A Study of Ch'usa Kim Chŏng-hŭi

The Introduction of Qing Evidential Learning into Chosŏn Korea and its Intellectual Significance

Kanghun Ahn

Thesis Research MA Asian Studies, Leiden University

Supervisor: Remco Breuker

Second Reader: Saeyoung Park

Final Version: August 16 2018

Word count (Including References): 30860 words

Contents

Introduction

Literature Review

1. Ch'usa and Qing Evidential Learning

1. 1. Qing Evidential Learning in Chosŏn Korea: The Emergence and Development of Han-Song Eclecticism in the Eighteenth-Century Intellectual Scene

1. 2. Ch'usa's Understanding of Han-Song Eclecticism: Investigating the "Silsa Kusisŏl"

1. 3. Ch'usa's Philological Reading of the *Shangshu*

1. 3. 1. The Analysis of the Different Versions of the *Shangshu*

1. 3. 2. The Examination of Mei Ze's *Guwen Shangshu*

1. 3. 3. The Assessment of Cai Chen's *Shujizhuan*

1. 3. 4. The Authenticity of the Sixteen Characters of the "Dayumo" Chapter

2. Ch'usa's Epigraphic Studies in Chosŏn Korea

2. 1. The Investigation of the Silla Stelae

2. 2. *Haedong Pigo*

2. 2. 1. P'yŏng Paekche Pi

2. 2. 2. Tang Liu Ren-yuan Pi

2. 2. 3. Munmuwang Pi

2. 2. 4. Chin'gam Taesa Pi

Conclusion

Introduction

This paper aims to investigate the life and scholarship of Ch’usa Kim Chŏng-hŭi (□□ □□□, 1786-1856) and further shed light on the significance of his intellectual works in conjunction with the introduction of Qing evidential learning (Kaozhengxue, □□□) into Chosŏn Korea in the first half of the nineteenth century.[1] In the narrative of Korean history, Ch’usa is regarded as one of the most preeminent scholars, epigraphers, and practitioners of calligraphy in the second half of the Chosŏn dynasty. Accordingly, there is already a huge body of scholarship on his work—mostly in East Asian languages (Chinese, Korean, and Japanse)—which has been accumulated since the publication of the Japanese sinologist Fujitsuka Chikashi’s (□□□, 1879-1948) dissertation on the “transmission of the Qing culture into the Chosŏn dynasty” in 1937.[2] It should be pointed out, however, that the academic foci of its studies have been rather limited (and even lopsided) in that it is mostly art historians, who have been most active in investigating his works, with a special emphasis on his painting and calligraphic innovations, such as the Pujangnando (Painting of Not Drawing the Orchid, □□□□), Sehando (Painting of a Winter Scene, □□□), and the Ch’usache (Ch’usa Style, □□□).[3] In this paper, however, I place greater emphasis on the intellectual aspect of his work, namely, his essays on Qing evidential learning (Han and Song learning), the *Shangshu*, and a number of stelae,

1 This paper is partially based on my published article: Kanghun Ahn, “A Study of Ch’usa Kim Chŏng-hŭi: The Introduction of Qing Evidential Learning into Chosŏn Korea and a Reassessment of Practical Learning”, *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies* 18, no.1 (2018): 105-123.

2 Fujitsuka Chikashi, *Shinchō bunka tōden no kenkyū: Kakyō, Dōkō gakudan to Richō no Kin Gendō* [□□□□□□ □□ □□: □□, □□□□□□ □□□ □□□, A Study on the Eastern Transmission of the Qing Culture: The Qing Intellectual Realm under Emperor Qianlong and Jiaqing, and Kim Wandang] *(*Tokyo: Kuni Sho Kankōkai, 1975), 111-213.

3 Yu Hong-jun, *Wandang P’yŏngjŏn* [□□ □□, The Critical Biography of Wandang] (Seoul: Hakkojae, 2002), 47-164. On the current state of Ch’usa studies, see Pak Ch’ŏl-sang, *Nanŭn Yetkŏsi Choa Ttaeron Kkaejin Pittorŭl Ch’ajadanyŏtta: Ch’usa Kimjŏnghŭiŭi Kŭmsŏkhak* [□□ □□□ □□ □□ □□ □□□ □□□□□□: □□ □□□□□ □□ □, Since I Like the Old, I Sometimes Searched for the Broken Stones of Epitaphs: The Epigraphy of Kim Chŏng-hŭi] (Seoul: Nŏmŏbuksŭ, 2015), 10-25. For a detailed discussion on the issue, see “Literature Review”.

and further shed new light on its historical (and philosophical) significance in a broader context.

Before moving into the major part of the paper, I would like to provide a brief overview of Ch’usa’s life stories, especially for those who are not familiar with his life and scholarship as a whole, which could be of great help, in terms of situating his intellectual work in historical context. First, Ch’usa was born in Yesan, Chungchŏng province, in 1786, as a son of Kim No-gyŏng (□□□, 1766-1837), who was in the direct lineage of the prestigious Kyŏngju Kim family (□□ □□), and served as the Pyŏngjo Pansŏ (Minister of Military Affairs, □□□□) at the time. In general, his family was affiliated with the Noron (Old Discourse, □□) faction, in which his great grandfather Kim Han-sin (□□□, 1720-1758) was a son-in-law of Prince Hwasun (□□□□, 1720-1758), the second daughter of King Yŏngjo (□□, Reign: 1724-1776), and was later appointed as the Wŏlsŏngwi (Duke of the Lunar Castle, □□□).[4] Furthermore, his brother Kim Han-gu (□□□, 1723-1769) was the father of King Yŏngjo’s concubine, namely, Queen Chŏngsun (□□□□, 1745-1805). What is notable here is that both of them were rather aloof from the interests of political factions, which eventually influenced Ch’usa to a great extent. For this reason, Ch’usa was more deeply engaged with the Pukhak (Northern Learning; Qing Learning, □□) scholars than he was with the Pyŏkpa (Party of Principle, □□) as part of the Noron faction. In particular, he became a pupil of Pak Che-ga (□□□, 1750-1815), who had travelled to Beijing (Yanjing, □□) three times, and hence played a leading role in the Pukhak school (School of Qing Learning, □□□), despite his low social status as an illegitimate son (□□). By doing so, Ch’usa attained a great deal of knowledge of Qing and its literary culture, as well as the scholarship of previous Pukhak scholars, including Hong Tae-yong (1731-1783, □□□) and Pak Chi-won (□□□, 1737-1805).

4 Pak Ch’ŏl-sang, ibid, 56-58.

Fig. 1. Yi Han-ch’ŏl (□□□, 1808-?), The Portrait of Ch’usa (□□□□□), 19th Century, Ink and color on silk, 35.0 × 51.0cm, Kansong Museum, Seoul.

At the age of twenty four (1810), Ch’usa travelled to Beijing along with his father Kim No-gyŏng—who was obliged to visit the Qing court as the Tongjisa (Emissary of the Winter Solstice, □□□) and the Saŭnsa (Emissary of Appreciating Grace, □□□)—as the Chaje Kun’gwan (Official as a Child, □□□□).[5] In doing so, he came to meet a great number of Qing scholars, such as Weng Fang-gang (□□□, 1733-1818) and Ruan Yuan (□□, 1764-184), in Beijing. In particular, Weng Fang-gang was a veteran scholar of Qing evidential learning, who was well versed in classical studies (□□)—as well as composition (□□), epigraphy (□□), calligraphy and painting (□□), and poetry (□)—and hence played a pivotal role in the *Siku Quanshu* (Complete Library of the Four Treasures, □□□□) project from 1773 till 1781. Interestingly, he appreciated Ch’usa’s talent, so he gave a copy of his anthology, namely, the *Suzhai Biji* (Written records of Weng Fang-gang, □□□□), and further continued his

5 On the role of the Chaje Kun’gwan, as well as the Chosŏn emissaries to Beijing as a whole, see Yun Kyŏng-hŭi, “Yŏnhaenggwa Chaje Kun’gwan” [□□□□ □□ □□, Tribute Missions to Beijing (Yŏnhaeng) and the Chaje Kun’gwan], *Journal of Korean Culture* 10 (October 2010): 186-194.

correspondence with Ch'usa, even after he went back to Chosŏn.[6] Back in Hanyang (Seoul, □□), however, Ch'usa was not so much willing to take the civil service examination (Mun'gwa, □□), and instead wrote the "Silsa Kusisŏl (Treatise on Seeking Truth from Facts, □□□□□)," in order to recapitulate his scholarly experiences in Beijing. At the time, the academic trend of the Qing scholars was centered around the revival (and veneration) of Han classical learning (□□; □□□), and the criticism of Song-Ming Confucianism (□□□□), the perspective of which had a massive influence on Ch'usa's writing as a whole.[7]

Fig. 2. The Portrait of Weng Fang-gang, 18th Century.[8]

6 Pak Ch'ŏl-sang, op.cit, 231-233.

7 On the intellectual shift in late imperial China, see Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (Los Angeles: University of California Press), 323-348.

8 Nishibayashi Shōichi, *The Cultural History of Calligraphy* (Shono Bunkashi, □□□□□) (Tokyo: Nigensha Co, Ltd, 1999), 54.

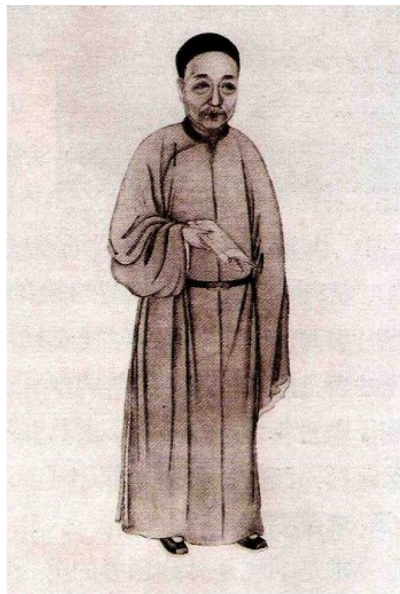

Fig. 3. The Portrait of Ruan Yuan, 18th Century.[9]

Concurrently, Ch’usa delved into a diverse range of studies, such as epigraphy (□□□), etymology (□□□), phonetics (□□□), and astronomy (□□□), which had been considered—by most of the Chosŏn scholars—as auxiliary, if not rather insignificant, disciplines of classical studies, especially to the *Four Books and Five Classics (□□□□)*.[10] In those days, in particular, a great number of stones (stelae) had been discovered and excavated across the Chosŏn peninsula, which facilitated the deciphering of their ancient letters in a radical sense. For this reason, epigraphy—including etymology and the history of calligraphy (□□□)—started to be recognized as an important discipline in its own right. In this sense, it was Ch’usa, among others, who played a crucial role in elevating the academic level of Chosŏn’s epigraphic studies to that of Qing scholars. Indeed, Ch’usa came to be interested in epigraphy, as he learned it mostly from Weng Fang-gang and his son Weng Shu-kon (□□□, 1786-1856), while (and after) in Bejing. Hence, he criticized Chosŏn scholars’ prevailing notions of epigraphy as a mere (aesthetic) appreciation of stones, and further contended that Chosŏn’s epigraphic

9 Ibid, 55.

10 Pak Ch’ŏl-sang, ibid. 34-67.

studies should erect as an independent discipline based on objective and scientific methodologies (and also as an indispensable discipline for classical studies).[11] Such attitude is deeply predicated on his emphasis on pursuing truth based on evidence, as noted in his "Silsa Kusisŏl".

In 1840, however, when the Andong Kim family (□□ □□) came into power, Ch'usa was exiled to Cheju Island, which was associated with the imprisonment of Yun Sang-do (□□□, 1768-1840) in Sunjo's time (□□, Reign: 1800-1834). In 1830, Yun Sang-do appealed to the royal court, and criticized the corruptions of the Andong Kim family, but ended up being imprisoned and later executed in the same year. However, this scandal was rekindled, as the Andong Kim family took over the power in Hŏnjong's time (□□, Reign: 1834-1849), and further attempted to accuse Ch'usa of his (purported, but not identified) association with Yun Sang-do's treason.[12] After all, Ch'usa was sent into exile, but he rather turned this calamity into an opportunity of studying a variety of Chinese and Korean scripts (and their calligraphic styles), which led to the invention of the Ch'usach'e. Nonetheless, the Andong Kim family's grudge against Ch'usa never ceased, as they kept tackling Ch'usa's guardian Kwŏn Ton-in's (□□□, 1783-1859)—who served as the Yŏngŭijŏng (Prime Minister, □□□) at the time—inquiries of the rituals for King Chŏljong's (□□, Reign: 1831-1864) grandfather Chinjong (□□, 1719-1728), namely, Choch'ŏllye (Rituals of Transferring the Ancestral Tablets, □□□).[13] Hence, Kwŏn Ton-in was deprived of his position, and both Kwŏn and Ch'usa were

---

11 Kim Chŏng-hŭi, *Wangdang Chŏnjip* [□□□□, The Complete Anthology of Wandang Kim Chŏng-hŭi 1], (Seoul: The Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics, 2014), 23-30.

12 *Hŏnjong sillok* [□□ □□, Veritable records of King Hŏnjong], Firth day of the nineth month, 1840: "□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□, □□□□. □□□□, □□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□□□□, □□□, □□□□, □□□□, □□□□, □□□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□, □□□□, □□□□, □□□□." You can see the complete collection of the public investigation records (□□) on Ch'usa's case in the following work: Pak Ch'ŏl-sang, *Sehando: Ch'ŏnnyŏnŭi Midŭm Kŭrimŭro T'aeŏnada* [□□□: □□□ □□, □□□□ □□□□, Painting of a Winter Scene: A One-Thousand Belief, Born as a Painting] (Seoul: Munhak Dongne, 2010), 56-114.

eventually exiled to Pukch'ŏng, Hamgyŏng province, in 1850, and were released in 1852, the time when Ch'usa was sixty eight years old. It was during this time, however, that Ch'usa and his colleagues collected a wide range of stones (epitaphs), and conducted extensive research on Korea's ancient history in general. After leaving Pukch'ŏng, he ended up in Kwachŏn, Kyŏnggi province, where he built his shelter, namely, the Kwaji chodang (Thatched pavilion of Ch'usa, □□□□), and spent the rest of his life serving as a monk, and more importantly, teaching a number of students there.

Fig. 4. Hŏ Yu (□□, 1807-1892), The Portrait of Ch'usa (while he was exiled in Cheju island), 19 th Century, Ink and color on paper, 1851.0 × 24.0□, Amore Pacific Museum, Yongin, Kyŏnggi province.

13 The dominance of the interpretations of the rituals was gripped by the royal in-law families at the time. Kwŏn Ton-in was, therefore, sacrificed as a major political threat to the royal in-law politics, who tackling such monopoly, along with Ch'usa. See *Chŏljong sillok* [□□ □□, Veritable Records of King Chŏljong], Ninteenth day of the sixth month, 1851: "□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□, □□□□, □□□□, □□□□, □□□□, □! □□□□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□□□? □□□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□□□□□?"

Fig. 5. Kwaji chodang, Kwachŏn, Kyŏnggi province.

Thus far, I have provided the brief overview of Ch'usa's life and scholarship. As noted above, however, the original aim of this paper is to investigate Ch'usa's intellectual work at a deeper level. To this end, the paper is structured as follows: First, in order to provide the historical background of his scholarly endeavors on Qing evidential learning, I will look into Chosŏn's eighteenth-century intellectual scene, which faced the influx of the Qing (literary) books as part of King Chŏngjo's (□□, Reign: 1776-1800) dynastic initiative of adopting Qing's advanced culture. In this regard, I will place emphasis on the two major academic disputes between Qing scholars, which were imported into Chosŏn, and further served as a general philosophical paradigm—and prevailing intellectual discussions—among Chosŏn scholars, that is, 1) the bifurcation between Han and Song learning, and 2) the authenticity of the *Shangshu* (Venerated Documents, □□), the classic which is better known as the *Shijing* (Book of Documents, □□). In particular, I will investigate how Ch'usa's predecessors, namely, King Chŏngjo, Hong Sŏk-chu (□□□, 1774-1842) and Chŏng Yag-yong (□□□, 1762-1836), understood (and responded to) those debates.

In the following chapter, I will examine Ch'usa's views on—and his contributions to—the aforementioned intellectual disputes, by analyzing the "Silsa Kusisŏl" and his demonstration of the authenticity of the *Shangshu*, as noted in his "Sangsŏ Kŭmgomun nonbyŏn" (□□□□□□□; Nonbyŏn hereafter). Indeed, the "Silsa Kusisŏl" served as a theoretical framework of Ch'usa's scholarship, in which he discussed the strengths and weaknesses of both Han and Song Learning, and further emphasized the importance of achieving the eclectic perspective between the two—seemingly disparate, but closely related—academic trends. To this end, he put forward the doctrine of "Silsa Kusi (Seeking truth from facts, □□□□)" not only as a crucial mindset of all the (Confucian) scholars, but also as a general principle penetrating into the two schools of thought. Based on such framework, he furthered his studies, by analyzing the *Shangshu* and its authenticity. In this regard, he presents a full-fledged awareness of the historiography of the topic, by narrating (and investigating) a wide range of Han and Song classical scholars and their commentaries, and further provides his own argument that the *Shujizhuan* (Commentary on the Book of Documents, □□□), which was authored by Cai Chen (□□, 1176-1230)—a student of Zhu Xi (□□, 1130-1200)—and further served as the orthodox commentary of the classic since the Song dynasty, contains a number of philological errors, as his comments are largely based on the forgery of the *Shangshu*, namely, Mei Ze's (□□, ?-?) *Guwen Shangshu* (Old Text of the Venerated Documents, □□□□).

In the second half of the paper, I will discuss rather more tangible aspects of his scholarship, that is, his epigraphic works on the Korean stelae. In this regard, two of his works on ancient stones, namely, the *Yedang Kŭmsŏk Kwaallok* (Records of the analysis on the epitaphs, □□□□□□□; *Kwaallok* hereafter) and the *Haedong Pigo* (Analyzing the Korean epitaphs, □□□□, *Pigo* hereafter) are particularly noteworthy. First, the *Kwaallok* was posthumously compiled (and published) by Ch'usa's pupils in 1852, which contains his

analysis on King Chinhŭng’s (Reign: 540-576, □□□) stelae, namely, the Pukhansan sunsubi (Stele of the expedition to Mountain Pukhan, □□□ □□□) and the Hwangch’oryŏngbi (Stele of the expedition to the Hwangch’o Pass, □□□□). However, the amount of its sources is too terse to fully represent Ch’usa’s ability as a well-refined epigrapher. In this regard, the *Pigo*, discovered by Pak Ch’ŏl-sang in Insadong (2007), provides a lot more resources on Ch’usa’s epigraphy, containing his analysis on seven different stelae from the Silla (□□, 57 BCE-935 BCE).[14] Among others, this paper will place particular emphasis on the four of them, namely, the P’yŏng Paekche Pi (Stele of the Conquest of Paekche, □□□□), Tang Liu Ren-yuan Pi (Stele of the Tang General Liu Ren-yuan, □□□□□), Munmuwang Pi (Stele of King Munmu, □□□□) and Chin’gam Taesa Pi (Stele of the Great Master Chin’gam, □□□□□), the articles of which present relatively ample information as to what sources (and methodologies) Ch’usa utilized, in order to investigate the stones. Indeed, Ch’usa’s epigraphic works are of particular historical importance, given their role in expanding Chosŏn’s understanding of epigraphy (and Qing evidential learning as a whole), as his academic target was not just confined to the Confucian classics—which was mostly the case with his contemporary Chosŏn scholars—but also was expanded into the ancient stones (and their related sources).

By discussing the aforementioned issues, I would ultimately like to answer the following questions: 1) how can we appraise (and reappraise) Ch’usa’s intellectual contributions, as in his understanding of Qing evidential learning and its philological methodology, in connection with Chosŏn’s neo-Confucian doctrines, which served as the powerful dynastic ideology throughout the period? Indeed, his “Silsa Kusisŏl” played an integral role in undermining, if not relativizing, the dominance of neo-Confucianism, by comparing Han and Song learning, and giving adequate credit to the former, in regard to reviving a great number of the Confucian classics (based on its philologically meticulous

14 On the discovery of the *Pigo*, see Pak Ch’ŏl-sang, op.cit, 45-67.

methods). Moreover, Ch'usa's criticism over the *Shangshu*—based on his critical reading of the various versions of the classic—expedited such intellectual upheaval. Most notably, Ch'usa's views on the *Shangshu* were considered extremely heterodox, as Chosŏn's understanding of neo-Confucianism—as well as its bureaucratic system—had been largely predicated on the two classics: 1) the *Zhouli* (Rites of Zhou, □□) and 2) the *Shangshu*.[15] The second question is more general: 2) How can we contextualize (and conceptualize) the significance of his philological reading as a whole, as shown in his assessment of the authenticity of the *Shangshu*, and further his investigation of the stelae? In this regard, I would like to point out that his scholarly attitude can be epitomized as "critical reading", to the point where his arguments were mostly opposed to those of his predecessors, and therefore, often violated the "a transmitter, but not a maker (□□□□, c. shuer buzuo, k. suri pujak)" tradition in the Confucian world.[16]

Hence, I expect that this paper could provide new insight—by utilizing Ch'usa's scholarship as a relevant prism—into philology (and philological reading) as a crucial discipline of critical, liberal (non-dogmatic), and scientific thinking. As Edward W. Said pointed out in *Humanism and Democratic Criticism*, close reading contains the potential of—and could be the first step of—critical thinking. (It is necessary to realize that close reading has to originate in critical receptivity as well as in a conviction that even though great

15 On the role of the *Shangshu* in Chosŏn's state formation, see Kim Man-il, *Chosŏn 17 18segi Sangsŏhaesŏgŭi Saeroun Kyŏnghyang* [□□ 17, 18 □□ □□□□□ □□□ □□, The New Trend of the Shangshu Interpretations in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Chosŏn] (Paju: Kyungin Publication, 2007), 45-56; "Chusa Kim Chŏng-hŭiŭi Sangsŏ Kŭmgomumrongwa wisŭgojŭng" [□□ □□□□ □□ □□□□□□ □□□□, Ch'usa Kim Chŏng-hŭi's Demonstration of the Authenticity of the *Shangshu*] *Dongyanghak 28* (2016): 107-110.

16 The tradition is based on the following line of the *Analects (□□)*: "□□, □□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□." (The Master said, "A transmitter and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients, I venture to compare myself with our old Peng.") On the significance of the "suri pujak" tradition in Chosŏn's history writing, see Sin Pyŏng-ju, "I Kŭngikŭi Yŏllyŏsil Gisul: Suri pujakŭi chŏngsin, yŏksasŏŭi mobŏm" [□□□□ □□□□□: □□□ □`□ □□, □□□□ □□, I Kŭng-ik and the *Yŏllyŏsil Gisul*: The Spirit of the Suri Pujak, and the Exemplar of History-Writing], *Seonbi Munhwa 22* (2012): 28-36.

aesthetic work ultimately resists total understanding, there is a possibility of a critical understanding that may never be completed but can certainly be provisionally affirmed.)[17] Moreover, he noted that such philological reading, hence, involves its subversive characteristics, as it facilitates the readings of a diverse range of "political" (and/or ideological) connotations—the practice of which constitutes the core of his notions of "humanism"—in a critical manner.[18] In this regard, Ch'usa's close reading of the sources—and its various tensions with Chosŏn's neo-Confucian doctrines—could be an exemplary case of showing how philology attains its political significance, so to speak, in its own right. Hence, Edward Said's discourse of philology—as a stepping stone of the various theories on the discipline—will serve as a major theoretical framework, whether it be explicit or not, throughout the paper.[19]

Literature Review

The pioneering work of Ch'usa studies is, as stated above, Fujitsuka Chikashi's dissertation on the transmission of Qing literary culture to Chosŏn, which is primarily predicated on Ch'usa's correspondence with Qing scholars, and his epigraphic work on Chinese and Korean stelae. This dissertation was submitted to Tokyo Imperial University (□□□□□□), and was later

---

17 Edward W. Said, *Humanism and Democratic Criticism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 67.

18 "Humanism, I think, is the means, perhaps the consciousness we have for providing that kind of finally antinomian or oppositional the space of words and their various origins and deployments in physical and social place, from text to actualized site of either appropriation or resistance, to transmission, to reading and interpretation, from private to public, from silence to explication and utterance." Ibid, 83.

19 The influence of Edward Said's work on the Western understanding of philology can be found in the following articles: Sheldon Pollock, "Future Philology? The Fate of a Soft Science in a Hard World", *Critical Inquiry 35* (2009): 931-961; Andrew Rubin, "Techiques of Trouble: Edward Said and the Dialectics of Cultural Philology",*The South Atlantic Quarterly 102* (2003): 861-876.

printed by the Chūbunkan Shoten (□□□□□) in 1937. The paper, in particular, includes Chikashi's academic endeavors to collect a massive amount of primary sources related to Ch'usa and his Pukhak colleagues, such as Hong Tae-yong, Pak Chi-won, and Pak Che-ga, in the "Liulichang" (□□□), the biggest book market in Beijing, from 1921 to 1923, and in Seoul afterwards, especially when he served as a professor of Chinese philosophy at Kyŏngsŏng Imperial University (□□□□□□) in 1926-40. In doing so, he took the works of the Pukhak scholars as an important lens of grasping the Qing literary culture during the Qianlong (□□□, Reign: 1735-1796) and Jiaqing (□□□, Reign: 1796-1820) times. Indeed, Chikashi's dissertation is a good exemplar of the Japanese scholarship (and its philological rigor) in the 1930s, as its analysis is largely centered on the philological reading of an extensive range of the primary sources about Ch'usa and his colleagues in diverse forms, such as letters (epistles), travellogues, and literary texts. Ultimately, he argues that Chosŏn in general was, as opposed to his previous scholars' thought, a rather active recipient of the Qing culture, as exemplified by Ch'usa's (and his colleagues') interactions with the Qing scholars (and their scholarship).[20]

Chikashi's work, therefore, served as a stepping stone for Ch'usa studies in Korean scholarship, after Korea's liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945. In the 1960s, in particular, a number of Korean scholars started to investigate Ch'usa and his work, with a view to "excavating" the "Korean tradition (□□ □□)", as it were, which was never, if not

20 Some scholars contend that Fujitsuka Chikashi's work is based on the "Mansŏn Sagwan" (Manchu-Chosŏn Historiography), that is, the argument that Korean history has been invariably subjected to that of Manchuria. On the Mansŏn Sagwan, see Pak Ch'an-hŭng, "Mansŏn Sagwanesŏŭi Han'guk Kodaesa Insik Yŏn-gu" [□□ □□□□□ □□ □□□ □□ □□, A Study on the Interpretations of Korea's Ancient History in the Mansŏn Sagwan], *Han'guksa Hakpo 29* (2007): 9-39; "Mansŏn Sagwanesŏŭi Koguryŏsa Insik Yŏn-gu" [□□ □□□□□ □□□□ □□ □□, A Study on the Interpretations of Koguryŏ History in the Mansŏn Sagwan], *Journal of Northeast Asian Studies 8* (2005): 181-208. In his argument, however, no tangible links can be found between Fujitsika and the Mansŏn Sagwan.

little, tainted by the Japanese culture.[21] Of course, some serious attempts to look into Ch'usa's scholarship in conjunction with Qing evidential learning existed, as exemplified by Chŏn Hae-jong's (□□□, 1919-2018) article on the link between Ch'usa and the Qing scholarship.[22] From then on, it was art historians, in particular, who led the mainstream narrative of Ch'usa studies, with a special emphasis on his art pieces. In this regard, the pioneering figure is Ch'oe Wan-su (□□□, 1942-), a chief curator of the Kansong Museum (□□□□□) in Seoul, South Korea. In particular, his two articles, namely, the "Ch'usa Sŏp'ago" (Analysis on Ch'usa's Calligraphic Style, □□□□□) and "Ch'usa Silgi" (Veritable Records on Ch'usa, □□□□), which were published in 1980 and 1986 respectively, played a crucial role in the investigation of the Ch'usache and its correlations with a wide range of political, socio-economic, and intellectual factors in the late Chosŏn. Moreover, his most famous pupil, namely, Yu Hong-jun (□□□, 1949-) followed in his footsteps, and wrote three volumes of biography on Ch'usa, namely, *Wandang Pyŏngjŏn (Critical Biography of Ch'usa*, □□□□*)*. However, the book faced a severe degree of criticism—by the specialists of classical Chinese literature (□□□), including Pak Ch'ŏl-sang—as the book contains a number of factual errors, and more importantly, plagiarized Chikashi's dissertation to a large extent.[23]

Their research, however, contains other numerous problems, among which the most serious one is the extreme degree of nationalistic sentiment. In the "Ch'usa Silgi", in particular, Ch'oe argues that the Ch'usach'e is the pinnacle of the Chosŏn calligraphy, as it

21 It was in the 1960s that the traditional elements in Korean cuture were formulated as a backlash against Japanese colonialism. For more detail, see Pak No-ja, *Chŏnt'ong: Kŭndaega Mandŭrŏnaen Tto Hanaŭi Kwŏllyŏk* [□□: □□□□ □ □□□ □□, Tradition: A Different Kind of Power Made by Modernity] (Seoul: Person and Idea, 2010), 146-187.

22 Chŏn Hae-jong's work, however, was still heavily under the influence of Chikashi. See Chŏn Hae-jong, "Ch'ŏngdaehaksulgwa Wandang" [□□□□□ □□, Qing Scholarship and Ch'usa], *Research of East Asian Culture 1* (1967): 78-93.

23 On the plagiarism of the book, see Pak Ch'ŏl-sang, op.cit, 11-25.

pursued plain (and simple), tranquil, and pre-eminent aesthetics (□□□□), which represents a distinct combination of China's (and Korea's) various calligraphic styles, and further a naturalization (□□□) thereof.[24] However, he easily disregards Ch'usa's interactions with his Qing masters, and their influence on his calligraphic style, the most notable of which is Ruan Yuan's endeavors to integrate a diverse range of calligraphic styles based on the Chinese (Northern Wei) stelae discovered in Northern China at the time. Nevertheless, such studies became even more popular, as it became widely known in the 1980s that the Korean calligrapher Son Chae-hyŏng's (□□□, 1902-1981) attained the Sehando from Chikashi, shortly before the US Army's raids over Tokyo in 1945. Furthermore, Chikashi's son Fujitsuka Akinao (□□□□, 1921-2006) donated a massive amount of the Chikashi collection—that survived beneath Chikashi's bunker during the attacks—to the Ch'usa Museum in Kwachŏn, Kyŏnggi province, in 2006, which even expedited such intellectual trend of Ch'usa studies.

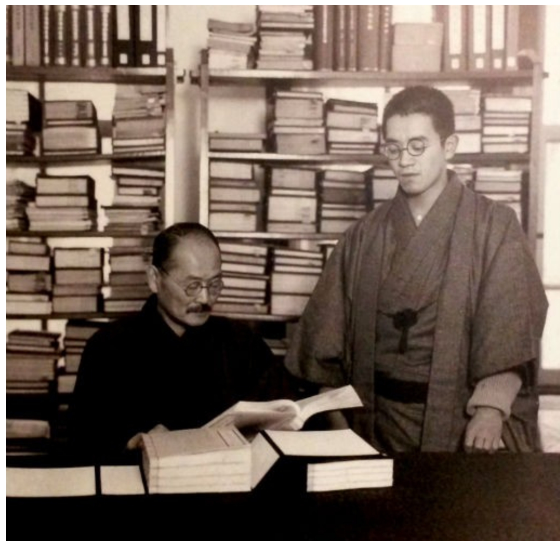

Fig. 6. Fujitsuka Chikashi (Left) Fujitsuka Akinao (Right) (Source: http://www.koya-culture.com/news/article.html?no=93937)

24 Ch'oe Wan-su, "Ch'usa Silgi" [□□ □□, The Tangible Records of Ch'usa], *Kansong Munhwa* 8 (1986): 94.

Indeed, it is Pak Ch’ŏl-sang’s studies on Ch’usa that played a pivotal role in investigating Ch’usa’s scholarship from an East Asian angle. In particular, his recent monograph on Ch’usa’s epigraphy (see note 2), based on his dissertation “A Study of Epigraphy during the Chosŏn Dynasty (Chosŏnsidae Kŭmsŏkhak Yŏngu)”, provides a significant amount of resources on Ch’usa’s epigraphic studies, as well as those on the historical (and intellectual) circumstances thereof.[25] Most notably, it includes his recent discovery of the *Pigo*, which allowed Ch’usa’s epigraphy to be reinterpreted in a radical sense. Moreover, his monograph on the Sehando, in particular, served as a catalyst in criticizing the stylistic—and nationalistic—interpretations of Ch’usa’s art pieces. In this regard, he analyzed the painting, in conjunction with Ch’usa’s interactions with his Qing masters, which even continued during his exile, thanks to his student Yi Sang-jŏk’s (□□□, 1804-1865) Yŏnhaeng missions.[26] Indeed, Ch’usa painted the Sehando, in order to reciprocate Yi’s endeavors to bring Wei Yuan’s (□□, 1794-1857) *Jingshi Wenpian (Collection of the Writings of Governance,* □□□□*)* to Cheju island in 1844. Interestingly, the “postscript” (□□) of the painting was derived from Su Shi’s (□□, 1037-1101) poem in his “Yansongtu” (Painting of a White Pine, □□□)—which includes the following line: “A pine tree, as a lonely one, casts its boughs, and leans against a neighboring house.” (□□□□□□□)—in order not only to relate himself to Su Shi’s agony (as an exile), but also to praise Yi’s loyalty, compared to the verdancy of the pine tree in the midst of the winter.[27] Above all, such “transnational” (or Sino-Korean) perspective, as exemplified by Pak Ch’ŏl-sang’s work, should be taken

25 Ibid. Pak Ch’ŏl-sang, “Chosŏnsidae Kŭmsŏkhak Yŏngu” [□□□□ □□□ □□, A Study of Epigraphy during the Chosŏn Dynasty] (PhD Diss., Keimyung University, 2013), 212-256.

26 Pak, Ch’ŏl-sang, op.cit, 13-25.

seriously throughout the paper, and Ch’usa’s scholarship, therefore, will be constantly investigated, in connection with his interactions with the Qing scholarship.

Fig. 7. Kim Chŏng-hŭi, Sehando, 1884, Ink on paper, 23 × 69.2cm, National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

Indeed, Pak Chŏl-sang’s studies made great contributions to Chikashi’s work and Ch’usa studies as a whole, by adding newly discovered sources on Ch’usa, and further situating Ch’usa’s epigraphic studies in a broader context. Despite these strengths, however, there is a critical drawback in his studies—as well as Chikashi’s—in that since their methodologies are overly based on empirical reasoning, they do not show any attempts to provide a contextual basis of Ch’usa’s scholarship. In this sense, it is Ko Chae-uk and An Eoe-sun’s studies, on the other hand, that endeavor to illuminate the intellectual significance of Ch’usa’s scholarship, especially in conjunction with the concept of “Sirhak” (Practical Learning, □□) in the late Chosŏn.[28] That is, their research question was revolving around the role (and significance) of Ch’usa’s scholarship in the formation of Chosŏn’s Sirhak thought.

27 Su Shi was Weng Fang-gang’s favorite Confucian scholar, which later had a massive impact on the “Tiepa” (□□) school. Ibid, 78. The line is also based on the following line of the “Zi Han (□□)” in the *Analects (□□)*: “□□, □□□□□□□□□□□□.” (The Master said, “When the year becomes cold, then we know how the pine and the cypress are the last to lose their leaves.”)

28 Ko Chae-uk, “Kimjŏnghŭiŭi Sirhaksasanggwa Ch'ŏngdae Kojŭnghak” [□□□□ □□□□□ □□ □□□, Ch’usa’s Views on Sirhak and Qing Evidential Learning], *Taedong Yearly Review of Classics 10* (1993): 737-748; An Eoe-sun, Kimjŏnghŭiwa Sirhaksasangŭi Kwan’gyee Taehan Chaegoch’al [□□□□ □□□□□ □□□ □□ □□□, Re-examining the Relationship between Ch’usa and Sirhak Philosophy], *Eastern Classical Studies 21* (1998): 56-86.

Their perspective, however, is rather problematic in that their works are utterly dependent—without any critical examination—on the conventional notions of Sirhak, in which they define the late Chosŏn scholars' studies as a radical denial of the metaphysical aspect of neo-Confucianism, and further as a crucial intellectual leap towards "practicality" (and further "modernity"), so to speak.[29] Of course, the issue of Sirhak is too big to be addressed here, but this paper still attempts to hint—while keeping its focus on Ch'usa's scholarship (and its philological emphasis) itself—at the potential of his work to be interpreted as a radically different understanding of the concept.

1. Ch'usa and Qing Evidential Learning

1. 1. Qing Evidential Learning in Chosŏn Korea: The Emergence and Development of Han-Song Eclecticism in the Eighteenth-Century Intellectual Scene

This chapter is designed to provide the historical and intellectual backgrounds of Ch'usa's scholarship, by considering the eighteenth century as a radical epistemological break in the late Chosŏn. Indeed, the eighteenth century (especially its latter half) was a ground-breaking period for the Chosŏn dynasty. In particular, its capital area (□□□), namely, Seoul and its neighboring regions (Kyŏnggi province), achieved a great degree of political and economic development, and accordingly, the Chosŏn intellectual domain also started to divide, quite radically, into the "central (Kyŏng, □)" and the "peripheral (Hyang, □)" in this

29 As for the correlations between Sirhak and modernity, Minamoto Ryōen (□□□, 1920-) already showed how vaguely the concept of "Jitsugaku" (Sirhak, □□) has been defined in the history of East Asian philosophy, which is, from his point of view, no more than a historical construct formulated by the Japanese scholars in the early twentieth century. See Minamoto Ryōen, *Jitsugakuto Urogaku* [□□□□□, Practical Learning and Empty Learning] (Toyama: Education Committee of Toyama Prefecture, 1971), 22-23; *Jitsugaku Shisō no Keifu* [□□□□□□□, The Genealogy of Practical Learning], (Tokyo: Kodansha Gakujutsu Bunko, 1986), 111-121.

period.[30] What is notable here is that a number of literati-scholars in the central area began to form a sort of ideological consensus, regardless of their factional backgrounds, at the same time.[31] Based upon such academic consent (and autonomy), they tended to pursue a new kind of knowledge. To this end, they either visited Beijing as part of the Yŏnhaeng missions or attained a great deal of information about Qing China through their exchange with the Yŏnhaeng members. Granted that literati-scholars in those days were expected to be well-versed in a wide range of knowledge, and further to have access to up-to-date academic information, these "Kyŏnggi" scholars (□□□□), so to speak, took advantage of their regional background, in which people witnessed a higher level of academic coalescence, and where a massive amount of foreign books (from China)—as well as a number of famous bibliophiles (□□□)—were concentrated at the time.[32]

The Kyŏnggi scholars were not only privileged in acquiring various levels of information, while living in the capital area as the hub of Chosŏn's literary culture, but also expanded their borderland of knowledge to a great extent, thanks to King Chŏngjo's diverse academic policies of the day. Under the banner of "excluding related subjects (□□) and training scholar-officials (□□□)," Chŏngjo put forward a range of educational policies (by stages) in order to cultivate talented scholars nationwide, among which the "ch'ogye munsin

30 Yu Pong-hak, "18,9segi Kyŏnghyanghakkyeŭi Pun'giwa Kyŏnghwasajok" [18, 19 □□ □□□□□ □□□ □□□□, The Division of the Capital and Peripheral Academic Realms in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, and the Kyŏnghwa Sajok], *Kuksagwan Nonch'ong* (1991): 22.

31 The majority of the Noron (Old discourse, □□) and Soron (Young discourse, □□) scholars, residing mostly in Seoul and its outskirts, showed a rather eclectic tendency of accepting Yi Hwang's (□□, 1501-1570) doctrines, while keeping the academic legacies of Yi Yi (□□, 1536-1584) as their primary concerns. On the factions in the late Chosŏn, see Yu Myŏng-jong, *Chosŏnhugi Sŏngnihak* [□□ □□ □□□, Neo-Confucianism in Late Chosŏn] (Seoul: Imun Publication, 1988), 371-463.

32 Kim Mun-sik, "Chosŏn Hugi Kyŏnggidoŭi Palchŏn'gwa Kyŏnggihagin" [□□ □□ □□□□ □□□ □□□□, The Development of the Kyŏnggi Province and Kyŏnggi Scholars in the Late Chosŏn Period], *Gyŏnggi Review* 6 (2004): 33.

(selecting and leading civil officials, □□□□)" at the Kyujanggak, as well as a number of actions to nurture Confucian scholars at the Sŏngkyungwan (Confucian Academy, □□□), created favorable conditions for the Kyŏnggi scholars.[33] Indeed, most of them served at the Kyujanggak, and later firmly secured prominent positions—both in academia and political arena—during Chŏngjo's later years and King Sunjo's reign. Among them were a liberal group of scholars, in particular, who were children of concubines, but were employed as the kŏmsŏgwan (librarian, □□□), such as Pak Che-ga (□□□, 1750-1815), Yu Tŭk-kong (□□□, 1748-1807), and Yi Tŏng-mu (□□□, 1741-1793). In this regard, they formed a relatively independent scholarly network, mostly by marriage and academic exchange, and subsequently produced a great number of books and anthologies, thanks to their training in information gathering (and organization) at the Kyujanggak.[34]

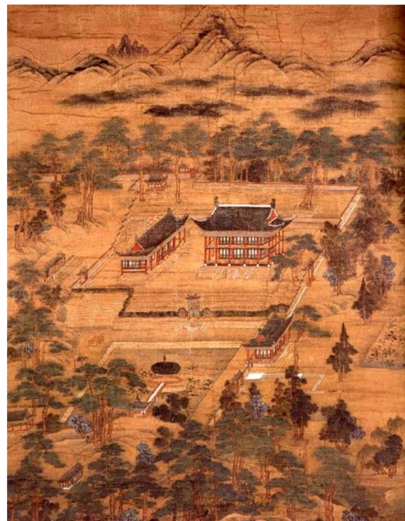

Fig. 8. Kim Hong-do, Kyujanggak, 1776, 144.4 × 115.6cm, Ink and color on silk, National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

33 Kim Mun-sik, "Chosŏn Hugi Kyŏnggi Haginŭi Hansongjŏlch'ungnon" [□□ □□ □□ □□□ □□□□□, The Han-Song Eclecticism in late Chosŏn], *Tongyanghak Kukchehaksul Joeŭi Nonmunjip* 5 (1995): 148-149.

34 Ibid, 149. See also: Sin Pyŏng-ju, "19Segi Chungyŏp Igyugyŏngŭi Hakp'unggwa Sasang" [19□□ □□□□ □□□ □□, The Philosophy of Yi Kyugyŏng in the Mid-Nineteenth Century], *Journal of Korean Studies* 75 (1994): 147-152.

With the help of Chŏngjo's academic support, the Kyŏnggi scholars continued to develop their studies, while exchanging their personal writings and collections of (Chinese) books with each other. Most notably, these academic endeavors resulted in a new kind of scholarly debate between themselves, namely, the "Jinwen (Current Texts, □□)" · "Guwen (Old Texts, □□)" dispute over the authenticity of the *Shangshu* in the late eighteenth century.[35] This debate is particularly noteworthy, not only with regards to showing the scope of references and commentaries the Kyŏnggi scholars utilized, but also given that most of the arguments in Zhu Xi's philosophy, such as the relationship between "human minds (□□)" and "the minds of the way (□□)," were actually grounded in the *Shangshu*, which might have led to a radical reappraisal of neo-Confucianism as a whole. (The sixteen characters (□□□□ □□□ □ □□□□ □□□□) of the chapter "Counsels of the Great Yu (□□□)" in the *Shangshu* served as one of the most important references in Zhu Xi's commentary on the "Doctrine of the Mean (Zhongyong, □□).")[36] Ultimately, Chosŏn scholars' interest in the *Shangshu* increased so drastically, in conjunction with the introduction of Qing evidential learning, that King Chŏngjo officially brought up the issue through his lectures on the Confucian classics (□□□□) to the scholars he had selected to work at the Kyujanggak.[37]

35 Ibid, 151.

36 The translation of the sixteen characters is the following: "The mind of man is restless, prone (to err); its affinity to what is right is small. Be discriminating, be uniform (in the pursuit of what is right), that you may sincerely hold fast the Mean." On Zhu Xi's commentary on the *Zhongyong*, see Chenyang Li, *The Confucian Philosophy of Harmony* (London: Routledge, 2013), 147-163.

37 On his lectures on the classics, see Kim Mun-sik, *Chŏngjoŭi Kyŏnghakkwa Chujahak* [□□□ □□□ □□□, Chŏngjo's Classical Studies and Neo-Confucianism] (Seoul: Munhŏn'gwa Haesŏksa, 2000), 274-287. See also: "Sangsŏ Kangŭiro Pon Chŏngjoŭi Kyŏnghaksasang" [□□ □□□ □ □□□ □□□□, Chŏngjo's Classical Studies from the Perspective of his Lectures on the *Shangshu*], *The Journal of Korean History* 75 (1991): 114-123.

In order to understand this scholarly debate in a broader context, the radical epistemological upheaval among the eighteenth-century Chinese scholars, which Benjamin Elman phrased as “from philosophy to philology”, demands particular attention.[38] Indeed, the discourse of Qing classical scholars during the eighteenth century reinforced a shift from Song-Ming rationalism to a more secular classical empiricism. In this regard, they took Song and Ming “Learning of the Way (□□)” to be an obstacle to verifiable truth, because it seemed —at least to them—to discourage further critical inquiry into (and empirical analysis on) the Confucian classics as a whole.[39] Hence, they sought out the Tang (618-907) and further Later Han (22-220) dynasty sources (and their commentaries), so as to overcome the limitations they found in the Song and Ming dynasty sources.[40] Subsequently, this brought about a fierce scholarly dispute between those who favored Later Han dynasty classical studies, namely, “Han learning (Hanxue, □□),” and those who were adherent to Song-Ming Confucianism, that is to say, “Song learning (Songxue, □□)” based on the Cheng-Zhu commentaries on the Confucian classics. By rejuvenating the traditions of Han classical learning, the empirical approach to knowledge the former scholars advocated, so-called “seeking truth from facts (Shishi qiushi, □□□□)”, played a central role in situating proof and verification at the heart of organization and analysis of the classical tradition.[41] Furthermore, this turn to empirically based classical inquiry indicated that abstract ideas and a priori logical argumentation gave

38 See Benjamin Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001), 32-56.

39 Benjamin Elman, “Early Modern or Late Imperial Philology? The Crisis of Classical Learning in Eighteenth Century China.” *Frontiers of History in China* 6 (2011): 7-8.

40 Kai-wing Chow, “An Alternative Hermeneutics of Truth: Cui Shu’s Evidential Scholarship on Confucius.” *Chinese Hermeneutics in Historical Perspective: Interpretation and Intellectual Change*, Edited by Ching-I Tu, (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2005), 20-21.

41 Benjamin Elman, op.cit, 10.

way as the primary objects of elite discussion to concrete facts, verifiable institutions, ancient natural studies, and historical events.[42]

Like their Chinese precursors, the Kyŏnggi scholars adopted the bifurcation between Han and Song learning, as posited by the Qing scholar Jiyun (□□, 1724-1805) in the *Complete Catalogue of the Imperial Collection of Four Treasures (□□□□□□)*—King Chŏngjo endeavored to purchase its entire collection in 1782, but ended up solely attaining the catalogue thereof—and had a series of academic discussions over the strengths and weaknesses of each study.[43] In particular, King Chŏngjo, as a leading scholar of the eighteenth-century Chosŏn academia, put forward his own opinions about Han and Song learning in that he acknowledged the philological achievements of Han scholars (□□), and therefore found it inappropriate that Han learning as a whole had not received adequate attention, ever since the publication of the *Great Anthology of the Four Books and Five Classics (Sishu Wujing Daquan, □□□□□□)* during the late fifteenth century.[44] In the same vein, while suspecting the authority of the *Shangshu*, he critically examined the commentaries of Sima Quan (□□□, 145(?) BCE-86(?) BCE), Da Jia (□□, ?-292), Ma Rong (□□, 79-166), and Zheng Zuan (□□, 127-200), because not only were they much closer (in time) to the composition of the classics, but the range of sources they referred to was deemed impressively expansive.[45] It should be pointed out, however, that his appraisal of Qing learning as a whole was rather lopsided in that he merely recognized the achievements of

42 Ibid, 11.

43 *The Complete Catalogue of the Imperial Collection of Four Treasures (□□□□□□)*, "The Compendium of the Classics (□□□□)": "□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□, □□□□. □□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□, □□□□□□. □□□□□□, □□□□□□□□, □□□□□□." Kim Mun-sik, op.cit, 157.

44 See Chŏngjo, "Sipsamgyŏngch'aek" [□□□□, Ideas on the Thirteen Classics], *Hongje Chŏnsŏ*, edited by editorial department, (Seoul: Tahaksa, 1986), 84.

early Qing scholars, such as Gu Yan-wu (□□□, 1613-1682) and Li Guang-de (□□□, 1642-1718), whose main concerns were still revolving around Zhu Xi’s philosophy. Moreover, he criticized that evidential learning severely disregarded the “principal object” (□□) of the Confucian classics, in terms of indulging too much in “taxonomy” (□□) and “exegesis” (□□), and further denounced the achievements of Song learning.[46]

King Chŏngjo’s understanding of Han and Qing learning, albeit relatively limited, served as an important guideline for the Kyŏnggi scholars, such as Hong Sŏk-chu and Chŏng Yag-yong, especially in regard to accepting Han learning as part of their scholarship. In this regard, Hong Sŏk-chu is particularly noteworthy. In fact, Hong was a strong advocate of Song learning, as he placed greater emphasis on the interpretations of “justice and principle” (□□) than the taxonomy of philological exegesis in his classical learning. In particular, his notions of the concepts were mainly revolving around a basic set of Confucian (ethical) doctrines, which Song scholars started to emphasize (and put into practice). According to his argument, when Cheng Yi (□□, 1033~1107) and Zhu Xi, among others, illuminated the significance of justice and principle—by interpreting the *Book of Poetry (Shijing, □□)* through the lens of humaneness (□□)—no rebellious subjects and illegitimate sons (□□□□) had been enshrined, and the public, therefore, started to exclude immoral behavior.[47] In order to revive such spirit, Hong endeavored to recompile the rare collection (□□) of Zhu Xi’s

---

45 Ibid, 82: “□□□□□□□. □□□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□□. □□□□□. □□□□□. □□□□□. □□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□. □□□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□□□□.”

46 Ibid, 91-92: “□□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□. □□□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□. □□□. □□□□. □□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□□□□. □□□□. □□□□.□□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□. □□□□. □□□□. □□□. □□□□□. □□□□□.”

47 Yi Sang-yong, *Yŏnch’ŏn Hongsŏkchuŭi Sŏjihak* [□□ □□□□ □□□, The Bibliography of Hong Sŏk-chu], (Seongnam: Asian Cultural Publisher, 2004), 54-76.

commentaries (□□□)—which Chosŏn scholars mostly attained from their Yŏnhaeng missions—under the tutelage of King Chŏngjo, who actually led to the compilation project of Zhu Xi's anthology in its entirety at a dynastic level.

Although he was a vehement adherent of Song learning, however, he was rather critical of "late Song (Southern Song) learning" (□□□□□), in which Song scholars completely lost, from his perspective, philological rigor, which they inherited from Han learning, and further involved themselves in a severe degree of "factional disputes" (□□), mostly by being obsessed with "empty discourses" (□□) and neglecting the practical aspects of Confucianism. As for the empty discourses, in particular, Hong criticized Song (and post-Song) scholars' fruitless disputes over the metaphysical doctrines in neo-Confucianism, such as the "Heavenly Mandate" (□□) and "Li (Principle, □)" and "Qi (Matter, □)" (□□□□□□).[48] In order to overcome such weaknesses in Song learning, Hong looked into a variety of Qing sources, while working as the kŏmsŏgwan at the Kyujanggak, through which he could serve as a most active transmitter of Qing literary culture in the Chosŏn intellectual scene. Most notably, it was he who handed the Qing evidential scholar Yan Ruo-qu's (□□□, 1636-1704) work on the authenticity of the *Shangshu*, namely, *Guwen Shangshu Shuzheng (Commentary on the Old Text of the Shangshu,* □□□□□□*; Shuzheng* hereafter) to Chŏng Yag-yong in 1834, after reading his work on Mei Ze's *Shangshu,* that is, *Maessi Sangsŏp'yŏng (Critique of Mei Ze's Shangshu,* □□□□□), and finding its multiple philological flaws.[49]

Likewise, Chŏng Yag-yong was a keen observer—as Hong's colleague at the Kyujanggak—of the intellectual dispute between Qing evidential scholars. In this regard, he

48 Ibid, 34. Kim Mun-sik, op.cit, 163.

49 Hong realized that most of Chŏng's arguments were already put forward by Yan Ruo-qu in the early Qing period. See Kim Mun-sik, ibid, 164-165.

put forward his interpretations about the Confucian classics, by incorporating the achievements of both Han and Song learning into his philosophical framework, which led to his unique understanding of so-called “Han-Song eclecticism” (□□□□).[50] Indeed, he emphasized the significance of commentaries (and exegesis) as a first step to determining the principal object of the Confucian classics. However, he pointed out that it is not appropriate to only adhere to the scholia of Han learning—like the Qing scholars did—because their role was merely to collect, organize, and ultimately restore the classics, which had been severely destroyed during the Warring States (475 BCE-221 BCE) and Qin (221 BCE-206 BCE) times.[51] Nonetheless, he was never reluctant to point out the limitations of Zhu Xi’s commentaries as well. In particular, his criticism was centered around the impracticality of the “discourses of human nature” (□□□) (e.g. the disputes over the relationship between Li and Qi, and Xin and Xing (Mind and Nature, □□)) within neo-Confucianism.[52] In this regard, Chŏng’s appraisal of Han and Song learning was indeed situated in adopting their positive aspects, such as academic precision and “cultivating one’s morals and governing the people” (□□□□) respectively, and thereby achieving the sagehood based on his own interpretations of the classics.

1. 2. Ch’usa’s Understanding of Han-Song Eclecticism: Investigating the “Silsa Kusisŏl”

50 On the significance of the “Han and Song learning” dispute in Chŏng Yag-yong’s scholarship, see Mark Setton, *Chŏng Yag-yong: Korea’s Challenge to Orthodox Neo-Confucianism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 123-128.

51 Chŏng Yag-yong, *The Complete Anthology of Chŏng Yag-yong (Yŏyudangjŏnsŏ) 1* (Seoul: Tasan Cultural Foundation, 2013), 432.

52 Ibid. 37-201.

With the influx of the Qing sources into Chosŏn, its intellectual sphere started to change radically, and neo-Confucianism, therefore, became a target for academic criticism from a less dogmatic perspective in the late eighteenth century. In this regard, the emergence and development of the Pukhak movement is particularly noteworthy. In 1778, Pak Chega—who was one of the preeminent Kyŏnggi scholars, and also a leading member of the Pukhak school—gained the privilege of travelling to Qing China three times as a tribute emissary, through which he brought hundreds of books on Qing literary culture upon King Chŏngjo's request to the Kyujanggak (□□□).[53] Based upon this experience, Pak wrote his magnum opus *Discourse on Northern Learning (Pukhagŭi, □□□)*, a travelogue of his Yŏnhaeng missions in Beijing and a sharp critique of the social ills inherent in Chosŏn at the time. In this work, Pak argued that Chosŏn scholar-officials should overcome the long-held (and ethnicized) bias against the Manchu-run Qing dynasty, and further proceed to emulate their cultural and intellectual developments.[54] Most notably, he severely criticized late Chosŏn (Confucian) scholars, presenting them as so ignorant and self-conceited that they had disregarded, unlike Manchu rulers and elites, the practical knowledge of governance, such as economics, social welfare, agriculture, and various kinds of sciences, which eventually led to the backwardness of Chosŏn society as a whole.[55]

53 Pak Chi-won, *Puk'agŭisŏ* [□□□□, The Preface to the Discourse on Northern Learning], 252:109a. edited by Pak Chega: "□□□, □□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□□□. □□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□. □□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□." See also: O Sŏ-yŏng, *Ch'ojŏng Pak Chegaŭi Sirhaksasanggwa Haeunt'ongsangnon* [□□ □□□□ □□□□□□ □□□□□□, Pak Che-ga's Views on Practical Learning and Maritime Trades] (Seoul: Sinsŏwŏn, 2004), 239.

54 Ibid: "□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□. □□□□. □□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□. □□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□ □□□□□□. □□□□□. □□□□□□ □□□□□□□□."

55 Ibid: "□□□□. □□□□. □□□□. □□□□. □□□□□□□□□□. □□□□. □□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□. □□□□□□□. □□□. □□□. □□□□□□□□□□□□."

Fig. 9. Luo Pin (□□ 1733-1799), The Portrait of Pak Che-ga, Ink on paper, 1790, Sirhak Museum, Namyangju.

Following his master, Ch'usa visited Qing China as a member of his father Kim No-gyŏng (□□□, 1776-1837)'s tribute mission to Beijing in 1809, which enabled him to share a great deal of academic exchange with Qing scholars, such as Ruan Yuan and Weng Fang-gang.[56] As noted above, Weng Fang-gang, in particular, served as Ch'usa's lifelong mentor (and role model), who was well versed in a variety of texts as a leading figure of the compilation project of the *Siku Quanshu* in the Qing court. Concurrently, Ch'usa studied closely with Ruan Yuan, who worked on his project of compiling the *Shisanjing Zhushu (Commentaries of the Thirteen Classics,* □□□□□*),* and later asked Ch'usa to write a preface to it. Under the tutelage of Ruan Yuan and Weng Fang-gang, who were representatives of the "Beipa" (School of Epigraphy, □□) and the "Tiepa" (School of Albums, □□) respectively, Ch'usa became well-versed in the doctrines and academic methods of both Han and Song

56 *Sunjo Sillok (Veritable Records of King Sunjo),* 1809, Tenth Day of the Ninth Month: "□□□□□: "□□□, □□□□□□, □□, □□□□□□, □□□□" □□□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□. □□□: "□□□□□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□□." □□. "

learning.[57] Furthermore, his knowledge of the Qing literary culture as a whole played a significant role in the advancement of Chosŏn scholars' awareness of Qing's new and vibrant academic discourses at the time.

Fig.10. Ch'usa's Farewell Party in Beijing, Zhu Hen-nian (□□□，1760-1844), The Copying of the Painting with the Poem Given to Ch'usa for Going Back to the East (Zengqiushi Donggui Shitu Linmo, □□□□□□□□□), 1810, Kwachŏn Museum, Kyŏnggi Province

As stated above, Qing scholarship had long been focused on Han classical learning (□□□), and gradually began to criticize Song-Ming Confucianism, which was being repudiated for its unpractical and philologically suspect aspects. However, its specific details were not well known to eighteenth-century Chosŏn scholars, because only a few of them were able to travel to China and willing to engage directly with Qing scholars. In this respect, Ch'usa was quite an extraordinary figure, as he witnessed firsthand Qing's up-to-date classical studies in Beijing, while his opportunity of studying evidential learning under the abovementioned Qing masters allowed him to expand his scholarly interests to the point where he realized that Zhu Xi's philosophy was not a complete set of ideas in itself, but merely one of the philosophical frameworks, among others, containing the partial truths and

57 On the Beipai and the Tiepai, see Chŏng Hyŏn-Sook, "The Changes in Pingcheng Calligraphy of the Northern Wei", *Sŏjihak Yŏngu* 38 (2007): 247-263.

moral imperatives of the world. From this time on, the doctrine of “seeking truth from facts” constituted the core part of Ch’usa’s scholarship. In October 1811, in particular, Weng Fang-gang sent a letter to Ch’usa, containing his own writing entitled “Shishi Qiushizhen” (□□□□□, Admonitions on seeking truth from facts), as well as a plaque with shishi qiushi (□□□□) written on it.[58] Through his writing, Weng Fang-gang taught Ch’usa about the basic (and proper) attitude of scholarship:

> Investigating the past and proving the present;
> the truth seems to be high like a mountain, and deep like a sea.
> Investigating the facts lies in books,
> whereas understanding the principles lies in one’s heart.
> One origin should not be split in two, if you try to find a proper path.
> The very principle penetrating into ten thousand books lies in this admonition.
>
> □□□□ □□□□
> □□□□ □□□□
> □□□□ □□□□
> □□□□ □□□□”[59]

To reciprocate his master’s gesture, in 1816 Ch’usa wrote a short essay called “Silsa Kusisŏl” (Treatise on seeking truth from facts, □□□□□), which was later published as part of

58 Pak Chŏl-sang, *Sŏjaee Salta: Chosŏn Chishigin 24Inŭi Sŏjae Iyagi* [□□□ □□: □□ □□□ 24□□ □□ □□□, Livining in the Library: The Stories of 24 Chosŏn Intellectuals and their Libraries] (Seoul: Munhak Dongne Publishing Group, 2014), 200-202.

59 Ibid, 201.

the *Wandang Chŏnsŏ* (□□□□, Complete works of Wandang).[60] This essay is one of his most crucial works, as it clearly reveals his viewpoints about the debate between Han and Song learning, and about Qing evidential learning in general. In this work, Ch'usa suggests that "seeking truth from facts" is a primary attitude needed to become a sophisticated scholar, because otherwise one's studies could fall into a mire of vacuous discourses. ("□□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□".)[61] In this sense, the scholarship of later Han literati could serve as a model for subsequent generations because it primarily sought precision and solidity as an important part of elucidating the doctrines of ancient masters. ("□□□□□□□□. □□□□. □□□□. □□□□□□□.")[62] To prove this, he showed that those scholars invented and cherished the use of explanatory footnotes in order to predicate their studies on the notion of "seeking truth from facts." (□□□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□. □□□□.")[63] On the other hand, they held themselves aloof from discussing profound and sophisticated themes, such as nature (□), dao (□), humaneness (□), and justice (□), since they were deemed unverifiable and ultimately "fruitless" (□□). Their academic legacy, as exemplified by their philological skills and rigor, had a strong influence on subsequent Confucian scholars, especially during the Northern Song dynasty.[64]

60 However, the complete anthology of Ch'usa's writings was posthumously published by his great grandson Kim Ik-Hwan (□□□) in 1913. For more detail, see Kim Chŏng-hŭi, *Wangdang Chŏnjip*, 57.

61 Ibid, 31a. On the reference of "Shishi Gushi (□□□□)," see the *Han Shu (History of the Former Han Dynasty)*, 5/2410(53/1a), where it is said: □□□□□□□□□□□□, □□□□, □□□□. □□□□□, □□□□□□, □□□, □□□□□□□."

62 Ibid, 31a.

63 Ibid.

64 See note 38.

During the Jin dynasty (265–420), however, several foreign factors took root (and became indigenized) in the Chinese intellectual sphere. From Ch’usa’s standpoint, it was Daoism and Buddhism, representing nihilism and Chan (□) metaphysics respectively, that played a massive role in the spreading of vacuous theories and discourses among scholars, which eventually led to the uniformization of their academic interests in China. (“□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□□□. □□□.”)[65] In this respect, Ch’usa harshly criticized the Yangming school of thought (□□□) in particular, because their scholarly “fever” (□) had been deeply associated with both traditions, and hence disregarded the notion of “seeking truth from facts,” by incorporating the whole of Confucian teachings (and methodologies) into Buddhist metaphysics. (“□□□□□□□. □□□□□. □□□□□. □□□□. □□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□. □□□□. □□□□□□□.”)[66] Nonetheless, he acknowledged that the “Learning of the Way” (□□), which developed during the Northern (and early Southern) Song, played a positive role in clarifying a wide variety of central concepts in the Confucian traditions, such as nature (□) and principle (□), by way of elaborating their etymologies and historical contexts in a meticulous fashion.

Ch’usa was fully aware that Han learning and its methodologies had become widely popular among Qing evidential scholars, which he generally found to be a positive development. However, he warned that Han classical studies could not ultimately replace the wisdom of the ancient masters. To illustrate this, he came up with a metaphor that a threshold is to a “grand first-class house” (□□□□) what Han learning is to the teachings of the sages. (“ □□□□□. □□□□. □□□□. □□□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□. □□□□. □□□□□. □□□□. □□□□□□. □□□

65 Kim Chŏng-hui, op.cit, 31a.

66 Ibid, 31b.

□□□□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□.”)[67] As the owner of the house resides in its main room (□□), if he wants to enter it, he first needs to step over the threshold of the house. According to this metaphor, Han classical methods could serve as a wonderful scholarly “threshold,” as their erudition and academic precision provide a true guide for one’s study. However, although philological rigor is a necessary step for directing one’s scholarship in a correct manner, it still is merely the beginning of any scholarly journey, and should lead to the wisdom of the ancient masters, whose teachings were considered a shortcut for attaining sagehood in the neo-Confucian tradition. (“□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□ □□□. □□□□□ □□. □□□□□□.”)[68]

Using the same metaphor, however, Ch’usa criticized Song and Ming Confucianism even more harshly. From his standpoint, a group of Confucian scholars during and after the Jin and Song dynasties venerated only the most lofty and highly philosophical aspects of Confucianism, and hence easily concluded that Confucius never studied “shallow and worldly” (□□) matters. (“□□□□. □□□□□□. □□□. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□ □□. □□□□□ □□□□. □□□□□□□.”)[69] In this regard, it is as if they were looking for the house elsewhere, as they did not even dare to find the threshold in the first place. However, Ch’usa did not stop at only criticizing neo- Confucianism, but went even further. Deeply influenced by Weng Fang-gang, he ultimately emphasized the harmonious relationship between Han classical studies and Song-Ming Confucianism as a crucial goal for one’s scholarship.[70] Hence, he contended that the two academic schools were neither to be divided nor compared, since the scholarship of such preeminent neo-Confucian scholars as Cheng Yi, Zhu Xi, Lu Jiu-yuan (□

67 Ibid, 32a.

68 Ibid.

69 Ibid.

□□, 1139–1192), and Wang Shuo-ren contained both strengths and weaknesses at the same time. (“□□□□□. □□□□□□□. □□□□ □□□□□□. □□□□□ □□□□□. □□□□□. □□□□. □□□□□□ □□□□□□.”)[71] In this regard, whatever school one belongs to (or identifies oneself with), what is most important is basing one’s scholarship on precision, impartiality, erudition, and righteousness, which could (and should) originate from the doctrine of “seeking truth from facts.”

1. 3. Ch’usa’s Philological Reading of the *Shangshu*

1. 3. 1. The Analysis of the Different Versions of the *Shangshu*

Ch’usa’s emphasis on “seeking truth from facts” is vividly manifested in his classical studies, the most notable of which is his analysis of the authenticity of the *Shangshu*, as exemplified by his longest essay entitled “Sangsŏ Kogŭm Nonbyŏn”. To give a brief background of the issue of the classic, the *Yiwenzhi (Treatise of Literature, □□□)* of the *Hanshu (History of Han, □□)* could serve as a good reference, which states that the *Shangshu* survived the burning of books (□□; □□) during the Qin dynasty:

> The Qin dynasty burned books, and forbade studies. Fusheng (□□) from Jinan (□□) kept the classic (*Shangshu*) inside the wall. When the (Western) Han rose and fell, the book was lost, and its twenty nine chapters only survived in the midst of it. Thereafter, they were taught between Qi (□) and Lu (□). During the

70 Such perspective played an integral role in the development of his distinct calligraphic style, so-called Ch’usach’e (□□□), which is generally attributed to the spirit of “respecting the old, and creating the new (□□□□).” Kim Chŏng-hŭi, “Sŏdok (□□)”, op.cit: “□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□□. □□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□□□□.” See also: Pak Ch’ŏl-sang, op.cit, 11-24.

71 Kim Chŏng-hŭi, op.cit, 61.

reigns of Emperor Xiao (□) and Xuan (□), the Ouyang (□□) and Xiahou (□□) families established schools (to teach them). The old text (□□) of the *Shangshu* came from the wall of Confucius's house. By the end of Emperor Wu's (□□) reign, King Lugong (□□□) pulled down his house, and wanted to expand his palace. By so doing, he attained the old texts of the *Shangshu*, the *Liji (Book of Rites, □□)*, the *Lunyu (Analects, □□)*, and the *Xiaojing (Classic of Filial Piety, □□)*. In total, it was about dozens of chapters, and they were all written in the old script. (□□□□□, □□□□□□□□. □□□□, □□□□□□, □□□□□□. □□□□, □□□, □□□□□, □□□□. □□□□□, □□□□□. □□□, □□□□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□□□□□□, □□, □□□□□□, □□□□.)[72]

As stated above, the *Yiwenzhi* classified the *Shangshu*—which appeared during the Han period—as two versions, that is, the Fusheng version, which was named after its discoverer, and the old text of the *Shangshu*, which fell out of the wall of Confucius's old house. In this sense, it is notable that, when comparing the old text of the *Shangshu* with the twenty nine chapters of the Fusheng version, there are sixteen more chapters in the old text, which were subsequently donated by Kong An-guo (□□□, BCE. 156-74)—one of Confucius's direct descendants—to the Han court afterwards. (□□□□, □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□. □□□□□□□□□.)[73]

Aside from the *Yiwenzhi*'s records, Ch'usa suggests that there are sixteen extra chapters of the so-called "Lost Books (□□)", which should be separated—at least in his

72 Ban Gu, *Hanshu Yiwenzhi* [□□□□□, Book of Han: Treatise of Literature], Edited by Zhenzong Yao, (Shanghai: World Journal (Shijie Shuju), 1965), 54.

73 Ibid, 54.

analysis—from the Fusheng version and the old text of the *Shangshu*. (□□□□□□□.) Indeed, it is one of his unique contributions to the *Shangshu* studies in that he divided the *Shangshu* into the three different versions (or parts), as in 1) the *Guwen (Old text)*, 2) the *Jinwen (Current Text)*, and 3) the sixteen chapters of the *Yishu (Lost Books)*.[74] As for the Fusheng version, Ch'usa regarded it as the *Jinwen Shangshu*, because the text was generally written in the current (Eastern Han) script. (□□□□□. □□□□ (…) □□□□□□. □□□□□□□.)[75] On the other hand, he labelled the *Guwen Shangshu* as the "Confucius Wall version (□□□)", as it was discovered from the wall of Confucius's old house. (□□□□□. □□□□.) According to Ch'usa, the reason why it was named the "Guwen Shangshu" is that the text was largely written in the old (pre-Qin) script. (□□□□□□. □□□□□□□.)[76] Lastly, he identified the *Yishu* chapters as different from the *Jinwen* and the *Guwen Shangshus*, because he needed to compare them with a few chapters of Mei Ze's *Guwen Shangshu* afterward.

Moreover, Ch'usa analyzed the chapters—and their names—of each *Shangshu* version. First, he points out that there are twenty eight chapters in the *Jinwen Shangshu*, ranging from "Yaodian (Code of Emperor Yao, □□)" to "Taishi (Grand Promise, □□)". In this sense, they are completely identical with the twenty eight chapters of the *Guwen Shangshu* (out of its thirty one chapters in total).[77] As for the other chapters, he explains that the "Pangeng (Emperor Pangeng, □□)" chapter was divided into its three subchapters, that is, the "First (High, □)", "Second (Medium, □)", and "Third (Low, □)", and the "Guming (Imperial

74 Kim Chŏng-hŭi, "Sangsŏ Kogŭm Nonbyŏn" [□□□□□□, Discourse on the Current and Old Texts of the *Shangshu*], *Wandang Chŏnjip* [□□□□, Complete Anthology of Wandang], (Seoul: Academy of East Asian Studies, 2005), 833.

75 Ibid, 833.

76 Ibid, 833.

77 Ibid, 833.

Will, □□)" chapter into two, namely, the "Guming" and "Kangwangzhigao (Admonitions of King Kang, □□□□)".[78] Indeed, this is how the thirty one chapters of the *Guwen Shangshu* came into existence. As for the *Yishu* chapters, on the other hand, he notes that there are sixteen chapters in total, and the nine chapters thereof, namely, "Shundian (Code of Emperor Shun, □□)", "Yiji (Instruction on Benefits, □□)", "Wujizhiga (Song of the Five Masters, □□□□)", "Yunzheng (Discourse on Punishments, □□)", "Tanggao (Admonitions of Emperor Tang, □□)", "Xianyu Yide (Containing One Virtue, □□□□)", "Wucheng (Achieving Military, □□)", "Luao (Disciplining People, □□)", and "Guangming (Establishing Order, □□)", existed as an attachment to the *Guwen Shangshu*, which were later dedicated to the Sui (□, 581-619) court, whereas the rest of the seven chapters lost their content, and were instead compiled merely with their prefaces (□□).[79] Before the Sui period, the entire *Yishu* chapters were—according to the *Hanshu*—dedicated (by Kong An-guo) to the Han court, and were later kept at its "Mifu (Secrete Library, □□)", some of which were, however, not transmitted to its subsequent generations. (□□□.)[80]

Ultimately, the reason why Ch'usa endeavored to clarify the differences between the *Jinwen*, *Guwen*, and *Yishu* is to claim that Mei Ze's *Guwen Shangshu* is a forged version of the *Shangshu*, and to verify, if not rectify, the erroneous parts of Cai Chen's *Shujizhuan*. Hence, he first needed to list—and analyze—the chapters, in order to suggest that there are no correlations between the *Guwen (and Jinwen) Shangshu* and Mei Ze's version of the *Shangshu*. (□□□□□□. □□□□. □□□. □□□□□.)[81] Indeed, it was such a subversive argument to

78 Ibid, 833. "□□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□□, □ □□□□."

79 Ibid, 833.

80 Ban Gu, op.cit, 55; Ibid, 833.

81 Ibid, 834.

make, because the Mei Ze version of the *Shangshu* was the most prestigious and widely circulated version (□□□) of the *Shangshu*, which served as a philological basis for its diverse commentaries, such as Kong Ying-da's (□□□, 574-648) *Shangshu Zhengyi (Correct Meanings of the Shangshu,* □□□□*)*, Cai Chen's *Shujizhuan*, and Ruan Yuan's (□□, 1764-1849) *Shisanjing Zhushu (Commentaries on the Thirteen Classics,* □□□□□*)*.[82]

1. 3. 2. The Examination of Mei Ze's *Guwen Shangshu*

In his essay, Ch'usa provides a rather detailed examination of Mei Ze's *Guwen Shangshu*, because the purpose of the "Nonbyŏn" is to demonstrate that his version of the *Shangshu* is a forgery. According to the *Jingjizhi (Records of the Books and Classics,* □□□*)* of the *Suishu (History of Sui,* □□*)*, Mei Ze, who served as the Yuzhang Neishi (Inner Official of the Yuzhang, □□□□) during the Eastern Jin (□□, 317-420) period, dedicated Kong An-guo's commentaries on the *Guwen Shangshu* (also called the *Guwen Shangshu Kong Anguo Zhuan*, □□□□□□□□) to the Jin court. (□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.)[83] However, Mei Ze's *Guwen Shangshu*, as Ch'usa argues, has nothing to do with either the Fusheng version (*Jinwen*) or the Confucius Wall version (*Guwen*) of the *Shangshu*. In this regard, he approached the text, by comparing the chapters of the *Jinwen* and *Guwen Shangshus* with those of Mei Ze's version. Hence, he first analyzed the structure of the chapters of Mei Ze's *Guwen Shangshu*, which is the following:

82 Kim Man-il, *Chosŏn 17 18segi Sangsŏhaesŏgŭi Saeroun Kyŏnghyang*, 45-56.

83 Zhangsun Wuji, *Suishu Jingjizhi* [□□ □□□, Book of Sui: Records of Classics and Books] (Taipei: Commercial Press Taiwan, 1966), 36.

> Mei Ze’s *Guwen* contains, except for the *Guwen Shangshu*’s thirty one chapters, the nineteen chapters, which is as follows: “Daiyumo (Grand Plans of Emperor Yu)”, “Wuzizhige”, “Yunzheng”, “Zhonghuizhiguo (Admonitions of Zhonghui)”, “Tangguo”, “Yixun (Teachings of Yi Yin)”, “Taijia (Minister Taijia)”, “Xianyou Yide”, “Yueming (Delightful Order)”, “Taishi”, “Wucheng”, “Luao”, “Weizizhiming (Order of Weizi)”, “Caizhongzhiming (Order of Caizhong)”, “Zhouguan (Zhou Officials)”, “Junchen (Minister Junchen)”, “Biming (Facing Death)”, “Junya (Minister Junya)”. In particular, each of the following three chapters, namely, “Taijia”, “Yueming”, and “Taishi”, is divided into three sub-chapters, which makes the twenty five chapters in total. Hence, there are fifty six chapters (as a totality) in Mei Ze’s *Guwen Shangshu*. ([illegible]. [illegible], [illegible]. [illegible]. [illegible]. [illegible]. [illegible].)[84]

Based on such analysis, Ch’usa argues that there is a philological problem in Mei Ze’s *Guwen Shangshu*, because there are several differences, if not discrepancies, in the structure of the chapters between the *Guwen* (and *Jinwen*) *Shangshu* and Mei Ze’s *Guwen Shangshu*. As stated above, the twenty eight chapters of the *Jinwen* and the *Guwen* are almost identical—despite the three extra chapters in the *Guwen*—which makes thirty one chapters of the latter in total. In addition, there are sixteen chapters of the *Yishu* as part of the *Guwen Shangshu*. However, Mei Ze’s *Guwen Shangshu* comprises nineteen extra chapters, apart from the thirty one chapters of the original *Shangshu*. Furthermore, these chapters do not correspond to the sixteen chapters of the *Yishu*, and any philological grounds, hence, cannot

84 Kim Chŏng-hŭi, op.cit, 834.

be found of the extra chapters in Mei Ze's *Shangshu.* Historically speaking, even the ten chapters, among them, were said to have been lost, while being transmitted from the Han toward the Sui dynasty. (□□□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□.)[85] If these chapters do not appear in the Han versions of the *Shangshu*, how could they be part of Mei Ze's *Shangshu*, given the temporal gap between the Han and Jin dynasties? Hence, Ch'usa noted that the authenticity of Mei Ze's nineteen chapters seems to be rather dubious.

As Ch'usa pointed out, the *Jinwen Shangshu* was widely read in the Western Han, whereas the *Guwen Shangshu* was most popular in the Eastern Han. (□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□ □□.)[86] He argues, however, that although there were a wide variety of editions and commentaries of the *Shangshu* during the Han period, there are actually no major differences between the *Jinwen* and the *Guwen*. In this sense, the following passage is worth referring to:

> Sima Qian studied under Kong An-guo, so he took on the passages from the *Guwen* for his writing of the *Shiji (Historical Records,* □□*)*, but he studied the *Jinwen* as well. After Dulin's (□□) time, the *Qishu Guwen (*□□□□*)* was transmitted, but their chapter system was no different from the twenty eight chapters of the *Guwen Shangshu*. The former was nothing but a popular version of Kong An-guo's *Shangshu*, and the only difference is that the "Pangeng" chapter is split into several pieces. Overall, there is merely little difference between the *Jinwen* and the *Guwen*.

85 Ibid, 835.

86 Ibid, 833.

(□□□□□□□. □□□□. □□□□□. □□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□. □□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□.)[87]

Hence, the *Jinwen* and the *Guwen* generally corresponded to each other, and Kong An-guo’s version of the *Shangshu* could serve as a common edition for both of them. Although Mei Ze dedicated the *Shangshu* to the Jin court, by saying that it is Kong An-guo’s *Shangshu* from the Han dynasty, Ch’usa still posed a question as to why his version of the *Shangshu* does not accord with the Kong An-guo version:

How could it be possible that the *lost books (Yishu)* and *destroyed books (Wangshu,* □□*)* could appear alternately in Mei Ze’s *Shangshu*? How could Mei Ze find the chapters, which are not even part of the Confucius Wall version? Furthermore, how did he attain the *Guwen Shangshu*, although there were no scholars (teachers) commenting on it at the time? (□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□□. □□□□□□□□.)[88]

According to the passage above, what seemed rather unclear to Ch’usa is the following: How could Mei Ze’s *Shangshu* contain both the *lost* and *destroyed books* of the *Shangshu*? The *lost books*, as stated above, refer to the sixteen chapters, which were annexed to the Kong An-guo version of the *Shangshu*—which were eventually lost—whereas the

87 Ibid, 837.

88 Ibid,837.

destroyed books are a range of chapters, which Confucius himself compiled as part of the *Shangshu*, but ended up not being transmitted to the Han dynasty. In this regard, it does not seem very likely that the *lost* and *destroyed books* had existed in Mei Ze's times, but both of them are still contained (oddly enough) in Mei Ze's *Guwen Shangshu*. Hence, the content of the chapters—which were compiled in Mei Ze's *Shangshu*, but not found in the *Guwen Shangshu*—should not be authentic accordingly. Furthermore, he asked how Mei Ze even found a large portion of Kong An-guo's commentaries on the *Shangshu*. In fact, the *Yishu* chapters contained no commentaries, but Mei Ze's version of the *Shangshu* does include Kong An-guo's commentaries on the chapters, which were labelled as the "Konganguozhuan (Commentaries of Kong Anguo, □□□□)". For this reason, he concluded that Mei Ze's submission of Kong An-guo version's *Shangshu* did not actually involve the *Guwen Shangshu*, and hence, the authenticity of his *Shangshu* (including the "Konganguozhuan") should not be plausible.

1. 3. 3. The Assessment of Cai Chen's *Shujizhuan*

Such analysis of the *Shangshu* eventually led to his criticism of Cai Chen's commentary on the classic, namely, the *Shujizhuan.* In the Northern Song, Cai Chen wrote and compiled the *Shujizhuan* under his master Zhu Xi's request, and from then on, the commentary replaced the *Shangshu Zhengyi*—which had served as the most dominant commentary on the *Shangshu* since the reign of the Taizhong Emperor of the Tang (□ □□, 626-649). Subsequently, it reached the Korean peninsula during the latter half of the Koryŏ period (1170-1392), and took up the same role with respect to the interpretations of the classic.[89] Moreover, the *Shuzhuan Daquan (Grand Commentary on the Shangshu,* □□□□*),*

89 Kim Man-il, op.cit, 22.

which was compiled—based on the *Shujizhuan*—during the Yongle reign (1402-1424), was first imported into the peninsula in 1436, which even bolstered the intellectual position of the *Shujizhuan* as the most orthodox commentary of the *Shangshu* during the Chosŏn period. Hence, it served as a prototype for Chosŏn's dynastic project of translating (and annotating) the *Shangshu*, that is, the *Sŏjŏn Ŏnhae (Vernacular Exegesis of the Shangshu,* □□□□*)*, which was published during King Sŏnjo's reign (1567-1608), and further for Chosŏn's preeminent Confucian scholar T'oegye Yi Hwang (□□ □□, 1501-1571)'s commentary—both in classical Chinese and vernacular Korean (Hangŭl)—on the *Shangshu*, namely, *Sŏsŏgŭi (Annotations and Meanings of the Shangshu,* □□□*)*.[90]

Ch'usa explains that according to the *Shujizhuan*, Emperor Taizhong first ordered Kong Ying-da to take on Mei Ze's version of the *Shangshu*, as part of writing the *Wujing Zhengyi (Correct Meanings of the Five Classics,* □□□□*)*. Following Kong Ying-da's work, Cai Chen also based his commentary on Mei Ze's *Shangshu*, who ended up, however, accepting—from Ch'usa's point of view—the erroneous parts of the *Shangshu Zhengyi* as well. (□□□□□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□, □□□□□□□□, □ □□□□□□.)[91] In this regard, the *Shangshu Zhengyi*—despite its philological flaws—actually contained a wide range of the Han scholars' commentaries, including those of Ma Rong (□□, 79-166) and Zheng Xuan (□□, 127-200), in which the original version of the *Shangshu* was still relatively well preserved. Ch'usa pointed out, however, that Cai Chen's *Shujizhuan* abandoned those passages, and further destroyed the remnants of the Han versions of the *Shangshu*, which, he believes, is one of the most serious problems of Cai Chen's work.[92]

90 Ibid, 24.

91 Kim Chŏng-hŭi, op.cit, 837.

92 Ibid. 837.

According to Ch’usa, Cai Chen wrote “existing both in the *Jinwen* and the *Guwen* (□□□□□□)” or “not existing in the *Jinwen*, but in the *Guwen* (□□□□□□)” etc., at the front of each chapter of the *Shangshu Zhengyi*. After analyzing the *Jinwen*, the *Guwen*, and Mei Ze’s *Shangshu* altogether, however, Ch’usa came to the conclusion that Cai Chen actually did not refer to the *Jinwen* and the *Guwen*, but only to Mei Ze’s version of the *Shangshu*, in terms of investigating the *Shangshu Zhengyi*. In this sense, the following passage is particularly notable:

> It is extremely unclear that Cai Chen’s *Shujizhuan* contains both the *Jinwen* and the *Guwen*. The *Jizhuan (Shujizhuan)* merely followed Kong Ying-da’s *Shangshu Zhengyi*, which is totally based on the Mei Ze edition of the *Shangshu*. Indeed, there is no evidence that the Fusheng version of the *Jinwen Shangshu* affected his commentaries. However, Cai Chen merely pretends to refer to the *Jinwen*, and discuss its presence and absence in his commentaries. This is also to pretend that he crosschecked all the references regarding the *Shangshu*. How can the following generations not doubt the authenticity thereof? (“□□□□, □□□□□□□□□, □□□□. □□□□ □□□□□□ □□□, □□□□ □□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□□, □□ □□□□, □□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□□?”)[93]

As noted above, Ch’usa argues that Cai Chen only refers to Mei Ze’s version of the *Shangshu*, and further pretends to cite the *Guwen* and the *Jinwen* as part of his work. Moreover, he adds that the Mei Ze edition of the *Shangshu* is not so valuable as to examine

93 Ibid, 836.

the contents of the *Jinwen* and the *Guwen*—since they do not correspond to each other—and the *Shujizhuan*, therefore, could not help but involve a number of philological errors, especially in conjunction with the presence and absence of the *Jinwen* and the *Guwen* in the *Shangshu Zhengyi*.

A serious dilemma, however, arose to Ch'usa, that is, how to reappraise (and also criticize) the authenticity of Cai Chen's *Shujizhuan*, which served as the only orthodox commentary on the *Shangshu* in Chosŏn Korea. Indeed, Ch'usa's argument that the *Shujizhuan* is largely based on Mei Ze's forgery of the *Shangshu* could have been a critical blasphemy against Chosŏn's (and Qing's) neo-Confucian understanding of the classic. Therefore, he decided to not show his thesis in public, as Mei Ze's *Guwen Shangshu* and Cai Chen's *Shujizhuan* had been adopted by the Confucian scholars ever since the Song dynasty —which lasted over a thousand years—and hence were not to be abandoned immediately. ("□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□, □□□□□□.")[94] However, Ch'usa's analysis of the *Shangshu*, along with Tasan's *Maessi Sangsŏp'yŏng*, eventually had a massive influence on Chosŏn's intellectual scene as a whole, and further prompted a variety of discussions on the Confucian classics—and their issues of anthenticity—among his following scholars both in Qing and Chosŏn.

Lastly, he listed a number of Chinese scholars—along with their works on the authenticity of the *Shangshu*—from the Song to the Qing, in order to support his own argument that Mei Ze's version of the *Shangshu* was a forgery, and hence Cai Chen's *Shujizhuan* is, by no means, reliable. According to his narrative, the suspicion over Mei Ze's *Shangshu* already arose with Zhu Xi's commentary of the *Shangshu*, which subsequently brought about the scholarly concerns of the Ming and Qing evidential scholars, such as Mei Zhuo (□□, 1483-1553), Yan Ru-quo, and Hui Dong (□□, 1697-1758), on the issue. (□□□□□□

94 Ibid, 837.

□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□. □□□□□□.)[95] Interestingly enough, his previous scholars' literature on the *Shangshu* is recorded in a detailed manner, not only in the "Nonbyŏn", but also in Ch'usa's correspondence with the Qing evidential scholar Wang Xi-sun (□□□, 1786-1847), and his Chinese master Weng Fang-gang's anthology *Tanxiji (Anthology of Weng Fang-gang,* □□□*)*.[96] For this reason, it seems likely that his analysis of the *Shangshu* developed with the help of the Chinese scholars and their works. However, the spectrum and argumentation of his investigation of the classic is still rather uniquely attributed to him—which actually deviated from Weng Fang-gang's defense of the authenticity of the *Shangshu*—and further bolstered the intellectual trend of the critical reading of the classics among both Qing and Chosŏn evidential scholars at the time. (□□□□□. □□□□. □□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□.)[97]

1. 3. 4. The Authenticity of the Sixteen Characters of the "Dayumo" Chapter in the *Shangshu*

In the *Wandangjip*, there are quite a few scattered articles, in which Ch'usa deals with the authenticity of the *Shangshu*, apart from his essay on the *Shangshu* ("Sangsŏ Kŭmgomunbyŏn"). These writings, however, are rather limited, as they are so terse as to illuminate his *Shangshu* studies to the fullest. Hence, a number of scholars in Ch'usa studies have pointed out the incompleteness of the *Wandangjip*, and further emphasized the significance of "excavating" his writings outside his anthology, in order to supplement such

95 Ibid, 837.

96 Kim Man-il, op.cit, 22.

97 Kim Chŏng-hŭi, op.cit, 382.

deficiency.[98] Interestingly, Ch'usa's another writing on the *Shangshu* can be found in his colleague (and academic rival) Yi Wŏn-jo's (□□□, 1792-1871) anthology *Ŭngwajip (Anthology of Yi Wŏn-jo,* □□□*)*. Above all, this anthology contains his analysis of the famous "line of the sixteen characters" (□□□) of the *Shangshu*, namely, "Wigomun Sibyugŏnsŏlbyŏn" (Defending the Sixteen Characters of the *Guwen Shangshu*, □□□□□□□; Sibyugŏnsŏlbyŏn hereafter). In this article, the following lines are written, in small letters, below the title:

> Ch'usa was exiled to Taejŏng, where he wrote the "Wigomun Sibyugŏnsŏl (Treatise on the Sixteen Characters of the *Guwen Shangshu*, □□□□□□; Sibyugŏnsŏl hereafter)" and sent it to me. Hence, I wrote this defense. (□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□. □□□□.)[99]

As the passage noted, Yi Wŏn-jo wrote the piece as a response to Ch'usa's "Sibyugŏnsŏl", which Ch'usa shared and discussed with Yi Wŏn-jo, while he was exiled in Taejŏng, Cheju Island. Indeed, Yi Wŏn-jo was one of the most preeminent Confucian scholars from the Namin (Southerners, □□) faction, and wrote a number of academic articles (and anthologies) as a notable scholar-official in the early nineteenth century. Furthermore, he served as the Cheju Puyun (Magistrate of Cheju Province, □□□□) for twenty eight months from 1841 to 1843, so it can be presumed that he met and talked with Ch'usa during this

98 Kim Man-il, op.cit, 123.

99 Yi Wŏn-jo, *Ŭngwa Chŏnjip* [□□ □□, Complete Anthology of Yi Wŏn-jo] (Seoul: Yeogang Publisher, 1986), 33; Toegye Institute (Kyeongbuk University), *Ŭngwa Iwŏnjoŭi Samkwa Hakmun* [□□ □□□□ □□ □□, The Life and Scholarship of Ŭngwa Yi Wŏn-jo], (Seoul: Geulnurim, 2006), 123.

time.[100] Above all, his “Haengjang (Obituary, □□)”, authored by his cousin Yi Chin-sang (□□□, 1818-1886), provides the following facts:

> While I was in T’amna (Old Name of Cheju, □□), there was a guy arguing that the “transmitted message” (□□) of the sixteen characters is merely based on the fact that Mei Ze’s *Shangshu* is a forgery, but the Pugun (Puyun, □□; Yi Wŏn-jo) defeated him, by writing the defense twice. (□□□□, □□□□□□□□ □, □□□□□□, □□□□□□□□.)[101]

According to the passage, Ch’usa and Yi Wŏn-jo met in Cheju Island—as the Puyun and the exile—and shared the “Sibyugŏnsŏl”, and Yi Wŏn-jo further wrote the “Sibyugŏnsŏlbyŏn”, in order to defend the authority of the *Shangshu*. The problem, however, is that the “Sibyugŏnsŏl” is not contained in the *Wandang Chŏnjip*, so it is currently impossible to refer to the entire text thereof. Nonetheless, as Yi Wŏn-jo quoted (and commented on) some parts of the “Sibyugŏnsŏl”, the text is still rather accessible in an indirect manner. Hence, the following analysis is largely predicated on the fragments of the “Sibyugŏnsŏl” as part of the “Sibyugŏnsŏlbyŏn”.

The “Sixteen Characters (□□□)” refer to the following line of the “Dayumo (□□□)” chapter in the *Shangshu*: “□□□□, □□□□, □□□□, □□□□. (The translation is provided in the chapter 1.1.)” Indeed, the purpose of the “Sibyugŏnsŏl” is to prove that the sixteen characters were actually a forgery. To this end, his article is separated into two parts: First, Ch’usa

100 Toegye Institute, Ibid, 61.

101 Yi Chip, *Kukyŏk Hanjujip 1* [□□ □□□, Korean Translation: Anthology of Hanju 1], translated by Kwŏn O-ho, (Seoul: Hanul Academy, 2014), 633.

quoted the eight characters of the *Daojing (Classic of the Way,* □□*)* in the "Jiebi (Unraveling, □□)" chapter of the *Xun Zi (*□□*)*: "The mind of man is subtle; the mind of the way is imperilled. (□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□. (…) □□□□: □□□□. □□□□)"[102] In this sense, the line ("□□□□, □□□□") of the *Shangshu* is, as Ch'usa noted, no more than a forged version of the line of the "Jiebi". Furthermore, he argued that it was Mei Ze who later made up the combination of the characters—by referring to the *Xun Zi* and modifying the line thereof—in his *Guwen Shangshu*. (□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□.)[103] Secondly, Ch'usa referred to Yan Ru-quo's work (*Shuzheng*), and further contended that Mei Ze composed "□□□□" by quoting the characters of the line "□□□, □□□ (Subtleness in the Way, Oneness in the Way)" from the "Jiebi", and also took on "□□□□" directly from the *Analects (Lunyu,* □□*)*, which eventually constituted the sixteen characters in total. (□□□□: □□□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□.)[104]

Indeed, Ch'usa's reading of the "Jiebi" in the *Xun Zi*—as well as his analysis on Mei Ze's "Zaoyu Jingmi (making up words carefully and surreptitiously, □□□□)"—was primarily based on Yan Ru-quo's investigation of the *Shangshu*. In this regard, his argument is that the sixteen characters were actually Mei Ze's creation, in which he modified the lines (and characters) of the *Xun Zi*. To prove this, Ch'usa cited the "Canon of Shun (□□)" chapter of the *Shangshu*, and Yan Ru-quo's treatise on it. At the time, Yan Ru-quo was a renowned Qing evidential scholar, who put a period to the controversy of the authenticity of the *Shangshu*—which lasted since Zhu Xi's time—by showing that Mei Ze's *Guwen Shangshu* is largely a forgery. In the "Nonbyŏn", however, Ch'usa only mentions his name, and does not discuss

102 Yi Wŏn-jo, 34.

103 Ibid, 34.

104 Ibid, 35.

his analysis of the authenticity of the classic, so it cannot be seen to what extent he was under the influence of Yan Ru-quo. Nonetheless, since Ch'usa's writing on the sixteen characters—as shown in Yi Wŏn-jo's "Sibyugŏnsŏlbyŏn"—frequently refers to Yan Ru-quo's *Shuzheng*, there can be found Ch'usa's active interactions with Yan Ru-quo and further his "evidential cohort", so to speak. Furthermore, although the main aim of the "Nonbyŏn" was to prove that Mei Zi's *Shangshu* was generally a forgery—by comparing its chapters with those of the *Guwen* (and *Jinwen*), as well as by tracing the historical trajectory of the different versions of the classic—it still does not show any investigation of the actual content thereof. However, "Sibyugŏnsŏl" presents a few serious attempts to deal with the issue by referring to the *Shangshu*'s specific lines. It can be presumed that this sort of analysis should have existed a lot more, which ended up, however, not being compiled as part of the *Wandangjip*.

Although the sixteen characters were derived from the *Xun Zi*, and Mei Ze subsequently modified them into the line of the "Dayumo", Ch'usa ultimately admits that it should not be discarded immediately, as it is still based on the sayings of the ancient master Xun Zi (□□, BCE 298?–BCE 238?). (□□□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□. □□□□□. □□□□.)[105] However, Chosŏn scholars could not help but criticize such analysis, as the line had been revered as the core (psychological) principle (□□) from ancient sages, and hence served as the basis of all kinds of discourses (and debates) on the mind and the nature (□□□). Hence, Yi Wŏn-jo started off a backlash, by criticizing the "Qing evidential learning (□□□□)" as a whole.[106] In this regard, he pointed out that approaching the classics in a philological manner should lack the profound meaning of "heart learning (□□)" That is, the former merely sticks to the minute details of etymology, and further attempts to undermine the authority of the classics. (□□□□.

105 Ibid, 34.

106 Ibid, 31.

□□□□□□ □□□□□. □□□□□□ □□□□. □□□□□□□. □□□□□□□.)[107] Furthermore, he put forward his “nativist” perspective in that the methods invented by the Qing evidential scholars do not actually belong to (and fit into) Chosŏn scholars, and should, therefore, be useless for them, in terms of annotating the classics.

Moreover, he argued that it is impossible to fabricate the profound meaning of the sages, as contained in the sixteen characters as a crucial principle of heart transmitted to his generation. Hence, he presents a rather apologetic perspective on the Cheng-Zhu commentaries of the classics. The following argument is worth referring to: “There is always something to doubt about in the classics. As for the sixteen characters of the “Dayumo”, however, their profound meaning (and its principle of heart) is not to be comprehended, unless one attains the sagehood. Indeed, Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi shed light on its significance, and their subsequent scholars have expounded on it, along with their trust and reverence. How could Xun Qing (Xun Zi, □□) come up with it, and how could Mei Ze make up the words for it?” (□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□□□□. □□□□□□□. □□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□.)[108] In this sense, he stresses that although any other lines in the *Shangshu* could have been fabricated, the sixteen characters were still not to be made up. Furthermore, those who argue for the forgery of the classic do not (and cannot) clearly point out the dubious parts of the classic, indicating that there are no philological grounds of their analysis. (□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□. □□□□. □□□□□□.)[109] In the end, he reiterates that the sixteen characters are indeed the

107 Ibid, 35.

108 Ibid, 34

109 Ibid, 31.

authentic part of the classic—retaining the mandate of the heaven—which survived the burning of books during the Chin period. (□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□. □□□□.)[110]

Lastly, he criticized some details of Yan Ru-quo's thesis quoted in Ch'ua's analysis of the *Shangshu*. As stated above, their argument on the forgery of the sixteen characters is, from his viewpoint, the malady of seeking the core of the classics not in their heart, but in their wordings. Such aspect is to be specifically detected in a range of expressions, which Chinese (and Korean) evidential scholars, including Ch'usa, utilized a lot, in terms of investigating the authenticity of the classics, such as "Making up words carefully and surreptitiously (□□□□)" and "mutually transmitted via delicate words (□□□□)". In this sense, he criticized as follows: "If the sixteen characters had been mutually transmitted via delicate words, why did (Mei Ze) need to embellish the words and make up the lines? Moreover, if they had been really forged, why shouldn't they discard it?" (□□□□□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□□□. □□□□□□□□.)[111] In this regard, he pointed out the contradiction existing in their analysis of the fabrication—as in not expounding on why Mei Ze had to fabricate already circulated (and exquisite enough) lines—as well as their attitude of unconfidence, even after they proclaimed that the whole classic is a forgery, which is, he thinks, extremely "bizarre (□)". Despite Yi Wŏn-jo's rebuttal of Yan Ru-quo's *Shuzheng*, however, such debate still continued until the late nineteenth century.

2. Ch'usa's Epigraphic Studies in Chosŏn Korea

2. 1. The Investigation of the Silla Stelae

110 Ibid, 31.

111 Ibid, 31.

Epigraphy is, by definition, the study of inscriptions or epigraphs as writing; it is the science of identifying (ancient) written scripts, clarifying their meanings, classifying their uses according to dates and cultural contexts, and drawing conclusions about the writing and the writers.[112] In order to study epigraphy, a great amount of disciplinary knowledge, including history, classics, calligraphy, and linguistics, is necessary, but it has been widely (and actively) conducted in East Asian scholarship as a whole. In China, for example, Ouyang Xiu (□□□, 1007–1072), a Chinese statesman, historian, and essayist of the Song dynasty, compiled the *Jigu ju baowei* (□□□□□, Colophons for the “Recordings of collecting antiquity”) in 1026, which was geared toward the organization of a glossary and historical studies of Chinese inscriptions in general. Furthermore, he ordered his son Ouyang Fei (□□□, 1047–1113) to produce a catalogue of his work, which led to the publication of the *Jiugu lumu* (□□□□, Catalogue for the records of collecting antiquities) in 1069.[113] This served as a stepping stone in establishing the doctrines and basic methods of epigraphy in the following periods. Hence, a great number of books on epigraphy continued to be published in China, which reached its culmination during the high Qing period (1684–1795).[114]

The beginning of epigraphy in Korea was relatively late compared with that of China. The first study of epigraphy is purported to be Ch’usa’s magnum opus *Yedang Kŭmsŏk Kwaallok* (□□□□□□□, Records of Ch’usa’s epigraphic studies, Kwaallok hereafter), in which he showed that the monument on Mt. Pukhansan is not the work of Venerable

112 CTI Reviews, *Classical Archaeology* (Mishiwaka: AIPI, 2006), 163; John Bodel, *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions* (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2012), 2-4.

113 Alain Schnapp, *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2014), 227.

114 On the definition of the high Qing period, see R. Kent Guy, *Qing Governors and Their Provinces: The Evolution of Territorial Administration in China, 1644-1796* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010), 3-9.

Muhak (□□□□, 1327–1405), but should be attributed to King Chinhŭng (□□□, r. 540–576).[115] Interestingly, Ch’usa’s interest in epigraphy and Korean history (the former conducted to illuminate the latter) derived from his intellectual exchange with Weng Fang-gang and his son Weng Shu-kon. In particular, Weng Shu-kon, a Qing evidential scholar who had a keen interest in collecting Korean inscriptions written in classical Chinese, continuously corresponded with Ch’usa and asked for his advice regarding Korean history and its important figures, including politicians, scholars, and generals.[116] Even after Weng Shu-kon died in 1815 (at age thirty), Weng Fang-gang sent all of his rubbings and writings to Ch’usa, which arrived in October 1816, and eventually motivated Ch’usa to pursue his own study of Chinese and Korean inscriptions with the help of the theories and methodologies Weng Shu-kon adopted in his epigraphic studies.[117]

One year after Weng Shukon died Ch’usa began his study on a variety of inscriptions across the Chosŏn peninsula. In this sense, his first goal was to shed light on the old stone monument of Pukhansan, which had been attributed to Venerable Muhak or Tosŏn (□□, 827–898). By July 1816, Ch’usa climbed Pibong (□□) Mountain, and endeavored to identify what the inscription of the stele actually referred to.[118] After he took rubbings of the stone, it turned out that its calligraphic style was quite similar to that of the Hwangch’oryŏng (□□□, Hwangch’o Pass) stele, a memorial stone of King Chinhŭng’s northern expedition in 568.

115 Yu Hong-jun, op.cit, 787.

116 Pak Ch’ŏl-sang, op.cit, 83.

117 Ibid, 84-85.

118 Kim Chŏng-hŭi, “Chinhŭngibigo” [□□□□□, A Treatise on the Two Monuments of King Chinhŭng], op.cit: “□□□□□□,□□□□□□□□□□□□□.□□□□□□, □□ □□□□□□□□, □□□□. □□□□□, □□□. □□□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□, □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□, □□□□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□.”

Furthermore, in the process of his investigation the character chin (□) began to appear, albeit a bit compressed, in the first line of the inscription. At the same time, Ch'usa noticed four more characters, namely, sun (□), su (□), kwan (□), and kyŏng (□), in the combination of "Chint'aewang sunsu kwan'gyŏng" (□□□ □□ □□: King Chinhŭng the Great inspected and supervised the area). In addition, the characters nam (□) and ch'ŏn" (□) on the eighth line were of particular interest to him, because the *Samguk sagi* (□□□□, History of the Three Kingdoms) informed him of the fact that King Chinhŭng abolished Pukhansanju (□□□□, Pukhansan County), and established Namch'ŏnju (□□□, Namch'ŏn County) near Mt. Pukhansan in 568 (Twenty-ninth year of King Chinhŭng).[119] Hence, this led him to the conclusion that King Chinhŭng set up this memorial stone after his expedition to expand Silla's territory toward the Pukhansan area in 555.

Fig. 11. Pukhansan Sunsubi, 1.54 × 0.69 × 0.16m, National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

119 Cho In-yŏng, "Sŭnggasa Pangbigi" [□□□□□□, The record of visiting the Sŭngga temple], *Unsŏk Yugyo* (□□□□): □□□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□, □□□□, □□□□□, □□□□□ □.□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□□□□, □□□,□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□.

Fig. 12. Ch’usa’s Rubbing and Engraving of the Stele, National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

Ch’usa furthered his epigraphic studies by visiting Kyŏngju in 1817, because the city, as the old capital of Silla (□□, traditional dates 57 BC–AD 935) contained a large number of historical ruins and inscriptions related to the dynasty. Ch’usa first sought out the royal tomb of King Chinhŭng, as his studies at the time were focused on the monarch and his memorial stones in Hamhŭng and Pukhansan. Through a series of investigations, he realized that the four artificial hills behind the tomb of King Muyŏl (□□□, r. 654–661), which oral tradition had named Mt. Chosan (□□), were, in fact, the royal tombs of kings Chinhŭng, Chinji (□□ □), Munsŏng (□□□), and Hŏnan (□□□).[120] Furthermore, Ch’usa accidentally discovered the Munmuwang Pi (Stele of King Munmu, □□□□) in a nearby rice paddy. A rubbing of the stele had been obtained by Hong Yang-ho (□□□, 1724– 1802), who served as Kyŏngju puyun (□□, Magistrate) between 1760 and 1762, but Ch’usa eventually retraced the original stone while staying in Kyŏngju in 1817. Subsequently, he sought to complete the inscription and analyze

120 Kim Chŏng-hui, “Silla Chinhŭngwang Nŭnggo” [□□□□□□□, A treates of the tomb of King Chinhŭng], op.cit: “□□□□□□□□□□□□□□, □□□ □□□ □□□ □□□□□□. □□□ □□ □□□□□, □□□□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□, □□□□. □ □□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□, □□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□.”

its calligraphic style in order to conduct a comparative study of the existing Mujangsa stele (□□□□).[121]

As the rubbings of the stelae, which Ch’usa himself produced, traveled to Beijing via a series of Yŏnhaeng missions, a number of Qing scholars began to mobilize their personal networks to connect themselves with Ch’usa.[122] However, he only corresponded with a handful who had been vouched for by his colleagues in Beijing. In this regard, Ch’usa’s brother Kim Myŏng-hŭi (□□□, 1788–1857) played an important role, as he often sent letters to them and met with them in Beijing for Ch’usa’s sake. In 1831, for example, Liu Xi-hai (□□□, 1793–1852), a famous epigrapher and an author of the *Haitong Jinshiyuan* (□□□□□, Analysis on the inscriptions and epitaphs in the eastern world), sent Ch’usa a letter, stating that if Ch’usa finished his work on East Asian inscriptions and epigraphs, namely, the *Samguk Kŭmsŏkko* (□□□□□, Investigation of the inscriptions and epitaphs of the three countries), he would like to read it as soon as possible.[123] Beginning in the early nineteenth century, Liu collected Korean inscriptions via Cho In-yŏng (□□ □, 1782–1850), a colleague of Ch’usa, and therefore had a deeper understanding of Korean epigraphy than his contemporary Qing scholars. Thanks to Kim Myŏng-hŭi (who acted as a go-between), Liu was able to start his correspondence with Ch’usa in 1831. Indeed, Liu regarded Ch’usa as a pioneer of Korean epigraphy and yearned to obtain as many of his writings on Korean

121 Seoul Arts Center, *Ch’usa Kimjŏnghŭi Myŏngjakchŏn* [□□ □□□ □□□, The Masterpieces of Ch’usa Kim Chŏng-hŭi], (Seoul: Seoul Arts Center, 1992), 125: “□□□□, □□□□,□□□□ □□□□□, □□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□. □□□□□, □□ □□, □□□□□□. □□□□. □□□□, □□□□.”

122 Pak Ch’ŏl-sang, op.cit, 172-176.

123 Ibid. See also: Fujitsuka Chikashi, *Another Face of Ch’usa Kim Chŏng-hui (Ch’usa Kimjŏnghŭi Ttodarŭn Ŏlgul Pak’ŭiyŏng),* translated by Pak Hŭi-yŏng, (Seoul: Academy House, 1994), 64-78.

inscriptions and epigraphs as possible.[124] In fact, every time Chosŏn emissaries travelled to Beijing, Liu and his students constantly asked them if they were acquainted with Ch'usa, and if they could bring any of his writings to Beijing.[125]

Fig. 13. The Portrait of Liu Xi-hai, 1935.[126]

Ch'usa's treatises on the Pukhansan and Hwangch'oryŏng stelae were subsequently included in his *Kwaallok*. Strangely enough, the *Kwaallok* was not published as part of *Wandang Ch'ŏktok* (□□□□, Compilation of the Correspondence of Wandang) or *Wandangjip* (□□□, Anthology of Wandang), which were first compiled in the early 1840s and later

124 Kim Chŏng-hui, "A Letter from Liu Xihai to Ch'usa", op.cit: "□□□□□□□□□□□□□, □□□□, □□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□, □□□□, □□□□."

125 Ren Baiyuan, *Jingwu Youyanri* [□□□□□], Korea University: "□□□: □□□□□□□, □□□□□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□. □□□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□□□?" See also: Pak Ch'ŏl-sang, op.cit, 181-183.

126 He Yi-kai, *Qingdai xuezhe xiangzhuan yanjiu* [□□□□□□□□, A Study of the portraits of Qing scholars] (Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Works Publishing House, 2010), 112.

published in 1867 and 1868 respectively.[127] This was because Ch’usa could not complete his project on the stelae until the 1840s, not only because of the poor condition of the Pukhansan stone, which made it difficult to read, but also because he was not able to locate the real Hwangch’oryŏng stele, and hence had to work from rubbings.[128] Meanwhile, Kwŏn Ton-in (□□□, 1783–1859), who served as the governor of Hamgyŏng Province (□□□ □□□), came across a new (and as yet unidentified) stone of King Chinhŭng on the summit of Mt. Hwangch’oryŏng, and later sent its rubbings to Ch’usa.[129] By August 1834, Ch’usa informed Kwŏn that he had finally completed his study of King Chinhŭng’s stelae, thanks to the rubbings that Kwŏn had sent him. Containing a great amount of such letters and writings, the original title of the *Kwaallok* was *Chinhŭng Ibigo* (□□□□□, Treatise on the two stelae of King Chinhŭng), which was later re-named the *Kwaallok* by Ch’usa’s pupils, in order for them to commemorate (and even exalt) their master’s epigraphic study.[130] This work clearly demonstrates Ch’usa’s acribia and academic precision, through his completion and analysis of the inscriptions of the two stones based on a diverse range of historical sources, such as the *Tangshu* (□□, History of Tang), *Yude Shenglan* (□□□□, Survey of the geography of China), and *Zizhi Tongjian* (□□□□□□, Comprehensive mirror for aid in government).

127 The three extant copies of the *Kwaallok* have been found in the following locations: 1) National Museum of Korea, 2) UC Berkeley Asami Library, and 3) Ch’oe Nam-sŏn’s (□□□, 1890-1957) personal collection. For more detail, see Pak Ch’ŏl-sang, *Chosŏnsidae kŭmsŏkhak yŏn-gu*, 129-131.

128 Ibid, 159-163. See also: Ch’oe Yŏng-sŏng, “Ch’usa Kimjŏnghŭiŭi chaejomyŏng: Sajŏk kojŭng munjerŭl chuanjŏmŭro” [□□ □□□□ □□□: □□ □□ □□□ □□□□□, Re-examining Ch’usa Kim Chŏng-hŭi: Focusing on his historical evidential studies], *Tongyanggojŏnyŏn’gu* 29 (1997): 233-243.

129 Kim Chŏng-hŭi, “Yŏgwŏni Chaedonin”, op.cit:“□□□□□, □□, □□, □□, □□, □□□□□□□□, □□□□□□. □□□□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□. □□□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□.”

130 Kim Nam-du, “Yedang Kŭmsŏk Kwaallogŭi punsŏkchŏk yŏn’gu” [□□□□□□□□ □□□ □□, A study on the Yedang Kŭmsŏk Kwaallok], *The Historical Journal* 23 (2003): 47-48.

2. 2. *Haedong Pigo*

Compared with Ch'usa's reputation as a talented epigrapher, there are only a few extant writings that can be attributed to him, which is partly because he burned his writings twice in his lifetime. For this reason, the *Kwaallok* has been considered, to this day, Ch'usa's only work on epigraphy. Although Ch'usa's scholarly ability, as exemplified by the *Kwaallok*, is prominent enough to make him one of the most notable practitioners of epigraphy in East Asia, the discovery of the *Pigo* in 2007, however, demands a thorough revision of this narrative. *Haedong pigo* is Ch'usa's monograph about seven ancient stelae on the Korean peninsula: P'yŏng Paekche Pi (Stele of the Conquest of Paekche, □□□□), Tang Yuinwŏn Pi (Stele of Liu Renyuan of Tang, □□□□□), Munmuwang Pi, Chin'gam Sŏnsa Pi (Stele of Zen Master Chin'gam, □□□□□), Chijŭng Taesa Pi (Stele of Venerable Chijŭng, □□□□□), Chin'gyŏng Taesa Pi (Stele of Venerable Chin'gyŏng, □□□□□), and Mujangsa Pi.[131] The cover of the book contains the phrase "copy of Wandang's book" (□□□□), and the line "Chŏng-hŭi thinks" (□□□) appears several times in the analysis of the epitaphs. This indicates that the book has been properly attributed to him, and was posthumously copied by an anonymous scholar.[132] The following subchapters are devoted to the analysis of the four stelae, as noted above, among them.

2. 2. 1. P'yŏng Paekche Pi

The P'yŏng Paekche Pi (Paekche Pi hereafter) was of particular interest to nineteenth-century Chosŏn scholars. The epitaphs of the stele were inscribed on the first

131 Pak Ch'ŏl-sang, op.cit, 230.

132 Ibid, 237.

storey of the Chŏngnimsa (□□□) pagoda in Puyŏ, which had a number of nicknames, such as the P'yŏngbaekt'ap (□□□, Pagoda of the conquest of Paekche), Tangp'yŏng Paekchet'ap (□□□□□, Pagoda of Tang's conquest of Paekche), and Tang So Chŏngbang T'ap (□□□□□, Pagoda of Su Ding-fang of Tang). In fact, the Paekche Pi had been regarded as the oldest stele among Korean scholars, before Ch'usa discovered the memorial stones of King Chinhŭng in 1816. Beginning in the eighteenth century, the stele became widely known to Chinese scholars as it had been set up to commemorate Tang's conquest of Paekche (□□, 14 BCE–660) in 660.[133] Originally, it was Pak Chi-wŏn (□□□, 1737–1805), who left his footnotes on the epitaphs, along with six other inscriptions, in his work *Samhan Ch'ongsŏ* (□□□□, Complete anthology of the Three Kingdoms).[134] Interestingly, the last page of the book includes Ch'usa's seal, as he added and corrected in red ink (□□) the omitted and incorrect characters in Pak's annotations on the epitaphs (242–43).[135]

Fig. 13. The First-Tier Body (□□□□) of the Stone Pagoda of the Chŏngrimsaji, Puyŏ, Chungchŏng province.

133 Ibid, 240.

134 Ibid, 72.

135 Ibid, 242-243.

Ch'usa completed his analysis on the stele based not only on the studies of his previous scholars, such as Pak Chi-won, Yu Tŭk-kong (□□□, 1748-1807), and Liu Xi-hai, but also on his field trips to the pagoda. In this regard, he provides a following overview of the "P'yŏng Paekche Pi":

> The P'yŏng Paekche Pi is currently located two li (□) away from the south of Puyŏ, Chungchŏng Province. Puyŏ is the old capital of Paekche. The four sides of the stele were square-shaped, which were erected by piling stones. The stele is made of four pieces, which can be split into 16 stone fragments. The top is covered with double eaves (□□), whereas the bottom leads to several legs (□□). In this sense, the style of the pagoda is completely different from ordinary stelae, but is rather closer to Buddhist stupas. The epitaph comprises eight characters in the seal-script plaque (□□), and the rest of the stele covers the four sides, written in standard script (□□). The height is 5 chŏk (□) and 2 chon (□), and the area of each side is 1 chang (□), 1 chŏk, and 6 chon. (□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□. □□, □□□□, □□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□. □□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□, □□□□□. □□□□□□□, □□□□, □□□□□. □□□□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□□.)[136]

In his painstaking pursuit of academic precision, Ch'usa went to the temple site, measured the size of the pagoda, and sought to determine the number and calligraphic style of the characters on the epitaphs.[137] After giving a brief overview of the stele, he recorded the

136 Ibid, 224.

137 Ibid, 243-244.

beginning and ending points of the characters, as well as the numbers of inscribed (and unidentifiable) characters. In so doing, he realized that the four epitaphs comprised 16 fragments and 126 lines, and included 1,927 characters in total, of which 1,889 were legible, and 38 were unidentifiable. (“□□□□□□□, □□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□,□□□□ □□,□□□□□□□□□ □.”)[138]

After the introduction of the stele, Ch’usa analyzes the important phrases of the epitaphs. To this end, he utilized a number of historical references, which are the following: *Xintangshu* (New Book of Tang, □□□), *Jiutangshu* (Old Book of Tang, □□□), *Zizhi Tongjian, Samguk Sagi, Yude Shenglan, Huanyu Fangbeilu* (Records of Epitaphs in the World, □□□□□), and Weng Fang-gang’s rubbings of the Paekche Pi. Such sources indicate that his investigation was predicated both on Chinese and Korean references. In fact, the rubbings of the Paekche Pi started to be sent to China in the 1700s, allowing the Qing evidential scholar Wang Chang (□□, 1724-1806) to publish his collection of Chinese and Korean epitaphs, namely, *Jiushi Cuibian* (Extracted Edition of Epitaphs, □□□□), in 1798, which comprised a number of works on the investigation of the epitaphs, such as Hong Yang-ho’s (□□□, 1724-1802) “Chep’yŏngjet’ap (□□□□)” and its references.[139] In this regard, Ch’usa’s academic progress on the writing of the “P’yŏng Paekche Pi” was only possible under the tutelage of Weng Fang-gang and Weng Shu-kon, who were well versed in Wang Chang’s work.

2. 2. 2. Tang Liu Ren-yuan Pi

138 Kim Chŏng-hŭi, “P’yŏng Paekche Pi”, *Haedong Pigo*. Ibid, 244.

139 Ibid, 246.

Fig. 14. Tang Liu Ren-yuan Pi, Puyŏ National Museum, Chungchŏng province (Source: http://www.cha.go.kr/unisearch/images/treasure/1617434.jpg)

The Tang Yuinwŏn Pi was set up to commemorate the Tang general Liu Ren-yuan (□□□, ?-?), who played a major role in the collapse of Paekche in 660. When Ch'usa started to investigate the stele, its epitaph was not very well-preserved, so Ch'usa ended up deciphering its twenty lines only. Nonetheless, he provides a thorough introduction of the stele as a whole, based on such investigation, which is the following:

> The Tang Yuinwŏn Pi is currently located three li away from the northwest of Puyŏ, Chungchŏng Province, which is also two li away from the Paekche Pi. The stele was cut in half—by Japanese soldiers during the Imjin War (1592-1598)—and only one of its pieces is still extant, being thrown away in a near rice paddy. The name(s) of its composer(s) and calligrapher(s) is both missing. Some people say that the stele contains the calligraphy of Chu Sui-liang (□□□, 596-658). However, according to the

"Biography of Chu Sui-liang (□□□□)" in the *Jiutangshu*, he became the Tongzhou Cishi (Magistrate of Tongzhou, □□□□) and Libu Shangshu (Personnel Minister, □□□□) in the first and third years of Yonghui (First Epithet of the Kaozong Emperor of Tang, □□) respectively. Later, he died in Aizhou (□□) in the third year of Xianqing (Second Epithet of the Emperor, □□). Hence, when Paekche collapsed in 660, it was already two years past Chu's death. Those who assumed that it was He Sui-liang (□□□, ?-?), who composed the Paekche Pi, might have been confused, and thought that it was Chu who wrote for the Tang Yuinwŏn Pi. The protruding letters (□□) of the seal-script plaque were already worn out, among which the characters of "Weitaoshang" (□□□) can only be identified. This should be the position taken by Liu Ren-yuan at the time. (□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□. □□□□□□, □□□□□□, □□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□□, □□□□□□. □, □□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□□. □□□□□□□)[140]

This passage is primarily based on the annotations of the Tang Yuinwŏn Pi in the "Kŭmsŏngrok (Records of Epitaphs, □□□)" of the *Samhan Chongsŏ*.[141] Moreover, the inscriptions are almost identical, with some minor revisions added by Ch'usa, indicating that Ch'usa's studies, as stated above, subsumed the achievements of his previous scholars (or epigraphers). After introducing the stele, he analyzed the total number of the characters, spaces (□□) between them, and further compressed, erased, and unidentifiable characters. To illuminate this, the following passage is particularly notable: "The Anshicheng (Anshi

140 Ibid, 246-248.

141 Ibid, 249.

Fortress, □□□) is about seventy li away from the northeast of Gaipeng Xian (Gaipeng County, □□□) in Fengtian Fu (Fengtian Province). According to the “Biography of Xue Ren-gui (□□□□)” of the *Jiutangshu*, it is referred to as Andi (□□), as is the case in this stele.” (“□□□, □□□□□□□□□□□□□· □□□□□□□ □□□□, □□□□□□.”)[142] As for the investigation of its historical events, he mostly referred to the *Jiutangshu*, *Xintangshu*, *Suishu* (Book of the Sui Dynasty, □□), *Nihon Shoki* (Chronicles of Japan, □□□□), *Samguk Sagi*, and *Haedong Kŭmsŏngrok.*

2. 2. 3. Munmuwang Pi

Fig. 15. Munmuwang Pi, Kyŏngju National Museum, Kyŏngsang Province.

By July 1818, Ch’usa obtained the bottom part of the stone in the northeast of King Sinmun’s royal tomb in Kyŏngju. In his article, Ch’usa vividly described the occasion through which he discovered the stele:

142 Ibid, 248.

The stele of King Munmu of Silla was discovered in front of the tomb of King Sinmun, below the tomb of King Sŏndŏk (□□□, 702-737), which is nine li away from the northeast of Mt. Nangsan (□□) in Kyŏngju. The stone itself disappeared a long time ago, and the holes of the legs (of the stone) only remain to this day. In the Chŏngchuk year of the Jiaqing Emperor (1817), I searched for the old ruins of Kyŏngju, and I saw the people piling up stones, in order to build a dyke in a near rice paddy. So I wanted to excavate the whole site. At last, I hired people, and had them plow up the whole field, which allowed me to finally spot out a flat and square-shaped stone. After wiping off the dust, the traces of engraving a few letters started to appear. I eventually realized that it is the bottom part of the stele (of King Munmu). I grabbed it, and put it into the old legs of the stone, which fit perfectly. I found it surprising. Moreover, I saw a stone mixed with the grasses (of the paddy), which turned out to be the other part of the stele. Putting them together, I could see that the middle part was slightly missing, and a fragment of the upper part was gone. However, I could not find them after all. What a pity! (□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□, □□□□, □□□□□, □□□□□. □□□□, □□□□. □□□□, □□□□, □□□□, □□□□□, □□□□, □□□□. □□□□□□□, □□□□□□□, □□□□, □□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□. □□□□, □□□□, □□□. □□□□, □□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□. □□□□, □□□□□□, □□□□□□, □□□□□□□, □□□□.)[143]

From then on, Ch'usa started to investigate the epitaphs. In particular, the decoded parts of the stele were compiled—at the front of the *Pigo*—in the form of the "Pido" (Painting of Stele, □□). In this regard, the pido was recorded on a grid sheet, in order to easily confirm the left and the right, and the top and the bottom of the stele, which was first

143 Ibid, 251.

attempted in the history of Korea’s epigraphic studies. The epitaphs of the stele were contained in the order of 1) the upper part of the front side, 2) the bottom part of the front side, 3) the upper part of the rear side, and lastly, the bottom part of the rear side. Thereafter, Ch’usa endeavored to investigate the stele in its entirety, in order to determine the size of it. Ultimately, he illuminated that the front side is comprised of twenty eight lines, with thirty eight characters for each line (except for the lost part), whereas the rear side is made up of twenty two lines, with thirty three characters for each line. As for the rear side, in particular, he conjectures the locations of the letters on the epitaphs, by focusing on the rhyme (□□) of the Mingci (□□), that is, the eulogy for the hero of the stele:

> “The seventh line of the upper part of the rear side contains the foundation of the stele, so it should be the last line thereof. The sixth line is the last line of the “Mingci”, and the rhyming character is “Jiu (□)”. In addition, there is a blank at the bottom, and the phrase “Xiaoyou (□□)” exists beneath it, the second character of which is the “corresponding rhyme (□□□)” of the character “Jiu”. Therefore, the rhyming characters of both the upper and bottom parts are “Jin (□)”, “Xin (□)”, and “Shen (□)”, which are to organize the “harmonious rhymes (Xieye, □□)”. In this case, the line with the “Jiu” character is to be the second last line from the bottom. The character “You” is on the line ahead of the “Jiu” line. Hence, there should be twenty two lines in total, if both of the parts were to be combined. The rest of the piece is still unclear.
>
> Let’s see how many characters the “Mei (□)” line is made of. The twentieth line of the bottom part is thirteen characters, which corresponds to the fifth line of the upper part, the latter of which is sixteen characters in total. (One missing character is also

counted.) Moreover, four characters seem to be missing in the middle. Why so? There are "Fengu Jingjin (□□□□)" at the bottom, and "Zangyi Yixin (□□□□)" at the top, and in this case, "Xin" and "Jin" are the Xieye. Hence, there should have been one phrase (made of four characters) missing. Also, there should be thirty three characters in total. The rest of piece is still unclear."

(□□□□, □□□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□□□. □□□, □□□□□, □□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□, □·□·□□□□□, □□, □□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□.

□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□-□□□□□□□-□□□□□□□□. □□? □□□□□□, □□□□□□, □□□□□□, □□□□□□□□. □□, □□□□□□, □□□□□.")[144]

The most important part of Ch'usa's analysis, among others, is the investigation of the year of the stele's foundation. In particular, it is remarkable that Ch'usa attempted to analyze it based on the last line of the stele, namely, "Isiboil Kyŏngjin'gŏn (Founded on the 25th of Kyŏngjin, □□□□□□□)" as the only clue thereof. In this regard, previous scholars claimed that the Munmuwang Pi had been set up on the seventh month of the twenty-fifth day of 682.[145] However, Ch'usa countered their argument, stating that the Munmuwang Pi was actually erected on the twenty-fifth day of the eighth or ninth month of the year 687. First of all, he showed that the characters of kyŏngjin (□□) were originally pyŏngjin (□□, the 53rd term from the sexagesimal cycle), because, according to the *Beishi* (□□, History of the Northern Dynasties), Tang subjects were obliged to replace pyŏng with kyŏng, since Emperor Gaozong of Tang's (□ □□) personal name was "Bing" (□), so they refrained from using the

144 Ibid, 253-254.

145 Ibid. 154-156.

similar character pyŏng (□).[146] In the same vein, the phrase "Ch'ŏnhwang Taeje" (□□□□) on the epitaph was given as a posthumous epithet to Emperor Gaozong, which meant that the foundation of the stele must date to later than 684, the year the emperor passed away.[147] Ch'usa then referred to a number of calendars—including the "Isipsa sak yunp'yo" (□□□□□□, Calender of the leap months in the twenty books of history)—in order to trace when among King Sinmun's years (681–692) and after 684 the twenty-fifth of the month happened to be a pyŏngjin day, which led him to conclude that the date of the foundation was to be either the eighth or ninth month—the latter of which could be the case, given the possibility of a leap month—of the year 687.[148]

2. 2. 4. Chin'gyŏng Taesa Pi

146 Kim Chŏng-hŭi. "Munmuwang Pi." op.cit: "□□□□□, □□□□□□, □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□□."

147Ibid: "□□□□□□□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□."

148 Ibid: "□□□□□□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□. □□□□, □□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□□□□□□. □□□□□ □□□□□□□. □□□, □□□□, □□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□□." Ch'usa's argument on the foundation year of the stele is even different from all the existing theories in East Asian scholarship. Liu Xi-hai and Imanishi Ryu¯ (□□□, 1875–1932), for example, suggested that the stele was erected in 681 and 682 respectively, whereas recent Korean scholarship dates it at the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month of the year 682. According to Ch'usa's analysis, however, such arguments do not deserve consideration, as it was after the eighth month of the year 648 when Emperor Gaozong's epithet was given as the "Tianhuang Dadi" (□□□□). See Kim Chang-ho, "Silla T'aejosŏnghanŭi Chaegŏmt'o' [□□ □□□□□ □□□, The Reexamination of Silla's T'aejo Sŏnghan], *History Education Review 5* (1983): 94-95.

Fig. 16. Chin’gyŏng Taesa Pi, Seoul, National Museum of Korea (Source: http://gsm.nricp.go.kr/_third/user/frame.jsp?View=search&No=4&ksmno=7290)

What is notable about the “Chin’gyŏng Taesa Pi” chapter of the *Pigo* is that it provides a meticulous analysis of the term “Imna (□□)” in ancient Korean history:

> The old “Imna” state was located in the current Kimhae prefecture (□□□). According to the “Biography (□□)” of the *Samguk Sagi*, Kang Su (□□, ?-692) is a person from Saryangbu (Saryang Prefecture, □□) of Chungwŏn’gyŏng (Middle Capital, □□□), and he stated, “I’m originally a person from the Imna of Karyang (□□□□). Chungwŏn is currently Ch’ungju (□□). Hence, some people might think that Chungwŏn is Ch’ungju. According to the “Sixty Fifth Year of Sujin Tennō (□□□□)” in the *Nihon Shoki*, the Imna state sent Sona Kalchilchi (□□□□□) to deliver tributes, and in the “Second Year of Suinin Tennō (□□□□)”, the Imna citizen (Sona Kalchilchi) came back to his country. The *Wakan Sansai Zue* (Illustrated

Sino-Japanese Encyclopedia, □□□□□□) says, “The original name of the Imna is Kara (□□). There was a person with a horn on his forehead, and he said, “I’m the prince of the Ŭibu Karakkuk, (□□□□□).” Furthermore, the “Twenty Third Year of Kinmei Tennō” of the *Nihon Ki (*□□□*)* states that Silla defeated Imna. The *Ishō Nihon Den (*□□□□□*)* refers to the Ŭibu Karaguk, whereas the *Tongguk Tonggam (Comprehensive Mirror of the Eastern State,* □□□□*)* calls it the “Tae Karakkuk (Great State of Karak, □□□□)”, and records that its progenitor is Kim Su-ro (□□□, ?-199), and Silla defeated the state, and later called it the “Kŭmgwan’gun (Kŭmgwan County, □□□)”.

According to the articles, Imna refers to Karak, and Karak is a changed pronunciation of Kaya (□□), which is currently Kimhae prefecture. The sixty fifth year of Sujin Tennō is the first “Jingning (□□)” year of Emperor Yuan of Han (□□□, Reign: BCE 48-BCE 33), and the second year of Suinin Tennō is the first “Heping (□□)” year of Emperor Cheng of Han (□□□, BCE 33- BCE 7). In the history of the Eastern State (□□), the progenitor of the Karak, namely, Kim Su-ro, founded the state in the eighteenth “ Jianwu (□□)” year of the Eastern Han, so it is not possible that Kaya interacted with Japan during the Western Han period. In fact, Kim Su-ro stood up in the land of Pyŏnhan (□□). Actually, Imna was the state name of Pyŏnhan. According to the stele, Chin’gyŏng (□□) is a descendent of Kim Yu-sin (□□□, 595-673), and regarded himself as a royal member of the Imna. Given that Kim Yu-sin is a descendent of Kim Su-ro, isn’t it logical that Imna is Kimhae prefecture?

(□□□□□, □□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□, □□□□□, □:‘□□□□□□□.’ □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□, □□□□□□, □□□□□, □ ‘□□□□□□□□□’, □□□□□□□□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□. □□□□□□, □□□□□□, □□□□.

□□□□, □□□□□, □□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□. □, □□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□. □□□□, □□ □□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□, □□□□, □□□□□□□, □□□□. □□□□□□□□□, □ □□□□□□□□. □□□□, □□□□□□□□, □□□□□□, □□□□□□□□, □□□□□□□□□□□□.)[149]

As stated above, Ch'usa revealed that Imna was located in Kimhae prefecture (in his own time). In order to illuminate this, he referred to a wide range of Japanese sources, in particular, including not just the *Nihon Shoki* and *Nihon Ki*, but also the *Wakan Sansei Zue*. It is also particularly noteworthy that he did not provide any analysis on the epitaphs, as they were easily deciphered. This shows that he did not conduct any unnecessary research, the attitude of which is predicated on one of the main scholarly doctrines of Qing evidential learning, that is, "Buzuo Wuwi (Not Committed to Unbeneficial Matters, □□□□)", which he adopted from his Qing master Weng Fang-gang.[150]

Conclusion

Thus far, I have examined the life and scholarship of Ch'usa, especially in connection with his understanding of various kinds of discourses of Qing evidential learning in the late nineteenth century. To this end, I first provided the life of Ch'usa, along with the intellectual upheavals in the eighteenth-century Chosŏn (as its historical background), in which the influx of Qing literary sources—as Chŏngjo's dynastic initiative—played a decisive role. In this regard, a number of Chosŏn's liberal scholars, including King Chŏngjo himself, showed their keen interest in the academic discussions in the Qing intellectual scene, such as the

149 Pak Ch'ŏl-sang, ibid, 262-264.

150 Ibid, 260.

bifurcation between Han and Song learning, and Qing scholars' work on the authenticity of the Confucian classics (and their commentaries). It should be noted, however, that their main academic interests were still revolving around the doctrines of Song learning, and therefore, King Chŏngjo and his selected Kyujanggak scholars ceaselessly endeavored to rehabilitate (and maintain) the Song-Ming Confucian tradition, which they thought had been lost in Qing China, as its Manchu-run enterprise had lasted almost two centuries.[151] Consequently, they intiated the compilation projects of Zhu Xi's commentaries on the classics, and further his strong guardian Song Si-yŏl's (□□□, 1607-1689)—as the only Confucian scholar with the title "Zi" (Master, □; k. Cha) given in Chosŏn—anthology, namely, *Songja Taejŏn (Great Anthology of Master Song,* □□□□*).*[152] In this sense, they viewed a variety of philological discourses and methodologies of Han learning as a means of merely supplementing their neo-Confucian dominance. Indeed, it is during Ch'usa's time—and largely due to his academic effort—that Han learning started to receive adequate attention as a crucial trend of the Confucian tradition (in its own right) among Chosŏn scholars.

Ch'usa's visit to Beijing in 1814, among others, was truly a decisive event that enabled him to witness those academic discourses directly in the Qing intellectual scene. Indeed, he was one of the few Chosŏn scholars, who not only engaged (and corresponded) with Qing scholars, but were actually trained under Qing masters on a variety of disciplines—namely, classical studies, epigraphy, calendrical sciences, and linguistics—with regard to Qing evidential learning. In particular, his interactions with Weng Fang-gang and Ruan Yuan

151 Kim Mun-sik, op.cit, 154-156.

152 By doing so, Chŏngjo aimed to make Chosŏn the only state that retains the Song-Ming Confucian tradition in East Asia. On the compilation project of the *Songja Taejŏn*, see Kim Yŏng-mi, *Chosŏn chunggi yehak sasanggwa ilsang munhwa: Chuja Karyerŭl chungsimŭ-ro* [□□ □□ □□ □□□ □□ □□: □□ □□□ □□□□, The ritualism and everyday life in middle Chosŏn: Focusing on the family rituals of Zhu Xi] (Seoul: Ewha Women's University Press, 2008), 53-68.

—as the leading figures of Song and Han learning respectively in the Qing academic scene—played a significant role in formulating his academic attitude. It can be witnessed, hence, that his essay on both trends, namely, "Silsa Kusisŏl", ultimately emphasized the harmonious (and eclectic) relationship between the two branches of Confucianism, as Weng Fang-gang and his "Tiepa" pupils had shown him.[153] What is particularly notable is that in so doing, he incorporated the positive aspects of Song-Ming Confucianism into Han classical learning, which was rather the opposite of his previous scholars, who were more focused on the achievement of the sagehood—as is the ultimate goal of neo-Confucian tradition—with the help of the Han scholars' meticulous ways of reading the Confucian classics. Therefore, he put forward the doctrine of "Silsa Kusi" (Shishi Qiushi) as the most important attitude that penetrates into scholarship, regardless of what academic school one belongs to, as a universal principle.[154] Thanks to such academic endeavors, the hierarchy between Song and Han learning started to "crumble" in the Chosŏn intellectual scene.

Ch'usa's analysis of the authenticity of the *Shangshu*, in particular, is a clear manifestation of his emphasis on Han learning (and its academic precision). In this sense, he compares the chapters of the disverse versions of the *Shangshu*—among which Mei Ze's *Guwen Shangshu* was his major academic objective—in order to illuminate its dubious veracity. In so doing, he concluded that Mei Ze's version of the *Shangshu*, which appeared in the Jin period, is nothing but a forgery of the classic, as can be seen in its numberless discrepancies with its Han counterparts, namely, the *Guwen* (and *Jinwen*) *Shangshu*. Furthermore, he criticized Cai Chen's (and Zhu Xi's) commentary of the *Shangshu*, namely,

153 On the "Tiepa" scholars' notion of the Han-Song eclecticism, see Benjamin Elman, op.cit, 242-253.

154 It is still not clear when (and how) the doctrine of "Shishi Qiushi" came to Chosŏn, but it is recorded in the *Sillok* that Yang Tŭk-chung (□□□, 1665-1742) first introduced it to Yŏngjo, and the king later placed the plaque (with the phrase written on it) in the palace. See *Yŏngjo Sillok*, 12th Month (17th), 1733 (9th Year): "□□□, □□□□□, □□□□□□, □□□□□□□□. □□, □□□□□□□□. □□□□□□□□□□, □□□□. □□□□□. □□□□."

the *Shijizhuan*, as it was only reliant on Mei Ze's *Shangshu*, and hence did not refer to the Han versions of the classic. As noted above, it was such a radical (and even dangerous) contention to make, as Chosŏn (and Chinese) scholars' understanding of the *Shangshu*—as one of the most important classics in Zhu Xi's canonical system, that is, the *Four Books and Five Classics (□□□□)*—had been primarily centered on Cai Chen's commentary thereof. Although the "Nonbyŏn", however, does not show any academic attempt to analyze the actual content of the classic, Yi Wŏn-jo's article on the sixteen characters of the "Dayumo" chapter in the *Shangshu*—which was written as a counterargument against Ch'usa's criticism of the authenticity of the line—contains his other work on the *Shangshu*, namely, "Sibyugŏnsŏl", in which Ch'usa endeavors to verify the authenticity of the classic at a textual level. In this regard, it is notable that while referring widely to his predecessors' work on the classic, he never relies utterly on its authority, and instead put forward his own argument based on the facts and evidence he found and analyzed.

However, his evidential learning was not just confined to the analysis of the Confucian classics, but was expanded into a variety of disciplines, among which his epigraphic studies of the Korean stelae are especially noteworthy. In this regard, his interest in the stelae came from his Qing master Weng Fang-gang, among others, who first found those stones interesting, as he aimed to find any traces of Wang Xi-zhi's (□□□, 303-361)—who is China's legendary calligrapher in the Jin dynasty—calligraphy in the Silla stelae.[155]

155 The "Tiepa" scholars revered Wang Xi-zhi's style as the most profound level of calligraphy one can ever achieve. However, the existing albums (Tie, □) of Wang Xi-zhi's calligraphy always faced a severe degree of criticism in the Qing. Historically speaking, they should not exist anymore, since Emperor Taizong of Tang—as a "die-hard" fan of Wang Xi-zhi—ordered his subjects to bury all of his calligraphic pieces into his grave after his death. Hence, how to find philological grounds of his calligraphy was a crucial issue for Qing's "Tiepa" scholars. In this regard, the Silla stelae, which they believed contained his calligraphic style—as in the case of the epitaphs of Kim Saeng (□□, 711-791)—were of particular interest to them. On the Qing scholars' interests in the Silla Stelae, see Chŏng Hyŏn-suk, *Sillaŭi Sŏye: Sillaini Kŭmsŏkkwa Mokkane Ssŭn Kŭlssi* [□□□ □□: □□□□ □□□ □□□ □ □□, The calligraphy of Silla: The letters Silla People wrote on stones and bamboo slips] (Seoul: Daunsaem, 2016), 56-98.

Hence, his discovery (and identification) of King Chinhŭng's stelae was such a great achievement to make from both Qing and Chosŏn scholars' standpoint, in which he had to fight with a wide range of myths surrounding it, in terms of verifying their inscriptions. To this end, he referred to a variety of Chinese (and Korean) sources, and conducted field trips across the Chosŏn peninsula, in order to investigate their details, such as figures, cities, historical events, and more importantly, the sizes and numbers of the lines (and their characters). In this sense, his methods of analyzing the stones present a high degree of "liberal thinking", as in not relying on the authority of any previous theories or discourses, and further putting forward his own argument based on the given clues, and plus, "academic precision", in which he places emphasis on the careful (and philological) readings of the given texts and their related sources.

The *Pigo*, among others, is a clear embodiment of such characteristics of Ch'usa's scholarship. As seen in his analysis of the Munmuwang Pi, for example, he was never reluctant to counter his previous scholars' notions of the foundation year of the stele, and further organized his own argument based on a wide range of sources, such as the *Tangshu* and the lunar tables of the leap months ("Isipsa Sak Yunp'yo"). In this regard, his use of calendrical sciences, in particular, can be detected throughout the book, showing his obsession with acribia, in terms of dating his targeted stelae. Furthermore, he utilized a variety of different methodologies, among which his adoption of literary theory is also particularly notable, where the rhyming characters, as shown above, played a crucial role, especially in order for him to determine the numbers and lengths of the lines. Lastly, the spectrum of sources he utilized was indeed expansive, as exemplified by his use of the Japanese sources. In fact, the *Nihon Shoki* was already widely used—as the most important historical reference for ancient Korea (and Japan)—by Chosŏn (and Qing) scholars, but it

was still hardly the case that other Japanese sources, such as the *Shoku Nihongi (Chronicles of Japan Continued,* □□□□*)* and the *Wakan Sansai Zue*, were taken on in their historical reasoning. In Ch'usa's case, however, he showed a keen interest in the Japanese books on ancient history, thanks to his Pukhak teachers and their interests in the advanced aspects of the Japanese culture, and hence actively adopted them for his epigraphic studies.[156]

In a nutshell, Ch'usa's scholarship, as discussed above, can be epitomized into two characteristics. First, his notion of "Silsa Kusi" encompasses close (and philological) readings, with a special emphasis on their liberal and critical aspects, which he also often encapsulated as the "Pingchangxin" (Mind of Impartiality, □□□; k. Pyŏngsangsim).[157] In this sense, he frequently doubted (and even denied) the authority of his previous scholars' works, and even the classics and their commentaries as a whole, in order to seek the truth based on his own findings. Indeed, such attitude went against the long-standing "shuer buzuo" tradition in the Confucian world, in which he was expected to follow (and gloss over) the words of the ancient sages and their commentaries as they are—the latter of which were mostly written by

156 Chosŏn scholars had a relatively keen interest in the Japanese sources at the time. Yi Tŏk-mu, in particular, was a serious collector of the Japanese sources, in which he cherished, among others, the *Wakan Sansai Zue*. In fact, he thought that the *Wakan Sansai Zue* was more reliable than its original Chinese edition, namely, the *Sancai Tuhui*, in terms of the acurracy of its information. Moreover, it played an important role in the compilation project of his own encyclopedic project, namely, the *Chŏngjanggwan Chŏnsŏ (Complete Anthology of Yi Tŏk-mu,* □□□□□*)*. Chŏng Yag-yong, on the other hand, wrote the "Ilbollon" (Discourse on Japan, □□□), so as to recapitulate his understanding of Japan and its scholarship, in which he admired the advancement of Japanese scholars' commentaries on the Confucian classics, such as those of Ogyū Sorai (□□ □□, 1666-1728) and Itō Jinsai (□□ □□, 1627-1705). On the influence of the Japanese books on the Chosŏn scholars, see Ha U-bong, "Chosŏnhugi sirhakchadŭrŭi ilbon yŏn'guwa munhŏnjaryo chŏngri" [□□□□ □□□□ □ □□ □□□ □□□□ □□, Silhak scholars' studies on Japan: Focusing on their Investigations and Organizations of Japanese Sources], *Japanese Thought 6* (2004): 181-208; "Tasanhagŭi kukchejŏk chip'yŏng: Chŏngyakyonggwa Ogyu Soraiŭi kyŏnghaksasang pigyo yŏngu" [□□□□ □□□ □□: □□□□ □□ □□□□ □□□□ □ □ □□, The international approaches to Tasan studies: A comparative study on Tasan's and Ogyū Sorai's classical studies], *Journal of Tasan Studies 3* (2002): 112-143; "17-19Segi Hanil Munhwagyoryuŭi Hŭrŭmgwa Ŭimi" [17-19 □□ □□ □□□□□ □□□ □□, The significance of the cultural exchange between Korea and Japan from the seventeenth until the nineteenth century], *Journal of Eastern Studies 98* (2017): 269-297.

157 On Qing evidential scholars' understanding of the "Pingchangxin", see Benjamin Elman, op.cit, 9-10.

the preeminent Song (and Ming) Confucian scholars—as the gateway of attaining the sagehood.[158] However, Ch'usa pushed his contentions to the point where the teachings of the ancient sages do not attain their authority (in their own right), if their philological and historical grounds cannot be confirmed. Hence, any kinds of texts—including even the classics—were an object for free academic discussions from Ch'usa's point of view.

To clarify Ch'usa's scholarly attitude, the comparison between Tasan and Ch'usa should be useful. As Mark Setton pointed out, Tasan also had a keen interest in the rising of Han learning in the Qing intellectual scene, as he accessed a wide range of the Qing sources at the Kyujanggak, and further adopted their philological methodologies in order to supplement his classical learning.[159] However, he was still not content with their "Shishi Qiushu" doctrine, as he thought that it just aims to doubt (and even destroy) the teachings of the ancient sages. Hence, he rather coined the term "Yusi Sigu (Seeking the Truth only through the Truth, □□□□)", to counter (and reify) their views, as in situating the achievement of the sagehood in the teachings of the Confucian masters and their commentaries.[160] Nevertheless, Ch'usa later criticized his argument, by noting that making up one's opinions, when it came to discussing the classics (□□), should not be acceptable, if they do not retain

158 The 17th-century Chosŏn's classical learning was revolving around the rectifications of the details in the Confucian classics. As for the *Shangshu*, for example, most of the scholars were rather interested in the investigation of its proper nouns, such as figures, cities, and historical events, as can be seen in the commentaries of Yun Hyu (□□, 1617-1680) and Pak Se-dang (□□□, 1629-1703), that is, the *Toksangsŏ* [□□□, Reading the Shangshu] and the *Sangsŏ Sabyŏnrok* [□□□□□, Records of Contemplation about the Shangshu]. Hence, they did not question the authenticity thereof. On the 17th-century scholars' commentaries on the Confucian classics, see Kim Man-il, op.cit, 56-99.

159 Mark Setton, op.cit, 123-134.

160 Chŏng Yag-yong, op.cit, 137: "□□□□□□□, □□□□, □□□□, □□□□." On Tasan's Understanding of the "Shishi Qiushi", see Im Hyŏng-taek, *Silsagusiŭi Han'guk'ak* [□□□□□ □□□, The Korean Studies of Seeking the Truth from the Actual Facts] (Seoul: Changbi Publishers, 2000) 126.

any philological grounds.[161] Although they shared the common goal of scholarship, that is, the achievement of the “Dao” of the sages, their methodologies were still rather different, as Ch’usa placed greater emphasis on “evidential learning” (□□□) as a crucial threshold toward it. When Tasan’s son Chŏng Hak-yŏn (□□□, 1783-1859) asked Ch’usa if he could supervise the compilation project of his father’s anthology, namely, the *Yŏyudangjip* (Anthology of Tasan, □□□□), Ch’usa turned it down, as he was rather discontent with Tasan’s scholarship, which was, from his viewpoint, severely lacking philological rigor.[162]

Ch’usa’s emphasis on the critical reading of the texts indeed served as a possible threat to Chosŏn’s neo-Confucian doctrines. In principle, neo-Confuncianism appeared, primarily through the reinterpretations of the classics, during the Northern Song (□□, 960-1127).[163] In this regard, Song scholars emphasized the importance of “philological studies”, the virtue of which they inherited from the Han scholars, when it came to reviving the lost classics and adopting the authentic teachings of their previous sages. As Ch’usa pointed out, however, they started to incorporate the Buddhist and Taoist elements into their (cosmological) systems—the scholarship of which was particularly notable during the transition from the Northern Song to the Southern Song—and therefore severely “polluted”

161 Kim Chŏng-hŭi, op.cit, 225: ““□□□□□□. □□□□. □□□□. □□□□□□□”.

162 On Ch’usa’s refusal to participate in the compilation project of Tasan’s anthology, see Kim Po-rŭm, “Yŏyudangjibŭi sŏngnibe kwanhan koch’al” [□□□□ □□□ □□ □□, A study on the compilation of the Yŏyudangjip], *Tasan Studies 18* (2011): 197-235.

163 On the definition of neo-Confucianism, Peter K. Bol, *Neo-Confucianism in History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 37-49. William Theodore De Bary, *Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy and the Learning of the Mind-and-Heart* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 25-34. On the Korean adoption (and adaptation) of neo-Confucianism, see Chŏn Ho-gŭn, “16Segi Chosŏn Sŏngnihagŭi T’ŭkchinge Kwanhan Yŏn-gu T’oe, Ko, Yul, Uŭl Chungsimŭro” [16 □□ □□ □□□□ □□□ □□ □□: □□ □□, □□, □□□ □□□□, The Neo-Confucian thought in early Chosŏn: Focusing on the philosophies of Toegye, Kobong, Yulgok, Wugye” (PhD Diss., Sungkyunkwan, 1997), 12-78. Cha Joo-hang, “The civilizing project in medieval Korea: Neo-classicism, nativism, and figurations of Power” (PhD Diss., Harvard University, 2014), 9-36. As for Cha’s dissertation, in particular, he compares the usages between neo-Confucianism and neo-classicism, and prefers to use the latter, in order to accentuate the philological aspects of the Confucian culture in the Song.

the philological and also practical aspects of pre-Qin (and Han) Confucianism (□□□□). Even a bigger problem, however, was that those neo-Confucian doctrines were taken on as a form of dynastic ideology since the Yuan court (□□, 1260-1368) in China, due to which Chosŏn, therefore, followed in its footsteps since its foundation in 1392.[164] Most notably, such neo-Confucian orthodoxy became even more powerful in the late Chosŏn, especially after Chosŏn went through the Hideyoshi Invasion (Imjin War, □□□□) in 1592-1598, and the Manchu invasions in 1627 and 1636.[165] Hence, the eighteenth-century Chosŏn scholars, such as Pak Chi-won and Pak Che-ga, started to criticize Chosŏn's (distorted) Confucian culture, which they thought was full of hypocrisies, in terms of justifying the class system, and more specifically enhancing the inherited privileges of the high-ranking Yangban (Aristocracy; Ruling Class, □□). Whereas their criticism was mostly made in a socio-political sense, however, it was Ch'usa who actually attempted to break down the core of the neo-Confucian doctrines, especially with regard to connection to their classical studies, by attacking their various philological weaknesses.

164 "To control the interpretation of the Classics in imperial China was to control the articulation and justification of dynastic power. Literati scholars and officials were indispensable partners of the imperial court. Setting a precedent that lasted from 1313 until 1905, Mongol rulers during the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) were prevailed upon by their literati advisors to install the interpretations of the great Song philosophers Cheng Yi (□□, 1033–1107) and Zhu Xi (□ □, 1130–1200) as the orthodox "Cheng-Zhu" (□□) guidelines for the civil examination system." Benjamin Elman, op.cit, 5-6.

165 William Theodore De Bary and JaHyun Kim Haboush, *The rise of neo-Confucianism in Korea* (Columbia University Press, 1985), 84-110; Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian transformation of Korea: A study of society and ideology* (Cembridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 1991), 2-27; Yun Sa-sun, *Han'gukyuhaksasang: Han'gukyuhagŭi T'ŭksusŏng T'am-gu* [□□□□□□: □□□□□ □□□ □□, The history of Korean Confucianism: The investigation of the particularities of Korean Confucianism] (Seoul: Jisik Sanup Publications, 2012), 384-446. Namlin Hur, in particular, explained how the Confucian values, namely, "Chung" (Loyalty, □), "Hyo" (Filial Piety, □), and "Yŏl" (Chastity, □), played a significant role in the suppression of the social minority groups, such as women, children, and ordinary citizens, after the Imjin War. See Namlin Hur, "Imjinwaeran'gwa yugyojŏk kach'iŭi saeroun chŏn'gae" [□□□□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□, The Hideyoshi invasion and the new unfolding of Confucian values], The 8th World Congress for Korean Studies (University of Pennsylvania), 1-13.

The second characteristic of Ch'usa's studies is deeply associated with the spectrum of his philological reading. As Benjamin Elman pointed out, Qing scholars' evidential learning served as a catalyst for the advent of a number of new academic disciplines, including not just linguistics, such as phonology, etymology, and literary studies, but also "natural studies", namely, astronomy, geography, mathematics, and calendrical sciences, in the Qing intellectual scene.[166] Hence, it can be argued that Qing classicists played a significant role in expanding the parameters of their scholarly inquiries into ever more "tangible" fields of scholarship. In this regard, Ch'usa's epigraphic studies demand more attention as well. Historically, there was only little scholarship on stelae as a whole, despite their significance as "archives" of historical information, other than a few rubbings of a couple of stones in the early Chosŏn (and after the Hideyoshi Invasions/Imjin Waeran), and they were produced mostly for the Confucian scholars' aesthetic purposes.[167] Furthermore, such rubbings were, in most cases, reproduced by the Chosŏn court, in the form of "exemplary albums" (□□), in order for its scholar-officials to utilize them for their calligraphic practices.[168] Beginning in the eighteenth century, however, a few Chosŏn scholars, such as Yu Tŭk-kong and Pak Chi-won, started to regard a massive amount of the stelae discovered in the late Chosŏn as the object of scholarly criticism, under the influence of their Qing colleagues, and Ch'usa eventually systemized such practices as an independent discipline in its own right, namely, "Kŭmsŏkhak (Epigraphy, □□□)", based on its various adjacent disciplines.

166 Benjamin Elman, op.cit, 18-22.

167 Pak Ch'ŏl-sang, op.cit, 49.

168 The most exemplary case is Prince Nangsŏn's (□□□, 1637~1693) publication project of the *Tongguk Myŏngpilchŏp* [□□□□□ Album of the Good Calligraphic Works in the Eastern Country]. It is the compilation of the calligraphic works of the twenty five preeminent scholars (from Silla to Chosŏn), and its sources were mainly the rubbings of the stelae. On the album itself, see ibid, 36.

The American Indologist Sheldon Pollock once argued that the discipline of philology should be radically expanded, where any material could be the object of philological studies, as long as it is based on a "rigorous commitment to reading for meaning".[169] In this regard, the future of philology should not be, from his point of view, confined to the reading of the ancient (mysterious) scripts, but is to be inclusive toward various kinds of materials, such as CNN and the New York Times. [170] Ultimately, he articulated his argument as "reading politics philologically" (rather than reading literature politically). Likewise, Edward Said—to whom Pollock's understanding of philology is largely indebted—pointed out the importance of expanding one's reading into various disciplines.[171] Hence, he described the meaning of philological reading as "to break with accepted ideas and discourses" in ordinary writings, which he called "humanist reading".[172] Of course, such post-modern theories should not be perfectly applicable to Ch'usa's scholarship, but his endeavors to enlarge the parameters of critical reading were still unprecedented in the Chosŏn context, the features of which his disciples significantly developed throughout the nineteenth century.

In current scholarship, it is generally (and tacitly) accepted that Ch'usa and his interests in Qing evidential learning were rather distant from Chosŏn's mainstream intellectual scene, and were, therefore, merely marginal in Chosŏn intellectual history. Such

169 Sheldon Pollock, op.cit, 959-960.

170 His emphasis on the reading of politics is based on Edward Said's understanding of philology. Ibid, 961.

171 Edward Said, op,cit, 76: "Yes we need to keep coming back to the words and structures in the books we read, but, just as these words were themselves taken by the poet from the world and evoked from out of silence in the forceful ways without which no creation is possible, readers must also extend their readings out into the various worlds each one of us resides in."

172 Ibid, 82.

an argument, however, is a myth. Although the circulation of his scholarly products was officially hindered by Chosŏn's royal in-law politics and its bastion of neo-Confucian doctrines, it was his students that made his scholarship flourish and influential.[173] In this regard, they were particularly interested in utilizing Ch'usa's philological methods for grasping, analyzing, and criticizing their socio-political surroundings, that is to say, a wide range of domestic and international problems they faced at the time, the latter of which were exemplified by the invasions of the West. Indeed, such movement accorded with the academic transition in China from the textual studies of Qing evidential learning into their new emphasis on reality and practice, as shown in the "Changzhou School of Thought" (□□□□), more widely known as the "New Text Confucianism" (□□□; □□□□).[174] Subsequently, a group of Chosŏn's liberal scholars—who are commonly referred to as the "Enlightenment School" (□□□)—cherished the "Silsa Kusi" not just as a normative scholarly attitude of one's classical studies, but also as that of the studies of their reality, among whom Kim Ok-kyun (□□□, 1851-1894), a student of Ch'usa's pupil Yi Sang-jŏk, clearly exemplified it in his article "Chido Yangnon (Brief Discourse of Governing the Dao, □□□□)".[175] However, such aspect (and adoption) of Ch'usa's scholarship is too big a topic to be addressed here, so I decided to

173 To give a few examples, Cho Hŭi-ryong (□□□, 1786-1866), one of Ch'usa's few Chungin (middle class, □□) students, led the Chungin poetry movement (□□ □□ □□) in the early nineteenth century. Furthermore, Prince Regent Hŭngsŏn (□□□□□, 1820-1898), a father of King Kojong (□□, Reign: 1863-1907) and a pupil of Ch'usa, was the most powerful political figure in the nineteenth-century Chosŏn court. Lastly, O Kyŏng-sŏk (□□□, 1831-1879), a Chungin interpreter, was one of Ch'usa's most important sources of the Chinese books from Beijing. On Ch'usa's pupils, see Yim Hyŏng-taek, op.cit, 57-68.

174 On the practical aspects of the New Text Confucianism, see Benjamin Elman, *Classicism, Politics, and Kinship: The Ch'ang-chou School of New Text Confucianism in Late Imperial China* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 223-356.

175 Liang Qi-chao (□□□, 1873-1929), as well as Benjamin Elman, hence, regarded Qing evidential learning, including its "New Text Confucian" trend, as a precursor of Chinese social sciences. See Liang Qi-chao, *Qiandai Xueshu Gailun* [□□□□□□, The Overview of the Qing Scholarship], (Taipei: Commercial Press Taiwen, 1946), 3-11.

leave it for my future studies. Instead, I hope that this research could serve as a stepping stone in clarifying the historical (and philosophical) coordinates of Ch'usa's scholarship, in conjunction with Qing's new literary trend and its backlash against neo-Confucian orthodoxy, and further provide new insight into East Asia's philological tradition as a whole.

References

An, Tae-hoe, *Pukhagŭi: Wanyŏk Chŏngbon* [□□□, Discourse on Northern Learning: Complete Translation] (Seoul: Tolbegae, 2013)

Chŏngjo, *Hongje Chŏnsŏ* [□□□□, Anthology of Chŏngjo], edited by editorial department, (Seoul: Tahaksa, 1986)

Chŏng, Yag-yong, *Yŏyudang Chŏnsŏ* [□□□□□, The Complete Anthology of Chŏng Yag-yong] (Seoul: Tasan Cultural Foundation, 2013)

Chosŏn Wangjo Sillok Yŏngin Ch'ukswaep'an (CWS, The Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty), (Seoul: T'ŭkpyŏlsi Kuksa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, 1982)

Ban, Gu, Yan Shi-gu, *Han Shu* [□□, History of the Han Dynasty] (Beijing: Commercial Press, 1930)

Ban, Gu, *Hanshu Yiwenzhi* [□□□□□, Book of Han: Records of Literature], *edited by Zhenzong Yao*, (Shanghai: World Journal (Shijie Shuju), 1965)

Guy, R. Kent, *Qing Governors and Their Provinces: The Evolution of Territorial Administration in China, 1644-1796* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010)

Kim, Chŏng-hŭi, *Wangdang Chŏnjip* [□□□□, Complete Anthology of Wandang Kim Chŏnghui], (Seoul: The Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics, 2014)

An, Eoe-sun, "Kimjŏnghŭiwa Sirhaksasangŭi Kwan'gyee Taehan Chaegoch'al" [□□□□ □□□ □□ □□□ □□ □□□, Re-examining the Relationship between Ch'usa and Sirhak Philosophy], *Eastern Classical Studies 21* (2004): 56-86.

Bodel, John, *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions* (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2012)

Kim, Yŏng-mi, *Chosŏn Chunggi Yehak Sasanggwa Ilsang Munhwa: Chuja Karyerŭl Chungsimŭ-ro* [□□ □□ □□ □□□ □□ □□: □□ □□□ □□□□, The Ritualism and Everyday Life in Middle Choson: Focusing on the Family Rituals of Zhu Xi] (Seoul: Ewha Women's University Press, 2008)

Cha, Joo-hang, "The Civilizing Project in Medieval Korea: Neo-Classicism, Nativism, and Figurations of Power" (PhD Diss., Harvard University, 2014)

Ch’oe, Yŏng-sŏng, “Ch’usa Kimjŏnghŭiŭi Chaejomyŏng: Sajŏk Kojŭng Munjerŭl Chuanjŏmŭro” [□□ □□□□ □□□: □□ □□ □□□ □□□□, Re-examining Ch'usa Kim Chŏng-hŭi: Focusing on his Historical Evidential Studies], *Tongyanggojŏn Yŏn’gu* 29 (1997): 227-272.

Chŏn, Hae-jong, “Ch’ŏngdaehaksulgwa Wandang” [□□□□□ □□, Qing Scholarship and Ch’usa], *Research of East Asian Culture 1* (1967): 78-93.

Chŏn, Ho-gŭn, “16Segi Chosŏn Sŏngnihagŭi T’ŭkchinge Kwanhan Yŏn-gu T’oe, Ko, Yul, Uŭl Chungsimŭro” [16□□ □□ □□□□ □□□ □□ □□: □□, □□, □□, □□□ □□□□, The Neo-Confucian Thought in Early Choson: Focusing on the Philosophies of Toegye, Kobong, Yulgok, Wugye] (PhD Diss., Sungkyunkwan University, 1997)

Chŏng, Hyŏn-suk, *Sillaŭi Sŏye: Sillaini Kŭmsŏkkwa Mokkane Ssŭn Kŭlssi* [□□□ □□: □□□□ □ □□ □□□ □ □□, The Calligraphy of Silla: The Letters Silla People Wrote on Stones and Bamboo Slips] (Seoul: Daunsaem, 2016)

Chow, Kai-wing, “An Alternative Hermeneutics of Truth: Cui Shu’s Evidential Scholarship on Confucius”, *Chinese Hermeneutics in Historical Perspective: Interpretation and Intellectual Change,* edited by Tu Ching-i, (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers 2005), 19-32.

Chow, Kai-wing, *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004).

CTI Reviews, *Classical Archaeology*, (Mishiwaka: AIPI, 2006)

De Bary, W. Theodore and Kim, JaHyun Haboush, *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea* (Columbia University Press, 1985)

De Bary, W. Theodore, *Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy and the Learning of the Mind-and-Heart* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986)

Deuchler, Martina, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology* (Cembridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 1991)

Seoul Art Center, *Ch'usa Kimjŏnghŭi Myŏngjakchŏn* [□□ □□□ □□□, The Best Artworks of Ch'usa Kim Chŏng-hui] (Seoul: Seoul Arts Center, 1992)

Elman, Benjamin A., *Classicism, Politics, and Kinship: The Ch'ang-chou School of New Text Confucianism in Late Imperial China* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995)

Elman, Benjamin A., "Early Modern or Late Imperial Philology? The Crisis of Classical Learning in Eighteenth Century China", *Frontiers of History in China* 6 (2011): 3-25.

Elman, Benjamin A., *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001)

Fujitsuka, Chikashi, *Shinchō bunka tōden no kenkyū: Kakyō, Dōkō gakudan to Richō no Kin Gendō* [□□□□□□□ □□: □□, □□□□□ □□□ □□□, A Study on the Eastern Transmission of the Qing Culture: The Qing Intellectual Realm under Emperor Qianlong and Jiaqing, and Kim Wandang] (Tokyo: Kuni Sho Kankōkai, 1975)

Ha, U-bong, “Chosŏnhugi Sirhakchadŭrŭi Ilbon Yŏn’guwa Munhŏnjaryo Chŏngri” [□□□□ □ □□□□ □□ □□□ □□□□ □□, Silrak scholars’ studies on Japan: Focusing on their Investigations and Organizations of Japanese Sources], *Japanese Thought 6* (2004): 181-208.

Ha, U-bong, “Tasanhagŭi Kukchejŏk Chip’yŏng: Chŏngyakyonggwa Ogyu Soraiŭi Kyŏnghaksasang Pigyo Yŏngu” [□□□□ □□□ □□: □□□□ □□ □□□ □□□□ □□ □□, The International Approaches to Tasan Studies: A Comparative Study on Tasan’s and Ogyū Sorai’s Classical Studies], *Journal of Tasan Studies 3* (2002): 112-143

Ha, U-bong, “17-19Segi Hanil Munhwagyoryuŭi Hŭrŭmgwa Ŭimi” [17-19 □□ □□ □□□□□ □ □□ □□, The Significance of the Cultural Exchange between Korea and Japan from the Seventeenth until the Nineteenth Century], *Journal of Eastern Studies 98* (2017): 269-297.

Jung, Hyun-Sook, “The Changes in Pingcheng Calligraphy of the Northern Wei”, *Sŏjihak Yŏngu* 38 (2007): 247-263.

Kim, Nam-du, “Yedang Kŭmsŏk Kwaallogŭi Punsŏkchŏk Yŏn-gu” [□□ □□ □□□□ □□, A Study on the Yedang Kŭmsŏk Kwaallok], *The Historical Journal* 23 (2003): 25-81.

Ko, Chae-uk, “Kimjŏnghŭiŭi Sirhaksasanggwa Ch’ŏngdae Kojŭnghak” [□□□□ □□□□□ □□ □ □□, Ch’usa’s Views on Sirhak and Qing Evidential Learning], *Taedong Yearly Review of Classics 10* (1993): 737-748.

Kim, Chang-ho, Silla T’aejosŏnghanŭi Chaegŏmt’o [□□ □□□□□ □□□, The Reexamination of Silla’s T’aejo Sŏnghan], *History Education Review 5* (1983): 93-106

Kim, Man-il, *Chosŏn 17 18segi Sangsŏhaesŏgŭi Saeroun Kyŏnghyang* [□□ 17-18 □□ □□□□□ □□□ □□, The New Trend of the Shangshu Interpretations in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Chosŏn] (Paju: Kyungin Publication, 2007)

Kim, Man-il, “Ch’usa Kimjŏnghŭiŭi Sangsŏ Kŭmgomullon’gwa Wisŏgojŭng” [□□ □□□□ □□ □□□□□ □□□□, Ch’usa Kim Chŏng-hui’s Demonstration of the Authenticity of the *Shangshu*], *Dongyanghak 28* (2016): 107-140.

Kim, Mun-sik, “Chosŏn Hugi Kyŏnggidoŭi Palchŏn’gwa Kyŏnggihagin” [□□ □□ □□□□ □□□ □□□□, The Development of the Kyŏnggi Province and Kyŏnggi Scholars in Late Chosŏn], *Gyŏnggi Review* 6 (2004): 23-34.

Kim, Mun-sik, “Chosŏn Hugi Kyŏnggi Haginŭi Hansongjŏlch’ungnon” [□□ □□ □□ □□□ □□ □□□, The Han/Song Eclecticism in late Chosŏn], *Tongyanghak Kukchehaksul Joeŭi Nonmunjip* 5 (1995): 145-166.

Kim, Mun-sik, *Chŏngjoŭi Kyŏnghakkwa Chujahak* [□□□ □□□ □□□, Chŏngjo’s Classical Studies and Neo-Confucianism] (Seoul: Munhŏn’gwa Haesŏksa, 2000)

Kim, Mun-sik, “Chŏngjo’s Sangsŏ Kangŭiro Pon Chŏngjoŭi Kyŏnghaksasang” [□□□ □□ □□ □ □ □□□ □□□□, Classical Studies from the Perspective of his Lectures on the *Shangshu*], Korean History Studies (1991): 113-155.

Kim, Po-rŭm, “Yŏyudangjibŭi Sŏngnibe Kwanhan Koch’al” [□□□□□ □□□ □□ □□, A Study on the Compilation of the *Yŏyudangjip*], *Tasan Studies 18* (2011): 197-235.

Kim, Sang-jun, “Sirhakŭn Hanainga, Yŏrŏsinga, Animyŏn Aech’oe Ŏpsŏttŏn Kŏsinga - Mirae Sirhakŭl Wihan Panghyang Mosaek” [□□□ □□□□ □□□□ □□□ □□□ □□ □□□, □□ □□□ □□ □□ □□, Silhak: One, None, or Many], *Korean Silhak Society 32* (2016): 365-401.

Kim, Seung-yun, “Kyŏngseronesŏ Pon Sirhak” [□□□□□ □ □□, Silhak as Statecraft], *Korean Silhak Society 26* (2013): 169-212

Li, Chen-yang, *The Confucian Philosophy of Harmony* (London: Routledge, 2013)

Liang Qi-chao, *Qiandai Xueshu Gailun* [□□□□□□, The Overview of the Qing Scholarship] (Taipei: Commercial Press Taiwen, 1946)

Nam-lin Hur, “Imjinwaeran’gwa Yugyojŏk Kach’iŭi Saeroun Chŏn’gae” [□□□□□ □□□ □□□ □□□ □□, The Hideyoshi Invasion and the New Unfolding of Confucian Values], The 8th World Congress for Korean Studies (University of Pennsylvania), 1-13.

O, Sŏ-yŏng, *Ch’ojŏng Pak Chegaŭi Sirhaksasanggwa Haeunt’ongsangnon* [□□ □□□□ □□□□ □ □□□□□, Pak Chega’s Views on Practical Learning and Maritime Trades] (Seoul: Sinsŏwŏn, 2004)

Pak, Ch’an-hŭng, “Mansŏn Sagwanesŏŭi Han’guk Kodaesa Insik Yŏn-gu” [□□ □□□□□ □□ □ □□ □□ □□, A Study on the Interpretations of Korea’s Ancient History in the Mansŏn Sagwan], *Han’guksa Hakpo 29* (2007): 9-39.

Pak, Ch’an-hŭng, “Mansŏn Sagwanesŏŭi Koguryŏsa Insik Yŏn-gu” [□□ □□□□□ □□□□ □□ □ □, A Study on the Interpretations of Koguryŏ History in the Mansŏn Sagwan], *Journal of Northeast Asian Studies 8* (2005): 181-208.

Pak, Ch’ŏl-sang, *Sŏjaee Salta: Chosŏn Chishigin 24Inŭi Sŏjae Iyagi* [□□□ □□: □□ □□□ 24□ □ □□ □□□, Livining in the Library: The Stories of 24 Chosŏn Intellectuals and their Libraries] (Seoul: Munhak Dongne Publishing Group, 2014)

Pak, Ch’ŏl-sang, *Nanŭn Yetkŏsi Choa Ttaeron Kkaejin Pittorŭl Ch’ajadanyŏtta Ch’usa Kimjŏnghŭiŭi Kŭmsŏk’hak* [□□ □□□ □□ □□ □□ □□□ □□□□□: □□ □□□□ □□□, Since I Like the Old, I Sometimes Searched for the Broken Stones of Epitaphs: The Epigraphy of Kim Chŏng-hŭi] (Seoul: Nŏmŏbuksŭ, 2015)

Pak, Ch'ŏl-sang, *Sehando: Thousands of Belief, Reborn as a Painting (Sehando: Ch'ŏn Nyŏnŭi Midŭm Kŭrimŭro T'aeŏnada)* (Seoul: Munhak Tongne Publishing Group, 2010)

Pak, Ch'ŏl-sang, "The Study of Epigraphy in the Chosŏn Dynasty (Chosŏnshidae Kŭmsŏk'ak Yŏn-gu)" (PhD Diss., Keimyung University, 2014)

Pak, No-ja, *Tradition: A Different Kind of Power Made by Modernity (Chŏnt'ong: kŭndaega mandŭrŏnaen tto hanaŭi kwŏllyŏk)* (Seoul: Person and Idea, 2010)

Peter K. Bol, *Neo-Confucianism in History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010)

Pettid , J. Michael, "Fashioning Womanly Confucian Virtue: The Virtuous Women in Postwar Literary Discourse," *The East Asian War, 1592-1598: International Relations, Violence, and Memory*, Edited by James B. Lewis, London and New York: Routledge, 2015, 357-377.

Pollock, Sheldon, "Future Philology? The Fate of a Soft Science in a Hard World", *Critical Inquiry 35*, no.4, (2009): 931-961.

Ryōen, Minamoto, *Practical Learning and Empty Learning (Jitsugakuto Urogaku: □□□□□)* (Toyama: Education Committee of Toyama Prefecture, 1971)

Ryōen, Minamoto, *The Genealogy of Practical Learning (Jitsugaku Shisō no Keifu: [illegible])*, (Tokyo: Kodansha Gakujutsu Bunko, 1986)

Rubin, Andrew, “Techiques of Trouble: Edward Said and the Dialectics of Cultural Philology”, *The South Atlantic Quarterly 102* (2003): 861-876.

Said, W. Edward, *Humanism and Democratic Criticism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004)

Setton, Mark, *Chŏng Yag-yong: Korea’s Challenge to Orthodox Neo-Confucianism (*Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997)

Schnapp, Alain, *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives*, (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2014)

Sin, Pyŏng-ju, “History: I Kŭng-ik and the *Yŏllyŏsil Gisul*: The Spirit of the Suri Pujak, and the Exemplar of History-Writing”, *Seonbi Munhwa 22* (2012): 28-36.

Sin, Pyŏng-ju, “The Philosophy of Yi Kyu-gyŏng in the Mid-Nineteenth Century (19Segi Chungyŏp Igyugyŏngŭi Hakp’unggwa Sasang)”, *Journal of Korean Studies* 75 (1994): 144-173.

Shōichi, Nishibayashi, *The Cultural History of Calligraphy (Shono Bunkashi, □□□□□)* (Tokyo: Nigensha Co, Ltd, 1999)

Toegye Institute (Kyeongbuk University), *The Life and Scholarship of Ŭngwa Yi Wŏn-jo (Ŭngwa Iwŏnjoŭi Samkwa Hakmun)* (Seoul: Geulnurim, 2006)

Wuji, Zhangsun, *Book of Sui: Records of Classics and Books (Suishu Jingjizhi, □□ □□□)* (Taipei: Commercial Press Taiwan, 1966)

Yi, Sang-yong, *The Bibliography of Hong Sŏk-chu (Yŏnch'ŏn Hongsŏkchuŭi Sŏjihak)* (Seongnam: Asian Cultural Publisher, 2004)

Yi, Wŏn-jo, *Complete Anthology of Yi Wŏn-jo (Ŭngwa Chŏnjip)* (Seoul: Yeogang Publisher, 1986)

Yi, Chip, *Korean Translation: Anthology of Hanju 1 (Kukyŏk Hanjujip 1)*, translated by Kwŏn O-ho, (Seoul: Hanul Academy, 2014)

Yun, Kyŏng-hŭi, “Tribute Missions to Beijing (Yŏnhaeng) and the Chaje Kun’gwan (Yŏnhaenggwa Chajegun’gwan)”, *Journal of Korean Culture 10* (October 2010): 186-194.

Yu, Hong-jun, *A Critical Biography of Wandang (Wandang P’yŏngjŏn)* (Seoul: Hakkojae, 2002)

Yu, Myŏng-jong, *Neo-Confucianism in Late Chosŏn (Chosŏnhugi Sŏngnihak)* (Seoul: Imun Publication, 1988)

Yu, Pong-hak, “The Division of the Capital and Peripheral Academic Realms in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries and the Kyŏnghwa Sajok (18,9segi Kyŏnghyanghakkyeŭi Pun’giwa Kyŏnghwasajok)” *Kuksagwan Nonch’ong* (1991): 22.

Yun, Sa-sun, *The History of Korean Confucianism: The Investigation of the Particularities of Korean Confucianism (Han’gukyuhaksa Sang: Han’gukyuhagŭi T’ŭksusŏng T’am-gu)* (Seoul: Jisik Sanup Publications, 2012)