Introduction
The literary miscellany, a form of prose narrative that flourished in Korea from the fifteenth century onward, was the Korean counterpart of the Chinese biji and the Japanese zuihitsu. Written in literary Chinese, it typically comprises prose portraits, tales, essays, and critiques of poetry. The genre is characterized by an encyclopedic scope, an abundance of biographical and autobiographical information, and a predominance of the first person singular in the plain style. My aim here is to reconstruct images of society as presented in literary miscellanies of the early Chosŏn dynasty.

The subjects of most portraits in the literary miscellany of the early Chosŏn dynasty—up to and including Ô Sukkwon (fl. 1525-1554)—are personages from the contemporary scene or recent history. In keeping with the social origin of the writers, most such portraits concerned members of the literate class. Still, a need for variety resulted in a gallery of memorable portraits of “sundry folk,” sometimes even of subhuman and supernatural figures, perhaps the only fictional characters in the genre. Aler to the need for brevity, the writer sought to capture in a few vivid strokes, with fine economy and selective detail, the essence of a person. A typical entry begins with a character sketch of the subject, including characterizing
adjectives, followed by a striking and memorable episode to illustrate it. Because writers of the miscellanies served as court officials, some episodes come from personal observation of court scenes and personalities. Others stem from accounts of subjects the author knew by reputation or from his intimate knowledge of the subjects. Its form, matter, and manner of presentation enable the genre to present “brief glimpses of and pungent comments on contemporary social matters.”

Indeed, the true subject of the miscellany is society. Thus we will examine images of society presented in nine works spanning about 150 years, from the time of Taejong (1335-1408) to that of Chungjong (1488-1534).1

While the official encomiast presented his king as the ideal virtuous man, often with the intent of inspiring men to virtue, the miscellany writer acted not as an official historian but as a private and often objective observer. Therefore he refrained from extravagant praise of his subject. The founder of the dynasty had already been extolled as the “counterpart of heaven,” the model of the ideal Confucian monarch, in Songs of Flying Dragons ( Yöngbi it’ch’ón ilgi). What the miscellany writer found most appealing in succeeding kings of Choson was their love and encouragement of learning, their role as protectors of scholars and poets.

Sejong (1397-1450), the greatest of all Choson kings and the inventor of the Korean alphabet,2 a ruler whose majesty, wisdom, and erudition held his court spellbound, read such classics as the Tao Commentary (Zuo chuan) and Elegies of Chu (Ch’u [Ch’u] on) one hundred times. His father, Taejong (1367-1422), had to take books away from his son so that he would not ruin his health.3 His son Munjong (1414-52), equally well-versed in the classics, literature, and calligraphy, was also a model of filial devotion: he planted cherry trees in the palace grounds himself so that he could serve cherries to his father, who loved them.4

Educating the Literati

Institutions of learning were established to educate the sons of the lettered class, some of whom would one day become the preceptors of princes. Sejong himself established the civil service examination system,5 the examination in literature that began in 1438,6 and the Hall of Worthies, members of which were granted leave for further study.7 The linked verse written in 1442 at Chingswan Monastery on Mount Samgak by six scholars of the Hall of Worthies illustrates not only the literary prowess of the poets but the extent to which royal patronage served as a great spur to literary achievement.8

On national holidays and other special occasions, moreover, members received leave for relaxation. One of their pastimes was the capturing and exchanging of poems.9 Sego (1417-68) kept scholars in the Hall of Classics so busy copying books that they had no time for outings.10 Songjong (1456-94) had royal lecturers expound the classics three times a day. The Office of the Royal Lecturer was charged with indoctrinating the ruler in the virtues of knowledge and the usefulness to the state of the classics, histories, and literature. Songjong’s Hall of Reading, a former monastery on the Han River, was a retreat where his counselors might study.11 By night the king would call in a special counselor to discuss with him the classics and administration.12 Pursuits fostered by kings included the production of quality paper for official memorials and the annotation of the Zi chi tongqian [Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government] under Sejong (1436),13 as well as the compilation of books and the printing of classics and literary works under Songjong.14

Choson kings themselves also wrote, and most of them left poems of varying quality. While they may not have regarded poetry as their vocation (though to do so was not incompatible with court values), few were enjoined from indulging in verse as an avocation. Surrounded by learned poets, the king often found poetry instructive, delightful, and persuasive. Many persons won favor by poetry, which was composed on almost every occasion; not being able to produce a poem when called upon to do so brought the greatest possible disgrace. Indeed, it

---

1 In my A Korean Storyteller’s Miscellany: The Parapsychology of O Sukbin (1989), I offered a tentative theory of the literary miscellany based on its form, style, and characteristic content. A typical literary miscellany should contain four kinds of topics in the plain style: biographical, autobiographical, critical (in the form of essays, talks on poetry), and cultural comments. A steril distinction of such limited genres as yosa (verse, essay), yadam (speeches), and ib (speeches) is lacking in contemporary Korean scholarship, as evinced in recent entries, for example, in the Sinmun minbosa jakhakdoseup [Korean Encyclopedia] (1991). An exception is Ch’ing Myung-ho, 2001: 141-205 (in p’yŏk).

2 In Parapsychology (4.30), O Sukbin (1325-98) lists eighteen works known to him, from Fahian’s trip to S宽容 sarakot, and labels them useful, works not considered as belonging to primary genres, according to the prevailing notion of the hierarchy of genres accepted in his day (Lee, 1989:22-6). If we glance over the Taedong yasa, it becomes clear that not all works included in that series are examples of the literary miscellany. As I have defined it: for example, Silmun ib’yasa (Kyngwon ib’igo) is a diary of political events from 1386 through 1391 and Harding channel, a compilation from earlier sources. These works are included today for the most part and are perhaps in their entirety uninteresting. My reading of select works rests on an assumption that the literary miscellany is still the only literary form that enables the writer to explore the self and others their entirety uninteresting. My reading of select works rests on an assumption that the literary miscellany is still the only literary form that enables the writer to explore the self and others

3 My Reading of Select Works Rests on an Assumption That the Literary Miscellany Is Still the Only Literary Form That Enables the Writer to Explore the Self and Others

4 They are all cited from the Chosen koso ho kankokai (CKK) edition. PrC, CR, SS, YC, CN, SMN, PC, P’CR, OS.


6 YC 7:10

7 PrC 1:18

8 PrC 1:24-25; YC 2:3

9 YC 2:2

10 PrC 2:75

11 YC 9:2


13 YC 4:15

14 YC 6:20

15 YC 2:21, 9:7

16 YC 2:23

17 PrC 2:20

18 YC 2:18, 10:10

---
is no exaggeration to say that the cultural role played by the orator in the West was played in Choson-dynasty Korea by the doctus poeta.

Sejong's genuine affection for members of the Hall of Worthies, which the literati of the day considered a virtual fairyland, 18 in well known. Sejo, who seized the crown in a bloody coup, also had close relations with his officials. 19 Yu Homin(1445-94), Sunggong's favorite courtier, won royal favor with his poetic gifts. When Yu had to leave the court to care for his ailing mother, the king wrote him the following poem:

Stay: Will you go? Must you go?
Is it in weariness that you leave? From disgust?
Who advised you? Who persuaded you?
Say why you are leaving.
You, who are breaking my heart.

(Despite the strong ties between the two men, the king never appointed Yu to a post he could not manage and hence won the admiration of posterity). 20

Among princes of the blood, Prince Anpyong(1418-53). Sejong's third son, was outstanding. An accomplished writer, calligrapher, painter, and musician, he loved antiquities and beautiful spots and was known for his lavish parties; however, he was later banished and forced by his own brother, Sejo, to commit suicide. Not all princes were outstanding, however. Prince Yangnyong(1394-1462), Taejong's eldest son and heir apparent, pursued pleasures, associated with dissolute antics. In the examination of 1416, Kim Yongsan(d.1091) to ensure that his name in the examination paper was initiated in 1062 by So Hyochang(1036-1106). In S, a parrot pruned the papers, folded the bottom margin of the papers over the candidates' names, which were usually in the lower right-hand corner of the papers, sealed the names, and stamped the original answer sheets as coal. The examination papers and their copies were then compared for scribal errors and turned over to the examiners. Only after the grading of papers(four grades were used) were the sealed names opened and the roster of successful candidates prepared. The practice of sealing the candidate's name in the examination paper was initiated in 1062 by Chungyusan(d.1091) to ensure objectivity. 21

But at times there were irregularities. In the examination of 1416, Chae(1420) took the paper of Yang Yongsang(1378-1431), submitted it as his own, and placed first. 22 During the examination of 1436, Yun Saygun happened to enter the examination site as a sightseer, was helped by his friends, and passed the
examination. Later, at the palace examination, he could not answer the questions, but a whirlwind arose and blew a piece of paper to a spot in front of him. Yi picked the piece of paper up, submitted it, and again placed first. The paper belonged to Kang Hui, who passed the examination three years later.23 Once, the great scholar-statesman Ch’oe Hang(1409-1474) denied candidacy as a self-supporting student[sa’ryang] at the National Academy(He paid his own board.). He submitted a memorial, took the examination, and placed first.24

At times even high ministers played tricks on their unwitting colleagues during the examination. At the special examination given by Sejo for officials above the second rank[par’yönggi], Yun Ch’ay’gyǒng, who was taking the examination, asked Royal Secretary Pak Ch’agye to have paper cut to the right size and brought to him. When, toward evening, Yun asked for paper, Pak replied that he had used it himself. Yun therefore was compelled to write his answers on a sheet of paper he had used to wrap meat. The day was warm, so Yun took off his shoes to sit at the table, which was strewn with books. When he left the site for a moment, No Sasn(1427-1468), one of the examiners, had the shoes and books removed and Yun had to leave the palace barefoot. Thus handicapped, Yun placed last and was ridiculed by his colleagues.25

Some candidates, like Pak Ch’ung, were glad merely to pass the examination, even without distinction. Pak sent his servant to find out the results of the special examination of 1454. Upon his return, the servant reported, “you passed, but without distinction. Ch’oe Hang was first, and you last.” Pak shouted, “You old scoundrel, that’s just what I had hoped!” Since Ch’oe was young, and Pak was many years his senior, the servant thought the results disgraceful. Pak, however, considered himself fortunate indeed. Same, like Kang Sŏktok, never had the examination again after failing on the first attempt.26

The king himself sometimes decided who had placed first: Taejong chose Kwŏn To, later Ch’ek(1387-1445), and Munjong chose Kwŏn Nam(1416-1465), who placed first three time after several failures.27 Those who placed first were treated with respect for the rest of their lives. When Taejong passed the examination of 1380, Kim Hallow(1367-after 1417) placed first. Later Kim’s daughter married the king’s first son, but the king continued to call him “The First.”

At the final examination, the last of a series of five, only thirty-three successful candidates were chosen. When their names were announced, the candidate who had placed third[amhwaru] would receive flowers from the king on behalf of the first-place candidate[hangwŏn] and distribute them to the other candidates, who put them in their caps.28 Then festivities took place, usually at the house of the candidate who had placed first, and the candidates paid visits to their teachers, relatives, and friends. They were then appointed to the National Academy; the Office of Diplomatic Correspondences, or the Office of Editorial Review.

The court honored fathers who had produced five successful candidates; the deceased were promoted in rank, and the living received 20 stok of rice per year for life. Yi Ye’yang and his brothers, for example, and An Chunghui and his brothers, all passed the examination. Also honored were those who placed first in more than one examination.29 When both father and son held high office, they were envied by all. Hwang Hui(1363-1452), for example, the greatest minister under Sejong, and his son Hwang Susing(1407-67) were envied when both became chief state counselors.30 When Ch’ong Hŭmp(1378-1439) was minister of punishments, his son was inspector-general. Both were tall, handsome, and had long beards. One day they met by chance at a fair. Onlookers could only stare enviously as the son held his father’s one-wheeled vehicle and conversed with him.31

In the Koryŏ dynasty, the ties between examiner[nimun or ch’wa’u] and student[musang or sisse] were deep. An Hyangg(1243-1306) gave each of his thirty students a sable quilt and a carved silver cup. The tradition continued during the early Chosŏn dynasty, but relations between examiners and students became estranged, and both sides came to harbor malice toward one another and issue mutual denunciations.32

The World of Officialdom

Those who passed the final examination[sihae] all hoped that their high birth, talents, and rigorous preparation would bring them instant fame, but their success in officialdom depended on the entrenched bureaucracy. In the official induction ritual, a kind of rite of status elevation,33 successful candidates were usually first “humbled.” They had to provide the following gifts: fish[poetically called “dragon”), chicken[“phoenix”), clear wine[“the sage”), and turbid wine[“the wise”). Only after they had furnished continuous entertainment for some ten days were they allowed to sit with their seniors.34 A ritual strictly adhered to by the Office of Diplomatic Correspondences[Sangnunwŏn], the Office of Royal Decrees[Yumgwan], the Office of Special Counselors[Hongmunwŏn], and the Office of Editorial Review[Kyŏsŏgwŏn] prescribed that newcomers pay courtesy calls on their seniors. The seniors would demand of the newcomers gifts to be used

32 YC 6:19
33 YC 9:17
34 YC 9:24
35 YC 9:16
36 CK 29
37 Pvc 1:92, 1:70
38 YC 7:1
39 YC 7:1
40 YC 8:7
41 YC 8:4
42 Pvc 1:89
43 Pvc 1:89, YC 8:5
44 YC 8:10
45 YC 7:1. For more see Pohang chap 1:13, Pohang chap 1:12, Naengg pseol (or Yiengan pseol), CKK 1a:12, 20, 55:9, CK 52.
47 YC 1:9
later to fund parties. The Office of Editorial Review would give a party in the spring, while the Office of Royal Decrees and the National Academy would give parties in early and late summer, respectively. Newcomers to the Office of Royal Decrees were required to give parties at the time of their appointment and again after their first fifty days in office. Musicians and female entertainers performed at these parties. The festivities would continue until dawn, when all would rise and sing the “Song of Confucian Scholars” (Halmi pylgyok) clapping their hands and swaying to and fro.

The distinction between high and low officials in the Office of Inspector-General was strict, and elaborate rituals were observed. Indeed the initiation ritual for the bailiff (hamch’al) was so elaborately elaborate that King Sŏngjong abolished it. The censors, however, whose job it was to offer remonstrances to the king, did away with empty decorum except for the party new appointees were expected to give. Moreover, the censors knew how to mix business with pleasure: they regularly held banquets after their formal deliberations were finished. Sometimes they would retreat to the rear garden, where they would remove their robes and recline in a thatched arbor. They would also have pears and dates picked and sold to other offices. The revenue (in money or kind) from these sales was used to defray party expenses.

By the time of Sŏng Hyŏn, the myŏnsin ordeal extended even to military offices. If the entertainment provided by the newcomers was not to their seniors’ liking, the newcomers were not allowed to sit with them even after a month had passed, a clear abuse of custom. Not even servants were exempted from this burden. Some, however, such as Pak I.ch’ang (d.1451), refused to bribe their seniors. A man of merriment and a glib talker, Pak was not given his seat for fifty days. Finally, no longer able to suppress his anger, he took his seat anyway.

Some positions were coveted more than others. The royal secretary, called “the Scholar of the Silver Terrace,” was looked upon as an immortal; he reported for work early and retired late. Beginning in the time of Sŏjong, two secretaries were assigned to night duty. Formerly servants attached to the Secretariat had worn silver badges and purple garments and were escorted by a soldier. Sego did away with the soldier. Only when the king bestowed wine were servants allowed to wear purple. In Sŏng Hyŏn’s view, the Ministry of Rites was the most elegant and least demanding of all the ministries. As minister of rites, Sŏng says, he listened to music almost every day and felt the reception of foreign envoys to be the high point in his routine. But according to another, the ministry’s duties included three difficult tasks: officiating at state funerals, entertaining Japanese and Jurchen envoys, and administering examinations.

The most coveted position for men of letters was the directorship of the Office of Royal Decrees and the Office of Special Counselors (rank 2a). Before one could attain this position, he had first to demonstrate his mastery of all forms of writings as a drafter in the Office of Royal Decrees (4a). These tenured writers, known as sunhyeung, were the arbiters of literary taste and fashion in their society.

The court, where cultural norms were set, was the center of the courtiers’ hopes and aspirations, and the pursuit of royal favor was intense. Few courtiers had any opportunity to display their poetic skills and eloquence, at least until they were well known. But a few lucky ones did realize their dreams through chance encounters with the king. In 1465 Sejo assembled civil officials at the Kyŏnghoe Tower and tested them. Ch’oe Ch’il (1438-65) strode into the rear garden humming and there met the king who was incognito. Not recognizing the king, Ch’il made a low bow but did not prostrate himself. Later, with the arrival of ladies-in-waiting and eunuchs, he realized his mistake and apologized. Afterward the king summoned Ch’il and tested him in the classics and histories. His erudition was so stunning that the king immediately appointed him second assistant master (suye) at the National Academy.

Ch’a Ch’il (1356-1615) tells us how an unknown student from the remote countryside was able to win the king’s favor. On the third day of the third month, Sŏngjong sent a messenger to find out how many students were at the National Academy. The messenger reported that there was only one, who was reciting the classics. The king summoned the student and asked him why he was staying alone. The student replied that he had no relatives or friends in the capital. When the king learned that the other students were picnicking by a stream near the academy, he told the student to go and join them. The king then sent food and wine to be placed before the student and bade him invite his friends to eat. The following day, the king examined and passed him.

Another story concerns Ku Ch’ong’ik (1426-1477). While on night duty, Ku made an unauthorized visit to Kyŏnghoe Tower, where he met Sŏngjong taking a walk. At the king’s request, Ku recited the Chun’gu (Spring and Autumn Annals) from memory. The following day the king appointed him censor-general.

The importance of memorization in classical education is well known. A student usually recited or read his texts aloud until he had committed them to memory. By listening to their young masters reciting, even slaves and servants were often able to learn scraps of classical Chinese. The Korean culture of the day revered not only the written word but the spoken word as well. Memory helped a writer recall the world of the classics and organize his own thoughts. It was a 46 YC 2:4 47 YC 4:23 48 YC 1:17 49 YC 1:6; 2:4 50 For more see: Tangjong sillok, 6:30a-b; Sŏngjong sillok, 36:2b-3a; 38:2b-3a; 277:22a; 278 32a, etc; Ch’ongjo munhyopye 132.9a 51 YC 4:6 52 YC 1:8 53 YC 2:20
testimony to his powers of concentration, to his correct understanding of the texts, to his ability to use the "places" in such texts at will, to make the difficult appear easy, and to use examples to present his argument effectively.

Among those renowned for their memory were Cho Yong(d.1424), an expert in Neo-Confucianism and headmaster of the National Academy for twenty years, Cho Su (fl.1401-1433), who lectured without notes, and Kim Mun (d.1448) and Yoon Ki, who could recite everything in The T'ongian gangmu (Outline and Details of the Comprehensive Mirror). Particularly impressive was Ch'ong Ch'o (d.1434), who could memorize a book in a single reading. A few days before an examination, he glanced at the classics and passed with flying colors. As a boy, he told a monk reciting the Diamond Scripture [jungang jing] that he could memorize the sutra in one reading. The monk bet that Ch'ong would fail. The monk lost the bet, and fled. Im Wonjun(1423-1500) could remember the names of five hundred official female entertainers after a single glance at the roster. These feats startle the modern reader, who has lost much of his power of memory and can no longer recognize allusions to the classics without numerous footnotes.

There was more than one route to fame. P'ong Søkchu (d.1465), the best polo player of the day, and Hong Yunsong(1422-75), who helped Sejo usurp the throne, were enfeoffed. The superlative archer Kim Seok(d.1490) was made a royal secretary by Songjong for his prowess. Some won recognition for their skill in capturing tigers or thieves; and even a naturalized Jurchen like Kim Solsi enjoyed fame for his mastery of the military arts. Yi Yangsaeng(1423-88) was enfeoffed because of his military exploits at the time of Yi Siao's rebellion. A secondary son of low birth, Yi originally made sandals for a living, and even after gaining fame he would dismount whenever he saw his erstwhile fellow sandalmakers. What is more, though he was married to an ugly woman, a maid of Sõng Hyon's second aunt, he never thought of taking another wife. Some, like Ku Chonggak(1424-1477), were favored by Sejo because of their imposing mien. Others, like the renowned wits Ch'oe Howon and An Hyoye, won favor by amusing an irascible king with clever stories and riddles. Sejo, tormented by guilt over his execution of his cousin T'anjong's loyal ministers, found deep elusiveness.

Kim Kuji won recognition as a professor without ever having passed the examination. Virtuous and circumspect, Kim had many friends among the famous men of the day, though he was so poor he had no servant. He was widely known as an effective teacher; his pupils included Sõng Hyon. As a teacher of eunuchs and royal kinmen, he also taught King Sõngjong and his elder brother Prince Wonran (1454-1488, Tolkchong's first son). Cho Su(fl.1401-1433) and Yoon Pangson(1388-1443), who taught Sõ Kjong (1420-1488), were also known for their erudition. Sejong often singled out Yoon Pangson, ordering the Hall of Worthies to consult him. The students of Yoon Sang(1373-1453) included the future T'anjong.

The Perfect Gentleman

The complete Confucian gentleman had to have equal mastery of classical learning and literature; the two were considered inseparable. In his day, though, Sõng Hyon lamented that scholars of the classics could not write and writers did not regard the classics as the basis of learning. Kwon K'un(1352-1409) and his younger brother U(1363-1419) were well versed in exegetical scholarship and literature, though Kwon K'un's writings fall short of those of Yi Saek(1328-1396). The Kwon brothers were followed by Yoon Sang, Kim K'ut(1462), Kim Mal(1383-1464), and Kim Pan(fl.1390-1445) all of whom served King Sejong. Among the scholars of the Hall of Worthies, Pak Paengny'on(1417-1456) is said to have achieved a synthesis: mastery of the classics and excellence in literature and calligraphy. Ch'oe Hong, whom Sejo called a genius, excelled in parallel prose and drafted all diplomatic paper Kwon Suon(1409-81), known for his prodigious scholarship and mastery of all genres of verse and prose, never wrote drafts; fully polished sentences flowed from his mind like water from a spring. Kang Hian's poetry recalled that of Han Yu(708-824) and Lu You(1125-1210). Also worthy of mention are Kang Hmaeng(1424-1483), known for his natural and refined prose style, Yoon Hoe(1380-1436), whom Sejong also praised as a genius; Im Woonjin; and Kim Pokch'ang.

The well-rounded traditional gentleman was also expected to be proficient in as many arts as possible except the martial arts-where the widespread neglect of physical training Prince Anpy'ong, Kang Hian, and Shim Ch'an(1491-1554) were accomplished in literature, calligraphy, and painting; and Kim Sô in poetry.
calligraphy, and music;” and Pak Paengnyón and Yu Hoin in poetry, prose, and calligraphy. The scholarship of Pyŏn Kyeyang(1369-1430), by contrast, was superficial and his prose flaccid. Kong Sok was well read in the classics but could not write a single piece of correspondence. Ynam Kyeying(1423-1438) twice placed first in examination and studied Neo-Confucianism but was ridiculed for not appreciating the poetry of Du Fu. So Kjong was critical of some masters of the past—especially of Ch’oe Ch’iwon(b.857),” and Kim Puk(1073-1151), whose Historical Records of the Three Kingdoms he viewed as a mere compilation of verbatim quotations from Chinese sources.” So himself was criticized in turn by Stong Hyón for using shoddy standards in compiling his Tong munso[Anthology of Korean Literature in Chinese].

To be known in China was a cherished dream of the literati. To Ö Sukkowón’s list of such renowned writers we might add the names of Ö Segyón(1430-1500), who impressed Chinese officials with his knowledge of poetry and protocol;” So Seyang(1486-1562), whose poems were admired by Minister Xia Yan(1534);” and Chóng Saryong(1491-1570), who maintained close ties with former envoys.” Some made the best use of their gifts during the visits of Chinese envoys. Not only the competition of royal favor but a desire to be known in China motivated much of their forwardness in their dealings with the Chinese. Ni Jian(who came to Korea in 1450) is said to have been impressed by Chóng Injí’s learning and poetry;” Chen Juni(who came in 1457) and Zhang Xing(who came in 1460), by Pak Wŏnhveryong’s (1411-1469) encyclopedic knowledge of precedents;” Wu Ximeng(who came in 1337), by Chóng Saryong’s rhytmprose;” and Qi Shan(who came in 1476), by So Kjong’s poems;” Hó Chóng(1434-1494), with his imposing mien and encyclopedic knowledge, impressed Dong Yae(who came in 1488), Wang Chang(who came in 1488), and Ai Pu(came in 1492).”

As mentioned earlier, Ku Chonggik impressed Sejo with his imposing mien, although he had other laudable qualities such as a good memory. The account of his meteoric rise to power may have been intended to underscore the fact that fame often comes fortuitously and that the ruler’s whim, rather than virtue and learning, determines the destiny of some. Even so, it was commonly believed that one born with distinguished features—the “beauty of countenance and graceful carriage” of Castiglione(1:19)—was destined to be exceptional.” Great monarchs were commonly portrayed as possessing “a prominent nose and a dragon face”—for example, Taerjo, T’aerjong, Sejong, and Munjong. The fortunes of some ministers too were bound up with their appearance. Chóng Kapson was majestic in stature with a splendid beard;” so were Hong Iljong(d.1464) and Chóng Injí.” The Luiqu Luuq envoy who came in 1477 told the interpreter that one of the “three splendors” he saw in Korea was the noble mien of Chief State Counselor Chóng Injí.” Hó Chóng, the greatest minister under Sŏngjong, was said to be eleven chi tall(over three meters—clearly a hyperbole).”

The miscellany writer also had a keen eye for those poorly endowed by nature. Thin and feeble Kim Hyonbo was the butt of jokes by Ö Segóng.” A certain Shin is described as being short, bent, and having a brown beard. While Shin In was tall, large-eyed, and cowardly,” Kim Yangil was blind in one eye; Ch’ae Sejú(1440-1515) suggested that he implant a dog’s eye and then added, “But then you will think the privy is filled with delicacies.”” Wón Poryon’s nose is described as being “as red as the fruit of the hawthorn.”

Even some eminent figures merited mention. For example, it is noted that Ö Hyoch’om had thick lips.” Song Kan(d.1427-56), who died of overstudy, was so ugly that Sejo remarked, “You’re beautiful, but because of your looks I don’t want you serving me as royal secretary.” A certain Song was ugly, narrow-minded, and crosseyed. After passing the examinations, he served as a provincial teacher before being assigned to instruct female physicians, who had been chosen from young public servants. Surrounded by powdered girls, he was like “an old bear crouching among flowering trees.”

We may attribute these portraits to the prevalence of physiognomy. For at times there appears to have been some attempt to connect people’s looks with their personalities. For instance, the corpulent Kang Hñian’s love of pork is contrasted with...
with his penchant for gorgeous attire.126 But when the writer casually mentions that the short, brown-haired Shin was unrelenting, disliked the watershield plant and mushrooms, and was ridiculed in a poem127 we fail to see the connection.

Jealousies, rivalries, and selfishness among courtiers often led to calumny and violent reversals of fortune. Yi Chonghak(1391-1398), the son of Yi Saek, was falsely accused and executed. Before his death, he summoned his two sons and told them: “My literary fame has brought me to this pass. Never take the examination, and be careful.” His sons followed their father’s injunction.128 To the modern reader, Kim Chongs(1398-1453) seems exemplary as a statesman and as the commander of the army that pacified the northern border. He possessed both valor and wisdom (he was nicknamed “Great Tiger”), but his mind was poisoned by jealousy. When Hwangbo In(d.1453) was first royal secretary, Kim, who was second secretary, made light of him. Then An Sunggon(1392-1453) took Hwangbo’s place, and Kim resented him. When An, as minister of war, was later implicated in a crime and banished, it was generally thought to have been Kim’s doing.129 When Song Yiwon(1309-1397) emasculated his son Song Söngin(1388-1423), a master of poetry and calligraphy, for displaying his poetic talent, it was because he worried that the son might be slandered.130 Victims of disparagement were many, but it was indeed difficult to hide one’s brilliance and win recognition at the same time. Some protected themselves by feigning madness, blindness, or idiocy.131

Another hazard for writers, especially those who wrote diplomatic papers, was insufficient knowledge either of contemporary literary taste and style in China or of the Chinese emperor’s temperament. Memorials by the best writers of the day might be subjected to intense scrutiny in search of ourmodmed expressions,132 inappropriate allusions and metaphors, or an unintended breach of decorum. The founder of the Ming(1368-1398) pored over every memorial sent him. When he found disrespectful passages, he would order the writer arrested and brought to him. Kim Yalhang(d.1397) and Chong Ch’ong(1388-1397) were sent to Nanking, where they were banished and died. Later the emperor allowed two family members to come to claim the bodies, but the bodies could not be found. An old maid of the Kim household, pretending to be a member of the family, went as far as the Yangzi, but she too returned empty-handed.133 Stupefied with grief over his father’s death in China, Kim Ch’o became demented. Cheated by children and women and abused by servants, he would sleep during the day and, when he awoke, would dance, wail, and sing the “Song of Kwandong” [Kwandong p올고], by An Ch’uk(1287-1348). At night he would wander about, humming the tune.134 Possibly he found solace in poetry. The master calligrapher Ch’oe Hinghyo was flogged and banished for no more than failing to include the date in a memorial to Emperor Chengt’u(1403-1423).135 Yet minor slips by officials, such as the miscopying of their own names in the prayer offered at the royal tomb, sometimes went unpunished.136 When the censor Hyen Maengin could not read a certain word in a prayer at the royal sacrifice, however, Taejong angrily demoted him to myraech.137 Yi Chongbo was once reprimanded by Songjong for his poor handwriting.138

**From Integrity to Eccentricity**

The demands upon the Confucian gentleman were exhausting, and he sometimes showed signs of strain. A symbol of order, authority, privilege, and tradition, he constantly sought to achieve perfection in both virtue and knowledge. Like the gentleman of Renaissance Italy, he held nonchalence, grace, and ease as his highest ideals.139 His exalted place in society called for the full use of his talents and accomplishments, but without design or calculation. As a public servant, he had to be a mirror of fashion and a model of righteous behavior. Since he emphasized the importance to his sovereign of rule by virtue and example, he himself had to embody these traditional social virtues. His every action was measured against the norm, and he was under constant scrutiny. In his portraits, the miscellany writer chose essential personality traits that required illustration by anecdote. Some were chosen to transform persons into ideal types, but not all approximate the ideal Confucian gentleman. The aim of the portraitist was not to draw a complex portrait of his subject but to set the subject apart from others by selectively depicting his manner of speaking, his opinions, his personal idiosyncrasies, and his likes and dislikes. Successful portraits are more than mere variations on the theme of the ideal gentleman. Rather, each shows how its subject understood and exemplified the values and qualities that defined his culture. At the same time, each portraitist spoke for his own class and culture; while he refrained from overt praise or disparagement, it is not difficult to recognize what he most admired.

Hwang Hui is portrayed as being magnanimous, tolerant, and unconcerned with trifles. He would seldom reveal his feelings. When urchins pilled the cherries from his garden, he would merely say, “Leave some for me.” If a servant’s child urinated on his book, he would simply wipe it off. When the children of slaves pummelled him, he would playfully protest, “Ouch, that hurts.” He was
Han Kyehui (1423-1482) is commended for his modesty in declining Sejo’s offer to appoint him minister of personnel on the grounds that he was not equal to the task.130

Those known for uprooting official corruption were also known for their modesty and poverty. They knew the relative value of wealth and power, as well as the workings of fortune. Their denial of ambition was often a veiled criticism of contemporary affairs. The unaffected An Chi (1377-1464), director of the Office of Royal Decrees and first minister without portfolio, lived in a thatched cottage near Mount Inwang. Often he went without food, but he was unconcerned.131 Yu Kwang (1346-1433), director of the Office of Royal Decrees and second deputy director of state records, also lived in a small cottage and would receive guests at the gate in sandals or barefoot, even in winter. Like the Ieuru-vir, he often tended his vegetable garden, preferring solitude to society.132 Taejong had hedges planted for him at night and sent him food and delicacies.133 When, during the monsoon, Yu’s roof leaked, he sat under an umbrella. Turning to his wife, he asked: “How would one get by without an umbrella in this rain?”134 “He’d have made other preparations,” his wife replied. Others oblivious to household economy include Kim Suon (1409-1481), who once had a huge locust tree in his garden cut down because he needed firewood to cook rice135; Ho Chong (1434-1494); Maeng Sasong; Son Sunhyo; and Kim Pokch’ang, who preferred to rent rather than buy his own house.136

Magistrates were bulwarks of the social order and had to exemplify sterling behavior. They existed to serve the people. Greedy ones were often satirized in poems and drama137 and some therefore attempted to protect their name from detractors. As magistrate of Hapch’on, Cho O did not allow his family to eat perch, the local product, even when the fish were rotting in the summer heat.138 As magistrate of Yitsan, Ki Kon (1460) would not touch the crucian carp. As magistrate of Cheju, he would not eat globefish for three years, for which he is praised.139

Son Sunhyo (1427-1497) is cited for his sincerity and honesty. As governor of Kangwon, he prayed for rain. When it began to rain one night, he went down to the courtyard and thanked heaven. When a petty official came out with an umbrella, Son said: “How can I use an umbrella when I’m praying to heaven?” As governor of Kyongsang, he would dismount and bow twice, even in the rain,131

Peter H. Lee

Images of Society in the Early Choson Literary Miscellany

129 PrC 1:72
130 PrC 1:78
131 YC 9:23
132 YC 2:38; CK 1:38
133 YC 1:49; YC 3:17; CK 5; PCR 15
134 YC 3:22; Zongin seubwia 1:35
135 YC 9:23
136 YC 3:22; CK 34
137 YC 1:48
138 YC 2:40
139 YC 6:14
140 YC 2:33
141 YC 2:6, 7
142 YC 1:34
143 YC 161

went to say, “Slaves, too, were created by heaven; how could I mistreat them?”129

Another example of tolerance is Sŏng Sabyŏng. One night while he lay awake, a maid sneaked into his room, slit open a sack, and stole some rice. The following morning, his wife began to beat the maids and servants. Sŏng then told her he knew who the culprit was. “Why didn’t you wake me?” asked his wife. “I didn’t want to disturb your sleep,” he replied.130

Pak Ansin (1336-1447) is an example of resourcefulness and integrity. As fourth inspector, he, together with Maeng Sasong (1336-1438), interrogated Cho Tairim (1387-1430), lord of P’yongyang, without royal permission (1408). When he learned of this, Taejong shook with rage and had Pak and Maeng carted through the streets to be beheaded. Maeng was trembling, but Pak managed to scribble out, on a piece of broken tile, the reasons why the inspector-general’s office was important to the state and then had the tile taken to the palace. Second State Counselor Sŏng Songgun then remonstrated with the king, and Maeng and Pak were spared.131 This episode contains indirect censure of a king who acted in anger, his power untempered with piety, as well as indirect praise of one who accepts good counsel.

In Choson-dynasty Korea, temptations of profit and delight were many and those beyond reproach were few. One of these was Ho Chot (1369-1439), known for his purity, discipline, and the exemplary management of his household. Thin, efficient, impartial, and strict with his subordinates, he was nicknamed the “Haggard Eagle Minister.”132

One day Inspector-General Chông Kapson (d. 1451) requested that the throne impeach Chief State Counselor Ha Yon (1376-1453) and Minister of Personnel Ch’oe Put (1452) for employing the wrong men. The king deferred both officials. After the audience, when they came out into the garden, Ha and Ch’oe were dripping with sweat. With no sign of fear or regret, the urbane Ch’ong remarked: “Each of us is trying to discharge his proper duties. I have nothing against you two.” Then he said to a petty official, “These gentlemen seem to be feeling the heat. Fan them!”133 While Ch’ong was governor of Hamgul, his son passed the provincial examination. Upon his return from Seoul, Ch’ong scolded the examiner: “My son’s learning is shallow. How could he have passed?” He then deleted his son’s name from the roster.134

As ministers of personnel, both Ho Sŏng (1382-1442) and Ku Ch’igwan (1467-70) rejected all requests for favors. If someone asked Ho Sŏng for a position in Seoul, he would post him to the northern border;135 in order to ensure fairness in employment, Ku Ch’igwan would consult his colleagues before filling even a low office.136
whenever he passed a gate marking a filial son or chaste woman. Thus, we are told, he honored the virtuous and encouraged the people to emulate him.141

Examples of devoted sons include Kim Hŏ, the son of Kim Yalhang, who after the death of his mother spent three years in a thatched hut near her grave reciting passages from the Book of Filial Piety. The sound of his voice, clear and sorrowful, moved everyone within earshot to tears.142 Similarly, the keening of Kim Chonggil(1431-1492) drew tears from passersby.143 Sŏng Sŏngmin’s prayer was enough to cure his father when he was ill144 and Slŏ Kjong’s filial piety helped him interpret a dream that told him of his mother’s death while he was traveling to China.145 Pak Hŭm-sŏn sliced flesh from his thigh to serve his ailing mother.146 Cho Ojong, by contrast, though his gate was marked for his devotion to the memory of his mother, later turned out to be a bandit.147 And Mok, a private slave who had obtained the honor due a filial son by bribing an official, was killed by a dragon.148

Those who disregarded their own appearance include Chŏng Tojin(1342-1390), who once came to court wearing one white shoe and one black.149 When Yi Sach’ol(1403-1456) and his friends forgot to bring a wine cup on an excursion to Mount Samgak, Yi used his friend’s horsehoe side as a substitute.150 Hong Il’ong(1464), who wrote sinewy verse and spoke Chinese well, was not concerned with cleanliness: he would seldom wash his face or comb his hair.151 When fishing, he would cut earthworms with his teeth if he could not find a knife. When he accompanied Sejo to China, he would kindle dung in a bun. Of him Sejo joked, “This man is unclear; he cannot officiate at a sacrifice.”152 Some, however, preferred appearance to substance. When a certain Mok was enrolled in one of the Five Commands, he arrived in full martial array but could not hit the target once. This incident gave rise to an expression used to describe one who is showy: “Moksi-bang-k’ŏn” (Mr. Mok’s preparation).153

The portraitist also collected samples of likes and dislikes, which often reveal a person’s character. One day Nam Kam(1419-36) visited a superior and was served meat. When he refused to eat, his host remarked: “Your obstinacy is absurd.” Nam, however, believed himself to be fastidious and modest. Before his death, he asked that all his fingernail and toenail clippings be put in his coffin. “This is the way to fulfill propriety!” he added.154 Ki Kon abstained from abalone; Kim Hyŏnbo eschewed beet;155 Chŏng Yŏch’ang(1450-1504) would not touch scallions, garlic, or meat.156

Among those with marked eccentricities was Kim Suŏn(1409-81), who would tear pages from any book he wanted to commit to memory.157 Needless to say, no one wished to loan him books.158 O Hyŏn’em would carry his rain gear even on sunny days. “How do you know it won’t rain today?” he would ask.159 An Wŏn, who loved hawks and dogs, had the habit of caressing his hawk with his left hand while turning the pages of a book with his right. Once, on his way to Seoul, Yi Ch’ŏn(1345-1405) heard someone reading in a mountain valley: it was An Wŏn reading the Tongjiam gangmu, a hawk perched on his left hand.160 A certain Sun could not stand flies.161 Another hater of the summer flies was a military man named Yang. As magistrate of Kwangju, he ordered his subordinates to bring him at least one peck of dead flies every day. Some had to trade hemp for flies in order to satisfy him.162 Pyŏn Kyeryang was stubborn, stingy, and never loaned anything to anybody. While he was compiling the Kakh’o pogam[Treasure Mirror of the Reigning Dynasty], Sejong bestowed food upon him and ministers sent in delicacies and wine. He hoarded the food until it rotted, giving none away to his servants.163 Two officials, Yi and Paek, were dismissed as magistrates when they failed to show hospitality to their friends and superiors.164 Conversely, Kim Sŏ, who loved to entertain, continued to visit his friends in a bamboo sedan chair even after his legs became paralyzed.165

Some persons are the subject of humorous anecdotes. Chŏng Ch’ya’ng (d.1474) was given a fledgling falcon by the king. He did not know how to hold it, however, and had his hands scratched. “What does it eat?” he asked. “It eats raw meat,” his colleagues replied. Chŏng said: “We don’t have any raw meat—only some dried venison. I’ll soak it in water first. Will that do?”166 When appointed headmaster of the National Academy, Yi Ch’ŏk worried about the commuting distance.167 The honesty of the scholar Kim Chongyŏn verged on naiive. When Sejo was about to offer sacrifices to the spirits of mountains and rivers, Kim, as

141 YC 7:6
142 YC 3:37
143 CN 11
144 PrC 1:45
145 PC 1:31
150 PC 2:31
153 PC 2:34
154 PC 2:36
151 PrC 1:38
152 PrC 1:64
153 YC 4:11
154 YC 9:23
155 YC 3:41
156 YC 10:16
157 YK 4
158 YC 4:19
159 YC 9:29
160 YC 3:23
161 YC 6:37
162 YC 7:32
163 PC 1:47; IC 3:16; Ch’ŏng yonl 15:132
164 YC 3:9
165 YC 7:9
166 YC 2:16
167 YC 4:13
168 YC 9:20
capacity for drink.\textsuperscript{179} Chŏng Yŏch'ang, once a great drinker, abstained after being reprimanded by his mother.\textsuperscript{180} Those who virtually lived on wine include Sŏ Kŏngjong, Hong Iljong(1464),\textsuperscript{181} Son Sunhyo, and Chŏng Inji.\textsuperscript{182} When summoned by Songjong, Son Sunhyo arrived late and quite drunk but somehow managed to draft a memorial to the Ming court. One day at a royal entertainment he fell down drunk and began to snore; the king covered him with his own gown.\textsuperscript{183} Son even asked that a bottle of strong liquor be placed under his tombstone. Victims of wine include Prince Ch'ulsan, Min Poil(1483), and An Ungjo; the last died at the age of twenty-six.\textsuperscript{184} The educational function of music had classical authority. Music, which embodies melody and rhythm, was seen as reflecting cosmic and political harmony. Former kings therefore used it to "adorn the transforming influence of instruction and transform manners and customs." Pak Yong(1378-1458), who became director of the Office of Royal Decrees, was a master of many musical instruments and had perfect pitch. He helped Sejong regulate all aspects of court music, especially the renovation of music performed at royal sacrificial rites and the manufacture of bells and chimes(1423-1431). Pak was held in great esteem. Whether standing or sitting, he would place his hands on his chest and practice fingering.\textsuperscript{185} At the time of Sejo's usurpation(1454), he was dismissed and decided to return home. During a farewell party in the boat, Pak played his flute three times before taking leave of his well-wishers.\textsuperscript{186} Maeng Sasing, known for his honesty and simplicity, also played the flute well. Visitors could tell whether he was in or out by listening for the sound of his flute.\textsuperscript{187} Chŏng Ku(1350-1418) and his brother Chŏng Pu were masters of the black zither[hyŏnggām], a six-stringed instrument that was plucked. Every time his wife was away, Chŏng Pu would play the zither and gaze at the clouds and hills.\textsuperscript{188} Pak Kon, the secondary son of a prince, was a great teacher of music well versed in both theory and performance. The undisputed virtuoso of the twelve-stringed zither of Kayal[ha'yagām] in Song Hyŏn's time was the octogenarian Kim Toch'i. Yu Panghyo, barred from holding office because his father had suffered banishment, knew music theory.\textsuperscript{189} Song Hyŏn also mentions a number of musicians from other classes, including some accomplished female entertainers.\textsuperscript{190}

\textsuperscript{179} OS 134. For a contrasting portrait see CK, 18, PrC 2:69.
\textsuperscript{180} SMN 4
\textsuperscript{181} PrC 1:179
\textsuperscript{182} CK 88
\textsuperscript{183} OS 111
\textsuperscript{184} YC 9:31
\textsuperscript{185} PrC 1:119; CK 71; YC 2:21
\textsuperscript{186} YC 8:26
\textsuperscript{187} PrC 1:41
\textsuperscript{188} YC 3:26
\textsuperscript{189} YC 2:13
\textsuperscript{190} YC 1:5
Men, Women, and Romance

Women of the upper class seldom make their appearance in the miscellanies, except in stories with a didactic intent. Examples include the jealous wife of Yi Maegyung (1371-1440), who was her husband's unidong, the nymphomaniac Pak Ou Dodong, daughter of a wealthy official who married a royal kinsman and, with the help of her maid, seduced young officials and hoodlums and was finally executed by royal decree (1480), and the concubine of a soldier who, upon his death, remarried, thereby breaking her earlier vow of chastity. One official who had his young, widowed daughter remarried was dismissed from office.

Unmarried daughters of the nobility were seldom allowed to go out. When the daughters of a certain Minister Yun wished to view the welcoming ceremony for the Chinese envoy, their father told them a moral tale and dissuaded them from venturing out. Marriages were always arranged, and a young woman never saw or met her prospective bridegroom, thus we find episodes in which two brides were wed to the wrong men and two old widowers were rebuffed by younger women who had a chance to peek at them. The candid reply of one educated girl is refreshing. Once many machinations thronged about her. One said she knew a good writer, another a good archer, a third a rich man, and a fourth a man whose member was so powerful that if a bag full of stones were attached to it, he could swing it over his head. The girl chose this last man.

Antifeminine invective reminiscent of the fabliau is rare, as tales of misfortune befalling married men. The miscellaneous writer remained silent on the place of women in society. Most amorous anecdotes in the miscellaneous concern romance between the literati and the female entertainers (or sometimes female slaves) in the capital and in the provinces. For example, O Sukwoon records the romances between Kang Hon (1465-1519) and Chudong, Shin Chongho (1456-1497) and Sangimch'un, Shin Yongga (1463-1519) and Sadok, an official slave girl, and the competition among Prince Hwungwon, Yi Subong, and Ch'oee Kukkwang for the affections of Soch'unpun'ung [Chuckling spring breeze], who won renown after entertaining Sunjong. Most such episodes were the subjects of poems by the literati.

According to Song Hyeon, the gifts sent by the bridegroom to the bride had formerly included cloth. On the eve of the wedding, moreover, clansmen were entertained with a meal and three cups of wine. In Song's day the bridegroom sent silks and satins, sometimes dozens of rolls, and guests were entertained lavishly. The bridegroom's saddle was magnificently appointed, and he was usually followed by a man carrying a chest of valuables. After the law forbade this practice, the chest was sent before the marriage. When Yu Hyot'ong (8.1403-1431) son married a daughter of Hwangbo In, he sent three chests of books as a wedding present.

Governor Ham Panmur (360-1410) loved a certain female entertainer. When his term ended, he gave her his badge so that she could follow him, but her love proved fleeting. Scholar Kim's love affair with a certain Taechungnae had a happier ending after the two parted. Kim then married Taechungnae, who later bore him two sons. While studying for the examination in a mountain retreat, Kw'ôn Ky'onggyu and Yu Sunjong heard of the beauty of the female entertainer Okpyuyang [Fragrance of jade skin] from her brother. They fell in love with her and made a pact that the first to pass the examination would become her lover. Kw'ôn and Yu both passed after three years, but Kw'ôn was first to locate Okpyuyang and realize his dream. Such happy endings were rare.

An example of a dollard who was the victim of unbridled desire is a certain Pak who accompanied Song Hyot' on to Peking. Pak was dirty-looking, simple-minded, and rustic, but whenever he saw a beautiful female entertainer on route he would make every effort to form a liaison with her. A handsome student once powdered himself and dressed up as a woman just to fool him. At Uiju, Pak could not bear to part with a young lady and cried until his eyes were red.

Some men were deceived by fickle and faithless women. Ch'ŏn Mok loved a female entertainer named Golden Orchid in Ch'ungju. When they parted, she vowed that she would be faithful until Mount Wondak crumbled, but soon she took a station master as her lover. Upon finding his concubine sleeping with another man, a certain scholar who was quick tempered and liked cleanliness tried to restrain the couple by force. Failing in this, he fell on the ground speechless and soon expired. The famous and clever female entertainer Cheon [Purple Cloud] would grade the gentlemen she had entertained. When an inexperienced female entertainer at Suwon refused to entertain a guest and was flogged, she protested: "That whore Pak Oudong was punished for her lecher, but I am punished for not being lewd. Why are the country's laws so iniquitous?" Prince Yonggyi in had to yield his beautiful mistress, Chadong (Transcendent of the Purple Grotto), to the Chinese envoy Jin Shi (came in 1460), who had heard of her reputation in
China.  

The following episode seems to praise a marriage that crossed social boundaries and was based on undying love. A certain An, member of a powerful family in Seoul, was a widower. He married a beautiful girl, the maid of a high minister. When An’s brothers protested to the minister because he gave An preferential treatment, the minister had the couple separated but they kept on meeting in secret. The minister finally decided to marry the maid off to another of his servants, but she committed suicide on the eve of the wedding. As An was walking home three days later, he saw a well-dressed woman following him. Upon closer examination, the woman proved to be his dead wife. Though he ran away in fright, she followed him. He ran into his home, but she was waiting for him there. Soon he lost his mind and died.  

Some men, including Prince Chean, Han Kyónggi(1472-1529), and Kim Sós son, shunned women for various reasons, but others found female charms irresistible. It happened that Hong Ch’ông, a beautiful woman official in the Bureau of Painting, was accused of a crime and arrested at the same time that the young Só Koljong was arrested for disorderly conduct. By chance, both were kept in the same prison, and Só found himself unable to avert his eyes from Hong. When Inspector General Nam Chif(1435-53) intervened to obtain Só’s release, the latter deeply regretted having to part with his beautiful companion.

Monks and Nuns  

Monks(and occasionally nuns) are often the butt of satire in the miscellanies; they stand accused of greed, avarice, and sexual proclivities. Often they were beaten and robbed by enterprising young students in the academy. The anti-Buddhist sentiment of the literati generally echoed the state’s official policy of proscribing Buddhism as heterodoxy. Nonetheless, most early Chosón kings espoused Buddhism at one time or another except for Taejong(his second son, Hyoryông, however, was a pious Buddhist). and Sängjong. Under Sejo’s protection of Buddhism, officials could not restrain apostate monks, and even students in the National Academy offered the king religious relics(no doubt counterfeit) in hopes of winning royal favor. According to one estimate, some eighty thousand monks received certificates of ordination. Skimming over Buddhist scripture by reading the beginning, middle, and end of each chapter was practiced at this time. Despite an official ban, it was customary for the literati to call in monks to chant prayers before the dead[psišik] and to make the seventh-day offering, which was held in a mountain temple and attended by relatives, friends, and colleagues. A monk officiated at memorial services[sängjae] as well. King Songjong later prohibited this practice and forbade the issuing of certificates to monks. He also banished an examination candidate when he suggested in his essay on national policy that the government erect monasteries as a means of warding off calamity. The royalty and literati usually had small temples erected near their tombs(though Taejong had none), not because they were Buddhists, but because they wanted monks to guard their remains. Monks, too, had examinations, and the first in line to succeed his teacher used to play tricks on him.

Some monks were variously accomplished, and others were unusual in other ways. Tunu, the chief disciple of Honse(1320-92) and an accomplished poet, was often consulted by the scholars of the Hall of Worthies. Even in his nineties, he sat up straight and read books throughout the night, never reclining and never closing his eyes. He wrote a poem for the Japanese envoy, the monk Bunkei. The monk Haech’o at Naksan Monastery was quick at repartee.

Iram was pure and determined. Although mediocre in poetry and in his knowledge of the Buddhist texts, he cultivated friendships with high and low; Shin Sukchun(1417-47) was his protector. Iram was often visited by Chinese envoys in his retreat in Muhwa(noodles were his favorite dish).

The tall monk Changwonsim would sleep under walls and lie down in the marketplace when sick. He frequently prayed for rain or other calamities, and loved to bury abandoned corpses. Once he tried to immolate himself but was unable to go through with it. His disciples, however, thought he was dead and grieved for him. When they returned to the monastery, they found him sitting in the meditation hall. “I have returned from the Western Paradise,” he said. “My earthly body is gone, but the dharma body abides.”

One monk remarked to another: “As a monk you should cultivate the Path in the mountains. Why are you doing humble chores like repairing bridges, roads, and wells?” The monk replied: “When I was young, my master told me to practice austerities for ten years. I did as I was told, but it was fruitless. Then I was told to read the Lotus Scripture[Miaojia fanyi Qing] one hundred times; again it was ineffective. I’ve therefore resolved to do small deeds for the country.” Another, who was small and limped, would tour every house of the rich and noble. He was so good at mimicking the sounds of the cock and hen that he was known as the “Crowing Monk.” He would sing ditties that were similar in tune and rhythm to the farmers’ songs sung by thousands of children. He once boasted, “My servants

214 YC 6:19
215 YC 6:20
216 YC 6:21
217 YC 6:22
218 YC 6:23
219 YC 6:24
220 For Honse see Tonggasyǒhch’im 2:48-49.
221 YC 6:15
222 YC 6:16
223 YC 6:17
224 YC 6:18
225 YC 6:19
226 YC 6:20
227 YC 6:21
228 YC 6:22
229 YC 6:23
230 YC 6:24
231 YC 6:25
232 YC 6:26
outnumber those of the three state counselors."

To win renown and amassed wealth, the evil monk Hakcho(I.1464-1520) had his disciple turn a statue of Buddha around and then asserted that it had walked by itself(1480). Choe Harim(1453-86) sent five memorials to Sŏngjong concerning Hakcho's charlatanism, but Hakcho went unpunished.235 Simso of Paju was a dissipated monk who lived with the young wife of a poor old man who had come with his wife to seek shelter in the monastery. The woman gave birth to a son and daughter. Simso also drank heavily and ate meat. Once he declared, "It is better to give in to one's desires than to suppress them."236 Another monk, in Pogyang Monastery, secretly kept a wife in the village. When he died, he became a snake. During the day the snake stayed in a jar; at night it slept in the woman's room. Song Hyŏn(1439-1504) father-in-law had the jar brought to him, enticed the snake into a box, and sealed it. After having Buddhist rites performed, he then had the box thrown into the river. Nothing more happened to the widow.237 When a certain monk tried to make love to a beautiful widow, he was bound to a pillar and clubbed by the widow's young lover.

Nuns too broke their vows. Under Sŏngjong, all nunneries in the capital were destroyed except for one. Although the nuns were driven out beyond the East Gate, some of the older ones still managed to defraud widows and indulge in extortion.238

Healers and Merchants

Most medical men came from the "middle people" class; if they made names for themselves, they might be given posts. No Chungnye, for example, correctly diagnosed a scholar's lever and headache as being caused by a fall a year before and cured him. The famous physician Pak Kwirin never charged fees and therefore merely eked out a scanty livelihood. The Chinese envoy saw him and asked: "Who is that old man in tatters?" The interpreter replied: "He never takes other people's things. He's so dirty because he spends most of his time in the tavern."239 The envoy is said to have respected Pak.

The perfect physician was rare and, however, the miscellany writer delighted in lampooning charlatans. Kim Summong was good at curing swellings; he healed thousands of people with his needle and medicine, but he killed a woman who had leucorrhea through mistaken diagnosis and treatment.240 The military officer Kim Suryang, a specialist on scrofula, kept his method of treatment a secret. One of his patients, Yun Injin, who had tubercles on his neck, bled to death.241 Kim Sŏnggon could not understand the books detailing prescriptions, but he toured monasteries, applying his art to sick monks. He killed about half of his patients.242

Some medicinal substances not available in Korea were eagerly sought in China.243 It was sometimes difficult to purchase them because of the connivance between Chinese doctors and merchants.244 At the same time, such local products as the ibk β namu, whose leaves resemble those of the Chinese cypress and whose sap instantly reduced swelling sores, were offered as tribute to China.245

The common treatment for dysentery involved drinking one or two large bowls of water drawn from the well early in the morning.246 For common swellings, whether induced by poisons or not, one drank a bottle of fine wine along with some three pints[shen]g of honey.247 The people, and sometimes even scholars, would observe elaborate taboos to propitiate the spirits of smallpox and would pray to local tutelary spirits in times of sickness.248

Unlike Boccaccio, who among writers of novellas was "the great champion of merchants,"249 miscellany writers knew little about the mercantile world. They never bought day-to-day necessities for themselves, since slaves and servants shopped for them. Seldom did they have direct contact with the commodities market; only popular outcries and complaints to the court over inflation and the shortage of certain goods turned their attention to the subject.

Sŏng Hyŏn blames the rise of prices in his day on the extravagance of those in power.250 O Sukkwon notes the rise and fall of silver prices and the bad quality of cloth. Toward the end of Chungjong(mid-sixteenth century), Korean traders and silversmiths went secretly to Japanese ships anchored in the harbor and taught the Japanese how to smelt silver with lead. Afterwards Japanese visitors spent many ounces of silver, and the price of silver in the capital dropped rapidly until an ounce could buy only three or four rolls of poor cloth. Those who visited the Ming carried as much silver as possible. Despite government regulations, merchants went north to trade with the border people and the Chinese. The Japanese, too, loaded their ships with silver and sold it in Ningpo.

235 PC 2:82 YC 1:6, 11
236 PC 2:79
237 PC 6:21
238 PC 6:22
239 PC 6:22
240 PC 5:9
242 PC 6:2
243 PC 4:12
244 PC 2:82
The cost of silver gradually increased in Korea. The quality of cloth became steadily worse. One roll of cloth might be only a little over three meters long; sometimes merchants split a roll down the middle. As prices rose, people began to reweave cloth into a finer weave, thereby making good profits. One story concerns Kim Adong, a maker of gold foil who accompanied an envoy to Peking. There he learned how to smoke silver foil to make the false gold used in painting and in manufacturing gilded paper. The smoke was produced from dry grasses bought in China. Kim became wealthy from the sale of his gilded paper. Eager to popularize the technique, the Ministry of Punishments summoned Kim for questioning. But he would not disclose his method and was tortured and died in prison. Like the tanners, he wanted a monopoly.

Tales of the Blind

A number of episodes concern blind people. Aiming for comic effect, these episodes depict blind people's exaggeration of ritual, ridiculous solemnity, stupid mannerisms, and unabashed zeal for the protection of themselves and their class. Such humor often convulsed its readers with laughter.

Some blind people won fame as fortunetellers, called sonsa for their close-cropped hair. These include Chin, Kim Sukchung, Kim Hyosun, and Kim Sansul. When the blind diviner Chang Tüksam refused to surrender to the court a book on divination he was rumored to have, he was imprisoned and tortured. Others were accomplished musicians: Yi Pan, who played the black zither, was loved by Sejong, and Ch'ong P'an, who played the zither of Kaya, was a favorite of Sejo. But to be born blind was considered a calamity. Sŏnng Sŏngnin, known for his uprightness and benevolence, had second and third sons who were born blind, as was the son of his third son. Of this family Sŏnng Hyon laments that accumulated virtue does not always bring luck to a family. Blind men are often portrayed as cuckolded husbands. In one case a libidinous wife and her lover were in a room together when her blind husband came in. In her fright the wife covered her husband's eyes with her skirt and asked: "Who are you? Where are you from?" Thinking that she was jesting with him, the husband answered: "I've been at a funeral in a minister's house in the north." She then wrapped his head with her skirt and made him lie down. Seizing the opportunity, her lover fled. In another story, a youth asked his blind friend, "I've met a beautiful woman on the street. Could I borrow your room for a while?" The friend agreed, whereupon the youth made love to the man's wife. When the youth did not emerge, the blind man urged him, "Hurry up! If my wife finds out about this, I'll be in trouble." Shortly thereafter his wife entered and asked, "Were there any visitors?" "Only the student Shin," he answered.

An unfaithful blind man who always lusted after beautiful women was duped by his own wife when she and a neighbor connived to make him believe he was spending the night with a certain beauty who was impersonated by the wife. That night he said to her: "If I were to compare you to food, you're the bear's paw and the leopard's womb. My ugly wife is like a soup of goosefoot and cooked chaff." The following morning the wife returned home and waited for her husband. "Where have you been?" she asked when he came home. He replied: "I was chanting the scriptures at a minister's house. I've got a stomachache and need wine and medicine." The wife then said: "You've been gorging yourself on bear's paw and leopard's womb! No wonder you're sick." Thus the blind man finally realized that he had been fooled by his own wife.

Myeong-Ing Monastery in Seoul was a gathering place of the blind, who would assemble on the first and fifteenth days of each month to read scriptures and pray for their own welfare. Honored participants would sit on the veranda while low-ranking ones stood in a row before the gate with lances to keep intruders out. A student once jumped over the lances and perched himself on the main beam to fool the blind people. They learned of his presence through divination, however, and began to strike the beam with sticks. Unable to bear the pain, the student fell, was bound and beaten, and had to crawl home. Not deterred, he hid in the privy with a long hemp rope. The following day when the chief of the blind came in, the student tied the rope around the blind man's member and yanked hard. While the victim screamed for help, the others gathered around him shouting: "Our chief is under the spell of the privy ghost!"

Tales of Slaves

Slaves, the lowest of the lower classes, did all manner of menial work. Most of them were farmers by origin, but some engaged in handiwork as artisans, carpenters, potters, fishermen, metalworkers, paper manufacturers, and traders. Sometimes they were recruited into the army, especially in times of foreign war or internal rebellion. The wealth of upper-class people was measured by the amount of land and the number of slaves they owned. One prince is said to have had ten thousand slaves to cultivate his land. Slaves were not only bought and sold, but the

247 PC 1:17
248 PC 2:85
249 PC 2:80
250 In his Poetics, Aristotle defines the ridiculous as “a mistake or deformity not productive of pain or harm to others.” Casser saw turpitude (ugliness) as the essence of the comic: “A ridiculous face is ugly without being painful,” says Pietro Valla (1498); and Trissino divides ugliness into pain or harm to others. Cicero saw turpitude (ugliness) as the essence of the comic. “A ridiculous

251 YC 8:23
252 YC 8:15
253 YC 3:33
254 YC 1:5
255 YC 8:21
256 YC 6:10
257 YC 3:13
258 YC 3:14
259 YC 5:12. The blind lived no better in Japanese literature. Semmara, a blind musician at Asakura Barrier, in an example. In Zeami’s play Semmara, he appears as a blind prince, who, exiled by his father, becomes a beggar at Asakura Barrier and a patron saint of professional lute-playing bards. See Mannoff, 1978.
owner had the right to kill his slaves after obtaining government approval. The
womenfolk of live-in slaves often became concubines or maids. The offspring of
royal kinsmen and female slaves might escape their class origins, but those of
commoners and slave women seldom could.
Slaves figure in several episodes in the miscellanies. One private slave, Yi
Yangdong, tried to gain his freedom by bribing a local magistrate.260 When a certain
scholar’s slave plotted to kill his master, the master dug a deep hole, stood the
bound slave in the hole, and burned him alive.261 The slave of Yi Hanpyeong, who
served in the palace as an artisan, likewise plotted against his master. Although the
slave deserved death, his master’s magnanimity saved him: when the eunuch who
reprimanded the slave sent the indictment to Yi, the master said: “Because the
tyrant(Yonsangun, r. 1494-1506) has lost his way, confusion has arisen between
superior and inferior. How can the slave be blamed for his evil conduct? Nevertheless the bonds between us are ruptured, so he is no longer my slave.” He
then gave the slave to his brother-in-law.262 Ko T yukang(1413-48), a native of
Cheju, once went to visit his mother. His ship founded in a typhoon, and he and a
slave found themselves clinging to a single board. The slave said, ‘The two of us
cannot survive; I must bid you farewell,’ and threw himself into the raging sea.”
Perhaps the most famous slave who was freed by royal order was Yi
Sangwiya, a skilled painter unparalleled in landscape and portraiture. On
Chungjong’s order he was attached to the Office of Painting, where he painted
portraits of the king and meritorious subjects. Indeed he himself became a first-
class meritorious subject. His son Hittungyo, equally good at painting, was given a
military post in appreciation of his portrait of Myongjong.263
Tales of the Supernatural
The supernatural and subhuman—gods, ghosts, and demons—often intrude into the
orthodox world of the Confucian gentlemen portrayed in the miscellanies. One
writer praises someone who denounced the worship of wooden idols.264 Another
writer praises someone who exposed a fraudulent shaman.265 But some miscellany
writers evince a morbid fascination with the subject. It was an age in which a
gentleman trained in the classics and histories constantly sought correspondences
between the macrocosm and the microcosm, the realm of nature and that of man.
He believed that heaven would take the side of the virtuous and punish the
wicked: the execution of an innocent man brought a great flood in Inch’on,266 and a
peasant son who beat his mother was struck dead by lightning in a barley field.267

Some premonitory dreams came true: Sŏng Kan’s(1427-56) dream portended
his early death,268 in the same way, examination candidates sometimes learned that
they would pass.269 While sharing a room with Yi Pangwôn(the future King
Taejong), Pak Sungmyon(1370-1406) dreamed of a yellow dragon beside him, this
portended that Yi would become king.270 Some diviners, such as Kim Hyomyong,
cast lots to predict who would place first in an examination.271 Sometimes an
animals unusual action might be prophetic: Yi Chik’s grandson placed first in the
examination and received a flower for his cap from the king. As he was about to
mount his horse, the animal bit off the flower and chewed it up. Shortly thereafter
both Yi Chik and his grandson died.272
Sŏng Hyön’s father-in-law supposedly could see ghosts, exercise the
possessed, and expel demons.273 Once, his maternal uncle was on his way to a villa
in Suwon when he found himself surrounded by ghosts brandishing fireballs. He
spurred his horse on and broke through. After he had crossed a hill, ghosts again
blocked his path. Waving his sword, he again galloped through them. The ghosts
then scattered, clapping and laughing, into a nearby wood.274 Sŏng Hyôn says that
he himself saw, on a hill, a tall apparition with fiery eyes. He said to himself, “If I
lose heart, I may become its victim.” He dismounted and stood still, and after a
while the apparition disappeared into thin air.275

The house of Sŏng Hyön’s boyhood friend Ki Yu was haunted. Ki moved
out but later decided to move back in. Many weird things happened, and before
long Ki died. Yi Tüs house was haunted by the ghost of his aunt; Yi also perished.276
It was a common belief that a demon could tell fortunes and knew the secrets of
others. A servant girl in the household of Sŏng Hyön’s mother-in-law was able to
communicate with a demon. During the day the demon stayed in the air, and at
night it perched on a beam. When a neighbor’s wife lost her prize hairpin, she
accused the maid of the crime and had her flogged. The maid then asked the
demon what had become of the hairpin, but it said: “I can’t tell you. Have your
mistress come herself.” The neighbor’s wife came with millet seeds as a gift, but the
demon still refused to speak. When the woman finally lost patience and scolded
the demon, it said: “You went into the mulberry patch with your lover. Your
hairpin is hanging on a branch.”277

260 YC 2:28
261 YC 2:42
262 PC 2:27
263 PC 2:18
264 PC 2:19
265 Ch 16
266 CK 11
267 YC 4:28
268 YC 3:22
269 YC 6:16
270 YC 3:31
271 PC 2:10
272 YC 3:30
273 YC 3:31
274 YC 2:8
275 YC 8:22
276 YC 2:28
A Mirror of the Time

We have seen that the literary miscellany presents a wide spectrum of social types and that it is characterized by an abundance of actors and a variety of actions. Unlike the western novella, which was “a predominantly middle-class form of entertainment,” the Korean literary miscellany was a genre of and for the lettered class. Most of its portraiture is devoted to the lettered class, little to the common man. While there is, to be sure, an assortment of simpletons, madmen, braggarts, scamps, and frauds in the miscellaneous, there are few judges, forespers, usurers, merchants, astrologers, alchemists, Daoists, or butchers. This bias may indicate the class attitude of the writers toward other classes or possibly their indifference to certain classes and professions.

The miscellany writer, in his concern with writing an objective account of actions in a sober style that recalls the art of the chronicler, tended to neglect the deeper motives and complex purposes underlying men and their actions. We would like to think that the gentleman always pursued lofty ideals and aspired to live by virtue, but he must have been more than a mere composite of virtues. The miscellany writer’s choice of adjectives to describe Confucian virtues—the ideal categories of the age and culture that qualified action—also presents problems. Such stock adjectives as “reproachable” and “constant” are at best vague. We know their etymology and usage in the classics and histories, but the miscellany writer typically used these polysemous adjectives according to his own understanding, often without drawing a connection between a subject’s actions and his perceptions.

Different writers’ accounts of the same deed by the same man illustrate this point. Pak Ansein, on his way to the execution ground, managed to scribble a message on the importance of his job as inspector and have it delivered to the king; thus he was pardoned. So Kojong praises Pak’s “natural capacity, which was broad and extraordinary,” while Song Hyoin praises his serene mind and lack of fear. Was Pak facing death with complete peace of mind, or was he merely anxious to save his life? Was he a magick assertion of the ideals of an inspector or a protest against an abuse of royal privilege? Or take the story of Chong Pu, who plucked on the zither and gazed at the clouds and hills while his wife was away. What is the connection, if any, between his wife’s absence and his music? Why was he looking at the clouds and hills? Was he seeking inspiration in them or, like Bo Ya before him, recreating with his music the loftiness of the hills and the freedom of the clouds? Was he longing for his wife, or did he practice the instrument only during her absence? The answer may be all of these and more; perhaps the educated reader of the time knew at once what the anecdote was about when first he read or heard it.

At times the modern reader cannot share the feelings of the characters appearing in a given setting. When Yi Chik(1438-1496) began bragging at a party given by No Sanin, for example, Yi Sukham(1454-90) commented: “Your spirited talk recalls Fan Kuai.” Becoming exultant, Yi Chik replied: “Fan Kuai was a famous Han general. Your comparison is apt.” Then Yi Sukham added: “Fan Kuai should have been beheaded.” “Yi Chik was struck speechless, and the whole company shook with laughter.” Yi Chik, once headmaster of the National Academy and third minister without portfolio, was known for his prose writing, as well as his virtue, foresight, and outspoken advice. Fan Kuai, a loyal general and great counselor to the founder of the Han dynasty, once saved his king’s life. We can understand a comparison of Yi Chik with Fan Kuai based on a shared penchant for straight talk. But why was Yi Chik taken aback by Yi Sukham’s remark? Did he think his friend was turning against him or had found him impudent? Or was it because he could produce no clever reto? Did the group find the exchange so ridiculously amusing because Yi Chik, not fully versed in the rules of the game, failed to laugh himself? Perhaps the crook of the anecdote is the disparity between the Yi Chik who thought himself a Fan Kuai and the real Yi Chik who failed to display the strength of character and resourcefulness attributed to the Chinese general. Yi Chik’s boastfulness and conceit, manifested by his fondness for the comparison with Fan Kuai, ruled his conduct for a moment. Perhaps this was considered out of tune with his usual decorous self, a momentary lapse of his dignity and self-possession. The episode, told in sixty-eight sinographs, is narrated with fine economy, but we are not given enough information to determine what provoked Yi Sukham to violate the rules of the game with his aggressive humor.

Minor flaws—or what appear as such to the modern reader—do not diminish the charm of the literary miscellany, which reflects the customs, manners, and spirit of its time. Not all writers were equally successful in conveying the mood of the Han period. All were avid collectors of stories, and each wished to render in a memorable fashion what he saw and heard: the “manifold foibles, virtues, and follies of man.” Each endeavored to penetrate his subject’s public self—which acted behind a mask of role and status using stylized gestures, actions, and verbal exchanges—to find the individual qualities that set him apart from all others. Marked by urbanity, wit, and a zeal for depicting real life, the miscellany offers us a world of undeniable interest, excitement, and delight. Themes may have changed but, like the audience of the past, we come away with our experience enriched.

279 Clements and Gobaldi, 1977:76.
281 Yi Chik’s anecdote of Chon Ping’s escapade.
282 Yi Chik’s anecdote of Chon Ping’s escapade.
283 Yi Chik’s anecdote of Chon Ping’s escapade.
284 Yi Chik’s anecdote of Chon Ping’s escapade.
285 Yi Chik’s anecdote of Chon Ping’s escapade.
286 Yi Chik’s anecdote of Chon Ping’s escapade.
## GLOSSARY

**Koryo**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Chinese Name</th>
<th>Korean Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peter H. Lee</td>
<td>Peter H. Lee</td>
<td>Lee Youngjoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ai Pu</td>
<td>艾璞</td>
<td>Choi Su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Chi</td>
<td>安知</td>
<td>Cho Taerim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Ch'uk</td>
<td>安岫</td>
<td>Cho Yong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Chungthu</td>
<td>安鍾厚</td>
<td>Cho Seo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Hyang</td>
<td>安彜</td>
<td>Cho Chi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Hyorye</td>
<td>安 negó</td>
<td>Cho Ch'iwon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Sungton</td>
<td>安尙通</td>
<td>Cho Hang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An W'on</td>
<td>安溫</td>
<td>Cho Harim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Young</td>
<td>安英</td>
<td>Cho Hwiwon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo Ya</td>
<td>伯牙</td>
<td>Cho Kukwoang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunkei</td>
<td>文溪</td>
<td>Cho Pu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cha</td>
<td>車</td>
<td>Ch'un Mok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cha Ch'ol'o</td>
<td>車哲</td>
<td>Ch'ang Ch'yo'g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'angdongsu</td>
<td>長東松</td>
<td>Ch'ang Ch'yo'g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'aoi</td>
<td>趙儀</td>
<td>Ch'ang Ch'yo'g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'oei</td>
<td>趙義</td>
<td>Ch'ang Ch'yo'g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chang Tuksoam</td>
<td>姜旭山</td>
<td>Ch'ang Tuksoam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'angsu</td>
<td>長蘇</td>
<td>Ch'ang Tuksoam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'ongwi'on</td>
<td>肖儒</td>
<td>Ch'ang Tuksoam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'ungwi'on</td>
<td>長儒</td>
<td>Ch'ang Tuksoam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'ungwonsim</td>
<td>長勇思</td>
<td>Ch'ang Tuksoam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'un</td>
<td>錢</td>
<td>Ch'ong Kapsan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen Juaun</td>
<td>陳桂軍</td>
<td>Ch'ang Kapsan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen Juon</td>
<td>陳桂隆</td>
<td>Ch'ang Kapsan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'eu</td>
<td>崔</td>
<td>Ch'ang Kapsan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'ingwan Monastery</td>
<td>靑巋寺</td>
<td>Ch'angkwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'uphyunchon</td>
<td>靑浦院</td>
<td>Ch'angkwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cho'o</td>
<td>柙</td>
<td>Ch'angkwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cho O</td>
<td>柙</td>
<td>Ch'angkwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cho Ojung</td>
<td>桟於龍</td>
<td>Ch'angkwan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chosun**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Chinese Name</th>
<th>Korean Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peter H. Lee</td>
<td>Peter H. Lee</td>
<td>Lee Youngjoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ai Pu</td>
<td>艾璞</td>
<td>Choi Su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Chi</td>
<td>安知</td>
<td>Cho Taerim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Ch'uk</td>
<td>安岫</td>
<td>Cho Yong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Chungthu</td>
<td>安鍾厚</td>
<td>Cho Seo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Hyang</td>
<td>安彜</td>
<td>Cho Chi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Hyorye</td>
<td>安 negó</td>
<td>Cho Ch'iwon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Sungton</td>
<td>安尙通</td>
<td>Cho Hang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An W'on</td>
<td>安溫</td>
<td>Cho Harim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Young</td>
<td>安英</td>
<td>Cho Hwiwon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo Ya</td>
<td>伯牙</td>
<td>Cho Kukwoang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunkei</td>
<td>文溪</td>
<td>Cho Pu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cha</td>
<td>車</td>
<td>Ch'un Mok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cha Ch'ol'o</td>
<td>車哲</td>
<td>Ch'ang Ch'yo'g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'angdongsu</td>
<td>長東松</td>
<td>Ch'ang Ch'yo'g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'aoi</td>
<td>趙儀</td>
<td>Ch'ang Ch'yo'g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'oei</td>
<td>趙義</td>
<td>Ch'ang Ch'yo'g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chang Tuksoam</td>
<td>姜旭山</td>
<td>Ch'ang Tuksoam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'angsu</td>
<td>長蘇</td>
<td>Ch'ang Tuksoam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'ongwi'on</td>
<td>肖儒</td>
<td>Ch'ang Tuksoam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'ungwi'on</td>
<td>長儒</td>
<td>Ch'ang Tuksoam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'ungwonsim</td>
<td>長勇思</td>
<td>Ch'ang Tuksoam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'un</td>
<td>錢</td>
<td>Ch'ong Kapsan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen Juaun</td>
<td>陳桂軍</td>
<td>Ch'ang Kapsan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen Juon</td>
<td>陳桂隆</td>
<td>Ch'ang Kapsan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'eu</td>
<td>崔</td>
<td>Ch'ang Kapsan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'ingwan Monastery</td>
<td>靑巋寺</td>
<td>Ch'angkwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'uphyunchon</td>
<td>靑浦院</td>
<td>Ch'angkwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cho'o</td>
<td>柙</td>
<td>Ch'angkwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cho O</td>
<td>柙</td>
<td>Ch'angkwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cho Ojung</td>
<td>桟於龍</td>
<td>Ch'angkwan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Choson**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Chinese Name</th>
<th>Korean Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peter H. Lee</td>
<td>Peter H. Lee</td>
<td>Lee Youngjoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ai Pu</td>
<td>艾璞</td>
<td>Choi Su</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Chi</td>
<td>安知</td>
<td>Cho Taerim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Ch'uk</td>
<td>安岫</td>
<td>Cho Yong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Chungthu</td>
<td>安鍾厚</td>
<td>Cho Seo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Hyang</td>
<td>安彜</td>
<td>Cho Chi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Hyorye</td>
<td>安 negó</td>
<td>Cho Ch'iwon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Sungton</td>
<td>安尙通</td>
<td>Cho Hang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An W'on</td>
<td>安溫</td>
<td>Cho Harim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Young</td>
<td>安英</td>
<td>Cho Hwiwon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo Ya</td>
<td>伯牙</td>
<td>Cho Kukwoang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bunkei</td>
<td>文溪</td>
<td>Cho Pu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cha</td>
<td>車</td>
<td>Ch'un Mok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cha Ch'ol'o</td>
<td>車哲</td>
<td>Ch'ang Ch'yo'g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'angdongsu</td>
<td>長東松</td>
<td>Ch'ang Ch'yo'g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'aoi</td>
<td>趙儀</td>
<td>Ch'ang Ch'yo'g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'oei</td>
<td>趙義</td>
<td>Ch'ang Ch'yo'g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chang Tuksoam</td>
<td>姜旭山</td>
<td>Ch'ang Tuksoam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'angsu</td>
<td>長蘇</td>
<td>Ch'ang Tuksoam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'ongwi'on</td>
<td>肖儒</td>
<td>Ch'ang Tuksoam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'ungwi'on</td>
<td>長儒</td>
<td>Ch'ang Tuksoam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'ungwonsim</td>
<td>長勇思</td>
<td>Ch'ang Tuksoam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'un</td>
<td>錢</td>
<td>Ch'ong Kapsan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen Juaun</td>
<td>陳桂軍</td>
<td>Ch'ang Kapsan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chen Juon</td>
<td>陳桂隆</td>
<td>Ch'ang Kapsan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'eu</td>
<td>崔</td>
<td>Ch'ang Kapsan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'ingwan Monastery</td>
<td>靑巋寺</td>
<td>Ch'angkwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'uphyunchon</td>
<td>靑浦院</td>
<td>Ch'angkwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cho'o</td>
<td>柙</td>
<td>Ch'angkwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cho O</td>
<td>柙</td>
<td>Ch'angkwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cho Ojung</td>
<td>桟於龍</td>
<td>Ch'angkwan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Haedong chamnok 海東常鑑. In Taedong yasung 太東要訣. CKK.
Osan siltim 五山世記. Cha Ch'ollo 車天福(1556-1615), att. CKK.
P'agwun chapgi 特官雜記. O Suklewon 魯悅論(1523-1554), att. CKK.
P'ahan chip 畫韓集. Yi Illo 李仁老(1152-1220), att. CKK.
P'ojaen chapgi 濟源雜記. So Kijong 崔敬宗(1420-1498), att. Published 1487. CKK.
P'ohang chip 博韓集. Ch'oe Cha 崔萱(1188-1260), att. CKK.
Pyŏngjon chŏngsa nob 萊辰丁已錄. Im Posin 任輔臣(d.1538), att. Published in 1536-1537. CKK.
Sau myŏnghae nob 頭尾名錄. NamHyoon 南喜溫(1454-1492), att. CKK.
Sohtum ilgi 史澤日記. Yi 伊利(1536-1584), comp. CKK.
Suman saeot 墜聞宛錄. Cho Sin 郭申(1479), att. CKK.
Taedong yasung 太東要訣. 4 vols. CKK (Kyŏngbuk' i ch'ulp'an' sa ed., in 1968-1969.)
Ul'la ch'ŏnmun nob 乙巳傳聞. Yi Chungmyŏl 李中悅(1518-1547), comp. CKK.
Yŏngg'Ang chŏng'Ang 悠閒長話. Song Hyŏn 成現(1439-1504), att. Published in 1523. CKK.

Secondary Sources