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A HISTORY OF KOREAN LITERATURE

This is a comprehensive narrative history of Korean literature from its inception and the establishment of a royal Confucian academy in the seventh century, through a period during which most literature in Korea was written in Chinese and the subsequent invention of the Korean alphabet in 1443–1444, to the present day. It provides a wealth of information for scholars, students, and lovers of literature. Combining both history and criticism, the study reflects the latest scholarship and offers a systematic account of the development of all genres. Consisting of twenty-five chapters, it covers twentieth-century poetry, fiction by women, and the literature of North Korea. Other topics include the canon, ideology, and further critical issues central to an understanding of Korean literary history. This is a major contribution to the field and a study that will stand for many years as the primary resource for studying Korean literature.

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To our fellow students of Korean literature

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CAROLYN SO holds a Ph.D. from UCLA, and she specializes in modern Korean women writers.

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Preface

A History of Korean Literature has been written to meet the needs of students and general readers who wish to know the main outline of Korean literature. It reflects the latest scholarship on all genres and periods and traces the development of Korean literature – encompassing literary works written in the *hyangch'al* system, literary Chinese, and the vernacular after the invention of the Korean alphabet in the mid fifteenth century. Unlike Chinese and Japanese literature, however, a large number of Korean classical works are not yet available in translation. Thus, translations presented here are mostly my own. Unlike other literary histories, we have avoided current jargon or theory because we want this history to be useful for more than a decade. When contemporary theory and criticism are useful in reading a text, however, we have employed it. Throughout, we are mindful that this is a narrative history of Korean literature, combining both history and criticism, addressed to the English-speaking reader. Topics in the general introduction include canon and ideology, traditional generic hierarchy, and other critical issues central to an understanding of Korean literary history. We have allotted more space to twentieth-century literature, but here the names swarm and the treatment is inevitably cursory. Minor figures are omitted so that attention may be focused on major writers and their representative works, the ones most likely to be read. Although there is no such thing as an innocent eye, we have tried to steer clear of ideological readings – nationalist, populist, or leftist.

Generally, chapters on traditional literary genres tend to be shorter than those on twentieth-century literature, because they aim simply to provide basic information on the main authors, works, schools, and movements of the period, genre, or form. What the student and the general reader need is accurate data – not always provided by books in Korean published in Korea and books in English published in the English-speaking countries. Proportionally, treatments of twentieth-century literature tend to be long for at least two reasons. The Korean literature written in the

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twentieth century exceeds in volume all the Korean literature in the vernacular since the invention of the Korean alphabet in the mid fifteenth century. To date, however, there is no accurate and reliable account of either poetry or fiction in Korean. Another reason for assigning more space to contemporary literature has to do with the demand of students. Most graduate students are especially interested in twentieth-century literature. All but one of my graduate students, for example, specialize in the subject – and the same is true in other East Asian literature departments in the West. The reasons are not far to seek: the study of classical Korean literature requires many years of rigorous training in literary Chinese and Middle Korean as well as thorough knowledge of Korean language and literature, Korean historical and other indigenous culture, Korean reception of Confucian canonical texts, Chinese histories and literature, at least one other literature besides Korean, and, finally, literary theory, Korean as well as Western.

As in Chinese literature, most known authors in Korea are male. Women known by name include exceptional female entertainers (such as Hwang Chini who wrote both in literary Chinese and in Korean) or middle- or upper-class women dating mostly from the eighteenth century. Only one Silla song is attributed to a woman. Clear signs of the lyric persona and the abundant use of honorific verbal endings in Koryŏ songs, however, indicate that not only the lyric speaker but also the performer was female. Some portions of anonymous *sijo* and *kasa*, moreover, are probably by women. We wish to recover neglected works by women writers and reexamine the criteria of a traditionally male canon. Gender is a factor in certain genres, as women writers chose *sijo*, *kasa*, letters, prose essays, and stories as their favored forms of expression in late Chosŏn. To present the literary achievement of women writers in the present objectively, we have assigned separate chapters to women scholars of the subject (Chapters 20, 22, and 24). Their contributions demonstrate considerable variation in approach, scope, and style, but as teachers of Korean literature they have sought to share their perspectives and knowledge with the reader.

A word should be said on collaboration. Given our essential agreement on matters of literary theory and methodology, Professor Kim Hŭnggyu and I first decided to collaborate on the project. Chapters are undertaken on the basis of research interest and previous publications. Later, Professors Ch'oe Yun, Kim Chŏngnan, Kwŏn Yŏngmin, Carolyn So, and Ho-min Sohn agreed to join in our endeavor. I contributed the introduction, part of Chapter I, and Chapters 2 to II, part of Chapter 14, and Chapters 17, 18, and 21; Kim Hŭnggyu wrote Chapters 12–13, 15–16, and part of Chapter 14;

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Preface

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Ch'oe Yun, Chapter 24; Kim Chǒngnan, Chapter 22; Kwŏn Yǒngmin, Chapters 19, 23, and 25; Carolyn So, Chapter 20; and Ho-min Sohn, the introductory essay on the Korean language in Chapter 1.

Kim Hǔnggyu and Kim Uch'ang first suggested the project. I would like to thank my collaborators for their contributions, which offer such a variety of viewpoints, and the translators of chapters originally written in Korean: Chǒng Chinbae, Mickey Hong, Jennifer Lee, Julie Park, Youngju Ryu, and Peter Yun. It was my good fortune to have been encouraged by several colleagues and friends and to have had the chance of learning from the students I have taught. Kim Hǔnggyu, Kwŏn Yǒngmin, and Paek Nakch'ōng obtained books for me.

A glossary, with sinographs, provides information on Chinese literary genres used by Korean writers as well as authors, works, and technical terms that will be useful to the reader. Those who wish access to the important primary texts concerning the sociopolitical, intellectual, and cultural background may turn to Peter H. Lee (ed.), *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization*, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993–1996), also available now in Italian: *Fonti per lo Studio della Civiltà Coreana*, 3 vols. (Milan: O barra O, 2000–2002); Peter H. Lee et al. (eds.), *Sources of Korean Tradition*, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997–2001); and Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984).

Linda Bree of Cambridge University Press furthered and followed the progress of my work. I owe special thanks to anonymous readers of the text for their helpful suggestions and to my editor, Don Yoder, who encouraged me in a difficult time and offered many tactical suggestions.

This history was written over a period of time during which I received generous support from the UCLA Academic Senate and the Korea Research Foundation. I record my profound thanks to both.

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For complete author's name, title, and publishing details of the works cited in short form, see the Bibliography. The romanization of Korean names follows the McCune-Reischauer system and certain suggestions made in *Korean Studies* 4 (1980):111–125. The apostrophe to mark two separate sounds (as in the word *han'gŭl*) has been omitted throughout. Dates for rulers of China and Korea are reign dates without *r.* They are preceded by birth and death dates if required. All Korean dates are converted to the Western calendar.

Works cited frequently in the notes have been abbreviated according to the following list. All Korean-language texts were published in Seoul unless otherwise indicated:

<i>ACKS</i>	<i>Akchang kasa</i> (Words for songs and music). In <i>Wŏnbon Hanguk kojŏn ch'ongsŏ</i> . Taejegak, 1972
<i>AHKB</i>	Sŏng Hyŏn, <i>Akhak kwebŏm</i> (Canon of music). Yŏnse taehakkyo Inmun kwahak yŏnguso, 1968
<i>CHKY</i>	Hwang Suyŏng, ed., <i>Chŭngbo Hanguk kŭmsŏk yumun</i> (Augmented epigraphic remains of Korea). Ilchisa, 1978
<i>CKK</i>	Chōsen kosho kankōkai (Old Korean Books Publication Society)
<i>CN</i>	Nam Hyoon, <i>Ch'ugang naenghwa</i> (Literary miscellany of Nam Hyoon). <i>CKK</i> , 1909
<i>CWS</i>	Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe, ed., <i>Chosŏn wangjo sillok</i> (Veritable records of the Chosŏn dynasty [an annalistic history compiled by a royal committee after the death of a king]). 48 vols. 1955–1958
<i>CY</i>	Yi Sugwang, <i>Chibong yusŏl</i> (Literary miscellany of Yi Sugwang). <i>CKK</i> , 1915
<i>HHS</i>	Fan Ye et al., <i>Hou Hanshu</i> (History of the Later Han). 12 vols. Peking: Zhonghua shuju, 1963

Note on the text

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- HHST* *Hanguk hyōndae simunhak taegye* (Modern Korean Poetry Series). Chisik sanōpsa ed.
- HKMT* *Hanguk kojōn munhak taegye* (Classic Korean Literature Series)
- JKS* *Journal of Korean Studies*
- KJ* *Korea Journal*
- KMC* *Koryō myōnghyōn chip* (Collected works of renowned worthies of the Koryō dynasty). Taedong munhwa yōnguwōn
- KRS* Chōng Inji et al., *Koryō sa* (History of Koryō). 3 vols. Tongbanghak yōnguso, 1955–1961
- KS* *Korean Studies*
- KT* *Koryō taejanggyōng*, 48 vols. Tongguk taehakkyo, 1957–1976
- KYS* Sim Chaewan, ed., *Kyobon yōktae sijo chōnsō* (Variorum edition of the complete *sijo* canon). Sejong munhwasa, 1972
- NP* Yi Chehyōn, *Nagong pisōl* (or *Yōgong p'aesōl*) (Lowly jottings by old man “Oak”). (*KMC* 2:1973)
- PaC* Yi Illo, *P'ahan chip* (Jottings to break up idleness) (*KMC* 2:1973)
- PoC* Ch'oe Cha, *Pohan chip* (*KMC* 2:1973)
- PS* Yi Kyubo, *Paegun sosōl* (Jottings by the retired gentleman White Cloud) (*KMC* 1:1973)
- SGSG* Kim Pusik, *Samguk sagi* (Historical records of the Three Kingdoms), ed. Yi Pyōngdo. 1977
- SGYS* *Iryōn, Samguk yusa*, (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), ed. Ch'oe Namsōn. Minjung sōgwan, 1954
- SGZ* Chen Shou, *Sanguo zhi* (History of the Three Kingdoms). 5 vols. Peking: Zhonghua shuju
- SH* *Siyong hyangak po* (Notations for Korean music in contemporary use). In *Wōnbon Hanguk kojōn ch'ongsō*. Taejegak, 1972
- SJK* *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies*
- SL* Peter H. Lee, ed., *The Silence of Love: Twentieth-Century Korean Poetry*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980
- SPK* Hō Kyun, *Sōngso pokpu ko*. In *Hō Kyun chōnjip* (Collected works of Hō Kyun). Taedong munhwa yōnguwōn, 1972
- TMS* Sō Kōjōng, *Tong munsōn* (Anthology of Korean literature in Chinese). 3 vols. Kyōnghūi ch'ulp'ansa, 1966–1967
- TS* Sō Kōjōng, *Tongin sihwa* (Remarks on poetry by a man from the East), ed. Chang Hongjae. Hagusa, 1980

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<i>TYC</i>	Yi Kyubo, <i>Tongguk Yi-sangguk chip</i> (Collected works of Minister Yi of Korea). Tongguk munhwasa, 1958
<i>YMC</i>	<i>Yijo myŏnghyŏn chip</i> (Collected works of renowned worthies of the Yi dynasty). 4 vols. Taedong munhwa yŏnguwŏn, 1984–1986

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Korean dynasties

- Old Chosŏn (2333–194 BC)
 Wiman Chosŏn (194–108 BC)
 Puyŏ (?–346)
 Pon Kaya (42–532)
 Koguryŏ (37 BC – AD 668)
 Paekche (18 BC – AD 660)
 Silla (57 BC – AD 935)
 Parhae (698–926)
 Koryŏ (918–1392)
 Chosŏn (1392–1910)
1. T'aejo (1335–1408; r. 1392–1398)
 2. Chŏngjong (1357–1419; r. 1398–1400)
 3. T'aejong (1367–1422; r. 1400–1418)
 4. Sejong (1397–1450; r. 1418–1450)
 5. Munjong (1414–1452; r. 1450–1452)
 6. Tanjong (1441–1457; r. 1452–1455)
 7. Sejo (1417–1468; r. 1455–1468)
 8. Yejong (1450–1469; r. 1468–1469)
 9. Sŏngjong (1456–1494; r. 1469–1494)
 10. Yŏnsangun (1476–1506; r. 1494–1506)
 11. Chungjong (1488–1544; r. 1506–1544)
 12. Injong (1515–1545; r. 1544–1545)
 13. Myŏngjong (1534–1567; r. 1545–1567)
 14. Sŏnjo (1552–1608; r. 1567–1608)
 15. Kwanghaegun (1575–1641; r. 1608–1623)
 16. Injo (1595–1649; r. 1623–1649)
 17. Hyojong (1619–1659; r. 1649–1659)
 18. Hyŏnjong (1641–1674; r. 1659–1674)
 19. Sukchong (1661–1720; r. 1674–1720)
 20. Kyŏngjong (1688–1724; r. 1720–1724)

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Korean dynasties

21. Yǒngjo (1694–1776; r. 1724–1776)
22. Chǒngjo (1752–1800; r. 1776–1800)
23. Sunjo (1790–1834; r. 1800–1834)
24. Hǒnjong (1827–1849; r. 1834–1849)
25. Ch’ǒlchong (1831–1864; r. 1849–1864)
26. Kojong (1853–1907; r. 1864–1907)
27. Sunjong (1874–1926; r. 1907–1910)

Glossary

Akchang kasa 樂章歌詞 (Words for songs and music). Anonymous compilation of song texts dating from Koryŏ and early Chosŏn.

Amitāyus 無量壽佛. Buddha of Infinite Life, or Amitābha 無量光明佛, the Buddha of Infinite Light who presides over the Western Paradise.

Analekts (*Lunyu* 論語). Confucian canonical text memorized by students in China and Korea in the past. Consisting of 20 chapters divided into 497 sections, it is a collection of statements made by Confucius and his disciples.

An Chohwan 安肇煥 (or Chowŏn, fl. 1777–1800). Author of *Manŏn sa* 萬言詞 (An exile's life).

An Chŏnggi 安靖기 (n.d.). North Korean writer of verse.

An Ch'uk 安軸 (1282–1348). Author of two *kyŏnggi-ch'e* songs: “Kwandong pyŏlgok” 關東別曲 (Song of Diamond Mountains, c. 1328 or 1330) in 8 stanzas, and “Chukkye pyŏlgok” 竹溪別曲 (Song of the bamboo stream, 1348) in 5 stanzas – both in *idu* and Chinese.

An Hamgwang 安含光 (1910–82). North Korean writer of fiction who wrote *Chosŏn munhak sa* (History of Korean literature, 1956).

An Hoenam 安懷南 (1910–66). Writer of fiction who was drafted to work in a coal mine in Kyushu by the Japanese. Returning to Korea after the liberation, he went north and was purged in 1966.

aniri 아너리. Spoken passages in *p'ansori*.

An Kuksŏn 安國善 (1854–1928). Author of *Kŭmsu hoeŭi rok* 禽獸會議錄 (Proceedings of the council of birds and beasts, 1908) who published Korea's first collection of stories in the twentieth century.

An Minyŏng 安玟英 (1816–86?). Professional singer of *sijo* and coeditor of *Kagok wŏllyu* 歌曲源流 (Sourcebook of songs, 1876). He addressed 10 *sijo* to plum blossoms.

An Sŏkkyŏng 安錫敬 (1718–74). Author of *Sapkyo mallok* 簪橋漫錄 (Random records at Sapkyo).

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Glossary

An Sugil 安壽吉 (1911–77). Writer of fiction including *Pukkando* 北間島 (North Jiandao, 1959), which celebrates the Korean farmers' attachment to land in their diasporic settlement in northern Manchuria.

Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 (1657–1725). Japanese scholar, historian, and poet in Chinese.

Avalokiteśvara 觀世音. "One who observes the sounds of the world," bodhisattva 菩薩 of compassion.

Ban Gu 班固 (32–92). Compiler of *Qian Hanshu* 前漢書 (History of the Former Han).

Bodhisattva. One who arouses the thought of supreme perfect enlightenment and is intent on achieving buddhahood by practicing the six (sometimes ten) perfections: donation, morality, patience, vigor, meditation, and wisdom.

Bo Juyi 白居易 (772–846). Tang poet widely read in Korea and Japan, especially his "Changhen ge" 長恨歌 (Song of everlasting sorrow, 806) and "Pipa xing" 琵琶行 (Song of the lute, 816).

Book of Changes (*Yijing* 易經 or *Zhouyi* 周易). Divination manual with a list of 64 hexagrams composed of 6 lines, unbroken or broken once in the middle, and a number of later speculations.

Book of Documents (*Shujing* 書經 or *Shangshu* 尚書). Confucian canonical text consisting mostly of speeches attributed to kings and ministers in laconic language.

Book of Filial Piety (*Xiaojing* 孝經). One of the 13 Confucian canonical texts, it takes the form of a colloquy between Confucius and his disciple Zeng Shen 曾參 (505–436 BC) on filial devotion as the cornerstone of all moral action.

Book of Songs (*Shijing* 詩經). China's oldest anthology of poetry and one of the Confucian canonical texts. The 305 songs are divided into airs (*feng* 風), 1–160; lesser odes (*xiaoya* 小雅), 161–234; greater odes (*daya* 大雅), 235–65; and encomia (*sung* 頌), 266–305.

Cao Pi 曹丕 (187–226). Eldest son of Cao Cao and first ruler of the Wei. Wrote verse and "Lun wen" 論文 (Discourse on literature), included in *Wenxuan* 文選.

Ch'ae Chegong 蔡濟恭 (1720–99). Chosŏn statesman and writer who opposed suppression of Catholics.

Ch'ae Mansik 蔡萬植 (1902–50). Writer of fiction such as *T'angnyu* (Muddy currents, 1937) and *T'aep'yŏng ch'ŏnha* (Peace under heaven, 1938), a satirical portrayal of how tradition clashes with the new materialism.

Chang Chiyŏn 張志淵 (1864–1921). Journalist and anti-Japanese writer of a biographical fiction, *Aeguk puin chŏn* 愛國婦人傳 (Life of a patriotic

woman, 1907), on Joan of Arc who was burned at the stake on 30 May 1431 at age 19.

Changhwa Hongnyŏn chŏn 薔花紅蓮傳 (Tale of Rose Flower and Pink Lotus). Popular traditional narrative story about an evil stepmother and two stepdaughters.

Ch'angjak kwa pip'yŏng 創作과批評 (Creation and criticism). Influential quarterly begun in January 1966 under the direction of Paek Nakch'ŏng with the intent of strengthening the social function of literature; later became an organ of nationalist and committed writers.

Ch'angjo 創造 (Creation, February 1919 – May 1921). Korea's first literary coterie journal published by Korean students studying in Japan, first in Tokyo then in Seoul; published stories of naturalistic realism and romantic poems such as Chu Yohan's "Pullori" (Fireworks).

Changkki chŏn 장끼傳 (Tale of a pheasant cock). Anonymous traditional narrative story, a fictionalized version of "Ballad of the Pheasant Cock," already current in middle to late eighteenth century.

Changkki t'aryŏng 장끼타령 (Ballad of the pheasant cock). One of the 12 *p'ansori* pieces but no longer extant. Its content might have been the same as the narrative story.

Chang Kyŏngse 張經世 (1547–1615). Scholar and poet who passed the 1589 examination and wrote a *sijo* sequence of 12 songs.

Chang Manyŏng 張萬榮 (1914–77). Imagist poet known for pictorial quality.

Chang P'ungun chŏn 張風雲傳 (Tale of Chang P'ungun). Anonymous traditional narrative story in Korean about the protagonist Chang's tribulations; separated from his parents, he ultimately finds his father.

Chang Tŏkcho 張德祚 (b. 1914). Woman writer of fiction including historical fiction.

Chang Yonghak 張龍鶴 (b. 1912). Writer drafted into the Japanese army during the Second World War. His story "Yohan sijip" (Poems of John the Baptist, 1955) is said to have been influenced by Sartre's *La Nausée* (1938). His full-length fiction, *Wŏnhyŏng ŭi chŏnsŏl* (Legend of a circle, 1962), concerns the tragic nature of the postwar human condition in Korea.

Chang Yu 張維 (1587–1638). Passed the 1609 examination and was known for his Chinese prose in the Tang and Song style; collected works published as *Kyegok chip* 谿谷集.

chapka 雜歌 (miscellaneous songs). Songs sung by roving actors and professional singers, usually to the accompaniment of music, such as "Sipchang ka" 十杖歌 (Song of ten strokes); less refined than *kagok* and *sijo* songs.

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- chapki* 雜記 (literary miscellany). Korean counterpart of the Chinese *biji* 筆記 and the Japanese *zuihitsu* 隨筆 written in plain-style Chinese about current events, along with prose portraits, and literary criticism.
- Chi Haryŏn 池河連 (pen name of Yi Hyŏnuk, 1912–60). Woman writer, Im Hwa's second wife, who delved into the hypocrisy of patriarchy and investigated woman's selfhood. She went north in 1947.
- chingol* 眞骨 (True Bone). The highest stratum of Silla aristocracy.
- chinsa* 進士 (literary licentiate). Candidates for civil-service examination who were required to compose one rhymeprose and one old-style poem, each based on the topic and rhyme provided; 100 successful candidates qualified to enroll in the Royal Confucian Academy.
- Cho Chihun 趙芝薰 (1920–68). Poet and critic who made his debut in 1939 with polished and ornate poems; later wrote social poetry.
- Cho Chŏngnae 趙廷來 (b. 1943). Writer of fiction who focused on the reality of Korea's division and tried to trace its origin in a 10-volume historical fiction, *T'aebaek sanmaek* (T'aebaek mountain range, 1983–89).
- Cho Chonsŏng 趙存性 (1554–1628). Writer of a *sijo* sequence of 4 songs, "Hoakok" 呼兒曲 (Calling a boy).
- Cho Chun 趙浚 (d. 1405). Supporter of General Yi Sŏnggye, who founded the state of Chosŏn; 2 *sijo* are attributed to him.
- Ch'oe Cha 崔滋 (1188–1260). Author of *Pohan chip* 補閑集 (Supplementary jottings in idleness, 1254), a collection of anecdotes and poetry criticism.
- Ch'oe Ch'ansik 崔贊植 (1881–1951). Early twentieth-century writer of fiction – for example, *Ch'uwŏl saek* 秋月色 (Color of the autumn moon, 1912).
- Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn 崔致遠 (b. 857). Silla writer who passed the Tang examination for foreigners in 874 at age 18 and served as secretary to Gao Bian at the time of the Huang Qiao 黃巢 rebellion (874). After returning to Korea he led a retired life. His collected works, *Kyewŏn p'ilgyŏng [chip]* 桂苑筆耕 [集] (Plowing the laurel grove with a writing brush), preface dated 886, are included in the Chinese collectanea *Sibu congkan* 四部叢刊.
- Ch'oe Chŏnghŭi 崔貞熙 (1912–90). Woman writer of fiction who declared she was a "woman with the lamp of her heart always lit."
- Ch'oe Hae 崔澹 (1287–1340). Koryŏ writer who wrote "Yesan ūnja chŏn" 猗山隱者傳 (Life of the hermit Yesan), an autobiographical narrative in the third person.
- Ch'oe Haenggwi 崔行歸 (late tenth century). Translator of Great Master Kyunyŏ's 均如 (923–73) 11 Buddhist songs into Chinese in 967.
- Ch'oe Haksu 晝學 (n.d.). North Korean writer of fiction.
- Ch'oe Harim 崔夏林 (b. 1935). Poet who wrote internalized poetry of engagement.

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- Ch'oe Inho 崔仁浩 (b. 1945). Writer of bestsellers and serious fiction concerned with the world's discord and falsity disguised by the ruling ideology.
- Ch'oe Inhun 崔仁勳 (b. 1936). Writer of fiction and drama who prefers the dramatization of ideas and the inner life to chronological realism. His characters are often faceless abstractions – sometimes only a voice.
- Ch'oe Kyōngch'ang 崔慶昌 (1539–83). Poet, statesman, and addressee of one *sijo* by Hong Nang 洪娘.
- Ch'oe Malli 崔萬理 (fl. 1419–44). Opposed use of the new Korean alphabet invented by King Sejong.
- Ch'oe Myōnghŭi 崔明熙 (1945–98). Woman writer of fiction known especially for her major multi-volume work, *Honppul* (Soul fire, 1983–96).
- Ch'oe Myōngik 崔明翊 (b. 1908). Writer of fiction who went north and has written such historical fiction as *Sōsan taesa* (Great Master Sōsan, 1956) about the great monk who organized monk soldiers during the Japanese invasion of Korea.
- Ch'oe Namsōn 崔南善 (1890–1957). Historian and poet who wrote Korea's first example of free verse, “Hae egesō sonyōn ege” (From the sea to boys, 1908), and *sijo*; also compiled an anthology of *sijo* (1928).
- Ch'oe Pyōngdu t'aryōng 崔鳴두타령 (Ballad of Ch'oe Pyōngdu). *P'ansori* work that narrates an incident in Wōnju, Kangwōn province, concerning a corrupt magistrate Chōng who extorted the wealth of Ch'oe Pyōngdu (or Pyōngdo). Ch'oe's tragic story comprises two-thirds of Yi Injik's fiction *Unsegye* 銀世界 (A silvery world, 1908). A dramatized version is performed at Wōngaksa theatre.
- Ch'oe Sōhae 崔曙海 (1901–37). Writer of class-conscious fiction.
- Ch'oe Sōktu 崔石斗 (1917–51). North Korean writer of poetry.
- Ch'oe Sūngja 崔勝子 (b. 1952). Woman writer, translator, and critic known for feminist poetry with her consciousness at its center.
- Ch'oe Yōng 崔瑩 (1316–88). Famous Koryō general killed by the pro-Yi-Sōnggye party; 2 *sijo* are attributed to him.
- Ch'oe Yun 崔胤 (b. 1953). Woman writer of postmodernist fiction, critic, and professor of French literature at Sogang University.
- Chogwang 朝光 (Morning light or Korea's light, November 1935 – December 1944). Monthly omnibus magazine published by *Chosōn Daily*; altogether 110 numbers.
- Cho Hūibaek 趙熙百 (late nineteenth century). Author of “Tohae ka” 渡海歌 (Song of crossing the sea, 1875) concerning his trip from Chōlla to Kanghwa Island.

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Cho Kich'ŏn 趙基天 (1913–51). Farmer's son who studied in Russia and wrote such narrative verses as *Paektusan* (Mount Paektu, 1948), *Uri ūi kil* (Our road, 1949), and *Chosŏn ūn ssaunda* (Korea fights, 1951).

Chŏkpyŏk ka 赤壁歌 (Song of Red Cliff). A *p'ansori* work based on an episode in the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* 三國志演義.

Cho Kwangjo 趙光祖 (1482–1519). Upright Confucian minister who introduced social and cultural reforms but became the envy of the entrenched bureaucracy and a victim of the 1519 literati purge; later enshrined in the Confucian Temple.

Cho Myŏnghŭi 趙明熙 (1894–1942). Writer of class-conscious fiction.

Chŏngbi chŏn 鄭妃傳 (Tale of Princess Chŏng). Anonymous traditional narrative fiction in Korean concerning a crown princess who saves her father and the crown prince from an evil minister's rebellion.

Chŏng Chisang 鄭知常 (d. 1135). Koryŏ poet known especially for “Taedong kang” (Taedong River) or “Songin” (Sending off a friend); later executed by his poetic rival Kim Pusik for alleged involvement in a rebellion.

Chŏng Chiyong 鄭芝溶 (1903–50?). Successful prewar poet, known for inventive use of polished language, who wrote some 120 poems between 1925 and 1941. Also served as poetry editor of *K'at'ollik ch'ŏngnyŏn* 카톨릭青年 (Catholic youth, 1933–36) and *Munjang* 文章 (Literature, 1939–41). After 1945 he was unproductive and is presumed to have been killed during the Korean War.

Chŏng Ch'ŏl 鄭澈 (1537–94). Poet, statesman, scholar, and author of 5 *kasa* and 79 *sijo* included in the *Songgang kasa* 松江歌詞 (Pine River anthology).

Ch'ŏnggu yadam 靑邱野談 (Unofficial stories from the green hills). Late nineteenth-century collection of 178 stories in Chinese with realistic depiction.

Ch'ŏnggu yŏngŏn 靑丘永言 (Songs of green hills, 1728). First anthology of *sijo* compiled by Kim Ch'ŏnt'aek; the number of *sijo* varies according to the edition.

Chŏng Hagyu 丁學遊 (1786–1855). Writer of a 518-line *kasa*, *Nongga wŏllyŏng ka* 農家月令歌 (The farmer's works and days).

Chŏng Hwajin 정화진 (b. 1959). Contemporary woman writer of feminist poetry.

Chŏng Hyŏnjong 鄭玄宗 (b. 1938). Contemporary poet who initially explored the questions of death and life's emptiness. Later he wrote witty, more accessible poems about the unity of humans and nature and merging the self into the cosmos through transformation and participation. He is professor of modern Korean literature at Yonsei University.

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- Chōng Inji 鄭麟趾 (1396–1478). Scholar and statesman of early Chosŏn who helped King Sejong in his linguistic research that led to the invention of the Korean alphabet and compilation of such literary works as *Yongbi ōch'ŏn ka* 龍飛御天歌 (*Songs of Flying Dragons*, 1445–47).
- Chōng Io 鄭以吾 (1354–1434). Writer of “Yŏlbu Ch'oe-ssi chŏn” 烈婦崔氏傳 (Life of Lady Ch'oe of Chŏlla), whose subject died c. 1379.
- Chōng Kihwa 鄭琦和 (1686–1740). Writer of *Ch'ŏngun pongi* 天君本紀 (Basic annals of the human mind; also called *Simsa* 心史 [History of the mind]) in Chinese.
- Chōng Kŭgin 丁克仁 (1401–81). Writer of the *kasa* “Sangch'un kok” 賞春曲 (In praise of spring).
- Chōng Mongju 鄭夢周 (1337–92). Koryŏ loyalist and scholar widely revered by posterity; 1 *sijo* is attributed to him.
- Chōng Munhyang 鄭文亨 (1919–89). North Korean writer of poetry.
- Chōng Naegyo 鄭來僑 (1681–1757). Writer of a preface to *Ch'ŏnggu yŏngŏn* 靑丘永言 (*Songs of green hills*, 1728); left 2 *sijo*.
- Ch'ŏngnyŏn hoesim kok* 青年悔心曲 (Song of a youth's repentance). Anonymous traditional narrative in Korean set in the time of King Injo (1623–79). The *kasa* quoted in the story warns of the dangerous allure of female entertainers.
- “Chōngsan pyŏlgok” 靑山別曲 (Song of green mountain). Koryŏ popular song consisting of eight 4-line stanzas with the same refrain at the end of each stanza.
- Chōng Sŏ 鄭紱 (fl. 1151–70). Composed the 10-line song “Chōng Kwajŏng” 鄭瓜亭 (Regret, c. 1156) at the place of his exile in Tongnae.
- “Chōngsŏk ka” 鄭石歌 (Song of the gong and chimes). Anonymous Koryŏ ceremonial song with a 3-line introduction, followed by 5 6-line stanzas.
- Chōng Sujŏng chŏn* 鄭秀(壽)貞傳 (Tale of Chōng Sujŏng). Anonymous traditional narrative about the military prowess of the woman general Chōng, in some 10 editions. Also called *Yŏ changgun chŏn* 女將軍傳 (Tale of a woman general).
- Chōng T'aeje 鄭泰齊 (1612–69). Author of *Ch'ŏngun yŏnnŭi* 天君演義 (Romance of the human mind) in Chinese.
- Chōng Tojŏn 鄭道傳 (d. 1398). Architect of Chosŏn dynasty institutions and author of eulogies praising Yi Sŏnggye's military exploits and the new capital Seoul.
- “Chōngŭp-kun millansi yŏhang ch'ŏngyo” 井邑郡民亂時間巷聽謠 (Song heard during a rebellion in Chōngŭp). Anonymous *kasa* about corrupt administration during the late seventeenth century.

- Chōng Yagyong 丁若鏞 (1762–1836). Great Practical Learning scholar and writer of poems about farming and the misery of the people.
- Chōn Kwangyong 全光鏞 (1919–88). Writer of fiction and professor of modern Korean literature at Seoul National University; awarded the Tongin prize for a short story “Kapitan Lee” (1962).
- Chōn Pyōngsun 田炳淳 (b. 1929). Woman writer of fiction.
- Chōn Sangguk 全相國 (b. 1940). Writer of fiction dealing with Korea’s division, the problem of evil, and the meaning of education. Strong fathers play central roles in his work.
- Ch’ōn Seborg 千世鳳 (1915–86). North Korean writer of fiction including *Chosōn ūi pom* (Spring in Korea, 1991).
- Ch’ōnsusōk* 泉水石 (Stones in the spring water). Anonymous 9-volume traditional fiction in Korean existing only in manuscript. Set in late Tang China, it concerns the life of the protagonist Wi Pohyōng. The edited version was published in 1972.
- Ch’ōn Yanghŭi 千良姬 (b. 1942). Woman writer of feminist poetry and essays.
- Chōn Yōngt’aek 田榮澤 (1894–1967). Writer of fiction who was active in Christian education.
- Cho Pyōgam 趙碧岩 (1908–85). Poet who went north and was active there.
- Cho Pyōngsōk 조병석 (n.d.). North Korean writer of poetry.
- “Chōryōng sinhwa” 絶纓新話 (New funny story that loosens the hat strings). Story in the form of conversation between a scholar going to market and a scatterbrain going to Seoul that ridicules the changing social situation of the 1900s; serialized in *Taeahan minbo* 大韓民報 (Korea People’s Press, 14 October to 23 November 1909), signed by “An Idiot” 白痴生.
- Cho Sehŭi 趙世熙 (b. 1942). Writer of fiction known for a group of stories dealing with the urban proletariat during Korea’s industrialization in the 1960s and 1970s. In the story *Nanjangi ka ssoaollin chagŭn kong* (Dwarf launches a little bowl, 1976) Cho analyzes, through many voices, the realities of labor and the hypocrisy of society as dislocated workers oscillate between their anguish and fantasies of flight.
- “Chosin” 調信. Story of a caretaker who falls in love with a magistrate’s daughter in a dream allegory in the *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*. This story shares the same motif with such Tang tales of wonder as “The Prefect of South Branch” and “The World Inside a Pillow” and, later, records of a dream journey. The theme concerns the ultimate vanity of striving for worldly renown.
- Chosōn 朝鮮 (1392–1910). Dynasty ruled by the Yi house.

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Chosŏn Daily 朝鮮日報. Korean-language daily from 6 March 1920 to 10 August 1940 when Japanese colonial authorities banned publication; resumed on 23 November 1945.

Cho Sŏnggi 趙聖期 (1638–89). Author of the vernacular fiction *Ch'angŏn kamŭi rok* 彰善義錄 (Showing goodness and stirred by righteousness), written to entertain his mother.

Cho Sŏnggwan 趙成官 (n.d.). North Korean writer of fiction.

Chosŏn mundan 朝鮮文壇 (Korean literary circle). First full-scale literary journal in Korea; ran from October 1924 to June 1936, twice interrupted in 1927 and 1935. Published new tendency and naturalist works but later leaned toward anticlass and nationalist works.

Chosŏn p'ŭroret'aria yesul tongmaeng 朝鮮프로레타리아예술동맹 (Korea Artista Proleta Federatio in Esperanto, KAPF). Formed on 23 August 1925 by 19 members and dissolved on 20 May 1935.

Cho Uin 曹友仁 (1561–1625). Writer of 3 *kasa* including “Ch'ulsae kok” 出塞曲 (Song of going out the pass, c. 1617).

Cho Ung chŏn 趙雄傳 (Tale of Cho Ung). Anonymous traditional military tale in Korean set in Song China.

Cho Wi 曹偉 (1454–1503). Writer of a *kasa*, “Manbun ka” 萬憤歌 (Song of fury), riddled with allusion.

Cho Wihan 趙緯韓 (1558–1649). Writer of *Ch'oe Ch'ŏk chŏn* 崔陟傳 (Tale of Ch'oe Ch'ŏk) in Chinese on the vicissitudes of the Ch'oe family during the Japanese invasion.

“Ch'ōyong ka” 處容歌 (Song of Ch'ōyong). 8 lines Silla song attributed to Ch'ōyong, son of the dragon king. Also a Koryŏ dramatic song of 45 lines consisting of 6 parts, to expel evil spirits.

chuanqi 傳奇 (tale of wonder). Tales written in literary Chinese from Tang and thereafter. Features include liberal use of incidental poems, didactic commentary at the end, and a narrator who is also witness to the event. Korean examples present variations in form and style, with supernatural elements. Kim Sisŭp's *Kŭmo sinhwa* 金鰲新話 (New tales from Gold Turtle Mountain) is an early Korean example.

Chu Hŭich'ŏl 주희철 (n.d.). North Korean writer of poetry.

Chumong 朱蒙 (37–19 BC). Founder of Koguryŏ 高句麗 whose exploits are celebrated in 東明王篇 “Lay of King Tongmyŏng” by Yi Kyubo (1169–1241). The grandson of Haemosu 解慕漱 and a daughter of the River Earl, he was born from an egg.

Chungang 中央 (Center, November 1933 – September 1936). Monthly omnibus magazine published by *Chosŏn Chungang Daily* 朝鮮中央日報, altogether 35 numbers.

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Ch'ungdam, Master 忠談師 (c. 742–65). Writer of 2 10-line *hyangga*, “Ch'an Kip'arang ka” 讚者婆郎歌 (Ode to Knight Kip'a) and “Anmin ka” 安民歌 (Statesmanship, 765).

chungin 中人 (“middle people”). Holders of government positions who served in the technical posts – physicians, translators, interpreters, astronomer-meteorologists, accountants, law clerks, scribes, government artists – and took the examination for these fields on a hereditary basis. Mostly secondary sons, they formed the technical specialist class. They were among the first to espouse Catholicism and proposed an enlightened reform of government administration. Poets of this class compiled three anthologies of poetry in literary Chinese. Discrimination against secondary sons was formally ended in 1894.

Ch'unhyang chŏn 春香傳 (Tale of Ch'unhyang). *P'ansori* fiction stemming from the sung version. The story exists in woodblock and printed editions.

Ch'unhyang ka 春香歌 (Song of Ch'unhyang). One of the 12 *p'ansori* redacted by Sin Chaehyo.

Ch'up'ung kambyŏl kok 秋風感別曲 (Song of longing in the autumn wind). Anonymous traditional narrative fiction of love in Korean between the commoners Kim Ch'aebong and Kang P'ilsŏng set in late Chosŏn when political corruption was rampant. The story contains a *kasa*, “Kambyŏl kok,” hence the title.

Chu Sebung 周世鵬 (1495–1554). Writer of “Oryun ka” 五倫歌 (Songs of five relations) and other didactic *sijo*.

Chu Ŭisik 朱義植 (1675–1720). Graduate of the military examination who served as a magistrate, painted plum blossoms well, and left 14 *sijo*.

Chu Yohan 朱耀翰 (1900–79). Twentieth-century poet who advocated a truly Korean poetic form based on a study of folk songs.

Chu Yosŏp 朱耀燮 (1902–72). Writer of short stories and longer fiction who studied in Shanghai and Stanford and taught at Furen University in Peking (1934–45).

Ch'wibari 취발이. Old bachelor or prodigal – archetype of the lively young merchant in Pongsan mask dance play and Yangju *pyŏlsandae* mask dance play.

ci 詞 (song words or lyric meters). Chinese song form characterized by prescribed rhyme and tonal sequence and the use of lines of varying length. Originally *ci* were lyrics written to tunes imported from Central Asia, but eventually they became a poetic form without music. The form flourished in China in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667). Tang monk and author of *Shijia shipu* 釋迦世譜 (Life of the Buddha).

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Diamond Scripture 金剛經 (*Vajrachedikā prajñāpāramitā sūtra*). Sutra setting forth the doctrines of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) and intuitive wisdom (*prajñā*). There are 6 Chinese translations.

Doctrine of the Mean (*Zhongyong* 中庸). A metaphysical chapter in the *Record of Rites* included by Zhu Xi 朱熹 in his Four Books (along with *Analects*, *Mencius*, and *Great Learning*).

Du Fu 杜甫 (710–70). China's great poet – widely read, studied, and translated in traditional Korea.

Fan Ye 范曄 (398–445). Compiler of *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (History of the Later Han).

Five Classics 五經. Five Confucian canonical texts: *Book of Changes*, *Book of Documents*, *Book of Songs*, *Record of Rites*, and *Spring and Autumn Annals*. See Michael Nylan, *The Five "Confucian" Classics* (New Haven, 2001).

Four Books 四書. *Analects*, *Great Learning*, *Doctrine of the Mean*, and *Mencius*.

fu 賦 (rhymeprose or rhapsody). Chinese poetic form consisting of a combination of prose and rhymed verse of unspecified length. Descriptive or philosophical, it is often quite long and ornate, the monosyllable *xi* appears within or at the end of a line; end rhyme occurs.

Fujii Sadamoto 藤井貞幹 (?1732–97). Japanese historical researcher.

Great Learning, *The* (*Daxue* 大學). A chapter on sociopolitical matters in the *Record of Rites* included by Zhu Xi in his Four Books.

gushi 古詩 (old-style verse). Chinese verse genre that emerged in the second century. A poem consists of tetra-, penta- or heptasyllabic lines of uniform length; rhyme and parallelism occur, but without the rules of tonal parallelism.

Haebang kinyŏm sijip 解放記念詩集 (Collection in celebration of liberation, 1945). Anthology of 24 pieces.

Haedong kayo 海東歌謠 (Songs of Korea, 1763, 1775). Anthology of *sijo* chronologically arranged by Kim Sujang 金壽長. Two editions exist: the first contains 568 pieces; the second, 638.

"Haega" 海歌 (Song of the sea). Song sung by the people when Lady Suro 水路夫人, wife of Lord Sunjŏng 純貞公, was kidnapped by the sea dragon.

Hahoe *pyŏlsin* shamanist ritual 河回別神天. Mask play held as village ritual at the New Year in Hahoe-dong, Andong county, North Kyŏngsang province. Consists of 12 acts (*kŏri*) and contains religious elements. Topics include poverty of commoners and satire of apostate monks and the gentleman class (*yangban*). The dialogue is not transmitted, but the ritual itself is considered the oldest and best of extant rites.

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Ha Kunch'an 河瑾燦 (b. 1931). Writer of fiction whose topics include the effects of war on rural people and how Japanese and Western civilizations destroyed communal values and customs.

"Hallim pyŏlgok" 翰林別曲 (Song of Confucian scholars, c. 1216). The refrain *kŭi ŏttōhaniikko?* 귀 어더하니잇고 (How about that?) recurs in the fourth and sixth lines of each of 8 stanzas in Chinese and particles and refrains in Korean, whose text is preserved in *Words for Songs and Music*.

Han Chŏngim 韓敬諤 (b. 1964). Contemporary woman writer of fiction.

Han Malsuk 韓末淑 (b. 1931). Woman writer of fiction.

Han Musuk 韓戊淑 (1918–93). Woman writer of fiction whose *Mannam* (1986) has been translated as *Encounter: A Novel of Nineteenth-Century Korea*.

Hansan kōsa 漢山居士 (Retired gentleman of Hansan, n.d.). Writer of a 762-line *kasa*, *Hanyang ka* (Song of Seoul, 1844).

Han Sōrya 韓雪野 (1901–63). Writer of fiction who was also active in the North.

Han-ssi samdae rok 韓氏三代錄 (Three-generation record of the Han clan). Anonymous traditional *roman-fleuve* in Korean.

Hanu 寒雨 ("Cold Rain," n.d.). Female entertainer known to have exchanged *sijo* with Im Che 林悌 (1549–87).

Han Yongun 韓龍雲 (1879–1944). Buddhist monk, nationalist, and author of *Nim ūi ch'immuk* (The silence of love, 1926) – 88 poems plus a foreword and note to the reader. Han is considered one of the great modern Korean poets.

Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824). Tang poet, prose master, and author of a pseudo-biography, "Mao ying zhuan" 毛穎傳 (Biography of a writing brush).

"Hapkangjŏng ka" 合江亭歌 (Song of Hapkang arbor, c. 1792). Anonymous *kasa* about the social ills of the eighteenth century, especially extortion of the people by local magistrates.

Hō Chun 許俊 (n.d.). Writer of fiction who went north in 1945.

"Hōdu ka" 虛頭歌 (or *tanga*). Introductory piece such as "Kwangdae ka" 廣大歌 (Song of the singer) delivered by the *p'ansori* singer before the main work to relax his voice.

Hō Kyun 許筠 (1569–1618). Poet, critic, and writer of prose fiction to whom *Hong Kiltong chŏn* 洪길동전 (Tale of Hong Kiltong) is attributed. He was executed for involvement in a seditious plot.

Hō Nansōrhōn 許蘭雪軒 (Hō Ch'ohŭi, 1563–89). Writer of Chinese and Korean verse and 1 *kasa*, "Kyuwōn ka" 閨怨歌 (A woman's sorrow).

Hong Chikp'il 洪直弼 (1776–1852). Chosŏn writer of prose who excelled in literary style.

- Hong Hŭibok 洪義福 (1794–1859). Translator of Li Ruzhen's *Jinghua yuan* 鏡花緣 (Flowers in the mirror, 1828) as *Cheil kiŏn* 第一奇諺 (The greatest tale of wonder, 1835–48).
- Hongjang 紅粧 (late fourteenth century). Female entertainer from Kangnŭng who befriended Pak Sin 朴信 (1362–1444) and left a single *sijo*. Her beauty and talent were mentioned by such writers as Sŏ Kŏjŏng 徐居正 (1420–89) and Chŏng Ch'ŏl 鄭澈 (1573–93).
- Hong Kyŏngnae silgi* 洪景來實記 (True record of Hong Kyŏngnae). Hong Kyŏngnae (1780–1812), leader of a peasant rebellion in North P'yŏngan, led a force of 2,000 but government troops took his fortress by storm and killed him.
- Hong Manjong 洪萬宗 (1643–1725). Critic of poetry in Chinese and prose fiction who compiled *Sihwa ch'ongnim* 詩話叢林 (Collection of remarks on poetry), selections from 22 writers.
- Hong Myŏnghŭi 洪命煥 (1888–1968). Writer of fiction known for his long historical work *Im Kkŏkchŏng* 林巨正. Based on a mid-sixteenth-century bandit chief, the work was first serialized in *Chosŏn Daily* 朝鮮日報 (1928–39) and published in book form in 1948, the year he went north. It is rich in vocabulary and description of customs during the Chosŏn dynasty.
- Hong Nang 洪娘 (fl. 1567–1600). Official female entertainer in Hongwŏn, South Hamgyŏng, who sent a *sijo* to Minister Ch'oe Kyŏngch'ang (1539–83), a well-known poet in Chinese, at their parting.
- Hong Set'ae 洪世泰 (1653–1725). Poet of commoner origin – a secondary son who passed the interpreters' examination in 1675. Hong compiled *Haedong yuju* 海東遺珠 (Remaining gems of Korea, 1712), a collection of poetry in Chinese by writers of the middle people. He also wrote 3 biographical sketches, among them “Kim Yŏngch'ŏl chŏn” 金英哲傳 (Life of Kim Yŏngch'ŏl). His collected works in 14 chapters were published in 1731.
- Hong Sŏkchu 洪奭周 (1774–1842). Writer who excelled in old-style prose. His collected works are in *Yŏnch'ŏn chip* 淵泉集.
- Hong Sŏkchung 洪錫中 (b. 1941). Grandson of Hong Myŏnghŭi and North Korean writer of fiction including *Nopsae param* (Northeastern wind, 1983–91).
- Hong Sunhak 洪淳學 (1842–92). Writer of the *kasa*, *Yŏnhaeng ka* 燕行歌 (Song of a trip to Peking, 1866).
- Hong Tongji 洪同知. Nephew of Pak Ch'ŏmji in the puppet play, he has a naked body in red and even reveals an erect member – a satirical and humorous character.
- Hong Yangho 洪良浩 (1724–1802). Writer of *Puksae kiryak* 北塞記略 (Record of the northern pass) in which he used Chinese graphs for