

Materials in Translation

The Letters Exchanged between Yi I (Yulgok) and Song Ikp'il (Kubong) Concerning the *Kyŏngmong yogyŏl*

Sanghoon Na

Introduction

The purpose of this translation is to introduce the letters exchanged between Yi I and his friend Song Ikp'il concerning the *Kyŏngmong yogyŏl* 擊蒙要訣 (Essential instructions on rectifying folly), thereby identifying the role Song Ikp'il played in the making of this text. Most previous translators and researchers have been unaware that the *Kyŏngmong yogyŏl* circulated in a draft version that Yi I revised after intensive review by his close friend Song Ikp'il. This fact is evidenced by letters exchanged between the two in which they discuss the work. I provide translations of these letters to inform readers of the issues raised in the letters and call attention to the differences between the first draft and the published work.

Sanghoon Na (timothykr7@gmail.com) is a PhD student in the Department of Interdisciplinary Studies of Life Education at Hallym University

Seoul Journal of Korean Studies 32, no. 2 (December 2019): 311–337.

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Kyŏngmong yogyŏl: A Reconstruction of its Inception

1. Yi I

Yi I 李珣 (1536–1584), pen name Yulgok 栗谷,¹ was a scholar and statesman. His character is well reflected in his work, the *Kyŏngmong yogyŏl*, the subject matter of which ranges from learning to working in a government office. Yi I was born in Kangnŭng, Kangwŏn Province and his ancestral home was Tŏksu 德水 (in modern Kaesŏng, Hwanghae Province). He came from a family with a long tradition of producing government officials.² His mother was Lady Sin of Pyŏngsan, better known as Sin Saimdang 申師任堂 (1504–1551).³ She was well versed in the Chinese classics, calligraphy, and painting. Under his mother's guidance Yi I began to study Literary Sinitic and by the time he was seven he could understand the Chinese classics well.⁴ At age nineteen, in 1554, he formed lifelong friendships with Sŏng Hon 成渾 (1535–1598)⁵ and Song Ikp'il 宋翼弼 (1534–1599).⁶ In 1564 he won first place in the classics examination. He then

1. Yulgok 栗谷 (Chestnut valley) was Yi I's hometown, located in modern P'aju, Kyŏnggi Province.

2. The officeholders are found in the genealogical chart (*segye to* 世系圖) in the *Yulgok chŏnsŏ* 33. Among them, the twelfth-generation descendant was Yi I's father Yi Wŏnsu 李元秀 (1501–1561), a bailiff at the office of the inspector-general (*sahŏnbu kamch'al* 司憲府監察).

3. Her personal name is unknown. Sin 申 is her family name. Saim 師任 means “emulating Im” (Ch. Tai Ren 太任). Tang 堂 (hall) refers to a woman's residence. Tai Ren was the mother of King Wen of Zhou and well known for her prenatal education of her son. This implies Lady Sin's wish to be a good mother. However, whether this alternative name was self-chosen or given by her father is unclear. Yi I briefly but beautifully narrates her life and conduct in her biography, *Sŏnbi haengjang* 先妣行狀 (Biography of my late mother). For an annotated English translation of this work, see Lucas Pokorny and Wonsuk Chang, “‘Gazing at the White Clouds’: An Annotated Translation of Yulgok's *Sŏnbi haengjang*,” *The Review of Korean Studies* 18, no. 2 (2015): 185–198.

4. “Yŏnbo,” *imin* year 壬寅 (1542): “The master [Yi I] began to be taught by his mother and sometimes went out to learn from a teacher. Without much effort, his learning improved day by day. By the age of seven, his understanding of writing was so great that it could naturally penetrate the Four Books and other classics.” 先生始受學於母夫人，聞就外傳，不勞而學日就。至是，文理該貫，四書諸經，率皆自通。

5. Sŏng Hon, courtesy name Howŏn 浩原 (Vast plain) and pen name Ugye 牛溪 (Ox stream), was a Confucian scholar renowned for his Four-Seven debate in his six-year correspondence (1572–1578) with Yi I. In 1551, he abandoned preparing for the state examination and settled down in Ugye (in modern P'aju), where he took to studying the Confucian classics and teaching his disciples. At the age of 57, during the Japanese invasion in 1592, he accepted the office of state councilor but retired two years later because of the criticism leveled against his inclination to negotiate peace with the Japanese.

6. They apparently knew each other for about thirty years, given Song Ikp'il's sacrificial address to Yi I in 1584: “[You and I] have communicated many times during these thirty years.”

obtained the position of assistant section-chief at the Ministry of Taxation and successively filled the following positions: secretary for the royal embassy honoring the birthday of the crown prince of Ming and king's editor (1568); fifth royal secretary, censor of criminal activities, and governor of Hwanghae province (1574); minister of taxation (1581); and minister of personnel (1582). He died in Seoul at the age of forty-nine in 1584 and was buried near his parents in P'aju, Kyōnggi Province.

Between his official postings, he offered his resignation numerous times for various reasons including illness and being unfit for duty. Sometimes these resignations were accepted, but several times they were not. King Sōnjo liked to keep Yi I nearby at all times even though he did not like to follow Yi I's admonitions.⁷ Nevertheless, Yi I succeeded in leaving office temporarily in 1576 when a factional split between Easterners (*Tongin*) and Westerners (*Sōin*) developed.⁸ He went to his wife's hometown Haeju in Hwanghae Province. The next year he built a shrine for the purpose of performing sacrificial rites with his family, which must have been a valuable experience for him as he composed chapter seven of the *Kyōngmong yogyōl*. These years seem to have been the most peaceful time in his life. Meanwhile, he was visited by a few students asking questions about how to learn. He wanted to give them something more than a makeshift answer or a desultory talk about learning. Thus, he came to write the *Kyōngmong yogyōl* in 1577 in which he could provide them, and other students up to the current day, with systematic instructions on learning.

2. *Kyōngmong yogyōl*

The text consists of ten chapters, the topics of which are organized progressively from individual learning to daily family life and finally social and official life. Yi I states in the preface that the ten chapters contain lessons on "how to form one's will, set one's body in order, serve one's parents, and deal with people." More specifically, chapter 1 covers the necessity of resolving to learn and a

糾紛往復三十年于茲. See *Yulgok chōnsō* 37, "Chemun" 祭文 2.

7. It is remarkable to see that a great deal of Yi I's biographical chronology is comprised of his admonitions to King Sōnjo, almost like nagging, and the king's negative responses.

8. Factional strife began in 1575 during the reign of King Sōnjo (1567–1608) because of a dispute over appointments to influential posts such as the bureau section chief (*chōllang* 銓郎) in the Ministry of Personnel. Kim Hyowōn opposed the appointment of Sim Ch'unggyōm, who was Sim Ŭigyōm's younger brother. Kim's followers were called Easterners because Kim lived in the eastern section of Seoul, while Sim's followers were called Westerners. For a general introduction to the factional strife, see Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner and Edward J. Schultz (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 208–209.

student's potential. Chapter 2 covers the negative impact of bad habits and how to eradicate them. Chapter 3 covers proper behavior and the importance of self-control. Chapter 4 covers the right way to read a book and reading sequence. Chapter 5 covers the rationale for practicing filial piety and how to perform filial piety on a daily basis. Chapter 6 covers the guidelines for funeral rituals. Chapter 7 covers instructions for sacrificial rites. Chapter 8 covers how to treat family members and how to respond to a magistrate's gift. Chapter 9 covers how to treat older people, friends, teachers, and children. Finally, chapter 10 proposes the proper attitude and positive mindset with regard to the civil service examination and offers advice to office holders.⁹

3. Song Ikp'il

Although relatively unknown today, Song Ikp'il 宋翼弼 (1534–1599) was a prominent Confucian scholar renowned for his literary skills. His courtesy name is Unjang 雲長 and pen name Kubong or Kwibong 龜峯 (Turtle peak), which derives from Mount Kubong in Koyang (in modern Kyŏnggi Province) where he lived and enjoyed discussions with scholars like Yi I and Sŏng Hon.

Song Ikp'il was of humble origin and had a low social status because his grandmother, Kamjŏng 甘丁, was a daughter of a slave mother. Although his father Song Saryŏn 宋祀連 (1496–1575) became a high-ranking official, it was later revealed in 1586 that he had done so by dishonest means. As a result, Song Ikp'il's family was degraded to slave status and scattered.

Song Ikp'il passed the provincial examination but was not allowed to take the higher examination (*taegwa* 大科) in 1558 because of his lowly status.¹⁰ He then gave up pursuing a government post and devoted his life to the study of nature and principle (K. *sŏngnihak*; C. *xinglixue* 性理學) and ritual studies (K. *yehak*; C. *lixue* 禮學). He came to be recognized as an excellent scholar. As is well known, the principal authority on ritual studies, Kim Changsaeng 金長生 (1548–1631), became Song Ikp'il's disciple in around 1560. According to modern research, Song's *Karye chusŏl* 家禮註說 (A commentary on the *Family Rituals*) had a significant influence on Kim's *Karye chimnam* 家禮輯覽 (Collected commentaries on the *Family Rituals*), the most authoritative of a number of annotated editions of Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals* that was published during the

9. A general overview of the book is also provided in JaHyun Kim Haboush, "Education of the Crown Prince: A Study in Confucian Pedagogy," in *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea*, ed. Wm. Theodore de Bary and JaHyun Kim Haboush (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 175.

10. Yi Sangmi, "Song Ikp'il ūi sam kwa si segye," *Hanmun kojŏn yŏn'gu* 6 (2000), 178.

first half of the seventeenth century.¹¹

Song Ikp'il's excellent scholarship is also attested to by an anecdote in which Yi I acknowledged Song as a better scholar than himself. When Yi I became famous for his philosophical essay, *Treatise on the Way of Heaven*, in the examination of 1558, a student came to see him with questions. Yi told him to go to find the "noble and erudite" Song Ikp'il if he would like to learn.¹² Furthermore, Yi I wrote to Sŏng Hon in a letter that Song Ikp'il was highly intelligent, reliable, and respectable.¹³

Just as Yi I had confidence in Song Ikp'il, so did Song in him. For instance, when Yi was impeached by Easterners in 1583, Song sent a letter to Sŏng Hon to defend Yi. When his support for Yi was discovered, the Easterners came to hate Song. After Yi's death, Song was accused of being a mastermind for the Westerners and was thus imprisoned in 1589.¹⁴ Although released the next year, he was banished to Hŭich'ŏn 熙川 (in modern North P'yŏngan Province) in 1591 because he was accused of being involved in Chŏng Ch'ŏl's proposal concerning the investiture of the crown prince.¹⁵ Amid banishment, he underwent considerable hardship during the Imjin War of 1592. He was allowed to return from exile in 1593 and finally came to reside at Kim Chillyŏ's house¹⁶ in Myŏnch'ŏn (modern Tangjin in South Ch'ungch'ŏng Province) in 1596 where he compiled letters exchanged with Yi I and Sŏng Hon and published them under the title *Hyŏnsŭng p'yŏn* 玄繩編.¹⁷ He spent the rest of his life here until he died in 1599.

11. Kim Hyŏnsu, "16-segi huban—17-segi chŏnban Yulgok hakp'a ŭi karye chusŏksŏ yŏn'gu," *Yugyo munhwa sasang yŏn'gu* 69 (2017), 119–126; Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies at Harvard University, 1992), 173.

12. Songja taejŏn 宋子大全 172, "Kubong sŏnsaeng Song gong myogal" 龜峯先生宋公墓碣.

13. "Song Unjang and his brother (Song Hanp'il 宋翰弼) are the only ones with whom one could talk about this [theory of nature], and I am very much taken with them; you likewise should not take them lightly." 惟宋雲長兄弟, 可以語此。此珥所以深取者也。兄亦不可輕此人也。 *Yulgok chŏnsŏ* 10, "Tap Sŏng Howŏn" 答成浩原; Michael C. Kalton, *The Four-Seven Debate* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 165.

14. Pae Sanghyŏn, "Song Ikp'il ŭi munhak kwa kŭ sasang," *Han'guk hanmunhak yŏn'gu* 6 (1982), 141.

15. Chŏng Ch'ŏl made a recommendation that Prince Kwanghae should be designated the crown prince, which went against King Sŏnjo's wish. Consequently, Chŏng was dismissed from his post and banished to several remote places.

16. Kim Chillyŏ 金進礪 (fl. 1590s) had a daughter who was married to Kim Changsaeng's son, Kim Pan 金槃 (1580–1640).

17. This compilation seems to have been renamed to *Samhyŏn sogan* 三賢手簡 (Handwritten letters of three worthies).

4. Letters between Yi I and Song Ikp'il¹⁸

Before the *Kyŏngmong yogyŏl* was officially printed, Song Ikp'il had a chance to review the draft. After reading it, he sent Yi I a letter containing a brief comment:

I heard that you've allowed your *Kyŏngmong yogyŏl* to be printed. Concerning the part dealing with popular etiquette, I have long been dissatisfied with it. I do not know whether you have corrected it or not. Have you? If not, I feel that these should not be the standard rules for everyone. They would be good enough only for your family.¹⁹

Unfortunately, Yi did not correct or change any of the section on popular etiquette. Thus, Song sent another letter in an attempt to reason with him. This time the letter contained fifteen comments, backed with classical sources, covering most of the chapters in the *Kyŏngmong yogyŏl*. Song delivered his thoughts directly and clearly, but in a somewhat domineering manner. There is no encouragement, praise, or positive comments offered, but only alternative suggestions and frank criticisms from beginning to end.

The letter begins with criticism of the third chapter concerning Yi I's notes on the Nine Appearances (K. *Kuyong*; C. *Jiu rong* 九容) and Nine Considerations (K. *Kusa*; Ch. *Jiu si* 九思). Basically, Song's criticism is that Yi's notes are incorrect because he does not interpret the meaning of the phrases precisely or know their proper applications. For example, Yi interprets "The hands should be respectful" 手容恭 as "When there is no work at hand, hold your hands together and do not play with things." Song says that Yi's view is too limited because the hands should always be respectful, when there is work as well as when there is no work to be done. This time, Yi accepts Song's comment and changes his note; however, he does not accept any other suggestions made with regard to chapter 3.

18. The letters exchanged between them from 1560 to 1593 were compiled and titled *Handwritten Letters of Three Worthies* (*Sambyŏn sugan* 三賢手簡) by Song Ikp'il's son Song Ch'widae 宋就大 (n.d.) in 1599. The *Handwritten Letters* has been translated into modern Korean three times: Hŏ Namjin and Ōm Yŏnsŏk, (*Kugyŏk*) *Sambyŏn sugan* (Seoul: Yŏllimwŏn, 2001); Im Chaewan, *Se pun sŏnsaengnim ūi p'yŏnji kŭl* (Seoul: Hoam misulgwan, 2001); Chang Chusik, *Sambyŏn sugan: Yulgok Ugye Kubong ūi sanch'on pyŏnji* (Seoul: Han'guk kojŏn pŏnyŏgwŏn, 2013). Among these Korean translations, I am indebted to Hŏ and Ōm's version.

19. *Kubong chip* 龜峯集 (Collected works of Kubong) 4, "Yŏ Sukhŏn sŏ" 與叔獻書 (Letter to Sukhŏn): "聞兄許印擊蒙要訣. 要訣中俗禮處, 某常多不滿之意. 未知兄其加刪正耶. 不然則只可爲一家子弟之覽, 恐不可爲通行之定禮也." The date is unknown. The letter also contains comments on two other books written by Yi I: *Sohak chega chipchu* 小學諸家集註 (Collected commentaries of various schools to the *Elementary Learning*) and *Sun ŏn* 醇言 (Pure words), the first commentary on the *Daodejing* 道德經 in Korea. "Sukhŏn" is Yi I's *cha* or courtesy name.

Song's criticism then turns to chapter 1 and addresses the flow of the writing. He advises Yi to replace the sentence "What else should I seek?" 我又何求哉 with "Why would I seek them from others?" 何他求之 in order to make the sentence congruent with previous sentences. Yi admits that his sentence is awkward and corrects it. Song then makes a similar comment regarding chapter 2, asking Yi to change the expression "from time to time" 時時 to "always" 常. However, Yi declines this suggestion because he feels it would be overwhelming to examine the self all the time.

Song now returns to chapter 3, which deals with one's conduct or behavior, arguing that some sentences concerning the mind are misplaced and proposes moving them to a more relevant chapter. Yi does not accept this suggestion because he thinks the mind is closely related to the body. He supports this position with a passage from the *Doctrine of the Mean* urging one to cultivate a sincere mind in one's body.

Regarding chapter 4, Song makes one of his boldest criticisms, asking Yi to delete most of the explanations simply because they are unnecessarily lengthy. Yi seems dismayed by this request and replies tersely, "They also have some meaning. Why delete them all?"

Continuing along to chapter 5, Song persuades Yi to reconsider the relationship between parents and children. In the chapter, Yi wrote, "If someone nowadays hands down his property to others, the degree of gratitude will depend on the amount of property." Song says that it is inappropriate to compare an amount of property to the depth of parental love and to depict the relationship between parents and children as a give-and-take relationship. Yi agrees, but also explains that his intention is not to compare the two but to emphasize one's gratitude to one's parents.

As a renowned expert on ritual studies, Song puts forward very convincing arguments concerning the funeral rituals in chapter 6. It is noteworthy that, on the matter of divesting mourning attire, Song follows the ancient ritual while Yi favors Zhu Xi's new ritual. More specifically, Song argues that one should not take off one's mourning attire in any situation, while Yi argues that one may take it off if one relocates to another place. Yi ultimately deletes the controversial sentence and replaces it with a conditional sentence stating that a mourner may remove his mourning attire if he is ill or has to fulfill military duty or corvée labor.

Finally, in his comments on chapter 8, Song criticizes Yi I for stating that one must not receive grain but may receive other food from a magistrate. Song says that receiving any food is wrong because it is forbidden by national law. This issue was important because there were magistrates at that time who sold grain

in order to earn money with which to bribe their superiors. Song goes further and says that Yi's logic in the *Kyŏngmong yogyŏl* could be used to justify unlawful practices. Yi replies that he has already corrected the sentence. As for Song's concern about the potential for the *Kyŏngmong yogyŏl* to justify bribery, he wittily rebuts that those who offer bribes would not read the *Kyŏngmong yogyŏl* in the first place.

These are Song's major criticisms. He does not comment on chapters 7, 9, or 10. Yi replies to Song's criticisms point by point. In sum, Yi accepts seven of the suggestions but declines the others. Of the seven suggestions, he willingly consents to four: comments on the writing flow in chapter 1, phrase "hands should be respectful" 手容恭 in chapter 3, relationship between parents and children in chapter 5, and replacing the expression "not necessary" 不必 with "being called by what they were called when they were alive" 隨生時所稱 in chapter 6. He assents to the remaining three even though he does not quite agree with them. These are Song's comments on the divestment of mourning clothes, deletion of the character *chūk* 卽 ("immediately") in chapter 6, and changing the sentence regarding gifts from magistrates. He refuses to accept the other eight suggestions, not because the suggestions are wrong or bad but simply based on a difference of opinion. It is interesting to observe that Yi amicably calls Song "older brother" (*ohyŏng* 吾兄) twice when declining his suggestions.²⁰ The contents of their letters and the accepted suggestions are summarized in table 1.

Based on the letters, it is possible to reconstruct the first draft of the *Kyŏngmong yogyŏl*. The differences between the first and final (i.e., present edition) are listed in table 2.

In chapter 1, the passage in the first draft, "Establishing will, having a clear understanding, and making earnest actions depend solely on me. What else should I seek?" is changed to "Establishing will, having a clear understanding, and making earnest actions depend solely on me. Why would I seek them from others?" in the final draft. Yi rephrased the last sentence to improve the flow of the writing.

20. However, this is not because Song Ikp'il (1534–1599) was two years older than Yi I (1536–1584) but because it was a social convention between close friends to address one another in this manner. That is why Song also called Yi "respected brother" (*chonhyŏng* 尊兄) at the beginning of his letter.

Table 1. Song Ikp'il's Fifteen Comments and Yi I's Responses

Chapter	Song Ikp'il's Comments ²¹	Yi I's Responses ²²
1. Establishing Will	• Change the sentence “我又何求哉” to “何他求之”	• Accepted
2. Changing Old Habits	• Change the expression “時時” to “常”	• Declined
3. Conducting Oneself	• Change the note on “足容重” • Change the note on “手容恭” • Change the note on “聲容靜” • Change the note on “氣容肅” • Change the note on “貌思恭” • Move some sentences to the relevant chapter	• Declined • Accepted • Declined • Declined • Declined • Declined
4. Reading Books	• Make the descriptions of books concise	• Declined
5. Serving One's Parents	• Reconsider the relationship between parents and children	• Accepted
6. Funeral Rituals	• Delete “不必” and insert “隨生時所稱” • Change the sentence on divestment of mourning clothes • Delete the character 卽 • Change the sentence on the mourning period for friends	• Accepted • Disagreed but accepted • Disagreed but accepted • Declined
7. Sacrificial Rituals	No comment	
8. Living at Home	• Change the sentence on magistrates' gifts	• Disagreed but accepted
9. Contact with Others	No comment	
10. Conduct in Society	No comment	

21. In Sino-Korean, “Tap Sukhŏn sŏ” 答叔獻書 (Reply to Sukhŏn; A comment on Sukhŏn's book). The writing date is not specified.

22. In Sino-Korean, “Yŏ Song Unjang” 與宋雲長 (A letter to Song Unjang). The writing date is not specified, either.

Table 2. Comparison of the First and Final Drafts

Chapter	First Draft	Final Draft
1. Establishing Will	志之立, 知之明, 行之篤, 皆在我耳, 我又何求哉.	志之立, 知之明, 行之篤, 皆在我耳, 豈可他求哉.
2. Changing Old Habits	No comment	
3. Conducting Oneself	手無事則當端拱, <u>不可弄手撫物</u>	手無慢弛, 無事則當端拱, 不妄動.
4. Reading Books	No comment	
5. Serving One's Parents	今有遭人以財物者, <u>隨其物之多少輕重, 而感恩之意, 爲之深淺焉</u> . 父母遺我以身, 父母之恩, 爲如何哉.	此身非我私物, 乃父母之遺氣也. 故曰, 哀哀父母, 生我劬勞. 父母之恩, 爲如何哉.
6. Funeral Rituals	復, <u>不必呼名</u> .	復時, 俗例必呼小字, 非禮也. 少者則猶可呼名, 長者則不可呼名, <u>隨生時所稱</u> , 可也.
	經, <u>非出入他處</u> , 則不可脫也	衰經, <u>非疾病服役</u> , 則不可脫也
	親戚之喪, 若他處聞訃奔喪, 則至家即成服.	親戚之喪, 若他處聞訃, 則設位而哭. 若奔喪, 則至家而成服.
7. Sacrificial Rituals	No comment	
8. Living at Home	守令之饋, <u>除酒肉飲食之外</u> , 若米菽之類, 不可受也.	守令之饋, 大抵難受.
9. Contact with Others	No comment	
10. Conduct in Society	No comment	

In chapter 3, the passage in the first draft, “When there is no work at hand, hold your hands together and do not play with things” is changed in the final version to “Hands should not droop. When there is no work to be done, hold your hands together and do not move them about rashly.” Yi added the underlined sentence in the final draft because he agreed with Song’s opinion that hands should always look respectful.

In chapter 5, the passage in the first draft, “If someone nowadays hands down his property to others, the degree of gratitude will depend on the amount of property. My parents handed down this body to me. How great is the love of parents?” is changed to “This body is not my own property but the energy that

my parents bequeathed me. Therefore, it is said, 'Alas for my father and mother, alas for all their trouble in bringing me up!'" in the final draft. Yi deleted the underlined sentence in the first draft because he accepted Song's criticism that it is inappropriate to compare any amount of property to the depth of parental love.

In chapter 6, the passage in the first draft, "When performing the calling-back ceremony, it is not necessary to call the deceased by [the childhood] name" is changed in the final draft to "When performing the calling-back ceremony, the popular custom of calling the deceased by his childhood name is improper. Children may be called by their names. Grown-ups should not be called by their [childhood] names but by what they were called when they were alive." Yi removed the expression "it is not necessary" 不必 in the final draft because it could mean "it is sometimes allowed." He added "[adults should] be called by what they were called when they were alive" 隨生時所稱 according to Song's suggestion.

In the same chapter, the passage in the first draft, "He should not take it off unless he goes out to another place" is changed to "Mourning clothes (including hemp belts) should not be taken off unless the mourner is ill or engaged in service" in the final draft. Yi seems to compromise by rephrasing the conditional sentence. In spite of the change, he did not follow Song's argument exactly, which says that, according to ancient ritual, the mourner should never remove mourning attire.

In the same chapter, the passage in the first draft, "If one in another place hears the announcement of a relative's death and goes to the funeral, then he should put on mourning garments immediately after arriving at the mourner's home" is changed to "If you are in another place and hear the announcement of a relative's death, set up a place and wail. If you go to the funeral, put on mourning garments at the mourners' home" in the final draft. Yi deleted the character *ch'ik* 卽 ("immediately") according to Song's opinion, which is based on the ancient Classics.

In chapter 8, the passage in the first draft, "As for a magistrate's gift, people may receive food like wine and meat, but they should not receive rice or beans." is changed to "In general, do not accept [any] gifts from magistrates" in the final draft. Yi followed Song's argument based on national law and urged against reception of any food as gifts from magistrates.

A Translation of Song Ikp'il's "A Letter to Sukhŏn"²³

1. Comments on Chapter Three: Conducting Oneself

1.1. 尊兄所論如九容註云，足容重者，不輕動也。若趨于尊丈之前，則不可拘此。此註非是。凡用足不輕，而不躡不蹶。周旋中規，折旋中矩。當趨則趨以采齊，當行則行以肆夏。是足容重也。若如兄說足容重，是半邊語也。可行於燕閑，而不可行於接尊丈，安有是理。

In the note on the Nine Appearances, you say, "The feet should look heavy," implying as follows: "Do not move the feet lightly. But if you have to walk hastily before elders, you are not obliged to follow this rule." This note is not completely right. Generally, when one does not move one's feet lightly, he does not stumble or fall down. [However, it goes further.] "When turning around, he makes a circle; when turning in the other direction, he does so at a right angle. When one is walking quickly, he does so to the music of the Cai Qi; when walking at a normal pace (back to the reception-hall), they play the Si Xia."²⁴ This is the very meaning of "heavy-looking feet."²⁵ If one explains "heavy-looking feet" like you did, it would be only half right. How does it make sense that one can walk at a normal pace at his leisure but not in the presence of elders?

1.2. 註手容恭云，手無事則當端拱，不可弄手撫物。此亦未穩。手容恭，豈但在無事時乎。執玉奉盈，非手恭而能乎。

In the note on "The hands should be respectful," you explain what this means as follows: "When there is no work at hand, hold your hands together and do not play with things." This is not right, either. Why should the hands be respectful only when there is no work? When carrying a jade symbol, or bearing a full vessel,²⁶ should not one's hands be respectful?

23. *Kubong chip* 龜峯集 (Collected works of Kubong) 6, "Tap Sukhŏn sŏ" 答叔獻書 (Reply to Sukhŏn; A comment on Sukhŏn's book). The letter has a subtitle: "Discussion on What is Right and Wrong in the *Kyŏngmong yogyŏl* that Sukhŏn Wrote" 論叔獻所述擊蒙要訣非是。

24. *Liji*, "Yu Zao" 玉藻; James Legge, trans., *The Li Ki*, Sacred Books of the East 27–28 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1885), 2:18, with modification: "When (the king or ruler) was walking quickly (to the court of audience), he did so to the music of the Cai Qi; when walking at a normal pace (back to the reception-hall), they played the Si Xia. When turning round, he made a complete circle; when turning in another direction, he did so at a right angle." 趨以采齊，行以肆夏。周還中規，折還中矩。 Cf. *Zhuzi yu lei* 107, "Admonition for Mindfulness Studio" (*jingzhai zhen* 敬齋箴). See also the ninth diagram of the *Sŏnghak sipto*; Michael C. Kalton, *To Become a Sage* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 179.

25. In other words, feet should move in a timely manner.

26. Cf. *Liji*, "Ji Yi" 祭義; Legge, *The Li Ki*, 2:216: "A filial son will move as if he were carrying a

1.3. 註聲容靜云，不可出噦咳等聲。此亦未盡。聲容靜者，謂安定辭也。且噦咳等聲，人所不得不爲者也。故小學，在父母舅姑之所，禁噦咳等聲。安有平居而不爲之理。

In the note on “The voice should be calm,” you explain what this means as follows: “Do not make random sounds like belching and coughing.” This is not completely right, either. The sentence, “The voice should be calm” [actually] refers to this: “Speech should be composed and definite.”²⁷ Besides, sounds like belching and coughing are things one cannot help. That is why the *Elementary Learning* forbids the sounds of belching and coughing only in the presence of one’s parents or parents-in-law.²⁸ Is there any reason one cannot do these at home?

1.4. 註氣容肅云，調和鼻息，不可使有聲氣。此亦未安。宜云雖有聲氣，而當使之肅安。能使之無也。

In the note on “The breathing should be solemn,” you explain what this means as follows: “Moderate your nasal breathing in order not to make a breathing sound.” This is not accurate, either. It should be explained this way: “Although one makes a breathing sound, one should do this with solemnity and ease.” You cannot force people not to make a breathing sound.

1.5. 註九思之貌思恭云，一身儀形，無不端莊。此亦以端莊，訓恭字不足，欠謙遜意故也。

In the note on the Nine Considerations, you say, “In attitude, think of courtesy,” implying that the “Demeanor should be dignified.” This “dignified” is also insufficient to convey the meaning of *kong* 恭 (courtesy) because it lacks a connotation of humility.

2. Comment on Chapter One: Establishing Will

至如立志章云，志之立知之明行之篤，皆在我耳，我又何求哉。此亦文勢之誤也。不如何他求之爲合也。

jade symbol, or bearing a full vessel.” 孝子如執玉，如奉盈。

27. Cf. *Liji*, “Qu Li I” 曲禮上; Legge, *The Li Ki*, 1:61–62: “The Summary of the Rules of Propriety says: Always and in everything let there be reverence; with the deportment grave as when one is thinking [deeply], and with speech composed and definite.” 禮禮曰，毋不敬，儼若思，安定辭。

28. Cf. *Liji*, “Nei Ze” 內則; Legge, *The Li Ki*, 1:453: “When with their parents, [sons and their wives], when ordered to do anything, should immediately respond and reverently proceed to do it. In going forwards or backwards, or turning round, they should be careful and grave; while going out or coming in, while bowing or walking, they should not presume to eructate, sneeze, or cough, to yawn or stretch themselves, to stand on one foot, or to lean against anything, or to look askance. They should not dare to spit or snivel.” 在父母舅姑之所，有命之，應唯敬對。進退周旋慎齊，升降出入揖游，不敢噦噫，噦咳，欠伸，跛倚，睥視，不敢唾洩。 Cf. *Xiaoxue* 2.4.

In the chapter on establishing will, you say, “Establishing will, having a clear understanding, and making earnest actions depend solely on me. What else should I seek?” This [last sentence] interrupts the flow of the writing. It is better to say, “Why would I seek them from others?”

3. Comment on Chapter Two: Changing Old Habits

又革舊習章云，時時每加猛省之功。此非無時不習之義也。時時字不可。時時字，雖在論語書註中，而莫如去時時每三字，而下一常字之爲合也。

In the chapter on changing old habits, you say, “From time to time make every effort to examine oneself rigorously.” This does not mean “there is no time without examination.” Thus, the characters *si si* 時時 (from time to time) are inappropriate. Although these characters are found in the commentary on the *Lunyu*,²⁹ it would be better to remove the three characters *si si mae* 時時每 (from time to time, every) and instead write down one character, *sang* 常 (always).

4. Comment on Chapter Three: Conducting Oneself

又持身章，自學者必誠意向道，不以世俗雜事亂志以下，至真實心地一段，宜在心術工夫，而編在持身。雖曰身修在正其心，而教小兒，目以持身，錯以心志，亦不分明。大學之言正心於修身者，其章目以正心修身故也。

In the chapter on conducting oneself, there are misplaced sentences: from “Students must be sincere in their minds toward the Way and not allow the myriad affairs of the world to disturb their intentions” to “Make the heart truthful.” These should have been placed in the chapter dealing with cultivation of the mind, but they are in this chapter. Although it is said [in the *Great Learning*] that “The cultivation of oneself lies in rectifying the mind,”³⁰ it would be confusing for children if you pay attention to proper conduct here while mixing in the matter of mind-will. In the *Great Learning*, “rectifying the mind” is discussed together with “cultivating oneself” because the aim of the chapter is to cultivate oneself by rectifying the mind.³¹

29. Zhu Xi's *Lunyu ji zhu* on *Lunyu* 1.1; Daniel K. Gardner, *Zhu Xi's Reading of the Analects: Canon, Commentary and the Classical Tradition* (Columbia University Press, 2003), 31, with modification: “To learn and then from time to time rehearse it is to master what one has learned; the mind-and-heart thereby fills with pleasure. The progress of such a one naturally will be unceasing.” 既學而又時時習之，則所學者熟而中心喜說，其進，自不能已矣。

30. *Daxue* 大學 10: “The cultivation of the person lies in rectifying the mind.” 修身在正其心者。

31. He seems to suggest that Yi I should put the sentences into the relevant chapter rather than justifying his placement of them by relying on a passage from the *Great Learning*.

5. Comment on Chapter Four: Reading Books

又讀書章，自小學至春秋詳玩等說，逐條變文，或雷同，或別無意思。非如韓子所謂易奇而法，詩正而葩。各稱其義也。不如刪去，以避煩文之爲簡也。

In the chapter on reading books, the description of each book, from the *Elementary Learning* to the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, including exhortations like “consider the way in every detail,” changes according to the book, but some are repeated and others have no difference in meaning. They are not like the following descriptions of Hanzi [i.e., Han Yu]: “The *Classic of Changes* is strange but there is a law; The *Classic of Songs* is righteous but beautiful.”³² Each description should correspond to the purpose of the book. It would be better to delete these sentences, avoiding unnecessary sentences and making concise sentences.

6. Comment on Chapter Five: Serving One's Parents

又事親章云，今有遺人以財物者，隨其物之多少輕重，而感恩之意，爲之深淺焉。父母遺我以身，父母之恩，爲如何哉，等語，雖承盛喻，終未解惑。父子天理也，慈母之保赤子，豈有計較假借於其間。赤子之愛父母，豈有遺我以身之念哉。父子之理，最爲著現，雖至愚至微至暴至戾者，油然藹然，終無泯滅之理。提携奉負，鞠我撫我者，本無有求於子。愛念思慕，抑搔省覲者，亦無圖報之心。則以財物之多少輕重，酬恩深淺之比，亦似不當。

In the chapter on serving parents, passages like “If someone nowadays hands down his property to others, the degree of gratitude will depend on the amount of property. My parents handed down this body to me. How great is the love for parents?” are the result of a great education. But there is something yet to be solved. The relation between a parent and a child is the principle of Heaven. When a loving mother is taking care of her baby, how can she bother about or make a pretense [of affection] in the meantime? When a baby loves its parents, how can it ever think that parents handed down the body to it? The principle between a parent and a child is so evident that it manifests itself and never disappears even in the stupidest, lowliest, most violent, or most rebellious. [Parents] guide and support and look after and caress me, but from the beginning do not want anything from their children.³³ [Children] adore and long for them. They go to see their parents in the morning and evening to stroke and scratch their itches, but do not have any intention to pay them back.

32. From “Explanation upon Entering the Academy” (*Jinxue jie* 進學解) by Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824).

33. Song changes first person “me” to the third person “children.”

Therefore, it does not seem appropriate to compare the amount of property to the depth of love.

7. Comments on Chapter Six: Funeral Regulations

7.1. 又喪制章云，復，不必呼名。此亦未善。呼名非禮，而猶曰不必，何也。不必云者，猶或可爲之云也。宜只曰隨生時所稱而已。

In the chapter on funeral regulations, you say, “When performing the calling-back ceremony, *it is not necessary* to call the deceased by [the childhood] name.” This is not good, either. Calling the deceased by [the childhood] name is not ritual propriety at all. But why did you say that “it is not necessary”? Saying “it is not necessary” could mean “it is sometimes allowed.” Instead you ought to say “[they should] be called by what they were called when they were alive.”

7.2. 且孝子無脫經之禮。禮稱雖入軍門，不可脫也。而兄云，經，非出入他處，則不可脫也。是教人失禮也。今之後學好禮者，亦有不得已出入而戴經者頗多。兄說若行，反恐沮人之爲禮也。

It is not ritual propriety for a filial son to take off his hemp belt. According to the ritual,³⁴ he cannot take it off even if he joins the army. However, you said, “He should not take it off *unless* he goes out to another place.” This is like instructing people to violate the ritual. Among junior students today who are fond of ritual, many of them already put on the hemp belt even when they go out.³⁵ But if your theory were to be put into practice, I am afraid that it would discourage them from performing the right ritual.

7.3. 且云親戚之喪，若他處聞訃奔喪，則至家即成服。此卽字未合。古禮奔喪條云，未服麻而奔喪及主人之未成經也，疏者與主人皆成之。親者終其麻帶經之日數。註曰，疏者，小功以下。親者，大功以上。疏者及主人之節則用之。其不及者，亦自用其日數。則其禮等級如是分明，而兄合親疏泛言曰即成服，甚無據。朱子家禮，又無舍古禮即成之文也。而強欲引而如此看。雖承傍據爲說，亦未敢信也。

You say, “If one in another place hears the announcement of a relative’s death and goes to the funeral, then he should put on mourning garments *immediately* after arriving at the mourner’s home.” This character “immediately” (K. *chūk*; C. *jì* 卽) is inappropriate.

In “Ben Sang” 奔喪³⁶ of the ancient ritual [i.e., *Liji*], it is said: “If, before he

34. It is unclear which ritual he is referring to.

35. In other words, they are already performing the right ritual.

36. The passage is found in “Za Ji I” 雜記上 of the *Liji*, not in “Ben Sang” 奔喪.

had put on the sackcloth, he hurried off to the mourning rites and the presiding mourner had not yet adjusted his head-band and girdle, in the case of the deceased being one for whom he (K. *soja*; Ch. *shuzhe* 疏者)³⁷ had to mourn for five months, he completed that term along with the presiding mourner. If nine months were due to the deceased, he (K. *ch'inja*; Ch. *qinzhe* 親者)³⁸ included the time that had elapsed since he assumed the sackcloth and girdle." The passage's commentary is annotated: "'soja' refers to 'those with lesser processed cloth [five months] or lower mourning'; 'ch'inja' refers to 'those with greater processed cloth [nine months] or heavier obligations.' Soja ought to put on the clothes based on the degree of closeness to the presiding mourner. One who is more distant should also put them on according to the period."³⁹

Thus, the degree of ritual is clear and distinct. However, you mixed *soja* and *ch'inja* together and carelessly said "put on mourning garments immediately." This is totally groundless. In Zhu Xi's *Family Rituals*, there is no such sentence as "putting on mourning garments immediately regardless of the ancient ritual." Nevertheless, you arbitrarily forced a quotation to support your view.⁴⁰ Even if you support your theory with illustrations, it will not be reliable.

7.4. 又服制月數云，友則雖最重，不過三月。如此斷定，似亦未安。古禮於師服，自三年以下，不定月數者，甚有其意。師友一體，愚意以爲師之合行心喪三年，義同生我者。是真所謂師也。自其下則皆是友服也。友亦情意輕重，甚有等級，何可以一定論哉。

As for the number of months for mourning garments, you say, "For your friend, however close he might be, the mourning period is not more than three months." It does not seem right to determine it like this, either. Regarding garments for one's teacher in the ancient ritual,⁴¹ the number of months, if less than three years, was not decided. The teacher and the friend are one body.⁴² Thus in my humble opinion, it is appropriate to mourn for a teacher in the heart for three years,⁴³ for he begat me with moral principle as a true teacher.

37. Literally, "one who is distant."

38. Literally, "one who is close."

39. *Liji zhu shu* 禮記註疏 [Annotations and commentary to the *Liji*] 41.

40. Song Ikp'il said this because Yi I altered the original passage of the *Family Rituals* by inserting the character *chūk* 卽 (immediately) in his first draft.

41. In other words, figuratively wearing mourning garments for him in heart.

42. This is incongruent with other sentences, since it implies that the mourning period for a teacher and a friend should be the same. However, he suggests a different period for each in the following sentences.

43. *Liji*, "Tan Gong I" 檀弓上; Legge, *The Li Ki*, 1:121: "In serving his master, (one who is learning) should have nothing to do with openly reproving him or concealing (his faults); he

For those with a lesser degree of relation than that of the teacher, mourn for them as friends. Since there are numerous types of friends based on degrees of friendship, how can you discuss them uniformly?

8. Comment on Chapter Eight: Living at Home

居家章云，我國守令，別無私捧。受守令之饋，乃是犯禁也。守令之饋，除酒肉飲食之外，若米菽之類，不可受也。此論亦偏。若以國法所禁言之，飲食與米菽，同一罪也，不可分辨也。若以時弊言之，守令之善事人者，必多費米菽，以致珍邪異味者，比比有焉。一啓此門，爲宰相者，托此論濫受而不辭。爲守令者，托此論巧捧而無避。是教獐升木也，甚似未穩。酒食米菽，咸不可受。而或有分厚邑長之能守法者，有所贈遺，則勿論米菽，窮則或可受也。何可以一概論也。此條宜削而勿論，可也。

In the chapter on living at home, you say, “In our country, magistrates do not have private incomes.... Receiving a magistrate’s gift is a violation of the injunction.... As for a magistrate’s gift, people may receive food like wine and meat, but they should not receive rice or beans.” This instruction is also biased. If the national law forbids them all, receiving either food or grain is the same crime. There should not be any distinction. Speaking of unlawful practices nowadays, it is common that magistrates serving their superiors well spend lots of rice and beans surreptitiously offering delicious food. Once this door opens, the superior ministers will not refuse, relying on your logic, however much food they receive. Likewise, magistrates, relying on this logic, will not hesitate to make such surreptitious offerings. This is as easy as teaching a monkey to climb a tree⁴⁴ and hence extremely improper. Neither wine and food nor rice and beans should be given. However, if the county magistrate is a close friend⁴⁵ and respects the law and has an inheritance to give away, one in need may receive whatever it is, including rice and beans. Therefore, how can you discuss it by generalizing them uniformly? It would be better to delete this section, and not discuss it.

should in every possible way wait upon and serve him, without being tied to definite rules; he should serve him assiduously till his death, and mourn for him in his heart for three years.” 事師無犯無隱，左右就養無方，服勤至死，心喪三年。

44. *Shijing* 223, “Jiao Gong” 角弓, Stanza 6; James Legge, trans., *The She King*, vol. 5 of *The Chinese Classics* (Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc., 1991 [1872]), 406: “Do not teach a monkey to climb trees; / [You act] like adding mud to one in the mud.” 毋教獐升木，如塗塗附。”

45. Hō Namjin and Ōm Yōnsōk mistranslated “分厚邑長” as “a country magistrate who is generous.” Hō Namjin and Ōm Yōnsōk, (*Kugyōk*) *Samhyōn sugan*, 184.

A Translation of Yi I's "A Reply to Song Unjang"⁴⁶

1. Reply to the Comments on Chapter Three

1.1. 吾兄論九容議論處雖好，推衍過深。凡一身動靜言語處事，皆欲以九容蔽之，此恐未然。九容者，只言其形體當如此，恐不如來說。足容重，只是不輕舉耳，所謂周旋折旋等之說，何其太廣耶。

You, my brother, commented on my note for the Nine Appearances, which is fine, but your inference is too profound. If you try to cover all activities and speech with the Nine Appearances, I am afraid that you will not succeed. What is meant by the Nine Appearances is simply that one's action ought to be that way. This is different from your interpretation. "Heavy-looking feet" is nothing except "not moving the feet lightly." Why did you make such a far-fetched argument like "turning around or turning in another direction"?

1.2. 手容恭則來說是也，謹改之耳。

Your comment on "The hands should be respectful" is right and thus I will correct mine.

1.3. 聲容靜，與安定辭亦不同。近來學者語聲多低微，無乃主兄說耶。君子其言也厲，豈可以低勢爲可乎。且所謂不出雜聲者，亦謂其可不出而不出耳，非故忍而不出也。

"The voice should be calm" is different from "speech should be composed and definite." Recently, there have been many students whose voices are low and small.⁴⁷ Is not this why they value your argument? "The gentleman's words are sharp-spoken."⁴⁸ How can this mean making a low voice? By the way, the instruction "Do not make such crude sounds" applies to what one can do, not to what one cannot do [control].

1.4. 氣容肅，則分明是似不息也。人固不可無聲氣，若鼻中出聲氣，使人聞之，則不可謂之調和也。

It is clear that the sentence "The breathing should be solemn" means something like "make no breathing sound." People indeed cannot suppress the sound of

46. *Yulgok chönsö* 11, "Yö Song Unjang" 與宋雲長 (Letter to Song Unjang) 7.

47. Yi seems to interpret Song's "安定辭" (Speech should be composed and definite) as "低微" (making the voice low and small).

48. *Lunyu* 19.9; Burton Watson, *The Analects of Confucius* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 135: "Zixia said, The gentleman has three changes of appearance. Seen from a distance, he is austere. Approach more closely, and he is mild. Listen to his words, and he is sharp-spoken." 子夏曰，君子有三變，望之儼然，即之也溫，聽其言也厲。

breathing completely. But if they make a noise with their nose so that it is overheard, it cannot be called euphony.

1.5. 貌思恭, 似是主於端莊, 然添入謙遜意思, 亦不妨。

“In attitude, think of courtesy” appears to place priority on “being dignified” but it would not exclude “humility.”

2. Reply to the Comment on Chapter One

立志章我又何求云者, 果不瑩故謹改之耳。

In the chapter on establishing will, my sentence “What else should I seek?” is indeed awkward and I will therefore correct it.

3. Reply to the Comment on Chapter Two

時時云者, 先儒之言, 亦有時時習之之語, 恐不妨。且無時不猛省, 則無乃太過用心而生病耶。

My saying *si si* 時時⁴⁹ seems not to be a problem, for the expression *si si sūp* 時時習⁵⁰ is also found among the former scholar’s words.⁵¹ Moreover, if there is not a time when one is not examining the self, this will be overwhelming for one’s mind and cause trouble.

4. Reply to the Comment on Chapter Three

持身章, 合論持身正心之功, 恐不妨。中庸只說誠身, 而正心在其中矣。

In the chapter on conducting oneself, it seems that there is no problem discussing conducting oneself by rectifying the mind. In the *Doctrine of the Mean*, “sincerity in oneself”⁵² is discussed, and rectifying the mind lies within it.

49. Literally, “from time to time.”

50. Literally, “from time to time rehearse it.” See Zhu Xi’s *Lunyu ji zhu* on *Lunyu* 1.1; Gardner, *Zhu Xi’s Reading of the Analects*, 31.

51. Song already pointed this out. Nevertheless, Yi continues to insist on his opinion.

52. *Zhongyong* 20.17; James Legge, trans., *Confucian Analects, the Great Learning, and the Doctrine of the Mean*, vol. 1 of *The Chinese Classics* (Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc, 1991 [1872]), 413: “There is a way to the attainment of sincerity in one’s self; if a man does not understand what is good, he will not attain sincerity in himself.” 誠身有道, 不明乎善, 不誠乎身矣。

5. Reply to the Comment on Chapter Four

讀書章云云者，亦有意思，何必盡刪。

In the chapter on reading books, my descriptions also have some meaning. Why delete them all?

6. Reply to the Comment on Chapter Five

事親章云云，父母之恩莫大焉者，是生我之故也。若以生我爲非恩，而別求他義理，恐不能也。但兄說如此，他人亦有疑之者，故謹改之耳。

In the chapter on serving parents, I meant nothing is greater than the love of parents, for they gave birth to me. If one is not grateful for this but seeks another kind of moral principle, he will not be able to find it. However, since you criticized the reciprocity and others have also had doubts, I will correct it.

7. Reply to Comments on Chapter Six

7.1. 復時，若兄長乘屋，則或可呼名故云耳。

When performing the calling-back ceremony, if you climb up on the roof, you might inadvertently utter the person's [childhood] name. That is why I said that.

7.2. 孝子出入不脫衰者，乃古禮也。古禮之不行，已數千年，以朱子之大賢，尙不能復古，以墨衰出入矣。今人不顧前後，而帶經出入者，乃生乎今之世，反古之道者也。吾兄以此爲禮之當然，恐未三思也。

"A filial son does not take off his mourning clothes when he goes out," that is the ancient ritual. Since it has not been observed for thousands of years, a great worthy like Zhuzi [Zhu Xi] could not restore it. He did not put on black mourning garments when he went out. However, people nowadays, without considering whether the ritual is either old or new, put on hemp belts⁵³ when going out. This is like being born in the present generation but regressing to old principles. If you, my brother, still think this is the right ritual, I am afraid you have not thought three times.⁵⁴

7.3. 到家卽成服之卽字，非吾意也。浩原考家禮而加之矣。但家禮與古禮稍異，恐不能一遵古禮也。

53. In other words, mourning clothes.

54. In other words, you are not thinking enough. This is an allusion to *Lunyu* 5.19; Watson, *The Analects of Confucius*, 39: "Ji Wen Zi thought three times before he acted." 季文子三思而後行。

The character “immediately” (K. *chŭk*; C. *ji* 卽) in the phrase “putting on mourning garments immediately after arriving at the mourner’s home” is not something I made up but was added by Howŏn⁵⁵ who investigated the *Family Rituals*. Since the *Family Rituals* is a little different from the ancient ritual, we cannot blindly observe the ancient ritual.⁵⁶

7.4. 朋友麻之說, 載在禮文, 恐難違也.

The instruction “wear no more than the fine hemp [three months] for friends” is in the ritual writing.⁵⁷ I am afraid I cannot violate it.

8. *Reply to the Comment on Chapter Eight*

守令之饋云云者, 似未穩云, 故已改之耳. 但吾兄以守令假要訣, 費錢財作美饌, 此則過憂也. 瘠民肥己, 媚竈之徒, 乃讀要訣而遵守乎.

What I said about a magistrate’s gift was already corrected lest one find it improper. However, if you still think that magistrates will spend money⁵⁸ to prepare delicious food, taking advantage of the [*Kyŏngmong*] *yogyŏl*, this is too much concern. How can those who starve people to feed themselves and offer bribes read the *yogyŏl* and rely on it?

55. Howŏn 浩原 is Sŏng Hon’s courtesy name.

56. Even though he said this, in the end, he removed the character *chŭk* from the text.

57. *Yi li* 儀禮 (Ceremonies and rites), “Sangfu” 喪服 (Mourning apparel) 12.

58. Rice and beans functioned similarly to money in the Chosŏn period.

Appendix A: The Literary Sinitic Text of "A Letter to Sukhŏn"⁵⁹

所敢爲也。莫如於庶母所枉旁中。尊爲極高之位。奈拜於其中。正寢中之私會。私禮。或出於後行之高處。於祭於婚。朔望讀法等禮。嫌不出。使情禮兩得之。爲佳。愛思之如何。大凡兄於禮上。自生已意。頻用活法。甚似不當。

答叔獻書 論叔獻所述擊蒙要訣非是

尊兄所論如九容註云。足容重者。不輕動也。若趨于尊丈之前。則不可拘此。此註非是。凡用足不輕。而不躡不蹶。周旋中規。折旋中矩。當趨則趨。以乘齊。當行則行。以肆夏。是足容重也。若如兄說。足容重。是半邊龜峯集 卷之六 四十二

語也可行於燕閑。而不可行於接尊丈。安有是理。註手容恭云。手無事則當端拱。不可弄手撫物。此亦未穩。手容恭。豈恆在無事時乎。執玉奉盈。非手恭而能乎。註聲容靜云。不可出歲咳等聲。此亦未盡。聲容靜者。謂安定辭也。且咳嗽等聲。人所不得不爲者。也。故小學。在父母舅姑之所。禁咳嗽等聲。安有平居而不爲之理。註氣容肅云。調和鼻息。不可使有聲氣。此亦未安。云云。雖有聲氣。而當使之肅安。能使之無也。註九思之貌。思恭云。一身儀形。無不端莊。此亦以端莊訓恭字不足。欠謙遜意故也。至如立志章云。志之立

四九三

龜峯集 卷六

知之明行之篤。皆在我耳。我又何求哉。此亦文勢之誤也。不如又何他求之爲合也。又革舊習章云。時時每加猛省之功。此非無時不習之義也。時時字不可。時時字。雖在論語書註中。而莫如去時時每三字。而下一常字之爲合也。又持身章。自學者必誠意。向道不以世俗雜事亂志。以下至眞實心地一段。安在心術工夫。而猶在持身。雖曰身修在正其心。而教小兒目以持身。錯以心志。亦不分明。大學之言。正心於修身者。其章目以正心修身故也。又讀書章。自小學至春秋詳玩等說。遂條變文。或雷同。或別無意思。非如龜峯集 卷之六 四十三

韓子所謂易奇而法。詩正而葩。各稱其義也。不如刪去以避煩文之爲簡也。又事親章云。今有遺人以財物者。隨其物之多少。輕重而感恩之意。爲之淺淺焉。父母遺我以身。父母之恩。爲如何哉。等語。雖承盛翁終未解感父子天理也。慈母之保赤子。豈有計較假借於其間。赤子之愛父母。豈有遺我以身之念哉。父子之理。軍爲著現。雖至愚至微。至暴至戾者。油然爲然。終無泯滅之理。提攜奉負。鞠我撫我者。本無有求於子。愛念恩慕。抑搔省覲者。亦無圖報之心。則以財物之多少。輕重。酬恩報德之。比亦似不當。又表制章

59. This is the text of the letter from the 1762 edition of the *Kubong chip* 龜峰集 held by the Seoul National University Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies and accessible in the Han'guk kojŏn chonghap DB (韓國古典綜合; <http://db.itkc.or.kr>). This text includes everything translated here.

云復不必呼名此亦未善呼名非禮而猶曰不必何也。不必云者猶或可爲之云也。宜只曰隨生時所稱而已。且孝子無脫經之禮。禮稱雖入軍門不可脫也。而兄云經非出入他處則不可脫也。是教人失禮也。今之後學好禮者亦有不得已出入而戴經者頗多。兄說若行反恐沮人之爲禮也。且云親戚之喪若他處聞計奔喪則至家卽成服此卽字未合。古禮奔喪條云未服麻而奔喪及主人之未成經也。疏者與主人皆成之親者終其麻帶經之日數註曰疏者小功以下親者大功以上疏者及主人之節則用之其不

龜峯集

卷之六

四十四

及者亦自用其日數則其禮等級如是分明而兄合親疏之言曰卽成服甚無據。朱子家禮又無舍古禮卽成之文也。而強欲引而如此者雖承傍據爲說亦未敢信也。又服制月數云友則雖重不過三月如此斷之似亦未安。古禮於師服自三年以下不定月數者甚有其意師友一體愚意以爲師之合行心喪三年義同生我者是眞所謂師也。自其下則皆是友服也。友亦情意輕重甚有等級何可以一定論哉。居家章云我國守令別無私捧受守令之饋乃是犯禁也。守令之饋除酒肉飲食之外若米穀之類不可

受也。此論亦偏。若以國法所禁言之飲食燕未殺同一罪也不可分辯也。若以時弊言之守令之善事人者必多費米穀以致珍邪異味者比比有焉。一啓此門爲宰相者托此論邀受而不辭焉。守令者托此論巧捧而無避是教徠升木也。甚似未穩。酒食米穀咸不可受而或有分厚色長之能守法者有所贈遺則勿論米穀竊則或可受也。何可以一槩論也。此條安削而勿論可也。祠堂章于孫序立圖諸子諸孫外執事宜直在主人後重行而今移于東不可也。主婦後于婦孫婦內執事亦宜重行而今不然亦不可也。

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卷之六

四十五

諸弟亦稍後主人之肩而今乃並肩亦不可也。設饌之國脯蠶祭物之重而今以佐飯易脯名飯羹等亦擅移其位皆似不可。祭儀章出入必告祠堂若違出經句則開中門再拜之家禮如此而今以月字換句字亦似不當。朔望爲服色以家禮推之今之白直領卽古之襖衣也用白直領亦可不必只用紅直領也。時祭之用二分二至不必大書焉式也亦恐非朱子意也。或問時祭用仲月清明之類或值忌日則如之何朱子曰却不思量到此古人所以貴於卜日也然則今不可舉是日爲式也。祭禩祭之大也而闕不

Appendix B: The Literary Sinitic Text of "A Reply to Song Unjang"⁶⁰

衆妾亦然苟可分序則雖多行列亦不可已也。大抵貴妾之異於婢僕三代以來皆然恐不可一切斥以婢妾也。同舉總非謂父妾之無子者也。珥豈不知哉。禮大夫爲貴妾雖無子亦總妾無子尙可總死庶母之貴者雖無子豈可無服云爾。假曰無服亦當以同舉有服此則指珥之庶母而言也。非泛指人之庶母也。

與宋雲長

吾兄論九容議論處雖好推衍過深。凡一身動靜言語處事皆欲以九容蔽之。此恐未然。九容者只言其形體當如此。恐不如來說足容重只是不輕舉耳。所謂周旋折旋等之說何其太廣耶。手容恭則來說是也。謹收之耳。聲容靜與安定辭亦不同。近來學者語聲多低微無乃主兄說耶。君子其言也厲豈可以低聲爲可乎。且所謂不出維聲者亦謂其可不出而不出耳。非故忍而不出也。氣容肅則分明是似不息也。人固不可無聲氣若鼻中出聲氣使人聞之則不可謂之調和也。貌恩恭似是主於端莊然添入謙遜意思亦不妨立志章我又何求云者。果不疊故謹收之耳。時時云者先儒之言亦有時時習之之語。恐不妨且無時不猛省則無乃太過用心而生病耶。持身章合論持身正心之功恐不妨中庸只說誠身而正心

栗谷全書 卷十一 二十七

在其中矣。讀書章云云者亦有意思何必盡刪事親章云云父母之恩莫大焉者是生我之故也。若以生我爲非恩而別求他義理恐不能也。但兄說如此他人亦有疑之者。故謹收之耳。復時若兄長乘屋則或可呼名故云耳。孝子出入不脫裘者乃古禮也。古禮之不行已數千年以朱子之大賢尙不能復古以墨衰出入矣。今人不顧前後而帶絰出入者乃生乎今之世反古之道者也。吾兄以此爲禮之當然恐未三思也。到家即成服之卽字非吾意也。浩原考家禮而加之矣。但家禮與古禮稍異恐不能一遵古禮也。朋友麻之說載在禮文恐難違也。守令之饋云云者似未穩云。故已收之耳。但吾兄以守令假要訣費錢時作美餽此則過愛也。瘠民肥己媚寵之徒乃讀要訣而遵守乎祠堂敘立之圖鄙意諸兄當稍龍諸弟則既立於主人之右不必稍後。脯稱佐飯似未穩但設饌依俗禮故易以俗名耳。經句當依舊文朔望用紅直領者取盛服也。時祭用分至是程子式也。大書何妨祭廟恐豐于昵也。題贈當添入其儀。舉祭既已兩度再拜而旋又參神恐非禮意。喪服中行登儀謹收之。

答宋雲長 戊寅

得書挾纈人氣不寧向鬱方深忽承情翰感疊道况

栗谷全書 卷十一 二十八

60. This is the text of the letter from the 1814 edition of the *Yulgok chönsö* 栗谷全書 held by the Yonsei University Central Library and accessible in the Han'guk kojön chonghap DB (韓國古典綜合; <http://db.itkc.or.kr>).

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