

The Influence of the *Wen xuan* on the Sino-Korean Literature in Early Chosŏn

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A dissertation
submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2019

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Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

Asian Languages and Literature

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Abstract

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The *Wen xuan* 文選 was an important anthology compiled in the mid-520s in Liang dynasty China. It was introduced to Korea during the Three Kingdom period and eventually became one of the most important literary texts in Korea. My dissertation examines the influence of the *Wen xuan* in Korea, concentrating on the early Chosŏn period (fifteenth to sixteenth centuries).

The first chapter of my dissertation explores how the *yangban* class was reorganized in early Chosŏn and how this process was related to the popularity of the *Wen xuan* during that period. This chapter specifically investigates the division between the Hun'gu and Sarim scholars of the fifteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries by examining their respective political statuses.

Chapters 2 and 3 discuss the context in which the Korean anthologies were compiled. I compare anthologies, such as the *Tongmunsŏn*, compiled by Hun'gu scholars, with the *Tongmunsu* and the *Ch'ŏnggu p'unga* created by Kim Chong-jik, a Sarim scholar. From this comparison, I show that the former has numerous similarities with the *Wen xuan* in terms of how

it classifies and arranges genres. By comparing the prefaces to the anthologies and the compilers' rationales for including specific works, Chapters 2 and 3 examine how these anthologies were affected by different literary schools and political factions.

Chapter 4 describes the role played by the *Wen xuan* when Chosŏn kings periodically changed the format of the civil service examinations to satisfy the competing demands and opinions of intellectuals from various factions and regions. By analyzing the debates on the required changes to the civil service examination system, this chapter describes how Korean rulers sought to find a balance in the format of the civil service examination system that reflected the opinions of intellectuals of different factions.

Acknowledgement

It was winter quarter of 2009. I was taking Professor David Knechtges's *Wen xuan* class. One day he introduced me a Korean edition of the *Wen xuan*, which opened me a marvelous world to explore. With his insightful guidance, I have been able to learn how to read and analyze premodern Chinese literature as well as sino-Korean literature. I am also thankful for his advice and suggestions essential for one to grow as a real scholar.

I was able to learn how to present a paper at a conference and eventually how to organize a conference panel from Professor Sookja Cho of Arizona State University. She has also provided me tons of useful information related to my study. She even helped me to set up some of my main arguments of this study. Professor Minho Kim in Hallym University, Professor Hyuk-chan Kwon in University of Alberta, Edmonton, and Professor Jeongsoo Shin in the Academy of Korean Studies gave me valuable sources and information related to my study.

During my research trip to Korea, I met many scholars who helped me to obtain valuable materials related to my study. Thanks to Kyujanggak Archive Travel award, I had a chance of reading materials in the Kyujanggak Library. Professor Pak Hyŏn-sun in Seoul National University inspired me to study source materials related to Korean civil service examinations. With the help of Professor Janet Lee of Keimyung University I was able to obtain part of the *Wen xuan* Wuchen commentary edition.

I would like to express my special gratitude to Professor Knechtges. He has meticulously checked almost all of my translations on literary works as well as historical records. Without his help, it would have been impossible for me to complete this dissertation. I am also thankful to

Laraine Hong, and Tigran K. Through their proofreading and editing of my draft, I was able to polish my dissertation.

My final thanks should go to my parent. Without their support, it would have been much difficult for me to come to this point. It is my delight that I can finally show them the result of my long project.

Table of Content

Introduction	1
1. Existing Scholarship	2
2. The <i>Wen xuan</i> in Korea before the Chosŏn Dynasty	4
3. Methodology	9
Chapter One: The Reorganization of the Intellectual Class and its Influence on the Popularity of the <i>Wen xuan</i> in Early Chosŏn	12
1. <i>Wen xuan</i> in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries in Korea	12
2. Classical literature of ancient China: a model for rebuilding Korean Neo-Confucian Society	14
2. The Importance and Purpose of the Publication of the <i>Wen xuan</i> Editions in Korea	18
3. The Compilation of the <i>Tongmunsŏn</i> and the Division of Chosŏn Intellectuals	28
4. Political Tensions between Meritorious Retainers and the <i>Samsa</i> Junior Scholars	40
the Compilation of the <i>Tongmunsŏn</i>	49
1. Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng and the Compilation of the <i>Tongmunsŏn</i>	49
2. The Theoretical Background of the “Preface to the <i>Tongmunsŏn</i> ”	57
3. The Rationale for Compiling the <i>Tongmunsŏn</i>	66
4. The Structure of the <i>Tongmunsŏn</i>	71
5. The Compilation Principles of the <i>Tongin sihwa</i>	75
6. Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng’s Views on Literature	84
Chapter Three: Kim Chong-jik’s Views on Literature	89
1. About Kim Chong-jik and His Scholarship	90
2. Kim Chong-jik’s Views on Literature and the Structure of the <i>Tongmunsu</i>	101
3. Poems from the <i>Ch’ŏnggup’unga</i> 靑丘風雅 and the <i>Hyŏpchu myŏnghyŏn sipch’osi</i> 夾註明賢十抄詩, and the Development of Commentaries by Korean Literati	111
Chapter Four: Changes to the Civil Service Examinations and the <i>Wen xuan</i>	122
1. Establishment of Civil Service Examinations in Chosŏn	123
2. Debates over the Civil Service Examinations	130
3. Changes in the Civil Service Examinations in the late Chosŏn era	140
4. Influence of the <i>Wen xuan</i>	147
Chapter Five: History of <i>Fu</i> in Korea	158
1. Early <i>Fu</i> Compositions in Korea	159

2. The Early Grand Epideictic <i>Fu</i> in Korea: Comparison between China's "Sandu fu" and Korea's "Samdobu"	163
3. The "Kwanŏdae pu" 觀魚臺賦 (<i>Fu</i> on the Terrace for Viewing Fish) in Korea	178
Conclusion	194
Bibliography	198
Appendix.....	207
1. Preface to the <i>Tongmunsŏn</i> , by Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng 徐居正 (1420-1488)	207
2. The Conversation between Chinese Envoys and Korean Royal Confucian Academy Students, the 23 rd day, Eighth month, 1452, <i>Chosŏn wangjo sillok</i> 朝鮮王朝實錄	215
3. "Fu on the Three Capitals," by Ch'oe Cha 崔滋 (1188-1260)	220
4. "A Short <i>Fu</i> on the Terrace for Viewing Fish" 觀魚臺小賦, by Yi Saek 李穡 (1328-96)	245
5. "Fu on the Terrace for Viewing Fish" 觀魚臺賦, by Kim Chong-jik 金宗直 (1431-1492)	248
6. "A Sequel to the 'Fu on the Terrace for Viewing Fish'" 後觀魚臺賦, By Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng 徐居正 (1420-88).....	252

Introduction

The *Wen xuan* 文選 is an anthology that was compiled in the mid-520s in Liang dynasty China. It was introduced to the Three Kingdoms of Korea around the seventh century. It eventually became the most important literary text for Korean intellectuals, and was the center of literary debates until the end of the nineteenth century. My dissertation examines the influence of the *Wen xuan* in Korea, concentrating on the early Chosŏn period (fifteenth to sixteenth centuries).

Despite the importance of the *Wen xuan* in the history of Korean literature, it has not received adequate attention in Korea. The principal goal of my study of the *Wen xuan* is to reveal its crucial association with the reorganization of intellectual society in Chosŏn Korea in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In order to accomplish this goal, I examine how Chosŏn literati understood *wen* 文. From the fifteenth century onward, the elite class was divided into two groups, according to their attitudes toward *wen* — the Hun'gu 勳舊 faction focused on literary craft, while the Sarim 士林 faction focused on incorporating Confucian thought in their literary works. The Hun'gu faction concentrated on developing literary craft by studying texts such as the *Wen xuan*. In contrast, the Sarim faction was dedicated to studying the Confucian canon. By the end of the sixteenth century, the Sarim faction dominated the whole court, and by then the Hun'gu faction had been absorbed into the Sarim. However, political conflicts still continued among sub-factions within the Sarim, and there were occasional disputes between capital-area scholars and provincial scholars. Interestingly, these conflicts can be analyzed through these scholars' respective views on the *Wen xuan*. The Hun'gu faction and capital-based candidates for

governmental posts generally favored the *Wen xuan* pieces, especially the prose works contained in it, whereas others preferred the Confucian classics and tried to incorporate Confucian ideology into their literary works.

After reviewing the history of Korean literature, I argue that factional differences in terms of attitudes toward *wen* among Chosŏn high-class literati influenced regional discrepancies as far as favoring a specific *Wen xuan* text. For example, some sources, such as Hwang P'il's 黃瑋 (1464–1526) colophon to the *Wen xuan* Wuchen 五臣註文選 edition, indicate that there may have been different preferences for *Wen xuan* commentaries in Kyŏngsang province 慶尙道.

I also argue that factional differences in terms of understanding *wen* reflected the different social statuses of Chosŏn intellectuals. Scholars from the Hun'gu faction and capital-based candidates became highly confident in their literary skills, especially by involving themselves in state affairs and compiling royal publications or composing *shi* poetry along with Chinese envoys. In contrast, Sarim scholars and provincial scholars strategically chose neo-Confucianism as the central ideology of their literary works and for the compilation principles that they used for their anthologies.

1. Existing Scholarship

During the early 1980s, a number of scholars in Korea began to recognize the historical importance of the *Wen xuan*. As a result, a special issue dedicated to *Wen xuan* studies was published by Yŏngnam ōmuhakoe 嶺南語文學會 in 1984. Several articles provided important information about the *Wen xuan*. Some of them studied the nature of the reception of the *Wen xuan* by Korean literati throughout the centuries. A couple of them suggested that scholars from

the Hun'gu and Sarim factions may have had different perspectives of the *Wen xuan*.

Recent scholarship related to the *Wen xuan* has shed light on interesting sources, such as the *Wen xuan* Liujiā 六家注文選 edition, which is held by the Kyujanggak 奎章閣 Library of Seoul National University. Studies by Kim Hak-chu, Chōng Ok-sun, Fu Gang 傅剛, and Martin W. Hiesboeck have explained the importance of these sources.¹ Following this trend, a number of scholars, including Zhang Bowei 張伯偉, Pak Chōng-suk, and Kong Linggang 孔令剛,² began focusing on the relationship between the *Wen xuan* and the development of Korean literature. Some of them sought to explain why a certain edition of the *Wen xuan* was widely circulated in one region but not in another, but they were not able to provide sufficient evidence to back up their positions.

¹ See Kim Hak-chu 金學主, “Chosŏn sidae-ŭi ko-hwalchabon yŏn'gu” 朝鮮時代の古活字本文選研究, *Chosŏn sidae kanhaeng Chungguk munhak kwangye sŏ yŏn'gu* 朝鮮時代刊行中國文學關係書研究 (Seoul: Seoul National University, 2000), 61-77, “Chosŏn kan Osinju Munsŏn-e taehayŏ” 朝鮮刊五臣注文選에 대하여, *Chosŏn sidae kanhaeng Chungguk munhak kwangye sŏ yŏn'gu*. 79-102, “Chosŏn kan Munsŏn-ŭi t'ŭkching” 朝鮮刊文選의 特徵, *Chosŏn sidae kanhaeng Chungguk munhak kwangye sŏ yŏn'gu*, 103-110. Also see Chōng Ok-sun 鄭玉順, “Hanguo suocang Kuicangge ben Liuchen zhu *Wen xuan* yanjiu” 韓國所藏奎章閣本六臣注文選研究, Ph.D. Dissertation, Nanjing University, 1998, Fu Gang 傅剛, “Lun Hanguo Kuizhangge ben *Wen xuan* de wenxian jiazhi” 論韓國奎章閣本文選的文獻價值, *Wen xuan banben yanjiu* 文選版本研究, (Beijing: Beijing University, 2000), 295-311, Martin W. Hiesboeck 解夢, “Zhaoming *Wen xuan* Kuicangge ben yanjiu” 昭明文選奎章閣本研究, Ph.D. Dissertation, Taiwan Normal University, 2000.

² See Zhang Bowei 張伯偉, “*Wen xuan* yu Hanguo Hanwenxue” 文選與韓國漢文學, *Tong-a inmunhak* 3, 2003.6, 97-120. Also see Pak Chōng-suk 朴貞淑, “*Wen xuan* liuchuan Hanguo zhi yanjiu” 文選流傳韓國之研究, Ph.D. Dissertation, Nanjing University, 2008 and Kong Linggang 孔令剛. *Kuizhang ge ben Wen xuan yanjiu* 奎章閣本文選研究. Zhengzhou: Henan daxue chubanshe. 2014.

2. The *Wen xuan* in Korea before the Chosŏn Dynasty

This study examines the influence of the *Wen xuan* on early Chosŏn Korea. In order to do so, we need to understand how the *Wen xuan* influenced Korean literature before the Chosŏn period. The first historical account of the *Wen xuan* in Korea is a passage from the *Jiu Tang shu*,³ as highlighted by a number of scholars, such as Hŏ Kwŏn-Su, Chŏng Ok-sun, Martin W. Hiesboeck, Zhang Bowei, and Pak Chŏng-suk:

By custom, people of Koguryŏ are fond of reading books. [From the nobles] to the poor and humble, each family constructs a big building on a street and calls it kyŏngdang.⁴ Young men who have not yet married read books and practice archery at that place day and night. Among books found in the kyŏngdang are the *Five Classics*, the *Shi ji*, the *Han shu*, Fan Ye's *Hou Han shu*, the *San guo zhi*, Sun Sheng's *Jin chun qiu*, the *Yu pian*, the *Zi tong*, and the *Zi lin*. There is also the *Wen xuan*, which people consider especially important.

俗愛書籍，至於衡門廡養之家。各於街衢造大屋，謂之局堂。子弟未婚之前，晝夜於此讀書習射。其書有五經及史記漢書范曄後漢書三國志孫盛晉春秋玉篇字統字林，又有文選，尤愛重之。⁵

As Zhang Bowei⁶ points out, this passage relates to the customs of the Koguryŏ people 高句麗 (37 B.C.E.–668 A.D.E.), even though it was recorded under the title of Koryŏ in the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書. The context reveals that the *Wen xuan* was one of the books that were in vogue in Koguryŏ. It also indicates that the Koguryŏ people must have considered it the most important source for literature, since it was the only literary work in the catalogue. The concluding remark “people consider it (them) especially important” 尤愛重之 seems to refer to the *Wen xuan*. We have no evidence for the precise date of this account, but we know that the *Wen xuan* was

³ Liu Xu 劉昫 et al, “Gaoli tiao,” 高麗條, *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), 149.

⁴ A private educational institution established in local provinces in Koguryŏ.

⁵ Liu Xu et al, “Gaoli tiao,” *Jiu Tang shu*, 149.

⁶ Zhang Bowei, “*Wen xuan* yu Hanguo Hanwenxue,” 98.

completed in the late 520s and Koguryŏ fell in 668. Therefore, it must have been introduced to Korea sometime within this time span, and we can infer that the *Wen xuan* was read widely in Korea at least from the seventh century onward. A *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 passage gives a credible timeline for the *Wen xuan*'s circulation:

When Kang Su reached adulthood, he came to read books by himself... Eventually he found a teacher and read the *Xiao jing*, the *Qu li*, the *Er ya*, and the *Wen xuan*. When an envoy from the Tang came and delivered an imperial edict, a passage in the edict was hard [to understand]. The king summoned [Kang Su] and asked Kang Su about it. He went to the king; after glancing at the edict, he explained its meaning. There was no doubt or hesitation. The king was surprised and pleased. The king felt sorry that they had not met earlier.

强首及壯...遂就師讀孝經曲禮爾雅文選...及唐使者至, 傳詔書, 其中有難讀處. 王召問之, 在王前, 一見說釋, 無疑滯, 王驚喜, 恨相見之晚.⁷

This passage highlights a typical success story of a scholar-official named Kang Su 强首 (?–692), and at the same time shows that people in Silla 新羅 (57 B.C.E.–935 A.D.E.) were not familiar with the *Wen xuan* in the seventh century. Compared to its rival kingdoms of Koguryŏ and Paekche 百濟 (18 B.C.E.–660 A.D.E.), Silla's power and influence were relatively weak, and because the region was located in the southeastern part of the Korean peninsula (whereas Koguryŏ and Paekche were on the routes to and from China), contact with China was fairly limited, which delayed the adoption of Chinese culture in Silla.

Silla kings were desperate to withstand the pressure from their larger rivals, Koguryŏ and Paekche, so they introduced several important reforms, including adopting the Chinese government system in 520 and declaring Buddhism as the national religion in 527. To strengthen

⁷ Kim Pu-sik 金富軾, "Kang Su Yŏlchŏn" 强首列傳, *Yŏkchu Samguk sagi* 譯註三國史記, Chŏng Ku-bok 鄭求福 et al., (Kyŏnggi-do Sŏngnam: Han'guk chŏngsin munhwa yŏn'guwŏn, 1988), 3.234.

their power, they considered it essential to maintain good relations with China. Thus, Silla rulers were highly dependent on diplomatic relations with Tang China. Therefore, it was perfectly natural that they valued people who were skilled in composing and interpreting diplomatic documents from Tang China.

The passage from the *Samguk sagi* shows that Kang Su was one of Silla's leading Confucian scholars. As in the previous account on the Koguryŏ people, we find that the *Wen xuan* was the only source for literature, especially relating to diplomatic documents, that had any practical use, at least in the eyes of Silla's rulers. It seems that the *Wen xuan* also allowed for a newly emerging rank in society to obtain senior positions. This is certainly plausible, because both rulers and intellectuals attached considerable importance to literary ability in the conduct of diplomacy. They naturally came to value the *Wen xuan*, which includes many official documents, such as edicts, commands, letters of submission, and proclamations.

By 668, Silla—in alliance with Tang—destroyed Paekche and then Koguryŏ. It finally unified the Korean peninsula after expelling the Tang army in 676. Several accounts indicate that the *Wen xuan* became increasingly important during the Unified Silla Period (676–935). A good example of this is another passage from the *Samguk sagi*:⁸

The Kukhak belongs to the Board of Rites. It was founded in the second year of King Sinmun. King Kyŏngdŏk changed its name to T'aehakgam. King Hyejong restored [its original name]... The method of teaching was to treat the *Zhou yi*, the *Shang shu*, the *Mao shi*, the *Li ji*, the *Chunqiu*, the *Zuoshi zhuan*, and the *Wen xuan* separately as the curriculum. A professor with an assistant sometimes uses the *Li ji*, the *Zhou yi*, the *Lun yu*, and the *Xiao jing*, sometimes uses the *Chunqiu*, the *Zuo zhuan*, the *Mao shi*, the *Lun yu*, and the *Xiao jing*, and sometimes uses the *Shang shu*, the *Lun yu*, the *Xiao jing*, and the *Wen xuan*, and teaches them.

國學屬禮部。神文王二年置，景德王改爲太學監，惠恭王復故...教授之法，以周易尚書毛詩禮記春秋左氏傳文選，分而爲業。博士若助教一人，或以禮記周易論語孝經，

⁸ Kim Pusik, *Yŏkchu Samguk sagi*, 4.494.

或以春秋左傳毛詩論語孝經,或以尚書論語孝經文選,教授之...

This passage outlines the curriculum of the Kukhak 國學, the country's highest educational institution (founded in 682). Among the books cited, the *Mao shi* and the *Wen xuan* were mentioned as important sources of literature, and we see that the *Wen xuan* was treated in a special way. The list of the books seems to be arranged chronologically in the order of their creation. The *Wen xuan* was the only work that was compiled less than 200 years earlier (from the Silla people's perspective of time), whereas the rest of the books were created several hundred years earlier.

According to another *Samguk sagi* passage, in 788 Silla introduced the *toksŏ samp'umkwa* 讀書三品科, a proto civil service examination system.⁹

In the spring of the fourth year, for the first time, government service placement was determined according to three grades of reading books. Those who read and had thorough knowledge of the *Chunqiu Zuoshi zhuan* and the *Wen xuan*, or also understood the *Lun yu* and the *Xiao jing*, were placed in the upper grade. Those who read the *Qu li*, the *Lun yu* and the *Xiao jing* were placed in the middle grade. Those who read the *Qu li* and the *Xiao jing* were placed in the lower grade.

四年春,始定讀書三品以出身。讀春秋左氏傳若禮記若文選而能通其義,兼明論語孝經者為上。讀曲禮論語孝經者為中。讀曲禮孝經者為下。若博通五經三史諸子百家書者,超擢用之。前只以弓箭選人,至是改之。

This passage shows that the ranks were on three levels, and that the *Wen xuan* text had to be mastered in order for a candidate to receive the highest grade. An account in the *Samguk sagi* shows that Kang Su was a descendant of the royal family from Kaya 伽倻 (42–562),¹⁰ which had been defeated by Silla. For defeated clans, such as that to which Kang Su belonged, the *Wen*

⁹ Kim Pusik, *Yŏkchu Samguk sagi*, 2.209.

¹⁰ Kim Pusik, *Yŏkchu Samguk sagi*, 4.159.

xuan offered almost the only hope for advancement.

In China, candidates considered the *Wen xuan* an important source to prepare for the civil service examinations. If we examine the civil service examination system in Koryŏ, we can find a similar situation as far as adopting a civil service examination system and regarding the *Wen xuan* as an important text. Based on proposals made by Ssang Ki, or Shuang Ji 雙冀 (10th century), who had immigrated to Koryŏ from Hou Zhou 後周 (951–960), King Kwangjong 光宗 (r. 925–975) established a civil service examination system in 958, the first such system in Korean history.¹¹ The format subsequently underwent numerous reforms, and in 1154 it developed into a three-stage examination system. For the first examination, candidates were required to write in the genres of *lun* 論 (disquisition) and *cewen* 策文 (examination question). For the second examination, they had to answer questions on the Confucian classics, and in the final examination, they were required to write *shi* and *fu*.¹²

In addition to influencing the literary works of individual writers, the *Wen xuan* influenced the compilation of literary collections in Koryŏ. The following is an excerpt from the “Preface to the *Sŏnsujip*” 選粹集序 written by Yi Saek 李穡 (1328–1396).

In addition, he collected a certain number of chapters of poems and writings of the past and the present. Then he named it the *Selections of Pure Essence*. He took “selection” from Xiao Tong’s *Wen xuan*, and “pure essence” from Yao Xuan’s *Tang wen cui*. Its meaning is simply to select their pure essence. What is selected is the pure essence, and what is pure essence is selected. The purpose is to garner praise for those who wrote the selected pieces, and motivate those who study them.

又集古今詩文若干卷。先生又名之曰，選粹集。選取昭明，粹取姚炫。其義則選其粹

¹¹ Chŏng In-ji 鄭麟趾 et al., *Koryŏ sa* 高麗史, (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1983), 589.

¹² Chŏng In-ji et al., *Koryŏ sa*, 593.

也。選則粹，粹則選。所以嘆美其作者也。所以歆動其學者也。¹³

The *Sönsujip*, by Kim Chi 金祉 (?-?), was a literary collection that was published in the fourteenth century in Koryö. It no longer exists; however, the preface to this collection, written by Yi Saek, is preserved in the *Tongmunsön* 東文選. It indicates that the collection was named after the *Wen xuan* and the *Tang wen cui*.

In Korea, prior to the publication of *Sönsujip*, the country's earliest literary anthologies had been compiled. They are Kim T'ae-hyön's 金台鉉 (1261–1330) *Tongguk mun'gam*, and Ch'oe Hae's 崔瀟 (1287–1340) *Tongin jimun*. Both scholars lived during the period that Koryö was a tributary state of Yuan 元 (1271–1368) China. They therefore had direct contact with Chinese scholars through their visits to Yuan as envoys, and by receiving Yuan envoys or participating in governmental service in Yuan (at least in Ch'oe Hae's case). When scholars met during this period, they often enjoyed discussions of literary ideas. They even wrote literary pieces for comparison. Given such a historical context, it is not surprising that some Korean scholars compiled their own anthologies. Of the two compilations mentioned above, the former is no longer extant, but parts of the latter still exist in *siliu* style, which was definitely influenced by the *Wen xuan*.

3. Methodology

Following a path of analysis begun by earlier studies, and in light of the influence of the *Wen xuan* on Korean literature, I have compared the *Tongmunsön* 東文選 (Korean selections of literary works), compiled by Sö Kō-jöng 徐居正 (1420–1488), with the *Tongmunsu* 東文粹 (Korean selections of pure essence), by Kim Chong-jik 金宗直 (1431–1492). Both of these

¹³ Sö Kō-jöng ed., *Tongmunsön*, 87.404-05.

anthologies were influenced by the *Wen xuan*, but the latter tends to emphasize Confucian ideals and principles 義理. After reading Hwang P'il's colophon to the *Wen xuan* Wuchen 五臣注文選 edition, as well as some historical records in the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄, I have sought to demonstrate why the *Wen xuan* Wuchen edition was more popular in Kyŏngsang province. I have also examined the relationship between the civil service examinations and the *Wen xuan*. During the late Chosŏn period, provincial candidates were mainly familiar with writing only *shi* and *fu*, while candidates from the capital area were also skilled at writing in almost all of the literary styles. Since the *Wen xuan* includes various pieces of *fu* and other prose styles, it was a major influence in educating the literati in both the capital region and the provinces.

Such circumstances as described above motivated Chosŏn literati to compose literary works that centered on themes treated in the *Wen xuan*. For example, they imitated and reinvented those themes; and they exchanged opinions, privately and in public, with each other, and with envoys from Ming China. In my dissertation, I have followed a similar course. I focus on the relationship between the changes in the civil service examination system and scholars' discourses on literature and literary education.

The first chapter of my dissertation explores how the upper class was reorganized in early Chosŏn and how this process was related to the popularity of the *Wen xuan* during that period. This chapter specifically investigates the division between the Hun'gu and Sarim scholars of the fifteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries by examining their respective political statuses.

Chapters 2 and 3 discuss the context in which the Korean anthologies were compiled. I compare anthologies, such as the *Tongmunsŏn*, compiled by Hun'gu scholars, with the

Tongmunso and the *Ch'ōnggu p'unga* created by a Sarim scholar. From this comparison, I show that the former has numerous similarities with the *Wen xuan* in terms of how it classifies and arranges genres. By comparing the prefaces to the anthologies and the compilers' rationales for including specific works, Chapters 2 and 3 examine how these anthologies were affected by different literary schools and political factions.

Chapter 4 describes the role played by the *Wen xuan* when Chosŏn kings periodically changed the format of the civil service examinations to satisfy the competing demands and opinions of intellectuals from various factions and regions. The focus is on the role of the *Wen xuan* in structuring regional and factional forces in intellectual society from the late fifteenth through the nineteenth centuries. By analyzing the debates on the required changes to the civil service examination system, this chapter describes how Korean rulers sought to find a balance in the format of the civil service examination system that reflected the opinions of intellectuals of different factions.

In Chapter 5 I explore the history of *fu* in Korea, because *fu* was enjoyed both by capital-area scholars and provincial scholars. I analyze the earliest extant *fu* work in its historical context. I also look at a significant grand epideictic *fu*, comparing its features of a grand epideictic *fu* with those of Chinese grand epideictic *fu*. Finally, I discuss the three “Kwanŏdae pu” written by Korean *fu* writers of late Koryŏ to early Chosŏn, comparing their adoption of the features represented in grand epideictic *fu* and analyzing how their different views of literature influenced them in writing their *fu* works in different styles.

Chapter One: The Reorganization of the Intellectual Class and its Influence on the Popularity of the *Wen xuan* in Early Chosŏn

1. *Wen xuan* in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries in Korea

The *Wen xuan* 文選 (Selections of refined literature), a Chinese anthology compiled in the mid-520s, was widely circulated among Korean intellectuals especially in the Unified Silla (668-935) and the Koryŏ (918-1392) dynasties, as is mentioned in the introduction. However, contemporary scholars have admitted that it was unexpected to find that the *Wen xuan* was influential even in the early Chosŏn (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). They thought that the popularity of the *Wen xuan* had been marginalized in Korea due to the adoption of the Classical Prose Movement 古文運動 and the importation of the *Guwen zhenbao* 古文眞寶 (Genuine treasures of ancient prose) in Koryŏ.¹⁴ At the beginning of Chosŏn, however, the *Wen xuan* was still regarded as highly as before. This chapter examines the formation of a new elite class in the beginning of Chosŏn, and its influence on the popularity of the *Wen xuan* at that period.

The first significant governmental involvement with the *Wen xuan* occurred in 1438, when the Liujia edition 六家本文選 was reprinted after the production of a new font, or the Kyŏngja 庚子 font that was created in the thirty-seventh year of the Sexagenary Cycle (1428). Today, we can find this edition in the Kyujanggak 奎章閣,¹⁵ and in the library of Seoul National University. Another edition of the *Wen xuan* with the Wuchen commentary 五臣注文

¹⁴ It is natural to think like that, because it had been a thousand years since the *Wen xuan* was first compiled, and after its compilation many other Chinese literary collections were imported and circulated. See Hwang Wi-ju 황위주, “Chosŏn chŏn’gi ūi hansŭi sŏnjip” 朝鮮 前期의 漢詩選集, *Chŏngsin munhwa yŏn’gu* 20 (1997.9): 38.

¹⁵ The Korean royal library established in 1776.

選 was printed in 1509. This edition can be found in the libraries of Sönggyun'gwan 成均館 University, Keimyung 啓明 University, and Tokyo University. The next event concerning the *Wen xuan* was the compilation of the *Tongmunsöŋ*, 東文選, (Korean selections of refined literature) the most significant classical Korean anthology. As the title “Eastern *Wen xuan*” indicates, the purpose of its compilation was to create a Korean equivalent of the *Wen xuan*. Sö Kō-jöng 徐居正 (1422 – 88), the main compiler of the *Tongmunsöŋ*, clearly points out this purpose in this suggestion to the king:

I and some other vassals, with the intention of imitating the ancient *Wen xuan*, have classified and selected poetry and prose from Silla to our dynasty.

臣等欲倣古文選，自新羅至我朝，類選詩文。¹⁶

The *Tongmunsöŋ* was compiled in 1478. The reprint of the *Wen xuan* and the compilation of the *Tongmunsöŋ* show that at least by the end of the fifteenth century, the *Wen xuan* was still influential in Korea. The *Wen xuan* was a difficult text composed of selected works of Chinese literature. Because literacy in Chinese was very limited among Korean commoners, it is not hard to imagine that the *Wen xuan*'s popularity during this period was related to intellectuals' interests. In this chapter I explore the circumstances that motivated Korean intellectuals to take a strong interest in the *Wen xuan*, especially concentrating on the formation of a new intellectual class in early Chosön. For that purpose, I shall focus on Sö Kō-jöng and Kim Chong-jik 金宗直 (1431-92) as examples who represent two different groups of intellectuals of the time. In the fifteenth century, although “the Hun'gu 勳舊 faction scholars and the Sarim 士林 faction

¹⁶ *Chosön wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄, “Söngjong sillok” 成宗實錄, the record of the seventh day, the fifth month, 1475.

scholars had different ways of viewing literature, they did understand the relationship between literature and cultivating the Confucian way as being indivisible.”¹⁷ Such a view led to the formulation of criteria governing the selection of writings appropriate for governing the state and edifying people with Confucian learning: “[those] helpful in ruling and educating” in Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng’s *Tongmunsŏn*, and “[those] necessary to be used in the world... [and that] manifest the right principles” in Kim Jong-jik’s *Tongmunsu* 東文粹.

2. Classical literature of ancient China: a model for rebuilding Korean Neo-Confucian Society

In understanding the influence of the *Wen xuan* during the early Chosŏn period from the fifteenth century to the sixteenth century, it is notable that many Korean and Chinese literary anthologies were printed and reprinted around this time. The charts¹⁸ provided by Hwang Wi-ju display such a trend.

Title	Dynasty/Compiler	(Re) Printed period=Reign period/Year
<i>Guwenzhenbao</i> 古文眞寶	Song/Huang Jian 黃堅	Sejong 世宗 2/1420
<i>Wen xuan</i> 文選 (Liujiia zhu 六家注)	Liang/Xiao Tong 蕭統	Sejong 10/1428
<i>Tonginjinmun</i> 東人之文	Koryŏ/Ch’oe Hae 崔濯	Sejong 13/1431

¹⁷ Michael J. Pettid et. al ed., *Premodern Korean Literary Prose: An Anthology*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), 4.

¹⁸ The chart has been modified from Hwang Wi-ju’s two charts. See Hwang Wi-ju, “Chosŏn chŏn’gi ūi hansi sŏnjip,” *Chŏngsin munhwa yŏn’gu* 20 (1997: 9): 3-4.

<i>Xuanshi yanyi</i> 選詩演義	Song/Ceng Yuanyi 曾原一	Sejong 16/1434
<i>Santi shi</i> 三體詩	Song/Zhou Bi 周弼	Sejong 18/1436
<i>Tonggukmun'gam</i> 東國文鑑	Koryŏ/Kim T'ae-hyŏn 金台鉉	Sejong 22/1442
<i>Sipch'osi</i> 十抄詩	Koryŏ/?	Munjong 文宗 2/1452
<i>Guwen zhenbao</i> 古文真寶	Song/Huang Jian	Munjong 2/1452
<i>Yuzhu Dulü</i> 虞註杜律	Yuan/Yu Ji 于濟	Sŏngjong 2/1471
<i>Yingui lüsui</i> 瀛奎律髓	Yuan/Fang Hui 方回	Sŏngjong 成宗 6/1475
<i>Samhansigwigam</i> 三韓詩龜 鑑	Koryŏ/Cho Un-hül 趙云伋	Sŏngjong 13/1483
<i>Lianzhu shige</i> 聯珠詩格	Yuan/Yu Ji	Sŏngjong 14/1484
<i>Wenhan leixuan</i> 文翰類選	Ming/Li Boyu 李伯瓚	Sŏngjong 11-17/1481-87
<i>Tangshi guchui</i> 唐詩鼓吹	Jin/Yuan Haowen 元好文	Sŏngjong (r. 1469-95)
<i>Shixue dacheng</i> 詩學大成	Yuan/Mao Zhifang 毛直方	Yŏnsangun 燕山君 2/1496
<i>Guchui xupian</i> 鼓吹續篇	?	Yŏnsangun 11/1505
<i>Tang yin</i> 唐音	Yuan/Yang Shihong 楊士弘	Yŏnsangun 11/1505
<i>Shilin kuangji</i> 詩林廣記	Song/Cai Zhengsun 蔡正孫	Yŏnsangun 11/1505

<i>Wen xuan</i> 文選 (<i>Wuchen zhu</i> 五臣注)	Liang/Xiao Tong 蕭統	Chungjong 中宗 3/1509
<i>Wenyuan yinghua</i> 文苑英華	Song/Li Fang 李昉	Chungjong 31/1536
<i>Guwen yuan</i> 古文苑	Tang/ ?	Chungjong (r. 1506-44)
<i>Xuan shi</i> 選詩	Yuan, Ming/Liu Lü 劉履	Early Chosŏn
<i>Sushi zhailü</i> 蘇詩摘律	?/Liu Hong 劉弘	Early Chosŏn

As is shown in Hwang's charts, more than twenty Korean and Chinese anthologies were reprinted by royal command during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The compilation of the *Tongmunŏn* and the reprinting of the *Wen xuan* can be considered part of this trend. What was the purpose of importing and reprinting these Chinese anthologies?

Various scholars have focused the role of neo-Confucianism played in the founding the Chosŏn dynasty. William Theodore de Bary, for example, says, "The case of the Yi dynasty would seem to be a singular instance in which neo-Confucians played a large role in the creation of a new regime and in the formulating of its institutions."¹⁹

Other scholars have also concentrated on Confucian discourse during the period of the Koryŏ-Chosŏn change of dynasties. According to John Duncan, "Ch'eng-Chu Learning rose to dominance as the class ideology of a 'new scholar-official' group of medium and small landlords

¹⁹ William Theodore de Bary and JaHyun Kim Haboush, *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea*, (New York : Columbia University Press, 1985,) 34–37.

who seized power with the founding of the Choson dynasty.”²⁰

Another major interpretation of the Koryŏ-Chosŏn transit argues that “the Chosŏn was founded as a direct consequence of the late thirteenth-century importation of neo-Confucianism.”²¹ According to this view, the official class of the fourteenth century became versed in the neo-Confucianism, which made them identify the corruption of Buddhism as being responsible for society’s ills. Through to the end of the Koryŏ dynasty, Buddhism had been completely influential on the entire Koryŏ society. The Confucian-inspired officials began to view Buddhism as an obstacle to reforms. Scholars such as Kim Ch’ung-nyol²² and Martina Deuchler represent this opinion.

Martina Deuchler’s stress on the pragmatic aspects of the Confucian movement can point to the purpose of importing and reprinting these Chinese anthologies:

The neo-Confucians saw the demise of Koryŏ society as a lesson in history. They found an analogy between their own time and the Song neo-Confucians when they had had to deal with the heritage left to them by the Tang, a Buddhist age that they felt had ended in disaster. Following the lead of Zhu Xi, the early Korean neo-Confucians discovered in the classical literature of ancient China and ideal societal order that could serve as a model for rebuilding their own society. Through his interpretations and commentaries, Zhu Xi reopened an approach to the complex world of China’s antiquity and revealed a social organization that had ensured stability and longevity to the dynasties of ancient China. The Koreans saw their primary task as recreating in the contemporary situation those well-rested social institutions of the past.²³

²⁰ John Duncan, however, asserts that the “new scholar-official” group was not the main force that guided the new dynasty’s founding, and that neo-Confucianism was not the only major class ideology of the “new scholar-official,” even if such a group was partly influential in the founding of the new dynasty. See John B. Duncan, *The Origins of the Chosŏn Dynasty*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000), 237.

²¹ John B. Duncan, *The Origins of the Chosŏn Dynasty*, 238.

²² Kim Ch’ung-nyol 김충렬, *Koryo yuhaksa* 高麗儒學史, (Seoul: Korea University Press, 1985), 409.

²³ Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1992), 107.

According to Deuchler, the Chosŏn neo-Confucians pursued an ideal societal order in the classical literature of ancient China that was reinterpreted by Song neo-Confucians such as Zhu Xi. The Chosŏn neo-Confucians found a similarity between the Tang-Song transition in China and the Koryŏ-Chosŏn transition in Korea. Adapting Zhu Xi's interpretations and commentaries to ancient Chinese classical writings, the Chosŏn neo-Confucians intended to bring an ideal societal order to a new dynasty, hoping that Chosŏn would last longer with stability. In short, "Deuchler stresses the pragmatic aspects of the Confucian movement, arguing that a small vanguard of scholar-officials of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw in neo-Confucianism a vehicle through which they could gain access to the Chinese past for a model of social and political reform to correct the ills of Koryŏ society."²⁴ Importing and reprinting these Chinese anthologies and publishing Korean anthologies by royal command should be understood in this context.

2. The Importance and Purpose of the Publication of the *Wen xuan* Editions in Korea

Let us examine the importance and purpose of the publication of the Korean *Wen xuan* editions. The *Wen xuan* had been used as the most important source for preparing for the civil service examination especially in mid-Koryŏ. Beginning in late Koryŏ, its influence became attenuated because the Koryŏ literati came to dedicate themselves to the Classical Prose Movement influenced by Northern Song scholars such as Ouyang Xiu 歐陽脩 (1007-72) and Su shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101). However the Chosŏn court still preferred candidates with skills in writing in a parallel prose style 駢體文, because it was inevitable for the Chosŏn court to have scholar-officials who could write diplomatic documents in a parallel prose style to communicate

²⁴ John B. Duncan, *The Origins of the Chosŏn Dynasty*, 238.

with Ming China. Consequently, early Chosŏn literati such as Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng realized that they still wanted to practice writing in the parallel prose style of literary collections such as the *Wen xuan*, which finally led to the formation of an intellectual group, or the Hun'gu faction scholars, most of whom settled in the capital area. If they wanted to pass the civil service examination, literati based in provincial areas had to have studied the *Wen xuan*, although it was necessary for them to differentiate themselves from the existing literati group. They chose to strengthen the moral power, or the rites and rituals of neo-Confucianism. The publication of the Korean *Wen xuan* editions should be understood in this context.

As mentioned earlier, two editions of the *Wen xuan* were reprinted in early Chosŏn. The first edition was based on the Kyŏngja 庚子 font that was created in the thirty-seventh year of the Sexagenary Cycle (1428). Seoul National University preserves two copies of this edition in its main library and in the Kyujanggak, respectively.

The edition preserved in the Kyujanggak is composed of sixty chapters 卷 in sixty fascicles 冊. The first fascicle is the table of contents. Chapters 51 and 52 are combined into the fifty-second fascicle. Chapters 20, 36, 38, 51 with 52 and 53 are manuscripts. As a whole, it is very neatly made. The arrangement of characters is clean, and the style of characters is also beautiful. Characters in the manuscript section are more clearly and neatly written than the printed parts. Chŏngmunsa 正文社 reprinted the whole collection in 1983.

Because of the uncertain origin of the manuscripts included in the Kyujanggak edition, another edition in the main library of Seoul National University is useful as supplementary material. It is generally based on the same version of the Kyujanggak edition, but is made up of thirty chapters and thirty fascicles. The first fascicle is composed of a catalogue and Chapter 1.

Some parts of Chapter 1 and all of Chapters 47 and 48 were later replaced by manuscripts. The style of handwriting of those manuscripts is the same, but in Chapters 47 and 48, Li Shan's commentary appears before the Wuchen commentaries.

There is a colophon 跋 attached to the Kyujanggak edition.

At the prefectural school in Xiuzhou, using the *Wen xuan* edition printed from the Guozi jian 國子監, we readjusted passage by passage, and incorporated Li Shan's commentary into the Wuchen commentaries. As for those writings from the Confucian Classics to the Five Schools of thought that are cited, we all traced their origins, and revised them after comparison. Generally, the revised parts that were wrong, omitted and mis-attached total more than 20,000. As for the two groups of commentaries, regardless of the amount of detail they contain, when the meaning of the passage was slightly different, we recorded them without exception. Among them, when the meaning of a passage overlapped with another and was the same, we removed it, thus leaving one commentary from one group. The total is sixty chapters. The second month of the ninth year of the Yuanyou reign period (1094).

秀州州學，今將監本文選。遂段詮次，編入李善并五臣注。其引用經史及五家之書，並檢元本出處，對勘寫入。凡改正舛錯脫剩，約二萬餘處。二家注無詳略，文意稍不同者，皆備錄無遺，其間文意重疊相同者，輒省去留一家。總計六十卷。元祐九年二月日。²⁵

According to this colophon, in the Liujia edition 六家本 of the *Wen xuan*, the Wuchen commentaries are placed before Li Shan's commentary, which is the opposite of the Liuchen edition 六臣本, where Li Shan's commentary appears first. This colophon is important, for it explains the time and the procedure for producing the Liujia edition from Xiuzhou prefectural school 秀州州學 (modern Jiaying 嘉興, Zhejiang). It explains that the Xiuzhou zhouxue edition was completed after the revision of the Wuchen commentary, and Li Shan's commentary in 1094. We can also see that about 20,000 characters were revised, and in the process of

²⁵ I refer to Kim Hak-chu's Korean translation.

revision, a single commentary was formed when the Wuchen and Li Shan's commentaries were integrated. As Fu Gang has suggested, we can also conclude that the two Liujia editions of the Shu Guangdu 蜀廣都 edition, the three Liuchen editions of the Mingzhou 明州 edition, the Ganzhou 贛州 edition, and the Jianzhou 建州 edition, all were based on the Xiuzhou edition.²⁶

If the Kyujanggak edition is also based on the Xiuzhou zhouxue edition, then what is the basis of the Wuchen commentaries in the Xiuzhou zhouxue edition? The postface of the Wuchen ben 五臣本後序 that is attached to the Kyujanggak edition explains the basis for the Wuchen commentaries.

The *Wen xuan* has circulated for a long time. As for the form and content of changing literary forms, and the skill and ineptness of writers' workmanship, they are explained in detail in the preface of Prince Zhaoming of the Liang dynasty. The context of the writings and the cited allusions are explained in full in the Wuchen commentary. [Those] can be our models, and must serve as criticism of 'current style.' Isn't the benefit of this wide ranging! Although there is one who pulls out a minor error and takes pride in oneself, this is like a person who forgets about favor but requites it with resentment. A good gentleman doesn't dare do so. In Sichuan and Zhejiang there are editions that were previously reprinted. However, the typeset characters typeset are big, and the volumes are heavy. The editing was crude, and includes numerous errors and omissions. As errors and omissions increase, it becomes difficult to distinguish similar graphs from each other. This misleads subsequent generations who try to memorize the text. If volumes are heavy, they are difficult to place in a bookcase, or to carry along to study. Is this the full ideal for practical use? Now Mr. Meng of Pingchang²⁷ is an aficionado of such matters.. He found accurate and appropriate editions, and had erudite scholars thoroughly investigate them and correct them more strictly. Characters are carved deeply and printed darkly in regular script. The set of books is small and light and can be carried great distances. The benefits have increased greatly...

文選之行，其來舊矣。若夫變文之華實，匠意之工拙，梁昭明序之詳矣。製作之端

²⁶ See Fu Gang 傅剛, "Lun Hanguo Kuizhangge ben Wen xuan de wenxian jiazhi"

論韓國奎章閣本文選的文獻價值, *Wen xuan banben yanjiu* 文選版本研究, (Beijing: Beijing University, 2000), 295-311

²⁷ Today it is Deping 德平 county in Shandong 山東 province.

倪，引用之典故，唐五臣注之審矣，可以垂吾徒之憲，則須時文之掎摭，是為益也不其博歟！誰有拉拾微缺，銜為己能者，所謂忘我大德而修我小怨，君子之所不取焉。二川兩浙，先有印本，模字大而部帙重，較本粗而舛脫夥。舛脫夥則轉迷亥，誤後生之記誦，部帙重則難真巾籍，勞游學之負，斯為用也得盡善乎？今平昌孟氏，好事者也。訪精當之本，命博洽之士，極加考覆，彌用刊正，小字楷書，沈鏤濃印，俾其帙輕可以致遠，字明可以經久，其為利也良可多矣...²⁸

The postface was written by Shen Yan 沈巖 (?-?) in the fourth year of the reign of Tiansheng (1026). According to Shen, there were two earlier Wuchen editions from Erchuan 二川 and Liangzhe 兩浙. Those two editions, however, were not only too heavy to carry, but also replete with errors. Therefore, under the guidance of Mr. Meng of Pingchang, based on some editions that he obtained, scholars revised the *Wen xuan* editions that he had printed. This edition is called the Pingchang Meng shi edition. Thus, the Wuchen commentary contained in the Kyujanggak edition originated from the Pingchang Meng shi edition, and as Fu Gang maintains, we believe that the Pingchang Meng shi edition is more accurate and credible than the earlier editions from Erchuan and Liangzhe. This fact increases the importance of the Kyujanggak edition.²⁹

Many libraries preserve the *Wen xuan* Wuchen edition that was based on the wood-block printing of 1509. These include the libraries of the Sungkyunkwan university, Keimyung University, and Tokyo University.³⁰ In the Sungkyunkwan university library, twenty of thirty

²⁸ I refer to Kim Hak-chu's Korean translation.

²⁹ See Fu Gang 傅剛, "Lun Hanguo Kuizhangge ben Wen xuan de wenxian jiazhi," *Wen xuan banben yanjiu*, 295-311.

³⁰ Kim Hak-chu, "Chosŏn kan Osinju Munsŏn-e taehayŏ" 朝鮮刊五臣注文選에 대하여, *Chosŏn sidae kanhaeng Chungguk munhak kwangye sŏ yŏn'gu* 朝鮮時代刊行中國文學關係書研究, (Seoul: Seoul National University, 2000), 79.

chapters are preserved in thirty fascicles. The missing chapters are Chapters 11 to 17 and Chapter 25 to 27. In the Keimyung University library, twenty-eight chapters in fourteen fascicles are preserved out of thirty chapters in fifteen fascicles. Missing are Chapters 21 and 22 in one fascicle. The Tokyo University Library retains entire chapters of this edition. Kim Hak-chu maintains that these collections are all based on the woodblock issued in 1509. He mentions that after examination of the preserved books, he found different styles of the woodblocks even in the same collection.

The colophon 跋 in the collections of Sungkyunkwan university and Keimyung University explains more about this edition.

After the *Shu jing*, the only work that circulated widely was Xiao Tong's *Wen xuan*. Du Fu said: "One should be thoroughly versed in the principles of the *Wen xuan*." Could this not be because those writings are close to classical expressions and the meanings are so profound that after you make yourself familiar with them then you can be well-versed in the principles of their writings? In our state, there was no edition in the past, and scholars rarely obtained it and saw it, and thus how could they read it and be knowledgeable about it? Formerly during King Sǒngjong's reign (1470 – 94), [King Sǒngjong] commanded that a cast be made to print it, but now the books in people's hands are few. In the spring of the sixth year of the Sexagenary Cycle of the Zhengde reign (1509), Minister Kang from Chinju came to our southern region as a provincial official. I went to his place to see him, and he offered me a seat. Immediately after the greetings, without any hesitation, I said: "This region of Yǒngnam³¹ in our country is like Lu 魯 or Zou 鄒 [of China]. When the state is in search of scholars, it often looks in the southern regions, but scholars' learning as shown through their writings is not adequate. They have not acquired the principles of ancient writings. Your Excellency is a southerner. When Your Excellency is free from governmental affairs, could you publish this book?" The minister said: "I will do as you say." When he proceeded to depart, I met him outside the gate. He said: "I won't dare to forget." In the fall of that year, when I received people to work on it, I was summoned to come and heard that the minister had already searched and obtained a good edition. I gave this to

³¹ Yǒngnam has been referred to as Kyǒngsang province of the eight provinces in Chosǒn. This province today is divided into two provinces of south and north. It is a mountainous region, where many scholars could hide as hermits when they were excluded from the court by opposing factions. Descendants of those scholars have maintained a conservative value system through to recent times. In Yǒngnam Confucian ideas remain strong.

several counties. Based on how much ability and effort they could expend, I estimated how much work they could do. Their efforts were fully expended and the work was completed. Hereafter in Yōngnam every household has come to own this edition. It will not take ten years before scholars of our state, who begin to read this book, will change their old customs [of reading] little by little. They will be able to know how to write in ancient style, and they steadily will advance onto ancient people's profound paths. As for this appropriety of performing a human role in the holy dynasty, how can it be small? The merits of the minister are great in this matter.

典謨訓詁之後，古書之行世者，獨蕭統文選爾。杜老云：熟精文選理。豈非以為書近古辭，旨深奧，必然而後可精其理邪？我國舊無板本，學者罕得而見之，況讀而熟之乎？曩在成廟朝，嘗命鑄本印之，而今其書存于人者，亦寡矣。正德己巳春，晉州姜相公出為方伯，來莅南土，僕謁相公于第，公賜之坐，叙寒暄外未暇出一言，謂公曰：嶺外一區，吾東方魯鄒也。國家之求士，唯南道是頻，而士之學文章者非是。無以得古人為文之法。公，南人也。旬宣之暇，盍先刊行是書乎？公曰：諾哉。既登途，僕又拜公于門外，公曰：不敢忘。時歲秋，僕受徒民從事之，命以來則聞公已求得善本。分付列郡，視力之大小輕重而程其功課，力就畢而功告成矣。由是嶺之南，家有是本。人讀是書不十年，徧于東國學者，稍稍變舊習，皆知作為古文，而日趨入於古人之蹊逕突奧，其於聖朝作人之義，豈小補哉？公之功，於是為大矣。³²

This was written by Hwang P'il 黃瑋 (1464-1526). The colophon states that another edition was printed between 1470 and 1494, which was earlier than this edition.³³ From this passage, we can also understand that this edition was based on the woodblock printing that was prepared with the cooperation of many departments in different villages in 1509. This explains why the styles of chapters in the same collection are different from each other. The woodblocks were made in different places, and they must not have followed a common standard. Unfortunately, the base text is unknown. The postface simply says that the base text was a "good

³² Based on the collection in Japan, Kuroda transcribed this postscript. The last page containing the ending part of this postscript is lost from that collection, which was supplemented by Kim Hak-chu. Kim also corrects some errors in Kuroda's transcription. Kim Hak-chu, "Chosŏn kan Osinju Munsŏn-e taehayŏ," 82-83.

³³ Kim Hak-chu suspects that this edition is the one mentioned in Kuroda Ryo's book, which is presumably preserved by a Japanese person. Kim Hak-chu, "Chosŏn kan Osinju Munsŏn-e taehayŏ," 84.

edition,” which is rather vague. However, Kim Hak-chu has suggested that the base text used for this edition was the same as the Wuchen commentary that became the basis for the Liujia edition that is preserved in the Kyujanggak and at Seoul National University.³⁴

More important, according to the passage, is that the *Wen xuan* contains literary pieces that use classical expressions with profound meaning, allowing one to be skillful in writing designated literary genres by imitating the style of literary pieces in the *Wen xuan*. Still, it was a difficult text for Korean scholars living in the southern part of Korea in the sixteenth century, mainly because it was not easy for them to obtain the *Wen xuan* text. The southern region is far from the capital. Yŏngnam (Kyŏngsang province), in the southeastern area, is mountainous, making it difficult to reach the capital. As a result, upper-class people in the capital area usually did not own the farms and lands in this area. Naturally, literati in this area became independent from the capital area. Kim Chong-jik and his fellow students are good examples of this tradition. They suffered the inconvenience of being cut off from the capital physically and culturally. For many generations they had difficulty obtaining educational texts, including anthologies such as the *Wen xuan*.

Why did Koreans value the Wuchen commentary more than the Li Shan commentary? Kim Hak-chu suggests two reasons. First, it was because of Tang Xuanzong’s 玄宗 (r. 712-756) praise for the Wuchen commentary. Second, Korean scholars of the period wanted to read a variety of commentaries to get to the exact meaning of the original passage.³⁵ It is possible that

³⁴ He reaches this temporary conclusion after comparing two chapters from the Sŏnggyun’gwan University collection, and the Keimyung University collection with the Kyujanggak collection. He noticed that commentaries among them are “almost” the same. Kim Hak-chu, “Chosŏn kan Osinju Munsŏn-e taehayŏ,” 84.

³⁵ Kim Hak-chu, “Chosŏn kan Munsŏn-ŭi t’ŭkching” 朝鮮刊 文選의 特徴, *Chosŏn sidae kanhaeng Chungguk*

they simply thought “the more the better,” especially given that they could not obtain many original books from China. The following passage, however, suggests that the reason was not that simple:

The *Wen xuan* book in our country is much prized. It should be widely circulated. By the way, in terms of detail and thoroughness of its commentary, nothing surpasses Li Shan. We must have it printed as soon as possible.

文選之書我國甚貴，亦不可不廣布，而其注之詳密者，莫過於李善注。速寫印出甚可。³⁶

This passage is from a letter written and sent to King Myōngjong in 1553 by Yun Ch’un-nyōn 尹春年 (1514-67). He wielded power after Yun Wōn-hyōng 尹元衡 (1503-65), his close relative and the queen’s younger brother, gained control over the court in 1546. In the earlier context of this letter, Yun Ch’un-nyōn asserted that the *Wen xuan* should be adopted as a main text for the civil service examination. In this passage, he continued to maintain that the *Wen xuan* with Li Shan’s commentary should be printed and circulated. The “Myōngjong sillok” reinforced the government’s decision to take the suggestions from this letter into consideration. Yun’s proposal for reforming the civil service examination was not adopted; however, his second proposal, to print the *Wen xuan* with Li Shan’s commentary, was followed by the three prime ministers. The record of “Myōngjong sillok” related to this letter of submission ends with the command that the *Wen xuan*, along with Li Shan’s commentary, should be printed in Chōlla³⁷ province. We lack additional clues about this edition, which must have been printed after 1553.

munhak kwangye sō yōn’gu 朝鮮時代刊行中國文學關係書研究, (Seoul: Seoul National University, 2000), 109.

³⁶ *Chosōn wangjo sillok*, “Myōngjong sillok” 明宗實錄, the record of the ninth day, the sixth month, 1553.

³⁷ One of the eight provinces in Korea of the time. It is located in the southwestern part. Today it is divided into the South Chōlla province and the North Chōlla province.

The following passage also mentions Li Shan's commentary.

...Kwŏn Homun 權好文 (1532-87) said: "Your humble servant, not knowing whether the quality is good or bad, dare not recklessly give his opinion on the matter. Early on, I read the *Wen xuan*, Besides the Wuchen commentary, there was also a separate copy of a commentary. Your Highness wanted to publish it to be read, so I did not dare to keep it at my home. I already presented it to Your Highness." His Highness said, "Now we are engaged in publishing other books and we do not have time to deal with it. You may take it home and read it."

...好閔曰: "臣未知其優劣, 不敢妄論。 臣曾讀文選, 五臣註外, 亦有別本一註。 上欲印看, 故不敢留于家, 曾進獻矣。" 上曰: "方印他書, 力不暇及。 卿其將去讀之。" ...³⁸

According to this passage, earlier the king wanted to publish the *Wen xuan* with Li Shan's commentary. This project was postponed because he was more interested in publishing other books. But from these two historical records, we at least can see that among some scholars of the mid-sixteenth century through early seventeenth century in Korea, Li Shan's commentary was valued more than other commentaries. This devotion to Li Shan's commentary in Korea may explain the influence of a Chinese trend of valuing Li Shan's commentary for many years after the woodblock printing had been issued. It may also reflect Korean scholars' own opinions after pondering the difference between the Li Shan and the Wuchen commentaries of the *Wen xuan*, which could not be easily done until the Korean editions of the *Wen xuan* became commonly circulated. However, Yun Ch'un-nyŏn's suggestion was proposed when the *Wen xuan* became less important in Korea. Furthermore, Yun Ch'un-nyŏn lost power when Yun Wŏn-hyŏng was removed from the court in 1560, which was only seven years after the *Wen xuan* with Li Shan's commentary was reprinted in Korea. That is, the *Wen xuan* with Li Shan's commentary had no

³⁸ *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, "Sŏnjo sillok" 宣祖實錄, the record of the fourteenth day, the third month, 1603.

chance of winning wide acceptance in Korea. Not surprisingly, what has been preserved in Korea until today are mostly editions that favor the Wuchen commentary.

Finally, we need to discuss the popularity of the Wuchen commentary of *Wen xuan* editions in provincial areas such as Yŏngnam, which has been regarded as the base for the Sarim faction scholars. I believe that the *Wen xuan* with the Wuchen commentary was more popular in Korea especially in Yŏngnam because of the format of the civil service examinations. The Chosŏn court selected new officials through civil service examinations. Although the examinations include some oral tests, they mainly asked candidates to write about their understanding of the Confucian Classics and compose *shi* poetry and *fu*. Compared to Li Shan's commentary, the Wuchen commentary includes more paraphrases of difficult lines.³⁹ This would have been more useful for foreigners such as Koreans to study and comprehend difficult literary genres such as *fu*. Since the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty, the literati of Yŏngnam aspired to serve in positions at the central court. It was thus natural for them to read the *Wen xuan* with the Wuchen commentary in order to prepare themselves for the civil service examinations.

3. The Compilation of the *Tongmunsŏn* and the Division of Chosŏn Intellectuals

The *Tongmunsŏn* 東文選 is a collection of poetry and prose created in Korea. It is comprised of 133 chapters, including the three chapters of the table of contents. The chapters contain 55 genres of 1,940 poems and 2,516 prose pieces. The "Preface to the *Tongmunsŏn*" describes how the *Tongmunsŏn* was published in 1478, the eighth year of the reign of King Sŏngjong 成宗 (r. 1469 - 94) of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910). The *Tongmunsŏn* was the result of the Korean literati's efforts to compile collections of writings by Koreans, and it is

³⁹ David R. Knechtges, *Wen Xuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature*, volume one, (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1982), 54.

important to understand the circumstances of its publication, when investigating how it was influenced by the *Wen xuan*.

Sō Kō-jōng belonged to the Hun'gu faction. Understanding more about his opinions on literature that represented the Hun'gu faction, requires delving into the *Toingin sihwa* 東人詩話 in which he comments on Korean poets' poems versus Chinese poems. In the *Toingin sihwa*, Sō Kō-jōng attaches importance to the polishing of expressions:

In their poems, ancient people polished styles, phrases, and words. They also went out looking for teachers and friends [who could help] to find flaws in the poems; then they removed the flaws.

古人詩，鍊格鍊句鍊字。又就師友，求其疵而去之。⁴⁰

It is generally believed that during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there were conflicts among the scholar officials based in the capital area and emerging scholar officials from rural areas. As mentioned earlier, the first group is known as the Hun'gu faction, which inherited political status from their ancestors; the second group, the Sarim faction, was a newly emerging class based in the rural agricultural areas. Scholar officials of the first group valued literary refinement; they are referred to as the “court poets” 館閣派詩人. In contrast, scholar officials of the second group favored following Confucian propriety and principles 義理 in their writing. Sō Kō-jōng belonged to the first group. For many generations his family held the position of supervisor of writings 文衡 (“scale of writings” is its literal meaning). Kwon Kūn, his grandfather on his mother's side, was a renowned scholar of his time, and he worked as supervisor of writings. The supervisor of writings after Kwon Kūn was Kwōn Che 權躔 (1387-

⁴⁰ Sō Kō-jōng, *Tongin sihwa* 東人詩話, 1.49.

1445), who was Kwon Kŭn's son and Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng's uncle. Then that position was taken over by Yi Kye-jŏn 李季甸 (1404-1459), a grandson of Kwon Kŭn and Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng's cousin. The next supervisor of writings, immediately after Yi Kye-jŏn, was Ch'oe Hang 崔恒 (1409-1474), Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng's brother-in-law, who married Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng's older sister. After Ch'oe Hang, Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng assumed the role of supervisor of writings for twenty-two years.⁴¹

In addition the passage from the "Preface to the *Tokkokchip*" 獨谷集序 reveals Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng's pride in his family tradition.

The evolution of writing and the evolution of fortune are part of an integral whole, and they rise and decline keeping pace with each other. Generally speaking, if the spirits of the Three Luminaries and the Five Sacred Mountains are intact, then many men with talent appear. If many such men of talent appear, then elegant sounds are made, and literary works, along with governance and moral education circulate [among people] without exception. When our [Chosŏn] dynasty was first established, the vitality of heaven and earth was abundant, and there occasionally appeared marvelously talented men. People widely known by their writings in the world at the time were all meritorious vassals and great ministers such as Chŏng To-jŏn 鄭道傳 (1337-1398), Ha Ryun 河崙 (1347-1416), Cho Chun 趙浚 (1346-1405), Sŏng Sŏng-nin 成石璘 (1338-1423), Yi Chik 李穰 (1362-1431), and Kwon Kŭn 權近 (1352-1409), grandfather on my mother's side.

文運之於時運，相爲表裏，而有昇降。蓋光岳全氣，而人才盛，而牙音作，文辭之與政化，乃流通無間矣。我國家之始興，天地運盛，異才間出。當時以文鳴世者，皆勳臣碩輔，如三峯鄭先生，浩亭河文忠公，松堂趙文忠公，獨谷成文景公，星山李文景公，及我外祖陽村文忠公。⁴²

What is notable in this passage, is Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng's emphasis on the status of the great writers. He seems to restrict the qualifications of great writers to those scholar officials with

⁴¹ Yi Chong-muk, "Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng ūi sam gwa munhak hwaltong," *Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng munhak ūi chonghapchŏk kŏmt'o* 徐居正 文學의 綜合的 檢討, (Kyunggi Sŏngnam: Han'guk chŏngsin munhwa yŏn'guwon, 1998), 30.

⁴² Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng, "*Tokkokchip* sŏ 獨谷集序," *Sagajip munjip* 四佳集 文集, 11.276.

great merit and high positions in the court who took the main role of governing and educating the people by writing literary pieces.

In the *Toingin sihwa*, Sō Kō-jōng identifies three poetic spirits:

Poetry reveals one's intent and intent is that to which the mind goes. Thus, if we read a poem closely and thoughtfully enough, we can understand the poet's intent. Usually, in poems of "the palace and court," the spirit and imagery are bold and rich; in poems about "grass and fields," the spirit and disposition are pure and simple; and in poems of "the Way of Meditation [Buddhism]," the spirit is flagging and vitality is lacking.

詩言志，志者，心之所之也。是以讀其詩，可以知其人。蓋臺閣之詩，氣象豪富。草野之詩，神氣清淡。禪道之詩，神枯氣乏。⁴³

The first phrase of the passage is from the "Greater Preface" to the *Classic of Songs*.

Citing this famous phrase, Sō Kō-jōng maintains that one can understand a person who writes a poem by learning of his intention as revealed by the context. In conclusion, Sō identifies three types of styles, each determined by the status of the poet. That is, a poet who holds a high position in the court writes poems with a bold spirit and rich in imagery. A recluse poet writes pristine and simple poems. And a poet who is a Zen Buddhist monk writes poems that are lifeless and deficient in vitality. In this scheme, it is obvious that Sō Kō-jōng ranks poets according to their status: court poets rank the highest; poets who are out of office are second; and the monk poets last.

In early Chosŏn, the literati's status should be understood in the context of the reorganization of intellectuals and the upper class (often called *yangban* 兩班), which derived from the fact that the upper class of Chosŏn was composed of civil retainers 文班 and military

⁴³ Sō Kō-jōng, "Kyejōngjip sō 桂庭集序," *Sagajip munjip* 四佳集 文集, 11.279.

retainers 武班) during and after the Koryŏ-Chosŏn transition. Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng and his rival literatus, Kim Chong-jik, are the best examples to illustrate this change of status among the literati of that period. One obvious difference is their place of origin, that is distinguished by their residence; whether they lived in the capital or not. More significantly, I argue that their different attitudes toward Buddhism and neo-Confucianism determined the strategies they used to secure high positions in the social order, especially for the literati belonging to the second group.

Following is a review of existing theories about the formation of the *yangban* class. Among Korean scholars, the dominant theory for explaining the Koryŏ-Chosŏn change is the rise of a new class of scholar-officials. Scholars have described them as rural petty officials (*hyangni* 鄉吏), who were believed to own small land parcels of land as local rulers. Their ideology was neo-Confucianism and they tended to advocate a pro-Ming policy. In contrast, according to the same theory, the overthrown old ruling class is regarded as capital-based aristocrats. They were portrayed as Buddhists who owned large areas of land and who followed a pro-Yuan policy.⁴⁴

However, if we compare the most powerful descent groups of the late Koryŏ and the fifteenth century Chosŏn, no great change is evident. In other words, the majority of the most powerful descent groups of late Koryŏ still flourished in the early Chosŏn. According to John Duncan's research, the number of the most powerful descent groups of the early Chosŏn was forty-three, of which seventeen were from late Koryŏ. Given that that Duncan traced twenty-two descent groups of late Koryŏ, only five descent groups of late Koryŏ disappeared from the list of the most powerful descent groups in early Chosŏn. In examining the other twenty-six groups of

⁴⁴ See Donald Clark, "Autonomy, Legitimacy, and Tributary Politics: Sino-Korean Relations in the Fall of the Koryo and the Founding of the Yi," Ph.D. Dissertation, (Harvard University, 1978), 35–89.

the Chosŏn's powerful descent groups, eleven of these were of lesser status but still members of the late Koryŏ bureaucracy. Fifteen descent groups were new members. It is possible that some members of new descent groups began to rise in the central bureaucracy in the Koryŏ-Chosŏn transition.

Based on his research, John Duncan suggests that these new groups are represented by Hŏ Cho 許稠 (1369-1439) of the Hayang 河陽 (current Hayang village in Kyŏngsan 慶山 city, North Kyŏngsang province) Hŏ 許 clan, Maeng Sa-sŏng 孟思誠 (1360-1438) of the Sinch'ang 新昌 (current city of Chŏnan 天安, North Ch'uch'ŏng province) Maeng 孟 clan, Pyŏn Kye-ryang 卞季良 (1369-1430) of the Miryang 密陽 (current city of Miryang, South Kyŏngsang province) Pyŏn 卞 clan, Ha Ryon 河崙 (1348-1416) of the Chinju 晉州 (current city of Chinju, South Kyŏngsang province) Ha 河 clan, and Hwang Hŭi 黃喜 (1363-1452) of the Changsu 長水 (current Changsu County, North Chŏlla province) Hwang 黃 clan. After studying the backgrounds of these five men, Duncan shows that most of them were closely related to the old powerful descent groups of late Koryŏ. He concludes that “it was probably difficult to rise to any position of prestige and authority without ties to established *yangban* descent groups.”⁴⁵

In Koryŏ, Buddhism was the most influential religion. But in Chosŏn, neo-Confucian learning was the gate for “asserting elite status” both for capital-based literati and literati in provincial areas. In order to enter officialdom, Chosŏn scholar officials had to pass the civil service examinations. To pass these examinations, they had to be educated, well-versed in the

⁴⁵ John B. Duncan, *The Origins of the Chosŏn Dynasty*, 140.

Confucian Classics, and proficient in composing *shi* poetry and *fu*. In these circumstances, neo-Confucian learning was the gate for “asserting elite status.”⁴⁶ I believe that the latter not only chose neo-Confucian learning to pass the civil service examinations, but also chose neo-Confucian rites and rituals as a means to secure their social status. In contrast, the former were more amenable to Buddhism and Buddhist rites, because the literati belonging to this group had already established *yangban* clans.

The Koryŏ men of the upper class built Buddhist temples and monasteries everywhere. Regardless of social status, everyday life was heavily influenced by Buddhism especially in ritual and customs: state festivals were often celebrated according to Buddhist protocol, and Buddhist monks presided over funerals from kings to commoners.⁴⁷

In short, with the founding of Chosŏn, Buddhism rapidly gave way to Confucianism in the public sphere and gradually in the private sphere. That is, the state ideology was immediately replaced with Confucianism, while most people were still allowed to observe Buddhist rites and rituals until Buddhism was almost fully supplanted by neo-Confucianism in the sixteenth century. Adherence to Confucianism provided an opportunity through which Chosŏn intellectuals secured high positions in the social structure.

According to Martina Deuchler,⁴⁸ at the beginning of Chosŏn, it was generally thought that a person’s human properties could be guided and changed. Korean philosophers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries believed that “the creation of an appropriate environment in which human nature would be realized to its fullest. Such an environment could be achieved ...

⁴⁶ Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology*, 26.

⁴⁷ Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology*, 34.

⁴⁸ Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology*, 25.

only through Confucian legislation.” They also believed that rites and rituals would function play a key role in this transformative process. That is to say, the neo-Confucians of the early Chosŏn regarded rites as the most important “devices for ordering society.” In this regard, they, of course, significantly relied on the ritual literature of ancient China compiled by Song neo-Confucians as has been mentioned earlier in this chapter. As Martina Deuchler stresses, the Korean neo-Confucians especially valued the canonical literature such as the *Record of Rites* 禮記 and the *Rites of Zhou* 周禮, because they believed that “the re-creation of the institutions of Chinese antiquity” was the best way of making Korea a Confucian society.⁴⁹

When neo-Confucianism was first introduced in Koryŏ, it more or less peacefully coexisted with Buddhism. With the founding of the Chosŏn dynasty, however, the attitudes of kings and Confucian scholar-officials toward Buddhism showed differences. Scholars such as Chŏng To-jŏn, Ha Ryun, Kwŏn Kŭn, and students of the Royal Confucian Academy severely criticized Buddhism. It was obvious that their criticisms of Buddhist teaching were intended to meet the Confucians’ demand for establishing a Confucian social order, allowing Confucian scholar-officials to secure high social positions.

Kings of early Chosŏn hesitated to accept their vassals’ severe criticisms of Buddhism. King Sejong’s policy was representative. He agreed with the Confucian scholars’ arguments, but at the same time reminded them that “Buddhism had been part of the people’s spiritual life for a long time, and it would be impossible to suppress it abruptly.”⁵⁰ Similarly, neo-Confucian scholars did not adhere to all neo-Confucian practices. As Martina Deuchler points out, the

⁴⁹ Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology*, 25-26.

⁵⁰ Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology*, 106.

majority of *yangban* people did not turn to neo-Confucianism especially for everyday rites, and Buddhist monks still presided over the most intimate rituals concerning both kings and commoners in early Chosŏn. Only some neo-Confucians such as Kim Suk-cha 金叔滋 (1389-1456) followed Confucian rituals suggested in the *Record of Rites* and the *Rites of Zhou*. Kim Suk-cha, Kim Chong-jik's father, was a student of Kil Chae 吉再 (1353-1419), who was a great neo-Confucian scholar from late Koryŏ to early Chosŏn. Sarim School scholars of the sixteenth century assumed that the neo-Confucianism of Chosŏn originated from the three figures of Kil Chae, Kim Suk-cha, and Kim Chong-jik.⁵¹

Like John Duncan's conclusions, Martina Deuchler's research also suggests that there was no great change in the most powerful clans of late Koryŏ and fifteenth century Chosŏn. She examines influential vassals' family backgrounds during Yi Sŏng-gye's regime. Kwŏn Kŭn, Cho Chun, Ha Ryun, and Chŏng To-jŏn became dominant figures in early Chosŏn. Half of them were from prestigious families of Koryŏ, and the other half from average high-class families.

Kwŏn Kŭn was a descendant of Andong Kwŏn, one of the highly regarded noble families. His great-grandfather, Kwŏn Pu, was a famous neo-Confucian scholar. Kwŏn Kŭn held education positions in the government from 1369. In 1389, he was involved in a diplomatic exchange with the Ming, but then fell into disgrace and was finally exiled. During the Koryŏ-Chosŏn transition period, away from the court, he devoted himself to Confucian learning. In 1393, he entered officialdom under King T'aejo's regime. Kwŏn was appointed to positions where the government needed his writing skills, including the post responsible for the diplomatic correspondence with the Ming court. In addition, he made an immense contribution to neo-

⁵¹ *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, "Sŏnjo sillok," the first record of the seventh day, the sixth month, 1569.

Confucian development. He annotated Chinese classical works. And his monograph on neo-Confucian principles (*Ipak dosŏl* 入學圖說) with illustrations was reputedly influential on Yi Hwang, who was the greatest neo-Confucian scholar in Chosŏn. Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng was his grandson.

Cho Chun was a member of the prestigious P'yŏngyang Cho clan, one of the most powerful clans of his time. He passed the higher civil service examinations in 1374 and held some minor posts. He was not on good terms with the dominant faction of Yi In-im (?-1388), and retired from a central government post in 1384. He then spent a few years studying Confucian classics. In 1388, he entered Yi Sŏng-gye's camp. Cho Chun was a skillful politician and a thoughtful and resourceful legislator greatly influential in forming Chosŏn's legal system.

Ha Ryun was from the south and his ancestral background is not well known, an indication that he was not from a noble Koryŏ family. By his marriage connection with the most powerful courtier, Yi In-ro, he held some high court positions, but with the fall of Yi In-ro, Ha Ryun was sent into exile. After the military coup of Yi Sŏng-gye, Ha Ryun joined Yi as a staff retainer of Yi's third son, Yi Pang-wŏn, later to become the third king of Chosŏn.

Chŏng To-jŏn also was not from a powerful family. His family clan was the Pongwha Chŏng, a minor clan. His grandfather and father held some minor court posts. He passed the higher civil service examinations in 1362. Before joining Yi Sŏng-gye in 1383, he had enough time to acquire a wide range of knowledge in areas such as military science, medicine, calendrical science, mathematics, and, of course, neo-Confucianism. Beginning in 1362 he worked in the Royal Confucian Academy for several years. Unlike powerful vassals and clans of his time, he was pro-Ming and stressed a diplomatic relationship with Ming, which led to him being banished from the capital in 1375. For about thirteen years he studied various fields,

opening opportunities for him to develop the theoretical foundations for establishing a new dynasty.

In short, as Martina Deuchler points out, those among the elite group who supported Yi Sŏng-gye's regime change, were not from newly emerged families, but from prestigious families of Koryŏ. She further suggests why they joined Yi Sŏng-gye: "Their advancement, however, was slow and frequently even blocked by the adverse political conditions of the time. The bureaucracy was overstaffed and political life was rent by factional strife."⁵² Based on John Duncan's research, she concludes that they all belonged to the aristocratic upper class, adding that the evidence suggested by Duncan's work directly shows that "there were no new social forces which assumed power in the new dynasty, and that the highest offices continued to be staffed by descendants of well-established aristocratic kin groups."⁵³

Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng's and Kim Chong-jik's clans were not exceptional cases. Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng's ancestors were *hyangni* 鄉吏 of Taegu (modern-day Taegu) in late Koryŏ. Beginning from his father's generation by marriage with the prestigious Andong Kwŏn clan, Sŏ was able to maintain posts in the highest offices in the court. Kim Chong-jik's ancestors also were *hyangni* of Sŏnsan 善山 (currently the city of modern-day Kumi 龜尾) in late Koryŏ. In the early fifteenth century, Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng's family joined the aristocratic descent group, while Kim Chong-jik's family remained as a powerful clan in a provincial area. Around this time Kim's family ran into a problem. Kim Suk-ja, Kim Jong-jik's father, tried to marry a woman after divorcing with his first wife. His remarriage was severely criticized by the court emphasizing a neo-Confucian ritual: the

⁵² Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology*, 98.

⁵³ Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology*, 98.

divorce was not allowed if there were no critical misdeeds in a wife's conduct. In this way, often depending on agnatic principles 宗法 family rituals, the Chosŏn court tried to control the *hyangni* class in the provincial areas.

John Duncan's interpretation of the Koryŏ-Chosŏn transition is that the establishment of the Chosŏn dynasty was the result of "tensions between a centralized bureaucracy and a locally particularistic native tradition." In other words, he regards this transition as "a shift from an aristocratic system (in which the dominant social group was a locally based elite) to a mixed aristocratic-bureaucratic system (the dominant social group derived its power and prestige from ancestral traditions of service in the state bureaucracy)."⁵⁴

Koryŏ and Chosŏn institutions differed in their approach to local governance. In late Koryŏ, locally based elite groups called *hyangni* 郷吏⁵⁵ came to enjoy autonomous privileges. Compared to their predecessors, Chosŏn governors had greater control over all the provinces, restricting privileges given to *hyangni*. This made it possible for the central government to control even the countryside.

According to John Duncan, the reform in local administration benefited both the throne and the capital-based officials. By better controlling the countryside, they were able to strengthen the royal authority. They were could also collect tax revenues more efficiently. In addition, firmer control over the countryside enabled them to manage local elites' acquisition of power

⁵⁴ John B. Duncan, *The Origins of the Chosŏn Dynasty*, 9.

⁵⁵ The Koryŏ *hyangni* were local rulers. The late Koryŏ-early Chosŏn *hyangni* were either former officials or descendants of former officials in the central government. In the case of Koryŏ *hyangni*, their power and prestige were inherited, while the late Koryŏ-early Chosŏn *hyangni* needed to pass civil service exams, to secure their power and prestige.

which could be a threat to capital-based officials. It is notable that, in their justifying controlling the provincial areas, they were dependent on agnatic principles.⁵⁶

In short, the *hyangni* class was no different from central aristocrats in terms of their privileges in Koryŏ; but in Chosŏn they were no longer regarded as aristocrats. To secure their upper-class status, they had to join the central government. And it was inevitable for them to pass the civil service examinations. Passing the civil service examinations did not guarantee high posts in the court, and often they were dependent on marriage connections with prestigious clans as Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng's family did. Kim Jong-jik's family was unable to hold high posts in the court due to his father's divorce that went against neo-Confucian rituals. I believe this was the reason that Kim Jong-jik adopted neo-Confucian rites and rituals as his lifetime principles, allowing him to be a successful civil officer, cope with possible debates with other civil officers, and at least not be poorly treated by the court as his father was.

4. Political Tensions between Meritorious Retainers and the *Samsa* Junior Scholars

Later in the sixteenth century, tensions between central *yangban* and local elites reappeared as political tensions between meritorious retainers 功臣 and the *samsa* 三司 (three offices, or the office of the inspector-general 司憲府, the office of the censor-general 司諫院, and the office of special counselors 弘文館) junior officers. In the mid-fifteenth century, dozens of retainers were gaining power after achieving merit awards through the reigns of Tanjong, Sejo, Yejong, and the first years of Sŏngjong. Junior officers who were usually positioned in *samsa* began to challenge these meritorious retainers. Checks and balances became important among the king, meritorious retainers, and *samsa* junior officers in the central government.

⁵⁶ John B. Duncan, *The Origins of the Chosŏn Dynasty*, 217-18.

This political structure was created because the king was too young; he was well-versed in Confucian thought and had an open mind to any individual.⁵⁷ When King Sŏngjong was enthroned, he was only twelve years old. His predecessor was King Yejong who died at age nineteen after reigning for only fourteen months. Sŏngjong did not have time to solidify his power or find partisans who could support him. Under these circumstances, he was greatly influenced by his grandmother, who ruled as regent, and his vassals that meritorious retainers and *samsa* junior officers. Almost every day he consulted scholar-officials, formerly *samsa* junior officers, about various subjects ranging from questions about phrases in the Confucian Classics to how to deal with a disaster that occurred in a certain prefecture. However, he was receptive to any group or individual and thus, he was able to remain impartial in his relationships with his officials.

As mentioned above, since King Sŏngjong ascended the throne, meritorious retainers held higher government posts for many years. They were skilled in exercising political leverage. King Sŏngjong gradually learned how to mediate between his regent and meritorious vassals. After his regent ceded authority to him, he came to pay more attention to the opinions of junior scholar-officials. I believe that he intended to replace his regent with organs of “the central government entrusted with the power of remonstrance, that is, the office of the inspector-general, the office of the censor-general, and the office of special counselors.” These offices were composed of newly emerged literati. The meritorious retainers’ entire move was challenged by these young officers, and led to “a kind of committee system of government in which the

⁵⁷ Edward Wagner, *The Literati Purges: Political Conflict in Early Yi Korea*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1975), 24.

dominant voice was that of the censoring bodies.”⁵⁸

Korean scholars have claimed that after the end of the sixteenth century the Chosŏn court was dominated by the Sarim faction scholar-officials. The following passages represent their descriptions of the Sarim faction:

In the course of the recurrent literati purges... during the half century from 1498-1545, the *sarim* were harshly suppressed by the established meritorious element, but they did not abandon their struggle. Drawing their strength from their landholdings on which they lived in the countryside, and utilizing the private academies (*sŏwŏn* 書院) and village contract (*hyangyak* 鄉約) as a springboard, they rose again to take up positions in the central government bureaucracy... And ultimately, in the time of Sŏnjo they drove out the established meritorious element and seized political power.⁵⁹

The Sarim faction is described as a newly emerging political force or faction that had its base in the countryside. It was first suppressed by the established meritorious vassals in the early sixteenth century, but eventually took over the court by the end of the sixteenth century. The passage continues by describing a more detailed understanding about the Sarim faction.

The ruling elite structure of Chosŏn began to show signs of serious disturbance from the latter years of the fifteenth century. This phenomenon is closely related to the emergence on the national political scene of *sarim* from areas outside the capital. From the founding of the dynasty in 1392 the dominant figures in the central government on the whole had been the so-called bureaucrat-scholar faction (*kwanhakp'a* 官學派) consisting of the Dynastic Foundation Merit Subjects and those closely related to them. On the other hand..., there was also a non-serving scholar faction (*sahakp'a* 私學派). The former faction... occupied the highest government positions and possessed immense agricultural estates, while the latter faction, the *sarim*, which carried on the tradition of the [end of Koryŏ loyalist Neo-Confucian scholar] Kil Chae 吉再 and his disciple Kim Suk-cha 金叔滋... lacked a base in the political arena of the central government. In the beginning these *sarim* were simply local intelligentsia of the small and middle landholding class, but following upon the advance into central government position of Kim Chong-jik 金宗直 [son of Kim Suk-cha]

⁵⁸ Edward Wagner, *The Literati Purges: Political Conflict in Early Yi Korea*, 23-25.

⁵⁹ Edward Wagner, "Social Background of Early Yi Dynasty Neo-Confucianists," *Toegyehak-gwa Yugyo Munhwa* 10 (1982): 134.

under the patronage of King Sŏngjong, many of his disciples also entered the bureaucracy and created a new force able to contest for power with the established meritorious faction (*Hun'gup'a* 勳舊派)...⁶⁰

The passage cited above concerns the geographical, economic, and ideological origins of the Sarim faction. The writer describes the Sarim faction vis-à-vis the “bureaucrat-scholar faction” (*kwanhakp'a*), or the “established meritorious faction” (*hun'gup'a*), and concentrates on the Sarim faction scholars’ neo-Confucian ideological commitment that eventually led to overcoming the “established meritorious faction.”

Opinions of Korean scholars on the Sarim faction can be summarized as follows. The Sarim faction scholar-officials came to be active in the court during the period from Sŏngjong through Chungjong’s reign (1469-1544). Their success, however, was not smooth. They suffered *sahwa* 士禍 (exiles or massacres of literati), or “literati purges”⁶¹ several times at the hands of the Hun’gu meritorious vassals and kings who supported these vassals for political purposes. The Sarim faction, nevertheless, regarded *sahwa* as sacrificial acts done for the cause of neo-Confucianism, and they gained influence over other scholar-officials. By Sŏnjo’s reign period (r. 1567-1608), the Sarim faction came to entirely dominate the court and, in fact, “there no longer existed any counterforce that might impede the growing dominance of the *sarim*.”⁶²

However, some Western scholars question Korean scholars’ portrayal of the *sarim*.

⁶⁰ Edward Wagner, “Social Background of Early Yi Dynasty Neo-Confucianists,” 133-34.

⁶¹ This term is from Edward Wagner.

⁶² See Edward Wagner, *The Literati Purges: Political Conflict in Early Yi Korea*, 131. What it exactly means is that all the scholar-officials turned to *sarim*. According to Wagner, “from the reign of Sŏnjo the *sarim* force was in full possession of the higher level positions in the government, including even the High State Councillor and Board Minister posts.” We may call it “triumph of neo-Confucianism.”

Edward Wagner was the first scholar to suggest that the *sarim* was not an adequate term to describe the political situations of the sixteenth century in Chosŏn Korea. He, in fact, doubts the theory of understanding political conflicts of the sixteenth century in Chosŏn Korea as simply the Sarim faction versus the Hun'gu faction. He suggests that the conflicts were “between the higher ranking, established officials and the rising, next generation of officials,” which, he think, is “a common phenomenon, a phenomenon seen in many different cultures.”⁶³ He also doubts the geographical origins of the *sarim*.

In order to explain his interpretation, Wagner draws examples from “literati purge” that occurred in 1498 (*muo sahwa* 戊午士禍), 1504 (*kapcha sahwa* 甲子士禍) and 1519 (*kimyo sahwa* 己卯士禍). After Sŏngjong's death in 1494, Prince Yŏnsan commanded that they should perform a traditional funeral rite in the Buddhist way. Officials in censoring bodies objected strongly. In addition, a large number of students in the Royal Confucian Academy 成均館 joined the officials in censoring bodies and severely attacked Buddhism, and criticized No Sa-sin, the Second State Councillor, who supported Prince Yŏnsan's command. Prince Yŏnsan punished those students. Edward Wagner traces those students' origins and what happened to them later.

It is significant to examine who these punished students were and what happened to some of them later, since all of them were pardoned within a year after the incident. With regard to the three ringleaders who were banished, Yi Mok 李穆 and Chŏng Hŭi-ryang 鄭希良 became major victims of the Purge of 1498, and Yi Cha-hwa 李自華 became a minor victim of the Purge of 1504. Kim Ch'ŏl-lyŏng 金千齡 and Im Hŭi-jae 任熙載 (the son of the great villain of 1504) died in the 1504 groups. ... [However,] Kim Su-gyŏng 金壽卿 and Sŏng Mong-jŏng 成夢井 both became merit subjects (*kongsin* 功臣) when Chungjong was enthroned in 1506. Sim Chŏng 沈貞 also became a merit subject at the same time and is notorious as a major architect of the Purge of 1519. Sŏng Un 成雲 also was among the

⁶³ Edward Wagner, “Social Background of Early Yi Dynasty Neo-Confucianists,” 139.

purgers in 1519...⁶⁴

The result first displays that many punished students became associated with other literati purges and became victims. But it also demonstrates that a goodly number of the punished students became merit subjects. Edward Wagner then suggests “it was a conflict between the higher-ranking, established officials and the rising, next generation of officials,” but this kind of “tension between old and new generations of officials” can occur in any culture and in any time.⁶⁵

To support his claim, Wagner goes on to examine the purges of 1498 and 1519. The former is well known for punishing Kim Chong-jik and his disciples. The majority of Korean scholars believe that the concept of the *sarim* was based on this massacre of scholar-officials and their reactions that followed. However, Wagner argues that in the Purge of 1498, “Kim Chong-jik and his disciples were symbolic victims” of a conflict over powers among the censoring bodies, meritorious retainers, and the king. Kim Chong-jik’s disciples held positions at the former institutions.

The Purge of 1519 was a reaction against Cho Kwang-jo’s 趙光祖 (1482-1520) reform, which included the *hyölyyangkwa* 賢良科 (examination for the sage and good). This was a way of recruiting officials by recommendation proposed as a substitute for the civil service examinations. The *hyölyyangkwa* was implemented in 1519 and twenty-eight men were selected as successful candidates. After analyzing their family backgrounds, Wagner noticed that nineteen candidates were from the capital area and five from Kyöngsang province. The others were, one

⁶⁴ Edward Wagner, “Social Background of Early Yi Dynasty Neo-Confucianists,” 138-39.

⁶⁵ Edward Wagner, “Social Background of Early Yi Dynasty Neo-Confucianists,” 139.

each from Kyōnggi, Chōlla, Hwanghae, and Kangwōn provinces. He also notes that the majority of them were either from prestigious families or closely related to powerful clans. According to Wagner's analysis, the *hyōllyangkwa* system is not much different from the civil service examinations in terms of the successful candidates' family backgrounds. He concluded that "the so-called 'men of 1519' cannot be distinguished from other power groups on the basis of geographical or social background."⁶⁶

It is my understanding that there is a way to explain the discrepancy between the views of Korean scholars and Edward Wagner, about the concept of the Sarim faction. Wagner concludes that the *sarim* was not related to geographical or socio-economic background, while Korean scholars believe that the *sarim* was based in provincial areas. If we focus on the situations of the sixteenth century, then Wagner's perspective is correct. But if we trace teachers (the first generation of the *sarim* scholars) of those young scholars (after the second generation of the *sarim* scholars) of that period, they were based in provincial areas as is indicated by Kim Chong-jik's case. That is, the *sarim* originated in provincial areas. Korean scholars' opinions are incorrect, because most of the Sarim faction scholars were actually based in the capital area. It is likely that they focused on places where the first generation *sarim* teachers were based and did not investigate the second generation *sarim* scholars' origins. As a matter of fact, regarding the *sarim*, Wagner also admits: "it was their ideology of neo-Confucianism, in particular their extreme commitment to neo-Confucian principles of statecraft and moral conduct, that set apart the 'men of 1519,' and their forerunners in the reigns of Sōngjong and Prince Yōnsan, from their contemporaries. Thus, it is devotion to neo-Confucianist ideology and determination to shape the conduct of Chosōn dynasty government in accordance with its principles that mark and define

⁶⁶ See Edward Wagner, "Social Background of Early Yi Dynasty Neo-Confucianists," 143.

the so-called *sarim*.”⁶⁷ As mentioned earlier, Wagner viewed the conflict between the Hun’gu faction and the Sarim faction as one between the established officials and the new generation of officials, viewing that as a tension over privileges enjoyed as higher officials that could occur between any old and new generations in any culture. I partly agree with his view, but I suspect that the Sarim faction scholars adopted neo-Confucianism, especially the rites and the rituals of the neo-Confucianism, to confront the established Hun’gu faction scholars, and this kind of historical and cultural context give the *sarim* a profile distinct from the other groups who were/are against the established groups in other culture.

Tensions between the Hun’gu faction scholars and the Sarim faction scholars (central *yangban* and local elites of fifteenth century and between the meritorious retainers and the *samsa* junior officers of sixteenth century) often led to debates on the format of the civil service examinations and, accordingly, the popularity of the *Wen xuan* changed. The origin of the debates can be traced back to the previous dynasty. During the Koryŏ dynasty, the civil service examination was designed to select candidates based on their writing skills, but some scholar-officials maintained that they should select candidates who were more educated in Confucian texts. As explained by John Duncan, recent scholars generally agree that the dominant intellectual tradition of the Koryŏ period was a belletrist Tang style that valued writing skills.⁶⁸ As Duncan well observes, Yi Pyŏng-do’s hypothesis represents this theory. Yi argues that Confucianism and Buddhism were equally important: the former for administrative techniques

⁶⁷ Edward Wagner, “Social Background of Early Yi Dynasty Neo-Confucianists,” 145.

⁶⁸ John B. Duncan, *The Origins of the Chosŏn Dynasty*, 241-42.

and belles-lettres, and the latter for the philosophical foundations of society.⁶⁹ Among those literary works extant, the dominant genres are Tang-style poetry, *fu* and parallel prose.

Some scholar-officials went against the mainstream from the twelfth century. Koryŏ literati in support of this reactionary trend tended to be more enthusiastic about representing Confucian ideology in their literary works, most of which were influenced by neo-Confucianism developed in Song China. This new trend became gradually influential and the form of civil service examination was changed to select candidates with more knowledge of Confucian learning in 1154, although the examination returned to the original form not long after that. By the mid-twelfth century, this new style became more pervasive especially among the great civil official descent groups in the capital area.

The change in the civil service examinations definitely influenced the popularity of the *Wen xuan*, whether candidates resided in the capital area or in provincial areas. Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng and Kim Chong-jik who represent the Hun'gu faction scholars and the Sarim faction scholars, respectively, chose different strategies to attain success as junior scholars at first, and then as higher officials in the court as they were promoted. The next two chapters will be devoted to showing how their family backgrounds and attitudes toward neo-Confucianism influenced their preference for a certain literary text like the *Wen xuan*.

⁶⁹ Yi Pyŏng-do 이병도, *Han'guksa chungse p'yŏn* 韓國史 中世篇, (Seoul: Ŭryu Munhwasa, 1961), 227.

Chapter Two: Sō Kō-jōng's Views on Literature and the Compilation of the *Tongmunsōn*

This chapter examines Sō Kō-jōng's views on literature by analyzing the "Preface to the *Tongmunsōn*" and a few entries from his *Tongin sihwa*. Sō Kō-jōng borrowed Chinese literary theories developed from the *Zhou yi* to the *Wen xuan*. According to Martina Deuchler, "the early Korean neo-Confucians discovered in the classical literature of ancient China an ideal societal order that could serve as a model for rebuilding their own society."⁷⁰ Sō Kō-jōng found a way to give legitimacy to the compilation of a Korean anthology in the Chinese literary theories. In a similar fashion, when he compiled the *fu* section of the *Tongmunsōn*, he arranged the literary pieces in a chronological order but gave preference to those related to Confucianism, state affairs, and Chinese history. As a result, the majority of *fu* pieces included in the *Tongmunsōn* are related to Confucianism and state affairs. This compilation principle reminds us that of the *Wen xuan*, which starts "from the most important themes of the state and empire" and then moves on to "the least important, and even somewhat trivial subject."⁷¹ In addition, Sō Kō-jōng's "Preface to the *Tongmunsōn*" identifies the role of the sages as that of kings, and also emphasizes the role of scholar-officials who are engaged in state affairs. In doing so, Sō Kō-jōng tries to maintain his political status.

1. Sō Kō-jōng and the Compilation of the *Tongmunsōn*

Sō Kō-jōng 徐居正 (1420 - 88) belonged to the Taegu 大邱 (current city of Taegu in

⁷⁰ Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology*, 107.

⁷¹ David Knechtges, "Culling the Weeds and Selecting Prime Blossoms: The Anthology in Early Medieval China," *Culture and power in the reconstitution of the Chinese realm, 200-600*, ed. Scott Pearce, Audrey G. Spiro, and Patricia Buckley Ebrey, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press [Harvard University Asia Center,] 2001), 224.

North Kyöngsang province) Sö 徐 clan. His great grandfather was Sö Ik-chin 徐益進 (?-?), who held the position of second minister in the Office of Catering 判典客寺事. Kō-jōng's grandfather was Sö Ŭi 徐義 (?-?), who held the position of assistant clerk in the Ministry of Taxation 戶曹典書. Holding important positions at the court, Sö Kō-jōng's ancestors resided in the capital area in late Koryō. In his latter years, Sö Ŭi went to a rural place close to current Taegu city to avoid the chaos of the Koryō-Chosōn transition. Kō-jōng's father was Sö Mi-sōng 徐彌性 (1383-1429), who was magistrate of Anju 安州 (current Anju County close to city of P'yōngyang 平壤, which is the current capital city of North Korea). When Mi-sōng was preparing civil service examinations, he was close with Kwōn Che 權躋 (1387-1445), and later he married Kwōn Che's sister. Kwōn Che's father was Kwōn Kūn 權近 (1352-1409), who was one of the most influential vassals in the court.⁷² Kwōn Kūn was famous for his scholarship as well as a writer. Sö Mi-sōng studied under Kwōn Kūn's guidance along with some other students. Kwōn Kūn was allegedly fond of Sö Mi-sōng's personality and talent, and arranged his marriage with his daughter. By this marriage connection it is likely that Sö Mi-sōng and his descendants had better chances to be successful in the court. Sö Kō-jōng was Sö Mi-sōng's second son. Sö Kō-jōng was a well renowned prodigy for his literary talents and passed the higher civil service examination in 1444. Later he was promoted to various offices in the court including all of the six ministers in the six Ministry of Offices, state councilor 右參贊, sixth state councilor 左參贊, fifth state councilor 左贊成, and fourth state councilor 左贊成. He also

⁷² See Yi Chong-muk, *Sö Kō-jōng munhak ũi chonghapchōk kōmt'o*, 4. According to Yi, Sö Kō-jōng referred to himself as a person of Taegu, although Sö Kō-jōng lived in different places as his father moved to different offices in and near the capital area when he was young.

held the position of supervisor of writings 文衡 for twenty-two years. He was the most prolific writer in Korea and wrote more than 10,000 poems, but only half of them are extant in his 30-chapter collection in the *Saga jip* 四佳集, which originally consisted of more than 70 chapters 卷. He was engaged in various royal compilation including the *Tongguk t'onggam* 東國通鑑 (Comprehensive mirror of the Eastern State), the *Tongguk yöji süngnam* 東國輿地勝覽 (Complete survey of the scenic sights of the Eastern State), the *Tongmunsön* 東文選, and the *Kyöngguk taejön* 經國大典 (Great code for the administration of a state). He also compiled his poetic theories in the *Tongin sihwa* 東人詩話 (Poetry talks of a Korean). In addition, he wrote many prose pieces in the *Saga jip* and the *P'irwön chapki* 筆苑雜記 (Miscellaneous notes from writing brush park).

We have good reason to think that the main compiler of the *Tongmunsön* was Sö Kō-jöng. The *Chosön wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 includes the following dialogue between King Söngjong and Sö Kō-jöng:

The King attended the royal seminar. His Royal Highness asked Sö Kō-jöng, administrator [of the Sönggyun'gwan], “Are the writings of later generations, as good as classical writings?” Kō-jöng responded, “There were no ancient people who did not read books of the Xia, Yin, Zhou, and the Western and Eastern Han dynasties. As for the splendor of writing, no other periods were as splendid as the Xia, Yin, Zhou, and the Western and Eastern Han dynasties, and the writings of the Eastern Han could not match those of the Western Han. As for the splendor of the writings of later generations, no other writings were as splendid as those of Han Yu and Liu Zongyuan of Tang, and Ouyang Xiu and Su Shi of Song. But how could their writings be as good as those of the Xia, Yin, Zhou, and the Western and Eastern Han dynasties? During the Silla dynasty, there must have been many skilled writers, but these writings were not transmitted in the historical sources, and those that still exist are only by a few scholars such as Ch'oe Ch'i-wön. The writings that were written before the mid-Koryö dynasty are rarely seen. The extant writings do not match the quality of those of Koryö; the [present] writings of the Central Dynasty [China] do not match the quality and the quantity of the Yuan dynasty.” His Royal Highness asked, “What is the reason for this?” Kō-jöng responded. “Because morals of the time have declined and the vital spirit has increasingly weakened. As for

the writings of our state, no one has collected them. Only Ch'oe Hae of the previous dynasty took responsibility for compiling the *Tongin jimun*. However, it is incomplete because it is missing [certain important works]. I and some other vassals, intending to imitate the old *Wen xuan*, have classified and categorized poetry and prose from Silla and our dynasty. We have already collected and gathered them, but have not yet made it into a book.” His Royal Highness said, “Organize and compile them, and you should print and publish them.”

御書講. 上謂知事徐居正曰: “後世文章, 如古文乎.” 居正對曰: “古人有非三代、兩漢之書不讀者, 文章之盛, 莫如三代、兩漢, 東漢又不及西漢. 後世文章之盛, 莫如唐之韓愈□柳宗元、宋之歐陽脩□蘇軾, 然亦豈能如三代、兩漢乎. 新羅時能文者必多, 史籍不傳, 存者不過崔致遠二人而已, 高麗中葉以上之文, 亦不多見, 今之文不及高麗, 中朝之文, 亦不及元朝之盛.” 上曰: “其故何也.” 居正曰: “世道降而氣漸漓也. 我國之文, 無選集者, 前朝惟崔瀼, 當撰東人文. 然傷於略, 臣等欲倣古文選, 自新羅至我朝, 類選詩文, 今已哀集, 時未成書耳.” 上曰: “第撰之, 當印頒.”⁷³

The dialogue cited above was recorded in 1475. According to Sō Kō-jōng's response to the king, he and his colleagues had collected writings written by Koreans from the Silla (53 B.C.E.-935 A.D.E.) dynasty down to their contemporary age. He added that they collected the writings, but they had not yet turned them into a book. Then the king commanded his vassals to compile the writings and publish them. The *Tongmunsōn* was published in 1478; therefore, we can conclude that the *Tongmunsōn* was compiled between 1475 and 1478.

Why did Sō Kō-jōng collect the writings of Koreans? The following account from the *Chosōn wangjo sillok* may help to explain this matter. Here is an edict from King Sejo 世祖 (r. 1455-68):

As for the poetry and prose written by ancient and contemporary Koreans, regardless of their merits and demerits, even though they are fragmentary pieces or short passages, do not ignore them but search for them, and along with the notes by the commentators, send them [to me].

⁷³ *Chosōn wangjo sillok*, “Sōngjong sillok,” the record of the seventh day, the fifth month, 1475.

古今東人所製詩文，勿論善惡，雖殘編短章，無遺搜訪，并釋家所著以送。⁷⁴

This edict was issued in 1460, eighteen years before the publication of the *Tongmunsŏn* and fifteen years before the above-mentioned dialogue was recorded. After this edict was issued, the first published anthology was the *Tongmunsŏn*. We can infer that King Sejo's edict was followed even after his death. It is not clear, however, if Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng was engaged in this project right from its beginnings.

However, a recent study⁷⁵ suggests the possibility that the intention was to compile the *Tongmunsŏn* much earlier:

During the reign period of King Sejong, Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng and others, obeying the royal order, selected and compiled the poetry and prose by past worthy men of our country. It was titled *Tongmunsŏn*.

我英廟朝徐居正等，受命編輯東方前賢詩文。名曰東文選。⁷⁶

The *Tongmunsŏn* was selected and compiled by Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng and others during the reign period of King Sejong.

東文選，我英廟朝徐居正等，受命編輯。⁷⁷

If we can trust these accounts, the compilation of the *Tongmunsŏn* was already being considered between the late 1440's, when Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng worked in the Chip'yŏnjŏn 集賢殿, and 1450, when King Sejong died.

⁷⁴ *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, "Sejosillok" 世祖實錄, the second record of the fourth day, the eighth month, 1460.

⁷⁵ Kim Chong-ch'ŏl, *Tongmunsŏn ūi ihae* 東文選의 理解, (Seoul: Ch'ŏngmun'gak, 2004), 57-58.

⁷⁶ Kim Hyu 金然, *Haedong munhŏn ch'onglok* 海東文獻總錄, reprinted version of Hakmungak, 572.

⁷⁷ Yi Kyu-gyŏng 李圭景, "Munsŏn pyŏnjŏngsŏl 文選辨證說," *Oju yŏnmun jangjŏn sango* 五洲衍文長箋散稿, (Seoul: Tongguk munhwasa, 1959), 1047.

The “Preface to the *Tongmunsŏn*” includes the names of those who compiled the *Tongmunsŏn*. It was written by Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng, which suggests that the compilers of the *Tongmunsŏn* were No Sa-sin 盧思慎 (1427-1498), Kang Hŭi-maeng 姜希孟 (1424-1483), Yang Sŏng-chi 梁誠之 (1415-1482), Yi P’a 李坡 (1434-1486), and Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng included as “I.”

Our venerable Highness by nature is fond of sage learning; he daily attends lectures for the king and enjoys perusing Confucian classics and Chinese histories. He believes that although [our] writings and literary works cannot be compared to the Six Confucian Classics, the rise and decline of literary vitality can be seen [through writings and literary works]. He commanded that No Sa-sin 盧思慎 (1427-1498), the minister of the Ministry of Tonnyŏng, Kang Hŭi-maeng 姜希孟 (1424-1483), the minister of the Ministry of Personnel, Yang Sŏng-chi 梁誠之 (1415-1482), the minister of the Ministry of Works, Yi P’a 李坡 (1434-1486), the vice minister of the Ministry of Personnel, and I should collect what has been written by various writers, and compile them to make a set.

天縱聖學，日御經筵；樂觀經史，以篇翰著述。雖非六籍之比，然亦可見文運之興替。命領敦寧府事臣盧思慎，吏曹判書臣姜希孟，工曹判書臣梁誠之，吏曹參判臣李坡暨臣居正。哀集諸家所作，稗爲一帙。

Among them, the role of Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng was the most essential as many scholars agree. Many distinct forms of evidence confirm this conclusion. First, the dialogue between the king and Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng, which has been cited earlier in this chapter, clearly shows that the one who received the royal command to compile the *Tongmunsŏn* was Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng himself. He was one of the most prominent scholars of the period, as indicated by some of his official titles. One of his titles was grand chancellor of the Yemun’gwan 藝文館 (Bureau of Arts and Letters). The Yemun’gwan was the royal office that recorded royal orders and commands. The title of grand chancellor was given only to the head of the royal departments of the Yemun’gwan or the Hongmun’gwan 弘文館 (Office of Special Counselors). The Hongmun’gwan was the royal office that supervised canonical books and historical records. It was also responsible for

responding to the king's questions during his consultations. Only the most highly respected scholars could receive the title of grand chancellor of the Yemun'gwan or the Hongmun'gwan. In Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng's case, he also held the position of administrator of the Sŏnggyun'gwan 成均館 (Royal Confucian Academy). The Sŏnggyun'gwan was the highest educational institution established in the palace during the Chosŏn dynasty, so the administrator of Sŏnggyun'gwan became another highly respected position for a scholar. When a scholar took the position of grand chancellor (either of Yemun'gwan or of Hongmun'gwan) and administrator of Sŏnggyun'gwan at the same time, he was often referred to as supervisor of writings 文衡. Because supervisor of writings was not an official title, it does not appear in the "Preface to the *Tongmunsŏn*." However, when one scholar was referred to as supervisor of writings, he was generally and officially regarded as the most revered scholar of his time. What is more, he was the first person in Chosŏn who concurrently held the position of grand chancellor of the Yemun'gwan and Hongmun'gwan. In short, the positions held by Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng clearly explain why the king asks Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng to assume responsibility for compiling the *Tongmunsŏn*.

Several accounts add more credence to the fact that Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng was the main compiler of the *Tongmunsŏn*. For example, the "Preface to the *Tongmunsŏn*" was written by Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng himself. The *Tongmunsŏn* is a royal compilation, and when the preface was written by someone from among the compilers, we can infer that the author should be the one whose role was the most important in the compilation. In addition to this, the following historical account shows how influential Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng was in the compilation:

[Ch'oe] Suk-chŏng previously participated in compiling the *Tongmunsŏn*, and he once brought a small collection of works and asked Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng to select [his younger brother's pieces to be included in the *Tongmunsŏn*] saying, "These are the posthumous works of my younger brother."

淑精嘗與撰東文選，將小集請徐居正并選曰：“此亡弟遺藁也。”⁷⁸

Ch'oe Suk-chōng (1433-80) was one of Sō Kō-jōng's assistant officials who were assigned into the Yemun'gwan when Sō Kō-jōng was compiling the *Tongmunsōn*. This account shows that Sō Kō-jōng was the most influential among those who decided which literary pieces to include in the *Tongmunsōn*.

Kim Chong-ch'ōl's recent study provides valuable information about the roles of compilers.⁷⁹ Like other scholars, Kim suggests that Sō Kō-jōng was the main compiler who actually decided on the final selection of literary pieces. Kim also suggests that Kang Hŭi-maeng's role was equal to that of Sō Kō-jōng in selecting works, given the fact that Kang was as great a scholar as Sō Kō-jōng. Kim thinks that No Sa-sin was included only as a nominal compiler, since No was the highest official and his name is not prominently treated in the preface. Then, based on various passages of dialogues between Yang and a few kings from the *Chosōn wangjo sillok*, he concludes that Yang Sōng-chi's role was not to select works but to supervise the editing, printing, distribution, and storing of the *Tongmunsōn*. Kim also shows that Yi P'a was not actually engaged in the compilation of the *Tongmunsōn*, because he was out of office for two years to observe the mourning period for his mother's death; and he was assigned to an office out of the capital for a long period. Kim also introduces the royal historians' interesting estimation about Yi P'a. As is usually accepted among many scholar officials, there was a growing conflict between the Hun'gu faction 勳舊派 and the Sarim faction 士林派 in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. All of the compilers of the *Tongmunsōn* were generally regarded as belonging to the Hun'gu faction composed of meritorious scholar officials in the

⁷⁸ *Chosōn wangjo sillok*, “Sōngjong sillok,” the record of the fifth day, the third month, 1478.

⁷⁹ See Kim Chong-ch'ōl, *Tongmunsōn ūi yihae*, 26-51.

capital area; and royal historians were usually from the Sarim faction composed of newly emerging scholar officials from rural areas. Because of this conflict, *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*'s evaluations of the compilers of the *Tongmunsŏn* are not favorable except for the evaluation of Yi P'a. According to the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*'s evaluations on Yi P'a, Yi's ideology was much closer to that of the Sarim faction. This view also adds credence to the point that Yi was not able to participate in the actual selection of works, because the *Tongmunsŏn*'s general selection criteria reflect the ideology of the Hun'gu faction and not the Sarim faction.⁸⁰

2. The Theoretical Background of the “Preface to the *Tongmunsŏn*”

Apparently Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng wrote the “Preface to the *Tongmunsŏn*” to give authority to his anthology by putting Korean literary theories and works side by side with those of China. The first part of the preface opens as follows:

Heaven and earth were divided for the first time, and patterns were then produced between them. The sun, the moon, and the stars above were densely arrayed to become the pattern of heaven. Mountains and hills, and seas and rivers below flowed and rose up to become the pattern of the earth. The sage drew trigrams to create writing, and patterns of the human world gradually spread.
 乾坤肇判，文乃生焉。日月星辰，森列乎上而為天之文。山岳海瀆，流峙乎下而為地之文。聖人畫卦造書，人文漸宣。

This passage indicates that writing originated from patterns of heaven, patterns of the earth, and the writings of humankind. The statement that the “sage drew the Trigrams” definitely shows the author intended to connect the *Tongmunsŏn* with the concept of *wen* 文 that had been developed in China. The following passage is from the *Classic of Changes*:

The *Book of Changes* is co-equal with heaven and earth, and therefore it can encompass and enwrap the Tao of heaven and earth. With it [the sage] contemplates the configuration [*wen*] of heaven above and the orderly arrangements [*li*] of the earth below, thereby understanding the causes of darkness and light.⁸¹

⁸⁰ See Kim Chong-ch'ŏl, *Tongmunsŏn ūi yihae*, 26-51.

⁸¹ Sun Xingyan 孫星衍 ed., *Zhou yi jijie* 周易集解, (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1985), 547. For translation, see

This passage explains how *wen* was first created from heaven and earth. It was the “configuration of heaven” and the “orderly arrangements of the earth.” This idea is faithfully adopted by the “Preface to the *Tongmunsǒn*.” The one who drew *wen* from the patterns of heaven and the earth is referred to as the sage both in the “Preface to the *Tongmunsǒn*,” and in the *Classic of Changes*. The role of the sage is important in that he reveals the Way [Tao/Dao] of heaven and earth, and in this process, *wen* was created as a result. This idea continued to be upheld in the Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties and one of the earliest literary anthologies of this time includes the following passage:

Literature [*wen-chang*] is that by which we manifest the signs above and below [i.e., in heaven and on earth], clarify the order of human relationships, exhaust principles, and fully understand human nature, in order to investigate the suitabilities of all things.⁸²

This is from the *Wenzhang liubie lun* 文章流別論 (Disquisition on writings divided by genre) by Zhi Yu 摯虞 (?-311). The idea that people observe the patterns of heaven and earth to establish *wen* is the same as that from the *Classic of Changes*. Furthermore, this passage shows that this concept was applied the definition of writing. The *Wenzhang liubie lun* is not extant, but a number of fragments survive.⁸³ It is difficult to delve further into the development of this

James J.Y. Liu, *Chinese Theories of Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 18.

⁸² Ouyang Xun 歐陽詢 and Wang Shaoying 汪紹楹, *Yiwen leiju* 藝文類聚, (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), 56.1018. For translation see, James J.Y. Liu, *Chinese Theories of Literature*, 20.

⁸³ About the text of the *Wenzhang liubie lun*, one can refer to the following studies:

Yan Kejun 嚴可均, “Quan Jin wen” 全晉文, in *Quan shanggu Sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文, 77, 1905a-6a.

Xu Wenyu 許文雨. *Wen lun jiang shu* 文論講疏, (Nanjing: Zhengzhong shuju, 1937), 67-84.

Tseng Yung-yi 曾永義 and K’o Ch’ing-ming 柯慶明, ed. *Liang Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao wenxue piping ziliao*

theory using the *Wenzhang liubie lun*. However, many literary works of the same period share similar literary theories on *wen* and literature. The *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍 written around 500 and the *Wen xuan* 文選 compiled around 520 are good examples.

As an inner power (*te*), pattern (*wen*) is very great indeed, born together with Heaven and Earth. And how is this? All colors are compounded of two primary colors, the purple that is Heaven and the brown that is Earth. All forms are distinguished through two primary forms, Earth's squareness and Heaven's circularity. The sun and moon are successive disks of jade, showing to those below images (*hsiang*) that cleaves to Heaven. Rivers and mountains are glittering finery, unrolling forms that give order (*li*) to earth. These are the pattern of the Way.⁸⁴

This passage is the first paragraph of the first chapter in the *Wenxin diaolong* by Liu Xie 劉勰 (ca. 465-ca. 522). Liu Xie opens his work by tracing the origin of *wen*. In so doing, he

huibian 兩漢魏晉南北朝文學批評資料彙編, (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 1978), 184-86.

Guo Shaoyu 郭紹虞. *Zhongguo lidai wen lun xuan* 中國歷代文論選, 1, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1979) 190-205.

Mu Kehong 穆克宏 and Guo Dan 郭丹, ed. *Wei Jin Nanbeichao welun quanbian* 魏晉南北朝文論全編, 1996; rev. and rpt., (Nanjing: Jiangsu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2004) 88-96.

Yu Yuan 鬱沉 and Zhang Minggao 張明高, ed. *Wei Jin Nanbeichao wenlun xuan* 魏晉南北朝文論選, 179-184. Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1996.

There are two translations into English:

Allen, Joseph Roe III. "Chih Yü's Discussions of Different Types of Literature: A Translation and Brief Comment." In *Two Studies in Chinese Literary Criticism*, Parerga no. 3, (Seattle: Institute for Comparative and Foreign Area Studies, 1976), 3-36.

Swartz, Wendy. "Classifying the Literary Tradition: Zhi Yu's 'Discourse on Literary Compositions Divided by Genre,'" ed. Wendy Swartz, Robert Ford Campany, Yang Lu and Jessey J. C. Choo, *The Early Medieval China Sourcebook*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 274-86.

⁸⁴ Huang Lin 黃霖 ed., *Wenxin diaolong huiping* 文心雕龍彙評, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2005), 13. For translation, see Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University, 1992), 187.

derives the origin of the *wen* from the *Classic of Changes*, and declares that the pattern of the Way is images from heaven and earth. What is different from the *Classic of Changes* is that starting from the next passage, the *Wenxin diaolong* explains more about the role of the sage:

From Fu Hsi, the mysterious Sage who founded the canon, up to the time of Confucius, the uncrowned king who transmitted the teaching, all took for their source the mind of the Way to set forth their writings (*chang*), and they investigated the principle of spirit (*shen-li*) to establish their teaching. They took the Images from the Yellow River Diagram and the Lo River Writing, and they consulted both milfoil and tortoise carapaces about fate [method of divination]. They observed the pattern of the heavens (*T'ien-wen*, “astronomy,” “astrology”) to know the full range of mutations; and they investigated human pattern (*jen-wen*, “culture,” “literature”) to perfect their transforming [i.e., to civilize the people]. Only then could they establish the warp and woof of the cosmos, completing and unifying its great ordinances, and they accomplished a patrimony of great deeds, leaving truths (*yi*) shining in their words. Thus we know that the Way sent down its pattern (*wen*) through the Sages, and that the Sages made the Way manifest in their patterns (*wen*, “writing”). It extends everywhere with no obstruction and is applied every day and never found wanting. The *Book of Changes* says, “That which stirs the world into movement is preserved in language.” That by which language can stir all the world into movement is the pattern of the Way.⁸⁵

The sage’s role in the *Classic of Changes* is vaguely introduced in this passage. As seen in James J.Y. Liu’s translation, it is not directly shown, but we can just infer that the one who drew images from nature was not an ordinary person but a person with a special background.⁸⁶ The above-cited passage from the first chapter of the *Wenxin diaolong*, however, reveals who the sages are. They are Fu Xi 伏羲 and Confucius 孔子 (551 B.C.E.-479 B.C.E.). According to this passage, they took images from the Yellow River Diagram and the Luo River Writing in order to predict the future; they also observed patterns of the heavens in order to understand all the changes of heaven. These procedures are the same as those described in the *Classic of Changes*

⁸⁵ Huang Lin ed., *Wenxin diaolong huiping*, 15. For translation, see Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, 193.

⁸⁶ James J.Y. Liu says: “... since not everyone is in a position to ‘accomplish the cultural transformation of the world,’ perhaps the implied subject is the sage-king.” See James J.Y. Liu, *Chinese Theories of Literature*, 18.

and other literary works such as the *Wenzhang liubie lun* by Zhi Yu. They trace the origin of *wen* from patterns of heaven and earth. The above-cited passage, however, includes the next procedure that the sages followed. They investigated human affairs with the intention to teach other people using *wen*. At this stage *wen* includes the concept of culture and civilization. This passage concludes that all these make up a natural process, and language applies the pattern of the Way and makes the world move according to the principles of the Way. The following passage includes deeds of other sages explaining in detail the role of each sage:

The origins of human pattern (*jen-wen*) began in the Primordial. The Images (*Hsiang*) of the *Book of Changes* were first to bring to light spiritual presences (*shen-ming*, “spirit-brightness”) that lie concealed. Fu Hsi marked out the initial stages [by producing the trigrams of the *Changes*], and Confucius added the Wings [exegetical and cosmological tracts accompanying the *Changes*] to bring the work to a conclusion. Only for the two positions of Ch’ien and K’un did Confucius make the “Patterned Words.” For is not [the] pattern in words “the mind of Heaven and Earth”?! And then it came to pass that the “Yellow River Diagram” became imprinted with the eight trigrams; and the “Lo River Writing” contained the Nine Divisions. No person was responsible for these, which are the fruit (*shih*, “solids”) of jade tablets inlaid with gold, the flower of green strips with red writing (*wen*): they came from the basic principle (*li*) of spirit (*shen*). When the “tracks of birds” took the place of knotted cords, the written word first appeared in its glory. The events that occurred in the reigns of Yen-ti and Shen-nung were recorded in the “Three Monuments”; but that age is murky and remote, and its sounds and colors cannot be sought. It was in the literary writing (*wen-chang*) of Yao and Shun that the first splendid flourishing occurred.⁸⁷

This passage examines the roles of each sage in Chinese history, tracing the origin of *wen*. As in the previous passage, the concept of *wen* was first formulated in the representation of the patterns of heaven by Fu Xi, who invented the trigram that represents the patterns of heaven, and by Confucius, who added the Wings commentary that explains the patterns of heaven that were arranged by Fu Xi. These two sages applied the same principle to the pattern of earth when

⁸⁷ Huang Lin ed., *Wenxin diaolong huiping*, 14. For translation, see Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, 190-91.

examining the Yellow River Diagram and the Luo River Writing. After this was the time of Yan-di 炎帝, whose original name was Shen-nong 神農 (Divine Husbandman).⁸⁸ During this time, the “tracks of birds” replaced the knotted cords, and they were the written words. This was the moment when Chinese script was invented. Following this was the time of Yao and Shun, when people created literary writings. Such a development in the concept of *wen* was shared by literary men from the same period. The “Preface to the *Wen xuan*” also opens with the following passage:

Let us examine the primordial origins of civilization, and distantly observe the customs of the remote past. Times when men dwelled in caves in winter, nests in summer, eras when people consumed raw meat and drank blood. It was a pristine age of simple people, and writing (*siwen*) had not yet been invented. Then when Fu Xi ruled the empire, he first drew the Eight Trigrams, created writing (*shuqi*), to replace government by knotted ropes. From this time written records came into existence.⁸⁹

This passage briefly explains how the written word was created. Like the explanation of the *Wenxin diaolong*, it traces writing back to Fu Xi, who created the trigrams, and it describes how written records were generated from that time on. The account in the *Wenxin diaolong* is much more comprehensive, but both of the passages from the *Wen xuan* and the *Wenxin diaolong* share the general overview regarding the origin of the *wen*.

The author of the “Preface to the *Tongmunsǒn*” also shares the view on the concept of *wen*. He claims *wen* was created in the process of patterning the principles of heaven and earth, or the Way. He continues to describe the essence of writing in the “Preface to the *Tongmunsǒn*.”

⁸⁸ The time of Fu Xi, Confucius, Yan-di is not in chronological order. It should be Yan-di’s period that followed Fu Xi’s era. Confucius’s age is the latest.

⁸⁹ Xiao Tong 蕭統, “Wen xuan xu” 文選序, *Wen xuan* 文選, commentary by Li Shan 李善, (Beijing: Zhunghua shuju, 1977). For translation, see David R. Knechtges, *Wen Xuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), 73.

Concentrating with a single focus on the mean and culmen 精一中極 is the essence 體 of writing. The *Classic of Songs*, the *Classic of Documents*, the *Record of Rites*, and the *Record of Music* are the application 用 of writing. 精一中極, 文之體也. 詩書禮樂, 文之用也.

In this passage, the author suggests two important elements of writing as essence 體 and application 用. In other words, the intrinsic quality of writing is “essence,” which can be comprehended in the same way a ruler concentrates with a single focus on the mean and culmen, and as a result what were created are Confucian canons such as the *Classic of Songs*, the *Classic of Documents*, the *Record of Rites*, and the *Record of Music*, which is deemed the application of writing. This analogy follows the same pattern of the relationship between the sage and patterns of heaven and earth. The pattern of heaven is composed of its essence of keeping the principle of the Way, and its operation of the sun, the moon, and the stars. Similarly, the pattern of earth is produced by its essence of keeping the principles of the Way, and its operation of mountains, hills, rivers, and seas. In this formulation, the author emphasizes the role of the sage or the ruler. The following passage of the “Preface to the *Tongmunsŏn*,” which has been cited earlier in this chapter, also focuses on the role of the ruler:

Our venerable Highness by nature is fond of sage learning; he daily attends lectures for the king and enjoys perusing Confucian classics and Chinese histories. He believes that although [our] writings and literary works cannot be compared to the *Six Confucian Classics*, the rise and decline of literary vitality can be seen [through the writings and literary works].
 恭惟殿下, 天縱聖學. 日御經筵, 樂觀經史. 以篇翰著述, 雖非六籍之比, 然亦可見文運之興替.

This passage addresses the purpose of compiling the *Tongmunsŏn*. Before presenting the rationale for compiling the *Tongmunsŏn*, the author introduces King Sŏngjong’s views on the relationship between dynastic rule and writing. This idea is based on the notion that a dynasty can be valued for its literary vitality, an idea that originated in Chinese literary theory.

Through the movement of time, there are differences of rise and decline. And so, there are differences of high and low in the writings. After the *Six Classics* there have been only the Han, Tang, Song and, Yuan. The writings of the august [Ming] dynasty are of the most recent antiquity. This is because the vitality of heaven and the earth is increasing, and the great reverberation in itself is perfect without suffering from the results of the division of north and south in different periods. The writings of the East began in the Three Kingdoms, flourished during Koryŏ, and reached its peak in our dynasty. The relationship between writing and the rise and decline of the vitality of the heaven and earth also is worth examining.

時運有盛衰之殊. 故文章有高下之異. 六經之後, 惟漢唐宋元. 皇朝之文, 最爲近古. 由其天地氣盛, 大音自完, 無異時南北分裂之患故也. 吾東方之文, 始於三國, 盛於高麗, 極於盛朝. 其關於天地氣運之盛衰者, 因亦可考矣.

To understand these theories, we may need to consider how to interpret the word *guan* 觀, which has been variously interpreted as “observe the rise and decline of moral customs”⁹⁰ and “observe the successes and failures [of government].”⁹¹ It is also related to the word *feng* 風:

The one above uses *feng* [airs/moral influence] to transform those below, and those below use *feng* [airs/admonition] to criticize the one above; when the main intent is set to music and the admonition is indirect, then the one who speaks does not commit any offense, while it is enough for the one who listens to take warning. Therefore, it is called *feng* [airs/moral influence/admonition]⁹²

This passage is from the commentary to the *Classic of Songs* by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127-200) in which he explains the meaning of *feng*, which is one of the three main poetic types of the *Classic of Songs*. According to Zheng Xuan, *feng* functions as a medium by which superiors and common people communicate with each other. In this formula, literary works may convey thoughts commonly shared by all the people in a state. The *Wenxin diaolong* includes a similar idea:

⁹⁰ See He Yan 何宴 et al, *Lun yu jijie* 論語集解, *Sibu beiyao* 四部備要, 8.5.a.

⁹¹ See Zhu Xi 朱熹 ed., *Lun yu jizhu* 論語集注, rpt., (Taipei: 1955), 9.788.

⁹² Zheng Xuan 鄭玄, *Mao shi zhushu* 毛詩注疏, Sub-commentary by Kong Yingda 孔穎達, (Nanch'ang: 1815), 5.a-b. For translation, see James J.Y. Liu, 112.

The role of literary works (*wen-chang*) is, in fact, a branching out from the Classics: the Five Rites depend on them to be carried out, and the Six Bureaus function by their means. Literary works are the way that the relation between the prince and his officers as well as the relation between army and state are made perfectly clear.⁹³

Summarizing these theories, we can see a conventional way of linking the Way and writing. According to the Confucian theory on essence and the application of writing, the Way takes the absolute position of essence and the application of the Way, or writings, are the criteria for evaluating each dynasty. Based on this idea, the author of the “Preface to the *Tongmunsŏn*” argues that one can compare different dynasties by evaluating their application of the Way from Tang and Yu to Song and Yuan of the Chinese dynasties. Here the author implies that writings of a period can be superior or inferior depending upon their application of the Way. In the middle of this discussion, the author interrupts and says that by reading the *Selections of Refined Literature*, the *Pure Essence of Tang Literature*, the *Mirror of Song Literature*, or the *Types of Yuan Literature*, one can “discuss the rise and decline of literary vitality.” By this interjection, the author sets the foundation for explaining the preparatory stage to explain the purpose behind publishing the *Tongmunsŏn* in the next paragraph.

What is important to keep in mind here is that essence 體 can also be interpreted as literary style 文體. Later, the author briefly says more about literary style such as in the following passage:

I and other vassals in respectful compliance to the grand commission collected some pieces in various genres such as *fu*, poetry, and prose from the Three Kingdoms to the present age. We selected those in which the expressions and reasoning are pure and just. As for those that benefit governance and education, we

⁹³ Huang Lin ed., *Wenxin diaolong huiping*, 163. For translation, see Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, 294.

have gathered them into distinct categories and types, and arranged them into one-hundred and thirty chapters.

臣等仰承隆委，採自三國，至于當代，辭賦詩文摠若干體。取其詞理醇正，有補治教者。分門類聚，釐爲一百三十卷。

As we have pointed out, the *Tongmunsŏn*'s literary pieces are arranged exactly in the order of *ci*, *fu*, poetry, and, prose. Like the *Wen xuan*, *Tongmunsŏn* places *fu* as independent genre distinct from poetry and prose, inserting it *before* poetry and prose. However, while the *Wen xuan*, places *fu* before *ci*, the *Tongmunsŏn* prints *ci* first, followed by *fu*.

3. The Rationale for Compiling the *Tongmunsŏn*

In the third and fourth sections in the “Preface to the *Tongmunsŏn*,” the author traces the history of writing in Korea by applying the above-described theory on essence and the application of the Way in writing. In other words, after establishing that the *Tongmunsŏn* follows Chinese literary theories, Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng continues to describe how Korean writers achieved literary distinction throughout Korean history:

After the clan of Koryŏ unified the Three Kingdoms,⁹⁴ civilized governance gradually emerged. King Kwangjong established the state examination to select the government officials.⁹⁵ King Yejong was fond of literary refinement.⁹⁶ Following

⁹⁴ This refers to the Post-Three Kingdoms period (892-936). At the end of the Silla dynasty, the regions of Koguryŏ 高句麗 and Paekche 百濟, T'aebong 泰封 (901-918) and Hubaekche 後百濟 (892-936) rose up and together with the Silla and formed another Three Kingdoms period, called the Post-Three Kingdoms 後三國. This turmoil was calmed by Koryŏ, which took over T'aebong in 936.

⁹⁵ In 958, King Kwangjong (r. 949-975) initiated the state examination in order to weaken noble families and regional powerful clans so as to strengthen royal authority.

⁹⁶ In 1109, King Yejong (r. 1105-22) installed the seven special courses of Ch'iljae 七齋 in the royal educational institution of the Kukchagam 國子監. Ch'iljae consisted of Yŏt'aekchae 麗澤齋 for teaching the *Classic of Changes* 周易, Taebingjae 待聘齋 for the *Classic of Documents* 尚書, Kyŏngdŏkchae 經德齋 for the *Mao shi* 毛詩, Kuinjae 求仁齋 for the *Rites of Zhou* 周禮, Pogŭngjae 服膺齋 for the *Record of Rites* 禮記, Yangjŏngjae 養正齋 for the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, and Kangyejae 講藝齋 for military education. In 1116, he established the Ch'ŏngyŏn'gak 淸燕閣 and Pomun'gak 寶文閣 and appointed royal scholars to study and discuss Confucianism.

those two kings, King Injong⁹⁷ and King Myōngjong⁹⁸ also respected Confucian learning. Individuals with excellent and outstanding talent, refined and elegant, emerged in great numbers. During the days of disorder and chaos in the period of the Northern Song, Southern Song, Liao, and Jin dynasties, again and again their writings succeeded in relieving state crises. During the Yuan dynasty, men who passed the civil service examinations for foreigners in China and were comparable to talented Chinese scholars, followed one upon another.

高麗氏統三以來，文治漸興。光宗設科取士，睿宗好文雅。繼而仁明亦尚儒術。豪傑之士，彬彬輩出。當兩宋遼金搶攘之日，屢以文詞得紓國患。至元朝，由賓貢中制科，與中原才士，頡頏上下者，前後相望。

This passage makes two obvious claims. First, it defines Confucianism as the Way to establish order in the state. According to this definition, once a state becomes well ordered, writing can finally flourish. Extending this idea and applying it to the Korean examples, the author emphasizes Kija rather than Tan'gun. He does not think highly of the writing of the Three Kingdoms period (57 B.C.E.-668 A.D.E.). The author contends that the Three Kingdoms period was continually in the throes of battle, and the environment was not favorable for the production of writing. Furthermore, rather than focusing on the period after Silla unified the Three Kingdoms (668-992), he emphasizes the writing of Koryō (918-1392). To understand what is implied here we need to note that the author's concern was the adoption of Confucianism as state policy and the elevation of Confucian scholars' status. Although Silla obtained a political settlement after it unified Korea, the Buddhist aristocracy historically held substantial power; however, the elevation of Confucian scholars' status depended on receiving the favor of the

⁹⁷ During King Injong's reign (r. 1122-46), the *Samguksagi* 三國史記, the standard history for the Three Kingdoms was compiled by Kim Pusik 金富軾 (1075-1151).

⁹⁸ King Myōngjong (r. 1170-97) was made a puppet by military elites such as Chōng Chung-bu 鄭仲夫. Kyōng Tae-sūng 慶大升, Yi Ŭi-min 李義旻. During this period, the court was dominated by the military officials 武班. These military officials, however, held an independent notion that deviated from that of the Southern Song (1127-1279) and Jin 金 (1115-1234). Here, the author seems to be impressed by such diplomatic autonomy.

kings. Unlike during the Silla dynasty, during the reigns of King Kwangjong, King Yejong, King Injong, and King Myōngjong, Koryō employed Confucianism as the main ideology for governing the state. Consequently, Confucian scholars could also enjoy highly esteemed social positions as compared with the previous dynasties, while majority of the positions were still under aristocratic families' occupation. In these circumstances, writing flourished, and the most important factor in creating this phenomenon was the correct application of the Way by the Koryō kings.

The second obvious claim is contained in the different accounts of writing in the passage that deals with Chinese examples. In the first part of the “Preface to the *Tongmunson*,” the author briefly mentions the distinctive writings of various Chinese dynasties, associating each with a representative literary genre:

Reading the Canon and the Plans, one understands that they are the writings of Yao and Shun. Reading the Admonitions, the Proclamations, the Oaths, and the Commands, one understands that they are writings of the Xia, Yin, or Zhou dynasties.

讀典謨，知唐虞之文。讀訓誥誓命，知三代之文。

After the Zhou dynasty, the author's account becomes terse and just enumerates the subsequent dynasties. This seems to be based on the strategy of emphasizing the uniqueness of Korean writings. By choosing those examples as models of good writing, the author indirectly but distinctly reveals his perspective on the writings in two different ways. The first is by citing exemplary works from Kija to Koryō that are related in some way to diplomatic events. The author obviously limits his examples of writings to those that helped the kings in ruling the state. Second, the author claims writings in Korea are different from those of China because of the different environments in which those writings were created:

These are our Eastern writings. They are not those of the Song or Yuan. They are not those of the Han or Tang but our state's writings. They should circulate together with the writings of successive dynasties of the world. How can they perish without being transmitted!

是則我東方之文，非宋元之文，亦非漢唐之文。而乃我國之文也，宜與歷代之文。并行於天地間，胡可泯焉而無傳也哉。

The author asserts here that writings in Korea should be preserved, implying that they are also created under the formulation of the Way: its essence, and its application. Writings in Korea reflect the Way in a Korean context; therefore, they look different from those of China, but this does not mean that the writings in Korea do not emerge from the Way. The idea of preserving literary works appeared as early as the Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties as is seen in the following excerpt from Cao Pi's "A Discourse on Literature" 典論:

I would say that literary works (*wen-chang*) are the supreme achievement in the business of state, a splendor that does not decay. A time will come when a person's life ends; glory and pleasure go no further than this body. To carry both to eternity, there is nothing to compare with the unending permanence of the literary work.⁹⁹

Based on this theory, the author establishes the necessity for the compilation of the *Tongmunsŏn*. In the next passage, he launches into a discussion of earlier collections such as the *Tongguk mun'gam* and the *Tongin jimun*. He asserts that they lack comprehensiveness or are not easily accessible. According to the author, King Sŏngjong also understood this defect, so he commanded his vassals, including the author, to compile a selection of writings by a variety of excellent writers.

It is notable how much the purpose for compiling the *Tongmunsŏn* is emphasized throughout its preface. The preface should include such information as the rationale for the compilation, how it was compiled, what genres were included, the number of chapters, as we

⁹⁹ Cao Pi 曹丕, "Dian lun 典論" in Xiao Tong, *Wen xuan*, 52.7.b. For translation, see Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, 68.

find in the “Preface to the *Wen xuan*,”¹⁰⁰ which must have been referred to directly by the author of the *Tongmunsŏn*, as we can see from the title of the *Tongmunsŏn*, “The Eastern *Wen Xuan*.” When comparing the “Preface to the *Tongmunsŏn*,” with the preface to the *Wen xuan*, we find that the former highlights the legitimate purpose for compiling again and again, allowing it to take up a great portion of the entire piece. This piece begins with a phrase reminding us of a passage from the *Classic of Changes* similar to the beginning of the latter piece. The ending of the first piece starts with a passage in the *Classic of Changes*, which was also cited at the end of the second piece. Consequently, the “Preface to the *Tongmunsŏn*” starts and ends with thoughts borrowed from the *Wen xuan*. This clearly shows that the author was greatly conscious of the *Wen xuan* as its model. He defines what the *Wen xuan* pieces pursue as the Way, and tries to explain that the *Tongmunsŏn* pieces also follow the Way. In so doing, he makes an important point: he believes that the Way has a universal trait, which is that the Way is not applied only to the Chinese empire but to human beings in general including Koreans. It is highly possible that one of the main reasons to emphasize this point is that the author was greatly certain that the Chinese literati would read the *Tongmunsŏn*, since the *Tongmunsŏn* was given to the Chinese envoys when they showed an interest in reading Korean literary pieces.

Following this passage, the author finally declares that Korean writings are as good as Chinese ones because Korean kings created a favorable environment in which Korean scholars

¹⁰⁰ The “Preface to the *Wen xuan*” first traces back the origin of the *wen* 文 just like the “Preface to the *Tongmunsŏn*.” After this, it shows the reason of the compilation of the *Wen xuan* as follows: “Because literature changes with time, it is difficult to describe in detail” 隨時變改，難可詳悉. Then it enumerates various genres of literature in chronological order. Finally it introduces the total number of chapters and the title of the compilation: “From the Zhou house of the remote past to this era of the sage, in all it makes thirty chapters. Its title is the *Selections of Refined Literature*” 遠自周室，迄于聖代，都爲三十卷，名曰文選云耳. See Xiao Tong, “Wen xuan xu,” *Wen xuan*.

could devote themselves to Confucian learning. He especially mentioned his current king's devotion to Confucianism:

In our state several sages succeeded each other, nurturing and protecting [the realm] for one hundred years. Talented scholars who were born during that time, permeated the realm and [their works were] refined and pure. Those who composed earthshaking and stirring writings did not yield to the people of antiquity. These are our Eastern writings. They are not those of the Song or Yuan. They are not those of the Han or Tang but our state's writings. They should circulate together with the writings of successive dynasties of the world. How can they perish without being transmitted! ...

Our venerable Highness by nature is fond of sage learning; he daily attends lectures for the king and enjoys perusing Confucian classics and Chinese histories. He believes that although [our] writings and literary works cannot be compared to the Six Confucian Classics, the rise and decline of literary vitality can be seen [through the writings and literary works].

我國家列聖相承，涵養百年。人物之生於其間，磅礴精粹。作為文章，動盪發越者，亦無讓於古。是則我東方之文，非宋元之文，亦非漢唐之文。而乃我國之文也，宜與歷代之文，并行於天地間。胡可泯焉而無傳也哉。... 恭惟殿下，天縱聖學。日御經筵，樂觀經史。以篇翰著述，雖非六籍之比，然亦可見文運之興替。

In this passage, Sō implies that the role of the king is tantamount to that of Chinese sages.

In the next passage, he enumerates compilers' names, and in doing so he suggests that the role of scholar officials is as important as that of the king in making their thoughts accord with Confucian learning and in transmitting such thoughts to posterity, which was considered one of the most important state activities at the time. Consequently, Sō reveals the most significant role of vassals in his thought: to be engaged state affairs. I believe that this process of writing is associated with his strategy of maintaining his political status.

4. The Structure of the *Tongmunsōn*

What is also notable is that the structure of the *Tongmunsōn* is similar to that of the *Wenxuan* in many respects. The following is a statement concerning the content and the selection principles of the *Tongmunsōn* suggested in the preface.

I and other vassals paying respects to the grand commission collected some pieces in various genres such as *ci*, *fu*, verse, and prose from the Three Kingdoms to the

contemporary age. We have selected those in which the expressions and the reasoning are pure and just. As for those that are helpful in ruling and educating, dividing them into categories, we have gathered them and arranged them into one-hundred and thirty chapters.

臣等仰承隆委，採自三國，至于當代。辭賦詩文摠若干體，取其詞理醇正。有補治教者，分門類聚，釐爲一百三十卷。編成以進，賜名曰東文選。

The *Wen xuan* arranges literary works in the sequence of *ci*, *fu*, verse, and prose, which is exactly the same as what the *Tongmunsŏn* specifies in the above translated passage. The compiler also stipulates the following selection principles: 1) “the expressions and the reasoning are pure and just;” 2) “helpful in ruling and educating.”

The *Wen xuan* and the *Tongmunsŏn* are different in that the former divides a genre into categories according to themes, while the latter divides the selections only by literary styles. For example, the *fu* section of the *Wen xuan* includes fourteen categories, but the *fu* section of the *Tongmunsŏn* is not categorized but arranges the selections in chronological order. The ordering of the *shi* section of the *Tongmunsŏn* is also different from that of the *Wen xuan*: the former arranges the pieces according to prosodic form such as pentasyllabic ancient-style verse 五言古詩, pentasyllabic quatrain 五言絕句, pentasyllabic regulated verse 五言律詩, and so forth; the *shi* section of the *Wen xuan* divides its selections into categories based on themes. The *Tongmunsŏn*, however, definitely refers to the *Wen xuan* especially in the *fu* section in showing a hierarchy of values. According to Professor David Knechtges, the *fu* section of the *Wen xuan* shows a hierarchy of values.

We can see in the ordering of the categories of the *fu* section of the *Wen xuan* a hierarchy of values, progressing from the most important themes of the state and empire to the least important, and even somewhat trivial, subject (at least from a traditional Confucian point of view) of erotic feeling.¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹ David Knechtges, “Culling the Weeds and Selecting Prime Blossoms: The Anthology in Early Medieval China,” 224.

The *Tongmunsŏn* also arranges its *fu* pieces based on a hierarchy that gives preference to themes related to the state and empire. What is different from the *Wen xuan* is that it also shows a preference for topics related to Confucius or Chinese models. The *fu* pieces in the *Tongmunsŏn* are arranged in the following order:

1. Kim Pu-sik's 金富軾 (1075-1151) "Zhongni pong pu" 仲尼鳳賦 (*Fu* on Confucius who was like a phoenix)
2. Kim Pu-sik's "Agye pu" 啞鷄賦 (*Fu* on dumb chickens)
3. Yi Kyu-bo's 李奎報 (1168-1241) "Oe pu" 畏賦 (*Fu* on fears)
4. Yi Kyu-bo's "Mongbi pu" 夢悲賦 (*Fu* on dreaming about sad things)
5. Yi Kyu-bo's "Pangsŏn pu" 放蟬賦 (*Fu* on releasing cicadas)
6. Yi Kyu-bo's "Chogang pu" 祖江賦 (*Fu* on the River Cho)
7. Yi Kyu-bo's "Ch'unmang pu" 春望賦 (*Fu* on climbing up high and gazing afar in spring)
8. Yi Kyu-bo's "Toaeng pu" 陶甕賦 (*Fu* on an earthenware pitcher)
9. Ch'oe Cha's 崔滋 (1188-1260) "Samdo pu" 三都賦 (*Fu* on the Three Capitals)
10. Ch'oe Cha's "Xiangru pi Lian Po i sŏngukka chi kŭpsa"
相如避廉頗以先國家之急賦 (*Fu* on Lin Xiangru's avoiding meeting Lian Po in order to give first priority to urgent matters of state)
11. Yi In-ro's 李仁老 (1152-1220) "Hongdo chŏng pu" 紅挑井賦 (*Fu* on the Hongdo Well)
12. Yi In-ro's "Oktang paek pu" 玉堂栢賦 (*Fu* on the Oktang cypress trees)
- ...
16. "Wangja chi hŭng p'il poksŏ kyŏl ch'ŏha pu" 王者之興必卜筮決天下賦 (*Fu* on the fact that the rise of royal sovereigns is inevitably decided after telling fortunes on public affairs) by anonymous
17. "Ŭi ō inja hwa ō sin pu" 義於人者和於神賦 (*Fu* on the fact that people who are responsible are harmonious with the spirits) by anonymous
- ...

These works are arranged chronologically with preference given to the themes related to Confucius, the state and empire, or Chinese models, while only a few of them describe things or

express feelings. The first *fu* piece is none the less about Confucius himself. The earliest extant *fu* in Korea is the “Yǒng hyo” 詠曉 (Celebrating the dawn) written by Ch’oe Ch’i-wǒn 崔致遠 (857-?), but Ch’oe Ch’i-wǒn’s *fu* is not included in the *Tongmunsǒn*, because, I think, his *fu* piece is a lyric verse, or descriptions of things and an expression of feelings. I believe that Sǒ Kǒ-jǒng intentionally excluded Ch’oe Ch’i-wǒn’s *fu*, because Sǒ wished to adhere to the ordering principles of (1) following chronological order, and (2) to give priority to themes related to Confucius or state affairs. Kim Pu-sik’s “Agye pu” is the second piece in the *fu* section. Yi Kyu-bo’s 李奎報 (1168-1241) *fu* pieces such as “Oe pu,” “Mongbi pu,” and “Pangsǒn pu” are next. These four *fu* pieces deliver moral lessons from the Confucian perspective. Yi Kyu-bo’s “Chogang pu” is an imitation of Jia Yi’s 賈誼 *fu* on “Diao Qu Yuan” 弔屈原賦, so it borrows a Chinese model of Qu Yuan and Jia Yi’s lamentations for him to express the author’s own feelings. Yi Kyu-bo’s “Ch’unmang pu” mainly consists of the author’s feelings about a scenic view in spring, but the place where the narrator of the poem stands is the inside a palace, and other characters are a sovereign and his vassals. Yi Kyu-bo’s “Toaeng pu” is a description of a liquor jar, which is one of the few *fu* piece that is not related to Confucius, the state and empire, nor Chinese models. It is noticeable that two pieces (the sixteenth and the seventeenth pieces) of *fu* by anonymous writers are included because their works were paragons of Confucian ideology or state affairs, whereas Ch’oe Ch’i-wǒn’s *fu*, for instance, the “Yǒng hyo” was excluded just because the theme of his *fu* was related to his feelings.¹⁰²

Apparently the *Tongmunsǒn* selection principles of “the expressions and the reasoning being pure and just;” “being helpful in ruling and educating” were not mutually exclusive. That is

¹⁰² About Kim Pu-sik’s “Zhongni pong pu” and Ch’oe Ch’i-wǒn’s “Yǒng hyo” see Chapter 5.

to say, even if a piece is not “helpful in ruling and educating,” it could be still selected if only its “expressions and reasoning are pure and just.” In this regard, the compilers must have been lenient because we can even see works written by Buddhist monks or works presented to traitors of the state are included in the *Tongmunsŏn*. I believe that if the compilers lacked political influence, they could not have included such pieces. The compilers intentionally preserved these works to make the anthology ample as if showing off cultural competency. It is also partly related to the fact that Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng was not entirely hostile to Buddhist monks. He exchanged poems with many Buddhist monks and kept friendly relationships with them to the end of his life.

5. The Compilation Principles of the *Tongin sihwa*

Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng’s *Tongmunsŏn* can be seen as a repetition of his *Tongin sihwa* 東人詩話 in terms of its compilation principles. The *Tongin sihwa* consists of two chapters with 143 entries that concern his poetic theories. According to its preface, written by Kang Hŭi-maeng 姜希孟 (1424-83), it was published in 1474. The *Tongmunsŏn* was published four years earlier, which implies that the two works were based on the same poetic theories and that their principles of compilation were similar.

Each entry of the *Tongin sihwa* has the same structure: a comparison of two examples in parallel, and a conclusion. Some entries have a three-step structure: a thesis, a comparison of two examples in parallel, and a conclusion. For example, the first entry deals with the spirit of poets in a three-step structure.

In general, an emperor’s or king’s spirit in his writing is inevitably very different from ordinary people. When his status was still lowly, Taizu [the first emperor of Song] lay drunk in the middle of a field. Realizing the sun had risen, he wrote the following lines:

“Before [the sun] departed the bottom of the sea, the thousand mountains were dark;
When it just reached the middle of the sky, the ten thousand states have become bright.”

Before the first king of our dynasty ascended the throne, [he wrote:]
 “Stretching out my hands, I clung to bindweed and ascended a green peak;
 A Buddhist hermitage stood high in the middle of white clouds.
 If what is in the range of my vision becomes my territory,
 How could I not accept the people of Chu 楚 or Yue 越 south of the Yangtze?”
 As for their magnanimity and liberality, it is beyond description in words.
 凡帝王文章氣像。必有大異於人者。宋太祖微時。醉臥田間。覺日出有句云：
 “未離海底千山暗。纔到天中萬國明。”我太祖潛邸時。“引手攀蘿上碧峯，一蒼
 高臥白雲中。若將眼界爲吾土，楚越江南豈不容。”其弘量大度，不可以言語形容。

It opens with the thesis that the writing spirit of rulers is different from that of commoners. He then compares a Chinese emperor and a Korean king prior to their respective assumption of the throne, and finds a similarity in their capacities to view things and embrace people. Finally, he concludes that rulers have a different sort of magnanimity and liberality, one that stands out even before they become sovereigns.

If we compare this entry with the preface to the *Tongmunsŏn* and its principles of compilation, there are a few distinct similarities. Firstly, this entry views rulers as people with outstanding qualities, in the same way that the preface to the *Tongmunsŏn* regards the role of rulers as identical to that of the exemplary Chinese sages. Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng adopts the same rhetoric as used in the preface to the *Tongmunsŏn*: by presenting the Chinese example first and finding a similar Korean example, he gives legitimacy to his perspective on literature and the publication of the *Tongmunsŏn*. In addition, just as the *fu* section gives priority to pieces related to Confucius, the state and empire, or Chinese models in general, this entry begins with a theme that is related to the state and empire, thus illustrating a Chinese example first and then a Korean equivalent.

Features such as this continue throughout the *Tongin sihwa*. The second entry introduces three Korean scholar-officials who either passed the “Guest and tributary examination” 賓貢科 of the Tang and held governmental positions there, or went to the Chinese court as a Korean envoy.

They are similar in that they were all engaged in diplomatic affairs and their literary works were included in a Chinese publication, which is also consistent with the publication principles of the *Tongmunsŏn*.

Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn, 崔致遠 (857-?) lord Munch'ang 文昌 passed the Tang civil service examination and his writings earned him fame. He inscribed a poem at the Zihe Buddhist temple 慈和寺 in Run prefecture 潤州. The poem has the following lines:

In the middle of horn-trumpet sounds, the water billows from morning till evening.
In the shade of the green mountain are men of the past and present.
Later when a Kyerim 鷄林 (the capital of Silla, or current Kyŏngju 慶州) merchant went to Tang to buy poetry books, there was a person who wrote those phrases and showed them. Academician Pak In-bŏm 朴仁範 (fl. 898) inscribed them at the Longshuo Buddhist temple 龍朔寺 in Jing Prefecture 涇州:

A candle quivering like the light of a firefly brightens up a precipitous path.
A ladder winding like the shadow of a rainbow falls on a mountain cavedoor-bar.

Assistant Grand Councilor Pak In-ryang 朴寅亮 (?-1096) inscribed a poem the Guishan Buddhist temple 龜山寺 in Si Prefecture 泗州. The poem has the following lines:

The shadow of the pagoda falls down to the river and flips over beneath the waves;
Sounds of a chime shake the moon which falls from the middle of the clouds.
In front of the gate, a guest is rowing urgently because of overwhelming waves.
Under the bamboo, a monk is playing *go* idly in the daytime.

The *Fangyu senglan* 方輿勝覽 (Scenic sights of the world) records all these poems. We Koreans [or men of the Eastern Tribes] giving voice to ourselves in verse in the Middle Kingdom originated with these three gentlemen. The adequacy of writing to bring luster to the state is demonstrated by this.

崔文昌侯致遠。入唐登第以文章著名。題潤州慈和寺詩。有畫角聲中朝暮浪。青山影裡古今人之句。後鷄林賈客入唐購詩。有以此句書示者。朴學士仁範題涇州龍朔寺詩。燈撼螢光明鳥道。梯回虹影落岩扃。朴叅政寅亮題泗州龜山寺詩。有塔影倒江翻浪底。磬聲搖月落雲間。門前客棹洪波急。竹下僧棋白日閒之句。方輿勝覽皆載之。吾東人之以詩鳴於中國。自三君子始。文章之足以華國如此。

Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn and Pak In-bŏm passed the “Guest and tributary examination” of Tang and

served as Tang officials engaged in diplomatic relations. Pak In-ryang became famous in China for his literary abilities when he was dispatched to the Song court as an envoy of the Koryŏ court. Their literary fame was great even in China, and some of their works were included in the *Fangyu senglan*. Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng emphasizes the fact that their literary abilities were highly regarded by the Chinese, and chooses this as the second entry following the first in which Sŏ describes the peculiarities of rulers. Such an order reminds us of the preface to the *Tongmunsŏn*, in which the author concentrates on the role of the ruler and then highlights the significance of the role of vassals who carry out the ruler's will.

The third entry describes two Korean poets' activities in China.

In the Tang dynasty, a Koryŏ envoy was crossing the sea and wrote a poem that read: "Water birds float and sink;/ Mountains and clouds break off then rejoin." Pretending to be an oarsman, Jia Dao 賈島 (779-843) linked lines as follows: "An oar pierces through the moon beneath waves;/ The boat presses down the sky in the water." The Koryŏ envoy exclaimed his admiration. It has been told that the Korean envoy¹⁰³ was Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn, lord Munch'ang... During the Hongwu reign period 洪武 (1368-98), Yi Sung-in 李崇仁 (1347-92), whose style name was To-ŭn, was dispatched to Jinling 金陵 as an envoy. On a boat to Yangzhou he wrote a poem one of whose couplets reads: "The glow of the setting sun is beyond the drifting clouds; / The mountains are fading away at the end of the grand field." Patting Yi's back, the oarsman said with admiration: "This wretched scholar is someone with whom one can discuss poetry!" Immediately he grabbed a brush and filled in the remaining couplet. As for the person like that oarsman, how could we not know that he was a person like Jia Dao! It is only regrettable that his poem has not been transmitted.

唐時高麗使過海有詩云. 水鳥浮還沒. 山雲斷復連. 賈浪仙. 詐爲梢人. 聯下句云. 棹穿波底月. 船壓水中天. 麗使佳嘆. 世傳麗使爲崔文昌... 洪武年間李陶隱崇仁. 奉使金陵. 楊州舟中一聯云. 落照浮雲外. 殘山大野頭. 篙工撫背嘆曰此措大可與言詩. 卽援筆足之. 如篙工者. 又焉知非浪仙輩耶. 恨不得傳其詩耳.

¹⁰³ The literal translation of *yŏsa* (or *ryŏsa*) 麗使 is the Koryŏ dynasty envoy, but often *yŏ* (or *ryŏ*) 麗 refers to any Korean dynasty. In this line, it refers to the Silla 新羅 dynasty.

In the first episode, Sō Kō-jōng cites an anecdote about how a poem by one of the Korean envoys was linked by a Chinese oarsman, who turned out to be Jia Dao, a famous Tang poet. Sō Kō-jōng adds that the Korean envoy was reputedly Ch'oe Ch'i-wōn. However, Ch'oe was born in 857, while Jia Dao died in 843, and therefore the two could not have met.¹⁰⁴ The second episode almost repeats the first one. It deals with an anecdote about a Korean envoy who was dispatched to Jinling toward the end of the fourteenth century, where he met an oarsman who could respond to the lines of his poems and complete them. Sō Kō-jōng ends the episode with a lament that the name of the Chinese oarsman and the lines of the poem were not preserved.

Why did Sō Kō-jōng decide to choose this piece as the third entry? It is likely that the name of the oarsman or the lines of the poems were not important to Sō Kō-jōng, despite his lamentation. I believe that what was more significant to him was the fact that Korean envoys wrote poems that were highly regarded by Chinese literati. In this sense, this entry can be seen as a continuation of the previous entry, which emphasizes the role of vassals, especially those engaged in diplomatic affairs.

Similar principles of compilation continue in the following entry. The fourth entry compares the two greatest Koryō literati: Kim Pu-sik 金富軾 (1075-1151) and Chōng Chi-sang 鄭知常 (?-1135).

Kim Pu-sik, Lord Muryōl and Chōng Chi-sang, Secretary of Remonstrance were equally famous for their poems in the same age. Lord Muryōl's "Poem on Jieqi Palace" reads:

Yao's stairs were as low as three feet,

¹⁰⁴ It would appear that Sō Kō-jōng did not refer to other resources but relied instead on his memory when compiling the *Tongin sihwa*. We can find a number of incorrect entries regarding certain points, including personal information in the *Tongin sihwa*.

But his moral power has been praised for thousands of years.

The Great Wall of Qin is as long as ten thousand leagues,

But the Second Emperor of Qin lost his state.

Why didn't the Emperor of Sui draw lessons from his predecessors,

Instead of exhausting manpower in construction projects?

His poem "Lamp at night" reads:

The luxurious canopy is just as high as the Northern Culmen;

The jade brazier is face to face with the center of the palace.

Being polite and quiet, our sovereign puts at a distance music and beauties;

Dancing girls, stop boasting of adorning yourselves with hundreds of jewels!

The purport of his phrases is solemn, proper, exemplary, and substantial. They are the very words from a person with moral power.

Chōng's poetic diction is clear and elegant. His phrasing and literary style are bold and uninhibited. He was greatly influenced by late the Tang style. He was especially good at the broken form (*aoti* 拗體). For example, there are the following lines:

Above the old pine tree on the rock is a swath of moonlight;

Under the low clouds at the end of sky are thousands of mountains.

Responding to the deep-blue sky, the earth is not that much distant from it;

The monk and the white clouds relax together face to face.

In the willow trees are eight or nine houses with closed doors;

Under the bright moon are two or three people with the curtains rolled up.

[As these phrases] were uttered, people were startled, and they have been on everyone's lips until the present age. They can easily surpass all the others. The two masters' spirits were not same.

金文烈富軾，鄭諫議知常，以詩齊名一時。文烈結綺宮詩。堯階三尺卑。千載稱其德。秦城萬里長。二世失其國。隋皇何不鑒。土木竭人力。燈夕詩。華蓋正高天北極。玉爐相對殿中央。君王恭默疎聲色。弟子休誇百寶粧。詞意嚴正典實。直有德者之言也。鄭詩語韻清華。句格豪逸。深得晚唐法。尤長於拗體。如石頭松老一片月。天末雲低千點山。地應碧落不多遠。僧與白雲相對閒。綠楊閉戶八九屋。明月捲簾三兩人等句。出口驚人。膾炙當世。可以一洗空羣矣。二家氣像不侔。

Kim Pu-sik and Chǒng Chi-sang were well-known for their literary rivalry. Kim Pu-sik was a descendant of the Silla 新羅 (57 B.C.E.-935 A.D.E.) royal family. His family was a prestigious clan in Kyōngju 慶州 (current city of Kyōngju, North Kyōngsang province, which was the capital city of Silla), but did not enjoy the same standing as the principal aristocratic families. His father Kim Kūn 金覲 (?-?) held a number of central government posts but died prematurely, when Kim Pu-sik was still young. He was the third son of the family, and his father intentionally named him Pu-sik 富軾 after Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036-1101), and his younger brother Pu-chōl 金富轍 (1079-1136) after Su Che 蘇轍 (1039-1112). We can clearly see his father's wish for his sons to be as successful as the Su Shi and Su Che brothers — a wish that was realized. Kim Pu-sik and his four brothers passed the Koryō civil service examinations. One after another, they began to hold important government positions in the Koryō court, and thus their family became one of the most prestigious clans of the time. Kim Pu-sik's achievements in particular were nothing short of outstanding. After passing the civil service examinations, he held various positions in the royal court, including senior reparationer 左司諫, drafting adviser to the Royal Secretariat 中書舍人, and executive of the Royal Secretariat Chancellery 平章事. He did not stand against Yi Cha-gyōm 李資謙 (?-1127), who belonged to a consort clan and was the most influential courtier in the early twelfth century. Yi Cha-gyōm acted as regent for King Injong 仁宗 (r. 1122-46), his grandson, from 1124. Kim Pu-sik was promoted during the time when Yi Cha-gyōm was dominant in the court. Later, though, King Injong wanted to remove Yi Cha-gyōm, who rebelled in response. His revolt was put down, and two different political factions became dominant in the court. They were the Sōgyōng 西京 (current city of P'yōngyang, which was the capital of Koguryō 高句麗 [37 B.C.E.-668 A.D.E.]; currently this city is the capital of North Korea) faction, and the Kaegyōng

開京 (the capital city of Koryŏ; current city of Kaesŏng 開成 in Hwanghae province, North Korea) faction. Those belonging to the first faction wanted to transfer the capital to Sŏgyŏng. Myoch'ŏng 妙清 (?-1135) was the central figure in this movement. Kim Pu-sik belonged to the latter faction, and when Myoch'ŏng revolted, Kim was assigned to the position of chief commander. He suppressed the rebellion of Myoch'ŏng in 1135. In 1136 he finally became prime minister 門下侍中. Kim Pu-sik was famous for his writing skill, especially his ancient-style writings 古文. Under royal command, he compiled the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 (History of the Three Kingdoms) in 1445.

Chŏng Chi-sang belonged to the former faction. His ancestry is not well-known, but judging from some of his literary pieces, in which he revealed his desire to be successful, like a scholar-official in the court, we believe that he was from a low-level aristocratic family. According to his prose writings, his family resided in Sŏgyŏng. His father appears to have passed away prematurely, when Chŏng Chi-sang was a young child, and he was raised by his mother. As a child prodigy, he reputedly wrote a *shi* poem when he was just five years old. He entered the Imperial Academy 太學 and passed the first of the civil service examinations in 1112. He held various positions, including senior reparationer and recorder of royal activity 起居注. When Myoch'ŏng persuaded the people to accept the transfer of the capital from Sŏgyŏng to Kaegyŏng, Chŏng was supportive of Myoch'ŏng, since he too was a man of Sŏgyŏng. It is likely that he was interested in the reorganization of the Aristocracy that would follow the transfer of the capital, and which would give him the chance to move among the highest circles. Myoch'ŏng's trial encountered opposition from Kaegyŏng aristocrats, and he rebelled in Sŏgyŏng in 1135. Chŏng Chi-sang was involved in the rebellion and was executed that same year.

At the time of Myoch'öng's rebellion, Chöng Chi-sang was in Kaegyöng, and when news about the rebellion reached the city, the court appointed Kim Pu-sik chief commander of the troops with the order to suppress the rebellion. As soon as he was appointed, Kim Pu-sik moved to arrest all those in Kaegyöng who were supportive of the Sögyöng faction, and Chöng Chi-sang was one of them. Even though there was no clear evidence that Chöng had been involved in the rebellion, Kim Pu-sik put him to death. According to the official records for this period, Kim Pu-sik allegedly executed Chöng Chi-sang because he had long resented the fact that their literary fame was equal. We do not know the exact date when Chöng Chi-sang was born, but based on the year in which he passed the civil service examinations, he was around fifteen to twenty years younger than Kim. Kim Pu-sik was clearly quite a conceited individual, and given that Chöng had become very famous for his literary talent, it is possible that Kim felt insecure about his abilities as a writer.

There is a scholarly consensus that Kim Pu-sik was skilled in composing parallel-prose, whereas Chöng Chi-sang had a great talent for writing *shi* poems. However, in his fourth entry, Sö Kō-jöng states that Kim Pu-sik and Chöng Chi-sang were equally famous for their poetry. Moreover, Sö describes Kim Pu-sik as a standard poet, and quotes excerpts from Kim's poems that describe the objects of a palace and the deeds of a sovereign, whereas he describes Chöng Chi-sang differently and stresses his unconventional poetic technique. Sö also quotes excerpts from Chöng's poems, in which Chöng describes scenic views and objects/individuals outside the palace, including a Buddhist monk. Such a comparison brings us back to Sö Kō-jöng's identification of three types of poets: a poet holding a high position in the Court writes poems with a bold spirit and rich in imagery; a recluse poet writes poems that are pristine and simple; a poet who is a Zen Buddhist monk writes poems that are lifeless and deficient in vitality. It is clear that Sö Kō-jöng regarded Kim Pu-sik as a poet who represented the first group, and did not view Chöng Chi-sang

as belonging to that group. It is more likely that he considered Chǒng as a poet who belonged somewhere in between the second and third groups. In other words, even though Sǒ states at the beginning of this entry that Kim Pu-sik and Chǒng Chi-sang were equally famous poets, he does indeed think more highly of Kim Pu-sik than he does of Chǒng Chi-sang, which is totally contrary to the general view that Chǒng Chi-sang was a better poet.¹⁰⁵ Considering his principles of compiling the *Tongmunsǒn* and the *Tongin sihwa*, it was quite natural for him to regard Kim Pu-sik more highly than Chǒng Chi-sang. It is also worthy noting that in Sǒ Kǒ-jǒng's view, Kim Pu-sik was an ideal literatus for him to follow.

6. Sǒ Kǒ-jǒng's Views on Literature

In my understanding Sǒ Kǒ-jǒng's ultimate goals in life was to hold highly positions in the court and engage in writing for the state as Kim Pu-sik did. His goals were realized, and he became the greatest poet of his day. What earned him great acclaim was his participation in the poetry competition with Qi Shun 祁順 (1434-97), a Ming envoy. Sǒ Kǒ-jǒng was escort commissioner 接伴使 and greeted Qi Shun, who came to the Chosǒn court as head of Ming envoys in 1476. Following convention, Korean officials and Ming envoys exchanged *shi* poems en route from the Ming and Chosǒn border to the Chosǒn court. Among those who participated in the poetry exchange, Sǒ Kǒ-jǒng and Qi Shun responded to each other remarkably by expressing their

¹⁰⁵ An entry in Yi Kyo-bo's 李奎報 (1169-1241) *Paegun sosǒl* 白雲小說 (Petty talks of Paegun) deals with an episode between Kim Pu-sik and Chǒng Chi-sang. Yi Kyo-bo was Koryǒ's greatest writer. His *Paegun sosǒl* is a collection of essays describing his views on poets and their poems. In the seventh entry, Yi compares the two poets' outstanding poetic talents but thinks more highly of Chǒng. Kim Pu-sik allegedly liked a line in one of Chǒng Chi-sang's poems and asked Chǒng whether Chǒng could give him the line to use in one of his poems, but Chǒng declined. Later, when Chǒng Chi-sang died at the hands of Kim Pu-sik, he haunted Kim's house and gave him a lesson while Kim was writing a poem. According to Yi Kyo-bo's last statement in this entry, Kim Pu-sik allegedly died after being tormented by Chǒng Chi-sang's ghost.

intention to defeat their opponent as is recounted in the following passage:

Two honorable scholars were skilled and quick: almost a match for each other as if two heroes were encamped facing each other. For a long time, the battle was undecided. As for changes of standard or unusual tactics, there was nothing that they did not know. As tips of weapons crossed, a battle broke out. Lightning struck and thunder came quickly. A spirit of ceding and yielding, however, was felt among the flags and drums. Although one had a magnificent battle formation of eight battle formations, gave directions while holding a fan, and left Zhongda without a plan, that did not easily make the other surrender.

二公巧速，略相敵，猶兩雄對陣，持久不決，奇正變化，莫不相諳，鋒交戰合，電流雷迅，而揖讓之氣，存乎旗鼓之間，雖堂堂八陣，舉扇指揮，而仲達之算，無遺策，亦未易降也。¹⁰⁶

Their competition was so fierce that it was described as a battle between two martial heroes. Finally both of them admitted the other's talent. It was an especially important moment for Sō Kō-jōng, because he earned fame by challenging a scholar official of China from which was the original domain of *shi* poetry. His fame as a great *shi* writer spread to Chosŏn and even to China.

However, there also was a moment when Sō Kō-jōng and other Chosŏn scholar officials could not aptly respond to Qi Shun:

After arriving at Chechŏn Pavillion, we drank wine but consumed less than half of what was prepared. While seated we recited in low voices as if trying to formulate our thoughts. Someone searched for a brush, and wrote a couplet to give us to read. It read, "The wind and the moon do not follow a yellow crane; / A succession of misty waves brings white gulls." Qi Shun spontaneously wrote with a brush saying, "Geographical features of Paekche disappear at the edge of the water; / Veins of water on Mount Odae come from the sky." Looking back at Saga [Sō Kō-jōng's art name 號 is Sagachŏng 四佳亭), Qi Shun said, "Isn't this right?" The tip of the brush moves as it pleases, and no one can stand against. All of us lost our courage. Kim Su-on was also seated there. As he matching the rhyme for the character *dui* 堆, he tried hard but was at loss for ideas. Knitting his brow and looking back at the others, he said, "My spirit is wasted, my thoughts are exhausted. I could die!"

¹⁰⁶ Kim An-ro 金安老, "Yongch'ŏn tamjŏk ki" 龍泉談寂記, Hong Man-chong 洪萬宗, *Sihwa ch'ongrim* 詩話叢林, (Seoul: Asea Munhwa-sa, 1973), 113.

到濟川亭，酒未半，於座上微吟，若爲構思之狀，索筆書呈一聯，有曰：“風月不隨黃鶴去，煙波長送白鷗來。”順卽席走毫曰：“百濟地形臨水盡，五臺泉脈自天來。”顧四佳曰：“是否？”筆鋒橫逸，不可枝梧。四座皆色沮。乖崖亦預席，當和押，有堆字，苦哈思潤，攢眉顧人曰：“神耗意竭，吾其死矣。”¹⁰⁷

The author did not mention the person's name explicitly, but it was Sō Kō-jōng who began to write lines of a poem, then asked Qi Shun to respond to his line matching the same rhymes. Qi Shun made an apt and immediate retort to Sō Kō-jōng. Then no one, including Sō Kō-jōng, could suggest the matching lines because they could not come up with the right rhyme word.

What is worse is that Sō Kō-jōng actually committed a gaffe in this scene as Yi I 李珣 (1536-84) later recounted:

Confronting Qi Shun, Sō Kō-jōng dared to chant first, which suggested a challenge. However, he finally had trouble with the phrases: “Geographical features of Paekche disappear at the edge of the water; / Veins of water on Mount Odae come from the sky.” Criticizing this scene Yulgok said, “Saga was like a wrestler. He first tried to trip up his opponent, then fell to the ground. When people of a tributary state receive the emperor's envoy, all that one should do is to follow after the envoy in order to match [the envoy's poems]. How dare he chant first!

遠接使徐居正，對祁順，敢爲先唱，若爲挑戰，然卒困於“百濟地形臨水盡，五臺泉脈自天來”之句。栗谷譏之曰：“四佳 有似角觝者，先交脚後仆地，下邦人待天使，宜奉接酬和而已，何敢先唱。”¹⁰⁸

According to Yi I, while participating in poetry exchanges, escort commissioners of a tributary state like Chosŏn were not allowed to write first. Sō Kō-jōng seemed to have been so eager to defeat Qi Shun that he boldly and abruptly suggested that Qi Shun allow for Sō to compose his poem first. Why did Sō Kō-jōng commit a diplomatic faux pas to win the poetry content

¹⁰⁷Kim An-ro, “Yongch'ŏn tamchŏk ki,” Hong Man-chong, *Sihwa ch'ongrim*, Asea Munhwa-sa (Seoul: 1973), 113.

¹⁰⁸ Yu Mong-in 柳夢寅, “Ōu yadam” 於于野談, Hong Man-chong, *Sihwa ch'ongrim*, Asea Munhwa-sa (Seoul: 1973), 229-230.

between the two states? I believe the next remark by a Chosŏn scholar official well explains one of the reasons:

In addition, although composing verse and prose is a minor skill, when Chinese men of letters are ordered to serve as envoys and come to our state, they regard our state as a place where literary composition is taught. They usually compose *fu* or *shi* and ask us to write pieces in response. If we are not able to overpower or prevail over them, then wouldn't they look down upon us from their hearts? Therefore, men of letters and talents are precious to our state. We cannot but train them in advance.

且詞章雖爲末技，中朝文士奉使而來，以我國文教所在，率作賦詩以索續和。若不能壓倒而出於其右，則其無輕我之心乎？故文人才士，國之華也，不可以不預養。¹⁰⁹

The speaker of this remark pointed out that Chinese envoys tested the Chosŏn scholar officials' abilities in writing poems. Chosŏn people equated the quality of writings with that of their culture. In these circumstances, it was essential for the Chosŏn court to groom scholar officials who were skillful in literary composition. To sum up, in my view, there were two reasons why Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng was so intent on besting Qi Shun: 1) to show that Chosŏn was a state with a high level of culture by demonstrating Chosŏn scholar-officials' literary skills; 2) to succeed in his career as a scholar official. To a "court poet" like Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng, to participate in poetry exchanges on behalf of the Chosŏn court was the greatest opportunity to realize his ultimate goal in his life. As a result, Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng took a much more aggressive stance in the poetry contest.

The following is a summary of this chapter. In my understanding, in the fifteenth century, whether it was a royal or private compilation, the compilation of an anthology in Chosŏn was an expression of the cultural confidence in Chosŏn literary works. These Korean anthologies, on the

¹⁰⁹ Chosŏn wangjo sillok, "Sŏngjong sillok," the seventh record, the fifteenth day of the fifth month, 1476.

surface, aimed at the transmission of Confucianism, and the legitimacy of Chosŏn sovereigns' ruling in Korea. The compilers pursued this purpose on the one hand, while on the other hand they tried to maintain or elevate their political status by selecting specific literary works or styles and organizing the sections in a certain manner.

That is to say, in the case of Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng, when he compiled the *Tongmunsŏn* under royal command, he based the title on the *Wen xuan*, followed its ordering of the selections, and drew upon Chinese literary theories, all of which was a strategy to give credibility to his anthology. In addition, Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng suggested the aim of this compilation was to bring the legitimacy of Chosŏn sovereigns' ruling in Korea implying that his act of compilation was a part of that. In this manner, Sŏ justified his engagement in the royal compilation as well as tried to maintain his political status. Furthermore, by including non-Confucian works such as poems written by Buddhist monks in the *Tongmunsŏn*, he apparently intended to highlight the diversity of the Chosŏn culture, and the magnanimity of the Chosŏn court. This view of literature was opposed by the Sarim scholars. We will discuss this matter in the following chapter concentrating on Kim Chong-jik's views on literature.

Chapter Three: Kim Chong-jik's Views on Literature and the Compilation of the *Tongmunsu* 東文粹

This chapter investigates Kim Chong-jik's views on literature, and explores a few of his literary pieces, his remarks on literature, and his anthologies. Given that Kim's political status was different from that of Sō Kō-jōng, I shall attempt to ascertain his strategy for elevating his political status, as implied in his views on literature. A comparison between his principles of compiling his anthologies—the *Tongmunsu* 東文粹 (Pure essence of Tang literature) and the *Chōnggu p'ungga* 靑丘風雅 (Airs and elegantiae of Korea)—and those of Sō Kō-jōng's *Tongmunson* and the *Tongin sihwa* reveals the differences between his strategy and that of Sō Kō-jōng. This chapter also makes the contention that due to the different political status enjoyed by Sō Kō-jōng and Kim Chong-jik, the two used the *Wen xuan* in different ways. If we compare the compilation principles in Sō Kō-jōng's *Tongmunson* and Kim Chong-jik's *Tongmunsu* and *Chōnggu p'ungga*, we can see that they are similar insofar as they adopt Confucianism as the most important standard for selection. The biggest difference in the principles is that Kim Chong-jik is stricter in his choice of literary pieces that reflect Confucianism, which is why not a single literary piece related to the Buddhism is included in his literary anthologies, whereas Sō Kō-jōng's anthology goes so far as to include some literary pieces written by Buddhist monks. It is likely that Kim Chong-jik's relatively unstable political status drove him to be strict in relation to Confucianism so that he would not be vulnerable to criticism. He was indeed a strict neo-Confucianist who observed Confucian rituals in his everyday life, which was not the case with the other Confucian scholars of his time. I believe that this attitude is reflected in the compilation principles of his literary anthologies.

1. About Kim Chong-jik and His Scholarship

The *Chǒnggu p'ungga* (1475) and the *Tongmunsu* (early 1480s) were both compiled by Kim Chong-jik, who has long been regarded as the head of the Sarim faction, which pursued the principle of realizing the Way in writings. However, recent scholars have suggested that he belonged to the School of “Verse and Prose” 詞章派, but this opinion does not accord with the belief that the Hun’gu faction was the School of “Verse and Prose” and that the Sarim faction was the “Dao Learning” school 道學派. To resolve this contradiction, we need to intimately understand Kim Chong-jik’s life.

Kim Chong-jik was born in Miryang 密陽 in 1431. His ancestral home town was Sōnsan 仙山 (current Kumi 龜尾 in North Kyōngsang province). His great grandfather was Kim Ŭn-yu 金恩宥 (?-?), who held several high government positions in Koryō. His grandfather, Kim Kwan 金瑄 (?-?), did not take up a government position in Chosŏn. His father was Kim Suk-cha 金叔滋 (1389-1456), who served in provincial posts and a few minor posts in the Royal Court, including as instructor for the Crown Prince 世子右正字, but was not assigned to particularly high positions. Kim Suk-cha studied Confucian classics with Kil Chae 吉再 (1353-1419), who was a renowned Confucian scholar at the beginning of the Chosŏn era.

According to Kim Chong-jik, Kim Suk-cha suggested the following steps for his students to read Confucian classics, which were derived from Kil Chae’s teachings:

In the beginning, they learned *Tongmeng xuzhi* 童蒙須知 (What children should know). Young children studied *Zi shuo* 字說 (Explanation of characters), *Zhengsu pian* 正俗篇 (Chapters of proper custom), and they were supposed to memorize all of these. Then they were allowed to enter into the *Xiao xue*, the *Xiao jing*, the *Da xue*, the *Lun yu*, the *Meng zi*, the *Zhongyong*, the *Shi jing*, the *Shu jing*, the *Chunqiu*, the *Yi jing* and the *Li ji* in order.

初授童蒙須知。幼學字說，正俗篇，皆背誦。然後令入小學，次孝經，次大學，

次論孟，次中庸，次詩，次書，次春秋，次易，次禮記。¹¹⁰

Kim Chong-jik also studied the Confucian classics under his father's strict guidance, as we can see from his essays. However, there are no sources that indicate that Kim Chong-jik put as much effort into practicing writing. This lack of evidence reinforces previous scholars' opinion that he belonged to the "Dao Learning" school. These scholars also cite a poem included in his collection of writings, in which he revealed his desire to stay out of the court and live a hermit-like existence.¹¹¹

However, when we read his early poems, which were not included in his collection of writings, we find many in which he expresses his desire to achieve success as a government official. The following poem is a good example:

“Suk Ssangsū yŏk” 宿雙樹驛 (Staying overnight at the Ssangsū post-station)

The Sŏnggyun'gwan entrance examination is near at hand.

The travel is circuitous, and I have encountered a persistent and heavy rain.

All the village houses are shelters for sparrows;

In the watered field, rice sprouts already look like needles.

Together with post-station attendants, I identify landmarks.

Together with petty officials of the town, I pour wine into cups.

Our Highness will be in my daydream.

We will recite the “Lu ming”¹¹² in union.

宿雙樹驛

¹¹⁰ Kim Chong-jik, “Nyŏnbo” 年譜, *Chŏmp'iljae chip* 佔畢齋集.

¹¹¹ See Yi Wŏn-ju 李源周, “Chŏmp'lchae yŏn'gu” 佔畢齋 研究, *Han'guk'ak nonjip* 6 (1979): 1-51. Also see Pak Sŏn-jŏng 朴善楨, *Chŏmp'lchae Kim Chong-jik munhak yŏn'gu* 佔畢齋 金宗直 文學研究 (Seoul: Iu ch'ulp'ansa, 1988).

¹¹² This refers to a poem, “Lu ming” 鹿鳴 (Calling of deer) in the *Shi jing*.

南省期將迫 迂行值雨霪 村家皆燕壘 野水已苗針 墩共郵人筭 杯同計吏斟
吾君方夢想 合和鹿鳴吟

In this poem, the first line reveals that the narrator's concern is the *Sōnggyun'gwan* 成均館 (Royal Confucian Academy) entrance examination. He is on his way to Seoul to take the examination and encounters heavy rain, which continues for a long time. In the third line, he likens himself to a sparrow looking for shelter. He finds a village house where he can stay, and enjoys drinking wine with low-level officials of the town whom he has just met. From the last two lines, we realize that his main concern is passing the civil service examinations, being employed by the king, and dedicating himself to governing the state efficiently. A person who incorporates such desires into his literary work is clearly a Hun'gu faction scholar, as can be seen in the case of Sō Kō-jōng. It was very unusual for Sarim faction scholars to write such poems, especially after the sixteenth century.

In fact, as early as the sixteenth century, many Sarim scholars doubted whether Kim Chong-jik was a neo-Confucian scholar at all. Among them was Yi Hwang 李滉 (1502-71), the most influential neo-Confucian scholar in Chosŏn. During his early career, Yi Hwang expressed his frustration that he was not able to learn from Kim Chong-jik. Later, however, he went so far as to claim that Kim was not a sincere neo-Confucian scholar. The followings are Yi Hwang's remarks on Kim Chong-jik:

You explained about teacher Kim Chong-jik's affair, and it is indeed as you said. Except that there were many affairs that are like this case. In general, he did not deeply pay attention to the learning of single-mindedly revering propriety. Because of this, one moment he gradually developed himself, but the next moment he became totally changed as you suggested. This is regrettable but also something to fear.

來喻佔畢先生事果然，其他亦多有如此之事。大抵於精一敬義之學。不甚留意

故馴致鶻突如此，可惜亦懼也。¹¹³

He asked, “When you were in P’unggi, you presented a letter to the governor discussing various dignitaries together such as Chǒng Kil, U T’ak, and Kim Chong-jik, what do you think about that?” The teacher said, “At that time, I never deliberated on the matter, now thinking back, I was wrong. Kim Chong-jik was just a litterateur scholar.”

問：“先生在豐基，上方伯書，竝論於鄭吉禹際酒金佔畢諸公如何。”曰：“彼時不曾商量今而思之謬。佔畢，亦只是文章之士耳。”¹¹⁴

In both remarks, Yi Hwang admitted that he regarded Kim Chong-jik as a neo-Confucian scholar, but later realized that Kim was more interested in developing his writing skills. I believe that Yi Hwang initially thought that Kim Chong-jik was a neo-Confucian scholar, because Kim had received a posthumous execution when the Hun’gu faction officials slandered the Sarim faction scholars, claiming that they were not faithful to Prince Yönsan 燕山君 (r. 1494-1506) in 1498. They insisted that Kim Chong-jik’s “Cho Ŭije mun” 弔義帝文 (Writing of mourning for Emperor Yi [of Chu]) criticized King Sejo 世祖 (r. 1455-68) by likening him to Xiang Yu 項羽 (r. 206-202 B.C.E.), who had killed Emperor Yi of Chu 楚義帝 (d. 206 B.C.E.) and taken the throne. Many Sarim scholars who were Kim Chong-jik’s students were put to death or exiled. The following is Kim Chong-jik’s “Cho Ŭije mun.”

“Cho Ŭije mun” 弔義帝文 Composition lamenting Emperor Yi [of Chu])

On a day of the tenth month in 1457, on my way from Milsöng 密城 (modern Miryang 密陽) to Kyöngsan 京山 (modern Kyöngju 慶州), I spent the night at the Tapkye post-station 踏溪驛 (current Haksan village 鶴山里 of Söngju county 星州郡). In my dream a spirit wearing a seven-emblem garment¹¹⁵ standing tall came to

¹¹³ Yi Hwang 李滉, *T’oegye sönsaeng munjip* 退溪先生文集, (Seoul: Hangmin munhwasa, 1990), 1.52.

¹¹⁴ Yi Hwang, *T’oegye sönsaeng munjip*, 22.20.

¹¹⁵ Chinese emperors wore twelve-emblem garments 十二章服 as their official raiment 冕服. See *Siku quanshu*

me and said, “I am Xin, grandson of King Huai of Chu 楚懷王 (r. 328-299 B.C.E.). I was murdered by the Hegemon-King of Western Chu,¹¹⁶ and drowned in the Chenjiang River.” Then suddenly he disappeared.

丁丑十月日。余自密城道京山，宿踏溪驛。夢有神披七章之服，頽然而來自言，楚懷王孫心，爲西楚霸王所弑，沈之郴江。因忽不見。

I woke up from the dream 余覺之

And said in surprise: 愕然曰

“King Huai 楚懷王 (r. 208-06 B.C.E.) was a man of Southern Chu 懷王南楚之人也

And I am just a man from the Eastern Yi tribes 余則東夷之人也

Not only is the distance between two places 地之相距

More than ten thousand leagues, 不啻萬有餘里

The gap between our generations 而世之先後

Is also more than a thousand years, 亦千有餘載

But he appeared in my dream to awaken me. 來感于夢寐

How auspicious is this! 茲何祥也

I even examined the historical record 且考之史

There was no statement that he was drowned in the river 無沈江之語

How did Yu order men secretly to slay him 豈羽使人密擊

四庫全書, *Zhou li* 周禮, 21.8.b. In Chosŏn Korea, kings wore nine-emblem garments 九章服, while crown princes wore seven-emblem garments 七章服. See *Chosŏn sidae kungjung poksik* 朝鮮時代宮中服飾, Munhwajae kwalliguk 文化財管理局 (Seoul: Munhwajae kwalliguk, 1981), 23-26.

¹¹⁶ This figure refers to Xiang Yu 項羽 (232-02 B.C.E.).

And to throw his corpse into the water? 而投其屍于水歟

Of this I am still not aware, 是未可知也

Thereupon I wrote a literary composition to mourn him 遂爲文以弔之

Verily Heaven bestowed the laws of things and gave them to humankind 惟天賦物則以予人兮

Who does not know how to revere the “Four Greats” and “Five Constants?”¹¹⁷ 孰不知尊四大與
五常

Is it not the case that China is generous, and the Yi tribes are frugal? 匪華豐而夷嗇

How could this situation exist only in the past, and not in the present? 曷古有而今亡

Thus, I, a man of the Yi tribes 故吾夷人

Again a thousand years later 又後千載兮

Respectfully lament King Huai of Chu. 恭弔楚之懷王

In the past, the ancestral dragon¹¹⁸ played with his teeth and horns, 昔祖龍之弄牙角兮

The waves of the four seas 四海之波

Became reddish-purple like blood 殷爲崑

How could sturgeon, paddlefish, loaches and giant salamanders 雖鱣鮪鯀鯢

Protect themselves? 曷自保兮

Thinking of escaping the net they flittered and fluttered. 思網漏而營營

Remaining descendants of the Six States of that era 時六國之遺祚兮

¹¹⁷ In Confucianism “Four Greatness” 四大 refers to Heaven 天, Earth 地, parents 親, and teachers 師; “Five Constancies” 五常 means humaneness 仁, propriety 義, etiquette 禮, wisdom 智, and faithfulness 信.

¹¹⁸ The first emperor of Qin.

Sunk into oblivion or wandered adrift 沈淪播越

Barely managed to find mates and become listed as commoners. 僅媿夫編氓

Xiang Liang, the seed of a general of the southern state [of Chu], 梁也南國之將種兮

Tread in the tracks of fish and foxes and then rose to power 踵魚狐而起事.

In seeking to obtain the throne he followed people's desires, 求得王而從民望兮

And preserved the ritual commemoration of Xiong Yi¹¹⁹ that had been cut off. 存熊繹於不祀

Holding the heavenly tally and facing the sun, 握乾符而面陽兮

Nothing was greater than the surname Mi¹²⁰ in the world. 天下固無大於芊

Dispatching the venerable elder to enter Guanzhong¹²¹ 遣長者而入關兮

That for its part was enough to behold his benevolence and righteousness 亦有足覩其仁義

Vicious as a ram and greedy as a wolf 羊狠狼貪

[Xiang Yu] had the royal forces completely under his control. 擅夷冠軍兮

Why did the king not capture [Xiang Yu] and grease a sharp axe? 胡不收而膏齊斧

Alas! 嗚呼

The circumstances were something extremely unfavorable! 勢有大不然者兮

I, for the king, was all the more afraid 吾於王而益懼

¹¹⁹ Xiong Yi 熊繹 (r. 11th century B.C.E.) was the founder of Chu.

¹²⁰ The surname of Chu royal family was Mi 芊.

¹²¹ This line refers to a historic fact related to King Huai's announcement that anyone who entered Guanzhong first would be installed as ruler. The first to enter Guanzhong was Liu Bang, but he gave way to Xiang Yu fearing Xiang's military forces. As a result, Xiang Yu became Hegemon King of Western Chu. The first thing that he did after seizing the throne was to kill Qin emperor Ziyi 子嬰 (r. 207) and to act as regent for Emperor Yi of Chu. See Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shi ji* 史記, (Beijing: Zhunghua shuju 中華書局, 1959), 310-316.

He was betrayed then killed to have his organs pickled and his flesh dried. 爲醢腊於反噬兮

Indeed Heaven's will was subverted. 果天運之蹶盪

The mountains of Chen stand high touching the sky, 郴之山礪以觸天兮

The sun is getting dark and dim as evening approaches. 景晦愛¹²²以向晏

The waters of Chen flow day and night, 郴之水流以日夜兮

Waves overflow uncontrolled never turning back. 波淫泆而不返

Even if heaven and earth are eternal 天長地久

How could one's remorse be contained? 恨其可既兮

His ethereal soul has been drifting aimlessly until now, 魂至今猶飄蕩

My heart pierces into metal and rock. 余之心貫于金石兮

The king suddenly appeared in my dream. 王忽臨乎夢想

Stroking Zhu Xi's old brush, 循紫陽之老筆兮

My thoughts are anxious and disturbed. 思墮惇以欽欽

I hold the cloud-inlaid cannikin and pour wine on the ground. 舉雲罍以酌地兮

May the honorable spirit come and enjoy it! 冀英靈之來歆

There is some controversy as to whether Kim Chong-jik meant to criticize King Sejo's killing of the previous king. Firstly, some scholars have suggested that this *fu* piece pointed to King Sejo's act of murder because of the time in which it was written, which is suggested in the introduction: "On day of the tenth month in 1457, on my way from Milsŏng 密城 (modern

¹²² It is likely that *ai* 愛 is a typo. It should be *ai* 暖.

Miryang 密陽) to Kyōngsan 京山 (modern Kyōngju 慶州), I spent the night at the Tapkye post-station 踏溪驛 (current Haksan village 鶴山里 of Sōngju county 星州郡).” The tenth month of 1457 was the month in which King Tanjong 端宗 (1452-55) was killed by King Sejo. Other scholars maintain that it is impossible for Kim Chong-jik to have written this piece at that time, because he was in mourning for his mother. According to Confucian rites, Korean *yangban* were not supposed to leave a parent’s grave during the mourning period. Relying on this fact, they doubt that Kim Chong-jik wrote this lament in order to criticize King Sejo’s murderous behavior.¹²³ However, it is not necessary for one to reveal the actual time of writing of a literary piece. In addition, the main body of this lament is based on the author's imagination, which gives the impression that the date suggested in the *fu* may not reflect the actual timeframe.

Secondly, the man in his dream states that he was drowned in the Zhen River, but despite a search of historical records, the author could not find a corresponding line that could prove this statement, and therefore the author was ambivalent about Emperor Yi's death. Scholars note that there was a rumor that King Tanjong’s body was thrown into the water around the time when Kim Chong-jik was alive.¹²⁴

Thirdly, the man who appeared in the author’s dream wore a seven-emblem garment which in ancient China was worn by princes. In Korea, it was kings who wore this kind of garment. If the man in question is a Chinese emperor, there was no reason for him to be wearing a seven-emblem garment. But if the author wanted to borrow a Chinese historical event to allude to what had happened to a Korean king, this may be a way of implying that his intentions were to point to

¹²³ See Yi Wōn-ju, “Chōmp’lchae yōn’gu,” *Han’guk’ak nonjip* 6 (1979): 5-6.

¹²⁴ See Yi Wōn-ju, “Chōmp’lchae yōn’gu,” *Han’guk’ak nonjip* 6 (1979): 10-11.

a Korean case.

Concerning my speculations about whether the author intended to criticize King Sejo or not, I believe that Kim Chong-jik alluded to criticism of King Sejo. But in that case, why did he write this lament? It was a violation of the Confucian principle of *zhong* 忠 to write this kind of literary work secretly and to serve the next king. Later, scholars such as Hō Kyun 許筠 (1569-1618) strongly criticized and mocked Kim Chong-jik, pointing out the basic contradiction that was revered by neo-Confucian scholars even though he violated one of the fundamental principles of neo-Confucianism.¹²⁵

In my understanding, in the sixteenth century, Sarim scholars regarded the aforementioned massacre as a significant event because it played a crucial role in creating solidarity between them. Kim Chong-jik was naturally revered by them. The problem is that the Sarim scholars of his time, as well as of later generations, pursued the realization of neo-Confucian ideals, but Kim Chong-jik never studied neo-Confucian theories deeply. Yi Hwang must have understood this point later, after he had read through Kim Chong-jik's collection of writings.

In many respects, Kim Chong-jik had an affinity with scholars of the School of “Verse and Prose”, or the Hun’gu faction. He was greatly concerned with developing his writing skills and making his family prosperous. In the early fourteenth century, King T’aejong 太宗 (r. 1400–18) decided to apply strict controls on the marriage arrangements of his officials. His father, Kim Suk-cha, never attained high positions because he had divorced his first wife. Therefore, he made every effort to marry his children into prestigious families. Kim Chong-jik inherited this family

¹²⁵ See Hō Kyun 許筠, “Kim Chong-jik ron” 金宗直論 (Disquisition on Kim Chong-jik), *Sōngso pubugo* 惺所覆瓿藁, 11.70.b-11.71.b.

tradition. We can find a considerable number of writings in which he expresses grave concerns about his family's prosperity, as can be seen in the following passage:

Alas, our Kim clan has long sunk to the commoners' rank since Koryŏ. It has been five generations since the Lord Yangon exerted himself to rise. However, those who entered genealogy books and charts are as rare as morning stars. In addition, those who passed civil service exams and had careers as government officials are only a few from my family. We have not yet been successful in making our clan greatly eminent. Is it because we need to wait? Why is heaven so sparing of favor?

嗚呼，我金氏 自高麗時 淪於民伍者甚久。良醞公振起以後 逮今五葉矣。而入譜圖者 落落如晨星。且以科第出身者 纔吾家數人而已。尙未至於碩大顯隆 其有待也歟。何天之慳嗇若是也。¹²⁶

In this passage, Kim first recalls his ancestor Kim Kyun 金均 (?-?), who held the high governmental post of assistant royal secretary 密直副使. He then laments that few members of his family had passed the civil service examinations. Subsequently, he reveals his discontent about the small size of his family, and repeats his lament that not many of his family members had attained governmental posts. He finally admits the anxiety he feels while waiting for his clan to become prosperous, and even expresses resentment against heaven. In reading this passage, it is not difficult to suppose that his life's ambition was to pass the civil service examinations and hold a high governmental post in the court. In this sense, he shared the same concerns that Hun'gu faction scholars had, since the majority of Sarim faction scholars portrayed themselves as intellectuals who did not directly pursue governmental posts.

However, there is evidence that Kim Chong-jik was indeed a leader of the Sarim faction scholars. A record from the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* provides solid evidence of this:

The royal historian said, "Kim Chong-jik is a man of Kyŏngsang province. He is widely-read in writings and skilled in belles lettres. He takes pleasure in teaching and

¹²⁶ Kim Chong-jik, *Yijon rok* 彝尊錄, *Chŏmp'ilchae chip*. 1.14.

instructing.” Among those who received instruction from him, one after another, many of them passed the civil service exams. Because of this, those Confucian scholars of Kyōngsang who took positions in the royal court, praise him highly and regard him as a great master. The teacher praised his disciples, and the disciples praised him, which went beyond the reality. Among those newly advanced group of royal officials, none of them were aware of their wrongs, and there were many of them who followed and joined them. People of that period said in criticism, “They are the faction of the Kyōngsang seniors.”

史臣曰：“宗直，慶尙道人也。博文工詞章，樂於訓誨，前後受業者，多登第。以故慶尙之儒仕于朝者，推尊爲宗匠，師譽其弟，弟譽其師，過其實。朝中新進之輩，亦莫覺其非，多有從而附者。時人譏之曰：‘慶尙先輩黨’”¹²⁷

The record points out Kim’s superb abilities as a teacher, explaining the manner in which students who had passed the civil service examinations were taught. It then continues to describe how they formed a political faction within the Royal Court. We should also note that he taught his students well because he was himself widely read and highly skilled in the art of writing.

In conclusion, I am of the opinion that later Sarim faction scholars were quite different from early Sarim faction scholars. Early Sarim faction scholars, including Kim Chong-jik, displayed features that resembled those of scholars from the School of “Verse and Prose” — they emphasized the importance of developing writing skills. In the late fifteenth century, Sarim faction scholars turned to neo-Confucianism, and thereafter spent much more time studying neo-Confucian theories rather than focusing on their writing skills. As a result, Sarim faction scholars from the sixteenth century onward came to the belief that Kim Chong-jik was not a member of the Sarim faction.

2. Kim Chong-jik’s Views on Literature and the Structure of the *Tongmunso*

Like the preface to the *Tongmunso*, the preface to the *Ch’onggu p’unga* 青丘風雅 (Airs

¹²⁷ *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, “Sŏngjong sillok,” the sixth day, the eighth month, 1484.

and *elegantiae* of Korea) and the postface to the *Tongmunsu* 東文粹 (Pure essence of Tang literature) also make clear that Korean writers' works are as good as Chinese works, and that therefore Korean literary anthologies should also be compiled. In addition, the *Ch'ōnggu p'unga* and the *Tongmunsu* significantly include works promoting Confucian ideology and exclude works related to Buddhism and Taoism.

Kim Chong-jik compiled the *Ch'ōnggu p'unga* in the early 1470s, a few years before the compilation of the *Tongmunson*.¹²⁸ It is composed of seven chapters 卷 within one fascicle 冊. Each chapter includes different styles of 503 *shi* poems, written by 126 Korean poets from the late Silla (the ninth century) to the early Chosŏn (the fifteenth century) era.

Kim Chong-jik was also one of the main compilers of the *Tongmunsu*. According to its postface, some of the Chip'yŏnjon 集賢殿 scholars, including Sŏng Sam-mun (1418–56) 成三問, began compiling the *Tongbang munsu* 東方文粹 (Pure essence of Korea), or the earlier edition of the *Tongmunsu*, in the fifteenth century. However, it was not published¹²⁹ until it was

¹²⁸ The preface to the *Ch'ōnggu p'unga*, written by Kim Chong-jik himself, is dated 1473. We think that he compiled the *Ch'ōnggu p'unga* around this period.

¹²⁹ This may have been due to the unexpected deaths of Sŏng Sam-mun and certain other Chip'yŏnjon scholars. When Prince Suyang 首陽大君 (later King Sejo 世祖) usurped the throne and became the seventh king of Chosŏn (r. 1455–68) in 1455, they refused to serve him and tried to restore the previous king. Their scheme was uncovered before the plot could be carried out, and most of them were executed in 1456. We can figure out the process of the *Tongmunsu*'s publication as follows: Sŏng Sam-mun held important positions at the Chip'yŏnjon in the 1440s and died in 1456; thus, the compilation of the *Tongbang munsu*, or the earlier edition of the *Tongmunsu*, was initiated between the mid-1440s and the mid-1450s; the manuscript of this edition had been preserved in the Royal Archive; Kim Chong-jik passed the higher civil service examinations in 1459 and immediately after held the position of supernumerary proofreader at the Bureau of Diplomatic Documents 承文院副正字, which allowed him to enter the Royal Archive; Sin Chong-ho reprinted the *Tongmunsu* in 1488; therefore, we can conclude that Kim Chong-jik compiled and printed the *Tongmunsu* after 1459 and before 1488.

found by Kim Chong-jik, who continued its compilation and eventually published it in late fifteenth century under the title *Tongmunsu* 東文粹. Later, Sin Chong-ho 申從濩 (1456–97) republished it (in 1488) after adding some more early Chosŏn literary pieces. Currently, a woodblock edition of the *Tongmunsu* is preserved in the National Library of Korea. This edition consists of ten chapters within three fascicles. The other edition is a manuscript copy preserved in the Kyujanggak Library. It consists of ten chapters within five fascicles.

The preface to the *Chŏnggu p'unga* was written by Kim Chong-jik himself. Kim begins his preface by describing his assessment of the history of Korean literature:

Since I began studying poetry, I have often obtained Korean poets' poems and read them. There were not only several hundreds of famous writers, but also as many as three changes in poetic standards. In the late Silla and early Koryŏ, they exclusively followed the late Tang style. In the mid-Koryŏ, they exclusively imitated Su Shi. During the declining period [of Koryŏ], Yi Che-hyŏn and various eminences gradually changed the old-fashioned practices, and cultivated elegance and propriety. During our prosperous times, literary enlightenment has followed such a path. If we count down from these days to the end of Silla, the duration is almost a thousand years, and it is natural that poems of the past times are numerous and abundant. During that period, although the poetic standards changed three times, our poems profoundly obtained proper dispositions in discerning mores and moral teaching, in giving form to praise and criticism, and in modulating the rise and fall [of literary sentiments]; those that rival those of Tang and Song and are models for posterity are not few.

宗直，自學詩以來，往往得吾東人詩，而讀之，名家者，不啻數百，而其格律無慮三變。羅季及麗初，專習晚唐，麗之中葉，專學東坡，迨其叔世，益齋諸名公，稍稍變舊習，裁以雅正。以迄于盛朝之文明，猶循其軌轍焉。由今日而上溯羅末，蓋幾於一千載宜。其詩之盛且多也。格律雖三變，其間識風教，形美刺，開闔抑揚，深得性情之正。可以頡頏於唐宋，模範於後世者，亦不少也。

He first divides the history of Korean poetry from the Silla to the Chosŏn eras into three different periods, and then describes the poetic trends of each period. In the latter part of the passage, he concludes that Korean writers had developed their writing skills by learning from the Chinese, and that their literary works were comparable to the Tang and Song paragons. In this

sense, Kim Chong-jik's views on Korean literature were the same as those of Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng, as revealed in the "Preface to the *Tongmunsŏn*."

The author of the postface to the *Tongmunsu* was Sin Chong-ho 申從濩 (1456–97). He was also a Sarim faction scholar, whose views on literature were similar to those of Kim Chong-jik¹³⁰, and it was he who expanded Kim's *Tongmunsu*. In the middle of the postface, he includes a paragraph in which he reveals his opinions about the richness of Korean literature:

Our country's writings began in Silla, flourished in Koryŏ, and reached their peak in our dynasty. In the past, several dignitaries of the Chip'yŏn Hall compiled the *Tongbang munsu* in a certain number of chapters and had long kept them in the Royal Library. Chŏmp'ilchae (Kim Chong-jik's art name 號) obtained them and regarded them as acceptable. However, among them there were those that were not without defects. Therefore, he made a few additions and pared it down, and also continued to include recent works.

吾東方文詞，始於新羅，盛於高麗，至我朝而極矣。往時，集賢諸公，編東方文粹若干卷。藏在秘閣者久矣。佔畢齋得而可之。然於其中，不無病焉。故稍加增削之，又續以近時之作。

It had only been about ninety years since the founding of the Chosŏn, and naturally the number of works written by Chosŏn writers was much less than those written by Koryŏ writers, but the author still thought that Chosŏn literary works were richer than those of Koryŏ. This opinion was similar to the Sarim scholars' views on Korean literature, namely that the quality of literature is determined by whether a work accurately portrays Confucian ideology.¹³¹

The author goes on to mention the selection criteria for the *Tongmunsu*:

In any particular case of writings, we regard what are well organized with "inherent

¹³⁰ According to Sin's epitaph, he was greatly revered by Sarim scholars for his determination to keep the Way and for his literary talents.

¹³¹ Such a view on literature was also shared by Hun'gu faction scholars. A passage in the "Preface to the *Tongmunsŏn*" (mentioned in Chapter 1) includes a similar opinion on Korean literature.

patterns” as mainstream. If a work does not accord with “inherent patterns” but is merely bound up with non-essential words, and if it regards embellishing structures as crafty or regards “the perverse, oddity, deviousness and coarseness” as remarkable, then these are not what was selected by him. Only if a work is necessary to be used in the world, and if it manifests the right principle, did he select it. This book, in its standards of selection accord with a sense of fairness, and between complexity and simplicity it obtains the right balance; it is certain that this book will be transmitted to future generations.

夫文以理勝爲主，不于其理而徒屑屑于文字之末，以雕績組織爲巧，以通怪險澀爲奇，則皆公所不取。惟切世用，明義理，然後取之。是書也，取舍合其公，繁簡得其中，其永傳於後世也，決矣。

The author goes on to mention the selection criteria for the *Tongmunso*. According to this passage, a literary work included in the *Tongmunso* takes the neo-Confucian concept of “inherent patterns” 理 as the main method of organizing the content, rather than making use of fancy embellishments through expressions. Such a view is related to the discussion over the definition of literature between Sarim faction scholars and Hun/gu faction scholars.

Kim Chong-jik’s following remark extends Sin Chong-ho’s views on literature in his “Preface to Yun sŏnsaeng Sang sijip sŏ” 尹先生詳詩集序 (Poetry collection of Mr. Yun Sang [1373–1455]):

“Scholars well versed in classical learning are weak in composition; Scholars skilled in writing are ignorant of the classics.” These are words that people of our era say. From my perspective, it’s not like that. Writing comes from classical learning; classical learning is the root of writing. Let me liken it to grasses or trees. If there is no base, how can branches and leaves become lengthy and thick; how can flowers and fruit become dense and be in full bloom?

As for the *Classic of Poetry*, the *Classic of Documents*, and the *Six Arts*, all of them are classics; as for the texts of the *Classic of Poetry*, the *Classic of History*, and the *Six Classic*, they are all writings...People merely regard what is considered classical learning of today simply to involve parsing the text and glossing the meaning of words. What is called writing nowadays is nothing but a skill like carving or weaving. How can anyone discuss writings of “elegant embroidery” and “warp or weft threads” in the same breath with parsing the text and glossing the meaning of words marking! And how can one place carving or weaving on the same level with the learning of

inborn nature and pattern or the Way and its Power. Thus, they finally divided classical learning and writing as two different pursuits, and suspect that they can have afunctional effect on each other. Alas, how shallow this opinion is!

經術之士，劣於文章，文章之士，闇於經術，世之人有是言也。以余觀之，不然。文章者，出於經術，經術乃文章之根柢也。譬之草木焉，安有無根柢，而柯葉之條鬱，華實之穠秀乎。詩書六藝，皆經術也。詩書六藝之文，卽其文章也... 人徒見夫今之所謂經術者，不過句讀訓詁之習耳，今之所謂文章者，不過雕篆組織之巧耳，句讀訓詁，奚以議夫黼黻經緯之文，雕篆組織，豈能與乎性理道德之學。於是乎遂歧經術文章爲二致，而疑其不相爲用，嗚呼，其見亦淺矣!¹³²

Kim first criticizes people who think that writing and classical learning are separate.

According to Kim, classical learning is like the roots of a tree, while writing is the leaves. In this analogy, even though he ends his remark by stressing the inextricable relationship between classical learning and writing, his theory reveals a hierarchy of values according to which classics are the essence and writing is supplementary. It was from this approach that he could say, “If there is no base, how can branches and leaves become lengthy and thick; how can flowers and fruits become dense and be in full bloom?”

In contrast, the Hun’gu faction scholars had different views on literature. Sōng Hyōn 成覲 (1439–1504) was regarded as a scholar who represented the School of “Verse and Prose” or the Hun’gu faction scholars after Sō Kō-jōng’s generation. Sōng Hyōn criticized the Sarim faction scholars’ opinions on literature, as we can see in the following comment, where he describes desirable literary styles in the “Mun pyōn” 文變 (Change of writings):

Sao (elegy) and *fu* should be principally “luxurious and elegant,” but ignorant people think that they should be “flat and insipid.” *Lun* (disquisition) and *ce* (examination questions) should be principally “grand and sublime,” but ignorant people think that they should be “upright and correct.” *Ji* (record) and *shi* (report) should be principally “authoritative and solid,” but ignorant people think that they should be “conjoining and paring.” “Flat and insipid” is not a defect of writings, but its maladies reach “declining and collapsing.” “Upright and correct” is not a defect of writings, but its

¹³² Kim Chong-jik, “Yun sōnsaeng sangjōnjip sō” 尹先生詳詩集序, *Chōmp’ilchae chip*.

maladies reach “loose and diffuse.” “Conjoining and paring” is not a defect of writings, but its maladies reach “vulgar and uncouth.” If I draw an analogy, it is as if a tree in the garden, after its branches, stalks, flowers, and leaves becoming profuse and thick, then they cover its original root; It is as if a person who blends food, after examining surely about the proper way of five tastes or cleaning rice, then he/she obtains a harmony of food. Now you remove branches and leaves then expect the tree to grow thick; you reject five tastes then want the food to be palatable. How could there be this kind of principle!

騷賦當主華贍，而不知者以爲當平淡也。論策當主雄渾，而不知者以爲當端正也。記事者當典實，而不知者以爲當併儷也。平淡非文病也，其弊至於委靡。端正非文病也，其弊至於疏散，併儷非文病也。其弊至於鄙俚，譬如庭樹枝柯花葉紛鬱，然後得庇本根。而樹必碩茂，調飲食者當審五味滫瀡之宜 然後乃得其和。今者削枝葉，而望樹之茂，擯五味而得食之和。寧有是理!¹³³

In Sōng Hyōn’s view, literary styles have their own unique features, and it is important for a writer to keep these features in a specific style. What is notable is that he also draws an analogy with the roots and leaves of a tree, just like Kim Chong-jik. However, in Sōng’s analogy, what is most valued are not the roots but the leaves. In conclusion, both Hun’gu faction scholars and Sarim faction scholars believed that there was an inextricable relationship between writing and classical learning, but the former believed that writing was more important because it could make classics more conspicuous, whereas the latter valued classical learning more because they thought that writing could not exist without having its contents organized reflecting Confucian classics.

It is worth exploring Kim Chong-jik’s contradictory views of *wen* 文. He was clearly closer to the Hun’gu faction scholars, or the School of “Verse and Prose” scholars, in that he concentrated all his efforts on developing his writing skills rather than cultivating himself in pursuit of the Way. However, in the aforementioned discussion with a Hun’gu faction scholar, Kim’s views

¹³³ Sōng Hyōn 成俔, “Mun pyōn” 文變, *Hōbaektang jip* 虛白堂集, Minjok munhwa ch’ujinhoe ed. *Han’guk munjip ch’onggan* 韓國文集叢刊. Seoul: Han’guk kojōn pōnyōkwōn, 1988.13.57.a.

on the relationship between the Way and *wen* give us the impression that he would not exert himself excessively to develop writing skills. How can we understand such a contradiction? I think that the contradiction comes from his dissatisfaction with his political status. As mentioned earlier in this paper, his desire to be successful as a scholar-official was intense. Compared with Hun'gu faction scholars, however, Kim was in a politically unfavorable position in that he was not able to inherit political privileges from his father or grandfather. In these circumstances, it was natural that he decided to compete with the Hun'gu faction scholars by engaging in the very field through which the Hun'gu faction scholars gained political credit — writings.

The structure of the *Tongmunsu* also reflects Kim Chong-jik's political vulnerabilities. The *Ch'önggu p'unga* is similar to the *Tongmunsoñ* in its ordering in the *shi* section. In addition, the *Tongmunsu* is different from the *Wen xuan* and the *Tongmunsoñ* in that its ordering of the content was designed to arrange the works chronologically regardless of their literary style. Like the *Wen xuan* and the *Tongmunsoñ*, however, Kim Chong-jik's *Tongmunsu* also shows a tendency for content arrangement that shows a preference for themes that are related to Confucius or state affairs. The following is a table of the contents of the first chapter of the *Tongmunsu*:

1. Ch'oe Ch'iwön's 崔致遠 “Kyök Huang Chao sö” 檄黃巢書 (War proclamation against Huang Chao)
2. Kim In-chon's 金仁存 (?-1127) “Ch'öngyöngak ki” 清燕閣記 (Note on the Ch'öngyön pavilion)
3. Kim Pu-sik's “Sang Jin guk sö p'yo” 上金國誓表 (Petition for swearing an oath presented to Jin)
4. Kim Pu-sik's “Chin Samguksa p'yo” 進三國史表 (Petition for presenting the *History of Three Kingdoms*)
5. Im Ch'un's 林椿 (1147-97) “Kongbang chön” 孔方傳 Biography of

Kongbang)

6. Im Ch'un's "Hwaan ki" 畫雁記 (Note on drawing wild geese)
7. Im Ch'un's "Chungch'uhoe ūm si sŏ" 中秋會飲詩序 (Preface to "Poem of Drinking at a Mid-autumn Gathering")
8. Im Ch'un's "Yŏ Hwangbo Yaksu sŏ" 與皇甫若水書 (Letter sent to Hwangbo Yaksu)
9. Yi In-ro's "Ssangmyŏngchae sijip sŏ" 雙明齋詩集序 (Preface to the *Ssangmyŏngchae sijip*)
10. Yi Kyu-bo's "Yun Saöp Wi anmu Namwŏn song" 尹司業威安撫南原頌 (Eulogy on the Director of Studies Yun Wi, who pacified Namwŏn)
11. Yi Kyu-bo's "Wi Chao Cuo sŏrwŏn ron" 爲鼂錯雪冤論 (Disquisition on the clearing of Chao Cuo of a false charge)
12. Yi Kyu-bo's "Qin Shi Huang pulbun Zhou yi ron" 秦始皇不焚周易論 (Disquisition on the First Emperor of Qin, who did not burn the *Zhou yi*)
13. Yi Kyu-bo's "Oe pu" 畏賦 (*Fu* on fears)

Unlike the *Wen xuan* or the *Tongmunsŏn*, the *Tongmunsu* does not arrange the selections according to genre (like *fu* or *shi*), but only by date, and therefore various literary styles are mixed and arranged chronologically. Like the *Tongmunsŏn*, however, the *Tongmunsu* values themes that are related to Confucius, the state and empire, or Chinese models. For example, Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn's "Kyök Huang Chao sŏ" is a proclamation against rebels on behalf of Tang, China. Kim In-chon's "Ch'öngyŏngak ki" is a note on the Koryŏ Royal Library, which was established to encourage learning and the discussion of Confucian classics. Kim Pu-sik's "Sang Jin guk sŏ p'yo" is a petition presented to the Jin 金 Court. In this manner, most of the selections are related to Confucius, state affairs, or Chinese models, and the proportion of such pieces is much higher than in the *Tongmunsŏn*.

Moreover, if one compares the works included in the *Tongmunsu* and the *Ch'onggu p'unga* with those in *Tongmunsŏn*, it becomes clear that the former adheres to the selection principle of valuing Confucian themes much more than the latter, because the former does not include any works related to Buddhism. I believe that Kim Chong-jik intentionally excluded such literary pieces, because he did not reject Buddhism completely. Such an attitude, as shown in his selection principles, may be indicative of Kim Chong-jik's strategy to elevate his political status. For instance, excluding literary pieces related to Buddhism from the *Tongmunsu* must have lowered the chances of his being criticized by other Confucian scholar-officials significantly.

In fact, his attitude toward Buddhism was not very different from that of Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng, as can be seen in Kim's own writings. In some of his works, he criticizes Buddhism severely, as in the poem "Ansusa kwanjaebul" 安水寺觀齋佛 (Observing an offering to Buddha at Ansu Buddhist Temple). However, he also wrote some poems in which he apparently acknowledges and even praises Buddhist virtues. His two poems "Chŭng ipchŏng sŭng Hyŏnggŭn" 贈入定僧炯根 (Presenting to the Monk Hyŏnggŭn who is lost in Samadhi) and the "Sŏnsasa" 仙槎寺 (Sŏnsa Buddhist Temple) are good examples. In the first poem, Kim Chong-jik considers a Buddhist monk's devotion to Buddhism as sincere as a Confucian scholar's 儒學者 pursuit of the realization of the Way. In the second poem, Kim describes the scenic view of a Buddhist temple, associating it with the most pleasant images that one can imagine.

How should we understand Kim Chong-jik's contradictory attitudes toward Buddhism in his anthology and in his poems? The *Tongmunsŏn* (three chapters of *ci* and *fu*; 19 chapters of *shi*; 108 chapters of prose) is much larger than the *Ch'ŏnggu p'unga* (seven chapters) and the *Tongmunsu* (10 chapters). In compiling much more compact collections, Kim Chong-jik must have

had a lack of space for Buddhist-related texts in his anthologies. In addition, I think that he intentionally excluded literary works related to Buddhism in order to avoid criticism from other Confucian scholars, because his political status was considerably more vulnerable than that of the scholars who had compiled the *Tongmunsŏn*. The last passage of the preface to the *Ch'ŏnggu p'unga* may in fact reflect just such a circumstance.

I made it into seven chapters, and gave it a title of *Ch'ŏnggu p'unga*. It is to show to younger generations, but does not dare to have the honor of joining the ranks of previous poetry anthologies. However, if one takes a look at this, that person is able to understand the rise and fall of the Way in our state. On another day, if I am fortunate enough to return to the court, I should approach dignitaries and indeed have them correct this anthology.

釐為七卷，目之曰，青丘風雅。用以示子姪輩，非敢自附於選詩之末也。然觀是，亦可以知吾東方世道之升降矣。他日徼幸得還于朝，當就三堂諸先生，而寔正焉。

In this passage, Kim Chong-jik first reveals that his assumed readers are people of later generations. However, his remark at the end shows that he was highly conscious of high-ranking officials in the court: “I should approach dignitaries and indeed have them correct this anthology.” Apparently Kim was deeply anxious about potential criticism of his anthologies from high-ranking officials.

3. Poems from the *Ch'ŏnggu p'unga* 青丘風雅 and the *Hyŏpchu myŏnghyŏn sipch'osi* 夾註明賢十抄詩, and the Development of Commentaries by Korean Literati

If we compare the poems included in the *Ch'ŏnggu p'unga* 青丘風雅 (Airs and elegancies of Korea) with those in the *Hyŏpchu myŏnghyŏn sipch'osi* 夾註明賢十抄詩 (Ten extracted poems of bright worthies with interlinear commentaries), we can notice that the compiler

of the former anthology referred to the latter for its poems, as some scholars have pointed out.¹³⁴ Elaborating on this point, I would assert that the compiler of the *Ch'ōnggu p'unga* may have even referred to commentaries inserted in the *Hyōpchu myōngghyōn sipch'osi*, and added his opinions about the cited line or his evaluations of the poems.

The *Hyōpchu myōngghyōn sipch'osi* was compiled by a Buddhist monk — Chasan 子山. It was completed after commentaries to the *Myōngghyōn sipch'osi* (hereafter *Sipch'osi*) 明賢十抄詩 (Ten extracted poems of bright worthies) were added. The compiler of the *Sipch'osi* is unknown. It includes the poems of thirty poets (ten poems each), who were active during the Tang period, such as Liu Yuxi 劉禹錫 (772-842), Bo Juyi 白居易 (772-846), and Wen Tingyun 溫庭筠 (812-870). Out of these thirty poets, four were Koreans who had passed the “Guest and tributary examination” 賓貢科 of Tang and held Tang governmental posts. They are Ch'oe Ch'i-wōn, Pak In-bōm 朴仁範 (fl. 898), Ch'oe Sūng-u 崔承祐 (fl. 890-900), and Ch'oe Kwang-yu 崔匡裕 (fl. 885). It consists of two chapters in one fascicle. As is the case with other Chinese literary anthologies, the *Sipch'osi* arranged the poets in chronological order based on their death dates, and therefore the last poet of the *Sipch'osi* is the one who died last. However, the dates for many of the poets whose poems are arranged in the latter part are unknown. From the dates for Luo Yin 羅隱 (833-910), who is the twenty-seventh poet in the order, we can infer that the *Sipch'osi* was compiled after the early part of the tenth century.

The postface to the *Hyōpchu myōngghyōn sipch'osi*, written by Kwōn Ram 權肇 (1416-

¹³⁴ See Kim Ūn-jōng, “Sipch'osi-rŭl t'onghae pon namal yōch'o hansu suyong yangsang” 十抄詩를 통해 본 羅末 麗初 漢詩 受容 兩相, *Han'guk hansu yōn'gu* 20 (2012): 5-40.

65) in 1452, implies that the extant edition—preserved in the Kyujanggak Library (the National Library of Korea) and other places—was printed in the mid-fifteenth century. The postface also suggests that the extant edition was based on a missing edition that was printed in 1337 in Andong 安東 (current Andong city in North Kyöngsang province). The commentaries to this anthology include lines from the *Samguk saki* 三國史記 (History of the Three Kingdoms), which was published in 1145. Based on these two pieces of information, we can infer that the author of the *Hyöpchu myönghyön sipch'osi* added commentaries to the *Sipch'osi* and compiled the *Hyöpchu myönghyön sipch'osi* sometime between 1145 and 1337.

Let us examine the nature of the commentaries in the *Hyöpchu myönghyön sipch'osi*. The poem “Guo Xinfeng” 過新豐 (Passing through Xinfeng), written by Wen Tingyun 溫庭筠 (812-870), is included in the *Hyöpchu myönghyön sipch'osi*.¹³⁵

“Guo Xinfeng” 過新豐 (Passing through Xinfeng)

By Wen Tingyun 溫庭筠 (812-870)

With a single sword, availing himself of a favorable time, he completed the imperial enterprise;

From his home village of Pei he made his way to the capital Xianyang.

Within the confines of the domain he had already created the noble imperial dwelling place;

The wind and moon still embrace the circumstances of the White Willow Temple.

In the old pavilion by Si River spring sprouts are everywhere;

In the remaining roof-tiles of the thousand doors grows old moss.

Even today are left his regrets about leaving his home;

Chickens and dogs gaze at each other while the glow of the setting sun is bright

¹³⁵ This poem is not included in the *Ch'önggu p'unga*. Note that the majority of the poems included in the *Hyöpchu myönghyön sipch'osi* were written by Chinese poets, whereas the *Ch'önggu p'unga* comprises poems written by Korean poets only.

一劍乘時帝業成，沛中鄉里到咸京。環區已作皇居貴，風月猶含白社情。
泗水舊亭春草遍，千門遺瓦古苔生。至今留得離家恨，鷄犬相望落照明。

The fourth line of the poem reads “The wind and moon still embrace the circumstances of the White Willow Temple.” After this line, the compiler inserts a commentary and reveals that the origin of the cited lines is the *Wen xuan*.

The “*Fu* on the Western Metropolis” says, “Did he not long for a return to Fenyu?” Li Shan’s commentary reads: “The Fenyu and the community temple of Feng are places where Emperor Han Gaozu arose. He did not think of returning and dwelling in a village where Fenyu and the community temple of Feng were. He made Luoyang the capital. The *Han shu* says, ‘Emperor Gaozu prayed at the white elm tree community temple in Feng. Zhang Yan said, ‘*Fen* 粉 is a white elm tree. The temple is fifteen leagues northeast of Feng.’”

西京賦，豈伊不懷，歸于粉榆。李善注，粉榆，豐社，高祖所起也。惟不思歸，處粉榆社之城，都於洛邑也。漢書曰，高祖禱豐粉榆社。張晏曰，粉，白榆也。社在豐東北一十五里。

Reading this commentary, we understand that the compiler of the *Hyōpchu myōnghyōn sipch’osi* copied this commentary from Li Shan’s commentary on the *Wen xuan*. Kim Ŭn-jong classifies the origins of the citation in the *Hyōpchu myōnghyōn sipch’osi*, and indicates how many times each source is cited. According to the count, the *Hyōpchu myōnghyōn sipch’osi* cites passages from the *Wen xuan* as many as 290 times.¹³⁶ No other source is cited more than the *Wen xuan*, a fact that shows the influence of the *Wen xuan* on the compilation of the *Hyōpchu myōnghyōn sipch’osi*.

In general, the commentaries in the *Ch’ōnggu p’unga* are short and often do not include

¹³⁶ See Kim Ŭn-jong, “Hyōpchu myōnghyōn sipch’osi hyōpchu inyong munhōn mit chōnggo hwaryong yōn’gu” 夾註明賢 十抄詩 夾註 引用 文獻 및 典故活用 研究, *Hanmun kojōn yōn’gu* 29 (2014): 311-349.

commentaries that are in the *Hyöpchu myöngghyön sipch'osi*. Both the *Ch'önggu p'unga* and the *Hyöpchu myöngghyön sipch'osi* include the poem “Chou Yang Zhan xiucai” 酬楊瞻秀才 (Responding to Yang Zhan,¹³⁷ Recommended Talent), written by Ch'oe Ch'i-wön 崔致遠 (857-?), but their commentaries are slightly different.

“Chou Yang Zhan xiucai” 酬楊瞻秀才 (Responding to Yang Zhan, Recommended Talent)

By Ch'oe Ch'i-wön 崔致遠 (857-?)

Even if the sea raft is supposed to return every other year,
Thinking of returning home in brocade clothes, I feel ashamed that I don't have talent.
Suddenly we part in Wucheng when leaves are about to fall;
Distantly I will make my way through the Pongnae Mount¹³⁸ just when flowers bloom.
A valley oriole hopes to fly high at a distance;
Even if it is a pig from Liaodong, how does one feel shameful about coming to present it?
Being eager to hold lofty aspirations let's plan to meet later;
I look forward to holding cups in our mouths in Guangling's wind under the moon.

海槎雖定隔年廻，衣錦還鄉愧不才。暫別蕪城當葉落，遠尋蓬島趁花開。谷鶯遙想高飛去，遼豕寧慙再獻來。好把壯心謀後會，廣陵風月待銜杯。

The *Hyöpchu myöngghyön sipch'osi* has the following commentary after the second line:

In the *Han shu* 漢書 (History of the Former Han), Zhu Maichen arrived at the palace. He submitted a petition to the throne, and awaited appointment at the Gate Traffic Control Office. He met his fellow townsman Yan Zhu, and Yan recommended Maichen to the throne. He was interviewed by the emperor. Maichen explained the *Chunqiu* 春

¹³⁷ In the *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩, it is written as Yang Zhan 楊瞻. Further information is not available about this person.

¹³⁸ This mountain refers to current Mount Kūmgang 金剛山 in Kangwŏn province, North Korea. It had four different names according four seasons of the year. Mount Kūmgang was the name for spring. In summer people called it Mount Pongnae 蓬萊山. Autumn name of this mountain was Mount P'ungak 楓嶽山. In winter it was referred to as Mount Kaegol 皆骨山.

秋 (Spring and autumn annals) and discussed the *Chu ci* 楚辭 (Songs of Chu). Being greatly delighted at this, the emperor appointed him ordinary grand master and governor in Guiji. The emperor said, “If you become rich and noble, but don’t return home, it is like walking at night dressed in fancy brocade [no one will properly appreciate you]. Now what do you think about this?”

前漢書，朱買臣闕上書，待詔公車，會邑子嚴助薦買臣，召見說春秋言楚辭。帝甚悅之，拜爲中大夫，拜買臣會稽太守。謂曰，富貴不歸故鄉，如衣錦夜行，今子如何。

The second line of the poems reads “Thinking of returning home in brocade clothes, I feel ashamed that I don’t have talent.” This line alludes to a cliché that corresponds to the East Asian expression “returning home loaded with honors.” The *Ch’ōnggu p’unga* does not have a commentary for this line, while the *Hyōpchu myōnghyōn sipch’osi* cites a long passage from the *Han shu*, in which the compiler introduces the origin of the cliché — a historic anecdote between Zhu Maichen 朱買臣 (died 115 B.C.E.) and Emperor Wu of Han 漢武帝 (r. 141-87 B.C.E.).

After the fifth line, the *Ch’ōnggu p’unga* includes the following commentary:

People of Tang dynasty referred to people who passed the *jinshi* examinations 進士 (Literary licentiate examinations) as *qianying* 遷鶯 (promoted orioles), which is probably from the poem of “Famu” 伐木 (Cutting down trees): “One issues from the dark valley, and removes to the lofty tree.”¹³⁹

唐人謂進士登第，謂遷鶯。蓋因伐木詩，出自幽谷，遷於喬木。

The fifth line of the poem reads “A valley oriole hopes to fly high at a distance.” To this line, the *Ch’ōnggu p’unga* attaches a terse commentary, in which the compiler introduces a possible origin of the expression *qianying* 遷鶯 (promoted orioles).

¹³⁹ From James Legge’s translations. See *The She King*, translated by James Legge, The Chinese Classics volume 4, (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960), 253.

For the same line the *Hyöpchu myöngghyön sipch'osi* has a longer commentary:¹⁴⁰

In the *Qingxiang zaji* 青箱雜記 (Diverse notes from the blue box of knowledge), Liu Mengde's "Jiahua" 嘉話 (Estimable tales) says, "Now it has been long since we called people who passed the literary licentiate examinations as 'promoted orioles,' which is probably from what was said in the 'Famu' of the *Mao shi* 毛詩 (Mao version of the *Songs*): 'On the trees go the blows zheng-zheng; and the birds cry out ying-ying. One issues from the dark valley, and removes to the lofty tree.'¹⁴¹ It continues to say: 'While *ying* goes its cry, seeking with its voice its companion.' None of them has the character *ying* 鶯 (oriole). In recent provincial examinations, there were the poem of 'Zaoying qiuyou shi' 早鶯求友 (A morning oriole's seeking friends) and the poem of 'Ying chu gu' 鶯出谷 (An oriole coming out of a valley). In fact, because there is no evidence from other books, these are great mistakes. As I said, when current people chant verse, they often use an incident of an oriole coming out of a valley; there is a tune titled 'Xiqian ying' 喜遷鶯 (Promoted Oriole in Delight). All of these follow and repeat Tang people's errors. Thereupon the venerable Song Jingwen's 宋景文公 poem reads, 'As dawn is reported, a valley oriole's friends move.' His poem continues to say, 'In the apricot garden, the rising sun is waiting for the oriole to rise.' Wang Anshi said, 'The oriole is still looking for his old friend.' Only Liang Hong of Han, while making a visit to the east, wrote the poem 'Si youren' 思友人 (Thinking of friends), which reads: 'Birds crying, friends agreeing upon time. Recalling Master Gao, I miss him.' In the *Nan shi* 南史 (History of the Southern Dynasties), Liu Xiaobiao's 'Guang 'Juejiao lun' 廣絕交論 (Expanding on the 'Disquisition on Severing Relations') says, 'Chirping birds call to one another, stars move and lightning flashes.' This indeed achieves the idea of the *Mao shi*.

青箱雜記，劉夢得嘉話云，今謂進士登第為遷鶯者久矣。蓋自毛詩伐木篇云，伐木丁丁，鳥鳴嚶嚶，出自幽谷，遷於喬木。又曰，嚶其鳴矣，求其友聲。並無鶯字。頃歲省試早鶯求友詩，又鶯出谷詩，別書固無證據，斯大誤也。余謂今人吟詠，多用遷鶯出谷事，又曲名喜遷鶯者，皆循襲唐人之誤也。故宋景文公詩云，曉報谷鶯朋友動。又云：杏園初日待鶯遷。舒王云：鶯猶尋舊友。唯漢梁鴻東遊，作思友人詩曰，鳥嚶嚶兮友之期，念高子兮仆懷思。南史劉孝標廣絕交論：嚶鳴相召，星流電激。是真得毛詩之意。

¹⁴⁰ Comparing two commentaries, it is likely that the compiler of the *Ch'önggup'unga* referred to the commentary of the *Hyöpchu myöngghyön sipch'osi* and abbreviated it. In addition, what should be noticed is that the source of the commentary revealed in the *Hyöpchumyöngghyön sipch'osi* is incorrect. It says that the commentary is from the *Qingxiang zaji* 青箱雜記 (Diverse notes from the blue box of knowledge), but the commentary is actually from the *Xiangsu zaji* 緇素雜記 (Miscellaneous records of cream-colored silk). See *Siku quanshu*, 四庫全書, *Xiangsu zaji* (靖康)緇素雜記, 5.5.a-5.5.b.

¹⁴¹ See *The She King*, translated by James Legge, 253.

In contrast, for the same line, the *Hyöpchu myönghyön sipch'osi* has a much longer commentary, most of which is about the compiler's musings on how *qianying* had been wrongly used to refer to an image of promotion by various Chinese poets. In the end, the compiler highlighted a few examples which, in his view, made a correct use of the term *qianying*. In short, the compiler of the *Hyöpchu myönghyön sipch'osi* shared the conclusion of the compiler of the *Ch'önggu p'unga*. However, if we compare the two commentaries, it is likely that the compiler of the *Ch'önggu p'unga* merely referred to the commentary in the *Hyöpchu myönghyön sipch'osi* and abbreviated it. In addition, what is noteworthy is that the source of the commentary revealed in the *Hyöpchu myönghyön sipch'osi* is incorrect. It says that the commentary is from the *Qingxiang zaji* 青箱雜記 (Diverse notes from the blue box of knowledge), whereas the commentary is actually from the *Xiangsu zaji* 絳素雜記 (Miscellaneous records of cream-colored silk). It is likely that the compiler of the *Hyöpchu myönghyön sipch'osi* simply cited lines from primary sources, such as the *Wen xuan*, without looking into the cited lines from secondary source materials.¹⁴²

The sixth line of the poem reads “Even if it is a pig from Liaodong, how does one feel shameful about coming to present it?” After this line, both the *Ch'önggu p'unga* and the *Hyöpchu myönghyön sipch'osi* provide their respective commentaries.¹⁴³ The following is the commentary of the *Ch'önggu p'unga* after the sixth line.

Zhu Fu's “Yu Peng Chong shu” 與彭寵書 (Letter to Peng Chong) says, “Botong bragged about himself that his merits were high in the world: ‘In the past, in Liaodong there was a pig, which gave birth to a baby pig with a white head. [The owner of this

¹⁴² See *Siku quanshu*, 四庫全書, *Xiangsu zaji* (靖康)絳素雜記, 5.5.a-5.5.b.

¹⁴³ The “Letter to Peng Chong” is included in the *Hou Han shu* and the *Wen xuan*. See *Hou Han shu* 後漢書, (Beijing: Zhunghua shuju, 1965), 1139. Also see *Liuchen zhu Wen xuan*, 六臣注文選 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 777.a.

pig] thought it strange and wanted to offer it to the throne. He traveled to Hedong and saw a herd of pigs, all of which were white. He felt shameful and retreated.’ If we have your merits discussed in the court, you are the very white pig of Liaodong.” The former line refers to Yang Zhan, while this line refers to the author himself.

朱浮與彭寵書，伯通自伐功高天下。往時，遼東有豕，生子白頭。異而欲獻之行至河東。見群豕皆白，懷慙而退。若以子功，論於朝廷，則遼東白豕也。上句謂瞻，此句自謂。

Compared to the *Hyöpchu myönghyön sipch’osi*, the *Ch’önggu p’unga* has a slightly longer commentary, in which the compiler provides information on the context in which the phrase “a pig from Liaodong” is used, mainly by citing lines from works in which “a pig from Liaodong” was first used. Moreover, the compiler gives a short opinion about the cited lines in the end.

The commentary of the *Hyöpchu myönghyön sipch’osi* for the same line is as follows:

Zhu Shuyuan’s “Letter to Peng Cong” says, “In Liaodong there was a pig, which gave birth to a baby pig with a white head. [The owner of this pig] thought it strange and wanted to offer it to the throne. He traveled to Hedong and saw a group of pigs, all of which were white. He felt shameful and returned.”

朱叔元與彭寵書。遼東有豕，生子白頭。異而欲獻之，行至河東。見群豕皆白懷慙而還。

Compared to the *Ch’önggu p’unga*, the commentary in the *Hyöpchu myönghyön sipch’osi* for the same line is a little shorter. The compiler gives almost the same information, but he simply cites the same lines from the same texts without adding an opinion.

We have examined three commentaries in the *Ch’önggu p’unga* and the *Hyöpchu myönghyön sipch’osi* relating to the same lines in Ch’oe Ch’i-wön’s poem “Chou Yang Zhan xiucai.” How should we understand the nature of the commentaries in these two anthologies? If we compare the two sets of commentaries, we can likely conclude that both of the compilers of the *Ch’önggu p’unga* and the *Hyöpchu myönghyön sipch’osi* referred to primary resources, such

as the *Han shu* 漢書, the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (History of the Later Han), and/or the *Wen xuan* 文選. In addition, the compiler of the *Ch'ōnggu p'unga* must have referred to the *Hyōpchu myōnghyōn sipch'osi* because the latter was compiled earlier, and in most cases the commentaries of the former are abbreviations of the those in the latter anthology. There are a few exceptions, such as the commentaries after the sixth line, where the commentaries of the former anthology are longer than those of the latter. If we compare these two commentaries, we can see that the former commentary cites more lines from primary sources, which tells us that the commentaries of the *Ch'ōnggu p'unga* are not copies of the commentaries of the *Hyōpchu myōnghyōn sipch'osi*. In other words, when Kim Chong-jik referred to the *Hyōpchu myōnghyōn sipch'osi* for his compilation of the *Ch'ōnggu p'unga*, he also referred to the primary resources which the commentaries of the latter anthology cite from. And when he deems necessary, he provides more information than the commentaries of the *Hyōpchu myōnghyōn sipch'osi* do.

In short, the commentaries in the *Hyōpchu myōnghyōn sipch'osi* simply copy lines from primary resources, while the commentaries in the *Ch'ōnggu p'unga* include some original content. It is almost certain that the purpose of such inclusions was to improve their readability for Korean readers. I believe that this manner of creating commentaries was, by nature, similar to that of the Wuchen commentary of the *Wen xuan*. It was widespread in that period and it continued through the end of the Chosŏn dynasty.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁴ Instead of the *Wen xuan*, *Sŏn bu* 選賦 (Selection of *fu* pieces in the *Wen xuan*) texts were popular after the seventeenth century in Chosŏn. Commentaries in *Sŏn bu* also resemble the commentaries in the *Ch'ōnggu p'unga* in their nature. Chapter 4 deals with this topic.

In conclusion, I believe that Kim Chong-jik's compilation of the two anthologies reflects his desire to elevate his political status through *wen*. He was generally believed to belong to the "Dao Learning" school, but his writing practice was closer to that of the School of "Verse and Prose" scholars. I surmise that this is related to the tradition within his family — regarding family prosperity as paramount. Compared to later Sarim faction scholars, Kim was apparently more interested in developing his writing skills rather than studying neo-Confucianism, and this gave him a clear motive to compile anthologies. Unlike Sō Kō-jōng's *Tongmunsōn*, Kim's anthologies display a preference for literary pieces that promote Confucianism, and this, in my opinion, was due to the fact that his political status was vulnerable compared to that of the School of "Verse and Prose" scholars. In addition, in my view, he compiled these anthologies by consulting previous Korean anthologies as well as Chinese primary resources, including the *Wen xuan*. His manner of creating commentaries is similar to that of the *Wen xuan* Wuchen commentary edition.

Chapter Four: Changes to the Civil Service Examinations and the *Wen xuan*

In Chosŏn Korea, periodic changes made to the civil service examinations affected the popularity of the *Wen xuan* among Korean intellectuals. Throughout the Chosŏn era, there was a debate among Chosŏn kings and different factions of scholar-officials over the changes that were required in the civil service examinations. The primary focus of the debate was on what type of examinations they should choose so that candidates well-versed in Confucianism and gifted with practical abilities could be selected. In other words, they were mainly concerned with the degree to which the examinations could help identify candidates with knowledge of the Confucian classics and were skilled in writing.

However, it can be assumed that the motives of the people involved in this debate were also determined, to a certain extent, by the possibility that a certain kind of examination could help them sustain or advance their political status, especially during the late Chosŏn period. Chosŏn kings wanted to select candidates with diverse backgrounds in order to maintain a balance between scholar-officials representing different political factions. Therefore, they preferred a civil service examination format that would allow them to give equal opportunities to candidates from both the capital area and the provinces. In contrast, scholar-officials had varying preferences depending on where they originated. Scholar-officials from the capital area preferred composition tests, since they had access to scholars who could teach writing in various literary styles. However, scholar-officials from provincial areas preferred tests on which they could excel, especially oral tests on the Confucian classics and *fu*. This chapter explores how the *Wen xuan* was read and understood by Korean literati in these circumstances.

1. Establishment of Civil Service Examinations in Chosŏn

From the beginning of the Chosŏn era, the Royal Court established the Sŏnggyun'gwan 成均館 (Royal Confucian Academy) and the *sahak* 四學 (Four schools) in the capital area, and the *hyanggyo* 鄉校, or the provincial schools in order to educate people about Confucianism. However, since many intellectuals in the country had a deep understanding of Confucianism already, they began to doubt the value in attending these government schools. In the case of local elites, they established the *sŏwŏn* 書院, or private schools, to provide a classical education as an alternative to the *hyanggyo*. In China, ever since the Yuan dynasty, the *shuyuan* 書院 had been under the control of the central government. In Chosŏn Korea, the *sŏwŏn* remained independent from the government but were controlled by powerful local clans. At first, the main function of the *sŏwŏn* was to hold ceremonies in which offerings were made to Confucian sages, but their functions soon expanded to include teaching and lecturing young men.¹⁴⁵

Up until the early sixteenth century, the *hyanggyo* had a considerable influence on the education of young men from powerful provincial clans. However, with time, many students became disillusioned and dissatisfied with the teachers dispatched by the government. Even though these teachers were governmental officials, the government did not pay adequate salaries, and talented officials did not want to teach in the *hyanggyo*. As a result, it was often the case that the government had to dispatch teachers who had not even passed the civil service examinations.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Kim Ch'un Sik, "Chosŏn sidae kyoyuk chŏngch'aek-e kwanhan yŏn'gu" 朝鮮時代 書院 教育 政策에 關한 研究, *Han'guk haengjŏng sahakchi* 28 (2011): 55-78.

¹⁴⁶ Chŏng Tŏk-hŭi, "Chosŏn hugi chibang chŏngbu-ŭi hyanggyo chaejŏng pudam kyumo ch'ujŏng" 朝鮮後期 地方政府의 鄉校 財政 負擔 規模 推定, *Han'guk kyoyuk sahak* 35 (2013): 71-98.

Powerful clans—whether from the capital area or the provinces—depended on the civil service examinations to maintain their status. The main examinations for which they had to prepare was the *munkwa* 文科, or the literary examinations. The *munkwa* was divided into two levels — the *sokwa* 小科 (lower civil service examination) and the *taekwa* 大科 (higher civil service examination). If one passed the *sokwa*, he was given the title of either *saengwŏn* 生院 (classics licentiate) or *chinsa* 進士 (literary licentiate), and was qualified to take the next level of examinations — the *taekwa*. The *sokwa* comprised two steps — the initial examination (*ch'osi* 初試), and the second examination (*poksi* 覆試). The *taekwa* examinations, meanwhile, comprised three steps — the initial examination (*ch'osi*), the second examination (*poksi*), and the final examination (*chŏnsi* 殿試). The *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* 經國大典 (Great code of administration for a state)¹⁴⁷ suggested the subjects for each *taekwa* examination:¹⁴⁸

***Ch'osi* 初試:**

ch'ojang 初場 (the first round)

two questions about the *Wu jing yi* 五經義 (meanings of phrases in the *Five Classics*), the *Si shu yi* 四書疑 (questions on the *Four Books*), or *lun* 論 (disquisition)

chungjang 中場 (the second round)

one piece in *fu* 賦 (rhapsody), *song* 頌 (eulogy), *ming* 銘 (inscription), *zhen* 箴 (admonition), or *ji* 記 (note); one piece in *biao* 表 (petition) or *jian* 箋 (memorandum)

chongjang 終場 (the third round)

duice 對策 (examination question)

***Poksi* 覆試:**

ch'ojang

two questions about the *San jing yi* 三經義 (meanings of phrases in the *Three Classics*), and the *Si shu yi* 四書疑 (questions on the *Four Books*).

¹⁴⁷ It was first completed in 1470 but underwent several revisions. The extant edition was revised in 1484.

¹⁴⁸ See Han U-gŭn et al. translated, *Yŏkchu Kyŏngguk taejŏn* 譯註經國大典, (Sŏngnam: Han'guk chŏngsin munhwa yŏn'guwŏn, 1990), 173-75.

chungjang

same with the second round of the *ch'osi*

chongjang

same with the third round of the *ch'osi*

Chōnsi 殿試:

one piece in *duice, biao, jian, zhen, song, zhi* 制 (imperial announcements), *zhao* 詔 (edicts)

The civil service examinations were also divided into several different kinds of examinations based on the length of the intervals between the examinations. The *singnyōnsi* 式年試 were regular examinations held every three years. Non-regular examinations included the *chūnggwangsi* 增廣試 (Expanded examinations), the *pyōlsi* 別試 (Separate examinations), the *chōngsi* 庭試 (Palace examinations), the *ch'illimsi* 親臨試 (Examinations attended by a sovereign), and the *alsōngsi* 謁聖試 (Examinations in the Confucian shrine). The *singnyōnsi* and the *chūnggwangsi* included both the *taekwa* and the *sokwa* examinations, whereas the other examinations included only the *taekwa* examinations. Each *sokwa* examination session selected 100 passers, while each *taekwa* examination session selected 33 passers.¹⁴⁹

In the sixteenth century, a typical provincial candidate for the civil service examinations would be educated in the following manner:

Yi An-do's Reading List¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ Kim Kyōng-yong 김경용, "Chosōn sidae kwagō chedo-ūi pōbkyu-wa silche" 朝鮮時代 科擧制度 施行의 法規와 實際, *Kyoyuk pōphak yōn'gu* 16-2 (2004): 1-25.

¹⁵⁰ Pak Hyōn-sun 박현순, "Sip yuk segi Yean hyō sajak ch'ūng ūi suhak kwa kwanjik chinch'ul" 十六世紀 禮安縣 士族層의 修學과 官職 進出, *Kyoyuk sahak yōn'gu* 17-1 (2007. 6): 83.

5 years: The *Thousand-Character Classic* 千字文

8 years: The *Classic of Filial Piety* 孝經

12–13 years: The *True Treasures of Ancient Literature* 古文真寶

15–16 years: The *Elementary Learning* 小學, the *Four Books* 四書, the *P'ungso* 風騷 (Airs and elegy), and the *Puch'o* 賦抄 (Excerpted *fu* works [from the *Wen xuan*]). He would learn to read *fu* and *shi* pieces, and at the same time would practice writing in various literary genres.

The listed cited above is Yi An-do's 李安道 (1541–84) reading list based on his experience in preparing for the civil service examinations. Yi An-do was a grandson of Yi Hwang 李滉 (1501–70), who was the greatest scholar of his time as well as the leader of the Sarim faction at Yŏngnam School 嶺南學派 in Kyŏngsang province.¹⁵¹ After learning Chinese characters, he began to study the Confucian classics and moved on to literary works. Besides the Confucian classics, it is interesting that he made efforts to learn *fu* and *shi* poetry, among other literary styles. We can thus infer that *fu* and *shi* poetry was the main writing requirement for the civil service examinations in his time.

The tests also included oral examinations on the Confucian classics. We have a clue to the format of these tests. Upon King Tanjong's (r. 1452–55) enthronement in 1452, the Ming court dispatched envoys to the Chosŏn court. The Chinese envoys were curious about Chosŏn's education system. On a visit to the Royal Confucian Academy 成均館, they wanted to test the Korean students' knowledge of Confucian teachings and literary works, so they asked the students various questions about the Confucian classics, to which the students answered immediately. There

¹⁵¹ It is worth noting that Yi An-do's focus was more on Confucian classics and *fu*, and *shi* poetry than other genres, such as petitions, examination questions, and disquisitions, which candidates from the capital area were more specialized in.

was a Korean official present who interpreted the conversation.¹⁵²

Chen Dun and Li Kuan arrived at the Royal Confucian Academy... Kim Cho and others said, “We want to conduct oral tests on Confucian texts, call in some students.” Two Classics licentiates 生員 Ku Chi-dong and Kim Sök-t’ong advanced and knelt down. Chen Dun and others said, “Who is going to translate our words?” Saying “I will convey your oral questions,” Yi Pyön advanced and sat in front of Dun and others. Dun said, “What books are we going to test on?” Pyön replied, “From the *Four Books* to the *Five Classics*, it depends on what your excellency wishes to ask.” Dun asked Chi-dong, “What books have you read?” Chi-dong replied, “I have read the *Four Books*, the *Shi jing*, the *Shu jing*, the *Zhou yi*, and the *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive mirror in aid of government).” They also asked Sök-t’ong, “What books have you read?” Sök-t’ong replied, “I have read the *Four Books*, the *Shi jing*, the *Shu jing*, the *Zhou yi*, the *Chunqiu*, and the *Zizhi tongjian*.”

陳鈍, 李寬詣成均館... 金等曰: “欲講書, 呼秀才來。” 生員丘致峒, 金石通二人進跪, 鈍等: “由何人傳語?” 邊曰: “我當傳講。” 就鈍等前坐, 鈍曰: “講何書?” 邊對: “以四書, 五經, 從大人所講。” 問致峒: “讀何書?” 致峒對: “以讀四書, 詩, 書, 周易, 通鑑。” 又問石通, 石通對: “以讀四書, 詩, 書, 易, 春秋, 通鑑”

Chen Dun 陳鈍 (fl. 15th century)—one of the Chinese envoys—first inquired about the texts that the Korean students had been studying. Two students answered that they had studied the *Four Books*, the *Five Classics*, and the *Zizhi tongjian*.

Dun said, “I am afraid that that’s too many.” Pyön said, “They all involve substantial learning and are not too many. If your excellency will just conduct oral tests, you would be aware of that.” Taking up the *Zhong yong* 中庸 (Doctrine of the mean) and looking at Kuan, Dun said to Chi-dong, “Explain the meaning of the first chapter.” Chi-dong systematically explained the general idea of the first chapter. Dun said, “Correct.” He continued to ask, “What is the human mind? What is the mind of the Way?” Chi-dong said, “What takes place from the personal dimensions of form and vitality is the human mind. What originates from the rectitude of disposition and fate is the mind of the Way.” Dun said, “What are the personal dimensions of form and spirit? What is the rectitude of disposition and fate?” Chi-dong said, “Ears, eyes, nose, and mouth are form and

¹⁵² *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄, “Tanjong sillok” 端宗實錄, the record of the twenty-third day, the eighth month, 1452.

spirit. Propriety, inherent pattern, nature, and fate are the Way of the mind.” Pointing at his mouth, Dun said, “If it is so, doesn’t the mouth eat food?” Chi-dong replied, “Doesn’t the mouth eat food? What about that? It eats what is proper to eat, which is the Way of the mind.”

鈍曰：“怕不許多。”邊曰：“皆實學，非許多也，大人講則可知。”鈍執中庸，目寬謂致峒曰：“汝說一章之旨。”致峒歷說一章大意。鈍曰：“是。”仍問：“何者是人心？何者是道心？”致峒曰：“發於形氣之私，人心，原於性命之正，道心。”鈍曰：“何是形氣之私？何是性命之正？”致峒曰：“耳目口鼻，形氣；義理性命，道心。”鈍指口曰：“若是，則不喫飯乎？”答曰：“如何不喫飯？喫所當喫，道心。”

Chen Dun then asked Chi-dong, a Korean student, various questions about the *Zhong yong*, starting with basic ones, such as the general concepts of the first chapter, and moving to related but more advanced questions. Occasionally, Chen would repeatedly enquire about the same point so that the student would have to clarify his answers.

Dun asked again, “What is the meaning of the phrase, ‘chun wang zhengyue’ 春王正月 (Spring, in the king’s first month)¹⁵³ in the *Chunqiu*?” Sök-t’ong said, “Confucius wanted to implement the Xia dynasty calendar, so he wrote *chun*, or spring. And he wanted to follow the Zhou dynasty system, so he wrote *wang zhengyue*.” Dun said, “If so, then did he regard the eleventh month as spring?” Sök-t’ong replied, “Establishing the first earthly branch [of the twelve earthly branches]’ 建子 does not mean spring. However, Confucius was a man of Zhou, and when he wanted to implement the Xia dynasty calendar, he took spring as the beginning of a year. Following the Zhou system, he counted the first month [of the lunar calendar] as the beginning.”¹⁵⁴ Dun said, “How about the expressions ‘Xia wu’ 夏五 “summer, fifth” and ‘Guo gong 郭公 “the Duke of Guo...?”¹⁵⁵ Sök-t’ong replied, “Confucius said, ‘Even in my early days, a scribe would leave a blank in his text, and he who had a horse would lend him to

¹⁵³ Yang Bojun 楊伯峻 ed., *Chun qiu Zuo zhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 9.

¹⁵⁴ According to Xia dynasty calendar, *yin* 寅 or the first earthly branch was the first month, while Shang dynasty took *chou* 丑, or the twelfth earthly branch, and Zhou dynasty took *zi* 子, or the eleventh earthly branch. See Yang Bojun ed., *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu*, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 6.

¹⁵⁵ “Xia wu” refers to the fact that *yue* 月 ‘month’ is missing after the character *wu* 五 ‘fifth’ in the fourteenth year of the Lord Huan in the *Chunqiu*. “Guo gong” refers to the fact that characters are missing after “Guo gong” in the twenty fourth year of Lord Zhuang 莊公. See Yang Bojun ed., *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu*, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 139, 229.

another to ride.’¹⁵⁶ In doing so, Confucius followed the previous text without revision in order to show that the posterior shouldn’t dare to easily revise the meaning of the classical text counting on his partial knowledge.” Dun said, “Right.”

Dun asked again, “Why is the *Zhou yi* divided into an upper and lower text? Sök-t’ong said, “The volume was heavy and large, so it was divided into an upper and lower text.” Dun said, “Why are there thirty hexagrams in the upper text and thirty-four in the lower text?” Sök-t’ong replied, “The hexagrams *qian* 乾, *kun* 坤, *kan* 坎, and *li* 離 do not have inverted opposites; Their *yin* 陰 ‘dark or negative,’ *yang* 陽 ‘bright or positive,’ *qi* 奇 ‘odd number,’ *yu* 偶 ‘even number’ are all the same.” Dun said, “Why does nine refer to the old *yang*?” Chi-dong said, “Three and three makes nine, and nine is the ultimate number, or the old *yang*.” Dun said, “Some matters are not fully explained. If there is anyone who is well-versed in the *Zhou yi*, please try!” Pyön had Chi-dong to speak up, and Pyön said, “This student would like to ask, ‘In eight, the *yang* is produced.’ I do not know the meaning of this.” Dun said, “Please bring the *Zhou yi daquan* 周易大全 (Complete commentaries to the *Classic of Changes*).’ I will explain by reading it.” Pyön said, “[The Great Ming] bestowed the *Sishu Wujing daquan* 四書五經大全 (Complete commentaries to the *Four Books* and the *Five Classics*), and we keep them in our Royal Archive.”

又問曰：“春秋書‘春王正月’，是何意？”石通曰：“夫子欲行夏之時，書春，從周之制，書王正月。”鈍曰：“然則謂十一月為春乎？”答曰：“建子，非春也，但夫子，周人也，欲行夏之時，以春為首，從周之制，以正月起數。”鈍曰：“如何夏五郭公？”答曰：“孔子曰：‘吾猶及史之闕文也，有馬者，借人乘之。’以此，孔子從舊文不改，示後世不敢以私智，輕改經文之意。”鈍曰：“是。”

又問曰：“周易如何分為上下二經？”石通曰：“簡帙重大，分為上下。”鈍曰：“何上經三十卦，下經三十四卦？”答曰：“乾坤坎離無反對，陰陽奇偶之數皆同。”鈍曰：“如何九為老陽？”致峒曰：“三三為九，九為極數，老陽。”鈍曰：“有未盡，有知易老先生來。”邊使致峒說話，因言：“此生問，八則陽生，未知是何意？”鈍曰：“將大全來，吾看說。”邊曰：“欽賜大全，藏在王府。”

Changing topics, Chen then asked Sök-t’ong, the other Korean student, about the concept of a term and the meaning of one particular phrase in the *Chun qiu* and the *Zhou yi*. In contrast to

¹⁵⁶ Ma Xinmin 馬辛民 ed., *Lun yu zhushu* 論語註疏, (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 144. The English translation is from James Legge, *Confucian Analects*, Chinese Classics vol. 1, (Taipei: Nantian shuju youxian gongsi, 1960), 301.

when he was enquiring about the *Four Books* and the *Five Classics*, Chen now enquired about the meaning of particular concepts in each text.

Sök-t'ong and Chi-dong were able to answer most of the questions that Chen Dun asked. This suggests that Korean students at the time did not find the Confucian classics difficult. However, it should be borne in mind that the two students mentioned above were probably the brightest among their peers and were known to be well-versed in the Confucian classics, which is why the Korean officials were so confident in asking the Chinese envoys to test them. In fact, studying and understanding the Confucian classics within a limited period of time was an extremely challenging task for Koreans, which naturally raises the question of whether it was really necessary for the Chosŏn Court to keep Confucian classics as the most important element in the civil service examinations.

2. Debates over the Civil Service Examinations

It is important to point out that Chosŏn (1392–1910) intellectuals were not the first to grapple with this question. Koryŏ-era (918–1392) civil service examinations also traditionally required candidates to write *shi* poetry and *fu*. In the late Koryŏ period in particular, neo-Confucianism became increasingly popular among Koryŏ literati. In 1344, the Koryŏ court outlined the format of the civil service examinations as follows: meanings of phrases in the *Five Classics* 五經義 and questions on the *Four Books* 四書疑 for the first round, ancient style *fu* for the second round, and *cewen* 策文 (examination questions) for the final round.¹⁵⁷ However, in 1362, the format was restored to writing *shi* poetry and *fu*.¹⁵⁸

Changes to the civil service examinations continued into the early Chosŏn period. For

¹⁵⁷ See Chŏng In-ji et al., *Koryŏsa* 594.

¹⁵⁸ See Chŏng In-ji et al., *Koryŏsa* 594.

instance, Chǒng To-jǒn maintained that the government should establish oral tests of the Confucian classics for the first round of the higher civil service examinations 文科初試. He was concerned that if candidates were selected solely on their writing skills, they would not have sufficient practical abilities.¹⁵⁹

Kwǒn Kūn, however, was opposed to this proposal. In the following letter to the throne he asserted that the relationship between the Way and writing was complementary.

Lord Kilch'ang Kwǒn Kūn 權近 presented a letter to the throne. His letter reads: "With my limited knowledge of chapter and verse commentary, I, Kūn, to my disgrace, long have composed major state documents...

I respectfully recorded one or two requirements for encouraging diligent study and present them in this letter. Your Highness, I hope you will consider them.

First, the initial examination of the higher civil service examinations stopped testing in the format of the composition examinations, but rather tests in the format of the oral tests. This would suppress the negative effects of slavish devotion to the art of composition and would encourage efforts to obtain scholars with practical learning, who are thoroughly versed in the Confucian classics. Indeed our regulations are impressive. Now, even though we have already been carrying out this rule for several civil service examinations, a talented person who is outstanding in the study of the classics has not appeared among them. On the contrary, their literary talent, manner, and habits have become trivial and tedious. I often wonder about why this is so and have mulled this matter over in my mind.

In creating writings we take vitality as the main consideration. In nourishing vitality, we take intent as the root. If one's resolve is broad, then his vitality is robust; if one's resolve is narrow, then his vitality is weak. This is a natural situation. Current learners want to pursue the meaning of the Classics in order to respond to an official's questions. Their aim is first limited to the parsing of phrases and glosses on words; they only strive to memorize and recite and at the most occupy themselves with their mouths. They do not have time to devote themselves to the depth of meanings and principles or the standards of composition. In addition, they are afraid of being rejected and dismissed by one incorrect word; they blush bashfully and become so fearful and frightened their vitality is prematurely suppressed. This is the reason why the manner and habits of composition are becoming trivial and tedious. I humbly request that from now on we stop testing in the format of the oral tests and resume the format of the

¹⁵⁹ *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, "T'aejo sillok" 太祖實錄, the record of the 28th day, the seventh month, 1392.

composition examinations. And let [candidates] undertake one question each on “the meaning of phrases from the *Five Classics*” and on “one question on the *Four Books*.”
...

Finally, writing poems to respond to another person is a trifling skill for scholars. However, being that this matter is also related to the vicissitudes in the availability of talented people, we cannot arbitrarily do away with this. Moreover, chanting one’s disposition and emotions in verse is a way for one to become stirred and aroused. It is precisely the intention bequeathed from the ancients by which they educated noble descendants to master music and recite poems. At the time of the previous dynasty, inside there was the Nine Course Academy 九齋; outside there were provincial examinations. Every summer they tested [candidates] with *fu* and *shi*, and the higher civil service examinations and Royal Confucian Academy examinations also tested [candidates] on verse. Now all of these were removed and curtailed. We solely pursue study of the learning of the Classics; we reject the inconsequential but are inclined to the substantial. One may well say that our regulations are impressive. However, as for current scholars, even though they are noted for being well-versed in the Confucian Classics, there are few who have outstanding writing skills in the ways of poetry too, not many of them are skillful. It is likely that we have lost both. If we have Chinese envoys with literary ability who come to us and write response poems, how can we not be laughed at? From now on, every year in the second month and the eighth month, we should let currently employed and unemployed officials in the third rank or under gather at the Hall of Arts and Letters and have a deputy director or a higher official in charge of academic affairs ask participants to write *shi* poetry and *fu*. And we should have that person examine the participants’ abilities and make a list of those names and report it to the throne in order to appoint officials based on that list. In the metropolitan schools and provincial schools, every year in spring and autumn, we again should implement the regulation of asking candidates to write *shi* poetry. When provincial governors or local magistrates supervise schools, we should have candidates write *fu* and *shi* poetry, honor those with abilities, and encourage them to make more efforts.” The court followed his suggestions.

吉昌君 權近上書。書曰：“臣近以章句末學，久玷文翰之任...

謹將勸學事目一二條件，具錄申聞，伏惟聖裁。

一，文科初場，罷疑義試講論，是抑詞章蹈襲之弊，務得窮經實學之士，誠為今典。然行此法，今已數科，未有經學傑然之才，出於其間，而其文才氣習，反為猥瑣。臣常怪其然而思忖之。為文以氣為主，養氣以志為本，志廣則氣雄，志隘則氣劣，勢當然也。今之學者欲求經旨，以待有司之問，其志先局於句讀訓詁之間，專務記誦，取辦於口，其於義理之蘊，文章之法，有不暇致力焉。又恐一言不中，以見斥黜，羞赧畏憚，其氣先挫，此乃文章氣習靡然猥瑣之由也。乞自今罷講論，復試疑義，但業經義一道、四書疑一道...

一，詩章唱和，儒者末技，然亦關於人才盛衰，不可偏廢。且其吟詠性情，有所感發而興起，卽古者教胄子典樂詠歌之遺意也。前朝之時，內有九齋，外置都會，每於夏月，賦詩爲課，東堂監試，亦試以詩，今皆革罷，專務經術，棄末趨本，可謂令典。然今儒者，雖號通經，鮮有文章傑出之才，其於詩道，亦多不工，蓋兩失之矣。儻有中國詞臣奉使而來，相與唱和，寧不取笑？乞自今，時散文臣三品以下，每年春秋仲月，會藝文館，館閣提學以上，出題賦詩，以考能否，具名申聞，以憑敘用。中外學校，每年春秋季月，復行課詩之法，監司守令監學之時，亦令賦詩，旌其能者，以加勸勉。”從之。¹⁶⁰

In this letter which he sent to the king after oral tests of Confucian classics had been adopted for the first round of the higher civil service examinations, Kwŏn pointed out that candidates tended to focus on memorizing phrases from the Confucian classics without properly understanding the sages' intentions behind those phrases. He went on to enumerate the reasons why the king should enhance the compositional abilities of candidates. He concluded by suggesting that the court should change the civil service examinations (as well as the regular tests of the Royal Confucian Academy and the provincial examinations) by emphasizing *shi* poetry and *fu*. The king accepted Kwŏn Kŭn's suggestions, and in the subsequent civil service examinations *shi* poetry and *fu* accounted for a significant proportion of the material. Accordingly, the curricula of the Royal Confucian Academy, the Four Schools, and the *hyanggyo* were adjusted to include more time slots for composition classes.

Several decades later, a number of scholar-officials initiated a new debate with the aim of increasing the proportion of Confucian classics in the civil service examinations. One scholar-official who represented this group was none other than Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng, who was the grandson of Kwŏn Kŭn. In the 1470s, Sŏ repeatedly appealed to the King, criticizing the examination format

¹⁶⁰ *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, "T'aejong sillok" 太宗實錄, the record of the 24th day, the third month, 1407.

of that period.

In a letter submitted to the monarch in 1472, Sō described the negative aspects of the examinations, which mainly tested candidates on their writing skills.

Formerly Second Deputy Director Sō Kō-jōng attended the royal lecture and announced to the king: "... Recently students of the capital or rural areas are engaged in the art of writing and do not read the Confucian classics. When I served in the Royal Confucian Academy, I gathered all the students and discussed [the Confucian classics]. Very few were well-versed in the Confucian classics. Recently, at a metropolitan examination 會試 of the higher civil service examinations 文科 I became an examiner and supervised all the candidates for oral tests on the Confucian classics, and the situations were the same. I tried to find out the reason. Recently, in addition to regular examinations, every year the state has held special examinations; there have been no years when the state did not hold civil service examinations. And all the examinations used the format of the composition examinations 製述. [Because of this,] all the candidates relied on luck, and did not make an effort to read books, which have become inveterate habits and abuses up to the present day. Now according to the *Kyōngguk taejōn* 經國大典 (Great Code of Administration), Royal Confucian Academy examinations, capital examinations, and local examinations should use the format of the composition examinations. Only in the oral section of the metropolitan examinations are they tested on the Confucian classics. Because of this, no one reads books. Even if there are some who are well-versed in the Confucian classics, they do not pass by virtue of their ability. In the middle of these situations, all the people who take exams are those who rely on luck. It is my wish that all of the Royal Confucian Academy examinations, capital examinations, and local examinations adopt the oral test on the Confucian classics following the old practice. Then it is likely that people with practical learning will advance and those who rely on luck will withdraw. I have also seen lists of successful candidates for local examinations from all of the provinces, and local magistrates occupy a great portion of them. [They are busy] reading official documents and attending pre-scheduled gatherings. How do they have time to read books? Now the number of such people exceeds the fixed limit, and for candidates taking the metropolitan examinations, we provide transportation expenses. Negative effects of such cases are innumerable, and the only reason for this situation is because we do not offer the oral test on the Confucian classics in local examinations. If we offer the oral test on Confucian classics again, then those negative effects will automatically disappear. ..."

先是，同知經筵事徐居正，於經筵啓曰："... 近來中外學徒，專務詞章，不讀經書。臣職帶成均館時，會諸生講議，通經書者甚鮮。近日文科會試，臣爲試官，講諸生經，亦如之。臣知其由，近來式年試士外，年年行別試，試士無虛歲，而

皆用製述，士皆僥倖，不務讀書，積習成弊，以至於此。今大典，館試、漢城試、鄉試用製述，只於會試講經，故人皆不讀書，間有能通經書者，未售其能，其中試者皆鉛槧僥倖之輩。臣願依舊例，文科館、漢城、鄉試亦皆講經，則庶幾實學者進，而倖倖者退。臣又見今年諸道鄉試榜，守令居多，簿書期會，何暇讀書？今濫充於額，來赴會試，往來供費，弊亦不貲，專由鄉試不講經故也。如復講經，弊將自祛..."¹⁶¹

Sō explained that he rarely came across a student who had a thorough knowledge of the Confucian classics, as he understood the subject (based on his experience of discussing the Confucian classics at the Royal Confucian Academy and supervising oral tests for the higher civil service examinations). After much pondering, he was of the opinion that the main reason for the situation was related to the format of the civil service examinations, which over-emphasized the composition test. Finally, he also stressed the need to change the examination format so that the Confucian classics would be given more weight and oral tests would gain in importance.

It seems that Sō Kō-jōng's suggestions were not well received by the king. We know this because in 1479 he submitted another letter in which he again highlighted the negative effects of the composition tests.

Sō Kō-jōng again announced to the king: "Current Confucian scholars do not delve into the study of human nature and principle, but are engaged only in the art of writing. There are few who are well-versed in the study of the Confucian classics and are qualified to be a person of exemplary virtue. Even though we established the Classics licentiate examinations, no one passed. As for the Classics licentiate examinations, they have all been implemented from the previous dynasty until the beginning of our state. However, because it is excluded from thirty-three [of the] list successful candidates for the higher civil service examinations], people do not regard it as an honor. Even though successful candidates of the Classics licentiate examinations are selected and appointed, they only serve as teachers in academies. From now on, if we newly establish an examination ordinance that has candidates take oral tests on the *Four Books* and the *Five Classics* in the local examinations, the capital examinations,

¹⁶¹ *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, "Sōngjong sillok," the record of the 17th day, fourth month, 1472.

and the Royal Confucian Academy examinations, and determines the ranking in the palace examinations, then all the people will be happy to take the Classics licentiate examinations. And people who take the Classics licentiate examinations will come forward in large numbers.”

居正又啓曰：“當今儒者，不究性理之學，徒事詞章，明於經學，堪爲師表者蓋寡。雖立明經科，無一人中格者。明經科，自前朝至國初，皆行之，然明經科，在三十三人之外，故人不以爲榮，其選用，亦不過教授而已。自今新立科條，於鄉、漢城、館試，使之講四書、五經，而殿試坐次，則人皆樂爲，而明經者，將輩出矣。”¹⁶²

After pointing out that people had little interest in the Classics licentiate examinations, which mainly tested candidates’ knowledge of Confucian classics, he reached a similar conclusion as in the previous letter, namely that the civil service examinations should test candidates’ knowledge of Confucian classics through oral tests.

It is slightly strange to see Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng, who belonged to the Hun’gu faction and the School of “Verse and Prose,” supporting a greater emphasis on the Confucian classics in the civil service examinations. Hun’gu faction scholars and the scholars of the School of “Verse and Prose” mainly resided in or near the capital, and generally preferred composition tests because they were more accessible to teachers who could teach various prose styles. Rural-based scholars tended to prefer oral tests of Confucian classics, and *shi* poetry and *fu* in the composition tests, because it was relatively easy to find teachers from whom they could learn Confucian classics and *shi* poetry and *fu* writing skills.

To my understanding, even though Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng was indeed a scholar of the School of “Verse and Prose,” the situation by this time had become so serious that students were deliberately

¹⁶² *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, “Sŏngjong sillok,” the record of the seventh day, the tenth month (intercalary month), 1479.

avoiding Confucian classics. As a result, despite his original support for the composition tests, which his grandfather had also supported, he came to realize that the civil service examinations were biased in favor of the composition tests and that a new balance was sorely needed. His follow-up suggestions were again not accepted in full by the court, but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Chosŏn civil service examination system did move somewhat in the direction which he had proposed, and the weight given to the oral tests of Confucian classics increased.

I believe that this gradual change reflected Chosŏn kings' need to balance political power between different scholar factions. The result was a change in the *kwasi* 課試 system and the adoption of a preliminary oral test of Confucian classics. The Chosŏn court adopted the *kwasi*, or monthly examinations, in the Royal Confucian Academy, the Four Schools, and the provincial academies.¹⁶³ If one passed the *kwasi*, he could advance to either the second examinations 覆試 or the final examinations 殿試. The *kwasi* examinations had two components — composition examinations, and oral tests of Confucian classics. Students usually took just one, but sometimes they were required to take both. In the provincial *kwasi* examinations, it seems that only composition examinations were taken — *fu*.

The court was supportive of oral tests of Confucian classics for the *kwasi* from the sixteenth century onward. After the seventeenth century, in the Four Academies, composition examinations were often excluded from the *kwasi* altogether, even though students were more interested in them than in oral tests. In 1639, oral tests of the *Xiao xue* 小學 (Elementary learning) were instituted, which the court greatly supported, leading to their substituting the composition tests. In 1650,

¹⁶³ According to the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, the *kwasi* examinations were instituted in the fifteenth century. See *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, “Chungjong sillok” 中宗實錄, the record of the first day, the fourth month, 1524.

however, composition tests were reintroduced, and candidates showed more interest in these rather than in oral tests of the *Xiao xue*. In 1655, the number of students admitted to the Four Schools was twenty-four, out of whom sixteen had taken composition examinations and eight oral tests of Confucian classics.¹⁶⁴

The court introduced the *chohŭlgang* 照訖講 (preliminary oral tests for checking the basic knowledge of candidates) in 1553. The *chohŭlgang* tested candidates on the *Xiao xue* 小學 one month before the first round of the lower civil service examinations 小科初試. The *hangnyegang* 學禮講 (preliminary oral tests of the *Xiao xue* and the *Jia li*) was the test before the second round of the lower civil service examinations 小科復試. Candidates were expected to receive passing scores for the *Xiao xue* and the *Jia li* 家禮 and to take the *chölllyegang* 典禮講 (preliminary oral tests of the *Kyōngguk taejōn* and the *Jia li*), which asked questions on the *Kyōngguk taejōn* 經國大典 (Great compendium of statecraft) and the *Jia li*.¹⁶⁵

What exactly was the reason for the Chosŏn court to change the civil service examinations and increase the weight given to oral tests of Confucian classics? On the surface, it may have been to control the number of candidates. The seventeenth century saw a dramatic increase in the number of applicants for the civil service examinations. This increase was due to the fact that more people were prepared to try their luck, but it was also because of the increasing number of Koreans who could read literary texts and Confucian classics. Moreover, this trend was accompanied by a

¹⁶⁴ Ch'oe Kwang-min 최광민, "17 segi kwasi chedo-ŭi hyōngsōng kwachōng" 17世紀 科試 制度의 形成 過程, *Kyoyuk sahak yōn'gu* 22-2 (2012): 55-83.

¹⁶⁵ Kim Kyōng-yong 김경용, "Chosŏn sidae kwagō chedo-ŭi pōbkyu-wa silche," *Kyoyuk pōphak yōn'gu* 16-2 (2004): 1-25.

relaxation in the rules regarding applicants. Except for descendants of criminals, almost anyone could sit for the civil service examinations. As an example, starting from 1695, even concubines' sons were allowed to take the examinations.

Given this situation, the Chosŏn court must have felt the strain of organizing the civil service examinations every year, especially given the demand for greater manpower to oversee the growing numbers of candidates. By requiring preliminary oral tests, the court could restrict the number of candidates for the written examinations, since many applicants could be rejected due to an inadequate performance during the oral tests.

We have records in the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* that explain the difficulties in studying the Confucian classics. Assistant Councilor Pyŏn Kye-ryang and the Minister of Rites Yi Chi-gang wrote a letter to the king reporting that many students at the Royal Confucian Academy had died of dropsy because of their manner of studying.¹⁶⁶ Students were supposed to learn to recite all the Confucian classics within a limited period of time. In order to complete the task, they preferred sitting and reciting Confucian classics for many hours. It was not unusual for them to sit and recite the texts all day long, eventually becoming sick in the process.

The following timeframe indicates a typical term for each Confucian classic:¹⁶⁷

Timeframe for Reading the Confucian Classics

Da xue 大學: one month

Zhongyong 中庸: two months

Lun yu 論語 and *Meng zi* 孟子: four months each

Shi jing 詩經, *Shu jing* 書經, and *Chun qiu* 春秋: six months each

¹⁶⁶ *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, "Sejong sillok," the record of the 14th day, the eighth month, 1421.

¹⁶⁷ *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, "Myŏngjong sillok," the record of the 16th day, the sixth month, 1546.

Zhou yi 周易 and *Li ji* 禮記: seven months each

According to this timeframe, it was necessary for students to spend at least 43 months to get through all the Confucian classics. And, as the previous record suggests, during this period, students devoted themselves to memorizing all the phrases in the Confucian classics, which must have been a tremendously demanding task.

In addition to the need to control the number of candidates taking the civil service examinations, I believe that the Chosŏn court gave more weight to Confucian classics in order to balance the various political factions, especially after the seventeenth century.

3. Changes in the Civil Service Examinations in the late Chosŏn era

Recent studies of the civil service examinations of the Chosŏn period have revealed new aspects of the system. Various statistics are available that increase understanding of the civil examinations system. The chart by Pak Hyŏn-sun indicating the origins of the successful candidates is a good example.¹⁶⁸ It compares the proportion of successful candidates for each period from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. It also compares the proportion of successful candidates from different provinces and for different examinations.

The chart clearly shows that the ratio of successful candidates differed depending on different periods, provinces, and examinations. The first thing that stands out is that throughout the entire period the majority of successful candidates were from the capital area, Kyŏngsang province, and Chŏlla province. Before the sixteenth century, powerful clans from the Hun'gu

¹⁶⁸ Pak Hyŏn-sun, "Chosŏn hugi mungwa-e nat'an an kyŏngyang kan-ŭi pulgyunhyŏng munje kŏmt'o" 朝鮮後期文科에 나타난 京鄉 間의 不均衡 問題 檢討, *Han'guk munhwa* 58 (2012.6): 34.

faction resided mainly in the capital area. Newly emerging clans from the Sarim faction resided mainly in the Kyöngsang province, where Yi Hwang and his followers were active, or in the Chölla province, where Kim In-hu 金麟厚 (1510–1560) and Ki Tae-süng 奇大升 (1527–1572) were influential.

However, if we compare the ratio of successful candidates according to the type of examination, a highly important fact emerges. The proportion of successful candidates from the capital area for the regular examinations decreases considerably with time, whereas the proportion of successful candidates from the provinces increases sharply after the seventeenth century. The following rearranged chart shows this more clearly:

Ratio of Successful Candidates for the Regular Civil Service Examinations¹⁶⁹

Period	Capital Area	Provincial Areas	Data Unavailable	Total
15 th Century	18.5%	26.9%	54.6%	100%
16 th Century	39.3%	38.3%	22.4%	100%
17 th Century	24.6%	71.8%	3.8%	100%
18 th Century	11.6%	88.3%	0.1%	100%
19 th Century	6.7%	93.3%	0%	100%

This shift clearly shows that over time candidates from provincial areas became more and more competitive, not only in the Kyöngsang and Chölla provinces, but also in most of the other provinces. A case in point is P’yöng'an province, where the proportion of successful candidates

¹⁶⁹ This chart is a modified version of Pak Hyön-sun's chart mentioned earlier.

was 1.2 percent in the sixteenth century, increasing to 7.3 percent in the seventeenth century, 21.7 percent in the eighteenth century, and finally 36.2 percent in the nineteenth century — five times the percentage in the capital area. Such a trend may of course simply reflect the fact that successful candidates from other regions increased in number more than in the capital area, Kyōngsang and Chōlla provinces, suggesting that more people in the provinces were learning to read Confucian classics and literary pieces and to write in different genres.

If we analyze this trend by looking at the format of each examination, we find another factor behind such a great difference between the capital area and the provinces. In the regular civil service examinations, the topic of the initial examination was Confucian classics, and of the last two examinations literary composition. It became the custom, however, that when a candidate received a high score of over 15 points, he was allowed to pass the entire set of examinations even if he had received the worst score on the literary composition test.¹⁷⁰

In contrast, in the non-regular civil service examinations, the principal format for all the steps was literary composition. The format varied for *biao* 表 (petitions) to *jian* 箋 (memoranda), *fu* 賦 (rhapsody), *ming* 銘 (inscriptions), *song* 頌 (eulogy), *cewen* 策文 (examination questions), *zhao* 詔 (edicts), *lun* 論 (disquisitions), and *zhen* 箴 (admonitions). From the very beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty, as mentioned in other chapters, elite people were roughly divided into two groups — the Hun’gu faction, who focused mainly on literary skill, and the Sarim faction, who focused mainly on pursuing Confucian thought in their literary works. From the late sixteenth century onward, the Sarim scholars became dominant in the Royal Court. However, scholars had

¹⁷⁰ See *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, “Injo sillok” 仁祖實錄, the record of the 25th day, the tenth month. Also see *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, “Sukchong sillok” 肅宗實錄, the record of the 14th day, the eleventh month.

varying preferences toward the civil service examinations depending on where they were from, which almost exactly reflected the differences between the Hun’gu scholars and the Sarim scholars. That is to say, candidates from the capital area preferred composition tests of various prose genres, while provincial candidates preferred oral tests of the Confucian classics, *shi* poetry, and *fu*. This was because candidates from the capital area were readily provided with eminent instructors who could teach them writing skills, whereas candidates residing far from the capital had considerable difficulty in finding such teachers.¹⁷¹ It was much easier for them to concentrate on memorizing Confucian classics, and this was especially true of P’yŏng’an province adjacent to the border.

To address this imbalance, the court adopted several approaches. It decided, for example, not to recommend successful candidates who had passed the regular examinations for higher positions for the duration of their careers as officials. In other words, if one wished to be promoted to upper-rank positions, one had to pass non-regular civil service examinations, which asked candidates to write compositions demonstrating high literary skill.

Later, kings such as Yŏngjo 英祖 (r. 1724–76) and Chŏngjo 正祖 (r. 1776–1800) set aside part of the non-regular civil service examinations so that provincial candidates could be given an easier format than the capital-area candidates. For example, they set *fu* for the *ch’illimsi*. Compared to the capital-area candidates, the provincial candidates were not sufficiently trained to write in regular verse except for *fu*. Petitions and examination questions were the most difficult genres for the provincial candidates, who were relatively well-trained to write in *fu*.¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ Hwang Wi-ju 황위주, “Sŏul kyŏnggi chiyŏk-ŭi T’oegye munin-gwa kŭ sŏnggyŏk” 서울 京畿 地域의 退溪文人과 그 性格, *T’oekye hakmaek-ŭi chiyŏkchŏk chŏngae*, (Seoul: Pogosa, 2004), 519-34.

¹⁷² It seems, however, that the quality of *fu* pieces written by provincial candidates was not as high as that of capital-

According to Pak Hyön-sun's chart, during the period of Sukjong's 肅宗 reign (1674–1720), petition composition was set for the *ch'illimsi*, and 18.1 percent of provincial candidates passed the examinations. However, during Yǒngjo's reign, *fu* was set for the *ch'illimsi*, and the ratio increased to 30.8 percent, and during the Chǒngjo's reign it was 41.5 percent.

As I understand it, later Chosŏn kings manipulated the format of the civil service examinations so that candidates from diverse political factions and regions could be selected. Non-regular examinations, for example, were offered more often than regular ones, which indicates how the government selected more capital-area candidates than provincial ones. A comparison of the ratios of successful candidates in the non-regular and regular examinations across Ming China and Chosŏn Korea shows that in Ming China the ratio was 12:88, whereas in Chosŏn Korea it was 59:41. This indicates that the Chosŏn court set non-regular examinations far more often than the Ming Court.¹⁷³

Non-regular examinations took place more and more often by the Chosŏn court. During the reigns of King Yǒngjo (1724–76) and King Chǒngjo (r. 1776–1800), the total number of such examinations was 161 — a 170 percent increase on the sixteenth century.¹⁷⁴

Let us examine the changes introduced by King Yǒngjo 英祖 (r. 1724–76). Originally, the

area candidates, since we can find a number of petitions presented to the King, which complained that many *fu* pieces written by provincial candidates were not of a high caliber. Replying to these complaints, King Yǒngjo treated *fu* pieces that did not rhyme as violating the rules of composition.

¹⁷³ Kim T'ae-jun 김태준, “Kwakŏ chedo-wa tong asia munhak-üi sahoesa” 科擧制度와 東아시아 文學의 社會史, *Pigyo munhak pyŏlgwŏn* (1998): 223-246.

¹⁷⁴ See the chart in Ch'a Mi-hŭi 차미희, “18 segi kwagŏje kaehyŏk-üi ch'ui” 18世紀 科擧制 改革의 推移, *Yŏksa kyoyuk* 52 (1992): 67.

higher civil service examinations were based on the regular examinations that took place every three years, which required candidates to be well-versed in Confucian classics. In the higher civil service examinations, the second round of the regular examinations comprised three steps — in the first step, candidates were tested orally on Confucian classics, and in the next two steps they had to pass written composition tests.

In the seventeenth century, a number of scholar-officials suggested that the problem was the oral tests of Confucian classics in the regular examinations, just as Kwŏn Kŭn had highlighted in the fifteenth century. First, they pointed out that the test in the Confucian classics was conducted orally and was not adequate to test candidates' real understanding of the Confucian classics. Next, they claimed that candidates' writing abilities were getting worse with time. Finally, they reminded the monarch that the success rate of capital-area candidates was dwindling because they were focusing less on memorizing the Confucian classics.¹⁷⁵

To solve these problems, the Chosŏn court provided more opportunities for candidates to take non-regular examinations. However, after King Sukchong's reign (1661–1720), far too many non-regular examinations were offered, which itself created certain problems, the greatest of which was that it was close to impossible to manage such large numbers of candidates several times a year. Additionally, the court had to face the burden of paying the staff hired to help the supervisors, as mentioned earlier.¹⁷⁶

Apart from the frequency of the non-regular examinations, the Chosŏn court sought to

¹⁷⁵ Pak Hyŏn-sun, “Yŏngjodae-ŭi munkwa kaehyŏk nonŭi-wa saeroun chedo-ŭi toip” 英祖代の 文科 改革 논의와 새로운 制度의 導入, *Kyujanggak* 41 (2012): 5-6.

¹⁷⁶ Pak Hyŏn-sun, “Chosŏn hugi munkwa-e nat'an an kyŏngnyang kan-ŭi pulgyunhyŏng munje kŏmt'o”, *Han'guk munhwa* 58 (2012): 4.

improve their quality. After numerous debates, it began to think about changing the literary styles that were tested as part of the composition tests. Usually, provincial candidates concentrated on writing *fu*, whereas capital-area candidates focused on the literary genre of *biao* (petition).¹⁷⁷ Scholar-officials kept suggesting that candidates should be required to write in a multitude of literary genres, including *fu*, *zhen*, *song*, and *ming*. King Yǒngjo (r. 1724–76) accepted this suggestion and made a number of changes to the non-regular examinations, but gradually *fu* became the dominant genre. Most scholar-officials maintained that *biao* was the literary genre by which they should select talented candidates, since it could easily highlight candidates' practical abilities, whereas King Yǒngjo insisted that they should be more considerate and accommodating of provincial candidates, who were better prepared for *fu*.¹⁷⁸ As a result of this insistence, more provincial candidates passed the non-regular examinations.

King Yǒngjo further maintained that oral tests of the Confucian classics should remain the principal part of the civil service examinations and that writing composition should continue as a secondary method for the selection of successful candidates. He based his argument on the theory that “writing is the means by which one conveys the Way,” 文以載道, but his real motive was to ensure a balance of power between the competing factions in his court.

A certain scholar-official proposed to King Yǒngjo that the civil service examinations should ask candidates more questions about the Confucian classics, to which the king replied that capital-area scholars would not be pleased about such a change. Since the seventeenth century, one of the main concerns of Chosŏn kings had been how to balance power between the various factions

¹⁷⁷ *Sūngjǒngwŏn ilgi* 承政院日記, the record of the 28th day, the fourth month, 1739.

¹⁷⁸ *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, “Yǒngjo sillok” 英祖實錄, the record of the 28th day, the fourth month, 1739.

that existed among their subjects. Obviously, the king's preference for oral tests of the Confucian classics and writing *fu* was at least partly motivated by his desire to clip the wings of the capital-based scholars, who were typically good at writing in various literary genres.

A similar pattern of changes in the civil service examinations was witnessed during King Chōngjo's reign. Initially, he wanted to diversify the literary genres required for the civil service examinations, but soon reinstated the previous focus on Confucian classics and writing *fu* so that more provincial candidates could be selected.

4. Influence of the *Wen xuan*

The *Wen xuan* includes the genres of *fu*, petitions, memorandums, inscriptions, eulogies, examination questions, edicts, disquisitions, and admonitions, among others. This explains why the *Wen xuan* had such a great influence not only on the capital-area candidates but also on provincial ones from the early period through to the end of the Chosŏn era, although there were some sporadic periods when scholars neglected it.

We have some accounts in the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* that indicate the *Wen xuan* was widely read by students in public schools from early Chosŏn:

When they have spare time after studying the Confucian classics, students of the Royal Confucian Academy should gain familiarity with the *Chu ci*, the *Wen xuan*, poems of Li Bo, Du Fu, Han Yu, Liu Zongyuan, Ouyang Xiu, Wang Anshi, Su Shi, and Huang Tingjian of successive dynasties. Each spring and autumn, in some cases, the military service examinations 都試 held in the State Council and the Six Ministry should command the candidates to compose *fu* and *shi* poetry. Schools of the Four Districts and local Confucian academies in the rural areas should also follow this form of becoming familiar with these works.

成均館生員經學餘暇，兼習楚辭、文選、李□杜□韓□柳□歐□王□蘇□黃等歷代諸家詩。春秋議政府六曹都試，或令賦詩，四部學堂及外方鄉校，亦依此講習。¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, "Sejong sillok," the record of the 26th day, 6th month, 1435.

When they have spare time after studying the Confucian classics, students of the Royal Confucian Academy should become familiar with the *Songs of Chu*, the *Wen xuan*, poems of Li Bo, Du Fu, Han Yu, Liu Zongyuan, Ouyang Xiu, Wang Anxi, Su Shi, and Huang Tingjian of successive dynasties. Each spring and autumn, in some cases, the military service exam held in the State Council and the Six Ministry should command the candidates to write *fu* and *shi* poetry. Learning Halls of the Four Districts and Local Confucian Academies in the rural areas should also have students follow these rules in their study practice..

成均館生員經學餘暇，兼習楚辭、文選、李□杜□韓□柳□歐□王□蘇□黃等歷代諸家詩。春秋議政府六曹都試，或令賦詩，四部學堂及外方鄉校，亦依此講習。¹⁸⁰

His Royal Highness transmitted the following message to the Ministry of Rites: “Send the *Shaowei tongjian jueyao* 少微通鑑節要 (Shaowei’s digest of the *Comprehensive Mirror*) the *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan*, the *Guwen zhenbao*, the *Wen xuan cewen* 文選策問 (examination questions of the *Wen xuan*), and the *Gu fu* 古賦 (Ancient-style *fu* [of the *Wen xuan*]) to Yōngan province (current Hamgyōng province 咸鏡道). Let Confucian scholars preparing for the Yōnghŭng provincial examinations 都會 read these books to be familiar with them.

傳于禮曹曰：“少微通鑑，春秋左傳，古文真寶，文選策問，古賦等書，送于永安道，令永興都會儒生講習。”¹⁸¹

The first account in the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* indicates that students at the Royal Confucian Academy were obliged to study the *Wen xuan*, and this no doubt applied to the Four Schools and provincial schools as well. The second account in the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* implies that the students of the Royal Confucian Academy studied the *Wen xuan* in order to improve their writing skills. The third account implies that the students of provincial schools were learning the *Wen xuan* in order to prepare for the provincial examinations.

However, according to a 1437 report to the king by Kwŏn Che (1387–1445), students were not reading the recommended books, including the *Wen xuan*, and were instead reading and

¹⁸⁰ *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, “Sejong sillok,” the record of the 26th day, the sixth month, 1435.

¹⁸¹ *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, “Sŏngjong sillok,” the record of fourth day, the 11th month, 1475.

memorizing the works of contemporary writers.

Kwŏn Che 權蹏 (1387-1445), Minister of the Ministry of Rites, announced to the king: “Now, current scholars are in a grave situation. Students not only do not read books, but also regard the *Wen xuan* as unsuitable for preparing for the civil service examinations. For instance, they regard writings composed by people of the same generation of an era as a proper literary form, and ceaselessly memorize and recite their writings. This kind of situation has become the fashion and scholarship has steadily declined. The situation has never been graver than today.”

禮曹判書權蹏啓曰: "方今學者有甚焉, 不唯不讀書, 且以文選爲不合舉業, 例以一時儕輩所述之文爲得體, 念誦不已. 以此成風, 學術日卑, 莫甚於今."¹⁸²

I believe that the accounts in the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* were merely stating the rules of the Royal Confucian Academy, and in reality students at the Academy were not actually referring to the *Wen xuan*. This may have been because of the nature of the civil service examinations of that period. According to the aforementioned conversation between the Chinese envoys and Royal Confucian Academy students, candidates of that period regarded the *Sanchang wenxuan* 三場文選 (Selected writings from the *Three-Round Examinations* [of the Yuan dynasty]) as the literary model for compositions, and wrote *fu* in a style that imitated the “Kwanŏdae pu” 觀魚臺賦 (*Fu* on the Terrace for Viewing the Fish):

Dun said, “Please bring this student’s writings for the daily course work.” They brought one each of the “Kwanŏdae pu” 觀魚臺賦 (*Fu* on the Terrace for Viewing the Fish), the “Jin *Samgang haengsil chŏn*” 進三綱行實箋 (Presenting the *Commentary to the Virtues of the Three Bonds*), the “Liji yi” 禮記義 (Meaning of phrases in the *Li ji*), and the civil service examination question 策問, and showed them to Dun. Dun read the *fu* and said, “This style and structure is similar to the practice of Yuan dynasty scholars.” Pyŏn said, “Confucian scholars of our state take the *Sanchang wenxuan* 三場文選 as literary models for composition, so they

¹⁸² *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, “Sejong sillok,” the record of the third day, the ninth month, 1437

resemble each other.”

鈍曰：“將此生日課文章來。”以觀魚臺賦、進三網行實箋、禮記義及策問各一道示之，鈍見賦曰：“此體制，似有元朝士習。”邊曰：“我國儒生，看元朝三場文選文範製述，故相似也。”¹⁸³

It is important to note that the Chosŏn court responded to the issues raised by Kwŏn Che. In 1447, the Ministry of Rites 禮曹 and the Council of State Affairs 議政府 agreed that every ten days students of the Royal Confucian Academy should write one petition, one *fu* or one examination question, and one selection from the “Wu Jing yi” 五經義 (Meanings of phrases in the *Five Classics*) or the “Si shu yi” 四書疑 (Questions on the *Four Books*).

In this regard, we can see that the *Records of the Royal School* included two specific rules.¹⁸⁴ Firstly, students had to read the *Four Books*, the *Five Classics*, and various history books, but they did not have to learn such works as the *Zhuangzi*, the *Laozi*, the Buddhist Sutras, and the *Hundred Schools of Thought*. Secondly, students had to choose from among the “Wu Jing yi,” and the “Si shu yi” or disquisitions, and write one piece within the first ten days of each month; from among *fu*, petitions, eulogy, inscriptions, or admonitions, and write one piece within the next ten days of each month; from among examination questions and records, and write one piece within the last ten days of each month.

Around the time of King Sŏnjo’s 宣祖 reign (1567–1608), Korean literary figures were significantly influenced by Tang poetry anthologies, the most influential of which was the *Tang*

¹⁸³ *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, “Tanjong sillok,” the record of the twenty-third day, the eighth month, 1452.

¹⁸⁴ “Changbo” 章甫, *T’aehakchi* 太學志 chapter 5. Recited from Pak Hyŏn-sun, “Chosŏn sidae kwagŏ suhŏmsŏ” 朝鮮時代 科擧 受驗書, *Han’guk munhwa* 69 (2015.3): 34.

shi pinhui 唐詩品彙 (Collection of classified Tang poetry).¹⁸⁵ The *Wen xuan*, however, retained its influence on scholars throughout this time, and there was a very interesting attempt at reforming the civil service examinations system.

The Ministry of Rites announced to the king: “Yi Yi-ch’öm 李爾瞻 (1560-1623), in a letter your vassal presented to Your Highness last year one item suggesting that we should change the subjects of the initial and the final examinations 初、終場 of the licentiate examinations and stipulate tests on *shi* poetry, meanings of phrases in *Five Classics*, questions on the *Four Books*, and *fu*, and allow candidates with a thorough knowledge of the *Four Books* to take the Classics licentiate examinations, and allow candidates thoroughly versed in the *Wen xuan*, or poems of Li Bo and Du Fu to take the literary licentiate examinations. ...”

禮曹啓曰: “臣爾瞻於上年啓辭中一款, 以詩、義、賦、疑, 換定監試初、終場, 且以能誦四書者, 許赴生員試, 能誦文選或李、杜者, 許赴進士試. ...”¹⁸⁶

“...The other day, in a communication, I mentioned to Your Highness that such matters as choosing candidates based on oral tests on the *Wen xuan*, or poems of Li Bo and Du Fu had not yet been decided. All the scholars and candidates of lower status study the *Wen xuan*, Li Bo, and Du Fu, and many of them have hopes for promotion. It will be greatly fortunate if Your Highness will deal with this public matter quickly. ...”

“...前日臣啓辭中, 文選李杜講取等事, 尙未判下. 閭閻間士子, 皆學文選李杜, 多有興起之望, 其公事速下幸甚...”¹⁸⁷

According to the above-cited accounts in the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, Yi I-ch’öm 李爾瞻 (1560–1623) was particularly interested in incorporating the *Wen xuan* into the examinations. He apparently suggested that the court should choose candidates based on oral tests of the *Wen xuan*.¹⁸⁸

Yi Sik 李植 (1584–1647) and Chang Yu 張維 (1587–1638) were two prominent

¹⁸⁵ Zhang Bowei 張伯偉, “*Wen xuan* yu Hanguo Hanwenxue” 文選與韓國漢文學, *Tong-a inmunhak* 3, (2003): 111.

¹⁸⁶ *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, “Kwanghaegun ilgi” 光海君日記, the record of the 18th day, the seventh month, 1615

¹⁸⁷ *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, “Injo sillok,” the record of the tenth day, the eighth month, 1633.

¹⁸⁸ Yi was the most powerful courtier of his time, and I think his motive in changing the civil service examinations was to give priority to candidates who supported his clan. His reforms were not realized because he was executed for treason.

scholars of this period, and their remarks show that the *Wen xuan* was still treated as an important text for the preparation of students for the civil service examinations.¹⁸⁹ Chang Yu was a leading scholar who was famous for his writings in the ancient style. He mentions the *Wen xuan* in the following two passages:

When I was eight or nine years old, my late father taught me the *Classic of Songs* and the *Classic of Documents*... When I became sixteen, from Lord Sŏnwŏn, a brother of my mother, I learned tens of Han Yu's writings... I also read the *Chu ci*, and the *Wen xuan*; I studied them so that I could participate in the civil service examinations.

余生八,九歲,先大夫教以詩書...十六從外舅仙源公,受昌黎文數十篇...又讀楚辭文選,學爲詞賦以應舉。¹⁹⁰

When I was young, I liked classical writings, but I did not want to study *shi* poetry... Early on, I read Han Yu's poems and various poems in the *Wen xuan*, then occasionally I only wrote poems in the pentasyllabic ancient style.

余少喜古文,不肯業詩...嘗讀昌黎詩及文選諸詩,時作五言古體而已。¹⁹¹

It is interesting that Chang Yu specifically mentions studying the *Wen xuan*, and that he studied the styles of the *Chu ci* and the *Wen xuan* pieces in order to sit for the civil service examinations.

Yi Sik mentions the *Wen xuan* in the following passage:

From among the writings of Han Yu, Liu Zongyuan, Su Shi, the *Wen xuan*, the Great Eight Ancient Prose Masters, the *Guwen zhenbao*, and the *Wenzhang guifan*, [select one] according to your preference, and read from the first chapter as you copy it one hundred times. You should read this kind of book first.

韓柳蘇文文選八大家文古文眞寶文章軌範等中,從所好鈔讀一卷,限百番,此屬先讀。¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Zhang Bowei, "Wen xuan yu Hanguo Hanwenxue," 110-111.

¹⁹⁰ Chang Yu 張維, *Kyegok manp'il* 溪谷漫筆, *Han'guk sihwa ch'ongp'yŏn* 韓國詩話叢編 (Seoul: Tongso munhwasa, 1989), vol. 2, 729.

¹⁹¹ Chang Yu, *Kyegok manp'il*, vol. 2, 731.

¹⁹² Yi Sik 李植, *T'aektangjip* 澤堂集, 514.

This is a passage from Yi Sik's "Si ason tǔng," 示兒孫等, which was an essay written for his descendants, recommending study materials and methodologies. Yi Sik's suggestion to his sons and grandsons was that they should study writings in the ancient style, but he did not leave out the *Wen xuan*, requesting them to study writings in the ancient style along with the writings in the *Wen xuan* style.

Yi Sik's reading list suggests that applicants had to study *siliu wen* 四六文 (four-six prose). *Siliu wen* was a type of parallel prose that was used in writing diplomatic and other official documents. In the civil service examinations, priority was given to *siliu wen* by doubling the points for *biao* 表 (petitions) and *jian* 箋 (memorandums). In addition, from the late sixteenth century onward, in the non-regular examinations and the palace examinations *siliu wen* was asked more frequently.

Yi Sik also suggested that applicants did not need to study both *fu* and *shi* poetry. He encouraged applicants to choose either *fu* or *shi* poetry, because even though the writing test asked applicants to write both *fu* and *shi* poetry, the second piece of composition 備篇 was often not counted. That is, applicants could concentrate on the first piece of composition 原篇 and could prepare for either *fu* or *shi* poetry for that purpose. This regulation of the civil service examinations explains why provincial candidates focused mainly on *fu* or *shi* poetry when preparing for the civil service examinations.

Yi Sik also recommended that applicants should imitate Han Yu's, Liu Zongyuan's, and Su Shi's collections of writings, as well as the *Wen xuan*, the *Guwen zhenbao*, and *Wenzhang guifan*, and develop composition abilities by repeatedly practicing and reciting writings in the copied

collections.

Besides the literary collections that Yi Sik mentioned, candidates studied excerpts from anthologies. In fact, as early as in the fifteenth century, it was very common to study parts of chapters from a whole literary collection, rather than studying the entire literary collection, as can be seen in the *Chosŏn Wangjo sillok* record of 1475.¹⁹³

The *Wen xuan* was no exception. The *fu* section of the *Wen xuan* was the most popular among candidates, and Koreans excerpted the *fu* pieces after adding their own commentary. This collection was titled the *Sŏnbu ch'op'yŏng chuhae sanbo* 選賦抄評註解刪補 (Abridged or supplemented commentaries and interpretations).

If we compare the commentaries on the *Wen xuan* and the *Sŏnbu ch'op'yŏng chuhae sanbo*, we can see that Koreans scholars placed more emphasis on explaining the meanings of certain phrases in a clear way, as the title of the collection implies. For example, Li Shan's *Wen xuan* commentary on certain lines in the "Xi du fu" 西都賦 (*Fu on the Western Capital*) traces the origins of certain phrases, and cites lines from the primary sources to explain their meaning.

Smoke blended with the clouds.

Thus, the people being both numerous and rich,

There was gaiety and pleasure without end.

The men and women of the capital

Were the most distinctive of the five regions.

Men of pleasure compared with dukes and marquises;

Shopgirls were dressed more lavishly than ladies Ji or Jiang.

於是既庶且富，娛樂無疆。都人士女，殊異乎五方；游士擬於公侯，列肆侈於姬

¹⁹³ See footnote 181.

姜.¹⁹⁴

The *Lun yu* says, “When the Master went to Wei, Ran You acted as driver of his carriage. The Master observed, ‘How numerous are the people!’ You said, ‘Since they are thus numerous, what more shall be done for them?’ ‘Enrich them,’ was the reply.” The *Mao shi* says, “Your favors to me are without limit.” In addition, it says, “Those officers of the [old] capital.” It also says, “Those ladies of noble houses.”

The *Han shu* says, “In the land of Qin people mingle and merge from all directions. Rich people earn profits as merchants and traders. As for feudal lords and noble men, their carriages and raiment arrogated privileges beyond their status. Common people imitated them with no sense of shame.” In the *Zhou li*, Zheng Xuan’s commentary says, “*Si* 肆 is a place for displaying goods in the market.” The *Zuo shi zhuan* says, “The gentleman said, ‘The *Shi jing* says, ‘Even though there are Ji and Jiang, / Do not abandon the homely and haggard ones.’”

論語曰：子適衛，冉有僕。子曰：庶矣哉！冉有曰：既庶矣，又何加焉？曰：富之。毛詩曰：惠我無疆。又曰：彼都人士。又曰：彼君子女。漢書曰：秦地五方雜錯，富人則商賈為利。列侯貴人，車服僭上。眾庶仿效，羞不相及。鄭玄周禮注曰：肆，市中陳物處也。左氏傳君子曰：詩云：雖有姬姜，無棄憔悴也。

In contrast, the commentary of the *Sōnbu ch'op'yōng chuhae sanbo* for the same lines reads:

“Chang’an is rich and populous and pleasures are unlimited. The luxuriousness of the men and women exceeded that of the five quarters. As for men of pleasure, their carriages and robes presumptuously imitated those of dukes’ and marquises’. Shopgirls were more extravagant than ladies Ji or Jiang.

言，長安富庶，樂事無限。士女之盛，過於五方。游人車服，僭擬公侯。市女奢侈，逾於姬姜。

In my opinion, this type of commentary is closer to that of the Wuchen’s commentary in

¹⁹⁴ *Wen xuan* 文選, compiled by Xiao Tong, *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊, 1.49.a-b. The English translation is from David R. Knechtges, *Wen Xuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982-1996), Volume One, 105.

the *Wen xuan*. According to David Knechtges, the difference the Li Shan and Wuchen's commentaries differed in the following ways:

Li Shan wrote a preface to his version of the *Wen xuan*, but he does not state there his principles of explication. However, he did insert in his commentary at appropriate places remarks about his method of citation. One of Li's chief concerns was to illustrate the meaning of a particular graph or phrase by citing parallel examples from other texts. In most places, Li's commentary consists of providing the *locus classicus* so as to show the "origin" of a term. Li Shan also makes use of earlier commentaries on certain pieces. ...

Although Li Shan's commentary provides detailed explanations of names, difficult words, and unusual terms, it does not contain extended paraphrases of the general meaning of many passages. Thus, other scholars in the Tang wrote a new commentary that consists of a paraphrase that in effect "translates" the *Wen xuan* into Tang-dynasty Chinese.¹⁹⁵

The commentary of the *Sŏnbu ch'op'yŏng chuhae sanbo* tries to explain the direct meaning of the phrases without indicating the origins or primary sources. This manner of making commentary is closer to that of the *Wen xuan* Wuchen commentary. In my understanding, Koreans preferred this type of commentary, as can be seen in the case of the *Ch'ŏnggu p'ungga*, which was mentioned earlier in the previous chapter. This is also related to the fact that they read the *Wen xuan* mainly to prepare for the civil service examinations. Under these circumstances, it was natural for Koreans to prefer texts that provided short and clear explanations of phrases.

Given that the *Wen xuan* was mainly used for preparing for the civil service examinations, it may be that scholarship on the *Wen xuan* was not extensive in Chosŏn Korea. Some Korean scholars were familiar with the *Wen xuan*, but most were not. An interesting incident supports this

¹⁹⁵ David. R. Knechtges, *Ancient and early medieval Chinese literature: a reference guide*, Part two, (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2014), 1322.

contention.¹⁹⁶

When Ryu Kūn became chief recipient of edicts 都承旨, Yi Homin wrote a literary piece and submitted it to Ryu Kūn. Ryu attached many notes to Yi's poem indicating suggested changes. Yi changed some parts but did not change others. Ryu still sent a petty official to repeatedly requesting Yi to make changes and also added a note under *hap* (he in Chinese) 欲 asking Yi, "What is this character?" Homin sneered at it and said, "What Ryu has read are poems and writings of our country. Hasn't he read the *Wen xuan*?" Yi grabbed a brush and added a note saying, "A *fu* piece in the *Wen xuan* says, 'They inhale the fields and spit out the mountains;' 'They inhale the River Feng and disgorge the capital Hao.' *Hap* 欲 is an ancient form for *hǔp* 吸 'inhale.'" 柳根爲都承旨，李好閔有製進之章。根多付標詩改。好閔或改，或不改。猶遣吏請改再三，又於欲字付標，問：“此何字耶？”好閔冷笑曰：“柳也所讀，東人詩文，不讀文選耶。”下筆註之曰：“文選賦，‘欲野噴山；’¹⁹⁷ ‘欲澧吐鄙。’¹⁹⁸ 欲，古吸字也。”¹⁹⁹

According to this account, Ryu Kūn 柳根 (1549–1627) submitted a poem to Yi Ho-min 李好閔 (1553–1634), who asked Ryu to change certain lines. Ryu accepted only some of Yi's recommendations, and the two engaged in a lively debate over a phrase, including the character *hap* 欲, which Yi did not recognize and requested that Ryu change it to a different character. Ryu then criticized Yi for not knowing the specific character, which was in Ban Gu's "Dong du fu" 東都賦 (Eastern capital rhapsody) and Zhang Heng's "Xi jing fu" 西京賦 (Western metropolis rhapsody) in the *Wen xuan*. This incident shows that in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, some scholars, like Ryu Kūn, read the *Wen xuan* and used words and expressions that it included, while others did not read it at all.

¹⁹⁶ Zhang Bowei, "*Wen xuan* yu Hanguo Hanwenxue," 112.

¹⁹⁷ This line is from the "Dong du fu" 東都賦 (Eastern capital rhapsody).

¹⁹⁸ This line is from the "Xi jing fu" 西京賦 (Western metropolis rhapsody).

¹⁹⁹ Yu Mong-in 柳夢寅, *Ōu yadam* 於于野談, Hong Man-jong 洪萬宗 ed., *Sihwa ch'ongrim* 詩話叢林, (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1991), 3. 282-283.

Chapter Five: History of *Fu* in Korea

In Chapter 1, I examined the influence of the *Wen xuan* on Korean culture in relation to the reorganization of the *yangban* class in the early Chosŏn period. I also highlighted the fact that the *Wen xuan* was used differently by fifteenth century Korean intellectuals, whose principal aim was to adopt Chinese literary theories or modes of commentary on anthologies for their own purposes (Chapters 2 and 3). Moreover, in the previous chapter I explored how the interest that Korean intellectuals had in the *Wen xuan* varied according to the changes in the civil service examination system that were introduced by the Chosŏn dynasty.

One particular feature of this period that we have mentioned is that capital-area scholars and provincial scholars had different preferences for literary styles — the former preferred a multitude of prose-writing styles,²⁰⁰ while the latter favored *fu* and *shi* poetry. Now we see that *fu* was enjoyed by both groups of scholars, and given that one-third of the *Wen xuan* texts are *fu* pieces, it is natural to ask: how was *fu* received by Koreans?

To answer that question, I shall analyze *fu* composition in Korea from the beginning to early Chosŏn. When Koreans first went to China to study classical Chinese literature, it was the Tang era, and *lüfu* 律賦 (regulated *fu*) was the first *fu* style that they learned. Consequently, most of the early *fu* works composed by Koreans must have been *lüfu*. As time passed, *dafu* 大賦 (grand epideictic *fu*) works were also composed. Beginning from the late Koryŏ period, *wenfu* 文賦 (prose *fu*) and *pianfu* 駢賦 (parallel-style *fu*) also became popular among Korean literati. In

²⁰⁰ This does not mean that they were not good at writing *fu* or *shi* poetry. They simply preferred prose because provincial scholars were relatively weak at it.

Chosŏn Korea, various *fu* styles were enjoyed by the intellectual class. Compared to Chinese *fu*, the history of Korean *fu* is relatively short, and it is noticeable that *fu* styles in Korea did not follow the same chronological order as in China, because Koreans learned *fu* according to the styles that were prevalent in China at the time. For example, in China, regulated *fu* appeared hundreds of years after grand epideictic *fu*, whereas the opposite was the case in Korea.

1. Early *Fu* Compositions in Korea

The earliest extant *fu* composition by a Korean is the “Yŏng hyo” 詠曉 (Celebrating the dawn), written by Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn 崔致遠 (857-?). Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn was a great scholar of Silla (57 B.C.E.–935 A.D.E.).²⁰¹ He belonged to the *yuktup’um* 六頭品 (head rank six) class, the second highest class after the *chingol* 眞骨 (true bone) class, which referred to royal families. His social status limited his chances for obtaining positions in Silla.²⁰² He passed the Tang “Guest and tributary examination” 賓貢科 in 874 and held various Tang governmental positions. In 881, when he was in the service of General Gao Pian 高駢 (821–87), Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn wrote a war proclamation against Huang Chao 黃巢 (835–84). Huang Chao allegedly fell off his horse when he read the menacing and vivid expressions in Ch’oe’s proclamation. As a result, Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn became famous in Tang for his writing skill. He left a private collection of his writings entitled

²⁰¹ Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn was born in 857, about two hundred years after Silla had destroyed the Koguryŏ 高句麗 (37 B.C.E.–668 A.D.E.) and the Paekche 百濟 (18 B.C.E.–660 A.D.E.) kingdoms that existed in the Korean peninsula. People refer to this period as Unified Silla 統一新羅 or Later Silla 後新羅 (668–935). During this period, it was easier for Silla people to go to Tang to study than previously, when the route to Tang was blocked by the Koguryŏ and/or Paekche. We have records that many Silla intellectuals, including Buddhist monks, studied in China. Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn was one of the most successful Silla scholars active in Tang.

²⁰² There were 17 official ranks for official Silla positions. Those in the *yuktup’um* were only allowed to take the position of *ach’an* 阿飡, the sixth rank, or below, which often brought complaints from the *yuktup’um* class. Some of them therefore went to Tang, China, to take up imperial positions there, as Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn did.

Kyewŏn p'ilgyŏng 桂苑筆耕 (Plowing the cassia grove with a writing brush), which he compiled in 879 and presented to the emperor in 886. The extant edition in the Kyujanggak Library includes 310 prose works and 60 poems in twenty chapters of four fascicles. The *Koun chip* 孤雲集 (Collections of Koun²⁰³), published in 1926, also contains some of his verses, including one *fu*, 32 *shi* poems, and 26 prose works. It consists of three chapters divided into two fascicles. His “Yŏng hyo” is included in the *Koun chip*.

I believe that this particular *fu* was written in the early 880s. It describes scenic views of various places in China. It also includes certain military terms, such as Willow Camp and army copper pots, which are a reminder that Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn joined Gao Pian's military corps in 880 (staying until 882). It seems that this *fu* was based on his experience in Gao Pian's military service. In 884 he returned to Korea and remained there until his death. It is possible that he wrote this *fu* after he returned to Korea, but his vivid descriptions, especially of scenic views, such as at the beginning, suggest that he wrote this *fu* while experiencing the events in question, not from memory or imagination. The following is the beginning part of this *fu*:

The jade water-clock is still dripping; 玉漏猶滴

The Milky Way has already rotated. 銀河已回

Vaguely and indistinctly mountains and rivers change gradually; 彷彿而山川漸變

Disparately displayed are images of things about to unfold. 參差而物像將開

Above and below a haze-shrouded scene is slightly distinguished; 高低之煙景微分

Recognizable is the palace among clouds. 認雲間之宮殿

Far and near carriages and carts move together, 遠近之軒車齊動

Which raises up dust on the road. 生陌上之塵埃

²⁰³ Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn had several style names 字, including Koun 孤雲, Haeun 海雲, and Haebu 海夫.

A nook of the sky becomes fulgent and far-spreading; 晃蕩天隅

The place where the sun rises becomes verdant and virescent. 蔥籠日域

Fading stars glint at the tip of the distant forest; 殘星映遠林之梢

Last night's mist blots out the hues of the long moor. 宿霧斂長郊之色

At Huating 華亭, the lingering cry of cranes is still heard in the wind;²⁰⁴ 華亭風裏
依依而鶴唳猶聞

In Baxia²⁰⁵ under the moonlight, monkeys' long howling has already stopped. 巴峽月中
迢迢而猿啼已息

The village, where the blue streamer of a wine-shop is quietly glinting, is far; a rooster is crying
on the roof of a thatched house; 隱映青帘村迥而鷄鳴茅屋

The nest in the dimly lit vermilion balcony is empty; swallows are chirping on the carved beam.
熹微朱閣巢空而燕語雕樑

Inside the Willow Camp they quit beating army copper pots;²⁰⁶ 罷刁斗於柳營之內

Beside the Cinnamon Hall, they set officials' tablets in order. 儼簪笏於桂殿之傍

In the border town pasture horses are repeatedly neighing, and the level sands are still and silent;
邊城之牧馬頻嘶 平沙漠漠

The lonely boat on the remote river is completely gone, and the old riverbank is bluish-green.
遠江之孤帆盡去 古岸蒼蒼

Sounds of the bamboo flute from a fishing boat are clear; 漁篴聲瀏

The fleabane is drenched with dew. 蓬艸露瀼

The bright blue aura of the thousand mountains hangs high and low; 千山之翠嵐高下

The wind-blown smoke from the four directions spreads deep and shallow. 四野之風煙深淺

On the blue railing of someone's house an oriole is crying, and the silk curtains are still hanging;
誰家碧檻 鷺啼而羅幕猶垂

²⁰⁴ Huating is located west of modern Songjing county 松江縣, Shanghai 上海市. This was the home of Lu Ji 陸機 (260 ~ 303). Before his execution, he said: "I want to hear the cranes crying at Huating, but can I do so?" 欲聞華亭鶴唳, 可復得乎. See Xu Zhene 徐震堦 ed., *Shishuo xinyu jiaojian* 世說新語校箋, Zhonghua shuju (Beijing, 1984), 479.

²⁰⁵ Baxia is another name of Wuxia 巫峽, which is one of the Sanxia 三峽.

²⁰⁶ *Diaodou* 刁斗 was a device used in military camps in ancient China: in daytime it was used as a cooking pot; at night it was used as a clapper by patrolmen.

As is suggested in its title, “Celebrating the dawn,” Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn’s *fu* depicts the various scenic views one can observe between midnight and dawn. The narrator describes sensuous colors and sounds, trying to associate them with his feelings. A marvelous feature of this *fu* is the narrator’s delicate description of things that reflect temporal changes. Good examples of this are the third and the fourth lines: “Vaguely and indistinctly mountains and rivers change gradually; Disparately displayed are images of things about to unfold.” These lines describe scenic views before the sun rises.

This *fu* resembles a regulated *fu*. Lines of a couplet are arranged in parallel. Every other line rhymes regularly through the end of the work. In addition, it rhymes alternately with level tone and oblique tone in the following order:

hui 灰 (level tone) → *zhi* 職 (oblique tone) → *yang* 陽 (level tone) → *xian* 銑
 (oblique tone) → *geng* 庚 (level tone) → *yue* 月 (oblique tone) → *yu* 魚 (level tone)
 → *yao* 藥 (oblique tone)

It is significant that the first *fu* work ever written by a Korean was a regulated *fu*. Regulated *fu* appeared in China as late as the second half of the seventh century.²⁰⁷ As mentioned earlier, Ch’oe Ch’i-wŏn passed the Tang civil service examinations in 874, and he must have practiced writing regulated *fu* to prepare for the examinations. It is likely that this experience accustomed him to writing *fu* in this style, rather than in earlier styles. There is no evidence that Koreans wrote

²⁰⁷ See Zhan Hanglun 詹杭倫, *Tang Song fuxue yanjiu* 唐宋賦學研究, (Beijing: Shehui kexueyuan chubanshe, 2004), 10-11. Also see Stephen Owen, “The cultural Tang (650–1020),” Kang-i Sun Chang and Stephen Owen ed., *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature*, Volume 1, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 289.

fu before Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn, although many Koreans passed the Tang civil service examinations. Earlier and later *fu* works may have been written by Koreans during this period, but this *fu* composition is the only one that is extant.

The second earliest extant *fu* written by a Korean is “Zhongni pong pu” 仲尼鳳賦 (*Fu* on Confucius who was like a phoenix). As stated in Chapter 2, it was written by Kim Pu-sik 金富軾 (1075–1151), and it appears as the first *fu* in the *Tongmunsŏn*.²⁰⁸ We do not have any evidence on the date of this *fu*. The best guess is that it was written sometime between 1099 and 1151, when Kim Pu-sik was active in the Koryŏ court, which means that this *fu* was written more than two hundred years after the “Yŏng hyo.”

Since the “Zhongni pong pu” is essentially a eulogy, it describes in intricate detail Confucius' various virtues, and alludes to his charitable and benevolent deeds from sources such as the *Lun yu*. A comparison of the prosodic and rhyming patterns of this *fu* with those of previous *fu* shows that it was a deviation from the regulated *fu*. Most of the lines rhyme regularly, but some lines do not make a parallel structure, although they do rhyme at the end.

2. The Early Grand Epideictic *Fu* in Korea: Comparison between China's “Sandu fu” and Korea's “Samdobu”

Around the middle of the Koryŏ era, Koreans finally began writing grand epideictic *fu*. The most important and longest grand epideictic *fu* of this period was the “Samdobu,” 三都賦 (*Fu* on the three capitals) which was written by Ch'oe Cha. Since Ch'oe took the name from the title of Zuo Si's “Sandu fu,” 三都賦 (*Fu* on the Three Capitals) it is necessary to compare these

²⁰⁸ Kim Pu-sik's collection of writings are not extant. His literary works are scattered in various sources. The most important source of them is the *Tongmunsŏn*.

two *fu*.

(1) Historical Background

Comparing the historical periods in which these two *fu* were written, we can immediately see two similarities. Competition for power and foreign threats had created instability in the two countries' respective courts, and the status of their literati was accordingly unstable as well.

Zuo Si's *fu* was written during the Western Jin period (265–317), when China was enjoying a short period of peace during the unified Three Kingdoms period (220–280), following the Han dynasty (206 B.C.E.–220 A.D.E.) era and before the tumultuous Eastern Jin (317–420) and the Sixteen Kingdoms period (304–439). The Kingdom of Wu (222–280) was not defeated until 280. Sima Zhong 司馬衷 (r. 290–300), the second emperor of the Western Jin, was mentally retarded, and Empress Jia (d. 300) was the one who held real power. Shortly after came the period called the “turmoil of the Eight Princes” (300–306). Around the time when Zuo Si's *fu* was written, members of the Sima clan and the Empress Jia's family were embroiled in fierce competition for power, plunging the court into chaos.

Ch'oe Cha's *fu* was written toward the end of the Koryŏ era (935–1392) specifically when the Royal Court was temporarily located on Kanghwa 江華 Island, half a mile offshore, so as to be able to effectively resist the Mongolian armies. Prior to the Mongolian invasion, great changes had occurred in the governance of the state. During the twelfth century, compared to civilian officials, military officers were generally treated quite poorly, which eventually led to a military coup in 1170 led by Chŏng Chung-bu 鄭仲夫 (1106–79). This coup marked the beginning of a military regime. Kyŏng Tae-sŭng 慶大升 (1154–83) took power after killing Chŏng Chung-bu in 1179. However, shortly afterward, in 1083, Kyŏng died of illness, and Yi Ŭi-min 李義旼 (?–1196) took over the regime. Yi was killed by Ch'oe Ch'ung-hŏn 崔忠獻

(1149–1219) in 1196, who established a new military regime that lasted from 1197 until 1258, when the regime continued under his descendants. In 1232, when Ch’oe U 崔瑀 (?–1249)—Ch’oe Ch’ung-hön’s son—was the prime military authority in the land, the country was invaded by the Mongols for the first time. In the following year, Ch’oe decided to move to Kanghwa Island, where members of the Ch’oe clan resisted the enemy until 1258, when Ch’oe Ŭi 崔義 (?–1258)—the last ruler of the Ch’oe clan—was murdered by Kim Chun 金俊 (?–1268). Shortly after Kim Chun’s assumption of control, the regime was taken over by other generals — Im Yŏn 林衍 (?–1270), and Im Yu-mu 林惟茂 (?–1270). Soon thereafter, King Wŏnjong 元宗 (r. 1259–1274) decided to surrender to the Mongols, and with the help of the irregular armies of Sambyŏlch’o 三別抄, he killed Im Yu-mu in 1270. In the same year, a treaty of surrender was signed between Koryŏ and the Mongols, and Koryŏ returned to its previous capital in Kaegyŏng 開京.

(2) About the Two Authors

Zuo Si’s style name was Taichong 太冲. He was from Linzi 臨淄 in Shandong province.²⁰⁹ Two *fu* and fourteen poems, including “Yongshi” 咏史 (Poems on historical themes) were composed by him. His ancestors reputedly were nobles of the Qi state, but by the time of his father, his family members mainly served in relatively minor government posts and barely earned a living. His father, Zuo Xi 左喜 (?–?), held various such government posts, from palace attendant censor to governor of Yiyang 弋陽. However, his younger sister—Zuo Fen 左芬 (?–300)—entered the palace and became a concubine to Emperor Wu (r. 265–290) in 272,

²⁰⁹ For Zuo Si’s biographical records, refer to “Zuo Si zhuan” 左思傳 of *Jin shu* 晉書.

and due to her distinct literary talent, soon earned the emperor's favor. It is possible that Zuo Si had opportunities for success mainly because of his sister. Nevertheless, he was not treated particularly well by other literary men because he was not from a prestigious family.

Ch'oe Cha's style name was Sudök 樹德. He was from Haeju in Hwanghae province. His extant writings include the *Pohanjip* 補閑集 (A sequel to the *P'ahanjip* 破閑集 [Collection of writings for breaking idleness])²¹⁰ in three chapters, two *fu*, and eleven poems.²¹¹ He was from a highly prestigious family. His third great grandfather was Ch'oe Ch'ung 崔冲 (984–1068), the greatest Confucian scholar of his time, who did much to disseminate Confucianism. His private school for teaching the Confucian canon became a model for private educational institutions, and he was called the “Eastern Confucius” 海東孔子 by his contemporaries. Ch'oe Ch'ung even rose to the post of prime minister, and his descendants continued to be appointed to prestigious official posts. By Ch'oe Cha's time, however, the court was under the sway of a military regime, which meant that the path to official success was now quite different. His ancestors had easily obtained important governmental offices after passing the civil service examinations, but Ch'oe Cha was not advanced and he remained an ordinary scholar at the Kukchagam 國子監 for ten years. Nevertheless, some of Ch'oe's literary works were acclaimed by Yi Kyu-bo 李奎報, the greatest literary figure not only of that period but throughout the history of Koryŏ. Yi even recommended Ch'oe Cha to Ch'oe Ŭi 崔義 (?–1258), who had assumed control of the military regime, and this allowed Ch'oe Cha to attain important

²¹⁰ Ch'oe Cha's intended to take after the title of the *P'ahanjip*, that was compiled by Yi In-ro 李仁老 (1152–1120).

²¹¹ Biographical records of Ch'oe Cha are in *Koryŏsa* 高麗史.

governmental posts, such as joint manager of affairs with the Secretariat-chancellery, and vice director of the Chancellery.

(3) Similarities and Discrepancies in the Structures and Characters of the Two *Fu*

Zuo Si's *fu* piece consists of 9,948 characters and is divided into four parts — the preface by the author, and three *fu* on the three capitals. Each *fu* is narrated by a single character — the Shu Capital by a Lord from Shu, the Wu Capital by a Prince from Wu, and the Wei Capital by a Master from Wei.

Ch'oe Cha's *fu* piece consists of 2,457 characters. Unlike Zuo's, it does not include a preface, and is one single *fu*. It can, however, be divided into three parts, each narrated by different characters — the Old Gossip 談叟 for the Northern capital, the Student Debater 辨生 for the Western capital, and the Grandee of Righteous Discussion 正義大夫 for the Capital of the Island. The structure is similar to that of Zuo's *fu* in that each character explains a capital in a tone that is supportive of that capital's atmosphere.

Since they both describe cities, the two *fu* focus on the same topics. They depict the capitals' geography, history, buildings, markets, trees, plants, resources, people, and so forth, except for hunting which is not included in Ch'oe's piece. In Zuo's *fu*, each theme for one capital is repeated for the other capitals in the same sequence. In contrast, in Ch'oe's *fu*, the topics of description for each capital are different, except in the beginning section of each part, where the geographic and historical backgrounds are introduced. For example, a description of fish appears only in the western capital, while descriptions of iron and silk are included only in the northern capital, and

only the capital of the island part describes the local market and Buddhism.²¹²

The attitudes of the characters in both *fu* are similar: 1) they are eager to describe their cities in a way that supports their capital's superior qualities; 2) each character criticizes the previous character's statement. However, their manners of criticism are not the same. In Zuo's *fu*, once one character has completed his speech, the next character immediately begins to criticize what was stated by the previous character.

The Prince of Wu in the east, laughing heartily and derisively, said,

.....

Yet you, sir, speak of the wealth of the Shu capital,

And possessions of Yutong.

You extol this region,

Praise its forests and preserves.

When you brag of the barriers of Ba-Han,

You think they are paramount among layered strongholds.

When you boast of the richness of the taro fields,

You think they may save the world from the Yang-nine disaster cycle.

Such niggling and piffling enumerations

Certainly are things at which only a country pedant would gasp in wonder.

To discourse in such all-encompassing generalities

Is not the grand vision of the Great Man.

Why is that?

Shu's soil is inadequate to sustain life,

And its mountains and streams are inadequate to provide secure defense.

Gongsun made it his state, yet was defeated;

Zhuge made it his home but was destroyed.

It is nothing but the ruins of death and disorder,

A rutted track that overturns its cart.

How can it be a place to which kings and Lords attach themselves, where they expand their moral influence and achievements?

He who is accustomed to a rocky shallow and has never seen a jade pool

Could never know where the Black Dragon hides.

He who is familiar with a lowly town and who has never seen a superior state

Could never know the places where great men dwell.²¹³

²¹² One reason for Ch'oe's *fu* being shorter than Zuo's is this avoidance of repetition.

²¹³ David Knechtges, *Wen Xuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature*, Volume one, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), 373-75.

This is the beginning of the *fu* on the Wu capital. The Prince of Wu starts his speech with derision, and considers what the Lord of Shu takes pride in as “niggling” and “piffling.” He then compares the Lord of Shu to a “country pedant,” and concludes that “Shu’s soil is inadequate to sustain life, and its mountains and streams are inadequate to provide secure defense.” Such a retort to the Lord of Shu sounds excessively censorious. The next retort comes after the *fu* on the Wu capital ends, when the Master from Wei begins to narrate the *fu* on the Wei capital. In other words, the retorts in Zuo’s *fu* are lengthy and extremely critical, but do not appear often.

In contrast, in Ch’oe’s *fu*, retorts appear more frequently but are fairly short, composed of only one or two couplets. For example, when the Student Debater completes his introduction of the myth surrounding the Western capital, the Grandee says: “They are mysterious and strange, vague and dazzling, and how can they be worthy of pride?” Then the Student Debater continues to describe the fine scenery of the Western capital. When the description ends, the Grandee criticizes him as follows: “Wonderful views and beautiful scenes hurt people’s hearts and eyes.” In this way, as soon as one character’s statement on a topic ends, another character expresses his opinion in a critical tone. Compared to Zuo’s *fu*, retorts in Ch’oe are relatively short and not that acerbic, but they appear more often.

The arguments between the characters, meanwhile, end similarly in both *fu*, in that the last character invariably wins the debate. In both *fu*, the Master and the Grandee, who describe their capitals at the end of the piece, are set to win the debate about the capitals. However, the procedures for reaching the relevant conclusions are not the same. In Zuo’s *fu*, the relationship between the three characters is stereotypical. The Prince from Wu despises the Lord from Shu and is in turn treated with contempt by the Master from Wei. Finally, the first two characters admit that they are

wrong and that the Master is right, by saying:

We are simpletons,
 Enticed and constrained by Min and Pu.
 Like the smartweed bug we are oblivious of the bitter taste;
 And we are accustomed to the fact that “to advance or retreat is equally difficult.”
 Though we do not always sleep, we are not awake,
 And we have never set eyes on the tracks of the imperial carriage.
 We of frivolous mind and meager wisdom
 Have chanced to receive your pure instruction in “upholding the ancients.”
 We have piled error upon error, mistake upon mistake;
 And having ignored your stellar brilliance, our minds have been unsettled.
 You, sir, your understanding of the abstruse
 Is so profound and vast, it cannot be fathomed.
 Now we have learned of the supreme splendor of superior virtue,
 That differs from the anxieties of the sage.
 Your speech is like the reverberating sounds of spring thunder
 That awakens dormant insects which take off in continuous flight,
 Or like the hidden dragon soaring skyward in the sunshine,
 His radiance from above illumining the dark pool below.²¹⁴

The Lord of Shu and the Prince of Wu consider themselves simpletons. They confess that their “frivolous mind and meager wisdom” are enlightened by the Master’s “understanding of the abstruse.” They “have piled error upon error, mistake upon mistake,” and their “minds have been unsettled,” but they are awakened by the Master’s speech, which “is like the reverberating sounds of spring thunder.”

Ch’oe’s *fu* is slightly different in this respect. The criticism is not one-directional. In Zuo’s *fu*, the criticism is directed only toward the previous two characters. Thus, in its structure, each character becomes the target of criticism of the succeeding protagonists, with the last character being beyond criticism. In contrast, in Ch’oe’s *fu*, because the dialogue pattern is closer to a real dialogue, even the last character—the Grandee of Righteous Discussion—is criticized by the

²¹⁴ David Knechtges, *Wen Xuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature*, Volume one, 475-77.

previous two characters. The following are the criticisms of the Student Debater and the Old Gossip:

1. The two guests say:
“Making the state firm is with neither mountains nor streams;
It is in virtue, not in steepness.”
2. The two guests say:
“Extreme richness is not gathering or accumulating,
You should model yourself after [what King Wu of Zhou did in] Juqiao.”
3. The two guests say:
“From the past until now, in honoring the Buddha, no one has been like the [rulers of] the Liang dynasty,
But why did it perish quickly?”

The first criticism comes after the Grandee’s long description of the geography of the Island Capital. The second criticism immediately follows the Grandee’s boast about the great amount of goods in the Island capital. The last criticism appears when the Grandee completes his extolment of Buddhism in the Island Capital and his description of a scene in a Buddhist temple. Thus, the characters of Ch’oe’s *fu* decline to remain stereotyped, which makes their dialogues more vivid.

The relationships between the three characters in each *fu* are also very similar, but the characters in Ch’oe’s *fu* are more complicated. In both *fu*, the character representing the last state is depicted as someone whose superior abilities over the other characters is evident simply in their names. In Zuo Si’s *fu*, the Lord of Shu and the Prince of Wu are from powerful clans, such as royal or aristocratic families, while the Master is a scholar-official. The former two are depicted as ignorant of the world, while the Master is described as someone who is extremely wise, follows the middle way, and is able to provide precious advice to the former characters to guide them onto the right path.

Similarly, in Ch'oe's *fu*, the names of the characters imply the personality which the author intended to ascribe to them. For example, "Old Gossip" 談叟 gives the impression that the character is an old, experienced and crafty individual who loves to talk about trifling things. "Student Debater" 辨生 suggests that the individual is naive, inexperienced, and too young to know the world. In contrast, the last character is referred to as the "Grandee of Righteous Discussion 正議大夫." The first two words 正議 suggest to the reader that this person is good at discussions and is able to lead them in the right direction. The next two words *taebu* 大夫 give the reader the impression that this person is someone with great merit because of his past achievements. Altogether, the name of the last character is intended to persuade the reader that the person is reliable and has stellar knowledge and extensive experience.

(4) Linguistic Features of the Two *Fu*

As a whole, the language of Zuo Si's *fu* does not depart from the grand epideictic *fu* tradition. His descriptions are as sensuous and splendid as Mei Cheng's "Qi fa," and as exquisite and verisimilar as Zhang Heng's "Erjing fu," as can be seen in the following description:²¹⁵

Purple pears are moist and juicy;
 Hazelnuts and chestnuts split at the seams.
 Grapes swell to bursting;
 Pomegranates vie to open.
 When perfectly ripe, they drop by themselves to the ground;
 Their sweet fragrance is pungent and strong.²¹⁶

²¹⁵ In the preface, Zuo Si traces the history of *fu*. First, he goes back to the six principles of the *Classic of Songs*. Then he cites Yang Xiong's comment on *fu*: "The *fu* of the *Songs* poets are beautiful but maintain standards." After this, citing Ban Gu's comment, Zuo Si finally defines *fu* as a "genre of ancient *Songs*." In the following lines, Zuo describes a positive feature of *fu*: a *fu* enables one to understand a place without visiting it; thus *fu* is useful for rulers to study public sentiments. Then Zuo begins to criticize a negative feature of *fu*. He thinks that some expressions in Sima Xiangru's "Shanglin fu," Yang Xiong's "Ganquan fu," Ban Gu's "Xidu fu," and Zhang Heng's "Xijing fu" are exaggerated. See David Knechtges, *Wen Xuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature*, Volume one, 337.

²¹⁶ David Knechtges, *Wen Xuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature*, Volume one, 355.

Zuo Si's *fu* also follows the traditional *fu* rhetoric of hyperbole and catalogue:

Giant turtles with mighty force
 Bear magic mountains on their heads.
 There is the roc in furious flight,
 His wings seeming to span the sky.
 They whip up the watery vastness,
 Strike down to the layered depths,
 Greatly shaking the whole cosmos.²¹⁷

Ch'oe Cha's *fu* is not much different from Zuo Si's in this regard, in that it also contains sensuous, exquisite descriptions:

When it becomes winter months,
 And all the river water is frozen,
 Silk-like fish and pearly fish are flapping and thrashing beneath it.
 Using metal spears as we stab them,
 Among one hundred trials, not a single shot misses.
 One puts them on plates and leaves them a night,
 Then they become frozen like clear jade.
 The cook is Food Steward,
 Who deftly clashes knives and slices fish meat.
 Like threads flying lightly and gently;
 The shape is excellent, and so is the taste.
 In a short while, it frosts on the teeth and snows in the throat.
 及當冬月，滿江水結，錦鱗珠鱗。其下鱖鱖，金槌叉之，百不一脫。置盤經宿，凍成玉潔。庖丁膳夫，鳴刀巧割。縷飛霍霍，色絕味絕。一下齒霜喉雪。

This kind of sensuous and exquisite description is not much different from Zuo Si's *fu*, but the devices of hyperbole and catalogue are not used that often in Ch'oe's *fu*. For example, Ch'oe's *fu* does not include any descriptions of plants, whereas Zuo Si's *fu* does (in all three *fu*). The following is one of the few highly exaggerated scenes from Ch'oe Cha's *fu*:

They play reed pipes, sing songs, beat drums, and play flutes;
 Nine kinds of wines are rippling and flooding.
 Thousands of jars of wine stand tall and high;
 Like the *xu* hexagram of the *Classic of Changes*,

²¹⁷ David Knechtges, *Wen Xuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature*, Volume one, 383.

Like the “Already Drunk” of the *Classics of Poetry*.

Camels’ humps and bears’ paws;

Dragons’ livers and phoenixes’ marrow,

Are as if silk is gathered and as if jade is stacked,

But they (Lords and Nobles) are fed up with and grow tired of those things and spit them out and throw them away.

笙歌鼓吹，九醞波漫。千疊屹峙，如易之需，若詩既醉。駝峯熊掌，龍肝鳳髓，錦蔘瓊堆，厭飫唾棄。

The particle “xi” 兮 is used with similar frequency in the two *fu*. It is used six times in Ch’oe’s *fu* and twice in Zuo Si’s *fu*. In this sense, both pieces partly make use of the *sao* style *fu* 騷體賦.

The two *fu* use a similar number of characters in a line.

The number of characters in a line (字句)	Zuo Si’s <i>fu</i>	Ch’oe Cha’s <i>fu</i>
1 字句	2	0
2 字句	3	4
3 字句	134	14
4 字句	1079	346
5 字句	153	38
6 字句	397	48
7 字句	181	23
8 字句	64	20
9 字句	16	10
10 字句	9	4
11 字句	3	4
12 字句	0	2
13 字句	1	2
16 字句	1	0
Total	2043	515

As the chart shows, the two *fu* use various line lengths, but in general the four-syllable lines appear the most, followed by six-syllable lines.

The usage of the “function word” 虛詞 is very different. The following chart shows the usage of the “function word” in the two *fu*:

Function word (虛詞)	Total number in Zuo Si's <i>fu</i>	Total number Ch'oe Cha's <i>fu</i>
“zhi 之”	319	4
“er 而”	245	33
“yue 曰”	8	21

First, Zuo Si's *fu* uses *zhi* 之 and *er* 而 many times compared to Ch'oe's *fu*, while Ch'oe's *fu* uses *yue* 曰 much more often than in Zuo Si's *fu*. This difference indicates that Ch'oe Cha wished to give a more colloquial flavor to his *fu*, whereas Zuo Si's *fu* simply pursues rhetoric features of the grand epideictic *fu*.

(5) Ch'oe Cha's Reasons for Writing the “*Fu* on the Three Capitals”

In Ch'oe Cha's *fu*, after every description, the author inserts criticisms from other characters, which suggest his reasons for writing this piece. I have gathered them as follows:

1. The Grandee says:
“They are mysterious and strange, vague and deceptive,
How can one be proud of them?”
2. The Grandee says:
“Wonderful views and beautiful scenes
Hurt people's hearts and eyes.”
3. The Grandee says:
“Ascending the throne of our sage ancestor
Was to respond to heaven and follow people.
It was not the case of taking the absurdity of geomantic and augural theories.”
4. The Grandee says:
“Even one foot of jade is not a treasure,
Not to speak of those metal or silk.”

5. "...Are not these called the treasure of the state?"
 The Grandee says: "They are not.
 Carving insects or recklessly making efforts,
 The gentlemen do not take them up.
 Not to speak of the skill of playing balls."
6. The Grandee says:
 "Feigned cleanliness is harsh and cruel and it undermines people,
 And its harm is also great."
7. (Following a description of fancy city life by the Old Gossip) The Grandee says: "Ah,
 The displacement of the old capital is generally due to this."
8. The two guests say:
 "Making the state firm is with neither mountains nor streams;
 It is in virtue, not in steepness."
9. The two guests say:
 "Extreme richness is not gathering or accumulating,
 You should model after [what King Wu of Zhou did in] Juqiao."
10. The two guests say:
 "From the past until now, in honoring the Buddha, no one has been like the [rulers of] the
 Liang dynasty,
 But why did it perish so quickly?"

The statements in numbers 1–7 are by the Grandee, while those in numbers 8–10 are by the Student Debater and the Old Gossip. An analysis of these statements tells us that what Ch'oe Cha acknowledges as positive are:

- To respond to heaven and follow people (from number 3)
- Virtue (in general) (from number 8)
- King Wu of Zhou's virtue (from number 9)

What he criticizes as negative are:

- Myths (from number 1)
- Beautiful scenes (from number 2)
- Geomantic and augural theories (from number 3)
- Abundant resources (from number 4)
- Sports or hunting (from number 5)
- Officials' hypocrisy (from number 6)
- Extravagance (from numbers 7 and 9)
- Favorable geography (from number 8)
- Buddhism (from number 10)

In sum, through his characters' personas, Ch'oe Cha maintains that a good state should be based on Confucian virtues, such as those of King Wu of Zhou, and it should reject irrational customs, thought, and religions, as well as the dissipation of wealth. Certain historical records prove that Ch'oe Cha's criticisms directly point to events that actually occurred in the Island capital.

In fact, around the time when Ch'oe Cha wrote this *fu*, he also wrote another *fu* — “Xiangru p'i Lian Po i sŏn Kukka ji kŭp pu” 相如避廉頗以先國家之急賦 (*Fu* on Lin Xiangru's avoiding meeting Lian Po in order to give priority to urgent matters of state). In this *fu*, he takes the story of Lin Xiangru 藺相如, who collaborated with Lian Po 廉頗 to protect Zhao 趙 from other states, including Qin 秦. This gives credence to the assumption that Ch'oe Cha was greatly concerned about Koryŏ's moment of crisis in confronting the Mongolian invasion, and wrote his “*Fu* on the Three Capitals” as an urgent appeal.

Indeed, Ch'oe Cha seems to reveal his desire for the King to listen to such concerns:

The two guests say:
 “From the past until now, in honoring the Buddha, no one has been like the [rulers of] Liang dynasty,
 But why did it perish so quickly?”
 The Grandee says:
 “Now the Lord
 Himself is frugal to himself and generous to his subordinates.”
 The two guests are then stunned and turn pale
 Withdrawing from their seats, kneeling he says:
 “Your Grandee, please do not speak so much!
 Just this word
 Is enough for one to know about the excellence of great tranquility and ultimate order.
 In general, incorruptibility and fairness in the ordering of government,
 All starts with frugality.
 If you are frugal then mores revert to generosity of spirit,
 How can heaven not assist us?
 How can the mandate of the state not endure long?
 Previously what we clamored for and exaggerated indiscriminately
 Was just to reveal evil practices of the state.”

二客曰：“古今奉浮圖莫若梁，何促危亡？”大夫曰：“方今主上躬儉而厚下。”二客即愕然失容。避席而跪曰：“大夫毋多言之美。凡政理清平，皆由儉始。儉則習俗歸厚，胡皇天不佑，胡基祚不長久哉。向者走等喁喁 哓哓，祇自彰國累耳。”

In the middle of their dialogue with the Grandee, the two guests of the Student Debater and the Old Gossip get upset, since all of their speeches were criticized and rebutted by the Grandee. They ask the Grandee to explain to them what good virtue in his opinion really is. The Grandee begins to do so, but this time, the Student Debater and the Old Gossip criticize him in return. The passage cited above is the scene right after the Grandee has made another speech, having already been criticized twice. After hearing a third criticism, the Grandee suddenly mentions the reigning King's virtues of frugality and generosity. The two guests change their attitude abruptly; previously, they were critical and full of complaints, but now they are docile and obedient. This scene may reflect Ch'oe Cha's intention to convey the reasons for writing this *fu* to the reigning king: even the most rebellious people would admire His Highness' frugality and generosity, and he hoped that he would uphold this kind of Confucian virtue so that we can protect our state from the Mongolian Invasions.

3. The “Kwanōdae pu” 觀魚臺賦 (*Fu* on the Terrace for Viewing Fish) in Korea

The “Kwanōdae pu” 觀魚臺賦 (*Fu* on the Terrace for Viewing Fish) became a popular style and topic for *fu* writers, beginning from the late Koryō era into early Chosōn, as can be seen from the conversation between the Chinese envoys and Korean students at the Royal Confucian Academy. By comparing three representative “Kwanōdae pu” works, I intend to explore the tradition of writing “Kwanōdae pu” in Korea.

(1) Geographical Features of Kwanōdae

Kwanōdae is in Yōngdōk 盈德 county in North Kyōngsang province 慶尙北道. The

picture below offers a glimpse of its geographical features.



According to Kim Chŏng-ho's 金正浩 (?–1864) maps, Kwanŏdae is located on Sangdae Mountain 上臺山 (altitude 183m), which is shown in the center of the picture. To the north of the mountain, the Songch'ŏn 松川 River flows into the East Sea 東海. In 2013, Yŏngdŏk County built a pavilion at the top of Sangdae Mount and named it Kwanŏdae to commemorate Yi Saek and his “Kwanŏdae so pu.”²¹⁸

²¹⁸ See *Yonhap News* 聯合 뉴스, May 8th, 2015.



However, if we look closely at the three pictures, we can see that it is unlikely that the top of the mountain is where Kwanŏdae was. According to the three *fu* works, people could observe fish moving, but as we can see from the second and the third pictures, that is not possible from the peak because the shoreline is too far from that location. According to a newspaper article,²¹⁹ village people refer to a cliff on the northwest side of Sangdae Mount (close to Songch'ŏn River) as Kwanŏdae. The same article includes the picture below, which shows the spectacular view that can be seen from this cliff. The article's author does not conclude that the place in the picture is Kwanŏdae. However, based on the descriptions of Kwanŏdae in three *fu* works, I believe that this

²¹⁹ See page 15 of the *Kyongbuk ilbo* 慶北日報, April, 22nd, 2016.

is the actual Kwanŏdae.



From this picture, we can surmise that Kwanŏdae is a cliff that commands a view of the Songch'ŏn River flowing into the East Sea. From this cliff, one can enjoy the scenic views of the sea and the distant mountains. One can also observe fish in the river.

(2) About the Relationship of the Three Authors

The Korean tradition of writing “Kwanŏdae pu” began with Yi Saek 李穡 (1328–96) and his “Kwanŏdae so pu” 觀漁臺小賦 (A Short *Fu* on the Terrace for Viewing Fish). Yi Saek was one of the greatest neo-Confucian scholars of the late Koryŏ/early Chosŏn period. He was known by his artistic name of Mokŭn 牧隱.

His father was Yi Kok 李穀 (1298–1351), who was also a great neo-Confucian scholar. Yi Kok passed the Koryŏ civil service examinations in 1317, but he went to the Yuan 元 court, and in the palace examinations 庭試 placed second. He held several positions, including that of editorial examiner at the Hanlin and Historiography Academy 翰林國史院檢閱官 in the Yuan court. Later, he returned to Koryŏ and held positions such as assistant royal secretary 密直副使, assistant executive of letters 政堂文學, and first-grade chancellor 都僉議贊成事. Yi Saek

studied neo-Confucianism under Yi Che-hyŏn's 李齊賢 (1287–1367). Yi Che-hyŏn had studied in the Hall of Ten Thousand Books 萬卷堂, which a Koryŏ king had established in the capital of Yuan in 1314. It became a place where Korean scholars enjoyed scholarly exchanges with their Chinese counterparts, which helped Yi Che-hyŏn become the greatest neo-Confucian scholar of his time. Like his father and his teacher, Yi Saek started his career in the Yuan. He won first place in the second 會試 of Yuan's civil service examinations in 1354, and, like his father, came in second in the palace examinations. He served as junior compiler in the Historiography Academy 國史院編修官 in the Yuan court. After returning to Koryŏ, he held positions including junior policy critic 右諫議大夫, intendant of education of the Bureau of Arts and Letters 藝文館大提學, chancellor of the Royal Confucian Academy 成均館大司成, assistant executive of letters, and superintendent of the Finance Commission 判三司事. While holding these positions, Yi Saek dedicated himself to transmitting and teaching neo-Confucianism in Koryŏ. He was also a prolific writer. His collection of writings is preserved in the Kyujanggak Library under the title *Mokŭnjip* 牧隱集 (Literary collection of Mokŭn). The Kyujanggak *Mokŭnjip* edition contains more than 8,000 verses (*shi* and *yuefu* poems as well as *fu*) and 197 prose works in 55 chapters of 24 fascicles.

It is noteworthy that almost all of the early Chosŏn intellectuals mentioned in this dissertation were either his disciples or descendants of his disciples. His disciples included Chŏng Mong-ju 鄭夢周 (1338–92), Kil Chae 吉再 (1353–1419), Yi Sung-in 李崇仁 (1347–92), Chŏng To-jŏn 鄭道傳 (1342–98), Ha Ryun 河崙 (1348–1416), and Kwŏn Kŭn 權近 (1352–1409). Some of his disciples remained loyal to the Koryŏ court, while others collaborated with Yi Sŏng-gye and joined the new regime. Kil Chae belonged to the first group. He was the teacher of Kim Suk-cha, who was the father of Kim Chong-jik. Kwŏn Kŭn served the Chosŏn court from its

inception. He was Sō Kō-jōng's maternal grandfather.

(3) Background to the “Kwanōdae pu”

Yi Saek wrote his “Kwanōdae pu” in the late fourteenth century. It comprises 224 characters in 42 lines. The following is the preface to it:

The Kwanōdae 觀漁臺 (Tower of watching fish) is in Yōnghae prefecture. It looks down on the East Sea²²⁰ underneath a stone cliff, where swimming fish could be counted. Therefore, it was so named. The prefecture is where my maternal parent's home is. Because of this, I wrote a short *fu*. It is my hope that this *fu* will be transmitted to the Central Plain.

觀魚臺在寧海府。臨東海石崖下，游魚可數，故以名之。府吾外家也。爲作小賦，庶幾傳之中原耳。

In the preface to this *fu*, he reveals the reason for writing it, and in the last sentence, he declares his wish that it becomes known in China.

Kim Chong-jik's *fu* was written in 1466. It comprises 289 characters in 42 lines. It also includes a preface:

On the *bingxu* day of the seventh month, Yi Si-ae 李施愛 (?-1467) revolted. Receiving a command from the army commander I went to Yōnghae prefecture to enlist soldiers. Soldiers had not yet been mustered, but along with instructor Yim Yu-sōng 林惟性 (?-?) and palace graduate, Pak Ch'i-gang 朴致康 (?-?) I visited Yi Kok's 李穀 (1293-1351)²²¹ old house. At the same time we made a visit to the Terrace for Viewing Fish. On that day, the wind was still, and the waves were calm. I looked below and saw a school of fish swimming under the cliff. I subsequently responded to Yi Saek's short *fu* and present it to the two of them.

丙戌七月，李施愛反。予以節度使之命，簽兵到寧海府。兵未集，與教授林惟性，進士朴致康，訪稼亭舊家。仍遊觀魚臺。是日，風恬浪靜，俯見羣魚游泳于崖下。遂和牧隱小賦，以貽二子云。

²²⁰ This East Sea is also referred to as the Sea of Japan.

²²¹ Yi Gok was Yi Saek's father. His art name 號 was Kajōng 稼亭.

According to this preface, Kim received a command from his superior and went to Yŏnghae Prefecture to draft soldiers to suppress a revolt. Coincidentally, it was the place where Yi Saek was born. Yi Saek had been the teacher of his father's teacher. Yi's "Kwanŏdae pu" had become an influential *fu* work by Kim's time, and Kim decided to visit Kwanŏdae. Eventually, he composed his *fu*, in which he referred to the rhyming pattern and content of Yi's "Kwanŏdae pu."

Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng's *fu* was written in 1478. It comprises 596 characters over in lines, more than twice as long as the previous two. Sŏ's *fu* does not follow the rhyming patterns of the previous two *fu*, but it is somewhat similar to the previous two *fu* in terms of structure — in the beginning, the narrator describes the surroundings of the Kwanŏdae; he then depicts the movements of swimming fish; and finally, by closely observing the swimming fish, he realizes the Way.

The following is his preface to this *fu*.

Early on, I read Yi Saek's "Fu on the Terrace for Viewing Fish," and knew that the terrace is one of the most spectacular viewing spots in the world. Since then it has been my life long regret that I have not been able to see it. Now, fortunately, with my fellow literati Yi Se-u 李世祐 (?-?) of Kwangrŭng 廣陵 (current Yangju 楊州 of Kyŏnggi province), Yu Kye-bun 柳桂芬 (?-?) of Munsŏng 文城 (current Sinchŏn 信川 of Hwanghae province), Yi In-sŏk 李仁錫 (?-?) of Chŏnsŏng 全城 (?-?) (current Chŏnŭi 全義 of South Ch'ungch'ŏng province), Kim Kyŏng-son 金慶孫 (?-?) of Sangsan 商山 (current Sangju 尙州 of North Kyŏngsang province), and Chŏng Sŏk-kyŏn 鄭錫堅 (?-?) of Kojuk 孤竹 (current Haeju 海州 of Hwanghae province), I have climbed the terrace and gazed afar. It was rare, precious, outstanding, and excellent. It must be of the first-rank in Korea. After intoning and chanting it, I tentatively completed a single short *fu*. I did not dare to presumptuously compare myself with the venerable Yi Saek. It is just for the purpose of carrying forward and enhancing the intentions that he left to us.

予嘗讀牧隱觀魚臺賦，知臺爲天下之勝觀。以不得見，爲平生之恨。今幸與諸斯文李廣陵世祐，柳文城桂芬，李全城仁錫，金商山慶孫，鄭孤竹錫堅，偕來登眺，瑰奇特絕。宜甲於東韓。諷詠之餘，聊成小賦一章。非敢僭擬牧老，蓋發揚先生之遺意云爾。

In his preface, Sō Kō-jōng states the reason for writing this *fu* — Kwanōdae had long been famous for its viewing spot, and it had been Sō Kō-jōng’s lifetime wish to visit the wondrous place; he finally had the chance to go there. According to the last three sentences in the preface, Sō Kō-jōng’s purpose in writing this *fu* was to advance Yi Saek’s intentions, which means that Sō wrote his *fu* to honor Yi Saek and his *fu* work.

However, Sō’s real reason may have been different. In one of his entries in the *Tongin sihwa*, he indirectly evaluates Yi Saek’s *fu*.

Those who have discussed the matter have said that Yi Saek 李穡 is exactly like Su Shi, and that there are places where he is outstanding even sometimes surpasses him. Someone asked venerable Kwōn Kūn 權近²²² about this. Laughing, Kwōn replied: “You should go home and read Su Shi’s “Qian hou Chibi fu” 前後赤壁賦 (Former and latter ‘*Fu* on the Red Cliff’) and Yi Saek’s ‘*Fu* on the Terrace for Viewing Fish. then you would of course understand this.” I said: “Ancient people maintained that the “Qian hou Chibi fu” have eclipsed all works from time immemorial, and which later people cannot speak of in the same breath with anything else.”

論者，謂牧隱酷似東坡，間有發越處或過之。有問陽村權先生者。先生笑曰，子歸讀東坡前後赤壁賦，牧隱觀魚臺賦，自當知之矣。予謂古人以蘇老前後赤壁賦，爲一洗萬古，則非後人所可議擬也。²²³

According to this entry in the last? volume of his *Tongin sihwa*, people were arguing whether Yi Saek was a better writer than Su Shi, the great writer of Song, China. When some of them enquired about this to Kwōn Kūn, Kwōn Kūn answered that if one compares Su Shi’s “Qian hou Cibi fu” with Yi Saek’s “Kwanōdae pu,” then the answer would emerge naturally.²²⁴ In the

²²² Sō Kō-jōng’s maternal grandfather.

²²³ See *Tongin sihwa*, lower volume, entry 19.

²²⁴ For hundreds of years, many Koreans misunderstood Kwōn Kūn’s intentions in comparing Yi Saek’s and Su Shi’s *fu* works. They thought that in Kwōn Kūn’s mind Yi Saek’s *fu* was as good as or even superior to Su Shi’s *fu*. Thus, when they evaluated Yi Saek’s *fu*, citing Kwōn Kūn’s remark, they often spoke highly of “Kwanōdae pu.” Some Korean scholars still repeat this today. In fact, when we compare Yi Saek’s and Su Shi’s *fu* works, one can

end, Sō adds his opinion that no other work is comparable to Su Shi's "Qian hou Cibi fu." From this statement, we understand that Sō Kō-jōng may have been conscious of Su Shi's "Qian hou Chibi fu" as well when he wrote his "Kwanōdae pu."

(4) Structure and the Language of the "Kwanōdae pu"

The three representative pieces of the "Kwanōdae pu" are similar in structure. Firstly, they all have prefaces in which they reveal the purpose in writing the *fu*, as shown earlier. Secondly, in the beginning of the main body, they all describe in detail the geographical features of Kwanōdae, according to which Kwanōdae is a cliff that stands high close to the seashore. The following is the beginning of Yi Saek's *fu* and Sō Kō-jōng's *fu*.

By the banks east of Danyang,	丹陽東岸,
By the shores west of Japan,	日本西涯,
Giant waves vastly spread,	洪濤淼淼,
There is nothing else to be seen.	莫知其他.
Their movements are like the collapsing of mountains,	其動也如山之頽,
Their stillness is like the rubbing of a mirror,	其靜也如鏡之磨.
At the place where the Wind God blows with a bellows,	風伯之所橐鑰,
And where the Sea God makes its home,	海若之所室家
Pods of long whales play with their power shaking the vast sky	長鯨群戲而勢搖大空
A raptorial bird flies alone with its shadow touching the colorful sunset clouds.	鷲鳥孤飛而影接落霞

On a certain day in early winter, 1478	戊戌孟冬有日
I, son of Talsōng 達城 (current Taegu 大邱), ²²⁵ with other travelers, made a visit to the top of the Terrace for Viewing Fish.	達城子與客遊於觀魚之臺之上
The terrace is by the sea coast of Tanyang;	臺在丹陽海岸

easily realize that the former lacks historical consciousness, which makes the latter *fu* outstanding. Yi Saek was Kwōn Kūn's teacher, and I believe that Kwōn Kūn did not reveal this point directly in his remark, because he did not want to devalue his teacher's composition.

²²⁵ Talsōng was the name of Sō Kō-jōng's clan.

Its contours are precipitous and steep. 勢甚斗絕
 It is only a hand's breadth from the sky; 去天一握
 Looking downward, there is no land to be seen. 俯臨無地
 Sky and water are joined together; 天水相連
 Above and below all is of one hue. 上下一色
 It is so vast, one does not know how many myriads of leagues it stretches; 渺不知其幾
 千萬里
 Its limits cannot be discerned. 而非涯涘之可觀也
 Just as I reached its boundless expanse: 予方凌汗漫
 And traversed its massive murkiness: 超鴻濛
 I emitted a powerful whistle, 發豪嘯
 And spit out irises and rainbows. 吐霓虹
 By comparing a cup with the Eastern Sea, 杯視東溟
 The world already became small in my eyes. 而天下已小於目中矣
 Admirable guests filled all the seats; 嘉賓滿坐
 Our lofty conversations roared like thunder. 高談轉雷
 They also could lift up the universe and shake the sea and mountains. 亦可以掀宇宙而
 撼海岳者矣
 The flood dragon concealed itself because of this; 蛟龍爲之遁藏
 Male and female whales thus trembled with fright. 鯨鯢遂焉震懼

As described by these two *fu*, from the top of Kwanōdae, the horizon can be observed for miles in both directions. And when they describe still or stormy waves, they all adopt imaginary beings or deities, such as the Wind God, the Sea God, and flood dragons. Such hyperbole can often be found in grand epideictic *fu*.

Compared to other *fu* works, Kim Chong-jik's *fu* differs somewhat in its description of the surroundings.

Solemnly I received a tally from the commander's tent; 肅承符于玉帳兮
 To the east, I intended to go all the way to the seashore. 東將窮乎海涯
 Flurrying, winged calls-to-arms went back and forth; 紛羽檄之交午兮
 How could I care for other matters? 余安能以恤他

Having trepidations about daring deeds and matured plans, 懼壯事與老謀兮
 For days and months I idled away my time. 洎日月以消磨
 Resting in a village of Ye county; 哂禮州之闐闐兮
 Temporarily I extended my stay at an old house of an eminent man of the past.
 聊延佇於前修之故家
 A terrace stands high next to it, 有臺巉岬于厥傍兮
 Enhancing the dawn-flush of Mount Chöksöng.²²⁶ 襯赤城之晨霞

As mentioned in the preface, he came to Yönghae—the site of Kwanödae—in order to draft soldiers to deal with a revolt. By revealing the real reason for his being in that place, his composition inevitably begins with expressions of unease and anxiety, which are apparent throughout most of the beginning of his *fu*. One distinct feature that it shares with Yi Saek’s *fu* is the pattern of rhymes. In both, every other line rhymes. Moreover, Kim chose the same words for the rhymes in the beginning part of his *fu* as in Yi’s *fu*. It is also noticeable that he added *xi* 兮 at the end of the first line of a couplet and linked the two parts of a line with key words, such as *yu* 于, *zhi* 之, and *yu* 與. This is a typical prosodic pattern that one can find in the *sao* style of *Chu ci* work. In this way, Kim may have provided some variety for his *fu*.

In fact, Sö Kō-jöng’s *fu* is also different from Yi Saek’s and Kim Chong-jik’s *fu* in its beginning. In my opinion, he was more conscious of Su Shi’s “Qian hou Cibi fu” when he wrote the opening of his *fu*. The following are the opening lines of Sö Kō-jöng’s *fu* and Su Shi’s “Qian hou Cibi fu:”

On a certain day in early winter, 1478 戊戌孟冬有日

I, son of Talsöng 達城 (current Taegu 大邱), with other travelers, made a visit to the

²²⁶ It is a peak of Tökyu Mountain 德裕山 in Muju 茂朱 County of North Chölla province.

top of the Terrace for Viewing Fish. 達城子與客遊於觀魚之臺之上
 The terrace is by the sea coast of Tanyang; 臺在丹陽海岸
 Its contours are precipitous and steep. 勢甚斗絕
 It is only a hand's breadth from the sky; 去天一握
 Looking downward, there is no land to be seen. 俯臨無地

On the full moon day of the seventh month in autumn, 1082 壬戌之秋七月既望
 I, with some friends, went floating on a boat, and made a visit beneath of the Red Cliff.
 蘇子與客泛舟遊於赤壁之下
 A fresh wind slowly comes, 清風徐來
 And the water waves remain smooth. 水波不興
 I raise my wine bottle and pour it for my guests, 舉酒屬客
 And chant a poem about the bright moon. 誦明月之詩

Comparing these two *fu*, we can see they share two distinct features. First, they share identical prosodic patterns and manner of description. In the first lines, they reveal the timeframe of their visit to the place. In the next lines, they state their destination and the people whom they are accompanying. From the third line onward, they begin to describe the scenic views.

After the beginning section, the three Korean *fu* writers describe swimming fish. Yi Saek's description of swimming fish is simple and rhythmical, and uses tetrasyllabic lines to describe the movements of the fish:

Lowering myself I can see a school of fish. 俯見群魚
 Some are the same and some are different, 有同有異
 In pain and suffering, or in ease and enjoyment 圍圍洋洋
 Each moves as it pleases, 各得其志

In contrast, Kim Chong-jik's and Sō Kō-jōng's descriptions are longer, and include features

of grand epideictic *fu*. In Kim Chong-jik's case, he makes use of rare characters to describe the motion of the fish.

A school of fish flapped their fins with joyful intent.	群魚撥刺以悅志
How they sported in clusters and swam in groups!	蹇族戲而隊游兮
The splashing and splashing of tiny minnows cannot compare with this!	
匪膚寸瀉灑之可擬	

In contrast, Sō Kō-jōng chooses an epideictic style to enumerate the various motions of the fish.

One could count swimming fish.	而可數游魚
In pain and suffering, or in ease and enjoyment,	圍圍洋洋
They forgot each other in rivers and lakes.	相忘江湖
Having indeed found their proper place,	夫既得其所哉
Why need they worry about scented bait?	復何芳餌之足虞也哉
Near us was a young boy,	傍有童子
Who pointed at fish with his hand.	以手指魚
Looking at me, he said: "Scaled creatures are not same:	目予而言曰鱗之族非一
Those small ones and big ones,	彼小者大者
Those flaunting their dorsal fins;	揚鬣者
Those shaking their caudal fins,	掉尾者
Those that swallow boats,	吞舟者
Those released in river valleys;	縱壑者
Those gaping and gawping;	有喁噉者
Those blowing out bubbles;	有煦沫者
Those splashing and splashing:	有潑刺者
Their features are numerous and each also has its own name	
其為狀千百而亦各有名	
I can count them on my fingers and give a detailed report about them."	
吾可屈指以數而告之歷歷也	

Sō also creates an imaginary young boy for his *fu*, and mentions Chōng, a fellow scholar.

In this manner, by inserting a dialogue in the middle of his *fu*, he makes his narrative livelier and more persuasive. This is another feature of grand epideictic *fu*.

(5) Narrators' Enlightenment

After describing the fish, the three narrators undergo a profound conversion. While observing the motion of the fish, they are suddenly enlightened with the learning of countless sages. In Yi Saek's *fu*, the narrator is reminded of analogies related to fish from the *Zhuang zi*, and eventually realizes that "Things and I are one of mind."

Lord Ren's bait is was excessive. ²²⁷	任公之餌夸矣
That is something that I don't dare to imitate,	非吾之所敢擬
Taigong of Qi's fish-hook was straight,	太公之釣直矣
That is something that I don't dare to wish for.	非吾之所敢冀
Alas! We human beings are the most sentient of the ten thousand creatures;	嗟夫我人萬物之靈
Forgetting about my physical form, I enjoy my pleasure;	忘吾形以樂其樂
Enjoying my pleasure I die and become peaceful;	樂其樂以歿吾寧
Things and I are one of mind,	物我一心,
Antiquity and the present are one inherent pattern,	古今一理,
Whose mouths and stomachs are moving anxiously,	孰口腹之營營
And are willing to be discarded by a man of virtue?	而甘君子之所棄

After this, the narrator alludes to the wisdom of Confucian sages, and reveals his determination to dedicate himself to Confucianism.

The attitude of the narrator in Kim Chong-jik's *fu* is similar. By observing the swimming fish, the narrator begins to realize that the motions of the fish are not just spontaneous actions but the result of communication with nature.

Even though we have fish-nets or harpoons how can we count on them? 縱網擗兮奚冀

²²⁷ This line alludes to Lord Ren who used fifty oxen as bait and caught a tremendously large fish. This story is from the *Zhuangzi* 莊子. See Chen Guying 陳鼓應 translated and annotated. *Zhuangzi jinzhuyi* 莊子今注今譯, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983) 706-07.

Some flap their fins and beat their scales; 或掉鬣而奮鱗兮

I think that changes of wind and thunder may enable them to communicate with spiritual powers.
吾恐風雷變化以通靈

Hanging onto a twisted branch, I heaved a deep sigh; 攀虯枝而太息兮

I felt that all of the species were at peace. 感物類之咸寧

In these lines, he begins to relate this realization through the perspective of Confucian principles. After this enlightenment, the narrator begins to allude to expressions from Yi Saek's *fu*, and expressed his determination to devote himself to Confucian learning.

[With Yi Saek's "fish leaping"] I took "kites flying" as an analogy;²²⁸ 竝鳶飛以取譬兮

How can one be bewildered by the ultimate truth? 孰聽瑩於至理

This means that the Supreme Ultimate presents itself before you; 斯太極之參于前兮

I vowed to admire this and not discard it. 矢佩服而勿棄

Finally, the narrator celebrates his enlightenment with two other visitors by drinking wine, and the anxiety that he had felt disappears naturally.

The attitude of the narrator in Sō Kō-jōng's *fu* and the process of his enlightenment are not exceptional either. The only difference is that the young boy and Chōng help him in this process by reminding him of the analogies from the *Zhuangzi*. By being engaged in a dialogue with them,

²²⁸ This line alludes to Yi Saek's usage of "fish leaping" 魚躍 in Yi's "Fu on Terrace of viewing fish" 觀魚臺賦. To make a parallel with this phrase, Kim adopts "kites flying" 鳶飛. These two expressions are originally from the *Shi jing*, and they are also included in the *Zhong yong* as follows: "It is said in the *Shi jing*, 'The hawk flies up to heaven; the fishes leap in the deep.' This expresses how this way is seen above and below." 詩云: "鳶飛戾天, 魚躍于淵." 言其上下察也. See Hu Guang 胡廣 ed., *Zhongyong zhangju daquan* 中庸章句大全, *Si shu daquan* 四書大全, 1.37.b.

the narrator eventually becomes enlightened about Confucian principles.

In the middle of their dialogue, it is noteworthy that Chǒng mentions the Red Cliff and Su Shi's *fu* on it, which clearly suggests Sǒ Kǒ-jǒng's intention to take it as a model for his *fu*:

Chǒng said, "At the Red Cliff, if there were no *fu* written by Su Shi..." 鄭曰赤壁而無蘇仙之賦

Conclusion

In the early Chosŏn period, the *Wen xuan* was still one of the most popular anthologies among Korean literati, even though it was occasionally neglected by candidates for the civil service examinations. Korean literati read the *Wen xuan* and wrote their own compositions, in which they frequently referred to literary works in it, just as they had done since the late Silla period. In addition, when compiling anthologies, they referred to the *Wen xuan* for its theories on *wen* 文 and its compilation principles, including the mode of creating a commentary that reflected their political affiliation. For example, Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng of the Hun'gu faction/School of "Verse and Prose" borrowed the title of the *Wen xuan* when he compiled the *Tongmunsŏn*, and imitated its compilation principles, as can be seen in the organization of the *fu* section. In addition, he highlighted the role of a king likening it to those of Confucian sages. In doing so, he emphasized the legitimacy of the rule of Chosŏn kings, and pointed out the importance of vassals who worked on behalf of their sovereign. In contrast, Sarim faction scholars, such as Kim Chong-jik, were more sensitive to other scholar-officials' criticisms, and were stricter in terms of the principles of compiling select literary works that conformed to Confucian ideology. Moreover, scholars such as Kim Chong-jik regarded the Confucian classics as essential, with writings merely being supplementary. In other words, they were not wholly dependent on Chinese literary theories as, for example, Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng was. Thus, in prefaces and footnotes to Kim Chong-jik's anthologies, we do not see any evidence that he referred to the *Wen xuan*. Nevertheless, when we compare his commentary in the *Ch'ŏnggu p'unga* with that of the *Wen xuan*, it turns out that he did refer to the *Wen xuan* when composing his commentary.

In Chosŏn Korea, periodic changes made to the civil service examinations affected the popularity of the *Wen xuan* among Korean intellectuals. Early Chosŏn was a period when the upper

class was reorganized from Koryŏ aristocrats to the Chosŏn *yangban* 兩班 class. In this change, the main concern of the Chosŏn court was to dilute the power of provincial clans and reinforce centralized authoritarian rule. By and large, the Chosŏn court achieved this mission successfully, and was able to establish provincial offices that covered almost all of the territory under its control. In order to do so, it had to increase the number of offices, and it filled the posts through the civil service examinations. This process necessitated frequent changes to the civil service examination system. As part of these changes, Chosŏn kings and literati were often engaged in vociferous debates over whether the importance of the Confucian classics should be elevated, or whether the composition tests should be given more weight. When we read through these debates, we can see that in early Chosŏn, the main concerns of kings and scholar-officials revolved around whether candidates' knowledge of the Confucian classics or their writing skills were deficient or not. Gradually, however, the priority moved to whether changes in the civil service examinations would be appropriate or beneficial in a political sense. Candidates from the capital area generally preferred various prose genres, whereas candidates from provincial areas preferred oral tests of the Confucian classics, *shi* poetry, and *fu*. Since kings usually wanted to select candidates from the capital area and the provinces in equal numbers, they sought to keep or even increase the weight given to the Confucian classics, *shi* poetry, and *fu*, subjects which provincial candidates were typically good at. In contrast, capital-area scholars preferred composition tests, which involved writing in various prose styles. Given these circumstances, capital-area scholars were presumably more interested in the *Wen xuan* than their provincial counterparts. However, it is noteworthy that the *Wen xuan* was also widely read by provincial scholars in different formats, such as the *Sŏnbu*, which excerpted the *fu* section of the *Wen xuan*.

By analyzing the reading lists for the civil service examinations, we can see that candidates

in both the capital area and the provinces spent a considerable amount of time learning how to write *fu*. One might note that the history of *fu* in Korea followed a different path from that in China, because Koreans learned *fu* according to the styles that were prevalent in China at the time. Koreans began to learn *fu* hundreds of years after early *fu* styles had emerged in China. The first *fu* style written by a Korean was the regulated *fu*. Gradually, however, Koreans began to write grand epideictic *fu*, prose *fu*, and parallel-style *fu*.

The first and most significant grand epideictic *fu* in Korea was Ch'oe Cha's "Samdobu." His "Samdobu" is an imitation of Zuo Si's "Sandu fu." Even though Ch'oe Cha took the same title and created similar debates among the interlocutors, he also wanted to give variety to his interlocutors and their dialogue, and thus arouse readers' interest. He may have regarded this as a reinvention. At first glance, one may think that Ch'oe Cha's *fu* is very similar to that of Zuo Si's, but if one delves into each passage, the differences between the two emerge quite clearly.

Beginning from the late Koryŏ era into early Chosŏn, the "Kwanŏdae pu" became a popular style and topic for *fu* writers. Representative "Kwanŏdae pu" works were written by Yi Saek, Kim Chong-jik, and Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng. These three "Kwanŏdae pu" adopted features of the grand epideictic *fu* in describing the scenic view from the Kwanŏdae and the motions of swimming fish. They also are similar in terms of structure and the flow of the narrative. The narrators in all three *fu* first describe the scenic view from the Kwanŏdae, as well as the swimming fish. Then, by observing the motion of the fish, the narrators become enlightened and comprehend phrases in the *Zhuangzi* and the Confucian classics. Kim Chong-jik's *fu* is different from the other works in that it rarely includes features of grand epideictic *fu*, such as hyperbole and displays of verbal virtuosity. This is proof that we can view him as a scholar of the "Dao learning" School, who pursued the Way rather than the art of rhetoric. In contrast, Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng's *fu* has almost all the features of grand

epideictic *fu*, including hyperbole and verbal virtuosity as well as insertions of dialogue narratives.

This is clear evidence that Sō Kō-jōng was a scholar of the School of “Verse and Prose.”

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Appendix

1. Preface to the *Tongmunsŏn*, by Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng 徐居正 (1420-1488)

When heaven and earth were first divided, patterns were then produced between them. The sun, the moon, and the stars above were densely arrayed to become the pattern of heaven. Mountains and hills, and seas and rivers below flowed and piled up to become the pattern of the earth. The sage drew trigrams to create writing,²²⁹ and patterns of the human world gradually spread.²³⁰

Concentrating with a single focus on the mean and culmen 精一中極²³¹ is the essence 體 of writing. The *Classic of Songs*, the *Classic of Documents*, the *Record of Rites*, and the *Record of Music* are the application 用 of writing. Thus, each period has its own writings, and each writing

²²⁹ The word *wen* 文 is not translated into a single English equivalent. When applies to nature, I render it as “patterns,” and when it refers to human activity, I translate it as “writings.”

²³⁰ This refers to Fu Xi’s creation of the Eight Trigrams for divination.

²³¹ This is from “The heart of humankind [惟does not mean only, this is the archaic copula ‘is’] it is perilous, and the heart of the Way it is obscure. It is by concentrating, it is by a single focus, that one truly may grasp the center/mean.in the “Plan of the Great Yu” 大禹謨 of the *Classic of Documents*. Kong Yingda 孔穎達, *Shang shu zhengyi* 尚書正義, *Xu xiu siku quanshu* 續修四庫全書, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2002). Cai Shen 蔡沈 (1167-1230) further explains this point: “Concentration, a singular focus, and grasping the mean, this is the method of the heart transmitted from one to the other by Yao, Shun, and Yu. Establishing both the mean and the culmen [or standard] is the method of the heart that was transmitted from one to the other by King Tang of Shang and King Wu of Zhou” 精一執中，堯舜禹相授之心法也。建中建極，商湯周武相傳之心法也 in the “Preface of the Collected Annotation on the *Book of the history*書集傳序,” *Shu jing jizhuan* 書經集傳, Cai Shen 蔡沈, *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), 58. 58-3.b.

has its own styles. Reading the Canon²³² and the Plans,²³³ one understands that they are the writings of Yao and Shun. Reading the Admonitions, the Proclamations, the Oaths, and the Commands,²³⁴ one understands that they are writings of the Xia, Yin, or Zhou dynasties. After Qin is Han, after Han is Wei and Jin, after Wei and Jin is Sui and Tang, and after Sui and Tang is Song and Yuan. If one wants to discuss the period and examine its writings, then [by reading through] all the compilations of the *Selections of Refined Literature*, the *Pure Essence of Tang Literature*, the *Mirror of Song Literature*, or the *Types of Yuan Literature*, one [can] have a preliminary discussion of the rise and decline of its literary vitality. Someone recently said, “Writings of the Song are not like those of the Tang; writings of the Tang are not like those of the Han; writings of the Han are not like those of Spring and Autumn or Warring States periods; writings of the Spring and Autumn or Warring States periods are not like those of Xia, Yin, and Zhou or Yao and Shun.”²³⁵ This truly conveys a perceptive view.

In our eastern area, Tan’gun 檀君 founded the state,²³⁶ but that was an age of undifferentiated chaos that cannot be traced. Kija 箕子 promulgated the Nine Categories and applied the Eight Articles.²³⁷ Surely there was civilized governance at the time; but no written

²³² The “Canon of Yao” 堯典 and the “Canon of Shun” 舜典 belong to this category in the *Classic of Documents*.

²³³ The “Plan of Great Yu” 大禹謨 and the “Plan of Gao Yao” 皋陶謨 belong to this category in the *Classic of Documents*.

²³⁴ The *Classic of Documents* holds/includes the “Admonition of Yi” 伊訓, the “Proclamation on Wine” 酒誥, the “Oath at Gan” 甘誓, and the “Command of Cai Zhong” 蔡仲之命.

²³⁵ Wu Cheng 吳澄, “Bie Zhao Zi’ang xu” 別趙子昂序, Li Xiusheng 李修生 ed., *Quan Yuan wen* 全元文, (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1998), 14: 93.

²³⁶ According to *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 and *Chewang un’gi* 帝王韻記, Tan’gun established Kojosŏn 古朝鮮 at Asadal 阿斯達 in 2,333 BCE. He is considered the founder of the Korean people. In the history of Korea, we see two Chosŏns 朝鮮, and to differentiate them, the first Chosŏn was later named Kojosŏn.

²³⁷ Kija (Jizi in Chinese) was the second son of Wuyi 武乙, who was the fourteenth King of the Yin dynasty. He

records exist today. When the Three Kingdoms stood like three legs of a tripod, they daily battled continuously; so how could they devote themselves to the *Classic of Songs* or the *Classic of Documents*. However, in Koguryō, Ŭlji Mundōk 乙支文德 (?-?) excelled in rhetorical eloquence²³⁸ and withstood one million soldiers of the Sui. In Silla, they sent students to Tang to

was also an uncle of King Zhou 紂 of the Yin. See the “Aristocratic Family of Song Weizi” 宋微子世家 of the *Shi ji* 史記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 38. 1611-20. King Wu of Zhou visited Kija after destroying Yin. King Wu asked the Way of regulating the empire and Kija bestowed on him the Nine Categories. Then King Wu, rather than take Kija as his vassal, enfeoffed him as Marquis of Chosŏn. The Eight Articles were Kija’s principles for ruling Kojosŏn 古朝鮮, the record of which is found in “the Historical Records on the Eastern Tribe” 東夷傳 in the *Wei shu* 魏書 of the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), 30. 848. The historical existence of the Kojosŏn dynasty in Korea is still problematic. Generally, Kojosŏn was believed to be a unified state from 2,333 BCE to 108 BCE. During the early Chosŏn period from the 14th to 15th century, Korean Confucian scholars placed great importance on connecting the origin of Korea to China. In this sense, they even called their state the Small China 小中華. It was in this context that this preface was written; therefore, Kija’s role is treated respectfully. However, starting from late Chosŏn many scholars began to move away from this trend of subordinating Korea to China and, instead, they pursued an independent view of history. They focused on the rarity of historical records on Kija in Korean and Chinese resources. How to view Kija remains still controversial, but major scholars in both South Korea and North Korea do not highly regard him and his records. For a recent article in English see Jae-Hoon Shin, “A New Understanding of Kija Chosŏn as a Historical Anachronism,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 62.2 (2002): 271–305.

²³⁸ Rhetoric in the passage refers to a pentasyllabic poem written by Ŭlji Mundōk. In 612, the Sui 隋 attacked Koguryō. One-million soldiers were mobilized. The navy went directly to P’yōngyang 平壤, the capital of Koguryō. In haste, not waiting for the foot soldiers to arrive, they sent out a detached force of 300,000 men led by Yu Zhongwen 于仲文 (545-613). He quickly went deep into Koguryō approaching the capital. General Ŭlji Mundōk of Koguryō did not directly engage Yu’s armies but retreated several times while pretending to be lost. His purpose was to gain time, aware that Yu was facing difficulty in supplying the army. By the time Yu’s armies crossed the Sal Stream 薩水 (the current name is Ch’ōngch’ōn River 淸川江) Ŭlji pretended to lose seven times and finally sent a pentasyllabic poem to Yu: “Your marvelous strategies have used all the patterns of the Heavens;/ Your excellent schemes have [also] applied all the principles of the earth. / You have been victorious in battle, and your achievements are great; / Be content with what you have achieved—I hope you will now halt.” I hope you understand this as enough and say. 神策究天文, 妙算窮地理. 戰勝功既高, 知足願云止. See *Kugyōk Tongmunsŏn* 國譯 東文選, (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch’ujinhoe, 1968), 2.701. The purpose of the poem was to

study [to take the civil service examinations] and fifty-plus passed the exam. Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn 崔致遠 (857 - ?) sent a war proclamation against Huang Chao 黃巢, and his fame shook the world.²³⁹ It was not the case that there were no gifted scholars who were good at writing, but few of their works have been handed down to the present. This is very lamentable indeed. After the clan of Koryŏ unified the Three Kingdoms,²⁴⁰ civilized governance gradually emerged. King Kwangjong established the state examination to select the government officials.²⁴¹ King Yejong was fond of literary refinement.²⁴² Following those two kings, King Injong²⁴³ and King

ridicule Yu. Yu also knew that he could not defeat Koguryŏ and that his forces were running out of supplies. After reading this poem, Yu understood that Ŭlji was fully aware that the situation was unfavorable to Yu's armies. He quickly decided to retreat. However, when they were crossing the Sal Stream, the Koguryŏ armies broke the dam made of furs and let a great amount of water sweep away Yu's armies. Of 300,000 only 2,700 survived to return to Sui. See Victor Cunrui Xiong, *Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty: His Life, Times, and Legacy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 54–58; David A. Graff, *Medieval Chinese Warfare, 300–900*, 138–59.

²³⁹ In 881, Ch'oe Ch'i-wŏn wrote a war proclamation against Huang Chao, when he was in the service of General Gao Pian. Huang Chao allegedly fell off his horse as he read the frightening and vivid expressions in Ch'oe's proclamation. This piece is extant and listed in his individual collection *Kyewŏnp'ilgyŏng* 桂苑筆耕.

²⁴⁰ This refers to the Post-Three Kingdoms period (892-936). At the end of the Silla dynasty, the regions of Koguryŏ 高句麗 and Paekche 百濟, T'aebong 泰封 (901-918) and Hubaekche 後百濟 (892-936) rose up and together with the Silla and formed another Three Kingdoms period, called the Post-Three Kingdoms 後三國. This turmoil was calmed by Koryŏ, which took over T'aebong in 936.

²⁴¹ In 958, King Kwangjong (r. 949-975) initiated the state examination in order to weaken noble families and regional powerful clans so as to strengthen royal authority.

²⁴² In 1109, King Yejong (r. 1105-22) installed the seven special courses of Ch'iljae 七齋 in the royal educational institution of the Kukchagam 國子監. Ch'iljae consisted of Yŏt'aekchae 麗澤齋 for teaching the *Classic of Changes* 周易, Taebingjae 待聘齋 for the *Classic of Documents* 尚書, Kyŏngdŏkchae 經德齋 for *Mao shi* 毛詩, Kuinjae 求仁齋 for the *Rites of Zhou* 周禮, Pogŭngjae 服膺齋 for the *Record of Rites* 禮記, Yangjŏngjae 養正齋 for the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, and Kangyejae 講藝齋 for military education. In 1116, he established the Ch'ŏngyŏn'gak 淸燕閣 and Pomun'gak 寶文閣 and appointed royal scholars to study and discuss Confucianism.

²⁴³ During King Injong's reign (r. 1122-46), the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記, the standard history for the Three

Myōngjong²⁴⁴ also respected Confucian learning. Individuals with excellent and outstanding talent, refined and elegant, emerged in great numbers. During the days of disorder and chaos during the Northern Song, Southern Song, Liao, and Jin dynasties, again and again their writings succeeded in relieving state crises. During the Yuan dynasty, men who passed the civil service examinations for foreigners in China and were comparable to talented Chinese scholars, followed one upon another. The Venerable Ming unified the world, and the material force of the Three Luminaries and the Five Sacred Mountains became whole.

In our state several sages succeeded each other, nurturing and protecting [the realm] for one hundred years. Talented scholars who were born during that time, permeated the realm and [their works were] refined and pure. Those who composed earthshaking and stirring writings did not yield to the people of antiquity. These are our Eastern writings. They are not those of the Song or Yuan. They are not those of the Han or Tang but our state's writings. They should circulate together with the writings of successive dynasties of the world. How can they perish without being transmitted!

However, Kim T'ae-hyōn's 金台鉉 (1261-1330) *Tongguk mun'gam* 東國文鑑 suffers from carelessness and sketchiness.²⁴⁵ Ch'oe Hae 崔瀼 (1287-1340) wrote the *Tongin jimun* 東

Kingdoms was compiled by Kim Pusik 金富軾 (1075-1151).

²⁴⁴ King Myōngjong (r. 1170-97) was made a puppet by military elites such as Chōng Chung-bu 鄭仲夫, Kyōng Tae-sūng 慶大升, Yi Ŭi-min 李義旻. During this period, the court was dominated by the military officials 武班. These military officials, however, held an independent notion that deviated from that of the Southern Song (1127-1279) and Jin 金 (1115-1234). Here, the author seems to be impressed by such diplomatic autonomy.

²⁴⁵ The *Tongguk mun'gam*, compiled by Kim T'ae-hyōn (1261-1330) consisted of six chapters and two fascicles. This selection of poems includes poetry of various writers from the Three Kingdom to the end of Koryō period. It was the first literary collection of Korean literary pieces. It is no longer extant.

人之文,²⁴⁶ but much of it is scattered or lost. Is this not a great tragedy for literary contributions? Our venerable Highness by nature is fond of sage learning; he daily attends lectures for the king and enjoys perusing Confucian classics and Chinese histories. He believes that although [our] writings and literary works cannot be compared to the *Six Confucian Classics*, the rise and decline of literary vitality can be seen [through the writings and literary works]. He commanded that No Sa-sin 盧思慎 (1427-1498), the minister of the Ministry of Tonnyōng,²⁴⁷ Kang Hŭi-maeng 姜希孟 (1424-1483), the minister of the Ministry of Personnel, Yang Sōng-chi 梁誠之 (1415-1482), the minister of the Ministry of Works, Yi P'a 李坡 (1434-1486), the vice minister of the Ministry of Personnel, and I should collect what has been written by various writers, and compile them to make a set. I and other vassals in respectful compliance to the grand commission collected some pieces in various genres such as *fu*, poetry, and prose from the Three Kingdoms to the present age. We selected those in which the expressions and reasoning are pure and just. As for those that benefit governance and education, we have gathered them into distinct categories and types, and arranged them into one-hundred and thirty chapters. We organized and offered them to the court and they were bestowed the title *Korean Selections of Literary Works*. I, the humble vassal, have pondered the lines in the *Classic of Changes* that read: “One examines the patterns of humankind to transform and to perfect the world.” In general, there are the patterns of nature in Heaven and Earth. Thus, the sage models himself on the patterns of heaven and earth. Through the movement of time, there are differences

²⁴⁶ The *Toinginmun* (= *Toingin jimun*) 東人之文 was compiled by Ch'oe Hae (1287-1340). It consisted of twenty-five chapters. It includes the poetry and prose of Korean writers. It is lost, but *pian*ti 駢體 pieces of the *Toingin jimun* are still extant.

²⁴⁷ The main purpose for establishing the department of Tonnyōng was to maintain good relationships among royal kin and relatives during the Chosŏn Dynasty. It was usually headed by the father-in-law of the reigning king.

of rise and decline. And so, there are differences of high and low in the writings. After the *Six Classics* there have been only the Han, Tang, Song and, Yuan. The writings of the august [Ming] dynasty are of the most recent antiquity. This is because the vitality of heaven and the earth is increasing, and the great reverberation in itself is perfect without suffering from the results of the division of north and south in different periods. The writings of the East began in the Three Kingdoms, flourished during Koryŏ, and reached its peak in our dynasty. The relationship between writing and the rise and decline of the vitality of the heaven and earth also is worth examining. In addition, writing is the means by which one fully penetrates the Way. It is not the case that in the writings of the Six Classics there is in the writing; it naturally fits with the Way. In the writings of posterity, there first was deliberate intent in the writing, and some have not purely kept their focus on the Way.

If scholars of the present time truly can set their hearts on the Way without writing only for the sake of style [or write for the sake writing itself], [and also] base themselves on the Confucian classics without limiting themselves to the Various Masters, respect elegance and reject ostentation, be exalted and discerning, upright and honest, [and moreover] take the sage Classics as additional resources, they inevitably will find the proper Way. If someone intends to write for the sake of writing, but does not root himself in the Way and goes against the principles of the Six Classics, and drowns himself in the formality of the Various Masters, then his writing is not writing that will penetrate the Way, and is contrary to the awakened great intention [of His Highness]. However, His Sage and Discerning Highness now resides above, and the vitality of heaven and earth flourishes. Talented scholars who respond to a period will be born into the world where their writings will reverberate and be preserved, and they will flourish. How can one worry about whether we will be lacking in good men? Although I am talentless, I will await

them with brush in hand.

On the *wu-xu* day of the latter part²⁴⁸ of the second month in the 14th year of Chenghua 成化,²⁴⁹ which is watched over by the Star God of the Black Dragon, Vassal of Merit of Aiding and Managing with the Earnestness and Splendidness,²⁵⁰ Grand Master of Sungjōng, Lord of Talsōng,²⁵¹ Grand Chancellor of the Yemun'gwan,²⁵² Administrator of the Sōnggyun'gwan,²⁵³ Administrative Clerk Attending the Royal Lecture, and Commander-in-chief in the Supreme Area Command of the Five Defensive Armies, I, Sō Kō-jōng 徐居正 paying obeisance on bended knee and kowtowing write the preface.

東文選序[徐居正]

乾坤肇判。文乃生焉。日月星辰。森列乎上而為天之文。山岳海瀆。流峙乎下而為地之文。聖人畫卦造書。人文漸宣。精一中極。文之體也。詩書禮樂。文之用也。是以代各有文。而文各有體。讀典謨。知唐虞之文。讀訓誥誓命。知三代之文。秦而漢。漢而魏晉。魏晉而隋唐。隋唐而宋元。論其世考其文。則以文選文粹文鑑文類諸編。而亦槩論後世文運之上下者矣。近代論文者。有曰宋不唐唐不漢。漢不春秋戰國。春秋戰國不三代唐虞。此誠有見之論也。吾東方檀君立國。鴻荒莫追。箕子闡九疇敷八條。當其時。必有文治可尚。而載籍不存。三國鼎峙。干戈日尋。安事詩書。然在高勾麗。乙支文德善辭命。抗隋家百萬之師。在新羅。遣子弟入唐登第者。五十有餘人。崔致遠黃巢之檄。名震天下。非無能言之士。而今皆罕傳。良可嘆已。高麗氏統三以來。文治漸興。光宗設科取士。睿宗好文雅。繼而仁明亦尚儒術。豪傑之士。彬彬輩出。當兩宋遼金搶攘之日。屢以文詞得紓國患。至元朝。由賓貢中制科。與中原才士。頡頏上下者。前後相望。皇明混一。光岳氣全。我國家列聖相承。涵養百年。人物之生於其間。磅礴精粹。作為文章。動盪發越者。亦

²⁴⁸ One month was divided into two parts of Sang'wan and Ha'wan. Vassals were allowed to return home to take off and clean (浣) their uniforms.

²⁴⁹ This was the reign of the Emperor Xuan of Ming 憲宗 (r. 1464-87).

²⁵⁰ This title was given to those vassals who enthroned King Sōngjong.

²⁵¹ The current site of Talsōng is Taegu 大邱, the third largest city during the twentieth century.

²⁵² Yemun'gwan was the royal office that recorded royal orders and command.

²⁵³ Sōnggyun'gwan was the highest educational institution established in the palace during the Chosōn dynasty.

無讓於古。是則我東方之文。非宋元之文。亦非漢唐之文。而乃我國之文也。宜與歷代之文。并行於天地間。胡可泯焉而無傳也哉。奈何金台鉉作文鑑。

失之疎略。崔瀆著東人文。散逸尙多。豈不爲文獻之一大概也哉。恭惟殿下。天縱聖學。日御經筵。樂觀經史。以篇翰著述。雖非六籍之比。然亦可見文運之興替。命領敦寧府事臣盧思慎，吏曹判書臣姜希孟，工曹判書臣梁誠之，吏曹參判臣李坡暨臣居正。哀集諸家所作。粹爲一帙。臣等仰承隆委。採自三國。至于當代。辭賦詩文摠若干體。取其詞理醇正。有補治教者。分門類聚。釐爲一百三十卷。編成以進。賜名曰東文選。臣居正竊念易曰觀乎人文。以化成天下。蓋天地有自然之文。故聖人法天地之文。時運有盛衰之殊。故文章有高下之異。六經之後。惟漢唐宋元。

皇朝之文。最爲近古。由其天地氣盛。大音自完。無異時南北分裂之患故也。吾東方之文。始於三國。盛於高麗。極於盛朝。其關於天地氣運之盛衰者。因亦可考矣。况文者貫道之器。六經之文。非有意於文。而自然配乎道。後世之文。先有意於文。而或未純乎道。今之學者。誠能心於道。不文於文。本乎經。不規規於諸子。崇雅黜浮。高明正大。則其所以羽翼聖經者。必有其道矣。如或文於文。不本乎道。背六經之規範。落諸子之科臼。則文非貫道之文。而非今日開牖之盛意也。然今聖明在上。天地氣盛。人物之應期而生。以文鳴世者。必于于焉而興矣。亦何患乎無人也。臣雖不才。尙當秉筆蒞之。成化紀元之十四年蒼龍戊戌二月下浣。純誠明亮佐理功臣崇政大夫達城君兼藝文館大提學知成均館事同知經筵事五衛都摠府都摠管臣徐居正拜手稽首序。

2. The Conversation between Chinese Envoys and Korean Royal Confucian Academy

Students, the 23rd day, Eighth month, 1452, *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄

Chen Dun and Li Kuan arrived at the Royal Confucian Academy... Kim Cho and others said,

“We want to conduct oral tests on Confucian texts, call in some students.” Two Classics

licentiates 生員 Ku Chi-dong and Kim Sŏk-t’ong advanced and knelt down. Chen Dun and

others said, “Who is going to translate our words?” Saying “I will convey your oral questions,”

Yi Pyŏn advanced and sat in front of Dun and others. Dun said, “What books are we going to test

on?” Pyŏn replied, “From the Four Books to the Five Classics, it depends on what your

excellency wishes to ask.” Dun asked Chi-dong, “What books have you read?” Chi-dong replied,

“I have read the *Four Books*, the *Shi jing*, the *Shu jing*, the *Zhou yi*, and the *Zizhi tongjian*

資治通鑑 (Comprehensive mirror in aid of government).” They also asked Sök-t’ong, “What books have you read?” Sök-t’ong replied, “I have read the *Four Books*, the *Shi jing*, the *Shu jing*, the *Zhou yi*, the *Chunqiu*, and the *Zizhi tongjian*.”

陳鈍、李寬詣成均館... 金等曰: "欲講書, 呼秀才來。" 生員丘致峒、金石通二人進跪, 鈍等: "由何人傳語?" 邊曰: "我當傳講。" 就鈍等前坐, 鈍曰: "講何書?" 邊對: "以四書、五經, 從大人所講。" 問致峒: "讀何書?" 致峒對: "以讀四書、《詩》、《書》、《周易》、《通鑑》。" 又問石通, 石通對: "以讀四書、《詩》、《書》、《易》、《春秋》、《通鑑》。"

Dun said, “I am afraid that that’s too many.” Pyōn said, “They are all involve substantial learning and are not too many. If your excellency will just conduct oral tests, you would be aware of that.” Taking up the *Zhong yong* 中庸 (Doctrine of the mean) and looking at Kuan, Dun said to Chi-dong, “Explain the meaning of the first chapter.” Chi-dong systematically explained the general idea of the first chapter. Dun said, “Correct.” He continued to ask, “What is the human mind? What is the mind of the Way?” Chi-dong said, “What takes place from the personal dimensions of form and vitality is the human mind. What originates from the rectitude of disposition and fate is the mind of the Way.” Dun said, “What is are the personal dimensions of form and spirit? What is the rectitude of disposition and fate?” Chi-dong said, “Ears, eyes, nose, and mouth are form and spirit. Propriety, inherent pattern, nature, and fate are the Way of the mind.” Pointing at his mouth, Dun said, “If it is so, doesn’t the mouth eat food?” Chi-dong replied, “Doesn’t the mouth eat food? What about that. It eats what is proper to eat, which is the Way of the mind.”

鈍曰: "怕不許多。" 邊曰: "皆實學, 非許多也, 大人講則可知。" 鈍執《中庸》, 目寬謂致峒曰: "汝說一章之旨。" 致峒歷說一章大意。鈍曰: "是。" 仍問: "何者是人心? 何者是道心?" 致峒曰: "發於形氣之私, 人心, 原於性命之正, 道心。" 鈍曰: "何是形氣之私? 何是性命之正?" 致峒曰: "耳目口鼻, 形氣; 義理性命, 道心。" 鈍指口曰: "若是, 則不喫飯乎?" 答曰: "如何不喫飯? 喫所當喫, 道心。"

Dun was done with questions on the meaning of the *Zhong yong*. He said again, ““In the ‘Completion of the War,’ I select only two or three test cases.’²⁵⁴ What is the meaning of them?” Chi-dong said, “The matters revering heaven and attacking the guilty, and the idea of restoring proper governance, showing humaneness: these are substantial matters. “Soldiers in the front inverting their dagger-axes... and blood flowing so that pestles floated”: these are hyperbolic expressions that Mencius did not accept.” Dun said, “Right.”

鈍講盡《中庸》之義，又曰：“‘吾於武成，取二三策而已。’ 是何意耶？”致峒曰：“奉天伐罪之事、反政施仁之意，此是實事，前徒倒戈、血流漂杵，此是過情之辭，孟子所以不取也。”鈍曰：“是。”

Dun asked again, “What is the meaning of the phrase, ‘chun wang zhengyue’ 春王正月 (Spring, in the king’s first month)²⁵⁵ in the *Chun qiu*?” Sök-t’ong said, “Confucius wanted to implement the Xia dynasty calendar, so he wrote *chun*, or spring. And he wanted to follow the Zhou dynasty system, so he wrote *wang zhengyue*.” Dun said, “If so, then did he regard the eleventh month as spring?” Sök-t’ong replied, ““Establishing the first earthly branch [of the twelve earthly branches]’ 建子 does not mean spring. However, Confucius was a man of Zhou, and when he wanted to implement the Xia dynasty calendar, he took spring as the beginning of a year. Following the Zhou system, he counted the first month [of the lunar calendar] as the beginning.”²⁵⁶ Dun said, “How about the expressions ‘Xia wu’ 夏五 “summer, fifth” and ‘Guo

²⁵⁴ *Meng zi Zhengyi* 孟子正義, Jiao Xun 焦循 comp., (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 959. The English translation is from James Legge, “The Works of Mencius,” *Chinese Classics* vol. 2, (Taipei: Nantian shuju youxian gongsi, 1960), 479.

²⁵⁵ *Chun qiu Zuo zhuan zhu* 春秋左傳注, Yang Bojun 楊伯峻 ed., (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 9.

²⁵⁶ According to Xia dynasty calendar, *yin* 寅 or the first earthly branch was the first month, while Shang dynasty

gong 郭公 “the Duke of Guo...?”²⁵⁷ Sök-t’ong replied, “Confucius said, ‘Even in my early days, a scribe would leave a blank in his text, and he who had a horse would lend him to another to ride.’²⁵⁸ In doing so, Confucius followed the previous text without revision in order to show that the posterior shouldn’t dare to easily revise the meaning of the classical text counting on his partial knowledge.” Dun said, “Right.”

又問曰：“《春秋》書‘春王正月’，是何意？”石通曰：“夫子欲行夏之時，書春，從周之制，書王正月。”鈍曰：“然則謂十一月為春乎？”答曰：“建子，非春也，但夫子，周人也，欲行夏之時，以春為首，從周之制，以正月起數。”鈍曰：“如何夏五郭公？”答曰：“孔子曰：‘吾猶及史之闕文也，有馬者，借人乘之。’以此，孔子從舊文不改，示後世不敢以私智，輕改經文之意。”鈍曰：“是。”

Dun asked again, “Why is the *Zhou yi* divided into two an upper and lower text? Sök-t’ong said, “The volume was heavy and large, so it was divided into an upper and lower text.” Dun said, “Why are there thirty hexagrams in the upper text and thirty-four in the lower text?” Sök-t’ong replied, “The hexagrams *qian* 乾, *kun* 坤, *kan* 坎, and *li* 離 do not have inverted opposites; Their *yin* 陰 ‘dark or negative,’ *yang* 陽 ‘bright or positive,’ *qi* 奇 ‘odd number,’ *yu* 偶 ‘even number’ are all the same.” Dun said, “Why does nine refer to the old *yang*?” Chi-dong said,

took *chou* 丑, or the twelfth earthly branch, and Zhou dynasty took *zi* 子, or the eleventh earthly branch. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu*, Yang Bojun ed., (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 6.

²⁵⁷ “Xia wu” refers to the fact that *yue* 月 ‘month’ is missing after the character *wu* 五 ‘fifth’ in the fourteenth year of the Lord Huan in the *Chunqiu*. “Guo gong” refers to the fact that characters are missing after “Guo gong” in the twenty fourth year of Lord Zhuang 莊公. See *Chunqiu Zuo zhuan zhu*, Yang Bojun ed., (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981), 139, 229.

²⁵⁸ Ma Xinmin 馬辛民 ed., *Lun yu zhushu* 論語註疏, (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 144. The English translation is from James Legge, *Confucian Analects*, Chinese Classics vol. 1, (Taipei: Nantian shuju youxian gongsi, 1960), 301.

“Three and three makes nine, and nine is the ultimate number, or the old *yang*.” Dun said, “Some matters are not fully explained. If there is anyone who is well-versed in the *Zhou yi*, please try!” Pyön had Chi-dong to speak up, and Pyön said, “This student would like to ask, ‘In eight, the *yang* is produced.’ I do not know the meaning of this.” Dun said, “Please bring the *Zhou yi daquan* 周易大全 (Complete commentaries to the *Classic of Changes*).’ I will explain by reading it.” Pyön said, “[The Great Ming] bestowed the *Sishu Wujing daquan* 四書五經大全 (Complete commentaries to the *Four Books* and the *Five Classics*), and we keep them in our Royal Archive.”

又問曰：“《周易》如何分爲上下二經？”石通曰：“簡帙重大，分爲上下。”鈍曰：“何上經三十卦，下經三十四卦？”答曰：“乾坤坎離無反對，陰陽奇偶之數皆同。”鈍曰：“如何九爲老陽？”致峒曰：“三三爲九，九爲極數，老陽。”鈍曰：“有未盡，有知《易》老先生來。”邊使致峒說話，因言：“此生問，八則陽生，未知是何意？”鈍曰：“將《大全》來，吾看說。”邊曰：“欽賜《大全》，藏在王府。”

Dun said, “Please bring this student’s writings for the daily course work.” They brought one each of the “Kwanödae pu” 觀魚臺賦 (*Fu* on the Terrace for Viewing the Fish), the “Chin Samgang haengsil chön” 進三綱行實箋 (Presenting the Commentary to the Virtues of the Three Bonds), the “Liji yi” 禮記義 (Meaning of phrases in the *Li ji*), and the civil service examination question 策問, and showed them to Dun. Dun read the *fu* and said, “This style and structure is similar to the practice of Yuan dynasty scholars.” Pyön said, “Confucian scholars of our state take the *Sanchang wenxuan* 三場文選 (Selected writings from three round examinations [of the Yuan dynasty]) as literary models for composition, so they resemble each other.”

鈍曰：“將此生日課文章來。”以觀魚臺賦、進三綱行實箋、禮記義及策問各一道示之，鈍見賦曰：“此體制，似有元朝士習。”邊曰：“我國儒生，看元朝《三場文選》文範製述，故相似也。”

3. “*Fu on the Three Capitals*,” by Ch’oe Cha 崔滋 (1188-1260)

A “Student Debater” from the Western Capital²⁵⁹ with an “Old Gossip” from the Northern Capital²⁶⁰

Come to the River Capital,²⁶¹

Met a Grandee of Righteous Discussion.

The Grandee of Righteous Discussion says:

“I have heard the names of the two states,

But have never seen their systems.

Fortunately now I run into (you two).

Would you two guests please share your fond memories

To extend my knowledge of the two capitals?”

The Student Debater says “Yes, yes!

When the Western Capital was first established,

²⁵⁹ The Western Capital 西都 is P’yōngyang, which is the modern capital of North Korea. In the year of 960,

Kwangjong 光宗 (r. 949-75), the fourth king of Koryō renamed the capital of Kaegyōng 開京, current Kaesōng

開城, into the Capital of Emperor 皇都, and at the same time, he renamed Sōgyōng 西京 into Sōdo 西都.

²⁶⁰ The Northern Capital 北都 is Kaegyōng, which is modern Kaesōng. After the court moved from Kaegyōng to

Kanghwa, people began to call Kaegyōng as the Northern Capital, because it is located to the north of Kanghwa.

²⁶¹ This refers to the new capital of Kanghwa Island. The text reads it as the Capital of the River 江都, and I think

this term was coined to emphasize the fact that Kanghwa Island was the capital to keep away the Mongolian invaders, so I translate it as the Island Capital.

A Monarch named Tongmyōng²⁶²
 Came down from the Nine-fold Heaven.
 Then he took care of the land,
 And decided to make his residence there.
 He didn't prepare the ground nor build walls,
 But a castle suddenly appeared, lofty and towering.
 He rode on the five-dragon chariot,
 Went up and down the heavens.
 Led by various deities
 And followed by a line of immortals.

²⁶² Tongmyōng (r. 37 B.C.E. -19 B.C.E.) is the royal name of the founder of Koguryō, who is often called as Tongmyōng sōngwang 東明聖王. The following myth of his foundation of the state in the continued passage actually refers to the myth of Haemosu 解慕漱. (It is not clear whether it was by mistake or by intention.)

According to the *Samguk sagi*, King Tongmyōng's original name was Chumong 朱蒙, and his last name was Ko 高. His mother Yuhwa 柳花 was one of the daughters of Habaek 河伯, God of Rivers. King Kūmwa 金蛙, monarch of the Eastern Puyō 東夫餘 saw Yuhwa was crying at Ubalsu 優渤水 in the south of the T'aebaek Mountain 太白山 (Changbai Mountain 長白山) and asked the reason. She responded that Haemosu, the son of Heaven left her breaking their promise of marriage and she was also expelled from her father, Habaek and was exiled to Ubalsu. King Kūmwa thought Yuhwa strange and locked her in a room. She gave birth an egg and a baby came out from it. When Yuhwa's son became seven years old, he already had the skill of hundred-hit-out-of-hundred-shot 百發百中 with his bow and arrows, and people named him as Chumong, which means a master bowman in Puyō language. Chumong won King Kūmwa's favor, but was envied by the King's sons. Being threatened to death, finally Chumong left his mother and Puyō, and established Koguryō by the Cholbon stream 卒本川 (Hun River 渾江 in Jilin Province 吉林省 of China) in 37 B.C.E.

He met a woman at Komso²⁶³

While coming back and forth lightly and elegantly there.

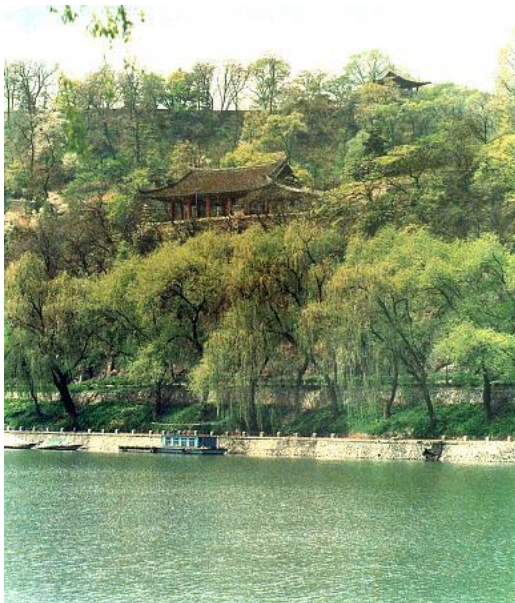
In the heart of the river, there was a rock,

Which was called Choch'ŏn Terrace.²⁶⁴

At a quick glance, it looked like an uneven rock,

²⁶³ We cannot locate the exact present place. According to the *Samguk sagi* this place was by the Yalu River 鴨綠江.

²⁶⁴ It is in the south of the Unicorn Cave 麒麟窟 under the Pubyŏk Pavillion by Taedong River 大同江 that passes through P'yŏngyang. King Tongmyŏng allegedly raised unicorns in the cave and one day he came out of the cave to a rock and flew to heaven on a unicorn. Thereafter the rock was called as Choch'ŏn Terrace 朝天臺 (=朝天石). See No Sa-sin 盧思慎 et al., *Kugyŏk sinjŭng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam* 國譯新增東國輿地勝覽 (Seoul: Minjok Munhwa Ch'ujinhoe, 1969), vol 6: 392-94.



Pubyŏk Pavilion is North Korean National Treasure No. 17. This is a reassembly of a site that was constructed in 1614, after the original Pubyŏk Pavilion was destroyed during the Japanese invasion in 1592. The Pubyŏk Pavilion was an appendage to the Yŏngmyŏng Temple 永明寺, which was constructed in 393 and was destroyed by American bombing during the Korean War.

But in a sudden realization it is steep and precipitous.

The Monarch sometimes climbed up,

Like a deity driving in a rambling and wandering way.

‘That shrine in P’yöngyang, isn’t it the place where spirits and souls reside?’

He called to the god of the wind,

Commanded the god of the rain.

When he got angry, then hail and lightning came during broad daylight,

Trees and stones flew one after another.

In addition, there is the Mokmyök Shrine,²⁶⁵

Which manages sowing and harvesting.

Even though you do not plough,

Rice is piled like a mountain.

Protecting the public and looking after the private households,

He covers them like with big blankets.²⁶⁶

What do you think about all of this?”

The Grandee says:

“They are mysterious and strange, vague and deceptive,

How can one be proud of them?”

The Student says:

“Talking about the magnificent and beautiful spectacles,

²⁶⁵ The Mokmyök shrine was in the Mokmyök Mountain of P’yöngyang. In Seoul, there also was Mokmyök Mountain (the present Nam Mountain) and the Mokmyök shrine during the Chosön dynasty.

²⁶⁶ The Korean translation takes *chi* 褌 for *ru* 褌, which I also accept.

There are, then, the Yongŏn and Kuje Palaces.²⁶⁷
 Some are crisscrossed, mixed, open, and spread-out,
 High and bright, endless, and lofty.
 Closing and opening the universe,
 Darkening and obscuring the west and the east.
 Heaven is not able to remove their geographic features of “flying posture,”
 The ghosts are not able to claim credit for their construction.
 The places for touring and sightseeing
 Are just the Takyŏng Pavilion spanning the dark blue sea,
 And is the Ch’ŏngwon Pavilion holding up half of heaven.²⁶⁸
 The Pubyŏk Pavillion faces the vast and wide river,
 The Yŏngmyŏng Temple rises loftily and highly.
 Many streams come together,
 And it was named Taedong.
 It is white and deep, splendid and rolling,
 As if embracing Haojing,²⁶⁹ and as if longing for the River Feng.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁷ The Yongŏn Palace was constructed during King Yejong 睿宗 (r. 1105-22) following a geomancer’s suggestion. See No Sa-sin, *Kugyŏk sinjŭng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam*, vol 6: 390. The Kuje Palace was in the Yongmyŏng Temple. See No Sa-sin, *Kugyŏk sinjŭng Tongguk yŏji sŭngnam*, vol 6: 387.

²⁶⁸ The Takyŏng Pavilion and the Ch’ŏngwon Pavilion were located nine *li* 里 north of the P’yŏngyang prefecture 平壤府.

²⁶⁹ The capital of the Western Zhou.

²⁷⁰ The River Feng originated from the Qin Ridge 秦嶺, passes through Chang’an and enters the River Wei 渭河.

It is clean like white silk spread out,
And is clear like a bronze mirror.
On both banks are weeping willows,
All day, they dance along with winds.
The sand is level, and the field is wide,
On them, landing are wild geese, and crying are wild swans.
The green mountains surround the outer walls,
The four sides are steep and precipitous.
When one overlooks the Taedong River, there are old fishermen wearing straw raincoats under
the drizzle.
Under the setting sun flutes are played
That are heard from shepherds far away.
By any means of drawing, it is hard to represent,
By chanting and singing, one cannot get closer to it.
Then we release a silk cable and float a magnolia boat,
At midstream, when we look back,
It is as if we are in a mirror or screens.
Therefore the geography and view of our capital
Indeed are the only in the world.”
The Grandee says:
“Wonderful views and beautiful scenes
Hurt people’s hearts and eyes.”
The Student says:

“If you go to the water and fish, then lift up a long net once,
You are a rarity by catching a lot.

Loaches, lamper eels, breams, and snakeheads,

Flying fish, false minnows, catfish, and carp.

Squid, eel, sturgeon, and bluefin tuna,²⁷¹

Indeed, are commonly enjoyed.

When it becomes winter months,

And all the river water is frozen,

Silk-like fish and pearly fish are flapping and thrashing beneath it.

Using metal spears as we stab them,

Among one hundred trials, not a single shot misses.

One puts them on plates and leaves them a night,

Then they become frozen like clear jade.

The cook is Food Steward,

Who deftly clashes knives and slices fish meat.

Like threads flying lightly and gently;

The shape is excellent, and so is the taste.

In a short while, it frosts on the teeth and snows in the throat.

(Here phrases are missing).²⁷² ...

²⁷¹ Some of the fish listed here are saltwater fish that cannot live in a river. This is one of the exaggerated expressions in *fu*.

²⁷² The missing parts are the end of the Student Debater’s explanation on the Western Capital, the Grandee’s criticism on the Student Debater’s talk, the Grandee’s question about the Northern Capital, and the first part of the

“... It came out in one thousand years but it seems to fit.

Early on, a person named Ch’oe Koun²⁷³ said:

‘The spirit of a sage

Is brewed in the southern part of a mountain.

In Kongnyōng the pine trees are blue,

In Kyerim the leaves are yellow.’²⁷⁴

The purple clouds had not yet arisen

But he predicted and prophesied the rise and fall [of dynasties].

The precious mirror of Ch’ōrwōn

Dropped from heaven.

‘The front is the chicken, and the rear the duck,’²⁷⁵

Old Gossip’s explanation on the Northern Capital. About several hundred characters are missing.

²⁷³ Koun is Ch’oe Ch’i-wōn’s style name 子. Ch’oe Ch’i-wōn 崔致遠 (857 - ?) was the most famous scholar of the time in Korea. He has his biography in the *Samguk sagi*, 441-44. He studied in China and passed the Tang civil examinations to become an official at the Tang court and served as gentleman for rendering service 承務郎, and auxiliary attendant censor 侍御史內供奉. Later he returned to Silla and wanted to reform all the system of the state but was only in vain. Later, he spent most of his time in writing literary works. Most of his works are in his collection, *Kyewōn p’ilgyōngjip* 桂苑筆耕集, which were published in 879, and which are preserved in the Kyujanggak 奎章閣 Library of Seoul National University. They are of twenty chapters, or of four fascicles.

²⁷⁴ According to the *Kugyōk sinjūng Tongguk yōji sūngnam*, Ch’oe Ch’i-wōn wrote this passage to Wang Kōn 王建 (r. 918 - 43), the founder of Koryō. Kongnyōng was a name for the area before Songak 松嶽, which was renamed as Kaesōng 開成 in 757 by the Silla government, however people still used Kongnyōng and Songak. See No Sa-sin, *Kugyōk sinjūng Tongguk yōji sūngnam*, vol 1: 439.

²⁷⁵ During the King Kyōngmyōng 景明 (r. 917-24) period, Wang Kōn served as a general to Kungye 弓裔 (r.

That remark was very clear.

As it came to the unification of the three lands

After a divination, he founded a Bright Hall.

The northern mount is like a recombent ox,

The southern mountain is like a soaring dragon.

In the right and in the left, mountains embrace, and hold [what are within them],

A flower type [of geomancy] is what it corresponds to.²⁷⁶

Eight heads, and three tails,

The eastern hills, and the western ridge,

Rugged and jagged, winding and curving.

The Jiao star is like an arm, the Shang star is like a fist,²⁷⁷

The vitality ascends, and the spirit descends,

They eject the force and produce an auspicious sign.

901-18), who founded Hugoguryō 後高句麗 (901-18) of which the capital was Ch'ōrwōn 鐵原. In 918, there was a merchant from Tang, whose name was Wang Changjin (?-?). From him, Kungye obtained a bronze mirror and found some sentences were carved in it in Chinese characters. Among them was "... first grab the chicken, later hit the duck 先操雞 後搏鴨 ..." the capital of Silla, then would expand the territory as far as the Yalu River. Such a passage implies the reunification of the Three Kingdoms of Silla, Hugoguryō, and Hubaekche 後百濟 (892 - 936). Not long after that, in the same year, Wang Kōn expelled Kungye and took the throne. See Kim Chong-sō et al., *Koryōsa chōryō* 1.26-27.

²⁷⁶ "An hua 案花" is uncertain. The context refers to *fengshui*, so I took "an" as "according to" and "hua" as a type of topography in *fengshui*.

²⁷⁷ Jiao and Shang constellations belongs to one of the seven stars that direct the east 東方青龍七宿.

As for the Five streams²⁷⁸ of the divine tributaries,
 Their origins stretch as far as the eye can see.
 Streams from ten thousands of caverns gather,
 Flow, flood, pour, and surge,
 Like an arrow rushing, like a wheel running,
 Flow in and concentrate at the center.
 It contains spirit, and pours out virtue,
 To grow and nourish hundreds to flourish.
 The pine trees have been lush
 For more than three hundred years.
 In the midway, they declined, but they flourished again,
 As if being tied to mulberry roots.
 Since ancient times,
 Those who established states in respond to prognostication,
 How many kings were there like us?”
 The Grandee says:
 “Ascending the throne of our sage ancestor²⁷⁹
 Was to respond to heaven and follow people.
 It was not the case of taking the absurdity of geomantic and augural theories.”
 The Old Gossip says: “Ch’ungwŏn and T’aeryŏng,²⁸⁰

²⁷⁸ It is hard to locate the five streams. The main river that passes through Kaesŏng is the Yesŏng River 禮成江.

²⁷⁹ This refers to Wang Kŏn.

²⁸⁰ Chungwŏn and Taeryŏng are Ch’ungju 忠州 and Haeju 海州.

Steel come from there.
 Soft steel, tender steel, tempered steel, and mild steel,
 Are in the marrow of mountains.
 We do not bore through rocks,
 But hoe or dig,
 And they are vast without limits.
 In the big furnace, they are cast,
 Melted liquids are brisk and shiny.
 The yang, or complicated patterns, that are melted by flames,
 The yin, or simple patterns, that are dipped into water.
 The master blacksmith moves hammers,
 Tempers hundreds of times, and forges thousands of times.
 They become big and small arrow heads,
 Spears and armor,
 Furnace and pokers,
 Weeding hoe and hoe,
 Pots and jars.
 As for wares, we use them inside at home,
 As for weapons, we used them for defense outside.
 In Kyerim and Yōngga,²⁸¹
 Mulberries and wild mulberries are lush and flourishing.
 In spring, when we rinse cocoons,

²⁸¹ Kyerim and Yōngga are Kyōngju 慶州 and Andong 安東.

For one household there are ten thousand bamboo trays.
 In summer, when we spin silk,
 With one motion of a hand, there are hundreds of skeins.
 At first when we take out the threads, they are tangled,
 But as we weave with the threads,
 Thunder-like shuttles, and wind-like shuttles,
 As they come off the hands, they thunder and rumble.
 Light silk, raw silk, thin silk, and fine silk,
 Fine silk, raw silk, fine white silk, and crepe silk.
 Like smoke they are delicate, and like fog they are light,
 Like snow they are white, and like frost they are white.
 Dying in blue, yellow, orange, or green,
 Making beautiful silken clothes or patterned silken clothes.
 Dukes and lords take them to wear,
 Scholars and beauties take them to put on.
 When those people pull their clothes on hinges, their clothes make one rustling sound after
 another
 When the clothes are blown and shaken, they shine in crimson.
 These are indeed what heaven endowed,
 Treasures of the state are strewn at random.”
 The Grandee says:
 “Even one foot of jade is not a treasure,²⁸²

²⁸² The original passage is “One foot of jade is not a treasure, but an inch of time is what you should strive for 尺璧

Not to speak of metal or silk.”

The Old Gossip says:

“Poets and scholars,

Who come shoulder to shoulder are in great numbers.

Their embroidered speech, and their silken hearts,

Are like masticating ice or chewing snow,

And are like carving jade or trimming gold.

With one brush stroke,

They are like startling thunder or swift lightening,

And it is hard to compare their rapidity and quickness.

Their poems have many styles;

Clean rivers and precipitous cliffs,

Cannot be compared to the loftiness and depth of their styles.

Skillful but hackneyed words,

They do not walk with antiquity.

But they create new words,

Which especially they take from current times.

Military men and brave men,

Then wear clothes short in the back and with tie-up chin straps [of their caps],

Put snake swords on their sides and hold fast dragon knives,

Run and rush and hit and beat,

Yelling and howling then roaring and snarling;

非寶，寸陰是競，” which is from the *Thousand Character Classic* 千字文 and the *Huainan zi* 淮南子.

Like bears they snap, and like tigers they snatch,
Like falcons they capture, and like monkeys they leap.
With glaring eyes they speak in anger,
Swinging their arms they lightly tread.
Riding horses they shoot arrows,
Hit the mark consecutively three times without missing any.
When they move sticks with their hands,
Flying balls spin around for hundreds of times.
Are not these called the treasure of the state?”
The Grandee says: “They are not.
Carving worm-script or recklessly making efforts,
The gentlemen do not take them up.
Not to speak of the skill of playing with balls.”
The Old Gossip says:
“We created offices and distributed positions,
Inner positions are a thousand and outer positions are ten thousands.
By draining away the mud and lifting up the clean,
In recommending people to the offices, there is no chaos or disorder.
Every year the King orders the Office of Rites
To select and appoint the worthy and the talented.
Blue and purple uniforms fill the court,
And they hang ties and shake scepters.
When they go out, they become incorrupt governors,

And some of them become employed as magistrates of villages.
None of them do not treat their duties with ice-like cleanliness and jade-like purification.
They do not look for even a slight profit such as from water or fire,
Still less do they receive gifts of bribe.
They cut their belts to make wicks,
And pay money to drink water.
At the door, it is as solitary and lonely as installing sparrow nets,
And the dining table, it is desolate and tasteless without any fish.
People are deeply impressed by their names,
And they esteem themselves that they are immaculate.
Let me describe these officials' desire to threaten people;
They think it should be inevitably harsh and cruel.
They minutely examine fine and tiny things,
Shed a light on every nook and corner,
And they blow and dig to search for
Defects and faults, nothing can be hidden.
Thereupon they raise ropes and lift cords,
And when they beat people, then one hundred clubs they don't think enough,
When they hang people, then doubled ropes do not satisfy them.
Petty officials have no limbs and trunks left intact,
And common people drop their livers and gall.
Trembling and quivering,
Shuddering and shivering.

In a moment, all the sensitive matters are judged,
 Once the officials rebuke crafty groups, they also tremble.
 Every year they make people pay additional taxes, but they don't think of it as heavy,
 Every month they make people bring more presents, but they don't think of it as bribes.
 In a rush, they impose a tax, urging it to be collected from every household,
 And they carry [what they collected] by water and land,
 Like a swift fire and a flashing light,
 To pile them up like a hill in the state storage.
 Their credits for being diligent in office and bringing profits to the state
 Beggar all description."

The Grandee says:

"Feigned cleanliness is harsh and cruel and it undermines people,
 And its harm is also great."

The Old Gossip says:

"Lords and Nobles' lined up mansions
 Are aligned to extend for ten miles.
 Extravagant buildings and outstanding pavilions
 Are like a phoenix dancing and a *Chi* dragon rising.
 Cool balconies and warm chambers
 Are put in order like fish scales and arranged like teeth of a comb.
 Shining brilliantly are Golden walls,
 And lined up densely are cinnabar and jade-green.
 Red silk covers the wood,

And colored blankets spread on the floor.
 Precious trees and strange exotic plants;
 Renowned flowers and beautiful blossoms;
 Spring flowers and summer fruits;
 Green woods and red blossoms;
 Spread fragrances and create shades;
 They compete for beauty and contend for charm.
 In the rear rooms are beauties,
 Who wear cloud-like clothes and robes like morning glow.
 With endless postures and extreme charms,
 They line up to attend and they circle to wait on [the king].
 Hawksbill turtle mats and silk seats;
 Nine kinds of wines are rippling and flooding.
 They play reed pipes, sing songs, beat drums, and play flutes;
 Nine kinds of wines are rippling and flooding.
 Like the *xu* hexagram of the *Classic of Changes*,²⁸³
 Like the “Already Drunk” of the *Classic of Poetry*.²⁸⁴
 Camels’ humps and bears’ paws;
 Dragons’ livers and phoenixes’ marrow,
 Are as if silk is gathered and as if jade is stacked,

²⁸³ Nine five of the *Xu* hexagram reads: “Wait with wine and food. It is virtuous and auspicious 需于酒食，贞吉。”

²⁸⁴ The original text reads: “I am already drunken with wine and I am already full with the internal power. 既醉以酒，既饱以德。”

But they (Lords and Nobles) are fed up with and grow tired of those things and spit them out and throw them away.

As for nobles, commoners,

And monks of temples,

They inevitably reside in luxurious houses,

Inevitably eat more than two dishes.

They pursue extreme pleasure for ears and eyes,

And brag over exoticness of their clothes.

Hired servants and humble slaves,

All of them impudently imitate their superiors.

They wear high hats and put on high turbans,

And they carve their belts and engrave their shoes.

Their clothes are light and their uniforms are delicate,

And competing with one another they boast of luxuries.

Even with the richness of Chang'an and Luoyang,

None of them can be compared to ours.”

The Grandee says: “Ah,

The displacement of the old capital is generally due to this.”

Thereupon the two guests from west and north,

Waving their hairs and showing signs of anger,

They get upset and at the same time feel ashamed and say:

“We've talked all day long,

But Grandee frustrated us all;

We wish to hear your speech about the Capital of the Island.”

The Grandee says:

“Have you two guests heard about the things in the Capital of the Island?

Slightly holding one end of the thread,

Let me summarize and discuss.

In general, the East Sea is great;

All of the nine rivers and eight streams,²⁸⁵

It swallows them as if they are mustard seeds.

As if sweeping the clouds and dousing the sun,

It is gushing and surging.

In the middle of it, is the Mountain Hwa,²⁸⁶

And the golden turtle puts its head aloft.

Shores intrude like hanging leaves,

Sand banks become level like attached branches.

What lightens the branches and leaves, which are scattered like sand, and which are distributed like *go* stones,

Are houses of sea traders, sea merchants, fishermen, and salt makers.

The Divine Hills are like open stamens,

The Spiritual Hillocks are like enwrapping calyxes.

Established on those stamens and calyxes as if flying in disorder or as if birds soar

Are lined houses where the emperor resides or the kings, or the dukes, nobles, gentlemen, and

²⁸⁵ The nine rivers and eight streams are not certain.

²⁸⁶ The Hwa Mountain is not certain.

commoners live.

Inside [the Capital of the Island], the Mani and Hyōlgu Mountains²⁸⁷ are piled up,

Outside, the Tongjin and Paekma Mountains²⁸⁸ create borders in four directions.

Asking who comes in and goes out

Is the Kap'wa Pass on its east.

Sending off and welcoming foreign guests

Is the P'ungp'o Hall on its north.

Two Hwa²⁸⁹ become thresholds

And two Hyo become hinges.

Indeed, it is a deep and covert region.

Thereupon, inside purple ramparts wind around it;

Outside they surround it with plaster battlements.

Waters flow one after another to mix and surround it

Mountains compete with each other to be steep and lofty.

As one looks down, he trembles by the deep pool,

As one looks up, he worries about the wall rising steeply.

²⁸⁷ The Mani and Hyōlgu Mountains are in the middle of Kanghwa.

²⁸⁸ The Tongjin (the present T'ongjin Mountain 通津山) and Paekma Mountains are out of Kanghwa. The former one is in Kimp'o 金浦 of Kyōnggi province 京畿道, and the latter one is in Kaesōng of Hwanghae province 黃海道.

²⁸⁹ It is not clear what the two *hwa* refers to. It may be related to the Hwa Mountain that appeared earlier, or it may refer to the Tongjin and Paekma Mountains. If the latter one is correct, two *hyo* in the next line refers to the Mani and Hyōlgu Mountains.

Wild ducks and geese are not able to enter even though they fly to exhaustion,

Wolves and tigers are not able to look through or to peer in.

One person shouts to turn people away,

Then a thousand households use high pillows.

This is the capital of monarchs for ten-thousand generations with metal castles surrounded by boiling moats.”

The two guests say:

“Making the state firm is with neither mountains nor streams;

It is in virtue not in steepness.”

...

The two guests say:

“Extreme richness is not gathering or accumulating,

You should model yourself after [what King Wu of Zhou did in] Juqiao.²⁹⁰”

...

The two guests say:

“From the past until now, in honoring the Buddha, no one has been like the [rulers of] Liang dynasty,

But why did it perish quickly?”

The Grandee says:

“Now the Lord

Himself is frugal and generous to his subordinates.”

²⁹⁰ Juqiao is the place where King Zhou 紂 of Yin 殷 owned a big crop warehouse. King Wu of Zhou 周武王 defeated King Zhou and distributed grain to people from the warehouse in Juqiao.

The two guests are then stunned and turn pale

Withdrawing from their seats, kneeling he says:

“Your Grandee, please do not speak so much!

Just this word

Is enough for one to know about the excellence of great tranquility and ultimate order.

In general, incorruptibility and fairness in the ordering of government,

All starts from frugality.

If you are frugal then mores revert to generosity of spirit,

How can heaven not assist us?

How can the mandate of the state not endure long?

Previously what we clamored for and exaggerated indiscriminately

Was just to reveal evil practices of the state.”

The Grandee says:

“Two of you listen to this.

I will take ancient events for models.

In the past, the Zhou clan was sincere and substantial,

Enjoyed its rule for eight-hundred years.

Emperor Wen of Han wore coarse silken clothes and leather shoes,

Among his vassals, were many elders who were honest and sincere;

Inherited fortunes were infinite.

Emperor Wen of Tang²⁹¹ honored frugality,
 Wanted to build a palace,
 But following the model of Qin, he quit.²⁹²
 At the time, Fang Xuanling and Wei Zheng²⁹³
 Didn't take what was governed peacefully as good,
 So the foundation of the state was inherited for more than three-hundred years.
 Great is our dynasty,
 Morals and manners hide antiquity!
 It fears the authority of heaven,
 And enjoys the Way of heaven.
 As a small state it serves the great state,
 Throughout time our dynasty has protected itself.
 Talking about things, there is neither disaster nor disease,
 How great and bright it is!
 Admiring it is not enough,
 Unfolding its intention, we will make a song to sing.
 Going far back from Yao and Shun,
 Reaching to Song's prosperity,
 Even though the course and change of the patterns and essence were different,

²⁹¹ Emperor Wen of Tang is Tang Taizong 唐太宗 (r. 626-49).

²⁹² Tang Taizong's vassals appealed to build a new palace but he did not listen to them and did not fall into extravagance.

²⁹³ They are Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (579-648) and Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580-643)

All of them rose and fell because of luxury or frugality.

The western willows were overturned and turned up-side-down by licentiousness,

The northern pine trees flowed and moved [to the south] by extravagance.

Luminous and bright is the Island Capital,

It is the site of virtue.

Following heaven and serving the great,

Custom is honest and bright.

For ten-thousand years,

May it be in peace without forgetting the perils!"

三都賦[崔滋]

西都辨生與北京談叟。來遊江都。遇一正議大夫。大夫曰。蒙聞二國之名。未覩其制。幸今邂逅。二客請攄懷舊之情。弘我以兩京。辨生曰唯唯。西都之創先也。帝號東明。降自九玄。乃眷下土。此維宅焉。匪基匪築。化城屹然。乘五龍車。上天下天。導以百神。從以列仙。熊然遇女。來往翩翩。江心有石。曰朝天臺。悅兮盤陀。忽焉崦嵫。惟帝時升。神馭徘徊。靈祇所宅。平壤其祠。呼叱風伯。指揮雨師。怒則白日靄雷。木石交飛。又有木覓。稼穡是司。不耕而禾。積如京坻。蔭公庇私。介以彪褫。若是何如。大夫曰。神恠茫誕。何以誇爲。生曰壯麗之觀。則有龍堰闕九梯宮。膠葛廣敞。高明窮崇。翕闢宇宙。

冥迷西東。天不能奪其拚

。鬼不得爭其功。遊觀之所。則多景跨蒼海。清遠撐半空。浮碧臨浩蕩。永明架崢嶸。衆水所匯。名爲大同。晶滌晃漾。抱鎬欲澧。淨鋪素練。皎若青銅。兩岸垂楊。終日舞風。沙平野闊。落鴈鳴鴻。青山繞郭。四面巖崿。細雨披蓑。俯見於漁翁。夕陽吹笛。遠聞於牧童。畫圖難髣。賦詠未窮。爾乃解錦纜浮蘭舟。中流回首。恍然如在鏡屏中也。則吾都形勝。誠天下之所獨。大夫曰。奇觀絕景。喪人心目。生曰。水而漁則長網一舉。奇獲多矣。鱖鮓魴鱧。鱠鮓鯉鯉。鮑鮓鱠鮓。固爲賤嗜。及當冬月。滿江水結。錦鱗珠鱗。其下鱗鱗。金挺叉之。百不一脫。置盤經宿。凍成玉潔。庖丁膳夫。鳴刀巧割。縷飛霍霍。色絕味絕。一下齒霜喉雪。此間句失

作千載若符。先有崔孤雲者嘗曰。聖人之氣。醞釀山陽。鵠嶺松青。鷄林葉黃。紫雲未起

。預識興亡。鐵原寶鏡。墮自上蒼。先雞後鴨。斯言孔彰。及乎統合三土。卜開明堂。北嶮牛卧。南峙龍翔。右懷左抱。案花相當。八頭三尾。東峴西岡。隱嶙屈伏。臂角拳商。騰精降神。吐氣產祥。五川靈派。源乎淼茫。萬洞涪集。流漲滂洋。箭馳輪走。朝湊中央。涵靈注德。滋養百昌。青松茂矣。三百餘霜。中衰復盛。繫于苞桑。自古如我。應識立國。有幾帝王。大夫曰。祖聖龍興。應天順人。非以地理圖讖之荒唐。叟曰中原大寧。鐵焉是產。鑛鉛鑿鑿。銚鑪錄鏘。惟山之髓。匪石之鑽。斲掘根株。浩無畔岸。洪爐鼓鑄。融液熾爛。焰爍陽紋。水淬陰縵。老冶弄鎚。百鍊千鍛。爲鏃爲鎗。爲矛爲鈇。爲刀爲槍。爲鑪爲鑪。爲鋤爲鑄。爲釜爲鑪。器贍中用。兵充外扞。雞林永嘉。桑柘莫莫。春而浴蠶。一戶萬箔。夏而縲絲。一指百絡。始**綸**

而縲。方織以縲。雷梭風杼。脫手霹靂。羅綉**綾**。縲綉縛縲。煙織霧薄。雪皓霜白。青黃之朱綠之。爲錦綺爲繡纈。公卿以衣。士女以服。樞曳綵縲。披拂葩赫。是誠天府。

國寶錯落。大夫曰。尺璧非寶。矧伊金帛。叟曰詞人墨客。比肩林林。紅情綠意。繡口錦心。咀冰嚼雪。琢玉彫金。筆一走也。驚雷迅電。難以况其捷疾。詩多態也。澄江絕壁。不足譬其高深。圓熟陳言。不踐於古。冷生新語。別出於今。武夫猛士。則衣短後纓縵胡

。佩蛇劍握龍刀。躡躡**攬**。搏。鬪虓咆哮。熊拏虎攫。鶻掠猿超。瞋目語難。掉臂輕趨。騎射一發。聯的三中。杖手一弄。飛毬百繞。是所謂國之寶歟。大夫曰非也。彫蟲亂力。君子不取。况弄毬之巧。叟曰。設官分職。內千外萬。激濁揚清。舉無傲溷。歲命春官。選登賢雋。青紫滿朝。紳垂笏搢。出爲廉察。或典州郡。莫不以冰清玉潔爲己之任。不通水火之利。况受苞苴之贈。斷帶爲燈。投錢以飲。門羅雀以寂寥。食無魚兮冷淡。人服其名。自負無玷。謂欲威民。必用苛慘。細察纖微。曲照幽暗。吹刮而求。癥瑕莫掩。於是乎振縲繼揚繩撿。扑之則百杖不厭。絞之則重索猶慊。吏不完肢體。民盡落肝膽。肅肅凌凌。慄慄慄慄。咄嗟而諸難卽辨。叱吒而群猾亦震。歲增賦而不爲重。月進膳而不爲諂。急徵征稅。若督戶斂。漕轉陸輸。火疾電閃。用儲峙乎國廩。則其勤公利國之功。言所不盡。大夫曰。詐清苛慘民之蠹。爲害也甚。叟曰。公卿列第。聯亘十里。豐樓傑閣。鳳舞螭起。涼軒燠室。鱗錯櫛比。輝映金碧。森列朱翠。緹繡被木。彩毯鋪地。珍木異卉。名花佳藹。春榮夏實。綠稠紅蔭。敷香布蔭。爭妍竟媚。後房佳麗。雲衣霞帔。盡態極艷。列陪環侍。玳筵綺席。笙歌鼓吹。九醞波漫。千疊屹峙。如易之需。若詩既醉。駝峯熊掌。龍肝鳳髓。錦蔕瓊堆。厭飫唾棄。至於士庶。桑門釋子。居必華屋。食必兼味。極耳目之娛。誇服飾之異。庸奴賤

隸。胥然僭擬。峩其冠戴其幘。**脩**其帶鋏其履。衣輕服緻。爭相耀侈。雖雍洛靡麗之盛。莫我敢齒。大夫曰噫。舊都之流離蓋以此。於是西北二客。奮髯作色。且怒且慙曰。走等終日言。而大夫皆折之。願聞江都之說。大夫曰。二容豈亦曾聞江都之事乎。略舉一緒。揚擢而議。夫東海之大。凡九江八河。吞若一芥。蕩雲沃日。洶湧澎湃。中有花山。金鼇屹戴。涯凌葉擁。渚岬枝附。麗其枝葉而沙散碁布者。江商海賈漁翁塩叟之編戶也。神岳藥開。靈丘萼捧。架其藥萼而暈飛鳥聳者。皇居帝室公卿士庶之列棟也。內據摩利穴口之重匝。外界童津白馬之四塞。出入之誰何則岬華關其東。賓入之送迎則楓浦館其北。兩華爲闕。二嶠爲樞。眞天地之奧區也。於是乎內繚以紫壘。外包以粉堞。水助縈回。山爭岌嶮。俯臨慄乎淵深。仰觀愁於壁立

。鳧鴈不能盡飛。豺虎不能窺闖。一夫呵噤。萬家高枕。是金湯萬世帝王之都也。二客曰。固國不以山河。在德不在險。… 二客曰。至富非蓄積。宜鑑鉅橋。… 二客曰。古今奉浮圖莫若梁。何促危亡。大夫曰。方今主上躬儉而厚下。二客即愕然失容。避席而跪曰。大夫毋多言。只此一言。足以知大平極理之美。凡政理清平。皆由儉始。儉則習俗歸厚。胡皇天不佑。胡基祚不長久哉。向者走等喁嚶 哝哝。祇自彰國累耳。大夫曰。二子聽之。吾以古為的。昔周家忠厚。享年八百。漢文衣綈履革。其臣多敦厚長者。垂祚罔極。唐文皇尚儉。欲營一殿。鑿秦而止。維時房魏不以理安為喜。故垂統三百餘祀。洪惟本朝。風化掩古。畏天之威。樂天之道。以小事大。于時保之。物不疵癘。元元皞皞。歎之不足。申其義而作歌曰。邈自陶唐兮。下至宋康。雖文質沿革之不同兮。靡不由奢儉而興亡。西柳兮以淫而顛覆。北松兮由侈以流移。西都號柳京。煌煌江都。惟德之基。順天事大。風俗淳熙。於萬斯年。安不忘危。

4. “A Short *Fu* on the Terrace for Viewing Fish” 觀漁臺小賦, by Yi Saek 李穡 (1328-96)

The Kwanōdae 觀漁臺 (Tower of watching fish) is in Yōnghae prefecture. It looks down on the East Sea underneath a stone cliff, where swimming fish could be counted. Therefore, it was so named. The prefecture is where my maternal parent's home is. Because of this, I wrote a short *fu*. It is my hope that this *fu* will be transmitted to the Central Plain.

觀魚臺在寧海府。臨東海石崖下，游魚可數，故以名之。府吾外家也。為作小賦。
庶幾傳之中原耳。

By the banks east of Danyang, 丹陽東岸,

By the shores west of Japan, 日本西涯,

Giant waves vastly spread, 洪濤淼淼,

There is nothing else to be seen. 莫知其他.

Their movements are like the collapsing of mountains, 其動也如山之頹,

Their stillness is like the rubbing of a mirror, 其靜也如鏡之磨.

At the place where the Wind God blows with bellows, 風伯之所橐籥,

And where the Sea God makes its home, 海若之所室家

Pods of long whales play with their power shaking the vast sky 長鯨群戲而勢搖大空

A raptorial bird flies alone with its shadow touching the colorful sunset clouds.

鷲鳥孤飛而影接落霞

A terrace is looks downward from here, 有臺俯焉

Within his view there is no land. 目中無地

Above is nothing but sky, 上有一天

Below is nothing but water. 下有一水

The space between them is vast and boundless, 茫茫其閒

Is it a thousand leagues or ten thousand leagues? 千里萬里

Verily underneath the tower waves lie hidden and do not rise; 惟臺之下波伏不起

Lowering myself I can see a school of fish. 俯見群魚

Some are the same and some are different, 有同有異

In pain and suffering, or in ease and enjoyment. 圍圍洋洋

Each moves as it pleases, 各得其志

Lord Ren's bait is excessive.²⁹⁴ 任公之餌夸矣

²⁹⁴ This line alludes to Lord Ren who used fifty oxen as bait and caught a tremendously large fish. This story is from the *Zhuang zi* 莊子. See Chen Guying 陳鼓應 transl. and comm. *Zhunagzi jinzhu jinyi* 莊子今注今譯, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983) 706-07.

That is something that I don't dare to imitate, 非吾之所敢擬

Taigong of Qi's fish-hook was straight, 太公之釣直矣

That is something that I don't dare to wish for. 非吾之所敢冀

Alas! We human being are the most sentient of the ten thousand creatures; 嗟夫我人萬物之靈

Forgetting about my physical form, I enjoy my pleasure; 忘吾形以樂其樂

Enjoying my pleasure I die and become peaceful; 樂其樂以歿吾寧

Things and I are one of mind, 物我一心,

Antiquity and the present are one inherent pattern, 古今一理,

Whose mouths and stomachs are moving anxiously, 孰口腹之營營

And are willing to be discarded by a man of virtue? 而甘君子之所棄

To my disappointment, King Wen of Zhou has already passed away, 慨文王之既歿

I think of [King Wen's Lingzhao pond] being full of fish,²⁹⁵ and in vain stand on tiptoe in

²⁹⁵ This phrase is from the "Ling Tai" 靈臺 poem of the *Shi jing*. The poem reads:

The king was in the marvelous park,

Where the does were lying down,

The does, so sleek and fat;

With the white birds glistening.

The king was by the marvelous pond; -

How full was it of fishes leaping about! 王在靈囿，麀鹿攸伏，麀鹿濯濯，白鳥嚶嚶。王在靈沼，於牣魚躍。

See Chu Binjie 褚斌傑 comm., *Shi jing quan zhu* 詩經全注, (Beijing: Renmin daxue chubanshe, 1999), 326.

Translation is from James Legge, *The She King, or the Book of Poetry*, Chinese Classics vol. 4, (Taipei: Nantian shuju youxian gongsi, 1960), 301.

anticipation. 想於物而難跂

Let Confucius take a small wooden wood,²⁹⁶ 使夫子而乘桴

For his part, he definitely finds pleasure there. 亦必有樂于此

Indeed the short excerpt about “fish leaping”²⁹⁷ 惟魚躍之斷章

Is, to be sure, the main point of the Middle Way. 迺中庸之大旨

It is my wish that I concentrate my energy for me entire life; 庶沈潛以終身

It is my hope that I lift my clothes to show respect to Master Zisi. 幸摳衣於子思子

5. “*Fu on the Terrace for Viewing Fish*” 觀漁臺賦, by Kim Chong-jik 金宗直 (1431-1492)

On the *bingxu* day of the seventh month, Yi Si-ae 李施愛 (?-1467) revolted. Receiving a command from the army commander I went to Yŏnghae prefecture to enlist soldiers. Soldiers had not yet been mustered, but along with instructor, Yim Yu-sŏng 林惟性 (?-?) and palace

²⁹⁶ This line alludes to Confucius’ sigh from the “Gong Ye Chang” chapter 公冶長 of the *Lun yu*: “My doctrines make no way. I will get upon a raft, and float about on the sea...” 道不行 乘桴浮于海. Ma Xinmin ed., *Lunyu zhushu*, (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000), 62.

²⁹⁷ It is said in the *Shi jing*, ‘The hawk flies up to heaven; the fishes leap in the deep.’ This expresses how this way is seen above and below. 詩云: “鳶飛戾天, 魚躍于淵.” 言其上下察也. See Hu Guang 胡廣 ed., *Zhongyong zhangju daquan* 中庸章句大全, *Si shu daquan* 四書大全, 1.37.b.

graduate, Pak Ch'i-gang 朴致康 (?-?) I visited Yi Kok's 李穀 (1293-1351)²⁹⁸ old house. At the same time we made a visit to the Terrace for Viewing Fish. On that day, the wind was still, and the waves were calm. I looked below and saw a school of fish swimming under the cliff. I subsequently responded to Yi Saek's short *fu* and present it to the two of them.

丙戌七月，李施愛反。予以節度使之命，簽兵到寧海府。兵未集，與教授林惟性，進士朴致康，訪稼亭舊家，仍遊觀魚臺。是日，風恬浪靜。俯見羣魚游泳于崖下。遂和牧隱小賦，以貽二子云。

Solemnly I received a tally from the commander's tent; 肅承符于玉帳兮

To the east, I intended to go all the way to the seashore. 東將窮乎海涯

Flurrying, winged calls-to-arms went back and forth; 紛羽檄之交午兮

How could I care for other matters? 余安能以恤他

Having trepidations about daring deeds and matured plans, 懼壯事與老謀兮

For days and months I idled away my time. 泊日月以消磨

Resting in a village of Ye county; 哂禮州之闔閭兮

Temporarily I extended my stay at an old house of an eminent man of the past.

聊延佇於前修之故家

A terrace stands high next to it, 有臺巉岬于厥傍兮

²⁹⁸ Yi Gok was Yi Saek's father. His art name 號 was Kajōng 稼亭.

Enhancing the dawn-flush of Mount Chöksöng.²⁹⁹ 襯赤城之晨霞

I followed two travelers who pointed the way; 從二客以指點兮

I never thought, but for its surging atmosphere, I would set foot in this place.

恍不知身之憑灝氣而躡茲地也

How come Zhuang Zhou of Meng boasted that he understood fish?³⁰⁰ 蒙莊奚詫於知魚

How come Mencius of Zou dared to brag about viewing water.³⁰¹ 鄒孟敢稱於觀水

Leaning against the stone stairway I gazed far away; 倚危磴而遐矚兮

The boundlessly spreading cloud-like waves how many leagues do they stretch? 渺雲濤其幾里

Shortly, the typhoon nimbus stopped hovering; 少焉颶母不翔

Smoke of roasting salt rose far away. 鹽煙遙起

As if a mirage had cleared away, 海市如掃

²⁹⁹ It is a peak of Tōkyu Mountain 德裕山 in Muju 茂朱 county of North Chōlla Province.

³⁰⁰ This line alludes to a story from the *Zhuangzi* 莊子. Zhuang Zhou and Huizi 惠子 were talking about fish on the dam over the Hao 濠梁之上. Viewing fish swimming Zhuang Zhou described that as the “pleasure of the fish” 魚之樂. After hearing Zhuang Zhou, Hui zi retorted, “You are not a fish; how do you know about the pleasure of the fish?” 子非魚, 安知魚之樂. See Chen Guying 陳鼓應 transl. and comm. *Zhuangzi jinzhū jinyi* 莊子今注今譯, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 443.

³⁰¹ This line refers to a passage from the *Mengzi*: “There is an art in the contemplation of water. It is necessary to look at it as foaming in waves.” 觀水有術, 必觀其瀾. *Meng zi Zhengyi* 孟子正義, Jiao Xun 焦循 comp., (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987), 913. The English translation is from James Legge’s. Jame Legge trans., “The Works of Mencius,” *Chinese Classics* vol. 2, (Taipei: Nantian shuju youxian gongsi, 1960), 463.

The scene suddenly changed. 光景歎異

All of a sudden I made a long whistle and peered downward; 劃長嘯以俯窺兮

A school of fish flapped their fins with joyful intent. 群魚撥刺以悅志

How they sported in clusters and swam in groups! 蹇族戲而隊游兮

The splashing and splashing of tiny minnows cannot compare with this! 匪膚寸瀉灑之可擬

In a jumble they pass through streams gaping and gawping; 凌通派以喁噉兮

Even though we have fish-nets or harpoons how can we count on them? 縱網擗兮奚冀

Some flap their fins and beat their scales; 或掉鬣而奮鱗兮

I think that changes of wind and thunder may enable them to communicate with spiritual powers.

吾恐風雷變化以通靈

Hanging onto a twisted branch, I heaved a deep sigh; 攀虯枝而太息兮

I felt that all of the species were at peace. 感物類之咸寧

[With Yi Saek's "fish leaping"] I took "kites flying" as an analogy;³⁰² 竝鳶飛以取譬兮

³⁰² This line alludes to Yi Saek's usage of "fish leaping" 魚躍 in Yi's "Fu on Terrace of viewing fish" 觀魚臺賦. To make a parallel with this phrase, Kim adopts "kites flying" 鳶飛. These two expressions are originally from the *Shi jing*, and they are also included in the *Zhong yong* as follows: "It is said in the *Shi jing*, 'The hawk flies up to heaven; the fishes leap in the deep.' This expresses how this way is seen above and below." 詩云: "鳶飛戾天, 魚躍于淵." 言其上下察也. See Hu Guang 胡廣 ed., *Zhongyong zhangju daquan* 中庸章句大全, *Si shu daquan* 四書大全, 1.37.b.

How can one be bewildered by the ultimate truth? 孰聽瑩於至理

This means that the Supreme Ultimate presents itself before you; 斯太極之參于前兮

I vowed to admire this and not discard it. 矢佩服而勿棄

Looking back at the two travelers' introduction; 眷二客之脩騫兮

Suddenly I obtained what I longed for. 忽有得於瞻跂

Filling up winged goblets, we offered wine to each other; 崇羽觴以相屬兮

I realized that a single basis is here. 悟一本之在此

I poured a libation to the venerable Yi Saek and chanted a charming lyric; 酌牧翁而詠媵辭兮

I satiated myself with precious and fine-tasting food. 若飽飫於珍旨

The distance between liver and gall [i.e. sincere friendship] is not as far that between Chu and

Yue; 肝膽非楚越之遙兮

It is my wish that we return together to the wise and sincere man of virtue.

願同歸於明誠之君子

6. “A Sequel to the ‘*Fu* on the Terrace for Viewing Fish’” 後觀漁臺賦, By Sō Kō-jōng

徐居正 (1420-88)

Early on, I read Yi Saek's "*Fu* on the Terrace for Viewing Fish," and knew that the terrace is one of the most spectacular viewing spots in the world. Since then it has been my life long regret that I have not been able to see it. Now, fortunately, with my fellow literati Yi Se-u 李世祐 (?-?) of Kwangrŭng 廣陵 (current Yangju 楊州 of Kyōnggi province), Yu Kye-bun 柳桂芬 (?-?) of Munsōng 文城 (current Sinchōn 信川 of Hwanghae province), Yi In-sōk 李仁錫 (?-?) of Chōnsōng 全城 (current Chōnūi 全義 of South Ch'ungch'ōng province), Kim Kyōng-son 金慶孫 (?-?) of Sangsan 商山 (current Sangju 尙州 of North Kyōngsang province), and Chōng Sōk-kyōn 鄭錫堅 (?-?) of Kojuk 孤竹 (current Haeju 海州 of Hwanghae province), I have the terrace and gazed afar. It was rare, precious, outstanding, and excellent. It must be of the first-rank in Korea. After intoning and chanting it, I tentatively completed a single short *fu*. I did not dare to presumptuously compare myself with the venerable Yi Saek. It is just for the purpose of carrying forward and enhancing the intentions that he left to us.

予嘗讀牧隱觀魚臺賦，知臺爲天下之勝觀。以不得見，爲平生之恨。
今幸與諸斯文李廣陵世祐，柳文城桂芬，李全城仁錫，金商山慶孫，鄭孤竹錫堅，偕來登眺。
瑰奇特絕，宜甲於東韓。諷詠之餘，聊成小賦一章。非敢僭擬牧老，蓋發揚先生之遺意云爾。

On a certain day in early winter, 1478 戊戌孟冬有日

I, son of Talsōng 達城 (current Taegu 大邱),³⁰³ with other travelers, made a visit to the top of the Terrace for Viewing Fish. 達城子與客遊於觀魚之臺之上

The terrace is by the sea coast of Tanyang; 臺在丹陽海岸

Its contours are precipitous and steep. 勢甚斗絕

³⁰³ Talsōng was the name of Sō Kō-jōng's clan.

It is only a hand's breadth from the sky; 去天一握

Looking downward, there is no land to be seen. 俯臨無地

Sky and water are joined together; 天水相連

Above and below all is of one hue. 上下一色

It is so vast, one does not know how many myriads of leagues it stretches; 渺不知其幾千萬里

Its limits cannot be discerned. 而非涯涘之可觀也

Just as I reached its boundless expanse; 予方凌汗漫

And traversed its massive murkiness; 超鴻濛

I emitted a powerful whistle; 發豪嘯

And spit out irises and rainbows. 吐霓虹

By comparing a cup with the Eastern Sea, 杯視東溟

The world already became small in my eyes. 而天下已小於目中矣

Admirable guests filled all the seats; 嘉賓滿坐

Our lofty conversations roared like thunder. 高談轉雷

They also could lift up the universe and shake the sea and mountains.

亦可以掀宇宙而撼海岳者矣

The flood dragon concealed itself because of this; 蛟龍爲之遁藏

Male and female whales thus trembled with fright. 鯨鯢遂焉震懼

Clouds cleared and the sun glittered; 雲開日晶

Winds were quiet and waves were calm. 風恬浪帖

The water was so clear it could reflect things like a mirror; 水清可鑑

One could count swimming fish. 而可數游魚

In pain and suffering, or in ease and enjoyment, 圍圍洋洋

They forgot each other in rivers and lakes. 相忘江湖

Having indeed found their proper place, 夫既得其所哉

Why need they worry about scented bait? 復何芳餌之足虞也哉

Near us was a young boy, 傍有童子

Who pointed at fish with his hand. 以手指魚

Looking at me, he said: “Scaled creatures are not same: 目予而言曰鱗之族非一

Those small ones and big ones, 彼小者大者

Those flaunting their dorsal fins; 揚鬣者

Those shaking their caudal fins, 掉尾者

Those that swallow boats, 吞舟者

Those released in river valleys; 縱壑者

Those gaping and gawping; 有喁噏者

Those blowing out bubbles; 有煦沫者

Those plashing and splashing: 有潑刺者

Their features are numerous and each also has its own name 其為狀千百而亦各有名

I can count them on my fingers and give a detailed report about them.”

吾可屈指以數而告之歷歷也

I said, “My! 予曰唉

You observe fish in the sea and count them on your fingers,³⁰⁴ 童子觀魚於海而屈指以數

Is there this kind of a principle? 有是理也哉

There is no such a principle, but you pursue this Way; 無是理而求是道

Young boy, you should find me in a stall of dried fish.” 童子汝當索我於枯魚之肆矣

Before I had finished speaking, 言未既

There was a person, whose surname Chǒng, who filled my goblet with wine.

有鄭子者崇酒于觴

He made a long bow and said, “Rivers and mountains are like this; 長揖而言曰江山如此

Your joy will also know no end; 樂亦無窮矣

But you don’t drink, what is that?” 而於不飲何以哉

I said, “In the past, Huizi was on a dam over the Hao viewing fish; 予曰昔惠子觀魚濠上

The old transcendent of Nanhua also followed him. 而南華老仙亦隨之

Of the joys of fish, 魚之樂

Two masters did now know. 二子不知

And of the two masters’ joys; 而二子之樂

The two masters did not know. 二子亦不相知

³⁰⁴ This line refers to a conversation between Zhuang Zhou and a golden carp. The golden carp was stranded in a carriage rut. He asked Zhuang Zhou for a gallon or a pint of water, but Zhuang Zhou informed him he was on his way to meet the kings of Wu and Yue 且南遊吳、越之王 and he would divert the waters of the Western River and send it to him. 激西江之水. The golden carp angrily denounced Zhuang Zhou’s farfetched idea adding that he would better look for the golden carp in a stall of dried fish. 君乃言此, 曾不如早索我於枯魚之肆. See Chen Guying transl. and comm. *Zhunagzi jinzhu jinyi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 705.

Now you are not I; 今子非我

How do you know my joys?" 焉知我之樂乎

Chōng said, "At the Red Cliff, if there were no *fu* written by Su Shi; 鄭曰赤壁而無蘇仙之賦

And at the Orchid Pavilion, if there were no calligraphy brushed by Wang Xizhi,

蘭亭而無逸少之筆

Then our joys may not have been sufficient; 樂未足矣

Could our delights be fully realized? 懼可極乎

Now our joys in viewing fish, 今觀魚之樂

Are not less than those of the Orchid Pavilion and the Red Cliff. 不減於蘭亭赤壁

Thus I know of your joys; 走以是知先生之樂

And want to share your joys." 而欲同先生之樂也

Smiling I said, "Haven't you seen those between heaven and earth; 予笑曰子不見夫穹壤之間

That are immense/minute, or gigantic/tiny? 洪纖巨細萬物職職者乎

They have their own shapes and colors; 自形自色

They cry and run by themselves; 自鳴自走

They fly and leap by themselves; 自飛自躍者

Which among them are not living beings? 何莫非物也

Only two words of "Fish leaping" 唯魚躍二字

Is chanted in a line of an elegantiae [of the *Shi jing*]. 詠於雅章

Taking it, Master Zisi understood it as an extended application of the Way;

子思子取之爲道之費

Discussing it, Cheng Yi regarded it as animated. 程頤伊川論之爲活潑潑地

In general, in describing the shining quality of the form of the Way, 蓋形容道體之昭著

Nothing reaches the perfection of these words. 莫斯言之爲至

Yi Saek³⁰⁵ wrote a *fu* to express his intent. 韓山子著賦以見其志

When he said: “Transmit it to the Central Plain,” to the Central Plain; 其曰傳之中原者

What he meant was “One must use it to transmit the Way—this is my only hope.”

亦必以傳道而自冀爾

This being the case, then the joys of viewing fish 然則觀魚之樂

Are the very joys of men of antiquity. 乃古人之樂

This is not only something I enjoy. 非予之所獨也

Alas, men of antiquity cannot compose anew! 噫古人不可復作兮

In any case, this Way has always been the same since time immemorial. 惟斯道亘萬古而如一

Oh! My life is insignificant, and I have been late in learning of the Way;

嗟予生之眇末兮聞道晚

However I have already enjoyed the joys of the men of antiquity; 而然既樂古人之樂兮

I should return together with the men of antiquity.” 當與古人而同歸

Chǒng with his mustache divided like a swallow’s tail, 鄭子髯分燕尾

Jumped with joy like a sparrow. 喜深雀躍

He cleaned a small wine-cup and poured wine again; 洗盞更酌

³⁰⁵ Hansan 寒山 (current Hansan in South Ch’ungch’ōng province) was the name of his clan.

He made my pay a forfeit by drinking a full goblet. 浮我以白

Together pulling on the Big Dipper we briefly hesitated, 相與援北斗而夷猶兮

And waited for the moon to rise in the east. 待東方之月出