

The Sleeping Dragon in Korea: On the Transmission of the Images of Zhuge Liang*

Andreas Mueller-Lee

*Andrea: Unglücklich das Land, das keine Helden hat.
Galilei: Nein. Unglücklich das Land, das Helden nötig hat.
(Bertolt Brecht, Leben des Galilei, Szene 13)¹*

Introduction

An analysis of the posthumous career of a Chinese hero in Korea is probably not very *en vogue*, and, moreover, dangerous – as it seems to encourage the misunderstanding that everything under heaven (not only in Korea, by the way, but also in Europe) has its origins in China, somehow or other. As a kind of excuse I would like to say that at the very beginning, this analysis was conceived as a small part of my dissertation on the reception history of the Chinese novel

**I would like to add that my dissertation and this article could not have been finished without the generous scholarships/fellowship granted by the Korea Foundation, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies. Furthermore I am indebted to my advisors at Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Professors Marion Eggert and Raoul David Findeisen, to Dr. Jörg Plassen and the participants in the colloquia in Korean and Chinese studies as well as to the two referees of my article.*

1. Andrea: “Unhappy the land that has no heroes.” Galilei: “No. Unhappy the land where heroes are needed.” In John Willett, trans., *Life of Galilei* (London: Methuen, 1980), 98.

Andreas Mueller-Lee is a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies and was a research assistant in the Department of East Asian Studies and Korean Language and Culture at Ruhr-Universität Bochum.

Seoul Journal of Korean Studies 20, no. 1 (June 2007): 45-70.

© 2007 Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies

“Three Kingdoms” (*Sanguo yanyi* 三國演義 in China; *Samgukchi* 三國志 in Korea)² – an important field of research with regard to the influence of this novel on Korean literature and the unbroken popularity of its countless Korean translations. In studies on the “Three Kingdoms,” Zhuge Liang has, of course, been mentioned as one of its heroes, a personage who has even found his way into the world of proverbs and sayings, but none of the studies establish a connection between the novel and the ideals that Korean literati had about him. However, in the course of my research it has become obvious that it is exactly these scholarly ideals that have been the basis of the success the novel has had in Korea since the 19th century.

Even if the novel seems to be today’s only point of interest in this figure in China and Korea, its importance as a subject of research goes far beyond this field. In the field of Chinese Studies, historian Hoyt Cleveland Tillman has worked extensively on this subject – most of the sinological basis of this article is rooted in his precise analyses. The greater context of Tillman’s interests deals with the question of how the comparatively unsuccessful statesman Zhuge Liang became the well-known advisor, commander, magician and a Confucian ideal and how these individual images were created.

This is also interesting for the Korean context, even if rather complicated, because many aspects of the background knowledge held by the Korean and Chinese literati has fallen into oblivion. It is thus necessary to analyze not only the Korean sources but to give references also to the Chinese contexts, and I ask my readers to bear with me patiently. In the end I hope to show that the Korean literati – of course – mastered the registers of the Chinese use of this figure, but also contextualized the registers that were useful to them in Korea. This was possible because Zhuge Liang was not a national hero, but a cultural one, and as Korean and Chinese literati shared the very same cultural background, it was only natural that the Korean literati made use of him. In an age of nation states, this may not be a very pleasing notion, but it is an important part of the Korean heritage, probably more important than some of the “genuine” national heroes.

The Statesman and the Martial Marquis

Zhugē Liang 諸葛亮 (181-234), whose *cha* 字 was Kongming 孔明 and who was introduced to Liu Bei 劉備, the later Emperor Zhaolie 昭烈, as a ‘Sleeping

2. Andreas Müller-Lee, “Die Rezeptionsgeschichte des chinesischen Romans ‘Drei Reiche’ in Korea” (PhD diss., Ruhr-Universität Bochum, 2005).

Dragon' (*Wolong* 臥龍), thus indicating a worthy candidate waiting for the right sovereign, was chancellor and commander of the Kingdom of Shu 蜀 (221-263) in southwestern China, today's Sichuan Province. Although famous during his lifetime, he died without having rebuilt the Han 漢 Dynasty. Still, he received a biographical entry in the "Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms" (*Sanguozhi* 三國志) and left some writings,³ and his veneration in shrines as the "Loyal Martial Marquis" (Zhongwu Hou 忠武侯) persisted in Shu even after its downfall. However, the early historians decided that not Shu, but the Kingdom of Wei 魏 (220-265) was the legitimate successor of Han, and during the next centuries Zhuge Liang was thus marked as an illegitimate statesman.

In 731, under the reign of the Tang 唐 Dynasty (618-907), the cult of Lü Shang 呂尚, advisor of King Wen 文 of the Zhou 周 Dynasty,⁴ was established. In 760, when the title "Military accomplished King" (Wucheng Wang 武成王) was bestowed on Lü Shang, Zhuge Liang was incorporated into this cult together with nine other commanders.⁵ This official cult has a definite military meaning, because all of its heroes are integrated into the cult as excellent or virtuous commanders (*liangjiang* 良將). However, the questions of why a commander of an illegitimate dynasty like Zhuge Liang was incorporated and if there was any relation to the local veneration in Sichuan have not yet been answered. Nevertheless, the incorporation into an official cult seems to have been very

3. For his biography, see Chen Shou 陳壽, *Sanguozhi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 911ff. On his biography, see Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, "Historic Analogies and Evaluative Judgements: Zhuge Liang as Portrayed in Chen Shou's *Chronicle of the Three Kingdoms* and Pei Songzhi's Commentary," *Oriens Extremus* 43 (2002a): 60-70. The biography and *Wenxuan* contain his most famous writing, the "Memorial on Sending Out the Troops" (*Chushi-biao* 出師表). See Chen Shou, 919f and 923f. See also Xiao Tong 蕭統 ed., *Zhaoming wenxuan* 昭明文選 37, 2b, in Shanghai zhonghua shuju ed., *Sibu beiyao* (Shanghai: Shanghai zhonghua shuju, [without year]), case 271. The second or later *Chushi-biao*, contained only in the commentary to Zhuge's biography, is judged to be a forgery. See Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, "Textual Liberties and Restraints in Rewriting China's Histories: The Case of Ssu-ma Kuang's Re-construction of Chu-ko Liang's Story," in *The New and the Multiple: Sung Senses of the Past*, ed. Thomas H. C. Lee (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2004), 84.

4. King Wen was predecessor of King Wu 武 (r. BC 1122-1115) of the Zhou Dynasty and thus another one of the rulers of the "golden age of antiquity." See Tillman (2004), 86.

5. See Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 et al., *Xintangshu* 新唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 377. Otto Franke assumes a connection with the growing Daoism, because Lü Shang was also integrated into the pantheon of Daoism, but he does not explain why, in this cult, Zhuge Liang was only venerated as a military commander. Werner Eichhorn, however, defined the cult of Confucius more accurately as a special cult of the civil administration and the cult of Lü Shang as "Parallelaktion" (a parallel action) of the armed forces. See Otto Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches* 2 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1936, 1961), 432. See also Werner Eichhorn, *Die alte chinesische Religion und das Staatskultwesen* (Leiden/Köln: E.J. Brill, 1976), 188f.

important for his posthumous career because it served as a form of legitimization – even though only with regard to the military character of this figure. The fact that the posthumous title “Loyal Martial Marquis” was bestowed on a number of military officials especially during the Tang and Song 宋 (960-1268)⁶ dynasties is probably connected to this cult that was still practised under the Song.⁷ On the other hand, it should be considered that the military monopolization of this statesman might have displeased the scholars who were obviously educated in *Sanguozhi*.

Since 759, during his stay in Sichuan, and thus probably in contrast to the Lü Shang-cult,⁸ Du Fu 杜甫 (712-770) wrote poems on Zhuge Liang and described the shrines (that is, the cult) dedicated to him mainly as neglected⁹ – but they still existed. Mirrored by the poems of the Tang Dynasty,¹⁰ Zhuge Liang was the subject for a number of poets especially with a local connection to Sichuan province. However, Hoyt Cleveland Tillman points out correctly that Du Fu is supreme among the poets, because he identified himself with Zhuge Liang as a sojourner to Shu, who “strove for national unification under the legitimate dynastic government” and “wished for an opportunity for a position of trust.”¹¹ In short, he developed an image of Zhuge Liang as an able scholar and statesman who waits – like the historical Zhuge Liang – to be discovered by an able ruler.

During the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1126) the local connection with historical sites marked by Zhuge Liang was still important, as the example of the famous poet Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036-1101), who came from Sichuan, shows.¹² Su Shi's interest in Zhuge Liang may largely have been affected by this affiliation, but it was not restricted to the territory of Shu only. Between 1079 and 1082, he also wrote on the famous Red Cliff (*Chibi* 赤壁), where – according to the novel – Zhuge Liang had defeated the Wei-army by calling on the Southern winds,¹³ but

6. See a list of 47 Chinese military officials, contained in the entry ‘忠武侯’ in *Zhongwen dacidian* 中文大辭典.

7. See Tuo Tuo 脫脫 et al., *Songshi* 宋史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), 2556f.

8. See Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, “Reassessing Du Fu's Line on Zhuge Liang,” *Monumenta Serica* 50 (2002b): 299.

9. See Tillman (2002b), 301 and 304.

10. For the collection “Complete Poetry of the Tang” (*Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩) see the digitalized *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 or the index of the *Hanquan*-Archive of Taiwan's Palace Museum, <http://210.69.170.100/s25/index.htm>.

11. See Tillman (2002b), 303.

12. See Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, “One Significant Rise in Chu-ko Liang's Popularity: An Impact of the 1127 Jurchen Conquest,” *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 14/2 (Minguo 民國 85 [1996]): 4-13.

Zhugue Liang as a “sagely spirit capable of influencing the forces of nature”¹⁴ can already be found in Su Shi’s writings. Only some years later, in 1084, Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086) finished his “Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government” (*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑), a complete annalistic history of China that still advocates the illegitimacy of Shu but projects Zhugue Liang “as a model for the Confucian scholar-general and administrator of justice.”¹⁵

In early Korea, Zhugue Liang is already mentioned by Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn 崔致遠 (b. 857),¹⁶ but this scholar from Silla (BC 57-935) served for the Chinese Tang and he wrote his piece during his stay in Sichuan – a very special case as scholars of later centuries were mostly allowed to visit only the Chinese capital and its surrounding territory – so this was not exactly a Korean context, but representative of an early Korean interest in this figure. The Chinese sources on Zhugue Liang as *Sanguozhi* or the “Anthology of Literature” (*Wenxuan* 文選), however, are already documented in Koguryŏ (BC 37-668)¹⁷ and came into the possession of Silla and then Koryŏ (918-1392),¹⁸ so the early Korean scholars undoubtedly knew who Zhugue Liang was, though there may not have been any interest in this figure apart from a general interest in Chinese history.

The earliest document showing a special Korean use of Zhugue Liang is most likely one found in the “Annals of the Kingdom of Koguryŏ” (*Koguryŏ pon’gi* 高句麗本紀) of the “Grand Scribe’s Records on the [Korean] Three Kingdoms” (*Samguk sagi* 三國史記), presented to the court in 1145 by Kim Pusik 金富軾 (1075-1151). In his criticism on King Kogukch’ŏn 故國川 (r. 179-197) the grand scribe states:

13. See Ursula Toyka-Fuon, *Die Rote Wand: Geschichte und Dichtung in der Malerei Chinas* (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 1982), 23ff.

14. See Tillman (1996), 6.

15. See Tillman (2004), 85.

16. See his “Presentation of Luo Fortress in the Western Province [i.e. the territory of the former Kingdom of Shu]” (*Sŏju Nasŏng togŭ* 西州羅城圖記), written in 883, in Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn, *Kyewŏn p’ilgyŏng-jip* 桂苑筆耕集 16, 4b [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan* (Seoul: Minjok Munhwa Ch’ujinhoe, 1991), 1:94].

17. See Linghu Defen 令狐德棻 et al., *Zhoushu* 周書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1971), 885. See also Liu Xu 劉煦 et al., *Jiu-tangshu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 5320.

18. This is indicated by an entry of the year 1091 in the “Annals of King Sŏngjong” (*Sŏngjong sega*), which states a request by the Song Dynasty for old books. The scholars of Koryŏ prepared a list of more than one hundred titles, which were lost or not completely preserved in China, and submitted it to the Song. See Chŏng Inji 鄭麟趾 et al., *Koryŏ-sa* 高麗史 10, 23aff. See a facsimile via: <http://e-kyujanggak.snu.ac.kr/>. See also the North Korean translation: Chosŏn minjujuŭi inmin’gonghwaguk Sahoe kwahag’wŏn Kojŏn yŏn’guso ed., *Koryŏ-sa* (Seoul: Yŏgang ch’ulp’ansa, 1991) and its index via: <http://www.krpia.co.kr/>.

The wise kings of earlier times appointed their worthies at pleasure and employed them without doubts, like Gaozong of Yin [appointed] Fu Yue, like the First Sovereign of Shu [appointed] Kongming, and like Fu Jian of Qin [appointed] Wang Meng. Once the worthies were bestowed with titles and the capable with offices, government and instruction became cultivated and enlightened, and the country could be defended.

The present king commanded alone, elected Ülp'aso between the coasts, did not let the numerous mouths bother him, positioned him above of the officials, and awarded those who recommended him. One could say that [the king] adopted the practices of the earlier kings.¹⁹

For an evaluation of the king, the historian compared him and his advisor Ülp'aso 乙巴素 (d. 203) with three other ruling pairs in Chinese history: King Gaozong 高宗, also known as Wuding 武丁 (r. BC 1324-1265), and Fu Yue 傳說 of the Shang 商 Dynasty, the First Sovereign, Zhaolie, and Kongming, that is, Zhuge Liang, as well as King Fu Jian 苻堅 (r. 357-385) and Wang Meng 王猛 of the early Qin 秦 Dynasty. This set of ruling pairs may be seen as a simple comparison and evaluation, but there are some aspects here that demand explanation.

Firstly, the construction of the set is contradictory because the reference to Fu Yue is of a different type than the reference to Wang Meng. Fu Yue was one advisor of the “golden age of antiquity,” while Wang Meng was compared only to Zhuge Liang, as for instance his posthumous title Zhongwu Hou shows, but not to the ancients.²⁰ Furthermore, this set of three pairs cannot be found in official histories, Tang Poems, or other Chinese texts up to and even after the 12th century and thus do not seem to have been common.²¹ The first comparison between Zhuge Liang and Fu Yue in an official history can be found in the “Official History of Song Dynasty” (*Songshi* 宋史), completed in 1345 and long after Kim Pusik, so the historian cannot have used only the official histories for his comparisons. But in his poem “Journey to ancient times”²² (*Xiyou* 昔遊), Du Fu mentions three ruling pairs, Fu Yue, Lü Shang and Zhaolie (instead of the Zhuge Liang), thus closing the chronological gap between Fu Yue and Zhuge

19. See Chōng Kubok et al., *Yōkchu* 譯註 *Samguk sagi* 1: *Kamgyo wŏnmun-p'yŏn* 勘校原文篇 (Sōngnam: Han'guk chōngsin munhwa yŏn'gu-wŏn, 1996), 168.

20. See Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 et al., *Jinshu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), 2930 and 2933.

21. See the digitalized *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 or the digital archives of the Academia Sinica and the palace museum of Taiwan via: <http://www.sinica.edu.tw/ftms-bin/ftmsw3> and via: <http://210.69.170.100/s25/index.htm>.

22. See Zhonghua shuju ed., *Quan Tangshi* 全唐詩 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1960), 2357f.

Liang. And in another one, his “Chants on Thoughts on Ancient Sites in Five Stanzas” (*Yonghuai guji wushou* 詠懷古跡五首),²³ Zhuge Liang was compared with Yi Yin 伊尹, the advisor of Cheng Tang 成湯 (r. BC 1766-1753) of the Shang 商 Dynasty, and Lü Shang. The reference to Yi Yin can already be found in his biography in *Sanguozhi*, so Du Fu may have developed the linkage of the Zhuge Liang and the ancient advisors from this point. Kim Pusik himself may have alluded to Du Fu’s poems and thus to the image of the waiting statesman and advisor, but not the commander, and Wang Meng would have probably served as a figure marked more so for his military merit.

Secondly, Kim Pusik characterizes the kings whose practices King Kogukch’ŏn adopted as “wise kings of earlier times,” and thus today’s reader might accuse the historian of making a mistake, because Kogukch’ŏn could only have learned from Gaozong, but not from Zhaolie or Fu Jian, as they lived decades or even centuries after him. But it should be considered that Kim Pusik might have included King Kogukch’ŏn when using the expression “wise kings of earlier times,” and that the “present king” could also be understood as the present king in the historian’s view, King Injong 仁宗 (r. 1122-1146), who did not elect *the* Ŭlp’aso but *one* Ŭlp’aso, that is, Kim Pusik. If understood as a reference to Injong, it was again the image of a capable statesman to which Kim Pusik alluded, and in fact, he demonstrated his abilities as a commander during the rebellion of Myoch’ŏng 妙清 (d. 1135) and had already been appointed minister of personnel and rites in 1136 and 1138,²⁴ but still had not reached the upper end of the hierarchy. So beyond historical criticism this passage could be understood as an expression of thanks for the king’s favour and of further ambitions as a statesman.

Thirdly, there may have been an implicit reference to Su Shi as well, because the Chinese poet also served as a private model for Kim Pusik himself, who did not only have the same literary ambitions but even Su Shi’s name-character ‘軾’ (and his brother chose or was given the character ‘轍’ like Su Shi’s brother Su Che (1039-1112)).²⁵ So he may have been well informed about Su Shi’s attitude towards Zhuge Liang, although there is no further reference in the text.

Two centuries later (and at the beginning point of the transmission of a wide range of Korean historical sources) the same mixture of Chinese lines on Zhuge Liang can be found in Korean writings. In the poem “Shrine to Zhuge

23. See *ibid.*, 2510f.

24. See Chŏng Inji et al., *Koryŏ-sa* 16, 37b and 44b.

25. See an entry of the “Jehol Diary” (*Yŏrha ilgi* 熱河日記) by Pak Chiwŏn 朴趾源 (1737-1805) in his *Yŏnam-jip* 燕巖集 13, 66b [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, 252:255].

Kongming” (*Chegal Kongmyǒng sadang* 諸葛孔明祠堂),²⁶ Yi Chehyōn 李齊賢 (1287-1367) combines the view of Zhuge Liang himself and that of contemporary visitors to the shrine. No remaining sources reveal when and why this poem was written, but biographical writings on Yi Chehyōn mention that he followed King Ch’ungsōn 忠宣 (r. 1298 and 1308-1313) to Chengdu 成都 in the Chinese southwest in 1316, and this poem seems to be one of those he wrote during his stay there, probably after a visit to Chengdu’s Zhuge-shrine.²⁷ So this poem may be seen as another example of the local connection and again indicates Du Fu’s waiting attitude (or Kim Pusik’s expression of further ambitions); but it is also an allusion to Su Shi’s understanding of Zhuge Liang as it states “fan of plumes, kerchief of silk” (*yushan lunjin* 羽扇綸巾), a reference to Zhuge Liang that became famous because of Su Shi’s writings.

During the next centuries, further images of Zhuge Liang were introduced to Korea, but a number of poems suggest that the older historical line on Zhuge Liang or that by Du Fu were cultivated continuously.²⁸ Some of these contain the annotation *wǒlgwa* 月課, a monthly examination paper in the Confucian academy and probably also elsewhere, which indicates a certain scholarly importance of Zhuge Liang.²⁹ Others refer to paintings of Zhuge Liang or the

26. See Yi Chehyōn: *Ikchae nan’go* 益齋亂藁 1, 6a [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, 2:507].

27. The biography of Yi Chehyōn contained in *Koryō-sa* and an epitaph by his disciple Yi Saek (1328-1396) state the following: “In the year *pyōngjin* [i.e. 1316] he had the honour, to be sent to Shu [i. e. Sichuan]. Arriving there he wrote and sang verses on it and pleased all tastes.” The *Yōg-ong p’aesōl* 櫟翁稗說 (Inofficial Talks by the old man from the oak [grove]) by Yi Chehyōn states Chengdu instead of Shu. See Chōng Inji et al., *Koryō-sa* 110, 21b. For the “Inscription of an epitaph to his Excellency Yi, Prince Kyerim, [honoured] with the posthumous title Munch’ung” (*Kyerim Puwōn’gun si Munch’ung Yi-gong myoji-myōng* 雞林府院君諡文忠李公墓誌銘) see Yi Chehyōn: *Ikchae nan’go chi* 志, 1aff [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, 2:612ff]. See also Yi Saek: *Mogūn mun’go* 牧隱詩藁 16, 3aff [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, 5:138ff]; Yi Chehyōn: *Yōg-ong p’aesōl* in idem, *Chungp’yōn Ikchae sōnsaeng-jip* 重編益齋先生集 10, 2af and in Cho Chongyōp 趙鍾業 ed., *Sujōng chūngbo Han’guk sihwa ch’ongp’yōn* 修正增補韓國詩話叢編 1 (Seoul: T’aehaksa, 1998), 131f.

28. See “On the rhymes on the shrine of the Martial Marquis by the venerable Du [Fu] (*Ch’a no Tu Muhu-sa un* 次老杜武侯廟韻) by Yi Hyōnil 李玄逸 (1627-1704) in idem, *Karam* 葛庵 *sōnsaeng munjip* 1, 12b [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, 127:371]. See also “Reading the biography of the Martial Marquis Zhuge” (*Tok Chegal Muhu-jōn* 讀諸葛武侯傳) by Hong Set’ae 洪世泰 (1653-1725) in idem, *Yuha-jip* 柳下集 1, 24b [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, 167:319]. See further the “Old cypresses at the shrine of the Martial Marquis” (*Muhu-myō kopek* 武侯廟古柏) by Im Suga 任守幹 (1665-1721) in idem, *Tunwa yugo* 遯窩遺稿 1, 19a [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, 180:230] and the “Shrine of the Martial Marquis” (*Muhu-sa* 武侯祠) by Ch’ae P’aengyun (1669-1731) in idem, *Hūiam-jip* 希菴 9, 18b [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, 182:176].

29. See the “Cypresses at the shrine of Kongming, a monthly paper” (*Kongmyōng myobaek* 孔明廟柏, *wǒlgwa* 月課) by Yi Chun 李埈 (1560-1635) in idem, *Ch’angsōk* 蒼石 *sōnsaeng munjip* 3, 10a [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, 64:256]. See also the “Twenty rhymes on the cypresses at the

straw hut, where he lived when he ploughed in reclusion until he was visited by Liu Bei, and are mostly composed on a series of paintings.³⁰ Although Du Fu did not use the straw hut very frequently, these poems refer to his image of Zhuge Liang as well, not only in the text, but also in regard to its topic, because the straw hut is nothing less than a visualization of Zhuge Liang's appointment as adviser and thus the beginning of the collaboration of this famous ruling pair. This becomes evident in the poems by Kim Man'gi, which focus on – besides Zhuge Liang – Cheng Tang and Yi Yin, Gaozong and Fu Yue, as well as King Wen and Lü Shang, the set that appeared in Du Fu's "Chants on Thoughts on Ancient Sites in Five Stanzas" and all of them were shown at the place they first met. But Zhuge Liang does not seem to have been a representative motif in painting, neither in Korea nor in China.³¹

shrine of Kongming, a monthly paper" (*Kongmyōng myobaek isib-un* 二十韻, *wōlgwa*) by Cho Hüil 趙希逸 (1575-1638) in idem, *Chugūm-jip* 竹陰 8, 28b [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 83:219].

30. See for instance Sin Sukchu's "Twelve short poems on a folding screen with paintings on old topics" (*Che kohwa-byōng sibi ch'ol* 題古 屏十二絕) that contains one on "Zhuge Liang" (*Chegal Ryang*), see idem, *Pohanjae-jip* 保閑齋 7, 7b [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 10:60]. The title of one of Sō Kōjōng's "On the noble painting on [the district of] *Yongchuan*" (*Che Yōngch'ōn gyōnghwa* 題永川卿) is "Straw hut of Kongming" (*Kongmyōng ch'oryō* 孔明草廬), see idem, *Saga* 四佳 *sijip* 46, 11b [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 11:66]. Yi Hwang 李滉 (1501-1570) was asked twice to compose poems on such paintings by his disciples Hwang Chullyang (1517-1563) and Chōng Yuil (1533-1576). See his "Straw hut of Kongming" (*Kongmyōng ch'oryō*), part of the series "Hwang Chunggō [i.e. Chullyang] asked for poems on ten paintings, in the year 1557" (*Hwang Chunggō ku chehwa sipp'ok* 黃仲舉求題 十幅, *chōngsa* 丁巳), in idem, *T'oegye sōnsaeng-jip* 2, 39a [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 167:339]. See further his "Three visits at the straw hut" (*Ch'oryō samgo*), part of the series "Chōng Chajung [i.e. Yuil] asked for eight short poems on a folding screen" (*Chōng Chajung ku che pyōnghwa p'alch'ol* 鄭子中求題并八絕), in idem, *T'oegye sōnsaeng-jip* 3, 44a [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 29:121]. Other poems were written by Yi Min'gu 李敏求 (1589-1670), Kim Man'gi 金萬基 (1633-1687), and Hong Set'ae. See the "Picture of the straw hut of the Sleeping Dragon [i.e. Zhuge Liang]" (*Waryong ch'odang-do* 臥龍草堂圖) in Yi Min'gu: *Tongju sōnsaeng sijip* 東州 20, 9a [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 94:229]. See also the "Three visits at the straw hut" (*Samgo ch'oryō* 三顧草廬), part of the "Four hymns on pictures on the walls of the hall of the mean [in the Palace of the Prospering Luckiness (*Ch'anggyōng-gung*)], with a preface" (*Kōn'guk-tang pyōksang tosang sasong* 建極堂壁上圖像四頌, *pyōngsō* 并序) in Kim Man'gi: *Sōsōk* 瑞石 -jip 5, 25a [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 144:427] and "Zhuge Liang" (*Chegal Ryang*), part of "Songs on pictures in two stanzas" (*Yōnghwa isu* 咏 二首) in Hong Set'ae: *Yuha-jip* 2, 24a [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 167:339].

31. See the National Palace Museum of Taiwan via: <http://www.npm.gov.tw/> and the National Museum of Korea via: <http://www.museum.go.kr/>. But at least one Korean "Picture of Zhuge Liang" (*Chegal Ryang-do* 諸葛亮圖) by an anonymous painter can be found in a catalog of the National Museum. See Kungnip Chungang Pangmul-gwan ed., *Kungnip Chungang Pangmul-gwan Han'guk sōhwa yumul torok* (Korean Paintings and Calligraphy of the National Museum of Korea) 8 (Seoul: Kungnip Chungang Pangmul-gwan, 1998) [without folio; the number of the painting is Tōk 997].

The (Neo-Confucian) Scholar-General

During the Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1268) Zhuge Liang's efforts to liberate the north of China have been used to call for a reconquest of the territory that has been lost to the Jurchen.³² The local veneration at places where Zhuge had acted was transcended to some extent and Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200) himself had rebuilt a shrine for Zhuge Liang without any connection to Sichuan. But Zhu Xi also modified the historical evaluation of Zhuge Liang, for he compiled the "Reflections on Things at Hand" (*Jinsi-lu* 近思錄), which defined him as one of the transmitters of Confucianism,³³ and altered the question of the legitimate succession in his "Outline of the Comprehensive Mirror [for Aid in Government]" ([*Zizhi* 資治] *Tongjian gangmu* 通鑑綱目). According to the "Classified Teachings of Master Zhu" (*Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類)³⁴ Zhu Xi stated the following about the aim of his revision:

Question: "What is the main focus of the Outline?" Answer: "The main [focus] is on the legitimate succession." Question: "Why is the main [focus] on the legitimate succession?" Answer: "Among the three kingdoms Shu-Han should be regarded as legitimate, but Sir Wen [that is, Sima Guang] says, that in a certain year and a certain month 'Zhuge Liang invaded predatorily'. This [means] to turn inside out, how could [one] declare [such] and instruct [therein]? This is the reason why I had the intention to accomplish the book."

32. See Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, "Ho Ch'ü-fei and Chu Hsi on Chu-ko Liang as a 'Scholar-General,'" *Journal of Sung-Yuan Studies* 25 (1995): 85 and 92.

33. See Zhu Xi ed., *Jinsi-lu* 14, 2b, in Shanghai zhonghua shuju ed., *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要 182 (Shanghai: Shanghai zhonghuashuju, [without year]). Wing-tsit Chan translates this passage as follows (comments omitted):

10. K'ung-ming had the intention of being an assistant of a true king, but he was not completely identified with the Way. A true king, like Heaven and Earth, has no selfish ideas. He would not commit an act of unrighteousness even if he could acquire an empire by doing so. K'ung-ming was determined to achieve success and to capture Liu Chang. A sage would rather not succeed. K'ung-ming should not have done it. In the case of Liu Piao's son, Tsung, since he was to be overcome by Ts'ao Kung, it would have been all right to capture him in order to restore the rule of the imperial Liu family.

11. Chu-ko Wu Hou has the disposition of a Confucian scholar.

12. K'ung-ming was not far from [bringing about a state where] ceremonies and music [could flourish].

See Wing-tsit Chan, *Reflections on Things at Hand: The Neo-Confucian Anthology* (New York; London: Columbia University Press, 1967), 295ff.

34. See Zhu Xi, *Zhuzi yulei* 105, page 9b. In Li Jingde ed., *Zhuzi yulei* (Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, *Min'guo* 民國 51 [1962]), 4248.

But as Hoyt Cleveland Tillman points out, Zhu Xi's understanding was much more complex because he also insisted that Shu lost its status as a legitimate dynasty due to their historical failure.³⁵ Nevertheless, Zhu Xi altered Zhuge Liang's reevaluation by Sima Guang forwarding the ideal of a sagely scholar-general in *Jinsi-lu* and *Tongjian gangmu*.

In Korea, an early source detailing Zhuge Liang's role as an advisor to a legitimate ruler and a defender against the Barbarians can be found in documents of the circle of Yi Chehyŏn. This account explicitly follows Zhu Xi's evaluation of Zhuge Liang as the "Mirror for the Healing of the People" (*Kyŏngje mun'gam* 經濟文鑑) and its sequel (*pyŏlchip* 別集)³⁶ by Chŏng Tojŏn is a historical guideline for the kings of Chosŏn Dynasty. Yet these alone would not be cause to indicate that there could be any special interest in this figure. However, the circle of Yi Chehyŏn left a number of texts that indicate a special interest in Zhuge Liang and the Neo-Confucian evaluation. Yi Saek 李穡 (1328-1396)³⁷ and Kim Sisŭp 金時習 (1435-1493)³⁸ refer to Du Fu's and Yi Chehyŏn's poems, while Chŏng Tojŏn 鄭道傳 (1337-1398),³⁹ Ha Ryun 河崙 (1347-1416),⁴⁰ and Kwŏn Kŭn 權近 (1352-1409),⁴¹ refer to his statesman-image. Also, Kim Hŭn 金 (b. 1448) and Cho Wi 曹偉 (1454-1503), both disciples of Kim Chongjik 金宗直 (1431-1492), whose teacher Kil Chae 吉再 (1353-1419) was a disciple of Yi Saek, could be counted among this circle, although they wrote their poems on Zhuge-shrines by the Royal order,⁴² as can Yi Haeng 李荇 (1478-1534), as

35. See Tillman (1996), 29. See also Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, *Utilitarian Confucianism: Ch'en Liang's Challenge to Chu Hsi* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982).

36. See Chŏng Tojŏn, *Sambong* 三峯-jip 11, 29a [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 5:490].

37. See "Martial Marquis" (*Muhu* 武侯) in Yi Saek, *Mogŭn sigo* 11, 27a [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 4:108].

38. See especially the "Shrine to the Martial Marquis" (*Muhu-myo* 廟), "Encomium to the Martial Marquis" (*Muhu-ch'an* 贊), the "Biography on Zhuge Liang" (*Chegal Ryang-jŏn* 諸葛亮傳) and the "Poetical description of the hut of Nanyang" (*Namyang-nyŏ pu* 南陽廬賦) in Kim Sisŭp, *Maewŏl-tang sijip* 梅月堂詩集 2, 16a and *Maewŏl-tang munjip* 文集 19, 8b; *Maewŏl-tang munjip* 20, 3a and *Maewŏl-tang munjip* 22, 8b [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 13:116, 368, 375 and 409]. For other pieces with reference to Zhuge Liang see digital index via <http://www.minchu.or.kr/>.

39. See the "Letter to the Excellencies at Liaodong" (*Sang Yodong chewi taecin-sŏ* 上遼東諸位大人書) in Chŏng Tojŏn, *Sambong-jip* 3, 16b [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 5:330]. See also *Tong-munsŏn* 東文選 63, 3b [<http://www.minchu.or.kr/>].

40. See the "Statement on the admonition of the State Council" (*Ŭijŏng-bu sanggyu-sŏl* 議政府相規說) in Ha Ryun, *Hojŏng sŏnsaeng munjip* 浩亭先生文集 2, 21a [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 6:454]. See also *Tong-munsŏn* 98, 25a.

41. See the "Record on ploughing in reclusion" (*Nongŭm-gi* 農隱記) in Kwŏn Kŭn, *Yangch'on sŏnsaeng munjip* 陽村 13, 1b [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 7:142]. See also *Tong-munsŏn* 79, 1a.

well.⁴³

Remarkable among these scholars is Kim Sisŭp, who refused to accede to an office stating that King Sejo 世祖 (r. 1455-1468) lacked legitimacy and he thus became one of the so-called “Six surviving [loyal] subjects” (*Saengyuksin* 生六臣). Kim Sisŭp regarded Zhuge Liang as a scholar-general, as a list of biographies written by him indicate,⁴⁴ but this and his interest in the shrine can hardly be understood without taking his disapproval of Sejo into account. Sejo himself also had an interest in Zhuge Liang as he publicly compared his confidant Yang Sŏngji 梁誠之 (1414-1482) with Zhuge Liang,⁴⁵ and the same interest also

42. The titles of the two poems are almost identical. “Passing the Zhuge-Shrine” (*Kwa Chegal-myo* 過諸葛廟) by Kim Hŭn states in his commentary that king Sŏngjong (r. 1469-1494) had chosen the topic and fixed a time limit of three hours for composing the poem. See idem, *Allak-tang chip* 顏樂堂集 1, 10a [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, 15:214]. “Passing the shrine to Zhuge Liang” (*Kwa Chegal Ryang-myo*) states in the commentary that it was also composed by Royal order, but during a stay in China, i.e., in 1484 or 1498. See Cho Wi, *Maegye sŏnsaeng munjip* 梅溪 2, 10a [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, 16:301].

43. See the poem “On the biography of Kongming” (*Che Kongmyŏng-jŏn* 題孔明傳) and the poetical descriptions “The cypresses at the shrine to Kongming” (*Kongmyŏng-myo paek* 孔明廟柏) and the directly following “A further one” (U 又) in Yi Haeng, *Yongjae sŏnsaeng-jip* 容齋先生集 4, 22a and *Yongjae sŏnsaeng oejip* 外集, 7b and 8a [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, 20:415 and 566]. *Che Kongmyŏng-jŏn* is part of the “Record on [a Journey to China to] attend upon the Son of Heaven” (*Choch’ŏl-lok* 朝天錄), written on the occasion of an embassy to China in 1500, and according to the arrangement of the poems it could have written in *Yongping* 永平 commandery or in the military district *Liaodong* 遼東. In geographical works of that time such a site cannot be identified, but it is possible that Yi Haeng visited a shrine which was new or still not recorded. The “Comprehensive Geography of the Qīng-Empire” (*Daqing yitong-zhi* 大清一統志) from 1746 mentions a “Shrine of the Three Loyals” (*Sanzhong-si*) in the Northwest of *Qian’an* 遷安 district in *Yongping* commandery, which was devoted to the veneration of Zhuge Liang, Yue Fei, and Wen Tianxiang. See [Without editor], *Jiaqing chongxiu yitong-zhi* 嘉慶重修 19, 10a (Taipei: Zhongguo wenxian chubanshe, [without year]), booklet 7. The poetical descriptions both seem to be dreamed journeys to Chengdu. The “Record of activities” (*haengjang* 行狀) on Yi Haeng mentions only one journey to China, but another one, unfortunately without any details, is stated in the “True Records of King Chungjong.” Nevertheless it is very unlikely that he was able to leave the Chinese capital. See Sim Yŏnwŏn 沈連源 et al., *Chungjong Konghui Hwimun Somu Hŭmin Sŏnghyo Taewang sillok* 中宗恭僖敬文昭武欽仁誠孝大王實錄 3, 39b [*Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, 14:165]. The *Haengjang* is transmitted in two versions, see Yi Haeng, *Yongjae sŏnsaeng haengjang*. In idem, *Yongjae sŏnsaeng-jip* [without folio] [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, 20:291]. See further Chu Sejong 周世鵬, *Murŭng chapko* 武陵雜稿 8, 16b [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, 27:62].

44. Kim Sisŭp wrote not only a biography on Zhuge Liang, but also on Zhou Dunyi 周敦 (1017-1073), Shao Yong 邵雍 (1011-1077), Zhang Zai 張載 (1020-1076), Cheng Hao 程顥 (1032-1085), and Cheng Yi 程 (1033-1107) as well as on the (scholar-)generals Yue Fei and Wen Tianxiang 文天祥 (1236-1283), which can be understood as an interest in Neo-Confucian figures. See Kim Sisŭp, *Maewŏl-tang sijip* 20, 3aff [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, 13:375].

45. See No Sasin 盧思愼 et al., *Sŏngjong Kangjŏng Taewang sillok* 成宗康靖 142, 8b [*Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, 10:342]. See also the “Political record on the prefect of Namwŏn” (*Namwŏn-gun*

applies to the following Kings Yejong 睿宗 (r. 1468-1469) and Sŏngjong 成宗 (r. 1469-1494), under whose reign and during Kim Sisŭp's lifetime the posthumous title of Zhuge Liang, *Ch'ungmu* 忠武, was bestowed upon Kusŏng Kun 龜城君 (1441-1479) and Nam I 南怡 (1441-1468).⁴⁶ Zhuge Liang thus stood not only for a biographical model of protest but was also used for a scholarly reply to Sejo's comparison which could also be interpreted as an identification of the king himself with Zhaolie, that is, with a legitimate king according to the Neo-Confucian reinterpretation, and it also seems to be a reply to the continuing participation in Chinese military veneration of Zhuge Liang by the dynasty.

The dynasty only bestowed the title *Ch'ungmu* on two other occasions: upon Yi Sunsŏn 李舜臣 (1545-1598) and Kim Simin 金時敏 (1554-1592) after the Japanese invasions from 1592 to 1597 and upon Yi Suil 李守一 (1554-1632), Chŏng Ch'ungsin 鄭忠信 (1576-1636), Ku Inhu 具仁厚 (1578-1658), and Kim Ŭngha 金應河 (1580-1619) after the Manchurian invasions of 1627 and 1636, all of whom were all military officials. Nevertheless, it is hard to interpret the range of the use of the military image, because no connection to military cults can be found. But its known use after the disastrous invasions indicates that the title *Ch'ungmu* became very exclusive towards the end of the 16th century and was reserved only for heroes of "greater" catastrophes.

Zhuge Liang as a defender appears in the "Petition by Zhuge Liang of the Han Dynasty with the request of a northward castigating campaign into the central plain" (*Han Chegal Ryang ch'ŏng pukpŏl Chungwŏn-ju* 漢諸葛亮請北伐中原奏) by Chŏng Sugang 丁壽崗 (1454-1527),⁴⁷ but this is, interestingly enough, a fictitious text, which had a real background, as Chŏng Sugang actually demanded a campaign against the Jurchen in the sixth month of 1491, although using entirely different wording.⁴⁸

Sources for the study of the Neo-Confucian reinterpretation according to the *Jinsi-lu* can be found in the circle of Yi Hwang 李滉 (1501-1570),⁴⁹ but their

chŏngan 南原君政案) by Kim Suon 金守溫 (1410-1481) and the "Family history of the prefect of Namwŏn" (*Namwŏn-gun kasŭng-gi* 南原君家乘記) by Sŏ Kŏjŏng 徐居正 in Yang Sŏngji, *Nulchae-jip* 訥齋 6, 7a and 17b [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 9:364 and 369].

46. In Korea this *sŏho* 諡號 was already bestowed on the military servant Cho Yŏngmu 趙英茂 (d. 1414), who rendered outstanding services to the founding of Chosŏn Dynasty. Kusŏng Kun, a member of the Royal Family, and Nam I were decorated with this title because of their merits during the suppression of the rebellion by Yi Siae 李施愛 (d. 1467).

47. See Chŏng Sugang, *Wŏrhŏn-jip* 月軒 5, 21a [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 16:262].

48. See No Sasin ed., *Sŏngjong Kangjŏng Taewang sillok* 254, 12b [*Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, 12:54f].

49. See the "Discussion [of the sentence by Cheng Yi, that] Kongming was not far from [bringing about a state where] ceremonies and music [could flourish]" (*Kongmyŏng sŏgi yeang-non* 孔明庶

aims were different and there were also the poems on Zhuge-paintings by the master himself, the historical “Discussion [on the fact that] Kongming did not censure the castigating campaign into the Kingdom of Wu” (*Kongmyǒng pujan pŏr'o-ron* 孔明不諫伐吳論)⁵⁰ by Yu Sŏngnyong 柳成龍 (1542-1607) or the “Poetical description of the Zhuge-wind” (*Chegal-p'ung pu* 諸葛風賦)⁵¹ by Pak Kwangjŏn 朴光前 (1526-1597), both of which were connected with the Japanese invasions.⁵² On the other hand, in 1575 Yi I 李珣 (1536-1584) presented the “Collection of the Holy Teachings” (*Sŏnghak chibyo* 聖學輯要) to the court, which he declared unhumly as “the beginning and the end of study for emperors and kings.”⁵³ In this Neo-Confucian textbook, Zhuge Liang keeps his position among the transmitters of the (Confucian) way,⁵⁴ and two fascicles earlier he is introduced on the basis of his biography in *Sanguozhi*,⁵⁵ but apart from this no further Neo-Confucian interest in Zhuge Liang can be found.

A new interest in Zhuge Liang as defender and legitimate statesman arose

幾禮樂論) by Ku Pongnyŏng 具鳳齡 (1526-1586) in idem, *Paektam-jip* 栢潭 9, 14a [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 39:143]. See also the “Discussion [of the sentence by Cheng Yi, that] Kongming was not far from [bringing about a state where] ceremonies and music [of the three dynasties Xia, Shang and Zhou could flourish]” (*Kongmyǒng sŏgi samdae yeang-non* 孔明庶幾三代禮樂論) by Hong Sŏngmin 洪聖民 (1536-1594) in idem, *Chorong-jip* 拙翁 6, 20b [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 46:515]. See further the “Examination subject” (*Ch'aengmun*) by Hwang Chullyang 黃俊良 (1517-1563) in idem, *Kŭmgye sŏnsaeng munjip* 錦溪 叢書 8, 27b [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 37:185].

50. See Yu Sŏngnyong, *Sŏae sŏngsaeng munjip* 西厓 17, 16b [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 52:335].

51. See Pak Kwangjŏn, *Chukch'ŏn-jip* 竹川 1, 18b [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 39:304].

52. Pak Kwangjŏn defeated Japanese troops at a Korean Red Cliff (*Chŏkpyŏk* 赤壁) in Hwasun 和順 district, Chŏlla Province, and compared this with the famous battle Zhuge Liang fought at the Chinese Red Cliff. See idem, *Chukch'ŏn-jip* 6, 17b and *Chukch'ŏn-jip* 7, 8b [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 39:354 and 360].

53. See Yi I, *Sŏnghak chibyo* 1, 2a. In idem, *Yulgok sŏnsaeng chŏnsŏ* 栗谷 19 [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 44:420]. But *Sŏnghak chibyo* actually circulated as a separate printing and was reprinted several times. Printings of the years 1696, 1732, 1759, and 1811 can be found in the Kyujanggak-Archive via <http://e-kyujanggak.snu.ac.kr/>, the printing of 1696 again in the National Library of Korea via <http://www.nl.go.kr/>. A number of undated printings are preserved there as well as in the Changsŏgak-Archive of the Academy of Korean Studies via: <http://lib.aks.ac.kr/>. Some decades later this work achieved the status of a king's textbook, especially under the reigns of Kings Hyojong 孝宗 (r. 1649-1659), Hyŏnjong 顯宗 (r. 1659-1674), and Sukchong 肅宗 (r. 1674-1720). See the index of the “Daily records of the Royal Secretariat” (*Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi* 承政院日記) via: <http://sjw.history.go.kr/>.

54. See Yi I, *Sŏnghak chibyo* 8, 22a. In idem, *Yulgok sŏnsaeng chŏnsŏ* 26 [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 45:73].

55. See Yi I, *Sŏnghak chibyo* 6, 46a In idem, *Yulgok sŏnsaeng chŏnsŏ* 24 [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 45:26].

after the takeover of the Westerner's faction in 1623 in the circle of Kim Changsaeng 金長生 (1548-1631). Chang Yu 張維 (1587-1638) criticized Zhu Xi for his criticism of Zhuge Liang's arrest of the legitimate governor Liu Zhang 劉璋 in *Jinsi-lu*, an act that was in his view correct according to the situation.⁵⁶ The discussion of problems of legitimation clearly indicates a Neo-Confucian influence, and it is very likely that it was written before the takeover and in connection with debates on military aid to the perishing Ming Dynasty, but there is no information left that allows us to date these writings. On the other hand, the scholar Kim Sion 金是樞 (1598-1669)⁵⁷ retreated southwards, thus imitating Zhu Xi's veneration of Zhuge Liang, which is shown in Zhu Xi's poem "Hut of the Sleeping Dragon," and Kim Sujŭng 金壽增 (1624-1701), his brother Kim Suhang 金壽恒 (1629-1689) and their ally Song Siyöl 宋時烈 (1607-1689)⁵⁸ wrote poems on the very same text as well.

Around the year 1658, discussions on the campaign into the kingdom of Wu

56. See Chang Yu, *Kyegok manp'il* 谿谷漫筆 1, 32a. In idem, *Kyegok sŏnsaeng-jip* 谿谷 [Han'guk munjip ch'onggan, 92:577].

57. Kim Sion founded a "Straw hut of the Sleeping Dragon" (*Waryong ch'odang* 臥龍草堂) on the mountain of the Sleeping Dragon in Andong prefecture in 1643. This hut or shrine had no theoretical basis as those of later times did. See his "Record on the straw hut of the Sleeping Dragon" (*Waryong ch'odang-gi* 臥龍草堂記) in idem, *P'yoŏn sŏnsaeng munjip* 瓢隱 4, 26a [Han'guk yŏktae munjip ch'ongsŏ 1638, 444]. As a number of later poems indicate (all of them are referring to the straw hut in their titles), this hut became quite famous in the next centuries. See Yi Hyŏnil (1627-1704), *Karam sŏnsaeng munjip* 1, 16a [Han'guk munjip ch'onggan, 127:373]. See Kwŏn Tugyŏng 權斗經 (1654-1726), *Ch'angsŏl-chaŏ sŏnsaeng munjip* 蒼雪齋 4, 7a [Han'guk munjip ch'onggan, 169:75]. See also Yi Chae 李栽 (1657-1730), *Miram sŏnsaeng munjip* 密菴 2, 14a [Han'guk munjip ch'onggan, 173:52]. See also Kwŏn Man 權萬 (b. 1688), *Kangjwa sŏnsaeng munjip* 江左 2, 26b [Han'guk munjip ch'onggan, 209:87]. See further: Kwŏn Ch'an 權鑑 (1826-1905) in Kwŏn Ōin 權五寅 ed., *Samwa yŏn'go* 三窩聯稿 1, 23b and 39b. A copy of this work is preserved in the National Library (Shelfmark: Ko 3647-360-1-4) and is available via: <http://www.nl.go.kr/>. See also the index via: <http://www.ugyo.net/> (Korea Studies Advancement Center). See further: Kim Ch'angsŏk 金昌錫 (b. 1846), *Wŏlt'an sŏnsaeng munjip* 月灘 1, [without folio] [See the facsimile and index via: <http://www.ugyo.net/>] and Yi Chunggyun 李中均 (1861-1933), *Tongjŏn chamsa yugo* 東田潛士 3, 23a. A copy of this work is preserved in the National Library (Shelfmark: Ko 3648-62-53) and available via: <http://www.nl.go.kr/>.

58. The poem by Kim Sujŭng is not contained in his *munjip*, but as it is given as the "Original rhymes" (*Wŏnun*) in the *munjip* of his brother Suhang, it should have been the first of the three poems. See Kim Suhang, *Mun'gok-chip* 文谷 4, 7b [Han'guk munjip ch'onggan, 133:83]. The title of Song Siyöl's poem is "On the rhymes by Kog'un Kim Yŏnji, Sujŭng [by name], on the 'Hut of the Sleeping Dragon' by the venerable Hui [i.e. Zhu Xi]" (*Ch'a Kog'un Kim Yŏnji Sujŭng soyong Hoe-ong Waryong-am un* 次谷雲金延之壽增所用晦翁臥龍菴韻), see idem, *Songja taejŏn* 宋子大全 1, 8b [Han'guk munjip ch'onggan, 108:100]. The title of Kim Suhang's poem is "On [the poem] 'The pond of the Sleeping Dragon' by the elder brother Kog'un using the rhyme of the 'Hut of the Sleeping Dragon' by Huiam [i.e. Zhu Xi]" (*Kyŏngch'a Paek-ssi Kog'un Waryong-yŏn yong Hoeam Waryong-am un* 敬次伯氏谷雲臥龍淵用晦菴臥龍菴韻), see idem, *Mun'gok-chip* 4, 7b [Han'guk munjip ch'onggan, 133:83].

and on Zhuge Liang's rule focussing on the aim of an ideal Confucian state were written during civil service examinations.⁵⁹ In 1661, shortly after the remains of Ming Dynasty were definitely annihilated by the Manchurian troops, Yi Minsö 李敏敍 (1633-1688), a disciple of Song Siyöl, presented the "Petition for the request of the restoration of the shrine of Martial Marquis at Yöngyu district" (*Ch'öng chungsu Yöngyu-hyön Muhu-sa so* 請重修永柔縣武侯祠疏) to the court. It starts as follows:

I am humbly serving in the district of Yöngyu and saw that there existed a shrine for the Martial Marquis Zhuge, chancellor of Han [Dynasty]. In the course of a visit I asked why the shrine had been erected. It was ordered by the great King Sönjo, in the 31st year of the [Chinese] reign title *Wanli* [that is, 1603; sic], the year *kyesa* [that is, 1593; sic].

During the disaster of the year *imjin* [that is, 1592], [King] Sönjo inspected the dragon bay in the [north]west [of our country]. In the first month of the next year the [Japanese] bandits began to withdraw from P'yöngyang. The carriage guider [that is, Sönjo] came to Yöngyu, stayed there until the sixth month and then left. He offered [to help them] to prepare for defence, but in fact he leant on the strength of this district. For this reason he praised it and on the verge of leaving the district was informed by his hand about the proclamation of a commendation. This document could still be found on the wall of the office. I read the holy instruction and at the end it states: "I should inspect [this place] again at a later date and arrange a sociable drink for the Oldest of this district." This is actually a very gracious intention. Later there were requests by governors and secret inspectors about this affair and the erection of a shrine of the Martial Marquis at this place was permitted.⁶⁰

One could suppose that this was only a local affair, connected with the military

59. See the "Discussion [on the fact that] Kongming did not prevent Zhaojie from his departure [i.e. campaign] to the East [i.e. the Kingdom of Wu], [on the occasion of] the academy examination of 1658" (*Kongmyöng puji Soyöl tonghaeng-non* 孔明不止昭烈東行論, *musul kwan'go* 戊戌館考) by Kwak Sugang 郭壽岡 (1619-1660) in idem, *Maehön sönsaeng munjip* 梅軒 上, 7a [*Han'guk yöktae munjip ch'ongsö* 1695, 50]. See also the "Discussion of Kongming's effort until he [entered a state of] grief and [finally] died" (*Kongmyöng noch'we ch'ip'ye-ron* 孔明 勞悴致斃論) by Yu Hwa 柳 (1631-1697) in idem, *Sujol-chaе yugo* 守拙齋 3, 14a. A copy of this work is preserved in the Kyujanggak-Archive. Shelfmark: Ko3428-64-1-3; Mikofilm: M/F 81-103-430B. See also the "Discussion of the imperious and rigorous government of Kongming and his efforts until his own damage" (*Kongmyöng ch'isang ömno sangsaeng-non* 孔明治 嚴勞傷生論) by Cho Sönggi 趙聖期 (1638-1689) in idem, *Cholsu-jae sönsaeng munjip* 拙修齋 11, 33b [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 147:360] and the "Discussion of the imperious and rigorous government of Kongming and his efforts until his own damage, a monthly examination" (*Kongmyöng ch'isang ömno sangsaeng-non* 孔明治 嚴勞傷生論, *wölgwa* 月課) by Pak T'aebö 朴泰輔 (1654-1689) in idem, *Chöngjae-jip* 定齋集 4, 33b [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 168:91].

60. See Yi Minsö, *Söha sönsaeng-jip* 西河 6, 31a [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 144:104].

image of Zhuge Liang to which especially the kings of Chosŏn referred, but it was in fact not simply a military cult and its impact was not local either. The connection between this district, the king's stay there and Zhuge Liang is stated as follows:

The area westward of the pass [that is, P'yŏng'an Province] is far from the Royal influence and distant from proper instruction. It is thus desired to establish instruction for the people and to encourage loyalty and righteousness urgently. The saint's [that is, Sŏnjo's] acting, however, usually arises also from the innumerable. In the west of the district there is furthermore a hill of the Sleeping Dragon, and the erection of the shrine is connected with [its] name. It is therefore my humble opinion on the meaning of the shrine's erection that it actually originated from the name of the hut of the Sleeping Dragon by Master Zhu [Xi] on Mount Lu and [his] sacrificial offerings [there] for the Martial Marquis.⁶¹

It is obviously the image of the defender against the Barbarians to which Yi Minsŏ refers, and that helped to survive against the Japanese invaders, but the Japanese had gone and even the Manchu, so there may have been only a ritual interest in a continuing veneration, since there was nothing left to defend.

It is curious in this context that the petition has no date and cannot be found in the "True Records of King Hyŏnjong" (*Hyŏnjong Taewang sillok* 顯宗大王實錄). These records were compiled in 1676, that is, during the short period of the rule of the Southerner's faction, and on the first day of the twelfth month in 1661 it states that on the request by Yi Minjŏk 李敏迪 (1625-1673), Yi Minsŏ's elder brother, three slaves were attached to the shrine for its renovation.⁶² The lacking historical interest in the affair may have had its reasons in factional disputes, but why did the shrine only get slaves under the rule of the Westerner's faction, although the petition asked for officials, guards and land? Only some years later, in 1683, scholars of the Westerner's faction completed the "Revised True Records of King Hyŏnjong" (*Hyŏnjong Taewang kaesu sillok* 改修實錄), but under the same day it only summarizes the petition by Yi Minsŏ, not Yi Minjŏk, without further information.⁶³ Sources like the "Local Records" (*ŭpchi*

61. See *ibid.*, 6, 32a. It is also possible that there was no Zhuge-shrine at all. "Sleeping dragon" is of course another name for Zhuge Liang, but there is also a geomantic meaning, for hills that provide protection, and during the Japanese invasions this could have been very important for King Sŏnjo 宣祖, too. Furthermore there are no sources on the shrine before Yi Minsŏ. Two poems by Kim Ch'anghŭp 金昌翁 (1653-1722) and Yun Pongjo 尹鳳朝 (1680-1761) refer to a "shrine of the Sleeping Dragon," but it is Zhuge Liang who is meant and not the geomantic constellation. See Kim Ch'anghŭp: *Samyŏn-jip* 三淵 8, 15a [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 165:166]. See also Yun Pongjo: *P'oam-jip* 圃巖 1, 29a [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 193:110].

62. See Hŏ Chŏk 許積 et al., *Hyŏnjong Taewang sillok* 4, 52b [*Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, 36:314].

邑誌) do not provide any help either as the numerous records on Yǒngyu district invariably refer to the petition, which can be easily identified because they copied the mistaken date of *Wanli* 萬曆 31 (1603), that was actually *Wanli* 21 (1593), the year *kyesa* 癸巳.⁶⁴ But there are two other sources, the “Inscription for a stele for the shrine of the Martial Marquis at Yǒngyu” (*Yǒngyu Muhu-myo pi* 永柔武侯廟碑)⁶⁵ from 1686⁶⁶ by the very same Yi Minsŏ and the note “Written following the inscription for a stele for the shrine of the Martial Marquis at Yǒngyu district” (*Sŏ Yǒngyu-hyŏn Muhu-sa pi hu* 書永柔縣武侯祠碑後)⁶⁷ from 1688 by his teacher Song Siyŏl which was written on the occasion of the unveiling of a Zhuge-statue.

The fact that the renovation of the shrine lasted more than two decades may imply that it was only of little importance, but Song Siyŏl was involved in another Zhuge-project, the erection of a shrine in Namyang 南陽, Kyŏnggi province, which had probably begun after 1661 but was finished in 1666, directed only by the headman of Namyang, Min Sijung (1625-1677), a disciple of Song Siyŏl. On the request of his disciple, Song Siyŏl wrote the “Record on the shrine for Zhongwu [that is, Zhuge Liang] and Wending [that is, Hu Anguo] at Namyang district” (*Namyang-hyŏn Ch’ungmu Munjŏng-sa ki* 南陽縣忠武文定祠記).⁶⁸ In another text concerning this affair, “On the ceremonial incorporation of the Martial Marquis Zhuge and his Excellency Wending, Hu [Anguo] into the shrine of Namyang” (*Namyang-sa pongan Chegal Muhu Ho Munjŏng-gong mun* 南陽祠奉安諸葛武侯胡文正公文)⁶⁹ he states that only because of the same name

63. See Kim Suhang et al., *Hyŏnjong Taewang kaesu sillok* 6, 26b [*Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, 37:251].

64. It is interesting that these sources “corrected” or even forged *kyesa* to *kyemo* 癸卯 to dispel the difference of ten years between the two dates. See for instance: *Yǒngyu ūpchi* [without folio], in Yi Yŏngbin ed., *Ūpchi* 17 [P’yŏngan-do 4] (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1986), 481, 483 and 496f. Other official sources as the “Enlarged Examinations of the [Korean] Documents” (*Chŏngbo munhŏn pigo*) also give the year 1603, as: Hongmun’gwan 弘文館 ed., *Chŏngbo munhŏn pigo* 增補文獻備考 64, 7a. In Hong Ponghan ed., *Munhŏn pigo sang* (Seoul: Myŏngmun-dang, 1959), 836. See also [without ed.], *Taedong chiji* 大東地志 21, [without folio]. In Kim Chŏnggho 金正浩 ed., *Taedong chiji* (Seoul: Asea munhwa-sa, 1976), 462f.

65. See Yi Minsŏ, *Sŏha sŏnsaeng-jip* 6, 32a [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, 144:243].

66. See Kim Ch’angjip 金昌集 ed., *Sukchong Taewang sillok* 17, 34a [*Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, 39:73].

67. See Song Siyŏl, *Songja taejŏn* 149, 32b [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, 113:215].

68. See Song Siyŏl, *Songja taejŏn* 141, 7b [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, 113:29]. On Hu Anguo (1074-1138) see further: Hans van Ess, *Von Ch’eng I zu Chu Hsi: Die Lehre vom Rechten Weg in der Überlieferung der Familie Hu* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003).

69. See Song Siyŏl, *Songja taejŏn* 141, 8a and *Songja taejŏn* 151, 20a [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, 113:29 and 240].

“Nanyang,” the Chinese one, where Zhuge Liang and Hu Anguo had lived, and the Korean one, where the shrine was erected, there is a connection between the two defenders against the Barbarian and of the Korean soil.⁷⁰ Interestingly enough, according to the same text the opinion was expressed at Namyang that its former headman, Yun Kye 尹檠 (1583-1636), who was executed by the Manchu, should also be incorporated into this shrine. Min Sijung accepted and thus three defenders from “Nanyang” were venerated there. But in the “Inscription for a stele on his Excellency Yun [Kye]” (*Namyang Yun-gong pi* 南陽尹公碑),⁷¹ written in 1668, Song Siyöl stated that after a first epitaph for Yun Kye by Kim Sanghön 金尙憲 (1570-1652),⁷² Yi Haengjin 李行進 (1597-1665) made another advance for the commemoration of Yun Kye, but King Hyojong 孝宗 (r. 1649-1659) answered, that a constellation of three loyals would be much more estimable.⁷³

The project in Namyang thus had a direct political indication, as it focused on the resistance against Barbarians in the past (the Jurchen) and the present (the Manchu) as well as on the defense of the cultivated world. The same may of course apply for the project in Yöngyu, because it is not only the uncultivated image of the northern provinces Yi Minsö refers to when he speaks of patriots or “blazing scholars” (*yölsa* 烈士) that should emanate from this area, but the shrine there was next to the border and a request for officials and guards could be misunderstood by the Manchu as something like a military training camp. In comparison the shrine in Namyang was more passive and focused on veneration, and thus King Hyönjong (r. 1659-1674) granted an inscription tablet for its gate in 1669, while the shrine in Yöngyu was still under renovation.

During the following decades and centuries the shrine in Namyang seems to have been only of local interest,⁷⁴ whereas the shrine in Yöngyu was enlarged. By

70. Indeed, there may have been a connection between Yi Chehyön interest in Zhuge Liang and this district, because in 1310, i.e. under rule of King Ch'ungsön, the former Ikchu 益州 was renamed as Namyang. See Yi Haeng et al., *Sinjung Tongguk yoji sungnam* 新增東國輿地勝 9, 14b [<http://www.minchu.or.kr/>].

71. See Song Siyöl, *Songja taejön* 171, 37a [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 113:595]. This stele is registered as “Cultural Heritage of Towns and Provinces” No. 85 in Kyönggi province, see <http://www.cha.go.kr/> (Cultural Heritage Administration).

72. See the “Epitaph for his Excellency Yun, prefect of Namyang, with a preface” (*Namyang pusa Yun-gong myogal-myöng* 南陽府使尹公墓碣銘, *pyöngsö* 并序), in Kim Sanghön, *Ch'öngüm-jip* 淸陰 31, 12b [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 77:441].

73. See Song Siyöl, *Songja taejön* 171, 39b [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 113:595].

74. In the “Local Records” this shrine appears as “Dragon-Cypress-Shrine” (*Yongbaek-sa* 龍柏寺), see [without ed.], *Kyönggi-ji* 京畿誌, *Namyang* [without folio], in Yi Yöngbin 李永彬 ed., *Upchi* 10 [*Kyönggi-do* 1] (Seoul, Asea munhwasa, 1985), 71. In the “Enlarged Examinations of

the order of Kings Sukchong 肅宗 (r. 1674-1720) and Yǒngjo 英祖 (r. 1724-1776), Yue Fei (1103-1141) and Wen Tianxiang 文天祥 (1236-1283), two famous generals of the Song Dynasty were incorporated into the cult in 1695 and 1750,⁷⁵ and the shrine itself was renamed “Shrine of the Three Loyals” (*Samch’ung-sa* 三忠寺).⁷⁶ All later texts on this shrine were written by members of the Westerner’s faction or their descendants, but no further hint of an anti-Manchurian connotation can be found. As a North Korean “Local Record” indicates, this shrine still exists.⁷⁷

But Zhu Xi’s veneration of Zhuge Liang was not only a public affair and a political argument. According to a “Record on the study of Un’gok [Kim Sujǒng]” (*Un’gok chǒngsa-gi* 谷雲精舍記) written in 1671 by Song Siyöl, the same Kim Sujǒng who wrote a poem on Zhu Xi’s “Hut of the Sleeping Dragon” retreated eastwards into the mountains of *Ch’unch’ön* 春川 prefecture. In this area was not only a “Pond of the Sleeping Dragon,”⁷⁸ but also the remains of Kim Sisüp’s housing. In 1693 Kim Sujǒng himself wrote a “Record on the hall ‘One Should be Aware [of me]’” (*Yuji-dang ki* 有知堂記), where he stated that there were statues of Zhuge Liang and Kim Sisüp.⁷⁹ In the “Epitaph for Master

the [Korean] Documents” (*Chǔngbo munhǒn pigo*) it is not mentioned, see Hongmun-gwan ed., *Chǔngbo munhǒn pigo* 64, 1aff. See Hong Ponghan ed., *Munhǒn pigo sang* (Seoul: Myǒngmun-dang, 1959), 833ff.

75. On Yue Fei see Jochen Degkwitz, *Yue Fei und sein Mythos* (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1983). On Wen Tianxiang see Horst Huber, “Wen T’ien-hsiang (1236-1283): Vorstufen zum Verständnis seines Lebens” (PhD diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München, 1983). See also William Andreas Brown, *Wen T’ien-hsiang: A Biographical Study of a Sung Patriot* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1986).

76. This shrine is mentioned in *Chǔngbo munhǒn pigo*, see Hongmun-gwan ed., *Chǔngbo munhǒn pigo* 64, 7a and in Hong Ponghan ed., *Munhǒn pigo sang* (Seoul: Myǒngmun-dang, 1959), 836. The constellation of these three heroes can be found in the Chinese capital as well, and Ko Kyǒngmyǒng 高敬命 (1533-1592) already had mentioned it on the occasion of an embassy to China in 1581. See Ko Kyǒngmyǒng, *Chebon-gjip* 霽峯 4, 40a [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, 42:102].

77. See P’yǒngnam P’yǒngwǒn-gun minhoe P’yǒngwǒn kunji p’yǒngch’an wiwǒn-hoe ed., *P’yǒngwǒn kunji* (Seoul: P’yǒngnam P’yǒngwǒn-gun minhoe P’yǒngwǒn kunji p’yǒngch’an wiwǒn-hoe, 1997), 359ff. A local influence of the shrine in Yǒngyu before the 20th century can be found in the fact that the collection of Korean folk songs by the singer Yi Ch’angbae 李昌培 (1916-1983), which became Important intangible cultural heritage No. 19 in 1983, contains the “Song of a Kongming-Episode: Zhuge Liang calls on the south-eastern wind” (*Sasöl Kongmyǒng-ga* 辭說孔明歌: *Chegal Ryang tongnam-p’ung ch’uk* 諸葛亮東南風祝) and the “Song of Kongming” (*Kongmyǒng-ga* 孔明歌) under the part ‘songs from the provinces P’yǒngan and Hwanghae’ (*sodo ch’angbu* 西道唱部). See Yi Ch’angbae ed., *Chǔngbo kayo chipsǒng* 增補歌謠集成 (Seoul: Ch’onggu kojǒn sǒngak hagwǒn, *Tan’gi* 檀紀 4288 [1955]), 137f and 141ff.

78. See Song Siyöl, *Songja taejǒn* 142, 26a [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, 113:62].

79. See Kim Sujǒng, *Kog’un-jip* 谷雲 4, 26a [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, 125:219]. According to

Kog'un, the elder brother of my father" (*Paekpu Kog'un sŏnsaeng myop'yo* 伯父谷雲先生墓表) his nephew Kim Ch'anghŭp 金昌翕 (1653-1722) added that a statue of Song Siyŏl could be found there, too.⁸⁰ The veneration of Zhuge Liang in private shrines is also known in a document from the early 18th century.⁸¹

As the Neo-Confucian scholars understood Zhuge Liang neither as a scholar nor through his writings,⁸² this image is not predominant in scholarly discussions and its determining element is the instrumentalization against the Manchu. But what qualified him as a symbol of the Westerner's anti-Manchurian position was his perpetuated resistance, regardless of unfavourable circumstances.

a text with the same title by his nephew Kim Ch'anghyŏp 金昌協 (1651-1708) this hut stood at the foot of Mount Hwaak 華岳 in Ch'unch'ŏn prefecture. See idem, *Nongam-jip* 農巖 24, 10a [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 162:183].

80. See Kim Ch'anghŭp, *Samyŏn-jip* 30, 11a [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 166:69].

81. See Yi Ha'gon 李夏坤, *Tut'a-ch'o* 頭陀草 5, [without folio] [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 191:268].

82. His writings attracted scholarly attention since the late 17th century. See the writings on Zhuge's "Memorial on Sending Out the Troops" by Yi Kihong 李箕洪 (1641-1708) or Yi Hyŏngsŏk 李玄錫 (1647-1703). See Yi Kihong, *Chikchae-jip* 直齋 1, 7b [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 149:293]. See also Yi Hyŏngsŏk: *Yujae-jip* 游齋 21, 10a [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 156:578]. See further the writings on Zhuge's collection of writings by Pak Sech'ae 朴世采 (1631-1695), Kwŏn Toyong 權道溶 (1877-1963) and Hong Sach'ŏl 洪思哲 (1879-1950) as well as Pak Sech'ae, *Namgye sŏnsaeng-jip* 南溪 69, 1b [*Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, 140:390]. See also Kwŏn Toyong, *Ch'ubŏm munwŏn sokchip sang* 秋帆文苑續集上 6, 5a. A copy of this work is preserved in the National Library (Shelfmark: Ko 3648-07-1) and available via: <http://www.nl.go.kr/>; see also the index via: <http://nmh.gsnu.ac.kr/> (Digital Library of Nammyong Study)]. See further Hong Sach'ŏl, *Moyang yugo* 慕陽 10, 53a. A copy of the work is preserved in the National Library (Shelfmark: Ko 3648-93-35) and available via: <http://www.nl.go.kr/>. A special case of veneration of Zhuge Liang can be found in "I met Zhuge Liang in a dream" (*Monggyŏn Chegal Ryang* 夢見諸葛亮) by Miraja 蜜啞子 alias Yu Wŏnp'yo 柳元杓 (b. 1852) from the early 20th century. In a spring dream in 1906 he discussed the dawn of a new area of "three kingdoms," China, Korea, and Japan, but no influence of the novel can be found. This text was classified as enlightenment literature by Ch'oe Sŏnuk 崔善旭, see idem, "Kŭndae ch'ogi sŏsa munhak yuhyŏng yŏn'gu 近代初期 敘事文學類型 研究" (PhD diss., Wŏn'gwang Taehakkyo, 1991), 142ff. See also idem, "Yu Wŏnp'yo-ŭi 'Monggyŏn Chegal Ryang' sogo 劉元杓의 夢見諸葛亮 小考", *Han'guk ŏnŏ munhak* 31 (1993): 563-574. See further: Pae Samju 裴三珠, "Yu Wŏnp'yo-ŭi 'Monggyŏn Chegal Ryang'-e taehan yŏn'gu 劉元杓의 夢見諸葛亮에 대한 研究" (MA thesis, Sŏnggyun'gwan, 1999). For the text, see Yu Wŏnp'yo: *Monggyŏn Chegal Ryang* (Kyŏngsŏng [Seoul]: Kwanghak sŏp'o, Taisho 11 [1922]) in Pak Ch'anik ed., *Cho Tongil sojang kugŏ-hak yŏn'gu charyo* 29 (Seoul: Tosŏ ch'ulp'an Pagijŏng, 1999) and further in Han'guk-hak munhŏn yŏn'gu-so ed., *Han'guk kaehwa-gi munhak ch'ongsŏ* 韓國開化期文學叢書 *Yŏksa chŏn'gi sosŏl-p'yŏn* 歷史傳記小說 9 (Seoul: Asea munhwa-sa, 1979).

The Magician and the Novel Hero

In Korea, the novel “Three Kingdoms” had already been read by a small circle of scholars in the middle of the 16th century, but the novel was rebuked publicly and during the following centuries scholars have mostly agreed with this criticism. This early copy was probably one of the earliest editions of the novel from the early 16th century, and thus its stylistic inadequacy may have prevented a certain spreading of the novel. Statements on the novel are almost exclusively negative, but a few positive opinions indicate that the novel nevertheless has been read. Still, it may not have been very influential in regard to the dominant image of the scholar-general and the importance of historical works as *Sanguozhi* and *Zizhi tongjian*. A few documents from the late 18th and the 19th century, however, indicate that the novel imparted an image of Zhuge Liang as well. But these documents differ from the sources until the 18th century because they consist of more manuscripts than before, which cannot be compared with an edited and printed “collection of writings” (*munjip* 文集). Furthermore, the number of preserved *munjip*, published and unpublished, has increased, with the result that the circle of opinions is not restricted to higher officials and famous scholars anymore but also contains statements by other (sometimes nearly unknown) persons. Finally, many sources from the 19th century are still not easily available for examination, so the following observations can be nothing more than assumptions.

A first stage of reference to the novel’s hero is marked by a clear distinction between the different sources of the narrative. In his “[Discussion of] Zhuge Liang, Pang Tong, and Xu Shu” (*Chegal Ryang Pang T’ong Sō Sō* 諸葛亮龐統徐庶),⁸³ who were all gifted advisors to Zhaolie, Wi Paekkyu 魏伯珪 (1727-1798), a polymath, refers to different presentations of these figures in *Sanguozhi*, *Zizhi tongjian* and the novel; in fact he commends Mao Zonggang 毛宗綱, who made the edition that is known today, for not using derogatory terms to describe Zhuge Liang’s actions as Sima Guang did in *Zizhi tongjian*. It is very interesting that Wi Paekkyu, following Zhu Xi, insists only on these negative terms, although they have been used by Sima Guang to avoid the (negative) Legalist image and to project a (positive) Confucian image.⁸⁴ Yi Changch’an 李章贊 (1794-1860), a well-read scholar as well, was the first who criticized that Zhuge Liang cannot have been able to command wind and rain as the novel suggests.⁸⁵

83. See Wi Paekkyu, *Chonjae chōnsō* 存齋全書 14, 27a [*Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, 243:302].

84. See Tillman (2004), 67ff.

Pak Chongyŏng 朴宗永 (fl. 1866-1879), who left also a quite voluminous *munjip*, deals with Zhuge Liang in his “Discussion of [kingdoms of] *Shu* and *Wei*” (*Ch’ok Wi-ron* 蜀魏論),⁸⁶ his “Discussion of the Martial Marquis” (*Muhu-ron* 武侯論),⁸⁷ and his “Funeral speech on the Martial Marquis Zhuge” (*Ch’ok Chegal Muhu-mun* 吊諸葛武侯文),⁸⁸ but while he follows Zhu Xi’s argumentation in the two discussions, in the funeral speech he mentions Zhuge’s evocation of the southern winds at the Seven-stars-altar and the defeat of Cao Cao 曹操 (155-220) in the famous battle at the Red Cliff and thus directly refers to the novel. But as the example of Su Shi shows, genres that are more poetical may not have been limited to historical sources.

A second stage of reference is marked by an exclusive reference to the novel. In his “Discussion on the Martial Marquis” (*Munhu-ron*),⁸⁹ Pae Chinha 裴鎭夏 (1838-1912) mentions that Guan Yu 關羽, a sworn brother of Zhao Lie, let Cao Cao escape through Huarong 華容, an incident which is a characteristic of the oral narrative and the novel. And in his “Discussion [on the episode] ‘Kongming left Guan Yu behind to protect Jingzhou’” (*Kongmyŏng yu Kwan-gong su Hyŏngju-ron* 孔明留關公荊州論),⁹⁰ Kim Chedŏk 金濟惠 (1855-1927) cites an instruction for the protection of Jingzhou in eight characters, “Eastwards reconciling Sun Quan, northwards resisting Cao Cao” (*Tong hwa Son Kwŏn* 東和孫權[,], *Puk kŏ Cho Cho* 北拒曹操) giving a “History of the Three Kingdoms” (*Samguk-sa* 三國史) as his source, but in fact it is only the novel that contains this instruction.⁹¹

85. See the “Discussion on the Martial Marquis Zhuge” (*Non Chegal Muhu* 論諸葛武侯) in Yi Changch’an, Hyangŭn-jip 隱 2, 41a. Copies of this work are preserved in the National Library (Shelfmark: *Sŭnggye Ko* 3648-62-279), in the Kyujanggak-Archive (Selfmark: *Kyu* 177600; Microfilm: M/F83-16-125-B) and the Changsŏgak-Archive (Shelfmark: K4-5741). Two copies are available via: <http://www.nl.go.kr/> and via: <http://lib.aks.ac.kr/>. See further the “Discussion on novels” (*Sosŏl-lon* 小說論) by Pak Munho 朴文鎬 (1846-1918) in idem, *Hosan-jip* 壺山 35, 14a. Copies of this work are preserved in the Kyujanggak-Archive (Shelfmark: *Ko* 342814300; Microfilm: M/F85-16-216-1, 85-16-216-2 and 85-16-216-3) and the Changsŏgak-Archive (Shelfmark: K4-6667). One copy is available via: <http://lib.aks.ac.kr/>.

86. See Pak Chongyŏng, *Songo yugo pyŏlp’yŏn saron* 別編史論 2, 41b [*Han’guk yŏktae munjip ch’ongsŏ* 663, 161].

87. See Pak Chongyŏng, *Songo yugo pyŏlp’yŏn saron* 2, 43a [*Han’guk yŏktae munjip ch’ongsŏ* 663, 164].

88. See Pak Chongyŏng, *Songo yugo pyŏlp’yŏn saron* 2, 43c [*Han’guk yŏktae munjip ch’ongsŏ* 663, 166].

89. See Pae Chinha, *Aksan* 樂山 *yugo* 1, 34b [*Han’guk yŏktae munjip ch’ongsŏ*, 2796:93].

90. See Kim Chedŏk, *Ch’usu yugo* 秋水, 53b. A copy of this work is preserved in the National Library (Shelfmark: *Ko* 3648-10-749) and is available via: <http://www.nl.go.kr/>.

91. See Mao Zonggang ed., *Sanguo yanyi* 63 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), 821.

A third stage of reference is marked by creating a narrative of Zhuge Liang in the Korean language. Since the end of the 19th century, preparations of the narrative in the Korean language have circulated, and among them are two “traditional novel” (*kodae sosŏl* 古代小說) printings, the “[Record on] Zhuge Liang” (*Chegal Ryang* 諸葛亮)⁹² and the “Record on Lady Huang” (*Hwang-buin chŏn* 黃夫人傳),⁹³ Zhuge Liang’s wife. As in other *kodae sosŏl* as well, both printings contain the most famous parts of their source, the novel, in translation and provide a broader audience with it. But the different editions of the “Record on Zhuge Liang” were annotated with Chinese characters⁹⁴ which may show the limitations of translations at that time and also seems to call a broad reception into question, as readers not educated in traditional Chinese and not familiar with the story could hardly distinguish the numerous names appearing in the story. The “Record on Lady Huang,” however, does not annotate Chinese characters at all, probably only because names appear to a lesser extent. It is interesting to find that it had no prototype on the Chinese side.⁹⁵ This story is

92. Apart from the editions by *Kwangik sŏgwan* 廣益書館 (1915 and 1917) and *Pangmun sŏgwan* 博文書館 (1922), Cho Hüiung 曹喜雄 renders the announcements of two further publications. See idem, *Kojŏn sosŏl ibon mongnok* 古典小說異本目錄 (Seoul: Chimmun-dang, 1999), 652.

93. Cho Hüiung gives two identical editions of *Pangmun sŏgwan* (1925) and *Sin’gu sŏrim* 新舊書林 (1925) by Ch’oe Sŏkchŏng 崔錫鼎 as well as three identical editions of *Sech’ang sŏgwan* 世昌書館 (1962), *Munch’ang sŏgwan* 文昌書館 (1957), and *Ch’ŏnil sŏgwan* 天一書館 (1962) by Sin T’aesam. I have not been able to find further editions of *Yŏngch’ang sŏgwan* 永昌書館 (1925) and *Hanhŭng sŏrim* 韓興書林 (1925), but as Cho Hüiung does not state the size of these editions, they may not even have been available to him. See idem, *Kojŏn sosŏl ibon mongnok* (Seoul: Chimmun-dang, 1999), 876. Interestingly enough, the editions of *Pangmun sŏgwan* and *Sech’ang sŏgwan* are identical, apart the fact that *Sech’ang sŏgwan* (1962) gives ‘*arae-a*’ instead of ‘*ũ*’ or ‘*a*’ in the older editions. The graph ‘*arae-a*’ was nevertheless also used in the editions of *Pangmun sŏgwan*. For the edition of *Pangmun sŏgwan* see Ch’oe Sŏkchŏng, *Hwang-buin chŏn* (Kyŏngsŏng [Seoul]: Pangmun sŏgwan, Taisho 14 [1925]), in Pak Ch’anik ed., *Cho Tongil sojang kugŏ-hak yŏn’gu charyo* 23 (Seoul: Tosŏ ch’ulp’an Pagjŏng, 1999), 517-556. For the edition of *Sech’ang sŏgwan* see Sin T’aesam, *Hwang-buin chŏn* (Seoul: Sech’ang sŏgwan, 1962), in Inch’ŏn Taehak minjok munhwa yŏn’guso charyo ch’ongsŏ kanhaeng wiwŏn-hoe 仁川大學民族文化研究所 資料叢書刊行委員會 ed. [*Ku hwalcha-bon* 舊活字本], *Ko sosŏl chŏnjip* 古小說全集 32 (Seoul: Ŭnha ch’ulp’ansa, 1983), 593-655.

94. See Hyŏn Kongnyŏm 玄公廉, *Chegal Ryang* (Kyŏngsŏng [Seoul]: Kwangik sŏgwan, Taisho 4 [1915]). In Inch’ŏn Taehak minjok munhwa yŏn’guso charyo ch’ongsŏ kanhaeng wiwŏn-hoe ed., [*Ku hwalcha-bon*] *Ko sosŏl chŏnjip* 13 (Seoul: Ŭnha ch’ulp’ansa, 1983), 369-535.

95. Lady Huang is nevertheless mentioned in *Sanguozhi* and *Sanguo yanyi*. See Chen Shou, *Sanguozhi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 929. See also Mao Zonggang ed., *Sanguo yanyi* 117 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1989), 1514. The *Sanguo yanyi*-dictionary mentions an oral narrative similar to *Hwang-buin chŏn*, but neither the title nor the source is mentioned. Shen Bojun 沈伯俊 and Tan Liangxiao 譚良嘯 ed., *Sanguo yanyi cidian* 三國演義辭典 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1989), 533. The Korean translation of this book by Chŏng Wŏn’gi 鄭元基 does not

very close to the first two fascicles of the “True record on the way [near] Huarong” (*Hwayong-do silgi* 華容道實記),⁹⁶ the story of the battle at the Red Cliff, and definitely a kind of sequel to it because of a link at the end. It may have been developed from the handwritten “Record on the Hermit Huang” (*Hwang-ch'ōsa chōn* 黃處士傳).⁹⁷ Lady Huang was extremely ugly but had supernatural abilities,⁹⁸ and according to the story, it was she who taught Zhuge Liang magic and tactics. This and the fact that it is very close to the “Record on Lady Pak” (*Pak-ssi chōn* 朴氏傳) that contains a link to it, may indicate that “Record on Lady Huang” was made especially for female readers. Furthermore, Kim Inhoe found two oral narratives in Chōlla province and a hint to a Chinese source from the Song Dynasty,⁹⁹ which states that Lady Huang used her abilities to create “wooden people” who worked for her. The existing edition of this source, the “Vagabond’s Local Record on the cinnamon sea”¹⁰⁰ (*Guihai yuheng-zhi* 桂海虞衡志)¹⁰¹ by Fan Chengda 范成大, regrettably does not contain any hints on this, but the very same is stated in the “Collected writings of the Martial Marquis Zhuge” (*Zhugē Wuhou wenji* 諸葛武侯文集)¹⁰² which may imply that there was another edition of *Guihai yuheng-zhi*, which was used by Zhang Shu 張澍 (1776-1847), whose “Collected writings by Zhuge Liang” (*Zhugē Liang-jī* 諸葛亮集)¹⁰³ still contain this citation. Interestingly enough, in his “Reading the collection [on and] by Zhuge Liang” (*Kan Chegāl Muhu-jip* 看諸葛武侯集)¹⁰⁴

contain this entry. See idem et al., *Samguk-chi sajōn* 三國志事典 (Seoul: Pōmu-sa, 2000).

96. See Yi Sōngsil, “Hwang-buin chōn yōn’gu,” *Inch’ōn ōmun-hak* 2 (1986): 61ff. For *Hwayong-do silgi* see Cho Hūiung, *Kojōn sosōl ibon mongnok* (Seoul: Chimmun-dang, 1999), 605ff.

97. See Cho Hūiung, *Kojōn sosōl ibon mongnok* (Seoul: Chimmun-dang, 1999), 876. See also Kim Inhoe: “Hwang-buin chōn yōn’gu,” *Tosol nondan* 15 (2001): 39f.

98. Eric Henry mentions that both elements, ugliness and ability, were connected during later *Han* times and that the selection of an ugly wife was part of the aura of exceptional characters. See idem, “Chu-ko Liang in the Eyes of His Contemporaries,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 52 (1992): 610f.

99. See Kim Inhoe, “Hwang-buin chōn yōn’gu,” *Tosol nondan* 15 (2001): 58 and 66.

100. These are the Chinese provinces *Guangdong* 廣東 and *Guangxi* 廣西.

101. See Fan Chengda, *Guihai yuheng-zhi*. In *Gujin yishi* 古今逸史, case 1. In Yan Yiping 嚴一萍 ed., *Baibu congshu jicheng* 百部叢書集成 9 ([Taipei]: Yiwen yinshuguan, *Min’guo* 54 [1964]).

102. See Zhang Boxing ed., *Zhugē Wuhou wenji* 4, 1b. In *Zhengyi-tang quanshu* 正誼堂全書 6. In Yan Yiping 嚴一萍 ed., *Baibu congshu jicheng* 26 ([Taipei]: Yiwen yinshuguan, *Min’guo* 54 [1964]).

103. This edition gives *Guihai yuheng-zhi* as its source. See the modern edition of Zhonghua shuju ed., *Zhugē Liang-jī* (Beijing, Zhonghua shuju, 1960), 201.

104. See Hong Sach’ōl, *Moyang yugo* 10, 53a. A copy of this work is preserved in the National Library (Shelfmark: Ko 3648-93-35) and is available via: <http://www.nl.go.kr/>.

Hong Sach'öl 洪思哲 (1879-1950) mentions the very same “wooden people” created by Lady Huang, which can be understood as an indication of a link between the Chinese sources on Zhuge Liang circulating in Korea and the development of the narrative.

Conclusion

Among the images of and narratives on Zhuge Liang that have been introduced to Korea, especially Du Fu's veneration and the Song-image of the scholar-general were cultivated in Korea until the end of Chosŏn Dynasty, but Korean scholars used also older comparisons to Zhuge Liang, to the statesman and advisor or to the Martial Marquis. The crucial point, however, seems to be that he became a defender against the Barbarians because of the transcendence of his image and the delocalization of his cult during the Southern Song Dynasty, with the result that any reference to any geomantic constellation of a “Sleeping Dragoon” was reason enough to make sacrifices to Zhuge Liang. Thus the Korean scholars as well could call for his help. However, the image of the Confucian scholar-general indicates that the end did not justify the means, so Zhuge Liang remains as a kind of tragic hero, “one who could endure as a hero despite having lost the struggle to achieve *cheng-t'ung* [legitimate succession] status”¹⁰⁵ or despite having failed to defend the cultivated world against the Barbarians.

As to the novel, it is therefore obvious that the modern phenomenal reception and circulation of translations in Korea and the image of one of its main characters did not arise from a wide pre-modern reception and circulation of the novel, but from several forms of scholarly interest in Zhuge Liang, which formed a basis for a public interest in this figure in the early 20th century. This is especially convincing in view of the fact that two other elements of this narrative, the Red Cliff and the figure of Guan Yu, had a long history of scholarly interest in Korea, too, and in the early 20th century these topics formed the basis of a public interest as well and appeared in a number of *kodae sosŏl*.

105. See Tillman (1996), 30.