



The Inheritance and Spread of Confucianism in East Asia: *The Spread of Qiu Jun's 丘濬 Jiali yijie 家禮儀節 in China and Korea*

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Abstract

Qiu Jun of Ming China, with the aim of “rendering the Zhuzi jiali both accessible and practicable for ordinary folks,” compiled the Jiali yijie. Among the annotations of Jiali in the Ming dynasty, Jiali yijie gained the widest popularity and greatest influence, and was regarded as a new classic, on par with the Jiali itself. In the 16th century, Jiali yijie was also introduced to Joseon Korea, where it was regarded as “an important supplement to the Zhuzi jiali” by Korean scholars, attaining a high level of popularity. This paper draws on 23 versions of the Jiali yijie from the Ming dynasty and 33 from the Qing. Historically, the Jiali yijie was introduced to the Joseon dynasty from China by Kim Anguk in 1518. Through the comparison of these four Joseon print versions and their Chinese counterparts, we are led to the conclusion that it was the Yingtian prefecture’s print, dated the twelfth year of the Zhengde Era, that Kim Anguk brought back to Joseon from Ming China.

Keywords: *Jiali, Jiali yijie, Qiu Jun, print editions, Korea*

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Introduction

Following the publication of the *Zhuzi jiali* 朱子家禮 (Zhu Xi 朱熹 on Family Rites, hereinafter referred to as *Jiali*), many commentaries and annotations emerged, the earliest of which can be traced back to Yang Fu 楊復, a disciple of Zhu Xi, which went to press around 1231 (Azuma 2012, 81).¹ Qiu Jun's 丘濬 *Jiali yijie* (Family Rites and Ceremonial Etiquette, hereinafter referred to as *Yijie*) was completed in 1474 during the Chenghua 成化 Era (1465–1487) of the Ming 明. From then on, the next two centuries saw only thirteen annotations or adaptations of *Jiali*, including *Jiali jishuo* 家禮集說 (Collection of Family Rites) by Feng Shan 馮善 during the Xuande 宣德 Era (1426–1435) of the Ming, and *Jiali juyao* 家禮舉要 (A Summary of Family Rites) by Deng Yan 鄧炎 in the late Song 宋. During this bicentennial period, *Jiali*, together with its annotations and adaptations, was printed only nine times.² As Qiu Jun argued in his “Introduction” to *Jiali yijie xu* 家禮儀節序 (preface to the *Yijie*), “Only when I was recruited into the officialdom and served in the imperial court did it dawn on me that very few people in our age practiced *Family Rites*” (Qiu 2006, 3438).³ From this it can be seen that *Jiali* was not widely popularized in the Chenghua Era of the Ming. One of the main reasons that inhibited its popularity lay in the obtuseness of its text, where “it is not easy to put into practice the rites and etiquettes thus recorded” (Qiu 2006, 3438).⁴ For this reason, Qiu Jun, with the aim of “rendering *Jiali* accessible and practicable for ordinary folks,” wrote commentaries and annotations on *Jiali* under the title of “Ceremonial Etiquette,” thus facilitating the implementation and popularization of *Jiali*.⁵

1. Lü Zhenyu believes Yang Fu's commentaries were written in 1223 (Lü 2013, 27).

2. The count of thirteen and nine editions cited in this paper are all based on statistics presented by Lü Zhenyu in his doctoral dissertation. Among them, thirteen editions of *Jiali* have already been affirmed, while several editions still await further verification on whether they are related to the *Jiali* of Zhu Xi.

3. 及出而北仕於中朝，然後知世之行是禮者蓋亦鮮焉。

4. 禮文深奧，而其事未易以行也。

5. It has been widely acknowledged that the adaptation and annotation of the *Yijie* on the *Jiali* had rendered the latter more accessible and easier to follow (Zhao 2010; Chang 2012; Chung 2012; S. Lee 2003).

According to historical records, there are only nine reprints of *Jiali* in the Ming (including the late Yuan 元) and eight in the Qing 清. By way of comparison, there were 119 and 121 newly edited versions of *Jiali* in the Ming and Qing, respectively.⁶ This suggests that the dissemination of *Jiali* was mainly concerned with its annotation and adaptation, of which works, only Qiu Jun's *Yijie* was reprinted 23 times and reedited 35 times.⁷ Except the original edition by Yang Fu that was reprinted five times, all other works were neither printed nor reprinted. As was pointed out, of all the annotations of *Jiali* from the Ming, *Yijie* was the most popular with the greatest influence, and was regarded as a new classic on par with the *Jiali* (Zhao 2010). Azuma Juji equally argued that our investigation into the spread of the *Jiali* in China would not be possible without the consideration of Qiu Jun's *Yijie* (Azuma 2012, 17). The *Jiali* was introduced into Korea with Zhu Xi's works at the end of the Goryeo 高麗 period (918–1392). Since then, it has played a non-negligible role in Korean scholarship on rites during the Joseon dynasty. By the 16th century, the *Yijie* had made its way into the Joseon Korea where it was regarded as “an important supplement to *Jiali*.”⁸ The royal court stepped in to have it printed and popularized throughout the country. Considering these facts, it is evident that *Yijie* is indispensable to our study of the scholarship, popularization, and implementation of *Jiali* in China and Korea.

Based on contemporary scholarship on *Yijie*, there are 14 versions of *Yijie* that were printed in the Ming.⁹ Moreover, in the process of compiling the original and successive versions of *Jiali*, Lü Zhenyu also conducted a compilation of the *Yijie*'s various versions. Drawing on contemporary scholarship, this paper will first put together all relevant versions of Qiu Jun's *Yijie* in the Ming and Qing, in both China and the Joseon dynasty, an

6. These numbers are quoted from Lü Zhenyu's doctoral dissertation. Nevertheless, due to the incompleteness and an insufficient degree of accuracy in the statistics in this dissertation, further research is needed to supplement that study.

7. Please refer to the next section for the editions and numbers of *Yijie* in the Ming and Qing.

8. 家禮之羽翼 (*Jungjong sillok*, 34.73a, 22nd day of the 11th lunar month, 1518).

9. The editions in this paper include not only newly edited works, but also reprinted ones. Each reprint counts as one new edition (He 2009, 200–203).

examination of which, on the basis of an analysis of the scholarly traditions and features of this document in both countries, shall help with a better understanding of the role and value of *Yijie* in the historical scholarship of *Jiali* and the study of rites. An investigation into these various versions can also reveal which Chinese version was the earliest to be introduced to Korea.

The Scholarly Traditions and Characteristics of the *Yijie* in the Ming and Qing

This data collection produced 23 versions of the *Yijie* from the Ming, albeit with four of them missing (see Table 1 below). By the same token, 33 versions from the Qing are listed in Table 2.

Versions of the Yijie from the Ming

Table 1. Versions of the *Yijie* from the Ming¹⁰

Book title	Editor, print version (if any)	Date of edition	Place of publication	Preface and postscript	Volumes (<i>gwon</i>)
<i>Jiali yijie</i>	Qiu Jun	1474	Guangzhou 廣州	Qiu	
	Qiu, official print	Chenghua Era	Beijing 北京	Qiu	
	Yu Lang 余諒, official print	1480	Fujian 福建		
<i>Jiali yijie</i>	Wu Tingju 吳廷舉, official print	1490	Shunde 順德 Guangdong 廣東	Preface by Qiu, Zhu; epilogue by Wu Tingju, Wei Bin 韋斌	8

10. The names of Qiu Jun, Zhu Xi, Qian Shi 錢時, Yang Shen 楊慎 are shortened in the three tables to Qiu, Zhu, Qian, and Yang, respectively.

	Wang Deyi 王德溢, official print	1539	Shunde	Preface by Qiu, Zhu; epilogue by Wu Tingju, Wei Bin, Zuo Chengyu 左承 裕	
<i>Wengong jiali yijie</i>	Office of Yingtian 應天, Prefecture Print	1517	Yingtian	Qiu, Zhu	8
<i>Jiali yijie</i>	Zhao Weifan 趙維藩	1517	Taiping 太平	Qiu, Zhu; Postscript by Zhao Weifan	8
<i>Jiali yijie</i>	Office of Changzhou 常 州, Prefecture Print	1518	Changzhou	Preface by Qiu, Zhu; Postscript by Zhao Weifan, Qiu	8
<i>Wengong jiali yijie</i>	Yang Shen	Zhengde 正德 Era		Yang	
<i>Sili zuanyao</i> 四禮纂要 (A Compendium of Four Rites)	Wang Hao 王嶸, official print	1526	Ningguo 寧國	Preface by Guo Zhi 郭治, Wang Hao, Zou Shouyi 鄒 守益; epilogue by Bao Xiangxian 鮑 像賢	1
<i>Jiali yijie</i>	Liu Qizong 劉起宗, Zou Shouyi 周守議	1557	Yiling 夷陵	Qiu, Zhu, Liu Qizong	8
<i>Wengong Jiali yijie</i>		1559	Huguang 湖廣	Qiu, Zhu	8
<i>Jiali yijie</i>	Jiang Bao 姜寶, official print	1561	Sichuan 四川	Jiang Bao	
<i>Chongke Shen Gelao jiaozheng</i> <i>Zhu Wengong jiali zhengheng</i> 重 刻申閣老校正朱文公家禮正衡 (A Reprint of <i>Zhu Wengong</i> <i>jiali</i> , Edited and Revised by Shen Gelao) (hereinafter referred to as <i>Jiali zhengheng</i>)	Proofread and compiled by Peng Bin 彭濱; printed by Yu Liangxiang 余良相	1599	Fujian	Yang Jiujing 楊九經	8

<i>Chongke Qiu Gelao jiaozheng Zhu Wengong jializong</i> 重刻丘 閣老校正朱文公家禮宗 (A Reprint of Zhu Wengong <i>jiali</i> , Edited and Revised by Qiu Gelao) (hereinafter referred to as <i>Jiali zong</i>)	Printed by Xiong Shuming 熊淑明	Wanli 萬曆 Era	Jiayang 建陽	Qiu	4
<i>Wengong Jiali yijie</i>	Qian Shi, Official print	1608	Jinling 金陵	Yang Tingjun, Qian, Zhou Kongjiao 周孔教, Fang Dazhen 方大鎮, Du Chengshi 杜承式, Qiu, Zhu	8
<i>Jiali yijie</i>	Qian	1609	Changzhou		8
<i>Wengong Jiali yijie</i>	Revised by Yang Tingjun 楊廷筠, Printed by Qian	1612		Fang Dazhen, Yang Tingjun, Yan Shixuan 閻士選, Qiu	8
<i>Wengong Jiali yijie</i>	Revised by Bi Maokang 畢 懋康, proofread by She Ziqiang 余自強, official print	Wanli Era	Shaanxi 陝西	Qiu, Zhu	8
<i>Jiali yijie</i>	He Shijin 何士晉	1618	Zhongdetang 種德堂 Wulin 武林	Zhu, Qiu, He Shijin	8
<i>Chongding Wengong Jiali yijie</i> 重訂文公家禮儀節 (A New Edition of <i>Yijie</i>)	Revised by Chen Renxi 陳仁錫; printed by Liu Ya 劉衍	1622		Chen Renxi, Zhu, Qiu, with a mark of Donglisanren 東里散人 (Japan)	8
<i>Wengong Jiali yijie</i>	Shu Shitao 舒世燾	Late Ming	Suzhou 蘇州		8
<i>Zengding Wengong Jiali</i> 增訂文 公家禮 (An Enlarged Edition of <i>Yijie</i>)	Edited by Xia Yunyi 夏允彝, compiled by Yang	Late Ming		Yang	4

From Table 1, we can see that the *Yijie* went to print three times in the six-year period from 1474 to 1480, two of which were official prints, reflecting its societal demand during the Ming. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, the original *Jiali*, with its obscure and difficult content, was difficult to put into practice. At the same time, the book was written in the Song, two centuries before the Chinghua Era of the Ming. This had the potential for disagreements between the norms prescribed in the book and the actual folk customs of the Ming, which must have been an important reason preventing the *Jiali* from being widely popularized and practiced.¹¹ For this very reason, the *Yijie* came into being, catering to the societal demand in a timely manner. It not only offered detailed explanations of the procedures to perform rites and the utensils thus needed, but also revised the content of the *Jiali*, allowing it to address the customs and needs of the Ming. For this reason, after initial publication it was reprinted three times. This was a decisive factor enabling the *Yijie* to greatly promote the dissemination and implementation of the *Jiali* during the Ming.

Let us now add a few comments regarding the information in Table 1, beginning with the Yang Shen edition. The Yang Shen edition begins with a preface written by Yang Shen himself and ends with the date, “day of *renyin* 壬寅, seventh month of the *gengyin* 庚寅 year of the Zhengde Era.” However, there was no *gengyin* year in the Zhengde Era. The *Siku quanshu zongmu* 四庫全書總目 (General Catalogue of *Siku quanshu*) states:

Although this edition contains a preface written by [Yang] Shen, the content is poorly written and of low quality. A careful examination reveals that this was originally the Qiu Jun Edition, albeit now changed to be under the name of Yang Shen. The pictures in the book are, in particular, quite obscene. In the Funeral Picture, there are even four monks in front of the funeral procession, to be followed by four musicians, which must

11. In the appendix to the *Qiongtai shihua* 瓊台詩話 (Qiongtai Poems), is found “Jiang Mian’s Letter to Qiu Jun,” written in the eighteenth year of the Chinghua Era (1482), which records, “*Jiali* had been passed down from one generation to the next, albeit with few people to practice it” (Lü 2013, 85). Thus, one can assume there were few families practicing the *Jiali* in the Chinghua Era.

have been drawn by ignorant street vendors.¹²

From this text, we are led to conclude that this so-called Yang Shen Edition is unlikely to have been authored by Yang Shen.

Different Versions of Yijie from the Qing

Table 2. Different Versions of *Yijie* from the Qing

Book title	Editor, print version (if any)	Date of edition	Place of publication	Preface/postscript	Volumes (gwon)	
<i>Wengong Jiali yijie</i>	Qian Shi	1701	Tongdetang 同德堂	Qian, Yang Tingjun, et al.	8	
	Proofread by Wang Jian 汪鑒	1701			8	
	Wang Jian, Wang You 汪佑, Yang Tingjun, et al.	1773	Boyatang 博雅堂 in Suzhou	Preface by Song Luo 宋犛; Epilogue by Wang Jian	10	
	Wang Jian, Wang You, Yang Tingjun, et al.	1801	Baoningtang 寶寧堂	Epilogue by Zhu, Song Luo, Wang Jian	10	
	Qian		1747		Qiu, Yang, Fang Dazhen, Du Chengshi, Qian Yin	8
			1796			8
			1809	Linjing 麟經 Pavilion		10
			1858	Bishan 璧山 Chongqing 重慶	Qiu	8
			1869	Bentang 本堂 Store	Qian Yin, Yang, et al	8
			1885	Fushui 釜水 Store	Qiu, Zhu	8

12. 是編前有慎序，詞極鄙陋，核其書即丘濬之本改題慎名，其圖尤為猥瑣，‘送葬圖’中至畫四僧前導，四樂工鼓吹而隨之，真無知坊賈所為矣 (Qinding siku quanshu zongmu 欽定四庫全書總目 [General Catalogue of Siku quanshu], vol. 25).

		Qing		Qiu	8	
		1887		Excerpts by Huang Gan and Li Fangzi as the Preface	8	
		1887	Jiangzuoshulin 江左書林 Shanghai 上海	Qiu	8	
		1916	Jiangzuoshulin	Qiu	8	
<i>Wengong Jiali yijie</i>	Yang	1701	Jinchang 金閻 Duowentang 多文堂		8	
	Yang; proofread and published by Wang Jiao 汪郊	1723	Shanchengtang 善成堂		8	
	Yang; edited by Xia Yunyi	1746	Zhonghetang 種和堂 in Guwu 古吳			
	Yang			Ziyang 紫陽 Academy		8
			1825			8
			1856		Yang	8
			1856	Bentang Store	Yang	8
				Hongdaotang 宏道堂	Yang	8
		Qing		Lizhao 藜照 store	Yang	8
		Qing				8
				Sanrangtang 三讓堂		8
				Yun Gutang 蘊古堂	Yang	8
				Shanchengtang		8
		Dawentang 大文堂		8		
<i>Jiali yijie jiliao</i> 家禮儀節輯要 (A Summary of Yijie)	Li Shida 李士達	1722	Guanhengtang 觀恆堂	Preface by Wang Yuan 王原, Zhu, Qiu; epilogue by Li Shida	8	
<i>Jiali yijie</i>	New Edition by Zhang Zaixin 張在辛	Kangxi 康熙 Era				

<i>Chongke Qiu Wenzhuang jiali yijie</i> 重刻丘文莊家禮儀節 (A Reprint of Qiu Wenzhuang <i>Yijie</i>)	Qiu	1770	Baochi 寶敕 Building Qiongzhou 瓊州	Preface to <i>Yijie</i>	8
<i>Zhuzi jiali yijie</i>	Supplemented and proofread by Li Cheng 李澄, published by He Guozhen 何國楨	1881	Xichong 西充 Sichuan	Qiu, Zhu	8
<i>Xiangqilou Jiali yijie jizhu</i> 湘綺樓家禮儀節輯註 (<i>Yijie</i> : An Annotated Edition by Xiangqilou)	Wang Jian 王簡	1917	Changsha 長沙		1

Thirty-three versions of the *Yijie* are listed in Table 2. From Table 1 and Table 2, some features of how *Yijie* was circulated in the Ming and Qing periods can be identified.

Firstly, a larger number of the Ming editions were official, while all of those in the Qing were by private publishers. Of the 23 Ming editions currently available, 12 were official, while all the Qing editions were from private hands. The reasons for this difference has to do with scholarship on rites in the Ming and Qing. For instance, in the Ming, “there was little scholarship on the classics of rites, whereas family rites thrived vibrantly” (Su 2015, 71). The government spared no effort in propagating *Jiali*. For instance, in the *Xingli daquan* 性理大全 (Complete Collections of Neo-Confucianism), compiled in the thirteenth year of the Yongle 永樂 Era (1415), the *Jiali* was included. The promulgation of *Xingli daquan* across the whole nation further consolidated its status as an officially sanctioned classic of rites. Against this background, local governments competed to publish *Yijie* with great enthusiasm, which largely helped promote *Jiali* nationwide.

At the turn of the Ming and Qing, the study of rites created an academic tide of reviving *Yili* 儀禮 (ceremonial rites), especially during the Qianlong 乾隆 and Jiaqing 嘉慶 Eras, when the study of the three classics on rites

flourished.¹³ As was pointed out, “The ritual study in the Ming tended to focus on family rites, while that of the Qing on the study of ritual classics. For this reason, at the turn of the Ming and Qing, the study of rites began to shift its focus from family rites to the classics of rites, thus returning to a classics-oriented paradigm of scholarship” (Qian 2019, 133). The research on rites in the Qing focused on the three classics (i.e., *Yili* 儀禮 [Ceremonial Rites], *Zhouli* 周禮 [Rites of Zhou], and *Liji* 禮記 [Book of Rites]). By way of comparison, family rites was not the object of scholarly research but rather entered the stage of practice. For instance, the *Jiaxun* 家訓 (Family Instructions) listed in *Hongdong Liushi zongpu* 洪洞劉氏宗譜 (Genealogical Record of the Liu Clan of Hongdong County), from Shanxi Province, was compiled according to the *Jiali*.¹⁴ Moreover, one study of the *Mingzhou Wushi jiadian* 茗洲吳氏家典 (Family Canons of the Kinship of Wu in Mingzhou), argues that in the Huizhou area, a phenomenal corpus of genealogy records and clan or family rules existed (e.g., *Mingzhou Wushi jiadian*), the contents of which were modelled after the *Jiali*. In other words, the astounding number of records were a faithful adoption or propagation of the doctrines contained in the *Jiali* (Xu 2019). Although this largely demonstrates how the *Jiali* was practiced in the Shanxi and Huizhou areas during the Qing, it also provides us with a clue that the study of family rites in the Qing moved away from mere scholarship (as in the Ming) and towards more practice in society. Henceforth in the Qing, there appeared

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13. Zhang Shou'an 張壽安, a Taiwanese scholar, suggests that there was a turn in the scholarship on rites from the Ming to the Qing. For Zhang, studies of family rites in the Ming were mainly focused on “private commentaries on *Jiali* and *Yijie*,” while those in the Qing adopted the “canon-oriented paradigm” (Zhang 2005, 20, 82). Zhao Kesheng and An Na took issue with this assertion, arguing that the officially sanctioned canon on rites during the Qianlong and Jiaqing periods did not replace the *Jiali*; they ran in parallel with one another, with a rapport of mutual learning, sharing, and complementarity (Zhao and An 2016). This debate notwithstanding, it reflects from a certain angle the dominant position of the *Jiali* in the study of rites in the Ming. Until the Qing, the *Jiali* had lost its dominant position, with a weaker influence than it had enjoyed in the Ming.
14. For instance, in the entry titled “Jianzongzi” 建宗子, it is suggested that “at the time of the main sacrifices, the eldest son of the family stands in the front, with followers being lined up on both sides, just like the sequence described in the *Jiali*...” (Liu 1707).

many private prints but few official prints of the *Yijie*.

Secondly, *Yijie* in the Ming and Qing dynasties mainly consisted of eight volumes, whereas three ten-volume editions appeared in the Qing. All of these longer editions were by Qian Shi—one printed by the Boyatang (now housed in the National Library of China), one by the Baoningtang (now housed in the Zhejiang 浙江 Library), and one by Linjing Pavilion (now in the Tianjin 天津 Library). Volumes one to eight of these three editions are the *Yijie*, while volume nine is *Sili chugao* 四禮初稿 (An Initial Script of the Four Rites), and volume ten, *Sili yueyan* 四禮約言 (A Summary of the Four Rites). *Sili chugao* was edited by Song Xun 宋燠 in 1573, with its “Preface to *A Revised Edition of Zhu Xi on Jiali*,” by Song Luo 宋攀 added in 1701 (Song 1801). Based on this Preface, it is clear that *Sili chugao* was based on the *Jiali* and *Yijie*. At only thirty-five pages, the *Sili chugao* was concise and short, and could be regarded as an abridged version of the *Yijie*.

Sili yueyan was written by Lü Weiqi 呂維祺 in four volumes. The first volume of the *Jiali* edition by the Song clan 宋氏 of Shangqiu 商丘 of 1701, now housed at the Shanghai Library, contained a preface by Lü Weiqi written in 1624 (Lü 2013, 199), from which it can be deduced that the book was written in 1624. This preface had four parts, respectively on initiation, marriage, funerals, and sacrifices, fit concisely within sixteen pages. To take volume one on initiation as an example, it was centered on Lü Weiqi's arguments on the initiation rite, emphasizing twice the importance of this rite and briefly outlining its process in three sentences. As for details of this rite, Lü suggested that “the rite could be conducted by referring to the *Jiali*.” At the same time, it is stated in the commentaries that “in cases of family poverty, it is acceptable to conduct the rite in a summary manner” (Lü 1801).¹⁵ Two inferences may be made from this statement. First, the book was intended to emphasize that the four rites must be conducted in accordance with *Jiali*, in spite of the economic status of the family. Second, it was committed to the same *esprit de livre* conveyed in the *Jiali*. Zhu Xi, in his *Preface to Jiali*, suggested, “[I am] particularly concerned with rites being

15. 若貧家,更須簡便拜行之,亦可。

made inaccessible to those who are poverty-stricken” (Zhu 1992, 587).¹⁶ For this very reason, the *Jiali* was full of passages on the conduct of rites for ordinary citizens. Qiu Jun inherited this idea of Zhu Xi, with many prescriptions in *Yijie* on the conduct of rites among the ordinary and the poor. For instance, it is stated that “concerning sacrificial utensils, if a poor household is incapable of preparing a full set, certain ordinary utensils can be used as replacements”¹⁷ (Lü 1801). Lü Weiqi equally adhered to this idea, arguing that the poor must also conduct the rites, albeit in a simplified manner. Zhu Xi, Qiu Jun, and Lü Weiqi all expressed the same idea regarding conducting rites, which played a great part in popularizing the practice of the *Jiali*.

Third, there were several derivative editions of the *Yijie* as it passed down from one generation of scholars to the next. Apart from the aforementioned *Sili chugao*, a revised *Sili zuanyao*, *Jializong*, and *Jiali zhengheng* also emerged. *Sili zuanyao* was published in 1526 and included in the *Sili huibian* 四禮彙編 (Collection of Four Rites), now housed at the Zhejiang Library. Wang Hao learned that “about eighty to ninety percent of [local] families did not observe *Jiali*” (Wang 1526).¹⁸ With this in mind, he selected the key points in the *Yijie*, on the basis of which he compiled *Sangjili yao* 喪祭禮要 (An Outline of Funeral and Sacrificial Rites), and had it printed locally. Afterwards, he “continued to edit this book by revisiting the core parts of the *Yijie*”¹⁹ (Wang 1526) and finally completed the *Sili zuanyao*. It is safe to suggest that this book was based on a simplification of the *Yijie*, rendering the latter more feasible. Hence it is a derivative version of the *Yijie*.

Xiong Shuming’s *Jializong* is now included in *Minke zhenben congkan* 閩刻珍本叢刊 (A Collection of Rare Books Published in Fujian). In volume three, on funeral rites, the “picture of a funeral procession” (*songzang tu* 送葬圖) of two monks was added. From this it can be inferred that this copy

16. 而困於貧窶者，尤患其終不能有以及於禮也。

17. 祭器，人家貧不能備者，用燕器代之，亦可。

18. 不行是禮者，十常八九。

19. 復自《儀節》中纂其要而續刻之。

derived from the Yang Shen Edition. The book has certain sui generis features. First, in terms of content, it was quite different from the Yang Shen Edition. Controversies notwithstanding, the Yang Shen Edition was in general similar to, or the same as, other editions in terms of content and structure. By way of comparison, this edition did not follow the structure of the *Yijie*. Compared with the Qiu Jun edition, the Xiong Shuming edition deleted the majority of commentaries and research on textual accuracy, which greatly reduced the length of the book. Furthermore, the pictures of family rites placed under each entry rendered it easy to use and refer to. Therefore, this edition was a simplification of the original text of the *Yijie*, and made the *Yijie* easier to put into practice.

Fourth, the Ming editions were mostly printed in southeast China, while in the Qing, such publications encompassed the whole nation. In other words, *Yijie*, through the scholarship in both the Ming and Qing, spread and covered the majority of the areas in the country. The earliest, original Qiu Jun edition was printed in Guangzhou, then reprinted in Fujian, to be followed by the Wu Tingju edition in Guangzhou, and then in Yingtian prefecture (today's Nanjing 南京), Taiping prefecture (in today's Anhui 安徽), and Changzhou prefecture (in today's Jiangsu 江蘇). Afterwards, the Liu Qizong edition was printed in Yiling (in today's Hubei 湖北). The Jiang Bao and He Shijin editions were printed in Sichuan and Wulin (today's Hangzhou 杭州), respectively. The Xiong Shuming edition was printed in Jianyang (in today's Fujian), and the Shu Shitao was printed in Suzhou. All of the aforementioned editions were popular in southern China.

When it came to the Qing, the *Yijie* was mainly published by private bookdealers. According to our research on the location of these private publishers, it is evident that Linjing Pavilion was in Shanxi 山西 province. Hongdaotang and Lizhao Bookstores were in Sichuan province. Sanrangtang and Sanwentang were located in today's Jiangxi 江西 province. Table 2 also shows that the *Yijie* was printed in places like Suzhou, Shanghai, Chongqing, Guwu, and Jinling (today's Nanjing). In other words, during the Ming and Qing, the majority of Chinese provinces had printed certain editions of the *Yijie*, which had been widely popularized in China by the end of the Qing.

Fifth, in general, the Ming editions were originals, from which the majority of those in the Qing were reprinted. Of the 23 editions in the Ming, 17 were new and original. Among the 33 editions in the Qing, the Qian Shi edition was printed 14 times, and the Yang Shen edition 14 times. For another two editions, it was not possible to verify whether they were reprinted from the Ming editions. Although the Yang Shen edition was published in the name of Yang Shen and in poor quality, it was nevertheless widely printed and circulated, the main reason being that, as aforementioned, the scholarly research on rites in the Qing had been focused on the three classics, while the study of family rites tended to be more practice-oriented. Therefore, although there were few newly edited works about family rites in the Qing, there was a great demand for them in society at large. The Yang Shen edition, though poor in quality, could have been printed at a low cost, thus rendering it appropriate for mass printing to meet the needs of ordinary citizens.

The Circulation of the *Yijie* in the Joseon Dynasty and Its Characteristics

The earliest records of Qiu Jun in the Joseon dynasty can be found in the *Yeonsangun ilgi* 燕山君日記 (Diary of the Yeonsangun).²⁰ There it is recorded that in the first year of the Yeonsan Era (1495), Kim Ilson 金駟孫, then an officer of Chungcheong-do 忠清道 province, submitted a memorial to the king, asking to read Qiu Jun's *Daxue yanyibu* 大學衍義補 (A Supplement to the Interpretation of the Great Learning) at a banquet. From this it can be inferred that Qiu Jun and his writings had already been introduced into the Joseon dynasty before 1495. The date of the introduction of *Yijie* into the Joseon dynasty remains unclear, whereas the earliest written record of the *Yijie* is a memorial submitted to the throne by Kim Anguk 金安國 upon his return from Beijing in the 13th year of Joseon's King Jungjong 中宗 (1518).²¹ It can be inferred that the *Yijie* was introduced into Joseon Korea no later

20. *Yeonsangun ilgi*, 62.14b, 28th day of the 5th lunar month, 1506.

21. *Jungjong sillok*, 34.73a, 22nd day of the 11th lunar month, 1518.

Table 3. Various Editions of *Yijie* in Korea

Book title	Editor/ publisher	Date of publication	Place of publication	Preface /postscript
<i>Wengong Jiali yijie</i>	Qiu	Reign of King Jungjong	The Central Government	
<i>Wengong Jiali yijie</i>	Published by Kim Chunggap 金忠甲	1555	Chungbuk 忠北 Cheongjumok 清州牧	Preface by Qiu; Postscript by Kim Chunggap
<i>Yijie Jiali</i>	Published by Min Seongjing 閔聖征, official print (Choe Gyeonghun 2008)	1626	Yeonggwang-gun 靈光郡	Qiu, Zhu
<i>Jiali yijie</i>		Before 1700	Yeongcheon 永川	
<i>Wengong Jiali</i>	Yang, Xia Yunyi	1759	Zhuoguanlou 卓觀樓 Guwu	
	Yang	Qing	Jiaojing Shanfang 校經 山房	Yang
	Yang	post- eighteenth century	Shanchengtang	Yang
	Yang			Yang
	Yang	Qing	Shanchengtang	Yang
	Yang		Zhongxiutang, Jinchangshu Yingxi 金閻舒瀛溪	Zhu, Qiu
<i>Wengong Jiali yijie</i>	Qian, Yang Tingjun	1887	Jiangzuoshulin	Qiu
	Qian, Yang Tingjun	1916	Jiangzuoshulin	Qiu
	Qian, Yang Tingjun	1918	Jiangzuoshulin	Qiu
<i>Huitu Wengong Jiali yijie</i> 繪圖文公家禮儀 節 (Picture book of Zhu Xi on Family Rites and Etiquette)	Qian, Yang Tingjun	1924	Jiangzuoshulin	Qiu
<i>Wengong Jiali yijie</i>	Qian, Yang Tingjun	1929	Shanghai Zhongyuan Store	Qiu

than 1518, about 20 or 30 years after its initial publication.

Following the *Yijie*'s introduction to Joseon, it was reprinted four times, and from then onwards, local Korean editions and the original Chinese edition were both popular at the same time. Table 3 lists the editions of the *Yijie* housed at the main libraries in Korea, of which four are Korean editions and eleven Chinese editions.

Among the four Joseon editions, one was printed during the reign of King Jungjong, where only volumes 3 and 4 are extant, providing us with limited background information. However, according to the record in the *Jungjong sillok*, in the entry dated the twenty-second day of the eleventh month in the thirteenth year of the King Jungjong (1518), it can be inferred that this edition might have been printed upon a proposal submitted by Kim Anguk.²²

By comparing the Joseon and the Chinese editions of the *Yijie*, certain features of the scholarly tradition of the *Yijie* in Korea can be summarized as follow:

First, compared with the Chinese editions, the Joseon editions were relatively few in number (only four). This was mainly due to a different attitude towards Qiu Jun and the *Yijie* on the part of Joseon scholars. Some Joseon scholars, such as Kim Anguk and Kim Ilson, had been active in their learning and propagation of the *Yijie*, whereas some Joseon scholars held different views on Qiu Jun and the *Yijie*. For instance, when King Seonjo 宣祖 (r. 1567–1608), in a nighttime lecture, commented on the *Zhongyong* 中庸 (Doctrine of the Mean) with Yi Chungjak 李忠綽 and Ryu Huichun 柳希春, Ryu Huichun criticized Qiu Jun for “harboring evil intentions” and “being unpractical, without any difference from that hollow talk of the Jin 晉.” Seonjo, in a similar vein, suggested that “Qiu Jun had been unworthy.”²³ Regarding the *Yijie*, the *Myeongjong sillok* records:

22. *Jungjong sillok*, 34.73a, 22nd day of the 11th lunar month, 1518.

23. 上曰：“丘濬亦不足取也。”希春曰：“丘濬雖博識多材，而心術不正。……嘗立論譏宋之諸儒，不事世務，與晉之清談無以異。……”上曰：“中朝取捨，未必盡當” (*Seonjo sillok*, 5.8b, 3rd day of the 12th lunar month, 1571).

Recently, Qiu Jun compiled *Yijie* and established a system of “mourning clothes made of bright silk” by citing remarks from ancient canons in a random manner. Qiu Jun is a Confucian scholar with extensive knowledge, albeit incomparable to that of the sages. It seems inappropriate for us to abandon Zhu Xi's original intent and to follow these ideas of more recent times.²⁴

This text proves that in practice, when the *Yijie* came into conflict with *Jiali*, Joseon scholars would adhere to *Jiali*. Moreover, when King Injo 仁祖 (r. 1623–1649) discussed the rites for moving a mausoleum with his ministers, officials in the Ministry of Rites suggested,

As regards the moving of a mausoleum, although we could refer to ... *Jiali yijie*, or *Gaejang bomun* 改葬補問 (Supplement to Mausoleum Transfer), the suggestions contained therein are far too brief or concise to be practicable. ... There is a need to consult on a wider scale before we can discuss or determine the rites and their commentaries.²⁵

It can be inferred here that Joseon scholars did not have a high opinion of Qiu Jun and the *Yijie*, which might have adversely affected the circulation of *Yijie* in Korea.

In addition, compared with the *Yijie*, Joseon scholars had placed greater emphasis on the original text of the *Jiali*. There were 21 editions of *Jiali* (Choe 2008) and 123 annotated works of *Jiali* printed in the Joseon dynasty (Chang 2010a). This also demonstrates the great emphasis by Joseon scholars on the interpretation, supplement, and improvement of the original text of the *Jiali*. Thus, it could be regarded as an example of Joseon scholarship on rites being centered around the *Jiali*, which was also the reason Joseon contained many more editions of *Jiali* than of *Yijie*.

24. 惟近世丘氏濬《家禮儀節》，雜引古經之語，擬為練服之制。丘濬乃近世該博之儒學，非聖賢之比。今棄文公之折衷，而從近世之所見，似為未安 (*Myeongjong sillok*, 32.41a, 4th day of the 4th lunar month, 1566).

25. 雖有遷陵時.....《家禮儀節》《改葬補問》，而皆草略無可據.....必須廣加聞見，始可講定儀注 (*Injo Sillok*, 22.42b, 18th day of the 5th lunar month, 1630).

However, the *Yijie*, although there were few editions in Joseon, had a profound impact on the Joseon scholarship on rites, which can mainly be viewed in two aspects. First, it led directly to the production of a seven-volume *Jiali*. Second, in terms of research, Joseon scholars improved the *Jiali* through an investigation into ancient rites and the system of rites during the Northern Song. They also simplified the practice of conducting rites through the *Yijie*. The idea of rendering rites more accessible and practicable was also adopted by Joseon scholars, which was consistently embodied in successive works edited by them (Chang 2010b). Therefore, it can be argued that the *Yijie*, after being introduced to Joseon Korea, was used and circulated as an annotation version of the *Jiali*. Of the 123 annotated versions of the *Jiali* in Joseon, the *Yijie* enjoyed the highest popularity, with the greatest number of editions and widest social influence.

Second, the *Yijie* was printed four times in the Joseon period, three of the earliest editions being official prints. This suggests that the propagation of the *Yijie* was in line with the needs of Joseon. Before Kim Anguk brought back the *Yijie* in 1518, the *Jiali* had already been in wide circulation in Joseon society (Chang 2010b). However, the *Jiali* itself could be obscure in places, with certain disagreements with native Joseon customs. For instance, Kim Chunggap explained in a postscript to the *Yijie* that,

... It was named as *Jiali*. This book is extremely dense in meaning while concise in its writing. He who intends to follow and practice the rules thus prescribed may at times find it difficult to understand the meaning, and come into disagreement with others. All gentlemen fond of rites complain about this.²⁶

Therefore, with the aim of revising, improving, and putting into practice the *Jiali*, Joseon scholars compiled a large number of annotated works on the *Jiali*. In the 16th century, 37 such annotated works were published, with another 37 in the 17th century (Chang 2010a, 243–244, 249–250). These

26. ...名之曰《家禮》。是書也，造意極密，文字至簡，雖有遵而欲行者，間或不解其，互執所見，好禮君子莫不病焉 (Qiu 1555).

annotated works served as important reference manuals for practicing the *Jiali* in the Joseon era. Kim Anguk believed that *Yijie* complemented the *Jiali*, “being an important supplement to the latter.” Therefore, *Yijie* was an important supplement to the study of the *Jiali*, with these two classics running in parallel to each other in mutual complementarity.

In addition, the Joseon dynasty, establishing itself as a nation advocating Confucianism, formulated such canons on rites as *Gukcho oryewi* 國朝五禮儀 (The Nation's Five Rites), while the *Jiali* was in wide circulation in society. In the early Joseon period, the royal court attempted to unify folk customs through the active use of the *Jiali* (B. Lee 2018). King Taejong 太宗 (r. 1400–1418) ordered in 1403 that 150 copies of the *Jiali* be printed and distributed to all ministries. In that same year, “[The king] ordered that all newly recruited officials be tested on the *Zhu Wengong jiali*.”²⁷ During the reign of King Sejong 世宗 (r. 1418–1450), it was codified into law that “those taking the *saengwon* 生員 examination [one of the civil examinations in the Joseon dynasty] be tested on their knowledge of *Xiaoxue* 小學 [Primary Learning] and the *Jiali*, to be supervised by officials from the Jeongnok Office 正錄所 of the Seonggyungwan 成均館, and examined by civil servants.”²⁸ The adding of the *Jiali* to the imperial civil examination contributed to an increase in the demand for the *Jiali* and their annotated versions, which led to the appearance of several official editions of the *Yijie* in the early Joseon dynasty.

It has been suggested, the reason the *Yijie* was republished in 1626 was due to its having been burned and destroyed in 1592 during the Japanese invasions, the Imjin waeran 壬辰倭亂 (Hwang 1994). However, this contention awaits further research.

Third, all Joseon editions of the *Yijie* were based on a reproduction of the original Chinese edition. The Kim Chunggap edition printed in 1555 had a line at the end of the quoted references that stated, “學生傳佐臚寫”

27. 令初入仕者, 並試《朱文公家禮》(Taejong Sillok, 5.27b, 9th day of the 6th lunar month, 1403).

28. 赴生員試者, 始令文臣監察, 分台于成均正錄所, 考講《小學》《家禮》(Sejong Sillok, 31.10b 27th day of the 1st lunar month, 1426).

(transcribed by Fu Zuo, a disciple). The Min Seongjing edition in 1626 also contained this line, with a structure and typographic style exactly the same as that in the Kim Chunggap edition, only with the excision of the postscript by Kim Chunggap, some remarks on the printing process, and a slightly different font. Therefore, these two editions must have been produced from the same master edition. Although only volumes 3 and 4 of the edition printed in the reign of Jungjong have survived, we can still discern some differences by comparing them with volumes 3 and 4 printed in 1555 and 1626, especially by comparing the thirteen mourning pictures at the end of volume 4, “Funeral Rites” (*sangli* 喪禮). Although four pictures in the Jungjong edition are missing, namely the “Making of Hats” (*guan zhi* 冠製), “Linen Belt Picture” (*diedai tu* 經帶圖), “*Waizu mudang qidang futu*” 外族母黨妻黨服圖 (mourning clothes for the funeral of relatives of one’s maternal grandmother or wife), and “*Qi weifudang tu*” 妻為夫黨圖 (mourning clothes in the funeral for relatives of one’s husband), we can still establish that this edition was fundamentally the same with that of 1555 and 1626 in terms of illustrations. There is only one slight difference in that there is a vertical line between the sleeves of *qianshi* 前式 (front pattern) and *houshi* 後式 (rear pattern) on the “*Cuiyi tu*” 衰衣圖 (illustration of mourning clothes) in the Jungjong edition, while there is no such vertical line in those printed in 1555 and 1626. Therefore, it is safe to suggest that these three editions from the Joseon period were produced from the same master edition.

In the Chinese editions, the line that states, “transcribed by Fu Zuo, a disciple” appears in a few editions: the Wu Tingju one of 1490, the Yingtian prefecture one of 1517, the Taiping prefecture one of 1517, and the Wang Deyi based on a revision of the Wu Tingju edition of 1539. From this, it can be inferred that these editions were produced from the same master edition with their Joseon counterparts. A careful comparison of the thirteen illustrations of mourning clothes at the end of volume 4 shows that the Joseon edition, especially the Jungjong one, was identical to the Yingtian prefecture edition printed in the 12th year of the Zhengde Era (1517). Nevertheless, it was different in many aspects from other Chinese editions. In other words, the *Yijie* as purchased by Kim Anguk and brought back to Joseon was likely the Yingtian prefecture edition housed at the Zhejiang

Library.

Fourth, the editions popularized in the Joseon dynasty were mainly the original Chinese editions, of which those by Qian Shi and Yang Shen enjoyed greater popularity. The majority of the Joseon editions currently available were introduced into Korea after the 18th century, especially in the beginning of the 20th century. A few reasons could account for this circumstance. First was the civil examination. The Joseon dynasty established itself as a nation advocating Confucianism. In the mid and late 18th century, King Yeongjo 英祖 (r. 1724–1776) continued the tradition by placing emphasis on the *Jiali*, and ordered that the *Jiali* be assigned as a topic for the civil examinations, which led to an increase in the demand for the *Jiali* and *Yijie*.²⁹ Second were changes in the system of social status in the Joseon dynasty. After the 17th century, the rigid status system of the Joseon dynasty was subject to increasing challenges and experienced great transformations in the 19th century, especially with the rise in status of the *jungin* 中人 and the liberation of slaves (K. Lee 1999, 327–328). With the rise of the social status of *jungin*, there arose a need for them to conduct family rites, where the *Jiali* was no longer the prerogative of the *yangban* 兩班 bureaucrats. This was also the case with slaves, who could thoroughly rid themselves of their slave status through the practice of *Jiali*. Third was development in the means of transport. In the late Joseon dynasty, the development in the means of transport enabled greater communication between and among families all over the country who belonged to the same kinship. The expansion of clans raised the demand for the rewriting and expanding of genealogical records, which contributed to a greater need of those works related to the *Jiali*. Furthermore, in the 18th and 19th centuries, there were advancements made in transport, both by land and sea, between Qing China and Joseon Korea. This was the case when Joseon Korea opened up its trade ports in 1876, enabling a greater exchange of both trade and culture with Qing China, which further facilitated the influx of a large number of Chinese editions of the *Yijie* into Korea.

29. *Yeongjo sillok*, 93.21b, 4th day of the 6th lunar month, 1759.

Conclusion

There was a large number of annotated works on the *Jiali* in both China and Korea, among which the *Yijie* was the most popular and influential, with the greatest number of print copies. This paper brought together 23 editions of the *Yijie* from the Ming and 33 editions from the Qing. In the Ming, the majority were official prints, while in the Qing, all were invariably printed by private publishers. The *Yijie* in the Ming and Qing mainly consisted of eight volumes, while three ten-volume editions appeared in the Qing. In addition, there were three derivative editions of the *Yijie* in its scholarly traditions, all of which simplified and generalized the content of the *Yijie*, and played a positive role in promoting the implementation and dissemination of the *Jiali* and *Yijie*.

The *Yijie* was brought to Joseon Korea by Kim Anguk from China in 1518, put into wide print, and became an important reference book for the study of the *Jiali* in Joseon Korea. Compared with the Chinese editions, the Joseon editions were far fewer numerically (only four editions). Through a comparison of these four Joseon editions and their Chinese counterparts, it can be inferred that it was the Yingtian prefecture edition dated the 12th year of the Zhengde Era that Kim Anguk brought back to Joseon Korea during the Ming.

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Sejong sillok 世宗實錄 (Veritable Records of King Sejong)
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