

Russian and Japanese Diplomatic Responses on Interrogations Records of Ahn Jung-Geun

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Abstract

This paper provides a new fact as following through interrogation records of Ahn Jung-Geun. The investigation of the case of Ahn Jung-Geun by Russian and Japanese jurisdictions proceeded as follows: Public Prosecutor Miller of Border District Court conducted the investigation with focus on Ahn and tried to find holes in the testimony related to Ahn's whereabouts and actions after arriving a day ahead. Hence, the fact that the railway police of the Chinese Eastern Railway faithfully conducted their duties was emphasized. Second, Miller investigated in detail the testimony and reported that it was the Japanese consul general who controlled the access of Japanese nationals. Miller's intent was to eliminate any responsibility on the Russian side for the assassination. Third, Magistrate Strazov and Miller checked the three person's activities at Chegagu Station, and on the grounds that Ahn was a Korean national, judged that Japan had jurisdiction over the case. The Russian judiciary put maximum emphasis on the fact that there was no participation by Russians in the assassination, only Koreans. The utmost priority of the Japanese government at the time was to prevent Ahn's grave from becoming a site of pilgrimage for the Korean independence movement. By the same token, the Japanese even refused to hand over Ahn's body to his family until the end. In fact, the Japanese even buried Ahn in a Lushun Prison public cemetery. To thwart the plan to set up Ahn Jung-Geun's grave in the cemetery for Koreans in Harbin, the Japanese most likely cremated Ahn's body buried in the public cemetery in Lushun. After all, this paper traced the confrontation and cooperation of Russia and Japan's foreign policy through the Interrogations Records of Ahn Jung-Geun.

Keywords: Ahn Jung-Geun, Ito Hirobumi 伊藤博文, V.N. Kokovtsev, K.K. Miller, interrogations records, Harbin

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Introduction

Tensions between Russia and Japan reached their height in the early 20th century in the Far East. This was especially true over Korea, then known as Joseon, and Manchuria. Russia occupied Manchuria following the Boxer Rebellion in June 1900, and Japan signed the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in January 1902 to exert diplomatic pressure on Russia. It also repeatedly demanded that Russia abandon any ambitions of advancing into Joseon. Against this background, Russia and Japan engaged in negotiations on diplomatic and military privileges over Joseon in 1902 and 1903, but were still not able to avoid the Russo-Japanese War, which broke out in February 1904.

The Eulsa Restriction Treaty (the so-called Japan-Korea Protectorate Treaty) of November 1905 deprived Korea of its diplomatic and military sovereignty by force. With Korea now unable to engage in normal diplomacy, the movement to restore Korea's independence from Japan gained traction. Of many campaigns and activities for independence, Ahn Jung-Geun's patriotic action in Harbin attracted a great deal of international attention.

The Russian Minister to China (Qing Dynasty), Ivan Y. Korostovets, expressed his concern on October 27, 1909 about how Ahn's assassination of Ito Hirobumi 伊藤博文 could impact Russia, that the sole fact that Ito died on Russian territory meant that Russia could not avoid any responsibility for the assassination. He said, "Japan and Qing could take malicious advantage of Ahn's action" and requested the Russian government to send a special envoy to Japan.¹ Governor-General Pavel F. Unterberger of Primor'ye, Russia even argued that Japan would invade Russia right after Ahn's assassination (Kokovtsev 1992, 345).

But the Japanese Emperor in 1910 awarded medals to Russian officials who had rendered assistance in the arrest of Ahn Jung-Geun despite concerns raised by the officials in the Russian Far East. The medals were given to Russian Consul General Poppe of Harbin (Grade 3 Sun Rise Medal),

1. Archives of Foreign Policy of Russian Empire (AVPRI), f. 150, op. 493, d. 1279, ll. 44-47.

Major General Afanasiyev—Director of the Chinese Eastern Railway in charge of civil affairs, (Grade 2 Sacred Treasure Medal), Captain Knapp of military policy—Director of Railway Police for Harbin District of Chinese Eastern Railway (Grade 4 Sacred Treasure Medal), Second Captain Von Kugelgen, Chief of Criminal Investigation, Harbin Police (Grade 4 Sacred Treasure Medal), and Public Prosecutor Miller of Border District Court (Grade 3 Sun Rise Medal).² This raises the questions of what was the nature of the cooperation extended by Russia toward Japan on the matter of Ahn, and why did the Japanese award Russian officials with medals?

Research on Ahn Jung-Geun has proceeded apace with the discovery of more records. The study into independence activist Ahn Jung-Geun started with the discovery of the *An jung-geun jaseojeon* 安重根自叙傳 (Biography of Ahn Jung-Geun), authored by Choi Seo-myon in April 1969 and publication of *Ajujeiluihyeop an jung-geun* (Asia's Foremost Hero Ahn Jung Geun) by the Ministry of Patriots and Veteran Affairs in 1976–1977 (Shin 2009, 39). The collection for *Asia's Foremost Hero Ahn Jung-Geun* was based on confidential documents related to Ahn at the Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan 外務省外交史料館. The collection also contains investigations by Director Kurachi Tetsukichi 倉知鐵吉 of Political Affairs, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs carried out during his visit to Lushun 旅順 from October 26 to November 19, 1909 (Cho 2000, 195).

The paper published by Shin Yong-Ha in 1980 was the first in-depth study into Ahn Jung-Geun. The paper delved deeply into Ahn as a person and his heroic deed from diverse perspectives, including his involvement in efforts toward Western enlightenment, the struggle for independence, how the heroic assassination came about as well as his theory on peace in East Asia. Shin argues that the assassination was a collaborative effort with the *Daedong Gongbo* 大東共報 (Public News of the Great East).

Yoon Kyong-ro was the first researcher to delve into the ideologies purported by Ahn. Yoon maintains that Ahn's thinking on people's rights and national consciousness crystallized after he accepted ideologies related

2. *Severnaya Manzhuriya* (The North Manchuria), October 13, 1910; Also see Boris D. Pak 1999, 80.

to Western enlightenment and Catholicism. According to Yoon Byong-suk, at the time when Western powers were vying for dominance in the East, Ahn's argument for the solidarity of all Asians adhered to the same structure as the pan-Asianism put forth by the Japanese but more strongly emphasized a peaceful (non-aggressive) approach to counter the aggressiveness of pan-Asianism.

The ideologies of Ahn Jung-Geun received much renewed interest in the 1990s. The interest was primarily focused on the two roots of Ahn's ideologies, i.e. Catholicism and peace in East Asia. After 2000, focus shifted toward Ahn's family, his thinking on peace in East Asia and Japan, the struggles at his trial, the understanding in and out of Korea regarding Ahn's heroic deed and its international significance, and the essence of the ideology he pursued (Shin 2009, 42–50).

The assassination of Ito Hirobumi by Ahn Jung-Geun also garnered much interest in Russia. Harbin at the time was the center of the Chinese Eastern Railway and was a territory of Russia, which is why jurisdiction on Ahn was with Russia. Boris D. Pak located numerous Russian records on Ahn and studied them extensively. He published *Vozmezdnie na kharbinskom vokzale* (Punishment at Harbin Station) in Russia in 1999 and clarified facts related to Ahn's heroic deed based on documents found at the Archives of Foreign Policy of Russian Empire (AVPRI) and the History Archive of the Russian State (RGIA) among others. Even early on, he focused on a detailed account of the records on Ahn's preliminary hearing from RGIA. He also researched the reaction of Russia to the assassination in Harbin and the impact of the assassination on the Russo-Japanese relationship. Park Jong-hyo introduced Russian materials on Ahn to Korea, mainly the memoirs of Russian Finance Minister Vladimir N. Kokovtsev. Hong Woong-ho argued that Ahn's heroic assassination pushed Russia toward agreement with Japan on Manchuria earlier than would have been the case otherwise. As evidence, he cited the fact that the second Russo-Japanese Treaty was signed in July 1910 on a proposal by Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Alexander P. Izvolsky (Hong 2010, 702–703). The research on Ahn focused on why the Russians handed him over to the Japanese. Park concedes that the reason Ahn was handed over to Japan is a conundrum because the

Russians maintained that Korean national territory within the Chinese Eastern Railway zone was under Russian jurisdiction (Pak 1999, 71). According to Park Jong-hyo in his paper, *Harbin-eseo an jung-geun-ui haengwi-wa reo-sia-ui daeeung* (The Truth of Ahn Jung-Geun's Patriotic Deed in Harbin and Russia's Response) the Russians gave Ahn to the Japanese to excuse Russia of its moral responsibilities for failing to secure protection to the visiting Japanese, and that it was a political move meant not to further complicate Russo-Japanese relations (Park 2004, 124). However, Shin Woon-young interprets Russia's quick hand-over of Ahn to Japan to be based on precedents of killings of Japanese by Joseon nationals while also contending that the Japanese colonial government's exercise of jurisdiction over Ahn's trial was an illegal act that even violated Japanese law (Shin 2009, 477).

In 2010, the Interrogation Records by Russian Officials (*Protokoli doprosov rossiiskimi chinovnikami* Протоколы допросов российскими чиновниками), which contains the Russian judiciary's interrogation on Ahn, was translated into Korean. The Russian court conducted a preliminary hearing on Ahn Jung-Geun from 9:30 am to 11:30 pm on October 26, 1909 at the night-duty room and the director's office of Harbin Station. At the time, Eighth Border District Court Magistrate M.M. Strazov and Border District Court Public Prosecutor K.K. Miller oversaw the preliminary hearing on Ahn. The Russian judiciary was quick to offer all documents related to this preliminary hearing to the Japanese Consulate General in Harbin. The Japanese translation of the Interrogation Records by Russian Officials can currently be found at the Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. The fact that this document is the first record on the preliminary hearing on Ahn makes it important enough.

The Russian judiciary did not even make copies of the documents in Ahn's preliminary hearing but handed the originals over to the Japanese. Given the great meticulousness that the Russian government has always exercised over document production and storage, the fact that the originals—without copies being made—were handed over is indeed highly unusual. Why did the Russians hand over the originals? No efforts have heretofore been made to compare in detail the documents handed over by the Russians against those stored in Japan. I will conduct such comparison between the

two countries and introduce documents on Ahn that are stored at the History Archive of the Russian State (RGIA) and those at the Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. I will especially track documents at the Japanese Archives related to Ahn's grave and extensively review records on the preliminary hearing of Ahn Jung-Geun to ascertain the nature and intent of the investigations carried out by the Russians and Japanese.

Investigation by the Russian Judiciary and its Records

The Restoration of Ahn Jung-Geun's Preliminary Hearing Documents at the History Archives of the Russian State (RGIA)

Even early on, Pak questioned why all of the records on Ahn's preliminary hearing had been passed to the Consulate General of Japan in Harbin without any copies having been made of them. He compiled a detailed account of the records and lists from the RGIA. He focused on the records made by the Public Prosecutor Miller and argued that the Russians did not hand over Koreans with anti-Japanese sentiments living in Harbin to Japan (Pak 1999, 71–76).

On December 7, 1909, Director General E. D. Livov of Russia's Ministry of Finance requested copies of the records on Ahn's preliminary hearing from Public Prosecutor K. K. Miller of the Border District Court. Miller sent his reply dated January 9, 1910: "The preliminary hearing was transferred to Japan on the date of the incident, 14 hours after the incident occurred. This is because the Japanese did not wish to delay transfer of the case, so no copy of the preliminary hearing could be made."³ Miller wrote and signed a document entitled "Overview of the Preliminary Hearing Presided Over by Magistrate M.M. Strazov of the Eighth Border District Court" on January 9, 1910. The document aimed to restore 64 pages produced during the preliminary hearing in Russia.⁴ To restore the records, Miller relied in part on

3. History Archives of Russian State (RGIA), f. 560, op. 28, d. 422, l. 59.

4. RGIA, f. 560, op. 28, d. 422, l. 61.

his own memory and in part on the documented work records of the Eighth District Magistrate and local police officers. It seems that Miller attempted to restore details of the preliminary hearing based on relevant documents. However, the document entitled Interrogation Records by the Russian Officials at the Diplomatic Archives of Japan says that Miller gave “one original book” (46 pages) of the preliminary hearing records (Ahn Jung-Geun Memorial Association 2010, 233). Why, then, is there a difference of 64 pages and 46 pages? There could be two possibilities. One is an error in Miller’s memory. The other is an omission in the preliminary hearing records.

After the preliminary hearing, Miller handed over 79 different documents created on Ahn Jung-Geun until January 5, 1910 to Public Prosecutor Mizobuchi 溝淵孝雄 of the Lushun District Court. Miller even submitted in writing “special testimony” on the assassination by Ahn upon a request by the Japanese Public Prosecutor Mizobuchi⁵ and extended his active cooperation as per a request from Japan.

Key Points of the Preliminary Hearing Records by Russian Public Prosecutor Miller

Miller wrote Overview of the Preliminary Hearing Presided Over by Magistrate M.M. Strazov of the Eighth Border District Court on January 9, 1910. The list of records in this overview is as follows:

- Report on personal background, home town, residence, reason for the crime, and participants as obtained from Ahn through a translator from Public Prosecutor Sixth Secretary Miller of the Border District Court; Proposal sent by Public Prosecutor Miller to the Magistrate of the

5. RGIA, f. 560, op. 28, d. 422, ll. 65–66; Ahn Jung-Geun Memorial Association 2010, 68. Mizobuchi Takao (溝淵孝雄, 1874–1944) was born in Kochi Prefecture 高知縣 in August 1874. He graduated from the Department of Law, University of Tokyo in 1899 and joined the Public Prosecutors’ Office of Tokyo District Court as a probationer in the Judiciary Department. With promulgation of the Court Decree for Kwantung Province in 1908, Kwantung District Court was established in Lushun and Mizobuchi was appointed as the public prosecutor of Kwantung District High Court (Han 2004, 34).

Eighth Court; Proposal to start pretrial proceedings pursuant to Paragraph 4, Article 297 of the Criminal Procedure Law and Emperor's Order of July 20, 1901.

- Decision by the Magistrate of the Eighth Court to start with pretrial proceedings as proposed by the Prosecutor.
- Prosecutor's report on the pistol confiscated from Ahn and reserve magazine found in his pocket, etc.
- Decision by the Magistrate to send Korean national Ahn Jung-Geun as prisoner pursuant to Article 396 of the Criminal Proceedings Law with the proven charge of killing Ito Hirobumi and attempted murder of Ito's travel companions.
- Interrogation report on prisoner Ahn Jung-Geun prepared through a translator (2 pages).
- Decision to interrupt prescription by way of avoiding hearing and trial of prisoner Ahn.
- Interrogation report on key witnesses of the incident: Finance Minister V.N. Kokovtsev; Lieutenant Pehachev, Commander of Border Guard Independence Army; Fifth Secretary Director General E.D. Livov of Russia's Ministry of Finance; two officers who witnessed the crime; Captain Nikiforov of Military Policy—Director of Railway Police of Chinese Eastern Railway; and Captain Knapp of Military Policy—Director of Railway Police for Harbin District of Chinese Eastern Railway.
- Detailed report for the preliminary hearing prepared by Captain Knapp pursuant to Article 252 of the Criminal Proceedings Law on the nighttime statement made by Ahn before the assassination (9 pages).
- Interrogation of Captain Knapp on public access at Harbin Station to welcome Ito and to confirm report no. 8 above.
- Interrogation of E.D. Daniel, executive representative of Chinese Eastern Railway. Daniel testified that the entrance of persons in Japanese costumes were granted as per request by Japanese Consul General Kawagami 川上俊彦 to Harbin.
- Notice sent by the public prosecutor of the Border District Court to the Magistrate of the Eighth Court. Secretary Sekino of the Japanese Consulate General and Consul General Kawagami of Harbin fully confirmed Daniel's testimony. Kawagami took sole responsibility for what

happened.

- Four reports and two telegrams from officers of the Zamur Precinct. On October 24 to 26, three Koreans arrived at Chegagu 蔡家溝 Station. One person left for Harbin the day before, and two Koreans remaining at the station came under suspicion and could not enter the station platform while the train with Ito Hirobumi was passing through the station.
- Three telegrams requesting immediate arrest of the two Koreans at Chegagu Station. Response telegrams from the Chegagu station manager, local guard captain, and railway police Staff Sergeant Semin.
- Reports on all six searches carried out by the police including by 2nd Captain Von Kugelgen, Chief of Criminal Investigation, Harbin Police; 1) Home of Kim Tihon, a Korean with Russian nationality resident at 28 Resnaya Street. 2) Search of houses of Koreans near Kim's house. Two packages of physical evidence gathered through the search were attached.
- Order from the Chief of Criminal Investigation on the arrest of seven Koreans at 28 Resnaya Street pursuant to Article 258 of the Criminal Proceedings Law. Report on brief interrogation of the seven Koreans; they testified that they were not aware of any plans to assassinate Ito.
- Magistrate's order for confiscation and inspection on telegrams pertaining to the Koreans of above item.
- Report on telegram confiscation and investigation. Telegram signed by Ahn Jung-Geun dated October 24, stating, "When is relative arriving?" Response telegram from Harbin saying "Relative to arrive on the morning of October 26."
- Documents delivered to Koreans arrested at Chegagu Station: Letters in Korean, telegram receipt, and registered mail.
- Telegram of no. 18 above and proof as telegram recipient.
- Interrogation report on doctors who extended medical assistance to Ito's entourage and who examined the body of Ito Hirobumi.
- Interrogation report on Military Police Staff Sergeant Semin. Semin confirmed the details of Item no. 13. Semin testified that two Koreans including Ahn arrived at Chegagu Station on October 24, and that it was Ahn Jung-Geun who left for Harbin from Chegagu on October 25. 1) Semin confined two Koreans at the station cafeteria to prevent them from accessing the station platform when Ito's train was arriving at Che-

gagu Station. 2) Semin demanded that Ahn present his passport during his time at Chegagu Station, and checked Ahn's Korean nationality passport.

- Magistrate's decision to transfer the case to the Japanese government through the public prosecutor of Border District Court as Korean national Ahn Jung-Geun was the assassin and as Korean nationals fell under the jurisdiction of Japan.⁶

Russia's Investigation of Ahn and the Diplomatic Response

The investigation of the case of Ahn Jung-Geun by Russian jurisdiction proceeded as follows: First, Miller conducted the investigation with a focus on Ahn and tried to find holes in the testimony related to Ahn's whereabouts and actions after arriving a day ahead. Hence, the fact that the railway police of the Chinese Eastern Railway faithfully conducted their duties was emphasized. Second, Miller investigated in detail the testimony and reported that it was the Japanese consul general who controlled the access of Japanese nationals. Miller's intent was to eliminate any responsibility on the Russian side for the assassination. Third, Strazov and Miller checked the three persons' activities at Chegagu Station, and on the grounds that Ahn was a Korean national, judged that Japan had jurisdiction over the case. The Russian judiciary put maximum emphasis on the fact that there was no participation by Russians in the assassination, only Koreans.

In essence, the Russian judiciary emphasized the fact that Ahn was a Korean national in the process of investigating the suspect arrested at the scene. Kokovtsev already reported on October 26, 1909 on Ahn's assassination that "a Korean shot a Browning pistol to fatally injure the Count (i.e., Ito), and seriously wounded the Japanese consul general and one of Ito's travel companions."⁷ Kokovtsev understood the assassin to be Korean on the day of the incident. Then, why did the Russian judiciary highlight

6. RGIA, f. 560, op. 28, d. 422, ll. 61-65.

7. AVPRI, f. 150, op. 493, d. 1279, l. 29.

Ahn's Korean nationality in proceeding with the preliminary hearing? First, under the recognition that Harbin was Russian territory, the Russian judiciary highlighted Russia's exercise of judicial authority over Ahn's case. Second, the Russian judiciary swiftly carried out a preliminary hearing on Ahn, and although it could have exercised judicial power, it was more intent on showing Japan that it was transferring jurisdiction. Third, the Russians tried to justify transfer of Ahn's trial jurisdiction: "Ahn Jung-Geun is a Korean national and as such, is subject to the laws of Japan."

However, public defender Kamata 鎌田 asserted that only Korean law applied to Ahn Jung-Geun at the fifth trial on February 12, 1910: "On this case, pursuant to the Protectorate Treaty of 1905 and the 1909 Law No. 2 of Meiji Japan, Kwantung District Court should only go so far as exercising Korea's consular jurisdiction as a proxy as recognized in the Korea-Qing Treaty of Commerce and Navigation, and the applicable law should naturally be the Criminal Code of Korea (Totsuka 2010, 103)."

The Russian government took swift action to prevent the worsening of Russo-Japanese relations after the assassination by Ahn. Finance Minister Vladimir Nikolaevich Kokovtsev first sent a telegram on the death of Ito Hirobumi to Foreign Minister Isvolsky and Prime Minister Stolypin on October 26. Kokovtsev then sent a telegram to the Russian Ambassador to Japan (Kokovtsev 1992, 341). The Russian Ambassador to Japan translated the text of the telegram from Kokovtsev into English for the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan and delivered it to the Japanese government on October 28. The text of that telegram is as follows ("Condolence Letters from Foreign Countries on the Tragedy of Count Ito"):

Ahn Jung-Geun testified as follows upon his arrest. He specifically arrived in Harbin to punish Ito for wrongful action against Joseon by assassinating him. He was pleased that his objective met sufficient success. The plan was adequately arranged beforehand: Yesterday, Russian police at Chegagu Station arrested three suspicious looking Koreans with a Browning pistol. Japanese Consul General Kawagami to Harbin had made a request to the Russian Railway Police that all Japanese be granted free access to Harbin Station. This made it impossible to distinguish a Korean assassin from a Japanese. All of the Russian officials

were in very dangerous positions. While Ahn was approaching close to Ito, I was closer to Ito than the Japanese officials who sustained injury. We extended full privileges and the highest courtesy in transferring the body of Ito via the Russian railway. Russian Minister to China (the Qing dynasty) Korostovets escorted Ito's body to Gwansungja 寬城子 (now Changchun). Please translate my deepest condolences to the Government of Japan.⁸

Kokovtsev's telegram clearly indicates the nature of Russia's response to Ahn Jung-Geun. It asserted that Ahn's assassination was premeditated by Koreans, and that Russian police had taken all possible preventative measures beforehand. Therefore, it suggested that the blame for the assassination of Ito lay with Consul General Kawagami since he had been in a position to detect it beforehand. Even Russian officials, including Kokovtsev, were exposed to danger since they had been standing next to Ito. The telegram stressed that the Russian government extended full privileges and courtesy in transferring Ito's remains.

Kokovtsev reported to the Russian government that the preliminary hearing on Ahn Jung-Geun would be completed on October 26. He also reported that the case would be transferred to the Japanese Consulate General in Harbin based on the fact that Ahn was a Korean national.⁹ Kokovtsev sent a telegram of condolences from Harbin to the Japanese Ambassador to Russia, Motono, on October 27 to ensure that the Russian government would not be subject to any suspicion that it had somehow intervened in the case or that it had not taken proper measures to safeguard high-ranking officials of Japan (Pak 1999, 123).

8. "Ito Hirobumi manjyou shisats" 伊藤公爵滿洲視察一件 (Count Ito's Tour Inspection to Manchuria), Gaimusho gaimushiryogwan 外務省外交史料館 (The Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan), Item 245-5 Section 5 Group 2 Category 4 (4門2類5項245-5號1冊).

9. AVPRI, f. 150, op. 493, d. 1279, l. 4a.

Records on Ahn Jung-Geun at the Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan

Content and Structure of Records

Most of the records on Ahn Jung-Geun at the Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan are documents on Ito Hirobumi's tour inspection to Manchuria. That is the document titled *Count Ito's Tour Inspection to Manchuria* 伊藤公爵滿洲視察一件. The document number is Item 245 Section 5 Group 2 Category 4. Item 245 is further divided into 5 sub items. Item 245-1 is a two-volume book titled *Documents Issued by Director Kurachi Tetsukichi of Political Affairs During Visit to Lushun* 倉知政務局長旅順へ出張中發受書類. It contains mainly records from October to December 1909.

Of the documents, the list of Korean groups with anti-Japanese sentiment that the Japanese had drawn up in May 1909 did not garner much attention. The Japanese classified those in the independence movement in Korea as "... related to former Emperor Gojong and late Empress Myeongseong; ... associated with the Northwest Academic Society and the Korea Association, ... involved in Korean Christian nationalists; and anti-Japanese Confucian scholars." The Japanese also distinguished different regions of the independence movement in Korea—including the Russian region, Shanghai region, Korea proper, San Francisco region, and Hawaii region.

The Japanese also had a detailed list of those with anti-Japanese sentiments residing in Russia. The Japanese specifically marked (·) on persons of interest in Russia, and Ahn Jung-Geun was one of them. That list also included Yi Pom-jin, the first Korean Minister to Russia, as well as Lee Wui-Jong and Lee Sang-Sul, special envoy to The Hague. Yi Pom-Yoon and Hong Beom-Do were identified as the core of the independence movement based in Primorskiy.¹⁰

10. "Ito Hirobumi manjyou shisats" 伊藤公爵滿洲視察一件: 明治42年 5月 (Count Ito's Tour Inspection to Manchuria: Meiji 42nd year), Gaimusho gaimushiryogwan 外務省外交史料館 (The Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan), Item 245-5 Section 5 Group 2 Category 4 (4門2類5項245-5號 1冊).

Item 245-2 is a book entitled *Attitudes of Different Nations and the Newspaper Tone on Count Ito's Tragedy* 伊藤公爵遭難ニ關シ各國人ノ態度並新聞論調. It has records from October 1909 to December 1910. Here, the focus is on documents related to foreign press reports on the assassination by Ahn Jung-Geun. On the other hand, Item 245-3 is in a three-volume book entitled *Suspect Interrogation During Political Affairs Director Kurachi Tetsukichi's Visit to Lushun on the Tragedy of Count Ito* 伊藤公爵遭難ニ關シ倉知政務局長旅順へ出張中犯人訊問之件. The first volume is from October 26 to November 5, 1909; the second volume is from December 10, 1909 to January 15, 1910; and the third volume is from January 11, 1910 and thereafter. The documents also include interrogation records on Ahn and other involved persons. Ahn in prison detailed the crimes committed by Ito Hirobumi on November 6, 1909. Ahn maintained that Ito had been deeply involved in the colonization of Korea, including the assassination of Empress Myeongseong and the deposition of Emperor Gojong:

1. The atrocious crime of assassinating Emperor Komei (孝明, 1831–1867), the father of Emperor Meiji in 1867; 2. Ordering military personnel stationed in Korea to forcefully enter the Royal Palace to assassinate Empress Myeongseong in 1895; 3. Using military force to enter the Royal Court and to compel the Emperor of Korea to sign five unfair treaties in 1905; 4. Again sending military troops to charge into the Royal Court and to threaten and force the signing of seven unfair provisions and then deposing the Emperor of Korea in 1907.¹¹

Item 245-4 is a two-volume book titled *Addition to Suspect Interrogation During Political Affairs Director Kurachi Tetsukichi's Visit to Lushun on the Tragedy of Count Ito* 伊藤公爵遭難ニ關シ倉知政務局長旅順へ出張中犯人訊問之件聽取書. The first volume contains an illustration of the bullet found at the site of the shooting and the layout of the scene of the incident at Harbin

11. "Ito Hirobumi manjyou shisats" 伊藤公爵滿洲視察一件 (Count Ito's Tour Inspection to Manchuria), Gaimusho gaimushiryogwan 外務省外交史料館 (The Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan), Item 245-5 Section 5 Group 2 Category 4 (4門2類5項245-5號1冊).

Station, and the second volume has a Japanese translation of Ahn's interrogation by the Russian judicial authorities on October 26, 1909.

Item 245-5 is a two-volume book titled *Condolence Letters from Foreign Countries on the Tragedy of Count Ito* 伊藤公爵遭難ニ關シ各國ヨリ弔詞申出ノ件 and contains documents from October 1909. Volume 1 includes a condolence telegram from Emperor Sunjong of Korea and a telegram sent by Russian Finance Minister Kokovtsev to the Russian minister to Japan among others. Volume 2 is a chronology on Ito before and after his visit to Manchuria. The telegram from Sunjong is dated October 27, 1909 and states: "I was informed that the Count sustained injury from a gang yesterday and was astounded. . . . I hereby send my deepest condolences."¹² Sunjong's telegram of condolence on the death of Ito to the Japanese government attests to the tragic situation of the Korean government, which was then fully under the sway of the Japanese resident-general at the time.

Documents Related to the Grave of Ahn Jung-Geun

South and North Korea agreed to conduct a joint excavation on the remains of Ahn Jung-Geun in 2005, and the search for the location of Ahn's grave attracted great interest. South Korea attempted to find the location of Ahn's remains by itself in 2008, but failed. Choi Seo-Myon argued that the grave site for Ahn is at a public cemetery on the hill behind the prison in Lushun (at the foot of Yuanbaoshan 元寶山), based on a picture of Imai Fusako 今正房子, daughter of the head warden of Lushun Prison. Choi assumed that the exact location of Ahn's grave to be 38 degrees 49 minutes 39 seconds North latitude and 121 degrees 15 minutes 43 seconds East longitude (Choi 2008, 235).

There has been a great deal of speculation as to Ahn's burial site. Some of the places where different parties believe he was buried are the Dongsang-

12. "Ito Hirobumi manjyū shisats" 伊藤公爵滿洲視察一件 (Count Ito's Tour Inspection to Manchuria), Gaimusho gaimushiryogwan 外務省外交史料館 (The Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan), Item 245-5 Section 5 Group 2 Category 4 (4門2類5項245-5號1冊).

pa 東山坡 public cemetery at Lushun Prison, the public cemetery in the hills behind Lushun Prison or the public cemetery east of the Lushun Prison (the back hill of Hyangyangga 向陽街). Of these, Choi maintained that the public cemetery at Dongsangpa 東山坡 was created after the 1932 Manchurian Incident (Choi 2008, 227). However, Shin Woon-Young cited the *Secret Military Map of Lushun* to argue that the Dongsangpa public cemetery was already in place in 1918 (Shin 2010, 132).

Park Seon-Joo searched for Ahn Jung-Geun's gravesite in 2008 and 2010 based on exhumation reports of Ahn's remains. Park speculated that the most likely location of Ahn's grave was the public cemetery in the hills behind Lushun Prison (at the foot of Yuanbaoshan). Park cited two photographs handed over by Imai Fusako, a map of the vicinity of Lushun Prison, the surrounding topography from the 1930s, a report on the execution of Ahn Jung-Geun (records of Sonoki Sueki 園木末喜), and the "Chronicles of the Lushun Prison" 旅順日俄監獄實錄 as evidence (Park 2011, 7). In contrast, Shin Woon-Young used testimonies by Lee Guk-Sung and Kim Pa to point to the public cemetery east of Lushun Prison (the back hill of Hyangyangga 向陽街) as a strong possibility. According to Shin, Lushun Prison used three cemeteries. The first public cemetery was used between 1902 and 1920 and was located 500 meters to the east (Shin 2010, 134).

Volume 3 of Item 245-3, Suspect Interrogation During Political Affairs Director Kurachi Tetsukichi's Visit to Lushun on the Tragedy of Count Ito 伊藤公爵遭難ニ關シ倉知政務局長旅順へ出張中犯人訊問之件, at the Diplomatic Archives of Japan offers some clues into Ahn's gravesite. From early on, Choi Seo-Myon took notice of "Confidential Document No. 14" 機密第14號 sent by Acting Consul General Ono Morie 大野守衛 to Foreign Minister Komura Jutarō 小村壽太郎 on February 22, 1910. Choi cited this document to argue that the Japanese were worried that if Ahn's grave were created on foreign soil, it would become a shrine for independence activists (Choi 2008, 207–208). Shin Woon-Young also stated that the creation of such a shrine was the reason the Japanese government refused to hand over the remains of Ahn to his brothers even though such action was in violation of its own laws (Shin 2010, 118). He quoted a Japanese source "Confidential Document No. 14" for confirmation:

www.kci.go.kr

Sources say that after the execution of Ahn Jung-Geun, who was sentenced to death by Lushun District Court for murdering Count Ito, they want to collect his remains and bury him at a cemetery for Koreans located where he committed the atrocious crime. Their plan is to erect a tombstone and monument with money donated by Koreans so that the grave can be used as a site of respect and worship where Koreans come to pay tribute to a patriot. There is currently a strong drive detected among the Koreans here to realize such goal. It is difficult to determine whether such a plan is a mere hopeful ambition of some faction of Koreans here, or the shared zeal of anti-Japanese Koreans residing on Russian territory. However, I do believe such a plan is quite imaginable. Hence, although the disposition of the body of the executed prisoner is subject to due process, if we are not careful when the remains of the said death-row inmate are handed over to his family, the aforementioned plan will be realized. The utmost precaution and care are, therefore, required. This letter is submitted for confirmation. Postscript: Please be mindful that the aforementioned plan and hope of Koreans is first and foremost directly reported to the authorities.¹³

After “Confidential Document No. 14” however, there is “All Confidential Document No. 34” 諸機密 34號, a document Acting Consul General Ono Morie 大野守衛 sent to Acting Civil Administrator Sato Tomokuma 佐藤友態 of Kwantung District on February 23, 1910 based on “Confidential Document No. 14.” Ono Morie records intelligence information to the effect that local Koreans planned to set up Ahn’s grave at “Harbin Cemetery for Koreans.”¹⁴

Woo Duk-Soon, who had partaken in the assassination, recalled the last moments of Ahn Jung-Geun and about his remains on February 4,

13. “Ito Hirobumi manjyou shisats” 伊藤公爵滿洲視察一件: 明治43年 2月 22日 (Count Ito’s Tour Inspection to Manchuria: Meiji 43nd year). Gaimusho gaimushiryogwan 外務省外交史料館 (The Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan), Item 245-3 Section 5 Group 2 Category 4 (4門2類5項245-3號 3冊).

14. “Ito Hirobumi manjyou shisats” 伊藤公爵滿洲視察一件: 明治43年 2月 22日 (Count Ito’s Tour Inspection to Manchuria: Meiji 43nd year). Gaimusho gaimushiryogwan 外務省外交史料館 (The Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan), Item 245-3 Section 5 Group 2 Category 4 (4門2類5項245-3號 3冊).

1946: “I was called on [February] 16th (March 26 by the Gregorian calendar) around lunch time and was let into the chapel. Upon entering I saw the judge and some Japanese monks. There was a coffin at the center covered with a white cloth. . . . Then his brothers said that they cannot bear leaving him on foreign soil far away from home and wanted to take Ahn’s body back to Korea. But I heard that the Japanese would not allow it” (Woo 1946, 220–221). However, on March 26, 1910, right after the execution of Ahn Jung-Geun, the Chinese media reported that his remains had been handed over to his family: “Ahn was executed. His remains were taken by his two brothers and were buried on a mountain in Harbin that is used as a cemetery.”¹⁵ In another report, a similar claim was made: “His remains were carried by his two brothers Jung-Geun and Gong-Geun back home, which is based on Ahn’s wish.”¹⁶ It seems that the Japanese circulated false information to prevent any disputes over the remains and grave of Ahn Jung-Geun.

The Japanese did everything in their power to ensure that Ahn’s grave would not become a shrine for the independence movement for overseas Koreans. Thus, the Japanese refused to hand over the remains of Ahn to his family until the end of death and went so far as to bury his remains at a public cemetery by Lushun Prison. In fact, Yoo Byong-Ho of Dalian University argues that Ahn’s body buried in the public cemetery of Lushun Prison was cremated:

The law on inmates’ graves at a Japanese prison states that if the body is not collected by the family of the prisoner, it will be buried at the prison cemetery for three years. Afterwards, if the remains are still not collected by the family, the remains are exhumed and cremated. Records on the Lushun Prison cemetery show that the remains there were exhumed three times after 1930 for cremation. If Ahn were buried at the Lushun Prison cemetery, it would now be impossible to find him (Shin 2010, 135).

15. *Shenzhou Ilbo* 神州日報, March 27, 1910, 1.

16. *Jichang Ilbo* 吉長日報, March 30, 1910, 5.

The remains of Ahn Jung-Geun have still never been found. Most likely, the Japanese cremated Ahn's body, buried at a public cemetery in Lushun, to thwart the plan by Koreans to create Ahn's grave at a Korean cemetery in Harbin.

*Documents on Interrogation Records by Russian Officials
and Analysis Thereof*

Item 245-4 at the Diplomatic Archives of Japan, Addition to Suspect Interrogation During Political Affairs Director Kurachi Tetsukichi's Visit to Lushun on the Tragedy of Count Ito 伊藤公爵遭難ニ關シ倉知政務局長旅順へ出張中犯人訊問之件聴取書, has Interrogation Records by Russian Officials in the second volume. The Japanese translation of Interrogation Records by Russian Officials is 309 pages long. It seems that translating Russian into Japanese increased the number of pages. Count Ito's Tour Inspection to Manchuria 伊藤公爵滿洲視察一件 at the Diplomatic Archives of Japan has only the Japanese translation of Interrogation Records by Russian Officials—not the original Russian version. Considering that it was then and still is standard practice to keep the original together with the translation, this is very unusual. Interrogation Records by Russian Officials is composed of decision notes, police reports, notices, report briefs, and statements. Decision notes include the decision on imprisonment and detention of Koreans in Harbin (Ahn Jung-Geun, Woo Duk-Soon, Yoo Dong-Ha, and Cho Do-Sun), the decision for interrogation, the decision for body search, the decision to search homes, and others. Of these, the decision for a preliminary hearing and the decision to hand Ahn over to the Japanese are worthy of special note. The police reports are records of interrogations of Koreans in Harbin, Russian officials including Finance Minister Kokovtsev, and Russian tenants at the home of Kim Sung-Baek. Most of the notices were sent to Japan on measures taken by the Russian judiciary. It could be confirmed that one original volume of preliminary hearing documents (46 pages) and two boxes of evidence were sent to the Japanese consul general in Harbin. There are three report briefs—two were sent by Von Kugelgen to Miller, and one is a report by Von Kugelgen on interrogating Mikhailov, who

seems to have been a former publisher of the *Daedong gongbo* Documents on the Korean Society in Harbin and brief resume on Kim Sung-Baek are especially important records that afford a glimpse of the Korean community in Russia. The statements are records by Miller on the status of Ahn Jung-Geun as well as the results of his investigation into Koreans in Harbin (Shin 2010, 68–69).

Russian Border District Court was very swift in handling the case following Ahn's assassination of Ito. Magistrate Strazov asked Public Prosecutor Miller, Assistant Prosecutors Derzavich and Ivanoff, and Secretary Sekino 関野 of the Japanese Consulate General to attend the interrogation of Ahn. Key collaborators for the interrogation on the Russian side included Captain Nikiforov of Military Policy, Director of Railway Police of the Chinese Eastern Railway, Captain Knapp of Military Policy, Director of Railway Police for Harbin District of the Chinese Eastern Railway, Captain Chernajlov of Military Police, Chief of Police of Harbin; and Second Captain Von Kugelgen, the Chief of Criminal Investigation of the Harbin Police (Ahn Jung-Geun Memorial Association 2010, 69).

The following documents do not exist in the records collected by Miller in the Interrogation Records by Russian Officials: "Document No. 11. Notice sent by public prosecutor of Border District Court to the Magistrate of the Eighth Court"—that Kawagami wailed loudly and took full responsibility for what happened; "Document No. 18. Evidence confiscated from Koreans arrested at Chegagu Station" (Letters in Korean, telegram receipts, piece of registered mail); "Document No. 20. Report on interrogations of the doctors who were first to treat Ito's entourage and who examined the body of Ito Hirobumi."

In the Japanese version of Interrogation Records by Russian Officials, some documents that deny Russia's responsibility for the assassination and records of interrogation of doctors about the death of Ito have been excluded. These omissions show that the Japanese were intent on minimizing mistakes made by the Japanese consul general in receiving Ito and excluding detailed records on the cause of Ito's death.

In Interrogation Records by Russian Officials, the Russian judiciary decided to interrogate Ahn and hand him over to the Japanese because,

according to Magistrate Strazov, “The crime was without a doubt premeditated, and Ahn Jung-Geun, who claims to be a Korean national, was arrested at the site of the crime” (Ahn Jung-Geun Memorial Association 2010, 13). Here, Strazov decided to transfer jurisdiction over Ahn’s trial to the Japanese and not the Russians because Ahn was a Korean national. Public Prosecutor Miller also said that the decision to hand Ahn over to the Japanese consulate general was made because Ahn’s nationality was confirmed as Korean (Ahn Jung-Geun Memorial Association 2010, 68–69). Russian Finance Minister Kokovtsev reported, furthermore, “Considering the final plea for the Korean national murderer and trial rights in Korea, which is under Japanese jurisdiction, everything related to the case shall be handed over to the consulate general of Japan.”¹⁷

The Russian judiciary collected evidence that cleared Russia of any responsibility in the Interrogation Records by Russian Officials. The Russian judiciary already uncovered on October 25 that “three Koreans had been staying at Chegagu Station for two days. These Koreans also sent a telegram to Harbin in code.” This remark shows that the Russians had already detected some signs of Ahn’s plan. First Lieutenant Ognav, station master for Chegagu Station, claimed, “I was suspicious about the arrival of these Koreans and reported it to the station’s military police and first class Captain Rarkodav, Company Commander for the Fourth Infantry.” He added, “From October 25 to the night of the 26, we exerted utmost efforts in guarding to ensure that the train would pass through without any incident. The train was surrounded by guards, patrols were positioned at both sides of the track, and guards were placed near where the Koreans were staying” (Ahn Jung-Geun Memorial Association 2010, 39). The Russian judiciary, in other words, made sure that measures taken to prevent Ito’s assassination were highlighted as much as possible.

When Public Prosecutor Mizobuchi 溝淵孝雄 of Lushun District Court met Miller on November 1, 1909, Mizobuchi talked about the need for supplementary investigation for the preliminary hearing carried out by the Russians in preparation for the coming trial of the perpetrators. Miller

17. AVPRI, f. 150, op. 493, d. 1279, l. 4a.

thus ordered Second Captain Von Kugelgen, Chief of Criminal Investigation, Harbin Police, and Captain Knapp of Military Police, Director of Railway Police for Harbin District of the Chinese Eastern Railway, to conduct the investigation. The investigation sought to obtain details on “the lives of the Koreans with Korean nationality, their committees, financial institutions, and ethnic court related to them as well as the Koreans arrested in connection with Ito’s assassination and their roles in the Korean community.”¹⁸ In fact, Von Kugelgen proceeded with the investigation based on requests from Japanese officials. Von Kugelgen reported:

Upon request from the Japanese, we arrested Bang Sa-Duk, Richioak, Ponchio Kim, and Kim Nice on that day. The Japanese consulate general offered to pay for meals. Confiscated documents sent and received between two parties in Korean and books were listed. That list along with the search report and confiscated items were sent to the Japanese officials in the name of the police chief (Ahn Jung-Geun Memorial Association 2010, 65).

Miller, therefore, passed information not only on the Korean community in Harbin, but also personal information on Koreans to Mizobuchi.

Mizobuchi also strongly urged Miller to “get all copies of documents indicating that Kim Sung-Baek was involved in plotting the murder of Count Ito” (Ahn Jung-Geun Memorial Association 2010, 134). The intention of the Public Prosecutor Mizobuchi of the Lushun District Court was to use Ahn’s assassination as a pretext to attack the Korean community in Harbin.

Conclusion

Ahn Jung-Geun had prepared for a long time to take retribution against Ito. He highlighted the negative side of Ito’s intervention in Korean affairs, stating that “Ito Hirobumi came to Korea in 1907 to force Korea to sign

18. RGIA, f. 560, op. 28, d. 422, ll. 27–28; Ahn Jung-Geun Memorial Association 2010, 120.

seven provisions against its own will, deposed Emperor Gwangmu, and disbanded the Korean army.”¹⁹ Ahn also listened to captured Japanese soldiers on their assessment of Ito in June 1908 and also asked Secretary Sekino whether the Japanese thought of Ito as a good or bad leader during his interrogation on October 26, 1909 (Ahn Jung-Geun Memorial Association 2010, 104). To Magistrate Strazov, Ahn argued: “I decided to assassinate Ito to retaliate for his oppression of the Korean people and to exert revenge on Ito, who ordered the execution of many comrades like Gong Chang-Kyu and Lee Hyang-Kie” (Ahn Jung-Geun Memorial Association 2010, 15). These details show how meticulous and thorough Ahn truly was in his preparations to exact retribution against Ito.

I have compared *Overview of the Preliminary Hearing Presided by Magistrate Strazov of the Eighth Border District Court* and Interrogation Records by Russian Officials. They show an overall difference in number of documents on the preliminary hearings of Ahn Jung-Geun that the Russians handed over to the Japanese. More specifically, Miller handed over a different number of documents than the translated versions stored at the Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, i.e., Russian documents have 64 pages and the Japanese translations have one original book of 46 pages. Therefore, finding the original Russian copies for comparative analysis is left as a future task.

The documents Miller created for Russia and the Japanese translated version of Interrogation Records by Russian Officials are also different. Interrogation Records by Russian Officials excluded some documents that clear Russia of responsibility in the incident and the report on interrogations of doctors who dealt with the death of Ito Hirobumi thereby showing Japanese intent to minimize the Japanese consulate general’s mistake in receiving Ito and to omit detailed records as to the cause of Ito’s death.

The investigation of the case of Ahn Jung-Geun by the Russian and

19. Gaimusho gaimushiryogwan 外務省外交史料館 (The Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan). Item 245-3 Section 5 Group 2 Category 4 (4門2類5項245-3號1冊). Ito Hirobumi manjyou shisats 伊藤公爵滿洲視察一件 (Count Ito’s Tour Inspection to Manchuria).

Japanese authorities proceeded as follows: Miller conducted the investigation with a focus on Ahn and tried to find holes in the testimony related to Ahn's whereabouts and actions after arriving a day ahead. Hence, the fact that the railway police of the Chinese Eastern Railway faithfully conducted their duties was emphasized. Second, Miller investigated in detail the testimony and report that it was the Japanese consul general who controlled the access of Japanese nationals. Miller's intent was to eliminate any responsibility on the Russian side for the assassination. Third, Strazov and Miller checked the three person's activities at Chegagu Station, and on the grounds that Ahn was a Korean national, judged that Japan had jurisdiction over the case. The Russian judiciary put maximum emphasis on the fact that there was no participation by Russians in the assassination, only Koreans. Fourth, Public Prosecutor Mizobuchi of Lushun District Court proposed a supplementary investigation in addition to the preliminary investigation made by Russian officials immediately before the participants in the assassination were put on trial. He wanted to use the assassination of Ahn as a pretext to attack the Korean community in Harbin. Miller handed over information on the Korean community as well as key figures in the community in Harbin to Mizobuchi.

The utmost priority of the Japanese government at the time was to prevent Ahn's grave from becoming a site of pilgrimage for the Korean independence movement. By the same token, the Japanese even refused to hand over Ahn's body to his family until the end. In fact, the Japanese even buried Ahn in a Lushun Prison public cemetery. To thwart the plan to set up Ahn Jung-Geun's grave in the cemetery for Koreans in Harbin, the Japanese most likely cremated Ahn's body buried in a public cemetery in Lushun.

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