

# A Survey of Variant Versions of the *Sōakchi* and Their Taxonomy

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## Introduction

Sōak Sōwōn 西岳書院, located in the vicinity of Sōak-dong 西岳洞 in the city of Kyōngju 慶州 in North Kyōngsang 慶尙 province, South Korea,<sup>1)</sup> is a *sōwōn* 書院, or private academy, dedicated to “Three Worthies” of the Silla period who came from Kyōngju, namely, Kim Yusin 金庾信 (595–674), Sōl Ch’ong 薛聰 (d.u.), and Ch’oe Ch’iwōn 崔致遠 (858–?).<sup>2)</sup> It was founded in the middle of the Chosōn period in 1561, the sixteenth year of the reign of King Myōngjong 明宗, and became a royal-chartered academy (*saaek sōwōn* 賜額書院) when it was granted a plaque by the king in 1623, the first year of the reign of King Injo 仁祖. The *Sōakchi* 西岳志, the subject of the present study, is an account of the history and other details of Sōak Sōwōn and also of the achievements of the above-mentioned Three Worthies who are enshrined there.

The *Sōakchi* was first compiled and printed in 1642 (Injo 20), but among extant versions of the *Sōakchi* there have been identified, in addition to what is thought to be this original edition, several versions that were revised and enlarged in later times, some of which differ considerably in content and structure. To the best of my knowledge, there are no other such examples among accounts of *sōwōn*.<sup>3)</sup> In this sense, the existence of several different versions of the *Sōakchi* is a phenomenon that merits attention.

It was the ruling élite living in Kyōngju, where Sōak Sōwōn was located, who founded and managed this institution, and in many cases it was also the ruling élite in Kyōngju and elsewhere in the provinces who were involved in the compilation and reprinting of the *Sōakchi*. That being the case, there is a strong possibility that the existence of several different versions of the *Sōakchi* reflects the ruling élite’s assessment of the Three Worthies enshrined in Sōak Sōwōn, their perceptions of Sōak Sōwōn itself, and also the historical circumstances that resulted in these variant

versions.

Further, by clarifying the process that led to the compilation and publication of each version and how different people were involved in this process it should be possible to draw closer to the realities of the networks among the ruling élite that were centred on a *sōwōn*. Since the publication and reprinting of such accounts of *sōwōn* would have entailed a considerable financial burden, the question of how the necessary funds were raised is also an important issue in connection with the economic circumstances of the ruling élite in local society.

Numerous issues that need to be examined thus emerge from the existence of several different versions of the *Sōakchi*. But as a premise for elucidating these questions one first needs to determine on the basis of bibliographical investigations basic facts such as how many different versions of the *Sōakchi* there actually are and how they are interrelated.

Among the extant variant versions of the *Sōakchi*, I have until now examined either the originals or microfilms of seventeen versions in eighteen volumes held at five institutions, including what is thought to be the original edition, and I have also undertaken bibliographical investigations of these versions. Specifically, I have examined one version in one volume held by the National Institute of Korean History (NIKH; Kuksa Pyōnch'an Wiwōnhoe 國史編纂委員會), eight versions in nine volumes held by the National Library of Korea (NLOK; Kungnip Chungang Tosōgwan 國立中央圖書館), three versions in three volumes held by the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies (KISU; Kyujanggak Hangukhak Yōn'gūwōn 奎章閣韓國學研究院) at Seoul National University, four versions in four volumes held by the Central Library of Dongguk University (CLDU), all in South Korea, and one version in one volume held by the Korean History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Kyushu University (KHKU) in Japan.

Of course, there are many more works bearing the title *Sōakchi* 西岳志(誌) or *Sōak sōwōnji* 西岳書院志(誌) held by university libraries and other libraries and institutes in South Korea. But judging from library catalogues and so on, it is safe to assume that these versions that I have yet to examine all belong to one of the types identified in my hitherto investigations. Therefore, I have determined that at the present point in time I have already been able to identify by and large all types of the variant versions of the *Sōakchi*.

In the following I shall accordingly summarize the bibliographical details of the seventeen versions of the *Sōakchi* that I have examined to

date, and on the basis thereof I shall undertake a comparative examination of the variant versions of the *Sōakchi*. As well as presenting the different types of these versions identified as a result of this examination, I shall also summarize the connections between these different types.<sup>4)</sup>

## I. Sōak Sōwōn and the *Sōakchi*

### 1. The History of Sōak Sōwōn

Before proceeding to the main subject of this article, I first wish to provide a brief overview of the history of Sōak Sōwōn with reference to the *Sōakchi*.<sup>5)</sup> Sōak Sōwōn was established in Sōak-dong in Kyōngju in 1561 (Myōngjong 16), when Yi Chōng 李楨 (*ho* 號: Kuam 龜巖; 1512–71), the governor (*yun* 尹) of Kyōngju district, erected a shrine dedicated to Kim Yusin.<sup>6)</sup> This represented the beginning of Sōak Sōwōn.

But this action taken by Yi Chōng was met with calls from some of the ruling elite in Kyōngju to also enshrine Sōl Ch'ong and Ch'oe Ch'iwōn, who likewise hailed from this region. Having discussed the matter with his teacher Yi Hwang 李滉 (*ho*: T'oegye 退溪; 1501–70), Yi Chōng agreed to comply with this request made by people in Kyōngju. In the spring of 1563 (Myōngjong 18), after Yi Chōng had left his post, memorial tablets for the Three Worthies Kim Yusin, Sōl Ch'ong, and Ch'oe Ch'iwōn were installed in a single shrine, with a lecture hall also being added,<sup>7)</sup> and Sōak Sōwōn assumed the appearance of a *sōwōn*. Initially it was called Sōak Chōngsa 西岳精舍, or Sōak Hermitage, a name said to have been bestowed by Yi Hwang.<sup>8)</sup>

When Japanese forces invaded Korea in 1592 (Sōnjo 宣祖 25), Sōak Sōwōn was destroyed by fire during the fighting.<sup>9)</sup> Then in spring 1600 (Sōnjo 33), after hostilities had ended, Yi Sibal 李時發 (1569–1626), the then governor of Kyōngju district, built a thatched cottage on the former site of Sōak Sōwōn and revived it, installing the memorial tablets of the Three Worthies which had been moved to a mountain recess during the Japanese invasions.<sup>10)</sup> Two years later in 1602 (Sōnjo 35) a new shrine was completed, and thereafter the various buildings underwent repairs on several occasions.<sup>11)</sup> In 1623 (Injo 1), a plaque in the king's own handwriting was bestowed at the request of Ch'oe Tongōn 崔東彦 (d.u.), a Confucian living in Kyōngju,<sup>12)</sup> and the Sōak Sōwōn became a royal-chartered *sōwōn*.<sup>13)</sup>

It is well known that the number of *sōwōn* increased rapidly from

the seventeenth century onwards, and several hundred were established during about 150 years from the second half of the sixteenth century to the start of the eighteenth century. But at the same time *sŏwŏn*, which were also places where the local élite gathered, became linked to various factions and turned into hotbeds of factional strife, while peasants also took refuge in *sŏwŏn* in order to escape military service, and because such abuses became increasingly apparent, royal orders for the abolition of *sŏwŏn* were frequently issued from the eighteenth century onwards. In the final years of the Chosŏn dynasty, from 1846 (Kojong 高宗 1) to 1854, the reorganization and abolition of *sŏwŏn* was carried out intermittently by Taewŏn'gun 大院君 (1820–98), who was aiming to strengthen royal authority and centralize government, and as a result only forty-seven royal-chartered *sŏwŏn* were left in the whole country.<sup>14)</sup> But Sŏak Sŏwŏn did not become a target of reorganization or abolition and survived even after the fall of the Chosŏn dynasty, and it has been preserved down to the present day through careful management by descendants of the Three Worthies and other people.

## 2. An Overview of the *Sŏakchi*

What sort of text, then, is the *Sŏakchi*, which records the history of Sŏak Sŏwŏn and the achievements of the Three Worthies to which it is dedicated? And when and by whom was it compiled and published? As will be discussed below, the versions among the various versions of the *Sŏakchi* that are thought to correspond to the original text (first edition) or the version closest to it are one held by the National Library of Korea (call no. Kajo 古朝 622-162) and two held by the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies (call nos. Kyu 奎 4630 and Ko 古 4790-25). All three of these texts have the following structure.<sup>15)</sup>

- a. 西岳
- b. 書院創始
- c. 書院齋號
- d. 書院重修
- e. 賜額
- f. 廟中神位
- g. 享祀時日
- h. 三賢事蹟

弘儒侯薛先生

- 三國史本傳／遺事／追封  
 開國公金先生  
 三國史本傳略／遺事／異跡／瑩墓／祠廟／追封  
 文昌公崔先生  
 三國史本傳／桂苑筆耕自序／歲年考／遺事／遺跡／追封
- i. 儒臣論著  
 j. 諸賢雜詠
- |          |       |
|----------|-------|
| 次龜巖西岳精舍韻 | 退溪先生  |
| 題西岳精舍    | 龜巖李禎  |
| 次龜巖韻     | 八溪鄭宗榮 |
| 西岳精舍     | 退溪先生  |
| 謁西岳祠示院生  | 鶴峯金誠一 |
- k. 三賢子孫  
 l. 請額疏略  
 m. [崇禎壬午夏四月壬子烏川鄭克後謹識]

It is evident from the above that the *Sōakchi* can be broadly divided into three parts on the basis of its content: part 1, dealing with Sōak Sōwōn itself (§§a-g); part 2, dealing with the achievements of the Three Worthies enshrined at Sōak Sōwōn (§§h-i); and part 3, dealing with other matters (§§j-l). The final section (§m) is the postscript.

Part 1 (§§a-g) records the location of Sōak Sōwōn, its history, the origins of the names of its buildings, the positions of the memorial tablets of the Three Worthies enshrined there, the daily schedule for their worship, and so on. In part 2, §h is a collection of excerpts of passages about the achievements of the Three Worthies taken from the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 and other historical works and collected writings, while §i is a collection of excerpts of assessments of the Three Worthies by Confucian ministers from the Koryō period onwards, taken from various historical works and collected writings. Part 3 is varied in content: §j consists of five poems by Yi Hwang and other Confucianists who visited Sōak Sōwōn, §k consists of excerpts of passages about the achievements of famous men among descendants of the Three Worthies taken from various historical works and so on, and §l is a summary of the memorial submitted by Ch'oe Tongōn in 1623, petitioning the king to bestow a plaque on Sōak Sōwōn.

The postscript (§m) was written by a certain Chōng Kūkhu 鄭克後, according to whom there had previously been no account of the achievements of the Three Worthies in the form of a single work, and because this had been inconvenient for those wishing to learn more about them,

Chang Hyōngwang 張顯光 (*ho*: Yōhōn 旅軒; 1554–1637) had ordered Chōng Kūkhu to write an account of the achievements of the Three Worthies and the founding of Sōak Sōwōn. Chōng Kūkhu did not immediately make a start on this task and began compiling the *Sōakchi* only after Chang Hyōngwang's death. He enumerated the achievements of the Three Worthies, imitating the format of Chinese works such as the *Yiluo yuanyuan* 伊洛淵源 and *Mingchen yanxing lu* 名臣言行錄,<sup>16)</sup> added an account of the founding of Sōak Sōwōn at the start, included writings by various well-known men as an appendix, and so brought the *Sōakchi* to completion.<sup>17)</sup>

The *Sōakchi* was, in other words, compiled by Chōng Kūkhu. As for the date of its compilation, given that the date recorded at the end of the postscript is “cyclic day *imja*, fourth month, summer, cyclic year *imo*, [Chinese] Sungjōng (= Chongzhen) era” (崇禎壬午夏四月壬子), it would be safe to assume that it was completed in 1642 (Injo 20), and it is also to be surmised that it was probably printed in the same year. Chōng Kūkhu (1577–1658) was a man of letters from Kyōngju and a student of Chang Hyōngwang and Chōng Ku 鄭述 (1543–1620).<sup>18)</sup>

## II. Bibliographical Details of Variant Versions of the *Sōakchi*

As was noted above, the variant versions of the *Sōakchi* of which I have completed investigations of the originals, microfilms, or photographs are one version in one volume held by the National Institute of Korean History, eight versions in nine volumes held by the National Library of Korea, three versions in three volumes held by the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies at Seoul National University, four versions in four volumes held by the Central Library of Dongguk University, all in South Korea, and one version in one volume held by the Korean History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Kyushu University in Japan, making a total of seventeen versions in eighteen volumes. There now follows bibliographical information about each version given in the order of the above holding institutions.

### (i) National Institute of Korean History (Kwach'ōn 果川, Kyōnggi 京畿 province)

The National Institute of Korean History holds one work titled *Sōak sōwōnji* (call no. B16FB-48) and a digitized copy (call no. Chōn 電 B16FB-

48a). I examined the former of these.

(a) *Sōak sōwōnji* 西岳書院志, 1 fasc., 1 vol. (72 leaves); call no. B16FB-48 (hereafter: IH)

Blockprinted. 26.7 × 18.4 cm. On the front cover the title *Sōak wōnji* 西岳院志 has been written in black ink. Bound with five-hole stitching. Double frame lines; ruled column lines; block face 19.8 × 16.1 cm. Ten 18-character columns per half-sheet; same number of characters for two-column notes. Centre strip has no vertical line at top and bottom but has facing “fish tails” with floral pattern, with 西岳志序 一, 西岳院圖 一, 陳設圖, 西岳志 二, etc., printed between the “fish tails.” Includes map of *Sōak Sōwōn* (西岳書院之圖) and diagram showing arrangement of ritual utensils, etc. (陳設圖). Preface (“*Sōak sōwōnji chunggan sō*” 西岳書院志重刊序) by Yi Kangho 李康鎬 (dated cyclic year *pyōngjin* 丙辰). In addition to the postscript by Chōng Kūkhu (dated cyclic year *imo* of [Chinese] Sungjōng era [崇禎壬午]), there are postfaces titled “*Sōak sōwōnji chunggan pal*” 西岳書院志重刊跋 by Yi Man’gu 李邁久 (dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*) and Ch’oe Hyōnsik 崔鉉軾 (dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*, 356 years after founding of *Sōak Sōwōn* [建院後三百五十六年丙辰]) and a postface (“*Sosik*” 小識) by Kim Ch’angu 金昌宇 (dated sixth cyclic year *pyōngjin* after founding of *Sōak Sōwōn* [創院後六丙辰]). There is a colophon on the inside of the back cover indicating that this work was published by *Sōak Sōwōn* in 1917 (Taishō 大正 6).

### (ii) National Library of Korea (Sōch’o 瑞草 district, Seoul)

The National Library of Korea holds eight versions in nine volumes: (a) *Sōakchi* (call no. Kojo 62-162); (b) *Sōak sōwōnji* (call no. Kojo 27-8); (c) *Sōak sōwōnji* (call no. Ko 2107-77); (d) *Sōak sōwōnji* (call no. Ko 2107-240); (e) *Sōakchi* (call no. Ko 2107-76); (f) *Sōakchi* (call no. Ko 2519-2-c.1); (g) *Sōakchi* (call no. Ko 2519-2-c.2); and (h) *Sōakchi* (call no. Ko 2519-2-c.3). Among these, (f), (g), and (h) are copies of the same work. I examined the originals of all of these except (d), which I accessed through photographs on the Library’s Web site. For the measurements, etc., of (d), I have relied on information given in the Library’s catalogue.<sup>19)</sup>

(a) *Sōakchi* 西岳志, 1 fasc., 1 vol. (44 leaves); call no. Kojo 62-162 (hereafter: NL-A)

Blockprinted. 24.3 × 19.9 cm. On the front cover the title *Sōakchi* 西岳

志 has been written in black ink. Bound with five-hole stitching. Double frame lines; ruled column lines; block face 18.8×16.4 cm. Ten 18-character columns per half-sheet; same number of characters for two-column notes. Centre strip has no vertical line at top and bottom but has facing “fish tails” with floral pattern, with 西岳志 一, etc., printed between the “fish tails.” Badly damaged around the centre strip. No back cover, but has a flyleaf at the end. No preface and only Chōng Kūkhu’s postscript (dated cyclic year *imo* of [Chinese] Sungjōng era).

(b) *Sōak sōwōnji* 西岳書院志, 1 fasc., 1 vol. (78 leaves); call no. Kojo 27-8 (hereafter: NL-B)

Blockprinted. 27.5×19.0 cm. On the front cover the title *Sōak sōwōnji* 西岳書院誌 has been written in black ink. Bound with five-hole stitching. Double frame lines; ruled column lines; block face 19.0×14.8 cm. Ten 18-character columns per half-sheet; same number of characters for two-column notes. Centre strip has no vertical line at top and bottom but has facing “fish tails” with floral pattern, with 西岳志序 一, 西岳院圖 一, 陳設圖, 西岳志 二, etc., printed between the “fish tails.” Includes map of *Sōak Sōwōn* (西岳書院之圖) and diagram showing arrangement of ritual utensils, etc. (陳設圖). On the recto of folio 1 (f. 1a), a square vermilion seal of the Library of the Government-General of Korea (朝鮮總督府書館藏書之印) has been affixed in the top right, and a rectangular vermilion seal of the Government-General of Korea’s Bureau of Police Affairs (朝鮮總督府警務局保轉本) has been affixed in the bottom right corner of the block face. Preface by Yi Kangho (“*Sōak sōwōnji chunggan sō*,” dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*). In addition to the postscript by Chōng Kūkhu (dated cyclic year *imo* of [Chinese] Sungjōng era), there are postfaces by Chōng Chungsōp 鄭重燮 (dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*, 275 years after cyclic year *imo* of [Chinese] Sungjōng era [崇禎壬午後二百七十五年丙辰]), by Yi Man’gu and Ch’oe Hyōnsik (“*Sōak sōwōnji chunggan pal*,” dated cyclic year *pyōngjin* and cyclic year *pyōngjin*, 356 years after founding of *Sōak Sōwōn*, respectively), and by Kim Ch’angu (“*Sosik*,” dated sixth cyclic year *pyōngjin* after founding of *Sōak Sōwōn*). There is a colophon on the inside of the back cover indicating that this work was published by *Sōak Sōwōn* in 1917 (Taishō 6).

(c) *Sōak sōwōnji* 西岳書院志, 1 fasc., 1 vol. (85 leaves); call no. Ko 2107-77 (hereafter: NL-C)

Blockprinted. 28.2×19.7 cm. On the front cover the title *Sōak sōwōnji*



西岳書院誌 has been written in black ink. Bound with five-hole stitching. Double frame lines; ruled column lines; block face 19.0×14.8 cm. Ten 18-character columns per half-sheet; same number of characters for two-column notes. Centre strip has no vertical line at top and bottom but has facing “fish tails” with floral pattern, with 西岳志序 一, 西岳院圖 一, 陳設圖, 西岳志 二, etc., printed between the “fish tails.” Includes map of Sōak Sōwōn (西岳書院之圖) and diagram showing arrangement of ritual utensils, etc. (陳設圖). Preface by Yi Kangho (“Sōak sōwōnji chunggan sō,” dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*). In addition to the postscript by Chōng Kūkhu (dated cyclic year *imo* of [Chinese] Sungjōng era), there are postfaces by Chōng Chungšōp (dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*, 275 years after cyclic year *imo* of [Chinese] Sungjōng era), by Ch’oe Hyōnsik (dated cyclic year *pyōngjin* 356 years after founding of Sōak Sōwōn), by Yi Man’gu (“Sik” 識, dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*), and by Kim Ch’angu (“Sosik,” dated sixth cyclic year *pyōngjin* after founding of Sōak Sōwōn). There is a colophon on the inside of the back cover indicating that this work was published in 1925 (Taishō 14) by Kūmsanjae 金山齋 (publisher: Kim Pyōngdu 金柄斗) in Kyōngju county, Kyōngju district.

(d) *Sōak sōwōnji* 西岳書院志, 1 fasc., 2 vols. (vol. 1: 48 leaves; vol. 2: 36 leaves); call no. Ko 2107-2401 (hereafter: NL-D)

Blockprinted. 28.3×20.0 cm. On the front covers the title *Sōakchi sang* 西岳誌上 (vol. 1) and *Sōakchi ha* 西岳誌下 (vol. 2) have been written in black ink. Bound with five-hole stitching. Double frame lines; ruled column lines; block face 19.0×15.5 cm. Ten 18-character columns per half-sheet; same number of characters for two-column notes. Centre strip has no vertical line at top and bottom but has facing “fish tails” with floral pattern, with 西岳志序 一, 西岳院圖 一, 陳設圖, 西岳志 二, etc., printed between the “fish tails.” Includes map of Sōak Sōwōn (西岳書院之圖 [vol. 1]) and diagram showing arrangement of ritual utensils, etc. (陳設圖 [vol. 2]). Preface by Yi Kangho (“Sōak sōwōnji chunggan sō,” dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*). In addition to the postscript by Chōng Kūkhu (dated cyclic year *imo* of [Chinese] Sungjōng era [vol. 1]), there are postfaces by Chōng Chungšōp (dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*, 275 years after cyclic year *imo* of [Chinese] Sungjōng era [vol. 2; ditto below]), by Ch’oe Hyōnsik (dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*, 356 years after founding of Sōak Sōwōn), by Yi Mangu (“Sik,” dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*), and by Kim Ch’angu (“Sosik,” dated sixth cyclic year *pyōngjin* after founding of Sōak Sōwōn).

(e) *Sōakchi* 西岳誌, 1 fasc., 1 vol. (82 leaves); call no. Ko 2107-76 (hereafter: NL-E)

Lithographically printed. 25.0×17.0 cm. The title *Sōakchi chōn* 西岳誌 全 has been written in black ink on a title slip pasted to the cover. Bound with four-hole stitching. Double frame lines; ruled column lines; block face 18.6×14.5 cm. Ten 18-character columns per half-sheet; same number of characters for two-column notes. Centre strip has no vertical line at top and bottom but has single black “fish tail” in upper part, with 西岳誌序, 西岳誌, etc., printed at the top and 一, etc., printed at the bottom. Includes diagram showing arrangement of ritual utensils, etc. (陳設圖) and map of Sōak Sōwōn (西岳書院之圖), both of which have no centre strip. Preface by Yi Kangho (“Sōak sōwōnji chunggan sō,” dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*). In addition to the postscript by Chōng Kūkhu (dated cyclic year *imo* of [Chinese] Sungjōng era), there are postfaces by Chōng Chungšōp (dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*, 275 years after cyclic year *imo* of [Chinese] Sungjōng era), by Ch’oe Hyōnsik (dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*, 356 years after founding of Sōak Sōwōn), and by Yi Mangu (“Sik,” dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*). A list of corrigenda has been pasted on the inside of the back cover (11.2×12.5 cm). There is also a colophon, indicating that this work was published in 1933 (Shōwa 昭和 8) by the Clan Office (Tae-dong Chongyakso 大同宗約所) of the Kim clan of Kimhae 金海 located in Nagwōn-dong 樂園洞, Kyōngsōng 京城.

(f) *Sōakchi* 西岳誌, 1 fasc., 1 vol. (46 leaves); call nos. Ko 2519-2-c.1, 2519-2-c.2, 2519-2-c.2 (three copies of the same work; hereafter: NL-F1, NL-F2, NL-F3)

Typeset in new movable lead type. 28.4×18.8 cm. The title *Sōakchi* 西岳誌 has been written in black ink on a title slip pasted to the cover. Bound with four-hole stitching. Double frame lines; ruled column lines; block face 20.0×13.6 cm. Nine 19-character columns per half-sheet; same number of characters for two-column notes. Centre strip has no vertical line at top and bottom but has single “fish tail” with floral pattern in upper part, with 西岳誌卷之一 printed below the “fish tail” and 一, etc., printed at the bottom. No preface. Postfaces by Yu Sōku 柳奭佑 (“Sōakchi chunggan pal” 西岳志重刊跋, dated cyclic year *sinch’uk* 辛丑, 4,294th year since start of rule by Tangun [檀祖肇運之四千二百九十四年辛丑]), by Yi Hodae 李好大 (“Pal” 跋, dated 5th cyclic year *sinch’uk* since first publication [始刊後五辛丑歲]), and by Nam Ch’aegyo 南采教 and Son Kukho 孫國鎬 (“Sik,” dated cyclic year *sinch’uk*, 4,294th year of Tangun era [檀君紀元四千二百

九十四年辛丑)).

**(iii) Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies at Seoul National University (Kwanak 冠岳 district, Seoul)**

The Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies at Seoul National University holds three versions in three volumes: (a) *Sŏakchi* (call no. 4630); (b) *Sŏakchi* (call no. Ko 4790-25); and (c) *Sŏakchi* (call no. Ilsoego 一纂古 372.951-J463s). I examined microfilms of (a) and (b) and the original of (c). For the measurements, etc., of (a) and (b), I have relied on information given in the Institute's catalogue.<sup>20)</sup>

(a) *Sŏakchi* 西岳志, 1 fasc., 1 vol. (44 leaves); call no. Kyu 4630 (hereafter: SU-A)

Blockprinted. 30.0 × 21.2 cm. On the front cover the title *Sŏakchi* 西岳志 has been written in black ink. Bound with five-hole stitching. Double frame lines; ruled column lines; block face 19.0 × 16.4 cm. Ten 18-character columns per half-sheet; same number of characters for two-column notes. Centre strip has no vertical line at top and bottom but has facing “fish tails” with floral pattern, 西岳志 一, etc., printed between the “fish tails.” On f. 1a, a square vermilion seal of the Imperial Library (帝室圖書之章) has been affixed in the top right, and a rectangular vermilion seal of the Imperial Tutors' Office (侍講院) has been affixed in the lower right corner. No preface. The only back matter is the postscript by Chŏng Kŭkhu (dated cyclic year *imo* of [Chinese] Sungjŏng era).

(b) *Sŏakchi* 西岳志, 1 fasc., 1 vol. (44 leaves); call no. Ko 4790-25 (hereafter: SU-B)

Blockprinted (later printing). 33.0 × 21.5 cm. On the front cover the title *Sŏakchi* 西岳志 has been written in black ink. Bound with five-hole stitching. Double frame lines; ruled column lines; block face 19.4 × 16.6 cm. Ten 18-character columns per half-sheet; same number of characters for two-column notes. Centre strip has no vertical line at top and bottom but has facing “fish tails” with floral pattern, with 西岳志 一, etc., printed between the “fish tails.” On f. 1a, a rectangular vermilion seal of the Yi family of Yŏ (驪李家藏) has been affixed in the lower right corner. No preface. The only back matter is the postscript by Chŏng Kŭkhu (dated cyclic year *imo* of [Chinese] Sungjŏng era).

(c) *Sōakchi* 西岳誌, 1 fasc., 1 vol. (46 leaves); call no. Ilsoego 372.951-J4634s (hereafter: SU-C)

Typeset in wooden movable type. 31.0 × 20.0 cm. Single frame lines; ruled column lines; block face 22.2 × 16.6 cm. Ten 20-character columns per half-sheet; same number of characters for two-column notes. Centre strip has no vertical line at top and bottom but has facing “fish tails” with floral pattern, with 西岳誌卷之一 一, etc., printed between the “fish tails” (table of contents has 西岳誌卷之一). Includes one illustration (西岳書院圖). Prefaces (“Sō” 序) by Yi Kyoik 李矯翼 and Kim Chonghwan 金鍾煥 (both dated cyclic year *pyōngo*, 11th year of Kwangmu era [光武十一年丙午]). The only back matter is the postscript by Chōng Kūkhu (dated cyclic year *imo* of [Chinese] Sungjōng era).

**(iv) Central Library of Dongguk University (Chung 中 district, Seoul)**

The Central Library of Dongguk University holds four versions of the *Sōakchi* in four volumes: (a) *Sōakchi* (call no. D-370.951-정18入스); (b) *Sōak sōwōnji* (call no. D-370.951-정18入入); (c) *Sōak sōwōnji* (call no. D370.351-정18入入2); and (d) *Sōak sōwōnji* (D-370.951-정18入ㄱ). I was able to examine the originals of all of these works.

(a) *Sōakchi* 西岳誌, 1 fasc., 1 vol. (37 leaves); call no. D-370.951-정18入스 (hereafter: DU-A)

Typeset in wooden movable type. 26.8 × 18.8 cm. On the front cover the title *Sōakchi* 西岳誌 has been written in black ink. Bound with five-hole stitching. Double frame lines; ruled column lines; block face 22.3 × 15.5 cm. Ten 20-character columns per half-sheet; same number of characters for two-column notes. Centre strip has no vertical line at top and bottom but has facing “fish tails” with floral pattern, with 西岳誌 一, etc., printed between the “fish tails.” No map or diagram. Preface (“Sōakchi sō” 西岳誌序) by Ki Uman 奇字萬 of Haengju 幸州 (dated fifth cyclic year *pyōngjin* after [Chinese] Sungjōng era [崇禎後五周丙辰]). Postscript by Chōng Kūkhu (dated cyclic year *imo* of [Chinese] Sungjōng era). Colophon at the end, indicating that this work was published in 1915 (Taishō 4) by Kim Hoju 金昊柱 of Tonggok 東谷 county, Kwangju 光州 district, South Chōlla 全羅 province.

(b) *Sōak sōwōnji* 西岳書院志, 1 fasc., 1 vol. (77 leaves); call no. D-370.951-정18入入 (hereafter: DU-B)

Blockprinted. 27.5 × 19.0 cm. On the front cover the title *Sōak wōnji chōn* 西岳院志 全 has been written in black ink. Bound with five-hole stitching. Double frame lines; ruled column lines; block face 19.7 × 16.0 cm. Ten 18-character columns per half-sheet; same number of characters for two-column notes. Centre strip has no vertical line at top and bottom but has facing “fish tails” with floral pattern, with 西岳志 一, 西岳院圖 一, 陳設圖, 西岳志 二, etc., printed between the “fish tails.” Includes map of Sōak Sōwōn (西岳書院之圖) and diagram showing arrangement of ritual utensils, etc. (陳設圖). Preface by Yi Kangho (“Sōak sōwōnji chunggan sō,” dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*). In addition to the postscript by Chōng Kūkhu (dated cyclic year *imo* of [Chinese] Sungjōng era), there are postfaces by Chōng Chungsoṅp (dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*, 275 years after cyclic year *imo* of [Chinese] Sungjōng era) and by Yi Mangu and Ch’oe Hyōnsik (“Sōak sōwōnji chunggan pal,” dated cyclic year *pyōngjin* and cyclic year *pyōngjin*, 356 years after founding of Sōak Sōwōn, respectively). There is a colophon on the back cover, indicating that this work was published by Sōak Sōwōn in 1917 (Taishō 6).

(c) *Sōak sōwōnji* 西岳書院志, 1 fasc., 1 vol. (85 leaves); call no. D370.351-정 18入入2 (hereafter: DU-C)

Blockprinted. 27.2 × 19.0 cm. On the front cover the title *Sōakchi* 西岳誌 has been written in black ink, and slightly right of centre *ūlch’uk* 乙丑 has also been written in black ink. Bound with five-hole stitching. Double frame lines; ruled column lines; block face 18.9 × 14.8 cm. Ten 18-character columns per half-sheet; same number of characters for two-column notes. Centre strip has no vertical line at top and bottom but has facing “fish tails” with floral pattern, with 西岳志 一, 西岳院圖 一, 陳設圖, 西岳志 二, etc., printed between the “fish tails.” Includes map of Sōak Sōwōn (西岳書院之圖) and diagram showing arrangement of ritual utensils, etc. (陳設圖). Preface by Yi Kangho (“Sōak sōwōnji chunggan sō,” dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*). In addition to the postscript by Chōng Kūkhu (dated cyclic year *imo* of [Chinese] Sungjōng era), there are postfaces by Chōng Chungsoṅp (dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*, 275 years after cyclic year *imo* of [Chinese] Sungjōng era), by Ch’oe Hyōnsik (dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*, 356 years after founding of Sōak Sōwōn), by Yi Mangu (“Sik,” dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*), and by Kim Ch’angu (“Sosik,” dated sixth cyclic year *pyōngjin* after founding of Sōak Sōwōn). There is a colophon on the inside of the back cover, indicating that this work was published in 1925 (Taishō 14) by Kūmsanjae (publisher: Kim Pyōngdu) in Kyōngju county, Kyōngju dis-

trict.

(d) *Sōak sōwōnji* 西岳書院志, 1 fasc., 1 vol. (81 leaves); call no. D-370.951-정 18ㄱㄷ (hereafter: DU-D)

Lithographically printed. 25.0×17.0 cm. The title *Sōakchi chōn* 西岳誌 全 has been printed on a title slip pasted to the cover. Bound with four-hole stitching. Double frame lines; ruled column lines; block face 18.8×14.6 cm. Ten 18-character columns per half-sheet; same number of characters for two-column notes. Centre strip has no vertical line at top and bottom but has single black “fish tail” in upper part, with 西岳誌序, 西岳誌, etc., printed at the top and 一, etc., printed at the bottom. No map or diagram. Preface by Yi Kangho (“*Sōak sōwōnji chunggan sō*,” dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*). In addition to the postscript by Chōng Kūkhu (dated cyclic year *imo* of [Chinese] Sungjōng era), there are postfaces by Chōng Chungšöp (dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*, 275 years after cyclic year *imo* of [Chinese] Sungjōng era), by Ch’oe Hyōnsik (dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*, 356 years after founding of *Sōak Sōwōn*), and by Yi Mangu (“*Sik*,” dated cyclic year *pyōngjin*). A list of corrigenda has been pasted on the inside of the front cover. A colophon has been pasted on the inside of the back cover over the original colophon, indicating that this work was published in 1933 (Shōwa 8) by the Clan Office of the Kimhae Kims located in Nagwōn-dong, Kyōngsōng.

**(v) Korean History Department, Faculty of Humanities,  
Kyushu University (Fukuoka, Fukuoka prefecture, Japan)**

The Korean History Department, Faculty of Humanities, Kyushu University holds one version of the *Sōakchi* (call no. Chōsenshi 朝鮮史 20-1-170), which I was able to examine.

(a) *Sōakchi* 西岳誌, 1 fasc., 1 vol. (44 leaves); call no. Chōsenshi 20-1-170 (hereafter: KU)

Typeset in wooden movable type. 30.4×20.8 cm. On the front and back covers the title *Sōakchi* 西岳誌 has been written in black ink. Bound with five-hole stitching. Single frame lines; ruled column lines; block face 21.8×16.9 cm. Nine 18-character columns per half-sheet; same number of characters for two-column notes. Centre strip has no vertical line at top and bottom but has facing unpatterned black “fish tails” with floral pattern, with 西岳誌卷一 一, etc., printed between the “fish tails.” Preface

by Ki Uman (“Sōakchi sō,” dated fifth cyclic year *pyōngjin* after [Chinese] Sungjōng era). Postscript by Chōng Kūkhu (dated cyclic year *imo* of [Chinese] Sungjōng era).

### III. A Taxonomy of Variant Editions of the *Sōakchi*

#### 1. A Comparison of Variant Editions of the *Sōakchi*

Among the above 17 versions of the *Sōakchi* (or *Sōak sōwōnji*), it has already been noted that NL-F1, NL-F2, and NL-F3 are copies of the same work. In addition, the shape of the characters, damage to the block face, and so on in NL-A, SU-A, and SU-B are virtually identical, and there can be little doubt that they were printed from the same woodblocks. Judging from the state of the printing, it is to be surmised that NL-A and SU-A are first printings and SU-B a later printing.

In addition, judging from their content, structure, and colophons, versions NL-B and DU-B and versions NL-C and DU-C may be considered to have been printed from the same woodblocks.<sup>21)</sup> NL-D is divided into two volumes, but judging from its content, structure, and colophon, it was printed from the same woodblocks as NL-C and DU-C and was presumably later rebound in two volumes.

Among the remaining five versions—NL-E, IH, SU-C, DU-D, and KU—in some cases considerable differences can be seen in content and structure, but some of them are very similar yet differ in minor details. If we regard all five of these as different versions, this means that, since four groups of texts are each thought to have been printed from the same woodblocks, we have now been able to identify ten variant versions. For convenience’ sake I shall refer to these as Version 1 through to Version 10, and they correspond to the following texts:

- Version 1 : NL-A, SU-A, SU-B
- Version 2 : SU-C
- Version 3 : DU-A
- Version 4 : KU
- Version 5 : IH
- Version 6 : NL-B, DU-B
- Version 7 : NL-C, NL-D, DU-C
- Version 8 : NL-E
- Version 9 : DU-D

## Version 10: NL-F1, NL-F2, NL-F3

If we compare the format of these ten versions, we find the following differences and similarities between the various versions.

**(i) Prefaces, Postfaces, and Dates**

Among the ten versions, only Versions 1 and 10 have no preface, and the other eight versions all have prefaces. Version 2 has prefaces by Yi Kyoik (1807–?) and Kim Chonghwan (d.u.), Versions 3 and 4 have a preface by Ki Uman (1846–1916), and Versions 5–9 have a preface by Yi Kangho (d.u.).

The two prefaces in version 2 are both dated “11th year of the Kwangmu era, cyclic year *pyōngo*,” and it is clear that they were written in 1907 during the time of the Korean Empire in the final years of the Chosŏn period. Ki Uman’s preface in Versions 3 and 4 is dated “5th cyclic year *pyōngjin* after the [Chinese] Sungjōng era,” which means that it was written in 1916 (Taishō 5). Yi Kangho’s preface in Versions 5–9 is dated simply “*pyōngjin*,” but it is clear from their colophons that Versions 5 and 6 were published in 1917 (Taishō 6) and Versions 7–9 in 1925 (Taishō 14), and it is also evident from the dates of their postfaces discussed below that the cyclic year *pyōngjin* refers to 1916.

As for back matter, all versions have the postscript by Chōng Kūkhu, and Versions 5–9 also have postfaces by Yi Mangu (d.u.) and Ch’oe Hyōnsik (d.u.), but their order in Versions 5 and 6 has been reversed in Versions 7–9. Versions 6–9 also include a postface by Chōng Chungšōp (d.u.), while Versions 7–9 additionally include a postface by Kim Pyōngdu (d.u.), and Versions 5–7 have a postface by Kim Ch’angu (d.u.). Meanwhile, Version 10 has postfaces by Yu Sōku (d.u.) and Yi Hodae (d.u.) and a postface cowritten by Nam Ch’aegyo (d.u.) and Son Kukho (d.u.).

As was noted earlier, it was Chōng Kūkhu who first compiled the *Sōakchi* in 1642. His postscript is dated “cyclic day *imja*, fourth month, summer, cyclic year *imo*, [Chinese] Sungjōng era,” which corresponds to 1642. The postfaces by Yi Mangu and Ch’oe Hyōnsik in Versions 5–9 are dated “cyclic year *pyōngjin*” and “cyclic year *pyōngjin*, 356 years after founding of Sōak Sōwŏn,” respectively, while Chōng Chungšōp’s postface in Versions 6–9 is dated “cyclic year *pyōngjin*, 275 years after cyclic year *imo* of [Chinese] Sungjōng era,” and Kim Ch’angu’s postface in Versions 5–7 is dated “6th cyclic year *pyōngjin* after founding of Sōak Sōwŏn.” It is



thus evident that, like Yi Kangho's preface, these postfaces were all written in 1916. In the case of Version 10, the postface by Yu Sŏku is dated "cyclic year *sinch'uk*, 4,294th year since start of rule by Tangun," that by Yi Hodae "5th cyclic year *sinch'uk* since first publication," and that by Nam Ch'aegyo and Son Kukho "cyclic year *sinch'uk*, 4,294th year of Tangun era," and these were all written in 1961.

## (ii) Main Text

The first noticeable difference among the various versions concerns "Achievements of the Three Worthies" ("Samhyŏn sajŏk" 三賢事蹟; §h). That is to say, in Versions 1 and 5–9 this section is identical, but Versions 2 and 3 and Versions 4 and 10 show subtle differences in their format.

Specifically speaking, Versions 1 and 5–9 have separate headings for Sŏl Ch'ong ("Hongyuhu Sŏl sŏnsaeng" 弘儒侯薛先生), Kim Yusin ("Kaegukkong Kim sŏnsaeng" 開國公金先生), and Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn ("Munch'ang-gong Ch'oe sŏnsaeng" 文昌公崔先生), each with several subheadings ("Samguksa ponjŏn" 三國史本傳 ["Samguksa ponjŏnyak" 三國史本傳略 in the case of Kim Yusin], "Yusa" 遺事, "Ch'ubong" 追封, etc.). In Version 2, on the other hand, the first headings combine the main heading with the first of the above subheadings ("Hongyuhu Sŏl sŏnsaeng" 弘儒侯薛先生, "Kaegukkong Kim sŏnsaeng Samguksa ponjŏnyak" 開國公金先生三國史本傳略, and "Munch'ang-gong Ch'oe sŏnsaeng Samguksa ponjŏnyak" 文昌公崔先生三國史本傳略).

In Versions 3 and 4, meanwhile, in the section on Kim Yusin the main heading ("Kaegukkong Kim sŏnsaeng") has been combined with the subheading "Samguksa ponjŏnyak," while the section on Sŏl Ch'ong lacks the subheading "Samguksa ponjŏn." In addition, the order of the Three Worthies has been changed, with Kim Yusin replacing Sŏl Ch'ong as the first of the Three Worthies. Version 10 also places Kim Yusin at the start, as well as referring to Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn as Marquis Munch'ang (Munch'anghu 文昌侯) rather than Duke Munch'ang (Munch'ang-gong 文昌公). In addition, the main headings for Kim Yusin ("Kaegukkong Kim sŏnsaeng") and Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn ("Munch'anghu Ch'oe sŏnsaeng" 文昌侯崔先生) have been combined with the subheading "Samguksa ponjŏn," while the section on Sŏl Ch'ong lacks this latter subheading.

As for other differences, Version 2 alone lacks the section on the "Bestowal of a Plaque" ("Saaek" 賜額; §e) but includes "T'oegye's Text on the Encouragement of Learning" ("T'oegye sŏnsaeng kwonhakhmun" 退

溪先生勸學文), while Version 4 calls the section on “Miscellaneous Poems by Worthies” (“Chehyōn chapyōng” 諸賢雜詠; §j) “Appendix: Poems on Sōak Hermitage by Worthies” (“Pu Sōak Chōngsa chehyōn un” 附西岳精舍諸賢韻) and does not give the titles of each poem, and it also includes “Appendix: Poems about Duke Kaeguk’s Tomb by Worthies” (“Pu chehyōn che Kaegukkong myo si” 附諸賢題開國公墓詩).

### (iii) Appendices

All versions apart from Versions 1 and 10 have appendices either at the start or at the end. Versions 3 and 4 place the appendices at the start, while Versions 2 and 5–9 place them at the end. Versions 3 and 4, which place the appendices at the start, differ only regarding whether or not they include a liturgical text for spring and autumn sacrifices (“Ch’unch’u sanghyang ch’ukmun” 春秋常享祝文).

The appendices of Versions 5–9 are rich in both content and volume, and it should be noted that there are subtle differences between the different versions. Versions 5–9 have in common the main heading “Supplements” (“Chūngbo” 增補) and the subheadings from “Academy Rules” (“Wōngyu” 院規) to “Library Inscriptions” (“Changsoḡak myōng” 藏書閣銘), but in the four versions apart from Version 5 “Supplements” is preceded by several headings (starting with “Sau chungsu sangryang mun” 祠宇重修上梁文), of which Version 6 lacks two (“Kōmho Kaegukkong yōngyōk mun” 檢護開國公塋域文 and “Sōwōn yōnggwiru sangryang mun” 書院詠歸樓上梁文).

### (iv) Colophons

Versions 5–9 all have colophons. According to the colophons of Versions 5 and 6, they were both published in 1917 (Taishō 6) by Kim Tōkyōng 金德泳 (d.u.) with Sōak Sōwōn as the place of publication, but whereas the month and day have been left blank in Version 5, in Version 6 they have been added in black ink. Version 7 was published in 1925 (Taishō 14) by Kim Pyōngdu with Kūmsanjae in Kyōngju as the place of publication. Versions 8 and 9 were both published in 1933 (Shōwa 8) by the Clan Office of the Kimhae Kims in Kyōngsōng, but whereas the year, month, and day have been inscribed in black ink in Version 8, in Version 9 a separate sheet of paper has been pasted over the original colophon.

Version 3 also has a colophon, which indicates that it was published

by Kim Hoju (d.u.) in Kwangju. It also refers to “Directive no. 459, Taishō 4/12/14” (大正四年十二月十四日指令第四五九號), but this is unlikely to indicate the year of publication. As was noted above, Ki Uman’s preface included in this version is dated “5th cyclic year *pyōngjin* after [Chinese] Sungjōng era,” and this version may therefore be considered to have been published in 1916 (Taishō 5). In addition, at the end of Version 10 there is a “Statement of Completion” (“Wanūi mun”完議文) dated “cyclic year *imin*, 4,295th year of Tangun era” (檀紀四二九五年壬寅).

### (v) Other

In addition, only Version 2 has a table of contents at the start. Versions 2 and 5–8 include illustrations, but there are differences in their content between Version 2, Versions 5–7, and Version 8.

In Version 1, the titles on the cover and on the first page both read *Sōakchi* 西岳志, while in Versions 2–4 and 10 they are both *Sōakchi* 西岳誌. In Versions 5–9 the title on the first page is *Sōak sōwōnji* 西岳書院志, and in Version 5 the title on the cover is *Sōakchi* 西岳志 while in Versions 8 and 9 it is *Sōakchi* 西岳誌. When we consider the methods of printing employed, Versions 1 and 5–7 have been blockprinted, Versions 2–4 have been typeset in wooden movable type, Versions 8 and 9 have been lithographically printed, and Version 10 has been typeset in new movable lead type.

## 2. A Taxonomy of Variant Versions of the *Sōakchi*

The dates of publication of nine of the ten versions, apart from Version 1, have become clear through the above examination. Versions 3 and 5–9 have colophons, according to which, as has already been noted, Version 3 was published in 1915, Versions 5 and 6 in 1917, Version 7 in 1925, and Versions 8 and 9 in 1933.

Judging from the date of its preface, Version 2 may be considered to have been published in 1907, while Version 3, as noted above, may be surmised to have been published in 1916. Version 4, like Version 3, has a preface by Ki Uman dated “5th cyclic year *pyōngjin* after [Chinese] Sungjōng era,” but the layout of Version 3 is different from Version 4, and it is a completely different version. Therefore, while it is difficult to determine its precise date of publication, it is to be surmised that Version 4 was published not very long after 1916, when Version 3 was published. It is evident from the date of the postface of Version 10 and the “State-

ment of Completion” at the end dated “cyclic year *imin*, 4,295th year of the Tangun era” that it was published in 1962.

In short, Versions 2–10 were all published in the twentieth century, and apart from Version 10 they were all published in the first part of the twentieth century. In particular, I would draw attention to the fact that they were published one after another from the 1910s to the 1930s, after Japan’s annexation of Korea.

As for Version 1, in view of the fact that its contents and structure are simple and concise when compared with other versions and it contains no front or back matter apart from the postscript by Chŏng Kŭkhu, the original compiler of the *Sŏakchi*, it would seem safe to regard it as Chŏng Kŭkhu’s original text (first edition). This means that NL-A and SU-A, thought to be first printings of Version 1, were printed in 1642. There is no information indicating when SU-B, thought to be a later printing of SU-A, might have been printed. But at the very least there can be little doubt that it was printed long before all the other versions.

Thus, the variant versions of the *Sŏakchi* that I earlier classified into ten versions may be more broadly divided into seven types.

First, Version 1 constitutes a type on its own, thought to represent the original text (first edition) of the *Sŏakchi*, and it is a blockprint published by Chŏng Kŭkhu in Kyŏngju in 1642. Version 2 also constitutes a type on its own, typeset in wooden movable type and published by Yi Kyoik in 1907, 265 years after the publication of the first edition with minor additions and revisions to Version 1. Its place of publication is not known, but there is a strong possibility that it was published in Kyŏngju.

Versions 3 and 4 have both been typeset in wooden movable type. They also include the same preface by Ki Uman and their structure is very similar, some minor differences notwithstanding. But because their layout is completely different, it is probably best to regard them as separate types. Version 3 was published in Kwangju by Kim Hoju and, as noted earlier, is thought to have been published in 1916. Version 4 may be assumed to have been published with some minor additions to Version 3 some time after 1916, although not that much later. Its place of publication is unknown, but like Version 3, it may have been published in Kwangju.

Versions 5 and 6 were published in the same year, and there can be no doubt that they belong to the same textual lineage even though Version 6 adds several items, starting with the “Sau chungryang sangryang mun.” Both are blockprints published in 1917 by Sŏak Sŏwŏn. It is likely

that first Version 5 was published, followed by a reprint with minor additions in the form of Version 6. Version 7 was published several years after Versions 5 and 6 and is in content an expanded version of Version 6 (adding “Kōmho Kaegukkong yōngyōk mun” and “Sōwōn yōnggwiru sangryang mun” as appendices and including a postface by Kim Pyōngdu), and it may be considered to belong to the same textual lineage. But unlike Versions 5 and 6, the woodblocks for all the appendices and the postfaces have been recarved. It was published in 1925, but the place of publication has changed from Sōak Sōwōn to Kūmsanjae (publisher: Kim Pyōngdu), also in Kyōngju.

Versions 8 and 9 were both lithographically printed and were published in 1933, and the only difference between them in content is the omission of the illustrations in Version 9. It is thus clear that they belong to the same textual lineage. They are lithographic reprints of Version 7 by the Clan Office of the Kimhae Kims in Kyōngsōng.

Lastly, Version 10 was typeset in new movable lead type and published in 1962 by descendants of the local élite originally affiliated to Sōak Sōwōn.

The above details may be summarized as follows.

Type 1: corresponds to Version 1. Presumably the original text (first edition). Compiled by Chōng Kūkhu in Kyōngju and blockprinted in 1642.

Type 2: corresponds to Version 2. Typeset in wooden movable type and published by Yi Kyoik in 1907, possibly in Kyōngju.

Type 3: corresponds to Version 3. Typeset in wooden movable type and published by Kim Pyōngdu in 1916 in Kwangju (Version 3).

Type 4: corresponds to Version 4. Retypeset version of Type 3 with a minor addition (“Pu chehyōn che Kaegukkong myo si”). Probably published not very long after 1916, possibly in Kwangju.

Type 5: corresponds to Versions 5–7. Blockprint published by Kim Tōkyōng in 1917 at Sōak Sōwōn (Version 5) and an enlarged version (with the addition of “Sau chungryang sangryang mun,” etc.) published in the same year (Version 6). Blockprint with further additions (“Kōmho Kaegukkong yōngyōk mun” and “Sōwōn yōnggwiru sangryang mun”) and with the appendices and postfaces recarved, published in 1925 by Kim Pyōngdu at Kūmsanjae in Kyōngju (Version 7).

Type 6: corresponds to Versions 8 and 9. Lithographic reprint of Version

7 (published in 1925) belonging to Type 5, published in 1932 by the Clan Office of the Kimhae Kims in Kyōngsōng. In Version 9 the illustrations have been omitted.

Type 7: corresponds to Version 10. Typeset in new movable lead type and published in 1962 by people associated with Sōak Sōwōn.

#### IV. Connections between the Various Types of Variant Versions of the *Sōakchi*

As we have seen in the above, there exist, broadly speaking, seven types of variant versions, including the original text (first edition), of the *Sōakchi*, which gives an account of the history and other details of Sōak Sōwōn and also of the achievements of the Three Worthies enshrined there. But with the exception of the original, all versions belonging to Types 2–7 are reprints brought out in the twentieth century, and apart from Type 7 (published in 1962) they were all republished intermittently from the end of the first decade of the twentieth century to the 1930s. How, then, are these different types interrelated? In order to consider this point, we need to examine individually the variant versions belonging to each type. While I am unable to undertake such an examination here, one can gain some idea of the circumstances behind the origins of the variant versions belonging to Types 2, 3, and 5 from their prefaces and postfaces.

First, in the preface to SU-C, corresponding to Type 2 and published in 1907 during the time of the Korean Empire, Yi Kyoik writes as follows. Chōng Kūkhu compiled the *Sōakchi* on the instructions of his teacher Chang Hyōngwang, but it was not published and so did not circulate. Then one day a certain Kim Chongūng 金鍾應 visited Yi Kyoik, showed him the manuscript of the *Sōakchi*, and asked him to write a preface. Yi Kyoik accordingly added ritual directions for performing religious services, a diagram of the arrangement of ritual utensils, etc., and published it as a reference for posterity.<sup>22)</sup> This was the motivation behind the publication of SU-C, i.e., Type 2.

Yi Kyoik states that the *Sōakchi* compiled by Chōng Kūkhu was not published, but this is of course contrary to the facts since there has actually survived a copy of Type 1, thought to correspond to the original text (first edition) of the *Sōakchi*. It is, however, conceivable that by 1907, 265 years after 1642 when the original was produced (and presumably published), its existence had long been forgotten. To put it another way, this

suggests that the *Sōakchi* was not reprinted from the time of the compilation of the original text and its publication in 1642 until 1907. This is why Type 1 is surmised to correspond to the original text (first edition) of the *Sōakchi*.

Next, as regards the publication of DU-A belonging to Type 3, Ki Uman writes as follows in his preface written in 1916 (“5th cyclic year *pyōngjin* after [Chinese] Sungjōng era”). During the Japanese invasions at the end of the sixteenth century Sōak Sōwōn was burnt down, but the *Sōakchi* had been preserved at the home of Kim Suyōl 金守烈 (d.u.), a descendant of Kim Yusin, and it had now (1916) appeared for the first time in the world at large.<sup>23)</sup> Ki Uman likens this to the discovery of some of the so-called Old Texts of the Confucian classics from the walls of Confucius’s former residence and the discovery of some old texts in a tomb of the Warring States period in Jijun 汲郡 (如古文出壁·汲書出塚).<sup>24)</sup> This would seem to suggest that Ki Uman was completely unaware of the existence of Type 2, even though it had been published only nine years earlier.

The versions belonging to Type 5 were published around the same time as those belonging to Type 3. According to the postface by Ch’oe Hyōnsik in IH, the woodblocks of the *Sōakchi* compiled by Chōng Kūkhu had been held at Sōak Sōwōn, but they were lost or had rotted following the peasant revolt of 1894 (cyclic year *kabo* 甲午, Kojong 31) and the subsequent invasion of Korea by Japanese forces during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95, and the woodblocks were no longer extant (甲午大侵後散佚腐敗、無復存者).<sup>25)</sup> During the upheavals at this time, the woodblocks of the *Sōakchi* are said to have either been lost or crumbled into decay. Here too there is no reference to any versions of the *Sōakchi* that had been published since 1894, such as those of Types 2 or 3. It may be assumed that the descendants of the Three Worthies and people affiliated to Sōak Sōwōn in Kyōngju who were involved in the publication of Type 5 did not know of the existence of these other versions. It should be noted that this Type 5 was the first version to be published by Sōak Sōwōn with funds collected by descendants of the Three Worthies and others living in Kyōngju.

Taking the above observations into account, the connections between Types 2–7 may be summarized in the following manner.

- (1) It is to be surmised that Type 1, thought to correspond to the original text of the *Sōakchi*, was published in 1642, and more than 260 years later in 1907, when the very existence of Type 1 had been forgotten,

Type 2 was published. But it does not appear to have circulated widely, and it would seem that its existence was not known when Type 3 was published nine years later. To date only one copy of Type 2 (SU-C) has been identified, and only a small number of copies may have been published.

- (2) Type 4 represents an enlarged version of Type 3, and it was probably published not very long after the publication of Type 3. In addition, Type 5 was published around the same time as Type 3 by Sōak Sōwōn (publisher: Kim Tōkyōng). On the occasion of the publication of Type 5 too there was no mention of the existence of Types 2 and 3 (or Type 4), and their existence would not seem to have been known at Sōak Sōwōn, the home of the *Sōakchi*. Type 5 was reprinted several years later, with some additions, by Kūmsanjae (publisher: Kim Pyōngdu).
- (3) It is to be inferred from (1) and (2) above that Types 2–4 were published at places other than Sōak Sōwōn (Type 3 being published in Kwangju) and that not very many copies were printed. In the case of Type 5, on the other hand, with Sōak Sōwōn (later Kūmsanjae) as its place of publication, it may be assumed that a considerable number of copies were printed. Among the various versions of the *Sōakchi*, the greatest number that have been identified belong to this type.
- (4) Sixteen years after the publication of Type 5, Type 6 was published in Kyōngsōng. This was a reprint of Type 5, and both types are more or less identical in content. Type 5, published by Sōak Sōwōn, is thought to have circulated widely, and the Clan Office of the Kimhae Kims in Kyōngsōng reprinted it lithographically. Initially it included the original illustrations, but a version without the illustrations also seems to have been published.
- (5) After the liberation of South Korea, Type 7 was published in new movable lead type. A “Statement of Completion” by the “assembly of Sōak Sōwōn” (Sōak Sōwōn *hoejung* 西岳書院會中) was added to this version, indicating that it was published by people affiliated to Sōak Sōwōn. In content, it is close to Type 1.

I have summarized the above in the accompanying diagram. It will be evident that while Type 1 represents the first edition (original text) of the *Sōakchi*, in the twentieth century variant versions broadly belonging to three textual lineages (Type 2, Type 3 → Type 4, and Type 5 → Type 6) were published from the end of the first decade to the 1930s indepen-



dently of each other. Then in 1962 Type 7 was published as a separate type, with Type 1 as its direct archetype but also having connections with Types 5 and 6.

### Concluding Remarks

In the above I have compared the variant versions of the *Sŏakchi* with reference to bibliographical investigations, and on the basis of the results of those investigations I have endeavoured to classify the variant versions into several types as well as presenting a rough overview of the connections between the different types.

Of particular interest is the question of why moves to publish the *Sŏakchi* should have occurred in several localities in the early twentieth century. To date I have been unable to clarify the precise reasons for this, but one thing that can be said is that these moves were closely linked to the modernization and colonization of Korea. It is quite conceivable that, with an advancing tide of modernization and colonization imposed by Japan and Western powers, Kim Yusin, a great general of Silla who was called the “Nation-Founding Duke” (Kaegukkong 開國公), attracted attention as a former hero and saviour of the nation, and in order to publicly honour him attention then turned to the *Sŏakchi*, which recorded his achievements and the history of Sŏak Sŏwŏn where he was enshrined.

This is symbolized by Ki Uman’s writing of the preface to the versions belonging to Type 3. Hailing from Changsŏng 長城 in Chŏlla province, he was a Confucian student affiliated to forces whose aim was to “defend orthodoxy and reject heterodoxy” (*wijŏng ch’ŏksa* 衛正斥邪), forces that attached importance to the traditional Confucian sense of values and were opposed to the modernization and colonization of Korea, and after the assassination of Queen Min 閔妃 in 1895 he raised troops for the anti-Japanese militia (*ũibyŏng* 義兵) in Chŏlla.<sup>26)</sup>

Of course, this does not explain everything, for it is also to be surmised that phenomena such as the upsurge in patrilineal consciousness and increasing clan integration among groups of clan members from the same ancestral home (*tongbon tongsŏng* 同本同姓) combined with the current of modernization and colonization to inspire a desire to publicly honour ancestors. It is probable that this aspect played an important part especially in the publishing activities that resulted in Types 5–7. In this respect the fact that Type 6 was published by the Clan Office of the Kim-hae Kims is suggestive.<sup>27)</sup>

The above represents just one possibility. In order to tackle this question, it will be essential to undertake closer examinations of individual variant versions of each type, and this will be a task for the future.

### Notes

- 1) Sōak Sōwōn is located at the eastern foot of Sōndo-san 仙桃山 (381 m), about 3 km southwest from the centre of Kyōngju as the crow flies. It has been designated Cultural Monument No. 19 of North Kyōngsang province.
- 2) Kim Yusin was a leading general of Silla under Kim Ch'unch'u 金春秋 (who later became King Muyōl 武烈 [r. 603–661]) and distinguished himself numerous times on the field of battle; Sōl Ch'ong was a seventh-century scholar who is said to have devised a way of writing the language of Silla by using the readings of Chinese characters; and Ch'oe Ch'iwōn was a literatus of late Silla who went to study in Tang China at an early age and won literary fame for the memorials, official declarations, etc., that he drafted for the Chinese general Gao Pian 高駢 (?–887).
- 3) For example, the *Chukkyeji* 竹溪志, dealing with Paekundong Sōwōn 白雲洞書院 (Sosu Sōwōn 紹修書院) and compiled by Chu Seborg 周世鵬 (1495–1544) in 1544 (Chungjong 中宗 39), was published in 1803 (Sunjo 純祖 3) by An Sijung 安時中 (d.u.) in 3 volumes divided into 6 fascicles, and then in 1824 (Sunjo 24) it was reprinted by An Pyōngnyōl 安炳烈 (d.u.) in a condensed form in 1 volume divided into 3 fascicles. But this case differs from the *Sōakchi*, for which there exist many different versions, including some that are unrelated to each other.
- 4) The present article is a simplified version of Rokutanda Yutaka 六反田豊, “*Seigakushi ihon kō—sono gaiyō to ruikeika*” 『西岳志』異本考—その概要と類型化 [Versions of Seoakchi (西岳志): Its outline and categorization (*sic*)], *Chōsen Gakuho* 朝鮮學報 [Chosen Gakuho: Journal of the academic association of Koreanology in Japan] 211 (2004); reprinted in Hamada Kōsaku 濱田耕策, ed., *Kodai Higashi Ajia no chishikijin Sai Chien no hito to sakuhin* 古代東アジアの知識人崔致遠の人と作品 [The life and works of Ch'oe Ch'iwōn, an intellectual of ancient East Asia] (Fukuoka: Kyūshū Daigaku Shuppankai 九州大學出版會, 2013). Quotations from original sources have been omitted for reasons of space, and reference should be made to the above article for further details.
- 5) As has already been noted, there exist several variant versions of the *Sōakchi*, and they differ in content and structure. Here, however, I have based myself chiefly on one of the versions held by the National Library of Korea (call no. Kojo 62-162) and one of the versions held by the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies (call no. Kyu 4630), which are thought to correspond to the original text (first edition) or a version closest to it among the versions I have examined to date, and other versions have been consulted supplementarily. Unless otherwise noted, quotations from the *Sōakchi* are from the above two versions.

- 6) *Sōakchi*, “Sōwōn ch’angshi” 書院創始.
- 7) Ibid.
- 8) *Sōakchi*, “Sōwōn chaeho” 書院齋號.
- 9) *Sōak sōwōnji* (National Institute of Korean History, call no. B16FB-48), “Chūngbo” 增補 (Supplements): “Sōwōn chungsuji” 書院重修記 (by governor Yi Manun 李晩運).
- 10) *Sōakchi*, “Sōwōn chungsu” 書院重修; *Sōak sōwōnji*, “Chūngbo”: “Sōwōn chungsuji” (by governor Yi Manun).
- 11) *Sōakchi*, “Sōwōn chungsu.”
- 12) *Sōakchi*, “Saaek” 賜額; *Sōak sōwōnji*, “Chūngbo”: “Sōwōn chungsuji” (by governor Yi Manun).
- 13) A *sōwōn* that had been granted a plaque in the king’s own handwriting was called a *saaek sōwōn*, or royal-chartered *sōwōn*. The first such *sōwōn* was Paekundong Sōwōn in P’unggi 豐基 district, Kyōngsang province, which was granted a plaque reading “Sosu Sōwōn” in 1550 (Myōngjong 5). The bestowal of a plaque by the king meant that the *sōwōn* had been officially approved by the state, and *sōwōn* throughout the country all aspired to become a royal-chartered *sōwōn*. See Rokutanda Yutaka, “Chōsen jidai no jukyō kyōiku kikan” 朝鮮時代の儒教教育機關 [Confucian educational facilities during the Chosōn period], *Ajia Yūgaku* アジア遊學 50 (2003), p. 89.
- 14) Rokutanda, “Chōsen jidai no jukyō kyōiku kikan,” pp. 91–92.
- 15) For convenience’ sake, the sections have been numbered with lower-case letters. Because the final section (§m) has no heading, the final sentence has been quoted inside square brackets.
- 16) The *Yiluo yuanyuan* is properly known as the *Yiluo yuanyuan lu* 伊洛淵源錄, and it is a record of the words and deeds of Zhou Maoshu 周茂叔, Cheng Hao 程顥, and Cheng Yi 程頤 compiled by Zhu Xi 朱熹 of the Southern Song and consists of 14 fascicles. The *Mingchen yanxing lu*, on the other hand, presumably refers to the *Song mingchen yanxing lu* 宋名臣言行錄, composed by Zhu Xi and Li Youwu 李幼武, which consists of 75 fascicles, made up of a “Qianji” 前集 (10 fascs.) and “Houji” 後集 (14 fascs.) composed by Zhu Xi and a “Xuji” 續集 (8 fascs.), “Bieji” 別集 (26 fascs.), and “Waiji” 外集 (17 fascs.) composed by Yi Youwu. That Chōng Kūkhu considered the *Sōakchi* to have been modelled on these works by Zhu Xi is an interesting point when considering the character of the *Sōakchi* and the mentality of contemporary Confucians in Korea.
- 17) *Sōakchi*, Chōng Kūkhu’s postscript.
- 18) *Kukcho inmulgo* 國朝人物考 10, “Yuhak” 儒學: Chōng Kūkhu (“Career,” by Yi Hyōnil 李玄逸); *Yōngnam inmulgo* 嶺南人物考 6, “Kyōngju” 慶州: Chōng Kūkhu.
- 19) Kungnip Chungang Tosōgwan 國立中央圖書館 (National Library of Korea), ed., *Kusō mongnok* 高麗書目 [Catalog of the Oriental classics in the Central National Library], vol. 6 (Seoul: Kungnip Chungang Tosōgwan, 1994), pp. 51–52.
- 20) Sōul Taehakkyo Tosōgwan 서울大學校圖書館 (Seoul University Library), ed., *Kyujanggak tosō Han’gukpon chonghap mongnok* 奎章閣圖書韓國本綜合目錄

- (Seoul: Sōul Taehakkyo Ch’ulp’anbu 서울大學校出版部, 1983), p. 1166.
- 21) There are, however, also minor differences, with DU-B lacking Kim Ch’angu’s postface and the price of 2 yen (定価金貳圓) having been added to the colophon.
  - 22) *Sōakchi* (SU-C), preface by Yi Kyoik.
  - 23) *Sōakchi* (DU-A), preface by Ki Uman (“Sōakchi sō”).
  - 24) Ibid.
  - 25) *Sōak sōwōnji* (IH), postface by Ch’oe Hyōnsik (“Sōak sōwōnji chongganbal”).
  - 26) *Taehan kyen’yōnsa* 大韓季年史 2, entry for Kōnyang 建陽 1/1/12. See also Kan Chaeōn 姜在彦, *Chōsen kindaiishi kenkyū* 朝鮮近代史研究 [A study of modern Korean history] (Tokyo: Nihon Hyōronsha 日本評論社, 1970), pp. 214–215. For details about Ki Uman’s activities relating to the anti-Japanese militia, see Hong Sungwōn 洪淳權, *Hanmal Honam chiyōk ūibyōng undongsa yōngu* 韓末湖南地域 義兵運動史 研究 [A study of the history of the militia movement in the Honam region in the final years of the Korean Empire] (Seoul: Sōul Taehakkyo Ch’ulp’anbu, 1994).
  - 27) According to Yoshida Mitsuo 吉田光男, “Kinsei Chōsen no shizoku to keifu no kōchiku—Antō Ken-shi no zokufu hensan wo tōshite” 近世朝鮮の氏族と系譜の構築—安東權氏の族譜編纂を通して [Clans in early modern Korea and the construction of genealogies: Through an examination of the Andong Kwōng clan’s compilation of genealogical records] (in *Rekishigaku Kenyūkai* 歴史學研究會, ed., *Keizu ga kataru sekaishi* 系圖が語る世界史 [Genealogies in history], Tokyo: Aoki Shoten 青木書店, 2002), the compilation of more than fifty percent of the comprehensive genealogies covering all branches of a clan (*taedongbo* 大同譜) began in the seventeenth century, and most of them were compiled in the eighteenth century and later (pp. 153–154). This means that clan integration in Korea advanced rapidly from the eighteenth century onwards. It also raises questions about the actual process under such circumstances that was involved in the compilation of comprehensive genealogies of the descendants of the Three Worthies enshrined at Sōak Sōwōn (the Kim clan of Kimhae, the Sōl clan of Kyōngju, and the Ch’oe clan of Kyōngju) and in their clan cohesion.

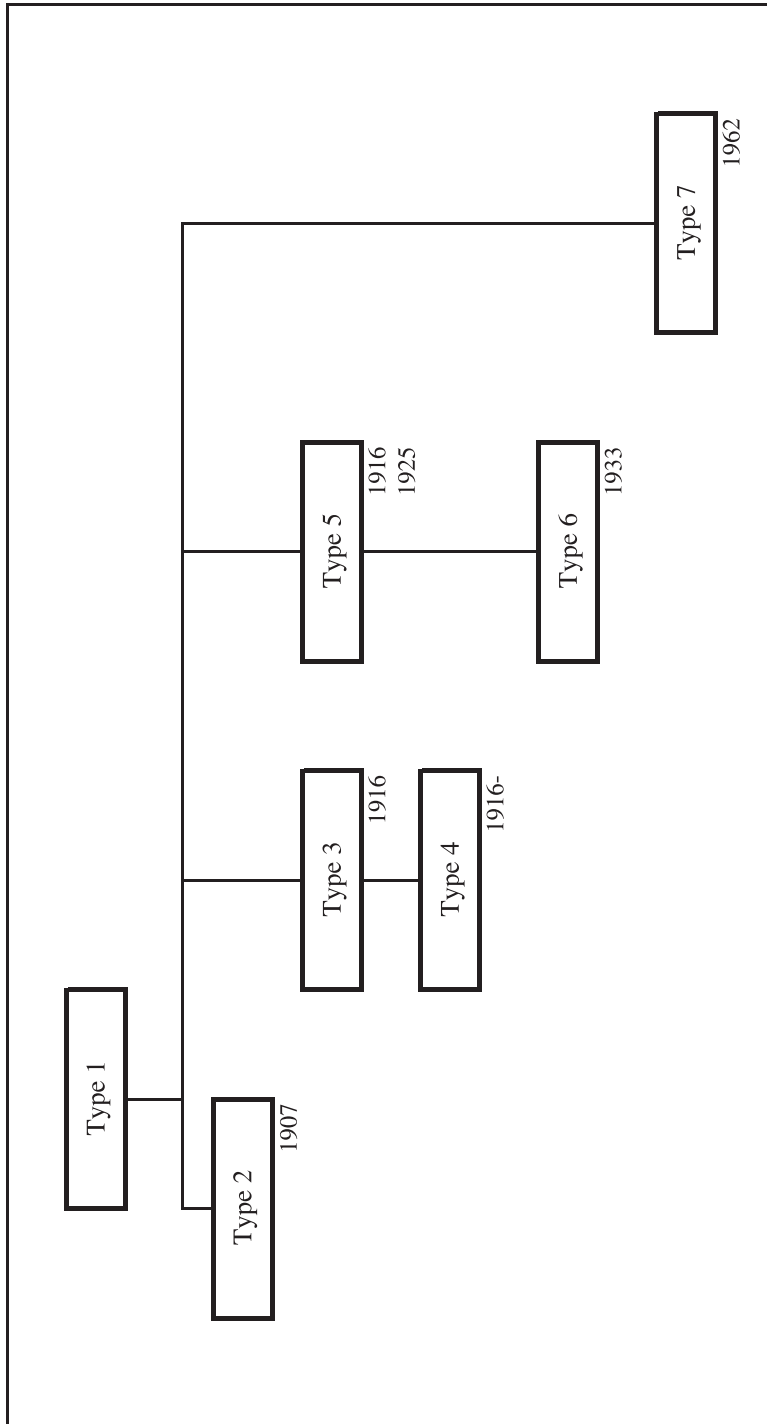


Chart. Connections between the various types of variant versions of the *Sōakchi*