Listed in the front, are Jang Yu 張錫’s article which depicted the party’s key sequences that were observed and recorded right after the banquet, Bak Se-dang’s 1691 article of recollection which contained a description of the party that was held 60 year ago, and Seo Jeong-bo’s explanation in 1828 of how the picture came into his possession. Also, basic information regarding all 12 attendants, including Yi In-ji (1549–1631), Yun Dong-ro (1550–?), Yi Gwi (1557–1633), Seo Seong, Yu Sun-ik (1559–1632), such as their names, pen names, regional origins, ranks, ages and dates of birth, and even the names of their children who accompanied them to the party, are listed.

Participants were all over 70, from Yi In-ji who was 80 to the youngest, Yu Sun-ik who had just turned 70. At the time there was a Namji pond in front of Hong Eun-hyo's house, and lotus flowers and weeping willows were producing a beautiful and peaceful sight. Inside the tower, 12 participants were all served with a same table, and females were busy preparing food. People who were standing by under the tower seems to be the sons of the participants, waiting to escort their elders back home. The two-storied structure with a tiled roof that we can see through the weeping willows seems to be the Sungnyemun gate. This
could be said to be a documentary picture, with qualities of a water color painting. Former governmental painter Yi Gi-ryong 李起龍 painted this picture, and being an acclaimed writer of the time, Jang Yu wrote the epilogues to this picture as well. The original material (Treasure Item No. 865) is now in custody of the Seoul National University Museum.

3) Ikjong daewang ipbakdo 翹宗大王入學圖

This picture was created in commemoration of the ceremony that celebrated the entrance of Crown Prince Hyomyeong (Ikjong) into Seonggyungwan on March 11st, 1817 (17th year of Sunjo). Crown Prince Hyomyeong was the son of King Sunjo, and in the closing years of Sunjo’s reign he himself governed the country in his father’s stead. He did his best to bring a certain degree of renaissance to the politics and culture of the Joseon dynasty, but unfortunately he died too early. At the
time of the ceremony, Seo Jeong-bo attended as the Sigangwon office’s Bodeok official. In the front of the picture, there is a pictorial by Seo Jeong-bo describing the general outlook of the ceremony, and that pictorial was followed by the Iphakdogi, a foreword explaining how he came to create a single binding which included also Chamwigong Seoyeon-gwan sayeondo and Yakbonggong 藥峰公 Namji girohoedo, which were given to him from his ancestors. Also, 13 poems exchanged between the Binaek officials (figures like Hong Gyeong-mo, Gim Byeong-gu, Yi Man-su, Nam Gong-cheol, etc.) and palace officials (宮官), and the epilogue authored by Nam Gong-cheol (南公徹: 1760~1840), are all inserted here as well. In this epilogue, Nam emphasized the importance of the Crown Prince’s education, and the vital nature of the Seoyeongwan officials’ own character-building efforts.

In the Wangseja iphakdo cheop (Picture depicting the Crown Prince’s
entrance into school), which is currently in custody of both National Museum of Korea and the Jangseogak Archives, there are six pictures describing sequences from the Crown Prince’s exit of the palace and to the Crown Prince’s receiving of the congratulation of officials. But in this Ikjöng daewang iphakdo 翼宗大王入學圖, there is only the fifth picture inside. The stage for the banquet depicted is the Seonggyungwan Myeongnyundang hall, where the entrance ceremony was held. In the Joseon dynasty period Seonggyungwan was the highest ranking education facility, so the government wished to set an example of education for the public by arranging a ceremony for the Crown Prince who was entering the facility for studies. The person seated on the right side of Myeongnyundang was the official in charge of lecturing (usually assumed by the Left and Right Binggaek officials), and between two persons opposite him was the seat of the Crown Prince. Even in a royal family occasion, neither the Crown Prince or the King was described usually.

It was the government painters who painted these three pictures, which were passed down through generations in the Dalseong Seo lineage. They were usually painted out of the descendants’ strong desire to preserve the glory of their own lineages, and we can have a clear glimpse into the lives of the Koreans in the past, by examining the disposition of the structures, the detailed descriptions of the characters, and dances and musical instruments that were displayed at banquets. One might consider such experience as a unique privilege that could only be enjoyed by the descendants.

These paintings are all the more important because with the exception of documentary pictures describing the royal family’s ceremonies, there are not that many documentary pictures that describe the lives of the scholar officials extant today.

4. Juncheon sasil (documentation of the river dredging) and Juncheon sisa yeolmudo

Long before the completion of the Cheonggyecheon stream project in
1760 (36th year of King Yeongjo’s reign), Yeongjo was deeply interested in dredging projects. In 1752, he personally visited the Gwangtonggyo bridge, and queried the residents concerning their feelings about the dredging. On May 2nd, 1758, with discussions with the officials (over the issue of whether Cheonggyecheon stream project would be viable or not), Yeongjo established detailed plans, and in 1760 commenced the dredging. It was almost eight years, since he first got interested in dredging. Construction began on February 18, 1760, and was completed on April 15th. Roughly 215,000 subjects were mobilized for the construction task that lasted 57 days. Hanyang capital’s residents, merchants from the marketplace, volunteers from local areas, Buddhist priests and soldiers all gathered together for the task. 63,000 people who were without jobs were paid for their service. During the construction, 35,000 Nyang of coins, and 2,300 Seok (†) of rice were used.

Yeongjo’s determination regarding the dredging project of the Cheonggyecheon stream, designed to prevent flooding, was well reflected in the February 23rd, 1760 entry of the Seungjeongwon ilgi. Yeongjo said “My heart is set solely upon this project,” and he made it abundantly clear to the officials that his top priority was the Cheonggyecheon stream project. Yeongjo was particularly pleased by the fact that the most difficult section of the entire project, the Ogan water gate section, was completed in merely six days. Hong Bong-han, Minister of the Hojo office, reported to Yeongjo that even the blind, handicapped people were wishing to join the construction project, and Yeongjo was even more pleased by his own subjects’ willingness to join the King’s cause. As we can see, the dredging project of the Yeongjo era became a national project that continued, based upon the entire country’s active cooperation.

On March 16th, 1760, construction was completed, and Juncheon sasil, record of the entire construction process was compiled. The title was chosen by Yeongjo himself. Yeongjo asked Hong Bong-han, who was in charge of the construction, “For how many years could we enjoy the fruits of this project?” and Hong responded by saying “Probably an
entire century,” revealing his confidence in the integrity of the project. Later Gu Seon-haeng suggested that a marker stone (標石) be erected after the digging was completed, and Yeongjo ordered four characters, ‘Gyeongjin jipyeong 庚辰地平’ be carved upon the marker stones. This was done not only to highlight the fact that the construction was complete, but also to encourage people not to let dirt and soil accumulate to a level high enough to cover some of the characters. It was his determination to ask future Kings to continue dredging, in case of even one character was covered by accumulated soil.

During the Cheonggyecheon stream construction project, Yeongjo was deeply involved in the entire process and he also encouraged the project to go forward at the Heungin-ji-mun gate as well. In celebration of the project’s completion, he also held a national examination at Mohwagwan and rewarded the ones who passed that examination, in order to share the joy of completing the task with his own subjects. He also invited the supervisors of the construction to Yeonyungdae 銓旳臺, and provided them with a party. The scene Yeongjo personally encouraging the people is depicted in Juncheon sisa yeolmudo 濟川試射閲武圖, showing us the details of the construction sites. In this picture, cows, carts and other utensils that were used in the project, and Yeongjo’s leading the scene are all portrayed.

5. Picture of the War with the Japanese that started in the Imjin year (Imjin jeollando 壬辰戰亂圖)

“Picture of Imjin-year Warfare” is a picture painted by a governmental painter named Yi Si-nul 李時訥 in 1834 (the 34th year of Sunjo’s reign), of the time of the Japanese invasion centuries earlier. Described are the battles that were fought at Busanjin and Dadaepojin, and the overall geography as well, in a form of a hanging picture. It is a single scroll, and is painted upon silk. The picture’s size is 141cm in height and 85.8cm in width. When the scroll itself is included, the measurements reach 172cm and 99cm respectively. In the lower right section, there is a
signature (款識) portion stating ‘243 years after the Imjin year of the Wanli period (萬曆壬辰後二百四十三年), Gabo year, June, Painter (畫師), headquarters Gungigam official (本府軍器監官) Yi Si-nul 李時謙’, letting us know that this picture was painted in June 1834 by Yi Si-nul. Yi was known as a painter, but there is no record regarding him inside either the Geullyeok seohwajing 植域書畫徵 (record of Joseon’s painters and calligraphers) or the Annals of the Joseon Dynasty.

The battles depicted in the picture include the one that was fiercely fought at Dadaepojin (in the foreground) along with the one fought at Busanjin (in the background). The one taking the center stage is the Busanjin battle. As pictures that described the battles fought in the Imjin-year war with the Japanese, there have been “Busanjin sunjeoldo” and “Dongnaebu sunjeoldo” which were painted by Byeon Bak 卞璨, a painter who was affiliated with the Dongnae county. These pictures, painted in 1760, seem to have been copies of previous paintings, and considering the composition and colors of the pictures painted by Yi Si-nul, it is highly possible that Yi Si-nul examined Byeon Bak’s pictures as well. Yet Yi’s picture differs from Byeon’s pictures in some aspects, as it portrays two battles being fought in different locations, and as it inserted detailed descriptions of the coastal area in the picture.

“Picture of Imjin-year Warfare” utilized the bugambeop 俯瞰法 method, a perspective from above, to depict the battle scenes comprehensively, rendering the scenes perceivable from a single view. Also it inserted more Japanese troops than Joseon soldiers in the picture, in order to highlight the fact that Joseon troops were at a fairly disadvantageous situation. Also characters are described differently from each other, according to their ranks and roles. At the center of the picture, the Japanese troops are depicted to be heavily surrounding both Busanjin and Dadaepojin, and the fierce battles that involved so many ships engaging each other are potently depicted as well. The round fortress has a gate tower (門樓), and at the south gate the Joseon troops are staging a defense, under the flag showing the character of ‘Su (帥: Command).’ The sea and the mountains, along the coastal area, are
graphically described. And informative memos are provided here and there as well, showing us the nature of this picture as type of a documentary picture.

Since the Imjin year war with the Japanese, the Joseon government continued to order pictures like this, which described the sacrifices and deaths of Joseon soldiers fighting the Japanese troops at Busanjin and Dadaepojin, to be painted and distributed again and again, in order to maintain alertness regarding any future Japanese invasion that might come, and also to create an atmosphere in which the government could encourage people to give their lives in times of national crises.

3. Contact between the traditional past and the rest of the world

Among all these materials, exemplifying the depth and breadth of the Korean traditional culture, there are also items that show us the Koreans’ encounter with several countries, of either Eastern or Western origin.

Countries that had relationships with Joseon were most of all, China and Japan. Records of the Koreans’ travels to China as emissaries, and travel journals from Tongsin-sa officials who went to and came back from Japan, are records that vividly show us the Koreans’ encounters with foreign cultures, at a time when international trips were far from easy or usual to embark upon. Other materials, such as Jibong yuseol, Seongho saseol, Oju yeonmun jangjeon sango contained information that the Joseon people secured from Western countries. Foreign language manuals such as Nogeoldae eonhae (Annotation and translation), Bak tongsa eonhae (annotation and translation) are also noteworthy in that regard. From all these materials, we can see that Joseon was never a ‘closed’ country, and that our pioneering ancestors were always attempting to come in contact with the world’s newest trends and events.

We can also trace the changes that were occurring within our ancestors’ own perception of the world, through several (world) maps
such as the *Honil gangni yeokdae gukdo* Map, ‘Hwadong Old Map’, and *Cheonhado* Map. These world maps were designed and created under the influence of the Western missionaries who visited Korea during the latter half period of the Joseon dynasty, and they show us that the Joseon society was never alienated or separated from the global community. Also the books which contained studies of the West and were translated into the Korean language (漢譯西學書) show us our ancestors’ embracement of Western science and technology, and their efforts to march into the modern period.

1. Foreign language manuals created in the Joseon dynasty period:
   *Nogeoldae, Bak tongsa, Cbeophae sineo*

How did Koreans in the past perceive the so-called ‘foreign languages’? Quite surprisingly, the Joseon people established systematic education in foreign languages. In the national examination for the Miscellaneous posts (雜科), through which people of technical expertise were selected and accepted into the government, there was the ‘translation (譯科)’ examination, to select translators who could fluently speak foreign languages.

Additionally, there were foreign language manuals meant for the candidates applying for the examination. There were manuals for Chinese language education, such as *Nogeoldae* and *Bak tongsa*, and also a manual for Japanese language education, such as *Cbeophae sineo*.

1) *Nogeoldae* 老乞大

*Nogeoldae* was a manual for studying the Chinese language. ‘No’ was a character used to show respect to one’s counterpart in dialogue, like ‘Mr.’ in English. ‘Geoldae’ was a term used when a Mongol person referred to a Chinese person. *Nogeoldae* is known to have been first published in the waning years of the Goryeo dynasty, yet the title *Nogeoldae* appears in historical records for the first time is in the *Annals of King Sejong’s Reign*. The text was created only in Chinese characters
at the time, yet during the reign of King Jungjong, a person named Choe Se-jin created an annotated and translated version (an Eonhae version), and the text (both the original version and the Eonhae version) was revised several times throughout the Joseon dynasty period.

*Nogeoldae* is composed of various episodes in which three Goryeo merchants encounter a variety of situations on a commercial trip (to sell horses, ginseng and ramie fabric) to China. It comprises two chapters, and the first one’s episodes are all simulated dialogues. In *Nogeoldae*, how to sell and buy horses, how to get an inn to spend the night, how to introduce Jinsaeng (a famous Joseon commodity) to the Chinese people, are all explained in the Chinese language. One might say that it was indeed designed as a handbook for travelers to foreign countries.

*Nogeoldae eonhae* (annotation and translation) is essentially a version that attached two versions of Chinese pronunciation (正音·俗音) to the original contents of *Nogeoldae*, and then tagged annotations and translations prepared in the Korean language. It was designed for people who were not that well versed in Chinese characters, to let them learn Chinese without too much difficulty. It was a translated version of the original material, so to speak. The publication of this book shows us that many people were in need of being able to speak Chinese. This text is also extremely helpful to the scholars who are studying the medieval Korean language.

*Nogeoldae* was also translated into the Mongol language. *Mongeongogeoldae* 蒙語老乞大 refers to a version in which the original contents of *Nogeoldae* was featured in Mongol language, tagged with Korean pronunciations and translations. The Yuan empire built by the Mongols had disappeared, but the Joseon people suspected that the facility in Mongol language might become necessary again in the future, so they concentrated their efforts on that front as well.

Another noteworthy Chinese language manual alongside *Nogeoldae* is *Bak tongsa* 朴通事. ‘Tongsa’ refers to a rank (position) held by translators, and ‘Bak tongsa’ means ‘a translator whose last name was Bak.’ *Bak tongsa* is composed of 106 chapters, and while *Nogeoldae* mostly
contain dialogues suited for business transactions between merchants, *Bak tongsa* contained speeches and dialogues that could be used in ordinary situations inside China as well. The terms and sentences were more sophisticated and complicated than those displayed in *Nogeoldae*. Through *Bak tongsa* we can see not only the Korean and Chinese languages of that period, but also the life styles and miscellaneous details of the people’s lives at the time. *Bak tongsa eonhae* (annotation and translation), was a version translated into Korean as well.

2) *Cheophae sineo*

The Joseon government’s Office of Translation and Interpretation published *Cheophae sineo* 捷解新語, in order to educate translators in charge of speaking the Japanese language. What one should find interesting is the career of Gang U-seong 康遇聖 who authored the first draft of *Cheophae sineo*. During the Imjin year war with the Japanese, he was captured and moved to Japan, and after returning to Joseon, in 1618 (the 10th year of King Gwanghaegun’ reign) he authored the first draft of this book based upon his own experiences accumulated from his stay in Japan. After staying in Japan for 10 years, he finally returned to Joseon and served at the Office of Translation and Interpretation, and taught students of ‘Japanese studies.’ In 1609, he sat for the Translation examination in Japanese. He passed in third place, and began his career as a professional governmental translator. His skill in the Japanese language was acknowledged, and he was ordered to accompany the Tongshin-sa emissary to Japan for total of three times, in 1617, 1624, and 1633. *Cheophae sineo* was based upon Gang Wu-seong’s such real life experiences accumulated in the field, and is believed to have been completed after 1636. In 1676, during the reign of King Sukjong, *Cheophae sineo* was published with printing type from the Gyoseogwan office, and was widely distributed.

In 1415 (the 15th year of King Taejong’s reign), when the Office of Translation and Interpretation was first established, there were only classes for Chinese studies (漢學) and Mongolian studies (蒙學). The
Japanese studies (儒學) class was opened later, so it came to be referred to as the ‘New language (新語)’ or ‘New Studies (新學).’ The title *Cheophaesineo* itself means ‘Book Needed for a Fast Understanding of the New (Japanese) language.’ The title of another book, *Cheophae mongeo* 拆解蒙語 reveals that the sentence ‘cheophae (fast reading or fast understanding)’ was a prose that was used frequently at the time. In *Cheophaesineo*, Japanese characters are written big, and on the right side of them pronunciations are indicated in Korean, and on the left side of them a Korean translation of the meaning is provided.

In this text, dialogues between people who were traveling between Joseon and Japan, dialogues needed for commercial transactions, dialogues between the Japanese people and Joseon emissaries who visited Japan, are all presented.

2. *Honil gangni yeokdae gukdo jido* 混一疆理歷代國都地圖

1402’s *Honil gangni yeokdo gukdo Map (=Honil gangnido)* is the first world map ever conceived in Korea. Unfortunately, the original version is no longer extant. A map created based upon the original from 1402 was in custody of Japan’s Ryukoku (龍谷) university library, and Professor Yi Chan, an expert on maps, had it copied and donated the copied version to Kyujanggak. Although it is only a copied version, the material is still highly valuable, as it is a world map which depicted not only all of Asia but also Europe and Africa, 600 years ago.

In May 1402, Yi Hoe presented the *Joseon paldodo* (Map of Joseon’s Eight Provinces) that he drew to King Taejong. Three months later the first world map of Korea, *Honil gangnido* was completed. The task of creating this map was a joint project by Gim Sa-hyeong (貞魯極閔, minister), Yi Mu (貞魯極閔, minister), and Geomsang 檢詳 official Yi Hoe. Chamchan 參贊 official Gwon Geun wrote an epilogue explaining the process of the map’s creation and publication. In other words, ‘Honil gangnido’ was a product from a joint effort of the highest ranking officials in the Uijeongbu office, which was the highest office inside the
Joseon government at the time,

The world is very large. One could not be sure how many ri units are there from the inner Chinese center (內中區) to the outer four directions (四隅海). Maintaining details in such a reduced area (in merely few sheets) of the world would be difficult. Mapping it would mean rendering it into an abbreviated form. Only Omun 殷門 Yi Taek-min 李澤民’s Seonggyo gwangpido 聖敎廣被圖 was very detailed, and the history of the past Kings’ governance are documented inside Cheontaeh school’s Buddhist priest Cheongjun 淸濁’s Honil gangnido. In the summer of the fourth year of the Geonmun 建文 era, Jwajeongseung Sangnak 上洛 Gim (Sa-hyeong) and Ujeongseung Danyang Yi (Mu) studied this map in their free time, and ordered Geomseong Yi Hoe to proofread it and then fashion it into a map. Details regarding our territory on the East side of Liaoasui (遼水) are missing even in Yi Taek-min’s map. Here we present a new map, a revised one featuring a new representation of our country, and also with the map of Japan added. It is a decent map, that would allow one to have a glimpse at the world without leaving one’s home. Learning the local areas’ location and distances between each other would be favorable to governing a country. Two honorable figures (Gim Sa-hyeong and Yi Mu) also deem this map highly important as they are aware of its value. I, myself, without any commendable traits, followed in the footsteps of Yi Mu and became a Chamchan official, and I am very pleased, to say the least, to see the completion of this map. I always wanted something like this for inspection, and I am pleased that I would have something to do in the future in my retirement. I write all this at the bottom side of this map. Written by Yangchon Gwon Geun, in this year’s eight month.

From Gwon Geun’s epilogue, we can see that Gim Sa-hyeong and Yi Mu planned and developed the creation of the map, and Yi Hoe was put in charge of its actual production. And considering the fact that Yi Hwae already had the experience of creating Joseon paulodo earlier, the unsung hero of Honil gangnido here must have been Yi Hoe.
In the meantime, *Seonggyo gwangpido*, which seems to have served as an important basis for the new map, is believed to have been an Islamic world map. There are Arab regional names, and the fact that the sea and streams are colored in green and blue respectively, would remind the viewer of the globes made in Arabic fashion. Probably during the era of the Mongol Yuan empire, when the empire’s territory even reached and covered some of the Arabic regions, an Arabic map must have been introduced to China, and Chinese maps influenced by such Arabic maps must have been consulted in the Joseon people’s efforts to create maps for themselves as well.

Yet unlike the Arabic world maps, which were created in a round fashion based upon the belief that the world was a globe, *Honil gangnido* was based upon the belief that ‘heaven is round and the earth is square (天圓地方)’, and because of such belief, the map was created in a square fashion.

During the Chinese Ming dynasty, a *Da Ming Hunyi-tu* was produced in 1398, and it featured a configuration very similar to that of *Honil gangnido*. It is unclear whether it was directly influenced by *Da Ming Hunyi-tu*, yet it would be safe to say that a consultation of maps created in China (either in the Yuan period or in the Ming period), with Josoen and Japan added, would have resulted in *Honil gangnido*. Gwon Geun’s own remarks in the epilogues show us that. With the *Joseon paldodo* experience, Yi Hoe would not have found it overly difficult to create a Joseon map in scale with China.

In the meantime, there is a record inside the *Annals of King Sejong’s Reign* that said a Tongsingwan emissary named Bak Don-ji who visited Japan in 1401 returned home with a Japanese map, and it seems that this map as well was consulted and utilized in creating *Honil gangnido*. Yet Japan (in *Honil gangnido*) indicated on the map does not fit reality that much, in terms of size and location. This shows the Joseon leadership’s perception of Japan, in the 15th century, viewing it as a mere small country.
3. The Cheonhado jido (Map of the Universe)

The Joseon people’s perception of the world reflected in Honil gangnido, is substantially changed in the Cheonhado jido 天下都地圖, compiled in mid-18th century. Cheonhado jido was based upon ‘World Map (萬國全圖)’ inserted in Zhifang waiji (職方外紀) authored by a Western missionary named Giulio Aleni who served in China. It was a World map created in a Western style, with Korcan translation (漢譯世界地圖). Its details were different from those in Zhifang waiji, yet the overall figure, mapping technique, and regional names remained the same.

Cheonhado jido, like Matteo Ricci’s Kunyu wanguo quantu (坤輿萬國全圖), placed the central meridian (circles of longitude) at the center of the Pacific, and by doing so placed East Asia with China described at the center stage of the map. This was in consideration of the traditional Chinese-centric philosophy, hence the Europe-centric disposition was replaced by a Pacific-centric disposition. In fact, the center of the map, shows indications of ‘Major East (大東洋)’ and ‘Minor West (小西洋)’.

Yet the Cheonhado jido features a striking level of correctness, just like contemporary maps. Unlike Honil gangnido, which described only the northern hemisphere, the southern hemisphere is described here as well, and even the New World, North and South America, are described. Honil gangnido was created before Columbus discovered America, so Cheonhado jido reflects an updated perception of the world. California in the U.S. is indicated as ‘Garibongniria 加里伏爾里亞’, which shows that the region was already being referred to as ‘California’ since the late 18th century.

Cheonhado jido used a modern mapping technique, and provided a detailed representation of Europe-related information, yet there were flaws as well. The Southern (南方) continents are indicated as unexplored, as the ‘land of fire (火地).’ The region is colored in yellow, and the South Pole is indicated in red. Apparently people in the past believed that approaching the South Pole would mean approaching a
land in constant and fierce fire, a testimony to a period where the Southern regions of the globe including Oceania were not yet fully explored.

Comparison between the world map *Honil gangnido*, which represented the early 15th century (the early half of the Joseon period), and the world map *Cheonhado jido*, which represented the later 18th century (the latter half of the Joseon period), illustrates the fact that 350 years was not a short period. From *Cheonhado jido* we can feel the destiny of Joseon which had to advance into the open world filled with other countries such as the U.S., Russia and Europe, breaking away from an existing world view centered upon only China, as displayed in *Honil gangnido*.

4. *Bua gijeong* 赴俄記程 and *Hwangu eumcho* 環遊哈坤

1) Travel journal around the world

The news that the Eulsa Year Treaty, depriving Joseon of its diplomatic sovereignty, was established upon January 1st, 1905, triggered the Joseon people’s frustration and anger. People who could not take such humiliation and digest it, instead chose to express their own will to resist, through methods no other than taking their own lives. Jwauijeong Jo Byeong-se, Hakbujusa Yi Sang-cheol, soldier Gim Bong-hak were all such people, and so was Min Yeong-hwan. He was the nephew of Queen Myeongseong Hwanghu, and served in many prestigious posts such as Hyeongjo ministry’s Panseo minister, and as Hanseong buyun prefect. So his death shocked the Joseon people more than the death of anyone else. Min Yeong-hwan (1861–1905) was indeed the Eulsa-year Treaty’s martyr. He was also a historical figure in another context, for being part of a Joseon delegation that traveled across the world for the first time in Korean history, nine years before he took his own life.

Commanded by the King, Min Yeong-hwan’s group departed from Incheon harbor, crossed the Pacific and the U.S., and then crossed the
Atlantic as well. They finally arrived at the Kremlin palace of the Moscow castle in Russia. It was a hard and difficult journey, but they left a detailed travel journal, in the form of Buagijeong 赴俄記程, Hwangu illok 漢鋼日錄, and Hwangu eumcho 漢鋼唸經, all now in the collection of Kyujanggak.

Buagijeong means ‘Records of Reaching Arasa (俄羅斯: Russia)’, Hwangu illok means ‘Travel records around the Globe’, and Hwangu eumcho means ‘Poems Sung While Circling the Earth (Globe)’. Also, although it is not part of the Kyujanggak collection, there is Min Yeong-hwan’s Haecheon chubeom 海天秋帆, which documented the envoy’s travel in great detail, informing us what kind of global journey they actually made. The route taken by Min Yeong-hwan’s party, which went through great hardship to reach Russia, is as follows:

One odd thing to be noticed is the fact that they did not go straight to Europe from China, but instead crossed the Pacific via Japan and then after visiting Canada and U.S. they went to Europe across the Atlantic. In fact, Min Yeong-hwan’s party, after arriving in Shanghai, intended to board a French ministerial ship (公使船) and head to Europe via Hong Kong, but they arrived in Shanghai too late and could not board the ship. They had to reach Russia in time for the Emperor’s coronation, so they
kept searching for another ship, and discovered that a British ship named the Queen headed for the Pacific was scheduled to depart for Europe via New York, so they had no choice but to board the Queen. Their original heading for the West was abruptly changed to the East, and with such unexpected fortune(?) they were given an opportunity to cross both the Pacific and the Atlantic on a single journey.

Min Yeong-hwan’s party which departed Tokyo on April 17th, arrived at Canada’s Vancouver port on April 29th. It was a 13-day journey across the Pacific. In Canada they went to Montreal by land, and then headed for New York. They departed New York on May 9th, and this time crossed the Atlantic. On May 16th they arrived at the U.K.’s Liverpool port, and on May 17th via Netherlands they entered Berlin, the capital of Germany. On May 18th they finally arrived at Alexandrov, where the boundary of Russia began, and via Poland’s Warsaw they reached Moscow on May 20th.

2) The coronation of the Russian Emperor recorded in Bua gijeong

On May 22, official functions in Russia began. The envoy members changed into official attire, met with the representatives from various countries quite busily. They met certain political power brokers such as Qing dynasty’s Li Hongzhang and Japan’s Yamagata Aritomo. On May 26th, the very reason that initiated their journey, the coronation ceremony of the Russian emperor was held. Yet Min Yeong-hwan and his colleagues had to view the ceremony from a very distant position. Why? The coronation was held at the chapel of the Kremlin palace, and anyone who would wish to enter was required to take off his or her headpiece. As a result, representatives from Joseon, Qing, Turkey and Persia were not allowed to enter, as they did not comply with that rule. They witnessed the ceremony from the tower. One could only imagine their feelings, coming all the way to watch the ceremony, ultimately to not be allowed to witness it at a more preferable, closer distance.

Bua gijeong records the coronation ceremony as follows:
May 18th: Emperor arriving at the Peter residence outside the Moscow castle

May 19th, 20th: rest (休息)

May 21st: Emperor entered the castle

May 22th, 23rd: Emperor received emissaries from several countries

May 24th: Units of the military provided a performance

May 25th: Emperor had a banquet at the Greek chapel

May 26th: Candles were lighted for the coronation ceremony

May 27th: Congratulations and celebrations were offered to the Emperor at Kremlin

Inside the text, ‘Pideuk 彼得’ referred to the Emperor Peter, and ‘Gwiryeongnimgyung’ referred to the Kremlin palace.

Even after the official itinerary was completed, Min Yeong-hwan’s party remained in Russia for nearly three months, up until August 25th. During that stay, they saw many places. They visited the National History Museum, viewed the ballet at the royal theatre, and traveled to other places such as the zoo, the electric theatre, the banknote printers and the shipyard (造船廠) etc. They were extremely surprised by what they saw on all those tours, having the first taste of new civilizations. The periods and areas they covered were extensive, yet the description of them was surprisingly detailed and meticulous. They recorded everything, even down to the weather conditions and local customs. The immense shock they felt after seeing a silent film for the first time, or after seeing the white night of northern Europe for the first time, and their comments regarding the Korean people who had earlier migrated to Vladivostok, were all recorded.

Their return course was plotted to the east. They had arrived from the south, and returned to the east, so their journey constituted a true trip around the world. Crossing the long and tiring Siberia, they arrived at the Lake Baikal on September 14th. On September 24th they reached the Heilong-jiang area, and on October 10th they arrived at Vladivostok station. On October 16th they were finally able to see in distance Joseon
territory once again. And on October 20th they reached Incheon harbor. Over the period of 7 months, they had traversed 11 countries, and covered 68,365 ri. It was an official trip, ordered by the King to attend the Russian emperor’s coronation, and it was indeed the first Joseon world journey. It chronicles the Joseon people’s first-ever steps outside of the country, and forward into the world.

5. Encyclopedic materials at Kyujanggak

One might have heard the names like Diderot and d’Alembert. They were 18th century French scholars who encompassed the Enlightenment movement by compiling the ‘Encyclopedia’. They are known as key figures who contributed to the distribution of the philosophy to the public. I remember wondering, while so many scholars in the Western countries seem to have contributed to their society’s transformation from the medieval period to the modern period, why no one from Korea is known to have accomplished such achievements in Korea.

Yet, Jibong 芝峰 Yi Su-gwang 李曙光 (1563–1628), who lived one and a half centuries before the time of the French Encyclopedic party members, already authored a cultural encyclopedia entitled Jibong yuseol in the 17th century, signalling the birth of a modern intellect in Joseon. And following in the footsteps of Yi Su-gwang, people like Gim Yu, Yu Hyo-won, Yi Ik, An Jeong-bok, Yi Gyu-gyung, Choe Hangi, all authored encyclopedic materials such as Yuwon chongbo, Bangye surok, Seongho saseol, Japdong sani, Oju yeonmun jangjeon sango and Myeongnammu chongseo, ambitiously displaying the breadth and scope of issues discussed by Joseon dynasty intellectuals. The fact that should be most noted is that in all these materials, bases of references (典據) were always clarified. All the information that had been accumulated before and that was at their disposal at the time, was consulted and utilized. Encyclopedic works published in earlier periods were appended with updates and the author’s opinions. In other words, the encyclopedic works of the Joseon period were evolving, displaying the Joseon
thinkers' current state of intellect, and the level of access they had to a variety of information.

In *Jibong yuseol*, Yi Su-gwang attempted a graft between traditional and modern qualities. *Yuwon chongbo* literally copied the basic structure of a Chinese encyclopedia *Gujin shiwen leiju*, yet provided a comprehensive collection of Chinese knowledge of the time nonetheless. *Bangye surok* collected and presented past historical events and facts, which could be consulted by others in their devising of social reform plans. In the meantime *Seongho saseol* and *Oju yeonmun jangjeon sango* contained literally everything, ranging from Korean customs to information from around the world. From these classics, we can fully witness how magnificent our ancestors' level of academic interest, and not to mention their devotion to pursue knowledge, actually were.

4. Materials that show us the Korean traditions

1. *Sinjeung dongguk yeoji seungnam*: Joseon Society, 500 years ago

There is a text that allows us to have a vivid look into the Joseon society 500 years in the past, and that is *Dongguk yeoji seungnam*. *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* was compiled in 1481 (the 12th year of King Seongjong's reign) with total of 50 volumes, and was republished in 1497 with 55 volumes. Yet the one that we have today is a revision of those early days' publications, the *Sinjeung dongguk yeoji seungnam* that was compiled in 1530 during the reign of King Jungjong. *Sinjeung dongguk yeoji seungnam* was incinerated during the war with the Japanese that started in 1592, yet was republished in 1611 during King Gwanghaegun's reign, as a woodblock edition. Kyujanggak holds a total of 55 volumes of *Sinjeung dongguk yeoji seungnam*'s 25 chapters, which were published during the reign of Gwanghae-gun. It reveals us to the Joseon society as it was, some 500 years ago.
1) Compilation of *Dongguk yeoji seungnam*

The history of Korean geographical chronologies (chronologies of regions) is fairly long, as we can see from relevant chapters inside large-scale Korean historical texts such as *Samguk sagi* and *Goryeosa*. Yet the geographical chapters in those texts are fairly abbreviated ones. They only contain basic information regarding local regions, such as the jurisdictional relationships between Ju-Gun-Hyeon units, and official changes that occurred in those relationships. Coming into the Joseon dynasty period, the country began to realign itself into a more centralized order, and the government increasingly felt the need to acquire detailed information on locales. Accordingly many projects were initiated to publish geographic chronologies, that would contain detailed information regarding many issues such as local history, the history of land and households, history of lineages and luminaries, or resources and sites of cultural heritage located in each of the regions throughout the country.

Compilations of geographic chronologies became active during King Sejong’s reign, and geographic chronologies for all the 8 provinces compiled at the time were included in *Annals of King Sejong’s Reign* in the ‘Chapter on Geography’. Among the geographic chronicles that were compiled during the reign of Sejong, the one for the Gyeongsang-do province is held by Kyujanggak.

During the reign of King Sejo, under the supervision of Yang Seong-ji and others, the *Geographic Chronology for All the Eight Provinces* was compiled and completed in 1478 (the 9th year of Seongjong’s reign). Yet all the chronologies for other regions are gone, and again the supplemental volume for the Gyeongsang-do chronology alone remains, in Seoul National University’s Kyujanggak archives. Projects of compiling geographic chronologies that were launched during the early half of the Joseon dynasty, came to a fruitful end with the completion of *Dongguk yeoji seungnam*. *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* was based upon *Geographic Chronology for All the Eight Provinces*, merged with all the poems and
writings from Seo Geo-jeong’s *Dongmunseon* (Collection of Literary works of the Eastern kingdom: Joseon). First the members of the Meritorious elite faction (Hungupa) led the task, and later the task was joined by ‘Sarimpa’ members such as Gim Jong Jik and Choe Bu. In that regard it was a monumental task, as it was a joint collaboration between both factions’ members. The fact that Sarimpa faction’s leader Gim Jong-jik provided the epilogue for *Bohanjaejip* which was the personal anthology of Sin Suk-ju, and the fact that his personal evaluation of Sin was also amicable, show us that during the 15th century, when the aforementioned compilation projects were in progress, the conflict between both factions were not that harsh or strong, and that they could actually cooperate for national projects.

2) Features of the Eight provinces of Joseon, 500 years ago

*Sinjeung dongguk yeoji seungnam* shows us the Joseon society, as it was 500 years ago. First there were special local products. Yeonggwang’s yellow corvina, Yeongdeok’s King crab, Punggi’s ginseng, Damyang’s bamboo, Sangju’s persimmons, Jeju’s oranges, which are still nationally recognized, special products of the areas, were recorded as “Local products (土産)” in *Seungnam*. King crab is recorded as Jahae 柚蟹, which means ‘red crabs’. And oranges were divided into five types: *geungyul* 金橘, *sangyul* 山橘, *dongjeonggyul* 洞庭橘, *waegyul* 徽橘, and *cheonggyul* 青橘.

Records also show that there was a fire station in the capital. The buildings and structures inside Joseon dynasty’s palaces and governmental offices were all made of wood, and were quite vulnerable to conflagrations. So in order to prevent them, an office equipped with the functions of today’s fire station, called Suseong geumhwasa 修城禁火司, was established at the bell tower in Seoul. This office was equipped with various pieces of apparatus that are usually required for putting out fires, and more than 50 fire fighters called Myeolhwagun (滅火軍: soldiers to extinguish fire) served there around the clock.

The entry of ‘Bridges’ (in Hanseongbu capital) included records (names
and locations) of Hyaejeonggyo, Daegwangtonggyo, Sogwangtonggyo, Tongungyo, Yeonjidonggyo, Donggyo, Gwangjegyo, and Hongjegyo, the bridges that existed during the early half of the Joseon period. Such elaborate documentation of the bridges positioned here and there throughout the capital allows us to project near-exact map of Joseon dynasty streets inside its capital, with Cheonggyecheon stream at the center.

Among records regarding Busan, the history section is most worth mentioning. At the time, Busan was recorded in the ‘Mountains and Streams’ entry of the Dongnaehyon area, which suggests that the term Busan was more relevant as a name for a mountain than for a city. The record states, “(Busan) was located in Dongpyeonghyeon (the subordinate Hyeon unit of Dongnaehyon), and was named so because the mountain featured a shape of an iron pot. In the lower areas there is the port of Busanpo, which has resident Japanese households (倭戸) living there. It’s distance to the Hyeon center in the north is 21 ri.” Regarding the ‘Jeolyeongdo 絶影島’ island, Dongnaehyon’s ‘Mountains and Streams’ entry says that “(it is located) 8 Ri units South of Dongpyeonghyeon, and has a stock farm,” suggesting that the current Yeongdo area had earlier been used as a grazing ground.

Other than these, there are more interesting notes as well. Geojeheyon’s “Memorable Geographical Features (形勝)” entry presents a quotation of a Goryeo dynasty poet Yi Gyu-bo’s poem saying “in summer, mosquitos bigger than bees bite people, and it’s scary,” and the Gaeseongbu (capital)’s “Taktagyo (橐駝橋=Bridge of Camels)” entry says that “the founder King of the Goryeo dynasty King Taejo Wang Geon starved all the camels sent from Khitan to death (by not providing food) under this bridge, hence the name of the bridge, ‘Camel Bridge’.” On the other hand, regarding the ‘Seonjukgyo 善竹橋’ bridge which is renowned for being the place where Jeong Mong-ju was killed, there is only a brief remark saying “(it is located) north of the Jwagyeon-ri area.” It is a pleasant surprise to examine Sinjeung dongguk yeoji seungnam, as it lets you navigate through time and places that composed the wonder that was
Joseon dynasty half a millenium ago.

2. Hanyangga (Hanyang song): Praise of the prosperous, 19th century capital

1) What is Hanyangga (Hanyang song)?

Hanyangga (Hanyang song) is a ‘Gasa’ song written in Korean letters, and is a song describing the overall features and customs of early 19th century Seoul. The author is only indicated as Hansan geosa (the Hermit of Hansan). There are various versions of Hanyangga (Hanyang song) that remain today. First there is a version published in 1880 with printing types, which featured the Hanyangga written by Hansan geosa in March 1840 (the 6th year of King Heonjong’s reign), with Sinjeung dongyo 新增童謠 and a celebratory song written for the occasion of
Sunjong’s birth in 1874 (the 10th year of King Gojong’s reign) attached. There are also several other handwritten manuscripts of the song as well, such as those which were entitled as either ‘Hanyang punghmulga’ or ‘Hanyang taepyongga’.

Hanyangga is composed of descriptions of various facets of the Hanyang capital: geographical features (地勢), position as the dynasty’s center, palaces and structures (亭閣), governmental offices such as Seungjeongwon and Seonhyecheong, the gateways to the capital’s interior and the sight of the marketplace, various forms of entertainment, clothes and dances enjoyed and embraced by the people, the Kings’ trip to Suweon, and the national examination to select new officials for either literary or military positions inside the government.

At the end, a sentence exclaiming “Have people ever witnessed this kind of glorious capital (國都)? We pray that our King and our country will continue to prosper,” is attached, liberally praising the capital of Joseon. The Seoul described in Hanyangga (Hanyang song) could be construed as a compressed version of all the developments the Joseon people achieved in its 500 years of history.

2) The highlight of Hanyangga (Hanyang song), the marketplace with all the commodities

The most fun part to read in Hanyangga (Hanyang song) is the part where the marketplace is described. The lives of the ordinary people of the time are all there.

“(It is) connected to all eight provinces, it also leads to Beijing and Japan.
We are proud of our own products. They are contending with foreign goods, making the marketplace (百貨店) all the more impressive. The Chilpaeg fish store has every kind of fish in display: Mineo, Seogo, Seokseong fishes, sea bream, herring and Godoo 高道魚 fishes, octopus, turban, Ojeogoeo 鳥鰻魚 fish, clam, shrimp, gizzard shad. The fur store (毛廈) inside the South gate has all the fruits (水果): Cheongsilnoe, Hwangsilnoe, dried persimmons, soft persimmons, early soft persimmons, chestnut, Chinese date, pine nut, walnut, grapes, gyeongdo 瓊桃, plum, pomegranate, citron, peach, yongan 龍眼, hyeopji, dangjaechu. At the sides of the Sangmijeon 上米廳 store 10 years worth of grain are piled up. Hami (low level rice), Jungmi (middle level rice), Geoksangmi 極上米 (extra high level rice), glutinous rice, hulled millet, millet rice, mung beans, cheongttae, jeokdo, red beans and matae 馬太, jungttae, oiled-tae. There is plenty of rice around here, so there are no hungry faces around here either. Over the Sugak 水閣 bridge there are other stores as well. Various combs like myeonbit, chambit, eolae-bit and ssamji- jumchi, waist belts, chongjeon (mats made out of tail fur), fancy mattress, fur carpets, paper in various forms such as ganji 筆紙, juji 周紙, dangjuji 庶周
As we can see, the wonders of the Hanyang capital’s marketplace is described with a wide variety of commercial goods and commodities being sold throughout the marketplace. The song also suggests that Hanyang marketplace was tapping into the international trades and transactions of commercial products as well. On the other hand, the sentence that said “there are no hungry faces around here” does not match with the people’s lives of the time as we were led to believe (we were led to believe that their lives were quite difficult, due to the governmental officials’ plundering of the people’s properties in the 19th century).

And in the song, the features of the Yukuijeon (the six main stores) are described vividly as well. The sentence “Over the Daegwangtonggyo bridge, there is the Yukju bijeon,” is followed by a description of markets filled with clothes and paper. First, the actions of the people
working at the marketplace are comically depicted, as we can see from sentences saying “skilled Yeolipgun 列立軍 figures, and Jeonsijeong 建市井 figures in charge of the goods, wear either long Changot clothes and a Gat hat or smaller Changot clothes with Hansam 衽衫 appliances, and they call for people and bargain with them, in the most flippant and frivolous fashion.” And then all the fishes, cotton cloth, silk, paper, hemp cloth that are sold at fish stores, cloth stores (Baengmakjeon, Cheongpoejon) and paper stores, are listed and elaborated. There are more than 30 types of silk including gongdan 貢絹, daedan 大絹, sadan 紗絹, geumseondan 金線絹, arongdan, which convey the feeling of abundance and richness. The trinkets and ornaments for the ladies sold at the Dojajeon 刀子絹store, and all kinds of pictures that were sold and purchased under the Gwangtonggyo bridge, are nothing short of living details that let us feel the presence of people of the past, who lived and breathed at the marketplaces of this country that we now live in today.

3. Yogye guwanbang jido 濟蔚關防地圖

In 1706 (the 32nd year of King Sukjong’s reign), Yi I-myong 李昰命 (1658–1722), by the order of the King, completed a large-scale map (600cm in width, 135cm in height), and presented it to the King. The name of the map was Yoga guwanbang jido 濟蔚關防地圖. This was a map of Joseon’s northern border area, with a meticulous description of the castles (城栅) and fortresses (长城) from the Liaodong area to the Ji (蓟) region near Beijing. The map was based upon other maps that could not be taken outside of Chinese Qing territory. The process of making this map ‘Yogyeogwanbangjido’ very much resembled a race for gathering crucial intelligence, and it served remarkably in encouraging Sukjong to maintain his determination regarding the Northern campaigns. This map is currently held by Kyujanggan, and is a very important historical material, as information regarding the creator, time of creation, and the purpose of creation are all well-known to us.

During the latter half of the 17th century, when tension was rising with
the Qing dynasty over the border area. Joseon was trying to acquire information regarding the Manchurian area, which was the birthplace for the Qing dynasty. As part of such efforts, Yi I-myung 李顯命 (1658-1722), who was dispatched to Qing as an emissary and mainly served in positions of public responsibility, tried to secure as many Qing maps as possible. After returning to Joseon, he began and completed the task of creating ‘Yogye gwanbang jido’. The entry for January 12th, 1706 (the 32nd year of Sukjong’s reign) entry of Annals of King Sukjong’s reign shows us how it was done.

Uchamchan Yi I-myung presented Yogye gwanbangdo 遼蓟關防圖 and also forwarded a Chaja 箭子 document, saying: Yogye gwanbangdo was what this humble official purchased in Beijing and brought back on the way home. It was created by Ming dynasty’s Zhifanglang 職方郎 official Xian Kejin 仙克謙, and seemed to be a crucial asset necessary for successful strategies and planning. This official was already ordered to make a copy of it and present it for your majesty’s inspection. This humble official also added additional portions and descriptions to the map, such as the Wula difang-tu 烏喇地方圖 from Shengjing-zhi 勝京志 which was created by a Qing person 清人, the features of the maritime route we used to take when tributes were paid to China, and also the rivers and coastal areas in the northwest region, and therefore created a more comprehensive map. …… If this map could serve your Majesty’s will inherited from late King Hyojong, and your Majesty’s will to be continuously reminded of things that happened to Ming in its ending days, then the country would benefit from all that.

Yi I-myung who visited Qing in 1705, started to put together a map based upon materials he collected, such as the Ming map Chousheng bilan 籟罄巋覽, Qing’s Shandong Haifang Ditu 山東海防地圖, Shengjing-zhi 勝京志, and also Joseon’s own Seobuk ganghae byeongyedo 西北江海邊界圖. He was successful in purchasing Chousheng bilan, and shifted his efforts to acquiring Shandong Haifang Ditu 山東海防地圖, but this time it was not so easy. The Qing state designated it as one of the items
that were not allowed to be shipped outside their territory. So Yi had one of the artists who accompanied him make a copy of it. After returning to Seoul, he presented the maps he either acquired or secured to Sukjong, and with Sukjong’s new orders, he completed in January 1706 the aforementioned *Yogye gwanbang jido* which also included the Manchurian region and Joseon’s own northwest region as well. The creation of this map owed much to Yi’s swift efforts, and the overall will of the Joseon people of Sukjong’s era to pursue information that would benefit the country. *Yogye gwanbangdo* was created as a 10-sheet folding screen for the royal inspection (御覽用) of Sukjong. Sukjong always placed this screen at his side, and reminded himself with it of the mission of the Northern campaign.

*Yogye gwanbang jido* only shows the Gwanbuk and Gwanseo areas. This suggests the nature of the map, which was created in the spirit of dynastic defense. In case of China, the east end begins with the Heilongjiang river and then it cross to the West through Shanhai-guan and reaches Nantang Ya’an (南塘雅安), while fortresses and the Great Wall are described in-between with extensive details. While the inland route is only indicated with points of passage, the maritime route from Joseon to either the Shandong peninsula or Shanhai-guan is indicated more meticulously. The watch towers of the fortress feature a red flag waving in the wind, in order to more clearly indicate the location of strategic military points. Conventions used to describe mountain ranges, wave patterns in the sea, and the locations of military installations are all Chinese in general, and the country’s holy mountain (靈山) Baekdusan is emphasized with the color white (just like its own name, ‘white top’). Yet the military facilities indicated in ‘*Yogye gwanbang jido*’ seem to be those installed during the final days of the Ming dynasty and not during the Qing period. It had already been 80 years since the fall of Ming, so Qing dynasty’s military installations were positioned in different places. This suggests that the real intention behind the creation of this map was to only secure information regarding the border areas and to prevent the country from facing yet another frustrating invasion from China, instead
of actually launching a military campaign against and into the heart of the mighty Qing dynasty.

As we can see *Yogye gwanbang jido* is a testament to the atmosphere of the time which still maintained a measure of alertness against the Qing dynasty, even after the plans for a Northern expedition against Qing that had been promoted by Hyojong was actually scrapped. Yi I-myong’s covert actions to create a copy of an important map almost feels like a scene taken out of a spy movie, all the more suggestive of the tension that existed between Joseon and Qing at the time. The efforts and determination of the people of Joseon to devise contingency plans and counteraction eventually resulted in the creation of *Yogye gwanbang jido*. Clashes over the border area with Qing affected future maps to come as well. *Seobuk pia yanggye mali illamjido* 西北彼我兩界萬里一覽之圖 or *Seobuk ganggyedo* 西北疆界圖 all demonstrate that.
4. Daedong yeojido

Guests who visit the exhibition room on floor B1 of Seoul National University’s Kyujanggak Institute of Korean Studies will be impressed by a huge map hung on the wall sketching, actually across two whole stories of the building. The map is 4.1 meters in width and 6.6 meters in height. It is a map composed of 22 Cheop units, and is a map that is beloved by every Korean. It is Gim Jeong-ho’s *Daedong yeojido* 大東輿地圖.

1) A map composed of folded books, *Daedong yeojido*

It is well known that *Daedong yeojido* was created by Gim Jeong-ho, but not everyone knows that it was a map composed of smaller maps made in the form of books. *Daedong yeojido* is composed of 22 separate volumes of books, and when they are all stretched out they constitute a larger map which covers the entirety of the Korean peninsula. It can be folded and then stretched at will. The scale is approximately 160,000 to 1, and each volume (cheop unit) measures 30.2cm in height and 20.1cm in width. They can each be folded a total of 8 times.

The entire size of the map would easily overwhelm any individual. Furthermore, in order to achieve wide distribution Gim Jeong-ho had to fashion woodblocks to print all them, so we can see that he was no ordinary individual, to invest such a huge amount of effort into this task in the first place. Why did he devote his entire life to the creation of this map? As we can see from episodes that described him climbing the Baekdu mountain several times, Gim Jeong-ho was indeed a map enthusiast who was determined to put the features of Korea on the map. And surely there was also the ‘call’ of the era. At the time it was a general practice for all the governmental offices throughout the country to equip themselves with regional maps, and the commercial activities of the time also demanded useful maps. Merchants would have needed to be aware of every corner in the country, and to them, Gim Jeong-ho’s folding/stretching, portable map would have been extremely accessible.
and convenient to use. *Daedong yeojido* indicated distances between villages in intervals of 10 ri, and provided information regarding commercial activities with a profusion of detail (such as the location of post stations and inns). The fact that he ventured to print them with woodblocks suggests that there was a great demand for such maps in the first place.

Gim Jeong-ho seems to have been a person with excellent technical skill in creating woodblocks as well. Without such expertise, it would have been impossible even to attempt making such elaborate plates for a task of this magnitude.

2) A comprehensive and definitive culmination of all the previous maps

Gim Jeong-ho was of Jungin origins, and people from such classes had already been in charge of creating maps. Yet it was unprecedented to develop a map of this size solely on one’s own, such as Gim Jeong-ho did. This shows a certain development in the consciousness of Jung’in on certain things. Undoubtedly Gim Jeong-ho had access to some crucial assistance borrowed from previous accomplishments in the area. In the 16th century, during the reign of Myeongjong, a dynastic map called *Joseon bangyeokdo* had already been produced, and after the 17th century when Joseon underwent two major invasions, more detailed information of the border area was keenly required and many military strategy maps were created. Nam Gu-man’s ‘Hamgyeong-do provincial map’ is one such example. In the 18th century, during the reign of Yeongjo, father and son Jeong Sang-gi and Jeong Hang-ryeong devised a measurement called *baengnicheok* 百里尺 and created *Dongguk jido* based upon it, resulting in a huge advance in map-making techniques.
During the latter half period of Yeongjo's reign, Sin Gyeong-jun created *Yeojido*, and in the production of this map the *banggyeokbeop* 方法 technique (based upon measuring land units and usage of scale) and the *baengnicheok* measurement were used. During Jeongjo's reign various maps continued to be produced, and especially portable ones were fashioned as well. As we can see, maps were produced continuously to be made since the early days of the dynasty, and in the latter half period, they were produced ever more meticulously and scientifically.

Gim Jeong-ho fully utilized all these previously accumulated techniques, and also applied certain techniques from the Western world to his works. The result was the *Daedong yeojido*. It was the same case with Jeong Yak-yong, who authored his *Yeoyudang jeonseo*, which was the ultimate culmination of *Sirhak* studies, based upon decades of work by previous scholars.

Before creating *Daedong yeojido*, Gim Jeong-ho created a map called *Cheonggudo* as well, which divided the entire Korean peninsula into 22 sectors (Pan 板) from east to west and in 29 levels (cheung 輯) from north to south. Yet *Cheonggudo* was essentially a single-volume work, so it was rather difficult to get a view of the entire picture, such as which region was in the upper side of the peninsula and which was in the lower. Gim Jeong-ho addressed such problems in *Daedong yeojido* and let the viewers freely connect the upper and lower regions and then allowed them to have an overall view of the country, a method similar to what we can see in today's mapping techniques.

Other scholars such as Choe Han-gi, Choe Seong-hwan, Yi Gyu-geong, who were all scholars with a Jungin origin, significantly helped Kim Jeong-ho in acquiring advanced mapping techniques. They exchanged information with each other, and accumulated new knowledge in the process. Gim Jeong-ho had the experience of creating woodblocks that were needed for printing ‘Jigu jeonhudo (Front and Back side of the Earth)’ designed by Choe Han-gi in 1834, and Yi Gyu-geong authored an introduction to Gim Jeong-ho's maps in his *Oju yeonmun jangjeon sango*. 
In *Daedong yeojido*, mountain and hills, rivers and the sea, islands and villages are all indicated, as well as road stations, warehouses, governmental offices, fire-signaling posts, stock farms, defense posts (築垒), local affairs’ centers (邑治), fortresses (城址), hot springs and roads. A table of introductory remarks was also prepared, for efficient use of the map. It was essential because *Daedong yeojido* was printed and published with woodblocks. By its nature such publication made it somewhat difficult to insert complicated letters or items in the map, which was a rather easy job in cases of creating handwritten manuscripts. As a result, Gim Jeong-ho tried to find a way to convey comprehensive information through more simplified signs, like marks and symbols, to compensate for the problems that could accompany production using woodblocks. In order to avoid confusion, he indicated roads with straight lines, and indicated distances every 10 ri.

The degree of meticulousness of *Daedong yeojido* is considered to be above that featured by modern maps used by the Japanese navy in the early 20th century. We can easily see the excellent nature of Gim’s works from that comparison alone.

Also, 23 Cheop units of *Dongyeodo*, which is believed to have been a prototype version (Mobon 母本) of *Daedong yeojido*, is currently held by Kyujanggak. While *Daedong yeojido* was printed and published with woodblocks, *Dongyeodo* is a colored, handwritten manuscript. *Dongyeodo* was directly drawn by human hands, so its contents are detailed and meticulous, even compared to *Daedong yeojido*. It is known
Photo 5-20  Kyeongsangnam-do of Daedong yeojido

Photo 5-21  Jeollanam-do of Daedong yeojido
that more than 5,000 entries of information, which could not be inserted in the woodblocks version, are included in this map.

As a result, it would be safe to say that Dongyeodo is the one that contains the largest amount of information compared to any other age-old maps created in the history of Korea. Its value and importance even challenge that of Daedong yeojido. Gim Jeong-ho probably created Dongyeodo with his own hands, and then for public distribution created Daedong yeojido with woodblocks.

We can literally feel Gim Jeong-ho’s breath in every letter, every mark indicated in Daedong yeojido. Thanks to his efforts, we can see how the Joseon peninsula would have looked like more than one and a half centuries ago.

5. 459 local maps created by Daewongun

The turtle ships at Haenam and Jindo, the Taeguk pattern indicated at the governmental office in Cheonan, the Osaengni pond of mineral water at Mt. Seoraksan in Yangyang, the ancient tomb Uiguchong 義狗冢 at Seonsan, The windbreak forest of Namwon, historical archives (史庫) in every vital area, stone chambers in local areas that housed the birth placentas of royal figures (胎室), the Cheokhwabi 斥和碑 monuments (opposing the notion of having an amicable relationship with foreign entities) and Sachang 社倉 warehouses for social relief. All these pieces of information are contained inside 459 local maps created in 1872 when Daewongun was in power, and they are currently among the holdings of Kyujanggak. They are essentially the last group of materials that were created before the country was opened to the outer world in 1876.

1) Process of creating maps

Daewongun realized once again the importance of national defense after experiencing the conflict in 1866 with the French (Byeongin yangyo 丙寅洋擾) and conflict in 1871 with the Americans (Sinmi yangyo 辛未洋擾). The country eventually defeated them, yet he erected Cheokhwabi
tablets here and there throughout the country, stating 'Western barbarians are invading, and arguing for an amicable relationship with them instead of fighting them, is nothing short of selling out the country (Yangichimbeom 洋夷犯, Bijeoncheukhw a 非戰則和, Juhwamaeguk 主和賣國)'. Daewongun urged the people to ready themselves for a fight, and he actively devised plans to counter the advance of the Western forces into East Asia (東漸). He renovated the governmental structure, reformed the military defense system, and reinforced strategically important facilities stationed throughout the country. In order to locate military installations everywhere correctly and monitor the details around them as well, he ordered the compilation of local areas' Eupji (local gazetteers) in 1871, and also the creation of national maps throughout the country in 1872 (from March through June). All of the results produced are now in custody of Kyujanggak. On these 459 sheets of maps, not only strategic information, but also the characteristics of each locale as well are indicated in great detail, showing us everything there was in this country, over 130 years ago. Unlike the maps of today, the local maps created in 1872 were drawn almost like landscape painting, so we can see entire villages, and the natural environment surrounding them as well.

Professional painters hugely contributed to the creation of these maps. Contrary to the general belief, painters of the Joseon period more prominently engaged or joined the government’s official functions by drawing either maps or documentary pictures for the government, than they engaged in their own artistic tasks. In other words, they were the ‘designated photographers’ of the time. Other than such official functions, the pictures of past customs and people’s lives were what the painters drew in their free time, to maintain and improve their skill.

Maps were created by individual provinces, so they came to feature certain provincial characteristics. The Jeolla-do provincial maps were the ones that were most artistic in general. They were based upon the Eum/Yang theory and five elements philosophy, so they featured harmony and balance between colors such as blue, white, red, black and yellow, in quite an elegant fashion. It seems that one of the reasons
Photo 5-23 Dongnae bu jido
behind the Honam region’s earning of the nickname of ‘the artistic region (藝郷)’ were the painters and their artistic traditions. On the other hand, maps from the provinces of Gyeonggi-do, Gyeongsang-do, Hamgyeong-do and Pyeongan-do hardly feature a level of unity or internally regular patterns of their own. They do reflect certain nuances, sentiments and characteristics displayed by the people living in those regions, but their overall quality also suggests that they were put together by the local prefects or magistrates rather in a hurry so that they could comply with the orders of the central government. They are indeed technically less refined than the Jeolla-do maps, which were by comparison corrected and supplemented several times before being submitted to the government. The maps submitted from other provinces might as well be considered as a barometer of the atmosphere of the time, in which the determination and will of the central government to create maps that reflected the national situations correctly, were not that well shared by various entities in local regions.
2) Maps reflecting the policies of the Daewongun era

The main characteristic of the local maps (The Local Map) created in 1872 is the fact that they were not produced as books but rather as sheets, and the fact that they were large-scale maps that covered most of the entirety of the Joseon peninsula. Each of the map measured 70~90cm in width and 100~120cm in height, and they show few differences among themselves. In terms of contents, they are not as precise like, say, today’s maps. Yet they were very detailed, and meticulously created, and with even an abundance of artistic beauty. Mountains, streams, roads, hills, castles and fortresses, ports, royal tombs (陵園), temples, Seoweon and Hyanggyo schools, pavilions (樓亭), Myeon and Ri units, stations, stores and marketplaces, were all featured in details in a most exemplary fashion.

It should be noted that the Sachang 社倉 warehouses all over the country were indicated. This reflects certain facets of the national policy during the Daewongun era. In order to eliminate the problems originating in the Grain loan practice, which deteriorated into becoming no other than high-interest loans, Daewongun ordered the Sachang warehouses to be established throughout the country. It seems that he intended to check whether such policy was being well implemented or not throughout the country, by monitoring the general status of distribution indicated on maps he ordered to create. A similar case can be found from another kind of policy that was strongly promoted by Daewongun as well, namely the maritime defense policy (海防), of which the relevant spots were also emphasized on the maps. Many maps that exclusively depicted each region’s military headquarters (營), defense posts (敵堡), stock farms and fortresses, in other words facilities and installations of strategic and military value, were separately produced as well. Defense maps describing the locations of strategic facilities were produced in all provinces. Two of them were from Gyeonggi-do province, 28 of them were from Jeolla-do, 41 from Gyeongsang-do, 19 from Hwanghae-do, 45 from Pyeongan-do, and 2 of them were from the Gangwon-do province, totaling in all 139 sheets. It is confirmed that
more than 30% of the entire maps were national defense maps, and it clearly demonstrates how much importance the government was placing upon national security at the time.

3) The Namwon area map, epitome of the maps of 1872

The map of Jeolla-do province’s Namwon area is considered to be the most beautiful one of all the 459 maps. Without all the buildings indicated, it could pass as an artistic drawing of the overall landscape of the region. And it contains a massive amount of detailed information.

The Namwon area Eupseong, drawn hugely at the center of the map, resembles the stamen of a flower. The fortress walls that connected all the gates on East, West, South and North sides of the facility show us that Namwon constituted a typical Eupseong unit. The buildings inside also display a variety of figures. The Bomincheong 補民廳 (social relief body for local residents) and Yeonhocheong 習戶廳 (in charge of managing the general mobilization of people) offices, all near the South gate which saw heavy traffic of people, immediately come into sight as well.

Gwanghanru and Ojakgyo are symbols, alongside the tale of Chunhyang who displayed an admirable affection and also famous loyalty to her lover, of the Namwon area. Their locations are particularly emphasized upon the map. Thanks to Chunhyangjeon, the Joseon people in the latter half of the 19th century came to consider Namwon as the village of Chunhyang, and of Ojakgyo, the central stage for her tale was deemed an admirable site to visit.

At the side of Gwanghanru, there is a huge forest depicted. It is indicated as ‘East Forest (東林),’ and even the branches of the trees are portrayed meticulously. This forest is known as a ‘complimenting forest (縁縁林),’ established to supply the region with auspicious energy. The forest itself is gone now, but the Dongnimgyo bridge remains and lets us feel the presence of that past forest that existed more than a century ago. Through the Namwon area map, we can not only see all the long lost natural sites, but also feel the mind and thoughts of the Namwon people that belonged to the past as well.
5. The culture of the Joseon dynasty’s royal family, examined through *Uigwe* materials

1. What are *Uigwe* materials

‘*Uigwe* materials (儀執)’ refer to reports produced in the form of either documents or pictures, and those reports would be reports of ceremonial occasions conducted either by the government or the royal family during the Joseon dynasty. The term *Uigwe* is a combination of words ‘ceremony (*Uisik* 儀式)’ and ‘exemplar/paragon (*Gwebeom* 執範)’, so the general meaning of *Uigwe* would be ‘a report containing examples and exemplar for ceremonies.’ In the past, it was a general and natural practice to consult former ceremonial examples, in preparation of other impending national ceremonial occasions. So, the entities in charge left records of those ceremonial occasions in the form of *Uigwe* materials, in order to reduce the possibility of committing avoidable mistakes in the future.

During the Joseon dynasty period, the Kings’ marriage, the Crown Princes’ naming (entitling) ceremonies, parties held by the royal family, funeral services for the royal family members, construction of national palaces, were all important occasions for the country conducted by either the government or the royal family. Accordingly records of those ceremonial occasions were kept and preserved, and after (nearing) the completion on such occasions a temporary office to oversee the compilation of them into *Uigwe* materials was opened, and set itself to the task. In other words, even before the occasion was finally completed, an office would be established to create the general outline of a report that would contain records of the very occasion. The records in the process of being assembled would be presented to the King, and then the ceremonial occasion would finally come to an end.

What startles us when we examine all these *Uigwe* materials is the spirit of meticulous documentation. They detailed the entire process of the ceremonial occasion. The list of participants, the materials that were
consumed, and materials that were not used, were all indicated in great detail, so that the occasion would maintain its own integrity and openness.

Another characteristic of these Uigwe materials are the pictures they contained. Examples showing the entire process of special occasions, such as Banchado pictures 班次圖 and other ones (Doseol 圖説) describing either buildings or items, are essentially high quality pictorials. Moreover, they were all very well colored. From them, we can have a complex look at the ceremony itself, and we can acquire knowledge regarding the details of the ceremony that we cannot secure or acquire from any written historical texts. In that regard, they were the most comprehensive records of dynastic ceremonial occasions that had ever been conceived.

2. Various Royal family ceremonies described in Uigwe materials

The ceremonial occasions conducted by the royal family during the Joseon dynasty period were varied and numerous. Accordingly, such occasions resulted in a variety of Uigwe materials as well.

Among Uigwe materials many were related to the Kings and the events of their lifetimes. Whenever a Prince was born the placenta was collected and buried, and the entire process was recorded in Wonja agissi jangttae uigwe 元子阿只氏議胎儀軌. When the Prince was named as Crown Prince, then the Seja chaengnye dogam uigwe 世子冊禮都監儀軌 was compiled; when a prince was named royal grandson, then a Wang seson chaengnye dogam uigwe 王世孫冊禮都監儀軌 was compiled.

In Joseon, the new kings’ enthronement ceremony were held during the mourning period for the former king, so they were not observed as happy occasions. That could be the reason why there are so few Uigwe materials documenting the enthronement ceremony itself of kings. Yet, as an exception, King Gojong elevated himself to Emperor from his previous status as a King, and the enthronement ceremony was also designed as a ceremony celebrating the country proclaiming itself as an
empire, so a grand ceremony was held and the enthronement ceremony was documented in an Uigwe material compiled for the occasion. The result was 1897’s Gojong daerye uigwe 高宗大禮儀軌.

Whenever there was a royal marriage to be held involving a royal family member, Garye (marriage rituals) Dogam (temporary office) Uigwe 嘉禮都監儀軌 was compiled. Also when candidates for queen or for the wife of the Crown Prince were being selected, a general order of banning marriages among civilians would be issued throughout the country. A selection process of three phases would be conducted, and then the royal marriage ceremony would be held, observing a total of six steps. In Uigwe materials that documented the occasions, literally everything, including the selection process, the items submitted for the process, the King’s own welcoming of his new wife, was documented and described, and the glamorous royal procession that ensued was described quite vividly through a ‘Banchado picture 班次圖’.

When either the king or the queen died, Gukjang (national funeral) dogam uigwe 國葬都監儀軌 was compiled, and when the Crown Prince or the wife of the Crown Prince died, Yejang dogam uigwe 禮葬都監儀軌 would be published. Not only the funeral process but all the items assembled and used for the funeral, the palanquin, items used in carrying the body and items that were buried with the body, were all described in detail. Also, at the same time of creating Gukjang dogam uigwe, Binjeon honjeon dogam uigwe 殿殿魂殿都監儀軌 and Salleung (royal tomb) Dogam uigwe 山陵都監儀軌 were compiled as well. The Salleung dogam office was the office that was in charge of constructing the royal tomb, so in such Uigwe materials, the Joseon history of tomb construction is well reflected.

And other than these, there was the Daesarye uigwe 大射禮儀軌, which depicted the King and the officials engaging in archery, and Chingyeong uigwe, which displayed the King providing exemplary agricultural efforts, and Akgi joseongcheong uigwe, which described how the musical instruments needed for national occasions were created and secured, and Yeongjeop dogam uigwe, which documented all the
diplomatic protocols observed in treating the Ming dynasty emissaries when they visited Joseon.

It was a unique tradition of the Joseon dynasty alone, to create Uigwe materials documenting major ceremonies that involved the royal family. In these Uigwe materials even the ingredients, quantity and color of all the materials used in the preparation of the ceremonies were recorded, and even though they were ceremonies for the royal family, names of all the participants, even the ones with the lowest ranks, were all recorded, as we can see from names like Gim No-mi 金老啄, Gim Dol-swae 金瑟, names that would have clearly belonged to people of humble origins. We can see that the people in charge tried to list all their names and therefore encourage them to do their best, with pride and a sense of responsibility.

These series of Uigwe materials also show us how the royal family ceremonies changed over the years. Especially the Banchado pictures that are attached to the Uigwe materials, and other pictorial diagrams as well, deliver a vivid representation of the ceremony itself to us. Surely not only the Koreans but everyone else in the world would also be able to appreciate and enjoy the detailed depiction of royal festivities in the past.

Based upon the quality of rarity and the detailed nature of Uigwe materials, and also the weight that came from 300 years’ worth of history embedded inside them, the Korean government in 2006 submitted these Uigwe materials to be recognized and designated as ‘Memory of the World’, and on June 14th, 2007 the Uigwe materials that are held by Kyujanggak and Jangseo-gak were registered as ‘Memories of the World’.

3. The Royal marriage procession examined through the Banchado picture

Among all the Uigwe materials, the Garye (Marriage rituals) Dogam uigwe provide us with the essence of royal family ceremonies. Especially
the Banchado pictures, which described how the people and equipments were positioned during ceremonies, are very informative in that regard. Banchado pictures were depictions of the important scenes of the ceremonial occasion, which made them the equivalent of marriage photos or video tape recordings of ceremonies that we have today.

Yet these Banchado pictures were not created on the very day on which the ceremonial occasions were held. They were actually created before the ceremonies, so that there would be fewer mistakes or mishaps during the actual ceremony. In other words, they served as a kind of rehearsal (only in the form of pictures), which is a common practice even today when national ceremonies or military operations are about to be held or launched. For example, Yeongjo jeongsunnu garye dogam uigwe 英祖貞純後禮都監儀軌 informs us that the day when Yeongjo welcomed his wife was June 22nd, yet according to other records the Banchado picture depicting the ceremony was already reported to the King on June 14th.

All the Banchado pictures inside Garye dogam uigwe describe the King moving to the Byolgung structure to greet and welcome his new bride-to-be, one of the steps in the entire process and the one which was considered as the highlight of the entire matrimonial ceremony. The term ‘Bancha’ refers to ‘marching in order, according to one’s own individual responsibilities.’ Naturally the ‘Banchado picture’ could be defined as a picture indicating the procedure of ceremonial occasions. In the Banchado pictures not only the palanquins of the King and the queens, the leading figures of the ceremony, but also the Seonsang 先堂 and Jeonsadae 前射隊 entities taking the leading position as vanguards, the Husang 後堂 and Husadae 後射隊 entities guarding the rear, high ranking governmental officials and guards, court ladies and eunuchs, musicians boosting the mood of the royal procession and Noegun (military police) figures who were maintaining order, in other words figures from all social classes, were all shown in the picture, as performing their own duties and serving their own roles in their assigned positions. Interestingly enough, the court ladies on horses and even the lowest
ranking figures, such as female slaves in charge of sewing (針線牌), are all depicted here.

Thanks to the painters, the royal processions inside the Banchado pictures are captured from various angles, such as from the rear, or from a birdseye view, or even from the side. Such diversity in depiction provides the viewers with an opportunity to appreciate the apparent vitality of the situation, that might come off as stiff if not portrayed carefully. The figures described in Banchado pictures all wear different attire according to their social status. There are many colors in the costumes worn, and the features of females wearing scarves, horsemen and infantry soldiers in military uniforms are valuable sources of information for scholars engaged in historical studies of past attire. It is interesting to behold the cortège flag as well. The Gyoryonggi and Dokgi held by the leading figure of the royal procession, and all kinds of other flags, umbrellas and personal folding fans, let us know certain things concerning the authority of the royal family at the time. Hundreds of people joined these royal processions. The processions served essentially as national parades, demonstrating the strength and culture level of the country’s leadership of the time. Yeongjo jeongsunhu garye dogum uigwe’s Banchado picture is drawn upon total of 50 pages, and each page measures 45.8x33cm, which makes the total length of the entire picture 1,650cm.

Main components of the royal procession welcoming the king’s bride, as seen in the Banchado picture.

1) Leading section: section composed of the Seonsang soldiers (先頭軍兵) leading the entire procession, and other symbolic items for the King’s authority such as the Dok 輿 (a huge flag decorated with cow tails) and Gyoryonggi 蚊龍旗 (a flag, upon which an imaginary Gyoryong dragon is drawn).

2) Royal section: the section comprising the king’s area. Soldiers carrying flags (旗幟, and also other items) that notify the approaching royal procession with grandeur and magnificence, Naechwi musicians (內吹: band),
attending officials (侍臣), and royal guard components (親侍衛) are all included here.

3) Accompanying section: section composed of the literary and military officials, accompanying the royal procession from the rear side.

4) Queen’s section: section composed of the palanquin carrying the Gyomyeong order and Geumbo item welcoming the bride-to-be as the new queen of the dynasty, and then the palanquin of the Queen, and the junior court ladies serving the queen follow.

5) rear end: the end detail of the royal procession, composed of the Huhadae unit guarding the royal procession from behind.

In the meantime, there were many devices meant to emphasize the grand authority and gorgeousness of the royal procession, as follows.

1) retinue flag: functions as a symbolic indication, being a flag with the sun, moon, mountains and rivers (streams), animal figures described on Sasindo, and the Gagu seonin 龜仙人 all depicted upon it.

2) retinue items: symbolizes authority and dignity. There are visual items and audible items. For the former category, there were items displaying military prowess like spears, swords and axes: items that served both practical and symbolic purposes (as used by Sinseon hermits) like folding fans (扇), umbrellas (陽傘), and covers (蓑).

3) musical instruments: they created an atmosphere a festive, and also served to keep the front and rear sections of the royal procession in sync, maintaining order throughout the procession. Yet in royal matrimonial ceremonies, usually the musical instruments were only displayed and not played.

4) ceremonial wardrobe: all the people who joined the ceremonial occasion wore specific costumes according to their roles and social status. They all had characteristics in terms of features and color. Some of the females wore scarves.

5) horses: people with higher statuses and ranks rode them, and some of the eunuchs and females rode them as well. There were white horses, black
horses and brown horses.

As we can see, in the *Banchado* pictures depicting the royal family’s matrimonies all the cortege items, wardrobe, musical instruments and horses were all described vividly, like digital clips we use and enjoy today.

4. *Uigwe* materials related to Jeongjo’s trip to Hwaseong

1) *Wonbaeng eulmyo jeongni uigwe*

Jeongjo’s trip to Hwaseong in 1795 was planned as a political event, meant to highlight his own achievements that had been accomplished for the past years, and also to unite the officials and the people to become supporters for his future reform efforts. Jeongjo oversaw one of the grandest ceremonies that was ever held throughout the history of the Joseon dynasty, and that ceremony was well documented in *Wonbaeng eulmyo jeongni uigwe* 国幸乙卯整理儀軌. Jeongjo visited Hyeollyungwon (hence the term ‘Wonbaeng; visit to a royal tomb’) in 1795 (hence the ‘Eulmyo-year’ indication). The *Uigwe* record was published with Jeongri-style printing type (整理字), hence the word ‘Jeongni’ in the title of this *Uigwe* material.

On lunar February 9th, 1795 Jeongjo’s royal procession left Changdeokgung and embarked upon an official trip, which was scheduled to last eight days. This Hwaseong trip had been prepared since February the previous year. First the Jeongni-so 整理所 office which would oversee the ceremony was established, and 100,000 Nyang was secured to pay for the cost. This derived from loan interests that was collected by the government through the grain loan practice. Specially designed palanquins to carry (Former Crown-Princess) Hyegyeonggung Hong, whose age was over 60 and too old for a long trip, were prepared. Also, the Siheungno road (today’s local road No.1) which could allow 1,800 personnel accompanying the royal procession to move at once was newly established, and in order to cross the Hangang river safely and
without too much cost, a new concept of 'boats-bridge' was devised. Jeong Yak-yong greatly contributed to this idea and its implementation.

The total number of personnel in the Banchado picture describing the royal procession was 1,779, but accounting for the personnel who had already been there or had been standing by at the side of the road for designated services would boost the number to 6,000. The party departed the Changdeokgung palace at dawn, crossed the boats-bridge through the Noryangjin port, arrived at the Noryang Haenggung (Yongyangbongjeo jeong) where they had lunch, and in the evening they arrived at the Shiheung Haenggung and spent the night. The number of bowls and plates, ingredients used and the height of the food that was served, and even the number of flowers that were used to decorate the table, were all recorded.

On the second day, Jeongjo left Siheung, took some rest at Cheongcheonpyeong, and had lunch at the Sageuncham Haenggung residence. Around noon, it started to rain, so Jeongjo hastened the procession, and arrived in the evening at the Hwaseong Haenggung residence. When the royal procession entered the Jangammun gate of Hwaseong, he ordered the observation of an entrance procedure, for which Jeongjo himself changed into armor and then entered through the fortress gate (軍門).

On the third day, in the morning, Jeongjo paid respect at the Daeseongjeon hall of the Hwaseong local school (Hyanggyo 總校). After that he returned to Nangnamheon, and conducted a Byeolsi examination for both the literary and military areas, for the residents of Suweon and from other near areas who applied as examinees. Five men for the literary section and 56 people for the military section passed the examination, and were selected to become governmental officials. In the afternoon, Jeongjo performed a rehearsal for the celebration party at Bongsudang.

On the fourth day, Jeongjo paid respect to Hyeonnyungwon in the morning. Actually, this was the first time for his mother, (Former Crown Princess) Hyegeyeonggung Hong, to visit her late husband's grave. Her
outburst of sorrow quite surprised and saddened Jeongjo. In the afternoon, Jeongjo mounted the Seojangdae of Hwaseong, and commanded the daytime and nighttime military exercises there. Five thousand troops of royal guards that had been stationed in Hwaseong were mobilized for this day's drill, and the exercises were also meant as a warning signal for the Noron party's Byeokpa faction, which was opposing King Jeongjo and his policies continuously.

On the fifth day, the 60th anniversary party for the King's mother, the highest ranking figure of the King's retinue, was held. At the banquet held in Bongsudang, Seonyuak (palace dance) music was played. The entire process of the ritual, list of 13 female guests and 69 male guests who were invited to the party, the dance and music prepared and played at the banquet, and the number of tables and types of delicacies that were prepared for the guests, were all recorded, in great detail.

On the 6th day, grains (rice) were distributed to the people of Hwaseong, and a consoling party for the elderly was held in the morning at Nangnamheon. It was a display of Jeongjo's sincere will to care for his subjects during his travels. For the consolation party, 384 elders from Hwaseong participated, and Jeongjo ate the same food served to those elders. This signified that the elderly were treated to a table that was the same as that of the king.

When the official procedure was completed, Jeongjo took a stroll around Hwaseong. In the day, he inspected the Banghwa suryujeong which had the most magnificent view in Hwaseong, and in the afternoon he observed a presentation of archery at Deukjungeong. The next day was scheduled for his return to the Capital. Jeongjo took the road he used when he came, spent a night at Siheung, and on the last day he passed through Noryang and arrived in the capital. On his way back, he kept stopping on the hill where he could have his last glimpse of his dead father's grave. He was sorrowful to part with his father. The hill is now called Jijidae 選逐臺 (which means one's walking continuously slowing down and hesitating to go forward), for Jeongjo's own hesitation at this location.
2) Picture of Royal procession heading for Hwaseong area (*Hwaseong wonbaeng banchado* 華城圍幸班大圖)

The *Banchado* picture of a trip to Hwaseong, described through 63 pages in the *Wonhaeng eulmyo jeongni uigwe* is a picture drawn in black and white. For mass printing and publication, *Wonhaeng eulmyo jeongni uigwe* was published with printing type, and the forward section (which contained the picture) was printed with woodblocks. Fortunately, an item entitled *Hwaseong wonhaeng banchado*, which described the trip to Hwaseong in a much more vivid and detailed terms, is in the custody of Kyujanggak. It depicts the royal procession in magnificent colors.

This *Banchado* picture, entitled *Hwaseong wonhaeng banchado* is essentially a scroll, and unlike the one inside *Wonhaeng eulmyo jeongni uigwe* which provides a side-view account of the process, provides us with a bird-eye view, as if viewed from the sky.

The total length of the picture is over 15 meters, which shows us the
magnitude and grandeur of the royal occasion. At the heart of the royal procession were palanquins of Hyegyeonggung and King Jeongjo, and near them there were several flags and implements, armed guards, containers of food Suragaja 水剌鞠子, the Noegun 牢軍 (the military police today) figures who were leading the royal procession, and the musical band as well. They are all shown in detail. Jeongjo is not directly depicted, and only the horses he rode are indicated. One of the more notable things is that Hyegyeonggung’s palanquin is not carried by people but anchored by horses. Thanks to this Hwaseong wonhaeng banchado, we can have a glimpse at Jeongjo’s trip to Hwaseong, which took place some 200 years ago.

This has been a general introduction to the value and meaning of the materials in custody of the Kyujanggak archive, which includes world class items designated as “Memory of the World”, materials related to
the royal family, and materials that can convey the sheer magnitude of
the Joseon dynasty court’s dignity most effectively in visual terms. There
are other kinds of material at Kyujanggak as well. There are rare
manuscripts which reflect the exact features of the life of the people of
the Joseon dynasty, more than 2,000 personal anthologies created by
scholars, and governmental documents of the modern era, and more than
17,821 printing plates that were used in publishing Confucian classics
and legal codes.

They were all collected systematically by the Joseon royal family, not
to mention the dynastic government. Their academic value is almost
incalculable.

Shin Byung-ju  Professor, Konkuk University
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t has been suggested that in order to clarify the duty and functions of Kyujanggak once again, we should take a comprehensive look upon the past and present of Kyujanggak and reevaluate the historical and cultural meaning of all the books it currently holds. So a plan for a series of publications entitled “The History and Culture of Kyujanggak” was established in September 2008, and a decision was made to publish English versions of the individual installments as well, to allow foreign readers to understand the history and collections of Kyujanggak. As part of such efforts, Kyujanggak: Rediscovering its History and Culture and Kyujanggak and the Cultural History of Books were published in August 2009, and now we present you with the English versions of those publications.

We sincerely hope that these books will be helpful to anyone in the world who is genuinely interested in everything Korean. Hopefully our efforts will eventually help raise the global society’s awareness of the rich culture and history that the Koreans have fostered and nurtured in the past for several millennia.