

## Iǒn 俚諺 (Folk Vernacular)

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### First Criticism

Someone asks: What did you create your “Folk Vernacular” for? Why did you not work on “Airs of the States,” “Music Bureau ballads,” or *ciqu* lyrics,<sup>1</sup> but have to write this “Folk Vernacular”?

I reply: This is not (what) I (did), but what the master had me do.<sup>2</sup> How would I get to write “Airs of the States,” “Music Bureau ballads,” or *ciqu* lyrics, but not the “Folk Vernacular” of mine? Seeing that the “Airs” are “Airs,” “Music Bureau ballads” are “Music Bureau ballads,” and *ciqu* lyrics are *ciqu* lyrics—but not “Airs” or “Music Bureau ballads,” you would understand (why) I composed “Folk Vernacular.”

He asks: Then, is none of those “Airs,” “Music Bureau,” *ciqu* lyrics, as well as your “Folk Vernacular,” what their composers created?

I reply: How would those who compose dare to create them? Those about which the writers write created them. Who are they? Heaven and earth and the ten thousand things within, they are. Heaven and earth and the ten thousand things have the natures of heaven and earth and the ten thousand things; they have the images of heaven and earth and the ten thousand things; the colors of heaven and earth and the ten thousand things; and the sounds of heaven and earth and the ten thousand things. Viewing them collectively, heaven and earth and the ten thousand things are one heaven and earth and the ten thousand things; speaking of them separately, heaven and earth and the ten thousand things are each individual heaven and earth and the ten thousand things. The falling flowers in the wind-swept forest scatter and pile like the rain,<sup>3</sup> but when we look at them discerningly, the red ones are red and white ones are white. (Even with) the Grand Music of Middle Heaven,<sup>4</sup> which rumbles and stirs like thunder, if one listens carefully, the strings are strings, and pipes are pipes. Each color has its own color; each sound has its own sound. The entire (*Book of*) *Poetry* had its draft from nature, which had already been complete before the drawing of the *bagua* [Eight Trigrams] and the invention of writing. This is not something “Airs,” “Music Bureau ballads,” and *ciqu* lyrics would dare to designate themselves to be or to claim to replicate. Heaven and earth and the ten thousand things do to those who compose those [poems and songs] no more than “reveal the minister by way of a dream” or “go to the winnow to pass on reality.”<sup>5</sup> Thus, if any (of the heaven and earth and the ten thousand things) would become a poem by way of a person, it flows

smoothly into the earholes and eyeholes, roams above the Cinnabar Fields, and issues leisurely out of the mouth and hand, which has nothing to do with the person. It is as though Shakyamuni accidentally entered inside the peacock's stomach through its mouth and came out of its anus a short while later.<sup>6</sup> I am not sure then whether Shakyamuni was Shakyamuni or the peacock was Shakyamuni. For this reason, the one who composes them is an interpreter<sup>7</sup> for heaven and earth and the ten thousand things, as well as a Longmian the Painter<sup>8</sup> of heaven and earth and the ten thousand things. Now, when the interpreter interprets speeches, if he interprets Nahachu,<sup>9</sup> then the speech becomes that of the northern barbarians; if he interprets Matteo Ricci, then it becomes the language of the West. He should not dare to make changes because the sounds are not familiar. When a painter paints an image of a person, if he painted Lord Mengchang, then it becomes the image of a small and weak person;<sup>10</sup> if he painted Juwu Ba the Giant,<sup>11</sup> then the image is of one from the Changdi tribe.<sup>12</sup> He should not dare to alter it because the image does not suit the category. How is [poetry] any different from this?

So it has been said, the ten thousand things are the ten thousand things, and cannot be made into one. Even with the heaven of one heaven, there is not a day in which the heaven is the same; with the earth of one earth, there is not a place on earth where it is similar to one another. If there are ten million people, then they have ten million names, one for each; for three hundred days [of a year], there are three hundred threads of events, one for each day. It is just like that. Thus, succeeding the generations of the Xia, Yin, and Zhou, of the Han, of the Jin, of the Song, Qi, Liang, Chen, and Sui, of the Tang, of the Song, and of the Yuan, one generation is not the same as the other, each has its own poetry. Of the various (Warring) States, the Zhou and Shao, the Bei, Yong, Wei, and Zheng, the Qi, the Wei, the Tang, the Qin, and the Chen, one state is not like the other, and each has its own poetry. Times change every thirty years; customs diverge every hundred *ri*. Having been born during the Qianlong reign years of the Great Qing, in the capital Hanyang of the Chosŏn, why would I dare to crane my short neck long and glare with my small eyes wide open, wanting in vain to discuss the composition of the "Airs," "Music Bureau ballads," or *ciqu* lyrics? If what my eyes have already seen is as such, then it is as such, and then indeed I cannot have created anything. But those heaven and earth and the ten thousand things, which have existed for a long time, would not stop existing one day just because it is of the Qianlong reign; and those heaven and earth and the ten thousand things, which are of multifarious realities, would not stop ensuing in one place just because it is the city of Hanyang. Also, of my ears, eyes, mouth, and hands, not one of them is lacking compared to the ancients on account of me being shallow and inferior. What a relief, what a relief indeed! But this is why I too cannot help but have something about which to write. This is also the reason I compose this "Folk Vernacular" but dare not to compose (works like) "Peach Tree Lush" and "Dolichos spreading,"<sup>13</sup> "Red Egret" and "Oldman Grief,"<sup>14</sup> or "Candle Shadow Swaying Red" and "Butterfly Longing for Flowers."<sup>15</sup> How could I? How could I? Regrettably, heaven and earth and the ten thousand things do not wander around me so much as the people of ancient times wandered around heaven and earth

and the ten thousand things.<sup>16</sup> Then this is my fault. Therefore, I dared not call the various styles of the folk vernacular “Airs,” “Music Bureau ballads,” or “*ciqu* lyrics,” but termed them “vernacular” in addition to “folk,” by way of apology to heaven and earth and the ten thousand things. A butterfly flew by a Crane Pinion chrysanthemum<sup>17</sup> and, seeing it cold and emaciated, asked, “How come you are not white like plum blossoms, red like the peony, or half-red and half-white like peaches, but are instead yellow like this?” The Crane Pinion chrysanthemum said, “How could this be my doing? The times are like this. What can you do to the times?” Why are you being that butterfly (asking such questions) to me?

### 一難

或問曰：子之俚諺，何爲而作也？子何不爲國風爲樂府爲詞曲，而必爲是俚諺也歟？

余對曰：是非我也，有主而使之者。吾安得爲國風樂府詞曲，而不爲我俚諺也哉？觀乎國風之爲國風，樂府之爲樂府，詞曲之不爲國風樂府，而爲詞曲也，則我之爲俚諺也，亦可知矣。

曰：“然則，彼國風與樂府與詞曲，與子之所謂俚諺者，皆非作之者之所作歟？”

曰：作之者，安敢作也？所以爲作之者之所作者，作之矣。是誰也？天地萬物，是已也。天地萬物，有天地萬物之性，有天地萬物之象，有天地萬物之色，有天地萬物之聲。總而察之，天地萬物，一天地萬物也；分而言之，天地萬物，各天地萬物也。風林落花，兩樣紛堆，而辨而視之，則紅之紅，白之白也；勻天廣樂，雷般轟動，而審而聽之，則絲也絲，竹也竹。各色其色，各音其音。一部全詩，出稿於自然之中，而已具於畫八卦造書契之前矣。此國風樂府詞曲者之所不敢自任，不敢相襲也。天地萬物之於作之者，不過托夢而現相，赴實而通情也。故其假於人，而將爲詩也，溜溜然從耳孔眼中入去，徘徊乎丹田之上，續續然從口頭手頭上出來，而其不干於人也。若釋迦牟尼之偶然從孔雀口中入腹，須臾向孔雀尻門復出也。吾未知釋迦牟尼之釋迦牟尼耶？是孔雀之釋迦牟尼耶？是故，作之者，天地萬物之一象胥也，亦天地萬物之一龍眠也。今夫譯士之譯人之語也，譯內含出，則爲北蕃之語；譯利瑪竇，則爲西洋之語。不敢以其聲之不慣，而有所變改焉。今夫畫工之畫人像也，畫孟嘗君，則爲眇小之像；畫巨無霸，則爲長狄之像。不敢以其像之不類，而有所推移焉，何以異於是？

蓋嘗論之，萬物者，萬物也，固不可以一之，而一天之天，亦無一日相同之天焉；一地之地，亦無一處相似之地焉。如千萬人，各自有千萬件姓名；三百日，另自有三百條事爲，惟其如是也。故歷代而夏殷周也漢也晉也宋齊梁陳隋也唐也宋也元也，一代不如一代，各自有一代之詩焉；列國而周召也邶鄘衛鄭也齊也魏也唐也秦也陳也，一國不如一國，另自有一國之詩焉。三十年而世變矣，百里而風不同矣。奈之何生於大清乾隆之年，居於朝鮮漢陽之城，而乃敢伸長短頸，瞋大細目，妄欲談國風樂府詞曲之作作者乎？吾既目見，而其如是，如是也，則吾固不可以有所作矣。猶彼長壽之天地萬物者，不以乾隆年間而或一日不存焉；惟彼多情之天地萬物者，不以漢陽城下而或一處不隨焉；亦吾之耳之目之口之手也，不以吾之庸庸，而或一物不備於古人焉，則幸哉幸哉！此吾之亦不可以不有所作者也。亦吾之所以只作俚諺，而不敢作桃夭葛覃也，不敢作朱鷺悲翁也，并與燭影搖紅蝶戀花，而亦不敢作者也。是豈我也哉？是豈我也哉？所可慙者，天地萬物之所於我乎徘徊者，大不及古人之所以徘徊天地萬物者，則此則我之罪也。而亦俚諺審調之所以不敢曰國風，曰樂府，曰詞曲，而既曰俚，又曰諺，以謝乎天地萬物者也。蝴蝶飛而過乎鶴翎，見其寒且瘦，問之曰：“子何不爲梅花之白牡丹之紅桃李之半紅半白，而必爲是黃歟？”鶴翎曰：“是豈我也？時則然矣，於時何哉？”子亦豈我之蝴蝶也哉？

## Second Criticism

(Someone asks:) You say heaven and earth and the ten thousand things go into you and come out of you, then become your “Folk Vernacular.” Then how come your heaven and earth and the ten thousand things are limited to just one or two things? Why does your “Folk Vernacular” only speak of the matters of [those who wear] rouge, powder, skirts, and hairpins? The ancients listened to nothing but proprieties, looked at nothing but proprieties, spoke of nothing but proprieties.<sup>18</sup> Is (your “Folk Vernacular”) like that, as well?

I briskly sit up with my face adjusted, kneel down to apologize, and say, “What you, master, taught me was brilliant. This student was wrong, so please burn it completely. But this student has something he ventures to request of you, for which, hopefully, you would provide teaching. Let me dare to ask you—this *Book of Poetry*, what is it?”

“It is a classic.”

“Who composed it?”

“The poets of the time.”

“Who compiled it?”

“It was Confucius.”

“Who annotated it?”

“The *Collection of Annotations* was by Master Zhu,<sup>19</sup> and the interlinear glosses were by the scholars of the Han.”

“What was its overall meaning?”

“Not to have depraved thoughts.”<sup>20</sup>

“What was its effect?”

“To teach people to achieve goodness.”

“What are the ‘Zhounan’ and the ‘Shaonan’?”

“They are ‘Airs of the States’”

“What do they speak of?”

After a long while, he says, “Mostly about the matters of women.”

“How many poems are there altogether?”

“‘Zhounan’ includes eleven poems; ‘Shaonan’ fourteen.”

“And how many of them are there that do not speak of matters of women?”

He says, “Including ‘Rabbit-net’ and ‘Sweet Pear Tree’<sup>21</sup> there are five poems.”

“Is that so? How strange! Heaven and earth and the ten thousand things being in the mere matters of rouge, powder, skirts, and hairpins—has it been like that since antiquity? Why were the poets of antiquity not mindful of (the precept) ‘Hear not anything but propriety, see not anything but propriety, and speak not anything but propriety’? Dear guest! Would you like to hear my explanation? There is a reason for this. As for the view of heaven and earth and the ten thousand things, nothing is greater than seeing it in people; as for the view of people, nothing is more elaborate than seeing it in emotions; and as for the view of emotions, nothing is truer than seeing it in the emotions between men and women. Since there is this world, there is this body; since there is this body, there are these affairs; since there are these affairs, there are these emotions. Therefore, when we

can see the crooked and the upright of his or her mind, we may know whether the person is worthy or not; when we can see the gain and loss of the state of affairs, we may know whether the custom is profligate or frugal; when we can see the thick and the thin of the soil, we may know whether the house would thrive or wane; when we can see the control and the chaos of the state, we may know whether the era is prosperous or corrupt.

“More often than not, as for people and their feelings, some pretend to be pleased when (what they face) is nothing to be pleased with; some pretend to be angry when it is nothing to be angry about; some pretend to be saddened when it is nothing to be saddened by. Though it is not something to enjoy, love, hate, or desire, we sometimes feign enjoyment, love, hate, and desire. As regards which is real and which is fake, there is nothing through which we observe the realness of the feeling. But only when it comes to things between men and women, are these matters of course in human life, which is also the principle of the Heavenly Way being as it is. Therefore, green goblets and red candles,<sup>22</sup> as well as matrimonial proposals and the exchange of bows<sup>23</sup> are also true feelings; feisty quarrels and furious berating in the inner chambers are also true feelings. Missing someone in tears and pining for someone in dreams behind pale-yellow silk drapes, or beside parapets, are also true feelings; trading laughs and songs for gold and jade in blue mansion at ‘willow markets’<sup>24</sup> are also true feelings; cuddling with rouge faces and leaning on jadeite sleeves<sup>25</sup> on pillows embroidered with mandarin ducks, covered with halcyon-stitched sheets, are also true feelings; through frosty fulling sounds<sup>26</sup> and under the lamp on rainy nights, choking back sorrow and tucking in grudges, are also true feelings; below flowers, under the moon,<sup>27</sup> giving jade pendants<sup>28</sup> and secretly passing incense<sup>29</sup> are also true feelings.<sup>30</sup> It is only in this kind of true feelings that there is no place that is not true. If one made (the feelings) solemn and sincere, and was fortunate enough to obtain uprightness, these are also feelings that are true; if one let them be bigoted and brazen and unfortunately lost uprightness, these are also feelings that are true. Only because they are true, if they obtain uprightness, then we may model them; only because they are true, may we also be warned away from them if they lose uprightness; only if they are true, can they be modeled, and (only if they are) true, can they be made precautions. Therefore, we can see from this the (true) feelings of the mind and person, of the matters and customs, of the soil and house, and the state and generation. In order to observe the heaven and earth and the ten thousand things, hereby, there is nothing truer than observing the feelings between men and women.

“This is why there were as many as twenty poems (about matters of women) out of twenty-five poems in the ‘Zhounan’ and ‘Shaonan.’ There were also as many as thirty-seven such poems out of thirty-nine poems in the ‘Airs of Wei’ and sixteen out of twenty-one in ‘Airs of Zheng.’ This is also why the poets of those times did not mind hearing, seeing, or speaking of things outside propriety. This is also what our great sage Confucius harvested, what staunch scholars like Mr. Mao,<sup>31</sup> Zheng [Xuan],<sup>32</sup> and Ziyang<sup>33</sup> annotated and collected annotations for, as well as what the master [Confucius] called ‘not to have depraved thoughts,’ whereby to transform

people and complete their goodness. How could you know that listening to things outside propriety is in order not to listen to those that are not propriety; seeing things outside propriety is in order not to see those that are not propriety; and speaking of things outside propriety is in order not to speak of those that are not propriety? All the more so when not all of what we see, listen to, and speak of are improper! I thus say, ‘The “upright airs” and “licentious airs” of the *Book of Poetry* are not poems but history!’ What the world calls licentious histories, the kind of the *Plum in the Golden Vase* and *The Carnal Prayer Mat*, are not licentious histories, either. If we think of it [i.e., heaven and earth and ten thousand things] in the minds of the writers, there is nothing for which we can call them ‘upright airs’ or ‘licentious airs.’<sup>34</sup> Why do you think it is so? There is a reason for it.

“Women are eccentric by nature.<sup>35</sup> They can be joyous, forlorn, resentful, or giddy, which indeed courses from their relying on feelings. It is as if they hide needles on the tip of their tongues or wield axes between their eyebrows.<sup>36</sup> Thus, when conforming to the realm of poetry, no man can be as subtle as women. Womenfolk are bewitching creatures. In their demeanor, their speech, their dresses, and their residence, to every corner, there are [moments] as if you are hearing orioles in your sleep, or admiring peach blossoms after getting drunk. Thus, when it comes to being fully equipped with materials for poetry, no man is as complicated as a woman.

“Alas, though they are subtle and complicated, if the one who deals with (and writes about) them were to be gliding above (the high offices by) Phoenix Pond<sup>37</sup> or to go in and out of the ritual *saeng* organ and *yong* drums,<sup>38</sup> he would have no time to reach them [the subtlety and complexity]; if he were to be dwelling in jade-green mountains, playing with gibbons and cranes,<sup>39</sup> how could he reach them? If he were to exert his mind only on the abyss of moral principles, befriending and enchanted by the scene of the wind and moon, how could he deign to touch upon them; if he were to retreat to wine and brush, drinking and singing<sup>40</sup> at brothels and pleasure quarters, how could he again reach them?

“At present, it is neither this nor that. If you ask about the era, it is an epoch of great peace like flowers amidst spring fog<sup>41</sup>—a wonderful world of joyous abundance. If you ask where we are, this is brocaded Chang’an<sup>42</sup>—a hustling and bustling big city. If you ask about the person, I have been a writer for many years—a life drenched with inertia. I go out to roam the streets, and the people I run into are women, if not men; when I come back at night and face my desk, what unfolds before me are just a few books. The mind itches therein, like hundreds and thousands of lice running around the liver lobe, and I cannot help but tilt my guts and let those lice out. Nevertheless, if I were to compose a poem, where, of heaven and earth and the ten thousand things,<sup>43</sup> could I even get down to it if I discard the subtle and complicated as well as what is true of the emotion? Do you hear it or not? Perhaps the talents and knowledge of those poets of the ‘Airs,’ when they composed the ‘Airs,’ could indeed have been tens of thousand times better than mine. But the intention with which they composed them would have not been much different from mine.”

## 二難

或曰：“子言天地萬物，入乎子出乎子，爲乎子之俚諺，則豈子之天地萬物，獨一個兩個而止耶？何子之俚諺，只及於粉脂裙釵之事耶？古人非禮勿聽，非禮勿視，非禮勿言，亦若是乎？”

余蹶然而起改容，跪而謝曰：“先生教之，旨矣。弟子失矣，請亟焚之。然弟子竊有請於先生者，幸先生卒教之，敢問詩傳者，何也？”

曰：“經也。”“誰作之？”

曰：“時之詩人也。”

“誰取之？”

曰：“孔子也。”

“誰註之？”

曰：“集註朱子也，箋註漢儒也。”

“其大旨何？”

曰：“思無邪也。”

“其功用何？”

曰：“教民成善也。”

曰：“周召南何？”

曰：“國風也。”

“所道者何？”

久之曰：“多女子之事也。”

“凡幾篇？”

曰：“周十有一篇，召十四篇也。”

“其不道女子之事者，各幾篇？”

曰：“維兔置甘棠等合五篇也已。”

曰：“然歟？異哉！天地萬物之只在於粉脂裙釵者，其自古在昔而然歟？何古之詩人之不憚乎非禮勿視非禮勿聽非禮勿言而然歟？客乎！子欲聞其說乎？是有說焉。夫天地萬物之觀，莫大於觀於人；人之觀，莫妙乎觀於情；情之觀，莫真乎觀乎男女之情。有是世，有是身；有是身，有是事；有是事，便有是情。是故，觀乎此，而其心之邪正可知，人之賢否可知，其事之得失可知，其俗之奢儉可知，其土之厚薄可知，其家之興衰可知，其國之治亂可知，其世之污隆可知矣。

蓋人之於情也，或非所喜而假喜焉，或非所怒而假怒焉，或非所哀而假哀焉。非樂非愛非惡非欲，而或有假而樂而哀而惡而欲者焉。孰真孰假，皆不得有以觀乎其情之真。而獨於男女也，則卽人生固然之事也，亦天道自然之理也。故綠香紅燭，問聘交拜者，亦真情也；香閨繡奩，狠鬪忿詈者，亦真情也；綉簾玉欄，淚望夢思者，亦真情也；青樓柳市，笑金歌玉者，亦真情也；鴛枕翡翠，偎紅倚翠者，亦真情也；霜砧雨燈，飲恨埋怨者，亦真情也；花底月下，贈佩偷香者，亦真情也。惟此一種真情，無處不真。使其端莊貞一，幸而得其正焉，是亦真個情也；使其放僻怠傲，不幸而失其正焉，此亦真個情也。惟其真也，故其得正者，足可以法焉；惟其真也，故其失其正者，亦可以戒焉；惟其真，可以法，真可以戒也。故其心其人，其事其俗，其土其家，其國其世之情，亦從此可觀，而天地萬物之觀，於是乎，莫真於觀男女之情矣。

此周召南二十五篇，所以有二十篇也；亦衛風三十九篇，所以有三十七篇也；鄘風二十一篇，所以有十六篇之多者也。亦時之詩人之所以不憚非禮而聽之視之言之也，亦我大成至聖孔夫子之所以取者也，亦毛鄭紫陽諸醇儒之所以箋註之集註之者也，亦子之所謂思無邪者，教民成善者也。子安知夫非禮而聽，將以非禮勿聽也；

非禮而視者，將以非禮而勿視也；非禮而言者，將以非禮勿言也哉？而況乎所以視聽言者，未必盡是非禮也哉！是故，吾則曰：‘詩之正風淫風，非詩也，乃春秋也。’世之所稱淫史，若金瓶梅肉蒲團之流，亦皆非淫史也。原其作者之心，則雖謂之正風淫風，亦無所可矣。子以爲如何哉？且有說焉。

女子者，偏性也。其歡喜也，其憂愁也，其怨望也，其謔浪也，固皆任情流出，有若舌端藏針眉間弄斧，則人之合乎詩境者，莫女子妙矣。婦人，尤物也。其態止也，其言語也，其服飾也，其居處也，亦皆到盡底頭，有若睡中聽鶯醉後賞桃，則人之具乎詩料者，莫婦人繁矣。噫！雖其妙且繁矣，而使其當之者，若翺翔鳳池，出笙入鏞，則何可暇及於此也；若栖遲碧山，酬猿和鶴，則何足及於此也；若潛心理窟，吟弄乎風月，則何屑及於此也；若逃身麴墨，酣歌乎花柳，則亦何能及於此也？今也，此且不然，彼且不然。問其時也，則煙花太平，熙熙穰穰之好世界也；問其地也，則錦繡長安，紛紛擾擾之大都會也；問其人也，則筆墨多年，泔泔悶悶之閒生涯也。晝而出遊乎街坊，則所逢者，非男則女也；夜而歸對乎床書，則所展者，唯圖書數卷也。其心焉癢癢焉，如千百蟲之遍走乎肝葉也。吾亦不得不傾倒腸胃，出此蟲而後已矣。然而既作之，則天地萬物之間，舍其妙且繁而情真者，吾復何處焉下手也哉？子其聞之乎，否乎？意者，國風之詩人者，於其作國風之時也，其才與識，固萬萬倍賢乎吾也，而其所以作之之意，則蓋亦與吾不甚相遠也云爾。”

### Third Criticism

Someone thinks: Among the clothes, food, vessels, and plates (mentioned) in the “Folk Vernacular,” there are those with names and those without,<sup>44</sup> yet (the “Folk Vernacular”) does not use their original names but clumsily writes them with [Chinese] characters, as it pleases, in accordance with the local names. Thus, they take this to be presumptuous, perverse, and rustically oafish.

I say: This is so. But then, I have long been making such transgressions. I don't call my own house “Agyang nu [C. Yueyang lou]” or “Ch'wiong chǒng [C. Zuiweng ting]”; rather, I call my house with the name of my house.<sup>45</sup> I had my capping ceremony when I was fifteen, and began to use my given name and style name,<sup>46</sup> but I did not name myself with the name of someone from antiquity; nor did I style myself with a style name of someone from antiquity. Instead, I named myself with my own name, and I styled myself with my own style name. Thus, I have long been violating this rule, as well. And it's not just me—you do so, too! How come you didn't take Ji [SK. Hüi] of the Yellow Emperor, Wang [SK. Wang] or Xie [SK. Sa] of the Jin [317–420], or Cui [SK. Ch'oe] or Lu [SK. No] of the Tang [618–907] as your last name, but took your own last name?<sup>47</sup>

This someone laughs about it, saying: I am talking about names of things, but you drag the (names of) people into it?

I say: Let me speak with the names of things. The names of things are indeed plenty, so let us speak with the names of the things before us. That woven grass on which we sit, people of antiquity and the people of China<sup>48</sup> call it *sōk* [C. xi], but you and I call it *tok-tansōk*.<sup>49</sup> That wooden frame on which we place an oil lamp, people of antiquity and the people of China call it *dengqing* [K. *tūng-gyōng*], but you and I call it *kwangmyōng*.<sup>50</sup> They [people of antiquity and the people of China] call that bundle of hair with a pointy end *p'il* [C. *bi*], but we call it *pusi*.<sup>51</sup> As for that pulped and bleached *tak*-mulberry bark, they call it *chi*, but



we call it *choŭi*.<sup>52</sup> They name things with what they name them; we name things with what we name them. I wouldn't know whether what they name them with are indeed their names or what we name them with are really their names. Since (the names) “*sŏk*” and “*tŭnggyŏng*” that they [Chinese] say are not the names that Pangu<sup>53</sup> bestowed in the first year that he ascended to the throne, they would not be their (innate) names. Since (the names) *pusi* and *choŭi* that we say are not the names that brush and paper were conveniently given by their legitimate father and mother, these should not be their (innate) names. That they are not their (innate) names is all the same. They named them with what they had to name them with, and we named them with what we had to name them with. Why must we discard what we named them with and follow what they named them with? Why don't they discard what they named them with and follow what we named them with?

Once upon a time, a prefect ordered a lowly *amun* functionary to buy things needed for a ritual. The *amun* clerk bought (almost) everything according to the ledger. But there was something called *pŏbyu*, of which he had no idea.<sup>54</sup> He tried asking the oil seller, and the oil seller said, ‘I only got *chinyu* and *tŭngyu*, but ain't got nothing named *pŏbyu*.’<sup>55</sup> The *amun* functionary returned without purchasing it, and never figured out that *pŏbyu* was in fact *tŭngyu*. This is the fault of the prefect, not of the *amun* clerk or of the oil seller. Then again, there was someone living in the capital who invited a close guest from the country and said: ‘Right now in the markets of the capital, *ch'ŏngp'o* is really good. Come over and I will treat you to some.’ The country guest thought it would be a rare delicacy. He went to the house the next day, and the host served a lot of green bean curd on the table to treat him. That green bean curd is what people call “*muk*.”<sup>56</sup> The country guest went back full of resent and told his wife: “That so-and-so duped me today. Though I don't know what that *ch'ŏngp'o* is, I went there, since he had invited me, only to be fed *muk*! He never served *ch'ŏngp'o*.” He stayed angry for quite a while, and never realized that *ch'ŏngp'o* was *muk*. So this is the fault of the person living in the capital, not of the country guest. How many among the poets of the Eastern Kingdom would not know that they are buying (*pŏbyu*) oil and eat *ch'ŏngp'o*?

On the side of a brook is a bird, whose jade-green feathers are indeed delicate. Its name is *ch'olchak* [iron sparrow (halcyon)],<sup>57</sup> but it was said (in a poem), “Tall bamboos, village houses, a *pich'wi* [halcyon] cries.”<sup>58</sup> What would a tribute from Yuecheng be doing in a country home of Chosŏn?<sup>59</sup> In the mountain there is a bird, at night always crying sadly, and it is named *ch'ŏptong* (“cuckoo”). Then it was said (in a poem), “I can't bear to hear the *tugyŏn* (cuckoo) cry in this land,” but what would the soul of Bashu be doing in the land of Chosŏn?<sup>60</sup> Cases of this kind are too many to reprove one by one. Therefore, for all those things like clothes, food, and utensils, the people of this country should name them with the names that they call them, so that it would be more than enough for even a three-year-old to understand them. But when it comes time to grab a brush and face the paper so as to draft a simple list of things with a few characters, we have to look to the left and right to ask the people next to us because we don't know to what names those things correspond. Why is that?

Oh, I see the point. They think, “Those local names [*hyangmyǒng*] are names (used) in local regions. We can only call them orally, but cannot write them down with a brush.” Then I don’t know why it did not say “Kyǒng” but said “Sōrabōl,” when Silla established its country name; why the monarchical title did not say “*ch’imun* (teeth line)” but said “*nisagūm*”; why the surname did not say “*Ho* (gourd)” but said “*Pak*”? How could Kim Pusik have missed them or not known how to write them?<sup>61</sup> Further, why did those “Songs for Nao Bell” of the Han and the fictional narrative, *Plum in the Golden Vase*, not tame their words or render their language classic and elegant, so that the people of later generations and other countries could all understand (the works) easily?<sup>62</sup> How could it be because Mei Sheng and Sima Xiangru liked to be perverse and Wang Shizhen was much too rustic?<sup>63</sup> Ah! If those with which they name things, like “*sōk*,” “*tūnggyǒng*,” “*p’il*,” and “*chi*,” do match the things (i.e., lath mat, lamp frame, writing brush, and paper), I should also step aside and follow others—no need to stubbornly insist on local names like those intent only on winning. But when it comes to saying “*ch’wi*” in reference to jade-green feathers and “*kyōn*” when hearing sad bird cries, I would rather go so far as to compose Han’gūl poems, even though my hand may be clumsy and my tongue might falter. But I would never buy “*pōbyu*” or eat “*ch’ōngp’o*”! How could I do without local names?

It is lamentable that neither Changjie nor the Ming emperors made a separate writing (method) for us; or that neither the Immortal Tan’gun nor King Kija (Ch. Jizi) has ever taught the language in writing. Then, among the numerous local words there are words that have not yet been named in writing. Why would I be afraid not to use them? This is the reason I insist on local names. How is it that I am rustic? How is it that I am perverse? How is it that I am presumptuous? You have called me presumptuous, so let me say it loudly without avoiding being presumptuous. I once<sup>64</sup> saw in the *Kangxi zidian*, where it recorded *le* 玠 (SK. *nūk*) and stated “name of a royal relative in Chosōn”;<sup>65</sup> it also recorded the character *duo* 番 (SK. *tap* “paddy field”) as “name of Koryō people’s watered field (rice paddy).” The *yuefu* poems by You (Tong) of Changzhou<sup>66</sup> often mentioned the folk language of our country. So how do I know that there won’t be someone from the Central Plain [China] who collects things broadly, who might record the names of the things I mention and annotate them as “[This is] a word that Kyōnggūmja of Chosōn had said”?<sup>67</sup> How amusing!

### 三 難

或以俚諺中所用服食器皿，凡于有名之物無名之物，多不用本來之名稱，以妄以己意傳合鄉名，用之文字也，以為僭焉，以為詭焉，以為鄉閭焉。余曰：“是然矣。然則，我之犯是科也，久矣。我之於我之室也，我不曰‘岳陽樓’‘醉翁亭’，而我以我室之名，名我室焉。我十五而冠，始有名有字，我不以古人之名名我，我不以古人之字字我，而我名我，我字我，則犯是科，其亦久矣。奚徒我也？子亦然矣。子何不以黃帝之姬周晉之王謝唐之崔盧為子之姓，而子何有子之姓耶？”

或笑之曰：“我言物名，而子反勒之以人耶？”曰：“請以物之名言。物之名甚多，請以目前之物之名而言之。彼草織而藉者，古之人中國之人，則曰‘席’，我與子，則曰‘兜單席’，彼架木而安油盞者，古之人中國之人，則曰‘燈檠’，我與子，則曰‘光明’，

彼束毛而尖者，彼則曰‘筆’，我則曰‘賦詩’；彼搗楮而白者，彼則曰‘紙’，我則曰‘照意’。彼以彼之所名者名之，我以我之所名者名之，吾未知彼之所名者，果其名耶？我之所名者，果其名耶？彼之曰‘席’曰‘燈檠’者，既非盤古氏即位初年欽差賜名者，則亦非其名也。我之曰‘賦詩’曰‘照意’者，又非楮與毛嫡親爺孃之所唾手命名者，則亦非其名也。其爲其非名也，則均矣。彼當以彼之所名者名之，我當以我之所名者名之。我何必棄我之所名者，而從彼之所名者乎？彼則何不棄其所名者，而從我之所名者乎？

古有一太守，使吏買祭需於市。吏按簿，買之盡，只有法油者，不知爲何物也。試問於賣油郎，賣油郎曰：‘俺只有真油燈油二油而已，本無名法油’者矣。吏不得買而歸，竟不知法油之爲燈油也。則此太守之過，而非吏與賣油郎之過也。又有一京口人，招其所親鄉客曰：‘方今京肆，青泡甚美，來則吾當飫之。’鄉客，以爲是奇饌也，翌日，之其家，主人，多設綠豆腐以待之。綠豆腐者，世所謂‘默’也。鄉客志歸，謂其妻曰：‘今日某哥，欺余矣。青泡者，我雖不知爲何饌，而彼既許我，故我至則只饋‘默’，不設青泡矣，久猶‘愠’之，終不知青泡之爲‘默’也，則此京口人之責，非鄉客之責也。東國之詩人，其不買油，而喫青泡者，凡幾人哉？

溪畔有鳥，碧羽甚鮮，其名曰‘鐵雀’，而乃曰‘修竹村家翡翠啼’。則越裳之貢，奚爲於朝鮮村家也？峽裏有鳥，夜必哀鳴，其名曰‘接同’，而乃曰‘此地鶉聲不忍聞’。則巴蜀之魄，奚爲於朝鮮國地也？類不可盡誅矣。是故，國人之於服食器皿凡干之物也，以其所呼之名而名之，則三歲小兒，猶了然有餘，而及其操筆臨紙，欲作數字件記，則已左右視而問旁人，不知其物之當某名矣。豈有是哉？

噫！吾知其意矣。彼以爲鄉名者，鄉之名也。吾只可以口呼之，不可以筆書之云爾，則吾未知新羅之建國號也，何不曰‘京’，而曰‘徐那伐’焉；稱王號也，何不曰‘齒文’，而曰‘尼師今’焉；稱其姓也，何不曰‘瓠’，而曰‘朴’焉乎？豈金富軾失之而未知書歟？且漢之鏡歌碑之金瓶梅也，何不平順其詞典雅其語，使後世異國之人皆得而易曉也歟？豈枚馬好詭鳳州多鄉閩而然歟？噫！使其所以名物者，皆如席也燈檠也筆也紙也，之必當其物，則吾亦當舍己而從人，不必強傳鄉名若務勝者然，而至若指碧羽而爲翠聽哀鳴而爲鶉，則吾雖手鈍舌訥，至作諺文之詩，必不肯買法油而喫青泡矣。吾如之何其不爲鄉名耶？

所可歎者，蒼帝朱皇，既不曾爲我而別造書焉，檀仙箕王，亦未嘗以書而早教語焉，則刺刺鄉音，或有文字之所未名者，而如其可以名者，則吾何畏而不以是哉？此吾之所以必以鄉名也。吾豈鄉閩也哉？吾豈詭也哉？吾豈僭也哉？子既謂我以僭焉，則吾請不避僭，而大談之。常看康熙字典，載‘玊’字，曰‘朝鮮宗室之名也’，又有‘畚’字，曰‘高麗人水田之稱也’。尤長洲樂府，多稱我國俗語，則子安知後日中原不有博採者，錄吾所稱之物名，而註之曰‘朝鮮綱錦子之所云’乎哉？笑矣乎！

## 雅調

### Elegant Mode

Elegance means being constant and upright. Mode refers to (types of) arias. A lady's loving her parents and respecting her husband, and being prudent in domestic matters and diligent in her works, are what is constant in Heavenly Nature, and also what is upright in Human Ways. Therefore, this section deals entirely with matters of love, respect, prudence, and diligence, for which it is named "Elegant Mode." There are seventeen poems altogether. 雅者，常也，正也。調者，曲也。夫婦人之愛其親敬其夫，儉於其家勤於其事者，皆天性之常也，亦人道之正也。故此篇，全言愛敬勤儉之事，以雅調名之。凡十七首。

- (1)  
郎執木雕鴈  
妾捧合乾雉  
雉鳴鴈高飛  
兩情猶未已  
My groom holds the wooden wild geese;  
I proffer layered dried pheasant meat.<sup>68</sup>  
Pheasants sing and geese fly high;  
May the feelings between the two of us be endless.
- (2)  
福手紅絲盃  
勸郎合歡酒  
一盃生三子  
三盃九十壽  
Prosperous hands holding the wedding cup tied with red string,<sup>69</sup>  
I offer my groom the nuptial wine.<sup>70</sup>  
One cup for three sons,  
Three cups for a long life of ninety years.
- (3)  
郎騎白馬來  
妾乘紅轎去  
阿孃送門戒  
見舅拜勿遽  
My groom arrives on a white horse,  
I leave on a red palanquin.  
Mother sends me off with cautions at the gate:  
“Don’t be flustered when you greet your father-in-law.”
- (4)  
兒家廣通橋  
夫家壽進坊  
每當登轎時  
猶自淚沾裳  
My house is in Kwangt’onggyo,  
My husband’s house is in Sujinbang.<sup>71</sup>  
Every time I try to get in the palanquin,<sup>72</sup>  
Tears soak my skirt.
- (5)  
一結青絲髮  
相期到葱根  
無羞猶自羞  
三月不共言  
Once we tied up our blue-black-silk hair,<sup>73</sup>  
We promised to last until it becomes chive roots.<sup>74</sup>  
Nothing to be shy about, but shy nonetheless,  
We don’t talk to each other for three months.
- (6)  
早習宮體書  
異凝微有角  
舅姑見書喜  
諺文女提學  
I learned Palace-style *ōnmun* calligraphy early on;<sup>75</sup>  
The *lŭng* (ㅇ) is a little pointy!<sup>76</sup>  
But my parents-in-law are pleased with my writing;  
“A female chancellor of *ōnmun*!” they say.
- (7)  
四更起梳頭  
五更候公姥  
誓將歸家後  
不食眠日午  
I wake up at the fourth night-watch<sup>77</sup> to comb my hair;  
At the fifth night-watch, I go to wait on my parents-in-law.  
I swear, “When I go back home later—;  
I will skip eating and sleep until midday!”
- (8)  
養蠶大如掌  
下階摘柔桑  
非無東海紬  
要驗趣味長  
To grow silkworms as big as palms;  
I went down the steps to pick tender mulberry leaves.<sup>78</sup>  
Not that I don’t have East Sea Silk;<sup>79</sup>  
I just wanted to feel the fun of rearing them.
- (9)  
爲郎縫衲衣  
花氣惱儂倦  
I was sewing a coat for my husband;  
When the fragrance of flowers stirred and made me feel lazy.

回針插襟前  
坐讀淑香傳  
(10)

阿姑賜禮物  
一雙玉童子  
未敢顯言佩  
結在流蘇裏  
(11)

小婢窓隙來  
細喚阿哥氏  
思家如不禁  
明日送轎子  
(12)

草綠相思緞  
雙針作耳囊  
親結三層蝶  
倩手捧阿郎  
(13)

人皆戴秋鞵  
儂獨不與偕  
宣言臂力脆  
恐墮玉龍釵  
(14)

包以日文袱  
貯之皮竹箱  
夜剪阿郎衣  
手香衣亦香  
(15)

屢洗如玉手  
微減似花粧  
舅家忌日在  
薄言解紅裳  
(16)

眞紅花布褥  
鴉青土紬衾  
何必雲文緞  
四龜鎖黃金  
(17)

人皆輕錦繡  
儂重步兵衣  
旱田農夫鋤  
貧家織女機

I pulled back the needle and stuck it in the collar,  
And sat down to read the *Tale of Sukhyang*.<sup>80</sup>

Mother-in-law gave me a wedding gift;  
A pair of jade boy figurines.<sup>81</sup>  
Not even daring to say I would wear them;  
I tie them in a tassel.<sup>82</sup>

Little servant girl, through the crack of the window,  
Whispers, "My lady!"<sup>83</sup>  
"If your husband's family does not forbid it,<sup>84</sup>  
They [bride's family] would send a palanquin tomorrow."

Of grass-green Pining Satin,<sup>85</sup>  
I made an eared pouch<sup>86</sup> sewn with double stitches.  
Tying it with three layers of butterfly string myself,<sup>87</sup>  
I present it to my husband with my dainty hands.

People all enjoy rocking on a swing;  
I alone don't share that fun.  
I tell people I have frail arms,  
But it is for I fear I may drop my jade-dragon hairpin.

I wrap it in a sun-patterned cloth,<sup>88</sup>  
And keep it in the bamboo-skin box.<sup>89</sup>  
I cut it out to sew my husband's dress all night;  
Fragrance on my hands, fragrance on the dress.

I wash my jade-like hands over and over,  
And lighten my flower-like makeup a little bit.  
There is an ancestral ritual in my husband's family;  
Quickly,<sup>90</sup> I take off my red skirt.

On a cardinal-red hemp mattress with flowers stitched on it,  
A crow-blue, twist-spun silk<sup>91</sup> blanket.  
Why does it have to be cloud-pattern satin,<sup>92</sup>  
Or a gold-colored one decorated with four tortoises?<sup>93</sup>

People even take embroidered silk for granted;  
But I<sup>94</sup> still cherish foot-soldier's simple cotton clothes.<sup>95</sup>  
While the farmer hoes in the dry field,  
The Weaver Maiden<sup>96</sup> of his poor home wove them on her loom.

## 「艷調」

**Alluring Mode**

Allure is beauty. This section speaks mostly of matters of extravagance, superficiality, and ostentation. They do not compare with the “Elegance” above; but neither do they reach the “Dissoluteness” below. Thus, they are named with the heading “Allure.” There are eighteen poems altogether. 艷者，美也。此篇所言，多驕奢浮薄夸飾之事，而上雖不及於雅，下亦不至於宕，故名之以艷。凡十八首。

(1)

莫種鬱陵桃  
不及農新粧  
莫折渭城柳  
不及農眉長

Don't plant Ullŭng-Island peaches;<sup>97</sup>  
They don't come close to my new makeup.<sup>98</sup>  
Don't break off that willow branch;<sup>99</sup>  
(Its leaves) are not as long as my eyebrows.<sup>100</sup>

(2)

歡言自酒家  
農言自倡家  
如何汗衫上  
臙脂染作花

Though you<sup>101</sup> say you came from the tavern,  
I say you came from the brothel.  
Why is it that on your sweat shirt,  
The rouge printed a flower?

(3)

白襪瓜子樣  
休踏碧粧洞  
時體針線婢  
能不見嘲弄

Wearing those white socks looking like melon seeds,<sup>102</sup>  
Don't walk about in Pyŏkchangdong.<sup>103</sup>  
Those court seamstresses in trendy clothes—<sup>104</sup>  
Can I not be ridiculed?<sup>105</sup>

(4)

頭上何所有  
蝶飛竹節釵  
足下何所有  
花開錦草鞋

What is on my head?  
Butterflies flitting on the bamboo-joint hairpin,<sup>106</sup>  
What is under my feet?  
Flowers bloom on my silk shoes.<sup>107</sup>

(5)

下裙紅杭羅  
上裙藍方紗  
琮琤行有聲  
銀桃鬪香茄

The underskirt is red gossamer silk,<sup>108</sup>  
The outer skirt is blue silk;  
Jingling sounds when I walk;  
Silver peaches and eggplants<sup>109</sup> fighting each other.

(6)

常日天桃髻  
粧成腕爲酥  
今戴簇頭里  
脂粉却早塗

On usual days, I wear Heavenly-peach hair knot;<sup>110</sup>  
Upon finishing it up, my arms feel weak like butter;  
Today I wear a *chokturi*;<sup>111</sup>  
I can put on rouge and powder fast!

(7)

且約東鄰嫗  
明朝涉露梁  
今年生子未  
親問帝釋房

Having requested again the old woman in the eastside  
neighborhood,<sup>112</sup>  
Tomorrow I am crossing the river to Noryang.<sup>113</sup>  
Whether I shall give birth to a son or not this year,  
I will ask the shaman hall myself.<sup>114</sup>

- (8)  
未耐鳳仙花  
先試鳳仙葉  
每恐爪甲青  
猶作紅爪甲
- Can't wait for touch-me-nots (to bloom),<sup>115</sup>  
I tried touch-me-not leaves first.  
I kept worrying that my fingernails would turn green,  
But it still turned my fingernails red.<sup>116</sup>
- (9)  
纖織白苧布  
定是鎮安品  
裁成角岐衫  
光彩似綾錦
- Fine and gauzy, white ramie cloth;  
Surely, it's a product of Chin'an.<sup>117</sup>  
Tailored to make a *khaekki* jacket;<sup>118</sup>  
Its color and splendor are almost like fine silk.
- (10)  
莫觸頂門簪  
轉墮篋頭里  
恐有人來看  
呼儂老處子
- Don't touch the hairpin on top of my head;  
You might knock off my *chokturi*.  
I fear someone might come and look;  
And tease me, calling me "Old Miss"<sup>119</sup>
- (11)  
儂有盈箱衣  
個個紫縵粧  
最愛兒時着  
蓮峰粉紅裳
- I have a chest full of clothes;  
Each is colorfully embroidered.<sup>120</sup>  
My favorite is the one I wore when I was a child;  
A soft red skirt embroidered with lotus bulbs.<sup>121</sup>
- (12)  
三月松金緞  
五月廣月紗  
湖南賣梳女  
錯認宰相家
- Songgūmdan* silk in the third month;<sup>122</sup>  
*Kwangwōlsa* satin in the fifth month.<sup>123</sup>  
The comb-seller woman from Honam  
Mistook me for someone from a minister's family.<sup>124</sup>
- (13)  
細吮紅口兒  
扭來但空皮  
返吹春風入  
圓似在房時
- Chewing carefully on a red bladder cherry;<sup>125</sup>  
I wrench out the inside, leaving just the empty skin.  
I blow the spring breeze back inside;  
It's full like when we were in the room together.<sup>126</sup>
- (14)  
恬嫌中白桂  
烈怕梨薑膏  
在腥惟花鰓  
於果六月桃
- Of sweets I hate *chungbaekki*;<sup>127</sup>  
Of the fiery I am afraid of Iganggo wine.<sup>128</sup>  
Among the fishes Blooming Abalone is the one;<sup>129</sup>  
Among fruits it's the Sixth-month Peach.<sup>130</sup>
- (15)  
細掃銀魚鬚  
千回石鏡裡  
還嫌齒太白  
忙嗽澹墨水
- Finely combed hair, like silvery sweetfish;<sup>131</sup>  
A thousand times, I look in the glass mirror.  
Still hating my teeth, too white;<sup>132</sup>  
I quickly rinse them in lightly inked water.
- (16)  
暫被阿郎罵  
三日不肯浪
- Scolded once by my husband,  
I wouldn't eat for three days.

儂佩青玳刀  
誰不愼儂言  
(17)

桃花猶是賤  
梨花太如霜  
停勻脂與粉  
儂作杏花粧  
(18)

郎愛燕雙飛  
儂愛燕兒多  
一齊生得妙  
那個是哥哥

I am wearing a green jade knife;<sup>133</sup>  
Who wouldn't be careful of what I say?

Peach blossoms are rather gaudy,  
Pear flowers are too frosty.<sup>134</sup>  
Half and half for my rouge and powder,  
I will put on apricot-flower makeup.

My husband loves swallows for flying in pairs;  
I like swallows for having plenty offspring.  
Born all together, looking marvelous,  
Which is the older brother?<sup>135</sup>

### 「宕調」

#### Dissolute Mode

Dissoluteness refers to being loose [in morals] and unable to inhibit it. All (the songs in) this section deal with matters of singing courtesans. Wouldn't the principles of human beings also be promiscuous when it comes to these matters? Being unable to be stopped or regulated, it is thus called "dissoluteness," and there are "The Air of Zheng" and "The Air of Wei" in the *Book of Poetry*.<sup>136</sup> A total of fifteen pieces. 宕者, 佚而不可禁之謂也。此篇所道, 皆娼妓之事, 人理到此亦宕乎。不可禁制, 故名之以宕, 而亦詩之有鄭衛也。凡十五首。

(1)  
歡莫當儂髻  
衣沾冬柏油  
歡莫近儂脣  
紅脂軟欲流

(2)  
歡吸煙草來  
手持東萊竹  
未坐先奪藏  
儂愛銀壽福

(3)  
奪儂銀指環  
解贈玉扇錘  
金剛山畫扇  
留欲更誰遣

(4)  
西亭江上月  
東閣雪中梅  
何人煩製曲  
教儂口長開

Don't touch my hair knot, dear;<sup>137</sup>  
The camellia oil will get on your clothes.<sup>138</sup>  
Don't come near to my lips, dear;  
The rouge is soft and would run.

Here he comes, my sweetheart, smoking tobacco,  
Holding in his hand a Tongnae pipe.<sup>139</sup>  
Taking it away before he even sits down;  
I say, "I love the 'Longevity and Happiness' in silver!"<sup>140</sup>

Having taken my silver ring away;  
You untie the jade fan-stud to give me.<sup>141</sup>  
That fan painted with the Kūmgang Mountains;  
For whom are you saving it?<sup>142</sup>

"Western gazebo, the moon over the river;  
Eastern pavilion, plum blossoms in the snow."<sup>143</sup>  
Who bothered to make this song;  
And has me open my mouth wide?<sup>144</sup>



(5)

歡來莫纏儂  
儂方自憂貧  
有一三千珠  
纔直十五緡

My dear, don't come around to fetter me up;  
Right now I am worried about being poor.  
I have a set of trichiliocosm beads;<sup>145</sup>  
(But) they are only worth fifteen strings of coins.

(6)

拍碎端午扇  
低唱界面調  
一時知我者  
齊稱妙妙妙

Tapping the Tano fan,<sup>146</sup>  
I sing a *kyemyŏn*-mode tune in a low voice.<sup>147</sup>  
At once, those who know me<sup>148</sup>  
All praise, "Exquisite! Marvelous! Marvelous!"<sup>149</sup>

(7)

卽今秋月老  
年前可佩歸  
文君何業生  
儂不信渠詩

Ch'uwŏl is old now;<sup>150</sup>  
Years ago, she could be betrothed with a jade belt.<sup>151</sup>  
With what karma did Mun'gun live her life?<sup>152</sup>  
I don't trust that poem.<sup>153</sup>

(8)

人言儂輩媒  
儂輩實自貞  
逐日稠坐中  
明燭到五更

People doubt that they could arrange matches for us;<sup>154</sup>  
But we are indeed virtuous.  
Day after day, amidst the densely seated,  
We light candles until dawn.<sup>155</sup>

(9)

不知郎名字  
何由誦職聊  
狹袖皆捕校  
紅衣定別監

I don't even know your name;  
Why would I call out your distinguished title?  
Narrow sleeves must be a constable;  
A red uniform, surely an adjunct director.<sup>156</sup>

(10)

聽我靈山曲  
譏儂半巫堂  
座中諸令監  
豈皆是花郎

Hearing my Yŏngsan tune,<sup>157</sup>  
They joke that I am half shamaness;  
You, sirs, in your seats,<sup>158</sup>  
Wouldn't you all be fancy men, then?<sup>159</sup>

(11)

六鎮好月矣  
頭頭點朱砂  
貢緞鴉青色  
新着加里麻

The good headdress from Yukchin,<sup>160</sup>  
Side after side are cinnabar dots.<sup>161</sup>  
Satin cloth in raven-black color;<sup>162</sup>  
I made a new *karima*.<sup>163</sup>

(12)

章有後庭花  
篇有金剛山  
儂豈桂隊女  
不曾解魂還

In the music is "Flowers in the rear garden";<sup>164</sup>  
In the literature is "Kūmgang Mountains."<sup>165</sup>  
I'm not a girl in the Shaman Band;<sup>166</sup>  
Never have I ever released a soul to return.

(13)

小俠寶重金  
大俠青綉皮

Petty sirs treasure money;  
Big sirs are into Azure-broidered-coat chicken.<sup>167</sup>

近年花房牌  
通清更有誰  
(14)

儂作社堂歌  
施主盡居士  
唱到聲轉處  
那無我愛美  
(15)

盤堆蕩平菜  
席醉方文酒  
幾處貧士妻  
鎗飯不入口

Of the flock around the red-light quarters these years,<sup>168</sup>  
Who would pass the Integrity Approval?<sup>169</sup>

I sing a lay girl's song;  
Almsgivers are all laymen.<sup>170</sup>  
When my singing reaches tone-bending,<sup>171</sup>  
*Na-mu-a-ae-mi!*<sup>172</sup>

On the table is a Grand Harmony Platter;<sup>173</sup>  
Those seated are drunk with Recipe Wine.<sup>174</sup>  
How many poor scholars' wives  
Cannot even put scorched rice in their mouths?<sup>175</sup>

### 「悱調」

#### Rancorous Mode

In the *(Book of) Poetry* it says, “Minor Odes resent but are not rancorous.”<sup>176</sup> “Rancor” is the result of excessive resentment. The human emotion of the mundane world, once it falls off from elegance, then reaches alluring. Once reaching alluring, its course must flow into dissoluteness. Once dissoluteness comes into being, it is a matter of course for the resentful to appear, as well; and if one is indeed resentful, one will also certainly exceed it. This is why the “Rancorous Mode” was composed: Rancor is rancorous over the dissolute, just as one minds the order when disruption reaches its extreme, intending to return to search for elegance. Sixteen poems altogether. 詩云, “小雅, 怨而不悱。”悱者, 怨而甚者之謂也。大凡世之人情, 一失於雅, 則至於艷, 艷則其勢, 必流於宕。世既有宕者, 則亦必有怨者, 苟怨之則必已甚焉。此悱之所以有作, 而悱者所以悱其宕也, 則此亦亂極思治, 反求於雅之意也。凡十六首。

(1)

寧爲寒家婢  
莫作吏胥婦  
纔歸巡邏頭  
旋去罷漏後

I'd rather be the maid for a poor family.  
Than be the wife of a petty official.  
They come home only after the night-watch begins,<sup>177</sup>  
Then go back out again right past the curfew-release.

(2)

寧爲吏胥婦  
莫作軍士妻  
一年三百日  
百日是空閨

I'd rather be a petty official's spouse,  
Than be a soldier's wife.  
Of the three hundred days in a year,  
A hundred are in the empty bedroom.

(3)

寧爲軍士妻  
莫作譯官婦  
篋裏綾羅衣  
那抵別離久

I'd rather be a soldier's wife,  
Than be an interpreter's spouse.  
Silk dresses in the chest;  
How would it be worth the long separation?<sup>178</sup>

(4)

寧爲譯官婦  
莫作商賈妻  
半載湖南歸  
今朝又關西

I'd rather be an interpreter's spouse,  
Than be a merchant's wife.<sup>179</sup>  
Coming back from Honam after a half year,  
This morning (he leaves) again for Kwansŏ.<sup>180</sup>

(5)

寧爲商賈妻  
莫作蕩子婦  
夜每何處去  
朝歸又使酒

I'd rather be a merchant's wife,  
Than be a libertine's spouse.  
He is off somewhere every night;  
In the morning he returns to ask for more booze.

(6)

謂君似羅海  
女子是托身  
縱不可憐我  
如何虐我頻

It was said that you were a man;<sup>181</sup>  
A woman should entrust herself to you.  
Even though you couldn't hold me dear,  
How could you be so cruel to me, and so often?

(7)

三升新襪子  
縫成轉嫌寬  
箱中有紙本  
何不照憑看

Sixty-thread-count new socks;<sup>182</sup>  
My sewing is done and then he hates them—too wide.<sup>183</sup>  
There are paper patterns of his feet in the workbox;<sup>184</sup>  
Why doesn't he compare them side by side?

(8)

間我梳頭時  
偷我玉簪兒  
留固無用我  
不識贈者誰

While I was combing my hair,  
He stole my jade hairpin.<sup>185</sup>  
Keeping it is already of no use to me;  
I know not whom he might give it to.

(9)

亂持羹與飯  
照我面前擲  
自是郎變味  
儂手豈異昔

He grabs the rice and soup as they come to his hands;  
Then flings them right in my face.  
It's his taste that's changed;  
Why would my hands be other than before?

(10)

巡邏今散未  
郎歸月落時  
先睡必生怒  
不寐亦有疑

Has the night-watch been discharged by now?  
My husband doesn't come home until the moon sets.  
If I'm asleep before he, he gets angry;  
And if I'm not asleep, he gets suspicious.

(11)

使盡闌干脚  
無端蹴踘儂  
紅頰生青後  
何辭答尊公

He stretches his leg across;  
For no reason, kicks me like a ball.<sup>186</sup>  
Bruised blue on my rosy cheek;  
With what words do I answer to my father-in-law?

(12)

早恨無子久  
無子返喜事

I have long lamented not having a son;  
But not having a son is rather a good thing.

子若渠父肖  
殘年又此淚  
(13)

丁寧靈判事  
說是坐三灾  
送錢圖書署  
另購大鷹來  
(14)

一日三千逢  
三千必盡嚇  
足趾雞子圓  
猶應此亦罵  
(15)

嫁時舊紅裙  
留欲作壽衣  
爲郎投賤債  
今朝淚賣歸  
(16)

夜汲槐下井  
輒自念悲苦  
一身雖可樂  
堂上有公姥

If my son takes after that father of his;<sup>187</sup>  
The rest of my years would again be in these tears.

A fortune teller, indeed proficient,<sup>188</sup>  
Said the Seated Three Calamities are with me.<sup>189</sup>  
I sent money to the Royal Bureau of Painting,<sup>190</sup>  
To buy a picture of a big hawk.<sup>191</sup>

Running into me three thousand times a day,  
He gets fully furious three thousand times.  
My heels looking like eggs,  
He surely will curse them too.<sup>192</sup>

The red skirt I wore at my wedding;  
Kept it to make a shroud out of it.  
To pay off my husband's gambling debt,  
I sold it off this morning and came back in tears.

At night, drawing water from the well under the Sophora tree;  
For a moment, I brood over my sad suffering.  
Though I'd enjoy being alone,  
Above the hall are my parents-in-law.

## NOTES

1 Yi Ok's choice of genres for comparison here is deliberate. The "Airs of the States" (*Guofeng* 國風) section of the *Book of Poetry* is the segment known to incorporate the songs of the feudal states of the Zhou court, supposedly comprising elements unique to each state. The "Music Bureau" (*Yuefu* 樂府) ballads, with their ritual, sacrificial, and military song beginnings, eventually extended to incorporate songs by common people. The *ci* 詞 and *qu* 曲 represent lyric verses written to fit specific patterns that flourished in the Song (*ci*) and Yuan (*qu*) periods. These genres share common significance with what Yi Ok is about to write. First, they all purportedly related the lives and feelings of common people. Second, they are all more closely associated with oral tradition than with their canonical counterparts like hymns (*ya* 雅), eulogies (*song* 頌), and regular poems (*shi* 詩). Third, conventional views see these genres as a direct reflection of "popular" local languages that were then transformed into staple parts of the Chinese literary tradition. Lastly, they were more open to expressing matters of women and often assumed female voices, albeit written by male poets. This last point is brought up by Yi Ok himself in the "Second Criticism" later.

2 Saying that he is not the the master (*chu* 主) here indicates that it was someone or something else that causes him to write, foregrounding that the role of writers and poets is not that of master of the work he/she creates. It is likely that Yi Ok is alluding to Confucius who

described himself as “transmitting but not creating” 述而不作 (*The Analects*, 7.1), from which *zuo* 作 became a paramount concept in Confucianism. For more on the significance of creation in Confucianism, see Puett (2001, esp. chapter 2).

3 The original text for “scatter and pile” 紛堆 could be a scribal error for “scatter and shuffle” 紛雜, which works better with “like the rain” than “scatter and pile” does.

4 *Yuntian guangyue* 与天廣樂, also known as *Juntian guangyue* 鈞天廣樂, is the music that Duke Mu of Qin 秦穆公 reported to have heard with Shangdi 上帝 during the time he was unconscious for seven days (*Liezi* 列子, “Zhou Muwang” 周穆王, Yang Bojun 楊伯峻 1979: 90). *Juntian* is the middle of the Nine Heavens. The same experience was also related by Zhao Jianzi 趙簡子 (d. 496 BCE) in the “Hereditary House of Zhao” 趙世家 of the *Shiji* 史記 (Sima Qian 司馬遷 1959: 43.1787), and appeared frequently in literature, e.g., Zhang Heng’s 張衡 (78–139) “Western Metropolis Rhapsody” 西京賦. See Knechtges (1982: 184).

5 “Reveal the minister by way of a dream” and “go to the winnow to pass on reality” 托夢而現相, 赴箕而通情 is a couplet made of two allusions. The first half alludes to the story of Fu Yue 傅說, whose image was revealed to the thearch Wuding 武丁 (Gaozong 高宗, d. 1192 BCE) of Shang in his dream as a worthy. Wuding searched for the person among his subjects based on the image, but to no avail. He then located Yue who was working as a lowly laborer in Fu and made him the chief minister (*xiang* 相); “Yin benji” 殷本紀, *Shiji* 史記 (Sima Qian 1959: 3.102). Wuding did not rely on any preconceived categorization fitting someone of talent to run the state—certainly not a lowly laborer—but the image shown to him, and thus the phrase, means to reveal themselves as they are. The *Zhuangzi* mentioned Fu Yue as one who had obtained the Way that is sans action or form, so much so that it can only be transmitted but not received and one can obtain it but cannot see it (“無為無形, 可傳而不可受, 可得而不可見”). Because Fu Yue obtained the Way, he could become the chief minister of Wuding, embrace the world under his control, ride the eastern Milky Way to drive to the Ji and Wei stars, and finally stand in the array of stars (“傳說得之, 以相武丁, 奄有天下, 乘東維, 騎箕尾, 而比於列星”). See “Dazongshi” 大宗師, *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋 (Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩 1982: 246–47). The Ji 箕 (lit. “winnow” or “sieve”) star (*G Scorpii*) is also called Fuyue, which constitutes the constellation of Scorpius. The second half of the couplet is associated with the Ming–Chinese writer Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道 (1568–1670). The expression *fuji* (赴箕 “go to the winnow”) is seen in Yuan Hongdao’s “Expanding on Zhuangzi” 廣莊 in *Yuan Hongdao ji jianjiao* 袁宏道集箋校 (1981: 808) and “Discussing human nature with immortals” 與仙人論人性書 (1981: 489). *Fuji* may refer to spirit writing, i.e., a Daoist divination practice in which, like in a planchette writing, the spirit or immortal (called *jixian* 箕仙) comes to the winnow and makes the medium write the message. Also known as *fujū* 扶乩 or 扶箕, the practice became widespread in the Song and continued on during the Ming- and Qing-period China (see Russell 1990: 107–40, esp. 116; Despeux 2008: 428–29). *Jixian* sending messages through the medium is thus likened to heaven and earth and the ten thousand things composing poetry through poets.

6 As exemplified in the Peacock Sutra (*Kongque jing* 孔雀經, or *Kongque mingwang jing* 孔雀明王經 [Sutra of the Great Peahen, Queen of Mantras, Skt. *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī* ]), an early Buddhist magical incantation for self-protection, peacocks were a symbol for protection against deadly harms, for their ability to kill poisonous snakes. This particular allusion Yi Ok employs appears to be to the story told by Shakyamuni to Sun Wukong in the *Journey to the West* 西遊記 (chapter 77). He wanted to kill it afterwards but various buddhas persuaded him that hurting the peacock was like hurting his own mother. Shakyamuni made it into Buddha-Mother (Bodhisattva Mahārāja Mayūra, or Peacock King) instead. Mahārāja Mayūra is also a former incarnation of Shakyamuni himself (see Yu 2012: 29, 434).

7 *Xiangxu* is a classical term used for official interpreters, coined in the *Rites of Zhou* 周禮 under Ministry of Justice (*qiuguan* 秋官).

8 Longmian 龍民 is the nickname of a Song Chinese painter Li Gonglin 李公麟 (d. 1106) who retired to Longmian Mountain.

9 Nayaču (d. 1381) was a Mongol general in charge of Liaoyang province, who invaded the northern part of the Korean peninsula during the Koryŏ period.

10 Lord Mengchang (d. 278 BCE), a famous minister of the State of Qi 齊 during the Warring States period, was said to have a dwarfish appearance unlike his praised accomplishments, according to his biography in the *Shiji*. “Biography of Lord Mengchang” 孟嘗君列傳 (Sima Qian 1959: 75.2355).

11 Also known as Juwu Ba 巨毋霸. He was recommended to Wang Mang 王莽 (45 BCE–23 CE) by Han Bo 韓博. The “Biography of Wang Mang” describes him as “ten feet tall and ten armfuls around” 長丈，大十圍. (“Biography of Wang Mang 2” 王莽傳下, Ban Gu 班固 et al. 1962, 99.4157).

12 One of the Di 狄 (or 翟) peoples of the Spring and Autumn period (722–481 BCE), who were known for their tall and large builds.

13 Both “Peach Tree Lush” (Poem 6) and “Dolichos spreading” (Poem 2) are in the “Zhounan” 周南 section of the *Book of Poetry*.

14 “Red Egrets” and “Oldman Grief” are the first two of “Han Songs for Nao bells (Han Naoge 漢鑄歌)” under “Lyrics for Drum and Pipe Songs (Guchui quci 鼓吹曲辭)” in Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 (1998: 16.4b–6a).

15 “Candle Shadow Swaying Red” and “Butterfly Longing for Flowers” are names of tune patterns of *ci* lyrics (*cipai* 詞牌).

16 The original line “天地萬物之所於我乎徘徊者” presents a syntactic anomaly, where *ho* 乎 (a particle that usually indicates a pause or a question, or functions as a preposition) seems out of place. No textual variance exists among extant versions of the *lŏn*.

17 Hangnyōng 鶴翎 (Ch. Heling) is a kind of chrysanthemum. It got its name from its petals looking like feathers of cranes, which often feature in poetry as being ridden by immortals (e.g., Du Fu 杜甫 [712–770], “Poem on Qiaoling in Thirty Couplets, to Be Shown to the Officials of the County” 橋陵詩三十韻因呈縣內諸官). The *Zunsheng bajian* 遵生八箋 (1591) listed under “Juhua pu” 菊花譜 [Chrysanthemum list] three different colors of Heling (violet, white, and yellow) (Gao Lian 高廉 1988: 16.48a). Yi Ok must be talking about the yellow kind here.

18 From *The Analects* (12.1), where Confucius conversed with his disciple Yan Yuan 顏淵 (d. 490 BCE).

19 The *Shijing jizhu* 詩經集註 by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200).

20 From *The Analects* (2.2), where Confucius states: “The three hundred poems (in the *Book of Poetry*) may be embraced in one phrase, ‘to not have depraved thoughts’” 詩三百，一言以蔽之，思無邪。

21 “Rabbit-net” (Poem 7) is in the “Zhounan” and “Sweet Pear Tree” (Poem 16) in the “Shaonan.”

22 Both are items used in wedding ceremonies. *Kŭn* 盃 is a goblet made of a half gourd. At the wedding ceremony the bride and groom drink wine from cups made from the same gourd cut in half, called *kŭnbae* 盃杯, and this part of the wedding is called *hapkŭnnye* (合盃禮 “uniting-gourd rite”). This is according to the “Hunyi” 昏義 (Wedding) of the *Liji* 禮記 (44.2): “At *gonglao* [joint-dining rite], they eat; with *hejin* [uniting-gourd rite], they rinse the mouths with wine 共牢而食，合盃而醕。” It is not clear why Yi Ok specified the color of the goblet green, when most

documents did not specify the color of *kūnbāe*. Red candles are used in most celebratory rituals. Scenes of a wedding ceremony appear in the poems under “Elegant Mode” later.

23 These are also parts of a wedding procedure.

24 “Blue mansion” (*chǒngnu* 青樓, C. *qinglou*) is found in a number of Chinese poems, appropriating luxurious buildings standing on large streets, e.g., Cao Zhi’s 曹植 (192–232) “The Pretty Girl” (Meinü pian 美女篇) has: “I once asked her where she lives—; Inside the city, south end; The blue mansion looking over the large street; Tall gate, locked twice” 借問女安居。乃在城南端。青樓臨大路，高門結重關， but it often extends to refer to bars with prostitutes. “Willow market” (Yusi 柳市, C. Liushi) was one of the nine markets in Chang’an, once known for its exuberance, which later came to refer to opulent and lavish streets in cities and has been used in that sense by Chinese and Korean poets. (See “Chang’an jiushi” 長安九市 [Nine markets of Chang’an], Anonymous, 1919–1936, *Sanfu huangtu* 三輔黃圖 [Metropolitan layout of the capital area], 2.1a).

25 “Cuddling with rouge faces and leaning on jadeite sleeves” (*oehong üich’wi* 偎紅倚翠) describes cavorting with courtesans. The phrase is seen in the “Weihong yicui dashi” 偎紅倚翠大師 of the *Qingyi lu* 清異錄, a Song-dynasty *biji* 筆記 by Tao Gu 陶穀 (903–970), where Li Yu 李煜 (937–978), the last monarch of the Southern Tang (937–975), caroused with a Buddhist monk at a brothel (1782: 1.29b–30a).

26 “Frosty fulling sounds” (*sangch’im* 霜砧) invokes sad, cold, or nostalgic senses. A well-known line is in Du Fu’s “Eight Poems in Autumn Meditation” 秋興八首: “The chrysanthemum bush has opened twice for my tears over bygone days; The forlorn boat, once and for all, tethers my homeward thoughts; In the houses quilted clothes hurry scissors and ruler; Baidi Fortress, high on the hill, hastens evening the fulling sound” 叢菊兩開他日淚，孤舟一繫故園心。寒衣處處催刀尺，白帝城高急暮砧。

27 This is similar to the Chinese *yuexia huaqian* (月下花前 “under the moon, in front of the flower”), referring to pleasant and beautiful surroundings, which often trigger romantic feelings between a man and a woman.

28 “Giving jade pendants” (*zengpei* 贈佩) appears in the story of Jiaofu 交甫 of Zheng 鄭, who arrived in Hangao 漢皋 and was handed two jade pendants by two playful nymphs. The story appears in the “Southern Capital Rhapsody” by Zhang Heng. See Knechtges (1982: 2.313–14, note on line 21).

29 “Secretly passing incense” (*touxiang* 偷香) alludes to a story introduced in “Delusion and Infatuation” 惑溺 of the *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 1984: 921) based on the “Biography of Jia Chong” 賈充傳 of the *Jinshu* 晉書, where Jia Chong’s daughter Jia Wu 賈午 stole the incense that Emperor Wu bestowed her father and gave it to Han Shou 韓壽 living next door, with whom she fell in love. It specifically describes a woman falling for a man. Several Korean writers including Kim Sisŭp 金時習 (1435–1493) and Chŏng Saryong 鄭士龍 (1491–1570) have used the allusion in their poems.

30 Textual discrepancy exists among editions. The *Yi Ok chŏnjip* 李銜全集 text does not have “Below the flowers, under the moon, giving jade pendants and passing incense are also true feelings” 花底月下，贈藥偷香者，亦真情也。 It appears in the text of the SKKU collection. The edition in AKS collection has “giving medicine” (*chŏngyak* 贈藥) for “giving jade pendants.” “Giving medicine” was from the story of the fellowship between Yang Hu 羊祜 (221–278) and Lu Kang 陸抗 (226–274). Though they served rival states respectively, Yang Hu of Western Jin and Lu Kang of Eastern Wu, according to “Biography of Yang Hu” 羊祜傳, respected each other so much so that Lu Kang took the medicine that Yang Hu sent without a doubt. (Fang Xuanling

房玄齡 1974: 34.1017.) It later became a phrase to express peaceful border, but here to mean deep, trusting affections.

31 Of the *Mao Tradition of the Poetry* (*Maoshi zhuan* 毛詩傳).

32 鄭玄 (127–200).

33 Ziyang is one of Zhu Xi's sobriquets.

34 The *Iŏn chip* version in the AKS collection has 亦無所可矣 “also there is nothing for which we can,” whereas the *Yerim chapp'ae* version has 亦無所不可矣 “also there is nothing for which we cannot.” The National Library version, which this translation uses, has 亦無所可矣 and added 不 “not” on the right-hand side of 可 “can.” It appears that the scribe added the character, perhaps thinking that 無所不可 “there is nothing one cannot” is more common a pattern. This translation follows the textual rendering without the negative adverb 不. “Upright airs” (*chŏngp'ung* 正風 *C. zhengfeng*) and “licentious airs” (*ŭmp'ung* 淫風 *C. yinfeng*) are from the traditional dictum that the moral integrity and decline of a state is manifest in the music of that state, and thus its music transforms its people (*fengjiao* 風教), derived from the “Preface to Guanju” of the “Minor Preface” to the *Book of Poetry*. “Licentious airs” are one of the modes of such deviation (*bianfeng* 變風 “changed airs”) from the “upright airs” that the elegant hymns represent. The airs of Zheng 鄭 and Wei 衛 states were known as such examples of deviation (*Analects*, 15.11; 17.18).

35 “Eccentric by nature” translates “*p'yŏnsŏng*” literally meaning “unevenly converged nature.” Human nature that is unevenly disposed, or an imbalanced distribution of moral nature, would cause one to lose control of one's emotion and behavior. It was attributed to the material nature (*qizhi zhi xing* 氣質之性) allocated in human beings; as the Qing philosopher Yan Yuan 顏元 (1635–1704) put it, “It (human nature) is in the goodness, (but) because *qi* is uneven, this *xing* (human nature) becomes uneven” 他原頭處都是善, 因氣偏, 這性便偏了 (“Xingli ping” 性理評, 1957: 11).

36 Allusion to *faxing zhi fu* 伐性之斧, as in a line from Mei Sheng's 枚乘 (d. 140 BCE) poem “Qifa” 七發 [Seven stimuli], calling white teeth and ax-shaped eyebrows of beautiful women “axes that sever the heavenly nature (of men)” 皓齒蛾眉, 命曰伐性之斧 (Xiao Tong 蕭統 1977: 34.478).

37 “Phoenix Pond” was in the imperial park and here refers to high-ranking officialdom. It is because the Secretariat (*Zhongshu sheng* 中書省) was inside the imperial lake and headed by the minister favored by the emperor (from Wei onward), and later also used as a synonym for grand councilor (*zaixiang* 宰相, from Tang onward). See Yang (2003: 152).

38 *Saeng* (Ch. *sheng*) and *yong* (Ch. *yong*) are ritual instruments, appearing in as early as the “Yi Ji” 益稷 of the *Book of Documents* in a description of Zhou court music (“As the progenitors arrive and the guest of Yu is in place . . . when *sheng* and *yong* play, birds and beasts come dancing” 祖考來格, 虞賓在位 . . . 笙鏞以間, 鳥獸踴躍. Translation modified from Legge). These instruments have been replicated in the court rituals in China and in Korea (see *Sejong sillok* 世宗實錄, *Sejong* 15 [1433]/6/28). Gliding above Phoenix Pond and going in and out of *saeng* and *yong* refer to thinking and living in the world of lofty literature and high culture.

39 As seen in Li Bai's 李白 (701–762) famous poem, “Shan zhong wenda” 山中問答 [Conversation in the mountains], a jade-green mountain 碧山 (*pyŏksan*, *C. bishan*) is a realm away from worldly human affairs. Gibbons and cranes are compared to gentlemen in recluse in literary imagery, often referencing Ge Hong's 葛洪 (283–343) account (as quoted in Li Fang 李昉 et al. 1960: 74.85, 74.961) of the southward campaign by King Mu of Zhou: “When King Mu of Zhou went on an expedition to the south, the entire troop transformed: gentlemen became gibbons and cranes, and petty men critters and sands” 周穆王南征, 一軍盡化, 君子為猿為鶴, 小人為蟲為沙. “Jade-green mountains” and “gibbons and cranes” are also often paired, the latter being



animals living in transcendental domains like the former. This symbolism was also repeated by numerous Korean writers, such as Yi I's 李珣 (Yulgok 栗谷, 1536–1584) long travel poem “P’ungak haeng” 楓岳行 (Yi I 1814, *Sūbyu* 拾遺, 1.23b), though gibbons (and apes in general) are not native to the Korean peninsula, except for perhaps Cheju (Jeju) Island.

40 *Kamga* (Ch. *han’ge*) is from the *Book of Documents*: “If you dare to dance in the palace all the time, drinking and singing in the chamber, this is called the air of sorcerers” 敢有恒舞于宮, 酣歌于室, 時謂巫風 (“Yixun” 伊訓, *Book of Documents* 3.2).

41 *Yōnhwa* 煙花 (Ch. *yanhua*), or flowers amid spring fog, depicts a spring scene where flowers begin to appear on a foggy morning (cf. Shen Yue’s 沈約 (441–513) line in “Shangchun shi” 傷春詩 [Lamenting the spring], Lu Qinli 遼欽立 1983: 7.1650). The expression was also well used by Korean writers, e.g., Yi Kyubo’s 李奎報 (1169–1241) “Climbed up a high hill, gazed at the view; The flowery fog, spread thick, stirs up my feelings” 登崇丘兮望行色, 烟花掩冉兮蕩情, in “Ch’unmang pu” 春望賦 [Rhapsody on the spring view] (Sō Kōjōng 徐居正 et al. 1478: 1.18a).

42 Although Changan (Ch. Chang’an) is the name of the old capital of Tang China (modern Xi’an), it came also to mean a “big city” or “capital city” in Korea and is still used in some modern Korean expressions. Here it evokes the sense of the capital (Hanyang), bridging to the original referent, Tang Chang’an, the archetypal capital and “city of eternal peace” that it once was. “Brocaded Chang’an” would be Chang’an in its heyday. In Hong Sheng’s 洪昇 (1645–1704) drama *Changsheng dian* 長生殿 [Palace of eternal life], “brocaded Chang’an” is used to designate Chang’an before it was captured by An Lushan’s 安祿山 (d. 757) rebels (*Tanci* 彈詞 [Plucking tune], Hong Sheng 1983: 200).

43 The National Library version misses 間 “among/of” after 天地萬物之, which other versions include.

44 Relying on other versions, the translation adds 物 “thing” after 有名之物無名之, which is missing in the National Library version. What Yi Ok means by “name” here is what he calls later in the sentence “original names” (*pollae chi myōng* 本來之名), which are most likely given and used in the literary language, as opposed to “local names” (*hyangmyōng* 鄉名).

45 Yueyang lou is a historic tower located on Dongting Lake 洞庭湖 in modern Hunan Province, China, and has been the motif of numerous poems and writings. Zuiweng ting is similarly a famous pavilion in China (Chuzhou 滁州, modern Anhui Province), built upon the orders of Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) when he was the magistrate of Chuzhou. Zuiweng (Old Drunkard) is Ouyang Xiu’s sobriquet, and his “Zuiweng ting ji” 醉翁亭記 [On Old Drunkard Pavilion] is one of the most celebrated essays in LS. It was not uncommon for Chosŏn literati to name their residence or studio after these famous Chinese building names.

46 *Myōng* (given name) here means *kwanmyōng* 冠名, a name that a man adopts after passing his capping ceremony. Unlike an infant name (*amyōng* 兒名) used before passing the capping ceremony, a given name is formal, includes his generational character (*hangnyōlcha* 行列字), and is registered in the genealogy. One’s *cha* (style name or courtesy name) was usually given at the capping ceremony alongside the given name, for a given name was reserved for the person’s absolute superiors (such as the father and the king) to use. Women took their style names when they were given permission to marry (“男女異長. 男子二十冠而字. 父前子名, 君前臣名. 女子許嫁, 笄而字” [“*Quli shang*” 曲禮上, *Liji zhushu* 禮記注疏, 2.24b–15a]).

47 Wang and Xie were the surnames of powerful family names during Six Dynasties China; Cui and Lu were those of the Tang, especially in the Shandong area. Both pairs are often used metonymically to refer to magnate families.

48 Notice that Yi Ok says “people of antiquity and the people of China” (*ko chi in chungguk chi in* 古之人中國之人), which denotes two different types of otherness—people who lived in a different time and people who live in a different place.

49 “*Toktansök*” is Yi Ok’s own transliteration of what became modern Korean *totchari* “lath mat,” a mat made of interlaced, dried rushes or reeds. It is a compound of *tok* and *tansök*, of which the former is the native Korean word for lath mats, and the latter a Sino-Korean word, 單席 “single-layer mat.” *Tok* is traced back to Middle Korean *twos(k)*, attested in Han’gül as early as in the *Nüngöm kyöng önhæ* 楞嚴經諺解 (1461) and *Hunmong chahoe* 訓蒙字會 (Ch’oe Sejin 崔世珍 1527: b6). *Tansök* (Ch. *danxi*) is mentioned in the *Liji*: “Sacrifices for ghosts use single-layer mats” 鬼神之祭, 單席 (“*Liqi*” 禮器, *Liji zhushu*, 24.13b; 15a), upon which Kong Yingda 孔穎達 commented, “The way of gods is different from men’s—without having to rely on multiple layers, they can warm themselves, and thus use single-layer mats” 神道異人, 不假多重, 自溫, 故單席也. The format of the compound here is not in fact unusual in many languages, combining the local/vernacular word in question and its understood (Sinitic) equivalent.

50 *Tünggyöng* 燈檠 was a common word for “lamp frame” in LS. *Kwangmyöng* (光明 “light”) is not of any native Korean morpheme (such as *pul* “fire; light”) but a Sinitic word either adapted or coined in Korea. We find *kwangmyöng-düng* “lamp frame” in the *Yögö yuhæ po* 譯語類解補 (Kim Hongch’öl 1775: 44a).

51 *P’il* is the SK reading of 筆 “writing brush” (Old Chinese \**p.rut* > Middle Chinese *pit* > Sino-Korean *p’il*; Modern Mandarin *bi*). *Pusi* 賦詩 (lit. “to compose poems”) is Yi Ok’s sinographic transliteration of *put* 𠂔 + subject particle i ㅅ, a nativized or non-graphic rendition of Chinese 筆 in Korean. Perhaps he chose these graphs intentionally: when compounded, they meant poetry in general, which fits what he associated writing brushes with.

52 *Choüi* 照意 is a sinographic transliteration of what became modern Korean *chongi* “paper,” which supposedly underwent the following change: Middle Korean *cywohoy* > *cywohuy* > *cywoi* > *cwongi* (i.e., MR *chongi*).

53 The mythological thearch who first came out by breaking the primordial state into heaven and earth.

54 *Pöbyu* 法油 was a formal or more literary name for perilla oil, the etymology of which is uncertain. It could have been a sinographic word coined in Korea (perhaps with a connection with Buddhist rites), since it is not found in Chinese texts. Perilla oil was called *zisuyou* 紫蘇油 (or *suyou* 蘇油) or *renziyou* 荏子油 in China, according to the *Qimin yaoshu* 齊民要術 (Jia Sixie 賈思勰 et al. 1982: 529).

55 Notice that Yi Ok wrote 俺 (Ch. *an*, SK. *öm*) here for the first-person pronoun I, a token vernacular pronoun in some Chinese dialects, perhaps in order to add a colloquial touch to the lowly oil merchant’s speech (which must have been in spoken local Korean). *Chinyu* 眞油 (lit. “true oil”) is also called *ch’amgirüm* (true + oil) “sesame oil” in native Korean, and *tüngyu* 燈油 (lit. “lamp oil”), *tülgirüm* (wild + oil) “perilla oil.” Perilla oil was used for lighting lamps, and in modern Korean usage, *tüngyu* refers to kerosene. The prefixes *ch’am-* and *tül-* can be seen in *ch’amkkæ* “sesame” and *tülkkæ* “perilla.” Though sesame and perilla are of different genera (*Sesamum indicum* and *Perilla frutescens*), they were both perceived traditionally as sesame (*kkæ*) of two varying kinds (true and wild). It is not clear whether Yi Ok meant the vernacular words (*ch’amgirüm* and *tülgirüm*) or the sinographic words (*chinyu* and *tüngyu*) to be uttered by the oil seller here.

56 *Muk* is a vernacular Korean word for jellified starch, typically made of green beans, acorns, or buck weed. *P’o* 泡, literally meaning “bubble/foam” or “soak/immerse,” also referred to

any coagulated substance curdled in boiling water. *Ch'ŏngp'ò*, i.e., “fresh green jelly,” thus means plain green bean curd. *Ch'ŏngp'ò* appears to be a sinographic word coined in Korea, for it does not appear in Chinese sources.

57 The vernacular Korean word for halcyon (or kingfisher) is *soesae* (lit. “iron bird”) and was also known in its sinographic equivalent, *ch'òlchak* 鐵雀 “iron sparrow.” Yi Ok presumably did mean to write its sinographic name (*ch'òlchak*) here, since he would have tried to transliterate it otherwise. *Soesae* is found in the *Hunmong chahoe* (Ch'oe Sejin 1527: a9) and *Yŏgŏ yuhae* 譯語類解 (Chŏng Ch'angju 1690: b27b).

58 *Pich'wi* 翡翠 (Ch. *feicui*) is a Chinese word for halcyon, which also denotes green jadeite for the similarity of color. A halcyon is also known as *yugou* 魚狗 (lit. “fish hound”), perhaps for its skill in catching fish, in medical texts (e.g., *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目 and *Tongui pogam* 東醫寶鑑). The quoted poem is supposed to refer to the first line of Ch'oe Wŏnu's 崔元祐 (ca. 1326) poem collected in the *Tong munsŏn*, “Che Mujin kaeksa” 題茂珍客舍 [At a guesthouse in Mujin], which reads: “Tall bamboos, house after house, a halcyon cries; Hurrying the Cold Food Festival, the rain creates a brook; Green moss and short grass on the bridge to the district office; I fear I might see scattered flowers in my horse's hooves” 脩竹家家翡翠啼, 雨催寒食水生溪, 蒼苔小草官橋路, 怕見殘紅入馬蹄 (Sŏ Kŏjŏng et al. 1478: 21.12a–b).

59 Yuecheng 越裳 was an old state in the Viet region, near Jiaozhou 交州 (modern Vietnam). Numerous poems wrote that halcyon was a tribute from Yuecheng, including Du Fu's “Zhujiang” 諸將 [The generals] (Owen 2016: 237).

60 *Chŏptong* is an onomatopoeic name in Korean for cuckoos transliterated with sinographs. Its Chinese name, *dujuan* (SK. *tugyŏn*), derived from *juan* 鶻 (SK. *kyŏn*), is also known as *zijuán* 子鶻, *zigui* 子規, and *duyu* 杜宇. Cuckoos are associated with the ancient Shu 蜀 kingdom (modern Sichuan), and its cry evoked sorrow and lamentation. It was said that the Shu king Du Yu's soul had transformed into a cuckoo, after he left his land ceding the throne to his chief minister Bieling 鰲令 who could control floods. The people of Shu were saddened every time they heard a cuckoo cry. (See Chang Qu 常璩, “Shu zhi” 蜀志 [Gazetteer of Shu] in the *Huayangguo zhi* 華陽國志 [Chang and Lin 1984: 3.182]). The quoted line is from a poem attributed to Lady Yi 李氏 (sobriquet, Okpong 玉峯), a concubine of Cho Wŏn 趙瑗 (1544–1595). She herself was a concubinary daughter of Yi Pongji 李逢之 of Chŏnju Yi family, which makes Lady Yi a royal kin. The poem reads: “Five days to Taegwallyŏng Pass, the third day in Yŏngwŏl; A sad song cuts across the clouds over Prince Nosan's tomb; I, too, am a daughter of a royal descendant; Can't bear to hear the cuckoo's cry of this land” 五日長關三日越, 哀詞吟斷魯陵雲, 妾身亦是王孫女, 此地鶻聲不忍聞. Prince Nosan is King Tanjong 端宗 (r. 1455–1457) who suffered the tragic fate of being forced to abdicate at the age of thirteen, followed by a suspicious death, by his uncle Prince Suyang 首陽大君 (King Sejo 世祖). The poem is quoted by a few writers, including Yi Sugwang 李睟光 (1563–1628) in *Chibong yusŏl* 芝峯類說 (1614: 14.9a) and Hŏ Kyun's “Sŏngsu sihwa” 惺叟詩話 in his anthology, *Sŏngso pubugo* 惺所覆瓿藁 (n.d.: 25.367).

61 All these cases of using sinographs as phonograms are from the “Silla bon'gi” 新羅本紀 [Basic Annals of Silla] in Kim Pusik's (1075–1115) *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 (see 1145: *kwŏn* 1). Sŏnabŏl 徐那伐 is a transliteration of the name that later came to be known as Sŏrabŏl. It is a phonographic combination of Sŏna (also written elsewhere as Saro 斯盧, Sara 斯羅, Sŏra 徐羅, Sŏya 徐耶, and Silla 新羅) + *pŏl* (“state, town”), which later became Sŏul (Seoul) meaning “capital city.” *Nisagŭm* 尼師今 writes *nitkŭm*, another phonographic combination of the vernacular morphemes *ni* “tooth” + *s* (genitive particle) + *kŭm* “line, crack,” which later became, according to some, vernacular Korean *imgŭm* “king.” According to the *Samguk sagi*, Silla had a practice

of selecting the king by his teeth mark—whoever among the candidates left the most teeth in his bite mark became the king. Pak is the surname of the first monarchical lineage of Silla. The character 朴 (SK *pak*; C. *piao*) was supposedly adopted to write the native Korean (Silla) word *pak* meaning “gourd.” The sinographs for “gourd” is 瓠 (SK *ho*; C. *hu*). Yi Ok argues here that, if local names are unwritable but only sayable, then why did Kim Pusik write them down in such ways, i.e., sounding them out in sinographs, in the *Samguk sagi*?

62 This is an important remark by Yi Ok. In his mind, LS as defined in the traditional sense represents a “tamed” language that anyone from later generations, as well as from other non-Sinitic peoples, can understand, as opposed to local vernacular languages. LS is thus cosmopolitan and perpetual, whereas the local vernacular is individual and temporary. Writing is permanent; speech is fleeting. But at the same time, if spoken words are written down, as they have been when Chinese writers wrote the “Airs,” “Music Bureau Songs,” and “*ciqu* lyrics,” they can survive and perpetuate.

63 “Naoge” 鐃歌 [Song for Nao bells] refers to the eighteen martial songs (“Duanxiao naoge” 短篇鐃歌 [Songs for short panpipe and Nao bells]) among the *yuefu* poems of the Han, but here it may have been used metonymically for Han *yuefu* poetry in general. “Mei-Ma” is a pairing name to refer to Mei Sheng and Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 (ca. 179–117 BCE), celebrated writers of the Han. Their *fu* (rhapsody) works were known as the epitome of literary skill and talent, to which Yi Ok also alluded in this line. Such a reference was typical in Chosŏn, as reflected in Chŏng Tojŏn’s 鄭道傳 (d. 1398) words, “(Mei) Sheng and (Sima) Xiangru roamed with feudal lords, all able to flourish their excellence and boast their literary talent by intoning their nature and emotions, with which they perfected their literary accomplishments” 枚乘相如, 遊於諸侯, 咸能振英 擷藻, 吟咏性情, 以懿文德 (“*Toŭn munjip sŏ*” 陶隱文集序 [Preface to Toŭn’s (Yi Sungin 李崇仁) anthology], 1791: 3.53a–b). Fengzhou 鳳州 is a sobriquet of Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (1526–1590), to whom the *Plum in the Golden Vase* (*Jinping mei* 金瓶梅) was attributed. His *Shishuo xinyu bu* 世說新語補 [Supplements to the *Shishuo xinyu*] was also popular in Chosŏn (more than the *Shishuo xinyu* itself).

64 The Academy of Korean Studies version has 嘗 “once” for 常 “always” in the National Library version. I follow the former.

65 There seems to be an error in Yi Ok’s memory unless the modern typed edition has it incorrect. This record is not found under 玠 in the *Kangxi zidian*, but under *hong/jiang* 玠 (SK *kong/kang*)—three characters down on the same leaf—it records “Lord Ŭich’ang, Kong, Prince of Chosŏn (朝鮮王子義昌君玠),” citing Ni Qian’s 倪謙 (ca. 1473) *Chaoxian jishi* 朝鮮紀事 (see *Kangxi zidian* 1892, Wuji shang 午集上, 3). Prince Ŭich’ang Yi Kong (also read Kang, 1428–1460) was a concubinary son of King Sejong.

66 You Changzhou is You Tong 尤洞 (1618–1704), a famous Qing scholar-official who compiled the *Mingshi waiguo zhuan* 明史外國傳 [Biographies of foreign states in the *Ming History*] and the *Waiguo zhuzhi ci* 外國竹枝詞 [Lyrics of foreign songs].

67 Kyŏnggŭmja 綱錦子 is one of Yi Ok’s sobriquets.

68 These are parts of the traditional wedding ceremony. The scenes described here are those in *ch’inyŏng* (親迎 “escorting the bride”), the last stage of a wedding, where the bridegroom goes to the bride’s house to escort her back to his house. The groom brings wild geese (live or wooden) with him to give to the bride’s family (called *chŏn’anye* [奠雁禮 “ritual presentation of wild geese”]), which is common in literati weddings (*Yili* 儀禮 2.2). *Hap’kŏn’ch’i* (double-layered, dried pheasant meat) is one of the items featured in ceremonial banquets. It seems the line is describing the bride presenting the food to the groom at *tongnoe* 同牢 (joint dining, also written

*kongnoe* 共牢), the first joint dining as a husband and a wife in front of the family. According to Chǒng Yagyong's 丁若鏞 (1762–1836) manual for literati weddings (“Karye chagüi” 嘉禮酌儀), however, the bride presents dried pheasant to the parents-in-law during the *hyön kugo rye* (見舅姑禮 “ritual meeting with parents-in-law”), which takes place the next morning (1934–38: 3.23.11b–12b). For more discussion about literati wedding rites, see Deuchler (1992: 243–46).

69 The ceremony chooses a lady of a good married life to hold two split halves of a gourd, which are connected with a red cord (introduced above in “Second Criticism,” n. 22). The bride and groom drink the nuptial wine from *hapkünbae* as described in the next line. Connecting the cups with a red cord seems to have been of a local tradition rather than following the classical ritual manual. Yi Ik 李滉 (1681–1764) stated in his “Kanyö üi” 嫁女儀 that this was an incorrect practice originating from the fictional story of the “Old Man under the Moon” (*wörhanoin* 月下老人, C. *yuexia laoren*) and should not be followed (n.d.: 48.9a). An Chǒngbok 安鼎福 (1712–1792) also wrote in “Hollye chagüi” 婚禮酌宜 that the custom was due to fiction writers (*p’aega* 稗家), and did not follow the rules of literati wedding rites (1900: 14.33b–34a). The story of the “Old Man under the Moon” about a mysterious old man connecting peoples’ destinies with red strings first appeared in the *Xu Xuanguailu* 續玄怪錄, a *chuanqi* 傳奇 collection by Li Liang 李諒 (775–833) and had spread widely throughout East Asia.

70 The exchange of nuptial wine, or *haphwanju* (lit. “Wine of conjoining delight”) is performed together with *tongnoe*. The main part of it is when the bride and groom drink the wine from the gourd cups three times. See note 22 for more detail.

71 Kwangt’onggyo (modern Kwanggyo 廣橋) is one of the main bridges on Ch’önggyech’ön, south of the palace, in Kwangt’ong District (modern-day Chongno area). Sujinbang was a central district on the south of the palace but north of Kwangt’onggyo, near modern Susongdong where Sujin Palace 壽進宮 used to be. These areas are approximately a ten-minute walk from each other. This means both families lived in the central area of the capital, adjacent to the palace.

72 It seems that the bride has to (*tang* 當) get in the palanquin to leave her family for her husband’s house but could not bear to do so, so she is trying multiple times in tears.

73 “Blue-black-silk hair” (*ch’öngsabal*) designates the black hair of youth. Cf. Li Bai’s lines in “Jiagjin jiu” 將進酒 [Bring in the wine]: “Lofty hall, bright mirror, grieving over greying hair; It looked like blue-black silk in the morning, then became snow in the evening” 高堂明鏡悲白髮·朝如青絲暮成雪. Tying up one’s hair implies marriage when a husband puts up his hair in a topknot (*sangt’u*) and a wife hers in a chignon (*tchok*).

74 “Chive root” is part of the common expression, “Kömün möri ka p’a ppuri toel ttae kkaji” (Until your black hair becomes [gray like] chive roots)—a common well-wishing phrase at weddings.

75 “Palace-style” calligraphy, i.e., Kungch’e sö (or Kungsö ch’e 宮體書), is known to have come from the script style used by court ladies when they wrote Han’gül, but it generally referred to the style of Han’gül writing of ladies, in which letters are more cursive and touching each other.

76 *lǔng* is the name of the Han’gül consonant symbol ㅇ whose phonetic value is either zero (syllable-initial position) or /-ng/ (syllable-final position). Its round shape can be tricky to make when writing with a brush.

77 A night is divided into five night-watches based on double-hours: *ch’ögyöng* 初更 (19:00 to 21:00), *igyöng* 二更 (21:00 to 23:00), *samgyöng* 三更 (23:00 to 1:00), *sagyöng* 四更 (1:00 to 3:00), and *ogyöng* 五更 (3:00 to 5:00).

78 “Going down the steps” means that the mulberry tree is in her yard, not outside the house, and perhaps there is only one or two mulberry trees. The lives of literati housewives ideally exist within the parameters of the house, and this is the “outing” allowed a married woman within the propriety of her day-to-day routine. At the same time, this suggests that her life is well ensconced and not troubled by household chores or hardship.

79 It is not clear what East Sea Silk is. An interlinear commentary to the “Method to fashion literati coats with a Mountain Thunder pattern” 山雷深衣制式 by Hwang Yunsök 黃胤錫 (1729–1791) states, “In the northwest region of our country is East Sea Silk (Tonghae chu) whose original name is Tohae chu, which is also called Tonghae chu” 本國關西有東海紬。本名陶海紬。亦名銅樅 紬者 (1829: 24.35b). Since it doesn’t make perfect sense for the northwest region to be known for a silk named “East Sea,” the name may have been a sinographic corruption of a vernacular name.

80 A seventeenth-century fictional narrative written in Korea and staged in Song China, narrating the twists and turns in the life of Sukhyang, an abandoned female immortal, in the human world. It was widely read in nearly 100 different versions both in imprints and manuscripts and adapted in Han’gŭl, LS, and Japanese. It was also one of the few steady sellers among commercially printed (*panggakpon* 坊刻本) fictional works in the nineteenth century. An imprint from 1858, the oldest surviving, was recently discovered in Leiden.

81 *Ok tongja* is a small jade figurine of a baby boy, a pair of which could be worn as a pendant-like accessory. They could have been the ones used during the *hapkūnnye* of the wedding ceremony, placed on the north and south of the table as incense holders. Again, Yi Ik’s “Kanyō ūi” (n.d.: 48.8b) and An Chōngbok’s “Hollye chagūi” (1900: 14.33b–34a) uniformly denounced using the jade figurines in literati weddings, but they apparently appeared even in the royal wedding when King Yōngjo married Queen Chōngsun, as recorded in the *Yōngjo Chōngsun wanghu karye togamch’ōng* (Togamch’ōng 1759: 2.98). The symbolism of this figurine is apparent: to wish for women to bear sons.

82 *Yuso* “tassel” is used to ornament drapes and banners, as well as pendants and accessories on the dress. Here she tied the figurine to a tassel to wear on herself, keeping it slightly covered, rather than blatantly exposing it—coy but still wanting, perhaps because she did not want to jinx the prospect that came with it, i.e., for her to produce sons.

83 阿哥氏 is a transliteration of *agassi* “young lady,” which was a term used by maids to address their mistress or by older sisters-in-law to call a younger and unmarried woman.

84 I take *sa* 思 as a scribal error for *si* 嫗, a phonogram used to write the vernacular Korean prefix for one’s husband’s family (e.g., *si-abōji* “father-in-law”). Most modern Korean translations render the line as written (“If you can’t stop missing your home”), which does not fit well here. A housewife in a literati family would have needed the approval of her parents-in-law to leave the house to visit her parents.

85 *Sangsadan* 相思緞 “Pining [*sangsā* meaning “thinking of each other”] Satin” was used for making high-class dresses sold in the *Yugūijōn* 六矣廛 [Six Licensed Stores] market, where stores were licensed to supply materials needed in the palace.

86 An eared pouch is a small sack with its folded bottom sticking out like ears. It was a common, decorative, and essential purse for men and women, since premodern Korean dresses didn’t have pockets built into them.

87 It seems to refer to the string that closes the mouth of the pouch, decorated with butterfly knots.

88 Here it must be the fabric for her husband’s dress that she wrapped in the sun-patterned cloth. A square piece of cloth with the pattern of the sun on the surface. The sun, one

of the ten symbols for longevity (*sipchangsaeng* 十長生), embodies the yang; and the cloth containing the sun pattern was used in dresses of the kings, fathers, and husbands. (See Han'guk munhwa sangjing sajŏn p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe 1992: 596–601.)

89 A hamper-like box made with woven bamboo-skin strips.

90 *Pagŏn* (Ch. *boyan*) is a word uniquely associated with the *Book of Poetry*, whose meaning has never been clear. It appears in several poems, e.g., “Plantains” (poem 8), “Gathering Southernwood” (poem 13), and “Cypress Boat” (poem 26). Because the lexical meaning of the first character is not uniformly clear in the different poems, and the second character is almost certainly a loan graph of another, writers have used it loosely in the sense of “for a moment; a little; hurriedly,” or sometimes like a meaningless filler. More recently, Gao Heng 高亨 (1900–1986) and Wen Yiduo 聞一多 (1899–1946) more convincingly explained that the second morpheme *yan* 言 is a loan graph for *yan* 焉 or *ran* 然, an adverbial-forming suffix like “-ly” in English, whereas *bo* 薄 is another graph of *po* 迫 “to hurry, force.” Together the phrase should mean “hurriedly” or “quickly” (Wen Yiduo 1948: 1.339–67, esp. 348; Gao Heng 1980: 11, 18, and 36). Korean writers’ use of the word, albeit not rare, was similarly vague. In fact, how to interpret this word was discussed more than once at King Chŏngjo’s royal lectorium (*kyŏngyŏn* 經筵)—see “Kyŏngsa kangŭi” 經史講義 in Chŏngjo 1814: 88.18a–b, 92.29b. It is interesting that Yi Ok employs such an idiosyncratic LS word in his “Folk Vernacular.”

91 While *t’oju* 土紬 could simply mean a domestic kind of silk in contrast to those imported from China, the translation takes it as a variant spelling of *t’oju* 吐紬 (twist-spun silk), since the spellings were used interchangeably in some historical records. The latter appears to have been dyed in various colors to render high-end beddings, as seen in the list of items prepared for the royal wedding of King Yŏngjo 英祖 (r. 1724–1776) and Queen Chŏngsun 貞純王后 (1745–1805) recorded in the *Yŏngjo Chŏngsun wanghu karye togam ŭigwe* 英祖貞純王后嘉禮都監儀軌 [Record of procedures of Directorate of Festive Rites (for the royal wedding of) King Yŏngjo and Queen Chŏngsun] (e.g., *Togamch’ŏng* 1759: 1.13b–14a). Sŏ Yugu 徐有榘 (1764–1845) mentioned in his *Imwŏn simnyuk chi* 林園十六志 (*Chŏngong chi* 展功志2) that *t’oju* was woven with silk drawn from floss, which made it warmer and sturdier and thus more expensive than regular kinds (1983: 1.515).

92 Cloud-pattern satin (*unmundan*) was a high-end fabric used to make clothing and bedding. Yi Ik wrote in his “Mongmyŏn’ga” 木棉歌 [Cotton song], “The fine silk of Qi or the white raw silk of Lu can be done away with now; Flower embroidery and cloud patterns are but extravagant fashion” 齊紈魯縞今可捐, 花繡雲紋但侈風 (1922: 8.12b–13a).

93 The third and fourth lines speak of the fabric of the bedding (mattress and blanket), which are more luxurious and elaborate than those she mentioned using for hers in the first two lines.

94 Notice Yi Ok used *nong* 儂 for the first-person pronoun, which evokes vernacularism in traditional Chinese literature. This appears in several places throughout the poems.

95 Clothes made of *pobyŏng-mok* (步兵木 “foot-soldier cotton”), a coarse cotton fabric, submitted by commoners in lieu of their corvée duty.

96 From “Kyŏnu and Chingnyŏ” 牽牛織女 [Oxherd and Weaver Maiden], i.e., the farmer’s wife. Since the husband has to hoe in the drought-parched field, unable to leave home for his corvée duty, the wife at home weaves cotton to pay instead of the husband’s service.

97 A type of peach native to Ullŭng Island, famous for its large and juicy fruit.

98 Peach blossoms are often associated with facial makeup, as in Chinese *taohua mian* (桃花面 “peach-blossom face”) or *taohua zhuang* (桃花粧 “peach-blossom makeup”) meaning

rouge facial makeup (cf. Yuwen shi 宇文氏 [Yuwen Shiji 宇文士及 (d. 642)], “Zhuangtai ji” 粧臺記 [On dressers], Yuwen Shi 1980: 1454).

99 *Wisöngnyu* (Ch. *Weichengliu*) gets its name from Weicheng (modern Xianyang 咸陽 in Shaanxi Province), where willow trees are famous, especially after Wang Wei’s 王維 (699–759) “Weicheng qu” 渭城曲 [A song at Weicheng]. Chöng Yagyong identified *Wisöngnyu* with *chengliu* 檉柳 (*Tamarix chinensis*) and said that it is called *nüngsu pödül* (菱殊柳) in Korea (Chöng Yagyong, “Tap Yi p’ansö (Sisu)” 答李判書時秀 [Reply to Minister Yi (Sisu)], in Chöng Yagyong 1934–38: 1.18.29b). But *chengliu* is in fact different from *nüngsu pödül* (*Salix pseudolasiogyne*), though they look similar enough to be mistaken for each other.

100 This entire quatrain is redolent of Wei Zhuang’s 韋莊 (836–910) *ci* poem to the tune pattern “Nü guanzi” 女冠子 [The Daoist nun] describing the face of a woman seen in a dream: “Peach-blossom face, just like before; Always knitted, those willow-leaf eyebrows” 依舊桃花面，頻低柳葉眉 (Zhao Chongzuo 趙崇祚 1782: 3.5b).

101 *Hwan* 歡 (Ch. *huan*) is an affectionate second-person pronoun between lovers and was representatively used in a well-known line from a Music Bureau ballad: “Ever since I parted with you, dear, my cosmetic case has never opened” 自從別歡來，奩器了不開 (“Ziye ge” 子夜歌 [Ziye’s songs] under “Wusheng gequ” [Songs in Wu sounds] 吳聲歌曲 in Guo Maoqian’s 郭茂倩 (ca. 1094) *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集 (1998: 501).

102 Traditional socks, made with sewn cotton, are often likened to melon seeds for their shape and called *oessi pösön*.

103 Outside of the southeast corner of the palace in Hanyang—the modern-day Sagan-dong, Chungthakong, and Songhyöndong areas in Chongno, where there used to be many brothels.

104 Court seamstresses (*ch’imsönbi*) of the Sangüiwön 尙衣院 (Royal Clothing Office) were also often drafted to entertain court guests and even went outside the palace to work as courtesans. Being at the court in charge of dresses, they wore the trendiest clothes and led the fashion trends of Seoul (Kang Chihyön 2009: 103).

105 Here the melon-seed-shaped white socks stand for an ordinary lady’s attire, which may be mocked by the fashion-forward courtesans at the brothels in Pyökchandang.

106 A bamboo-joint hairpin is made of expensive materials, usually jade or silver, shaped like a bamboo branch with nodes. Hairpins were often further decorated with small metal butterflies, birds, and such at their heads.

107 *Ch’ohye* 草鞋 are straw shoes (K. *chipsin*); *küm ch’ohye* 錦草鞋 (lit. “silk straw shoes”) might refer to similarly shaped shoes but made of silk. There were *ch’ohye* made of hemp, arrowroot, mulberry bark, and even paper. Several records in the *Sejong sillok* report of the court’s sumptuary policy that prohibited leather *ch’ohye* (*p’ich’ohye* 皮草鞋) from being worn by those below their social class (e.g., *Sejong sillok*, Sejong 8 (1426)/1/26). Therefore, the name “straw shoes” here must have been more about the shape than the material. In mid-Chosön, decorative *ch’ohye* became popular, according to a record in the *Chungjong sillok* 中宗實錄, in which the king bemoaned that, despite his efforts to eliminate the trend of profligacy, things like “gold-inlaid *ch’ohye* (*kümsön ch’ohye* 金線草鞋)” were still very much popular among courtesans outside the palace (*Chungjong sillok*, Chungjong 36 (1540)/6/1).

108 *Hangna* 杭羅 is also written as 亢羅, a kind of gauzy silk often used as fabric for summer clothes.

109 These seem to be trinkets worn outside of the dress.

110 1 *Ch’öndo möri* (“heavenly-peach hair”) appears in the *p’ansori* “Hüngbo ka” [Song of Hüngbo]. *Ch’öndo* usually means nectarines in modern Korean, but in this case, it would be



a mythical peach—as in Tao Qian’s 陶潛 (365–427) “Peach Blossom Land” (“Taohuayuan ji” 桃花源記), the shape of which was used in ladies’ hairdos. Late Chosŏn *yangban* women wore elaborate hairdos and headdresses, and this might have involved adding wigs or false-hair attachments. Yi Ok mentions in another piece “Saengch’egye” 生菜髻 [Vegetable hairdo] that the ladies roaming the streets of Seoul wore *ch’ŏndogye* (*Pongsŏng munyŏ* [鳳城文餘 “Leftover writing at Ponghwa”] 奉化), collected in Kim Ryŏ’s 金鑑 *Tamjŏng ch’ongsŏ* 譚庭叢書. See Yi Ok 2009c: 247.

111 *Chokturi* is also a women’s headpiece that is quite familiar to modern Koreans for being worn in traditional wedding ceremonies. It was perhaps much smaller than the Heavenly-peach hair knot (*ch’ŏndogye*). *Chokturi* came from the Mongolian tradition during the Koryŏ-Yuan period and was possibly worn by married women, at least in Chosŏn (Kim Chiyŏn and Hong Nayŏng 1999: 243–58). Heavily decorated hairpieces (*kach’ŏ* 加髻, or *tari*) like *ch’ŏndogye* became an issue financially and in terms of personal safety in late Chosŏn. See Yi Tŏngmu’s 李德懋 (1741–1793), *Sa sojŏl* 士小節 [Quotidian precepts for literati] (n.d.: 3.515). King Yŏngjo had thus issued an edict to ban the wearing of decorative hairpieces (*Yŏngjo sillŏk* 英組實錄, Yŏngjo 30 (1756)/1/16), and Chŏngjo reinforced it (*Chŏngjo sillŏk* 正祖實錄, Chŏngjo 12 (1788)/10/3). What was allowed instead was *chokturi*.

112 “Eastside neighborhood” must indicate the Sindangdong 神堂洞 area of Seoul. Sindangdong is just outside the East Gate (Tongdaemun 東大門), where shamans used to live as a community (hence the name *sindang* “shrine”). Shamans (*mudang* 巫堂) in Chosŏn were mainly women (see Yi Kit’ae 2016).

113 Noryang is modern Noryangjin 露梁津, across the Han River from Map’o 麻浦 in Seoul. After the eviction of all shamans from Hanyang during King Chŏngjo’s reign (*Chŏngjo sillŏk*, Chŏngjo 0 (1776)/5/22), a large population of shamans moved to Noryangjin, across the river from the city. See Kim T’aegon, “Min’gan sinang” [Folk religion], *Tongjak ku chi* 銅雀區誌 [Gazetteer of Tongjak District] 1994: 94 (cited in Yi Kit’ae 2016: 242).

114 *Chesŏkpang* (帝釋房 “room of *chesŏk*”) is a metonymical name for shamans and their shrine, *chesŏk* being a generic term for shaman gods. The term itself was of Buddhist origin but by late Chosŏn it was widely adopted by shamans to refer to their gods (Buswell 2007: 238.) In particular, the *Samsin halmi*, a mythical grandmother who is in charge of assigning babies, is called *Samsin chesŏk* 三神帝釋.

115 *Pongsŏnhwa*, or touch-me-not (*Impatiens balsamina*), is vernacularized as *pongsunga* in modern Korean. Its petals are collected, crushed, and wrapped around the fingers to color one’s nails. Touch-me-nots usually bloom in late summer.

116 The slight difference in the syntactic structures of Line 3 and Line 4 (爪甲青 [fingernail turning green] and 作紅爪甲 [turning fingernails red]) is partially motivated by rhyming between *yŏp* 葉 in Line 2 and *kap* 甲.

117 Ramie is called *mosi* in vernacular Korean. Similar to linen, *mosi* is particularly favored as a fabric for summer clothes. Chin’an has traditionally been famous for producing fine ramie cloth.

118 *Kkaekki* is a type of sewing that hides the stitches between the outer and inner layers. It was used for more formal and ritual dresses, as well as summer dresses, made of fine and starched silk (*Han’guk minjok munhwa tae paekkwajŏn*, s.v. “Kkaekki”).

119 *Chokturi* (see n. 111) is worn by a married woman. Even though she would have her hair in a chignon, she is saying that someone may tease her for looking as though unmarried if her *chokturi* falls off.

120 According to Xu Guang's 徐廣 (352–425) annotation to *pibi* 皮幣, a kind of currency made of white-deer skin circulated during Han Wudi's 漢武帝 reign (156–87 BCE), *chagwi* (Ch. *zihui*) 紫績 is also written *chogwi* (Ch. *zaohui*) 藻績, which means to embroider in five colors (see “Pingzhun shu” 平準書 in Sima Qian 1959: 80.1426). The latter, *chogwi/zihui*, is more widely used, as it was also in Chosŏn poetry. It is possible that Yi Ok chose to write a known word in a more novel way.

121 *Pong* 峰 is a phoneticization of the vernacular Korean word *ponguri* “(flower) bud.”

122 *Tan* as in *songgūmdan* is a suffix for layered silk. I could not find information on *songgūmdan* except for one record in the *Ilŏngnok* 日省錄 [Daily reflective record of the court] (Chŏngjo 10 (1786)/5/13) in which it was used to make various items in the coffin of Prince Munhyo 文孝世子 (Sun 暉, 1782–1786), meaning this was a high-grade fabric. The record indicated the color was light green (*yŏndu* 連豆), perhaps as the name *songgūm* “pine-gold” suggests, which would have fit the season (the third month—roughly around April according to the Gregorian Calendar).

123 *Sa* as in *kwangwŏlsa* is a suffix for thin silk, appropriate for summer (“the fifth month”) clothes. Sometimes written with a homophonous character *kwang* 光, *kwangwŏlsa* satin is found in descriptions of nicely dressed ladies, as in *Ch'unhyang chŏn* [Song of Ch'unhyang] n.d.: 1b.

124 Honam is the southwest region, i.e., the Chŏlla area. Here it appears that the poetic persona went out to the market, buying different expensive fabrics each season, so the comb-seller from the south at the market thought she was from a wealthy household.

125 *Kua* (口兒) is Yi Ok's transliteration of the vernacular Korean *kkwari* “bladder cherry” (< Middle Korean *skwuuli*). In Sino-Korean, most texts (medical or otherwise) write *sanjang* 酸漿, as did the Chinese *Materia Medica* (*Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目). The *Hyangyak chipsŏngbang* 鄉藥集成方 [Collected prescriptions of local medicine] (first printed in 1433) noted a local name 叱科阿里 transcribing *skwu.a.li* (Yu Hyot'ong 兪孝通 et al. 1942: 79.619); the *Pangyak happ'yŏn* 方藥合編 [Collected and edited prescribed medications] (1885) by Hwang Toyŏn 黃度淵 recorded a native name 꾸아리 *skwu.a.li* (1885: 16b). Wrenching out the inside of the cherry without breaking its skin in order to blow the air in and then squeeze it out, making a noise, was a popular pastime for children.

126 Stirred by the bladder cherry, the speaker associates the scene with her life. “Spring wind,” or *pom param*, insinuates amorous feelings (comparable to spring fever), which prompted her to remember the time when she and her husband were in their room together, when life was round and full (*wŏnman* 圓滿) just like the blown-up bladder cherry.

127 *Chungbaekkye* 中白桂, commonly called *chungbaekki* in vernacular Korean, is a kind of stir-fried sweet made of flour kneaded with honey or grain syrup. Hŏ Kyun's 許筠 (1569–1618) *Tomun taejak* 屠門大嚼 [Smacking lips loudly at a butcher's door] (collected in Hŏ Kyun n.d.: 5.557–558) writes it as *chungbakkye* 中朴桂; Yi Ŭibong's 李義鳳 (1733–1801) *Pugwŏn nok* 北轅錄 [Record of a travel to the north] (2008: 3.13b) has *chunggye* 中桂. It may have been related to cinnamon (*kye* as in *kyep'i* 桂皮, cassia cinnamon), but none of the records of its recipe mention cinnamon. According to Yi Ik (“Manmul mun-Hollye *pakkye*” 萬物門-婚禮朴桂 [Myriad things-Wedding *pakkye*]), *pakkye* 朴桂 was a domestic sweet known since the Koryŏ period, though it may have stemmed from Chinese *junū* 糗糒 mentioned in the *Chu ci* 楚辭, and it was customary for the bride's family to send *pakkye* to the groom's family after the wedding (n.d.: 4.81a). Lady Yi Pinghŏgak 憑虛閣李氏 (1759–1824) also stated that a wedding could not take place without *pakkye* (2001: 709–10). It may be that the speaker hates *Chungbaekki* because it is too sweet or because it is associated with her own wedding.

128 Iganggo is one of the typical hard liquors domestic to Korea (also known as Igangju 梨薑酒). As the name suggests, it is made by soaking ground pear and ginger in soju (燒酒, distilled wine) boiled with cinnamon and cumin (“Ch’isŏn-Yangju” 治膳-釀酒 [Food-Wine Making] in Hong Mansŏn 洪萬選 and Yu Chungnim 柳重臨, 1766: 6.29).

129 Blooming Abalone (*hwabok*) is abalone cut in the shape of a flower, usually sold dried, and was considered a delicacy. Whereas the first two lines are about things the speaker is not in favor of—both are strong in flavor—the third and fourth lines list those she finds most palatable.

130 Peaches ripen in the sixth month. Several records of the Sixth-month Peaches being presented to the throne can be found in the *Chungjong sillok* (e.g., Chungjong 24 (1529)/7/14).

131 Sweetfish (*ŭnŏ* 銀魚, *Plecoglossus altivelis*) is also known as Ayu and has a long silvery body measuring about 20 to 30 cm. Living widely in Korea, Japan, and China, sweetfish are mentioned in Chosŏn literature as a seasonal delicacy sent as gifts or tributes to the court, though they are sometimes confused with *torumuk* (*Arctoscopus japonicas*).

132 It is not clear why white teeth are hateable when *tansun hoch’i* 丹脣皓齒 (Ch. *danchun haochi*) “cinnabar lips and bright white teeth” are frequently praised as a quality of beautiful women. It may have something to do with Mei Sheng’s line in the “Seven Stimuli” which compared “bright white teeth and ax-shaped eyebrows (of beautiful women)” to “axes that sever the heavenly nature (of men).” This allusion appeared in the “Third Criticism” (see n. 36). Otherwise, it could just be an aversion to something too loudly perfect.

133 In the Kyujanggak edition *kang* 珩 is written *chang* 粧, which the translation assumes. A *changdo* 粧刀 is a small pocket knife, often ornamental for a woman as a symbol of her will to protect her chastity for her husband.

134 Peach blossoms and pear flowers are representative images of colorful gardens or of spring in classical poetry; e.g., Liu Shen 劉誥 (1268–1350) wrote in “Three poems from the leisurely spring-summer of *gengwu* year” 庚午春夏閒居即事三首 (2): “Peach blossoms and pear flowers fight to fill the garden; Around Gold-dust flowers and crabapples bees and birds are buzzing” 桃花梨花爭滿園，金沙玉棠蜂鳥喧 (Gu Sili 顧嗣立 1782: 2.15.108b). But they were also thought of as somewhat tacky and flamboyant. Xu Ji’s 徐積 (1028–1130) “A song of viburnum flower” 瓊花歌 writes: “Apricot flowers are tackily seductive and pear flowers are crude; Willow flowers are slightly drunken and plum flowers are aloof; Peach flowers are not upright and their appearance is gaudy; Peonies are not gracious and their bodies are loose” 杏花俗艷梨花粗，柳花細碎梅花疏。桃花不正其容冶，牡丹不謹其體舒 (1782: 2.2b). This particular line recalls Yang Wanli’s 楊萬里 (1124–1206) line in his “Three poems written on the road to Wan’an” 萬安道中書事三首 (3), which reads, “Peach blossoms leave light touches of rouge; Only to yield to pear petals’ snowy skin” 桃花薄相點燕脂，輪與梨花雪作肌 (1782: 15.4b).

135 Notice that Yi Ok is using the colloquial Mandarin in this line.

136 “The Airs of Zheng” (Zhengfeng 鄭風) and “The Airs of Wei” (Weifeng 衛風) refer to the two chapters of “Airs of the States” section in the *Book of Poetry*. As mentioned in note 34 in the “Third Criticism,” they are traditionally known to contain songs representative of lewdness reflecting the indecent regimes of the states of Zheng and Wei.

137 Whereas the first two sections were modes in the voice of a newly wed wife, these “Dissolute Mode” songs are in the voice of a courtesan.

138 Camellia oil (*tongbaek-yu* 冬柏油) was the most common oil used to make the hair neat and shiny.

139 *Chuk*, though literally meaning “bamboo,” was a generic term for tobacco pipes, for the bodies of simple pipes were made of bamboo tubes (also called *yŏnjuk* 煙竹 “smoking pipe”). Tongnae is in South Kyŏngsang Province, now a part of Pusan Metropolitan City, and was famous

for producing brassware and white-brass (made from nickel and copper) tobacco pipes. In the eighteenth century, more luxurious pipes were made in Tongnae, which used silver or mother-of-pearl lacquer. Expensive pipes were purchased by high officials to be used as gifts. Sō Yugu in his *Imwŏn simnyuk chi* stated that Tongnae produced good tobacco-related goods, including tobacco pipes, because tobacco smoking was transmitted from Japan (“Sōmyong chi” 贍用志 3, 1983, 2.449). See also An Taehoe’s study on tobacco consumption in late Chosŏn (2015: esp. 168–72).

140 This refers to the characters 壽 (*su* “longevity”) and 福 (*pok* “happiness”) engraved on the silver (or white-brass) portion of the pipe—perhaps the mouthpiece or the tobacco holder. It must have been a typical high-end pipe. One version of *Ch’unhyang chŏn* (manuscript version collected by Yi Myŏngsŏn, often abbreviated as Igobon) mentions “Silver Pusan pipes engraved ‘Longevity and Happiness’ and Kimhae pipes” as exquisite tobacco pipes. (An Taehoe 2015: esp. 168–72). Yi Ok left several writings about tobacco and tobacco smoking, including *Yŏn kyŏng* [Classic of tobacco], where he left a lengthy paragraph on tobacco pipes. Silver pipes engraved with “Longevity” and “Happiness” are also mentioned there (2009a: 434–37).

141 A fan-stud (*sŏnch’u* 扇鍾) is a small ornamental stone hanging from the bottom of the handle of a hand-held fan.

142 It is apparent that these lines describe lovers’ banter: The man playfully takes away the woman’s ring and then gives her the jade stud from his fan, upon which she teases, asking if he is keeping the fan to seduce another woman.

143 *Sŏjŏng* and *tonggak* could be any walled (*kak* 閣) or unwalled (*chŏng* 亭) pavilion, though there are a quite a few pavilions called by the same names appearing in both Chinese and Korean literature. In this poem, however, the couplet specifically invokes a song, perhaps in *sijo*: “Seysa non kumsamchek iwo sayngay non cwu ilpay ’la, seceng kangsangweli iwulyessi polkkanontuy, tonggak ey selcwungmay taliko wanwel cangchwi holila” (世事는 琴三尺이오 生涯는 酒一盃라 西亭江上月이 두렷시 붉가논디 東閣에 雪中梅 다리고 翫月長醉 후리라 “Matters of the world are a three-foot zither; Life is a cup of wine; Moon over the river, western gazebo; Shines so brightly; Accompanying the plum blossom in the snow by the eastern pavilion; I shall enjoy the moon and stay long drunk”). The song as introduced above is collected in the *Ch’ŏnggu yŏngŏn* 靑丘永言 (Kim Ch’ŏnt’aek 金天澤 1930: 79), a collection of *sijo* songs compiled by a commoner-singer Kim Ch’ŏnt’aek (ca. 1680), as well as in other song collections such as the *Kagok wŏllyu* 歌曲源流 and *Haedong akchang* 海東樂章. Plenty of examples suggest that the quatrain came to be well-liked as early as the eighteenth century and continued to be popular until the twentieth century. Hwang Yunsŏk’s poem “Hŭijŭng Poga” 獻贈福娥 (1829: 2.22b) and Yi Hakkyu’s 李學達 (1770–1835) “Ch’angdŏk kung chŏn yakp’o” 昌德宮前樂鋪 (2002: 568) both mention “Sŏjŏng kangwŏl” 西亭江月 as a song (*kok* 曲 or *ka* 歌). In the *p’ansori Ch’unhyang ka* (Wanp’an version), Yi Mongnyong responds to Ch’unhyang’s “Ch’unmyŏn kok” 春眠曲 [Spring languor tune] on her seven-string zither with the very same quatrain. Hong Myŏnghŭi 洪命憲 (1888–1968) wrote in his novel *Im Kkŏkchŏng* a scene where Han Ŏn describes singing the “Sesa kŭmsamch’ŏk” 世事琴三尺 as a *sijo ch’ang* 詩調唱 (Hong Myŏnghŭi, *Im Kkŏkchŏng*, vol. 7, redacted ed. [Sagyejŏl, 2019]). Finally, the quatrain in *sijo* form is still transmitted as a farmers’ song in the Ch’ŏlla area today (appointed as South Ch’ŏlla Province Intangible Cultural Heritage 41 in 2006; *Han’guk minsok tae paek kwa sajŏn*, s.v. “Sesa nŭn kŭm samch’ŏk iyo”). As is the case with many *sijo* songs, this song appears to have its origin in a preexisting Sinitic poem (“世事琴三尺, 萬事酒一盃, 西亭江上月, 東閣雪中梅”). But in this case, neither the authorship nor the completeness of the poem is certain. The poem is found in an earlier chrestomathy, *Ch’ugu* 推句 [Select verses], a poetry primer collecting pentasyllabic couplets paired into quatrains but

not as a complete quatrain and instead as two separate couplets each paired with other couplets and comprising two separate poems. It appears that the two couplets either were one quatrain that were split later or separate couplets that were later joined. The *Ch'ugu* was widely circulated in late Chosŏn and the twentieth century, and all extant copies of the *Ch'ugu* are undatable manuscripts. But as the traditional catalogs, including those in the *Kosa ch'waryo* 攷事撮要 (1568, 1576, and 1585, originally compiled by Ŏ Sukkwŏn 魚叔權 in 1554) record its printing blocks kept in various regions of Chosŏn, it is possible that the *Ch'ugu* was already popular as a primer in the mid-Chosŏn period (see Kim Ch'iu 2007). Ko Chŏngsuk (2018) has claimed that the quatrain was by Chŏn Mallyŏng 全萬齡 (licentiate in 1486), but I have not found any further corroborating evidence.

144 It is not clear what the complaint was about in these two lines. If the poem in the first two lines was so widely known and sung, she as a courtesan must have been requested to sing it all the time. Because she found the tune and lyric hackneyed and tedious, she could have felt it a nuisance to have to sing it again.

145 A trichilocosm (*samch'ŏnju*, lit. “three-thousand pearls”) is a women’s accessory made of three large beads (usually of gemstones or pearls) connected with colorful strings and tassels. The three beads represent the Buddhist concept of the world containing three thousand worlds within itself (*samch'ŏn segye* [三千世界 “Three-thousand galaxies”]). It was a luxurious accessory item usually worn by court ladies (i.e., queens and princesses) (Kang Min’gi 2006: 199). But as the famous Sin Yunbok’s 申潤福 (b. 1758) painting *Miundo* 美人圖 “Portrait of a beauty” shows, courtesans also wore it by the mid-Chosŏn period. By the time Yi Ok wrote this, a trichilocosm pendant may not have been too expensive, as the poem implies.

146 The Tano (Ch. Duanwu) Festival is on the fifth day of the fifth month by the lunar calendar; people make fans on Tano day and give them away as gifts. *Pakswae* would mean “beat loudly as if breaking something into pieces,” but in this case the action could be tapping lightly because the tune beaten to is *kyemyŏn* mode, which is a slow-paced, sad mode.

147 The *kyemyŏn*-mode started in the early period of Korean music as a pentatonic variation to the default *p'yŏng* mode (平調). In later Chosŏn it came to refer to the technique of singing slow and sad songs (Jang 2014: xv–xx; *Han’guk minsok tae paek kwa sajŏn*, s.v. “*Kyemyŏn cho*”).

148 The phrase *chi a cha* 知我者 certainly reminds one of the line from the *Book of Poetry*, “Those who knew me, Said I was sad at heart; Those who did not know me, Said I was seeking for something” 知我者，謂我心憂，不知我者，謂我何求 (“*Shuli*” 黍離, poem 65, translation by Legge). Confucius had also uttered it when bemoaning that no one understood him (“But there is Heaven—that knows me” 知我者其天乎! [*Analects* 14: 35, translation by Legge]), after which it became a set phrase to mean “one who truly knows me.” “To know” here thus means “to understand” or “to appreciate.”

149 This quatrain is connected to the next one, in the persona of an aged courtesan, *Ch'uwŏl*.

150 *Ch'ukkŭm* 卽今 was interchangeable with *chigŭm* 只今 “now” in Chosŏn LS, which is now used in modern Korean. *Ch'uwŏl* (lit. “autumn moon”) could be a common courtesan’s name, but it is very likely the name of a real courtesan who lived in Seoul and was celebrated among literati for her artistic talent. The “*Ch'ugi imno sŏl kosa*” 秋妓臨老說故事 [Courtesan *Ch'ū* tells stories in her old years] in the *Ch'ŏnggu yadam* 靑丘野談 (*Ch'ŏnggu yadam* n.d.: 2.63–64) records that she was from Kongju 公州 and was selected into the Bureau of Royal Attire at the court for her singing and dancing, as well as for her beauty. She was among the cohort of singers and musicians in Seoul, such as Yi Sech'un 李世春 and Kim Ch'ŏlsŏk 金哲石, along with other

courtesans Maewöl 梅月 and Kyesöm 桂蟾, under the patronage of a wealthy literatus-official Sim Yong 沈鏞 (1711–1788) (see “Yu P’ae-yöng p’ungnyu söngsa” 遊溟營風流盛事 [Dazzling panache while roaming around P’yöngyang], *Chönggu yadam* n.d.: 8.38–40). Hong Sinyu 洪愼猷 (b. 1722) also wrote a poem “Ch’uwöl ka” 秋月歌 [Song of Ch’uwöl] about her. It is not clear whether Yi Ok knew Ch’uwöl personally (see Im Hyöngt’æk 1992: 292–95).

151 Kap’ae could be a personal name, perhaps one of a courtesan like Ch’uwöl, which renders the line syntactically parallel to the first line: “Ch’uwöl is old now; Kap’ae has passed years ago.” But, unlike the case of Ch’wol, I cannot find a record of an actual person whose name was Kap’ae. We could perhaps surmise that Yi Ok used a fictitious (or only unknown to us) name of a courtesan, but this seems less fitting for the following lines of the poem (“With what karma did Mun’gun live; I don’t trust that poem”). Insofar as the “poem” is a woman bemoaning her husband’s change of heart because she has aged (see nn. 152 and 153), this line should be taken to mean the evanescence of beauty and youth rather than courtesans’ lives in general. *P’ae* is *hwanp’ae* 環佩, the jade decorating a woman’s belt, which later came also to refer to beautiful women. Here, the verb *kwi* 歸 means for a woman to get married.

152 Mun’gun is Zhuo Wenjun 卓文君, the wife of the famous poet-musician Sima Xiangru (mentioned in n. 63) of the Han dynasty.

153 The story of Sima Xiangru and Zhuo Wenjun had been emblematic of the love between a husband and wife, who fall in love at first sight and stay together against all odds. According to the *Xijing zaji* 西京雜記, when Sima Xiangru sought to take a concubine later in life, Zhuo Wenjun composed a poem, “Baitou yin” 白頭吟 [Song of white hairs], in which she lamented that her husband had grown distant because she became old, whereas she herself had always wanted a true and lasting love. This seems to be the poem that Ch’uwöl says she doesn’t believe. The transmitted texts of Zhuo Wenjun’s song were written in a poetic form that was not extant at the time of her life but came to be well circulated in the vernacular literature of the Yuan and Ming periods (West and Idema 1994: 38).

154 Other versions (*Yerim chapp’ae* in the National Library, *Chapsi* in Sungkyunkwan University, and *lön chip* in the Academy of Korean Studies) have *üi* 疑 “to suspect, doubt” for *ön* 言 “to say.” The translation follows the former, but without changing the character it could still mean that men at the brothel said it idly or jokingly. “We” (*nongbae*) here means courtesans, as the poetic persona is still Ch’uwöl.

155 “Being densely seated” describes the courtesans sitting next to customers, entertaining them all through the night. *Ogyöng* 五更 [the fifth night double-hours] means *muya* 戊夜, i.e., from 3:00 to 5:00 a.m.

156 The speaker is being sardonic. With all the grandiose airs the men like to put on, as if the courtesans should know and respect who they are without being told, they are in fact low-level so-and-sos, like a constable or an adjunct chief of some office, at best.

157 “Yöngsan kok,” also known as “Yöngsan hoesang” 靈山會上 [At the assembly on Vulture peak], is a popular musical suite based on the scene where Sakyamuni taught his disciples on Yöngch’wi Mountain 靈鷲山 [Vulture Peak] near Rājagṛha (modern Rajgir, India). Perhaps having started as temple music, it was adapted to accompany the “Ch’öyong mu” 處容舞 [Dance of Ch’öyong] in the court ritual of exorcism (*narye* 儺禮), which in turn developed into various forms of music, sung or played on instruments, outside the palace in unofficial contexts. See Söng Hyön’s 成俛 (1439–1504) *Yongjae ch’onghwa* 慵齋叢話 (Söng Hyön 1909, 10: 584) and (Yi Nünghwa 1915: 33–34). By the later Chosön, it had become one of the most favored tunes at literati gatherings (Song Chiwön 2012: 181–209).

158 *Yŏnggam* is a term of respect to address men of a certain status. It originally addressed officials of ministerial ranks (third rank or above) who were allowed above the hall at the palace (*tangsanggwan* 堂上官) but soon became a way to assume a social position for the one addressed and thus to confer esteem.

159 The term *hwarang* (花郎 “flower youth”) came from the palace congregation of young boys trained in music, morals, and martial skills. By the late Chosŏn, however, the word came to refer to male shamans, playboys, or guardian lovers of prostitutes (Pratt and Rutt 1999: 178). See also Yi Sugwang, “Kiye” 技藝, in Yi Sugwang 1614: 18.17a.

160 月矣 (SK. *wŏrŭi*) is an *idu*-style spelling of *tari*, “(women’s) tress hairpiece or head-dress,” in which the first character (月) is a semantogram (*tal* “moon”) and the second (矣) a phonogram (*i*) (see Yi Sangsin 2013: 7–41, esp. 19–20). Yukchin (lit. “six garrison posts”) refers to the six forts in northernmost Hamgyŏng Province, guarding against the Jurchens, for which it became a nickname for Hamgyŏng Province. The area was known to produce good *tari*.

161 Perhaps cinnabar was used for the luster.

162 Crow-blue is dark blue.

163 加里麻 (SK. *karima*) is a transliteration of the word *karima*, *karia*, or *kanilma* in sinographs. Also known as *ch’ŏaek* (遮額 “forehead cover”) a *karima* is a flat-square piece of headdress that women wore as a blind and decorative hat. Yi Kŭngik 李青翊 (1736–1806) explains, “Ladies of our country take two-foot-and-two-inch-wide black or purple silk cloth, fold it in half to make it double-layered, paste a thick piece of paper inside, and wear it. It covers the head from the forehead and drapes in the back to touch the shoulders, being called *ch’ŏaek*” 我國婦人, 以玄錦或紫錦全幅二尺二寸, 中屈之爲兩重, 以厚紙貼其裏以戴之. 從額覆頂垂于後, 以加肩背, 謂之遮額 (1913: 890). Yi Kyugyŏng 李圭景 (b. 1788) wrote, “When it comes to government slaves and courtesans, they wear black coarse-cloth *karima*; medical maiden, black silk *karima*. Its shape is like wearing a book box on top of the headdress” 至於丘賜、妓女, 著黑褐加尼麼. 醫女則著黑緞加尼麼. 其狀如冊匣戴髻髻上 (“Insa pyŏn–Poksik ryu–Susik” 人事篇–服食類–首飾 [Human affairs–Food and attire–Headdresses], 1959: 15.476a).

164 *Chang* here must be *akchang* 樂章 “musical scores.” “Flowers in the rear garden,” or “Hujŏnghwa,” is from the “Yushu houtinghua” 玉樹後庭花, a melody from the court of the last emperor of the Chen (Chen houzhu 陳後主, 560–589), which is introduced in the “Yuezhi” 樂志 of the *Sui shu* 隋書. Having been composed for his concubines notwithstanding the decline of the regime, it came to be known as a song of debauchery in China. Du Mu 杜牧 (803–852) wrote in “Bo Qinhuai” 泊秦淮 [Mooring in Qinhuai River], “Singing girls [prostitutes] don’t know the lament of the fallen country; Still singing Houtinghua across the river” 商女不知亡國恨, 隔江猶唱後庭花 (Peng Dingqiu 彭定求 1960: 523.5980); and Li Bai 李白 has a line, “The emperor fell into the Jingyang Well; Who would sing ‘Yushu houtinghua?’” 天子龍沈景陽井, 誰歌玉樹後庭花 in his “Jinling ge” 金陵歌 [Song of Jinling] (Peng Dingqiu 1960: 166). Mainstream Confucian literature in Chosŏn also associated it with decadence, as exemplified by An Chŏngbok who compared the degeneracy of King Kyŏngsun 敬順王 (d. 978), the last king of Silla, to Hujŏnghwa (An Chŏngbok n.d.: 5B:31a). But “Hujŏnghwa”—whether or not it was the very same song—was a widely popular number sung by courtesans in late Chosŏn. One of Yi Ok’s writings, “Kaja Song Silsol chŏn” 歌者宋蟋蟀傳 [Biography of the singer Song Silsol] collected in the *Wanyŏk Yi Ok chŏnjip* (Silsil haksa kojŏn munhak yŏn’guhoe 2009, 4: 251–53), depicts a famous singer singing to the tune of “Hujŏnghwa”; the *p’ansori* titles “Simchŏng ka” 沈清歌 and “Sugung ka” 水宮歌 also mention it. An early twentieth-century newspaper article (“Kim Chŏngp’il ŭi ch’osang” [A portrait of Kim Chŏngp’il], *Sidae ilbo*, October 13, 1924) compared the beauty of a woman who

became a media sensation for being convicted for poisoning her husband to that of a courtesan singing “Hujǒnghwa” (Yi Ch’öl 2010: 213–14). Considering that the song was frequently employed in popular literature, especially in *zaju* 雜劇 [miscellaneous plays], as a northern tune (*beiqu* 北曲) in the Xianlü 仙侶 mode, there is a good possibility that this song was rediscovered and became popular among late Chosŏn literati through the works of popular literature imported from China.

165 *P’yŏn* is a generic word for literary pieces. Favored as the most beautiful place to visit, the Kūmgang Mountains feature most often in literary works describing travels and jaunts accompanied by drinking and gathering.

166 *Kyedaek* 桂隊, also colloquially known as *kidaek*, designates the bands of musicians accompanying and often convening shamans’ rituals (*kut*). Serving in the hereditary occupation, *kyedaek* musicians were transmitters of shamanistic songs (Kim Hŏnsŏn 2006: esp. chap. 2). This line is thus connected with poem 10 above.

167 *Ch’ŏngsup’i* 青綉皮 (lit. “azure-embroidered skin”) could mean an official’s coat made with embroidered azure fabric, but it is more likely the name of an expensive kind of chicken. Yi Ok mentions *Ch’ŏngsup’i* in his “Tam cho” 談鳥 [On birds, *Paegunp’il* 白雲筆 (2009b: 346), listing *Ch’ŏngsup’i* 青繡皮 as a rare breed of chicken that one shouldn’t bother to raise at home. Here the first couplet appears to suggest that petty officers are stingy with money at brothels, whereas higher-ranking officers prefer having expensive delicacies on their tables.

168 *Hwabang* 花房 (lit. “flower room”) is another name for a courtesan house.

169 *T’ongch’ŏng* 通淸, narrowly defined, is a process qualifying the integrity of those who would serve in the Three Bureaus (*Samsa* 三司)—the Saganwŏn (司諫院 “Institute of Remonstrators”), Sahŏnbu (司憲部 “Department of the Censorate”), and Hongmun’gwan (弘文館 “Office of Advancement of Literature”)—whose operations included policy censorship and relating remonstrances to the king. The word “approving integrity” must have been coined because incorruptible integrity was the foremost criterion for people to work in these institutions. In mid- and late-Chosŏn society, the word had come to mean “to be allowed to serve in key government positions,” as these positions were given crucial powers in politics. Concubinary sons (*sŏdŏl* 庶孽) and Middle People (*chungin* 中人), were by regulation not allowed to serve in these positions and therefore launched political moves later to advance their rights, called the *T’ongch’ŏng undong* 通淸運動 (see S. J. Kim 2008).

170 *Sadang* 社堂 (also written as 寺黨, 寺堂, 捨堂, or 祠堂 based on homophony) was a Buddhist term referring to laywomen, i.e., female lay practitioners (Skt. *upāsikā*, or *ubai* 憂婆夷); *kōsa* 居士 was the pairing term for *sadang*, designating male lay practitioners (Skt. *upāsaka*, or *ubasae* 優婆塞) (Yi Kūngik 1913: 13.898). Especially since the beginning of Chosŏn when Buddhist temples were under oppression, many Buddhist monks had to retire from the priesthood but could not leave temples completely. They came to form a sizable lay community living near the temples (physically and conceptually), doing temple-related work and performing services for the community (Yi Chongsŏ 2015). Meanwhile, entertainers also assumed the names and used the pretense of religious services (Yi Kyŏngjin 2013). By mid-Chosŏn, *sadang* was a common name for women who traveled to sell their singing and dancing, as well as prostitution, to low-class folks. As a group they were called *sadang-p’ae*, and each member was accompanied by a *kōsa*, a male protector somewhat similar to a procurer today. This has something to do with the fact that most rituals and festivals were held around or in connection with Buddhist temples. Temples were intimately involved with the lives of the commoners and general public and provided venues for most ceremonies and rituals, from funerals and memorial services to town festivals. In actuality, most such performances and service were held in marketplaces, without any actual connection with temples, but performers usually made sure to pretend that their busi-



ness was to help temples and was thus for a good karma. These festivals and performances were also called *uba uhüi* 優婆遊戲 or *ubahüi* 優婆戲 (cf. *Ilŏngnok* 日省錄, Chŏngjo 20 (1796)/1/15).

171 I take this as describing *kkŏngnün mok* (꺾는목, lit. “breaking throat”), a technique in traditional singing, with which a singer breaks a note and jumps to a higher or lower tone.

172 Mimicking the sound of “*Nam amit’a pul*” 南無阿彌陀佛, a common Buddhist invocation meaning “Praise to Amitābha Buddha.” Here, a near-paronomastic play is attempted, for the Sino-Korean phrase “*na-mu-a-ae-mi*” in the poem would mean “How could I never love a beauty?”

173 “Grand Harmony Platter,” or *T’angp’yŏngch’ae*, is a typical banquet dish in which *ch’ŏngp’o* (*muk*, or jellified green-bean starch, also seen in the “Third Criticism” above) is mixed with meat (pork or beef), dropwort, seaweed, and other vegetables to make a variety of colors. The invention of *T’angp’yŏngch’ae* is often attributed to King Yŏngjo with a story that the king invited ministers of all political factions to a court banquet and served them *T’angp’yŏngch’ae* in order to admonish them to cease the increasing factionalism that insisted on their political tones (*saek* “colors”) (cf. *Han’guk minjok munhwa tae paekkwajŏn*, s.v. “*T’angp’yŏngch’ae*”). This suggests that the name is derived from the king’s well-known Grand Harmony Policy (*T’angpyŏng ch’ae* 蕩平策). But, according to the food historian Chu Yŏngha, such an etymological narrative came out no earlier than 1940, nor is there a historical record corroborating Yŏngjo’s gastronomical politics (2013: 206–14).

174 *Pangmunju* gets its name from *pangmun* “prescription” or “recipe.” Various recipe books from Chosŏn describe *Pangmunju* as a double-distilled clear liquor made of white rice, glutinous (“sticky”) rice, and/or flour. Double-distilled, it is sweeter, stronger, and more fragrant and became commercialized in Chosŏn as a regular menu at taverns (*chumak* 酒幕) and similar facilities in urban areas (*Han’guk minsok tae paekkwajŏn*, s.v. “*pangmunju*”). It is often identified with other names such as *Paekhaju* (白霞酒 “Clear Cloud Wine”) and *Paengnoju* (白露酒 “Clear Dew Wine”) for its color (Hong Mansŏn and Yu Chungnim 1766: 6.18–19). The recipe uses white rice to make the base for the first leavening and glutinous rice or flour for the second.

175 Scorched rice, or *nurungji*, is the scorched crusty layer of rice at the bottom of the pot. Not being able to eat even this unwanted portion of the rice means the family is so poor that the wife had to give all the rice to the others in the family. Scorched rice specifically forms a contrast with *Pangmunju* in the second line. Rice shortages had always been an issue throughout Chosŏn history, but the increasing consumption of wine worsened it in the later period, as the number of taverns and brothels grew exponentially in urban districts. Making wines such as *Pangmunju* used a large quantity of rice and grains. The problem was serious enough to have King Yŏngjo enforce the prohibition law yet another time in 1756 and issue a “sovereign voice” (*yunüm* 諭音) prohibiting alcohol making and consumption in 1758 (*Yŏngjo sillok*, Yŏngjo 32/3/17; 34/9/16). Yi Ik describes the severity as follows: “Recently, on the streets of Seoul and other large cities there are endless numbers of [taverns]; and each distillery in large districts and towns consumes thousands of bushels of rice every year at the least. This amounts to ten year’s worth of food for a poor household. Also, one third of the marketplaces in rural areas [are taverns]; what would be the result of their consumption? If we prohibit [alcohol] completely, we can save these people from starving in years of famine” 今京師及大都坊肆, 其數無限, 大坊大肆或一歲費數千斗, 此貧戶十年之食, 又鄉邑墟市酒壚三分居一, 其耗費果何如也, 若一坊禁絕則可令斯民凶荒而免於飢餓矣 (“*Insamun – chugüm*” 人事門-酒禁 [Human affair – Prohibition]. *Sŏngho sasŏl*, 16.12b–13a). Therefore, the mention of *Pangmunju* flowing over banquet tables in the second line forms a proper parallel with the wives in poverty who cannot even afford scorched rice in the fourth line.

176 The problem of this line is that the quotation is not found in the *Book of Poetry* or anywhere else verbatim. The closest candidate appears in Liu Xie’s 劉勰 (ca. 465–532), “Explicating

*Lisao* 辨騷: “Before, Emperor Wu of Han loved *Lisao* and Huainan composed a memoir (of *Lisao*), which reckoned that the ‘Airs of the States’ (Guofeng) indulge in luster but are not licentious; ‘Minor Odes’ are resentful and rancorous but not disruptive. The type of the *Lisao* can be said to encompass both” 昔漢武愛騷, 而淮南作傳, 以為國風好色而不淫, 小雅怨排而不亂. 若離騷者, 可謂兼之 (Liu Xie 2012: 51). A similar line is found in the “Qu Yuan Jia Sheng liezhuan” 屈原賈生列傳 [Biography of Qu Yuan and Jia Yi] of the *Shiji* (Sima Qian 1959: 84.2482), but the clause in question has *fei* (誹 “condemn”) instead of *fei* (悱 “be speechless [from grief or rancor]”). As it appears, either Yi Ok misremembered his *Book of Poetry* or whoever copied the text made a scribal error. (If the sentence was without *un* 云 “say” after *si* 詩, the line could simply be Yi Ok’s own observation about the “Minor Odes” of the *Book of Poetry*, not a quotation from it.)

177 *Sulla* 巡邏 (night-watch) was practiced in Seoul around the palace from the *injŏng* 人定 hour (10:00 p.m.) to *p’aru* 罷漏 (4:00 a.m.) when the curfew was released. The actual hours of patrolling varied throughout the Chosŏn period. See Ch’a Inbae (2015) for more details on the night-watch institution of late Chosŏn.

178 The syntactic choice here, to render it “parting’s length” 別離久 instead of “long parting” 久別離, seems to have been for the rhyme (*pu* 婦 ~ *ku* 久). *Yŏkkwan*, or interpreting officers, were government officials trained and selected through *yŏkkwa* 譯科 in the civil service examinations, specializing in Chinese, Japanese, Jurchen/Manchu, and Mongolian. Interpreters were of the *chungin* class, whose chief work comprised accompanying literati officials at their meetings with visiting foreign envoys and Korean envoy retinues’ travels to foreign countries. Traveling with officials, interpreters could make good money on the side by being paid commission for liaising between officials and local merchants and services, not to mention procuring much-demanded goods back home, such as books, artifacts, and rare goods. But these travels took months at a time and often happened more than once a year, and interpreters had to be away from home all the time. For more dedicated studies about the history and roles of Korean interpreters, see Kang Sinhang (2000) and Wang (2014).

179 “Merchant” here specifically means itinerant backpack peddlers (*pobusang* 袍負商) who made their business by connecting sellers and buyers directly across regions.

180 *Kwansŏ* (lit. “west of the pass”) is a customary designation for the northwest of the peninsula, i.e., west of Ch’ŏllyŏng Pass 鐵嶺關.

181 *Saraha*e transliterates the Korean word *sanai* (from Middle Korean *sonahoy* 소나히) meaning a “(manly) man.”

182 *Samsŭng* “three *sŭng*” indicates the thread count of textiles. One *sŭng*, or *sae* in vernacular Korean, counts twenty warps, and three *sŭng* thus makes a sixty-warp thread count (see Paek Munsik 2012, 594). *Samsŭng* (and *sŏksae* in vernacular Korean) is in particular a prefix for a coarse type of fabric: e.g., *samsŭng p’o* 三升布 (or *sŏksae pe*) “coarse hemp,” *sŏksae chipsin* “roughly-made straw shoes,” *samsŭng pŏsŏn* (sometimes written *samsing posŏn*) “coarse-hemp socks,” etc. The last word appears in this line, thus indicating that the wife has made a new pair of socks for the husband. Since he is not the kind of a man who attends to his family affairs, the house is so poor that they could not afford decent fabrics better than coarse hemp.

183 *Samsŭng pŏsŏn*, not being made of a densely woven fabric, were not the kind of socks that could long maintain a snug fit to the shape of the feet, and the husband must have complained about it. This poem could be read as the wife’s account of her own socks, viz., that she made a new pair of socks for herself but they were too wide because she forgot to use the patterns of her feet, as the modern Korean translated edition (Silsil haksa kojŏn munhak yŏng’uhoe 2009: 2.442) takes it. But I interpret it to be that they were the husband’s socks she had made, considering the flow of the poems and the tone of this section. The ornery husband, even though he never cared

enough to show any affection to his wife or to provide for the family enough to afford the cloth for socks better than coarse hemp, still complained that she made his socks too big. This resonates with one of the lines in a later Chosŏn Kyŏnggi folk song, “Maehwa t’aryŏng” [Plum blossom song]: “You didn’t come home last night; you went out to see the sights the night before; What nerve do you have to ask me to fix the sides of your *samsŭng* socks (to make them look smart)?” (*Han’guk minsok tae paekkwa sajŏn*, s.v. “Maehwa t’aryŏng”).

184 Because socks were made at home, most houses kept patterns for family members’ feet at home.

185 Adding *-a* 兒 as a suffix is common in vernacular Chinese (*baihua*), but not as much in Korean Sinitic writing. Here, it helps rhyme with *su* 誰 in the fourth line.

186 *Ch’ukkuk* 蹴鞠 (also written 蹴鞠) is an ancient game similar to modern-day soccer, mentioned as early as in the *Shiji* (“Bian Que Canggong liezhuan” 扁鵲倉公列傳 [Biographies of Bian Que and Canggong], Sima Qian 1959: 105.2812).

187 Notice that Yi Ok employed *kŏ* (Ch. *qu*) 渠, a semi-vernacular third-person pronoun in place of literary Chinese *ki* (Ch. *qi*) 其 here. It is not Yi Ok’s own quaint choice of pronoun, for it appears frequently in Chosŏn poems. But Yi Ok employs different pronouns at times to fit the varying attitudinal perspectives—in this case, the wife’s spiteful attitude toward her husband being reflected in the uncommon pronominal choice for her son.

188 *P’ansu* seems to be an alternative writing of *p’ansu* 判數, referring to blind male fortune tellers. The recognition of blind male fortune tellers who performed services of prognostication, as well as reciting sutras and incantations at rituals and sacrifices, had been reported since the Koryŏ dynasty (e.g., *Koryŏsa* 高麗史, “Sega” 世家, 29.12b). *P’ansu* are often associated with shamanistic practice, pairing with *mudang* (or *mu* 巫, female shaman) as in *mugo* 巫瞽 (*ko* meaning blind). Hulbert (1903: 145) and Grayson (2002: 220) maintained such a view, attending to the fact that *p’ansu* often participated in exorcism rituals. *P’ansu* and *mudang* might have lived in different circumstances, however, even though they worked in similar capacities. Throughout the Chosŏn period, the court established near the palace a specific organization—Myŏngt’ong sa 明通寺 (also pronounced Myŏngt’ong si, later reformed as Maengch’ŏng 盲廳 [Hall for the Blind])—for professional blind prognosticators. This is in contrast to the court’s policy of dissociating shamans, even going so far as removing them to Noryangjin, across the Han River, away from the palace, as seen in poem 7 in “Alluring Mode.” *P’ansu* were accorded better status than that of shamans, at times given official titles as prognosticators in the government (such as the Kwansanggam 觀象監 [Directorate of Astronomy]) or taking the *ŭmyang-kwa* 陰陽課 exam in the civil service examinations. Walraven also noted the difference between *mudang* and *p’ansu* (1991–92: 21–44, esp. 39). Some have suggested that *p’ansu* (lit. “minister”), the word used in the poem, came from a euphemistic way of addressing them based on the fact that they once could serve in the government (see *Han’guk minjok munhwa tae paekkwa sajŏn*, s.v., “Maengin tokkyŏng ŏp” 盲人讀經業). For more details see Yi Kit’ae (2016: 255–71).

189 The Three Calamities (*samjae*, also written 三災) is a common designation for the ill fortunes visiting a person’s fate regularly. In Korean folk beliefs, the three calamities—which some consider to be related to fire, water, and wind, while others prefer warfare, epidemics, and famine, perhaps derived from the Buddhist notion of the Three Calamities—visit three years at a time, every nine years according to the duodecimal Earthly-Branch sign of the person’s birth year. In this sense, the three calamities are also three-year calamities. The first year of this visit of Three Calamities is called *tŭl* (incoming) *samjae*, the second *nuul* (laying) *samjae*, and the last *nal* (outgoing) *samjae* (see *Han’guk minsok tae paekkwa sajŏn*, s.v. “Samjae”). *Chwa* 坐 “sit” here seems to mean simply being in the three-year phase of the Three Calamities. In modern Korean,

“Samjae ka tūrōtta (or even *tūrō anjatta* ‘came in and sat down’),” “The Three Calamities have set in,” is commonly said to mean that one is having continuous misfortunes.

190 The Royal Bureau of Painting is a court office in charge of painting for all court-initiated projects, from drawing for publication to portraits. It could be the case that some of the artists working in the bureau often took outside painting jobs for extra income or that the bureau officers could connect outside clients to private painters, since the bureau often hired private artists (*sahwa* 私畫) on a temporary basis.

191 Hanging a painting of a hawk was one of the ways to ward off the Three Calamities. Yi Kyuyōng wrote in his *Oju yōnmun changjōn san’go* that in China people put up a picture of chickens over the door on the first day of a year, whereas in Korea a picture of three hawks was pasted over the door to fend off the Three Calamities, any time of the year, during the years when they had entered the person’s fate. Yi also suspected that this was the old Chinese custom of the Song-Yuan period, which came in during the Koryō era (“Ch’ōm hwaüing pyōnjūngsöl” 黏畫鷹辨證說 [On putting up hawk paintings], 1959: 2.35.16–17).

192 “Heels looking like eggs” alludes to a common saying, “If you hate your daughter-in-law, you even chide her for having egg-shaped heels” meaning that anything can be hateable when you set your mind to hate someone. Chōng Yagyong collected it in his “Idam sokch’an” 耳談續纂 [An addendum to (Wang Tonggui’s 王同軌) *Ertan*]: “If the daughter-in-law is rid of faults, (you say) her heels are like eggs” 婦無可短。踵如雞卵 (1934–38: 1.24.53a). If we take this saying into consideration, this poem may be directed toward her mother-in-law, not her husband, though it is not clear without a heading given for the poem.

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