A TEXTUAL STUDY OF TONGP’AE NAKSONG:
PROBLEMS OF ORAL STORYTELLING, GENRE AND THE VERNACULAR
IN LATE-CHOSÓN YADAM

by

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M.A., The University of British Columbia, 2005

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

(Asian Studies)

The UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

(Vancouver)

August, 2012

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Abstract

This dissertation is a two-part study delving into genre delineation and contextualization of late-Chosŏn (1392-1910) yadam narratives as a research site. My central argument is that current treatment of yadam as repositories of kuyŏn (oral storytelling as historical events) falls victim to dehistoricizing and nationalistic tendencies and that a more historicized conceptual and methodological framework with a focus on literary aspects of yadam is long overdue.

In Part One, I focus on a close relationship between kuyŏn as lifeblood of yadam and Western-modernity envy in the birth of yadam as a new subfield within ‘national literature’ in the 1970s. I show that scholars, driven by the urge to find sprouts of modern fiction, claimed to find in yadam narratives the ‘authentic’ voice of the Korean people and an objective reflection of Chosŏn social reality; this was done with much theorization and little corroboration. I address how scholarship to date perpetuates dehistoricization in generalizations of yadam as a genre, and offer counterexamples through text-based research. I construct a new framework that contextualizes yadam within late-Chosŏn literary culture and is critical of nationalist logic. I draw ideas from: previous text-based research on yadam and Chosŏn society for further historicization; scholarship on folklore, manuscript culture, Chinese narrative tradition for comparative perspectives; and Sheldon Pollock’s ideas of ‘cosmopolitan and vernacular’.

Part Two illustrates the utility of this new framework by examining Tongp’ae nakson (Repeatedly recited stories of the East; hereafter TPNS) by No Myŏng-hŭm (1713-1775). I contextualize TPNS and its author-compiler within contemporary literary culture and society, taking into consideration: No’s life experience; paratextual appraisals of and perceptions of genre surrounding his text; surviving manuscript editions;
contemporary Chosŏn literati’s interests in fashioning Koreanness, and the lexical texture of TPNS. I finish by highlighting TPNS as a literary composition crafted by an authorial compiler who emulated and experimented with the achievements of his predecessors. My analyses shed new light on several previously-made conclusions about characteristics of yadam in general and TPNS in particular.
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Citation Conventions

1. McCune-Reischauer Romanization is used for transliterating Korean proper nouns. However, when citing secondary sources, I follow the romanizations used by the original writers. For Chinese and Japanese proper nouns and terms, I have used Pinyin and Hepburn Romanization systems, respectively.

2. For Chosŏn historical figures, I give birth and death years, the years in which their names were entered into the rosters of successful state examination candidates, and their sobriquets (ho 號). For records of civil service examinations of the Chosŏn dynasty, I consulted Han’guk yŏktae inmul chonghap chŏngbo sisū’t’em (Database of Eminent Koreans in History managed by The Academy of Korean Studies). ‘S.’ refers to the classics licentiate (saengwŏn 生員) and ‘ch.’ to the literary licentiate (chinsa 進士). ‘M.’ refers to the higher civil service examination (munkwa 文科), also known as the erudite examination (taekwa 大科).

3. This study deals with people of various social statuses. For historically identifiable non-yangban 兩班 persons, I indicate their social classes using “yŏkkwan 譯官” for official interpreters and translators, “mg.” for military officials, “yŏhang’in 間巷人” for capital-residing commoners who either performed services for yangban or socialized with yangban in cultural coteries, and “sŏl 庶孽” for sons and descendants of a yangban husband and a non-yangban wife.

4. The Yonsei University manuscript edition contains the greatest number of surviving Tongp’ae naksong narratives and identifies the entries by titles and the names of the protagonists. For its usefulness as a reference point, I have used this edition to refer to entries of Tongp’ae naksong (TPNS) throughout this study. A complete list of the entries appearing in the Yonsei University edition is found in 5.5 of CHAPTER FIVE. General descriptions of all the surviving TPNS manuscript editions that I consulted for this study are detailed in 5.2.1 of CHAPTER FIVE.

5. Entries from the manuscript editions that I have not examined firsthand bear asterisks. For example, I have not seen the KYŎNG’IN edition, which is privately owned by Professor Im Hyŏng’t’aek. Thus, the 10th entry from this edition would be indicated as “KYŎNGIN 10*."

6. When primary sources are translated into English, the texts in the original language appear either in footnotes (for long quotes) or in sentences that precede or succeed their translations (for short quotes). Tables 5.8 through 5.11 appearing in CHAPTER FIVE are exceptions because the intertextual relationships between parallel texts are best illustrated visually; the contents of these tables are explained in detail in the relevant sections. All the translations of texts in hanmun 漢文 (literary Chinese; Literary Sinitic), ŏnmun 諯文 (vernacular Korean), and modern Korean (han’gugŏ 한국어) in this study are mine, unless otherwise noted. For definitions of hanmun and Literary Sinitic, see “3.4.2. Beyond the ‘naturalness of the vernacular’” of CHAPTER THREE.

7. When providing translations, I indicate my comments using square brackets.
Acknowledgements

As I planned, conducted research, and wrote my dissertation, I received tremendous support from various groups of people. This dissertation would not have been possible without them.

First of all, I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to my advisor Professor Ross King. I could not have asked for a better advisor. On countless occasions, I was a recipient of his sharp comments and meticulous editing. With a sparkle in his eyes, he paid attention to my research questions and methods in and out of the classroom. He was always ready to alert me to not only relevant primary and secondary materials but also those that lead me to push the envelope in thinking about my research topics. His professionalism and devotion to Korean Studies, in particular, and scholarship, in general, continue to shape me into a more dedicated researcher than before. Dr. King, I am forever indebted to you.

I am deeply thankful to my committee members Professor Donald Baker and Professor Catherine Swatek for their insightful seminars on Korean history and premodern Chinese literature, respectively. Their guidance helped me expand my horizons. Their willingness to accommodate despite their busy schedules kept me on track with my research and writing. One of the joys I had in preparation for my dissertation was attending Professor Swatek’s reading seminars. Her passion and seasoned knowledge has made traditional Chinese narrative a fascinating subject for me.

I also thank my University Examiner Professor Christina Laffin and Graduate Advisor Professor Sharalyn Orbaugh for their useful directions as to how to transition from being a PhD candidate to academia. I feel tremendously encouraged by them.

Special thanks must also go to my External Examiner Professor John Duncan at the University of California, Los Angeles. His insightful suggestions have taught me how better to historicize studying premodern Korean literature within the larger context of ‘Korea as a research topic’, especially in North America.

I also thank the Korea Foundation, the UBC Faculty of Graduate Studies, and the UBC Centre for Korean Research, whose fellowships provided financial support for this dissertation at various stages.
Many visiting scholars who came to UBC held formal and informal reading seminars for UBC graduate students to share their knowledge and passion. Their presence at UBC left indelible mark in my life as a graduate student. In particular, I especially thank Professor Emeritus Yi Chang’u (Yeongnam University), Professor Song Sŏng’uk (Catholic University), Professor Ch’oe Chongsŏng (Seoul National University), and Professor Kim Yongchan (Sunchon University). Their commitment to scholarship and education inspires me.

As I embarked on the journey of researching for my dissertation, I had the great fortune to meet in person several Korean scholars who have enriched the field of yadam studies. In particular, I thank Professor Kim Tong’uk (Sangmyung University), Professor Chŏng Hwan’guk (Tongguk University), Professor Sim Kyŏngho (Korea University), Professor Yi Kang’ok (Yeongnam University), and Professor Im Wanhyŏk (Yeongnam University). They gifted me with their willingness to share their knowledge and research materials. What began as casual conversations often turned out to be priceless lessons. The research and writing process has humbled me greatly and as I complete my dissertation, I walk away with nothing but admiration for my sŏnhak 先學 (‘senior scholars’) for their cultivation of yadam studies as a viable subfield within premodern Korean literature studies.

Access to necessary primary and secondary sources for this dissertation would not have been possible without the generous help of librarians at several institutions. First of all, I am grateful for the materials I was able to access with the help of the UBC Library staff responsible for Interlibrary Loans. I cannot thank Ms. Helen Kim enough for expanding the Korean collection at the Asian Library at UBC and for helping obtain materials held by libraries in Korea. Librarians at Yonsei University, Gyeongsang University, and Yeongnam University, with generosity and prompt responses, helped me access various manuscript editions of Tongp’ae naksong. Dr. Sŏ Hyŏn’gyŏng’s kind offer to help me with accessing primary sources will always be remembered.

Our department staff cannot go unmentioned. Shirley, Julia, Stephanie, Adam, Lonnie, Maija, and Jasmina created a welcoming space for graduate students with their cheerful, warm smiles and bountiful food.
I offer my gratitude to friends and colleagues. First of all, I thank my Korean Studies colleagues at UBC. Jee-Yeon Song, Jeongeun Park, Jeonghye Son, Eunseon Kim, Scott Wells, Tae Yeon Eom, Guy Shababo, Daniel Pieper, Elena Yugai, and Eurie Shin. I cherish the value of a good support system through this community. Dr. Manneke Budiman’s hearty smile kept me positive. I also thank Yang Zeng for his time and knowledge to illuminate several difficult hanmun phrases for my translation of primary sources. I am also thankful to Javier Cha for his useful comments at the start of my dissertation project. For the past ten or so years, I have adopted Vancouver as my second home. I thank Ellie Kim, Eddie Kim, Cara Harper, and David Oh and Hee Jhung Baek for their presence in my life, for they have made my existence in Vancouver truly meaningful. My deep thanks also go to Eunyoung Park, Teresa Lee, Dr. Ji-Eun Lee, Minjoo Hwangbo, Nayeon An, and Haeyeon Gong for our ever-growing friendships wherever we are.

From the bottom of my heart, I am deeply thankful to Dr. Dafna Zur for so many things on so many levels, both professionally and emotionally—Dear friend, you help me appreciate life more.

I thank Elliott Yates for his insights, patience, support, and steadfast companionship that make things in general more enjoyable and meaningful.

Last but not least, I cannot thank enough my family in Korea. My parents’ patience and support have always shown their faith in their daughter—Mom and Dad, wherever I am, I am fueled by your love. The wonderful advice coming from their firsthand and second experience as my insaeng ĭi sŏnbae 先輩 先輩 (‘predecessor of life’) will never cease to guide me through my life. I am a tremendously blessed person to have these two wonderful people as my parents. I dedicate this dissertation to them. I also thank my brother Hyungjoon, my sister-in-law Chaeyong, my nephews Yumin and Jiho for their presence in my life as my family. I send my love to my family in the States. Komo and komobu, aunt and uncle, my cousins Hyonah Kim and Wook Kim, and their cousin Hyunkyung Kim continue to teach me the value of strong family relationships.
To my parents, Jung Nam Park and Choonmi No, for their love and guidance.
1. Introduction

This dissertation is a two-part study: I critically examine previous yadam scholarship in order to build a new framework for understanding yadam as a literary category; second, I examine an eighteenth-century yadam collection and present my own new analyses as an illustration of where the current framework fails and how a more historicized framework can contribute to the field of yadam studies. In particular, I have focused on nationalistic and dehistoricizing logic that prevails in much of South Korean scholarship on yadam to date. This scholarship privileges kuyŏn 口演—‘oral storytelling as historical events’—as a life-giving force for the origins and development of yadam. Instead of a kuyŏn-centric model, I have constructed a more historicized model by incorporating insights from multiple sources, i.e., text-based studies of yadam collections; folklore studies; scholarship on the Chinese narrative tradition; and Sheldon Pollock’s publications on questions of ‘cosmopolitan and vernacular’. My case study centers on the Tongp’ae naksong 東穡落誦 (Repeatedly recited stories of the East; ca. 1750s-1770s; hereafter TPNS) compiled by No Myŏnghŭm 盧命欽 (1713-1775; ch. 1759; Chorong 挫翁).¹

First, though, a word about the term yadam is in order. Yadam 野譚/野談 is a cover term for a corpus of prose narratives claimed by modern-day South Korean scholars to derive from stories orally circulating in the world during the Chosŏn Dynasty

¹ In South Korean scholarship, both “Tongp’ae naksong” and “Tongp’ae raksong” are used to refer to this text. I have used the former in this study following the title(s) appearing in a vernacular edition held by Kungmin University: “ tongp’ae naksong 野譚” (on the cover page) and “ tongp’ae naksong 野譚” (on the page where the first entry is recorded). For a scanned image of the cover pages of this edition, see Paek Sŏngho, “Kungmin Taehakkyo sojang han’gul pon Tongp’ae naksong yŏn’gu,” Kungmunhak yŏn’gu 16 (2007): 219.
The expression is a made-in-Korea compound consisting of two Chinese characters denoting ‘unofficial; unsophisticated; (uncultivated) field’ and ‘talk; banter’, respectively. In terms of theme, yadam narratives cover a wide spectrum, ranging from fantastic and humorous stories about anonymous protagonists to stories about the experiences of historical figures. However, historical episodes tend to predominate among yadam narratives, thus distinguishing yadam from the (frequently sexually explicit) humorous stories found in so-called p’aesöl chip 稗說集 (collections jokes) or sohma chip 笑話集 (collections of humorous anecdotes). The labels for these latter types of collection vary among scholars, but these, too, are explained as originating in the elite’s recordings (imagined as quasi-transcriptions) of orally transmitted stories circulating among the lower classes. Yadam narratives existed as individual members of larger wholes—literary miscellanies—containing various other types of writing, too (such as remarks on poetry and short essays). The story collections themselves are known as yadam chip 野談集 (yadam collections). Originally written in hanmun 漢文 (Literary Sinitic; Classical Chinese), some yadam narratives from a few yadam collections were translated into the vernacular as early as the 1780s. During the Chosŏn period, all yadam collections circulated in the form of manuscript copies—there are no instances of yadam collections being printed, whether by xylography or with movable type.

An avid reader and meticulous diarist, Yu Manju 俞晝柱 (1755-1788; T’ong’wŏn 通園) records in his Hŭmyŏng 欽英 In admiration of the choicest; 1775-1787) that he listened to his niece’s recitation of vernacular Korean renditions of ten entries of Haksan hanŏn 鶴山閲言 (Leisurely talks by Hakson; mid-18th c.) by Sin Tonbok 辛敦復 (1692-1779; ch. 1715; Haksan 鶴山) on the eighteenth day of the eleventh month of 1786. See Hŭmyŏng 6 (Seoul: Kyujanggak at Seoul National University, 1998). For a list of yadam collections that have vernacular editions, see Appendix I.
The origins of yadam narratives within Korean history have been traced back to different points in time. Some scholars trace the genre back to time immemorial when (Korean, presumably) human beings first began narrating stories; this view can be found in studies of folklore (sŏrhwa munhak 讲話文學) or folk narrative (mindam 民譚). Others trace the origins of yadam to Chosŏn literati’s miscellaneous writings derived from orally recited stories. Most commonly, the origins of yadam narratives are traced back to a work called Ŭu yadam 於于野譚 (Unsophisticated talks by Ŭu; ca. 1622), an early seventeenth-century literary miscellany by Yu Mong’in 柳夢寅 (1559-1623; m. 1589; Ŭudang 於于堂). Two reasons are cited: (1) the obvious connection between the term yadam and the miscellany’s title, and (2) the possibility of reading some of the entries in Unsophisticated talks as precursors of what later developed into yadam narratives. Two anonymously compiled nineteenth-century story collections whose titles bear the term yadam are considered repositories of stereotypical yadam narratives—

Ch’ōnggu yadam 齊邱野談 (Stories from the green hills; mid-19th c.) and Kyesŏ yadam


6 In premodern times, “green hills” was widely used as an appellation for Korea by Koreans themselves. See CHAPTER SEVEN for further discussion.
溪西野談 (Kyesŏ’s stories; ca. late-19th to early-20th c.). However, the majority of what are today labeled as yadam collections lacked the word yadam in their titles.\(^7\)

Neither yadam narratives nor the term yadam itself fell into obscurity with the dawn of the twentieth century. Rather, yadam collections persisted in modern media such as newspapers, commercial printing, radio broadcasting, and magazines.\(^8\) For example, in 1909 sixteen stories from Tongp’ae naksong—the object of this dissertation’s textual analysis—were published in Kyŏnghyang sinmun 京郷新聞 (Kyŏnghyang newspaper).\(^9\)

So-called ku walcha pon yadam 剛活字本野談 (yadam in old movable type editions) appeared between the 1910s and late 1920s.\(^10\) However, these were not printed versions of previous yadam collections circulating in manuscript copies, but altogether new

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\(^7\) To name but a few examples introduced in this study: Ch’onyerok 天倪錄 (Records of the invisible workings of heaven) by Im Pang 任埈 (1640-1724; m. 1702; Such’on 水村); Chapki kodam 雜記古談 (Miscellaneous records of old tales; also known as 閘室漫筆 [Leisurely brushings by Nansil Im Mae]) by Im Mae 任逵 (1711-1779; ch. 1754; Nansil 閘室); Haksan by Sin Tonbok mentioned in Note 1; and Tongp’ae naksong 東粳洛誦 (Repeatedly recited stories of the east) No Myŏnghŭm 盧命欽 (1713-1775; ch. 1764; Chorong 擬翁).


\(^10\) Ku hwalcha pon refers to the type of printing technology first developed in Yokohama 橫濱, Japan, in 1880. The font was based on the calligraphy of a certain Ch’oe Chihyŏk 崔智赫 (1809-1878). In 1883, the Chosŏn government’s Pangmun’guk 博文局 (Ministry of Publication) imported this new technology to publish Hansŏng sunbo 漢城旬報, a thrice-monthly gazette. The use of ku hwalcha marks the beginning of modern printing. The label “old” here is a later designation; some call it sin-hwalcha pon 新活字本. See Ch’ŏn Hyeong, Han’guk sŏjihak, (Seoul: Minŭnsa, 2006, second edition), 406.

Prior to the advent of this new technology, the most widespread form of commercial printing was so-called panggak pon 坊刻本, commercial wood-block printing. For a brief introduction of panggak pon in late Chosŏn, see CHAPTER FIVE.

For studies on ku hwalcha pon yadam, see Chŏng Myŏnggi and Yi Yunsŏk, Ku hwalcha pon yadam ŭi pyŏni yangsang yŏn’gu: Ku hwalcha pon kososŏl ŭi pyŏni yangsang kwa kwallyŏn hayŏ (Seoul: Pogosa, 2001) and Kim Chunhyŏng, “Kŭndae chŏnhwan’gi yadam.”
compilations of previous and/or new stories (which in turn were often heavily plagiarized appropriations of preexisting narratives). The target readership was a large number of anonymous consumers, while the handwritten copies of late Chosŏn yadam were produced in small numbers for a small number of readers likely identifiable from the standpoint of the copyists.

Following this came a category of so-called kündae yadam 近代野談 (modern yadam) in the late 1920s. Thus, in 1927 the term yadam was reborn as part of a large-scale social movement for enlightenment and entertainment of the populace led by Kim Chin’gu 金振九 (1906-1987) and the Chosŏn yadam sa 朝鮮野談社 (Society for Chosŏn yadam). From the late 1920s through the early 1930s, yadam were narrated by professional storytellers on the radio or at public venues in various parts of Korea. In the 1930s, modern magazines were also published bearing the name yadam: e.g., Wŏlgan yadam 月刊野談 (Yadam monthly; 1934-1939) and Yadam 杂談 (Yadam; 1935-1945).

The brief historical sketch above should suffice to show that the term yadam, its referents, and its semantic boundaries underwent multiple transformations between late Chosŏn and the late 1930s. The above genealogy does justice neither to the complex origins and development of yadam as a literary category nor to the generic characteristics

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11 Some printed yadam collections circulated in the form of manuscript copies—e.g., Obaengnyŏn kidam 五百年奇談 (Strange tales of five hundred years; first published by Kaeyu mungwan in 1913), portions of which were translated into Japanese in 1923.
14 Narratives labeled as yadam have continued to appear in post-liberation Korea, but no study has yet compared the usage of the post-liberation term, its referents, and its semantic boundaries.
of yadam within the field of Korean literature. Much ink has been spilt over the difficulty of giving a comprehensive definition of yadam, and this ‘definition issue’ continues to plague yadam studies.¹⁵ This dissertation is a response to this challenge.

However, my study of the generic features of yadam narratives does not aim to give an historical overview of yadam with a linear timeline. I move away from identifying an underlying or unchanging ‘essence’ in yadam texts, which supposedly encompasses all instances of literary forms that have existed under that label. Rather, my study concentrates on the late Chosŏn period. That is, I exclude yadam narratives in modern media from my discussion, just as I decline to treat yadam as records of stories that have been transmitted since the dawn of Koreans’ ability to use language to tell stories.

The reasons for narrowing the scope of my study go beyond mere convenience. Firstly, the yadam narratives of the twentieth century were created, circulated, and consumed within an environment drastically different from that of their late-Chosŏn counterparts. They may have maintained some tenuous relationship to similar narratives that circulated in the late-Chosŏn period, but yadam in the twentieth century emerged within radically and rapidly changing conceptualizations of language, writing, history, social class, society, Koreanness, etc. To single out but one such aspect, twentieth-century yadam were produced, consumed, and circulated in modern print and


Yi Kang’ŏk, Han’guk yadam yŏn’gu (Seoul: Tolbegae, 2006), the first comprehensive study on Chosŏn yadam as a genre, comments on varying definitions of yadam as a genre and offers his study as a tentative conclusion.

Most recently, the ‘genre question’ was broached again. See Kim Chinŭi, “Sŏmun kwa palmun ul t’onghac pon yadam-jŏk kŭlsŭgi yŏn’gu.” The 176th Han’guk ŏmun kyoyuk yŏn’guhoe conference proceeding (2009).
broadcasting and within an environment of pressing socio-political concerns, like Korea’s decentering of China and its emergence first as a modern nation-state and then later as a subject of Japanese colonial rule. Examining yadam of the twentieth century, therefore, requires a set of interpretive tools quite different from those necessary for late-Chosŏn yadam and is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Secondly, as noted briefly above, the term yadam as a label for a group of written narratives not only first emerged in the late-Chosŏn period but also, more importantly, was used by late Chosŏn people to group narratives that featured noticeable affinities to one another, despite divergences in other aspects. I treat this perception of similarities within differences in the late-Chosŏn period and in present-day scholarship as a case Hans Robert Jauss’s “groups or historical families” that can be “historically determined, delimited, and described.”¹⁶ That is, late-Chosŏn writers were cognizant of how what they were creating would fit into the existing order of literature. Moreover, the eyes of a modern reader perceive certain affinities of yadam narratives. Therefore, any delimitation of the generic boundaries of yadam should begin by contextualizing writers of yadam and their narratives within late-Chosŏn literary culture. I revisit Jauss’s concept in the main body of this study.

My attraction to Chosŏn yadam as a research site was due to their nature as coherently written literary compositions with putative connections to oral origins. This attraction gave birth to a series of questions, both broad and narrow. If yadam narratives derived from oral origins, what does this tell us about the changes that occurred in the process between oral communication and written literary expression? This to me implies

two different communication styles: one hospitable to digression and the other antipathetic to it. Moreover, how truthful are yadam compilers’ claims to oral origins for their sources? What did a yadam compiler do besides compiling? If he did more than simply collect preexisting entities—e.g., writing out the narratives himself, sorting and giving a structure to his collected items, deleting some aspects of what was collected, putting a new spin on the existing narratives to change their meaning, etc.—is it not wrong to characterize him as a mere compiler? More specifically, yadam narratives contain elements that gravitate heavily toward historical episodes involving historical persons grounded in Korea, with few references to famous philosophers or homages to literary paragons of ancient times; moreover, they are written in a medium far removed from spoken vernacular Korean. What does this tell us about the nature of yadam? Better yet, what does this fact tell us about how Chosŏn people used language and writing for literary expression? Lastly and most specifically, when did yadam protagonists start using colloquial forms of address containing “主,” as in “上典主”, which is an inscription of a Korean sound (the honorific suffix ‘–nim’) using a Chinese character?

Reviewing studies on yadam, I was surprised to learn that very little has been written about the role of the authorial mastermind who imposed the coherence on yadam collections as collections that survive today. The inspiration for this dissertation grew out of recognition that little has been discussed regarding such aspects of yadam.

One of the central arguments of this study begins from a critique of previous studies on yadam for their overemphasis on the role of oral storytelling of historical events (kuyŏn 口演) as opposed to that of literary composition in the creation of yadam narratives as written texts. Kuyŏn as a crucial constituent of yadam presupposes yadam as
as conduits—albeit not stenographic verbatim transcripts—through which present-day readers can retrieve people’s consciousness, speech, and the “pathos of Korean ethnicity” (minjok chōngsŏ 民族情緒).\(^{17}\) In the scenario of yadam as carrier of the voice of ‘Chosŏn people’ (‘Korean people’ as a homogenous category in Chosŏn times), the subject matter, theme, style, and language of yadam tend to be explained in terms of simplistic dichotomies like elite-commoner, literate-illiterate, written-oral, foreign-native (i.e., China vs. Korea), and artificial-natural. This dissertation argues that such dichotomies foster nationalistic textual readings that detract from a meaningful historicization of yadam.

The dehistoricizing tendencies of modern South Korean scholarship on yadam were present already at the birth of yadam studies as a field. A critical scrutiny of that birthing process is long overdue and forms another key part of this thesis. This dissertation decenters the kuyŏn hypothesis by demonstrating that the much-touted tight relationship between kuyŏn and yadam was and has remained a mere ideological formulation without meaningful textual corroboration. It has been much asserted, but never demonstrated.

As a first step, then, PART ONE lays out a conceptual groundwork for the historicization of yadam by (1) decentering kuyŏn, (2) foregrounding the role of creative impulses on the part of yadam compilers, and (3) illustrating historical contexts that go beyond the narrow discourses of ‘national literature.’ PART ONE consists of a two-tiered literature review over two chapters, CHAPTERS TWO AND THREE. I note a certain

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\(^{17}\) Chin Chaegyo, “Yijo huigi hanmunhak esŏ ŏnŏ saenghwal ŭi suyong kwa kyoŝŏp: ch’angjak esŏ ŏnŏ ŭi suyong munje rŭl chungsim ŭro,” in Han’guk hanmunhak yŏn’gu ŭi sae chip’yŏng, ed. Yi Hyesun (Seoul: Somyŏng ch’ulp’an, 2005), 904.
paradoxical disparity within current yadam studies between microscopic textual studies of individual yadam collections or individual yadam narratives, and macroscopic explanations of yadam as a late-Chosŏn literary category. For example, text-based analyses tend to assert the role of creative manipulation on the part of yadam compilers (pointing, e.g., to stylistic consistencies in yadam collections), often going so far as to treat yadam narratives as literary compositions, while generic descriptions of yadam tend to downplay the creative impulses of yadam compilers so as to depict yadam as having an umbilical connection to actual oral storytelling events. Moreover, the understanding of yadam narratives as literary compositions is generally applied to yadam collections of post-nineteenth century vintage, rather than to earlier collections. Both microscopic text-based and macroscopic generic studies of yadam suffer from the lack of a functional paradigm while also lamenting the difficulties of defining yadam as a genre.

In order to make sense of these disparities in the literature, I divide my discussion of previous scholarship into two chapters in Part One. I first discuss the origins of the field and the original semantic boundaries of yadam as delineated in the 1970s. Next, I analyze the reception since the early 1980s of explanations of the nature of yadam that were delineated in the 1970s. This two-tiered approach allows me to uncover the ideological concerns that were at stake in the creation of yadam as a field of study, and to determine in what ways these ideological underpinnings have survived, continuing to obstruct possibilities for a more historicized discussion of yadam.

Chapter Two: Decentering kuyŏn (Actual Oral Storytelling Events) in Chosŏn yadam shows that the alleged significance of kuyŏn as an important constituent in the origins and development of yadam was first formulated in the 1970s, when
scholars coined the term *hanmun tanp’yŏn* 漢文短篇 (lit. ‘short narratives written in *hanmun*’) to designate a group of hitherto-ungrouped late-Chosŏn narratives as evidence for the supposed nascence of modernity in late Chosŏn. I highlight three seminal scholarly essays that inaugurated and instantiated ‘*hanmun tanp’yŏn*’ narratives and theorized a notion of oral storytelling by professional storytellers (*kangdamsa* 講談師) of commoner status, in order to foreground *hanmun tanp’yŏn* as documenting Korea’s incipient advance toward Western-style capitalist and democratic society. The inauguration of this ‘*hanmun tanp’yŏn*’ category involved a complex amalgamation of ideas; I will demonstrate parallelisms between the semantic boundaries of *hanmun tanp’yŏn* and (1) Herder’s idea of the possibility of encapsulating the ‘authentic’ voice of the people in written narratives and (2) a Marxist perception of literature as reflecting the objective reality of a given society. I emphasize that the 1970s theorists of *hanmun tanp’yŏn* offered no textual or historical evidence, but instead encouraged scholars of Korean literature to spread the message of ‘Western-style modernity within late Chosŏn.’ I compare dehistoricizing tendencies in the conceptualization of *hanmun tanp’yŏn* with Susan Stewart’s notion of “distressed genres,” referring to literary categories privileged to transcend time and space as containers of authenticity. Furthermore, I reveal the ideological roots of *hanmun tanp’yŏn* in *hanmunhak* (studies of Korean literature written in *hanmun*) as a discipline.

**CHAPTER THREE: TOWARD A MORE HISTORICIZED FRAMEWORK FOR YADAM: TPNS AS A VANTAGE POINT** constructs a more historically grounded framework for studying
By reviewing scholarship on hanmun tanp’yŏn/yadam since the early 1980s18 and incorporating ideas from folklore studies, scholarship on the Chinese narrative tradition, and Sheldon Pollock’s ideas about ‘cosmopolitan and vernacular’ in literary cultures in history.

This chapter introduces previous studies emphasizing yadam compilers authorial creativity and contextualizes yadam collections and individual narratives within more specific historical contexts. In so doing, I call attention to two things: (1) how studies in the early 1980s have challenged the claims made in the 1970s (e.g., the thesis of professional storytellers’ performances) and (2) the extent to which current explanations of yadam as a literary category continue to be locked in to the logic of hanmun tanp’yŏn/yadam as delineated in the 1970s.

As a corollary of the limits of current scholarship is the anachronism of assessing the value of yadam collections in light of later counterparts, rather than examining narratives compiled in such collections as radical, incremental, or imitative adoptions of preexisting models. As a vantage point for resolving this issue, I propose to re-examine No Myŏnhŭm’s TPNS as a significantly undervalued yadam collection—undervalued precisely because of the dehistoricizing tendencies in South Korean scholarship. By doing away with the misguided assumption that almost all TPNS narratives derived directly and exclusively from kuyŏn—i.e., with little influence from preexisting written models—one can give a far more historical reading of TPNS. Thus, I attempt to recover

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18 The boundaries of yadam and hanmun tanp’yŏn do not overlap completely. However, at one point, scholars started using the two terms interchangeably. The earliest such point I have identified is Pak Hŭibyŏng (1985). The name change is arguably the first critique of the underling logic of Western-modernity envy in the term hanmun tanp’yŏn. For details, see CHAPTER THREE.
TPNS as a late eighteenth-century yadam collection exhibiting certain important traits that carried over into with nineteenth-century yadam collections.

PART TWO consists of four chapters, each of which contextualizes TPNS on a different basis—biographical information, literary precedents, surviving manuscript editions, genre perceptions, and lexical characteristics—in order to highlight No Myŏnghŭm’s role as an author-compiler who composed, structured, and staged his narratives in TPNS.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE LIFE OF AN AUTHOR-COMPILER AND THE ORIGINS OF HIS TEXT reconstructs connections between No Myŏnghŭm’s life and the origins of TPNS, using information drawn from four commemorative essays about TPNS and No Myŏnghŭm by close acquaintances, and from other relevant historical sources. Heavily dependent on information gleaned from secondary studies, this chapter is the first to trace multiple connections between No Myŏnghŭm’s life experiences and the contents of TPNS. I highlight (1) No Myŏnghŭm’s experience as a fallen yangban and failed examination candidate in the high society of the capital of late eighteenth-century Chosŏn; (2) a certain sympathy that TPNS narratives display toward yŏhang ‘in 閣巻人 (lit. ‘people of the back alleys [of the capital]’), indicative of No’s interest in upward and downward social and economic mobility; (3) No’s prowess as a skilled writer and adept deliverer of stories; (4) characteristics of oral storytelling to which No Myŏnghŭm was exposed through casual storytelling among acquaintances and their impact on his creative process; and (5) No’s deliberate presentation of his narratives as based primarily on oral accounts.

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19 Yŏhang ‘in, also variably called Wihang ‘in 委巻人 (lit. ‘people of the winding back alleys [of the capital]’), is an umbrella term referring to non-yangban, non-lowborn, educated residents of the capital region who socialized with prominent capital-based yangban as members of the same literary coteries or private tutors. See CHAPTER FOUR for more details.
as contrasted with paratexual descriptions of the origins of TPNS, which emphasize both written and oral accounts. Focusing on these five points, this chapter builds strong connections between TPNS and writing by foregrounding No Myŏnghŭm’s life experience, creative impulses, literary sensibilities, and prowess.

**Chapter Five: Surviving Manuscript Editions and Literary Antecedents**

This chapter treats TPNS narratives as literary artefacts that contain evidence of No Myŏnghŭm’s emulation of his literary precedents in terms of both form and content. First, I compare and contrast surviving manuscript editions in order to provide evidence of No’s desire to impart structure TPNS by grouping narratives with similar subject matter in twos and threes. My analysis contends that No Myŏnghŭm made use of *Ch’ŏnyerok 天倪錄 (Records of the invisible workings of heaven)* by Im Pang 任僅 (1640-1724; *m.* 1702; Such’on 水村). Second, I revisit a previously made conclusion that all TPNS narratives originated directly from No Myŏnghŭm’s *kyŏnmun 見聞 (first-hand and second-hand experience) and *kuyŏn 口演*, with the lone exception of the story of Pak Chinhŏn as a case of *munhŏn chŏnsŭng* (text-to-text transmission). Based on how No Myŏnghŭm appropriated a previous narrative about Pak Chinhŏn, I analyze two more TPNS narratives with antecedent versions and verify that they, too, have an umbilical relationship. My analysis reveals that No Myŏnghŭm’s retelling strategies depended on paraphrasing, concision, and strengthening of the plot. As an addendum, I will also examine the titles provided for the entries in the Yonsei University edition (*YONSEI*) of TPNS in order to point out the significance of that edition vis-à-vis other TPNS manuscript editions as well as other select late-Chosŏn story collections whose entries were provided with titles. By focusing on the form and contents of TPNS as an
inscriptional space for No Myônghǔm to exert his creative impulses, this chapter proposes to expand the parameters of text-to-text transmission in the fashioning of a new yadam collection.

**Chapter Six: Perceptions of Genre Surrounding TPNS** traces the generic boundaries of TPNS from three perspectives: (1) characteristics of the narrator of TPNS, vs. counterparts in three earlier compilations of stories (e.g., Ŭu yadam 於于野譚 [Ôu’s unsophisticated talks] by Yu Mongin 柳夢寅 [1559-1623; m. 1589; Ŭu 於于]. Records of the invisible workings of heaven by Im Pang, and Chapki kodam 雜記古談 [Miscellaneous records of old tales] by Im Mae 任邁 [1711-1779; ch. 1754; Nansil 蘭室]); (2) No Myônghǔm’s perception of genre manifested in his retelling of the Yŏm Hŭido story in comparison with four other narratives transmitting the same stuff-material,20 and (3) the significance of TPNS as a literary work and its relationship with existing literary categories in light of the four framing materials written by contemporary Chosŏn literati.21 This chapter first situates TPNS fictionalizing tendencies in narrative compositions within late-Chosŏn miscellaneous writing. Next, I trace how writers who textualized orally derived stories into writing by showing retellings of the Yŏm story suggest that these writers composed their narratives in accordance with what they perceived as most fitting and efficacious. In so doing, I assert that the form and the contents of a yadam text, whether derived directly from oral or written sources, were

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21 I also borrow Gérard Genette’s idea of “paratext” to refer to these four framing materials, particularly two prefaces and one postface to TPNS. See **Chapter Six** for a discussion of my use of “paratext.”
designed to have an incongruous relationship. In my discussion of the four framing materials of TPNS, I uncover that while previous studies valued TPNS for its veracity and moral instruction, the writers of the four framing materials in fact perceived TPNS as noticeably fictional in nature. I show this by accentuating performative aspects of the framing essays and comparing the descriptions of TPNS used in them with fiction criticism in late Chosŏn. The discussions in this chapter will bring TPNS closer to the Chosŏn tradition of narrative composition and to contemporary Chosŏn perceptions of literature and literary practices.

CHAPTER SEVEN: LEXICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF TPNS AND THE USE OF VARIANT HANMUN AS A LITERARY LANGUAGE discusses the stylistic characteristics of TPNS narratives by examining its lexical texture. As such, this chapter treats TPNS strictly as a collection of literary compositions. I first show that the lexical texture of TPNS encompasses a wide range, including: (1) idioms specific to Korean history, persons, places, and customs; (2) idioms commonly used in idu-style writing generally used for drafting administrative documents; (3) phonetic transcriptions of Korean words; (4) made-in-Korea sinographs; (5) comments on a Korean dialect; (6) Korean sayings and proverbs; (7) elaborate forms of address used in Korean society; (8) Korean colloquial idioms (方言) listed in two late-Chosŏn encyclopedias—i.e., Kogǔm sŏngnim 古今釋林 (Forest of interpretations, old and new; 1789) and Songnam chapchi 松南雜識 (Miscellaneous records by Songnam; ca. 1855); (9) Korean colloquial idioms not listed in these two encyclopedias; (10) Chinese colloquialisms in light of Korean glosses of Chinese vernacular idioms found in (a) Zhuzi yulei 朱子語類 (Classified conversations of Master Zhu), (b) glosses of Chinese vernacular fiction—i.e., ŏrokhae 言錄解 and
sosŏl őrokhae 小說語錄解, respectively—and (c) Yŏgŏ yuhae po 譯語類解補

(Supplemented classified dictionary of translated words and phrases for interpreters; 1775), a dictionary compiled at the Sayŏgwŏn 司譯院 (School for Official Interpreters), and finally (11) classical idioms (i.e., idioms commonly found in canonical writings). I will show that TPNS narratives are contained in an ostensibly hanmun style that in fact displays strong connections with lexical items catering to a Korean readership. I locate this native lexical texture of TPNS within the larger context of late-Chosŏn literary practice in general.

As a final point of this chapter, I discuss No Myŏnghŭm’s lexical choices in light of both Sheldon Pollock’s notion of ‘cosmopolitan and vernacular’ and of differences found along the spectrum of wenyan-baihua (文言-白話) as delineated in Sinological research on Chinese vernacular fiction. Wenyan here denotes “classical” (as in Victor Mair’s “demicryptography largely divorced from speech”), and baihua denotes “vernacular” (as a type of written language whose shape had “a close correspondence with spoken forms”). Using these two frameworks, I propose that the lexical texture of TPNS is best understood as a rather innovative case in which the author-compiler embraced various elements of variant hanmun (non-orthodox hanmun writing) within hanmun writing when composing his narratives.

22 Victor Mair, “Buddhism and the Rise of the Written Vernacular in East Asia,” Journal of Asian Studies 53. 3 (1994): 708. This article focuses on the origins of the written vernacular in China and identifies some of the distinctive characteristics of both wenyan as well as of baihua, which he calls Literary Sinitic and Vernacular Sinitic, respectively.

PART ONE

2. Decentering kuyŏn (actual oral storytelling events) in late-Chosŏn yadam

The advent of this book [='Yijo hanmun tanp’yon chip'] provides a momentous juncture for the restructuring and reorganizing of our country’s literary history; furthermore, it will supply contemporary writers with ample topics to explore. What is more, students of national literature who deal with socioeconomic history and intellectual history of the late Chosŏn period will find this book a precious resource.

-Yi Usŏng upon introducing hanmun tanp’yon (1973)

2.1. Introduction

Scholars mark the 1970s as the starting point of serious research on Chosŏn yadam narratives.23 Leading the way in this fledgling field was a three-volume collection of translated prose narratives from the late-Chosŏn period called Yijo hugi hanmun tanpy’ŏn chip: sang, chung, ha 李朝後期漢文短篇集: 上, 中, 下 (Compilation of late Chosŏn hanmun tanp’yŏn of the Chosŏn dynasty; 1973-8; hereafter Compilation) and its two editors, Yi Usŏng and Im Hyŏngt’aek. Both men wrote three exegetical essays to the Compilation and laid out the semantic parameters of hanmun tanp’yŏn. Within yadam studies, hanmun tanp’yŏn functioned as the conceptual precursor to what are now known as yadam.

Hanmun tanp’yŏn as a site of research was fueled by a nationalistic discourse of “the late Chosŏn transformation thesis” (朝鮮後期社會變動說).24 This nationalistic discourse interpreted all social changes in late Chosŏn period as indexing Korea’s

23 Some examples are: Kim Sangjo (1991); Kim Tong’uk (1995); Sin Haejin (1996); Cho Hūiung (2001); Chŏng Myŏnggi (2001); Yi Kang’ok (2001); and Kim Chunhyŏng (2001).

24 It is variably called as “internal development thesis” (內在的發展論), or “sprouts of modernity thesis” (chabon chuíi maeng’a ron 資本主義萌芽論).
advancement toward Western-style democratic and capitalistic society. Within this logic, *hanmun tanp’yŏn* was discovered and prompted as written narratives that faithfully reflected late-Chosŏn social reality. A neologism calqued onto modern short fiction (短篇小說), *hanmun tanp’yŏn* was envisioned as the “sprouts of modern fiction” (*sosŏl* 小說). While written, *hanmun tanp’yŏn* narratives were valorized as records of performances by professional storytellers (*kangdamsa* 講談師)—hence, as a vessel of late-Chosŏn social reality narrated by contemporary Chosŏn people. The significance of *hanmun tanp’yŏn* lay in its unmediated encapsulation of the alleged authentic voice of late Chosŏn people, their consciousness, and their perception of social reality.

What was the social reality of late Chosŏn? Below I quote Yi Usŏng, one of the two scholars who inaugurated *hanmun tanp’yŏn* within the field of Korean literature. For emphasis I have underlined Yi Usŏng’s explicit and implicit references to late Chosŏn society as a fertile ground for the origins and development of capitalism, bourgeoisie, progression toward democracy, and *hanmun tanp’yŏn* as carrier of such experiences of Chosŏn people. Such notions are far more theorized in Im Hyŏngt’aeK’s essays to follow:

In the late Chosŏn period, particularly after the eighteenth century, commodification and a money economy developed. As a result, cities were formed and at the same time, the countryside underwent transformations. The fall of the hereditary *yangban* class was seen everywhere, and a *nouveau riche* class arose from the likes of professional hereditary groups, petty clerks, merchants, craftsmen, and farmers” (*chung’in, sŏri t'ung āl wisihan sang’in, sugong’ŏpcha, nongmin-dŭl sai esŏ ri sinhŭng puja-dŭl āi taedu*). … In addition, the impulse to resolve [the aforementioned problems] is also depicted in these [*hanmun tanp’yŏn*] works. Furthermore, these works most aptly capture and best describe new paradigms for generations to come and new frames of mind originating from the *minjung* (masses), rather than from the elite25 (My emphasis).

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As the epigraph for this chapter indicates, hanmun tanp’yŏn were introduced as quasi-historical documents of late Chosŏn society and useful source material for historians, rather than as literary texts. Without explanations of their nature founded in empirical analyses of actual texts, hanmun tanp’yŏn in the 1970s were presented to the field and ‘packaged with’ the late-Chosŏn social transformation thesis. As I will demonstrate below, subject matter, style and language, theme, and other items of significance mattered only within the logic of a celebration of modernity within late Chosŏn. In short, hanmun tanp’yŏn were hypothesized as capturing the authentic voice of Chosŏn people and inserted into a dehistoricized history of Western-style modernity envy⁹; thus began the privileging of kuyŏn in the studies of Chosŏn yadam.

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In this article, Cho Tong’il argues that kungmunhak paradigm fails because it disregards Korea’s continuous interconnections with other literary cultures and that it presupposes Korea as an homogeneous entity. He creates “Han’guk munhak” (Korean literature) to critique “kungmunhak” (national literature) as “minjok munhak” (nationalist literature); as a remedy to the existing minjok munhak-oriented perspectives. He proposes to examine Han’guk munhak within “literature of East Asian” (Tong asia munhak) or “literature within the cultural sphere” (mummyŏng-kwŏn munhak 文明圈文學). To prove his point, Cho published an impressive number of books on the concept of mummyŏng-kwŏn literature to show East Asian and other cultural traditions.

Cho Tong’il’s poignant call for a radical move away from this perspective, however, did not yield meaningful fruit especially in yadam studies; as I will show, leading yadam scholars published articles on Korea’s linguistic ecology of using hanmun as the official written medium as abnormal or unfortunate without any critical contemplation of the anachronistic underpinning of such a logic. For more discussion, see CHAPTER THREE.

It should, however, be pointed out that Cho Tong’il’s perspective is not free of a linear model of historical progression (one of the major conceptual foundations of Western-style modernity), either. For example, Cho Tong’il uses terms like “progressive theory” (先進) and “backward theory” (後進) to urge fellow researchers to create a new history while inheriting the past and moving forward toward a “segye munhak” (world literature).

Moreover, Cho continues to adopt a nationalistic viewpoint. For example, in his critique of discourses of the superiority of national identity (uwŏl-sŏng 優越性) in studies of minjok munhak as originating from Western-style modernity envy, Cho himself sounds highly nationalistic when he urges fellow researchers to play a leading role in the globalizing world (segye-hwa and kukchehwa) to correct mistakes made by other countries. For example, he
This chapter intends to decenter kuyŏn by excavating the ideological genesis and original theorization of hanmun tanp’yŏn. In particular, I call attention to the conceptual apparatus of hanmun tanp’yŏn, including claims about the ‘authentic voice’ captured in writing; the direct associations between modernity, the bourgeoisie, and the novel; and the relationship between oral storytelling and the novel. These semantic parameters shaping hanmun tanp’yŏn can be usefully compared to (1) J. S. Herder’s conceptualization of the Volk (‘the German people’), language, and national spirit; (2) a Marxist aesthetics of literature as faithfully reflecting social reality, and the novel as revealing a logic of class-consciousness toward great social change à la Lukács; and (3) Walter Benjamin’s storyteller.

Substantial similarities notwithstanding, the parallels between hanmun tanp’yŏn and these three corresponding concepts only take us so far, because the final goal in delineating hanmun tanp’yŏn lay in authenticating their value as an important constituent member of Korean national literature. As such, the semantic parameters of hanmun tanp’yŏn, I argue, are best described as an eclectic amalgamation of then-thriving theories about language, identity, and literature.

I will also examine hanmun tanp’yŏn in light of Susan Stewart’s concept of “distressed genres,” literary categories that are discursively “antiqued” to serve particular rhetorical purposes (e.g., epic, folklore, and fairy tales). In light of this study, which uses Bakhtin’s concept of valorized temporal category, I point out the inherently dehistoricizing logic underpinning the conceptual parameters of hanmun tanp’yŏn. As a

uses the term “victim” (hŭisaengja) to refer to Korea and other “third-world” countries that have not overcome Western-style modernity, while dismissing other countries’ attempts to deal with Western-style modernity (in particular, Japan and China) in their endeavor to write world literature that incorporates achievements of their own as “vouching for others’ lies.” (nam-dŭl i kŏjinmal ŭl hanŭn te pojŭng ŭl ssŏgina han sem).
final point, I seek the nationalistic origins of hanmun tanp’yŏn in the 1970s within the context of the then-marginalized status of hanmun in the discourse of ‘national literature’ (kungmunhak 鄉文學).

2.2. The authentic voice in hanmun tanp’yŏn and Herder’s Volk

An unadulterated representation of the consciousness of an anonymous collective of people from a particular period has been historicized as originating in nineteenth-century romantic nationalist ideas about language and the essence of the nation-state. Therefore, assertions made in the context of folkloric activities in the nineteenth century and the contexts in which they emerged shed important light on the birth of hanmun tanp’yŏn. Most important of all in this regard is “das Volk” conceptualized and theorized by the German philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) and the possibility of inscribing the “authentic” voice of a nation in writing.27

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27 As a standard stock for discourses of national literature, the logic within Herder’s Volk in discourses of Korean national literature appeared first in An Hwak’s Chosŏn munhaksa (Hanil sŏjŏm, 1922), in which An, as a colonial subject, envisions Korea as a nascent nation-state under suppression: “Literature can best reveal the intricacies of the entirety of psychological phenomena [of the nation], so that, if one wishes to understand the true development and changes of the people of a nation, no other thing is more monumental than literature” (18).

However, similar ideas also strong in Sin Ch’aeho’s “Toksa sillon” (“A New Way of Reading History”), in which he establishes Korea’s past as a struggle between native (a 我; lit. ‘self’; we/us) and foreign (pia 非我; lit. ‘non-self; others; them’) for social progress. A partial translation of “Toksa sillon” is available in Henry H. Em, “Minjok as a Modern and Democratic Construct: Sin Ch’aeho’s Historiography” in Colonial Modernity, ed. Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson (Cambridge, MA and London, Harvard University Press, 1999), 343-344. Professor John Duncan of the University of California, Los Angeles, notes that the first time he had heard of Herder was in the 1970s, when he took history courses at a Korean university taught by professors educated in the Japanese educational system during the colonial period.
The notion of authenticity in, and the authenticity of, oral storytelling originates from an ideology of language first formulated by Herder. Herder asserted that the language of oral performance among the illiterate carried the natural and genuine feelings of the German people. By extension, he saw literary embellishment and logical reasoning in writing as “robbing language of its ‘living effect’” and “warp[ing] [traditions].”

Supposing a direct connection between the (pure) speech of the German people and the spirit of Germany as a nation-state, Herder declared:

Every nation has its own storehouse of thought rendered into signs … [that] is its national language … the treasury of the thought of an entire people.

Speakers of the national language (das Volk) were valorized as embodiments of a collective cultural identity. At the same time, Herder idealized rural people and considered “urban lower classes, who were rapidly losing the ‘natural nobility’ of their peasant forebears” as their alterity. The folksongs that das Volk supposedly sang were praised as the essence of German vernacular literature.

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31 Ibid., 163.

32 Bendix, In Search of Authenticity, 47.
Herder theorized that a nation’s tradition was founded in vernacular, thereby equating oral literature with national identity. His promotion of oral, vernacular literature was a prescriptive one formed within a larger context of a philosophy of history that considers governments as biological organisms that needed continuous nourishment for survival. Within this linear progression of national history, the advancement of Germany as a nation-state was to be determined by the healthy survival of German literature.

However, the essence of national identity in the voice of das Volk did not completely banish writing, without which inscription and preservation of the national essence becomes impossible. Herder’s message about vernacular literature as an essential part of Germany as a nation-state ultimately served as a wake-up call for his intellectual contemporaries, whom he criticized for their choice of the cosmopolitan literary language over vernacular German. According to Bauman and Briggs’ paraphrasing of Herder, he perceived German literature at that time as:

... Weakened not only by an unbalanced reliance on reason at the expense of emotion, but also by the misguided imitation of Greek and Latin literary models and—worse yet—by the adoption of French among the cosmopolitan German intellectuals and nobility, who by valuing these foreign tones over their own vernacular, distanced themselves from their own national tradition.  

Herder’s assumptions about language were based on two sets of dichotomies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Das Volk</th>
<th>Elite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>Literate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral</td>
<td>Literary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural</td>
<td>Artificial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native</td>
<td>Foreign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vernacular</td>
<td>Cosmopolitan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Das Volk in the countryside</th>
<th>Urban lower classes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

As concept and practice, Herder’s Volk fostered cultural relativism. Herder emphasized the historical groundedness of das Volk—“The genius of their nature, their country, their way of life, the period in which they lived, and the character of their progenitors.”34 Any nation-state having access to their own primitive people who (supposedly) retained the authenticity of a language-based national spirit could also claim their own counterparts to das Volk. Under the influence of Herder’s ideas, the Brothers Grimm collected stories from literate people of varying social classes, while presenting them as authentically German stories that were “[delicately] plucked” from oral storytelling (implying illiteracy on the part of the tellers of such stories) and in “as pure a form as possible.” The brothers presented their collections as assembled according to a scientific method and legitimized the collected stories as representations of das Volk.35

To quote Regina Bendix on the origins and impact of modern folklore studies:

The most powerful modern political movement, nationalism, builds on the essentialist notions inherent in authenticity, and folklore in the guise of native cultural discovery and rediscovery has continually served nationalist movements since the Romantic era.36

As seen in the case of the Brothers Grimm, Herder’s ideas on the one hand serviced a nationalistic desire while advocating “the rights of different nations to pursue their own

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Das Volk in the countryside</th>
<th>Urban lower classes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Natural, native, vernacular elements [INTACT] Through folk song</td>
<td>Natural, native, vernacular elements [LOST] Because of the lack of folk songs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

34 Ibid., 181.
36 Bendix, In Search of Authenticity, 7.
political style.” On the other hand, it served colonialist attempts to represent indigenous people who were ripe for conquest:

The burgeoning of nationalist movements and nation-state formation, the explosive expansion of agrarian and industrial capitalism in apparent fulfillment of eighteenth-century ideologies of progress, and the concurrent shifts in the tenor of imperially driven colonialism jointly stimulated the extensive empirical documentation and study of the discourse of Others as a means of calibrating the relationship of past to present to future.  

How does Herder’s Volk relate to the first-generation yadam scholars construction of the semantic parameters of hanmun tanp’yŏn? In what follows, I uncover how concepts such as the authentic voice of “the unwashed masses” or “the general public” (minjung 民衆), and professional storytellers (kangdamsa 講談師) molded hanmun tanp’yŏn as faithful mirrors of kangdamsa’s performances, commercializing and urbanizing late Chosŏn, and realism in literature—all of which were valorized as evidence of the sprouts of the Western-style Novel in late Chosŏn.

They wrote three inaugurating essays that serve different roles while employing generally similar vocabulary. Yi Usŏng wrote a preface to the Compilation, performing a dual task: he frames the Compilation as collecting coherent group of stories and outlines their historical importance. Im Hyŏngt’aek’s essays (1975; 1978) are elaborate theorizations on ideas only nascent in Yi Usŏng (1973). Read in tandem, the three essays inaugurate a new field of study by defining its membership, semantic parameters, and significance.

Using ideas based on dichotomies of elite-commoner, artificial-natural, and literary-oral, Yi Usŏng (1973) introduces hanmun tanp’yŏn as select narratives from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Chosŏn, which used to be called p’aesa sop’um.

37 Ibid., 81.
38 Bauman and Briggs, “Scientizing Textual Production,” 196.
The existing terms are explained as unsuitable because they refer to reading materials among literary figures scholars. The limitation of *p’aesas sop’um* is characterized by an overlay of ornate literary composition, which cannot “avoid embellishment of facts and sentiments.” *Hanmun tanp’yōn* overcome such limitations, since they are records of anecdotes that first circulated among commoners and were then transmitted in an unmediated fashion to recorders. Yi identifies the conduit between recorders and commoners as professional readers of fiction on the street or storytellers in literary salons of the elite.

Yi celebrates the language of *hanmun tanp’yōn* as “vulgar expressions that vivify true [social] reality, whereby readers [of *hanmun tanp’yōn*] could feel a greater rapport [with the characters and events depicted in their reading materials].” Yi delimits the membership of *hanmun tanp’yōn* by excluding “folklore and legend-like nursery tales” and simple records of hearsay appearing in an “untidy” manner (*kūdaero namgyŏ tun kŏt*). Such narratives “fail to deal with serious issues about contemporary society and human lives”; it remains unclear what exactly Yi meant by “untidy.”

Yi’s distinction between the *p’aesas sop’um* and *hanmun tanp’yōn* indicates (1) a perception that considers oral storytelling and oral recitation among commoners as the antithesis of literary writing shared among the literati; (2) a focus on the impress of ‘true’ social reality in oral storytelling; and (3) a belief in the authenticity of oral storytelling encapsulated in writing.

This alleged emergence of *hanmun tanp’yōn* from *p’aesas sop’um* is indebted to Herder. His objective was not to valorize folklore. Whereas Herder’s ideology

39 Chapter Four and Chapter Six discuss the meaning of *p’aesas sop’um*.

40 Yi Usŏng, *Yijo hanmun tanp’yōn chip, sang*, iii.
precipitated the Brothers Grimm collecting of German folklore as the essence of the German nation-state, Yi Usŏng’s formulation rebuffs such projects. For Yi, authenticity lies not in the people and Korea since time immemorial, but in Korea during the late Chosŏn period.

The society reflected in hanmun tanp’yon is one in which upward and downward social mobility are prevalent at almost all levels of society, while subversive ideas abound. The people represented in hanmun tanp’yon are neither elites nor ignorant peasants; rather, they are progress-minded people modernizing Chosŏn society. The ‘people’ that Yi discerns in hanmun tanp’yon are at a far remove from the referent of Herder’s Volk, because Herder considered urban dwellers as alien to das Volk, while Yi’s minjung 民衆 emanate from such urban dwellers. Herder’s conceptualization of das Volk is thus co-opted in Yi’s formulation of minjung.

The emphasis on minjung deserves some explanation with reference to Korean historiography in the 1960s through 1980s. Beginning in the mid-1960s, an internal development thesis presents the late Chosŏn period as a time when “new socioeconomic groups” emerged and became “the primary motive force of historical change.” These groups paved the way for Korea’s entrance into the modern age. This discourse has since been refuted academically as a view of history through the prism of “a myopic


In the studies of Chosŏn society, the term sirhak (practical learning) has played an important role to underpin the late-Chosŏn social transformation thesis. For this, see the beginning part of Donald L. Baker, “The Use and Abuse of the Sirhak Label: A New Look at Sin Hu-dam and His Sŏhak pyŏn,” Kyohoesa yŏn’gu 3 (1981): 183-254.
nationalistic lens^42—and has been historicized as originating in Korean historians’ longing to overcome Japanese colonial scholarship, which saw Korea as permanently stagnant and in need of external assistance in order to justify Japanese colonial encroachment. In the 1980s, a perspective called minjung yŏksa or “people’s history” became prominent. While it shares with the internal development thesis the same vision of late Chosŏn as proactively moving toward modernity, “people’s history” foregrounded the non-elite as the “prime movers” of social change.^43 Yi Usŏng’s emphasis on minjung within the context of the late-Chosŏn social transformation thesis reveals the historically grounded nature of his shaping of hanmun tanp’yŏn with reference to the popularity of the internal development theory and the rise of “People’s history.”

Im Hyŏngt’aeck’s exegetical articles on the Compilation and on Yi Usŏng’s “Preface” further bind together kuyŏn and kangdamsa as the lifeblood of hanmun tanp’yŏn.^44 In a way, Im further shapes the meaning of hanmun tanp’yŏn by emphasizing kuyŏn and kangdamsa with his typology of three types of late-Chosŏn storytellers. The texts Im Hyŏngt’aeck quotes as evidence of the widespread existence of kangdamsa are literary works such as Ch’ujae kii秋齋紀異 (Ch’ujae’s records of the extraordinary), Ch’ŏnggu yadam青邱野談 (Stories from the green hills), Ihyang kyŏnmunnok里郷見聞録 (Records of hearsay from the countryside), and Kogŭm soch’ŏng


Compendium of jokes old and new). Im Hyŏngt’aek delineates three types of storyteller: the kangdamsa, who professionally narrated stories based on the stories they heard; kangech’angsa, who were professional storytelling performers of p’ansori-like sung plays (one-man dramas);45 and kangdoksa, who professionally recited stories from books, or from their memories of book-based narratives. Im Hyŏngt’aek thus lends more concreteness to the storytellers alluded to only abstractly in Yi’s preface and represented by reciters of fiction.

Focusing on references to professional storyteller who narrated stories out in the public market and in elite households, Im Hyŏngt’aek theorized that these professional storytellers bridged two types of audiences: elites and commoners. Im explained hanmun tanp’yŏn as facts-turned-stories (created through the process of oral storytelling 口頭創作), which were committed to writing. In the process, he introduced another concept as a historical fact: marginalized elites faithfully recorded what they heard. In sum, hanmun tanp’yŏn were ‘heard-with-the-ears’ (kwiro tūnnun) stories that were subsequently turned into ‘read-with-the-eyes’ (nun ŭro ponŭn) stories.46 In the hands of rare yet highly skillful and creative minds such as Pak Chiwŏn 朴趾源 (1737-


46 Had Chosŏn writers been devoted in transcribing spoken Korean in writing, they might have adopted a more linguistically appropriate tool such as the vernacular script or sinographs strictly as phonograms. For example, Yi Úibong 李義鳳 (1733-1801; m. 1773) occasionally used the vernacular Korean script in his 40-volume lexicon of various languages entitled Kogŭm sŏngnim (Forest of interpretations, old and new; compiled in 1789) in order to indicate the phonetic aspect of expressions that he glossed. For more information on this text, see CHAPTER SEVEN.
1805). Im elaborates, such written-down stories could potentially transform themselves into *hanmun tanp'yŏn* and become sophisticated works of literature. However, Im dismisses skillful writing as a rarity and concludes that the vast majority of *hanmun tanp’yŏn* were then records of professional storytellers’ performances.\(^{47}\)

Herder’s ideas of oral performance as having immediacy and of literary embellishment as corruption lurk behind explanations of the language and style of *hanmun tanp’yŏn*. Im Hyŏng’taek characterized the language of *hanmun tanp’yŏn* as exhibiting (1) “immediacy” (*hyŏnjang-sŏng* 場面性), reflecting both the social reality and sentiments of commoners, and (2) “everyday language” (*saenghwal ŏnŏ* 生活言語), unaffected by the rules of the written language, thereby freely speaking for and painting a vivid picture of the lives of commoners.

Oral residue could survive in *hanmun*,\(^{48}\) Im argued, because *hanmun tanp’yŏn* narratives were written in plain *hanmun*, as opposed to ‘orthodox *hanmun*’ (*chŏngt’ong-p’a hanmun* 正統派漢文); they were not masterful compositions and lacked literary embellishment. The origins of such traits of *hanmun tanp’yŏn* were attributed to the desire of recorders to transmit faithfully actual oral storytelling events, which then reflected social reality. Describing them as carriers of the residual voice of the professional storytellers, Im Hyŏng’taek praised *hanmun tanp’yŏn* as expressions of

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\(^{47}\) Im later slightly modifies his earlier claim to acknowledge more creative exertion on the part of story compilers, using the case of *Kiri’s comprehensive chats* (*Kiri ch’onghwa* 紗里叢話) by Yi Hyŏn’gi 李玄綺 (1796-1846). See Im Hyŏng’taek, “Sosŏl esŏui kŏndaek ŏmun ui sirhyŏn kyŏngno—Tong asia pop’yŏn munŏ esŏ minjok ŏmun ûro ihaeng hagi kkaji,” *Taedong munhwa yŏn’gu* 58 (2005): 9-52.

\(^{48}\) Vernacular parallels of TPNS narratives had not yet been discovered at the time of Im’s writing.
everyday life even though they were not written in the vernacular-national language (chagugŏ 自國語) (chagugŏ e pat’ang ūl tuji anŭn hanmun munjang ūrosŏ).

The nature of ‘plain hanmun’ is revealed in Im Hyŏng’taek’s designation of the style of hanmun tanp’yŏn as Koreanized hanmun (韓國式 漢文) and Korean-style (韓國式白話). Im’s “Korean vernacular hanmun” is to be distinguished from the ‘variant hanmun’ (pyŏnkyŏk hanmun 變格漢文) that I discuss later in this chapter and in Chapter Seven. Im Hyŏng’taek understands baihua as a written language developed from spoken language (口語로 發達), rather than as a literary style. As I will discuss in Chapter Seven, Sim Kyŏngho (2008) underscores that the language of yadam as ‘variant hanmun’ builds on a long tradition of Korean vernacular inscription first developed as ways to decipher hanmun texts and also involves indigenization or vernacularization of hanmun writing.49 In other words, Korean colloquialisms, Korean syntax, and references to Korean-specific customs and terms have been part of a continuous literary practice among literati since the beginning of writing in Korea. Therefore, the premise of oral storytelling-to-records is highly misleading for its direct association of plain hanmun with the immediacy of oral performance and actual speech as historical events, rather than as a literary style appropriated by hanmun tanp’yŏn writers.

To summarize the perceptions of hanmun tanp’yŏn, language, and writing discussed thus far:

Table 2.2. Semantic parameters of hanmun tanp’yŏn (1) – in light of Im (1975)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minjung 民衆</th>
<th>Professional Storyteller</th>
<th>Hanmun tanp’yŏn (recorded by marginalized elites)</th>
<th>Elites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Residents of the urbanized capital</td>
<td>Generally residents of the urbanized capital</td>
<td>Place of living irrelevant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>Literate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral/speech</td>
<td>Capturing of oral performance</td>
<td>Literary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural</td>
<td>Artificial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native</td>
<td>Native/vernacular</td>
<td>Foreign/cosmopolitan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encapsulation of social reality</td>
<td></td>
<td>Distortion of social reality</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3. Hanmun tanp’yŏn and a Marxist aesthetics of literature as reflection of society

Im Hyŏng’t’aek (1978) further theorizes the professional storyteller thesis, while elaborating on the late-Chosŏn social transformation thesis: He attributes the flourishing of professional storytellers to the burgeoning of cultural activities that have the urban market as a backdrop (tosi-jŏk paegyŏng 都市的背景). The prosperity of singers of tales (p’ansori) was possible because of the patronage of petty clerks (sŏri 舊吏⁵⁰) and their cultural sensibilities as urban dwellers (sijŏng’in 市井人). These storytellers, based in urban Chosŏn, were learned/literate people who were either non-elites or fallen yangban elites. Some of them are likened to lumpen (K. rump’en)—note the Marxist undertones within the internal development thesis.⁵¹ ‘Recorded as is’ (kūdaero kirok) by writers, the satiric voices and social criticisms found in hanmun tanp’yŏn are attributed to the social consciousness of the professional storytellers. This social consciousness was equated with both the consciousness of the masses (minjung 民衆) and the voice of the peasantry (nongmin úi sori 農民의 소리).

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⁵⁰ See CHAPTER FOUR for more details on sŏri.

⁵¹ Duncan, Origins of the Chosŏn Dynasty, 5-6.
The “social transformation” thesis envisioned the origins of hanmun tanp’yŏn as a kind of a natural development within a commercializing society, the urban centers of which were thriving with a nascent market economy, urbanization, and an emerging bourgeoisie. The existing social order began to be challenged by a new elite, who brought about the advent of a social consciousness that critiqued the existing social order—an important first step toward the rise of democracy.

According to this formulation, the table summarizing the points in 2.2 can be modified as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minjung</th>
<th>Professional Storyteller</th>
<th>Bourgeois</th>
<th>Hanmun tanp’yŏn recorded by marginalized elites</th>
<th>Elites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peasants</td>
<td>Residents of the urbanized capital</td>
<td>Location of residence irrelevant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>Somewhat literate/ cultured</td>
<td>Literate and cultured</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral/speech</td>
<td>Mirror of the oral/speech</td>
<td>Literary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native</td>
<td>Native/vernacular</td>
<td>Foreign/cosmopolitan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Professional storytellers can have access to experiences from all walks of life |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Location of residence irrelevant |
| Literate and cultured |
| Literary |
| Foreign/cosmopolitan |

However, Im Hyŏngt’aeck himself was cognizant of the fact that there was no concrete historical evidence for the ‘actual existence’ of a bourgeoisie-like social class in the late-Chosŏn period. It is not surprising, then, that he gives the protagonists, connoisseurs, and writers of hanmun tanp’yŏn an eclectic cover label stemming from an
imagined ‘lumped-together’ social class consisting of ‘bourgeoisie-masses’ (simin 市民/sōmin 庶民) as well as lumpen-(proletariat). Nonetheless, Im explains hanmun 탕연 as the ‘sprouts of modern fiction’ because of their ability to reflect social reality. This realism allowed it to function as the harbinger of a new and modern literature of the bourgeoisie-populace (simin munhak 市民文學). What realism and modern short fiction mean here actually mattered little, because their main role was to function as labels with the evocative power of modernity. Using the supposed social reality of hanmun 탕연, hanmun 탕연 in this way were grafted onto modern literature.

Ideas like late Chosŏn as a fertile ground for the birth of modern literature and references to realism, bourgeoisie, lumpen, and social consciousness is reminiscent of a Marxist perception of literature as reflecting “the unevenly determined system of real social practices”\(^5^2\) in general, and the birth of the novel delineated in György Lukács (1885-1971)’ Theory of the Novel (1910), in particular. To borrow De Man’s description of Theory of the Novel:

> The emergence of the novel as the major modern genre is seen as the result of a change in the structure of human consciousness; the development of the novel reflects modifications in man’s way of defining himself in relation to all categories of existence.\(^5^3\)

For Lukács, the novel was “a bourgeois genre [reflecting] the capitalistic sources of modern alienation through its valorization of individual agency.”\(^5^4\) By contrast, according to the semantic boundaries of hanmun 탕연, hanmun 탕연 narratives

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were not quite (or not yet) the novel, but pregnant nonetheless with the sprouts of the novel-to-be. This recognition of *hanmun tanp’yŏn* as ‘close-but-no-cigar’ becomes all the more evident when Im Hyŏng’t’aek somewhat apologetically brings up the elements of fantasy, coincidence, or traditional values that are evident in some *hanmun tanp’yŏn*. Such elements are defects and aberrances, while *hanmun tanp’yŏn* as a worthy literary category was constructed by scholars who delineated its semantic parameters as the *functional equivalent* of the novel-as-reflection of social reality and consciousness.

### 2.4. The kangdamsa of *hanmun tanp’yŏn* vs. Benjamin’s “storyteller”

The novel à la Lukács as the telos of *hanmun tanp’yŏn* and the significance of the professional storyteller bring to mind “the storyteller” described as having vanished with the advent of the novel in Walter Benjamin (1936; 1968).\(^{55}\) Benjamin’s storyteller is thus comparable to *kangdamsa* within the frame of *hanmun tanp’yŏn* insofar as both were tellers of stories once reported by others, and both intended to make what they narrated represent the experience of their listeners. However, whereas Benjamin’s storyteller is intimately related to folklore, the *kangdamsa* are raconteurs who emphatically *do not* deal with fairy tales or legends.

In terms of their relationship to the novel, again, both contrast diametrically on certain points. For Benjamin, “What differentiates the novel from all other forms of prose literature—the fairy tale, the legend, even the novella—is that it neither comes from oral tradition nor goes into it.”\(^{56}\) The novel as imagined within the parameters of *hanmun*

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tamp’ŏn, however, has a close relationship to the oral storyteller as a mediator of social realism. It is rooted in oral storytelling as it is the kangdamsa who is the midwife in the delivery of hanmun tamp’ŏn as the novel-to-be toward modern times. Thus, Benjamin’s storyteller retreats with the advent of the novel, while the kangdamsa germinate the novel.

The techniques of storytelling—the ability to memorize, to improvise, and to entertain—and the “communicability of experience” between audience and storyteller, are grave matters for Benjamin’s storyteller. By contrast, they matter little for the kangdamsa. What is at stake for the kangdamsa is to represent the essence of social reality, not to display communicability with his audience or to tell his own experiences. The kangdamsa fertilizes modernity, while Benjamin’s storyteller disappears with the advent of modernity.

2.5. Hanmun tamp’ŏn within kungmunhak (national literature)

In Im Hyŏng’t’aek (1978), the notion of kangdamsa-giving birth to-hanmun tamp’ŏn was summarized as follows:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Table 2.4. Kangdamsa-hanmun tamp’ŏn thesis</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Progression of time</td>
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<tr>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>Actual oral storytelling performances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Event → Story)</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Story put to writing)</td>
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<tr>
<td>= Hanmun tamp’ŏn</td>
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</table>

With this formulation, Im emphasizes a two-tiered process within the oral-to-written transmission of a hanmun tamp’ŏn narrative. First, an historical event is narrated into a
story, which is then performed by a professional storyteller. The performance of the professional storyteller is described as ‘oral creation’ (口頭創作); however, as shown above, such creativity was explained in terms of a faithful reflection of social reality, rather than the artistic prowess of an individual. Next, an orally recited story is written down. Here again, the caliber and talent of a writer potentially interfere with the original oral narrative. However, as noted above, such meddling writers were dismissed as rare. Moreover, even if there were talented recorders of the professional storytellers’ performance, they highlighted the very points inherent within the original narrative formed in oral storytelling performance. In summary, according to the professional storyteller thesis in the delineation of the origins and development of hanmun tanp’yŏn, neither the kangdamsa nor the compilers of narratives are recognized as having played a substantial role in the way hanmun tanp’yŏn come down to us today. There is virtually no room to discuss hanmun tanp’yŏn narratives as meaningful literary works in which a particular person within his particular environment with particular skills attempted to inscribe his worldview and literary sensibilities.

This generic inauguration occurred when certain Chosŏn narratives, previously never bound together as a group, were classified into a new literary genre to represent what scholars understood as their late-Chosŏn context. To borrow ideas from two studies from linguistic anthropology—Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs (1990) and Michael Silverstein and Greg Urban (1996)—what these three essays accomplished was a process of simultaneous entextualization-co(n)textualization.57

‘Contextualization’ comes from a linguistic anthropologist perspective—an “agent-centered view of performance,” whereby the relationship between anthropologist and his or her research participant(s) is understood as that between performer and audience:

Contextualization involves an active process of negotiation in which participants reflexively examine the discourse as it is emerging, embedding assessments of its structure and significance in the speech itself. Performers extend such assessments to include predictions about how the communicative competence, personal histories, and social identities of their interlocutors will shape the reception of what is said.\(^5\)

Contextualization emphasizes that an utterance is anchored in and inseparable from its context of use. Within this logic of the relationship between an utterance and its context, context is imagined as a co-text of the utterance. This context is susceptible to decentering or decontextualization; when verbal art forms are quoted, they tend to be treated as “self-contained, bounded object[s] separable from their social and cultural contexts of production and reception.” When an utterance is quoted, it marks an event of “lifting” an utterance “out of its interactional setting”—out of its originary co-text—and is explained as “rendering discourse as ‘text.’” When a text is quoted, a simultaneous process of decontextualization and reentextualization occurs. The meaning of the text, in turn, becomes situated within new semantic parameters drawn through the process of contextualization.

In light of this concept of contextualization, the en-textualization of yadam narratives at the genesis of the field of yadam studies may be summarized as follows. The field began as scholars decontextualized certain Chosŏn prose narratives and simultaneously entextualized them within the new contextual parameters that they had drawn. The co-texts of hanmun tanp’yŏn were constructed based upon an eclectic

\(^5\) Bauman and Briggs, “Poetics and Performances,” 69.
amalgamation of ideas—the teleology of modernity, linear progression in literary development, romantic nationalism, the Marxist logic of class-consciousness toward great social change, and the theory of the novel à la Lukács.

In the process of entextualization of hanmun tanp’yŏn, the relationship between Yi Usŏng and Im Hyŏngt’ae and their interlocutors (hanmun tanp’yŏn) was on an unequal footing. That is, the hanmun tanp’yŏn could not participate in the entextualization process: they were mute written texts whose meaning was delineated by impassioned discourses of nationalism, at a time when only a little historical knowledge about their ‘original’ context was available. As a result, the entextualization of hanmun tanp’yŏn in the 1970s generated an inherently dehistoricized research field.59

This 1970s inauguration of hanmun tanp’yŏn as a dehistoricized research site should be critically examined within the discourses of kungmunhak (national literature). First, I call attention to the epigraph of this chapter: introducing hanmun tanp’yŏn, Yi Usŏng urged his reader to use hanmun tanp’yŏn as resources for “restructuring and reorganization of [Korea’s] literary history.” What significance is there in scholars’ choice of hanmun tanp’yŏn as fitting tools for rewriting national literature?

The ideas that shaped kungmunhak were founded on those of An Hwak and Yi Kwangsu in the 1920s and Kim T’aejun in the 1930s in terms of the formation of “Chosŏn munhak” (literature of Korea within the context of colonialism).60 Most of the

59 Kang Myŏnggwan’s 1997 critical review of studies on yŏhang ‘in literature within the discourses of (Western) modernity envy resonates with the points made in this chapter. See Kang Myŏnggwan, Chosŏn hugi yŏhang munhak yŏn’gu (Seoul: Ch’angjak kwa pip’yŏngsa, 1997), 12-14.

60 Kim T’aejun published his Chosŏn hanmunhaksa (A history of Korean literature written in hanmun) in 1931. In it, his definition of hanmunhak comes from a recognition of Korean/Chosŏn Literature as something inscribed in the native language and representing records of the thoughts and emotions of the native Korean people. Therefore, only sosŏl,
semantic boundaries of kungmunhak can be traced to this period. However, “kungmunhak” as an academic discipline emerged in earnest in post-Liberation Korea after the termination of Japanese colonial rule in 1945. Kungmunhak drew upon “idealized concepts of national tradition in the name of national uniqueness and perpetuating the national culture out of which modern national literature has internally developed.” It functioned as an appeal to the collective identity of the Korean people as national subjects who share the experience of having been subjects of Japanese imperialism and wish to overcome the colonial past.

The primary goal of kungmunhak was to narrate the history of Korean literature as a unitary whole, sustained through a single unbroken line and ever progressing. The ideological foundations of kungmunhak were the rise of Korea as a fledgling nation-state and a nationalistic language ideology that promoted ‘one national language for each nation’ at the turn of the twentieth century. After a long period of colonization,


62 Kim Ch’ŏl, Kungmunhak ūl nŏmŏsŏ 20-21.

63 This process is described as a “decentering” of China in Andre Schmid, Korea Between Empires: 1895-1919 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002). See also Hwang Hodŏk,
constructing Korea’s literary past as something that was as unadulterated as possible became a pressing issue. One of the most urgent tasks was to elevate literature written in the Korean vernacular script (kungmun, or kungmun munhak, while “Otherizing” literature written in hanmun as literature contained in a foreign, hence wrong, writing system. The creation of Korean classics (kojŏn) and a Korean canon privileged literary works written in kungmun. Literary works surviving in the vernacular—now-national/Korean script—e.g., sijŏ (lyrics), kasa (narrative lyrics), and vernacular fiction—were treated as ‘pure literature’ (sun munhak), a term used interchangeably with kungmunhak.

64 Shin and Robinson (1999) note:
With liberation from colonial rule in 1945 and the emergence of two competing Korean states, history itself became part of the competition between the two Korean states. As a by-product of political competition, history fell hostage to the truth claims of two very different political systems. Abroad, the polarized politics of the Cold War also influenced historical writing on Korea.


Moreover, as the two Koreas vied for political legitimacy, claims to being the true Korean state utilized nationalism as an important rhetorical tool to legitimize the two regimes and their internal politics. See Gi-Wook Shin, Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).

Within the two Koreas, the creation of a unitary voice was considered a pressing need. The production of historical writings about Korea’s literary past became a vigorous project as part of creating Korean literature as a unitary whole, sustained through a single unbroken line and ever progressing.

65 The 1968 republication of Cho Yunje’s ‘national literary history’ opens with a preface in which Cho summarizes his life journey using various junctures in the history of the Korean nation: “I am a person who was born during the time of the Great Han Empire (1897-1910), educated during the Japanese [Colonial] Period (ilche sidae), and upon emancipation followed by the American occupation period, was behind the college lectern teaching the history of national literature, and am now about to publish this book upon the establishment of the government of the Republic of Korea” (1).

Expressions like “we,” “brethren,” the “(ethno)-nation,” “patriotic forefathers,” and the “greatest national humiliation in the year of kyŏngsin [the year of Japan’s annexation of Korea]” are interspersed throughout. The author identifies his research for the book as “my own movement for national independence” (5).
Hanmun munhak—the overwhelming majority of literary works left by those writers who could be claimed as Korean—was rendered an “idiosyncrasy/special circumstance” (t’üksu-sōng 特殊性) of Korea’s literary past. However, within the larger scheme of things, hanmun munhak could not be cast aside neither simply nor completely on account of its “now-foreign” nature. Doing so would have hindered the construction of an unbroken literary past for Korea from the modern all the way back to the ancient periods.

Attempting to fill this gap, scholars used various metaphors to admit literature written in hanmun into the fold of national literature. They did so with great reluctance by treating it as a second-class citizen while always acknowledging the necessity of its existence within narratives of Korea’s literary past.66 Such an attitude accompanied definitions of hanmun literature as either an antagonistic entity to the development of kungmun munhak. Hanmunhak was treated something like ‘the oppressive Other,’ against which kungmun munhak (=kungmunhak) had struggled for survival, or an object of premodern Koreans misplaced reverence.67 In short, Korea’s past as a member of the East Asian cosmopolitan order was discursively denied and erased while kungmunhak was vigorously ‘rehabilitated’ as a new center of Korea’s literary past. At the same time,

See Cho Yunje, Kungmunhaksa (Seoul: Tongguk munhwasa, 1968). This is a republication of the 1949 original, with a new preface.

66 Kang Myŏnggwan, Kungmunhak kwa minjok kŭrego kŏndaes (Seoul: Somyŏng ch’ulp’an, 2007), 48-77 narrates how hanmunhak was subordinated for the sake of the wholeness of kungmunhak.

67 For example, Yi Pyŏnggi and Paek Ch’ŏl’s preface (自序) to their Kungmunhak chŏnsa (A comprehensive history of Korean literature) begins as follows:

Our ancestors revered hanmun and sinology (漢學) too much. As a result, they were capable of literary criticism on Tu Fu’s poetry, but they only very rarely read Tongguk t’onggam (Comprehensive mirror of the Eastern Country).

See Yi Pyŏnggi and Paek Ch’ŏl, Kungmunhak chŏnsa (Seoul: Tongguk munhwasa, 1968), 5.
the foregrounding of *kungmunhak* as *sun munhak* (‘pure literature) was always accompanied by salvaging projects for *hanmunhak*. For example, Im Hwa emphasized the crucial nature of *hanmunhak* in his 1940 proposal for using exclusively Western methodology for studying Korean literature in the modern era. For him, *hanmunhak* was an important constituent of Korea’s past and as a vessel of Korean spiritual culture—a ‘tradition’ (*chŏnt'ŏng* 傳通) not to be ignored or forgotten. Cho Yunje’s history of Korean national literature subordinates *hanmunhak* as a kind of illegitimate child vis-à-vis *kunmunhak* as *sun munhak* within a script-based language ideology, while asserting that the former should have a place of its own within the narrative of the national literature as a complete whole. In Yi Kawón’s *Han’guk hanmunhaksa*, published in 1961, the author’s “Preface” compares his painstaking endeavor to narrate a national history exclusively for *hanmunhak* with “mining a vein of gold” for precious elements that will contribute to the building of Korea the nation-state:

> Among the products of [the intellectual thought from the past], if any of them hinders our true democratic development of literature and art, they should surely be eliminated. However, if it contains elements that contribute to the construction of a democratic ethno-nation, one must locate every bit of it as if locating a vein of gold and investigate and analyze it scientifically. **69**

Im Hwan, “Sin munhaksa ŭi pangbŏp non,” *Tong’a ilbo* January 13-20, 1940.


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68 Im Hwan, “Sin munhaksa ŭi pangbŏp non,” *Tong’a ilbo* January 13-20, 1940.

This self-reflexive remark by the originator of hanmun tanp’yŏn (and, by extension, yadam) reveals that the dehistoricization of hanmun tanp’yŏn and the birth of the discipline of hanmunhak were intimately interconnected. Hanmun tanp’yŏn were written in the wrong language and script, hanmun tanp’yŏn narratives were transferred and upgraded from the category of ‘idiosyncrasy’ to bona fide kungmunhak. This desire to upgrade the membership of hanmun literature within national literature from second-class citizen to full-fledged member, now backed up with the support of a newly carved-out space for hanmunhak as a discipline in academia, was behind the dehistoricized birth of hanmun tanp’yŏn as a research site.

2.6. Hanmun tanp’yŏn as a “distressed genre”

This dehistoricization of hanmun tanp’yŏn in the 1970s resembles what Susan Stewart has described as “distressed genres”, which are “a number of “oral forms—epic, fable, proverb, fairy tale, and ballad—that are discursively ‘antiqued’ and reproduced by literary culture.” Using this idea I further comment on literary culture from the late-

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70 Im Hyŏng’t’aek, “Kwangbok 50 nyŏn ūi hanmunhak: kū hak-chŏk chonjae wa yŏn’gu sŏngkwa,” Han’guk munhaksaka ūi nolli wa ch’egye (Seoul: Ch’angjak kwa pip’yŏng, 2002), 512.

71 According to Kang Myŏnggwan, Kim Tong’uk’s history of national literature, published in 1976, makes the first attempt to move away from highly nationalistic discourses in delineating Korea’s literary past. Kim Tong’uk proposed to overcome the hanmunhak-kungmunhak dichotomy and move toward a single kungmunhak, defined as literary works written by ancestors of the modern Korean people, irrespective of the language and script in which a given work was encoded. Within this scheme, a host of hanmun literary works, including yadam narratives, Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms (Samguk yusa 三國遺事), and other histories and narrative prose written in hanmun were admitted into the history of national literature. See Kang Myŏnggwan, Kungmunhak kwa minjok, 69.

I note that Kim Tong’uk’s book was published three years after Yi Usŏng’s preface to Compilation, although it is unclear whether there is a direct correlation. However, it seems safe to conclude that Yi Usŏng and Im Hyŏng’t’aek’s discussions grew out of an environment where the limits of hanmunhak as national literature were being critically reexamined.
seventeenth century forward. Stewart uses Bakhtin’s concept of “valorized temporal category” to explain that each of the listed genres of ‘oral forms’ is “summoned from the world of the dead for particular purposes” and “assumes a particular status by the very fact of its anachronism”:

Distressed forms show us the gap between past and present as a structure of desire, a structure in which authority seeks legitimation by recontextualizing its object and thereby recontextualizing itself.

The process of creating “distressed genres,” Stewart explains, is a result of “bypassing the contingencies of time: by creating new antiques, the author hopes to author a context as well as an artifact.” The ways in which hanmun tanp’yón were delineated in first-generation scholarship on yadam likewise bypassed the contingencies of time, as scholars took a corpus from the late-Chosŏn period and recontextualized it within their desire for Western-style modernity.

Hanmun tanp’yón played a role somewhat different from Stewart’s distressed genres. The latter are called upon to serve as souvenirs—“close to kitsch objects, artifacts of exaggerated surface and collective experience” in that “the nostalgia of the distressed genre is not a nostalgia for artifacts for their own sake; rather it is a nostalgia for

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73 Bakhtin writes: “The absolute past is a specifically evaluating (hierarchical) category. In the epic world view, “beginning,” “first,” “founder,” “ancestor,” “that which occurred earlier,” and so forth are not merely temporal categories but valorized temporal categories, and valorized to an extreme degree. This is as true for relationships among people as for relations among all the other items and phenomena of the epic world. In the past, everything is good: all the really good things (i.e., the “first” things) occur only in the past. The epic absolute past is the single source and beginning and everything good for all later times as well.” (1981: 15). Quoted Ibid., 11.

74 Ibid., 11.

75 Ibid., 6.

76 Ibid., 25.
context.” Though similar to a distressed genre in terms of the way they were created, *hanmun tanp’yŏn* were also commissioned to serve as historical truth and as such they were made into artifacts for the sake of a late-twentieth-century view of literary history. On the one hand, *hanmun tanp’yŏn* underwent *too much* historicization because an imagined late-Chosŏn social reality was thrust upon them, but on the other hand they underwent *too little* historicization. The ideological construction of *hanmun tanp’yŏn* valorized the voice of the *kangdamsa* to replace the brush of the writers of *hanmun tanp’yŏn.*

2.7. Conclusions

This chapter’s review of first-generation scholarship on *yadam* reveals how the birth of *yadam* as a research field stood at the intersection of nationalist historiography and disciplinary identity within discourses of national literature. I located the very genesis of *yadam* studies within the inauguration of *hanmun tanp’yŏn* in the 1970s that involved the foregrounding of *kuyŏn*, or oral storytelling as historical events, and as such, was driven by nationalistic and dehistoricizing motivations.

This chapter uncovered the ideological birth of *yadam, kuyŏn, and hanmun tanp’yŏn* by juxtaposing the semantic parameters of *hanmun tanp’yŏn* against three conceptual frameworks: (1) Herder’s romantic nationalism based on language, national identity, and literature, (2) a Marxist aesthetics of literature as a faithful reflection of social reality and social consciousness in the birth of the novel *à la* Lukács, and (3) Walter Banjamin’s “the storyteller.” Moreover, using the concepts of entextualization and co(n)textualization, I outlined the process of dehistoricization of *hanmun tanp’yŏn*. I

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77 I borrow this “brush” metaphor for writing with creative impulses form Im Hyŏngt’ae (1999).
argued that the dehistoricized origins of *hanmun tanp'yŏn* can be contextualized within the discourses of *kungmunhak*, which was under a language ideology that valorized the vernacular script and language as pure and legitimate tools for Korea as a nation-state that had been marginalizing *hanmunhak* as a ‘second-class citizen.’ The possibility of encapsulating the authentic voices of late Chosŏn people and the “sprouts of modernity” in *hanmun tanp’yŏn* and using them as historical resources for the then-thriving late-Chosŏn social transformation thesis prompted scholars to construct *hanmun tanp’yŏn* in such a way that it served as midwife in the birth of *hanmunhak* as a new, legitimate discipline within academia. Furthermore, I compared the dehistoricizing tendencies immanent in *hanmun tanp’yŏn* in the 1970s to Susan Stewart’s notion of “distressed genre,” in order to explain the dehistoricization of *hanmun tanp’yŏn* as originating from the first-generation scholars’ “bypassing [of] the contingencies of time.”

My investigation so far has shown that key assertions about the origins and development of *yadam* narratives were heavily dependent on an anachronistic decontextualization of both late Chosŏn as a historical period and late-Chosŏn narratives as literary artefacts. In his 2001 review article, Kim Chunhyŏng described *yadam studies* as a field born out of a “desperate situation” (*chŏlsilhan sanghwang* 切實한 狀況), without offering any explanation; I interpret this remark as a tacit indication of the highly ideologized birth of *hanmun tanp’yŏn* in the 1970s. The inauguration process of *hanmun tanp’yŏn* discussed in this chapter, in the light of historical hindsight, reveals that the field of *yadam* studies was not unlike the proverbial pavilion built on sand (沙上樓閣)—much assurance with little basis.
For a more historicized understanding of yadam as a genre, oral storytelling as historical events requires significant decentering from its current privileged status. Within yadam studies, the privileging of kuyŏn is built on an internal logic that undervalues the role of the compilers who were also the writers of written narratives. As shown in this chapter, the presupposition of written narratives as mirrors of oral performance in history offers little insight into an individual writer’s perceptions of and status within a particular historical situation. Nor is there room to examine individual storytelling strategies based on literary antecedents, conventions, and philosophies of literature. Most importantly, the kuyŏn model proposed in the 1970s offered little insights into how contemporary Chosŏn people perceived what were grouped together as hanmun tanp’yŏn. The 1970s delineation of hanmun tanp’yŏn was a dehistoricizing discourse that locked hanmun tanp’yŏn out of human experience.
3. Toward a more historicized framework: TPNS as a vantage point

Every magic tale narrator was guided by his own particular and general culture in constructing his narrative world. In other words, he was tied to his own time, sex, social class and peer group.\(^{78}\)

- Satu Apo

The ‘naturalness’ of the vernacular [is] the notion that literary writing in the vernacular is somehow natural in a way that writing in a cosmopolitan language is not.\(^{79}\)

- Sheldon Pollock

3.1. Introduction

This chapter is another step toward decentering the kuyŏn thesis by focusing on the critique, reception, and adaptation of the semantic boundaries of hanmun tanp’yŏn as a general paradigm for understanding yadam narrative. The primary goal is to call attention to both text-based studies and discussions from non-yadam studies, which highlight the significance of authorial compilers, and also to underscore the conceptual and methodological limitations imposed by the dehistoricizing conceptualizations first delineated in the 1970s. In my review of previous studies, I pay attention to research on the authorial creativity of yadam compilers, written text-to-written text transmission of yadam narratives (i.e., munhôn chǒnsûng 文獻傳乘), periodizations of yadam collections, the language and style of yadam narratives, and general descriptions of the origins and development of yadam as a genre.

Next, I point out the persistence of elite-commoner, foreign-native, and oral-written dichotomies within current scholarship. I diagnose No Myŏnhŭm’s TPNS as a


significant but undervalued collection precisely because of the dehistoricizing tendencies in current yadam scholarship. Because TPNS plays an important role in this dissertation, I will provide greater detail on studies dealing with TPNS.

Finally, I construct a new framework for studying yadam in general and TPNS in particular, by drawing on ideas from folklore studies, scholarship on the Chinese narrative tradition, and Sheldon Pollock’s publications on questions of ‘cosmopolitan and vernacular.’ The discussions in the latter half of this chapter form the basis of my textual studies in Part Two.

3.2. Between historicization and hypotheses: yadam studies since the 1980s

Some important claims about the nature of yadam came in for critical scrutiny as early as the mid-1980s. For example, Pak Hŭibyŏng (1985)\textsuperscript{80} problematized the term hanmun tanp’yŏn. He pointed out that the majority of hanmun tanp’yŏn were drawn from yadam collections and criticized the modernity discourse inherent in the former designation by pointing out that hanmun tanp’yŏn was predicated on a bourgeois readership, which in fact did not exist in late Chosŏn. At the same time, yadam and hanmun tanp’yŏn were differentiated, with the latter term designating more sophisticated narratives than the former. Yet, within current scholarship, the two different labels more often than not refer to the same narratives. Pak Hŭibyŏng’s critique of the meaning of hanmun tanp’yŏn as fashioned in the 1970s was one of the first of many blows aimed at the presuppositions behind generic descriptions of yadam.

\textsuperscript{80} Pak Hŭibyŏng, “Che il-hoe chŏn’guk hanmunhak taehoe: Han’guk hanmunhak yŏn’gu ŭi che munje, kŭ pangbŏpnon-jŏk kŏmt’o: yadam kwa hanmun tanp’yŏn changnŭ kyujŏng ŭi myŏt kaji munje e taehayŏ,” Han’guk hanmunhak yŏn’gu 8 (1985): 321-326.
Yadam studies now are equipped with a far more elaborate infrastructure than when they first began in the 1970s. Between the mid-1980s and early 1990s, many series of facsimile reproductions of primary sources (yǒng’in pon 影印本) became available. Some texts were introduced within compilations (資料集). Many yadam collections were annotated and translated into modern Korean starting in the 1990s. In 2001, Chǒng Myǒnggi compiled select studies on yadam and published them in a three-volume series titled Yadam munhak yǒn’gu üi hyǒn tan’gye 1, 2, 3 (Seoul: Pogosa, 2001). This was the first compilation of secondary studies within yadam studies. In it, Kim Chunhyǒng notes ideology-driven studies of yadam by describing the trajectory of past research trends as “in reverse-order”: beginning with a focus on ‘social consciousness’, moving on to studies of textual transformations of narratives, and finally settling on bibliography-philology. This is an insightful overview of the conceptual and methodological issues in yadam studies as a field as of 2001.

The kangdamsa thesis at first inspired a few studies that responded to the call to use hanmun tanp’yǒn to authenticate the late Chosǒn social transformations. However, the validity of the kangdamsa thesis as a fitting co-text for hanmun tanp’yǒn underwent serious reexamination. Text-based approaches to yadam brought about a fundamental reconsideration of the kangdamsa model. Macroscopic generalizations about yadam have tended to perpetuate a nationalist-driven eclecticism, while more microscopic textual

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81 For a list of modern Korean translations of yadam collections available up to 1997, see Kim Tong’uk, “Yadam kugyǒk hyǒnhwang kwa kwaje,” Ômunhak yǒn’gu 6 (1997): 5-34. See also Chǒng Myǒnggi, “Yadam yǒn’gu esǒ ū charyo ū munje,” Han’guk yadam munhak yǒn’gu üi hyǒn tan’gye 1 (Seoul: Pogosa, 2001), 18-43.

studies of individual narratives, compilations, and author-compilers, and of late-Chosŏn
literary culture, speak directly or indirectly to the question of authorial intentions in
yadam narratives. Because of its ethos of as having folklore-like origins, yadam
narratives were examined from the perspective of “muhnŏn sŏrhwa 文獻說話” (literary
folklore) and were indexed according to types.

Several studies, whether directly or indirectly, have investigated the question of
yadam as a genre by juxtaposing it with preexisting genres of collected prose narratives
such as, most prominently, random jottings (p’ilgi 筆記), insignificant/humorous/ribald
tales (p’aesŏl 翹說), biographies (chŏn 傳), recorded events (sŏsa/kisa 書事/記事),
fictional narratives (sosŏl 小說), anecdotes (irhwai 逸話), jokes (sohwai 小話) and
unofficial histories (yasa 野史). At times, compound expressions like ‘insignificant
stories and miscellaneous records’ (p’aesŏl chapki 翹說雜記) or ‘unofficial histories and
minor pieces’ (p’aes’a sop’um 翹史小品) were used to refer to them. Intertextual
approaches have examined several yadam narratives that share the same stuff-material
with narrative forms such as folklore, biographies (chŏn 傳), and vernacular fictional

83 For a list of yadam compilations whose authorship-compilership have been historically
corroborated, see Kim Yongjin, “Kiri ch’onghma e tachan il koch’al—p’yŏnch’anja
hwakchŏng kwa hudaeyadamchipkwaŭkwallyŏn yangsangŭlchungsim ŭro,” Han’guk
hanmunhakhoe 28 (2001), 315.

84 A disclaimer is in order: By bringing up the concept of nationalistic eclecticism, I do not
intend to suggest that scholars cited in this literature review are nationalists. Rather, what is at
stake is that the kangdamsa thesis, once introduced as a ‘co-text’ (a ‘package deal’
 explanation) of hanmun tanp’yŏn and yadam as literary categories, has not been criticized as
such, and persists in an environment in which it continues to play the same role as a
constituent of the semantic boundaries of yadam, resulting in uncritical perpetuations of
ideological dehistoricization of the relationship between oral storytelling and yadam.

85 For examples, see Sŏ Taesŏk, Chosŏn-jo munhŏn sŏrhwa chibyo 1, 2 (Seoul: Chimmundang,
1991-2); Kim Hyŏllyŏng, Han’guk munhŏn sŏrhwa 1-7 (Seoul: Kŏn’guk University Press,
1998-2000); and Kim Myŏngsŏn, Chosŏn-jo munhŏn sŏrhwa yŏng’gu (Seoul: Ihoe, 2001)
narratives (generally called classical fiction, i.e., kojŏn sosŏl 古典小說 or ŏnmun sosŏl 諳文小說).\(^{86}\) Relationships among surviving yadam collections and their manuscript editions have been uncovered and examined from the perspectives of philology and bibliography (munhŏnhak 文獻學). In what follows, I briefly introduce developments in research after the birth of yadam studies in the 1970s with the inauguration of hanmun tanp’yŏn.


The first study that directly challenged the kangdamsa thesis was Chŏng Myŏnggi (1988). This study demonstrated how certain stories sharing the same stuff-material exist within diverse narratives, and explained that differences in textual texture create patterns based on combining and separating of existing written narratives.\(^{87}\)

One of the most significant conceptual and methodological contributions to the field is found in Kim Sangjo (1991).\(^{88}\) Kim critiques the kangdamsa thesis as an uncritical application of the Song Chinese case of professional storytellers to Chosŏn and demonstrates cases in which new yadam narratives from nineteenth-century collections

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86 Some examples include Kim Tŏngnyŏng 金德齡 (1567-1596) and Im Kyŏngŏp 林慶業 (1594-1646), military heroes from the Japanese Invasions in the late sixteenth century and the Manchu invasions in the early sixteenth century, respectively.

87 Chŏng Myŏnggi, Han’guk yadam munhak yŏn’gu (Seoul: Pogosa, 1996).


See also Kim Sangjo, “Yadam ǔi kangdam hyŏngsŏng-sŏl pip’an kwa chŏndae munhŏn suyong,” in Yadam munhak yŏn’gu ǔi hyŏn tan’gwe 1, ed. Chŏng Myŏnggi (Seoul: Pogosa, 2001), 68-83 for a more frontal criticism of the kangdamsa thesis.
were created by way of munhŏn chŏnsŭng (lit. ‘written-to-written textual creation’) — creation and transmission of narratives from written texts that antedate them.

Kim Sangjo proposes to move away from the kangdamsa thesis, by asserting that once stories are written down, they lose the immediacy of the oral performance event altogether and become subject to processes of literary sophistication, stronger plot development, and more clearly delineated themes. Kim Sangjo presents his munhŏn chŏnsŭng idea as a modification of the kangdamsa hypothesis, but no critical examination of that kangdamsa as a frame itself is undertaken. This is the very first text-based study that foregrounded the creative impulses of the compiler, within the origins and development of yadam narratives.

Kim Tong’uk (1994; 1995a) examines biographical aspects of Invisible workings by Im Pang (1640-1724) to speculate about the compiler’s worldview and examines his storytelling techniques. These studies treat Im Pang’s work as a literary compilation carefully structured by a particular scholar-official who expressed his worldview in the collected narratives.

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How Im Pang was identified as the compiler of Chŏnyerok merits some comments. Ōtani Morishige 大谷森繁 gave the first scholarly debut to Ch’ŏnyerok in his “Ch’ŏnyerok kaidai,” Chosen gakuhō 91 (1979): 197-202 and speculated that it was compiled by one of a certain Yi Sanbo’s 李山甫 (1539-1594; m. 1568; Myŏnggok 鴉谷) descendants. This idea was taken up in Yi Sinsŏng, who speculated that Yi Sang’u 李商雨 (1621-1685; ch. 1650) was the compiler in “Chŏnyerok yŏn’gu,” Tonga University, PhD diss., 1993. Later this viewpoint was corrected to Im Pang in two studies: Kim Tong’uk (1994) and Chin Chaegyo, “Ch’ŏnyerok ŭi chakka wa yŏn’dae,” Sōji hakpo 17 (1996).

Especially worth mentioning is Kim Tong’uk’s (1995b) survey of eleven different yadam collections for categorization according to strategies of compilation. This study postulated three types of yadam compilations: compilations of stories based on the compiler’s first- and second-hand experiences (kyŏnmun 見聞); compilations by way of stories drawn from two or more existing story collections or miscellanies (ch’onghwa 叢話); and selected narratives from a single preexisting story collection (sŏnjip 選集). In the latter two categories, Kim asserted, the compilers could interfere with their source texts by preservation (保存), augmentation (敷衍), and truncation (縮約). This three-group model and the acknowledgment of textual tinkering on the part of the compilers made a great contribution to later studies based on intertextual investigation. Nonetheless, though important for its methodological contributions, this model provides no insight into how to historicize the development of yadam using this model.

Yi Kang’ok (1998) proposes a concept of ‘anecdote/unusual events’ (irhwa 逸話) in order to move away from the kangdamsa thesis and to foreground storytelling as a general human trait. In so doing, he calls attention to various short narratives from a broader time span of mid- to late Chosŏn, by presenting irhwa as antecedents of yadam. Yi Kang’ok’s irhwa-to-yadam transformation idea, however, is highly reminiscent of the kangdamsa thesis. It presupposes accretions of oral storytelling and storytelling by

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90 In this study, Kim Tong’uk suggests the possibility of a professional transcriber who used the techniques of word-for-word copying, augmentation, and concision. Kim Tong’uk, “Chosŏn huigi yadam chip ŭi yubyŏn yangsang kwa yuhyŏng,” Kigok Kang Sinhang paksan chŏngnyŏn t’oeim kinyŏm kugŏ kungmunhak nonch’ong (1995): 467-95.

91 This sŏnjip, therefore, does not mean an “anthology,” which implies a compilation drawn from multiple sources.
different social classes (the elite and the commoner populace [p’yōngmin 平民]).

Influenced by the general logic of the kangdamsa thesis, this study valorizes the late Chosŏn period as a special moment. It suggests that prior to that time, two types irhwa that were mutually exclusive co-existed depending on the social classes of those who shared the stories, while yadam were narratives that emerged when the distinction between the two classes became to break down because of social changes in the late Chosŏn period. This framework downplays the role of writing to one of merely recording, and treats textual tinkering on the part of the recorder as a kind of handicap.\(^{92}\) Yi Kang’ok’s notion of irhwa later becomes the basis for his concept of iyagi-p’an (이야기관; lit. ‘storytelling venues’). Yi Kang’ok’s formulations concerning oral storytelling in general tend toward a cosmetic change of the kangdamsa thesis only, despite his moderate emphasis on the role of writers. One example is Yi Kang’ok (2011), in which TPNS is described as a potential script for future recitation, and the relationship between No Myŏnghŭm and the Hong Ponghan family is described as that of patron-storyteller.

Im Wanhyŏk (1997) takes Kim Sangjo’s (1991) idea of munhŏn chŏnsŏng further, by investigating what happens to written precursors when they are used to create new yadam collections.\(^{93}\) Im Wanhyŏk’s study examines No Myŏnghŭm’s TPNS and subsequent yadam collections that heavily cannibalized it. After conducting a microscopic intertextual investigation, Im claims that “written transmission” consists of

\(^{92}\) Yi Kang’ok, Chosŏn sidae irhwa yŏn’gu (Seoul: T’aehaksa, 1998); see also Yi Kang’ok, “Irhwak sŏlch’ŏng kwa kŭ chŏngŭi mit yŏksa,” in Yadam munhak yŏn’gu ŭi hyŏn tan’gye 1, ed. Ch’ŏng Myŏnggi (Seoul: Pogosa, 2001), 138.

\(^{93}\) Im Wanhyŏk, PhD diss., Sungkyunkwan University, 259. Im Wanhyŏk analyzes TPNS, Kyesŏ stories, Ch’ŏnggu yadam 靑邱野談 (Stories from the green hills; hereafter Green hills), and Tongya hwijip 東野彙輯 (Anthology of stories of the east).
two general types: ‘simple transmission’ (單純前載), in which the narrative structure of a precursor is generally kept intact, and ‘transformative transmission’ (改變前載), in which the narrative texture of a work is significantly different from that of the precursor it appropriates. Im Wanhyŏk’s two categories of textual transmission are based upon analyses of intertextually connected narratives that show strong syntagmatic correspondences.94

Kim Chunhyŏng (1997)95 investigates a set of nineteenth-century yadam compilations—Kimun ch’onghwa 紀聞叢話/紀聞叢話 (Compendium of records of anecdotes and hearsay; 1833-1869), Kyesŏ chammok 溪西雜錄 (Kyesŏ Yi Hŭip’ŭng’s miscellany; 1828), and Kyesŏ yadam 溪西野譚 (Kyesŏ’s stories; late 19th–early 20th c.)—c.—that he perceives as having a family-like relationship or (kye 系). Kim Chunhyŏng’s study demonstrates the nomadic nature of the entries in these collections. In light of what later is published in Kim Yŏngjin (1998), Kim Chunhyŏng notes that many of the entries in the yadam collections he studied were appropriations of preexisting narratives, particularly from No Myŏnghŭm’s TPNS. Based on his examination, Kim Chunhyŏng critiques the kangdamsa thesis by calling for an examination of ‘newly decorated’ yadam collections. This designation overlaps with Im Wanhyŏk’s observation about collections

94 As for ‘syntagm,’ I follow the definition in Graham Allen’s glossary in Intertextuality: The new critical idiom (London: Routledge, 2000), in which the word is defined as follows: “the combinatory aspect of language. Concerns the sequential placing of words together to form sentences and the relationship of those words when thus combined” (220). Alastair David Inglis has used this word ‘syntagm’ in his investigation of various aspects of Hong Mai’s Yi jian zhi (1123-1202) Yi jian zhi 夷堅志 (Record of the listener). The latter part of this dissertation revisits Inglis’s study, Hong Mai’s Record of the listener and its Song dynasty context (New York: State University of New York Press, 2006).

characterized by “transformative transmission” and Kim Tong’uk’s notions of augmentation and truncation. Kim’s study is most explicit and emphatic about the role of yadam compilers as author-compiler who are the agents of textual transformation. A significant contribution of this study, then, is its critique of Im Hyŏngt’ae’k’s kangdamsa thesis (1978), which presupposes a “folk” (minjung) worldview as inherent to yadam; instead, Kim promotes the idea of author-compiler who inscribe their own personal tastes (kaein-jŏk ch’iwhyang) in their compilations of yadam. Moreover, Kim’s interests in the nomadic nature of yadam narratives develops into his conviction, articulated in a 1999 article, that the identity of yadam narratives should always be envisioned as part of a larger whole. The object of this 1999 study are collections of humorous stories, for which Kim uses the term p’aesŏl.

While Im Wanhyŏk (1997) and Kim Chunhyŏng (1997) both delve into creative transformations of written precedents by compilers, their viewpoints are different. Kim advances the idea of an authorial-compiler whose role is that of begetter of the collection and modifier of his source texts, while Im gives little attention to the role of personal taste and frames his findings in terms of general tendencies on the part of an anonymous transmitter of written precedents (munhŏn chŏnsŏng-ja).

Kim Tong’uk (1998) speculates about social elites portrayed in Records of anecdotes and distinguishes three types of elite (yangban) protagonists: economically fallen yangban who are forced to adjust to new social situations; yangban who deviate

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96 The term p’aesŏl means different things to different scholars, and its meaning also change over time. For details, see CHAPTER SIX, in which I deal with the question of perceptions of genre.

from the norm by, for example, becoming bandit leaders; and yangban who are self
deprecating. Though framed somewhat within the late-Chosŏn social transformation
thesis delineated in the 1970s, this study offers a useful categorization of yadam
protagonist-types, but what significance such types have for the writers of yadam goes
unexamined.

Kim Yŏngjin (1998) takes another crucial step toward the historicization of
yadam as a genre and offers several convincing correctives to existing generalizations.
Kim examines No Myŏnhŭm’s life and his TPNS within the context of a detailed
discussion of some manuscript editions, No’s life, and the networks both of people he
knew and of similar story collections. Kim draws attention to No Myŏnhŭm’s life as
long-time tutor at an illustrious capital-based family of the P’ungsan Hong clan. Excavating various commemorative writings about No Myŏnhŭm by members of
the Hong family, he sets forth the literary value of TPNS as appraised by these

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98 This study was first introduced as an oral presentation at a conference in 1997. Kim
Chunhyŏng (1997), therefore, was informed by this study. See Kim Yŏngjin, “Chosŏn hugi
sadaebu ū yadam ch’angjak kwa hyang’yu ū il yangsang: No Myŏnhŭm, No Kŭng puja wa

99 Examples include Ch’onyerok 天倪錄 (Records of the invisible workings of heaven; hereafter
Invisible workings) by Im Pang 任嶽 (1640-1724; m. 1702; Such’on 水村), Hong Ponghan’s
maternal grandfather; Chapki kodam 雑記古談 (Miscellaneous Records of Old Tales; also
known as Leisurely brushings by Nansil Im Mae [Nansil manp’il 間室慢筆]; hereafter Old
tales) by Im Mae 任邖 (1711-1799), Im Pang’s grandson; Kyesŏ chamnok 溪西雜錄 (Kyesŏ’s
miscellany; 1828) by Yi Hŭp’yŏng 李義亨 (1772-1839; ch. 1810), whose great-great-
great-grandfather was Hong Ponghan’s father-in-law Yi Chip 李湜 (1670-1727; m. 1725; Hanju
韓州).

Kim Yŏngjin (1998) identified seven TPNS entries as direct derivations from
Ch’onyerok and thirty TPNS entries that became sources for Kyesŏ’s miscellany. Kim
Yŏngjin suggests the possibility that No Myŏnhŭm used written sources for augmentation
and reduction to create his own narratives, given his close relationship with the Hong family.
In the case of TPNS-to-Kyesŏ’s miscellany transmission, Im Wanhyŏk (1997) demonstrated a
direct influence from TPNS on Kyesŏ’s miscellany.
contemporaries. With this, he persuasively relocates yadam narratives’ origins from oral storytelling in the market place to literary pursuits in literati households. Kim convincingly asserts that TPNS is the work of an author-compiler (chajö 白著) by contrasting No with later producers of story collections, whom he calls editor-compilers (p’yŏnjŏ 編著). This study in many ways inspired my textual analysis of TPNS presented in Chapter Four, although my approach revisits a few points anew.

Im Hyŏng’aek (1999)\(^{100}\) offers a corrective to his own ‘professional storyteller thesis’ by accentuating yadam compilers’ creative impulses and pinpointing the origins of TPNS “at the tip of the compiler’s brush.”\(^{101}\) This study explores literary dimensions of TPNS with a focus on No Myŏnhŭm’s creative consciousness, narrative technique, and style. Here is a brief summary of Im’s analysis:

The compiler’s factional allegiance is not pronounced in TPNS. The vast majority of the stories are about the ruling elite. More than half of the collection deals with women.\(^{102}\) TPNS is biased toward [happy endings for] yangban protagonists, reflecting No Myŏnhŭm’s status as a frustrated yangban. The narrator’s focus generally follows that of the protagonists; this limited focus of the narrator suggests the formation of a new style that will bring about reality. This characteristic of TPNS differs from that of premodern fiction narrated by an omniscient third-person narrator. The narrative style is generally ‘simple and unembellished’ (描薄). In dialogue, proverbs and set-phrases are used to enhance characterization. TPNS narratives were not given titles; this indicates that No Myŏnhŭm did not perceive them as individual works.

The conclusions drawn from Im’s analyses present TPNS as something like ‘new wine in an old barrel’ in that Im concludes that in TPNS “real people (hyŏnsil inmul) have been

\(^{100}\) Im Hyŏng’aek (1999) details how he ascertained the compiler of TPNS, a fact first introduced in Im Hyŏng’aek (1990). See Chapter Five for details.

\(^{101}\) Ibid., 338.

\(^{102}\) TPNS contains several stories that deal with women who write. For example, the story of Andong Kwŏn (YONSEI 11) describes a willful daughter-in-law drafting a written oath in front of her father-in-law. In the stories of a scholar of Yŏngnam (YONSEI 25) and of the wife of a man named Pak (YONSEI 26), the female protagonists use missives (傳書), often long, in the vernacular script (譯書), to convey their messages to men other than their family members or relatives.
discovered while a real-life setting (hyŏnsil paegyŏng) has yet to arrive.”¹⁰³ These remarks about the presence of human consciousness and the delayed arrival of a suitable receptacle for it—as well as the finding of a lack of congruence between meaning and form in TPNS narratives—hints that Im Hyŏng’t’aek envisions a certain inevitable end point of yadam narrative’s development.

The overall analytic framework used for textual analysis in Im’s study is based on that employed for modern fiction, kūndae sosol. There are some remarks on the narrative style of miscellaneous writings by literati, but Im’s primary objective is to concretize the view that the ‘sprouts of modern fiction’ can be found in TPNS. In short, although Im Hyŏng’t’aek offers a detailed textual study that covers various aspects of TPNS as a literary text, the conclusions he reaches and the observations he makes in this study need to be reframed and reexamined in terms of late Chosŏn literary sensibilities. Still, it should be noted that Im Hyŏng’t’aek is trying to overcome nationalistic discourses by emphasizing that yadam is a product of the peculiarities of Chosŏn society (Chosŏn-jŏk t’ŭksu-sŏng). Commenting on the simple narrative style of TPNS, he compares it to that of late-Ming Chinese vernacular fictional narratives such as Shuihu zhuan and the Sanyan stories and asserts, perhaps overcompensating, that the development of yadam between TPNS and Green hills was a case of “historical existence of perfect beauty in and of itself” (wanmi han silchon 完美한 實存). His implication is that the differences between the Korean and Chinese cases do not prove that one is better than the other.

Im Wanhyŏk (1999)\textsuperscript{104} investigates similar types of narratives that co-exist in multiple \textit{yadam} collections. He revisits Kim Yŏngjin’s (1998) excavation of parallel narratives in Im Pang’s \textit{Invisible workings} and TPNS. Im Wanhyŏk’s study emphasizes that TPNS occupies a central position within the development of \textit{yadam} in the late eighteenth century, when \textit{yadam} narratives inherited the literati’s miscellany-writing tradition (\textit{p’ilgi} 筆記) and became the basis for full-bown \textit{yadam} collections (e.g., \textit{Green hills}, \textit{Anthology of stories of the East}, and \textit{Kyesŏ’s stories}) in the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{105} Im offers a list of parallel narratives shared by TPNS and collections that preceded and postdate it.\textsuperscript{106} The significance of this study’s point of departure is that it attempts to extend the scope of \textit{muhnŏn chŏnsŭng}, i.e., written-to-written transmission, by examining a corpus of parallel narratives that do not feature direct syntagmatic correspondences.

The ways Im Wanhyŏk reaches his conclusions are of great import, because they show the limitations of a conceptual framework based on an oral-written dichotomy. First of all, a pair of narratives without obvious syntagmatic correspondence, Im asserts, have always developed in a mutually independent way. That is, an antecedent-descendant relationship between a pair of parallel narratives is predicated on whether a later narrative displays close syntagmatic correspondences with its earlier counterpart.

\textsuperscript{104} Im Wanhyŏk, “\textit{Tongp’ae naksong} kwallyŏn charyo ŭi kŏmt’o – kwallyŏn yugwa ŭi yangsang kwa ŭimi rŭl chungsim ŭoro,” \textit{Hanmun hakpo} 1 (1999): 293-360.

\textsuperscript{105} Im Wanhyŏk, “\textit{Tongp’ae naksong} kwallyŏn charyo,” 294.

\textsuperscript{106} This 1999 study grew out of Im Wanhyŏk’s PhD dissertation investigating the reception of TPNS in the cases of the so-called troika of late-Chosŏn \textit{yadam} collections—\textit{Kyesŏ’s stories}, \textit{Green hills}, and \textit{Tongya hwijip}. Offering insights into the reception of TPNS narratives in later \textit{yadam} compilations, this study pays little attention to how the TPNS compiler exercised his authorial creativity.
Here is Im Wanhyŏk’s framework for his intertextual investigation into TPNS narratives and their earlier counterparts. He begins from the fact that TPNS is a compilation of narratives that were circulating widely during No Myŏnghŭm’s lifetime. From this, he hypothesizes that TPNS must have encompassed narratives styles that had been hitherto available. No Myŏnghŭm’s contemporaries (the members of the Hong family) portray him as a well-versed man. Therefore, he must have read various collections of narratives and collected stories circulating at that time. Im Wanhyŏk’s hunch—that there is a “collection of literary styles of preexisting narratives” in TPNS—suggests that his framework for examining TPNS and its antedating counterparts differs little from that which is used to examine the intertextual relations between TPNS and subsequent narratives that cannibalized its contents to the point of word-for-word and at times character-for-character reproduction.

Using this method, Im Wanhyŏk concludes that except for a lone case of the story of Pak Chinhŏn, no antedating narratives had a direct influence on the creation of TPNS. Im describes the TPNS narratives he examined as independently developed narratives based on oral storytelling, adding that No Myŏnghŭm was a skilled storyteller himself. Complex plots and detailed narration are explained as evidence of the storyteller’s achievement (kuyŏn ŭi sŏngkwa). The kind of author-compiler Im Wanhyŏk envisions is a writer who determines what to keep or discard from his source materials, but who cannot create new narratives or make significant changes to existing narratives of his own volition.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ See Im Wanhyŏk, Kuyŏn chŏnt’ong kwa sŏsa (Seoul: T’aehaksa, 2008), 63-69.
Im Wanhyŏk (2008), in a compilation of his independent studies grouped into a single volume, explains fictionalization as a process that occurs during oral storytelling about historical events (kuyŏn ŭi kwajŏng esŏ palsaeng hanŭn sŏsa-hwa), which is shared among people. Textual maturity of a narrative, according to this line of thinking, is always achieved first through the process of oral storytelling. These ideas are slight modifications of the kangdamsa model, in that written narratives are always predicated on a preexisting historical oral storytelling event.

Im Wanhyŏk’s intertextual inquiry into the relationship between TPNS and its antecedents has been described as “rather general.” Agreeing with this verdict, I address again the question of whether TPNS was under the direct influence of preexisting models, besides the story of Pak Chinhŏn discussed later in this chapter, and will offer counter examples in Chapter Four and Chapter Five.

Kim Kŭnt’ae (1999) examines three nineteenth-century yadam collections—Green hills, Kyesŏ’s stories, and Anthology of stories of the East—from perspectives highly reminiscent of those used by Yi Usŏng and Im Hyŏngtaek in the 1970s—for his delineation of the characters and plots found in them; that is, he sees yadam narratives as harbingers of modernity. This study dedicates a section to non-orthodox styles of writing. Kim’s explanations are generally a repetition of ideas about the language of hanmun tanp’yŏn formulated in the 1970s: a combination of literary style, ‘Korean colloquialisms’ (kuŏch’e 口語體) drawn from the everyday speech of the market place (sijoŏng ŭi sang’yŏng’ŏ 市井의 常用語) and Korean lexical items and proverbs written in

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The origins of these colloquialisms are identified as having resulted from *yadam* compilers’ efforts to ‘put into writing actual storytelling (circulating in the market place) events as they were’ (*sijōng ūi iyagi rūl kūdaero chŏnjae*), and the function of the colloquialisms is explained as displaying the compilers’ efforts to suffuse their collections with ‘entertainment and commercial elements’ (*sangʿop-chŏk hŭngmi rūl kkūlgoja hattŏn yadam ūi p’yŏnch’an ŭisik*). Nevertheless, this study makes an important contribution insofar as Kim itemizes specific examples to show what he means by encapsulations of real-life speech. **CHAPTER SEVEN** of the present study reveals that several of the idioms listed in his study overlap with lexical items and phrases found in TPNS.

Im Wanhyŏk’s (2004) stylistic comparison of parallel texts found in TPNS and *Kyesŏ’s stories* broaches the question of the readership of *yadam*. Im notes that the author-compiler of *Kyesŏ’s stories* used simpler, non-allusive expressions to replace the more high-brow, allusive idioms found in his TPNS source narratives. Based on this observation, Im suggests that compared to TPNS, *Kyesŏ’s stories* anticipates a more lower-brow readership. I discuss this point in **CHAPTER SEVEN**.

In the late 1990s, several studies of *yadam* compilers’ biographical and familial backgrounds revealed the impact of their factional allegiance on their circulating and retelling of stories—e.g., Kim Yŏngjin (1999)\(^{111}\) for the Old Doctrine faction (Noron ᵐᵒʳᵒⁿ), Kang Kyŏnghun (1999)\(^{112}\) for the Southerner faction (Namin 南人) and Kim

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\(^{110}\) Ibid., 56-60. The examples are from *Green hills* and *Kyesŏ’s stories*.

\(^{111}\) Kim Yŏngjin, “‘Yŏm sŏng chŏn’ yŏn’gu,” *Han’guk hanmunhakhoe* (1999).

Yŏngjin (2001)\textsuperscript{113} for the Young Doctrine (Soron 小論) faction. These studies illustrate that the transmission of historical anecdotes reflected compilers’ sensitivity to their factional affiliations and shed light on the readership, reception, and circulation of *yadam* narratives among the elite.

Kim Yŏngjin’s (2001)\textsuperscript{114} exploration of Yu Manju’s 俞晚柱 (1755-1788) *In admiration of the choicest* (Hŭmyŏng 鉉英; 1775-1787), a diary by a literary figure from a prominent family in the capital that records his experiences of reading Korean and Chinese books, illustrates three different ways that *yadam* narratives could be shared in an elite household: they circulated in manuscript form, as oral accounts among friends, or as recitations of vernacular Korean renditions between a junior female and a senior male family member. The diary reveals that Yu Manju himself wrote several narratives that can be called *hanmun tanp’yŏn* (here meaning *yadam* in a more sophisticated style). According to the diary, *yadam* are a diversion in elite households, having little or nothing to do with the lives of commoners.

Kim Chunhyŏng (2001) and Yi Kang’ok (2001) review the state of the field and criticize many studies for overemphasizing the significance of *yadam* narratives as part of a process of becoming fiction (*sosŏl-hwa kwajŏng* 小説化課程). Both criticized in their own words the prevalent problem of a teleological model of literary development in

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yadam studies whereby scholars treat prose narrative styles as always progressing toward the (Western-style) Novel.115

Recent studies have extended the origins of certain yadam narratives to encompass yadam compilers’ adoption and appropriation of Chinese classical and vernacular narratives. Some examples include Yi Pyŏngch’an (1994; 2005), Kim Tong’uk (2004; 2006; 2007),116 Yi Kang’ok (2008),117 and Sin Sangp’il (2011).118

116 Kim Tong’uk, “Chungse-gi iyagi pŏnyŏk-pŏnan ŭi che yangsang kwa kŭ ŭimi,” Pan’gyo ēumun yŏn’gu 22 (2007): 5-35. In this study, Kim Tong’uk speculates that one TPNS entry—namely, the story of Hong Yŏl (YONSEI 6)—is an adaptation of a Taiping guangji (Extensive records of the Taiping era) story by calling attention to the motif of an ordinary man’s encounter with a Daoist fairy. In my opinion, the more plausible speculation is that the TPNS story of Hong Yŏl came from two different entries (Entries 33 and 37 of the Tenri University edition) of Im Pang’s Invisible workings, one of the story collections identified as having several parallel narratives with TPNS. The two entries of Invisible workings contain a few scenes highly reminiscent of the story of Hong Yŏl in TPNS: e.g., Hong Yŏl’s visitation by strange black-clad men who take him to his meeting with the fairy girl; local monks’ coming to Hong Yŏl’s rescue early in the morning after he is abandoned by the fairy girl; and Hong Yŏl being tossed around by two tigers.

By highlighting a stronger connection between TPNS and Invisible workings, I do not intend to dismiss Kim Tong’uk’s observation. Rather, his observation is something worth pursuing in further research. In CHAPTER FIVE, I point out a close connection between one entry of Invisible workings and “Li wa zhuan” 李娃傳 (“Tale of Li Wa”) of Taiping guangji. Further research on the relationships between Taiping guangji and the two Korean story collections will shed important light on the origins and development of Korean yadam. However this topic is beyond the scope of my research. It seems also possible that this TPNS entry was under the influence of both Taiping guangji and Invisible workings. According to Kim Tong’uk (2006), which is discussed shortly, Kim Hyŏllyŏng, Han Chung sosŏl sŏrhwapigyo yŏn’gu, Seoul: Ichisa, 1976, points out numerous connections between Taiping guangji narratives and Korean narratives.

There is another study that examines the relationship between translation and the creation of two new yadam stories. This study concerns a connection between the famous Chinese story “Jiang Xingge reunites with his pearl-sewn shirt” by Feng Menglong and two yadam stories: an entry in Green hills (mid-19th c.) and an entry in Yi Wŏnmyŏng’s Anthology of stories of the East (1869). See Kim Tong’uk, “Changhŭngga chunghoe chinju sam’ŭi yadam ŭroso ŭŭ pŏnan yangsang” [The ways in which ‘Jiang Xingge reunites with his pearl-sewn shirt’ was translated into yadam narratives], Chungguk munhak yŏn’gu 32 (2006): 121-141. In In Patrick Hanan (1973), Hanan shows how Feng Menglong himself utilizes an existing classical tale (wenyan xiaoshuo) in order to create his own story in baihua. Hanan explains
Possible or confirmed Chinese story collections or narratives that influenced Korean yadam include Taiping guangji (Extensive records of the Taiping era) from Song 宋 (960-1279), Sanyan 三言 (Three words) from the Ming (1368-1644), and Xieduo 諧鐸 (Humor bells) by Shen Qifeng 沈起鳳 (1741-?) from the Qing (1644-1911). These studies directly challenge the assumption that hanmun tanp’yŏn/yadam developed as something essentially Korean. They suggest the need to use broader cosmopolitan interpretive tools for textual analysis, allowing Chosŏn yadam to be further contextualized within late-Chosŏn intellectual trends and circulation of knowledge and goods. I return to connections between yadam and some Chinese classical and vernacular works of fiction in Chapter Five.

Thus far I have reviewed yadam scholarship since the 1980s. Generally speaking, much effort has been put into debunking some of the presuppositions in effect in the 1970s. Current scholarship acknowledges the importance of individual writers’ backgrounds and author-compilers’ creative impulses in the transmission of both authored and anonymous story collections. The existence and circulation of yadam narratives in literati households, and of yadam as adaptations of stories originating from China, all point to the need for further historicization of their development. The above-mentioned discussions have also pointed to the persistence of the kamdamsa thesis as

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part of a methodological tool kit used for examining yadam texts. Notwithstanding the existence of great contributions made in text-based studies to the field, such questionable presuppositions that underlie the kangdamsa thesis continue to pop up in textual analyses.

Manifestations of this ongoing endorsement of the ideological underpinnings of the kangdamsa thesis are of three kinds: (1) ideas of “foreign vs. us,” (2) ideas of “elite vs. commoner” and “written vs. oral,” and (3) a view of language as a receptacle of the essence of cultural identity. First, because yadam supposedly derive from oral accounts, hanmun was hardly a fitting medium for yadam and it was only natural that yadam narratives came to be translated into vernacular Korean language and script. Viewpoints like these accompany the clichéd explanation that the continued use of hanmun and sinographs after the invention and promulgation of the Korean alphabet in the fifteenth century was somehow an unfortunate aberration.¹¹⁹

Under this line of thinking, late-Chosŏn Korea society can only be described as a struggle for cultural independence between the two nation-states of China and Korea, based on cultural identity politics shaped by discourses of modern national identity. This suggests that assertions about the language of yadam may have derived from kungmunhak (national literature) discourses.

Moreover, this view of yadam’s Korean roots precipitates the related assertion that the presence of literary ornamentation is tantamount to literati contamination of the true nature of yadam narratives, which are supposed to have captured the liveliness of an

imagined category of “the folk” (minjung 民衆). Claims like these lack any textual support and exist within formulations that presuppose that yadam originated from oral storytelling, and thus by definition was a narrative form preferred by the folk and by women. Scholar-officials by default preferred writing, and once oral storytelling developed into a narrative genre dealing with social issues in an articulate manner, they deemed it worthy of being committed to writing.

Another assertion is that the colloquialisms found in yadam narratives are “the embracing of everyday speech and the articulation of ethnic sentiment” (saenghwal ŏnŏ ŭi suyong, minjok chŏngsŏ ŭi p’yoč’ul). As discussed in CHAPTER TWO, references to language and ethno-national sentiment were part and parcel of the European romantic nationalist paradigm that fueled colonialism.

All three of these generalizations about oral storytelling and yadam narratives are problematic. They push studies of yadam in the direction of the “distressed genres” described by Susan Stewart, further antiquating, dehistoricizing, and decontextualizing yadam narratives. Moreover, these three viewpoints do not do justice to research that convincingly argues against nationalistic definitions of oral storytelling and yadam. Despite the growing number of studies that painstakingly decenter oral storytelling’s role in yadam origins and persuasively construct a greater role for the author-compiler in the

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123 Chin Chaegyo, “Yijo hugi hanmunhak esŏ ŏnŏ saenghwal ŭi suyong kwa kyoŏp: ch’angjak esŏ ŏnŏ ŭi suyong munje rŭl chungsim ŭro,” in Han’guk hanmunhak yŏn’gu ŭi sae chip’yŏng, ed. Yi Hyesun (Seoul: Somyŏng ch’ulp’an, 2005), 887.
emergence of yadam as a genre, general explanations of yadam continue to fall back on the old paradigm.

Moreover, Western evolutionary and teleological models of literary development loom large in discussions of the place of yadam collections in Korean literary history. One corollary of an evolutionary framework is a tendency to examine earlier literary works anachronistically, based on criteria extracted from later counterparts. Because of this mode, many literary miscellanies and story collections that came before nineteenth-century yadam collections are treated as always inferior when juxtaposed with later, ‘more complete’ models. Their compilers’ efforts are described as failures to overcome (kūkpkok) the limitations of preexisting literary conventions.

Such an attitude tends to burden literary works with a mission to become ‘unadulterated’ literary categories. This a priori supposition of generic purity is based upon ideas drawn from previously established frameworks of yadam narratives. Features singled out as items that yadam compilers or writers of literary miscellanies have not been able to overcome include: (1) the visibility of the compiler’s personal voice in yadam collections (e.g., when the compiler identifies the origins of his source materials, narrates his own experience or family history, or deploys the convention of using a historian’s voice to praise or condemn); (2) stylistic sophistication such as use of classical allusions; (3) protagonists who seek to maintain the status quo or promote Confucian virtues; and (4) inclusion of fantastic elements (e.g., interest in ghosts, Daoist immortals, etc.) and lack of social realism.124

124 Some studies that reflect such an attitude include Im Wanhyŏk, “Chosŏn hugi samdae yadam chip ūi p’yŏnch’an üisik,” T’oegyehak kwa yugyo munhwa 35.1 (2004): 109-138. See also Yi Kang’ok, Han’guk yadam yŏn’gu (Seoul: Tolbegae, 2006).
3.3. The location of TPNS within current yadam studies

TPNS was born at a certain place and time. Temporally speaking, TPNS precedes the boom in collections of stories in the nineteenth century (e.g., Kyesŏ’s miscellany, Green hills, Records of hearsay, Anthology of stories of the East, and Kyesŏ’s stories) all of whose author-compilers created their works by way of heavy cannibalization of earlier story collections and miscellanies. TPNS and its counterparts in earlier story collections almost never exhibit large-scale reproduction (except for occasional direct quotations from earlier stories)—certainly not on the scale found in nineteenth-century yadam collections—even though numerous TPNS narratives have earlier parallel narratives that clearly deal with the same stuff-material. TPNS was also arguably the first compilation of prose narratives, which later were cannibalized heavily by compilers of nineteenth-century yadam collections. For example, while a considerable number of the entries of Sin Tonbok’s Haksan hanŏn 鶴山聞言 (Leisurely talks by Haksan; hereafter Haksan) became the bases for entries of Green hills, Haksan is a literary miscellany that contains expository essays and remarks on poetry as well as prose narratives. Moreover, TPNS was born out of the Hong Ponghan household, from which at least four story collections, including TPNS, came forth.125

The temporal and spatial significance of TPNS calls for a close examination of (1) the relationships between TPNS and its predecessors and (2) the characteristics of TPNS that invited nineteenth-century yadam author-compilers to adopt and adapt it on such a large scale.

Among late-Chosŏn yadam collections, TPNS is a relatively much-studied yadam

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125 Im Wanhyŏk, “Tongp’ae naksong kwallyŏn charyo,” 294, makes this point
collection; however, dehistoricizing tendencies driven by the privileging of oral storytelling as the lifeblood of yadam narratives had significant influence on the ways in which TPNS and the nature yadam in the eighteenth century have been defined. For instance, what are observed as characteristics of nineteenth-century yadam can also be located in TPNS narratives. For example, the Korean colloquialisms in Green hills pointed out in Kim Kūnt’ae (1999) and the fictionalizing tendencies in Green hills discussed in Im Wanhyŏk (2008) share strong affinities with many TPNS narratives. As suggested previously, Im Wanhyŏk’s (1999) intertextual examination of TPNS and narratives that antedate it has resulted in a misdiagnosis, in that he uses a framework designed for investigating intertextual connections between TPNS and later narratives, or between contemporaneous nineteenth-century collections. This means that there is as yet no framework adequate for measuring the influence of literary precedents on the creation of TPNS. Furthermore, Im Hyŏng’taek (1999) has given a textual analysis of TPNS; however, as shown above, his concern was to assess the value of TPNS and No Myŏng’hŭm in light of the Western-style novel.

I contend that a more contextualized study on TPNS that distances itself as much as possible from questionable ideological underpinnings is needed. Calling attention to these four points, I will examine TPNS in order to contribute to a fuller understanding of the development of yadam between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and to offer correctives to some earlier textual analyses. My first task, then, is to construct a framework that can facilitate the study of yadam, drawing upon ideas from studies that point us to the direction of historicization of literary texts and from studies from fields other than yadam scholarship for comparative insights.
3.4. Toward a new conceptual framework for yadam studies

In this section, I propose a different model for understanding the relationship between oral storytelling and written yadam narratives. This method treats yadam as essentially members of larger collections, whether stories-only collections or literary miscellanies. Instead of always presupposing actual oral storytelling events as lifeblood of yadam narratives, I contemplate the possibility that yadam compilers’ claims for the origins of their material was part of their storytelling style—a tool they choose to write their narratives.

That is, instead of taking at face value the yadam compiler’s claims of oral origins for his stories, I suggest that we take claims about oral accounts as appropriations—to borrow the concept from Shuihu Yang’s (1994) explanation of Feng Menglong’s role in Sanyan collections—of oral storytelling designed to tell particular types of stories in particular ways. Pushing forward the idea of ‘appropriation of oral storytelling,’ I do not at all intend to suggest that no oral accounts or oral storytelling ever affected written narratives. In fact, in many cases, yadam narratives do indeed point to a direct relationship between preexisting oral accounts and written narratives.

The point of my emphasis on ‘taking with a grain of salt claims regarding the existence of oral accounts’ is to (1) un-do the presupposition of actual oral storytelling events as a necessary prerequisite for the formation of a particular narrative (its structure, plot, theme, and style) prior to its materialization as a written text—i.e., to turn away from any presumption that compilers of orally derived stories volunteered to become
“human tape-recorders” of oral accounts\textsuperscript{126} and (2) be informed by comparative perspectives regarding other literary traditions in which similar oral forms existed.

I also find it necessary to move way from a framework of tangled relationships between and among speech, writing system, script, and literary expressions toward a framework that views the relationship between the vernacular script, Korean language, and *hanmun* without presupposing the “foreign vs. us” hostility based on script-based distinctions, modern-day Korean script nationalism, and *kungmunhak* discourses.

3.4.1. From models of oral storytelling as historical events toward a model of oral forms

One useful concept comes from studies of written narratives that claim to originate from oral sources. These studies demonstrate that writers insert oral contexts in written narratives to mark their imitation of “oral forms,” suggesting that writers of such narratives do not assert the oral origins of his source materials or the existence of an oral version as a precondition for his written version. I explain this by drawing upon ideas from studies of folklore and of Chinese vernacular and classical fiction that are concerned with writing and claims of oral origins.

Speaking of the Chinese storytelling tradition and its relationship to written narratives, Patrick Hanan makes a distinction between casual and professional storytelling. The former was “quantitatively much more important” and “the main


After all, the author-compilers of numerous nineteenth-century story collections (*Kyesŏ’s miscellany, Records of anecdotes, Green hills*, and *Kyesŏ’s stories*, to name but a few) heavily cannibalize TPNS entries to create new narratives while leaving clear traces of their reliance on preexisting texts; however, none of them explicitly cite TPNS or other literary miscellanies they use as their source materials.
vehicle for transmitting stories in China as elsewhere.” With respect to written narratives deriving from causal storytelling, Hanan points out that even though it is represented as being “the actual experience of the narrator or of the acquaintance of an acquaintance (of an acquaintance),” the reader is “not expected to take the claim too seriously.” As an example, he discusses the case of Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123-1202) of the Southern Song dynasty (1127-1279), who wrote Records of the listener (Yi zhen ji 夷堅記). Regarding how Hong Mai details the identity of his informants at the end, Hanan observes:

In transcribing their stories into a different medium and a different language, it seems unlikely that Hong Mai and his informants even tried to provide correlatives for the feature of oral fiction. It is much more likely that they allowed the conventions of Classical fiction to take over and mold the oral material.

In a similar vein, Chan Leo Tak-hung cautions against taking literally any reference to an oral background in classical tales. While Hanan’s point lies in delineating the differences in the writer’s attitude toward his narrator in classical and vernacular short stories, Chan is interested in describing narratives based on casual storytelling “as speech acts that derive meaning from the specific contexts of their occurrence.” Chan’s downplays the role of a creative author in the modern sense, as well as the foregrounding of written narratives of casual storytelling as a space where the writer inscribes traces of the original context, psychological concerns, and political issues in his literary artifact. Chan emphasizes that what is transmitted from the oral precursor

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129 Ibid., 187.

through a written narrative is the “stuff, of which stories are made” and not the actual words and phrases, because:

It can well be argued that casual tales undergo great changes when written down, making it difficult to detect their forms and styles (like those of professionally narrated tales when transformed into vernacular stories), and that any attempt to trace their influence on the written stories is sketchy at best.  

On the point about a writer’s attitude toward casual storytelling as his material, Sarah M. Allen’s contextualization of Tang tales from casual storytelling is particularly germane. She pays attention to the survival of different narratives of the same story that make no explicit reference to oral origins in the Tang dynasty, and extrapolates the kind of attitude shared among writers of such stories. I quote her observations about variations on the story of a female avenger at length:

None of the extant narratives about the female avenger contains any explicit reference to an impulse to record a story first heard (or told) orally, but the existence of four different accounts of what is unquestionably the same event, dating from roughly the same period, suggests that they resulted from just such a process. Given that the members of the audience would have had difficulty recalling every detail after hearing the story only once, an oral story was susceptible to alteration in the retelling. Moreover, the teller would have had a strong incentive to add new details to fill in any parts that he had forgotten. If participants in these oral storytelling sessions were frequently called upon to regale their companions with stories, it is also likely that the same stories were repeatedly retold, leading to numerous versions of one story . . . These sets suggest that the world of informal, non-professional storytelling in which these stores were first told did not demand verbatim recitation, but instead allowed each teller to retell the story in his own way. This would explain both the similarities within a group of narratives such as the one I have examined and the introduction of difference.

Although oral storytelling can account for the discrepancies among the narratives of the story of the woman’s revenge, the stability of the core of the story over a span of many years implies that written transmission may also have lain behind the late Tang version  

Allen extends her observation to stories whose writers claim to have derived their source materials from oral storytelling, calling attention to the nature of literary Chinese:

Even when a writer was attempting to reproduce the oral version faithfully, the translation from an aurally comprehensible story into the compact language of literary Chinese would necessary involve considerable shortening.

131 Leo Tak-hung Chan, “Text and Talk,” 34.
Allen’s points are that a narrative intended to capture an actual oral storytelling event cannot possibly encapsulate the full extent of oral storytelling and that scenes of a written narrative, if orally recounted, would naturally and inevitably undergo a great deal more dramatization in the process of oral delivery. While my focus in this chapter is on oral to written, not written to oral, Allen’s remark on the nature of literary Chinese as an obstacle to easy oral-to-written transformation is relevant with respect to factors like style, language, and intended audience in the process of written materialization. This is all the more the case when the oral language being converted to literary Chinese is not a Sinitic language in the first place.

Alastair Inglis’s study (2006)\textsuperscript{133} of Hong Mai’s Records of the listener shows that a compiler who claims to record what he has heard in fact used preexisting written materials (precursor texts) in order to enhance the reliability of his texts. Hong claimed historical truth for his narratives by making as explicit as possible the origins of his source materials and by annotating precursor texts, written or oral, as well as questionable materials, in order to make his narratives more reliable. Observing Hong’s rhetorical enhancements to the verifiability of his narratives through amalgamations of source material, Inglis calls attention to the question of medium as a factor influencing Hong’s oral-to-written transmission. He suggests that Hong Mai padded his narratives with truth claims in reaction to changing perceptions of oral storytelling as less reliable vis-à-vis print culture that was emerging in this period.\textsuperscript{134} Inglis’ study suggests that a writer’s attitude toward his preexisting sources and his narrative techniques are

\textsuperscript{133} Alister David Inglis, Hong Mai’s Records of the listener and Its Song Dynasty Context (New York: State University of New York Press, 2006), 128.

\textsuperscript{134} Inglis, Hong Mai’s Records of the listener, 137-151.
contingent upon socio-cultural contexts, implying a significant influence of social perceptions of oral and written texts on an individual writer’s choice of his narrative style.

One extreme representation within China’s narrative tradition of claims for the oral origins of a written narrative is found in Chinese vernacular fiction, where a professional storyteller-narrator relates the story in the “simulated context” of a professional storyteller addressing his live audience.\(^{135}\) Chinese vernacular fiction, both long novels like _Shuihu zhuan_  水滸傳 (Water Margin) and vernacular stories, used to be described as “indebted to professional storytellers”\(^{136}\) and on prompt books (_huaben_ 話本) used by them going back to the late Song dynasty.\(^{137}\) The presence in these _huaben_ of oral conventions such as poems, descriptive set pieces, and parallel prose was attributed to the virtuosity of these professional storytellers. This paradigm was subsequently criticized heavily for its oral-literary dichotomy, according to which (1) a vernacular text was imagined as a stenographic transcription, or the work of “a human tape recorder,”\(^{138}\) and (2) the development of the written vernacular was imagined as existing in a vacuum, with only negligible influence from the tradition of writing in

\(^{135}\) Hanan, “Pearl-Sewn Shirt,” 136.

The concept of “simulated context” is also found in folklore studies. See Elizabeth Wanning Harries, “Simulating Oralities: French Fairy Tales of the 1690s,” _College Literature_ 23 (1996): 102-115. Harries also notes that Anderson used this “simulated orality” with formulae like ‘now then, here’s where we begin’ that imitate oral story-telling,” while the Brothers Grimm used a “simple and naïve narrative voice.”


\(^{137}\) Some examples of studies with this perspective are Lu Xun, _Brief History of Chinese Fiction_ (1925); Richard G. Irwin, _The Evolution of a Chinese Novel: Shui-hu-chuan_ (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953); C. T. Hsia, _The Classic Chinese Novel_; Jaroslav Průšek (Prusek), _The Origins and the Authors of Hua-pen_ (Prague, 1967), to list but a few.

literary Chinese (wenyan 文言). Later studies investigated questions of the authorship, readership, and literary functions of huaben texts and convincingly argued that huaben texts are not prompt books for storytellers but were rewritten for readers of fiction from dramatic, classical, and vernacular sources by writers well-versed in literary Chinese.

Instead of seeing the presence of “colloquialisms” as reflective of the origin of a given work or its creation and consumption, Hanan regards such vernacular features as a style of literary language: “the choice of a particular language, classical or vernacular, is merely one of the elements within the total narrative method.” Moreover, careful textual studies have revealed that the professional storyteller-narrator is an imagined persona in a “simulated context” that is a generic characteristic of vernacular fiction.

Patrick Hanan distinguishes the vernacular story from the classical tale according to two aspects—its formal realism and “simulated context.” Of the latter, he observes:

[The principle to] distinguish the narrative method of the short story from that of the classical tale—its formal realism and its “simulated context.” … “Simulated context” means the context of situation in which a piece of fiction claims to be transmitted. In Chinese vernacular fiction, of course, the simulacrum is that of the oral storyteller addressing his audience, a pretense in which the author and reader happily acquiesce in order that the fiction can be communicated. It is not only a “mimesis of direct address,” it is also a mimesis of direct reception. In fact, it imitates a complete linguistic situation.

The simulated context of Chinese vernacular fiction is, of course, that of the professional storyteller addressing his live audience. The context remains largely of the same from work to work. In fact the story-teller is not an individual but a type, and the audience is a type also. As a result, the main narrative style of fiction also shows a surprising degree of uniformity from work to work,

140 “For virtually all vernacular authors, the actual model was earlier vernacular, not oral fiction.” Hanan, Chinese Vernacular Story, 22.
142 The storyteller-narrator is found in some Korean hanmun fiction and in almost all of the vernacular fiction (in the vernacular script) within the Korean narrative tradition.
provided we make the necessary allowances for differences of language and dialect. A standardized context like this has undeniable advantages for the writer; it provides him with a ready-made perspective and a ready-made voice... 144

Shuhui Yang uses the concept of literati “ventriloquism” to interpret Feng Menglong (1574-1646) as an author and author-compiler of

Sanyan (Three words) collections of 1620, 1624, and 1627:

For Feng, a vernacular story should not be a direct imitation of life, but a representation of the storyteller’s oral account of reality. 145

By speaking through the professional storyteller, Feng not only had his readers believe that his stories were an “outgrowth of the folk storytelling tradition,” but also allowed his narrator to have “leeway for substantial rhetorical and ideological manipulation.” 146

Using the professional storyteller-narrator, Feng Menglong sympathized with marginalized characters, subverted social conventions and ultimately brought literary sophistication to vernacular fiction.

The voice of the professional storyteller-narrator is nowhere in evidence in late-Chosŏn yadam; however, Hanan’s “simulated context” and Yang’s concept of ventriloquism are appealing. Hanan’s delineation of the casual oral storytelling context of the classical tale can be traced back to his investigation into stylistic features of the Chinese vernacular short story (huaben xiaoshuo 話本; hereafter vernacular short story) and the professional storyteller-narrator who narrates the stories. In fact, Hanan asserts that both vernacular language and the professional storyteller are part of the genre

144 Hanan, “Pearl-Sewn Shirt,” 136. He also discusses this feature at length in The Chinese Vernacular story, 20.
145 Shuhui Yang, Appropriation and Representation: Feng Menglong and the Chinese Vernacular Story (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, the University of Michigan, 1998).
146 Ibid., 153.
convention. Second, although no narrative markers such as “the story says” (hwasŏl 話說 화설) or “meanwhile let us tell” (ch’asŏl 且說 차설) are uttered in yadam narratives, the narrator of TPNS occasionally enters into the narrative with an intrusive voice and he, much like the professional storyteller-narrator in Chinese vernacular fiction, poses rhetorical questions and thereby establishes a kind of rapport with the reader.

As discussed above, whether in classical tales or vernacular stories, references to antecedent oral narratives in written Chinese narratives functioned to make particular narrative types. In other words, oral elements present in written narratives are staged not mirrored.

In fairytale studies, Ruth B. Bottigheimer has shown that certain print-based fairy tales, particularly those originating from the publication of a single Italian man named Giovanni Francesco Straparola (ca. 1480-1557), can be identified as the origins of so-called “rise tales” (rags-to-riches stories). Satu Apo’s (2007) research on Finnish

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147 Researchers like Plaks (1978), Rolston (1994), Huang (1994), and Gu (2006) have also developed tools and vocabulary for conceptualizing author, reader, and critic in premodern Chinese vernacular fiction narrated by the storyteller-narrator narrating in a simulated context of performing in front of a live audience.

148 For example, in the story of Kwŏn (YONSEI 11, TONGGU 25, and TÖYÔ 9) in TPNS, the narrator asks a question to an unspecified narratee: “A young boy and a girl are spending time in each other’s company deep into the night. How could there not be a sharing of joy?” (年少男女, 深夜同席, 豈無相聞之事乎) and “He was strict by nature. Under his orders, who among the slaves and servants would dare to tarry in carrying out his order?” (性本嚴正, 號令之下, 奴僕輩孰敢慢忽舉行乎).


This study created a polemic between Bottigheimer and Ziolkowski and others. Coming from the field of Medieval Latin literature, Jan M. Ziolkowski contends that the tight relationship between national identity and folktales and fairy tales asserted in folklore/fairy tale studies exerted an “unhealthy effect on” patterns of research that treat fairy tales “by nation or ethnic group by ethnic group” without paying attention to a host of Medieval Latin poems that derive from orally transmitted stories. See his Fairy Tales from before Fairy The Medieval Latin Past of Wonderful Lies (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2007). To this Bottigheimer responds that her point was misunderstood because of the fluid
folktales also emphasizes the role of print materials in shaping what were later collected as folklore. On the possibility of capturing and transmitting the voice of people from actual oral storytelling events, scholar after scholar of folklore and fairy tales warns against the idea:

> Authentic or definitive renderings of oral folk tales in written languages are virtually impossible, even if the collector takes down the story in the vernacular with signs denoting tone and gesticulation. The contextual moment cannot be recaptured. The relevance cannot be completely discerned. Sometimes, one must ask oneself, why collect? Why translate and transliterate? Why trespass?

> - Jack Zipes

> Our sense of access to that culture through reading fairy tales is an illusion—an illusion carefully and deliberately created by many fairy tale collectors, editors, and writers.

> - Elizabeth W. Harries

> Every magic tale narrator was guided by his own particular and general culture in constructing his narrative world. In other words, he was tied to his own time, sex, social class and peer group.

> - Satu Apo

> Studies of actual transcription of oral accounts into written text also warn against imagining a simple equation of what is spoken with what gets written. Commenting on medieval Europe’s cleric tradition, Ziolkowski writes:

> These clerics could not engage in a straightforward mechanical rendering of the oral into the written (a process designated in German as Verschriftung, “putting into writing”), partly because such a transfer was not technologically feasible but even more because it was not aesthetically desired or even comprehensible. Instead, the clerics aimed at a literarization (Verschriftlichung, “putting into literary form”) of the narratives they recounted in Latin, a conscious transfer from the semantic boundaries of the fairy tale genre and that her claim is that the plotline now widely recognized as coming from the European ‘folk’ can be traced to Straparola’s publication.


medium of the oral text into the very different medium of the literary text\textsuperscript{154} (My emphasis).

In a similar fashion, Sheldon Pollock (2006) speaks of literization and literarization in his discussion of vernacularization in the Sanskrit cosmopolis. With their distinction between literization and literarization, both Ziolkowski and Pollock address the difference between what gets inscribed for the first time in writing and what has already been inscribed in writing:

The authorization to write, above all to write literature, is no natural entitlement, like the ability to speak, but is typically related to social and political and even epistemological privileges . . . For another, writing enables textual features far in excess of the oral\textsuperscript{155}; for literature it \[=\text{writing}\] renders the discourse itself a subject for discourse for the first time, language itself an object of aestheticized awareness, the text itself an artifact to be decoded and pretext for deciphering.\textsuperscript{156}

It should be clear by now that we can no longer take seriously the notion of capturing the voice and consciousness of late-Chosŏn people in any unmediated way in \textit{yadam} narratives or in any other written texts, regardless of the literary languages or scripts that convey them. I propose to examine \textit{yadam} narratives, for all their strong or weak claims of oral origins, as written narratives that potentially appropriate the style of oral accounts.


Fludernik draws on the work of Wulf Österreicher. Here are the original texts from which Ziolkowski quotes:

Fludernik (1996): “The Freiburg model has recently introduced another pair of processual concepts, those of Verschriftung (medial transcoding) and Verschriftlichung (conceptual transcoding), which designate aspects of the transition from the oral to the written realm. Conceptual transcoding characterizes the refunctionalization of oral material within the written genre” (40).

Wulf Österreicher (1993): “Verschriftung designates the mechanic transcription of oral material into written form, whereas Verschriftlichung involves the cognitive reshaping of the oral text into a written format, a structural and cognitive remedialization of the oral story. The term conceptual transcoding (for Verschriftlichung) is used by Sabine Habermalz (forthcoming)” (294).

\textsuperscript{155} A similar point is made in Kim Sangjo (1991).

3.4.2. Beyond the “naturalness of the vernacular”

Chosŏn literati saw themselves as members of a cosmopolis, within which they shared identity with other learned elites from different cultures through their knowledge and practice of Literary Sinitic (orthodox hanmun), a written language of literature “with no citizenship,” and through their practice of Confucianism. By writing in hanmun, one assumed that his writing could be “understood at any future date and

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The word ‘cosmopolis’ refers to Sheldon Pollock’s explanations of the linguistic ecology of South Asia in premodern times, whereby people chose “language or life ways or modes of political belonging that affiliated them with the distant rather than the near, the unfamiliar rather than the customary.” See Sheldon Pollock, Language of the Gods, 12.

158 Throughout this dissertation, I have been using and will use the term hanmun to refer to Literary Sinitic. The use of “hanmun” is an anachronistic imposition because during the Chosŏn period, what hanmun now refers to was called simply mun 文. Alternately, it was called chinmun 傳文 or, more frequently, chinsŏ 傳書 ("true writing"), in contexts when its vernacular counterpart ŏnmun 訚文 ("vernacular writing") was invoked. Chinsŏ became hanmun when Korea decentered China, otherized it as “Han” 漢, and exited the Sinitic cosmopolis at the turn of the twentieth century in order to build itself into a nation-state. See Wells, “From Center to Periphery,” 21-26.


In his study of the development of writing systems in early Japan, the connection between the arrival of Korean precedents and Japanese writing during the seventh century, and the transregional and transcultural nature of Chinese script and writing system, David Lurie asserts that the notion of “Chinese script” needs to be reconsidered “in terms of an ‘East Asian’ writing system spanning linguistic and cultural boundaries.” See David Lurie, Realms of Literacy: Early Japan and the History of Writing (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

While transregional and transcultural, hanmun was nonetheless bound to China, as Peter Kornicki (2008) notes, particularly for Chosŏn literati, who saw China as the center of civilization beginning with the three ancient dynasties of Xia 夏, Shang 商, and Zhou 周. Until, that is, the Ming-Qing transition in 1644, after which they sought to refashion their identity within the Sinitic cosmopolis as a more authentic inheritor of Chinese civilization than the Manchus.
anywhere in Asia because of the common vocabulary and grammar of that written language”—*hanmun* was a “privileged medium of social discourse.”

Writings written in orthodox *hanmun* were considered ‘literature’—a corpus of writings recognized as *worthy* patterns for future literary creation because of their aesthetic values and authority. The referents of ‘literature’ (i.e., legitimate tokens thereof) or the terms used to refer to ‘literature’ could change over time, but people within a given socio-temporal context did not doubt what was to be considered literature. The meaning of orthodox literary language itself was subject to change and yet the perception of what should be considered ‘literature’ remained fairly constant.

*Yadam* and *yadam* author-compilers existed within such a literary culture. Nationalistic discourses emphasize the vernacular speech and writing over cosmopolitan writing and view a cosmopolitan past as an unfortunate plight under which ancestors (rather, vernacular speech and language) suffered. It is wrong to believe that writing in *hanmun* and use of sinographs was somehow culturally debilitating for Koreans, or to suggest that *yadam* were better off when written in the vernacular script. Writing in *hanmun*, writing in sinographs, speaking in Korean, writing in the vernacular, and translating texts into the vernacular all occupied different niches in the linguistic ecology of Chosŏn Korea.

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162 I borrow this concept of linguistic ecology from Einar Hagen (1972), who defines language ecology as follows: “Language ecology may be defined as the study of interactions between any given language and its environment.” See Einar Hagen, *The Ecology of Language* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), 325.
The above statement should not be taken as saying that Korean and Chinese literary development was one and the same, or that the former was a simple imitation of the latter. Rather, Korean literature should be understood as the result of Korean writers’ choices within particular socio-cultural and historical contexts.

Moreover, the existing paradigm of *yadam* studies tends to celebrate traces of Korean colloquialisms within an Us-vs.-Them and Native-vs.-Foreign paradigm, reenacting the modern-day relationship between *hanmun-hancha* (Literary Chinese and sinographs) and the Korean vernacular script. This script-based paradigm simply engenders either approval or disapproval of particular aspects of the language and style of *yadam*.

Acknowledging the privileged status of *hanmun* and of the hierarchies of genre that formed around it, Pak Hŭibyŏng (2008) examines the relationship between Confucianism and literary genres in the Korean tradition, and categorizes *yadam* among genres of non-orthodox *hanmun* prose.\(^{163}\) These non-orthodox genres, Pak claims, were under less pressure to emulate conventional writing and lay somewhere beyond the influence of the orthodox philosophy of writing whereby “literature is a vehicle of the *dao,*” and thus were more hospitable to fictional elements. Pak provides no substantial discussion of specific *yadam* texts, but his study is valuable for its delineation of the place of *yadam* within an existing hierarchy of literary genres. This notion of a hierarchy of genres merits further investigation if we are to clarify *yadam*’s status as a literary category.

\(^{163}\) Pak Hŭibyŏng, *Yugyo wa han’guk munhak ŭi changnŭ* (Seoul: Tolbegae, 2008).
Another useful concept is found in Sim Kyŏngho (2006; 2008), largely influenced by Fujimoto Yukio (1978). Sim points out that variant hanmun (or ‘idu-style variant hanmun’ 栗頭式變格漢文), a style of writing used in non-orthodox hanmun prose, has attracted little attention among scholars of hanmun writing. Sim urges scholars to examine not only the existence of Korean vernacularisms such as place names or Korean-originating expressions in hanmun texts but also the ways in which they existed alongside orthodox-hanmun elements within a given text. One of the areas that Sim proposes to examine for variant hanmun is hanmun tanp'yŏn/yadam. Sim’s point of view is radically different from that found in previous studies, which define the language and

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In this article, Fujimoto describes Korean-style hanmun (朝鮮漢文) as Koreanized hanmun resulting essentially from the “sublimation” of idu writing,” meaning that Korean-style hanmun is what survives as the remnants of idu diction in writings that were usually cleaned up prior to their compilation into munjip (collected works of writers) or the Sillok (Veritable records of the Chosŏn dynasty). He also speaks of a “diary-style” (日記體) to classify a style of writing he notes in Yu Hŭich’un’s journal, entitled Miam ilgi 眉巖日記 (Daily records by Miam Yu Hŭich’un). The “diary-style” refers to writing in orthodox hanmun style while Korean idioms are rendered in sinographs. See Fujimoto Yukio, “Chŏsen kambun—idu-bun kara no chōka,” Gobun 34 (1978): 32-38.

Two studies published in North Korea are noteworthy for their detailed explanations of various non-orthodox hanmun elements found in premodern Korean writings including the Sillok. See Sahoe Kwahagwŏn, Yijo sillok nanhaeŏ sajoin (P’yŏng’yang: Sahoe kwahagwŏn, 1993) and Ch’oe Tongwŏn, Chosŏn-sik hanmun yŏn’gu (P’yŏng’yang: Sahoe kwahagwŏn, 2009).

Sim Kyŏngho, “Idusik pyŏnkyŏk hanmun,” 220-225, gives a broad definition of “Chosŏn-sik hanmun” (used in writings like legal contracts, inheritance documents, litigation documents, court records, correspondence between family members, etc.), which is distinguished from orthodox hanmun (used in poetry composition, letters between literati, prose writing, etc.)—Sim here seems to refer to styles that were considered worthy of emulation) and imun (documentary writing that is used in foreign relations and is heavily reliant on four-character phrases). As noted previously, the language of yadam is treated as a case of Chosŏn-sik hanmun in this study.

I revisit the question of Korean/Chosŏn-style hanmun with a focus on how No Myŏngghum deploys his lexical items in TPNS narratives in CHAPTER SEVEN.
style of *yadam* as deriving directly from *vernacular* speech drawn from actual oral storytelling events.

In this view, the otherizing of *hanmun* and *hancha* as foreign hindrances to the native Korean literary tradition does a disservice to a fuller understanding of *yadam* as a research site, for it only offers explanations through the myopic lens of nationalism—to borrow Carter Eckert’s words quoted in Chapter Two. Instead, I adopt a more open attitude, which is inspired by two scholars who warn against the myth of autogenesis.166 The first is Yi Hyesun, who expounds the meaning of “suyong” (*收容*: ‘reception; accommodation; appropriation’) by way of “international relations” (*haeoe kyoryu* 海外交流: lit. ‘overseas exchange’) in Korea’s literary past. She writes:

> Whether a change in the history of literature originated from within or came from outside has always induced debates [in discussions of literary tradition]. … “Autogenesis” (*chasaeng-sŏng* 自生性) does not always imply the superiority of our literature; nor does “reception and appropriation [of foreign elements]” (*suyong* 收容) always imply its inferiority. However, among the countries where certain tensions existed among them, [the question of autogenesis and reception and appropriation] tended to be a question pertaining to cultural pride. But it needs rethinking whether studies of literature are in fact ever possible if [scholars of] Korea, China, and Japan foreclose otherness/foreignness and foreground cultural particularism when researching East Asian literature within the same Chinese-character cultural sphere (*tong’il han hancha-munhwakwŏn*). … Generally speaking, *suyong* is claimed when that which is gained through contact is refracted (*kulchŏl*) rather than reflected (*panyŏng*). … The premise of studying *suyong* is that the result of *suyong* is subject to further refraction or transformation through theorizing or in creative usage, and can be reproduced or recreated; there is nothing more original than adopting something new to internalize it.167

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166 See also Kang Myŏnggwan, *Kong’an-p’a wa Chosŏn hugi hanmunhak* (Seoul: Somyŏng ch’ulp’an, 2007), in which he details late-Chosŏn literati’s wide-ranging reception of the literary thought advocated by the Gong’an School of late Ming through the importation of Chinese books: “How to interpret the late-Chosŏn reception of the Gong’an School and problematizes the existing evaluations of eighteenth-century literature. In other words, writings by Yi Tŏngmu, Pak Chiwŏn, Yi Ok, etc., which we have thus far valorized within the frame of the discourse of national culture (*minjok munhwaron*), were none other than Korean appropriations of literary criticism espoused by the Gong’an School. … From now on, we should stop seeking ‘characteristics of national literature’ in our creations and criticisms. Or their characteristics should be reframed” (440).

The second is Sheldon Pollock asserts that there is ‘no parthenogenesis in culture’: “No literary culture, indeed, probably no element of culture, is ever entirely self-generated”\(^{168}\) and “writing literarily can only emerge out of a matrix of other preexisting and dominant literatures.”\(^{169}\) The “naturalness’ of the vernacular,”—“the notion that literary writing in the vernacular is somehow natural in a way that writing in a cosmopolitan language is not”—is a modern invention that later fed the ‘one-nation, one language’ ideology of the nation-state and studies of literature within the framework of national literature.\(^{170}\)

### 3.5. Conclusions

This chapter concludes the second half of my literature review and the outlining of methodological preliminaries for my textual study of TPNS in Part Two. The present review of the field of yadam studies reveals that the semantic parameters of hanmun tanp’yŏn as first laid out in the 1970s, despite their limitations, continue to mold the general framework of yadam narratives in history and the significance of yadam as a literary category. Many insights can be drawn from research that places yadam texts in concrete historical contexts in order to paint a more complex picture of yadam in history; however, studies still tend to be subsumed under ideas that remain in the thrall of dichotomies of foreign vs. native and elite vs. commoner. As one of the corollaries of limiting views, I pointed out that oral storytelling continues to be privileged as a necessary precondition for the origins and development of yadam narratives. That is, oral storytelling/performance at a particular historical time and place is generally imagined to have taken precedence over the creation of a written version.


\(^{169}\) Ibid., 298.

\(^{170}\) Ibid., 318.
I have proposed a new framework, which emphasizes that yadam are literary compositions and examines the language of yadam as having resulted from the compilers’ conscious strategy to make their narratives express auras of oral provenance, rather than serve as simple reflections of real-life speech from actual oral storytelling events. I move from the anachronistic notion that yadam based on oral storytelling had to be written in the vernacular Korean script, by calling attention to the hierarchy between hanmun and written vernacular that was part of the inscriptional ecology of the Sinitic cosmopolis within which late Chosŏn literary culture operated.
PART TWO

4. The life of an author-compiler and the origins of his text

He was well read; he solicited the recondite, hunted the esoteric, and stored them in his stomach. He enjoyed discussing historical facts about the founders of the state and hearsay; he also enjoyed discussing strange events at court and in the countryside from near and far. No subject went without inquiry or interview. Every chance he had, he recounted stories. All were elaborately told, and enjoyable to listen to. At times he compiled them into a book, calling it Repeatedly recited stories of the east.

香港盧訥以詩鳴，而晚益該洽，博覽群籍鈞玄獵秘，
既藏諸腹笥，尤喜論國朝故實，上下數百年間，
朝野遠近佚聞異事，靡不採訪搜討，每向人誦說，
繚悉可聽，問又綴締為書，名曰，〈東稗洛誦〉.

- Hong Ch’wiyông, “Preface to TPNS” (1818)

4.1. Introduction

This chapter is the first of four textual studies that historicize TPNS and its author-compiler within the late Chosŏn period. Contextualizing TPNS narratives within the author-compiler’s life, I trace interconnections between the text and the author-compiler’s life through descriptions made by his close acquaintances. No Myŏnghŭm (1713-1775; ch. 1759; Chorong 拙翁) himself did not leave behind any autobiographical accounts or an autographic preface to his creation. Moreover, TPNS is the only surviving writing that we can trace as his. Still, we are fortunate to have four commemorative essays—one biography (chŏn 傳), two prefaces (sŏ 序), and one postface (pal 跋)—that explain No Myŏnghŭm’s life and the creative process behind TPNS. Notwithstanding their secondhand nature, they are rich resources for discussing No Myŏnghŭm’s life and the origins of TPNS because the four men who wrote them were No Myŏnghŭm’s acquaintances and pupils, who saw him on a regular basis over an extended period of time. Therefore, I use these commemorative essays as framing
materials with which to understand TPNS and No Myŏnhŭm. Using these four essays and other relevant historical sources, this chapter offers a general introduction to the author-compiler and his creation while demonstrating that TPNS narratives constituted (1) an inscriptional space for No Myŏnhŭm’s life experiences and (2) a stage on which No manipulated his narratives rhetorically, basing himself on both written and oral sources and presenting them as records of orally derived stories.

4.2. “Biography of Master No, a clumsy old man”: A fallen yangban in late-Chosŏn high society

Throughout his life, No Myŏnhŭm lived as a scholar of much literary prowess and meager means. Born and raised in Ch’ŏngju 済州 in present-day North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province 忠清北道 in a fallen yangban family, he moved to the capital in his late twenties through a family connection in order to further his studies. At around thirty years of age he was employed as a live-in tutor at the house of Hong Ponghan 洪鳳漢 (1713-1778; m. 1744; Igikchae 翼翼齋), who belonged to one of the most culturally prosperous and politically prominent families of the day. No Myŏnhŭm lived at the Hong household for over three decades. Records suggest that his son, No Kŭng 盧峯 (1738-1790; ch. 1765; Hanwŏn 漢源), performed a similar role there; father and son were admired for their literary talents. After No Myŏnhŭm’s death, four members of the Hong family each left a memorial essay dedicated to him and his text:

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171 All biographical information regarding No Myŏnhŭm’s life is from Kim Yŏngjin (1998) unless noted otherwise.
Hong Yonghan wrote “Biography of No, a Clumsy Old Man” (hereafter “Biography”) sometime after No’s death in 1775. Hong Yonghan wrote numerous biographies, which suggests that he must have been familiar with highlighting the essential traits of a person. His “Biography” centers on No Myŏnghŭm’s literary talents, his idiosyncrasies, and the indelible impress he left in the minds of the people of Hong family. Sections of the “Biography” mark important junctures in No Myŏnghŭm’s life: his family background and childhood in Ch’ŏngju, his move to the capital as a young man, his permanent move to and life in Hong Ponghan’s home, his joy of reading and researching during the creation of the TPNS, his visit to the Diamond Mountains, and his literary talents as contrasted with his multiple failures at the state examination and lack of public recognition. The phrase “Clumsy Old Man” is revealed as originating from

Hong Yonghan wrote many biographies of his contemporaries. In Volume 25 of Changju chip are found biographies of yŏhang ‘in figures under “Yŏhang chein yŏlchŏn” 閏卌諸人列傳 (“Biographies of various yŏhang ‘in”) like Kim Manch’oe 金萬敍 (1660-1735; yŏhang ‘in), Yi Tŏngnam 李德楠 (?-1773), Kim Kwang’taek 金光澤 (1685-1742, ch. 1721) and O Took 吳道鉉 (dates unknown). In various places of Changju chip are also found “Chil Nagwŏn chŏn” 侄樂遠傳 (“Biography of my nephew Nagwŏn), “Sangnyuyŏn ch’un chŏn” 桑柳枂主人傳 (“Biography of Master Mulberry Willow Rafter”), “Yi Chŏng’ŏn Önse sŏnsaeng chŏn” 李正言[彦世]先生傳 (“Biography of Teacher Yi Chŏng’ŏn Önse”), “Min Chŏngbo chŏn” (“Biography of Min Chŏngbo”), “Song Ch’iyang chŏn” (“Biography of Song Ch’iyang”), “Kwŏn Paekhang chŏn/Kwŏn Paekkang chŏn” 權備傳 (“Biography of Kwŏn Paekhang/Paekkang”), “Yun Tŏgi chŏn” 尹德而傳 (“Biography of Yun Tŏgi”), and “Chog’in Sasŏ chŏn” 族人士叡傳 (“Biography of my kinsman Sasŏ”).

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172 Hong Yonghan wrote many biographies of his contemporaries. In Volume 25 of Changju chip are found biographies of yŏhang ‘in figures under “Yŏhang chein yŏlchŏn” 閏卌諸人列傳 (“Biographies of various yŏhang ‘in”) like Kim Manch’oe 金萬敍 (1660-1735; yŏhang ‘in), Yi Tŏngnam 李德楠 (?-1773), Kim Kwang’taek 金光澤 (1685-1742, ch. 1721) and O Took 吳道鉉 (dates unknown). In various places of Changju chip are also found “Chil Nagwŏn chŏn” 侄樂遠傳 (“Biography of my nephew Nagwŏn), “Sangnyuyŏn ch’un chŏn” 桑柳枂主人傳 (“Biography of Master Mulberry Willow Rafter”), “Yi Chŏng’ŏn Önse sŏnsaeng chŏn” 李正言[彦世]先生傳 (“Biography of Teacher Yi Chŏng’ŏn Önse”), “Min Chŏngbo chŏn” (“Biography of Min Chŏngbo”), “Song Ch’iyang chŏn” (“Biography of Song Ch’iyang”), “Kwŏn Paekhang chŏn/Kwŏn Paekkang chŏn” 權備傳 (“Biography of Kwŏn Paekhang/Paekkang”), “Yun Tŏgi chŏn” 尹德而傳 (“Biography of Yun Tŏgi”), and “Chog’in Sasŏ chŏn” 族人士叡傳 (“Biography of my kinsman Sasŏ”).
Myŏnghŭm’s self-deprecation. Here is a translation of Hong Yonghan’s “Biography” in its entirety:

Biography of No, a Clumsy Old Man

– Hong Yonghan

Clumsy Old Man’s name was Myŏnghŭm, styled Ch’onyak. His surname was No. He was from Ch’ŏngju. Generation after generation, his family pursued literature and writing [munsa]. Some of the family members became famous and their talents were transmitted to the Clumsy Old Man [hereafter, Master No]. Since birth, Master No was clever and excelled in memorization. Though young, he was skilled in literary composition. The locals adored him as a child prodigy.

For these reasons, Master Song the Inspector-General (taesahn 大司憲) praised him from an early age. Master No came to study in the capital through a family connection and socialized with members of the Song family. On account of the age [between the two of them], Master No walked several steps behind Master Song, treating the latter as a big brother, with nothing but earnestness.

Master Song socialized with many great families. Children of the aristocrats and royal relatives [kwiyu chaje 貴遊子弟] socialized with Master No. Dressed in worn-out cotton clothes and socks with holes in them, he would sit down with a brush and paper to write. Famous figures in a drunken stupor would pester him by rebuking and ridiculing him. He took no notice of it but held his head low while holding his compositions in hand. He attentively recited poems without cease.

Eldest Brother Master Ikchae [= Hong Ponghan] loved this wholesomeness and purity in Master No’s heart. Because of this, he came to and stayed at our house for over thirty years. [We] forgot that he was ever a guest. The entire family, from the oldest to the youngest members, lived comfortably within as if he were a kinsman.

When Master Ikchae’s rank reached one of the highest-ranking posts, a constant flow of honorable guests, petty clerks, and military officials began to come in and out of the gate of our house. Master No carried himself with all the more modesty. When moving, his gaze was on his shoes. When sedentary, he faced the wall. Never once did he turn his head or let his eyes wander. His countenance often looked as if he had thoughts that he could not comprehend.

Many people came to know him well, yet he did not recognize their faces. For this reason, Master Ikchae loved Master No even more, and whenever he was off work, he exchanged poetry and conversed with Master No tirelessly.

173 Taesahn was top official (junior second grade) in the Office of the Inspector-General (Sahŏnbu 司憲府), part of the Chosŏn Censorate.

174 The phrase “walked several steps behind” is a translation of “kyŏnsu 肩隨,” a custom of walking a few steps behind one’s senior out of respect.

175 Here, the phrase “gazing upon one’s shoes” can metaphorically mean ‘to reflect upon one’s past.’ In this case, the phrase can literally mean No’s physical act of keeping his gaze low when moving around the house. The phrase “facing the wall” (chobyŏk 朝壁), which Kim Yŏngjin (1998) translates as “pyŏk man maju hayŏ” in modern Korean, is reminiscent of a Buddhist monk’s meditative act of “facing the wall” (myŏnhyŏk 面壁). I thank my colleague Yang Zeng for illuminating this phrase for me.

176 Hong Yonghan is silent on what No Myŏnghŭm might have been thinking at that time.
My brothers, uncles, and nephews lived nearby and spent time together daily. With things they had seen and heard, each went to Master No to ask for his insight. He responded to their questions, never displaying an unwilling look.

When free from teaching, Master No immersed himself in rummaging through and collecting profound and wondrous phrases old and new; he forgot to sleep and eat. He wrote furiously, in letters small as the tips of needles, and turned them into books, exhibiting the strength of a bull. Therefore, he was able to amass everything without omission and store his learning in the mind. He internalized refined expressions and uttered them out of his memory on a regular basis. Even vulgar stories and miscellaneous records came to bear historically verifiable facts and were delightful to read.

All of Master No’s energy was spent on examination-style poetry (kwach’esi 科體詩). His poems numbered in the thousands. He loathed the style for its constrained boundaries and limited room for improvisation. Later he changed and refurbished his personal style. Letting his artistry run wild and championing ornamentation, he struck out at and rebuked ‘the examination venue’ and yet he did not pride himself on his ability. Several times he was unsuccessful in the examinations. He did not blame the examiners. He became all the more watchful in order not to make ‘mistakes of oversight.’ His body was too weak to carry the weight of his own clothes. He always relied on alcohol to write (speedily and copiously) like gushing water.

At that time, many talented people competed against each other to make a name for themselves from their literary talents. Our house was the most famous. As an ordinary man with an excess of talent, Master No vied with the talented and ran neck and neck with them. However, he frequently honored other people’s strengths while being self-effacing. He pledged not to be arrogant. If he saw a beautiful phrase, even from a young person, he applauded it loudly as unattainably great. However, if an accurate measurement had to be made, although so-called literary figures and poets are rare in the world, he certainly deserved the name.

177 “When free from teaching” is a rather free translation of “withdraw/retreat to look after one’s own affairs” (t’oe sŏng ki sa 退省其私).

178 “Examination venue” is metonymically used for literary styles used in writing the civil service examination.

179 No Myŏnghŭm successfully passed the preliminary examination, earning his literary licentiate (chinsa 進士) in 1759 when he was forty-seven years old. This was approximately two years after No’s move to the Hong household. That the biography was written after No had lived at the Hong household for over thirty years suggests that the multiple failures mentioned in the biography were his attempts at the munkwa examination.

180 “Mistakes of oversight” (倒棚之失) comes from the set-phrase ‘a midwife who mistakenly wraps up a newborn upside-down” (tobung haea 倒棚孩儿) and alludes to ‘a perilous mistake made by an expert.’

181 The Hong household was located in An’guk-tong in the capital. Thus, I translate puktan 北壟 as “our house.” Puktan 北壟 refers to the northern extremities of a region. Here Hong Yonghan refers to the puktan of An’guk-tong. For more information on the P’ungsan Hong family in the capital, See Kim Kyŏngho, “Chosŏn hugi sisa wa tonghoin chiptan ŭi munhwa hwaltong,” Minjok munhwa yŏn’gu 31 (1998): 139; 155-157.

182 The phrase “an ordinary man” is a translation for kwa’gu 科曰 (lit. ‘state examination and a mortar’), short for kwa’gu chung’in 科曰中人 (lit. ‘a person in the mortar of the state examination’). This refers to either a scholar without a public profile or to cliche literary expressions. In our case here, the phrase means the former.
At sixty-some years of age, he climbed Kidal Mountain\(^{183}\) and came to Piro Peak. Looking east at the distant waves off Ullŭng Island, he was silent for a while, and he seemed to have let go of the narrow-mindedness of the Confucian scholar,\(^{184}\) such that the accumulated vital energy of [the peak’s] great winds could gather in his writings. Thus, in his ‘Various poems from the journey to the East’, one often finds freshness and changed perspectives.\(^{185}\) With respect to the writing, one sees advancing without stopping. Even in old age he was like this.

Once, when I was magistrate of Manju,\(^{186}\) Eldest Brother said to me, “No is old and he is extremely poor. You must succor him using a great amount of money.” I returned home soon after and, unable to prepare the full amount, I gave him half. Master No respectfully expressed his joy, saying, “I had never expected this.” He did not hate treasure but he thought taking too much was unwise.

He loved literature but never earned distinguished honors. He formed friendships with ministers and high officials, yet their salaries never swayed him. His body suffered and his wife and children did not escape poverty. The frivolous of the world smirked at Master No as inflexible. However, even though his mouth starved, his will did not. His fame was meager, yet his substance was ample. Is this not the case of ‘Be ashamed of excessive fame and know what to nourish?’

Once No said, “can a person’s expertise in clumsiness ever reach my level?” He appointed himself “chorong” (Clumsy Old Man).
According to the genealogy of the Kyoha No-ssi (Kyoha no-ssi sebo)

河盧氏世譜), the status of No Myŏnhŭm’s family had deteriorated significantly by the time of his generation. The family had stopped producing munkwa examination passers, i.e., scholar-officials. The last scholar-official in the family was Myŏnhŭm’s great-great-grandfather, No Munhan (dates unknown; m. 1635), who served under King Injo (r. 1623-1669). No Myŏnhŭm’s great-grandfather, No Sŏ (1632-?), became a literary licentiate (chinsa 進士) in 1675, but decided not to enter

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188 Some explanations about the Chosŏn state examination system are in order. Saengwŏn-chinsa exams were the lower state civil examination, also known as the licentiate examination (sokwa 小科). The higher civil service examination (munkwa 文科) was known the erudite examination (taekwa 大科). Passers of the sokwa were given the opportunity to sit for the munkwa.

Both the saengwŏn-chinsa/sokwa and the munkwa/taekwa exams were multi-tiered. A sokwa candidate took a preliminary examination (ch’osi 初試), which could be taken either in the capital or in local counties, and was then required to take the ‘repeat’ or final examination (poksi 覆試 or hoesi 會試). In the case of a taekwa candidate, he took three examinations: ch’osi, poksi, and chŏnjsi (殿試), a test in the presence of the King.

Only through the munkwa examination was a civil servant able to attain the highest posts in the government bureaucracy. Among those who held government posts, military officials were considered far less prestigious in comparison with their civil counterparts.

The social status and prestige of Chosŏn elites (yangban 雨班) were maintained through both heredity and merit: a notable genealogy through one’s father’s and mother’s side, as well as the success at the munkwa. Success or failure at building marriage connections and producing good results in the munkwa determined the fate of a yangban family. Descendants of men with illustrious political careers were given an opportunity to enter the government bureaucracy as “protected appointments” (îmsŏ 階級). As a rule, protected officials could not obtain the highest posts, commonly referred to as “reputable and prestigious posts” (ch’ŏng-yo chik 清要職), in charge of official history, diplomatic correspondences, royal advising, etc.

James Palais describes the Chosŏn ruling class in these words: “The Chosŏn ruling class could not be described exclusively in terms of either of these two alternatives [referring to aristocracy and bureaucracy], because birth itself was not enough to guarantee either officeholding [sic.] or high office, merit was never defined exclusively in terms of impersonal or rational standards (moral criteria were always subsumed in the definition of talent), and officeholding was always strongly correlated with inherited family status.” See James B. Palais, “Confucianism and the Aristocratic/Bureaucratic Balance in Korea,” Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 44. 2 (1984): 429.

neither No Myŏnghŭm’s grandfather, No Ch’idang 窮致唐, nor his father, No Sŏnggyu 窮星圭 (1686-1749), was successful in the civil examination. No Sŏnggyu took no interest in entering the bureaucracy, but concentrated on his studies of the Confucian classics (kyŏnghak 經學). This lack of scholar-officials gradually led the No family to poverty and low prestige.

No Myŏnghŭm was a child prodigy known for excellent composition of a particular genre of poetry used in the civil service examination: kwach’esi 科體詩 (hereafter, examination-style poetry). From an early age, he became famous for his literary prowess in his hometown. He had ambitions to enter officialdom by passing the munkwa examination. Family records (kajang 家狀) compiled by No Myŏnjong 窮勉正 (dates unknown), a descendant of No Kŭng, indicate that No Myŏnghŭm took the munkwa examination seriously, to the point that No Kŭng’s education was supervised by his grandfather while No Myŏnghŭm busied himself with examination preparations (kwaŏp 科業). As revealed in the “Biography,” poverty and multiple failures in the munkwa examination continued to plague No throughout his life.\(^\text{190}\)

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\(^{189}\) His reason to eschew the examination remains unknown. However, choosing to devote oneself to classical studies over officialdom was a common practice among Chosŏn literati who derided the corruption in “official learning” (官學).

\(^{190}\) A poem written by Yi Sŏk’yo 李錫杓 (1704-?; Namnok 南麓) tells us that the No family was extremely poor. On one occasion, No begged for rice from his acquaintance Yi, who left a poem commemorating the occasion. Kim Yongjin (1998), 31.

A definite correlation existed between poverty and difficulty in passing the civil service examination. Many scholars gave up on their studies because they could not afford to focus solely on examination preparations without economic stability. According to Chosŏn sidae munkwa kOLVEjeja yŏn’gu, the average age for saengwŏn-chinsa passers during the reigns of Kings Chŏngjo and Ch’ŏlchong 哲宗 (r. 1849-1863)—between 1776 and 1863—was 37.81 years old, as opposed to 25.72 years old in the fifteenth century. See Yi Wŏnmŏng, Chosŏn sidae munkwa kOLVEjeja yŏn’gu (Seoul: Kukhak charyowŏn, 2004), 243-244.
Sometime in his late twenties No Myŏnghŭm relocated to the capital with the help of Song Chaehŭi 宋載禧 (1711-?; m. 1772, 1774; Ch’wibaekchŏng 翠白亭), a remote relative of No’s and son of a high-ranking official. Song Chaehŭi considered No’s literary talents a force to be reckoned with. No must have perceived this opportunity to pursue scholarship in the capital as a kind of fast track toward his goal of success in the examination, because in the capital examination candidates had better chances because more examinations were held.

191 In contrast to regular examinations (singmyŏnsi 式年試) held every three years, examinations on special occasions (pyŏlsi 別試) occurred an average of once every seven months. Moreover, special examinations required significantly less preparation time. For example, a candidate for both the saengwŏn-chinsa and munkwa examinations was tested on over ten subjects. From the start of one’s preliminary examination to the announcement of the final results, the process took approximately six months. About the same duration was required to obtain one’s results from the munkwa examination. By contrast, special examinations tended to focus on a single subject and one’s success or failure was determined within a day. Therefore, in theory, just by being in the capital, a candidate increased his chances to succeed in the examination.

How common such an experience was during No’s time remains uncertain. The desperation No felt, however, may be compared with the feelings found in an epistolary conversation between Ha Rip 河磡 (or Ha Uk 河渴; 1769-?; Tamnaktang 益樂堂), descendant of a fallen yangban family who stayed in the capital to prepare for the examination, and his wife, Kim of Samŭidang 三宜堂 金氏 (1769-?; ancestral seat Kimhae 金海), who remained in the countryside with her husband’s family and children. Ha Rip never passed the examination. See JaHyun Kim Haboush, ed. Epistolary Korea: Letters in the Communicative Space of the Chosŏn, 1392-1910 (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 257-258.

192 The popularity of special examinations resulted in a serious problem in the capital as it created and perpetuated the problem of a small number of pŏryŏl families’ monopoly over important and high-ranking government posts. The veritable records of King Sukchong (Sukchong taewang sillok 肅宗大王實錄) contains one telling example: In the 36th year of the reign of King Sukchong, a memorial submitted by a group of rural-based scholars requested that a special examination be held in Kyŏnggi province, because in a recent special examination in the capital, the number of candidates gathered was so great that some were trampled to death. See Yi Wŏnmyŏng, 266-8.

Ch’a Changsŏp’s study deals with late-Chosŏn literati’s criticism of the vice of a tight relationship between kyŏnghwa sejok, which he terms pŏryŏl, and special examinations. See Ch’a Changsŏp, “Chosŏn hugi sirhakcha ū pŏryŏl lon,” Chosŏnsa yŏn’gu 7 (1998): 29-61.
Song Chaehūi’s was one of the most illustrious families of the day, and for the duration of No Myŏnghūm’s residence, people of notable backgrounds socialized there. The “Biography” depicts No Myŏnghūm’s life at the Song household with sympathy, describing him as a poor scholar in shabby clothes who concentrated on his duties, even while mocked by self-indulgent, ill-mannered aristocrats. Hinting at No Myŏnghūm’s dissatisfaction at the Song household, the biographer suggests indirectly that he was a resolute man who would never ingratiate himself for the sake of career advancement or material gain.

A relative of Song Chaehūi by marriage, Hong Ponghan frequented the Song house. Hong Ponghan came to witness No Myŏnghūm’s integrity and ultimately invited him to move out and live with his family in 1747. In contrast to his description of Song Chaehūi’s home as rather inhospitable toward No Myŏnghūm, the biographer portrays No’s living circumstances in the Hong household as one of mutual respect and comfort. To understand No Myŏnghūm’s life there, some discussion of the Hong family in the mid- to late eighteenth century are necessary.

Around this time Hong Ponghan’s family emerged anew as one of the most illustrious capital-based families of the time. Hong Ponghan’s ancestors had boasted an impressive public profile. However, the family’s fortunes had been somewhat on the

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193 Both Song Chaehūi’s grandfather and father were munkwa passers: Song Kyuryŏm 宋奎濬 (1630-1709; m. 1654; Chewŏltang 壽月堂) and Song Sanggi 宋相琦 (1657-1723; m. 1684; Ogojae 玉吾齋), respectively.

194 Song Chaehūi married the second sister of Hong Ponghan’s wife. Song’s daughter was married to Hong Yonghan, Ponghan’s youngest brother. Hyegyŏnggung Hong-ssi’s first memoir, “The memoir of 1795” (translated by JaHyun Kim Haboush), speaks of Song Chaehūi as her cousin’s father, the deputy minister of some board at the time. See Haboush, Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng, 55.

195 According to Hong Yonghan’s biography of No Kŭng, No Myŏnghūm’s family moved to the capital when No Kŭng was ten years old. Quoted in Kim Yŏngjin (1998): 31.
196 Lady Hyegyŏng’s memoir suggests that her family was not well-off and practiced frugality. See Haboush, Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng, 55-56; 62-63. The P’ungsan Hong family prior to Hong Ponghan’s generation was noted for having produced numerous high-ranking officials and being interconnected with illustrious families via marriage. Hong Ponghan’s fifth-generation ancestor was Hong Chuwŏn (1606-1673; styled Koenixung 建中; sobriquet Muhadang 無何堂), a son-in-law of King Sŏnjo’s 宣祖 (r. 1567-1608). Hong Ponghan’s father and uncle—Hong Hyŏnbo 洪鎬黼 (1680-1740; m. 1718; Sujae 守齋) and Hong Sŏkpo 洪錫輔 (1672-1729; m. 1699, 1706; sobriquet Suŭn 睡隱), respectively—were high-ranking scholar-officials. Ponghan’s great-grandfather Hong Chunggi 洪重箕 (1650; ch. 1616; styled Kui 九以) held a senior fifth-rank position. Ponghan’s maternal grandfather was Im Pang 李滙 (1640-1724; Such’on 水村), also a high-ranking official. Hong Ponghan was married to Hansan Yi-sssi, daughter of a high-ranking official Yi Chip 李洏 (1670-1727; m. 1725).

197 Ch’ambong refers to a junior ninth grade post given to caretakers of ancestral halls (sadang 祠堂) or of royal tombs and gardens (mŭngwŏn 陵園). Hong Ponghan was in charge of tending the tomb of King Kyŏngjong 景宗 (r. 1720-1724; 1688-1724) and Queen Sŏnŭi 宣懿王后 (1705-1730), known as Ŭinŭng 懿陵, in present-day Sŏngbuk-ku, Seoul.

198 Entry into the state bureaucracy by way of ŭmsŏ indicated an official’s social standing as a bona fide yangban of the time. Lady Hyegyŏng describes her father’s entrance into the bureaucracy as the first official post in the family since the death of her grandfather, Hong Hyŏnbo. See Haboush, Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng, 56-57.

199 In the 1750s, Hong Ponghan’s political career moved steadily upward; Hong served as provincial governor (minor second-rank), counselor (minor second-rank), and teacher of the crown prince (minor first-rank). In 1761, his political career peaked when he became Minister of the Left and then Prime Minister—a veritable right arm of King Yŏngjo. However, as the Veritable records of King Yŏngjo (Yŏngjo sillok 英祖實錄) and Lady Hyegyŏng’s four memoirs, Records in leisure (Hanjungnok 한중록, written separately in 1795, 1801, 1802, 1805) revealed, the latter half of Ponghan’s political life fluctuated greatly. He underwent a series of accusation, demotions, discharges, and reinstatements. He was attacked for his involvement in King Yŏngjo’s execution of Prince Sado as the provider of the rice chest, in which the prince famously starved to death. Factional disputes during and after the incident wane by Hong Ponghan’s generation. Because of his grandfather’s service to the court, Hong began his career in 1743 as a minor ninth-ranking official (ch’ambong 參奉), the lowest rank, by way of ‘assistance of the ancestors’ (ŭmsŏ 稱補). The family’s fortune changed dramatically when Hong Ponghan’s daughter became the primary consort, Lady Hyegyŏng Hong-ssi 惠慶宮 洪氏 (1735-1812), of Crown Prince Sado 思悼世子 (1735-1762; also known as Crown Prince Changhŏn 莊獻世子), heir of King Yŏngjo 英祖 (r. 1724-1776).
The political careers of Hong Ponghan and a few other members of the family were imperiled because of their connection with the Rice Chest incident in 1762—King Yǒngjo’s execution of the crown prince by ordering him to enter into a rice chest on a hot summer day and having it sealed. The complex issues involving the aftermath of Prince Sado’s death are not central to this dissertation; suffice it to say, that the Hong family’s fortunes fluctuated greatly according to the volatility of the political climate during and after this incident.

were severe and Hong Ponghan was frequently under attack, particularly after the enthronement of King Chǒngjo 正祖 (r. 1776-1800), Sado’s son—Hong’s political opponents memorialized the throne seeking Hong’s punishment as the prime culprit responsible for the death of the royal father.

Recounting the demise of the Hong family, Lady Hyegyŏng’s four memoirs offer one elaborate version of Sado’s death and its political aftermath. To give a brief summary, King Yǒngjo made the Grand Heir (later King Chǒngjo), a son born of Lady Hyegyŏng and Sado, be posthumously adopted by Crown Prince Hyojang 孝章世子 (1719-1728; hereafter Prince Hyojang), his deceased son who had been a crown prince prior to Sado. This measure was designed to project the Grand Heir’s legitimacy against possible attacks on his paternal criminality. Regarding events in the political area after Sado’s death, Jamese B. Palais, Politics and Policy in Traditional Korea (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press, 1991; originally published in 1975) observes as follows:

The murder of Prince Changhŏn [=Prince Sado] then spawned a dispute which was to dominate the politics of the rest of the century. Those nobles and officials who resented Changhŏn’s murder and coalesced around his son, the future King Chǒngjo, came to be called the sip’a 時派. Those who supported Yǒngjo’s act were called the pyǒk’a 儘派 and were led by the relatives of Yǒngjo’s second queen. The sip’a-pyǒk’a dispute split the ranks of the dominant Patriarch’s Faction [=Old Doctrine Faction=Noron] and the others of the four colors as well. When Chǒngjo came to the throne in 1776, some of the pyǒk’a were purged; and by the end of the century, sip’a, Disciples, and Southerners had returned to office. The Patriarch’s Faction and pyǒk’a, however, were by no means eliminated from the scene (48).

Within the Hong family, Hong Ponghan and Lady Hyegyŏng were pyǒk’a while Hong Inhan, Ponghan’s half-brother and a sŏŏl, was sip’a.

The ‘four colours’ (sasaek 四色) in the above excerpt refers to political factions: Old Doctrine, Young Doctrine, Southerner, and Northerner Factions. These four factions originate from King Sŏnjo’s reign (1567-1608), during which emerged the Westerner and Easterner Factions (Sŏin 西人 and Tongin 東人, respectively). The former later split into the Old Doctrine and the Young Doctrine Factions (Noron 老論 and Soron 小論, respectively) while the latter later split into the Southerner and Northerner Factions (Namin 南人 and Pugin 北人, respectively). During Myŏnghŭm’s lifetime, overlapping with the reign of King Yǒngjo, the active factions were the four colours. Politics during King Yǒngjo’s reign were marked by his continuous attempts at suppressing factional strife and increasing royal authority through...
No Myŏnhŭm must have known some details regarding this well-known historical incident; however, it is difficult to know whether it had any influence on his creation of TPNS. However, a couple of TPNS entries, as I will show, deal with people or the families of people who were known to be rivals of Hong Ponghan. It should also be noted that No Myŏnhŭm died in 1775, prior to King Chŏngjo’s ascension to the throne, which marked the intensification of the Hong family’s political marginalization. No Myŏnhŭm’s son No Kŭng was in exile between 1777 and 1782 as a direct consequence of his close connection with a member of the Hong family.\(^{201}\)

Generally speaking, however, Hong Ponghan’s household remained one of the most prominent families of the time, as it served as a venue for social gatherings for artistic and literary pursuits. No Myŏnhŭm’s move from Ch’ŏngju, first to Song Chaehūi’s house in the capital and then to Hong Ponghan’s house, may be best described as a marginalized elite’s entrance into bona fide high society, which was becoming increasingly possible in Chosŏn of the mid-eighteenth century.

Chosŏn elites at that time had been bifurcating, with the capital emerging as a critical center.\(^{202}\) Those most socially prestigious were known as mighty capital-residing clans, or illustrious families based in the capital. Scholars generally use terms like  

\textit{kyŏnghwa sejok} 京華世族 or \textit{kyŏnghwa kŏjok} 京華巨族 (capital-residing, flourishing, multi-generational families), \textit{kyŏnghwa sajok} 京華士族 (capital-residing illustrious

\footnotetext{\(^{201}\) See also \textsc{Chapter Seven}.\footnotetext{\(^{202}\) During the Chosŏn period, an elite’s ancestral seat and his place of residence came to be separated from each other. As a result, the ancestral seat indicated his origin and lineage base only, while his place of residence could indicate his social standing and political base. See Yi Wŏnmyŏng, \textit{Chosŏn sidae munkwa kŭpcheja yŏn’gu}, 43.}
aristocratic families), or ‘premium yangban’ (pöryöl 閥閥) to refer to these families. As a socio-economic status, kyônghwa sejok meant: “a yangban family that has lived in the capital for generations and whose family members either have better chances at attaining the highest-ranking offices (ch’ôngyojik 清要職) or are socially acknowledged as having better chances to achieve them.”

Kyônghwa sejok were also followers of cultural trends, both intellectual and material. They collected material items such as Korean and Chinese books on diverse subjects, and luxury goods such as antiques and collectable paintings and writings (kodong sóhwae 苦董書齋). Knowledge and goods circulated through various networks.

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203 Ch’ôngyojik refers to influential government posts belonging to the Chosŏn Censorate: the Office of the Censor-General (Saganwŏn 司諫院), the Office of Special Advisors (Hongmun’gwan 弘文館), and the Office of the Inspector-General (Sahŏnbu 司憲府). Only people who had both illustrious family backgrounds and great literary talents were admitted to ch’ôngyojik posts.

204 For a definition of kyônghwa sejok, I follow Kang Myŏnggwan, Chosŏn sidae munhak yesul ŭi saengsŏng konggan, 279.

205 Kyônghwa sejok were often leaders of intellectual and cultural trends via imported books (e.g., fiction, drama, Classics, and books on Western learning) and cultural objects (e.g., antique items, calligraphy rubbings of epigraphs, and paintings) from China. Items entered the Korean market by way of unofficial transactions on the part of Korean official interpreters that accompanied Korean envoys to the Chinese court; the items then circulated through personal transactions or trade at exclusive shops. Kyônghwa sejok, then, refers to a social status gained from a mixture of political, economic, cultural, and social influences attained by certain residents of the capital in late Chosŏn. For more information on the capital-based elite’s collection of Chinese books by way of official trips to China, see Kim Yŏngjin, “18 segi Hanyang ŭi ch’ak kŏgān-kkun kwa chungguk-pon sójŏk ŭi yut’ong,” Proceeding for papers presented at a conference on Chosŏn and East Asia, the traces of encounters between the two (2008): 17-46, Inha University.

For studies on the cultural tastes of kyônghwa sejok, see Kang Myŏnggwan, Chosŏn sidae munhak yesul ŭi saengsŏng konggan, Seoul: Somyŏng ch’ulp’an, 1999; Hanyang University Han’gukhak yŏn’guso ed. 18 segi Chosŏn chisigin ŭi munhwa úisik (Seoul: Hanyang University Press, 2001); and Hanyang University Han’gukhak yŏn’guso ed. 19 segi Chosŏn chisigin ŭi munhwa chihyŏngdo (Seoul: Hanyang University Press, 2006). For the concept of economic, political and cultural ‘bifurcation of the capital and the countryside’ (kyŏng-hyang pun’gi 京鄉分岐), see Yu Ponghak, Chosŏn hugi hakkye wa chisigin (Seoul: Sin’gu munhwasa, 1998).
Flourishing capital-centered cultural activities were the objects of envy and/or criticism amongst ‘rural-based elites’ (chibang sanok 地方士族). 206

Out of socio-cultural activities led by kyônghwasaenok emerged a cultural identity that sometimes transcended bloodlines based on one’s social status and/or factional genealogy for artistic pursuits. For example, several families fostered “poetry societies (sisa 詩社) and coterie groups (tonghoin chiptan 同好人集団),” 207 where elites (largely of the same factional backgrounds but occasionally with a more diverse make-up), 208 talented yóhang’in (lit. ‘people from the back alleys [of the capital area]’, i.e., non-yangban residing in the capital), and secondary-status groups (chungi’nch’ung 中人) 209 consisting of hereditary professionals and secondary sons and their descendants, all comingled for the sake of artistic pursuits and socialization. 210
The socio-literary and artistic activities at the Hong Ponghan household were no exception. Studies of the cultural activities among kyŏngwa sejok of mid- and late eighteenth-century Chosŏn note that the family hosted a few socio-cultural circles for extended periods of time. For example, for over twenty years Hong Ponghan patronized performances of contemporary melodies, lyrics, and music. One poem by Hong Nagin (1729-1777; m. 1761; Anwa 安窔), Ponghan’s first son, suggests that he, too, hosted similar professional performances; although the record is from 1798, it is also

During the Chosŏn period, these people did not consider one another as forming a homogenous social group or ‘in-between’ class between yangban and commoners. Chung’in were hereditary professionals who entered the state bureaucracy through state examinations—e.g., physicians and official interpreters (ŭiyŏk chung’in 醫譯中人) and who formed endogamous marriage relationships within their own hereditary groups. For the formation of chung’in as a class in the seventeenth century and the complexity of defining what social groups were defined as chung’in by early to mid-Chosŏn, see Han Yong’u, Chosŏn sidae sinbunsa yŏn’gu (Seoul: Chimmundang, 1999). See also Note 210 below.

The intensification of factional strife often called for consolidation of group identity among different factions, further stimulating the formation of literary coteries with a mixed composition of both the ruling class and commoners. See Sim Kyŏngho, “Chosŏn sŏnbi ū muncha saenghwal kwa chi-chōk kyoryu,” Kukhak yŏn’gu 14 (2009): 422.

The yŏhang’in as a late-Chosŏn category is closely tied with the emergence of kyŏngwa sejok. Some literary scholars use the term yŏhang’in to cover people of varying backgrounds, including petty clerks in the capital (sŏri 賜史), court service providers (aegye 僕 ál), stewards of high-ranking officials’ residences (kyŏmin 僕人), professionals from hereditary secondary groups (kusul-chik chung’in 技術職中人), secondary sons (sŏol 庶孽), country-based petty clerks (hyangni 鄉史), as well as educated commoners who served as tutors of high-ranking officials’ children or who made a name for themselves from their literary talents. Sometimes the term chung’in-ch’’ung is used to mark their social status somewhere between yangban and commoners without wealth or education. By the early eighteenth century, the yŏhang’in had emerged as prominent participants in the cultural landscape of Chosŏn society. However, the semantic parameters of yŏhang’in and chung’in were not monolithic and changed depending on the contexts. See Kang Myŏnggwan, Chosŏn hugi yŏhang munhak yŏn’gu, 21-61, and Yun Chaemin, Chosŏn hugi chung’in-ch’’ung hanmunhak ūi yŏn’gu, 15-19. These two studies both grew out of earlier studies such as Ku Changyun, Chosŏn p’yŏngmin munhaksa (Seoul: Munjosa, 1948) and Chŏng Okcha, “Chosŏn hugi ū munp’ung kwa wihang munhak,” Han’guksa ron 4 (1978): 261-329.

See Chŏng Naegyo’s Wanam chip Volume 3; quoted from Nam Chŏnghŭi, 18 segi kyŏngwhwa sajok ū sijo ch’angjak kwa hyang’yu (Seoul: Pogosa, 2005), 215n.
plausible that Hong Nagin had been previously exposed to such an event.\textsuperscript{212} The “Biography” is silent on these activities at the Hong house and no records hint at No Myŏnghŭm’s participation in them. However, other records suggest that Myŏnghŭm was a member of a poetry society hosted by Hong Nagim 洪樂任 (1741-1801; \textit{m.} 1769), another one of Hong Ponghan’s sons. Nagim was a key member of the Tonggang Poetry Society 東岡詩會 (also known as the Pŏnch’ŏn Poetry Society 樊川詩會), which were active for over thirty years.

Socializing together in the Tonggang Poetry Society were the Hong family (of the Old Doctrine Faction, or Noron 老論), No Myŏnghŭm (affiliated with the Southerner Faction, or Namin 南人),\textsuperscript{213} \textit{yŏhang ‘in} such as Chŏng Naegyo 鄭來僑 (1681-1759; \textit{yŏhang ‘in}; Wanam 湧巖), and \textit{sŏol} (secondary son) such as Yi Ponghwan 李鳳煥 (?-1770; \textit{sŏol}; \textit{ch.} 1773; Unyŏmjae 雨念齋) and Nam Ok 南玉 (1722-1770; \textit{sŏol} (?); \textit{m.} 1753; Ch’uwŏl 秋月).\textsuperscript{214} Yi Ponghwan was also a member of the Plum Society (Maesa 梅社) organized by another elite family of the time, the P’ungyang Cho-ssi 豐壤趙氏.\textsuperscript{215}


\textsuperscript{213} No Kŭng was affiliated with the Southerner Faction. Yi Kahwan 李家煥 (1742-1801; \textit{m.} 1777; Kŭmdae 錦帶), a scholar-official of the Southerner Faction, wrote No Kŭng’s epitaph.

\textsuperscript{214} For a similar case among Southerner Faction-based socio-literary coteries in Ansan, see Kang Kyŏnghun, “P’il sa pon chammok Pangmun e taehayŏ,” \textit{Munhŏn kwa haesŏk} 7 (1999): 196-215. The most famous literary gatherings that transcended social boundaries were the so-called Paekt’ap-p’a 白塔派 led by Pak Chiwŏn 朴趾源 (1737-1805; Yŏnam 燕巖).

\textsuperscript{215} Among the literary figures affiliated with the Tonggang Poetry Society who might have interacted with Myŏnghŭm were: Hong Naksin 洪楽信 (1739-1798; \textit{m.} 1766; Hong Ponghan’s son), Hong Ch’oeiyŏng/Ch’wiyŏng 洪啟榮 (dates unknown), Hong Ch’wiyŏng (Hong Yonghan’s son), Hong Chuhan 洪畴漢 (1729-1796), Ŭ Yongbin 魚用賓 (1737-1781; \textit{ch.} 1771), Kim Hyŏn 金玹 (dates unknown), Kim Kwangt’aeck 金光澤 (unknown), Yi Tŏngnam 李德楠 (?-1773), Nam Ok 南玉 (1722-1770; \textit{m.} 1753; Ch’uwŏl 秋月), Yi Ponghwan, and Ponghwan’s father Yi Myŏng’ŏ 李明五 (dates unknown).
Moreover, the Hong Ponghan household employed people of varying social classes for the purpose of educating their children. Hong Ponghan himself once studied Sima Qian’s 司馬遷 (ca. 145 or 135 BCE-86 BCE) Shiji 史記 (Record of the grand historian) under the yŏhang ‘in Chŏng Naegyo, who taught at least two other men in the Hong family. No Myŏnghŭm’s and No Kŭng’s life at the Hong house as a live-in tutor, too, can be interpreted along the same lines, although the father and the son were of yangban status. As I will discuss later, No Myŏnghŭm’s socializing with yŏhang ‘in literary figures left indelible markings on the contents of TPNS.

Hong Ponghan’s political prominence invited “a constant flow of honorable guests, petty clerks, and military officials” to the house, the “Biography” reveals while commenting on No Myŏnghŭm’s self-effacing personality. Houseguests at the Hong household came to know No Myŏnghŭm, as well; however, he is described as having kept a certain distance from them. This suggests that Myŏnghŭm refrained from associating with self-ingratiating people. No clear indications are given of the extent to which these houseguests were related to those in the Hong family’s social circle, or the reasons why No was hesitant to socialize with them. Yet, it is evident that throughout his life, No Myŏnghŭm was directly and indirectly exposed to a wide range of human experiences.

At the Hong house, No Myŏnghŭm performed two roles: conversation partner for Hong Ponghan and tutor for immediate and extended family members. To his pupils,

The last six people were all yŏhang ‘in. In Pyŏngse chaeŏn nok 井世才彥録 (My contemporaries with outstanding talents), Yi Kyusang 李奎象 (1727-1799; Yuyujae 悠悠齋) lists No Kŭng, Yi Ponghwan, Nam Ok, and Yi Tŏngnam as talented literary figures. Hong Yonghan’s biography of Yi Tŏngnam survives in his Changju chip 長州集 (Collected works of Changju Hong Yonghan).
who constantly brought him questions and received detailed answers, No was a devoted and knowledgeable teacher. Besides Hong Yonghan’s biography, one also catches a glimpse of No Myŏnghŭm’s meticulousness and emphasis on writing from Hong Naksu’s account of his experience studying under No’s tutelage:

When I was small, I studied literature according to a set curriculum. At each step, Master oversaw it, inquiring after me constantly. He guided me on the main points and coached me on the techniques of the ancient writers. Moreover, he made sure that I would grasp the brush, write by dictation what he said, and embellish and improve (my writing). Only after my writing bore no flaws did he stop.

昔余幼少時，業文程課，公每見之，勤問不置，導其旨意，喻以古作者妙訣，又必使之把筆呼寫，潤色補諧，期於無疵而後已

When not occupied with his duties, No Myŏnghŭm spent time researching, reading, taking notes, and compiling his notes into books. The results of these writing activities comprised important sources for what eventually became TPNS.²¹⁶ No Myŏnghŭm’s reading and research are characterized as “wide-ranging and all-penetrating knowledge” (pak’o haegwan 博包該貫) and “profound and wondrous phrases old and new” (kogım oŏ kija 古今奧語奇字). The extent of his internalization of what he read was such that he would incorporate “refined expressions” (aŏn 雅言) in his speech. Hong Yonghan’s description of No Myŏnghŭm’s encyclopedic reading, intense to the point of threatening his health, is highly reminiscent of the practice of zealous reading that was de rigueur at this time. Many late eighteenth-century kyŏngwa sejok described their own or others’ reading habits as ‘obsessive’ (p’yŏk 質/chi 癮).²¹⁷

²¹⁶ Making manuscript copies was a preferred option for collectors who could not afford to purchase books. Kim Yongjin, “Chosŏn hugi sirhak-p’a ŭi ch’ongsŏ p’yŏnch’an kwa kŭ ŭimi,” Han’guk hanmunhak yŏn’gu ŭi sae chip’yŏng, ed. Yi Hyesun (Seoul: Somyŏng ch’ulp’an, 2005), 949-983.

²¹⁷ Scholars of late-Chosŏn culture and intellectual thought note this social phenomenon. Beside the studies on Yu Manju, one of the most voracious readers of his time, and others quoted in this chapter, two popular renderings of academic research on eighteenth- and nineteenth-
The biographer briefly ventures a generic delineation of TPNS, using *p’aesol chapki* (vulgar stories and miscellaneous records’) as a general designation. But he quickly treats TPNS as something superior to the category of *p’aesol chapki*, reasoning that its contents have historical veracity and thus offer pleasure in reading. In Chapter Six, I will revisit the biographer’s use of the label *p’aesol chapki* and his rhetorical elevation of TPNS by appealing to the historicity of its contents, when discussing the generic boundaries of TPNS as mapped out by the *sŏ* and *pal* writings (‘preface’ and ‘postface’, respectively) of three other Hong family members.

The “Biography” touches on No Myŏng-hŭm’s literary style and his general thoughts on writing. These remarks appear immediately after the mention of TPNS, suggesting that the collection and No’s philosophy of writing went hand-in-hand. Developed in his later years, No Myŏng-hŭm’s philosophy of literature must have influenced the style of TPNS. Its key characteristic was his cultivation of an innovative style, which in turn was the result of No’s choice. According to the “Biography,” when young, No Myŏng-hŭm composed examination-style poetry, which required rote memorization of allusions and adherence to conventions from literary paragons of antiquity; later in life, he denounced such poetry as confining and unoriginal.

This direct association of No Myŏng-hŭm’s innovative style with the practice of examination-style poetry deserves some elaboration. According to a recent study of examination-style poetry during Chosŏn, one of the abilities an examination candidate

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was required to display was “speaking on behalf of [someone]” (\textit{tae\-\-\-n 代言}).

Questions comprised of short excerpts from preexisting texts\footnote{Excerpts were drawn from Confucian classics, the literary canon (such as poems by Tu Fu’s 杜甫 [712-770]), some fictional narratives such as \textit{Extensive records of the Taiping Era} (\textit{T’aep’yông kwanggi} 太平廣記; compiled in 978), etc.} were given to the candidate, who was expected to identify the source text and write his answers as if he were the speaker of the excerpt in question. How well one could muster one’s knowledge of canonical writings to sympathize with the ‘original speaker’, and how vividly one could depict the given situation, determined success or failure.\footnote{At times, candidates deployed motifs like dreams, ghosts, spiritual possessions, etc., to create a necessary context for their answers. The style of \textit{tae\-\-\-n} fostered relatively greater freedom on the part of the candidate than the method of “Setting up one’s views” (\textit{ibön 立言}), which required a candidate to think like the Confucian sages (\textit{sônghyön 聖賢}). Yi Sang’uk (2005): 80-81.}

Heretofore, the ample use of dialogue in TPNS has been explained as having naturally developed from No Myônghům’s experience as a talented participant in storytelling sessions at the Hong household.\footnote{Yi Kang’ok, \textit{Han’guk yadam yôn’gu} (Seoul: Tolbegae, 2006).} However, this line of explanation offers little insight into the medium of writing—i.e., how one materializes stories in written forms. To borrow concepts used in \textbf{\textit{Chapter Three}}, equating No Myônghům’s talent as a raconteur with his skills as a writer of stories ignores the fact that all oral-to-written transmission requires a process of “literarization” (\textit{Verschrifilichung, ‘putting into literary form’}). The above-mentioned study of the structure of examination-style poetry, I contend, points to rote memorization and \textit{tae\-\-\-n} (‘speaking in someone’s stead’) as potentially important resources for No Myônghům’s creation of TPNS.

\footnotetext[218]{Yi Sang’uk, “Chosôn kwach’esi úi kül ssügi pangsik yôn’gu,” MA thesis: Yonsei University, 2005.}
\footnotetext[219]{Yi Sang’uk, “Chosôn kwach’esi úi kül ssügi pangsik yôn’gu,” MA thesis: Yonsei University, 2005.}
\footnotetext[220]{Yi Sang’uk (2005): 80-81.}
\footnotetext[221]{Yi Kang’ok, \textit{Han’guk yadam yôn’gu} (Seoul: Tolbegae, 2006).}
On that score, it is worth mentioning here that No Myŏnghŭm seems to have played with a potpourri of idioms that encompass classical allusions, expressions commonly found in idu-style writing (idu-mun 史頭文) that were writing styles commonly used in documentary writing, colloquial forms of address, Korean colloquialisms, etc. As a result, TPNS narratives form a unique texture in that many of No’s lexical choices overlap with (1) what present-day scholars point to as innovative uses of literary language in the late eighteenth century and (2) what his predecessors recognized as contemporary lexical items that should or should not be permitted in writing in the cosmopolitan language. In light of Hong Yonghan’s comments that No Myŏnghŭm was interested in styles that break away from some of the preexisting stylistic models and given also their praise of No’s life-long pursuit of classical learning, **CHAPTER SEVEN** will explore some of the traits of the lexical texture of TPNS.

Towards the end of the “Biography” there is a compassionate summary of No Myŏnghŭm’s life. He is depicted as a man of unparalleled talent who never earned the recognition he deserved. In particular, the biographer underscores No’s frustration as a

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222 Benjamin Elman in *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China* presents the effect of civil examinations as a cultural prison and emphasizes the state’s power in the promotion of Cheng-Zhu orthodox Confucian ideas by way of controlling the examination system. This viewpoint has been problematized as an overstatement. One example is Kai-wing Chow’s *Publishing, Culture, and Power in Early Modern China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004), 149-151, in which Chow emphasizes the rise of commercial publishing since the sixteenth century as opening “an intellectual milieu that encouraged open and pluralistic interpretations of the Confucian canon in the civil service examination.”

Chow’s observation offers insight into No Myŏnghŭm’s perception of literature, in an environment where books predominantly circulated in the form of manuscript copies. Influenced by knowledge shared among the members of the close-knit socio-literary community at the Hong Ponghan household, No Myŏnghŭm grew skeptical of the knowledge and methods he had gained by rote memorization.

Moreover, once he has mastered the orthodox learning, a skeptical writer could use his training in classical and canonical learning for innovation. No Myŏnghŭm’s TPNS is a case in point.
failed examination candidate. Especially poignant is the account of No’s visit to Piro Peak in the Diamond Mountains. The biographer writes that No wore an expression of one who had “let go of the narrow-mindedness of the Confucian scholar.” Introduced right after the biographer’s remark on No Myŏnghŭm’s multiple failures, these remarks without a doubt refer to the frustration he suffered as an unsuccessful examination candidate. However, as the biographer’s description of No’s changed demeanor notes, No ultimately came to terms with his misfortune by deciding not to dwell on the past but to move forward with his writing. No Myŏnghŭm’s failures in the examinations, hence his inability to hold office, was due to no lack of talent on his part; rather, the biographer hints at possible corruption in the selection process when he writes that No never blamed the examiners.223 Prizing Myŏnghŭm’s literary prowess and humility, the biography ultimately presents him as someone who endeavored to overcome his discontent through moral cultivation and the betterment of his skills. Its sympathetic portrayal of No’s frustration is in stark contrast to Hong Yonghan’s depiction of No Kŭng in his “Chŏng No Yŏrim chŏn” 呈盧如臨傳 (“Presenting a Biography of No Kŭng”), which highlights qualities such as “crazy behavior with eccentric interests” (kwang t’ae ki ch’wi 狂態奇趣) in the son.224

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223 Chŏng Yagyŏng (1762-1836; m. 1789; Tusun 茶山) critiqued that examiners for the civil service examination often practiced favoritism toward descendants of influential figures. Kŏbyŏk also has an alternate meaning of those who sold their writings to civil service examination candidates. For a summary of major problems in the civil service examination system in late Chosŏn, see Kang Myŏnggwan, Chosŏn ūi twitkolmok p’unggyŏng (Seoul: P’urún yŏksa, 2003), 154-189 and Yi Wŏnmyŏng, Chosŏn sidae munkwa kŭpcheja yŏn’gu, 2004, 261-287.

224 No Kŭng’s contemporaries remembered him as one of the three most talented literary figures—kŏbyŏk 巨擘—of the time. Chŏng Yagyŏng and Sŏng Taejung mention No’s literary talents in their writings, which survive in their collected works (munjip 文集). In 1777 Kŭng was embroiled in the crime of selling his writings to candidates for the state examinations—
The main thrust of the “Biography,” I argue, is a sympathetic portrayal of No Myŏnghŭm. By foregrounding No’s frustration on account of his failures in the state examination, Hong Yonghan introduces a motif of “anxiety of service”—No Myŏnghŭm must have built up frustration as a man of literary prowess and Confucian learning whose value went unrecognized because he never served in office. By recognizing his frustration and valorizing No Myŏnghŭm’s virtue and literary talents, Hong Yonghan performs the role of one who truly understands another’s value (zhiren zhi jian 知人之鑑). His account of No Myŏnghŭm in this way is a time-honored act of remembering, recognizing, and appreciating someone’s true value. By discussing Myŏnghŭm’s life in these terms, rather than in terms of futility, Hong immortalizes him so as not to let his name go unrecognized in the world of mortals.

Finally, the biographer once more accentuates No’s integrity, pointing to his destitution. No Myŏnghŭm never expected material benefits for his socializing with the most powerful figures of his time. People who knew him at times derided him for his uncompromising integrity. Hong Yonghan expresses deep admiration by concluding the biography as follows: “Even though his mouth starved, his will did not. His fame was meager, yet his substance was ample. Is this not a case of ‘Be ashamed of excessive fame

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225 The phrase “anxiety of service” is Shuhui Yang’s adoption of Stephen Owen’s observation of “the unique emotional power which government public service exercised over men’s lives and imagination” in Chinese poetry. That is, literati unemployed by the government express frustration and seek public recognition by way of their literary expression. Thus, self-expression was ultimately “an act for others, a public act,” which often “referred the reader to the largest public context, the imperial government.”

and know what to nourish?’” In concluding his biography, Hong Yonghan quotes No Myoonghurm to show that he gave himself the nickname “Clumsy old man” (Chorong 擡翁), a gesture of self-deprecation over his fate.227

The fact that Hong Yonghan knew No Myoonghurm well, and that he was aware of the kind of literary work that TPNS was at the time of No’s writing it, prompts me to take the biography into consideration in my investigation of the authorial identity behind TPNS.

Hong Yonghan’s portrait of No offers insights into the origins of TPNS on several points. First, numerous TPNS entries are directly or indirectly associated with the capital. A great number of TPNS entries deal with stories about members or ancestors of prominent kyonghwa sejok, or about royal relatives who had virtually permanent family bases or homes in the capital.228 For example:

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227 It should also be noted that “Chorong” 擡翁 was a rather commonly used sobriquet. To name but a few, Ch’ae Hae 崔灝 (1287-1340), Yi Sondong 李成童 (?-?; m. 1495), Hong Songmin 洪聖民 (1536-1594; m. 1504), and Yi Munhyo 李文馨 (1510-1582; m. 1540), and Ch’oe Kinam 崔奇男 (1589?-1671?; slave or yohang’in). Among them, Ch’oe Kinam draws attention most in that he was not only one of the first yohang’in literary figures of late Choson, but also left behind an autobiography entitled “Chorong chon” (“Biography of a Clumsy Old Man). Although a definite connection between Ch’oe’s use of “Chorong” and No Myoonghurm awaits further research, it seems important that No himself was exposed to literary coteries where yohang’in and yangban comingled. For the significance of Ch’oe Kinam as forefather of late-Choson yohang’in literature, see Kang Myoongwan, Choson hugi yohang munhak yon’gu, 223-258 and Yun Chaemin, Choson hugi chung’in-ch’ung hanmunhak ui yon’gu, 103- 122.

228 I consulted Sim Yongho (1998) for information regarding social networks in the capital area. All the information is from this article, unless otherwise indicated.
### Table 4.2. TPNS entries dealing with prominent persons or families in the capital.

Note: Persons who are related to the capital but not the protagonist of the story are underlined.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSONS</th>
<th>FAMILY NAME</th>
<th>LOCATION IN THE CAPITAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 3</td>
<td>Pak Chinh’nô 朴震憲 (unknown) Yi Ich’ôm 李爾瞻 (1560-1623; <em>m</em>. 1594, 1608; Kwansong觀松)</td>
<td>Kwangju Yi-ssi 廣州 李氏</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 7</td>
<td>Sông Wan 成婉 (1639-?; <em>sǒel; ch</em>. 1666; Ch’wihô 翠虛) Kim Ch’anhyŏp (1651-1708; <em>m</em>. 1682; Nong’am 農巖) Kim Ch’anhyŏp (1653-1722; <em>ch</em>. 1673; Samyŏn三淵)</td>
<td>Andong Kim-ssi 安東 金氏</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 8</td>
<td>Master Ch’oe (unknown) &amp; Prince Anp’yŏng 安平大君 (1418-1453; Pihaedang 匯懈堂), third son of King Sejong 世宗 (r. 1419-1450)</td>
<td>Royal family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 16</td>
<td>Sin Sukchu 申叔舟 (1417-1475; <em>m</em>. 1439; Pohanjae 保順齋)</td>
<td>Koryŏng Sin-ssi 高靈 申氏</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 17</td>
<td>Ryu Sŏngnyong 柳成龍 (1542-1607; <em>m</em>. 1566; Sŏae 西涯)</td>
<td>P’ungsan Ryu-ssi 豐山 柳氏</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 20</td>
<td>Yi Hangbok 李恒福 (1556-1618; <em>m</em>. 1580; Paeksa 白沙)</td>
<td>Kyŏngju Yi-ssi 慶州 李氏</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 28</td>
<td>Pak P’aengnyŏn’s descendant Pak P’aengnyŏn 朴彥年 (1417-1456; Ch’wigunghŏn 醉琴軒)</td>
<td>Sunch’ŏn Pak-ssi 順天 朴氏</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 36</td>
<td>Prince Inp’yŏng’s descendant Prince Inp’yŏng 麟坪大君 (1622-1658), third son of King Injo (r. 1623-1649) and brother of King Hyojong (r. 1649-1659)</td>
<td>Royal relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 37</td>
<td>Hong Su 洪修 (Dates unknown)</td>
<td>P’ungsan Hong-ssi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<sup>229</sup> Sim Kyŏngho, “Chosŏn hugi sisa wa tonghoin chiptan,” 113.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid., 106.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid., 119.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid., 113.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid., 123.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid., 112.
<table>
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<th>FAMILY NAME</th>
<th>LOCATION IN THE CAPITAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 38</td>
<td>Kim Inbaek 金仁伯 (1561-1617)</td>
<td>Ch’ongp’ung Kim-ssi 清風 金氏</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 39</td>
<td>Ilt’ahong 一枝紅 Sim Húisu 沈喜淑 (1548-1633; m. 1572; Ilsong 一松)</td>
<td>Ch’ongsong Sim-ssi 青松 沈氏</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 42</td>
<td>Yu Myŏnsun 俞命舜 (1568-1678)</td>
<td>Kige Yu-ssi 杞溪 俞氏</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 49; YONSEI 47; YONSEI 69</td>
<td>Yi Wan 李澣 (1602-1674; Mkg. 1624; Maejuhwon 梅竹軒)</td>
<td>Kyŏngju Yi-ssi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 48</td>
<td>Sin Sik 申湜 (1551-1623; m. 1576; Yongjolchae 用拙齋)</td>
<td>Koryŏng Sin-ssi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 51</td>
<td>Yun Kang 尹襁 (1597-1667; Mkg. 1624; Muyok 無谷) Chang Ch’ungbo 張忠輔 (Dates unknown; great-great-grand father of Chang Yu 張惟 (1587-1638; m. 1609; Kyegok 馥谷)</td>
<td>P’ap’yŏng Yun-ssi 坡平 尹氏</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 56</td>
<td>Kim Sŏkch’ŏ 金錫胄 (1634-1684; Mkg. 1662; Sigam 息庵)</td>
<td>Ch’ongp’ung Kim-ssi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 59</td>
<td>Kim Chi’i 金徽 (1577-1625; Mkg. 1597; Simch’ŏk 深谷)</td>
<td>Andong Kim-ssi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 60</td>
<td>Sŏ Sŏng 徐頤 (1558-1631; Mkg. 1586; Yakpong 業峰)</td>
<td>Taegu Sŏ-ssi 大丘 徐氏</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 73</td>
<td>Cho Hyŏnmyŏng 趙顯命</td>
<td>P’ungyang Cho-ssi 豐壤 趙氏</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second, numerous TPNS entries deal with the lives of contemporary capital dwellers with non-prominent social backgrounds. The protagonists’ social standings are

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235 Ibid., 108.
236 Ibid., 109.
237 Ibid., 108.
238 Ibid., 111.
239 Ibid., 119.
240 Ibid., 114.
241 Ibid., 117.
diverse: beggar, military guard, students, scholar, scholar-official, kisaeng 女妓
(professionally trained female entertainers; lowborn), slave girl, and hyangni 鄉吏 (lit. ‘local clerk’; hereditary professionals working at local yamens as petty clerks or assistants to magistrates dispatched from the central government). Some narratives are ascribed to historical persons. The reasons for their relation to the capital also vary: some are residents of the capital while others adopt the capital as a new home for reasons of scholarship, prestige, upward social mobility, or fate. Most of the stories are set in the capital, while some present it as an important backdrop of major events:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>SOCIAL STATUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chang toryŏng242</td>
<td>Beggar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3. Other TPNS entries related to the capital (not illustrious families)

242 Toryŏng is a Sino-Korean term referring to unmarried men of a yangban lineage. In the story, Chang toryŏng’s origins remain unknown. However, in a parallel narrative found in Im Pang’s Ch’ŏnyerok, Chang toryŏng identifies himself to a certain official as coming ‘from a yangban family based in Honam’ (本湖南土夫), but as ‘having lost his parents in a plague’ (父母俱没於瓊疫). This story is generally considered the first entry of Ch’ŏnyerok and is found in the ‘Kim Yŏngbok private collection’ edition (김영복本). In his Ihyang kyŏnmunnok 里鄉見聞錄 (Records of hearsay from the countryside; 1862), Yu Chaegŏn 劉在建 (1793?-1880?; sŏrī) gives a word-for-word reproduction of the Ch’ŏnyerok rendition of the Chang story and cites it.

The Ch’ŏnyerok and TPNS stories narrates a strange reunion between a compassionate official who has once given a proper burial to a certain beggar named Chang whom he used to succor on a regular basis and an immortal who identifies himself as the very beggar on whom the official has once took pity.

Aside from the Ch’ŏnyerok-TPNS intertextual relationship, the story of Chang toryŏng also forms complex intertextual relationships with other texts. For example, about a century prior to Im Pang’s composition of his own story of Chang, Hŏ Kyun wrote “A Biography of Chang” (“Chang saeng chŏn 蔣生傳”). Although Hŏ’s biography and the two Chang toryŏng stories in Ch’ŏnyerok and in TPNS differ from each other greatly, all share the same motifs: Chang’s transmogrification from a beggar into an immortal and a magical encounter between Chang and his old friend. Hŏ’s version is introduced in Haedong ijŏk 海東異錄 (Marvelous trajectories [of Daoists] from the East; xylography in 1666) by Hong Manjong (1645-1725; 1675; Hyŏnmukcha 玄默子), who identifies the original writer of the story as “an anonymous man” (無名氏). Hong used this label to reveal the source for another biography of a Chosŏn Daoist practitioner by the name of Namgung Tu 南宮斗 (1526-1620; ch. 1555), “A Biography of Master Namgung” (Namgung sŏnsaeng chŏn 南宮先生傳). These two biographies by Hŏ
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YONSEI</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Special guard of King Hyojong <em>(Pyölgunjik 別軍職)</em>&lt;sup&gt;243&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Military guard of the king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Chŏng Pukch’ang 鄭北窪</td>
<td>Scholar-official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Slave girl Kim pyŏlgam 金別監</td>
<td>Slave girl-turned-yangban’s concubine and assistant hyangni-turned-a government official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Pak’s wife 李姓妾</td>
<td>Commoner-turned-merit subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>A kisaeng living in Yongsan 龍山妓</td>
<td>Kisaeng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>An official living in the capital 京城一朝士</td>
<td>Court official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>A student living outside Tonŭi Gate (Great West Gate) 新門外書生</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>A poor student living in the capital 京中窮生</td>
<td>Student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Yŏm Hŭido 廉希道</td>
<td>Commoner-turned-Steward <em>(kyŏmin 僕人)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Yi Hang 李恒 (1499-1576; Ileh 一齋)</td>
<td>Miscreant man-turned-scholar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Pak Yŏng 朴英 (1471-1540; m. 149; Songdang 松堂)</td>
<td>Military official-turned-scholar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>Two students living in the capital 京城兩書生</td>
<td>Students</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On a note related to this second point, protagonists in numerous TPNS narratives explicitly or implicitly refer to the differences between countryside and capital, distinguishing the latter from the former as a place of wealth, culture, and opportunities for political advancement. To list a few examples: in the story Yu Myŏngsun (YONSEI 42), a *kisaeng* 妓生 (female professional entertainers) from the countryside speaks of her desire to meet ‘the most handsome person in the capital’ (京華第一美人). In the story of Pak’s wife (YONSEI 26), the wife urges her husband to move to the capital (須入京) because as a man he should not be “buried in the boondocks” (埋頭鄕曲) and that “our family can afford to live in the capital” (吾家家力足以京居). In the story of Yi

---

<sup>243</sup> *Pyölgunjik* refers to a special guard unit established in 1656 for escorting the king.
Changgon (YONSEI 58), the protagonist Yi Changgon is described as “precious bone of the capital” (京華貴骨), and in the magistrate of Yŏnghŭng (YONSEI 67), people of the Hamgyŏng province 咸鏡道 (the northern extremity of Chosŏn proper) are described as using an particular idiom to refer to “elites residing in the thriving capital” (京華兩班).

Three, No Myŏnghŭm’s social network ranged from people of the highest social rank to those who were talented yet marginalized within the existing social systems, men such as sŏŏl 庶孽 (secondary son born of a yangban father and a non-yangban mother) and other people of non-elite status. Several TPNS entries deal with stories of unions between yangban men and non-yangban women that not only culminate in long-term cohabitation but also imply a certain level of elevation of the women’s social standings. That is, the narrator of these stories also mentions that these secondary wives gave birth to sons who are accepted as legitimate children by the men’s family and that the secondary wives were treated as if they were a primary wife (chŏngsil 正室). For

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244 The reference to ‘bone’ as an indicator of one’s ascriptive social status is traced to the Silla dynasty 新羅 (57 BCE-935 CE), when the two top tiers of the social elites were marked as sŏnggol 聖骨 (holy bones) and chinggol 真骨 (true bones). Their positions were considered far superior to the rest of society.

245 In the story of Kim pyŏlgam of Chirye, a slave girl who becomes a secondary wife of an aged fallen yangban is treated ‘no different from a primary wife’ (無異正室). The husband and the secondary wife also agree to forge a document that states that she is his primary wife (追造婚書紙謂正室) so as to conceal their two sons’ social status as sŏŏl. The quoted phrases are found in the story surviving in the editions YONSEI (Entry 14), TONGGUK (Entry 5), and TÖYÖ (Entry 7).

In the story of Yang Saŏn’s father, his secondary wife uses the Chosŏn mourning ritual system to obscure her son’s sŏŏl origin (泯吾兒嫡庶之別). This social institution classifies a child’s mourning period for his or her deceased parent(s) depending on his or her relationship with the deceased and the social status of the deceased. This social institution made public the social status of the deceased. Therefore, the Yang family’s mourning rituals for her would naturally make the existence of a secondary mother (sŏmo 嫡母) and a secondary son in the family known to the public (使嫡子服庶母服則間隔判然). Knowing this, upon her husband’s death, she commits suicide so as to prevent legitimate descendants of the Yang family from having to conduct two separate rituals for Yang and her.
example, the story of U Hahyŏng’s wife concerns a humble woman who becomes a secondary wife of a military official, while the rest of the stories deal with unions between a woman and a scholar or scholar-official. The existence of these stories should not be taken as evidence of actual upward social mobility as a socially accepted practice, which was extremely difficult at best, if not impossible. Here are TPNS stories that deal with secondary sons and wives.

### Table 4.4. TPNS entries on secondary sons and wives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSONS</th>
<th>SOCIAL STATUS</th>
<th>GIVES BIRTH TO A SON</th>
<th>TREATED AS IF SHE WERE A PRIMARY WIFE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 6 Hong Yŏl (ca. 17th c.)</td>
<td>Secondary son</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 7 Sŏng Wan (1639-?; ch. 1665; Ch’wihŏ 翠虛)</td>
<td>Secondary son</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 14 Chirye Kim pyŏlgam’s slave girl</td>
<td>Female slave</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 23 Chŏng On’s wife Chŏng On 鄭薰 (1569-1641)</td>
<td>Female slave</td>
<td>O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 27 Yang Saŏn’s mother Yang Saŏn 楊士彦 (1517-1584)</td>
<td>Daughter of a hyangni</td>
<td></td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 33 No Chin 窪槿 (1518-1578)</td>
<td>Kisaeng</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 50 Yun Kang’s wife Yun Kang 尹隆 (1597-1667)</td>
<td>Commoner</td>
<td></td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 54 A poor student living in the capital (unidentified)</td>
<td>Three wives of a commoner man</td>
<td>O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 55 U Hagyŏng’s wife U Hahyŏng (early-18th c.): Military official</td>
<td>Retired kisaeng</td>
<td></td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The quoted phrases are found in the story surviving in the editions YONSEI (Entry 27), TONGGUK (Entry 18), TY (Entry 7), and TENRI (Entry 20). In the Sŏngang University edition, which is a vernacular rendition of this story, the same phrases read. *Arae a* in the original is indicated with “à.” Corresponding parts in the original are underlined:

… *Nae ahãe syŏl ilhom ūl minmyŏl k’oja hanani*
내아해서열일홈을민명코자한나니

and

*týŏkha nim i syŏmo ūi pok ūl ibûmyŏn kangyŏk i p’anyŏn hal kŏsini*
덕자님이서모의복을입으면간격이관연하기시니

For details of surviving manuscript editions of TPNS, see Chapter Five.
To a certain extent, No Myŏnghŭm himself was a talented at socially marginalized person, and it is plausible that he not only sympathized but also empathized with them. For that reason, the presence of stories sympathetic toward upward social mobility—albeit within the boundaries of the family and clan—form a cluster in TPNS.

In particular, in light of No’s life experience with men of talent from diverse social classes, No’s inclusion of the story of Sŏng Wan (YONSEI 6) and emphasis on the origins of Sŏng’s poetic inspiration merit further elaboration. The story of Sŏng Wan’s poetic inspiration contains several allusions to sŏŏl and yŏhang ’in as literary figures.

First of all, this TPNS narrative opens with a comment on Sŏng Wan’s visit to Japan and Japanese officials’ reverence for his literary talent (嘗以書記, 赴日本,倭人以為詩仙奉之以彩鷺舉之美女). Sŏng Wan was a secondary son who was known for his literary talent and who served as an official scribe-cum-poet (chesulgwan 製述官) for Embassies of Communication to Edo 江戸 (T’ongsinsa 通信使) on the seventh mission to Japan after the Imjin Invasions in 1592 (imsul 1682.5.4 – 1682.11.6; ?).247 As chesulgwan, he wrote poems to represent Chosŏn’s advanced literary culture. Between the seventeenth and nineteenth century, numerous sŏŏl and yŏhang ’in served as

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSONS</th>
<th>SOCIAL STATUS</th>
<th>GIVES BIRTH TO A SON</th>
<th>TREATED AS IF SHE WERE A PRIMARY WIFE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 58</td>
<td>Yi Changgon’s wife</td>
<td>Daughter of a wicker weaver246</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

246 Wicker weavers, who also dealt with dead animal skins, were among the lowest of the Chosŏn social statuses.

247 The dates are indicated according to the traditional calendar. “Imsul 1682.5.4” indicates the fifth month of the fourth day in the year of imsul, corresponding roughly with 1682 according to the Gregorian calendar. The dates appearing after “;” indicate the arrival to and departure from Japan of the Korean envoys. See Yi Hyesun, Chosŏn t’ongsinsa úi munhak (Seoul: Ewha Womans University Press, 1996), 29.
chesulgwan and in other capacities in T’ongsinsa, using their work as vehicle for their literary creativity.  

Second, Sŏng Wan is described as enjoying learning from Kim Ch’anghyŏp and Kim Ch’anghŭp (成喜從農淵遊), two famous late-Chosŏn scholar-officials whose philosophy of poetry had significant influence on sŏŏl and yŏhang ‘in literary figures. Kim Ch’anghyŏp in particular was renowned for his promotion of the concept of *ch’ŏn ‘gi* 天機 (the cosmic mechanism):

Poetry is the activation of one’s individual disposition, which is the manifestation of the cosmic mechanism.

詩者，性情之發，而天機之動也.  

Kim Ch’anghyŏp was not the first person to speak of this concept, and an historical overview of *ch’ŏn ‘gi* is beyond the scope of this study. What should be noted, however, is that the emphasis on individual disposition in Kim Ch’anghyŏp’s *ch’ŏn ‘gi* was favorably received among non-yangban literary figures such as sŏŏl and yŏhang ‘in as a rhetorical means for promoting their literary pursuits. For example, Hong

248 Ibid., 45. In her *Chosŏn t’ongsinsa ūi munhak*, 388-422, Yi suggests that although previous studies on *chung ‘in-ch’ ŭng* literature—Yi calls this “wihang munhak”—focused on yŏkkwan and sŏri as the primary forces, late-Chosŏn Embassies of Communication to Edo should be recognized as another place to examine *chung ‘in-ch’ ŭng* literature for the literary contribution made by sŏŏl and other *chung ‘in-ch’ ŭng* participants of the missions. Yi Hyesun’s more recent a historical overview of premodern Korean literature and the question of foreign relations contains detailed and somewhat humorous portrayals of the popularity of poems and the calligraphy by participants of Chosŏn Embassies as collectibles among contemporary Japanese people of varying social classes. See Yi Hyesun, *Chont’ong kwa suyong: Han’guk kojŏn munhak kwa haeoe kyoryu* (Seoul: Tolbegae, 2010), 85-102.

249 Translations related to Kim Ch’anghyŏp and *ch’ŏn ‘gi* ron 天機論 are from Javier Cha, “Beyond ‘cosmic mechanism’ theory: towards a revised narrative of the literary history of mid-Chosŏn Korea, 1592-1720,” MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 2004, unless noted otherwise.

250 For discussions of the relationship between *ch’ŏn ‘gi* and yŏhang ‘in literature, see Kang Myŏnggwan, *Chosŏn hugi yŏhang munhak yŏn’gu*, 10; Yi Hyesun, *Chont’ong hwa suyong*, 117, 388-432; and Yun Chaemin, *Chosŏn hugi chung ‘in-ch’ ŭng hanmunhak ūi yŏn’gu*, 6, 9-10.
Set’ae 洪世泰 (1653-1725; yŏkkwan, 1675; Ch’angnang 沧浪) went to Japan as part of the Embassy of 1682, and later quoted Kim Ch’anghyŏp’s ch’ŏn’gi in his preface as an inspiration for Haedong yuju 海東遺珠 (Remaining gems of Eastern Sea; xylography; 1712), his compilation consisting exclusively of yŏhang’in poets:

Minister Kim Nongam [=Kim Ch’anghyŏp] once said to me: “There are many who collect poetry written in the East [Koreans]. However, poems written in yŏhang are missing in them. It is regrettable that they disappear and are not transmitted.”

農巖金相公嘂謂余曰: 東詩之採輯行世者多矣, 而閲巷之詩獨闕焉, 沒滅不傳可惜.

Hong Set’ae continues:

Human beings are born endowed with the core of heaven and earth. Poetry is that which stirs up emotions and becomes expressed in words; [as far as poetry is concerned] there is no difference between the high-born and the low-born. … [Enumeration of characteristics of the poems included in Haedong yuju] There is nothing that did not flow naturally from the cosmic mechanism; they are so-called “true poetry” (My emphasis).

三人得天地中而生, 而其情之感而發於言者, 為詩則無貴賤一也 … 無非天幾中自然流出, 此所謂真詩也

Prior to Haedong yuju, some poems composed by non-elites (yŏhang’in, kisaeng, and Buddhist monks) had been included in poetry compilations. However, Hong’s work is unprecedented for his declaration of equality of human expressions in the name of poetry using the notion of ch’ŏn’gi. Since then, the concept was frequently quoted in poetry collections and literary collections by sŏol and yŏhang’in literary figures.

Three, the concept of ch’ŏn’gi is traced to both Sŏng Wan and Chŏng Naegyo—the yŏhang’in tutor who taught Hong Ponghan and was an acquaintance of No Myŏnghŭm. For example, Sŏng Wan himself spoke of ch’ŏn’gi in his poetry with reference to the value of poetic expression that transcends social ranks.

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252 Ibid., 10.

253 Yi Hyesun, Chŏnt’ong hwa suyong, 398.
ch’ón’gi also appears in Yi Ch’ónbo’s 李天輔 (1698-1761; m. 1739; Chinam 菁庵) preface to Wanam chip 浣巖集 (Collected works of Wanam).

To what extent do TPNS and non-elite literary figures who promoted ch’ón’gi for their poetry composition share common ground? This is difficult to say. According to Kang Myonggwan, yöhang ’in literature spans over two hundred years of history and eight hundred poems, so imposing a comprehensive label is an extremely strenuous endeavor. Differences of genre between TPNS and poetry further complicate a comparison.

Moreover, yöhang ’in were people whose ascribed social status barred them permanently from achieving elite status, while No Myonghŭm was within the elite strata, albeit marginalized; No Myonghŭm’s attitude toward talented yöhang ’in might have been closer to sympathy than empathy. No’s social status perhaps explains a difference between the types of non-elite people portrayed in TPNS and those found in biographies of yöhang ’in written by Chŏng Naegyo and in Ihyang kyŏnmunnok 里鄉見聞錄 (Records of hearsay from the countryside), by Yu Chaegŏn 劉在建 (1793-1880; yöhang ’in; Kyŏmsan 祧山).254 The latter two works offer images of virtuous yöhang ’in and other non-elite or lowborn figures.

By contrast, TPNS contains several entries where protagonists are go-getters who blantly defy social decorum (e.g., YONSEI 33), lie (e.g., the female slave in the story of Kim pyŏlgam: YONSEI 14), arrange murder to achieve their goals (e.g., YONSEI 14),

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form a non-sexual social liaison with a man not her husband (e.g., YONSEI 26), or blur the social order (e.g., YONSEI 27)—to name but a few examples. Further research will illuminate on this point.

Still, it is worth noting that TPNS shares some common ground with yōhang ’in sensibilities, which Kang Myōnggwan characterizes as encompassing chivalry and violence (任俠). Kang notes that late-Chosŏn historical records are riddled with descriptions of the violence and crimes that yōhang ’in commit; however, there also can be found an aestheticization of such violence, as tending toward chivalry and linked thereby to notions like revenge and a concern with justice, righteousness, integrity, and loyalty. Several TPNS narratives deal with explicit violence and chivalry in male characters (both yangban and non-yangban) that take revenge on behalf of someone who is a total stranger. Examples include the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROTAGONIST</th>
<th>SITUATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 23 Chŏng On</td>
<td>A young yangban shoots an arrow to kill an immoral monk at the request of a slave girl who seeks to revenge her victimized master.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 37 Hong Su</td>
<td>A military official kills a violent monk who has dishonored a yangban lady’s entourage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 41 Kisaeng of Yongsan</td>
<td>A nameless military official kills a neighbor of a kisaeng to avenge her victimized former lover.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The connection between No Myōnghŭm and yōhang ’in will be pursued again in Chapter Seven in my discussion of the lexical structure of TPNS.

Finally, Hong Yonghan’s summary of No Myōnghŭm’s life leads us to pay attention to several entries that are dedicated to themes of female and male upward social mobility, male downward or upward economic mobility (i.e., the fluctuation of a

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255 Kang Myōnggwan, Chosŏn hugi yōhang munhak yŏn ’gu, 127.
person’s social standing defined by one’s economic position in society), new social ties based on non-blood relations, and one’s talent (e.g., use, abuse, or non-use of one’s talents). Here are some examples. I have categorized the examples according to themes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.6. TPNS entries relevant to No Myŏnghŭm as a frustrated yangban</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PROTAGONIST</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 22</td>
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<tr>
<td>YONSEI 26</td>
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<tr>
<td>YONSEI 27</td>
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<tr>
<td>YONSEI 29</td>
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<tr>
<td>YONSEI 30</td>
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<tr>
<td>YONSEI 32</td>
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<td>YONSEI 33</td>
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<td>YONSEI 39</td>
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<td>YONSEI 40</td>
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<tr>
<td>YONSEI 52</td>
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<tr>
<td>YONSEI 53</td>
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<tr>
<td>YONSEI 54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus far, I have given a close reading of Hong Yonghan’s “Biography of No, a Clumsy Old Man” to contextualize No Myŏnghŭm’s life, career (or lack thereof), and his philosophy of life and literature. My reading of the biography reveals how TPNS entries and No Myŏnghŭm’s life are intimately interconnected. In the next two sections, I examine other connections between TPNS and his life, using more information regarding the people with whom he socialized and the books he had access to at Hong Ponghan’s house.

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<sup>256</sup> This motif of this story is reminiscent of *Unyŏng-jŏn* (*Tale of Unyŏng*), a tragic love story in *hanmun* from the eighteenth century. For an annotated translation of this story with an introduction, see Michael Pettid, *Unyŏng-jŏn: A Love Affair at the Royal Palace of Chosŏn Korea* (Korea Research Monograph 33) (Berkeley: Center for Korean Studies, Institute of East Asian Studies at University of California in Berkeley, 2009).
4.3. TPNS and the circulation of stories by word of mouth

In the previous section, I noted that the “Biography” highlights No Myōnhūm’s penchant for extensive reading and stylistic experimentation as major forces behind the creation of TPNS. Two prefaces by Hong Ch’wiyŏng and Hong Naksu add yet another: casual storytelling among acquaintances. In ways reminiscent of Hong Yonghan’s words, in the excerpts below both men describe TPNS as originating from both extensive reading (marked A) and storytelling (marked B):

Clumsy Old Man No was famous for his poetry. But later his interests grew more expansive. He was well read; he solicited the recondite, hunted for the esoteric, and had them stored in the mind. (A) “[He] enjoyed discussing historical facts about the founders of the state and hearsay; he also enjoyed discussing strange events at court and in the countryside from near and far. No subject went without inquiry or interview. (B) Every chance he had, he recounted stories. All were elaborately told, and enjoyable to listen to. At times he compiled them into a book, calling it Repeatedly recited stories of the East (My emphasis). – Hong Ch’wiyŏng

Master Clumsy Old Man No pursued Confucian scholarship. Reading extensively and endeavoring in his studies, he accumulated sixty years. (A) From canonical writings all the way to official histories and unofficially transmitted historical writings, he penetrated and traversed every possible subject. (B) In his spare time, he gathered anecdotes circulating in the world and compiled over one hundred [stories]. He made a book out of them by gathering clean copies of them. Its contents are surprising, supernatural, marvelous, and refreshing. Other types of stories were not excluded. He named it Repeatedly recited stories of the East. The origins of all the stories were ascertained (My emphasis). – Hong Naksu

Direct evidence of the ways the Hong house supplied No Myōnhūm with source materials for TPNS is sparse. Nevertheless, circumstantial evidence, in the form of personal names and other information found in both TPNS and in historical records, reveals some connections between several TPNS narratives and stories possibly circulating in the Hong household.
At the end of the first twenty-four entries of the YONSEI edition—around 30% of its total of seventy-eight entries—No Myŏnghŭm added remarks either commenting on how the stories came to him or suggesting that he had heard an oral account of a given entry. Some are more detailed than others. These comments are usually found either at the beginning or the end of an entry. One possible exception is the story of Chŏng Hyojun 鄭孝俊 (1577-1665; s. 1618; Nangman 樂晚) in YONSEI 60. In this story, No’s comments are found in the editions EWHA and KYŎNG’IN 10* only, not in YONSEI, for which three remarks appear in the beginning and in the middle of the narrative. In this case, though No Myŏnghŭm does not mention where or how he heard the story, I include this as one of No’s comments on the oral origins of his material because the story concerns his family history.

In the table below, the first column indicates a story appearing in YONSEI and surviving manuscript editions that include No’s comments for this story. The more editions there are in this column, the more widely the particular story circulated. Circulation of TPNS in manuscript copies means that surviving editions vary from one another. The copyist of a text at times left out Myŏnghŭm’s comments on his sources, reproducing only the story itself. Or, commentary would appear in one edition as a ‘footnote’ (hyŏpchu 択註) at the end of an entry—in smaller characters—or it might appear in full-size characters. The “Ms. ENTRY #” column indicates surviving manuscript editions and the entry number in which No’s comments are found—for details of surviving manuscript editions, see CHAPTER FIVE. In that “COMMENTS” column, the entries containing an underlined part indicate that No Myŏnghŭm is relatively explicit about his experience of hearing an oral account, while the entries that do not have an
underlined part contain implicit references (e.g., So-and-so liked talking about this event).

To demonstrate the range of textual variance within different manuscript editions, the first three items in this table are illustrated in full.\textsuperscript{257} For easier reading, I offer my English translation and the \textit{hanmun} original side by side:

### Table 4.7. No Myöng-hûm’s comments on sources for his narratives\textsuperscript{258}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ms. Entry #</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 4, TÔYÔ 6\textsuperscript{259}, KIGWAN 11</td>
<td>This [story] was transmitted to the world through a friend of the student of Kap’yông [=the protagonist] who heard of it from him. 此乃同里友前聞於生而傳於世間者也</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 6, TR\textsuperscript{260}, KIGWAN 13\textsuperscript{261}</td>
<td>Once I heard the details of this story from Yubok, Hong’s nephew. 余曾聽其頗末於洪之猶子楊福甫矣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 7, TENRI 6\textsuperscript{262}</td>
<td>People considered that he had received help from the devil of poetry. 世人以爲詩魔之助云</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 12 (footnote), TÔYÔ 10, TONGGUUK 2</td>
<td>There is also an anecdote that Minister Yi Wan did it to General Sin Haech’ôl. Compared with the story I present here, the two events are one and the same. I do not know which is correct. 又有李相國沆召申大將海哲有所云之事，而與此相同是一事，未知孰是也</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 21, TÔYÔ 32, TENRI 16</td>
<td>This affair is recorded in Toam Yi’s epitaph [for the protagonist]. Yi’s grandson became prominent and honored in the world. 李陶庵碑銘此事，李公之孫，世世貴顯，而孫孫有慶則輒發夢以告云</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 22, TÔYÔ 17, TONGGUUK 13</td>
<td>At that time a head sôrî [petty clerk] in Chônju Magistracy—whose name I have forgotten … 時全州府首吏忘其姓名</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 27, TÔYÔ 23, TENRI 20</td>
<td>People suspect that Pongnae was a secondary son; [this rumour] is not a false accusation. 世疑蓬來為庶者本非謗也</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{257} I have recently acquired two new editions of TPNS—one held by Gyeongsang University, Korea, and the other entitled \textit{Tongguk p’aesa/Kii sosôl} and held by Yeongnam University. Due to time limitations, I have yet to examine these two texts as closely as I did other editions. Therefore, the present study will offer only some general features of these two editions in \textbf{CHAPTER FIVE}, saving in-depth discussions of them for a future study.

\textsuperscript{258} The alphabetical portion identifies the manuscript, and the numerical portion identifies the order of the respective entry within a given manuscript. For example, YONSEI 56 means the 56\textsuperscript{th} entry of the Yonsei University edition of TPNS.

\textsuperscript{259} TÔYÔ 6 此乃同里友前聞於生而傳於世間者也.

\textsuperscript{260} TENRI 5 余曾親聴其頗末於洪之猶子楊福甫矣.

\textsuperscript{261} KIGWAN 13 余親聴其頗末於洪之猶子楊福甫.

\textsuperscript{262} TENRI 6 人謂詩魔之助云.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ms. Entry #</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| YONSEI 28  
TÖYÖ 22  
TENRI 21 | Mukkyŏng Sin Sanggwŏn is a maternal descendant of the Pak clan, so he told me this affair, in great detail. 墨耕申尚權是朴門外孫，故傳其事甚詳 |
| YONSEI 35  
TÖYÖ 16  
TENRI 24 | Still today this righteous act of the habitual practice of good deeds is talked about. Yŏnŏn’s descendants occupied high-ranking posts and prospered. Indeed, all was because of this. 至今傳為積善之義事，延原後承官達蕃衍，實基於此云矣 |
| YONSEI 36  (footnote)  
TONGGUK 28 | Chŏn is also known as Suk. I do not know which is correct. 琮一作琡 未知孰是 |
| YONSEI 37  
TÖYÖ 14  
TENRI 26  
KIGWAN 34  
TONGGUK 29 | Hong’s son was none other than Modang. Among hundreds of sons and thousands of grandsons, ministers came forth in large numbers. The family prospered and became a great family of the state. People consider that this was leftover merit from [Hong’s] killing of a wicked monk and saving a lady. 洪之子，即慕堂，百子而千孫宰相輩出，儼成國中大家，人以爲殺禍僧救婦人之餘慶云. |
| YONSEI 39  (footnote)  
TÖYÖ 12  
TENRI 28 | This poem is included in Kia 篇雅 (The refined of the east).²⁶³ 篇雅載其詩云 |
| YONSEI 45  
EHWA 5  
TÖYÖ 37  
KIGWAN3 | What has been transmitted to the world is just this [much]. I have not yet heard about where it was that the guest visited. 世之流傳者，只此而未聞客之從何居焉. |
| YONSEI 47  
EHWA 7  
KIGWAN 6  
TONGGUK 40 | Song Uam enjoyed talking about this story with other people. 宋尤庵對人喜談此事云 |

²⁶³ *Kia* is a poetry compilation by Nam Yong’ik 南龍翼 (1628-1692; m. 1648, 1656; Hogok 壺谷).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ms. Entry #</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EWAH 10</td>
<td>Master Haep’ung Chŏng Hyojun is my great-great-grandmother’s maternal grandfather. The entire country called him a man of a great fortune/blessing. My great-great-grandfather once visited and greeted his wife’s grandparents. The blessings she received were exceptional.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 55 EWAH 15 TŌYŌ 43</td>
<td>I frequently visited P’yŏngsan. Beside the wide road in Madang township, 10 ri east of P’yŏngsan, the one facing the west is U’s grave and the one about ten steps away from its tombstone is his concubine’s. A passer-by pointed at it and told me this affair. The U’s still offer a separate rite to the secondary mother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 56 EWAH 16 TŌYŌ 44 KIGWAN 21</td>
<td>Kim chinsa of Andong wrote this story and showed it to P’ungwŏn Cho Hyŏmyŏng in order to pass it around. When thoroughly tracked down, Hŭido’s descendants were working at the royal palace as petty clerks belonging to the Office of Royal Landscaping. They were descendants of his first wife. So the story goes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 57 EWAH 17 TŌYŌ 45 KIGWAN 22</td>
<td>Chŏng Imsil in Kyŏng’ăn village of Kwangju—whose name escapes me—was made magistrate of Imsil Prefecture for his virtuous conduct. Ulsan Chŏng Kwang’un is none other than Imsil’s grandson and is said to have told this story often.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI 58 EWAH 18 TŌYŌ 46 KIGWAN 23</td>
<td>There was a famous official by the surname Yi, whose name I had lost. Some say it was Changgon.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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265 Here, No Myŏng-hŭm’s use of “氏” for Chŏng Hyojun and Kim Chin’gyŏng registers deferentiality. No Myŏng-hŭm was a descendant of the two, albeit not a direct one; had No Myŏng-hŭm been, he would have applied the rule of “avoiding the taboo word for one’s ancestors” (p’ihwi 出避 by replacing alternative sinographs to render their names.

266 In TŌYŌ and KIGWAN, anonymity is even more pronounced in that “Some say it was Changgon 或云長坤” is dropped.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ms. Entry #</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| YONSEI 61  | This [story] spread as a praiseworthy story.  
               傳為美誼。 |
| EWHA 21  | |
| TÖYÖ 48 | |
| YONSEI 63  | Even today scholars of Honam offer eulogies to his tablet.  
               至今湖南士人尸祝之 |
| EWHA 23  | |
| TÖYÖ 50 | |
| YONSEI 74  | Kim’s great-great-grandson is found in the current roster of scholar-officials and he enjoys talking about this.  
               金之曾孫郎，現在文官載錄也，喜談此事。 |
| EWHA 34  | |
| TÖYÖ 1 | |
| YONSEI 75  | This affair spread as a strange tale in the Western part of Cholla Province. In the summer of this year Toam Song Chaerin was by chance passing by Hongsan and heard in detail the beginning and the end [of this incident] from a local villager. He climbed up to have a look at the new burial site of the Chung family. The site’s left and right sides were serene and beautiful. The site’s auspiciousness made it bright as day.  
               此事播為閩右異談，同年夏釗巖宋載仁，適過鴻山細問始末於本村人，
               至於登覽鄭家新葬處，龍虎端妙穴勢如畫云。 |
| EHWA 35  | |
| TÖYÖ 2 | |
| KIGWAN31 | |

Out of the twenty-four stories listed, only three comments point to preexisting writings—an epitaph (YONSEI 21), a poetry compilation (YONSEI 39), and a story written by a literary licentiate named Kim (YONSEI 56). Some entries originate from historical persons, some of whom No Myǒnghûm knew personally. Only in two instances does No Myǒnghûm confess to having heard the story himself. None of the TPNS entries is described as having directly derived from autobiographical accounts. Most entries listed above are explained as originating from someone’s retelling of another’s account. Some retellings seem to have a longer history in that a particular interpretation of the story’s meaning and the story circulated together. In some cases, No Myǒnghûm acknowledges that his narrative is in conflict with another preexisting version; it is unclear whether he refers to a written or an oral narrative. Two stories are presented as what another person enjoyed talking about, and one of them was still alive at
the time of No’s writing. As mentioned above, the story of Chŏng Hyojun probably came from No Myŏnghŭm’s own family.267

As far as Myŏnghŭm’s comments are concerned, TPNS derived directly from items orally transmitted by anonymous sources in that most of the comments contain phrases like “people,” “the world,” or “a passer-by pointed at it and told me.” Moreover, close to fifty entries (in the case of YONSEI) conclude with the expression “So the story goes” (un ᴲ­i) or “So it has been said” (or un ṭη ᴲ­i)—which I will call a ‘hearsay marker.’

In what follows I trace the connections that can be drawn by comparing No Myŏnghŭm’s life, TPNS entries, and the comments listed in the table above. No Myŏnghŭm’s close connection with the Hong household suggests that stories related to the Hong family must have come directly from family members. Several entries merit our attention for this reason. The story of Hong Su (YONSEI 37), for example, recounts a military official’s righteous retaliation against a ferocious monk, who has attacked a yangban woman’s entourage. The story concludes that the great prosperity enjoyed by Hong’s descendants was the result of his good deeds. At the end, No Myŏnghŭm added this comment:

Hong’s son was none other than Modang. Among hundreds of sons and thousands of grandsons, ministers came forth in large numbers. The family prospered and became a great family of the state. People consider that this was leftover merit from [Hong’s] killing of a wicked monk and saving of the lady.

267 Im Hyŏng’aek (1990; 1999) focused on this story and successfully attributed the authorship of TPNS to No Myŏnghŭm. Im’s 1999 article details the process through which he was able to ascertain No Myŏnghŭm’s authorship of TPNS. While I use the word ‘authorship’, I interpret No Myŏnghŭm’s role in the creation of TPNS as that of authorial compiler. In other words, he was a compiler who exerted creative impulses to structure, format, and control the stories included in the collection.
Hong Modang, identified as a son of Hong Su, refers to Hong Isang 洪履祥 (1549-1615; m. 1519; Modang 慕堂), Hong Ponghan’s great-great-grandfather. This story was probably transmitted to No Myeonghun by members of the Hong family, and No Myeonghun included this story in TPNS as a way to pay respect to their ancestor and celebrate their illustrious lineage.268

The story of Kim Inbaek of the Ch’ongp’ung Kim clan (YONSEI 38) deals with the same theme: an ancestor’s good deeds bring his descendants good fortune in a yangban family. Opening with a comment on the destitution of the Kim family, which led the family to take up residence in Sagunch’on 沙斤川 of Kwangju 廣州, Kyonggi Province 京畿道, the story recounts how the family’s fortunes changed with Kim Inbaek. Kim’s devotion to ancestral rites impresses a high-ranking official named Cho Sogyun 趙錫胤 (1606-1655; m. 1626, 1628; Nakchongjae 樂靜齋), who happened to have taken up temporary residence in the same neighborhood at the same time. Cho offers to teach Kim’s son history and literature. Using this connection, Kim’s son becomes the disciple of a famous teacher, ultimately earning the position of local magistrate. No concludes the story:

Good fortune began from his grandson kamsa Ching and continued to flourish down to the great-grandson Hyön. Three generations produced five ministers—this is rare in the world. When great families’ achieve prosperity, there are always reasons for it.

Historical records reveal three important facts about the connections between the P’ungsan Hong-ssi and the Ch’ongp’ung Kim-ssi: (1) the two were related by marriage in that Hong Ponghan’s uncle Hong Sökpo had a daughter who married Kim Ch’iman 金致萬 (1695-1753; Koündang 高隱堂). Hong Ponghan’s own son Nagyun 樂倫

268 Kim Yongjin (1998) and Yi Kang’ok (2011) make this point.
married a woman from the Ch’ŏngp’ung Kim clan; (2) Kim Ch’iman had a son named Kim Chongsu, who later became a major political rival of Hong Ponghan, especially after 1776 (the date of King Chŏngjo’s ascension to the throne) and three years after Myŏnghŭm’s death; and (3) Hong Ponghan and Kim Chongsu studied under the same yŏhang’in teacher, Chŏng Naegyo. In both stories, the narrator maintains more or less the same attitude toward the two families, without explicit favoritism toward the P’ungsan Hong. No Myŏnghŭm’s inclusion of these two stories in TPNS seems to point to his homage to the P’ungsan Hong family. It seems likely that he wrote the two stories together at a single go.

The story of Yi Kyŏngnyu (YONSEI 21) is another plausible candidate for a story that reached No’s ears through the Hong family. Yi Kyŏngnyu was a military-official who died in battle in the Japanese Invasion of 1592 while on duty as aid-de-camp (chongsagwan). At the end of the story, Myŏnghŭm adds:

This affair is recorded in Toam Yi’s epitaph [for the protagonist]. Yi’s grandson became prominent and honorable in the world.

When the epitaph was erected in 1728, two people connected to the Hong family were involved in the event. A scholar-official named Yi Chae 李綸 (1680-1746; m. 1702, 1707; Toam 陶菴) composed the eulogy, and his text was re-written in Hong Sŏkpo’s calligraphy and then carved onto the stone. Hong Sŏkpo’s connection with Hong Ponghan as uncle-nephew was likely a channel through which the story of Yi Kyŏngnyu

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269 Yi Kang’ok (2011) makes this point.

270 Yi Chae’s eulogy and Hong Sŏkpo’s writing on the stone are available online: Han’guk kŭngsŏng-mun chonghap yŏngsang chŏngbo sisū’em (Database of digitized Korean epitaphs, managed by National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage) http://gsm.nricp.go.kr/third/user/main.jsp
reached No Myŏnghŭm. Moreover, Yi Chip 李 fisse (1670-1727; s. 1699), Hong Ponghan’s father-in-law wrote a haengjang 行狀 (a summary of a person’s conduct throughout his or her life typically included in a literary collection of the writer) for Yi Kyŏngnyu. A simple comparison between Yi Chae’s eulogy and the TPNS reveals that the two writings deal with the same stuff-material. But even a casual glance shows that the two writers had different attitudes toward this stuff-material. Yi Chae enumerates laudable points about Yi Kyŏngnyu’s achievements during his lifetime and merely mentions the existence of stories about Yi Kyŏngnyu’s lingering ghost for some forty years:

Even forty years after Master’s death, his spirit was not extinguished. Whenever sad and happy occasions occurred at his house, his spirit came by—it was as if he could be seen and heard. I lived in the same neighborhood as he did and heard a lot about these affairs.

By contrast, TPNS begins and ends with an account of Yi Kyŏngnyu as a ghost and his supernatural deeds. Yi Chae’s narrative and the TPNS overlap on two points. Both remark that Yi Che 李糓 (1589-1631; m. 1616), Yi Kyŏngnyu’s son, was only four years old when his father died, and both comment on Yi Kyŏngnyu’s ghost throwing mandarin oranges (kyul 橘) into the air for his ailing mother, who had wished for oranges in winter but was unable to get any. In Yi Chae’s epitaph, the reference to oranges is only touched upon in a poem: “From the air were thrown oranges, the spirit was rapturous."

In the TPNS entry, an elaborate scene with dialogue describes the event:

Once his [Yi Kyŏngnyu’s] mother fell ill in winter. She had a hankering for oranges. But they were out of season, so she could not get them. From the rooftop a voice came suddenly, saying, “Big brother, Big brother: Oranges are about to fall. You must catch them.” Yi’s older brother spread his jacket wide open and held it over his head, and yellow oranges fell pell-mell into it. He took them to his ill mother.
Yi Chae’s reference to the event alludes to the existence of orally circulated stor(ies) regarding a strange delivery of oranges at the Yi Kyŏngnyu household. Yi Chae was not interested in recording it, probably because of the formal nature of his eulogy. What survives in this TPNS entry probably also originated from various stories circulating about the aftermath of Yi Kyŏngnyu’s premature death at war. Vari

271 Various accounts about Yi Kyŏngyu must have reached No Myŏnghŭm through members of the Hong family. This juxtaposition of Yi Chae’s and No Myŏnghŭm’s records reveals that TPNS is not a simple record but a composition based on No Myŏnghŭm’s interest in a vivid portrayal of events, which would be considered inadmissible or too trivial for formal genres like epigraphs or biographies.

Three entries that deal with the smallpox god (*tusin 痘神*) were likely collected in TPNS because of Myŏnghŭm’s connection with the Hong family. These three stories are the story of Chŏng *toryŏng* (YONSEI 75), the story of Yi Yŏngwŏl (YONSEI 76), and the story of a *yangban* named Kang of Kongju (YONSEI 77); only the first story of them

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271 Both Yi Chae’s eulogy and the TPNS entry’s reference to the motif of a son’s filial act of serving his mother with rare oranges seem to allude to the story “Lu Ji Hides Oranges” found in the “Biography of Lu Ji” in the *Book of Wu, Records of the Three Kingdoms* 三國志·呂志: Invited to his father’s friend Yuan Shu’s place, six-year-old Lu Ji He hides three oranges in his sleeves, thinking of his mother who likes oranges. Chosŏn readers/hearers of this story must have recognized the Lu Ji story in the Yi Kyŏngnyu story. The story of Lu Ji appears as the last entry in the *Twenty-four paragons of filial piety (Er shi si xiao 二十四孝)* by Guo Jujing of the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). Lu Ji was one of the one hundred and ten filial exemplars, along with the equal number of chaste wives and loyal subjects, included in *The illustrated conduct of the Three Bonds (Samgang haengsīltto 三綱行實圖; 1431)*. When a reduced, vernacular rendition of this text was created in 1481—thirty-five persons for each bond—, the story of Lu Ji was left out.

In *Kyesŏ’s miscellany*, an adaptation of No Myŏnghŭm’s version accentuates this allusion even further by recounting that the number of oranges Yi Kyŏngnyu threw from the sky was three, just like Lu Ji’s oranges, and that the oranges he attained were oranges from Lake Dongting 洞庭湖. In *Kyesŏ’s miscellany*, Yi Kyŏngnyu’s mother is introduced as “my eighth-generation ancestor” (八代祖妣). The compiler Yi Huip’yŏng was born in 1772, three years prior to No Myŏnghŭm’s death. This confirms that the story of Yi Kyŏngnyu was transmitted to No Myŏnghŭm through Hong Sŏkpo.
is listed in the table above. Smallpox was a menacing problem in late Chosŏn in general, and must have been a pressing issue for the Hong family, especially around the 1750s. The Yongjo sillok (Veritable records of King Yongjo) and Lady Hyegyŏng’s memoirs indicate that some of the royal family members, including Prince Sado, the Grand Heir (later King Chŏngjo), as well as the Grand Heir’s bride-to-be—Hong Ponghan’s son-in-law, grandson, and granddaughter-in-law-to-be, respectively—suffered smallpox attacks.

Differences in plot development notwithstanding, all three stories recount a protagonist who is on favorable terms with the smallpox god—which turns out to be either one’s ancestor or a close friend—and ultimately gains material benefits from performing some kind of exorcism on behalf of the sick with the help of the god. Concerns about royal family members likely encouraged the circulation of upbeat smallpox survival stories. Whether the narratives were actually written during this period is uncertain, however. The story of Chŏng toryŏng concludes with the protagonist being instructed about an auspicious burial site for his father by a smallpox god who identifies himself as his great-grandfather. A comment by No follows:

This affair spread as a strange tale in the Western part of Ch’ungch’ŏng Province. In the summer of this year Song Chaein (sobriquet Inam) happened to be passing by Hongsan and heard in detail the beginning and the end [of this incident] from a local villager. He climbed up to have a look at the new burial site of the Chŏng family. The site’s left and right sides were serene and beautiful. The site’s auspiciousness made it bright as day.

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272 A simple keyword search using “tu” (痘) on a searchable online database of The veritable records of the Chosŏn dynasty (Chosŏn wangjo sillok 朝鮮王朝實錄), the official history of the Chosŏn dynasty, reveals just how rampant the problem of smallpox was in late Chosŏn, particularly during the period between the reigns of King Sukchong (r. 1674-1720) and King Yongjo (r. 1724-1776).

This comment on the origins of his story is quite detailed. No historical record or genealogical information confirms Song Chaein’s identity. He might be related to Song Chaehŭi—a remote relative of No at whose home he stayed before he moved to the Hong family. The two may have been of the same generation, in that the character “載” (read “chae” in Korean) appears as their hangnyŏl-cha 行列字 (a sinogaph given to male members of a family to index them as sharing the same degree of kinship).273

Interestingly, all three stories are set somewhere in Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, where No’s hometown of Ch’ŏngju was located. Given the supernatural element in all three stories, No Myŏnghŭm’s detailed comment seems intended to cement the veracity of his narratives.

In the previous section dealing with Hong Yonghan’s “Biography,” I briefly mentioned Yi Ponghwan and Nam Ok as members of Hong Nagim’s poetry society and frequent guests at the Hong household. In light of this connection, the three entries plausibly reached No Myŏnghŭm’s ears through his socializing through his socializing with them there. First of all, a brief explanation of the two men’s career trajectories is in order. Both Yi Ponghwan and Nam Ok served in Embassies of Communication to Edo just like Sŏng Wan, who was introduced in the previous section. Yi Ponghwan joined the tenth mission after the Imjin Invasions in 1592 (chŏngmyo 丁卯 1747.11.28 – mujin 戊辰 1748.7.13; mujin 1748.5.21 – 1748.6.14) as an assistant secretary (sambang sŏgi 三房書記), and Nam Ok joined the eleventh mission (kyemi 癸未 1763.8.3 – kapsin)

273 Hangnyŏl-cha refers to a common character used in the names of male members of a yangban family of the same generation.


Kim T’aejun, *Han’guk munhak ŭi Tong-Asia-jŏk sigak: Han-il munhwa ŭi kyoryu yangsang.* (Seoul: Chimmundang, 1999), 204.
‘informants’ (i.e., Yi Ponghwan and/or Nam Ok): “This was the first time that Japan wanted to have a relationship with our country” (日本之欲通我國，於是爲初).277

Yi Ponghwan and Nam Ok also socialized with people from powerful families other than the Hongs.278 Yi Ponghwan belonged to the Eastern Mountain Poetry Society (Tong’ak sisa 東岳詩社), led by the Töksu Yi-sssi family 德水 李氏.279 Both Yi Ponghwan and Nam Ok were members of the Plum Society (Maesa 梅社) led by Cho Chaeho 趙載浩 (1702-1762; m. 1644; Sonjae 損齋) of the P’ungyang Cho-sssi 豐壤趙氏.280 Their connection to Cho Chaeho calls attention to two TPNS entries dealing with a scholar-official named Cho Hyŏnmyŏng 趙顯命 (1690-1752; m. 1719; Kwirok 歸鹿), who was Cho Chaeho’s uncle.281

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278 The two men’s acquaintances included people of competing factions: the Töksu Yi-sssi family belonged to Noron, just like the Hong family, and the P’ungyang Cho-sssi family belonged to the Young Doctrine Faction.

279 These poetry societies point to a degree of transgression of or breakdown in the hitherto less permeable boundaries of social background. Certainly among yŏhang ‘in, many spoke of the lack of difference between the poetry written by the high and the low, as shown in Hong Set’ae’s preface to his Remaining gems of the Eastern Seas.

280 However, socio-cultural pursuits were mostly under the dictates of family and faction. Moreover, yŏhang ‘in never joined together against the yangban class. What they wanted was not “fundamental reform of the lineage-based means of assigning status and bureaucratic access but rather recognition of themselves as aristocrats” (Hwang Kyungmoon, Beyond Birth: Social Status in the Emergence of Modern Korea (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005), 352). See also Gregory N. Evon. Review Article, “Korea’s Aristocratic Moods: Re-Examining Chosŏn Social and Political History,” Asian Studies Review 35 (June 2011): 253-262.

279 Sim Kyŏngho, “Chosŏn hugi sisa wa tonghoin chiptan,” 155. The aforementioned Yi Kyusang, too, was a member of the Tong’ak Society.

280 Ibid., 135, 143.

281 The P’ungyang Cho family was also related to the P’ungsan Hong family in a rather complicated way. Cho Chaeho’s father and Cho Hyŏnmyŏng’s brother was Cho Munmyŏng,
The story of Cho Hyŏnmyŏng (YONSEI 73) recounts a mysterious murder case that occurred in Ch’ılgok Prefecture 漆谷 in Kyŏngsang Province 慶尚道. Cho Hyŏnmyŏng appears as the story’s protagonist, a magistrate who is visited by a resentful female ghost and successfully uncovers the truth behind a young girl who was victimized by her wicked step family members’ crime.

Cho Hyŏnmyŏng’s name also appears in the story of Yŏm Hŭido 廉希道 (YONSEI 56). This narrative deals with the vicissitudes of a faithful steward (kyŏmin 僱人/kyŏmjong 僱從) after his master, Hŏ Chŏk 許穀 (1610-1680; m. 1637; Mukchae 墨齋)—a minister and leader of the then-powerful Southerner Faction—was executed as a result of political turmoil. The story recounts how Yŏm’s integrity in returning to its original owner a large sum of unclaimed cash later miraculously saves him from death. At the end of this entry, No adds:

Kim chinsa of Andong wrote this story and showed it to P’ungwŏn Cho Hyŏnmyŏng in order to pass it around. When tracked down, Hŭdo’s descendants were working at the royal palace as petty clerks belonging to the Office of Royal Landscaping. They were descendants of his first wife. So the story goes.

whomse daughter was married to Prince Hyojang, who was made posthumously to adopt King Yŏngjo, Hong Ponghan’s grandson.


283 I follow Chŏng Kyo’s 鄭喬 (1856-1925) definition of kyŏmin 僱人 in Seasons and years of Korea (Taehan kenyŏnsa 大韓季年史; 1890s), quoted in Kang Myŏngggwan, Chosŏn hugi yŏhāng munhak yŏn’gu (Seoul: Ch’angja kwa pip’yŏngsa, 1997), 44-45: “Kyŏmin are those who reside in the Sangch’ŏn area (uttae) and who work as private secretaries for high-ranking bureaucrats in the capital. Their tasks include serving tea or medicine, preparation of bedding, table setting, delivery of letters, and all other trivialities in the household.

儒人者，以上村人，僱[←為]而卿宰家之隨從人，凡煎煮茶侍湯，鋪具食卓，出納書，札及諸盤些少之事，無不行者 (Correction in the original).
Cho Hyŏnmyŏng is introduced as the person to whom Kim chinsa of Andong showed his written account of the story of Yŏm Hŭido; Kim chinsa probably chose Cho Hyŏnmyŏng because he deemed Cho to be well-connected individual. By presenting his narrative as deriving from someone who had details as to how the story came about and the whereabouts of the protagonist’s descendants, No Myŏnghŭm endows his narrative with an air of authenticity. The details regarding Cho Hyŏnmyŏng were likely shared among the members of the P’ungyang Cho family and then transmitted to No Myŏnghŭm by way of the two people who frequented Cho Hyŏnmyŏng’s relative’s house.

Another piece of circumstantial evidence regarding how the TPNS story regarding Cho Hyŏnmyŏng found its way into TPNS points to a different network of people who likely had a closer connection to No Myŏnghŭm. It has been suggested that Chŏng Naegyo, Hong Ponghan’s former tutor, and No Myŏnghŭm were close acquaintances. Chŏng Naegyo’s brother, Chŏng Min’gyo 鄭敏僑 (1697-1731; yŏhang 'in; ch. 1725; Hanch’ŏn 寒泉), had a close relationship with Cho Hyŏnmyŏng as his tutor while Cho was governor of Kyŏngsang Province. Therefore, it is also possible that No Myŏnghŭm heard stories about Cho Hyŏnmyŏng through his connection to either Chŏng Naegyo or Chŏng Min’gyo.

Still, the most interesting point about the story of Yŏm Hŭido is that No Myŏnghŭm mentions the existence of a preexisting narrative by the original creator of the story of Yŏm. This story was one of the most popular and widely circulated stories in the late-Chosŏn period because of its political subtext. Is No Myŏnghŭm’s reference to a preexisting narrative a rhetorical strategy to assert the historical accuracy of his

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284 Cho Hyŏnmyŏng and Chŏng Naegyo wrote a preface and a postface, respectively, to Remaining writings of Chŏng Min’gyo (Hanch’ŏn yugo 寒泉遺稿; xylography in 1738).
narrative? As I suggested earlier, reliance on the hearsay marker “Debe” alone is not an effective strategy for determining whether a compiler has relied on a written precedent or not. Chronologically speaking, there exist two other written narratives about the same person that come between those of Kim chinsa and TPNS and all four narratives survive today. Intertextual comparisons of them reveal how strong the perception of genre is in all four writers’ versions of the Yŏm story. I will revisit this story in CHAPTER SIX.

4.4. TPNS and the circulation of stories by writing

In what way did preexisting texts influence TPNS? In the rest of this section, I contextualize TPNS within the circulation of texts at the Hong household in order to trace the relationship between these texts and TPNS entries. This section will show that, contrary to emphasis on No Myŏnhŭm as an extensive reader and researcher found in the essays by four men of the Hong family, there is noticeably little evidence within TPNS narratives with which one could reconstruct No Myŏnhŭm as a wide reader and careful note-taker. I will explain this discrepancy as owing to No Myŏnhŭm’s deliberate staging of his narratives as based primarily on oral accounts and covering of his tracks as a reader, researcher, and composer of narratives.

No Myŏnhŭm had an insatiable appetite—an obsession (pyŏk 辟), in Hong Yonghan’s words—for knowledge. Through wide and thorough research, he amassed manuscript books by making handwritten copies of whole books or of excerpts of what he read (tŭngch’o 騰抄). No Kŭng’s letter to his son, written during his exile (1777-1782),285 describes the enormity of No Myŏnhŭm’s literary output. In the letter, No

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285 At that time, No Kŭng was in Wiwŏn 汀原, exiled for the crime of selling his poems to candidates for the state examination. Numerous Chosŏn literati praised No Kŭng’s literary
Kŭng expresses concerns about the possible damage his father’s writings might suffer due to bookworms and the humidity:

Have our books been able to survive undamaged in the summer’s rain? Although I am unable to return home and you are still ignorant, how could one not treasure all of those books that bear your ancestor’s handwriting? For forty some years your ancestor sat under the lamplight by the window, suffered through the heat and cold, laboriously making copies and excerpts, to the point that those books filled up our house. Since my coming here, who has browsed through them? My heart grieves as I think that those books might be under attack by bristletails and moths and that characters in them might be crumbling away.

Scholars of book circulation in eighteenth-century Chosŏn note massive family-based libraries among kyŏnghwa sejok, who prided themselves on collecting and perusing books on a wide variety of subjects. For example, Yu Manju 俞晚柱 (1755-1788; T’ongwŏn 通園) recorded his reading experiences in a diary titled In admiration of the choicest (Hŭmyŏng 欽英; 1775-1787). He comments on capital-based elites’ book-collecting habits in these terms:

A rough estimate of the books collected by sadaebu families in the capital would be no less than a million. There was nothing that they did not procure.


Although Hong Ponghan’s family was not among those known for large-scale family libraries, massive numbers of books were available to family members. Two members of the family participated in state-sponsored publications of large-scale reference books. Hong Ponghan headed a committee assembled for the publication of Tongguk munhŏn pigo (A reference compilation of documents in Korea; completed in 1790; remained unpublished until 1908)—the first encyclopedia in Chosŏn history—from 1769 to 1770, under the auspices of King Yŏngjo. Our biographer Hong Yonghan worked on its sequel, Chŏngbo munhŏn pigo (Reference compilation of documents in Korea, expanded and supplemented; 1790-1908; first published in 1908).

Moreover, as a member of the Old Doctrine Faction (Noron 老論), Hong Ponghan honored posthumously four leaders of the Old Doctrine Faction who were executed in the ‘Sinim Incarceration’ (sinim oksa 辛壬獄事) in 1721, by sponsoring the publications of their writings. Moreover, he once compiled historical records and tales

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288 For a list of large-scale family libraries of late Chosŏn and books circulating there, see Kim Yŏngjin, “Chosŏn hugi Myŏng-Ch’ŏng sop’um suyong kwa sop’um-mun ŭi chŏn’gae yangsang,” PhD diss., Koryŏ University, 2003, 25-34.


290 The ‘Sinim Incarceration’ refers to the deaths of Kim Ch’angji (金昌吉) (1648-1722; m. 1864), Yi Imyŏng 李頤命 (1758-1722; m. 1680, 1686), Yi Konmyŏng 李健命 (1663-1722; m. 1686), and Cho T’aech’ae 趙泰采 (1660-1722; m. 1686), whose active promotion of Prince Yŏngho’s (later King Yŏngjo 英祖; r. 1724-1776) regency during the reign of King Kyŏngjong 景宗 (r. 1724-1724) led them to be charged with treason. The four literary collections are Mong’wa chip (Collected writings of Mong’wa Kim Ch’angji), Hanp’ojae chip (Collected writings of Hanp’o Yi Konmyŏng), Sojae chip (Collected writings of Sojae Yi Imyŏng) and Iudang chip (Collected writings of Iudang Cho T’aech’ae).
to create a textbook—Chŏngsa hwigam 正史彙鑑 (Compendium of the mirror of official histories; 1769; manuscript)—for his tutoring of the crown prince (later King Chŏngjo 正祖 [r. 1776-1800]).291 As previously mentioned, Hong Ponghan privately funded the publication of Wanam chip, a collected writings by his former teacher, Chŏng Naegyo, and wrote a postface (跋) to the collection.

The contents of the above-listed books—either in the forms of books or tables of contents only—likely constituted reading and conversation materials among the members of the Hong family. To be sure, no TPNS entry points to a potential influence from these massive publication projects; however, in Chapter Five, I will point out a linkage between Tongguk munhŏn pigo and TPNS.

People of the Hong family were avid readers of fiction and Ming-Qing informal essays (sop’um 小品, C. xiaopin) which had become widely popular among kyŏnghwa sejok literary figures by this time.292 In particular, evidence suggests that the Hong family family had a favorable attitude toward fiction reading and writing.293 Jin

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291 Hong Ponghan’s own writings survive in Igikchae mallok 翼翼齋漫錄 (Leisurely records of Master Igikchae) and in Ŭjong Hong Ikchŏnggong chugo 御定洪翼卿公奏藁 (Royal selections of memorials and other writings by Master Hong’ikchŏng). The latter was a personal selection by Hong’s grandson, King Chŏngjo. Lady Hyegeǒng’s memoirs of 1801 and 1802 depict the difficulties she had in attempting to publish Hong Ponghan’s literary remains as an attempt to exonerate her father’s name.

292 For a definition of sop’um in this particular context, see Kim Yŏngjin, “Chosŏn hugi Myŏng-Ch’ong sop’um suyong,” 14-25. While an elusive category, sop’um writing can be defined as narratives describing feelings, things, concepts, and events that: (1) are relatively short in length, (2) are compact in style, (3) treat freely chosen subject matter and contents; (4) are expressive of genuine feelings, and (5) showcase the writer’s personal traits and aesthetic values (25).

293 This point was first made in Kim Yŏngjin (1998).

According to Chŏng Sŏnhŭi’s study of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Chosŏn literati’s reading of foreign books, approximately thirty persons read four to five hundred titles, with an average of thirty books per person. Records suggest that they collected the
Shengtan’s 金聖歎 (1610?-1661) edition of Shuihu zhuan 水滸傳 (Water margin) fascinated No Kŭng and Hong Nagin, Hong Ponghan’s first son. Nagin left a poem marveling at Jin Shengtan’s literary style as he listened to a recitation of Water Margin by an interpreting official (yŏkkwan 譯官), Kim Hongch’ŏl 金弘喆 (fl. mid-18th c.). A line from the poem reads: “Jin Shengtan’s style outperforms other writers of fiction” (聖歎文章冠眾家). Hong Ch’wiyŏng, who wrote a preface to TPNS, once composed a

Confucian Classics, philosophy, history, and some classical and vernacular fiction, though numbers were small because of severe censorship and bans on the importation of Chinese books, particularly during the last decades of King Chŏngjo’s reign.

See Chŏng Sŏnhŭi, “18 segi Chosŏn munindŭl ŭi chungguk sosŏl silt’ae wa toksŏ tamnon: Myŏng-mal Ch’ŏng-ch’ŏ Kim Sŏngtan’ŏn sosŏl p’yŏngbibon toksŏ rŭl chungsim ŭro” in Hong Sŏnp’yo et al., 17, 18 segi Chosŏn ŭi oeguk sŏjŏk suyong kwa toksŏ munhwa (Seoul: Hyean, 2006) and Chŏng Sŏnhŭi, “Kim Sŏngtan’ŏn sosŏl p’yŏngbibon ŭi yŏnghyang ŭro hyŏngsŏng toen sosŏl pip’yŏngnon kwa munye mihak,” in Hong Sŏnp’yo et al., 17, 18 segi Chosŏn ŭi toksŏ munhwa wa munhwa pyŏndong (Seoul: Hyean, 2007).

294 Quoted from Kim Yöngjin, 1998; 35-36. Unless indicated otherwise, all the references to the Hong family members’ comments on fiction reading are from this article.

295 Hong Nagin’s collected works contains the following phrases: “Listening to Yŏkkwan Kim Hongch’ŏl’s recitation of Shuihuzhuan” (聽金譯喆讀水滸傳), Anwa yugo 安窯遺稿 (The remaining works of Anwa Hong Nagin), Vol. 1, 1764.


In Yu Chaegŏn 劉在顯’s (1793-1880) Ihyang kyŏnmunnok 里鄕見聞錄 (Record of hearsay from the countryside)—biographies dedicated to talented people whose social statuses were of secondary groups or lower—is found a book reciter named Yi Chasang 李子常 (dates unknown). Well-versed in books of sorcery (sulsŏ 術書), Yi Chasang is recorded as having had an exceptional memory and being able to recite vernacular Chinese fiction well. He eked out a living by frequenting ministers’ houses to recite fiction.

As for reciters of vernacular Korean fiction, see Entry 31 of Ch’ujae kii 秋齋紀異 (Ch’ujae’s records of the marvelous), a compilation of the lives of seventy-one low-born people of contemporary Chosŏn—each introduced with a sketchy biography and a poem—by a yŏhang’in named Cho Susam (1762-1849; styled Chiwŏn 芝園; sobriquet Ch’ujae 秋齋). Min Kwandong in his “Suhoji ŏrok kwa Sŏyugi ŏrok yŏn’gu” published in Chungguk sosŏl nonch’ong 29 (2009): 105-125, speculates that an edition of Suhoji ŏrokhae 水滸語語譯解 (Exegesis of Chinese colloquial expressions and vernacular style in Shuihuzhuan) held by the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies 奎章閣 at Seoul National
poem commemorating his experience listening to fiction recitation, which he described as “engrossing and amusing” (碑誦津津為解颐). Also significant is our biographer Hong Yonghan’s comment on his nephew Hong Nagwŏn 洪樂遠 (1743-1775). Yonghan marvels at Nagwŏn’s precocious talent for listening to recitations of historical anecdotes written in vernacular Korean, while at the same time inscribing the essence of what he heard in hanmun composition (著作聽談稗史，譯以成文).

Most importantly, members of the Hong Ponghan family had been exposed to two story collections prior to TPNS and another that postdates it. For example, Hong Ponghan’s maternal grandfather was Im Pang 任墳 (1640-1724; m. 1792; Such’on 水村) who wrote Ch’ŏnyerok 天倪錄 (Records of the invisible workings of heaven; hereafter Invisible workings). Im Pang’s grandson Im Mae 任邁 (1711-1779; ch. 1754; Nansil 蘭室) wrote Chapki kodam 雜記古談 (Miscellaneous records of old tales; hereafter Old tales). Yi Hŭip’yŏng 李義平 (1772-1839; ch. 1810), whose great-great-grandfather was Hong Ponghan’s father-in-law Yi Chip, compiled Kyesŏ chamnok 溪西雜錄 (Kyesŏ Yi Hŭip’yŏng’s miscellany; 1828; hereafter Kyesŏ’s miscellany). In short:

University was almost certainly compiled on the basis of Jin Shengtan’s 70-chapter edition (116). CHAPTER SEVEN revisits sosŏl ŏrokhae.

According to Yun Chiyang, some editions of Sŏsanggi ŏrok (Exegesis of Chinese colloquial expressions and vernacular style in Xixiangji), too, were influenced by the so-called “Jin Shengtan critical edition of Xixiangji.” For details see Yun Chiyang, “P’ilsa pon Sŏsanggi ŏrok ǔ pullyu mit kak p’ilsa pon ǔ t’ukching koch’al,” Chung’ŏ chungmunhak 50 (2011): 107-109.

See Soju chip 49. In 1798, Hong Ch’wiyŏng was at the country home of his cousin along with a professional singer (kagaek 歌客), a young zither player (kŭmdong 琴童), and a storyteller talented at ‘mimicking sounds’ (kugija 口技者). The poem was composed after Ch’wiyŏng viewed the three men’s performance.

See Changju chip 25. Exactly who recited this work is uncertain. In light of historical records, the reciter was probably either a female member of the family or a professional reciter. See Sohyeon Park, “Law, ideology, and popular culture,” 219-46.
While it has been established that the origins of at least thirty entries of *Kyesŏ’s miscellany* are traced to TPNS, opinions vary on whether No Myŏnghŭm had read *Invisible workings* and/or *Old tales*. At least nine entries in *Invisible workings* have been identified as corresponding to an equal number of TPNS narratives, and one entry of *Old tales* deals with the same stuff-material as a TPNS entry.

To what extent can we trace the influence the aforementioned various encyclopedic compilations, Chinese and Korean vernacular fictional narratives, *sop’um* writings, and story collections had on No Myŏnghŭm’s creative activities at the Hong household? What about the copious notes and books fashioned from his own manuscript copies of existing texts, which the framing essays and the letter by No Kŭng highlighted as one of No Myŏnghŭm’s personal habits?

Surprisingly, within TPNS narratives No Myŏnghŭm gives virtually no substantial information about the influence of written material on him. I present below a list of written texts mentioned in TPNS; there are three overlapping items between this table and the table showing No Myŏnghŭm’s comments on the origins of his materials. Note that none of the texts listed here are presented in direct quotes or as citations.

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299 Im Wanhyŏk (1999). This study introduces two more texts in addition to the seven stories identified in Kim Yŏngjin (1998).
Despite the ample quantity of texts circulating at the Hong household, TPNS entries are not marked with any indication as to which books No Myŏng-hŭm perused. This is in stark contrast to his emphasis on the oral origins of his stories. On account of the negligible references to written texts and the much stronger presence of influence from oral accounts, accentuated by the frequent appearance of the hearsay marker at the end of the entries, TPNS is generally explained as a compilation of stories circulating during No Myŏng-hŭm’s lifetime—or story collections based on his kyŏnmun 見文 (first- and second-hand experience).  

How keen was No Myŏng-hŭm to lend historical authenticity to his narratives? How trustworthy are his claims about the oral origins of his stories? Yi Hŭip’yŏng adopted at least thirty TPNS entries, without any indication of reliance on previous

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300 Im Wanhyŏk, “Tong’ae naksong kwallyŏn charyo,” 313.
written texts, for his own *Kyesŏ’s miscellany*. In several nineteenth-century story collections (*Green hills*, in particular), the author-compiler cannibalizes preexisting written narratives using a highly plagiaristic method, i.e., by leaving only a few traces of his quoting of a previous text and obscuring the origins of his sources by deleting personal information found in the original text and by never citing it.  

These facts compel one to examine the relationship between TPNS and two antecedent story collections that No Myŏnghŭm possibly read: *Invisible workings* and *Old tales*. Current opinions vary as to whether No Myŏnghŭm used preexisting written narratives. Moreover, there are numerous TPNS narratives that have antedating parallel narratives. What relationship did TPNS have with these parallel antedating narratives?  

Regarding the connection between *Invisible workings* and TPNS, one intertextual study renders a negative verdict (Im Wanhyŏk 1999), while other scholars continue to suggest that No Myŏnghŭm must have read it without offering any textual support that he had done so (Kim Chunhyŏng; Kim Yŏngjin 1998; Im Hyŏngt’aek 1999; Namgung Yun 2009; Yi Kang’ok 2011). I will revisit this topic in the next chapter, because the question of literary antecedents pertains to a detailed discussion of the circulation of TPNS manuscript editions. For now, relying on descriptions of the creative process underlying TPNS and of the kind of storytelling to which No Myŏnghŭm was exposed, I hypothesize that (1) TPNS was influenced by preexisting story collections and (2) No Myŏnghŭm deliberately omitted any information on his reading and research background.

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301 Chŏng Myŏnggi (1994) illustrates this point by comparing Sin Tonbok’s *Haksan hanŏn* (Leisurely talks by Haksan; ca. mid-18th c.; hereafter *Haksan*), an eighteenth century literary miscellany and *Ch’ŏnggu yadam* (Stories from the green hills; ca. mid-19th c.; hereafter *Green hills*).

4.5. Reconstruction of the oral storytelling that influenced No Myŏnghŭm

In TPNS, two stories deal with communal storytelling: “An official named Kwŏn” (YONSEI 11) and “A student living outside the New Gate” (YONSEI 53). In both cases, the storytelling is used as a ruse. The teller appeals to an authority figure (father) on behalf of a misdemeanant (son) by presenting the misdemeanant’s wrongdoing as a folktale and a hypothesis. At the end of the story, the teller asks ‘What would you do, if you were in a such a situation?’ and later reveals that what he or she has told is in fact a real event. In both cases the ruse succeeds. The environment in which the storytelling takes place is a private home and the tellers of stories are friends or family members.

Kim Yongjin (1998), Im Hyŏng’t’aek (1999), and Yi Kang’ok (2011) rightly point out that No Myŏnghŭm himself was a talented teller of stories. This observation is based on Hong Ch’wiyŏng’s preface, where we find the following description:

I remember once having followed Master [=No Myŏnghŭm] to P’ium Pavilion and Yŏngch’o Veranda in a crummy back alley of Ch’ŏnggwŏ in Anbuk. Inebriated under the flickering lamplight after a drinking spree, he was engaged in pleasant conversation without ever ceasing. As a young boy at that time, I was sitting in a corner, engrossed in listening to them.

From this description of an enthused and drunk No Myŏnghŭm sharing stories without end, one may be tempted to extrapolate Im Hyŏng’t’aek’s (1978) professional storyteller. Yi Kang’ok (2011) offers detailed explanations of the kind of oral storytelling to which No Myŏnghŭm was exposed. Using the term “storytelling venues” (iyagi p’an) chez Hong, this study asserts that “TPNS is the result of oral storytelling at such an iyagi

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303 I am uncertain about the places being referred to in this excerpt. Anbuk refers to the “northern extremities” (puktan 北端) of Anguk-tong 安國洞, the Seoul neighborhood in which Hong Ponghan’s family and close relatives lived.
"p’an and is a kind of a scenario book or script (본).” For Yi, the contents of TPNS narratives were designed to suit the audience at the iyagi p’an.³⁰⁴

I contend that the kind of oral storytelling that Yi Kang’ok reconstructs for TPNS is not greatly different from the old kangdamsa idea, and is similarly lacking in support: First, there is no evidence that TPNS was used as a scenario book or a prompt book. No TPNS manuscript edition contains breath marks, which would have been needed by a reader-storyteller to facilitate the recitation process. Among numerous manuscript editions of several yadam collections that I have examined, virtually none had any marking suggestive of the use of a yadam compilation as a physical object for oral recitation. The clean state of the manuscript editions points to yadam as primarily reading materials, not as transcripts designed for the sake of oral performance.

Second, Yi’s study uses the term “patronage” to describe the relationship between No Myŏnghŭm and the Hong family. This is seriously misleading in that No Myŏnghŭm was not employed to serve as a raconteur at the Hong house. Moreover, Kim Sangjo (2001a) is firm in asserting that there is little evidence to confirm the existence of professional storytellers as imagined in the 1970s; indeed, since the 1970s there has not been a single discovery of any source pointing to the existence of kangdamsa-style oral storytelling in relation to yadam narratives.

Rather, the types of oral storytelling described in the writings of the four Hong men are best described as spontaneous conversational venues. Compared with the casual-vs.-professional oral storytelling models in the Chinese tradition, I assert that the oral

accounts to which No Myŏnghŭm was exposed resembled more the model of casual storytelling among acquaintances.

One importance piece of evidence that points to spontaneous casual telling of stories is found in the opening remarks of the postface to TPNS by Hong Chigyŏng (not to be confused with Hong Ch’wiyŏng). In it, Hong Chigyŏng introduces TPNS by detailing his penchant for hearing stories since his youth. He identifies 70-80% of TPNS as consisting of stories that he has heard firsthand. Hong Chigyŏng also confesses that he—a scholar trained in the Confucian classics and conventional literary composition—once attempted to create something along the lines of TPNS, to no avail. There is only a passing remark about what goes into the process: capturing the essence of an orally narrated story and committing it to writing. Nevertheless, Hong Chigyŏng’s comments on the techniques and effort required to accomplish such an oral-to-written transformation are worth quoting:

When I was a child, I enjoyed listening to the stories that had been passed on and recited for generation after generation. When a guest came by, I would always have him tell me a story. I would pester him to tell me every story that he has ever known. Even when the guest got sick of it and wanted to go to retire, I would not stop.

Once I wanted to record and weave together the stories I had heard, but my brush could not keep pace with my thoughts. My writing failed to sum up their essence. So I struggled for a while, firm of resolve but unable to accomplish anything.

Now I live in leisure and alone. I have no visitors. Recently, I obtained a book called Repeatedly recited stories of the East, compiled by Master Clumsy Old Man No [No Myŏnghŭm]. I humbly read it. I was so delighted that it was difficult to separate myself from the book. It is not only a case of beautiful writing, but also Zeng Xi’s jujube and Qu Dao’s water caltrop—something that I had been savoring …

Most importantly, Hong Chigyŏng describes producing something like TPNS as the solitary work of an individual rather than as something akin to community-based output. A significant time delay is noted between the time he heard the stories and the
time he created written narratives based upon what he had heard. Such a delay suggests that there is a high possibility that he came to hear more than one version of each individual episode and to have access to written narratives describing what he had once heard, and that in the end a composer of a written narrative chooses a plot, characterization, and style that would best serve his purpose. The inspiration for writing a story might come as a fully developed narrative, or in bits and pieces regarding a historical incident assembled in single or multiple bouts.

On this score, I wish to call attention to how two prefaces (sŏ 序) and one postface (pal 跋) valorize TPNS as manifesting No Myŏnghŭm’s talent and effort. In other words, the sŏ-pal writers present TPNS as a literary composition that underwent a crafting brush of a writer. First, Hong Naksu’s preface compares TPNS to the “fruit of tireless study throughout the seasons, with fireflies in the summer and moonlit snow in the winter” (螢窟雪壁). Second, in light of Chigyŏng’s description, there exists a significant temporal and spatial distance between the time of hearing stories and the time of writing them down. Third, TPNS is described as beautifully written (munsa 文詞; lit. ‘diction; phraseology; writing [style’]). Both Hong Chigyŏng and Hong Naksu use the set phrase “seeing a segment to see the whole” (窺一斑而見全豹) to describe TPNS as a sample of No Myŏnghŭm’s beautiful writing. Hong Ch’wiyŏng applauds TPNS as “making a collectible for art and literary circles” (備藝苑之蒐).

These remarks strongly point out that TPNS was far removed from having any direct bearing on oral storytelling events. TPNS narratives, then, are best defined as literary compositions based on or adapted from stories conveyed through casual storytelling among acquaintances. Furthermore, emphasis on TPNS as literary
composition in the essays by four men of the Hong family compels one to revisit the observation made in Im Wanhyŏk (1999)—that among numerous TPNS narratives having parallel antecedent narratives from story collections and literary miscellanies, the story of Pak Chinhŏn is the lone exception that displays an antecedent-descendant relationship. Therefore, I close this section by hypothesizing that in light of descriptions of TPNS as the product of painstaking literary creation and of No Myŏnghŭm as a wide reader and thorough researcher, TPNS must bear evidence of No Myŏnghŭm’s reliance on preexisting written narratives. This hypothesis will be corroborated through textual analyses in the next chapter.

4.6. Conclusions

This chapter is the first textual study on TPNS in this dissertation. I have focused on introducing No Myŏnghŭm and his text, in particular the origins of TPNS and No Myŏnghŭm’s role as an author-compiler. In order to do this, I have relied on research on No Myŏnghŭm’s life at Hong Ponghan’s household. I expanded from existing discussions of TPNS and its author-compiler, by situating the actual contents of TPNS within the context of the late-Chosŏn period and with a focus on the Hong household as a powerful, cultured elite family in the capital of late eighteenth-century Chosŏn. I examined four commemorative writings written by men of the Hong Ponghan family and other relevant historical information to reconstruct No Myŏnghŭm’s life and his creative process. Throughout my discussion, I have maintained that No Myŏnghŭm was an authorial compiler whose life trajectory can be traced within TPNS.

In “Biography of Master No, a clumsy old man”: A fallen yangban in late-Chosŏn high society,” I have provided an annotated translation and reading of Hong Yonghan’s
sympathetic biography of No Myŏnghŭm and showed that No Myŏnghŭm was a yangban who tasted the lives of both the politically and economically powerful and the politically and economically destitute. In the biography, No Myŏnghŭm is portrayed as a man with the talent of a true poet, a life-long cultivator of the value of being content with one’s meager lot, and as an earnest learner of literature. The connections between No’s life and TPNS reveal that (1) his training in the examination-style poetry exerted a strong influence on his apparently innovative literary style; (2) No Myŏnghŭm’s connection with yŏhang’ın and sŏŏl literary figures at the Hong house are manifested in the contents of TPNS.

In “TPNS and the circulation of stories by word of mouth,” I have examined the origins of several TPNS stories by drawing connections between No Myŏnghŭm’s own comments on his sources and historical persons that he knew personally or indirectly through his network of acquaintances. I highlighted that almost all TPNS stories lay claim to oral origins through No Myŏnghŭm’s ample use of the hearsay marker (址) and through commentaries in the postscripts that throw light on the origins of his sources. I also called attention to No Myŏnghŭm’s reference to a preexisting written source in the case of the story of Yŏm Hŭido, although he does not quote from the texts mentioned in TPNS. Nor nor does he make it explicit that he had access to them prior to his writing. I return to this topic in Chapter Six in light of genre perceptions surrounding TPNS.

In “TPNS and the circulation of stories by writing,” I have attempted to situate TPNS within the context of the books that were available at the Hong household. Despite rich descriptions regarding No Myŏnghŭm’s penchant for voracious reading and careful note-taking, TPNS offers remarkably little information with which one could reconstruct
the existence of antecedent written sources for the creation of TPNS. I therefore hypothesize that No Myŏnghŭm’s implicit truth claims that almost all of his narratives were drawn directly and solely from oral accounts should be examined through textual studies, and propose to examine this topic in the next chapter.

In “Reconstruction of the oral storytelling that influenced No Myŏnghŭm and the creation of TPNS,” I have critically revisited the kind of storytelling to which No Myŏnghŭm was exposed at Hong Ponghan’s house. I pointed out that (1) TPNS was formed from casual storytelling among acquaintances, and (2) TPNS was a work of painstaking labor and result of No Myŏnghŭm’s literary prowess. My explanation countered previous claims that No Myŏnghŭm’s storytelling at the Hong Ponghan house was part of a storyteller-patronage relationship and that his written narratives were a kind of script for oral performances.

By emphasizing that TPNS is a product of literary composition and questioning claims for the oral origins of the stories compiled in TPNS, my intention is not to deny that No Myŏnghŭm was ever exposed to sophisticated oral narratives or that expressions or phrases used in oral accounts penetrated into his literary compositions. I emphasize the literary aspect of TPNS because the supposition of a direct linkage between historical oral storytelling and the creation of TPNS tends to envision a written narrative, the completion of which is contingent on the interplay between a storyteller and his audience. Instead, I emphasize that in the case of TPNS, it was the author-compiler who ultimately determined the nature of what he created.
5. Surviving manuscript editions and literary antecedents

[No Myŏnghŭm] had wished to change the order of the narratives. However, he died without finishing it 欲更數次而未及焉

- Hong Ch’wiyŏng, “Preface to Tongp’ae naksong”305

5.1. Introduction

No Myŏnghŭm left behind traces of his creative impulses in various places. This chapter compares surviving manuscript editions and examines three narratives that parallel three TPNS narratives, in order to explore them as an inscriptive site for the author-compiler’s creative emulation of his predecessors.

First, I compare surviving manuscript editions in light of comments made in Hong Ch’wiyŏng’s preface and trace the evidence in it of No Myŏnghŭm’s method of imparting structure to TPNS. I will demonstrate that while varying from one another significantly, all surviving TPNS manuscripts share a common structure, whereby two or more narratives dealing with similar subject matter appear together, as distinctive units. I will argue that this structuring tendency, evident across the manuscript editions, is evidence that No Myŏnghŭm made use of Im Pang’s Invisible workings, the first story collection to systematically group its contents using pairs of narratives.

Second, I review Im Wanhyŏk’s (1998) previous conclusion regarding TPNS—that it is a case of stories originating directly from No Myŏnghŭm’s first- and second-hand experiences (kyŏnmun 見聞), with the lone exception of the story of Pak Chinhŏn. I will show that (1) Im’s conclusions are based on traits of nineteenth-century story collections and that (2) his study presupposes an oral-written dichotomy and relies on

obvious syntagmatic correspondences, by way of *verbatim* transcription, as the most important criterion for determining the existence or absence of influences from a preexisting narrative. To discuss the second point, I will investigate No Myŏnghŭm’s adoption of a previous story about Pak Chinhŏn and use it to establish a hypothetical retelling principle. Next, I analyze two more TPNS narratives with antecedent versions and verify that they, too, form an antecedent-descendent relationship. Last, as an addendum, I revisit another earlier claim regarding who supplied titles for the entries in the Yonsei University edition of TPNS and point out the significance of the YS edition in the light of titles found in other late-Chosŏn story collections that both antedate and postdate TPNS.

### 5.2. Surviving manuscript editions: the structure of TPNS

My discussions of surviving manuscript editions of TPNS are influenced by the following previous studies. Im Hyŏngt’aek (1990) introduces manuscript editions of TPNS for the first time—i.e., the Tenri edition held by Tenri University, Nara, Japan, the Tŏyŏ edition held by the Tŏyŏ Bunko in Tōkyō, Japan, and part of his own private collection—and confirms for the first time that TPNS was compiled by No Myŏnghŭm. This study paved the way for subsequent studies of TPNS. The first and most comprehensive study of these editions of TPNS is Chŏng Myŏnggi (1991, republished in 1996), which is updated in Chŏng Myŏnggi (2005). Chin Chaegyo (2008) provides bibliographic notes on an edition held by Ewha Womans University. Paek Sŭngho (2007) updates Chŏng Myŏnggi (2005) regarding the Yonsei edition. I have also consulted (1) Chŏng Myŏnggi (1987), in which Chŏng discusses the Ogura Shinpei edition of *Green hills*, in which several TPNS entries are reproduced; (2) Im Wanhyŏk (1999), in which
Im discusses *Tongguk p’aesa* 東國稗史 (*Insignificant histories from the Eastern Country*) edition, a text that does not bear the title TPNS and yet whose contents largely overlap with it; and (3) Im Wanhyŏk (2003), in which Im introduces *Kigwan* 奇觀 (*Strange sights*; ca. 19th c.) as a compilation of stories containing a substantial number of TPNS entries. Aside from the primary and secondary sources mentioned in these studies, I have also consulted two other editions, which have only been mentioned in passing in previous studies: (a) the so-called Yeongnam University edition, which in fact turns out to be a facsimile reproduction of YONSEI and (b) an edition held by Gyeongsang University that seems to be a rescension of the TŌYŌ edition.

The variability of *yadam* narratives within a manuscript culture forestalls attempts to reconstruct a hypothetical ‘Ur-text’ that is altogether pristine, original, and superior, and from which all TPNS manuscript editions derive. Instead, we must put manuscript editions on an equal footing and then compare them as unique texts, whose copyists almost always exerted some level of creativity when making them.

However, certain traits of surviving TPNS manuscripts seem to point to the possibility of making connections between these copies and a rendition that No Myŏnghŭm had been working on before his death. In what follows, I first introduce some general characteristics of TPNS manuscript editions in order to point out the uniqueness of each edition.

### 5.2.1. General descriptions

Depending on how exclusively they cater to TPNS narratives, surviving manuscripts can be divided into three categories. For each group, I discuss some general characteristics and then provide a table that summarizes them:
GROUP (A)
MANUSCRIPTS WHOSE CONTENTS DEAL ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY WITH TPNS

Six manuscripts belong to this category:
1. Yonsei University edition, Seoul, Korea (hereafter YONSEI)
2. Ewha University edition, Seoul, Korea (hereafter EWHA)
3. Professor Im Hyŏng’ae’s (sobriquet Kŏng’in 祕人) private collection, Seoul, Korea (hereafter KYŎNG’IN)
4. ADAN Library edition, Seoul, Korea (hereafter ADAN)
5. Tōyō Library edition, Tōkyō, Japan (hereafter TŌYŌ)

Titles
Almost all of them are titled “東秩洛誦.” There are two exceptions. EWHA has “雑” is used instead of “洛.”

Characteristics of YONSEI (=Yeongnam University copy)
YONSEI has the most entries (78), all of which are titled. The titles attached to YONSEI appear in two places: (1) in a table of contents at the beginning of the text and (2) perpendicularly written in the top margin at the beginning of an entry. However, the Yeongnam University edition, which is a reproduction of YONSEI, does not show this feature. My copy of a photographic reproduction of YONSEI shows that perpendicularly-written titles stop after the sixteenth or seventeenth entry. It is possible that originally all the entries were given titles in the top margin, since part of the original margin was cut out when this edition was rebound.

The titles of YONSEI are stylistically distinctive compared to titles found in any other yadam collections and will be examined as an addendum to this chapter.

The story of Sin Sukchu in this edition suggests that one of the copyists of this edition—at least two distinctive calligraphic styles are found—deprecated Sin Sukchu in that a close examination of the relevant pages reveals that during or after the making of this manuscript edition, portions containing forms of address for Sin Sukchu were corrected. For example, all other manuscript editions containing this story (TŌYŌ, TENRI, and TONGGUK) call Sin Sukchu by his posthumous epithet Munch’ung-gong 文忠公 or by the honorific marker “gong” 公. However, in YONSEI these two forms of address are almost always amended with an additional piece of paper and Sin Sukchu is simply called by his surname “Sin 申” or by his given name “Sukchu 叔舟.” There is one exception, whereby Sin is referred to as “Munch’ung 文忠” without the accompanying “gong 公.” Generally speaking, yadam narratives rarely address a literatus whose official rank was as high as a minister by his surname only or given name. Instead, he would be called by one of the following: his surname followed by the name of the office he served (e.g., 相, 相國, or such-and-such 君), his posthumous epithet (諡號), his style (字), or his sobriquet (號). See also “Characteristics of KIGWAN” in the next section for a similar treatment of Hŏ Chŏk in KIGWAN.

A similar trait is noted in Paek Sŏngho (2007) in his examination of the Kungmin University edition placed under Group (C). Paek speculates that the rebinding happened either at the turn of the twentieth century or during the Japanese colonial period.
Affinities and differences among YONSEI, EWHA, and KYŎNG’IN
These three editions display the closest affinity in terms of the order of their entries.
YONSEI is a single undivided volume. EWHA and KYŎNG’IN are originally two-volume texts, but both are missing volume one.
In terms of contents, YONSEI (40-77) and all of EWHA (1-37) correspond. EWHA (1-37) and KYŎNG’IN (1-37) are identical, and by extension, YONSEI (40-77) and KYŎNG’IN (1-37) also correspond. However, in KYŎNG’IN, one more entry, titled “Mok kŭm hwa ki 木錦花記 (“A record of wood, silk, and flower”)—a narrative of unknown provenance—follows Entry 37.307
YONSEI concludes with a story about Yu Sŏngnyong 柳成龍 (1542-1607; m. 1566; Sŏae 西岳), a high-ranking minister, and an illiterate monk who is taught the characters and learns about propriety between men and women. This story is not found in any other editions, and scholars speculate that a later compiler added it.
Chŏng Myŏnggi notes that, in terms of the contents, YONSEI, EWHA, and KYŎNG’IN differ from one another only on minor points, implying the differences were errors made on the part of copyists. Among the three editions, EWHA is the only one that is easily accessible; a photographic reproduction of the entire text can be downloaded.
YONSEI edition is held by the Yonsei University. KYŎNG’IN is Professor’s Im Hyŏng’taek的私家收藏.

Affinities and differences among EWHA, KYŎNG’IN, and TŌYŌ
These three display some affinity in that all three editions consisted of two volumes. The volumes in TY are marked with “Heaven” (kŏn 乾) and “Earth (kon 坤). TY has a smaller number of entries than YONSEI, and its most interesting characteristic is the order of its entries, a point I will return to below. TŌYŌ has been reproduced in Yi Usŏng, ed., Sŏbyŏk oesa haeoe suil pon, Tongp’ae naksong oe 5-jong (Seoul, Asea munhwasa, 1990).

Affinities and differences between TŌYŌ and GYEONGSANG
GYEONGSANG appears to be a reproduction of TŌYŌ in that the two have the exact same order of entries. However, GYEONGSANG is a single volume and the character “全” (lit. ‘whole, complete’) appearing next to the title makes it explicit that GYEONGSANG was created as such. Further research comparing the two editions is required to ascertain the relationship between the two editions.
According to Mr. Yi Chŏnghŭi, the librarian at the Munch’ŏngak 文泉閣, records on GYEONGSANG in the library’s database shows the text’s trajectory as follows: It was first purchased by Inoue Bunko 井上文庫, on June 14th, 1971, for the price of 5000

307 Chŏng Myŏnggi (1991) speculates that this oddity results from the source text of the KYŎNG’IN edition.
In my opinion, there is also a possibility that it was the copyist’s add-on based upon how he/she understood the nature of what was being copied. For example, a vernacular edition of Invisible workings (the so-called Ch’ŏ Minyŏl edition)—a collection known for having numerous entries dealing with fantastical accounts—has an add-on identified as a vernacular translation of a Taiping guangji 太平廣記 entry.
yen. A certain book collector purchased it for the same price on April 16th, 1975 and donated it to Gyeongsang University.

**Characteristics of ADAN**

ADAN is the only edition to have this preface, which is also preserved in the *Nogūn chip* 鹿隠集 (*Collected works of Nogūn Hong Ch’wiyŏng*). The preface in ADAN has many obvious errors, according to Kim Yŏngjin (1998), who privileges the version in *Collected works of Nogūn Hong Ch’wiyŏng*. ADAN is privately held by the Adan Library, Seoul, Korea.

**Attempts to locate an edition closest to No Myŏnghŭm’s original**

Im Hyŏngt’ae (1990; 1999) considers TŌYŌ to be closest to No Myŏnghŭm’s original because TŌYŌ was found in the family library of Yi Kahwan 李家煥 (1742-1801; *m.* 1777; Kūmdae 錦帶), one of the closest acquaintances of No Kŭng, No Myŏnghŭm’s son and because the calligraphic style of TŌYŌ matches other documents whose authorship is attributed to Yi Kahwan.

Chŏng Myŏnggi (1991/1996) feels that YONSEI is closest to No Myŏnghŭm’s original.

Paek Sŏngho (2007) calls attention to the date inscribed on the cover of YONSEI: “On X day in the fifth month of the year of kapsul” (甲午五月[blank]日). The kapsul year can be either 1808 or 1868. Paek speculates that, judging from the quality of the paper and the calligraphic style (*p’ilch’e* 筆體) in which YONSEI is written, this copy could not have been made in 1908. However, he offers no clear explanation as to what aspects of the paper or calligraphic style led him to this conclusion.

**A poem attached to YONSEI**

Between the cover page and the page containing a table of contents is another page, on which a poem is written. Although it is difficult to decipher the poem due to the illegibility of numerous sinographs, the poem is confirmed to be a slight modification of verses drawn from *Xixiangji* 西廂記 (*Romance of the western chamber*).

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308 I have yet to decipher the sinographs in these poems. I thank Professor Florence Chia-ying Yeh UBC, an expert on Chinese poetry, for illuminating this point for me.
Table 5.1. Surviving TPNS manuscript editions (A): Entries exclusive to TPNS

YONSEI, EWHA, and KYONG’IN are enclosed separately for their close affinity to one another.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HELD BY</th>
<th>YONSEI UNI.</th>
<th>EWHA UNI.</th>
<th>PROF. IM HYONG’AEK</th>
<th>ADAN MUN’GO</th>
<th>TÖYÖ BUNKO</th>
<th>GYEONGSANG UNI.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TITLE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOLUMES/BOOKS</td>
<td>1 volume 1 book</td>
<td>2 volumes 2 books; Volume I missing</td>
<td>2 volumes 2 books; Volume I missing</td>
<td>1 volume 1 book</td>
<td>2 volumes (kön 乾 and kon 坤)</td>
<td>1 volume 1 book (marked as “全” complete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREFACE &amp; POSTFACE</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Hong Ch’wiyong</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOC</td>
<td>O (Titles)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>O (Titles)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO. OF TPNS ENTRIES</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>36 Order slightly different from YONSEI</td>
<td>57 + Sok Order different from YONSEI: EWHA: KYONG’IN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATES</td>
<td>1874(?)</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1834112</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COPYIST (ANONYMOUS)</td>
<td>Multiple persons</td>
<td>Single person</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Single person</td>
<td>Possibly a single person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LENGTH &amp; WIDTH (CM)</td>
<td>27 x 17</td>
<td>28.5 x 20.5</td>
<td>30.5 x 20</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO. OF LEAVES (DOUBLESIDED)</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>Kön 25; kon 34 Sok 24 = 83</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LINES/PAGE</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAX. NO. OF CHARACTERS PER LINE</td>
<td>30-45</td>
<td>18 Number Consistent</td>
<td>22 Number Consistent</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Approx. 41</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

309 TÖYÖ was used as one of the sourcebooks for Yi Usŏng and Im Hyŏng’aeak’s Compilation (1973-1978). The two editors gave titles to the previously untitled TÖYÖ entries and included a total of fourteen TPNS narratives in Compilation.

310 “X” indicates “absence” while “N/A” indicates “information unavailable.”

311 See Kim Yŏngjip (1998), 25n.

312 Im Hyŏng’aeak (1990).
GROUP (B)
MANUSCRIPTS WHOSE ENTRIES CONSIST OF A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF WHAT CAN BE ASCERTAINED AS TPNS NARRATIVES, ALONG WITH A HOST OF ENTRIES FROM OTHER STORY COMPILATIONS OR NEW ENTRIES MADE BY COMPILERS WHOSE WORK POSTDATES TPNS BY AT LEAST A COUPLE OF DECADES.

Four editions belong to this category:

1. TENRI held by Tenri University, Nara, Japan.
2. TONGGUUK held by Yeongnam University, Korea.
3. KIGWAN held by the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies at Seoul National University, Korea.
4. CH’ÖNGGU (previously known as the OGURA SHINPEI edition), held by the University of Tōkyō.

TENRI as a ‘corrupt’ edition
Chŏng Myŏnggi’s (1991/1996) study and Kim Tong’uk’s (1996) annotated modern Korean translation of the TENRI edition confirm that TENRI is a ‘corrupt’ version because its contents, in light of all the other editions, show the effects of deliberate reduction: it is made up of part of TPNS and part of Kyesŏ’s miscellany (1828). As previously mentioned, Kim Chunhyŏng (1997) identifies some thirty of Kyesŏ’s miscellany entries as appropriations of TPNS counterparts; these are to be distinguished from outright modifications of TPNS narratives also found in TENRI.

The compiler of TENRI gave titles to each entry. Ranging between nine to seventeenth Chinese characters, the titles function as summaries: the longest of them reads: “Ch’wigūm Pak P’aengnyŏn’s descendant drafts documents along the lower reaches of the Naktong River and becomes rich” (醉琴朴彭年子孫，洛東下流立案，而致富).

A facsimile reproduction of TENRI is found in Yi Usŏng ed., Sŏbyŏk oesa haeoe suil pon: Tongp’ae naksong oe 5-jong (Seoul, Asea munhwasa, 1990).

Markings in TENRI indicating the existence of vernacular TPNS rendition(s)
Another important characteristic of TENRI, as noted in Paek Sŭngho (2007), is “언” (vernacular) written at the beginning of thirty-six entries in this edition. Paek speculates that this is information added later by the holder of this edition, who indicated thereby that he had discovered parallel vernacular narratives of those included in his text. For descriptions of vernacular editions of TPNS, see GROUP (C) below.

Characteristics of TONGGUUK
TONGGUUK has been briefly introduced in Im Wanhyŏk (1999). My own copy is a black-and-white facsimile reproduction.

TONGGUUK has two titles. The front cover is unreadable. The first page after the cover contains an ‘inner cover’ (内題), which reads Kii sosol 奇異小説 (Marvelous stories). Starting from the next page, the following five pages contain a ‘Table of

313 Im Wanhyŏk, “Tongp’ae naksong kwallyŏn charyo,” 297.
Contents’ organized under “mongnok” 目錄 (“table of contents”). On the first page that appears immediately after the Table of Contents is written another title in the far right line of the page. This title reads Tongguk p’aesŏ 東國稗史 (Insignificant histories from the Eastern Country). Immediately after this first line begins the first entry.

According to “mongnok,” all 80 entries of TONGGUUK are titled. Each title begins with the protagonist’s identity and an eight-character description; this structural pattern makes TONGGUK reminiscent of YONSEI. While further research is required, the contents of the TONGGUK titles and YONSEI titles, too, seem generally similar. To take the story of Yu Myŏngsun as an example, YONSEI gives “一人風采二女殉從” (A person’s charisma; two women follow their men in death). Its TONGGUK counterpart reads “一人秀郎兩女殉從” (An extraordinary man; two women follow their men in death).

A comparison between the “mongnok” of TONGGUK and that of YONSEI shows that all of the YONSEI entries (78 in total), with the exception of the story of the commander of Yonghông (YONSEI 67), have parallels in TONGGUK. This suggests that TONGGUK has three unique stories that are not found in any other TPNS editions. However, Im (1999) states that while the table of contents lists 80 entries, the actual contents of the compilation present a far less number of entries. Im gives 43, but my own count of the number of entries comes to 44, instead of 43. Toward the end of this section, I revisit the number of entries in TONGGUK and discuss general characteristics of the contents of TONGGUK in comparison with YONSEI as well as other yadam collections.

The three new stories are TONGGUK 1, 2, and 34. Im speculates that these were additions by the copyist of TONGGUK who used YONSEI as his source text. It seems also possible that the originator of TONGGUK had another edition that had the same contents and structure of YONSEI. The argumentations indicate that the copyist was a copyist-compiler who collected similar-type stories and juxtaposed them next to relevant YONSEI entries. Im reveals that TONGGUK 1 has parallels in Kyesŏ’s miscellany (the Korea University edition, Vol. 1) and Kyesŏ’s stories (the Kyujanggak edition Vol. 6). 314

Further comparison between YONSEI and TONGGUK suggests that many TONGGUK entries are either the copyist-compiler’s unique rendition of TPNS narratives. He adopted the method of paraphrasing. 315 That is, such stories can be treated as bone fide TPNS narratives in terms of contents while they are original narratives of their own in terms of diction.

My own comparison of YONSEI and TONGGUK reveals that the story of Yi Paeksa (TONGGUK 11; YONSEI 20) and the story of Yi Kyŏngnyu (TONGGUK 12; YONSEI 21), too, exhibit a case where the TONGGUK counterparts the two YONSEI stories are either the copyist-compiler’s own renditions of the corresponding TPNS narratives or his replacement of TPNS narratives with other preexisting narratives, which he considered more fitting for some reason.

In the case of the story of Yi Paeksa, I have yet to locate a parallel narrative in other late-Chosŏn yadam collections. It seems highly likely that the copyist-compiler of TONGGUK was interested in augmenting his source text by offering a far more detailed

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314 Im Wanhyŏk, “Tongp’ae naksong kwallyŏn charyo,” 297, n11.
315 Im makes a similar point. Ibid., n13.
description of the situation than YONSEI. The discrepancy between the two versions surpasses the discrepancy that can be described as mistakes or paraphrasing, and qualifies rather as exuberant elaboration due to the compiler’s impulse to create a new version of the same story.

The case of the story of Yi Kyŏngnyu, however, shares almost the exact same diction with a parallel story found in Kimun ch’onghwa (Compendium of records of hearsay and anecdotes), in the case of the Yonsei University and Toyo Bunko editions of Kimun ch’onghwa. This correspondence between TPNS-TONGGUK is interesting in that the first entry of TONGGUK, the story of Minister Yi, too, turns out to be the same as the story of Minister Yi found in Kimun ch’onghwa.

My investigation of the table of contents of TONGGUK suggests that the 35th entry, two anecdotes about Yu Myŏnsun, appears in two separate entries within the main body of the compilation, while the table of contents does not indicate this. In YONSEI, EWAH, and TÖYÖ, the two anecdotes appear as a single entry.

Moreover, the order of entries appearing in the table of contents and that of the entries appearing in the main body of the collection—especially the last 9 entries—do not match. The correct entry order should be corrected. Up to the 35th entry, the table of contents is correct. From the 36th to the 44th entries, the order of their appearances should be as follows. The numbers appearing after “←” indicate these entries’ order of appearance in the table of contents. I also identify their counterparts in YONSEI.

TONGGUK 36 (←47) (YONSEI 43): A scholar-official residing in the capital
TONGGUK 37 (←46) (YONSEI 44): Two literary scholars from many years ago.
TONGGUK 38 (←45) (YONSEI 45): Two famous scholars during the reign of King Kwanghae
TONGGUK 39 (←44) (YONSEI 46): Kim Ch’ŏnil who mobilized a righteous army
TONGGUK 40 (←43) (YONSEI 47): Minister Yi Wan
TONGGUK 41 (←42) (YONSEI 48): A man of the Imperial court after the fall of the Ming
TONGGUK 42 (←41) (YONSEI 42): A man of the Qing Dynasty during the reigns of King InJong and Hyojong
TONGGUK 43 (←40) (YONSEI 50): Haep’ung Chŏng Hyojun
TONGGUK 44 (←41) (YONSEI 51): Mugok Yun Kang

316 The Tŏyŏ Bunko edition of Kimun ch’onghwa has been reproduced in facsimile form and is found in Yi Usŏng, ed., Sŏbyŏk oesa haeeo suil pon 27: Kimun ch’onghwa oe yi ch’ong: Kimun ch’onghwa, Ch’ŏnggu ch’onghwa (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1990), 3-182. The Yonsei University edition of Kimun ch’onwha has been typed up and translated into modern Korean with annotations by Professor Kim Tong’uk. See Kim Tong’uk, trans., Saebyŏk kangka e haeragi unin sori: Kugyŏk Kimun ch’onghwa 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1996-1999). A facsimile reproduction of the Yonsei University edition is found in Han Myŏnghgi and Yi Sanghwun eds., Imjin waeran saryo ch’ongsŏ: Tae-Myŏng oegyo (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 2003). Detailed information about the surviving editions of Kimun ch’onghwa and their relationships is found in Kim Chunghyŏng’s PhD dissertation entitled “Kimun ch’onghwa-gye yadam chip ŭi munhŏnhak-chŏk yŏn’gu.”
Characteristics of KIGWAN

KIGWAN is a mixture of TPNS and another text, Kigwan 奇觀 (Strange sights). Thirty-four TPNS entries make up the latter half of this text. KIGWAN is a text first introduced in Im Wanhyŏk (2003). For a complete comparison between surviving TPNS editions and KIGWAN, see Im (2003). The compiler of KIGWAN has yet to be identified.

My own observations suggest that the compiler is hostile toward Namin, the Southerner Faction. For example, KIGWAN 21 (YONSEI 57, EWHA17, KYONG’IN 17, and TÔYÔ 45) is the story of Hŏ Chŏk, the aforementioned Yŏm Hŭido’s master. In KIGWAN, Hŏ Chŏk’s social standing is marked as “Hŏ the exam passer” (Hŏ kūpche 許及第), rather than with the more honorable title like “Minister Hŏ” (Hŏ sangguk 許相國). One entry of Green hills (twenty-fourth entry of Volume 6 of the Asami edition held by the Asami Library at University of California at Berkeley), states: “[According to] the state law, a government official who has been stripped of office, even if he has served as a minister, is called ‘exam passer’” (國法削職者, 雖大臣, 以及第稱). This indicates that use of kūpche for a scholar-official whose position was as high as that of a minister was denigrating. KG is held by the Kyujanggak Library at Seoul National University.

Characteristics of CH’ONGGU

CH’ONGGU is a manuscript edition of Green hills that contains twenty-one TPNS stories. The TPNS entries are from volumes 1 and 5—(twelve and nine, respectively). Chŏng Myŏnggi (1996) offers bibliographic notes on this text, identifying its compiler as Kim Kyŏngjin 金敬鎬 (1815-1873; ch. 1835) and dating it to 1842, based on a preface unique to this edition.

See Chŏng Myŏnggi (1996: 349) for a complete list of TPNS entries surviving in CH’ONGGU.

The manuscript is titled “青丘野談”; however, in the preface, the text’s title is referred to as Ch’ŏnggu imun 青丘異聞 (Marvelous hearsay from the green hills). For this reason, the identity of the compiler of Green hills is still subject to debate. A facsimile reproduction of CH’ONGGU is found in Chŏng Myŏnggi, ed., Han’guk yadam charyo chipsŏng 14-15 (Seoul: Kyemyŏng munhwasa, 1987).

| Table 5.2. Surviving TPNS manuscript editions (B): Entries from multiple yadam sources |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| HELD BY                        | TENRI UNI       | YEONGNAM UNI    | SEOUL NATIONAL UNI | ALSO KNOWN AS THE OGURA SHINPEI EDITION |
| TITLE                          | Cover: 東稗集 | Cover: 奇異小説 |                |                 |
|                                | Inner title: 東稗洛説 | Inner title: 東國稗史 |                 |                 |
|                                |                 |                 |                 | 青丘野談/青丘異聞 |

317 The table appearing on pp. 212-214 of Im Wanhyŏk (2003) contains some errors. For example, the table lists two entries (Entry 33) as counterparts to YONSEI 37 and YONSEI 49. The with YONSEI 37 as its match should be corrected to Entry 34. Also, Entry 43 should be matched with YONSEI 43, KYONG’IN 3, not YONSEI 44, KYONG’IN 4.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TENRI</th>
<th>TONGGUK</th>
<th>KIGWAN</th>
<th>CH’ONGGU</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>VOLUMES/BOOKS</strong></td>
<td>1 volume</td>
<td>1 volume</td>
<td>1 volume</td>
<td>7 volumes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 book</td>
<td>1 book</td>
<td>1 book</td>
<td>7 volumes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Parts of Volumes 1 and 5 contain TPNS narratives)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PREFACE</strong></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Kim Kyŏngjin (compiler)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOC</strong></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>No. of Entries</strong></td>
<td>113 (Titled)</td>
<td>80 entries in TOC</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>158 including a few fictional works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28 TPNS entries (entries 1-28)</td>
<td>43 entries; TPNS entries</td>
<td>34 TPNS entries (27-60 or 29-62)</td>
<td>TPNS (21) - Vol. 1: 1-12 Vol. 5: 1-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DATES</strong></td>
<td>Not earlier than 1828&lt;sup&gt;318&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Not earlier than 1843&lt;sup&gt;319&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>COPYIST (ANONYMOUS)</strong></td>
<td>Single person</td>
<td>Single person</td>
<td>Single person</td>
<td>Single person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SIZE (CM)</strong></td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>27.6 x 17.5 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NO. OF LEAVES (DOUBLE-SIDE)</strong></td>
<td>66</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>Vol. 1: 94 Vol. 5: 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LINES/PAGE</strong></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MAX. NO. OF CHARACTERS PER LINE</strong></td>
<td>31-35</td>
<td>25 Consistent</td>
<td>21 Consistent</td>
<td>20 Consistent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**GROUP (C)**

**Translations of Hanmun TPNS into the Vernacular Co-existing with Narratives That Are Neither TPNS Nor Yadam-Like Narratives**<sup>320</sup>

**General characteristics of all vernacular editions**

All surviving vernacular editions are greatly reduced versions in terms of the quantity of entries contained in them. They are mostly vernacular translations-cum-adaptations in that compilers’ creative impulses are easily found when compared with the parallel hanmun narratives.

Ch’ong Myŏnggi (1996; 2005), Paek Sung-ho (2007), and Namgung Yun (2011) offer comments on TPNS vernacular editions held in the private collection (hereafter Nason) of Professor Kim Tong’uk (1922-1990; Sobriquet Nason 羅孫)—not to be

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<sup>318</sup> Yi Hŭip’yŏng’s preface to Kyesŏ’s miscellany is dated 1828. Sim Nŭngsuk’s postface is dated 1833. Chŏng Myŏnggi (1991) observes that most of the entries of Kyesŏ’s miscellany appearing in TENRI are from Kyesŏ’s miscellany, Volume 2. Noting that a copy of Kyesŏ’s miscellany, Volume 2 held by Sunggyungwan University is dated 1879, Chŏng speculates that TENRI could not have been made prior to 1879.


<sup>320</sup> I have not seen any of the vernacular TPNS editions. Based on observations made in Chŏng Myŏnggi (1997; 2005), Paek Sung-ho (2007), and Namgung Yun (2011), I conclude that all vernacular editions derive from hanmun editions by way of free translation.
confused with the Kim Tong’uk quoted in this dissertation, in Kungmin University (hereafter Kungmin), and in Sŏgang University (hereafter Sŏgang).

While vernacular manuscript recensions of the TPNS are not the primary concern of this dissertation, I describe here some interesting traits.

**Characteristics of NASON—Political impulses**

Three TPNS narratives survive in this collection as addenda to Nam Hyoon’s 南孝溫 (1454-1492; Ch’uangel 秋江) “Yuk sin chŏn” 六臣傳 (“Biographies of Six Ministers”). Besides these TPNS narratives, this manuscript also has an anonymous narrative belonging to the genre of “records of a dream journey” (mong’yurok 夢遊錄) and titled Wŏn-saeng mong’yurok 元生夢遊錄 (A record of Student Wŏn’s dream journey). The three TPNS narratives are the stories of Pak P’aengnyŏn (YONSEI 28), Sŏng Sammun (YONSEI 15), and Chŏng Hyojun (YONSEI 50).

All of them are concerned, directly or indirectly, deal with the tragic death of an early-Chosŏn boy king, King Tanjong 端宗 (r. 1452-1455), who was dethroned by his uncle Grand Prince Suyang 首陽大君 (later King Sejo 世朝; r. 1455-1468). In the course of King Sejo’s enthronement, many scholar-officials who swore loyalty to King Tanjong were punished. Some were executed, while others were either banished or lived in self-imposed exile.

**Characteristics of KUNGMIN—Education of women**

Examined by Paek Sŏngho (2007), KM has eight entries along with other writings in the vernacular script dealing with writings specifically for women, e.g., the conduct manual for women called Naehun 内訓 (Instructions for the inner quarters)—Paek (2007) does not mention whether this Naehun refers to Queen Sohye’s 昭惠王后 (1437-1504) or Neixun (Instructions for the inner quarters; published in 1407) by Queen Ren xiao wen’s 仁孝文皇后 (1362-1407)—and narrative lyrics (kasa 歌詞) such as “Song of the loom” (poet’ulga 냥틀가). The Kungmin edition also contains items such vernacular renditions of famous literary figures’ sobriquets (ho 姓) and vernacular songs (ŏnmun p’ungwŏl 諩文風月). It is titled “TPNS, Volume one” (동패낙송권지일), suggesting that additional vernacular renditions were made for this edition.

**Characteristics of Sŏgang—Entries from miscellaneous writings and other story compilations**

The Sŏgang edition is held at Sŏgang University. It survives along with vernacular translations of other narratives from a yadam collection called Kimun ch’onghwa 紀聞叢話 or 記聞叢話 (Compendium of records of anecdotes hearsay) and Song’wa chapsŏl 松窩雜說 (Miscellaneous talks by Yi Ki), a literary miscellany by Yi Ki 李協 (1522-1600; m. 1555; Song’wa 松窩).

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See the table below illustrating the relationship between surviving TPNS narratives in the vernacular and their counterparts in *hanmun* edition:

**Table 5.3. Surviving TPNS manuscript editions (C): Vernacular editions of TPNS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YONSEI TITLES</th>
<th>VERNACULAR (HANMUN RENDERING WHERE TRACEABLE)</th>
<th>NASON</th>
<th>KUNGMIN UNI.</th>
<th>SÔGANG UNI.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 쓰녀평광연행복무 - 金德齡  
Harassed by runaway slaves;  
Revenging oneself by getting a son-in-law – Kim Tŏngnyŏng | 복해선효보응구 | | 3 |
| 締結仙女整遊玉洞 - 朴正校生  
Tying the knot with a fairy girl;  
Avoiding disaster in Oktong – A student of Kap’yŏng | 지이동 을관기우  
(智異洞遊宮奇遇)  
A ŭmgwan, [who was in] Chiri village, has a strange encounter | | 4 |
| 才冠塵世氣壓貴公 - 崔公 | 염한사명기도석  
(念寒士名妓遊席)  
Thinking of a poor scholar, a famous *kisaeng* leaves the site. | | 1 |
| 念彼賢女射此頑漢 - 崔水使  
Thinking of the man’s wise woman;  
Forgiving a vicious man – Military commander Ch’oe | 치민손해부면부죄 | | 2 |
| 嚴父施威茹婦發誓 - 權士人  
A strict father wields authority;  
A jealous wife pledges – Official named Kwŏn | 하이사업구지복투두 | | 4 |
| 推奴遇仙得碑定議 - 成謹甫  
Encountering an immortal on his journey to catch runaway slaves;  
Gaining a tombstone that finalizes a decision – Sŏng Kŭnbo | 고통신이인류서  
(顧忠臣異人遺書)  
In consideration of a loyal subject, an extraordinary man leaves behind a letter. | 3 | 2 | 8 |
| 殺人避禍遇仙學道 - 南宮斗  
Avoiding calamity after killing a person; Chancing upon a [Daoist] and learning the *dao* – Namgung Tu | 차일담상좌폐단  
(差一念上座廢丹)  
With a single distracting thought, a monk invalidates internal alchemy. | | 7 | 7 |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YONSEI TITLES</th>
<th>VERNACULAR (HANMUN RENDERING WHERE TRACEABLE) *Underlines mark arae a</th>
<th>NASON</th>
<th>KUNGMIN UNI.</th>
<th>SÖGANG UNI.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>藥扇為弊引刀掩庶 - 楊蓬來母 Preserving a fan as a wedding gift; Holding a knife to obscure a sóol birth – Yang Saön’s mother</td>
<td>슈녕괘이심간적회치</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>雍夢報恩江劏致富 - 朴醉琴後孫 A deer appears in a dream and renders thanks for a kind deed; [land] document on a river brings a fortune – Pak P’aeangnyŏn’s descendant</td>
<td>구행장통신손환보 (救解算忠臣孫獲報) A descendant of a loyal minister, who releases a deer, attains retribution.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>傾斂助需隱寺寺節 - 盧玉溪妻 Tilting a chest and helping to procure wedding paraphernalia; Hiding at a temple for the purpose of keeping one’s chastity – No Okkye’s wife</td>
<td>의방*님이명기슈홍 * 쓸 = 담스</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>五女偶黃 сост三生結緣 - 李延原 Five girls playing a match-making game; Three men forming marriage bonds – Yi Yŏnwŏn</td>
<td>가관양노지표부</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>殺修敘簡激義受福 - 洪修 Killing a monk and saving a palanquin; Extreme righteousness receives blessings – Hong Su</td>
<td>사악승의사덕 (死惡僧義士積德) A righteous man, who kills an evil monk, accumulates good deeds.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>臨難運智替婢隨賊 - 西伯妻 Deploying wisdom in a time of hardship; A slave girl stands in to follow a thief – Wife of Governor of P’yŏng’an</td>
<td>Untitled</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>皇靈勸婚福祿盈門 - 鄭海豊 A royal spirit encourages a marriage; Fortune and blessings fill the door – Chŏng Hyojun</td>
<td>혼궁환니몽시</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**5.2.2. The author-compiler’s determination to impart structure**

Up to this point, I have described TPNS as the work of a lone compiler. While I stand by this statement, I must point out that (1) TPNS was a work still in the making when No Myŏnghŭm died; (2) what now survives as TPNS cannot be absolutely corroborated as identical to No Myŏnghŭm’s original creation; and (3) surviving as they do within a manuscript culture, no two TPNS manuscript editions are identical. How fluid or stable was TPNS as a collection at the time of No Myŏnghŭm’s death? How fluid and stable are surviving editions? This section attempts to answer these questions.

According to Hong Ch’wiyŏng’s observations, TPNS as a collection was written in fits and starts[^322]: “At times [No Myŏnghŭm] compiled [the stories he enjoyed

[^322]: *Kyorî* refers to junior and senior fifth grade civil officials.

[^323]: The latest TPNS entry is dated 1773. No Myŏnghŭm identifies Sin Sanggŏm as his informant for the story of Pak P’aengnyŏn’s descendant. Sin is referred to as “Sin-gun” (Sin gun 申君). Im Hyŏngt’ae (1999) conjectures that had Sin passed the *munkwa* examination, No
recounting] into a book [=written text]” (間又綴缉爲書) (My emphasis). This suggests that TPNS started out as a somewhat fluid compilation. According to Hong Ch’wiyŏng, after No Myŏnghŭm’s death, No Kŭng approached Ch’wiyŏng and asked him to finalize his father’s manuscript. In the following passage in which Ch’wiyŏng explains how he came to write a preface to TPNS:

… Master [No Myŏnghŭm] had wished to change the order of the narratives (欲更敍次). However, he died without finishing it. Master’s eldest son, Hanwŏn, asked me to organize this so as to conclude the compilation; however, I procrastinated, never finding the leisure time to do it. Then, Hanwŏn suddenly passed way. I was old, and thus lacked the energy to keep up with the cleverness of youth. Master’s grandson, Purhoe, styled Manjŏng, came to ask me to return the manuscript as it bore the thumbprints of his ancestor. I was truly moved; I returned it to him with brazen face but shameful heart… (My emphasis).

This excerpt reveals that the corpus of what now survives as TPNS passed through many hands: The ‘original’ TPNS manuscript first moved from No Myŏnghŭm to his son No Kŭng, then to Hong Ch’wiyŏng, and finally to No Myŏnghŭm’s grandson.

No Myŏnghŭm’s request to Hong Ch’wiyŏng was to finish restructuring his compilation. Hong’s statement suggests that No had a certain structural arrangement in mind and that his intention had already been applied to his manuscript before No’s grandson Purhoe conveyed his grandfather’s wish to him. As pointed out in Kim Yŏngjin

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Myŏnghŭm would not have used “gun”. Sin passed the examination in 1762. According to this explanation, then, No Myŏnghŭm wrote the story of Pak P’aengnyŏn’s descendant prior to 1762.

324 Hong Naksu’s preface records that Myŏnghŭm compiled “one hundred-odd [anecdotes]” (掇取百餘種) circulating in the world and “copied them into a single volume” (寫萃爲一書) called TPNS. Just how exacting Hong Naksu was when he wrote “one hundred-dd” is hard to know, but it seems possible that No Myŏnghŭm’s original did indeed contain more stories than the 78 entries that survive today. Since my focus is on tracing Myŏnghŭm’s intention in structuring his narratives, I am not concerned with reconstructing a TPNS “Ur”-text.

Chŏng Myŏnggi (1991) speculates that the Seoul National University edition of Strange sights (Kigwan 奇觀; undated; anonymous), which contains thirty-four TPNS entries, might contain more TPNS entries from this Ur-text.
(1998) and Im Hyŏng’t’aek (1999), No’s rendition of TPNS undergoing multiple hands at
work prior to the finalization of TPNS imply that TPNS editions likely show signs of
textual tinkering by someone other than the ‘original’ compiler.

Still, within the two prefaces and one postface there is no explicit or implicit remark as to whether Hong Ch’wiyŏng or the other two attempted to reformat the text.
How should one take Hong Ch’wiyŏng’s apology about being unable to find leisure to transform No’s manuscript according to his will? There seem to be at least two possibilities. First, some tinkering indeed occurred while the manuscript was in Hong Ch’wiyŏng’s possession, but Hong’s tinkering was not substantial enough to have been remarked upon in his preface. Second, Hong made substantial changes but decided not to mention it.

What about textual tinkering on the part of No Kŭng or No Purhoe? Descendants’ or disciplines’ interfering with their ancestors’ or teachers’ writings for publishing or release them formally (kanhaeng 刊行) frequently involved the process of formatting and editing called sansak 删削. If this had been the case, one expects framing materials like prefaces and postfaces written by No Kŭng or No Purhoe as well as the essays by the three Hong men.

Moreover, the matter becomes even more complex as Kim Yŏngjin (1998) mentions the existence of another manuscript edition that has gone missing but information about which survives in “A comprehensive catalogue of old books at the National Assembly Library of Korea” (1968). This TPNS edition is described as “co-authored (共著) by No Myŏnghûm and Hong Ch’wiyŏng, and proofread (校閲) by Hwanam sanin (華南山人).” Kim Yŏngjin speculates that Hwanam sanin refers to a
certain Kim Sanghyu 金相休 (1757-1827). Yet, no date is given for this missing text, neither do we have any records or circumstantial evidence that directly links Kim Sanghyu to No Myŏnghŭm or his social network at the Hong household.

Thus far I have sketched out the difficulty of reconstructing the original TPNS edition created by rendered by No Myŏnghŭm himself. Such uncertainly notwithstanding, it seems quite possible to unearth a structural pattern within TPNS as a collection.

Im Hyŏngtaek (1990; 1999) persuasively describes TŌYŌ as possibly closest to the ‘original’ TPNS—i.e., closest to the version envisioned by No Myŏnghŭm at the time of his writing. In contrast, Chŏng Myŏnggi (1991; 2005) speculates that YONSEI predates TY and is closer to the original. In light of the comments made in the two extant prefaces and based on my own examination of different manuscript editions, both views are plausible. Moreover, Paek Sŏngho (2007), the most recent article to comment on this question, suggests that EWHA and KYŎNG’IN predate YONSEI and that YONSEI is possibly descended from them—a complete reversal of the view in Chŏng Myŏnggi (1991/1996/2005). In what follows I try to show that, regardless of which text came first, TPNS contains evidence of No Myŏnghŭm’s structural model.

I began with Im Hyŏngtaek (1990), the first study to introduce TPNS to the world. The taxing process through which Im ascertains No Myŏnghŭm’s authorship is found in his 1999 article. Here is a summary of the process:

1. Im first focused on TY to ascertain who compiled TPNS. TY has a sequel physically attached to it—i.e., Tongp’ae naksong sok 東稗洛誦續. Im notes that a seal on these two texts indicates that they were in the holdings at the family library of Yi Kahun 李家煥 (1742-1801; Kŭmdae 錦帶), an official of the Southerner Faction and literary figure who wrote an epitaph for No Kŭng. Im first establishes that the

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Sequel was Yi Kahwan’s own work and that TPNS must have been compiled by someone close to Yi.

(2) Next, Im next looked for comments by the narrator-compiler in TPNS and paid attention to two entries—the “Story of Kim Inbaek” and “Chŏng toryŏng of Hongsan”—establishing that TPNS was compiled sometime between 1773 and 1789. The year 1773 is obtained from a comment to “Chŏng toryŏng of Hongsan,” to the effect that the story reached the narrator-compiler’s ears in that year. The year 1789 is obtained because the Kim Inbaek story mentions that three generations produced five ministers.

(3) Noting that Kim Inbaek’s family line actually produced one more minister in 1789 (i.e., the sixth minister within four generations), Im Hyŏng’taeek concludes that TPNS was compiled sometime before 1789. Later Im discovers that one TPNS manuscript edition that he privately owns has a comment by the compiler in the story of Chŏng Hyojun that reveals the compiler’s familial connection to Chŏng. Using this information, Im then examined genealogies to trace marriage connections and family relations. He successfully identified No Myŏnghŭm as the compiler.

(4) Later during his own research, Kim Yŏngjin found four texts by the Hong men and reaffirmed No Myŏnghŭm as the compiler using them.

Judging from the fact that TŌYŌ survives in Yi Kahwan’s family library, and based on Yi’s close connection with No Kŭng, Im Hyŏng’taeek observes that TY must be quite close to the original TPNS. If this is true, TY becomes a ‘superior’ edition compared to the others editions.

During my own research I discovered another interesting fact about TŌYŌ, a point no previous studies of TPNS have mentioned. This goes back to the story of Kim Inbaek introduced in CHAPTER FOUR. At the end of this entry (TŌYŌ 13), the copyist of TŌYŌ—i.e., someone from the Yi Kahwan family—augmented the narrative by adding his own remark, underlined below:

Good fortune began from his grandson kamsa Ching and continued to flourish down to the great-grandson Hyŏn. Three generations produced five ministers—this is rare in the world. There are always reasons for the prosperity of great families. Great ministers continue this tradition one after another, achieving a great family (My emphasis).\(^{326}\)

\(^{326}\) See Yi Usŏng, ed. Sŏbyŏk oesa haeoe suil pon, Tongp’ae naksong oe 5-jong (Seoul, Asea munhwasa, 1990), 26.
The same story is included in four other editions: YONSEI 38, TENRII 27, and TONGGUK 30, and GYEONGSANG 13. However, none of them contains the underlined sentence as part of the postscript. By contrast, the GYEONGSANG edition, whose characteristics evince that it is a descendant edition of TŌYŌ, contains the same information.

One more thing to be considered is the order of entries among surviving manuscripts. While differing from one another in terms of the number of entries, YONSEI, EWHA, KYONG’IN, and TENRI all reveal that they were copies of a manuscript with the same structure. TENRI has noticeably different diction from the other three, while the order of its entries generally follows YONSEI. However, ADAN and TŌYŌ do not fit this picture. In both ADAN and TŌYŌ, the copyists changed the order of the narratives significantly. In particular, volume one of TŌYŌ contains several cases where the order of entries that matches YONSEI when traced in the reverse order. For example, if we reconstruct the order of ADAN based on Kim Yŏngjin (1998), out of thirty-six entries in ADAN Entries 1-11, 12-25, 26-28, and 29-36 correspond with YONSEI 1-11, 13-26, 67-69, and 27-43, respectively. In the case of TŌYŌ Volume One, Entries 1-3, 4-5, 6-7, 8-10, 11-18, 19-23, 24, 25, 26-27, 28-31, and 32 are found in YONSEI as 74-76, 1-2, 4-5, 10-12, 40-33 (reverse order), 27-31 (reverse order), 25, 23, 13-14, 16-19, and 21, respectively. In TŌYŌ Volume Two, Entries 33-38, 39-46, 47-50, 51-57 are found in YONSEI as 41-46, 51-58, 60-63, and 67-73, respectively. The important point here is that the TY edition is the only edition that has a ‘weird’ ordering as against all the other manuscript editions. However, it is not so weird in that the
oddities occur when one compares TY volume 1 against YONSEI entries 1-40. As mentioned, YONSEI is the only single volume manuscript edition, while KYŎNG’IN and EWHA are two-volume editions. If one compares TŎYŎ volume 2 against EWHA (whose 37 entries are ordered in the same way as KYŎNG’IN), there are no oddities.

Assuming that TŎYŎ was closest to No Myŏnhŭm’s original, one can establish that TŎYŎ would show traces of the structural scheme No envisioned after he had started collecting and writing TPNS entries. This would lead us to expect the first set of TPNS narratives to be relatively less structured, while the later entries should be relatively more structured and closer to what No Myŏnhŭm had envisioned for TPNS as whole. This in turn suggests that it is worth examining the entry orders in TŎYŎ, particularly in volume two, to see if we can discern any pattern.

How YONSEI, EWHA, and KYŎNG’IN and Hwanam sanin Kim Sanghyu fit into this picture is difficult to determine. However, as mentioned previously, the latter half of YONSEI is almost a perfect match with EWHA and KYŎNG’IN—both in terms of entry order and general contents. This suggests that all of YONSEI, EWHA, KYŎNG’IN, and TŎYŎ were manuscript copies created to transmit rather than to transform the stories into a new type of narratives. To make a long story short, I hypothesize that we can extrapolate No Myŏnhŭm’s structuring pattern by focusing on the second volume of TŎYŎ.

Approaching TPNS from this angle, one finds that a great number of TPNS entries clearly appear in groups of two or three in most cases. There are some cases

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I am cautious here not to suggest that YONSEI, EWHA, and KYŎNG’IN are identical copies. However, vis-à-vis TR, they show strong affinities. In fact, except for TENRI, all of the YONSEI, EWHA, CH’ŎNGGU, and KYŎNG’IN share great affinity in terms of narrative structure and diction.
where one can mix and match within several entries that appear in consecutive order. However, for the most part, pairs and triplets stand out—what follows every two or three stories that resemble each other in terms of subject matter or theme is typically unrelated. See below for a list of TŌYŌ entries from volume two. For the sake of convenience, I present titles of the YONSEI entries to illustrate the similarities of a grouping, and give a brief description description of what is common to that group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENTRY (FROM TŌYŌ)</th>
<th>TITLE (FROM YONSEI)</th>
<th>SUBJECT MATTER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>痛人羅香使客復響 - 龍山歧</td>
<td>Kisaeng falling in love with handsome-looking men who meet tragic deaths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>一人風采二女殉從 - 畜命舞</td>
<td>A scholar-official who has lost his wife reunites with her.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>表痣爲證彼鏡復合 - 京城一朝士</td>
<td>Using deception to avoid calamity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>臨難運智替婢隨城 - 戰伯妻</td>
<td>Outspoken and resourceful girls of secondary group status marry yangban men and are treated as equal—as primary wives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>托病離離製請差 - 昼朝名士</td>
<td>Poor yangban men sleep with women other than their wives and gain great fortune.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>賭博致財婦儈敗賊 - 金千鎬妻</td>
<td>What ensues after one finds money on the street and returns it to its rightful owner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>奶歎子弟感回夫君 - 尹無谷妻夫</td>
<td>Supplication on behalf of another yields good results.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>歸身遊婦畢女登科 - 連川金生妻</td>
<td>The motive of recognition: One’s talent is recognized instantly by another.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>真男際節賢妻帶喜 - 新門外書生</td>
<td>An encounter with a haunted house brings good fortunes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>替人產子父母就養 - 京中窮生</td>
<td>Murder cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>指導官淫拾取貴富 - 禹夏亨妻</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>拾銀還主撻悖無款 - 廉希道</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>坻銀待主化賊爲良 - 鄭任異</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>匪賊賊家摰女榮名 - 李校理</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>惡祭共卓顯夢改衣 - 徐樂峯家</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>孝婦拜床懇妾圓鏡 - 陰官妾</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>斗來施恵撫鞘批 - 李晚庵</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>肆氣橫逸棄妻溫良 - 李一齊</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>處事難錯風儀則明 - 永興卒</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>道友情簿賤僕識明 - 京城南書生</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>嫵士食遇義氣相巡 - 李浣</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>惡鬼自退氣魄可畏 - 兩班子支</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>第賢貴財兄悟管家 - 有織弟</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>公法難任私患何顧 - 黃仁儉</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>陰陰訴表幽埃得雪 - 趙豊原</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, even if we dismiss the possibility that TŌYŌ is the edition closest to Myŏnghŭm’s original manuscript in the process of being given a structural arrangement,
one still sees a rather clear structural pattern of narratives in pairs and triplets in almost all of the surviving manuscript editions. The table below shows the fullest possible extent of structural patterns found in YONSEI, TÔYÔ, TENRI, KYÕNG’IN, KIGWAN, and TONGGUUK. Note that EWHA and KYÕNG’IN have the same entry order as YONSEI (41-77). In my description, I have treated several entries as having the potential to be partnered up with narratives for their similarities in terms of subject matter, theme, or characterizations of their protagonists. For convenience’s sake, I have used YONSEI as the reference point. This table below was not designed to speak for the copyist-compiler’s own structural strategies. Rather, it aims to illustrate a strong presence of entries in groups of two and three within the diverse textual fluidity of manuscript transmission of TPNS and the nomadic existence of TPNS narratives in it.

Table 5.5. The fullest possible extent for structural patterns in several surviving TPNS editions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YONSEI (YS)</th>
<th>TONGGUUK (TG)</th>
<th>KIGWAN (KG)</th>
<th>TENRI (TR)</th>
<th>TÔYÔ (TY) = GYEONGSANG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YS1</td>
<td>TG60</td>
<td>KG8</td>
<td>TR1</td>
<td>TY4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YS2</td>
<td>TG72</td>
<td>KG9</td>
<td>TR2</td>
<td>TY5</td>
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<tr>
<td>YS3</td>
<td>TG73</td>
<td>KG10</td>
<td>TR3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>YS4</td>
<td>TG74</td>
<td>KG11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>YS5</td>
<td>TG75</td>
<td>KG12</td>
<td>TR4</td>
<td>TY6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YS6</td>
<td>TG76</td>
<td>KG13</td>
<td>TR5</td>
<td>TY7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YS7</td>
<td>TG77</td>
<td>KG14</td>
<td>TR6</td>
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<tr>
<td>YS8</td>
<td>TG78</td>
<td>KG15</td>
<td>TR7</td>
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<tr>
<td>YS9</td>
<td>TG79</td>
<td>KG16</td>
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<tr>
<td>YS10</td>
<td>TG80</td>
<td>KG17</td>
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<tr>
<td>YS11</td>
<td>TG25</td>
<td>KG19</td>
<td>TR8</td>
<td>TY8</td>
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<td>YS14</td>
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<td>TY26</td>
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<td>YS15</td>
<td>TG6</td>
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<td>TY27</td>
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<td>YS16</td>
<td>TG7</td>
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<td>YS17</td>
<td>TG8</td>
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<td>YS18</td>
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<tr>
<td>YS19</td>
<td>TG10</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

328 For TONGGUUK, I rely on the entry order appearing in the table of contents.

329 TONGGUUK 1 and 3 are the compiler’s own additions as similar stories of TONGGUUK 2.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YONSEI (YS)</th>
<th>TONGGUUK (TG)</th>
<th>KIGWAN (KG)</th>
<th>TENRI (TR)</th>
<th>TŌYŌ (TY)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>YS20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>TG11 11</td>
<td>TR15 15</td>
<td>TY32 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YS21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>TG12 12</td>
<td>TR16 16</td>
<td>TY24 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YS22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>TG13 13</td>
<td>TR17 17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YS23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>TG14 14</td>
<td></td>
<td>TY25 25</td>
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<tr>
<td>YS24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>TG15 15</td>
<td></td>
<td>TY18 18</td>
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<tr>
<td>YS25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>TG16 16</td>
<td></td>
<td>TY24 18</td>
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<tr>
<td>YS26</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>TG17 17</td>
<td></td>
<td>TY19 19</td>
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<tr>
<td>YS27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>TG18 18</td>
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<td>YS28</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>TG19 19</td>
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<td>YS29</td>
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<td>TG20 20</td>
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<td>YS30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>TG21 21</td>
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<td>YS31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>TG22 22</td>
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<td>YS32</td>
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<td>TG23 23</td>
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<td>YS33</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>TG24 24</td>
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<td>YS34</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>TG26 26</td>
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<tr>
<td>YS35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>TG27 27</td>
<td>TR24 24</td>
<td>TY16 16</td>
</tr>
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<td>YS36</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>TG28 28</td>
<td>KG34 34</td>
<td>TR25 25</td>
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<td>YS37</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>TG29 29</td>
<td>TR26 26</td>
<td>TY14 14</td>
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<tr>
<td>YS38</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>TG30 30</td>
<td>TR27 27</td>
<td>TY13 13</td>
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<td>YS39</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>TG31 31</td>
<td>TR28 28</td>
<td>TY12 12</td>
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<tr>
<td>YS40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>TG32 32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YS41 (=EH/IHT 1)</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>TG33 33</td>
<td>KG5 5</td>
<td>TY33 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YS42 (=EH/IHT 2 AND SO ON)</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>TG35 35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YS43</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>TG36 36</td>
<td>KG1 1</td>
<td>TY35 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YS44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>TG37 37</td>
<td>KG2 2</td>
<td>TY36 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YS45</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>TG38 38</td>
<td>KG3 3</td>
<td>TY37 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YS46</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>TG44 44</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>YS47</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>TG43 43</td>
<td>KG6 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YS48</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>TG42 42</td>
<td>KG7 7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YS49</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>TG41 41</td>
<td>KG33 33</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>YS50</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>TG40 40</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>YS51</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>TG39 39</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>YS52</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>TG38 38</td>
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<td>YS53</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>TG37 37</td>
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<td>YS54</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>TG36 36</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>YS55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>TG59 59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YS56</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>TG57 57</td>
<td>KG21 21</td>
<td>TY44 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YS57</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>TG58 58</td>
<td>KG22 22</td>
<td>TY45 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YS58</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>TG56 56</td>
<td>KG23 23</td>
<td>TY46 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YS59</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>TG55 55</td>
<td>KG24 24</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>YS60</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>TG54 54</td>
<td>KG25 25</td>
<td>TY47 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YS61</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>KG25 25</td>
<td></td>
<td>TY48 48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

330 TONGGUUK 34, too, is the compiler’s own addition as a similar story to TONGGUUK 33 and 35.
I propose that structural consistency imposed on TPNS as a collection is important evidence that No Myŏnghŭm was emulating Im Pang’s *Invisible workings.*

*Invisible workings* consist of sixty-six or more entries. All entries are titled and have a parallel entry that appears right beside it. Im Pang also added his own commentary at the end of each pair. This trait has been explained as appearing first with Im Pang’s collection and then reappearing in Yi Wŏnmyŏng’s (1807-1877; Chongsan 鍾山)

*Tong'ya hwipjip* 東野彙輯 (*Anthology of stories of the East*; 1869). Im Pang’s intention has not been fully explained because there are no framing materials or commentary on his collection’s structure by Chosŏn literati. However, Yi Wŏnmyŏng indicates that his way of adding commentaries was to adopt the historian’s practice. Both

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Im Pang (early 18th c.) and Yi Wŏnmyŏng (mid-19th c.) gave titles to the narratives in their collections; Yi Wŏnmyŏng explains he was inspired by the sosŏl 小說 writing; I discuss this point later.

TPNS can be examined in the same light. No Myŏnghŭm’s connection to the Hong family and his penchant for research must have brought him into contact with Im Pang’s Invisible workings. Some TPNS pairs were either taken directly from Invisible workings or function as their counterparts. For example, YONSEI 39 and YONSEI 40 (TÔYÔ 12 and TÔYÔ 11, respectively) deal with two stories about a yangban boy and kisaeng girls. These two stories are found in Entries 17 and 18 of Invisible workings (Entries 17 and 16 in the Tenri edition). Like Invisible workings (Entries 30 and 31 in the Tenri edition), TPNS contains stories of smallpox gods; there are three such stories in TPNS (YONSEI 34-36; TÔYÔ 1-3). Like Invisible workings, a pair of TPNS entries deals with haunted houses and guests—YONSEI 50 and 51 (TÔYÔ 54 and 55). However, in the case of YONSEI 4 and 5 (TÔYÔ 6 and 7), No Myŏnghŭm’s pairing scheme differs from Invisible workings in that the two stories paired in Invisible workings have different partner stories in TPNS.

Moreover, a direct connection between TPNS and Invisible workings builds a strong connection to the possibility that antedating narratives in Kim Kan’s 金軵 (1646-1732; Hujae 厚齋) Hujae chip 厚齋集 (1758; xylography) served as a potential antecedent and model for the creation of TPNS. With this as our starting point, we can venture a more meaningful delineation of No Myŏnghŭm’s role as a writer and contemporary yadam writer, and of his understanding of how stories based on oral and written sources were to be textualized into written narratives. In the next section, I
examine three pairs of stories in order to illustrate that at least two entries from *Invisible workings* form antecedent-descendant relationships.

5.3. The limits of the *kyŏnmun-vs.-munhŏn chŏnsŭng* model

Im Wanhyŏk (1999)\(^{333}\) presents a comprehensive list of TPNS narratives and their earlier and later counterparts. With respect to the possibility of the earlier narratives’ direct influence on the creation of TPNS, Im concludes that, except for the story of Pak Chinhŏn (YONSEI 3), no antedating parallels had a direct influence on No Myŏnghŭm’s creation of TPNS. This section offers a critical reconsideration of this conclusion. As counter-evidence, I offer the previous section, which shows No Myŏnghŭm’s emulation of the structure of Im Pang’s *Invisible workings*, and this section, which presents two more cases strongly suggesting umbilical relationships between TPNS and preexisting narratives. In my discussion, I will also advance an explanation as to why the story of Pak Chinhŏn is an exception.

Below are two tables containing information regarding twenty-five TPNS entries and their potential literary precedents, drawn from twelve different story collections and literary miscellanies and based on Im Wanhyŏk (1999) along with some of my own findings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FULL TITLE</th>
<th>COMPILER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Chapki kodam</em> 雜記古譚/ Nansil manp’i’l 蘭室漫筆 (Miscellaneous records of old tales/ Leisurly brush by Nansil Im Mae)</td>
<td>Im Mae 任邁 (1711-1779; ch. 1754; Nansil 蘭室)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ch’ŏnyerok</em> 天倪錄 (Records of the invisible workings of heaven)</td>
<td>Im Pang 任堯 (1640-1724; m. 1792; Such’on 水村)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Hujae chip</em> 厚齋集</td>
<td>Kim Kan 金乾</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{333}\) Im Wanhyŏk, “Tong’ae naksong kwallyŏn charyo.”
Table 5.7. TPNS entries with parallel narratives (to the fullest extent possible)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROTAGONIST</th>
<th>PARALLEL TEXT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pak Chinhôn</td>
<td><em>Hujei chip</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Yŏl</td>
<td><em>Ch’onyerok</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chang toryŏng</td>
<td><em>Ch’onyerok; Sŏngso pubu ko</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sŏng Wan</td>
<td><em>Ch’onyerok</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Ch’oe</td>
<td><em>Ōu yadam</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sin Sukchu</td>
<td><em>Ōu yadam</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yi Kyŏngnyu</td>
<td><em>Ōu yadam; Toam chip</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namgung Tu</td>
<td><em>Haeoing iŏk; Haksan Hanŏn; Sŏngso pubu ko</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yi Kwangjŏng</td>
<td><em>Myŏngyŏpchihae</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hong Su</td>
<td><em>Ch’onyerok; Han’gŏ channok; Ōu yadam</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilt’ahong</td>
<td><em>Ch’onyerok</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Son of Governor of P’yŏng’an Province</td>
<td><em>Ch’onyerok</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife of Governor of P’yŏng’an Province</td>
<td><em>Sapkyo pyŏlchip</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yi Wan</td>
<td><em>Maeoing hallok/mallok</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chŏng Hyojun</td>
<td><em>Chapki kodam; Han’gŏ mallok</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

334 *Myŏng yŏp* refers to ancient herb that was supposed to have grown during the time of Emperor Yao (ca. 1356-2255 BCE). It takes fifteen days to bloom and another fifteen days to lose all of its petals.
When conducting intertextual analyses of *yadam* narratives, scholars generally begin by asking whether a narrative displays any syntagmatic correspondences with a precursor. If it does, it is considered a case of *munhŏn chŏnsŭng* 文獻傳承, i.e., written-to-written textual transmission. If it does not, it defaults to the category of *kyŏnmun* 見聞, things that the compiler has once heard or seen himself. This division is based on a rather simplistic assertion: once a piece of text is created, later writers who have seen it tend to evince a conservative attitude toward it. This is a generally agreed-upon point among scholars who deal with obvious written-to-written cases.

Here is Im Wanhyŏk’s (1999: 313-314) explanation as to why Pak Chinhŏn in TPNS is an exceptional case of *munhŏn chŏnsŭng*, while the rest of the TPNS stories are cases of *kyŏnmun*. The explanation comes right after Im has presented strong evidence of syntagmatic correspondence between the story of Pak Chinhŏn in TPNS and its earlier counterpart in *Hujae chip*, Kim Kan’s literary miscellany.

As shown above, the two materials greatly resemble each other, both in terms of their details and specific phrases. The reason such a commonality can be ascertained is because the compiler of TPNS did not really go beyond the boundaries of the general attitude found in *munhŏn chŏnsŭng* [ilban-jŏk in munhŏn chŏnsŭng ŭi t’aeda esŏ k’u ge pŏsŏnaji ank’o issŭm ŭl poyŏ chunŭn kŏrt]. In other words, although a compiler makes some changes within the boundaries of a preexisting text, once under the influence of a preexisting written work, the influence manifests itself in the diction of the newly created counterpart [kuch’e-jŏk mummyŏn e punmyŏngghi tūrinandanmŭn kŏrt].

This phenomenon occurs because *yadam* recorders and compilers consciously acknowledged a preexisting written text [kiwang ŭi munhŏn] as a distinct entity in and of itself [hana ŭi kaech’e].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROTAGONIST</th>
<th>PARALLEL TEXT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yŏm Hŭido</td>
<td><em>Haksan hanŏn</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch’ŏng of Ilsil</td>
<td><em>Haksan hanŏn</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sŏ Sŏng</td>
<td><em>Ch’ŏnyerok; Haksan hanŏn</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yi Ilche</td>
<td><em>Haksan hanŏn</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U Sangjung</td>
<td><em>Ch’ŏnyerok</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yi Wan</td>
<td><em>Maeong hallok</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch’ŏng ch’ambong</td>
<td><em>Haksan hanŏn</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yi Yŏngwŏl</td>
<td><em>Ch’ŏnyerok</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Therefore, even if one’s recording is based upon one’s reading experience of a preexisting text, it is extremely rare for the compiler to escape from the basic structure, the overall intention—the theme of a narrative—and specific situations designated in a preexisting text. At best, he reorganizes or augments it with new information. Once a significant textual correspondence is discerned between a pair of narratives, one can discuss their possible connection through writing (My emphasis).

Commenting specifically on the possibility of No Myŏnhŭm’s reliance on Im Pang’s

Invisible workings, Im writes:

In the end, even though it is possible that No Myŏnhŭm had read Invisible workings, given the results of our actual intertextual comparison of the overall design of the two narratives, such a possibility remains flimsy. Invisible workings did not exert any special influence [pyŏl tarŭn yŏnghyang]. Many corresponding narratives antedate TPNS. However, most of them did not influence the formation of TPNS directly. In this way, TPNS was designed according to what the compiler No Myŏnhŭm saw and heard [kyŏnmun 見聞].

In a footnote on the same page, Im elaborates his point:

Of course, it is also possible that having read Invisible workings, No Myŏnhŭm ignored its contents and narrative style [sŏsa-ch’e] and radically transformed [chŏnhyŏ hoekki-jŏg-in pyŏnhwa] [a preexisting narrative]. If this were the case, TPNS would become a unique creation compiled by an original mind [tokcha-jŏk ŭisik] producing an independent narrative texture. However, as I showed previously, based upon the typical attitude of a munhŏn chŏnsŭng transmitter within a TPNS entry [referring to the story of Pak Chinhŏn], I am skeptical as to the possibility of interpreting No Myŏnhŭm in this way.

The above explanations presuppose a cut-and-dried model, whereby, if a text does not derive from written sources by way of a significant amount of verbatim transcription, it must then perforce come directly from oral storytelling.

If we are reminded of Pak Hŭibyŏng’s (2006) discussion of hierarchies of genres in premodern Korean literary tradition, the status of yadam narratives as a peripheral genre makes one wonder whether a reproducer (whether he be a copyist, a compiler, or an authorial compiler) would have ever regarded the words contained in preexisting yadam narratives with the same high esteem reserved for literary works falling into the realm of proper literature within Chosŏn literary tradition. Would yadam as written narrative prose have had the same kind of normative authority (auctoritas) as, for

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335 Im here seems to mean composing a new text without direct access to the preexisting text.
example, official and unofficial historical records, the sayings of eminent philosophers, or canonical works of literature?

First constructed in Kim Sangjo (1991) and further developed in Im Wanhyŏk (1997) and Kim Chunhyŏng (1997), the boundaries of munhŏn chŏnsŭng (written-to-written textual transmission) concerned word-for-word correspondence as a primary criterion. However, the emphasis on word-for-word correspondence found in texts like TPNS and nineteenth-century cannibalizations of them was made along with equal, if not more, emphasis on the creative impulses on the part of the nineteenth-century compilers of yadam. By comparing parallel texts that exhibit obvious syntagmatic correspondences, the method of munhŏn chŏnsŭng was mapped out specifically for the purpose of dealing with parallel sets of narratives that already display strong syntagmatic correspondences while displaying the compilers’ creative impulses. In light of this, treating No Myŏnghŭm as having followed the same type of textual conservatism prevalent in the nineteenth-century cases is somewhat misleading, because the fundamental thrust of munhŏn chŏnsŭng as an explanation for the transmission of yadam is to highlight creative impulses that nineteenth-century yadam compilers could not resist. To quote Kim Chunhyŏng (1997):

Tim William Machan (1991) brings attention to “the conceptual and cultural differences” between medieval vernacular, and Latin. These differences originated from “culture’s attitude toward language,” Machan asserts, in dealing with the relationship between oral and written texts and the nature of texts based on oral accounts. That is, vernacular literature was perceived as “embod[y]ing] certain qualities associated with orality.” Within this frame, the term and the status of author (auctor), one who writes with authority, was reserved for Latin writers; the text of an auctor in the Middle Ages “would have elicited recognition and expectation of the possibility of textual correctness or incorrectness”:

The identification of a writer with his writings and the cultural status of Latin compositions harmonized with the prescriptive grammar and stylistics of the language itself.

Except for *yadam* collections compiled with the purpose of simple reproduction through manuscript copying [*tansun p’ilsa*], newly made-up *yadam* collections [*saeropke chae-tanjang toen yadam chip*] show that their compilers displayed a certain degree of consciousness and recreated [*chae-ch’angjak*] existing stories according to their tastes.\(^{337}\)

Then, the *munhôn chônssûng* method ultimately divulges how nineteenth-century compilers did not labor so much at simple reproduction of their source materials for the sake of preserving intact the original state of their source texts. That nineteenth-century *yadam* narratives exhibit strong textual correspondences with their precedents actually evinces strong impulses to be original, creative, and transformative that the compilers could not resist, despite the physical presence of their source materials before their very own eyes. Simple reproduction as a necessary precondition for any written-to-written textual transmission undermines these compilers’ rather flexible attitude toward preexisting written materials. Seen from this angle, their attitude was anything but conservative.

Rather, one can think of varying types of textual fluidity for written-to-written transmission in the creation of new *yadam* narratives. The question to be asked, then, is why nineteenth-century compilers of *yadam* created new narratives while nonetheless making explicit their reliance on preexisting written texts. What accounts for this relative textual stability in the transmission of written texts in nineteenth-century *yadam* collections? And why do we see continuous textual variance within this stability? In other words, why change yet maintain at the same time? Moreover, what did they change and what did they leave behind? An overemphasis on textual conservatism cannot answer these questions adequately. Nor can it explain why TPNS was the first collection\(^{338}\)

\(^{337}\) Kim Chunhyōng, “Kimun ch’onghwa-gye yadam chip,” 88.

\(^{338}\) I emphasize the notion of “story collection.” As mentioned previously, nineteenth-century compilers of *yadam* cannibalized many other existing written texts from the collected works.
whose stories came to be used as materials for nineteenth-century *yadam* collections in this manner of change-yet-preserve. Why not prior to TPNS? What role did TPNS play?

A full answer to these questions requires further research on *yadam* collections of the eighteenth century and their relationships with successive counterparts along with a critical review of the existing scholarship on them. For now, I hypothesize that the fact that TPNS is located at the historical threshold of so-called ‘textual conservatism’ in *yadam* compilation was that No Myŏnhŭm and later compilers approached their source materials with different attitudes.

On that score, I call attention to two studies that deal with conceptualizations of genre as an intertextual entity. The first is Hans Robert Jauss’s concept of “groups or historical families” in history. Jauss’s conceptualization of genre is an attempt to move away from (1) focusing on “singularity,” whereby genre is determined according to how individual authors in history manipulated “canonized rules” in their own ways, and (2) mapping out genre by demonstrating “structures, functions, and sequences that constitute and differentiate various genres [=types of literature] on the basis of a narrative logic.”

Instead of the attitudes evinced by traditional philologists and structuralist studies, respectively, Jauss proposes to develop a theory that can stand on middle ground—“between the opposites of singularity and collectivity, of the artistic character of literature and its merely purposive or social character.” He maps out this more nuanced theory by calling attention to medieval vernacular European literatures, which cannot be explained in light of the two previous frameworks. The relevance of Jauss’s

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of scholar-officials and from other literary miscellanies; TPNS is arguably one of the first compilations that catered exclusively to prose narratives and that became source material for later story collections.

conceptualization to yadam for our purposes lies in his invocation of the intertextual nature of literary works and genres in terms of a “horizon of expectations”:

Just as there is no act of verbal communication that is not related to a general, socially or situationally conditioned norm or convention, it is also unimaginable that a literary work set itself into an informational vacuum, without indicating a specific situation of understanding. To this extent, every work belongs to a genre – whereby I mean neither more nor less than that for each work a preconstituted horizon of expectations must be ready at hand. … By no means must everything generically general – what allows a group of texts to appear as similar or related – be dismissed. … Literary genres are to be understood not as genera (classes) in the logical sense, but rather as groups or historical families. As such they cannot be deduced or defined, but only historically determined, delimited, and described.\(^\text{340}\) (Original emphasis)

The second helpful idea, which also emphasizes the intertextual existence of a text, is Briggs and Bauman (1992) who theorize genre by calling attention to the concepts of performance and “intertextual gaps.”\(^\text{341}\) While concerned more generally with speech acts, this study is also relevant to written texts.\(^\text{342}\) Thus, Briggs and Bauman call attention to Bakhtin’s concept of genre as “challeng[ing] the notion that genres are static, stylistically homogeneous, and nonoverlapping units” and emphasize how Bakhtin inspired thinking about “intertextual relationships between a particular text and prior discourse.”\(^\text{343}\) For Bauman and Briggs, intertextual aspects of a genre can be examined in two ways:

Viewed synchronically, genres provide powerful means of shaping discourse into ordered, unified, and bounded texts. As soon as we hear a generic framing device, such as ‘once upon a time,’ we unleash a set of expectations regarding narrative form and content. … When viewed in diachronic … perspective, genres have strong historical, … social, ideological, and political-economic connections that extend far beyond the present setting of production or reception, thereby linking a particular act to other times, places, and persons. … Even when the content of the discourse lacks a clear textual precedent, generic intertextuality points to the role of recontextualization at the level of discourse production and reception.\(^\text{344}\)

\(^{340}\) Ibid., 139.


\(^{342}\) Ibid., 132.

\(^{343}\) Ibid., 147.

\(^{344}\) Ibid., 147.
The relevance of these ideas to TPNS is the concept of “intertextual gaps”:

When viewed diachronically or vertically, the fit between a particular text and its generic model … is never perfect. … Generic frameworks thus never provide sufficient means of producing and receiving discourse. …

The process of linking particular utterances to generic models thus necessarily produces an intertextual gap. Although the creation of this hiatus is unavoidable, its relative suppression or foregrounding has important effects. On the one hand, texts framed in some genres attempt to achieve generic transparency by minimizing the distance between texts and genres, thus rendering the discourse maximally interpretable through the use of generic precedents. This approach sustains highly conservative, traditionalizing modes of creating textual authority. On the other hand, maximizing and highlighting these intertextual gaps underlies strategies for building authority through claims of individual creativity and innovation (such as is common in 20th-century Western literature), resistance to the hegemonic structures associated with established genres, and other motives for distancing oneself from textual precedents (Original emphasis).345

These points are relevant to our understanding of TPNS in the following ways. First, differentiating TPNS from its nineteenth-century successors using the existence of explicit reference to literary precedents as a principal indicator for the existence of a direct influence overlooks a case of maximized intertextual gaps in the creation of yadam narratives and that (2) nineteenth-century author-compilers’ tendency to seek change while maintaining intertextual links can be viewed as a case of a producer of utterances exerting creativity while minimizing intertextual gaps. By extension, I would claim that the relationship between TPNS narratives and their earlier counterparts should be examined as a case of a creative compiler’s response to existing categories of literature by foregrounding and maximizing the intertextual gap in order to exert and assert his creative impulses by rendering his narratives as unfamiliar as possible. According to this line of thought, the compilers of stories in the nineteenth century must have noted something worthy of emulation in No Myônghûm’s TPNS; that is, they must have seen in TPNS certain aesthetic values to emulate and therefore rendered their own versions of TPNS narratives by making them evoke TPNS as a particular style of narrative

345 Ibid., 149.
composition. Nineteenth-century cannibalizers of TPNS, therefore, can be understood as consciously minimizing the intertextual gaps between existing categories of literature and their creations in some respect while maximizing other kinds of intertextual gaps to make their work look original. This conjecture—which admittedly requires further research on the relationship between TPNS and its successors—affords all the more reason to expand the boundaries of “direct influence from preexisting written texts” and to explore once again the traces of No Myŏngŏhm’s deployment of preexisting written texts by comparing TPNS entries against antecedent narratives.

Moreover, as to why the story of Pak Chinhŏn came to be written in a way that suggests that No Myŏngŏhm held a conservative attitude toward preexisting materials, Im Wanhyŏk (1999) implies that No happened to have read a preexisting written text of this particular story, even though he never came across other antedating parallels. What made No Myŏngŏhm create his own narrative while modeling it after this particular preexisting counterpart? Is there a more culturally grounded explanation that can account for the obviousness of the lone existence of the story Pak Chinhŏn as the only literary antecedent?

The hierarchy of written media between printed texts and manuscript copies seems to offer a useful approach. As members of larger wholes (i.e., in compilations), yadam narratives existed within the fluidity of a manuscript culture, never once honored with the opportunity of xylographic publication. No two surviving manuscript

346 Commercial imprints became prominent in the late nineteenth century in Korea. On manuscripts, book lending, commercial and other imprints, Yi Yunsŏk (2008) observes as follows:

Commercial imprints (panggak-pon 坊刻本) appeared around 1800 in Chosŏn. While the emergence of hannun panggak-pon is a clear indication of commodification of books, books had been widely perceived as purchasable or borrowable objects prior to the appearance of commercial
book markets. A large volume of books entered into Korea from China. Government offices that used published books must have operated on monetary transactions to finance prints using wooden blocks (板木). Information exists on activities of book traders. Numerous stories deal with book purchasing. Records survive to tell us book-rentals (世冊) were available from the mid-eighteenth century. However, publication of books for commercial purposes did not existed until 1800. That commercial imprints did not emerge until as late as the nineteenth century was because the volume of economy in Chosŏn society grew large enough for commercial book market only in the nineteenth century. Books that were produced commercially ranged between one to two volumes and rarely went over five volumes. Moreover, the beginning of commercial imprints did not mean that all books were published commercially. As far as my research goes, panggak-pon imprints do not concern books imported from books imported from China or books of large volumes that had been previously published by central or local government offices (kwang'an 官版). It was difficult for publishers to make voluminous imprints due to the small size of the commercial imprints market. However, one can also observe the rise of a new kind of reader who desired to acquire new (middle-brow) knowledge.

See Yi Yunsŏk, “Muncharyu chip e taehayŏ,” Yŏlsang kajŏn yŏn'gu 29 (2009): 199-226. Ryu Chungyŏng’s research shows that besides fiction, the major objects of commercial imprints in the nineteenth century were education-related: e.g., histories, primers, letter-writing manuals, and dictionaries.

Also see below for two descriptions of the existence of various forms of books during the late-Chosŏn period:

(1) Emmanuel Pastreich, “The Reception of Chinese Vernacular Narrative in Korea and Japan,” Asea yŏn'gu 99 (1998): 45-62: In Korea, although advanced printing techniques existed long before they were taken to Japan by Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s armies during their conquest of Korea in the sixteenth century, those technologies were restricted to the proper reproduction of the Chinese classics and commentaries on them in Korea until the early nineteenth century. Only then did the cheap panggak-pon publications of original Korean novels and Chinese novels in translation find a large audience…(51).


In Chosŏn Korea, manuscripts, woodblock editions, and editions in movable type coexisted. Typically, the government would first issue a work in movable type; this would be copied by local officials, using the movable-type edition as the clean copy for a woodblock edition, which individuals then in turn might copy by hand for further distribution. Manuscript copies could also be made directly from a movable type edition. Although Chosŏn possessed a highly developed printing technology, the manuscript remained a viable form of the book. It was not merely a preliminary stage of the printed book but continued to be one of the forms in which books were diffused, right up to the end of the period … Commercial book production was not absent, certainly not in the later Chosŏn period, but of lesser importance, particularly when the making of books of superior quality was concerned… (238-239).

For a detailed study of book traders (called variably as sŏkwae, ch'aekkwae, ch'aek churŭm, ch'aek kŏg'an), see Yi Minhŭi, 16-19 segi sŏjŏk chunggaesang kwa sosŏl, sŏjŏk yul'ong kwang'gye yŏn'gu (Seoul: Yongnak, 2007).
Textual variance, or the text’s instability as typical of manuscript culture, has been noted repeatedly in studies of medieval European scribal. For example, in dealing with “Libro de buen amor” (Book of love) from medieval Europe, Dagenais (1994) observes that one has to “confront that the text is incomplete in all surviving manuscripts.” The French philologist Cerquiglini (1999) treats textual variance as an inherent feature of texts within a manuscript culture. A more plausible explanation for the general attitude found among the nineteenth-century yadam compilers would be that they took a rather flexible attitude toward their written resources—to the point that their understanding of the boundary between oral resources and written resources was rather fluid.

The creative impulses exerted by compilers and copyists of yadam collections, therefore, offer a corrective to an assertion made in Yi Chiyŏng (2008):

... Re-writing through the making of manuscript copies was not a common tendency in manuscript copies of hanmun texts. Generally speaking, in the case of copying hanmun texts, the boundary between copyist and narrator tends to be clearly defined.

(P’ilsa rŭl tonghan tasi ssŭgi ŭi kyŏnghyang ŭn hanmun p’ilsa pon esŏ nun nat’anaji anŭmyŏ, hanmun p’ilsa pon esŏ nun taech’ero p’ilsa-ja wa sŏsul-cha ŭi kyŏnggye ka tturyŏthan p’yŏn ida).  


This observation speaks of textual fluidity of manuscripts exclusively within the realm of the production and circulation of texts in the vernacular script. However, nineteenth-century yadam compilations as well as manuscript editions of various yadam collections that were produced in the late eighteenth century, contra the case outlined by Yi, point to the narrator-copyist—to borrow Yi Chiyoung’s expression—who freely fiddled with his written materials for his own creative ends when working with hanmun narratives, and thereby giving rise to exuberant textualizations out of their source materials. In a roundabout way, the points made in Yi Chiyoung’s study against the existence of creative impulses in manuscript transmission of yadam narratives and compilations shed important light on contemporary Choson people’s understanding of yadam narratives as “falling somewhere between the categories of conventional hanmun and written vernacular Korean.” Further research on manuscript culture within the context of late-Choson literary practice is needed.

This textual fluidity of manuscript culture, furthermore, draws attention because among potential literary precedents of TPNS found in antedating story collections and literary miscellanies, the story of Pak Chinhon found in Kim Kan’s Hujae chip is one of the two texts listed in the table that contain antedating parallel cases and that existed within the realm of woodblock prints. The other is Hong Manjong’s Haedong ijok. Kim Kan’s Hujae chip is the only antedating case where a narrative claimed to have directly been derived from oral sources, because Haedong ijok is a collection of Hong’s biographies with commentaries on Korean Daoists—from Tan’gun 檀君, the ancient founder of Old Choson in 2333 BCE to Kwak Chaeu 郭再祐 (1552-1617; m. 1585) —

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350 I borrow Yi Chiyoung’s description of han’gul manuscript culture. See Yi Chiyoung, “Han’gul p’il’lsa pon,” 299.
based on written sources and rendered in the form of history writing. This distinction, therefore, makes *Hujae chip* the lone case where an antedating parallel narrative of a TPNS entry existed in a printed medium—not in manuscript.

What is now known as the *Hujae chŏnjip* (Complete collection of Kim Kan; Seoul: T’aehaksa; 1989) consists of two parts: *Hujae sŏnsaeng chip* (Collected works of Master Hujae Kim Kan, also known as *Hujae chip*) and *Hujae sŏnsaeng yŏnbo* (Chronological record of Master Hujae Kim Kan). The *Collected works of Kim Kan* consists of two parts—a forty-six-volume *Wŏn chip* (Essential texts) and a four-volume *Pyŏlchip* (Collected poems and prose). In 1758, King Yŏngjo ordered the collected works of Kim Kan to be published. Kim Kan’s great-grandson, Kim Chongjŏng 金種正 of the Ch’ŏng’pung Kim-ssi, began the compilation process and completed it in 1766 after many delays caused by his official duties as minister and diplomat. The *Essential texts* and *Collected poems and prose*, the latter containing the story of Pak Chinhŏn, were published in 1766. After Kim Chongjŏng’s death in 1787, one of his descendants compiled the *Chronology* and published it in 1818.\(^{351}\) I have not yet found a historical record that directly links No Myŏnhŭm to the publication of this text. However, one may note that Kim Kan’s *Hujae chip* is listed among the “Munjip-nyu” 文集類 (“Collected works from the Chosŏn Dynasty”) under the ninth volume on “Yemun” 藝文 (“Literature”) of *Tongguk munhŏn*

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\(^{351}\) The information about the publication of Kim Kan’s works is from bibliographic notes provided by the online database, “Complete publications of Korea’s collected literary works,” available at http://db.itkc.or.kr/itkcdb/text/seojiViewPopup.jsp?bizName=MM&seojiType=heje&seojiId=kc_mm_a426
pigo 東國文獻備考 (A reference compilation of documents in Korea; prepared between 1769-1770; published in 1790), which was the first encyclopedia of Korean texts in Chosŏn history. Hong Ponghan was the chief editor of this encyclopedia, and No Myŏngŭhm likely had access to Hujae chip through this connection.

I speculate that No Myŏngŭhm responded to the authority of a printed preexisting text—not just any written text, but a printed text appearing in a state-generated encyclopedia—that precipitated the notable textual correspondence between Kim Kan’s narrative and No Myŏngŭhm’s counterpart.352 Hypothesizing that the correspondence between this particular TPNS entry and its antedating parallel reveals a strong creative impulse to modify existing texts within a broader culture of textual conservatism, I propose we reconsider the possibility of reading antedating counterparts of TPNS as potential literary precedents.

Furthermore, as shown in Im Wanhyŏk’s juxtaposition of TPNS and Hujae chip, No Myŏngŭhm exerted great creativity by avoiding verbatim transcription of Hujae chip and by switching around the order of events in Kim Kan’s original. Although not pointed out by Im, it should be noted that No Myŏngŭhm also tinkered with details of the story of Pak Chinhŏn in Hujae chip in order to illustrate the relationship between two persons who appear in the story. In Kim Kan’s narrative, the relationship between a certain Yi Chinmu and Pak Chinhŏn is described as that of “a relative who is in the same line as one’s nephew” (chokchil 族姪), but No Myŏngŭhm identifies their relationship as “Yi was a son of Pak’s second cousin once removed” (李於朴為七寸姪). In the next section,

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352 To what extent Kim Kan’s rendering of the Pak Chinhŏn story functioned as one of No Myŏngŭhm’s model texts for his composition of TPNS narratives awaits further research.
I engage in my own intertextual comparison between three parallel texts drawn from TPNS and their antedating parallels.

5.4. More antecedent-descendent cases: Picking, choosing, and paraphrasing to create

This section compares three antedating parallel texts of TPNS in order to illustrate No Myŏnghŭm’s storytelling method. Noting that the entry of the story of Pak Chinhŏn shows the strongest evidence of influence from a precursor text, I begin with an intertextual investigation of this particular story in Hujae and TPNS to reconstruct the pattern of No Myŏnghŭm’s criteria for textual transformation. No Myŏnghŭm uses paraphrasing to create a compact and plain narrative that is devoid of superfluity. He prioritizes plot and characterization over literary embellishment. In all three cases, the TPNS narratives display a similar storytelling method, to the point that one can recognize consistent retelling strategies. Through this discussion, I will argue that TPNS is a case of partial written transmission and that TPNS narratives retain their literary provenance.

5.4.1. The Story of Pak Chinhŏn

Kim Kan’s Hujae chip has two entries (hereafter Hujae 1 and Hujae 2) on Pak Chinhŏn presented consecutively. At the end of each entry, Kim indicates where he has heard the story in a “footnote” (hyŏpchu 挟註): “This story is what my father-in-law heard from Yi Chimun and then told me” (此事聴君聞于李枝茂而言于余矣) for Hujae 1 and “This installment here is something I heard at my friend Yi Hong’ik’s place” (此一段聞于李友弘益處) for Hujae 2. As Im Wanhyŏk (1999) notes, No Myŏnghŭm merged the two narratives into a single coherent narrative for TPNS. Im characterizes this Hujae-to-TPNS textual transformation as a result of No’s changing of the sequence
of events, adoption of the generally same plot development and details, and ‘stylistic characteristics’ (ği 言氣). In the process, he transformed the order of events, paraphrases, and omits a notable portion of his antecedents while keeping intact the overall meaning and plot development. Summaries of the two Hujae chip narratives are as follows:

*Hujae 1* focuses on portraying Pak Chinhôn of P’yŏnggu as a talented man who is well versed in literature, martial arts, and prognostication, and who decides to become a military official because of his circumstances. Later he learns that he is fated not to hold the highest official posts and will meet a premature death, despite his wish to serve the state during the Manchu Invasions. *Hujae 1* ends as Pak dies in accordance with this prediction.

*Hujae 2* narrates how a scholar-official from the capital, completely unrelated to Pak, gets lost deep in the woods on his way home. He discovers an underwater world for a night’s lodging, where he overhears the star-gazing master of the house declare that a certain Pak Chinhôn’s death and a war are imminent. Intrigued by his remark about a war, the official makes note of the date mentioned during the master’s remarks, asks how to save himself during the war, and learns of specific names of place suitable for refuge. The next morning the official leaves for home and makes a stop in P’yŏnggu, where he discovers Pak Chinhôn’s death is a true event. Reminded of the master’s warning, he takes his family to the designated places prior to the inception date of the war and remains unharmed. The two *Hujae* entries narrate two sides of Pak’s death: Pak’s ill fate and the good fortune of the man from the capital.

Below I first present the beginning of the story of Pak Chinhôn in *Hujae 1* and TPNS. I divide the texts into sections so as to highlight the differences between the two. When we encounter identical diction in the two narratives, the matches are underlined. If the correspondence between the two consists primarily in meaning rather than in diction, it is indicated in bold italics, and in a slightly larger font size. For example, the right-hand column of row-[A]—which reads “平邱 有朴震壑者, 文詞武藝俱絕人”—illustrates No Myŏnghŭm’s faithfulness to his antecedent in that the entire phrase consists of a reproduction of Kim Kan’s original words (underlined) and No Myŏnghŭm’s paraphrasing of Kim Kan’s original (emboldened and enlarged). The row-[B] indicates that No Myŏnghŭm excised the relevant portion in his retelling.
### Table 5.8. *Hujae* 1 and TPNS: The beginning of the story of Pak Chinhôn

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENE</th>
<th><em>HUJAE</em> 1</th>
<th>TPNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[A] The protagonist is named Park Chinhôn of P’yŏnggu. He excels in literature and martial arts</td>
<td>朴宣傳官雲憲居在平丘村，少時能文章，又善武藝。</td>
<td>平邱有朴雲憲者，文詞武藝俱絕人，</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[B] The protagonist goes out every morning to hunt pheasants to feed his widowed mother.</td>
<td>窮居奉母，每朝持弓而出，必射雉而歸，以供親膳，</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[C] One day, a pheasant that the protagonist has shot with an arrow flees into the woods. Having followed the bird, the protagonist sees no bird but spots a book.</td>
<td>一日遇雉射之，雉帶箭衝起，飛落于林間，朴往見之，矢着于一部冊上，</td>
<td>出獵射雉，雉帶箭入林，跟之不見，惟見一部冊在林</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[D] The protagonist scans the book and discovers that it is a book of prognostication based on the <em>Book of Changes</em>.</td>
<td>朴披視之，即詳論河洛數者，</td>
<td>前披之則，乃象數書也，</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[E] The protagonist returns home, studies the book, and thereafter, he becomes well-versed in the principles of the universe.</td>
<td>遂歸家推究其理，自是之後，凡人之窮達，事之吉凶，無不前知，</td>
<td>自是精通天文，</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of length, TPNS uses almost half of its antecedent. While alterations are unmistakable, the changes do not affect the overall meaning of *Hujae* 1. In [A], No Myŏnghŭm identifies Pak Chinhôn by his hometown, dropping the official post he held during his lifetime. The phrase “When young, he was skilled in literary composition, and excelled in martial arts” is compressed into “He outperformed others in both literature and martial arts.” All of [B]—indicating Pak Chinhôn’s plight as a poor man serving a single parent, with his family dependent on his hunting is—missing in TPNS: No Myŏnghŭm’s omission of [B] suggests that he aimed at presenting a compact narrative. While [C] displays the greatest amount of textual correspondence between the two, the matches are mostly nouns, which No Myŏnghŭm must have found difficult to replace with something equivalent. However, in the case of (D) he replaced one noun with another, preferring the more generic “a book of numerological cosmology” (sangsu só 象
數書) to “河洛數” (short for *He luo li shu* 河洛理數 [*The numbers and principles of the He and Luo*], a canonical prognostication text by Shao Yong 邵雍 [1011-1077]).

Finally, the replacement of the long description in [E] with a simple phrase suggests that No wanted to avoid superfluous details.

The absence of [B] in TPNS merits some explanation. We can imagine at least two reasons. First, No Myŏnghŭm must have considered [B] redundant. Pak’s mother does not reappear in the later part of the narrative but serves as an illustration of Pak’s poverty and limited resources (i.e., his fatherlessness). The reference to Pak’s daily routine, too, is a detail that does not significantly influence the overall unfolding of either *Hujae* 1 or TPNS. No Myŏnghŭm’s principle of avoiding superfluous details is in operation here. More importantly, No deleted this part in order to create a smooth transition for his narrative, by presenting the contents of *Hujae* 1 and *Hujae* 2 as a seamless whole. In what follows the introductory portion, the TPNS narrative reveals that Pak’s ability to prognosticate allows him to predict his own death and that his prediction came to fruition. A conclusive denouement at the end of the contents adopted from *Hujae* 1 would have made it obvious to the reader that two separate narratives had been cobbled together. By relocating the information about Pak’s death to the earlier part of his narrative, No Myŏnghŭm allows his reader to perceive the series of events (of what originally was the beginning of a separate narrative) as just another sequence in what is already happening.

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353 Cho Sŏngsan, *Chosŏn hugi nangnon-gye hakp’ung ĭi hyŏngsŏng kwa chŏn’gae* (Seoul: Chisik sanŏpsa, 2007) understands the emergence of numerological cosmology (*sangsu hak* 象數學) as a significant philosophical trend in the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century among scholars of Noron.
While *Hujae* 2 contains motifs indicative of Chinese literary genres of the strange (e.g., *zhiguai* 志怪 or *chuanqi* 傳奇), the TPNS narrative is stripped of these stylistic characteristics. Kim Kan’s protagonist is reminiscent of heroes such as the man who gets lost in the mountains only to encounter a strange old man of nobility,\(^{354}\) or the man who accidentally discovers a utopian land in a stone cave—a motif originating from Tao Yuanming’s 陶淵明 (365-427) “Record of Peach Blossom Spring.” By contrast, the TPNS narrative “brings the protagonist’s experience to the human realm” because its narrator takes a more matter-of-fact attitude.\(^ {355}\) Below is a comparison between *Hujae* 2 and corresponding portions in TPNS:

| Table 5.9. Comparison of *Hujae* 2 and TPNS: The story of Pak Chinhŏn |
|--------------------|---------|--------|
| **[A]** The protagonist living in the capital is on his way home from Kangwŏn province. He finds himself in the middle of nowhere. | **HUJAE 2** | **TPNS** |
| 京中一士人往闕北， | 有洛下人，自闕北出來， | 到伊川境迷路，且日暮 |
| 隨時由山中捷邁而行， | 至伊川界，山勢參天， | 四無人煙。 |
| 于伊川界，山勢參天， | 四無人煙。 |  |
| **[B]** The protagonist discovers a stone cave from which water containing tree leaves flows. | **中石門拆開，有大川，** | **水自岩壁流出地[也]，** |
| 自石門流出見青葉， | 時時隨流而下， | **顛洞門可容，** |
| **[C]** The protagonist orders his slave to trace the origin of the running water. In a little while, the slave returns with a boat. | **其人曰：** | **使奴覓人家，奴解衣入水，** |
| **之問必有人居，** | **其日浮水而入,** | **水及其腹，有頃，** |
| 良久其奴乘小舟而來。 | **良久其奴乘小舟而來。** | **拿小舟而至乘之以入，** |
| **[D]** The protagonist discovers a large village. | **其人乘船棹而溯流至一處，人家數百戶居焉。** | **船入其中，儼然成村** |
| **[E]** An old man in formal attire greets him and offers him a place to stay. | **有一老者出迎曰：** | **X** |
| 此地甚邃，無知者， | 此地甚邃，無知者， |  |
| 子何以能入來耶， | 子何以能入來耶， |  |
| 麹飯善遇之， | 麹飯善遇之， |  |
The protagonist stays overnight in the village.

At night, the Star of War falls and the old master of the house announces the death of a certain Pak Chinh.

[Overhearing the old man,] the protagonist wonders at the meaning of the old man’s words.

The old master of the house prognosticates that a war is about to break out and that the protagonist would be able to save himself by taking refuge in Kangn’ung and Samch’ok.

The next day, the protagonist resumes his journey home.

The master of the house informs the protagonist that a great war is about to break out in the year of pyongja and that the protagonist would be able to save himself by taking refuge in Kangn’ung and Samch’ok.

During his journey home, the protagonist makes a stop in P’yönggu. He asks about Pak Chinh and learns that Pak’s death coincides with the night of his stay at the old man’s house.

In the year of pyongja, the protagonist takes his entire family to one of the regions suggested by the old man as a safe place. Everyone in the family remains safe.

No Myönhüm has streamlined his antecedent text by treating the zhiguai-chuanqi elements as superfluous and presenting a more compact narrative. In both Hujae 2 and TPNS, neither the surprising appearance of a certain old man in official attire nor his offering of food to the protagonist influences the overall development of the story in any significant way. The old man’s appearance in [E] thus seems to be a stylistic choice made by Hujae chip. TPNS also ignores the method used by the protagonist to reach his
destination (i.e., paddling against the stream) because it is an unnecessary piece of information. The four-character phrases “The mountain peaks reached into the heavens. There was no sign of human habitation” (山勢參天, 四無人煙) in *Hujae* 2 are reduced to the more plain “[He] got lost, and moreover it was getting dark” (迷路, 日且暮).

[**G**] indicates that No added extra details for clarification as to how the protagonist overhears the master’s remark. In *Hujae* 2, the phrase “In the dead of the night, he arose and took a walk in the court. Seeing a falling meteor, he uttered in shock …” is somewhat muddled, because the subjects of the actions are omitted. No Myŏnghŭm fixed this by employing “shoes being dragged” (曳履)—a common metaphor in poetry and prose composition, including fiction, for the sound of someone coming—to clarify how the protagonist is able to hear the announcement made by the master of the house.

[**M**] indicates that No Myŏnghŭm replaced “to have no trouble” (無事) with “able to remain safe and sound” (得全) to mean the same thing—the latter phrase appearing in *Record of the grand historian* (*Shiji* 史記).

The personalities of the protagonists of the two narratives differ, albeit in subtle ways. The protagonist of *Hujae* 2 is more inquisitive. Overhearing the master of the house’s prediction, he inquires after the meaning of it and records the date of war for his future reference. In contrast, his TPNS counterpart is more passive in that it is the master of the house who informs him about an imminent war. This change suggests that No Myŏnghŭm reduced the role of the protagonist in *Hujae* 2 to that of a supporting character—“the guest” (客)—in order to keep the storytelling focused on Pak Chinhŏn’s tragic death.
There are two factual discrepancies between the two Hujae entries and their TPNS counterpart; I reiterate a previously made point. In Hujae 1, the relationship between a certain Yi Chinmu and Pak Chinhŏn is described as that of “a relative who is in the same line as one’s nephew” (chokchil 族姪); No Myŏnghŭm modifies this by identifying Yi’s relationship to Pak as “son of Pak’s second cousin once removed” (李於朴為七寸姪). In Hujae 2, Samch’ŏk and Kangnŭng are mentioned as two places of refuge in case of war. The protagonist of Hujae 2 goes to Samch’ŏk, while his TPNS counterpart goes to Kangnŭng. It is not impossible that these two pieces of information were drawn from some form of oral account. No Myŏnghŭm likely modified the information of his antecedents, resulting in textual exuberances.

The retelling strategies found in Hujae-to-TPNS transformation can be summarized as follows. No Myŏnghŭm expunged genre-specific styles and added new elements to achieve plainness and compactness. In almost all cases, the original Hujae diction is paraphrased in TPNS. While action verbs and descriptive verbs seem to be No Myŏnghŭm’s principal targets, in one case a proper noun is replaced with a generic counterpart. This change suggests that No Myŏnghŭm’s intention was to facilitate the reading comprehension of his target reader, who may have been unfamiliar with canonical texts in the field of prognostication.356

356 My comparisons of Hujae and TPNS so far have left out three sections of the two narratives: (1) the tension between Pak Chinhŏn and Yi Ich’ŏm, (2) the portion appearing in Im Wanhyŏk (1999), and (3) Pak Chinhŏn’s discovery of his death. I will only present a summary of these scenes without giving them an analysis.

(1) Pak and Yi Ich’ŏm are relatives. While Yi wishes to befriend Pak, Pak is not interested because he senses that Yi is a dangerous man. Yi pressures Pak to become his son’s tutor. Pak continues to refuse, ultimately giving up on scholarship, and becomes a military official.

(2) Pak Chinhŏn visits his relative Yi Chinmu, who is studying with Yun Tüksŏl, and Pak discerns the two men’s progress by simply examining their poem drafts. Pak prognosticates the two men’s future by
In order to see whether the above descriptions can be treated as No Myŏnghŭm’s ‘retelling principles’, it is necessary to test them on other parallel cases. Therefore, I dedicate the remaining portion of this section to more case studies of the relationship between TPNS and antedating parallels, in order to demonstrate that the HJJ-to-TPNS trends examined above do indeed represent a general pattern in No Myŏnghŭm’s retelling strategies.

5.4.2. The story of Sin Sukchu

This story is found in YONSEI 16, TŌYŌ 28, TENRI 11, and CHŎNGGU 15. Its counterpart is found in Yu Mong’ın’s Unsophisticated talks—Changso-gak 68, Manjongjae 139, and Asami 7, to name but a few surviving manuscript editions that contain this narrative.357 As I suggested in CHAPTER TWO, No Myŏnghŭm’s exposure to this story probably is owing to his connection to Yi Ponghwan and Nam Ok, who were officials serving in Embassies of Communication. Textual discrepancies and correspondences between Unsophisticated talks and TPNS suggest a combination of oral and written transmission. Here is a comparison of the two narratives. Because the story of Sin Sukchu is relatively shorter, I present the texts in their entirety:

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For studies of Yu Mong’ın’s literature, see Sin Ikch’ŏl, Yu Mong’ın munhak yŏn’gu (Seoul: Pogosa, 1998) and Kim Yŏngmi, Kigan kwa Yu Mong’ìn ŭi sanmun (Seoul, T’aehaksa, 2008).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCENES</th>
<th>UNSOPHISTICATED TALKS</th>
<th>TPNS (YONSEI)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| (1) A young Sin Sukchu is on his way to the palace to take the civil service examination and discovers a monster. | 申叔舟少時，
赴試聖試，夜半與友，同就成均館，
見路中一物，
張口當路，
上脣著於天，
下脣著於地。 | 申叔舟初為舉子時，
嘗往景福宮庭試，
曙色朦朧中見巨獸，
張口橫於闕門， |
| (2) Sin Sukchu’s fearless reaction is in contrast with that of other examination candidates | 同行者惶怖，
趨步取他路以往，
叔舟直入兩脣中， | 舉子從眾口併處以入，
叔舟瞪然趨立，而諷視之 |
| (3) A blue-clad boy waiting for Sin Sukchu pledges to serve him. | 有有一童衣青子，
拜而言曰：
願從措大而遊，
唯所指使，叔舟領之，
自此童子隨叔舟，
不少難。 | 俄有，衣衣童子挽申袖問曰：
申或見獸口之張否
曰：見之
曰：是吾之造化也，故作此怪，
要申立留，面與我相會也
申曰：汝是何物，
曰：吾人也，申是大貴人，
吾欲左右之以度年平生云，
而遂陪同入試院，歸亦偕之入，
處書堂壁藏中，
曾不形於他人眼中，坐臥起居，
不離申側，分與餘飯，則只聞嘆聲，
而不見器空， |
| (4) The blue-clad boy’s prognostication skills and magical powers. | 遂捷鬼域，凡有吉凶，
莫不先事而告，
聽其指導，無有不吉 | 家事休咎科場得失，
輒先告以使知之。 |
| (5) Sin Sukchu’s successful completion of his official duties is thanks to the blue-clad boy’s help. | 及度海人日本，
風恬浪靜，
終致利涉而還。 | 及申差日本使，日本之欲通我國於是為初，彼中，水路遠近，
風俗險易，漠然不知，申深以為問，
使青衣童子，
先為探審而情，青衣一去，
四朔苦念始還，
申曰：汝尚勿遲也，
青衣曰：海深且廣狥，難測度，[
Blue-clad lists the numerous investigations he conducted that caused him a delay...]
遂以青衣所指津路，
至今為信行路所由，
而文忠之熟諳日本山風謠者，
多得於青衣云， |
Of the seven scenes overall, scenes 1 – 6 in both TPNS and Unsophisticated talks depict Sin Sukchu’s encounter with a blue-clad fairy-like possessor of magical powers who pledges to follow Sin, followed by an account of the benefits Sin reaps as a result of this encounter. Noticeable disparities exist between TPNS and Unsophisticated talks in terms of facts, level of detail, coverage of the narratives, and the voice of the narrator. TPNS is much longer than Unsophisticated talks. It offers much more vivid descriptions of scenes and contains one episode that does not appear in Unsophisticated talks.

While much longer, TPNS is nonetheless a more compact and coherent narrative. In Unsophisticated talks, some information is superfluous and plays only a limited role. For example, the friend of Sin Sukchu who highlights Sin’s boldness is absent in TPNS. His friend does not affect the overall telling of the story and removing him increases the
centrality of Sin Sukchu and the blue-clad boy as the actors in the narrative. Moreover, two scenes that are elaborated in TPNS—the scene after Sin and Blue-clad return together to Sin’s home, and Blue-clad’s preliminary research on Japan to facilitate Sin’s visit—strengthen the theme of the narrative by simultaneously amplifying Sin’s inefficacy and Blue-clad’s magical powers.

In terms of theme, the two narratives move in the same direction. With the authority of an authorial voice, the narrator of Unsophisticated talks compares what happens in this narrative with two infamous rebels in Chinese history (i.e.,,) and their fairy companions, thereby suggesting that Sin Sukchu is in the same league. The TPNS narrator twice intervenes to comment on the importance of Sin Sukchu’s trip to Japan and to note that all of Blue-clad’s hard work was unjustly credited to him. Moreover, in TPNS, Sin’s dependence on Blue-clad is exaggerated in the final scenes, where Sin Sukchu insists on honoring Blue-clad, even as a ghost. Both narratives undermine Sin Sukchu’s capability as a scholar and official.

In terms of diction, there are only a small number of instances where the two narratives share the same wording. However, a comparison between them reveals that the method of paraphrasing outlined above was in TPNS. The paraphrasing seems to suggest an attempt at colloquialization. For example, the TPNS narrator uses the location of the examination site (“the Kyŏngbok Palace examination” 福宮庭試) to replace “the highest-level of the state examination occurring after the king’s visit to Confucius’s shrine” (試聖試). The phrase “examination candidate” (kŏja 舉子) is listed in the “vernacular expressions” (pang’ŏn 方言) section in Cho Chaesam’s 趙在三 (1808-1866; Songnam 松南) Miscellaneous records of Songnam Cho Chaesam (Songnam chapchi
松南雜識(1855), a multi-volume encyclopedia of the mid-nineteenth century. Use of parallelism in Unsophisticated talks (“its upper lips touched heaven, its lower lips attached to the earth” 上唇着於天, 下唇接於地)—an indication of literary embellishment—is not found in TPNS.

One might argue that the story of Sin Sukchu seems short and simple enough for memorization. However, the fact that the TPNS narrative almost never deviates from the Unsophisticated talks counterpart in terms of plot development, characterization, and theme. This indicates that No Myŏnhŭm had relied on a written narrative for composing his own narrative. Hong Yonghan’s description of No’s habit of taking copious notes on whatever he read reminds us that a summary or notes containing some details might have been used for a preliminary draft. Nonetheless, the two narratives are not identical in terms of details. These discrepancies between the two likely resulted either from oral transmissions or from No Myŏnhŭm’s augmentation based upon what he considered effective storytelling. It is also plausible that someone who had read the story related it to No, who then took notes. Even so, the fact remains that the story of Sin Sukchu in TPNS is a variation originating from a written precedent, not a narrative casually circulating orally.

The above comparison shows that in the case of the story of Sin Sukchu, No Myŏnhŭm’s retelling methods, as found in Hujae-to-TPNS transmission of the story, supports a conclusion that the relationship between Unsophisticated talks and TPNS is one of antecedent-descendant.
5.4.3. The story of a student of Kap’yŏng

The relationship between *Invisible workings* and TPNS is much more complex than the one just outlined above—so much so that using a simple juxtaposition of passages yields no meaningful comparison. Examining the story of a student of Kap’yŏng, I will demonstrate the presence of No Myŏnghŭm’s retelling strategies and conclude that this particular pair also proves to be a case of antecedent-descendant.

As introduced previously, while both TPNS and *Invisible workings* are collections of stories, *Invisible workings* is a much more variegated collection than TPNS. The vast majority of its entries deal with supernatural affairs, such that many of them are reminiscent of *zhiguai* and *chuanqi* tales, while others incorporate poetry talks and epistles or deal with narratives based on jokes and satire. Thus, if No Myŏnghŭm applied compactness and coherence as guiding principles for his own creations, a considerable portion of the *Invisible workings* narratives, whose style depended on genre-specific literary embellishments (such as are found in *chuanqi*), would undergo significant transformations.

Entitled “The story of a student of Kap’yŏng” (Tenri 1: “Meeting rain and becoming an immortal on the way to Kangwŏn Province” 關東路遭雨登仙), the narrative in *Invisible workings* deals with a series of supernatural events involving a young male protagonist and his encounter with a Daoist immortal, who becomes his father-in-law and ultimately keeps his family safe from the calamities of the Manchu

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Invasions in 1636. The narrative reads like a *chuanqi* narrative in that the protagonist’s supernatural journey begins when he gets rained on, gets lost in the mountains, and undergoes an experience highly reminiscent of what happens to the protagonist in the *Taiping guangji* fox story, “Ji Zhen 计真.”

It also frequently employs four-character parallel phrases to render extensive descriptions of the scenes in which the events take place. By contrast, the TPNS narrative is event-oriented, with the exception of the scene of the protagonist’s wedding. Below I present a table comparing the beginning parts of the two narratives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCENES</th>
<th><em>INVISIBLE WORKINGS</em></th>
<th>TPNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[A] Specified time marker</td>
<td>仁祖朝</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[B] An unmarried young man, a student at a local school in Kap’yông, is on his way to Kangwon Province. His slave and horse suddenly die. He is helpless.</td>
<td>加平郡有一校生，年少未娶，粗通文史，以事往于關東，驕款段馬，率一帰り人而行，每到一山下， 中路遭雨，半日霧霧，僕奴忽然死於馬前，生不勝驚愕，躬自曳屍，置於路傍山側， 獨自掩泣，跨馬而行，行數里，所騎之馬，又仆地而死，艱難行李，既喪其僕， 又喪其馬，前路渺然，雨又不止， 子子徒步，無以自達，流涕不足， 遂發痛哭。</td>
<td>嘉平縣有一校生， 冠而未及娶， 有事遠地， 以隸馬劣，僕登途， 行數日涉山路， 僕奴暴死， 坎路側而莎覆之， 猶復前進，行數里， 馬又斃，進退倉頹。</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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359 In both the Kap’yông student and Ji Zhen stories, the protagonist loses his slave and horse, and discovers a luxurious mansion inhabited by an impressive-looking old man, who marries him to his daughter. According to Sarah H. Allen, the motif of a male protagonist’s losing his horse and slave in a gambling market was a “familiar type” for Tang *chuanqi* stories (e.g., a version of “The Merchant’s Wife” and “The Tale of Li Wa”). See Sarah H. Allen, “Tales Retold: Narrative Variation in a Tang story,” 110-111.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCENES</th>
<th>INVISIBLE WORKINGS</th>
<th>TPNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| [C] Suddenly an old man looking like a Daoist immortal appears and offers him a place of lodging. | 忽有一老人，扶杖而來，兇眉鶴髮，

狀貌甚異， [The old man asks the protagonist what has happened and pointing to a place, offers him a place to stay … ] 可以投宿矣，生隨指望見一里許，果有松竹蒼鬱成林，

生即拜謝而往，未數步回顧，老人已不見矣，生甚驚訝，行到所指處，

長松萬株，

脩竹千竿，表裡成林， | 忽有一老人冉冉而來，

恰有仙風道骨，

謂生曰：君行遠，

既良見此去，吾家頃近，

蓋投宿，而徐圖行事乎，

生依其言，

隨入山累回，

而林轉開 |

| [D] The student finds the old man’s house, which is a dazzling mansion. | 見有彩閣三間，矗然臨溪，丹軒照映，

欄檻縹緲，生曳楔衣，挾荷杖，少憩於閣下，

[More scene description follows. The protagonist is greeted by an immortal-like man and escorted to the master of the house who awaits him. More scene descriptions of the luxury of the master’s mansion continue as the protagonist tacks it in.] | 有一亭院樓臺，池亭，

可擬王居，

抵其室中，

即服御器用，玲瓏奪目， |

| [E] The old man invites the student in and reveals that he wishes to marry him to his daughter. He asks his two sons to select an auspicious date for the wedding. | [The protagonist meets the master, who orders food made ready to entertain his guest. Descriptions of the food follow.] | 老人謂生曰：君與我，

有室因故到此，

非俗塵人所宜入，

招其二子拜客，

其標致非凡，

生驚異倉愕，不能乏定情，

老人曰：

吾所以致君於此者，

將以備東床之選君，

須勿辭，

因謂其二子曰：

吾女佳配已定，

宜館此於靜室，

尊異其禮以俟吉期， |

| [F] The two children withdraw. | 二童承命。 | 二子唯唯而退。 |

<p>| [G] The old man relocates his guest to a special guesthouse to have him prepared for the wedding. | The old man relocates his guest to a guesthouse to have him prepared for the wedding. The protagonist’s journey of relocation is described. | 導生就別堂， |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCENES</th>
<th>INVISIBLE WORKINGS</th>
<th>TPNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[H] The bridegroom’s residence is described.</td>
<td>an ornate palanquin takes him to a place removed at some distance.</td>
<td>其所謂別堂者，貯藏水為方池，起彩闕於其中。由虹橋以人金碧輝煌軒館，現麗琉璃牌楣鉛銅，為屏案前著置，目所未見疊為入處而煥癡，不自安俄，而進饌極水陸之珍，異實是人聞所未見，日供四五次以為常，</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[I] The wedding day is described.</td>
<td>仙官與之相伴，信宿之後，及其吉日，復以玉函盛衣，自仙官所而至，命生改浴更衣，其冠服之盛，比前益侈，易服既讫，又以朱漆轢轢生，向仙翁之所，仙官数十，前後擁衛而行，到門下，儀贊者引生，登殿就席，竟賀行拜，引罷，引生而入，遙聞琳聲鏗鏘，香風陣陣。及其內，見美奐數十，分立左右，容色之美麗，服飾之瑰琦，簡所謂瑶姬玉女群也。生意謂此中一娥，必是主翁之處女也。</td>
<td>被之以龍凰之繡衣，騎之以騏驥之騁，蹄鼓吹導前笙簫，後從人數百齋齊，登門入就坐席，婦載花冠，擁珠翠雙雙仙女，左右扶出，真{{所謂如山如河，胡然天，胡然帝者也</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The first salient difference between the pair is the lack of a specified time marker in TPNS. *Invisible workings* begins with “during the reign of King Injo” as a backdrop. This information is rather redundant in that the story’s climax refers to the Manchu Invasions during the reign of King Injo. The superfluity of this information kept No Myŏnghŭm from including it in his narrative as a necessary backdrop. In fact, as I will discuss below, no TPNS entries begin with the reign years of specific kings unless the story requires such a beginning.

The most noticeable difference between *Invisible workings* and TPNS may be how strange events are treated in them. The sudden rain and the death of the protagonist’s horse and slave in *Invisible workings* are treated as the protagonist’s paranormal experience. In contrast, in TPNS the deaths of the horse and the slave are explained as a logical conclusion by presenting them with the qualifiers “disabled” (殘) and “inferior” (劣), respectively.

*Invisible workings* indulges in four-character phrases to explain what the protagonist experiences. From [C] through [I], with the exception of [F], *Invisible workings* contains lengthy segments depicting what the protagonist sees. Examples from [C] include:

On the outside [of the building], sure enough, there was a large stream. Under the current of water was a flat white rock. He examined [the rock] carefully, from close up and far away; it was a single lump of rock. The color of the water was like jade, resembling white silk cloth.

...其外 | 果有大溪 | 流下水底 | 白石平鋪 | 細視之 | 自近及遠 | 總是一石 | 水色如玉 | 若布白練 ...

All of these elaborate descriptions create certain moods whereby readers can share the protagonist’s perception, while also displaying the writer’s literary virtuosity. In TPNS, the protagonist’s journey is simply depicted in a short phrase: “He climbed through
various places in the mountain [and reached a place where] the forest spread out, and there was a large mansion, a tower, and a pavilion by a pond” (隨入山累回, 而林轉開, 有一庄院樓臺池亭). The principle of compactness is in operation here.

For [H] and [I] the TPNS narrative, too, offers elaborate scenic descriptions, while not contradicting the principle of general storytelling. The elaboration of [H] and [I] in *Invisible workings* serves two purposes: (1) elaboration of the wedding ceremony between the protagonist and the old man’s daughter and (2) highlighting of the humble origins of the protagonist, who is overwhelmed at the sight of sumptuousness beyond his imagining. In the TPNS version, more focus is placed on the humble background of the protagonist, while the description of the wedding ceremony serves only as a necessary detail for the storytelling.

The TPNS description of the wedding ceremony—marked with {{ }} in the column [I] in the table above—possibly suggests that No Myŏnghŭm relied on commonly used expressions and familiar imagery to portray specific scenes. For example, instead of giving his own scenic descriptions, No uses phrases from two Confucian classics containing references to the husband-wife relationship. The phrase “賜所謂如山如河, 胡然天, 胡然帝者也” is a compound drawn from two songs on the theme of marital bliss described (in the theme of “The husband growing old with his wife” [“junzi xielao” 君子偕老]) in the “Odes of Yong” (“Yong Feng” 邳風) section of the *Shijing* 詩經 (*Book of songs*). The phrase is reminiscent of “When the husband is

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360 The original text from “Junzi xielao” is as follows:

君子偕老, 判笄六珈, 委委佗佗, 如山如河, 象服是宜, 子之不淑、云如之何, …

The husband growing old with his wife.
In her headdress, and the cross-pins, with their six jewels;
out, [the wife] gathers the bedding and rolls up the mat [to put aside]” (夫不在, 敛枕箧箑席) from “The patterns of the family” (“Nei ze” 内則) chapter in Liji 禮記 (Book of rites). Second, he uses concrete nouns like “scent of ambergris and orchid and musk” (龍涎蘭麝之香) instead of a more general description like “fragrance abounded” (香風陣陣) as in Invisible workings. The proper noun compound “brocaded silk of Wu and Shu” (蜀錦呉綾) for the luxury of the couple’s wedding night is used instead of a more general description “brocaded curtain and golden screen, silk bedding and jaded mat” (繡帳金屏, 錦衾瑤席).

In light of the ways in which Kim Kan’s two narratives were incorporated into No Myônghûm’s story of Pak Chinhôn, all three parallel cases demonstrate that No Myônghûm had a kind of set principles in his narrative writing, according to which he tailored the style of his narratives. This means that by excavating such patterns further,

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more antedating parallel narratives can be identified as literary precedents for No Myŏnghm. It goes without saying that the straight genealogical linkage between TPNS and the two other antedating narratives I demonstrated above points to the importance of written-to-written transmission—a method previously treated as a characteristic of nineteenth-century yadam compilers’ achievements—in No Myŏnghm’s creation of TPNS in the late eighteenth century.

5.5. Addendum: YONSEI titles

Im Hyŏng't’ak (1999) describes the YONSEI entry titles as add-ons by a later copyist. This observation is valid in that, generally speaking, nineteenth-century story collections like Green hills and Anthologies of stories of the East have seven-character or eight-character titles. However, the titles appearing in YONSEI are stylistically distinctive in comparison with story collections that came both before and after. Therefore, while I am cautious not to suggest who gave titles to the YONSEI entries, I describe their characteristics in comparison with other yadam collections whose entries are titled. For all the titles, I insert “|” for parsing purposes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE IN HANMUN</th>
<th>PERSONS IDENTIFIED AS PROTAGONISTS</th>
<th>ENGLISH TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>推奴被禍</td>
<td>迎婚復響</td>
<td>Kim Tŏngnyŏng 金德齡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>怒喝地師</td>
<td>即拙宰塁</td>
<td>Im Kyŏngŏp 林慶業</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>欲試氣魄</td>
<td>溺臥尸叢</td>
<td>Hŏ Chŏk 許積</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>秘穴葬親</td>
<td>溺蹤發福</td>
<td>Kim pyŏlgam 金別監</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>老人設計</td>
<td>提督班師</td>
<td>Li Rusong 李如松</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TITLE IN HANMUN</td>
<td>PERSONS IDENTIFIED AS PROTAGONISTS</td>
<td>ENGLISH TRANSLATION</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>得詩簪妓</td>
<td>恃才買禍</td>
<td>Yun Kyŏl&lt;br&gt;尹濁</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>賭博致財</td>
<td>競競敗賭</td>
<td>Kim Ch’ŏnl’s wife&lt;br&gt;金千鎬妻</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>貞男賤節</td>
<td>賢妾帶喜</td>
<td>A student living outside the New Gate&lt;br&gt;新門外書生</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>孝婿拜床</td>
<td>棄妻圍鏡</td>
<td>Such-and-such&lt;br&gt; 임우관</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>第賢横財</td>
<td>兄悟管家</td>
<td>A certain secondary brother&lt;br&gt;有庶弟</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In all cases, the YONSEI entries consist of a four-character couplet title describing two scenes from a single entry. The identity of the main protagonist always accompanies the title. However, in some cases two scenes in the title imply two different actors (e.g., Entry 32 and Entry 46).

Sometimes the scenes described in the title fail to correspond to what the protagonist does in the story. For example, in the case of Entry 14, while the entire narrative revolves around a clever slave girl who rises above her original station in life through hard work, and the title depicts her actions, the protagonist is identified as Kim *pyŏlgam*, a son of the slave girl’s original master who appears only later in the story. This combination still works in that the meaning of the story can change depending on whom one considers the protagonist of the story. A discerning reader is left to figure out in what way Kim *pyŏlgam* is foregrounded as the story’s protagonist.

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361 The titles in the TONGGUK edition, too, comprise of four-character couplets just like YONSEI, with the exception of Entry 2. In Entry 2, the protagonist is identified as “A poor student [living near the] South Gate” (南門窮生) and instead of a four-character couplet, “The same as Minister Yi appearing above” (上同李相圃) is given to indicate that Entry 2 and Entry 1 are two different versions of the same story.
Entry 1 offers a similarly contradictory match. The foregrounded protagonist is Kim Tŏngnyŏng and the narrative centers on his belligerent attack on evil slaves. However, the title presents the narrative as a case of a frustrated mother-in-law seeking revenge through her new son-in-law.

In other cases, the two scenes introduced in the title are only suggestive (e.g., Entries 2, 14, 18, 71). Some titles pique the reader’s curiosity with a certain moral subversiveness: e.g., a man’s loss of integrity brings delight in his wife (Entry 53). In short, the YS titles are coherently structured entities that foreground actions rather than people. They are performative in that they tend toward evoking intrigue and anticipation.

Compared to TPNS, the titles of entries in nineteenth-century story collections tend to be more revealing of what happens in the story. Most titles reveal the identity of the protagonist, along with a piece of information indicating what kind of state the protagonist is in. Below are some randomly chosen titles from *Green hills*. The last two examples do not indicate the protagonist and present two scenes from the stories. However, among the titles of *Green hills* I have seen so far, none imply two different protagonists, and none are consistently structured:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>GREEN HILLS</strong></th>
<th><strong>TRANSLATION</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>守貞節崔孝婦</td>
<td>惑虎</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>青劍術李備將</td>
<td>斬僧</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>李武弁窮峽撃</td>
<td>猛獸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>情一扇揚之</td>
<td>吝儉</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>訪舊主名馬</td>
<td>走千里</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>投三橘空中</td>
<td>現靈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>饋飯卓</td>
<td>見困鬼魅</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the case of *Anthology of stories of the East* by Yi Wŏnmyŏng 李源命 entries are titled with seven- or eight- character phrases. *Anthology of stories of the East* differs from many *yadam* compilations in that its compiler appropriated his source materials—which he drew from both Korean and Chinese narratives—in order to create his own narratives with a clear structure in mind. Highly reminiscent of Feng Menglong’s *Sanyan* collection, Yi Wŏnmyŏng systematically organized his narratives into categories, titled the narratives, and presented them as couplets. In his own preface, Yi explains that his title was modeled after the convention of fictional narratives, or *sŏsŏl* (每篇之首題句標識, 概依小說之規).

Titles of *Anthologies of stories of the East* are somewhat different from those in *Green hills*. Similar to the YONSEI titles of TPNS, Yi Wŏnmyŏng places greater emphasis on events over protagonists. In the case of the fourth item in the table below, two protagonists are indicated in that the agents of “貞” and “警罰” are two different people. Titles of *Anthologies of stories of the East* are not as consistently structured as those in TPNS-YONSEI.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>覆盡軒[揮椎]除惡</td>
<td>Eliminating evil by turning over a beautiful boat and wielding an iron hammer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>設白帳[避兵]獲安</td>
<td>Gaining safety by spreading a white curtain to avoid soldiers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>三施計[収取]重寶</td>
<td>Reclaiming treasure by using three ruses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>貞失信[警罰]布衣</td>
<td>Having rebuked [another’s] betrayal, a non-office-holding scholar is enlightened.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>兩郎婚[由御史媒]</td>
<td>A couple gets married through a secret inspector’s matchmaking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>洪尚書[受撻]避囚</td>
<td>Minister Hong avoids calamity by receiving a flogging.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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As a last set of examples, I present titles of parallel texts drawn from *Invisible workings* and TPNS. As illustrated in the examples below, the TPNS-YONSEI titles are much more vivid, more event-oriented, and more structured than their counterparts in *Invisible workings*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXT TITLE (MS./ENTRY #)</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Invisible workings</em> (KIM 1)</td>
<td>智異山路</td>
<td>迷逢廬</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TPNS (YONSEI 4)</td>
<td>緣結仙女</td>
<td>亂避玉洞</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Invisible workings</em> (TENRI 1)</td>
<td>關東路</td>
<td>遇雨</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TPNS (YONSEI 5)</td>
<td>解尸京城</td>
<td>敍舊仙山</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Invisible workings</em> (TENRI 17)</td>
<td>襞桂重逢</td>
<td>一朵紅</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TPNS (YONSEI 39)</td>
<td>塵埃識宰</td>
<td>粉黛名媛</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Invisible workings</em> (TENRI 16)</td>
<td>掃雪</td>
<td>因窟玉簫仙</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TPNS (YONSEI 40)</td>
<td>念妓脫身</td>
<td>決科贖罪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Invisible workings</em> (TENRI 25)</td>
<td>禹兵使姊妹</td>
<td>割鬚</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TPNS (YONSEI 65)</td>
<td>牧土鎮足</td>
<td>悍妻剃髭</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus far, I have discussed the distinctive character of the titles found in TPNS-YONSEI. I have not discussed Im Mae’s *Old tales*, even though it predates TPNS, because the two are drastically different in terms of their form and function.\(^{363}\) There is

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\(^{363}\) The titles of *Old tales* are two- or three-character titles that give keywords from the narratives but make no attempt at illustrating the narrative. Im Mae’s titling method is reminiscent of
little evidence to show who titled the YONSEI entries; yet, the method of titling used in YS displays a unique pattern that cannot found in any other yadam collections with titled entries. Here are YONSEI and TENRI titles in their entirety:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YONSEI</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
<th>TENRI</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>推奴被婚迎婚復讐</td>
<td>Harassed by runaway slaves; Revenging oneself by getting a son-in-law</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>金將軍德齰為岳翁滅恩奴</td>
<td>General Kim Tŏngnyŏng destroys evil slaves for the sake of his father-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>怒喝地師郎査宰塚</td>
<td>Rebuking a geomancer; Wreaking havoc on the tomb of a minister</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>林將軍慶業叱地師保先塚</td>
<td>General Im Kyŏngŏp yells at a geomancer and protects his ancestor’s burial site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>精棄武曲理通象數</td>
<td>Deferentially reporting to the Star of War; Well-versed in prognostication</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>平邱朴震憲能文能武慣象數排爾瞻</td>
<td>Pak Chinhŏn of P’yŏnggu, who excels in literature and martial arts, and has a penetrating knowledge of divination, shuns Yi Ich’ŏn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>緣結仙女亂避玉洞</td>
<td>Tying the knot with a fairy girl; Avoiding disaster in Oktong</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>解尸京城殺舊仙山</td>
<td>Becoming immortal in the capital; Recounting the past in a mountain of immortals</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>丐子將都令尸解而成仙</td>
<td>Chang toryŏng the beggar undergoes ‘corpse transcendence’ and becomes an immortal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>遇女仙遊被虎蹂躪</td>
<td>Chancing upon a fairy and play; Getting kicked around by tigers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>水原洪悅遇仙女逢猛虎</td>
<td>Hong Yŏl of Suwŏn chances upon a female immortal and comes upon fierce tigers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>仙侶奇遇</td>
<td>Fairies marvelously</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>詩仙成琬</td>
<td>Sŏng Wan, Poet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YONSEI</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
<th>TENRI</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>惠魔相助</td>
<td>encountering the poetry saint; Getting help from one another</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>逢三角山神詩思渡出</td>
<td>of Immortality, comes upon the spirit of Samgak Mountain whereupon poetic inspirations gush forth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>才冠塵世氣壓貴公</td>
<td>Talent outstanding in this mortal world Spirit surpassing a nobleman</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>匿懈堂安平大君與崔姓人遊平壤</td>
<td>Pihaedang Prince Anp’yông and a man named Ch’oe travel in P’yông’yang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>特勇登再遇適被鞭</td>
<td>Extraordinary courage mounting twice; Chancing upon an enemy and getting whipped</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>安東權姓人以威御家抑悍子婦</td>
<td>A man named Kwôn of Andong rules his family with authority and suppresses a shrewish daughter-in-law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>念彼賢女救此頑漢</td>
<td>Thinking of the man’s wise woman; Forgiving a vicious man</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>嚴父施威姊婦發誓</td>
<td>A strict father wields authority; A jealous wife pledges</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>北窪鄭糠滅壽與士友</td>
<td>Pukch’ang Chông Nyôm shortens his life span and gives it to his scholar friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>欲試氣魄潛臥尸叢</td>
<td>Wanting to test courage; Lying down amongst a forest of corpses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>雖料移壽強許推命</td>
<td>Although [he] understands his lifespan will be affected; He forces [someone] to promise to prognosticate his life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>祕穴葬親潛隄發福</td>
<td>Burying parents in a secret hole; Covering one’s tracks to attain prosperity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI</td>
<td>TITLE</td>
<td>TRANSLATION</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>推奴遇仙得碑定議</td>
<td>Encountering an immortal on his journey to catch runaway slaves; Gaining a tombstone that finalizes a decision.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>承旨成三問謹甫推奴行得神助</td>
<td>Kŭnbo Sŏng Sammun sŏngji goes on a journey to catch runaway slaves and receives help from the spirit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>豫告休咎不避祭尊</td>
<td>Prognosticating the future; Unable to avoid making offerings</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>文忠公申叔舟遇青衣童子一生同周旋</td>
<td>Master Munch’ung Sin Sukchu chances upon a blue-clad boy and [the two] form a life-long companionship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>鄰叔韜晦僉僧僧服</td>
<td>A half-witted uncle hides his true colors; A Japanese monk surrenders</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>郊居一宰相癡叔假稱居士服僉僧</td>
<td>A half-witted uncle of a minister living in the countryside pretends to be a hermit monk and subdues a Japanese monk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>老人設計提督班師</td>
<td>An old man hatches up a scheme; The commander retreats with his army</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>明將李如松遇老翁速班師</td>
<td>Ming General Li Rusong chances upon an old man and quickly withdraws his troops.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>近邀一葉俾懷兩山</td>
<td>Inviting near [by sending a] leaf; Asking [people] to be watchful in two mountains</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>土亭李之滷重峰趙與石窟先生問答</td>
<td>T’ojŏng Yi Chiham and Cho Chungpong have a question-and-answer with Stone Cave Master.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>相公在座山神告兵</td>
<td>A minister is seated; A mountain spirit reports a war</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>白沙李恒福白岳神來告明年火兵</td>
<td>A spirit of White Mountain visits Paeksa Yi Hangbok and reports a disturbance of fire and weaponry in the following year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>魂與妻隨縫救母病</td>
<td>A ghost following his wife; Oranges curing his mother’s illness</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>兵郎李慶流戰亡後魂猶來往夫人同寢</td>
<td>After Soldier Yi Kyŏngnyu dies at war, his spirit comes and goes to share his bed with his wife.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI</td>
<td>TITLE</td>
<td>TRANSLATION</td>
<td>TENRI</td>
<td>TITLE</td>
<td>TRANSLATION</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>知人擇配 助夫成勳</td>
<td>Discerning a person’s talents and choosing a spouse; Helping one’s husband and rendering meritorious service</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>兵使鄭起龍</td>
<td>得慧妻建戰功</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>激義仇報 成親榮歸</td>
<td>Intense righteousness avenge; Marrying and returning in glory</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>殺人避禍 遇仙學道</td>
<td>Avoiding calamity after killing a person; Chancing upon a [Daoist] and learning the dao</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>咸悅南宮斗</td>
<td>殺妾逃遇神僧</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>感義報仇 慕郎作嫂</td>
<td>Stirred-up righteousness avenge; An admiring man forms a bond of brother-in-law and sister-in-law</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>請受霍傳 激起金公</td>
<td>Asking to receive the biography of Huo Xu; Provoking minister Kim</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>祿邑朴姓人妻</td>
<td>與金埨為隣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>藏扇為懲 引刀掩庶</td>
<td>Preserving a fan as a wedding gift; Holding a knife to obscure a sŏol birth</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>杨蓬莱士彦夫人□□□</td>
<td>*店女</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ms. illegible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>章夢報恩 江券致富</td>
<td>A deer appears in a dream and renders thanks for a kind deed; [land] document on a river brings a fortune</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>醉琴朴升年子孫</td>
<td>洛東下流立案</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ch’wigum Pak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>分產嘆苦 致富完眷</td>
<td>Dividing family property and undergoing hardships; Becoming rich and</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>驪州許珙</td>
<td>治產業保兄弟</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hö Kong of Yŏju manages economic activities and projects his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI</td>
<td>TITLE</td>
<td>TRANSLATION</td>
<td>TENRI</td>
<td>TITLE</td>
<td>TRANSLATION</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bringing together the entire family again</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>brothers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>始吝終散  識達見明</td>
<td>Being parsimonious at the beginning and charitable in the end; Being prescient</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>窮為丐者  富因良妻</td>
<td>A poor man becomes a beggar, A fortune gained on account of a good wife</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>得詩贈妓  恙才覓禍</td>
<td>Gaining a poem and redeeming a kisaeng; Priding oneself on one’s talents and inviting calamity</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>進士尹潔能文  而酒飲放言  被極刑</td>
<td>Chinsa Yun Kyŏl excels in literature but makes a careless remark under the influence and receives extreme punishment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>傾餽助需  隱寺專節</td>
<td>Tilting a chest and helping to procure wedding paraphernalia; Hiding at a temple for the purpose of keeping one’s chastity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>卜靈夢葉  嫣成科決</td>
<td>Fortune-telling dream matches Sleeping with a lady brings a successful end to one’s kwagŏ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>五女偶戲  三生結緣</td>
<td>Five girls playing a match-making game; Three men forming marriage bonds</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>延原李光庭  爲楊牧嫁五女</td>
<td>Yi Kwangjŏng as Magistrate of Yangju marries five girls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>露骸報恩  病子獲福</td>
<td>Exposed skeletons requite gratitude; A sick child wins blessings/fortune</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>安興君禑父  埋骸骨  生子啞聲免禍</td>
<td>Prince Anhŭng Chŏn’s father buries a skeleton, gives birth to a deaf-mute child, and avoids calamity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONSEI</td>
<td>TITLE</td>
<td>TRANSLATION</td>
<td>TENRI</td>
<td>TITLE</td>
<td>TRANSLATION</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>殺僧救駕,激義受福</td>
<td>Killing a monk and saving a palanquin; Extreme righteousness receives blessings</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>殺僧父洪濟,殺頑僧救婦人</td>
<td>Modang’s father Hong Che [↩ Su] kills a ferocious monk and saves a lady.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>至誠奉先,餘慶流後</td>
<td>Utmost devotion pays respect to the ancestors; Blessings of honorable ancestors run in the family down to the descendants</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>金和順克亨,父祭祀克敬後孫福慶</td>
<td>The father of Kim Kûkhyông of Hwasun performs a ritual and Kûkkyông’s descendants flourish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>鹿埃謨宰,粉黛名媛</td>
<td>Dirt and dust recognizing a minister; A beautifully made-up girl becomes a lady of note.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>一松沈喜壽,妓一朵紅,為之勸學</td>
<td>Ilsong Sim Hâisu – Kisaeng Il’t’ahong encourages him to study for his sake.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>念妓脫身,決科贖罪</td>
<td>Running away for the love of a kisaeng; Passing the state examination and gaining redemption</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>痛人罹害,感俠復讐</td>
<td>A sorrowful person is abused; A moved knight-errant takes vengeance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>一人風采,二女殉從</td>
<td>One man’s charisma; Two women follow their men in death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>表忠為證,破鏡復合</td>
<td>A mole on the skin becomes evidence; A broken mirror is made whole again</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>臨難運智,替餘奔賊</td>
<td>Deploying wisdom in a time of hardship; A slave girl stands in to follow a thief</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>托病避難,製疏勸友</td>
<td>Taking refuge on account of illness and avoiding a hardship; Drafting a memorial and persuading a friend</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>賭博致富,破繫敗賊</td>
<td>Getting rich through gambling; Carrying gourds and defeating thieves</td>
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<td>47</td>
<td>拔衆鶯引,值恤歸養</td>
<td>Selecting among the crowd and making a recommendation; Getting help and returning home to serve one’s parents</td>
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<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>始焉探情,末乃失望</td>
<td>Investigating the situation at first; Losing hope in the end</td>
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<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>捕僧拷掠,得贓報</td>
<td>Arresting and torturing a monk; Gaining secret information</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>皇靈勸婚,福祿盈門</td>
<td>A royal spirit encourages a marriage; Fortune and blessings fill the door</td>
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<td>51</td>
<td>呵叱子弟,感回夫君</td>
<td>Rebuking sons and brothers; Moving her husband’s heart to return to her</td>
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<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>帰身避禍,籍奴登科</td>
<td>Returning to avoid calamity; Summoning a slave and passing the state examination</td>
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<tr>
<td>YONSEI</td>
<td>TITLE</td>
<td>TRANSLATION</td>
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<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>貞男節婦  賢妻帶喜</td>
<td>A faithful husband forgoes his integrity; A wise wife is delighted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>僭人產子 繼家就養</td>
<td>Getting another and bringing forth sons; Taking the entire family and serving one’s parents with filiality</td>
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<td>55</td>
<td>指導宦淫 拾取富貴</td>
<td>Controlling an official’s lasciviousness; Gaining a great fortune and honor</td>
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<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>捨銀還主 繼獄崇敘</td>
<td>Picking up silver and returning it to the owner; Suffering imprisonment but earning a pardon</td>
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<td>57</td>
<td>埋銀待主 化賊為良</td>
<td>Burying silver and waiting for the owner; A changed thief becomes a good commoner</td>
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<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>奸賊隱家 奸女崇道</td>
<td>Concealing a criminal at a lowborn’s home; Taking a woman in hand and marching</td>
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<td>59</td>
<td>推命知機 辭勤免禍</td>
<td>Prognosticating the future and having foreknowledge; Declining the recognition of one’s merit and avoiding calamity</td>
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<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>設祭共卓 順夢改衣</td>
<td>Preparing a ceremony; Appearing in a dream and changing clothes</td>
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<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>孝婿拜床 奪妻贈鏡</td>
<td>A filial son-in-law renews his marriage vow; An abandoned wife reunites with her husband</td>
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<td>62</td>
<td>斗米施惠 掴織受報</td>
<td>Rice-giving charity: Weaving and receiving rewards</td>
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<td>63</td>
<td>肆氣橫逸 奪鹿溫良</td>
<td>A wicked aura runs rampant; Killing a deer brings warm-heartedness</td>
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<td>64</td>
<td>曾比周處 今享院宇</td>
<td>Once comparable to Zhou Chu; Now enshrined/honored at a local Confucian academy</td>
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<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>敕士鎮足 異妻剃髪</td>
<td>A magistrate’s feet are tied; A shrew of a wife shaves off his beard</td>
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<td>66</td>
<td>爲懲病母 生致猛虎</td>
<td>For the sake of comforting one’s ill mother; Capturing a ferocious tiger alive</td>
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<td>67</td>
<td>處事雖錯 風鑑則明</td>
<td>Although the handling of affairs was wrong; The ability to prognosticate is accurate</td>
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<td>68</td>
<td>達友情薄 賤倡誼明</td>
<td>An old friend shows little concern; A lowborn prostitute has discernment</td>
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<td>69</td>
<td>壯士忽遇 義氣相投</td>
<td>Brave men chance upon each other; The code of brotherhood forms a bond.</td>
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<td>70</td>
<td>惡鬼自退 氣魄可畏</td>
<td>An evil ghost voluntarily retreats; The spirit of a ghost is awe-inspiring</td>
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<td>71</td>
<td>第賢橫財 兄悟管家</td>
<td>A younger brother’s intelligence strikes it rich; An older brother is awakened and manages the household</td>
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<td>72</td>
<td>公法難枉 私惠何顧</td>
<td>Public laws are difficult to bend; How can one spurn grace given in private?</td>
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<td>73</td>
<td>陰魂訴衷 幽冤得雪</td>
<td>A spirit in the dark utters its innermost thoughts; Ghostly resentment is exonerated.</td>
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<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>老婦三醮 福祿俱備</td>
<td>An old widower marries for a third time; Fortune and blessings are procured.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
YONSEI | TITLE | TRANSLATION
--- | --- | ---
75 | 祖為痘神 孫卜葬地 | An ancestor becomes a smallpox spirit; A grandson selects a burial site
76 | 為神行痘 助友生財 | Becoming a spirit and spreading smallpox; Helping a friend to earn money
77 | 乞友痘神 話他獨子 | Begging from a friend who has become the god of small-pox; Saving another’s only son
78 | 高士讀書 愚僧悟禮 | An eminent official reads books; An ignorant monk fathoms propriety

5.6. Conclusions

This chapter has offered an updated introduction to several surviving manuscript editions of TPNS. In so doing, I illustrated that surviving manuscript editions strongly indicate that No Myŏnghŭm was an authorial compiler who imparted a particular structure to his story collection in emulation of his predecessor Im Pang’s *Invisible workings*. I also compared the titles of entries in YONSEI against Im Pang’s *Invisible workings*, *Green hills*, and *Anthology of stories of the East* in order to illustrate the distinctive characteristics of YONSEI.

This chapter revisited a previous study that has concluded that only a tenuous intertextual connection exists between TPNS narratives and their antedating counterparts. I showed that such observations were drawn from rather circular logic that undermines creative impulses on the part of compilers of *yadam* collections and producers of manuscript copies. Therefore, I proposed to rehabilitate a compiler who choose whether to alter, how much to alter, and in what respects to alter, his preexisting written source.

Furthermore, I paid attention to the story of Pak Chinhŏn, which has been previously explained as a unique case of *munhŏn chŏnsŭng* among TPNS narratives, by calling attention to the that this story is the only one among the antedating parallel counterparts of TPNS that also claim to have been derived from oral sources. Using the
story of Pak Chinhôn in Kim Kan’s Hujae chip as a point of departure, I mapped out a kind of pattern between Kim’s story and No Myǒnghùm’s version to show that No used a great deal of paraphrasing of Kim Kan’s original phraseology but kept more of less in tact the overall theme and plot development laid out by Kim. In light of this comparison, two more stories can be read as forming ancestor-descendant relationships.

Based upon my analyses of various surviving manuscript editions of TPNS, I argue that the current semantic parameters of munhôn chōnsûng are in deed of an expansion to include similarities in structural and thematic patterns, paraphrasing, as well as word-for-word syntagmatic correspondence.

The patterns of the entry titles in TPNS-YONSEI in comparisons with Invisible workings (early 17th c.), Green hills (mid 19th c.), and Anthology of stories of the East (1867) show that the YONSEI titles have greater affinities with those in Invisible workings than with either Green hills or Anthology of the stories of the east.
6. Perceptions of genre surrounding TPNS

Even where a verbal creation negates or surpasses all expectations, it still presupposes preliminary information and a trajectory of expectations (Erwartungsrichtung) against which to register the originality and novelty. This horizon of the expectable is constituted for the reader from out of a tradition or series of previously known works, and from a specific attitude, mediated by one (or more) genre and dissolved through new works.

- Jauss, “Theory of Genres and Medieval Literature” 364

Among the p’ae 稣 that were made into books, there are those that remain p’ae and those that outclass their peers. 稣之為書, 自有稣之稣, 亦有非稣之稣.

- Hong Chigyŏng, “Preface to Tongp’ae naksong” 365

6.1. Introduction

In what ways does TPNS as a literary composition fit into preexisting forms of literature? As another step toward historicization, this chapter contextualizes TPNS narratives within the Chosŏn tradition of story compilations and miscellaneous writings. Having emphasized the importance of No Myŏnghŭm’s role as author-compiler in the previous chapters, I examine TPNS narratives in light of perceptions surrounding the kind of literature TPNS is with a focus on its relationship with other literary works of similar kinds, in light of Jauss’s concept of ‘genre as historical groups.’

First, I survey scholarship on traditional story collections and literary miscellanies that has attempted to position yadam within p’ilgi 筆記, p’aesŏl 稣說, and channok 雜錄 writings by Chosŏn literati. I decline to provide English translations for these three terms for now because, as will be shown below, scholars’ use of these terms varies greatly according to who uses it under what premises. I will pay attention to how scholars

of literati miscellanies trace tacit and explicit connections between yadam collections and an attitude of moving toward fictionalization and verisimilitude\textsuperscript{366}—something akin to the ‘historicity-to-fictionality’ progression observed by Sheldon Lu (1994) with respect to the Chinese narrative tradition.\textsuperscript{367}

Next, I examine the narrators of three story compilations as important predecessors of the TPNS narrator: Yu Mong’in in his Ŭu’s unsophisticated talks, Im Pang in his Records of the invisible workings of, and Im Mae in his Miscellaneous records of old tales. I treat each compilation as a case where an author-compiler not only expresses his concerns regarding historical accuracy and the representability of historical reality in narrative writing, but also experiments with such concerns in his narrative writing. I will argue that by No Myŏnghŭm’s time, a significantly large space had been created within the late-Chosŏn discursive field for a compiler of orally derived stories to manipulate the notion of historical authenticity.

Third, I trace how No Myŏnghŭm himself perceived the narratives he created by calling attention to relationships between the story of Yŏm Húido (YONSEI 56) and its parallel texts that circulated prior to and contemporaneously with TPNS. Chapter Five has discussed evidence that suggests that No Myŏnghŭm had read Im Pang’s Invisible workings and used it as the basis for his own narratives. This section further expounds on

\textsuperscript{366} This dissertation focuses on fictionalization in late-Chosŏn miscellaneous writing, especially in narrative composition, in relation to yadam. However, unofficial histories—generally termed “野言,” “野史,” “外史,” and “野乘,” which can be translated into English as “unofficial words,” “unofficial histories,” “outside histories,” and “[that which is transmitted] unofficially”—flourished in the late-Chosŏn period and grew into massive multi-volume encyclopedias (叢書) as compilations of excerpts from preexisting compilations or compilations of preexisting collections as wholes.

\textsuperscript{367} Sheldon Lu, From History to Fictionality: The Chinese Poetics of Narrative (Stanford: Stanford University, 1994). Kim Chunhyŏng (2009), in fact, quotes Lu’s study; I discuss this point later in this chapter.
that possibility. My primary goal is to show that No Myŏnghŭm’s narrative maintained a
simultaneous proximity and distance with other narratives of the same story (for the
distinction between narrative and story, see my discussion in this section). Examining the
trajectory of the story of Yŏm Hŭido between 1718 and the 1750s-1760s, I illustrate how
No Myŏnghŭm and other writers of the Yŏm story display a rather clear understanding of
how to register the novelty of their own Yŏm story.368

Finally, I refocus two prefaces (上官 ) and one postface (藩) as paratexts à la Gérard
Genette. Commemorative in origin, the three sŏ-pal texts contain ample descriptions of
No Myŏnghŭm and his creations, which illustrate the why’s and how’s of the creation of
the work in question and assess the work’s literary value. This section underscores how
the three sŏ-pal essays are writings by the first critical readers of TPNS and function as
channels through which a critical reader’s aesthetic sensibilities are materialized.369
Physically and/or discursively attached to the TPNS and containing ideas as to how the
TPNS is best understood, the sŏ-pal essays can be conceptualized as ‘paratexts.’ That is,
the sŏ-pal essays—not part of the main narrative but attached or adjacent to it—perform
the role of “external cues” to the reader for the purpose of “ensur[ing] the text’s presence
in the world, its reception and consumption.”370 In short, I treat the sŏ-pal paratexts as
descriptive and prescriptive writings about TPNS.

369 See Kim Yŏngju (2008) and Sim Kyŏngho (2011) for the prefatory writings to collected
essays as an indicator of the increasingly elevated status of fiction among the elites and the
literate. David L. Rolston. Traditional Chinese Fiction and Fiction Commentary (Stanford:
Stanford University Press, 1997) consults prefatory materials in his analyses of traditional
Chinese fiction criticism.
370 Gérard Genette, Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation, translated by Jane E. Lewin
(Camrdige, Cambridge University Press, 1997), 1.
By treating the TPNS sŏ-pal essays as paratexts à la Genette, this section seeks to reconstruct the horizon of expectations—to understand how the sŏ-pal writers perceived and positioned TPNS as a literary work vis-à-vis existing literary forms. Looking for rhetorical strategies in the paratextual appraisals, I pay attention to the category of p’ae 稷 as an umbrella term embracing other narratives comparable to TPNS. Chapter Four has pointed out that Hong Yonghan the biographer used “p’aesŏl chapki” 稷說雜記 as a generic literary category for TPNS. This chapter delves further into what Hong Yonghan meant, and what the paratextual writers achieved, by presenting TPNS as p’ae.

In particular, I illustrate how these contemporaries of No use the idea of ‘p’ae that is not p’ae’ to indicate the superiority of his TPNS. This notion of ‘unparalleled’—TPNS as ‘a p’ae nonpareil’ that surpasses all other p’ae’—will be explained as an appeal by the paratextual writers to remap the existing generic landscape. To support my point, I will compare the TPNS paratexts with the prefaces to a literary miscellany from the late Koryŏ period 高麗 (981-1392) and with two prefaces and one postface attached to an early-Chosŏn literary miscellany, both of which appeal to the notion of ‘a nonpareil p’ae’ to refer to a new kind of literary creation. Based on my analysis, I will argue that the TPNS sŏ-pal paratexts performatively map out new literary boundaries in order to inaugurate TPNS as a literary novelty.

6.2. Yadam in the tradition of writing miscellanies: Interests in avowing veracity and verisimilitude

To discuss TPNS within traditional miscellaneous writing, let me begin by discussing some general traits of the three story compilations and TPNS that I focus on in the next section. Generally speaking, Invisible workings, Old tales, and TPNS are
relatively homogenous in that all of them consist of prose narratives. By contrast,

*Unsophisticated talks* is a literary miscellany whose entries cover a more motley variety of literary genres than just prose narrative. There is still much diversity within the four.

For example, *Unsophisticated talks, Invisible workings, and Old tales* are broadly similar in that they share a prominent “Narrator-I” (余) who frequently appears in the beginning, during, and at the end of their narratives. By contrast, TPNS does not rely on the “Narrator-I” to the same extent. The “Narrator-I” of TPNS is relatively more hesitant to appear or to offer interpretations of his narratives.

The variegated literary genres appearing in *Unsophisticated talks, Invisible workings, Old tales, and TPNS* combined can be listed as follows:

Remarks on poetry (sihwa 詩話), miscellaneous records intending to verify facts (kojung chamnok 考證雜錄), anecdotes (irhaa 逸話), accounts of anomalies (zhiguai; K. chigoe 志怪), tales of strange events (chuanqi; K. chōn’gi 傳奇),

371 records of orally circulating stories (p’aesŏl 稱説 or baiguan = K. p’aegwan 稱官), jokes and ribaldries (sohwa 小話 or p’aesŏl 稱説), epistles, stories based on official histories (chŏngsa 正史), unofficial histories (yasa 野史/yasŭng 野承), family histories (kasung 家承), autobiographical records, animal allegories (寓話), comments on customs, and comments on Confucian Classics.

All of the aforementioned literary categories fall into the category of ‘miscellaneous writings in hanmun.’ Scholars use varying superordinate-level terms to classify such writings: e.g., *p’aegwan munhak 稱官文學, p’ilgi 稱記, p’aesŏl 稱説, and chamnok 雜錄.*

371 While both zhiguai 志怪 and chuanqi 傳奇 deal with the supernatural, there is a stylistic difference between the two types. A chuanqi writer adopts a more “writerly” stance by tending to be “more elaborate in plot and description, self-conscious of [his] own rhetoricity.” See Lydia Sing-chen Chiang, *Collecting the Self: Body and Identity in Strange Tale Collection of Late Imperial China* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), 19.

372 Around mid-sixteenth century there appeared a miscellany entitled *P’aegwan chapki 稱官雜記* by Ô Sukkwon 魚叔權 (?-?; Yajoktang 也足堂), a secondary son of a merit subject and an official in charge of drafting writings for China-Korea diplomacy (吏文學官). For a study and a partial translation of this text, see Peter H. Lee, *A Korean Storyteller’s
As Yi Naejong (2001) notes, making typologies of literary genres did not flourish in Korea, and some general understandings may be drawn from using the historical typologies within the Chinese tradition—for Korea and China, read vernacular and

Miscellany: The P’aegwan chapki of Ô Sukkwôn (Princeton: Princeton University, 1989). Translated into English as “a storyteller” by Lee, “p’aegwan” in the text’s title alludes to “baiguan” 稗官, petty officials of the Han Dynasty 漢 (206 BCE-220CE), who are described in Ban Gu’s 班固 (32-92) Yiwen zhi 藝文志 (“Treatise on Literature”) in his Han shu 漢書 (History of the Han Dynasty). Lee’s study approaches P’aegwan chapki as p’ilgi 筆記, a Korean counterpart of the Chinese biji 筆記 and Japanese zuihatsu 筆記, while comparing p’ilgi with what he considers its rhetorical counterparts in the Western—e.g., Aristotle’s thoughts and Chaucer. P’ilgi is defined in this study as writings that comprise of “critiques of poems, prose portraits, tales, and random jottings” written predominantly by “the first person singular narrator in the plain style” and of an “encyclopedic scope” that offers “an abundance of biographical and autobiographical narratives” (ix). Within this framework, Lee examines the following topics: “Rhetoric and Style,” “The Favored Topics,” “The Value System,” and “Self as Subject.” Ô Sukkwôn, according to Lee, offers commentary, without necessarily citing any sources, on various aspects of society, people, and literature, and the society portrayed in P’aegwan chapki is one that “upheld the importance of order” (43) and “saw the fulfillment of mutual duties and responsibilities as essential to the established order.” P’aegwan chapki is defined as a typical p’ilgi, ‘written-by-literati-for-literati’, and stylistically “loose and choppy in style, but natural and rapid in movement” (12).


In North Korean scholarship, what I refer to as ‘miscellaneous writings in hanmun’ is consistently called p’aesől. Here is Hong Kimun’s definition of p’aesől:

P’aesől is a concept in literary history and refers to forms of prose narrative created and developed by our Korean people (uri minjok). Although all the literary works that belong to this concept were essentially limited because of the time period in which they were created [the limitation here refers to their unsuitability for promoting values for modern North Korean society], they are a great literary legacy displaying the developmental process of artistic prose writing (yesul-chôk sanmun) and transmitting the history of national development.

Originally, the word p’aesől refers to the most useless type of grain (稗, read pi here), a metaphor for trivial and insignificant stories or similar writings [This statement alludes to Yi Chehyôn’s Yŏngong p’aesŏl, which is discussed in this chapter]. The ruling groups of the feudal periods and yangban elites upheld historical writings such as History of the three kingdoms [Samguk sagi 三國史記] and History of the Koryô dynasty [Koryôsa 高麗史], along with formulaic literary styles found in so-called orthodox literature (ch’aing-yong-p’a munhak), including pronouncements (ch’an 贊), notes (ki 記), discussions (sŏl 説), and biographies (ch’ŏn 傳). They looked with contempt upon writings that freely discussed (chayurope sŏpul) human lives, diverse subject matters, and social issues, comparing such writings with the p’ae/p’i 稗.


The late-Chosŏn development of p’aesől and the origins of hanmun tanp’yŏn in the 1970s share great similarity insofar as they both emphasize the people as the prime movers of history, class-consciousness, anti-elitism, etc.
cosmopolitan. Within Korea, labels and their referents shifted greatly. Moreover, scholars also use varying terms to refer to the same or similar-type categories.

According to Yi Naejong, Im Hyŏngt’aek (1984) was the first to discuss the categories of p’ilgi and p’aesŏl as private/personal writings on miscellaneous subjects. Im defines p’ilgi as “writings formed by literati in their studies (munin hakcha ǔi sŏjae)” and “records reflecting the consciousness of the literati” (saedaebu ǔi saenghwal ŭisik). For Im Hyŏngt’aek, subcategories of p’ilgi are chamnok 雑録 (miscellaneous records), ch’algi 札記 (notes taken during reading), illok 日錄 (daily records), p’iltam 筆談 (brush talk), sup’il 隨筆 (essays or casual writing), and mallow 漫錄 (leisurely or random notes). And depending on their circumstances, the literati can generally fall into one of three types: (1) land-owning scholar-official; (2) Confucian recluse (ch’ŏsa 處士); (3) outsiders (pang’oein 方外人) who are subversive critics of the existing order. P’aesŏl are records based on orally transmitted stories—“the gossip of the street” (街談巷說). Both p’ilgi and p’aesŏl deal with subject matters such as yasŏng 野乘 (unofficial histories), sihwa 詩話 (remarks on poetry), and sohwa 小話 (humorous stories).

Yi Naejong (1997; 2001) disagrees with Im Hyŏngt’aek (1984), arguing that (1) the line dividing p’ilgi and p’aesŏl as drawn by Im is too sharp because compilations of p’ilgi contained many p’aesŏl entries; and (2) miscellaneous writings existed prior to the rise of the literati (sadaebu) in the late Koryŏ period, so that it is misleading to describe p’ilgi as a reflection of the worldview of the literati only. Im Hyŏngt’aek’s distinction of p’ilgi from p’aesŏl forms the basis of current South Korean scholarship on various types of miscellaneous prose writing—including yadam—in hanmun.
For Yi Naejong, *p’ilgi* is the superordinate-level category for miscellaneous writings originating from late Koryŏ to the early Chosŏn in the mid-fifteenth century. Yi points out that the first Korean comment on a typological categorization of miscellaneous writing in Korean history is be traced to Ch’oe Cha’s (1188-1260) *Pohan chip* 補閑集 (Supplement to *P’ahan chip* by Yi Illo; lit. ‘Collection to mend leisure’; completed 1255),\(^{374}\) where the term *sosŏl* 小說 is defined as having three sub-categories: unofficial history (*yasa* 野史), remarks on poetry (*sihwa* 詩話), and humorous writing (*p’aesŏl* 稗說). In the mid-fourteenth century, we find a similar categorization in *Yŏgong p’aesŏl* or *Nagong pisŏl* 樣翁稗說 (Insignificant chats by Old Man Oak; 1342; hereafter *Old Man Oak*) by Yi Chehyŏn 李齊賢 (1287-1367; m. 1301; *Ikchae 益齋*), one of two

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\(^{374}\) Although not discussed in this study, Yi Illo’s 李仁老 (1152-1220) *P’ahan chip* 破閑集 (*Collection to expel boredom*), compiled by his son Yi Sehwang 李世黃 (dates unknown) around 1260, had been written a few decades prior to Ch’oe Cha’s miscellany and is one of the most important texts within the miscellany writing tradition in premodern Korea. It contains remarks on poetry, records of customs, and anecdotes regarding historical persons and events.

\(^{375}\) In early Chosŏn literary miscellanies, *P’ahan chip*, *Pohan chip*, and *Yŏgong p’aesŏl/Nagong pisŏl* are mentioned in tandem with one another as Koryŏ miscellanies. For examples, see “*Pirwŏn chapki sŏ* 笔苑雜記序 (“Preface to *Pirwŏn chapki*; 1487) by Cho Wi’s 崔偉 (1454-1503; m. 1474; *Maegye* 世業), “*Ch’on chang piŏ sŏ* 村中雜語序 (“Preface to *Ch’on chang piŏ*; 1496) to Ch’ae Su’s 蔡壽 (1449-1515; m. 1469; *Najae 僕齋*) story compilation by Sŏng Hyŏn 成鎬 (1439-1504; m. 1462, 1466; *Hŏbaektang 虚白堂*), and Ŭ Sukkwŏn’s 魚叔權 (fl. 1520s-1550s) preface to his own *P’anegwan chapki* 稗官雜記 (*A Storyteller’s miscellany*). These early-Chosŏn writers’ references to these three Koryŏ works do not imply an absence of miscellaneous writing tradition prior to Yi Illo’s *P’ahan chip*. For example, In 1241, Yi Kyubo’s 李奎炤 (1168-1241; *Paegun kŏsa 白雲居士*) writings were compiled into a collection entitled *Tongguk Yi Sangguk chip* 東國李相國集 (*Collected works of Minister Yi of the Eastern Country*). This work is more of a *munjip* 文集 (comprehensive collection of writings by a literary figure) in general, rather than a piece of miscellaneous writing. This collection contains a section called “Chapchŏ” and “Chammun” 雜文—both of which can be translated as “Miscellaneous writings,” with research pending regarding the differences between the two—in Volume 2 and an addendum (附錄) entitled “*Paegun sosŏl* 白雲小說 (“Essays by White Clouds”) in Volume 8. “Paegun sosŏl,” in particular, stands on its own and
prefaces to *Old Man Oak* contains a conversation between the compiler (Yi Chehyŏn) and an imagined guest (客), who plays the devil’s advocate. In discussing the value of *Old Man Oak*, labeled as *p’aesŏl*, the compiler and and his guest use the aforementioned three categories to refer to general types of miscellaneous writing. Similarly, in the fifteenth century, Sŏ Kŏjŏng compiled three types of miscellaneous writings, each of which fits one of these three categories: *Tong’in sihwa* 東人詩話 (*Eastern poetry talks*; 1474), *T’ae p’yŏng hanhwa kolgye chŏn* 太平侶話滑稽傳 (*Peaceful and humorous stories for leisure*; 1477; hereafter *Peaceful and humorous*), and *P’irwŏn chapki* 筆苑雜記 (*Miscellaneous records of brush garden*; 1487; hereafter *Brush garden*). Yi Naejong underscores Sŏ Kŏjŏng’s three compilations as the beginnings of concretized perceptions of ‘miscellaneous writings’ as a literary genre within the Korean tradition and offering models to emulate for later writers of miscellanies.

From the late fifteenth through the early sixteenth century, a number of story collections emerged that dealt specifically with humorous stories claimed to have derived from “orally circulating stories among peasants” (村談) and “unrefined words” (鄙語): e.g., *Ch’on chung piŏ* 村中鄙語 (*Coarse words among peasants*; 1490s; not extant) by Ch’ae Su 蔡壽 (1449-1515; m. 1469, 1476; Najae 懶齋), *Ch’ondam haei* 村談解頤 (*Laughter from stories among peasants*; 1490s) by Kang Hŭimaeng 姜希孟 (1424-1483; m. 1447, twice in 1466; Sasukchae 私淑齋); and *Ômyŏn sun* 禦眠橕 (*Shield against...* may be considered as a significant piece of Koryŏ miscellaneous writing. However, one should be reminded that writers’ references to predecessors were selective and potentially construct a textual genealogy. As such, the absence of references to Yi’s work may suggest that for some aesthetic or ideological reasons it was not placed on the same pedestal as the Koryŏ troika.

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sleepiness; mid-16th c.) by Song Serim 宋世琳 (1479-?; m. 1502; Ch’wiün 醉隱).376

Referred to as sohwa or p’aesöl, depending on the scholar,377 these ribald collections developed into a genre of their own early on. Their contents deal with explicitly sexual matters and most of them are presented in the manner of folklore, with little reference to historical backdrop,378 along with highly moralizing commentaries at the end of each entry—as such they are different from yadam stories, almost all of which tend to have a historical backdrop. In the early eighteenth century, a compilation of humorous stories titled Kogüm soch’ong 古今小叢 (Compendium of jokes, old and new) emerged—attributed to Hong Manjong 洪萬宗 (1643-1725; ch. 1675; Hyŏnmukcha 玄墨子)—that incorporated almost all preexisting collections of jokes from the late fifteenth century, starting with Sŏ Kŏjŏng’s Peaceful and humorous.379

According to Chang Yŏnghŭi (2007),380 the semantic parameters of p’ilgi and p’aesöl—here p’aesöl is used to refer not exclusively to jokes, but to miscellaneous writings that show little concern for historical accuracy—undergo a significant expansion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At the crux of the process were two p’ilgi

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376 This is the first Korean compilation of sexually explicit jokes.
377 For the historical development of Korean joke collections within the ‘miscellaneous writing’ tradition in Korea, see Hwang Indŏk, Han’guk kirok sohwasa ron (Seoul: T’aehaksa, 1999) and Kim Chunhyŏng, Han’guk p’aesöl munhak yŏn’gu (Seoul: Pogosa, 2004).
378 In the case of Song Serim’s Ōmyŏnsun, much attention is paid to the local origins of the collected jokes. See Yun Sŏksan, “Ōmyŏnsun yŏn’gu,” Han’guk ŏno munhwa 18 (2000): 403-426.
texts—*Kimyo rok* 己卯錄 (*Records of the Kimyo year*; hereafter *Kimyo records*) by Kim Yuk 金埈 (1580-1658; *m.* 1624; Chamgok 潛谷) and *Yongch’ён tamjŏk ki* 龍泉談寂記 (*Random records by Yongch’ён Kim Allo*; hereafter *Yongch’ён*) by Kim Allo 金安老 (1481-1537; *m.* 1506, Yongch’ён 龍泉). Written in reference to the bloody literati purge of 1519 (*kimyo* year), the two texts show how their compilers incorporated varying preexisting literary types to write *p’ilgi*. The Purge of 1519 persecuted a group of newly emerging scholars who advocated the importance of Confucian philosophical learning over belles-lettres and challenged vested interests in the court.⁸¹⁸ Kim Yuk’s *Kimyo records* is a compilation of private and public remarks made about two hundred people who were involved directly or indirectly in the purge. Written during Kim Allo’s exile in the aftermath of the purge, *Yongch’ён* consists of diverse materials covering anecdotes about famous figures, records of strange events in ordinary people’s lives, notes on customs and culture, and gossip of the streets, each concluded with staunchly Confucian commentary.

Chang Yŏnghŭi notes that the two texts diverged significantly from previous generations of *p’ilgi* writings. For example, preexisting *p’ilgi* texts dealt with sketchy descriptions or expositions of affairs concerning the crème de la crème of Chosŏn society and statecraft. Texts created for entertainment or mending boredom, too, were materials of interest to the learned ruling class.⁸² By contrast, while inheriting the unofficial history writing of the *p’ilgi* tradition, *Kimyo records* evokes an unprecedented amount of

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⁸² Chang Yŏnghŭi, “*P’ilgi ŭi saeroun kungmyŏn,***” 272-274.
historiographical awareness in its efforts to exonerate the politically marginalized, and thereby challenges the official historiography. Similarly, while inheriting the tradition of writing for diversion, Random records presents materials for diversion written by a marginalized elite who nonetheless wield authority by claiming staunchly Confucian moral values.

Based upon this observation, Chang Yŏnghŭi convincingly argues that the two texts, each in their own way, create within the genre of p’ilgi a greater space for the manipulation of different preexisting styles such as historiography and fictionalization. Chang notes that the historical veracity and accuracy of events and persons as claimed in Kimyo records opened up possibilities for later historical hero narratives (chŏn 傳) in the seventeenth century. Random records also laid the groundwork for the coming of narratives that claimed to depict vividly hearsay materials, and for the further fictionalization of narratives that were stripped altogether of truth claims about oral origins. Thus, according to Chang, the origins of the stylistic features of yadam narratives—vivid narratives claiming to have derived from oral narratives—can be found in the discursive space opened up by Random records.383

Kim Sangjo (2001b)384 focuses on the politics of literary genres and rhetorical strategies in his descriptions of traditional miscellany writing in order to trace the relationship between yadam, p’ilgi, and p’aesŏl. This study uses the superordinate-level category of p’aegwan munhak 種官文學 - p’aegwan sosŏl 種官小説 as a cover term for the three, and Kim defines its members as prose writing created for the sake of private

383 Ibid., 275.
interests, rather than for the sake of conveying the Way (chaedo ron 載道論) of Confucian philosophy or for practical purposes (siryon-sŏng). In other words, literary figures produced two types of text—writings that were considered to fall within the realm of literature proper, and writings that were not. Listing p’ilgi, p’aesŏl, and yadam as examples of p’aegwan munhak, Kim proposes a working typology for the three categories:

*P’ilgi* are presented as records of facts pertaining to instructing the world, and as supplements to historical records. However, the first half of the above description [=comments on the didactic value] serves only a rhetorical role. In terms of style, the *p’ilgi* writer is expected to compile exhaustive records on a given subject. The basic structure of *p’ilgi* consists of ‘prologue – illustration – epilogue.’ This can be expanded into a book of *p’ilgi*, structured as ‘prologue – numerous illustrations – postface.’  

*P’aesŏl* are also presented as records of facts pertaining to instructing the world, and as supplements to historical records. However, in reality, *p’aesŏl* are humorous stories compiled for the purpose of diversion or expelling boredom. In *p’aesŏl*, a disparity exists between the professed purpose and the actual contents. A reader of *p’aesŏl* is expected to adopt a strategy of ‘imposing a forced interpretation’ (騭書燕說). *P’aesŏl* are metaphoric writings. Chosŏn Confucian literati advocated *p’aesŏl* writing using ‘itching to show one’s abilities’ (伎權) as a reason.  

*Yadam* are also presented as records of facts pertaining to instructing the world and as supplements to historical records. However, *yadam* grow to a substantial length, are fictionalized, and develop into a narrative form equipped with verisimilitude (a semblance of reality).  

All three categories, Kim observes, lay claim to the same purpose and function (moral instruction and supplementation of history), yet differ in the writer’s attitude, in their style, and in their contents. Kim points out that the latter two are rooted in *p’ilgi*.

The above definition of *yadam* is reminiscent of Yi Wŏnmyŏng’s preface to his *Anthology of stories of the East* (1867). In it, Yi Wŏnmyŏng in fact calls his source materials “*p’aesŏl*” 詩說 and “*p’aegwan yasŭng*” (詩官野乘). Because this

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385 Ibid., 183-188.
386 Ibid., 188-197.
387 Ibid., 197-204.
388 Here is Yi Wŏnmyŏng’s description of his compilation process:
dissertation deals with compilations and miscellanies of narratives that existed prior to this concrete definition, Yi’s definition cannot cover the full range of yadam; yadam narratives remained as members of variegated collections of prose narratives until the mid- to late eighteenth century. That is, Yi’s perception of what he was creating was contingent on what came before him, so that using just Yi’s perception would invite anachronistic conclusions.

Still, Kim Sangjo’s categorization is useful in that (1) it shows how yadam as a genre was located in the nineteenth century; (2) it points to the relationship between yadam and p’ilgi as belonging to the same hierarchy of literary genres; and (3) it delineates yadam as a genre using the perceptions of a Chosôn person who himself was an author-compiler of stories.

The next few paragraphs discuss p’ilgi and p’aesŏl in the seventeenth- through early nineteenth centuries with a focus on Im Wanhyŏk (2008) and Kim Chunhyŏng (2009), who comment on the relationship between p’ilgi and yadam. These scholars of nineteenth-century yadam collections that predate Yi Wŏnmyŏng’s Anthology of stories

In the 6th month, I was treating my illness and chanced upon Ŭu yadam (Ŭu’s unsophisticated talk) and Kimun ch‘onghwaw (Compendium of records of anecdotes and hearsay). They contain ample things to broaden my perspective. It is just that my memories are fading away so that I cannot sum up even one out of ten thousand. Therefore, I obtained these two books, selected entries that are elaborate and long, and those that can be corroborated. I further extended my interests to other books having materials for wide gleaning and embellished them and included them in my recording. I also culled the stories that circulated in the villages and alleys and wove them into my writing.


While Kim’s use of p’ilgi is the same as Im Wanhyŏk’s, Kim uses p’aesŏl to refer specifically to collections of humorous stories. Moreover, he uses the term chamnok as a superordinate category for miscellaneous writings in general.
of the East (1969) start from shared common ground but ultimately paint a different picture.

Both scholars note an increase in changing perceptions of historical accuracy as objective truth and a growing interest in verisimilitude as an important trigger in the genesis of yadam.\(^{391}\) Both acknowledge p’ilgi as a style that aimed to achieve “historical accuracy” (sasil 事實) as in ‘objective truth’—in Sheldon Lu’s words, narrative modeled after historiography, “privileging a faithful, straightforward recording and a reproduction of external reality in compliance with the sanctioned, official worldview.”\(^{392}\) The two scholars define yadam as reflecting compilers’ distinction between records of historical accuracy, fiction (hŏgu 虛構), and ‘narrative truth’ (sŏsa-jŏk chinsil-sŏng 敘事的真實性). However, they map out differently the boundaries between these three terms. Im Wanhyŏk envisions a radical change, treating actual oral storytelling events as the lifeblood of eighteenth-century yadam collections, while Kim Chunhyŏng traces a more evolutionary attitude, emphasizing story collections as literary composition. In what follows, I compare the two approaches in order to point out the rather formulaic approach of the former and to side with the more historicized viewpoint offered by the latter.

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391 For the question of verisimilitude in narrative within the Chinese tradition, see Sheldon Lu, From Historicity to Fictionality, 134.

It was during the Ming and Qing periods when “people increasingly realized that much of fictional narrative is self-consciously non-historical and ostensibly creative and that fiction ought not to be judged and read as defective history and quasi-history but to be understood on its own terms. Many commentators no longer regarded hsiao-shuo [xiaoshuo] as something that needs to be faithful to history. The truth content of a work does not lie in its adherence to the specific details of past history. Fabrication, creation, and invention belong to the very nature of this type of work. Truth means different things in fiction and history. The fiction writer configures events, characters, emotions, and “truth” in a new fashion. Verisimilitude—a semblance to the real world or an internal psychological truthfulness—becomes the new criterion for fiction among many critics” (My emphasis).

392 Ibid., 4.
Im analyzes *Green hills* as a work created by a compiler who conciously broke away from the *p’ilgi* tradition in a radical way by manipulating the boundaries between fact and fiction in order to achieve verisimilitude. According to Im, the characteristics of the narrator of *Green hills* are:

1. Invisibility;
2. Editing out of unnecessary parts only and switching of the order of events in the antecedent text for the purpose of greater coherence in the *Green hills* narratives;
3. Little concern for the verifiability of what is narrated; and
4. Little interest in the family background of the protagonists or other details pertaining to their social identity.

I dedicate the paragraphs below to sketching out how Im reaches these conclusions, so as to point out the limitations of the logic underlying his study.

*P’ilgi* seeks historical accuracy by default (*yōksa-jōk ipchang esō sasil-sŏng*), Im asserts, and this intimacy between *p’ilgi* and historical truth is an essential determining feature, distinguishing *p’ilgi* from *p’aesŏl* and *yadam*. Im treats the invisibility of the “Narrator-I” (*余) in eighteenth-century compilations of stories as evidence of the compiler’s adoption of newly developing narratives nurtured by oral storytelling (*kuyŏn úi sŏngkwa* 口演의 成果). Linking oral storytelling as historical events and narrative writing, this study understands the eighteenth-century story collections as new types of narratives housed into a conventional container: fictionalizing tendencies constrained by an inherently historicizing vessel. Im is biased toward narratives progressing toward verisimilitude and against conventional *p’ilgi* writing:

*Haksan* and *Old tales* were under the influence of the tradition of *p’ilgi* writing; however, their compilers accepted new developments in narrative styles and social changes. Then, the recorder’s (*kirok-cha*) [open] attitude toward portraying dynamic human experience in the late-Chosŏn

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period (Chosŏn hugi ū yŏktong-jŏg-in saenghwalsang) is something one should perceive as characteristic of narratives in this period.

[However,] writers of this period did not make sufficient efforts to contain the life experience of a new period. As a result, their writings tend to display ‘styles-in-transition’ [= mismatchedness] in that they were under the sway of p’ilgi writing (My emphasis). (saeroun sidae ū salm ū mosāp ū saeroun hyŏngsik e tama naeryŏnnūn sido ka ajik mijin hayŏ kijon ū p’ilgi-jŏk külsüssügi ū chajang ūl ch ‘ungbunhi pŏsŏnaji mothan kwadoji-jŏk yangsang ūl ttige toen kŏt.)

Im’s ideological stance is also revealed in his valorization of Old tales for its portrayals of the everyday life of urban dwellers (sijŏng esŏ hwaltong hadŏn inmul-dŭl ūl ilsang) and of their everyday speech (ilsang-jŏk ēnŏ), for they are directly linked to quotidian experience in reality (hyŏnsil ū saenghwalsaenghwang kwamaeu milch’ak). He criticizes the compiler of Old tales because he views the Narrator-I’s commentaries as undermining a yadam narrative’s independent existence as a literary work. These attitudes are rather reminiscent of Im Hyŏngt’ae’k’s kangdamsa thesis with its underlying logic of a linear model for the historical development of literature.

Furthermore, Im takes rather literally paratextual writers’ comments about the contents of TPNS as historically verifiable (kojūng 考證), concluding that TPNS inherited the p’ilgi tradition. The ideological underpinning of Im’s logic renders a literary work’s inheritance of a preexisting form as a failure to cultivate a new discursive space. As such, Im reverses Im Hyŏngt’ae’k (1999), who regards No Myŏnghŭm’s claim of oral origins of his narratives as more rhetorical gesture than fact.

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394 Ibid., 969.

It should come as no surprise that Im Wanhyŏk quotes Im Hyŏngt’ae’k (1978), one of the essays that shaped hanmun tanp’yŏn in the 1970s.

395 There is certain irony in the fact that Im Wanhyŏk uses Im Hyŏngt’ae’k (1978) to turn upside down Im Hyŏngt’ae’k’s view, which is a corrective to his own view made in 1978. This is a poignant example of how current yadam studies remain under the dictates of the ideological origins of hanmun tanp’yŏn in the 1970s.

396 Im Hyŏngt’ae’k, “Tongp’ae naksong yŏn’gu,” 337-8.
I problematize Im Wanhyŏk (2008). The teleological logic underpinning his study forces presuppositions about what yadam was supposed to become and anachronistically imposes characteristics of later yadam onto this earlier model. This study devalues and dehistoricizes an individual writer’s decision-making process regarding what tools to use to present what materials in what way. It also repeats the two most problematic discourses that caused the perpetuation of dehistoricizing tendencies as outlined in Part One of this dissertation; in other words, yadam are presumed to have derived directly from oral storytelling as historical events and to reflect objective reality. In Chapter Three, I introduced the concepts of literization (committing something to writing) and literarization (committing something to literary form) as important features of writing. Im Wanhyŏk’s model fails to recognize this distinction and draws the ideological conclusion that eighteenth-century compilers did not invest enough effort into procuring the right kind of literary form for what they were compiling. In light of the potential for rhetorical manipulation made possible already in sixteenth-century miscellaneous writings, it seems hardly likely that eighteenth-century compilers were exceptionally non-rhetorical about what they created.

Regarding the development of narrative writing between the seventeenth- and nineteenth centuries, Kim Chunhyŏng adopts a more evolutionary viewpoint toward compilers’ perceptions of fact and fiction in p’ilgi writings. P’ilgi writers around the seventeenth century, according to Kim, began inserting emphatic remarks claiming the historical accuracy of what they wrote. Claims of historical truth were made in three ways:
(1) By attaching a commentary to what was recorded
(2) By identifying what was recorded as something that someone has witnessed firsthand, and
(3) By identifying what was recorded as a retelling of what one has personally heard firsthand.

In case (1), the writer does not feel obliged to identify his sources because he is only interested in the efficacy of what is recorded. This is closest to the traditional *p’ilgi* practice, which accepted historical writing as part of the game. The writer accepts the equation: what becomes recorded = historically accurate = historical truth. In the latter two cases, the writer is critical of the established facts and of the historical truth of what gets recorded. In the seventeenth century, what is contained in texts could no longer be perceived as a faithful reflection of historical accuracy or truth. Claims of firsthand or secondhand experience, then, emerge as competitors, both claiming authority over historical accuracy.

Kim emphasizes that by the late seventeenth and eighteenth century, the notion of historical truth became even more problematic as writers express skepticism by quoting preexisting texts and oral accounts only to challenge them. However, because what gets written holds authority by the mere fact of having been written, writers continue to subvert, without necessarily completely eradicating, preexisting writings.\(^{397}\) In any case, the boundaries of what could be considered as legitimate truth were expanded considerably as a result of continuous challenges.\(^{398}\)

Kim Chunhyŏng points to a growing suspicion regarding historical accuracy and truth in order to stress that this attitude precipitated the creation of a discursive space in


\(^{398}\) Ibid., 58-62.
which historical truth could be represented in two different ways in narrative writing: (1) narratives that paid even more attention to historical accuracy, and (2) narratives that manipulated the blurry nature of historical truth. In this light, then, both *Haksan* (mid-18th c.) and *Green hills* (mid-19th c.) emerged when the space for fictional manipulation of facts in narrative writing had been much expanded. Kim notes that writers’ use of hearsay markers—i.e., “논” ‘so I hear’ or ‘so people say’—or of detailed comments on the origins of their sources, no longer functioned as an act of model historical writing. Rather, they indicate a move toward fictionalization, which was no longer exposed to accusations of infidelity to historical truth. The author-compilers’ changed attitude toward fictionality also implied the changes on the part of readers, who began acknowledging the rhetorical manipulation of historical truth in writing as part of their reading experience. However, Kim’s study does not offer any insights into where the TPNS narrator stood within this tradition. The rest of this chapter, then, is a further expansion of Kim’s definitions of late-Chosŏn fictionalizing tendencies in narrative prose writing.

### 6.3. The narrator of TPNS in light of his predecessors

This section compares the narrator of TPNS with his counterparts in *Unsophisticated talks, Invisible workings, and Old tales*. I select these three compilations because (1) all of them contain narratives that have parallels in TPNS, and (2) there is a high probability that No Myŏnhŭm actually read parts or all of them.

My goal in this section is to extrapolate the kind of discursive space from which TPNS emerged by tracing the changes in narrators of story compilations that preceded TPNS. The discussions in this section cannot cover the full extent of the significance of
the three earlier story compilations, as doing so would require a separate venue and more research. Instead, I will point out their relevance to TPNS in order to highlight that TPNS emerged in a discursive space where writers of narratives dealing with orally derived stories had considerable room to manipulate rhetorically the concept of historical truth for fictionalization of their narratives.

I pay attention to (1) the relationships between the compiler and the narrator (are they one and the same? If not, who is the narrator?) and (2) the visibility of the compiler (Is the “Narrator-I” (吾) apparent or implied, or absent altogether in the narrative or in the collection?); (3) the narrator’s attempt to claim reliability for his narrative (is the narrator interested in vouching for the story as a verifiable historical fact? How far would he go to corroborate this?). Using these questions, I came up with the following table summarizing the characteristics of the four story collections in question:

**Table 6.1. Comparison of narrators: Unsophisticated talks, Invisible workings, Old tales, and TPNS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>(A) VISIBILITY OF 我 WITHIN THE NARRATIVE</th>
<th>(B) TRUTH CLAIM</th>
<th>(C) ATTEMPTS TO AUTHENTICATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early 17th c.</td>
<td>Unsophisticated talks</td>
<td>Varies</td>
<td>A little Interested</td>
<td>A little Interested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early 18th c.</td>
<td>Invisible workings</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Strongly Interested</td>
<td>Somewhat Interested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-18th c.</td>
<td>Old tales</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Strongly Interested</td>
<td>Strongly Interested</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Late 18th c.</td>
<td>TPNS</td>
<td>Low to none</td>
<td>Somewhat Interested</td>
<td>A little Interested</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(A) Visibility of Narrator-I 我:
If the Narrator-I tells the story, quotes someone, narrates his own experience, or writes on diverse topics, I consider it a case of “High visibility.” If the Narrator-I appears in the collection but does not directly participate in the narrative proper, appearing only in the periphery (in annotations or in the postscript), I consider it a case of “Low to none.” If a compilation contains both types of narrator, I consider it “Varies.”
(B) Truth claim:
If the Narrator-I frames what he writes as based upon some true event, by presenting it as a record of hearsay, or quoting from an existing text or from his own experience, I treat it a case of “Strongly Interested” in making truth claims. If the narrator makes such claims only occasionally, I mark it “Somewhat interested.” If a compilation contains a narrator who is interested in making truth claims, but the number of entries displaying such a characteristic is greatly outnumbered by the rest that are not, I mark it as “A little interested.”

(C) Attempts to authenticate:
If the Narrator-I offers additional comments to his truth claims or quotes an existing text to authenticate the reliability of his sources, he is treated as “Somewhat interested.” If the narrator is greatly interested in vouching for his truth claims and actively delves into facts to provide evidence, he is considered “Strongly interested.” For example, if the narrator reveals his informants’ names and where and how he has heard the story, he is considered “Strongly interested.” If the narrator makes some kind of truth claim and yet makes only occasional efforts to authenticate his statements, I treat him as a case of “A little interested.”

6.3.1. Toward diverse modes of narrative composition: Yu Mong’in’s Unsophisticated talks

Unsophisticated talks is an early seventeenth-century literary miscellany containing remarks on poetry, miscellaneous records of historically verifiable facts (kojŭng chamnok 考證雜錄), anecdotes, ghost stories, etc. Its compiler, Yu Mŏng’in, inherited the tradition of literati’s random jottings (p’ilgi 笔記), while incorporating a considerable number of orally circulating stories (p’aesŏl 話說). So far, 558 entries have been identified as having originated from Yu Mong’in’s Unsophisticated talks; yet, it should be noted that the compilation existed in widely circulated manuscript copies for over two hundred years. Sin Ikch’ŏl (1998) characterizes Yu Mong’in’s narrative technique as “outlining” (paengmyo 白描; method in painting that traces objects with thick black lines without applying shading), whereby Yu portrays the personal traits and

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399 Sin Ikch’ŏl, “’Ou yadam ŭi sŏsa pangsik kwa ch’ogi yadam chip ŭro sŏ ŭi t’ŭksŏng,” Chŏngsin munhwa yŏn’gu 33.3 (2010): 7-34.
psychologies of individuals as well as the significance of events.\textsuperscript{400} Kim Yǒngmi (2008)\textsuperscript{401} distinguishes Yu Mong’ in from his predecessors, who spoke of literature with a greater emphasis on poetry, and accentuates Yu’s treatment of prose writing (散文) as a distinctive style of literature in and of itself.\textsuperscript{402} According to Kim, Yu’s prose writing was based on the principle of “novelty and concision” (奇簡).\textsuperscript{403}

Within the compilation, diverse kinds of narrators tell the stories. The most conspicuous narrator is Yu Mong’in himself. At times he appears as an actor within narratives (Entry 218; 265 of the Changsŏgak edition [hereafter CSG]\textsuperscript{404}). The Narrator-I occasionally opens and closes new entries. At times he relates what has been transmitted to him by quoting either hearsay or preexisting texts. The Narrator-I also introduces anecdotes related to Yu Mong’in’s family members (CSG1; 268). For the most part, the

\textsuperscript{400} Sin Ikch’öl, Yu Mong’in munhak yŏn’gu, 237.
\textsuperscript{401} Kim Yǒngmi, Kigan kwa Yu Mong’in ūi sanmun (Seoul: T’aehaksax, 2008).
\textsuperscript{402} In Entry 218 (Changsŏgak edition), Yu Mong’in appears within his narrative and engages in a conversation with his friend, Sŏng Yǒhak 成汝學 (1557-?; Ssangch’ŏn 雙泉). In this conversation, Sŏng Yǒhak suggests that Yu Mong’in writes in the style of “small talk and collected stories” (小說叢話)—i.e., prose narrative—rather than in classical prose poetry composition as a vehicle to convey his message:

… I had Sŏng Yǒhak [select some of my works], and he picked himself a set of texts, [merely] added pi-chŏm 批點 and kwŏn-chŏm 圈點 but did not make a selection, saying: “Among your poems, there are some that can be edited out; however--you, sir, should make the selection yourself. Who else would dare to put his hands on them? I have read a great number of canonical writings of the East but none possesses a caliber that matches yours. Nonetheless, who in times like today would recognize [your unparalleled talent]?” Although classical prose and poetry composition are elaborate endeavors, common people do not know their worth. It is best to create writings of small talk and collected stories (小說叢話). Not only will it be of service to instructing the world, but people will also find reading it enjoyable.” I relied on his words. Based on what I heard and saw, I wrote in yadam. Now I have completed a set of ten volumes (My emphasis).

Sŏng Yǒhak himself wrote a joke collection called Sequel to Against sleepiness (Sok ômyŏnsun 續對眠煩).

\textsuperscript{403} According to Kim Yǒngmi (2009), Yu Mong’in emulated writing styles from the pre-Qin and Two Han (先秦兩漢), and of Han Yu 韓愈 and Liu Zongyuan 柳宗元 of the Tang, while dismissing prose styles of the Song as unoriginal.

\textsuperscript{404} For identification purposes, I provide the entry number of the Changsŏgak edition of Unsophisticated talks.
Narrator-I presents anecdotes about historical persons or supernatural events without making any truth claims about the reliability of his sources, frequently commenting on what he has narrated in order to moralize, valorize, or contemplate. He quotes preexisting texts such as Confucian classics, *Zhuangzi*, Korean sayings, collected works of Chosŏn literary figures, and poems.

Insofar as his trust in the historical accuracy of what he records is concerned, Yu Mong’in seems to employ the strategies of a typical *p’ilgi* writer to tell his stories: what gets recorded = historically verifiable = historical truth. However, a significant number of entries reveal that Yu experimented with various forms of narrative writing. In some cases, entries are provided with textual evidence, implying that Yu Mong’in was concerned with making truth claims about the authenticity of his narratives. For instance, Yu Mong’in presents stories as orally circulating (CSG233)—records or retellings by people who have experienced the narrated affairs first-hand (CSG62; 63). Or, he questions the validity of what he narrates by presenting a contradictory story or by stating his misgivings (CSG 223; 240). The most striking evidence of Yu Mong’in’s critical thinking concerning history and established truth is his explicit skepticism toward history; he casts doubt on the reliability of official history (CSG304) or of preexisting texts in general (CSG217) by quoting *Mencius*: “If one believed everything in the *Book of History* [Shujing], it would have been better for the *Book* not to have existed at all.”

Skepticism toward the authority of preexisting texts combined with Yu Mongin’s penchant for experimental prose writing likely explains the variety of narrative styles in his compilation. Many entries deal with detailed descriptions of anecdotal histories.

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without revealing their original sources. Some stories are satires or allegories. Some entries present a narrative within a narrative, in which Yu Mong’ın employs another narrator to recount his experience (CSG319; 203). One entry revolves around an interrogation report in which a criminal recounts what has happened in her own words. In at least one case, we see Yu narrate a Korean adaptation of a famous Chinese story. In this story, the narrative deals with a certain Im Che 林悌 (1549-1587; m. 1577; Packho 白湖) and his friend who are passing by a village in which a large festival is taking place. Telling his friend that he knows the master of the party house, Im Che has his friend wait outside the house and promises him he will invite him in later. Im Che enters the house, pays his respects to the master and guests, and sits down in the back. Guests ask each other in whispers whether they know this guest. All the guests answer no. When the guests and the master start smirking at Im Che, Im Che notices and reveals what has happened in front of the house. The master and the guests have a good laugh about how Im has deceived his friend, and invite his friend in. Im Che’s friend never finds out Im Che has lied to him.

For example, one deals with a man who becomes a cow after encountering an old tanner working on cow leather and asking him if he can try the cow leather on. Cow-Man gets sold in the marketplace. The old man warns a new owner that the cow will die when it eats daikon radish. Treated like a cow, Cow-Man suffers a great physical ordeal. One day, as an attempt to finish his ordeal by killing himself, Cow-Man takes a bite out of a daikon that happened to be nearby, whereupon he regains his human form.

In this story, Yu Mong’ın introduces his nephew Yu Hyŏk 柳渓 (1567-?; m. 1597), who is mourning the death of his daughter. A soldier who has run away from China and has been Yu Hyŏk’s neighbor visits Yu Hyŏk and tells a story, which eventually comforts Yu Hyŏk.

Sin Sangp’il (2011) notes that if Yu Mong’ın’s adaptation of this story were based on a Chinese text, the source text was more likely Song Maocheng’s version in Qingshi 情史 (History of desire) than Gujin xiaoshuo 古今小說 (Stories old and new). However, Sin speculates that this story reached Yu Mong’ın’s ear through an oral account, either through Chinese soldiers who came to Korea to fight in the Imjin War since 1592 or through interpreter officials whom Yu Mong’ın accompanied during his work as an official envoy to China. Sin Sangp’il’s speculation is quite plausible.

As Sin notes, Yu’s narrative introduces the story based on a recent event at an illustrious family, and the two narratives do not share the same plot development or details. For example, in Yu’s narrative neither the female protagonist’s name nor her husband’s identity are given, and her husband’s profession is that of a scholar. The pearl-vest, a crucial element in both the classical and vernacular versions of the story, is not present in Yu’s narrative. The old jeweler woman does not appear, but is replaced by the female protagonist’s wet nurse and her ugly daughter. Yu’s narrative ends with the woman’s father-in-law finding out about his daughter-in-law’s affair and killing the man, the woman’s wet nurse, and her daughter.

The similarities between Yu’s narrative and either Feng’s or Song’s narratives include: (1) a love affair triggered by the protagonist’s glancing through the chink of an open window (in the case of Unsophisticated talks, a door between the inner and outer quarters) and (2) homoeroticism between the female protagonist and the old mediator. However, noting that Yu
Unsophisticated talks, stories that vouch for historical truth and that have no interest in claiming historical truth co-exist.

Noticing such a wide range of styles, Sin Ikch’öl (2010) asserts that in addition to the fact that the title contains the phrase “yadam,” Unsophisticated talks deserves recognition as the principal catalyst for the coming of yadam. Using ideas reminiscent of the p’ilgi-vs.-p’aesöl-yadam distinction made in Kim Sangjo (1999), Sin Ikch’öl notes that Unsophisticated talks is comprised of p’ilgi, p’aesöl, and yadam in which Yu Mong’in willfully avoids the method of “recording facts faithfully” (直書) in order to pursue “allegory” (寓言), as if emulating Zhuangzi—to say one thing and mean another. Through such strategies, Yu achieves realistic portrayals of events and lives regarding both elites and non-elites. In short, Yu Mong’in experiments with storytelling and the representation of truth, expanding room for creative exertion by later story author-compilers.

6.3.2. The value of firsthand experience and truth: Im Pang’s Invisible workings

Invisible workings consists of prose narratives only. Its contents deal with fantasy, humor, and strangeness in fairly contemporary events claimed to have actually happened. Many entries are reminiscent of zhiguai- and chuanqi-type narratives

Mong’in presents this story as a vehicle for his didactic remarks on lust between men and women, I speculate that one cannot dismiss the possibility of large-scale censorship and adaptation on Yu’s part after perusing the Chinese original.


One entry deals with events during the Silla dynasty. However, when it happens, it is a story within a story. One entry deals with an event from the Koryŏ period. All other entries in Invisible workings deal with stories from the Chosŏn period (from the reigns of King Sejong through Injo).
dealing with haunted houses, visits to hell, animal transformations, and encounters with Daoist immortals and eminent monks.\textsuperscript{411} Equally numerous are anecdotes about historical persons. A few entries are dedicated to humor, eccentricity, and satire. Some discuss resourceful and faithful ladies,\textsuperscript{412} while others introduce shrewish wives. Two entries deal with love between a scholar and a beauty. Two entries are based on excerpts from epistles. A few entries deal with people engaged in poetry appraisal and therefore contain poems. All of the narratives are presented as based on retellings, hearsay, or preexisting texts circulating among contemporary people. Im Pang imposed a system of seven-character titles on each entry and paired them up by adding a comment using the voice of an unofficial historian at the end of every second narrative: e.g., “and the commentary goes …” (評曰).

As its title, \textit{Records of the invisible workings of heaven} (天倪錄) suggests,\textsuperscript{413} the collection’s contents are incredible events straddling the borders of the human imagination. Some of the commentaries indicate that Im Pang perused Tang \textit{chuanqi} tales and various miscellaneous writings by Song literary figures.\textsuperscript{414} Unusual events,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{411} Several studies have delved into \textit{Invisible workings} and Im Pang’s interest in ghosts and spirits: e.g., Kim Chŏngsuk, “Han-Chung-II munŏn tanp’yŏn chip sok yogoe wa kwisin ŭi chonjae yangsang kwa kwisin tamnon–Ch’ŏnyerok, Yojae chii, Yach’ang hondam ŭl taesang ŭro,” \textit{Taedong hanmunhak} 28 (2008): 327-352.
\item \textsuperscript{412} Yi Sinsŏng, \textit{Ch’ŏnyerok yŏn’gu} (Seoul: Pogosa, 1994).
\item \textsuperscript{413} The phrase “The invisible workings of heaven” (天倪) appears in “The adjustment of controversies” (齊物論) in the “Inner chapters” (內篇) of the \textit{Zhuangzi}. I follow James Legge’s translation.
\item \textsuperscript{414} Two entries in \textit{Invisible workings} are \textit{Taiping guangji} stories. Reminiscent of the story of Ji Zhen 計真, the first case is TR11 (11\textsuperscript{th} entry of the Tenri University edition) and is introduced in the next section in this chapter. The second case is the story of Oksosŏn, reminiscent of “The Tale of Li Wa” (“Li Wa zhuan” 李娃傳) because of the overlaps between the two in the area of scholar-beauty love stories, snowfall as an important backdrop for the reunion of the couple, the male protagonists’ downfall that is overcome through his success in the service examination, and the upward social mobility that a female professional entertainer achieves.
\end{itemize}
however, are accompanied by reassurances from the Narrator-I that what he narrates is based upon actual experience. To a degree far greater than Unsophisticated talks, Im Pang displays interest in vouching for the truth of his narratives. For example, numerous entries open with a time marker like “during the reign of such-and-such king.” The hearsay marker (는) is found at the end of numerous entries. Within the narrative or in the commentary, the Narrator-I appears as the actual listener of the retellings. All the narratives are furnished with elaborate descriptions as to the backdrop, personal characteristics, and sequence of events. Im Pang tends to identify informants by revealing their names and social ranks: e.g., geomancer Kim Ыngsu, Kim Chin’gyŏng (styled Simyak), monks at Pŏpchu temple in Mountain Songni 俗離山法住寺, and chinsa Ch’oe through her devotion to a boy from an elite family. Within the narrative, the narrator highlights the intimacy between the male protagonist and Oksŏn by alluding to “The Tale of Li Wa” and “The Tale of Yingying” (“Yingying zhuan” 聖鶯傳). In his commentary attached to the story of Ilt’ahong, another scholar-beauty story and a pair story with the story of Oksosŏn, Im Pang again mentions “The Tale of Li Wa” as a similar-type story. I am not aware of any previous study that has compared the relationship between these two narratives.

“The Tale of Li Wa” deals with an aristocrat boy who falls in love with a manipulative courtesan, who depletes his resources to the point of reducing him to a mourner at an undertaker’s shop. Discovered by his father in this plight, the boy is abandoned. He becomes a beggar with ever-deteriorating health until one day a heavy snow falls and he bumps into Li Wa. Li Wa pities him and has a change of heart. She supports him to exonerate himself by going back to his scholarship and passing the examination. This plan comes to fruition and the boy regains his father’s approval. As a result, Li Wa becomes the boy’s wife.

The parallel story in Invisible workings narrates a love story between the only son of a governor of Pyŏng’an Province and a young kisaeng girl. After his father’s term of office expires, the boy’s family returns to the capital. The boy soon forgets her. But while studying for the examination in a temple in the capital, he is overtaken with love for her and runs away from home in the hopes of reuniting with the girl, who is discovered to be serving the son of a local magistrate. After many ordeals, the boy starts working at the yamen sweeping snow. One day while he is sweeping snow, the girl recognizes him. The couple reunites and the girl urges him to become a successful candidate as the only option for reconciliation with his parents. The boy studies hard while she supports him. The boy wins first place at the examination, and the king spots in his answer sheet a current minister’s name. The king calls the winner and hears what has happened thus far. The boy reunites with his parents and the girl is accepted as a secondary wife for her honorable conduct.
Yuch’ŏm 崔有瞻 (1604-?; ch. 1633). In a few cases, the Narrator-I quotes preexisting texts as his source materials.

How trustworthy is Im Pang in his presentation of ‘facts’? Is it possible that Im Pang believed that some or all of the events he narrated had actually happened? While we cannot answer this question with absolute certainty, it seems plausible that Im Pang himself was cognizant of the preposterousness of what he presented. What is interesting here is that, instead of historical accuracy, he seems to foreground *experienced truth* as having a value of its own. His foregrounding of experienced truth opens up new possibilities for the perception of historical veracity in that it embraces the elements of perspectival differences embedded in firsthand experience.

One striking characteristic of *Invisible workings* is the author-compiler’s imparting of a consistent format to frame his narratives (a total of sixty to eighty-six entries, depending on the manuscript).415 i.e., title, narrative (each having a partner story), and commentary. As suggested previously, the format of title-narrative-commentary in narrative writing had developed in compilations of jokes and ribaldries since the late-fifteenth century; however, it was Im who first deployed this strategy for prose narratives dealing with more wide-ranging subject matters and genres.416 In particular, while entries in collections of jokes were given four-character-phrased titles, the titles in *Invisible workings* are seven-character phrases, and therefore more reminiscent of a poem and more suitable to describing the full extent of descriptive narratives. The architectural


416 A number of entries in *Invisible workings* are humorous stories. Evidence from surviving manuscript editions of this text suggests that they and narratives of humor circulated in tandem. See Kim Chunhyŏng, “Ch’ŏnyerok wŏnhyŏng chaegu wa hyang’yu yangsan il ko,” *Han’guk hanmunhak yŏn’gu* 37 (2006): 459-501.
design of *Invisible workings* has been attributed to his intention to make each entry function as an independent entity in and of itself.\textsuperscript{417} Im Pang also separates narrative proper and commentary by creating a commentator persona and a ‘master narrator,’ both of whom can be potentially independent of the Narrator-I who tells the story within the narrative proper.\textsuperscript{418}

Im Pang also deploys an array of narrative levels. In several entries, the reader of *Invisible workings* is presented with a narrative within a narrative, each of which is narrated by the Narrator-I—this is also found in *Unsophisticated talks*, but not as conspicuously as here. For instance, the story of “Military Official Ch’oe, at His Temporary Residence, Meets a Ghost” (崔僉使僉舍逢魔; TR37) opens as the “Narrator-I,” identifying himself as the compiler of *Invisible workings* speaks from his own experience. However, the primary narrator quickly becomes Military Official Ch’oe. When Military Official Ch’oe’s narrative ends, the ‘master’ narrator of the story returns to conclude. In the story of “Daoist Master Meng Takes [Sŏng Wan] Out on an Excursion to Exchange Poems” (孟道人携遊和詩; TR33), the story begins as the narrator introduces biographical information about a certain Sŏng Wan. Then, the narrator informs the reader that what is to unfold from then on is based on Sŏng’s autobiographical account regarding his encounter with Master Meng. About halfway through the narrative, Master Meng starts to recount his own life in great detail within

\textsuperscript{417} Chin Chaegyo, “*Ch’ŏnyerok ūi chakcha wa chŏjak yŏndaen,”* *Sŏjihakpo* 17 (1994): 41-68.

\textsuperscript{418} Kim Tong’uk (1995) examines the role of commentary in *Invisible workings* but gives a somewhat insipid interpretation by portraying Im Pang’s view as a conservative elite’s attempt to maintain the status quo by moralizing about strange events of the world. Kim Tong’uk, “‘P’yŏng-wal’ ūl t’onghae pon Im Pang ūi sasang yŏn’gu,” *Ômunhak yŏn’gu* 3 (1995): 7-43.
Sŏng’s narrative, which is then later framed by the ‘master narrator,’ who might or might not be Im Pang. As a result, a sensitive reader encounters different perspectives that dictate each narrative level, with each claiming the truth of their experience.

Storytelling methods exhibited in *Invisible workings* create a discursive space that potentially places the multiple Narrator-I’s on an equal footing. That is, while all entries are revealed as having been directly drawn from stories orally transmitted to the compiler, the historical truth is either contingent upon the reader’s decision based upon his experience, or the reality portrayed within the narrative, independently of historical accuracy, emerges as truth. In other words, the narrative world created in *Invisible working* is open to fictionalization. One feature of Im Pang’s fictionalization is the narrator’s knowledge of what his protagonists are thinking, as revealed through certain diagnostic adverbs: e.g., “suddenly” (忽然), “in great surprise” (大驚), “in suspicion” (疑訝), “by coincidence” (偶然), “finding it deeply pitiable” (心甚憐然), and “feeling anxious and finding it strange” (心切疑怪).

### 6.3.3. Fallacies of memory and multiple truths: Im Mae’s *Old tales*

Written thirty to forty years after his grandfather’s *Invisible workings*, Im Mae’s *Old tales* consists of two volumes, all of whose entries are titled with di-syllabic or tri-syllabic phrases that capture the essence of a given story. *Old tales* deals with a variety of subject matters, including the lives of fallen *yangban*, talented people among the lowborns such as shamans and slaves, resourceful ladies, and unusual and supernatural

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419 Chŏng Hwan’guk’s introductory chapter to his annotated translation of *Invisible workings* lists some of these expressions as Im Pang’s marking of uncanny feelings that human beings feel in their encounters with the strange. See Chŏng Hwan’guk, *Kyogam yôkch’u Ch’ŏnyerok.* (Seoul: Sungkwungwan University Press, 2005), 27.
events. These subject matters are not new insofar as *Unsophisticated talks* and *Invisible workings*, too, deal with similar characters, but not to the same extent. This attitude is diametrically opposed to that of Im Pang’s Narrator-I, who tends to present human experience ‘as is’ by using multiple Narrator-I’s in the story. Generally speaking, Im Mae’s Narrator-I analyzes the historical value of what he narrates and challenges the validity of *a priori* knowledge. He challenges what people take for granted and is greatly concerned with how historical reality, storytelling, and human perceptions interact with or contradict one another.

In “A Medicinal Shamaness” (医巫; Entry 1, the Tenri University edition) the narrator presents a story identified as something his maternal grandfather has told him. The story begins with a shamaness called in for an exorcism, who prescribes medicine that ultimately cures a slave who has long suffered from a chronic illness that makes her look insane. A boastful government official hears of this story. Doubting that such a lowborn person could possess medicinal knowledge, he confronts the shamaness, who not only contradicts him but also rebukes him for not having diagnosed the former king correctly. Among the narrator’s comments are remarks that people tend to attribute illnesses to ghosts when an accurate diagnosis can cure illness with medicine, and that one should not abuse medicine without a well-grounded diagnosis.

“An Exceptional Slave” (義奴; Entry 2, the Tenri University edition) deals with a resourceful house slave of a *yangban* family who serves all the more earnestly after his

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420 An Pŏmjun, “Chapki kodam ᥐ sŏsul pangsik kwa chŏjak ŭido,” *Munch’ang ŏmun nonjip* (2006): 5-31. In this study, An Pŏmjun proposes to read Im Mae as a typical member of conservative-minded elite, who moralizes for the sake of the status quo. In so doing, An moves away from existing scholarship, which he considers as overemphasizing unconventional characters in *Old tales*.
master’s economic status deteriorates. Twice Im Mae writes that he has heard many different versions of the same story and emphasizes that no two identical versions were the same. Each time, the narrator engages in a long discussion as to what discrepancies exist in terms of the historical persons appearing in the story or what the slave has said in a certain situation, explains what makes sense to him, and attempts to read the slave’s true intentions by analyzing his actions. Next, because the endings are completely different, the narrator presents another version, which he has heard that he finds more plausible; he has heard it first-hand from a descendant of one of the historical persons appearing in the story. After presenting this version in an equally elaborate way, the narrator examines the first and the second versions in order to investigate what has caused the discrepancy between the two. He concludes that the story of a righteous slave is in fact an accidental amalgamation of two stories, because facts had become muddled in the process of oral circulation.

Also worth mentioning in this context is Yu Manju’s diary Hŭmyŏng 欽英 (In admiration of the choicest; 1775-1787). Written a couple of decades after Old tales and almost contemporaneous with TPNS, it contains Yu’s strong skepticism toward the truth value of orally derived stories because of the very process of oral storytelling, to the point of praising the value of inaccuracies in narratives as an indicator of the true representation of historical events. This is another piece of evidence that literati during this period were sensitive to the possible manipulation of historical reality and stories claiming to have oral origins.421

421 Yu Manju writes:
I heard this [referring to the story he has written] from a descendant of Tonggang and, considering it marvelous, recorded it. However, it contains contradictions and inaccuracies (抵牾). Generally
In “Bandit minister” (盗宰相; Entry 4, the Tenri University edition) the narrator presents the story of a principled, talented, yet poor scholar of Koryŏ who gives up on scholarship and decides to use his talents to lead a group of bandits. He trains the bandits in the principles of stealing and ultimately persuades them to return to peasant farming. Years later, the scholar passes the examination, enters the bureaucracy, and reaches the position of minister. One day the minister discovers that as a direct consequence of his deeds as a former bandit, a man, a son of one of the houses attacked by his bandits, has stooped to committing a crime. The minister writes a letter of resignation in which he reveals his past so as to exonerate his former victim’s son. Both the minister and the criminal are pardoned. The narrator comments that while many people consider the story to be from the Chosŏn period, he disagrees. The narrator argues that no Chosŏn scholar would be as gallant and confident as the bandit-minister—because Chosŏn literati are nothing but talk when it comes to taking the moral high road. They fritter their time away drinking and reciting poems, the narrator argues, and contradict the honorable protagonist. In this story, what constitutes truth does not depend on the source of the

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Speaking, words found in transmissions of strange events (傳奇) cannot be accurate in every detail (難於精細), whether they describe events that have actually happened (演實) or embellish to alter stories circulating on the street (騖慮易於道塗). If one finds a piece of gossip on the street despicable (道塗之嫌) and should desire to lend it sophistication (必欲精細之), one fixes inaccuracies and augments the story with what has been left out. In which case, it is difficult to call [such a writing] “detailed” because is not a true record (難曰精細, 便非實録也). My record simply relates and therefore contains contradictions. I did not pattern my writing by lending it sophistication (不文之以精細也). This is a case of the so-called error of omitting words in transmission (夏五郭公). Even official histories have missing parts (史猶有闕文). How much more so in the case of records of oral accounts and miscellaneous talk (況於稗官小說乎)?

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See Seoul National University Kyujanggak, Hŭmyŏng 3 (Seoul: Seoul National University Kyujanggak, 1997), 429.
story but on the plausibility of the story itself. The narrator’s satire prioritizes internal cogency when it comes to claiming historical accuracy.

6.3.4. Toward ‘letting the story tell itself’: No Myŏnghŭm’s TPNS

Compared to the narrators of Unsophisticated talks, Invisible workings, and Old talks, the TPNS narrator is distinctive for his invisibility as the Narrator-I that can be identified as No Myŏnghŭm and for his visibility as an anonymous narrator that can be treated as a certain anonymous compiler of stories. With the possible exception of the story of Chŏng Hyojun,\(^\text{422}\) the Narrator-I in TPNS is nearly absent in TPNS.\(^\text{423}\) Moreover, while the narrators of Unsophisticated talks, Invisible workings, and Old talks tend to expound on the significance of the narrated event and or engaging in over didacticism, the TPNS narrator rarely engages in in-depth discussion on a subject. Neither is he overtly didactic. The TPNS narrator remains far more descriptive than prescriptive in his commentary.

TPNS does contain a story in which the narrator claims rather strong control over the meaning of his narrative. The story of Yun Kyŏl deals first with a scholar-official whose literary prowess is so exceptional that he helps a low-ranking military official win back a kisaeng from a high-ranking scholar-official. However, the story has a tragic ending as Yun brings calamity upon himself because he has failed to control his tongue in a drunken stupor. At the end of the story, the narrator moralizes:

\[^\text{422}\] The possible exception is the story of Chŏng Hyojun (YONSEI 50) in which the Narrator-I enters into the story to annotate the identity of the story’s two protagonists. This move can be attributed to No’s act of filial piety toward Chŏng Hyojun, his distant ancestor.

\[^\text{423}\] I have found only one other incident where “余” appears in TPNS. In the story of Kwŏn of Andong, the protagonist uses it to refer to himself while rebuking his daughter-in-law: “How would I not know your [jealous] personality” (余豈不知汝性乎). This “余” is not the Narrator-I of the story.
No Myŏnghûm’s motivation for using such a didactic voice would require an examination of his other writings, none of which survives. In light of Hong Yonghan’s biography, one speculates that the message was a maxim in No Myŏnghûm’s life journey as a talented yet economically and politically challenged literary figure. Perhaps No was critical of the highfalutin people that he observed at Hong Ponghan’s house. It seems also plausible to treat this comment as No’s injunction aimed at his son, No Kûng, a publicly recognized literary genius of his time, who two years after No Myŏnghûm’s death was exiled on account of his talent—for the crime of selling his writings to examination candidates. In any case, stern exhortations like these are rare in TPNS stories.

The narrator of TPNS displays some interest in authenticating the reliability of his narratives, and yet his efforts to vouch for the historical veracity of his narratives are far weaker in comparison with his predecessors. Most of TPNS narratives that are identified as having been derived directly from oral sources are considerably more anonymous. In fact, some of his sources are easily replaceable: e.g., ‘people’ (人), ‘what has been transmitted to the world’ (世之流傳者), ‘the entire country’ (舉國), ‘a passer-by’ (行人), ‘scholars of Chŏlla Province’ (湖南士人), ‘a beautiful story in the world’ (傳爲美談), or ‘a story widely spread as a strange case in Ch’ungch’ŏng Province’ (其事播爲湖右異談). The narrator’s comments on discrepancies between what he has narrated and another preexisting narrative, too, do not indicate a strong desire to legitimate the originality of his own story. There are two cases where the TPNS narrator mentions the existence of other conflicting narratives.
YONSEI 12 (The story of Hŏ Chŏk)
There is also an anecdote that Minister Yi Wan did this to General Sin Haech’ŏl. Comparing it with this [=my] story, the two narratives are identical. I do not know which is correct.

YONSEI 36 (The story of a descendant of Prince Inp’yŏng)
Chŏn or Suk. I do not know which [name] is correct.

The TPNS narrator also shows far less interest in engaging in intellectually stimulating discussions or didacticism. For example, in the story of General Im Kyŏngŏp, the narrator simply marvels at General Im’s valor. In the story of Yu Samun, the narrator alludes to Samgang haengsil 三綱行實 (Actual exemplars of the Three Bonds; 1431), a book comprised of biographies of virtuous people in history, to comment on the women who maintained their loyalty to a single man. While this story potentially promotes women’s chastity, the narrator accentuates the man’s appearance—not his moral rectitude or women’s faithfulness—as the catalyst. In the story, the two ladies are revealed as kisaeng who had long aspired to pledge their love to the most impressive and handsome capital-residing yangban man:

The story of General Im Kyŏngŏp (YONSEI 2)
In ancient times, Hang U 項羽 rolled his eyes and rebuked once, and at that, Chŏk Ch’ŏn Hu 赤泉候 retreated several miles. Im’s affair is almost like this. With energy from his eyes like this, his name should be listed as a hero of a hundred generations.

The story of Yu Myŏngsŏn (YONSEI 42)
That the two chaste women [died] for one person is truly [something] not found in Actual exemplars of the Three Bonds. However, it can also be inferred that Yu’s impressive appearance moved their hearts.
Therefore, the TPNS narrator’s comments tend to affirm what his reader might feel by saying, “This is a marvelous and strange affair” (此奇異事也; YONSEI 33) or “Yi’s selection of a [burial] site was indeed astonishing” (李之擇地果神異矣; YONSEI 43).

Lack of explicit didacticism, however, does not mean that TPNS is without moral lessons. Several TPNS stories deal with the merits of good deeds; the narrator rarely uses his stories for edification by pinpointing particular virtues his reader should strive for. The story of Hong Su deals with a military official who punishes an insolent and violent monk who attacks the entourage of a yangban lady. The story of Kim Inbaek is about a poor but dedicated scholar, who becomes recognized by a high-ranking official and a scholar for his devoted performance of ancestral worship ceremonies. At the end of these two stories the narrator wrote the following comments, in which he concludes by explaining the primary reason for the prosperity of illustrious families:

The story of Hong Su (YONSEI 37)
Hong’s son is none other than Modang. Among hundreds of sons and thousands of grandsons, ministers came forth in large numbers. The family prospered and became a great family of the state. People consider that this was leftover merit from [Hong’s] killing of a wicked monk and saving a lady.

The story of Kim Inbaek (YONSEI 38)
Good fortune began from his grandson kamsa Ching and continued to flourish to the great-grandson Hyŏn. Three generations produced five ministers—this is rare in the world. There are always reasons for the prosperity of great families.

The narrator’s indifference toward explicit didacticism seems most striking in his presentation of potentially good materials for effective moral lessons. For example, the story of Yŏm Hŭido (YONSEI 56) deals with the protagonist’s honesty in returning what was not rightfully his to its original owner—an act that ultimately saves him from great calamity. However, the narrator is silent about what a potential reader may take away by...
from reading about Yŏm’s honesty. The story that immediately follows it, the story of Chŏng Imsil (YONSEI 57), deals with another case of what happens when one returns what he accidentally finds on the street. While tilling the land, Chŏng spots a bundle of a large sum of money after a man on a horse has galloped past his field. When Chŏng returns his find to the man, he is deeply impressed with Chŏng’s honesty and reveals himself as a thief and the money as stolen goods. After the confession, the thief repents his wrongdoing and turns over a new leaf. At the end of these two stories, the narrator simply comments on where and how the two stories came to him. What message to take home or whether to take away any such message from the two stories at all, is left to the reader.

Compared to the narrator of Invisible workings, the TPNS narrator allows even greater room for his characters to express their feelings and thoughts. The characters in TPNS are capable of having internal monologues—e.g., “he thought to himself as follows” (自語於心曰) or “have someone believe something and not doubt” (使人信不疑).

The most striking characteristic of the TPNS narrator is that at times he assumes the position of an omniscient narrator. He imparts new pieces of information about his protagonists as he proceeds with the narrative. In other times, he expresses his view of the narrated situation as if to build rapport with unknown narratees usually by posing rhetorical questions. Here are some examples:

**The story of Kwŏn (YONSEI 11)**
A young boy and a girl are spending time in each other’s company deep into the night. How could there not be a sharing of joy?

年少男女深夜同席, 豈無合懐之事乎
He was strict by nature. Under his orders, who among the slaves and servants would dare to tarry in carrying out his order?

The story of Kim pyŏlgam (YONSEI 14)
The thief’s mouth was hereupon forever sealed.

The story of Yŏm Hŭido (YONSEI 56)
Hŭido’s great-grandfather’s brother had once run away from home after having gone insane and no one knew where he had gone. The so-called ‘Living Buddha’ was none other than this person.

The story of Yi Changgon (YONSEI 58)
The house happened to be a wicker weaver’s household. A high and mighty aristocrat from the capital had no way to quickly pick up wicker weaving.

In comparison with his predecessors in Unsophisticated talks, Invisible workings, and Old tales, the narrator of TPNS is the least visible and the least interested in authenticating his truth claims, yet also the most intrusive in the narrative. The Narrator-I is present within the compilation, but avoids voicing his opinion or appearing in the narrative proper. From the perspective of the narrator in Unsophisticated talks, the TPNS narrator is allowing the story to tell itself without the burden of history or didacticism. As such, the TPNS narrator resembles a third-person omniscient narrator who possesses greater knowledge than his protagonists. The TPNS narrator is farthest from the burden of historiography and closest to the narrative world of verisimilitude.

As remarked previously, the evolution from “history-centered” narrative writing to a “fiction-centered poetics” has been noted as a significant characteristic of the Chinese narrative tradition and of Korean literary works modeled after it. Yang (1998) explains Feng Menglong as a compiler of vernacular stories who employs a storyteller narrator within the simulated context of storytelling before a live audience. He situates
Feng in between “no one owns meaning” and “I can manipulate the meaning.” That is, Feng Menglong’s *Sanyan* collections reveal him as a narrator who “can appropriate meaning by ventriloquating others.”\(^{424}\) What Yang emphasizes is Feng’s ability to “writ[e] himself off”\(^{425}\) by borrowing the voice of a preexisting other to tell his stories. Yang links Feng’s strategy with the “politics of literati representation” to mean that the literati were exposed to a long tradition of “collecting and appropriating folk songs”\(^{426}\) for their political use by treating the voice of the people as an indicator of good or bad Confucian governance:

For Feng, the vernacular story’s most important aspect was its folk origin. Because it was believed to come from the people, it carried, as did its sister genre the folk song, the legitimating aura of general sentiment. So that it looked like folk literature, the vernacular story had to be presented as anonymous, and it needed to display some evidence of orality. In other words, a vernacular story should essentially be a written rendition of a storyteller’s oral representation, rather than a direct imitation of life. If a printed folk song could appear to have been recorded verbatim from an oral performance, so should a vernacular story. This brings us to the most interesting of the rhetorical features of Chinese vernacular fiction, the storyteller’s manner.\(^{427}\)

TPNS adopts a narrator who does not rely on a simulated context like the storyteller narrator found in Feng’s *Sanyan* collection. However, a degree of simulated context seems conceivable without the presence of the storyteller-narrator. That is, No Myŏnhûm employs a narrator who can be virtually separated from himself. Yang’s notion of Feng Menglong as a ventriloquist sheds important light on the expansion of the creative and discursive space that took place in Yu Mong’in’s *Unsophisticated talks*, Im Pang’s * Invisible workings*, and Im Mae’s *Old tales*. By No Myŏnhûm’s time, a compiler of orally derived stories had considerable room to play with ventriloquism,

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\(^{425}\) Yang, ibid., 33.

\(^{426}\) Yang, ibid., 37.

\(^{427}\) Yang, ibid., 41.
albeit to a far LESSER extent. Although No Myŏnghŭm does not completely “write himself off” like Feng Menglong does in Sanyan collections, his narrator is considerably more like a literary persona other than No Myŏnghŭm himself—as in a narrator that can be potentially not “余”—in contrast with the narrators found in the three predecessors. It is unfortunate that without other writings by No Myŏnghŭm, there is virtually no direct textual evidence to ascertain whether No read Chinese vernacular fiction or to what extent his living experience at the Hong Ponghan household, where Chinese vernacular fiction circulated and was read by people as close as his own son and students, influenced his composition of TPNS.

6.4. No Myŏnghŭm’s perception of genre: The case of Yŏm Hŭido

When TPNS was created, the story of Yŏm Hŭido was arguably one of the most contentious stories of the time because of its political subtext. Literary figures asserted their identity as descendants of the two political factions in the backdrop of the story by either producing their own renditions of the Yŏm story to counter a preexisting narrative or by reproducing existing versions. No Myŏnghŭm’s representation of Yŏm’s life reveals that his is a de-politicization of a story that otherwise circulated within a political context. Moreover, No Myŏnghŭm’s version of the Yŏm Hŭido story was a reformulation of varying narratives with varying details about Yŏm into what he deemed a suitable style for presenting the narrative. But first, an introduction of some background information surrounding the story’s political subtext is in order.

The backdrop of the Yŏm Hŭido story is the Great Expulsion of the Kyŏngsin Year, or the Kyŏngsin tae ch’ulch’ŏk 庚申大黜陟 of 1680 and related factional
wrangling between the Southerner and Westerner Factions during the reign of King Sukchong 諜宗 (r. 1674-1720). The development of factional politics during the reign of King Sukchong is a complicated matter. Therefore, I will focus on the aftermath of events directly related to the origins and circulation of the story of Yŏm Hŭido.

Yŏm’s master Hŏ Chŏk was the leader of the Southerner Faction. Hŏ Chŏk died because he was accused of treason involving his secondary son Hŏ Kyŏn 許堅 (?-1680), the ringleader of an alleged plot against King Sukchong in order to enthrone Prince Poksŏn 福善君 (1641-1680). Kim Sŏkchu, who also appears in the TPNS narrative, was Minister of War (Pyŏngjo p’ansŏ 兵曹判書) at the time and a powerful figure due to his status as cousin of the previous king’s wife; he allegedly disclosed Hŏ Kyŏn’s crime so as to undermine the Southerner Faction. In the wake of this incident, more than a hundred Southerners either resigned or were expelled from their posts, while a great many Westerners gained the king’s favor and moved into the posts vacated by their Southerner counterparts. The incident marks the beginning of three volatile power shifts during the reign of King Sukchong—the other two occurred in the years kisa 己巳 (1689) and kapsul 甲戌 (1694).428 Notably, during their brief recapture of political power through the Kisa power shift, Southerners were given the honor of redressing their grievance in 1689, when King Sukchong posthumously reinstated Hŏ Chŏk. However, after the power shift of 1694, Southerners never regained their strength as a viable political faction. After 1694, the Westerners bifurcated into the Old Doctrine and Young Doctrine Factions.

428 The first two were between the Southerners and Westerners. After the 1694 incident, the Westerner Faction bifurcated into the Old Doctrine and Young Doctrine Factions. Hong Ponghan’s family belonged to the former.
In his postscript, No Myŏnghŭm mentions a certain Kim chinsa of Andong as the originator of the first written narrative of Yŏm Hūido’s life. This Kim chinsa is Kim Kyŏngch’ŏn 金敬天, a hyangni-turned-scholar. His narrative was “Yŏm sŭng chŏn”廉丞傳 (“Biography of Steward Yŏm”), a biography revealed as inspired by Yŏm’s autobiographical accounts, which Kim heard firsthand in 1716. While a biography, “Yŏm sŭng chŏn” features noticeable fictionalization in terms of Kim’s deployment of ample supernatural motifs—e.g., prognostication by a strange monk who turns out to be the protagonist’s long lost relative, and a flying cane, use of scenic descriptions as manifestations of the protagonist’s feelings, and reliance on a pronounced Buddhist theme of good fortune resulting from one’s accumulation of good deeds. While more detailed and more complicated in plot, Kim’s “Yŏm sŭng chŏn” and the story of Yŏm Hūido in TPNS are two narratives dealing with the same stuff-material. Kim presents Yŏm as an exemplary kyŏmin, whose life manifested five virtues: integrity, loyalty, wisdom, courage, and trustworthiness. Kim is most emphatic about Yŏm’s loyalty to Hŏ Chŏk—a loyalty that continues after Hŏ’s death. In light of his life trajectory, Kim wrote

429 For more details on Kim Kyŏngch’ŏn’s life and literature, see Kim Yŏngjin, “‘Yŏm-sŭng chŏn’ yŏn’gu,” Han’guk hanmunhak yŏn’gu (1999): 353-387.
430 “Sŭng” literally means “assistance” and was an honorary form of address customarily used to refer to yeomen, secretaries or various other kinds of assistants of commoner status in the government offices. See Yi Hunsang, “Yŏnjo kwigam ēi p’yŏnch’ŏn kwa kanhaeng,” Chindan hakpo 53, 54 (1982): 127-154.
431 For bibliographic notes on surviving manuscript editions of “Yŏm sŭng chŏn”—a total of seven including six editions in hanmun and a parallel vernacular version—, see Kim Yŏngjin, “‘Yŏm sŭng chŏn,’” 357-9.
432 One of the characters in the story calls Yŏm a “a living Buddha” (saengbul 生佛).
433 His commentary says:

... From every sŏrī at every office to the eunuchs and the kyŏm’in of the households of high-ranking bureaucrats, how will they not respect his righteousness? I respect Sit’ak’s heart. Therefore, I hereby fashion a chŏn about his life and call it Yŏm sŭng chŏn.

各衙門書吏 任宦家陪從之通稱 蓋尊之之義也 余既尊時度心 故立其傳曰 廉丞云爾
“Yŏm sŏng chŏn” because he saw a certain autobiographical connection to Yŏm’s bond with Hŏ Chŏk; Kim himself had received various forms of assistance from local magistrates whom he served and who helped him rise above his hyangni status by giving him opportunities for education and by removing Kim’s name from the hyangni roster.\(^{434}\)

Some years later, Kim Kyŏngch’ŏn’s “Story of Steward Yŏm” met with harsh criticism at the hands of a scholar-official named Mok Manjung 睦萬中 (1727-?; m. 1759; Yōwa 餘冨). Mok Manjung belittled Kim’s edition for its crude style and lack of historical truth and claimed to give an improved and rectified version of Yŏm’s life.\(^{435}\)

Mok achieves this by mobilizing the voice of an ‘unofficial historian’ (oesa ssi 外史氏) commentator to recount Yŏm’s life, and by transforming what he considered a vulgar narrative into a more refined style.


\(^{435}\) For his criticism of Kim Kyŏngch’ŏn’s rendition of the Yŏm story, Mok Manjung makes the following points: (1) its crude style—‘redundancy and complicatedness’ (文頗冗樻) —and its ‘failure to follow literary conventions’ (文不蹈其舊); (2) ‘inaccuracies, discrepancies and omissions regarding factual information’ (事或駭籍) and ‘mistakes’ (謬誤); and (3) its ‘engagement with preposterousness and strange elements that gentlemen rarely speak of’ (顚涉詭異類傳奇所錄，君子所罕言).

Kim Yŏngjin (1999a) notes the results of this rectification as simply “important stylistic traits” (p’yohyŏn-sang ū chung’yo han t’ükching) of Mok’s retelling (369). However, that Mok’s justification for his retelling explicitly addresses the question of style seems better interpreted as a poignant illustration of how style and content went hand-in-hand as a deliberately orchestrated whole for a conscious writer.

Some specific areas for Mok’s ‘stylistic rectification’, so to speak, include (1) Korean vernacular idioms such as “木” for ‘cotton’, “聽直” for ‘storage keeper’, “間所” for ‘prison’, etc.; (2) forms of address registering social hierarchy, such as the protagonist’s switching among “小的”, “小人”, and “僕” to refer to himself; and (3) some baihua idioms drawn from imun 吏文 (non-literary writing style used strictly in administrative documents). For more details, see Kim’s study.
The storytelling manner and details offered in Mok’s narrative make it clear that his primary concern lay not in valorization of the protagonist. Mok devalues the overall importance of Yŏm’s integrity and loyalty by foregrounding Hŏ Chŏk as an epitome of virtue and as the ultimate source of Yŏm’s greatness. Therefore, Mok retells the life of Yŏm as a way to assert his factional identity as a descendant of the Southerner Faction foregrounding Hŏ Chŏk’s greatness. One case typical of Mok’s retelling is the scene of Yŏm’s arrest. In Kim’s original, Kim Sŏkchu orders his soldiers to arrest and bring Yŏm for interrogation while assuring them that Yŏm is a good man so that there is no need to treat him like a criminal. Here, Kim Sŏkchu’s kindness is undermined and Hŏ Chŏk’s greatness is foregrounded, insofar as when the soldiers see that Yŏm is an honest man they attribute Yŏm’s goodness to Hŏ Chŏk: “Seeing his steward, one can understand what kind of person the Prime Minister was” (見其僕從, 可知相國爲人). Not surprisingly, Mok entitled his narrative by removing the character “sŭng” and replacing it with Yŏm’s given name, hence “Yŏm Sit’ak chŏn 廉時度傳.”

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Mok’s commentary at the end makes explicit his intention to undercut Yŏm’s importance and to centralize Hŏ Chŏk:

The Commentator says: if one remains too long in a position of power, people will surely ingratiate themselves to him. If one’s dispensing of mercy is excessive, people cannot bring themselves to betray him. Now, when one considers Minister Hŏ’s righteousness, there must have been more than a single Yŏm Sit’ak. Minister Hŏ took righteousness to be the gravest virtue, such that there were numerous occasions when he rushed to help out the troubled or to save people in danger . . . [Yŏm] was involved in various near-death experiences but remained composed in the midst of thunder and lightning. And the reason his heart did not extinguish was none other than because he took Minister Hŏ to be alive. [Yŏm’s] inquiring as to the well-being of Minister Hŏ at Chwahwa-am hermitage and Sŏ-am hermitage is something other people could easily have done . . . Some say that Sit’ak observed Kyŏn’s recklessness and remonstrated many times with Minister [Hŏ] on this matter such that the minister heavily reproached and upbraided Kyŏn . . . [However,] when the Prime Minister grew older and his will and strength withered due to senility, he was no longer able to prevent the impending disaster (My emphasis).
While he claims historical truth for his narrative, Mok could not have experienced the Kyŏngsin incident firsthand. This fact alone places the origins of Mok’s confidence in question. While claiming authenticity, Mok does not augment his narrative with extra evidence from any written sources. The fact that he was an official and that one of his ancestors was victimized in the process of the Kyŏngsin incident suggests that Mok probably had access to more ‘official’ aspects of the affair than Kim. However, both Kim and Mok fashioned their narratives based on orally transmitted sources. Because Mok wrote his narrative in reaction to Kim’s, the two share a similar trajectory in terms of general plot development and details. In short, Mok Manjung’s version of Yŏm’s life showcases a rhetorical reformulation of an existing written text and orally transmitted stories.

Mok’s story likely circulated among members of the Southerner Faction. Based in a neighbourhood called Ch’ŏngp’a (靑坡洞) in the capital, Mok’s family was one of the three most illustrious families of the Southerner Faction and had a base in the capital. Mok also had a close connection with other descendants of the Southerner Faction based in Ansan. Evidence suggests that Mok read Kim Kyŏngch’ŏn’s biography in the family library of the Chinju Yu-ssi 晉州柳氏 in Ansan. Mok’s retelling, too, probably

437 Mok Naesŏn 睇來善 (1617-1714; m. 1650; Hoong 壺翁) held the position of p’ansŏ 判書 (minister of a board; senior second grade) at the time of the Kyŏngsin Incident but was removed from office because of his membership in the Southerner Faction.
438 Sim Kyŏngho, “Chosŏn hugi sisa wa tonghoin,” 126.
439 Kang Sehwang’s two sons copied Kim Kyŏngch’ŏn’s “Yŏm sùng chŏn” around 1765-1766 for their compilation of miscellanies, Wide gleanings (Fangmun 博聞). Kang Kyŏnghun speculates that Mok had read about Kim Kyŏngch’ŏn’s origin in the Chinju Yu-ssi family library called Ch’ŏngmundang 清文堂, one of so-called four famous large-scale family libraries of the time. The other three were at the house of Yi
reached ‘descendants’ of the Southerner Faction such as Kang Sehwang 姜世晃 (1713-1791; m. 1776; P’yoam 萍奄) of the Chinju Kang-ssi 晉州 姜氏 clan and Yu Kyǒngjong 柳慶種 (1714-1784; Haeam 海巖) of the Chinju Yu-ssi 晉州 柳氏 clan, and their family members. Since the copy Mok used as his source text was formed around 1765-1766, Mok’s retelling must date to sometime after 1765-1766.

Where does TPNS fit into this complex circulation of the story? Whether the TPNS entry on Yǒm predates Mok’s is uncertain, but the story circulated orally between the time of Kim Kyǒngch’ǒn’s completion of his biography and Mok’s written transformation of the story. For example, in “Hǒ-saeng huji” 許生後識 (“Epilogue to ‘The Story of Hǒ’”) in Okkap yahwa 玉匣夜話 (Night tales at Yuxia), Pak Chiwǒn 杜趾源 (1737-1805; Yǒnam 燕巖) records his encounter with an eccentric practitioner of Daoist alchemy named Yun Yǒng 尹映 (dates unknown) while studying at Pongwǒn Temple 奉元寺 in the capital. According to him, Yun told him various historical anecdotes, one of which is identified as a story about a certain Yǒm Sido 康時道. Although Pak offers no details about the contents of what he heard from Yun

Chǒnggu/Chǒnggwi 李廷駄 (1564-1635; m. 1590; Wǒlsa 月沙), Haewajae 海軒齋 in Chinch’ǒn, and Kyǒngsǒngdang.

The reference to four large family libraries comes from Kang Chunhǔn’s 姜浚欽 (1768-1833; m. 1794; Sammyǒng 三溟) records of his book reading called Toksǒ ch’agi 讀書筆記 (Notes on readings). Ch’ǒngmundang and Kyǒngsǒngdang belonged to two brothers of the Chinju Yu clan, Yu Myǒngch’ǒn 柳命天 (1633-1705; m. 1672; T’oedang 退堂) and Yu Myǒnghyǒn 柳命賢 (1643-1703; m. 1673; Chǒngjjae 靜齋). Quoted in Kang Kyǒnghun, “P’ilsa pon channok Pangmun e taehayǒ,” Munhǒn kwa haesǒk 7 (1999): 197n.

For a case study of the style of writing found in ch’agi 笔記, see Kim Ch’aesik, “Oju yǒmnun changjōnsango e nat’an an ch’agi-ch’e p’ilgi ūi t’ükching,” Chǒngsin munhwa yǒn’gu 33.3 (2010): 93-114.
Yŏng about Yŏm’s life, what Pak heard must have been a variation on Kim Kyŏngch’ŏn’s story of Yŏm Sit’ak. The discrepancy in the name of Pak’s protagonist indicates the story’s transmission. Pak’s record is from 1756, about ten years prior to Mok Manjung’s version. No Myŏnhŭm’s version was likely transmitted to him during this time, although we are uncertain as to when he actually wrote it.

Besides No Myŏnhŭm, other contemporary literary figures left their own versions of Yŏm’s life. For example, Sin Tonbok 辛敦復 (1692-1779; ch. 1715; Haksan 鶴山) wrote a version of Yŏm’s life identifying the protagonist’s name as Sido 時道, and included it as an entry in his miscellany Haksan hanŏn 鶴山閑言 (Leisurely talks by Haksan; hereafter Haksan). The writings in this miscellany were based on the sources had accumulated up to 1759. His time of writing can be estimated as any time between 1759 and 1779. Another example of a written version is Sim Chae’s 沈宰 (1722-1784) miscellany Songch’ŏn p’iltam 松泉筆談 (Brush talk by Songch’ŏn Sim Chae; hereafter Songch’ŏn). Songch’ŏn includes a few entries related to the Kyŏngsin incident, including one that gives a rather synoptic retelling concerning Yŏm; the protagonist is identified as

440 Kim Yŏngjin speculates that Pak was hesitant to record the story of Yŏm because the story concerned the Southerner Faction and Hŏ Chŏk, hinting at Pak Chiwŏn’s Old Doctrine identity. However, Pak was a member of so-called Paekt’ap-p’a 白塔派, a socio-literary gathering whose members transcended the boundaries of factional identities or social status. Rather, I suggest we pay attention to how Pak Chiwŏn recounts his “Story of Master Hŏ” as a story that was transmitted to him by way of Yun Yŏng. I speculate that Pak Chiwŏn’s presentation of Yun Yŏng as a person who enjoyed telling historical anecdotes indexes his intention to give an air of authenticity to the story of Master Hŏ. The story of Yŏm Sido is then a mere example of what Pak Chiwŏn considered a necessary prop to support his scheme of presenting Yun Yŏng as the originator of the message and of the details he intended to convey. In other words, Pak ventriloquizes through Yun’s mouth what he intends to say. I use the term “ventriloquize” following Shuhui Yang’s study of Feng Menglong and his Sanyan collections.

Yŏm Sigyŏng 廉時禎. However, it is evident that this is also a version of Yŏm Hŭido’s life. Sim Chae’s preface to his miscellany states that he began writing around 1781, indicating that Songch’ŏn postdates Mok’s retelling, Haksan, and TPNS.

In its characterization of the protagonist, TPNS is close to Kim Kyŏngch’ŏn’s original and Mok’s retelling. In all three cases, Yŏm’s integrity is never questioned and Yŏm is literate enough in sinographs (hancha 漢字) to be capable of identifying the object he picks up on the street by deciphering what is written on its wrapping. However, in Sin Tonbok’s Haksan, Yŏm is an irresponsible individual: he discovers the silver while rushing to Hŏ Chŏk’s house because he has slept in from drinking too much the night before. There is no indication of Yŏm’s literacy, so to speak, in that Yŏm learns of the contents of what he has picked up only after he opens it. Moreover, in Haksan, Yŏm almost rapes a woman he chances upon deep in the mountain while on the run; this scene is absent in Kim’s original, Mok’s retelling, or No Myŏnghŭm’s narrative.

Still, Haksan resembles Kim’s original more than TPNS in terms of the amount of detail Sin offers. For example, when Yŏm visits Kim Sŏkchu’s house to inquire about the silver, Kim recognizes the money as his and summons his slave for a harsh scolding. Haksan details the conversation between Kim and the slave, while TPNS pays little attention to any of these details. Because of its affinity with Kim Kyŏngch’ŏn’s original in terms of the amount of detail, it has been suggested that Sin’s narrative was the under the influence of Kim’s original in some way.⁴⁴²

According to Kim Yŏngjin, stories compiled in miscellanies by literati affiliated with the Old Doctrine Faction (descendants of the Westerner Faction) tend to undermine

⁴⁴² Kim Yŏngjin, “‘Yŏm sŏng chŏn’ yŏn’gu,” 380.
Yŏm’s loyalty to Hŏ Chŏk. Indeed, Yŏm’s devotion to Hŏ remains unchallenged in both Kim’s original and Mok’s retelling. For example, stories within the parameters of the Old Doctrine recension indicate that Yŏm later became a kyŏmin at Kim Sŏkchu’s house. In Kim Kyŏngch’ŏn’s original, Kim Sŏkchu helps Yŏm get back on his feet after his release from prison. Mok’s retelling excises this entirely. In this regard, Haksan and TPNS belong to the same category.

However, as a text written by an individual who had close connections with people of the Old Doctrine, TPNS presents a narrative encompassing the viewpoints of both factional identities. For this reason, this TPNS narrative does not favor one particular faction over the other. TPNS points out that Yŏm did indeed receive help from Kim Sŏkchu after his release; however, much like Kim’s original and Mok’s retelling (as descendants of the Southerner Faction), TPNS underscores Yŏm’s loyalty to Hŏ by including a scene showing how earnestly Yŏm Hŭido searched for Hŏ’s descendants in order to help them. This de-politicization corresponds with the identity of the TPNS narrator, who is distant from No Myŏnghŭm himself and close to a third-person omniscient narrator who avoids deliberate moralization.

443 Ibid., 384-385.
444 This point was made in Im Hyŏngt’ae, “Tongp’ae naksong yŏn’gu,” 339.

I have elsewhere discussed a politicized use of forms of address used in this story as a marker of the compiler’s factional lineage to indicate how a compiler’s assertion of his factional identity manipulates the narrator’s attitude toward Hŏ and the closeness of the relationship between Yŏm and Hŏ. I focused on Kim Kyŏngch’ŏn’s original, Mok Manjung’s retelling, and two entries from Records of anecdotes. See Park Sinae, “Filial Retellers, Textual Redemption and Textual Vengeance: An Intertextual Interrogation of the Tale of Steward Yŏm,” Korean studies for a new generation Vol. 2 (2008): 129-162.
In terms of style, the two biographies and Haksan, TPNS, and Songch’ŏn have a complex relationship with one another. First, Songch’ŏn is noticeably shorter than Haksan and TPNS. Even though Songch’ŏn contains a scene with dialogue that makes it read like Haksan and TPNS, Songch’ŏn contains a strongly moralizing narrator’s voice praising Yŏm’s honesty as an exemplary steward. Vis-à-vis Songch’ŏn, then, Haksan and TPNS suggest that their compilers created narratives that belong to the same “historical group or family” in terms of the narrative texture of the narrator’s interest in details, their reliance on dialogue, and most importantly, their narrators. Both Haksan and TPNS deploy a third-person narrator who is interested in giving a full account of Yŏm’s life without attempting to influence the reader’s perception of the characters. By extension, in terms of genre delineation, Haksan and TPNS are close to each other and can likely be categorized as a “historical group”—texts that share similar traits and can be grouped together. By extension, it can be argued that the compilers of Haksan and TPNS, each for their own reasons, selected this particular type of storytelling method so as to present their versions of Yŏm’s life.

However, Haksan, TPNS, and Songch’ŏn are rather homologous vis-à-vis the two biographies written by Kim Kyŏngch’ŏn and Mok Manjung. For example, in terms of detail, the narratives in Haksan, TPNS, and Songch’ŏn do not include any information about Yŏm’s life prior to meeting Hŏ Chŏk. By contrast, Kim Kyŏngch’ŏn and Mok Manjung narrate the full trajectory of Yŏm’s life because they were writing biographies. Moreover, the narrators of Haksan, TPNS, and Songch’ŏn are conservative toward the story being narrated, so to speak, in that they avoid giving elaborate scene descriptions or commentary. These similarities in attitude suggest that the writers of Haksan, TPNS, and
Songch’ŏn perceived what they were writing as clearly different from the biography genre. This fact suggests that the Yŏm story in *Haksan*, TPNS, and *Songch’ŏn* belongs to a looser category of the same historical group as against the two biographies, while *Haksan* and TPNS belonged to the same sub-group within this loose category.

A writer’s retelling does not mean that he was faithful to a single particular oral source. Rather, the writer (literarizer) of circulating stories was an authorial figure who was not only exposed to a host of resources for the construction of his version/vision of the story, but was also purposive in what *style* of storytelling he chose for the presentation of his narrative. In other words, the writers materialized their written narratives according to their conscious or unconscious perceptions of a certain normative power. In short, writers of circulating stories were sensitive to what they were transmitting in terms of both style and contents. No Myŏnghŭm was not at all interested in giving a faithful representation of what he heard, but deployed existing resources as an “alterity” against which he was able to give his own narrative a particular spin—a depoliticized version narrated by a third-person narrator who allows his reader to figure out the meaning of the story on his own.

*Haksan*, TPNS, and *Songch’ŏn* were created under the influence of both written and oral sources. Because of this, there exists a great diversity in the rendition of the protagonist’s name. The variations on Yŏm’s name reveal the ways in which these stories circulated. The variations on Yŏm Sit’ak’s name that I have mentioned so far are:
Sit’ak 時度 — Kim Kyŏngch’ŏn and Mok Manjung
Sido 時道 — Sin Tonbok (Haksan) and Pak Chiwŏn (Night tales at Yuxia; name mentioned only)
Hŭido 希道 — No Myŏnghŭm (TPNS)
Sigyŏng 時慶 — Sim Chae (Songch’ŏn)

In addition, in Records of anecdotes (mid-19th c.), two different versions of Yŏm’s story are found: Yŏm Hŭido 廉喜道 (Entry 310, the Yonsei University edition) and Yŏm Sido 廉時度 (Entry 436, the Yonsei University edition). Although Records of anecdotes postdates TPNS by at least half a century, I will include this case of “Yŏm Hŭido 廉喜道” in my speculations about oral-vs.-written transmission of the story.

The character “度” has two readings in Korean—to (for ‘extent; degree; to cross’) and t’ak (for ‘to measure, fathom’). Both are commonly used, and the reading of the character is contextually determined. However, in the case of 廉時度, it is safe to conclude that the original must be read Sit’ak, not Sido. Considering that Yu Wŏnsŏng was a direct descendant of Yu Kyŏngjong, at whose home a version of the Yŏm story circulated, Yu Kyŏngjong must have known the ‘correct’ reading of Yŏm’s name. Therefore, the fact that his vernacular rendition is entitled “Yŏm Sit’ak chyŏn 염시탁전,” not “Yŏm Sido chyŏn,” indicates that the protagonist of Kim Kyŏngch’ŏn’s original and Mok Manjung’s retelling was Yŏm Sit’ak.446

446 In 1925, Yu Wŏnsŏng 柳遠馨 (1851-1945; s-ch. 1874), a descendant of Yu Kyŏngjong, created a changhoe-style 章回體 (divided into chapters) hanmun 小説 fictional narrative out of steward Yŏm’s life based upon a version he accidentally discovered in a box of books in his house in Ansan. The object of his accidental discovery was the aforementioned Wide gleanings, from which Mok created his retelling. Upon completing his text, Yu Wŏnsŏng created a parallel vernacular rendition of his fictional version, which was made into a clean copy (p’ilsa 筆寫) by his granddaughter-in-law Kwŏn T’aeim (1908-1967). See Kim Yŏngjin, “Charyo haeje: ‘Yŏm Sit’ak chŏn’,” Minjok munhaksa yŏn’gu 15 (1999): 252-302.

This grandfather and granddaughter ‘team’ also worked on reproducing an autobiographical text generally known as “Records of my hardships” by Madame Yi of
The variations on Yŏm’s name probably resulted from misreading and/or mis-transliteration in the process of oral and written transmission of the story in manuscript copies. In the case of “Sido,” it derived from someone who had read the story without prior knowledge of Yŏm’s name and who must have thought the characters in his name were read “Sido” not “Sit’ak.” This error then led to a rendering of Yŏm’s name as “Sido” as a result of a transliteration of Yŏm’s name in sinographs (hancha 漢字) by someone who knew the story but had not seen his name inscribed in sinographs. As for “Sigyŏng,” I note the similarity in the overall shape of the two final sinographs (廉時度 vs. 廉時慶) and speculate that this might have been a case of “度,” its variant-shape substitute (ich’e-ja 異體字), or a smudge on “慶” in Sim Chae’s source text which was then mistaken as “慶.” It is also possible that Sim read a written account at one point, and that when he actually wrote the entry he mis-remembered the character as “慶.” Because Sim Chae’s retelling is positioned within a series of entries on the Kyŏngsin incident, it is highly likely that the Songch’ŏn version was borne out of text-to-text transmission. Sim Chae’s source text might have been either Kim’s original or Mok’s retelling in that all three portray Yŏm as literate. The amount of silver that Yŏm finds on the street is identified in all three versions as “one hundred.” This consistency among the three texts

Hansan (Hansan Yi-si kohaengnok). This Madame Yi was Yu Myŏngch’ŏn’s wife and Yu Wŏnsŏng’s sixth-generation ancestor.

While not the focus of this dissertation, the genre translations surrounding this story are worth noting. Originally the story was created as a biography with some fictional elements. Late-Chosŏn collectors of historical anecdotes and strange tales showed great interest in the story, which also circulated from mouth to mouth. In 1925, the story is born again as a vernacular hoejang-style fiction. The story was then published in modern print media such as the Maeil sinbo (Daily news; 1937.7.9) and Wŏlgan yadam (Yadam monthly; 1937. 4. 3).

The Yonsei University edition of the nineteenth-century story compilation Compendium of records of anecdotes and hearsay contains two entries recounting the story of Yŏm. In them, the protagonists’ names are rendered differently: “時道” (Entry 436) and “喜道” (Entry 310).
contrasts with *Haksan* and TPNS, in which the amounts are recorded as “two hundred and thirteen” and “fifty,” respectively.

“Húido” (希道 and 喜道) seems to be a case of hypercorrection by someone who has heard the name Sido without knowing the correct sinographs for his name and thought that the reading “Si” was the result of *h*-palatalization of “hǔi.” The prominence of concepts like providence and retribution on account of Yŏm’s virtue featured in the story may have influenced the author-compiler to determine which sinograph to use to transliterate Yŏm’s name in order to highlight the overall theme of Yŏm’s life.

As suggested previously, No Myŏnghŭm possibly had access to Kim’s original. Is not the character “Húi 希” for the protagonist’s name an obvious indication of oral transmission? No surviving records regarding the text or the author-compiler can give a definite answer. Moreover, measuring exactly how much influence oral and written texts had on Myŏnghŭm’s creation of his narrative is impossible. The truth lies somewhere between two extremes: (1) Myŏnghŭm’s exposure to orally transmitted details about Yŏm’s life in which his name was enunciated as “Húi,” and (2) Myŏnghŭm’s deliberate use of “Húi” to claim further oral origins for his source material. Case (1) supposes a faithful recorder of an oral source while case (2) supposes a creative author-compiler who fabricates certain facts to create a certain effect in his storytelling.

Writers of *yadam* stories had room for creative expression between orally transmitted stories and the written narratives that supposedly represented their oral counterparts. In other words, the nature of writers and compilers of orally transmitted stories, and by extension the significance of written materializations of stories claiming
to be derived from oral sources, can be better described when authorial creativity and perceptions of the normative power of genre conventions are acknowledged.

6.5. Paratextual appraisals of TPNS as a literary novelty

This section examines the paratextual writers’ rhetorical strategies in promoting the TPNS as a worthy piece of literature. In what follows I first focus on the category of p’ae 稔, which these writers use to claim that TPNS is a p’ae that surpasses all other p’ae because it is historically grounded and offers moral guidance. I will argue that their claims of p’ae and superior-p’ae using historical value and moral guidance allude to precedents where the rhetoric of ‘superior p’ae’ functions as an endorsement of an individual’s literary creation. I will also contend that TPNS paratextual references to historical groundedness and moral instruction perform both descriptive and prescriptive roles, thereby redrawing the existing boundaries of literary genres for the purpose of inaugurating a new type of worthy piece of writing. I will point out that while the paratextual commentaries unanimously evaluatate TPNS as “supplementing what transmissions of history have overlooked” (補史乘之闕), to borrow Hong Ch’wiyŏng’s words, there also exist parallelisms between the expressions used in the value of TPNS and those found in fiction criticism that was becoming increasingly prominent in late Chosŏn.

6.5.1. The merits of TPNS as supplementary history and moral instruction

As pointed out in previous studies of TPNS, historical groundedness—a point Hong Yonghan makes in his “Biography”—and moral instruction are the two values emphasized most in the three paratexts. Here is Hong Ch’wiyŏng’s critical engagement
with p‘ae. P‘ae is explained as writings with an innate proclivity for falsehood and profanity; without any didactic purpose or deployment, p‘ae is a potential threat to truth.

By contrast, TPNS can be utilized for moral guidance and historical education:

From olden days, p‘ae have been collections of false embellishments. Truth and falsehood are jumbled together in them. Even if they are not about the strange and uncanny, they are nonsensical. There is no moral teaching and a great number of them are obscene. Even if p‘aesol offer a moment of relaxation, they cannot escape becoming the spawn of Record of the marvels/Universal harmony.\(^\text{448}\) However, in my work, all the marvelous and astounding traces of every sort, and the records of the mysterious and uncanny, are grounded in evidence and do not wander into the area of fabrication. Never is this book guilty of preposterousness. This book is helpful in restoring errors in official histories and worthy of becoming a collectable item within the realm of fine art.

For a p‘ae, [this book] is beneficial to teaching Confucian morality and makes a good resource for leading people toward virtuous ways. Master No was by nature humble so that [the TPNS] dwells among the p‘ae; however, it is clear that this is the very kind of book that should not be called p‘ae.

Hong Naksu’s preface contrasts the TPNS with the type of stories that serve to ‘quell boredom’ or ‘dispel somnolence’ (p‘a chōk myōn 破寂眠) to emphasize the historical groundedness of the TPNS and its educational function:

All things in this book can be corroborated with the originals. They come from that which has been transmitted within distinguished families for many generations. It is not like inventing records of the uncanny or quests for the supernatural,\(^\text{449}\) nor is it like materials used for quelling boredom and dispelling somnolence.\(^\text{450}\) Having examined the compiler’s intent, I think that even women and children can listen to the stories in it with excitement and admiration and they will influence many generations to come.\(^\text{451}\) When people find themselves in a situation [similar to

\(^{448}\) This refers to Qixie 齊諧, a mythical text, probably invented by Zhuangzi, appearing in “Enjoyment in untroubled ease” (xiao yao you 逍遙遊) of the Zhuangzi 諡子. Qixie is used as a metonym for the strange and supernatural (zhigui 志怪) and for preposterousness.

\(^{449}\) This phrase refers to the genre of zhiguai 志怪, a type of prose narratives dealing with the strange and supernatural.

\(^{450}\) This phrase is a translation of p‘ajōngmyōn chi cha 破寂眠之資 referring to a type of prose narratives dealing with humor, wit, and satire that are often entitled along the lines of “p‘ahan” 破閑 (dispelling idleness)/“p‘ajōk” 破寂 or “p‘asu” 罷睡 (dispelling somnolence)/“ōmyōn” 睡眠 (defending oneself from somnolence).

\(^{451}\) ‘Women and children’ may be a metonym for the ignorant and worthy of enlightenment. This phrase suggests a reception method for the TPNS. There are six yadam collection titles recorded as having vernacular parallels, and the TPNS is one of them. I return to this point later in this chapter.
what appears in this book], they might reflect on their own past and achieve their goals; they will not delay in following their will.

Hong Chigyŏng also compares *p’ae* that exists for the sake of *p’ae* (稗之稗) with *p’ae* that is non-*p’ae* (非稗之稗), i.e., *p’ae* that is superior and outclasses mere garden variety *p’ae* as more authoritative, and he provides the names of preexisting texts as both positive and negative examples. Through this distinction, Hong Chigyŏng asserts that the TPNS supplements historical writing. First, *p’ae* are explained as works that influence and entice people (收拾影響, 眩耀耳目). Two examples are cited as cases of the former (稗書之稗): “catching the flowers shadowed on the wall (掌於拂墻之花影)”452 and “taking the pride of peasant thieves at the marsh” (豎牙於弄池之草竊).453 Positive examples are literary miscellanies considered as supplementing official history, such as *Moke hui xi* 墨客揮犀 (Scholar’s wielding of a rhinoceros horn) by Peng Cheng 彭乘 (dates unknown); *Mengxi bidan* 夢溪筆談 (Brush talks by Mengxi) by Shen Kuo 沈括; *Guixin zazhi* 癸辛雜識 (Miscellaneous observations of the year guixin) by Zhou Mi 周密; and *Gengshen waishi* 庚申外史 (Unofficial history of the Gengshen Emperor). All of these titles are quoted in *Haedong yŏksa* 海東譜史 (Untangling the history of the Eastern Seas) by Han Ch’iyun 韓致論 (1765-1864; s-ch. 1789) as Chinese sources.

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452 The phrase “flowers shadowed on the wall” (拂墻之花影) could be an allusion either to “The Tale of Yinying” by Yuan Zhen 元稹 (779-831) of the Tang dynasty (618-907), or to *Xixiangji* 西廂記 (Romance of the western chamber) by Wang Shifu 王實甫 (1250-1307?) of the Yuan dynasty (1271-1368).

453 I am not certain what this phrase exactly means. It might be referring to the characters in *Shuihuzhuan* 水滸傳 (Outlaws of the marsh), whose authorship is attributed to Shi Naian 施耐庵 (1296-1372) of the late Yuan 元 (1271-1368) and early Ming 明 (1368-1644).
consulted for his compilation. The value of TPNS as material for moral education is
directly related to its value as supplementary history.

Focusing on these two points, scholars of TPNS have accentuated that TPNS
deals with events that can be historically corroborated. While I agree with this statement,
I call attention to yet another important aspect of Hong Chigyŏng’s commentary that is
rarely quoted in studies of TPNS.

6.5.2. The merits of TPNS as a repository of preposterous stories

In Chapter Three, I have shown how the beginning part of Hong Chigyŏng’s
postface narrates how he himself once desired to write something along the lines of
TPNS but to no avail. Between this autobiographical comment and his emphasis on the
historical value of TPNS, Hong Chigyŏng provides a rather long exposition on ‘how the
principles of heaven and earth are unfathomable and affairs under heaven are prone to
change’ (天下之理難測, 天下之事易變). He continues to discuss the ‘difficulty of
discarding things that do not fit with human understanding simply because they do not
accord with the principles of the world’ (以無所不有之理, 観不可必無之事). Next he
writes that spirits, ghosts, and strange calamities come and go, while bizarre and
preposterous happenings appear indiscriminately in records transmitting events
(凡世所稱神鬼變怪, 隱現出沒, 弔詭荒誕 襲出於傳記者).

I pay particular attention to the next expression that Hong Chigyŏng employs to
describe things preposterous and unfathomable in the world as not what the ancient
people fabricated or invented and not something to be crossed off (架虛而杜撰也, 明矣,
烏可一筆斷之以無之哉). “架虛” in particular is used here to mean fabricate in the
sense of a falsehood, something not grounded in historical events. This phrase is one of the most commonly used phrases in traditional Korean fiction criticism. For example, Yu Manju, the avid reader and diarist introduced in Chapter Three, used “construct emptiness and carve out space” (架虛鑿空) and “[descriptions] of human emotions and the disposition of things” (人情物態) as important values in fiction. Im Pang’s contemporary and friend, Hong Manjong, used a similar phrase—“carve out a space for constructing falsehood” (鑿空構虛) to refer to late-Ming literati’s “overwrought” (浮藻) style of writing in reference to Xiyouji 西遊記 (Journey to the West), Shuihuzhuan, and historical romances (演義). “架虛鑿空” is also found in Sŏ Yuyŏng’s (1801-1874) writing on fiction and in T’ang’ong’s (dates unknown) critique of fiction writing, “Discourse on p’aesŏl” (“P’aesŏl non”稗説論). Im Pang’s contemporary Hong used the phrase “carve out a space for constructing falsehood” (鑿空構虛) to refer to fictional works in his Suno-ji 旬五志 (Recording in fifteen days), while Yi Isun 李顥淳 (1754-1832; s. 1780; Manwa 晩㱾) used the term to describe his own fictional work, Illakchŏng 기一樂亭記 (Records of the pavilion of great pleasure).

Moreover, right after he has introduced this expression, Hong Chigyŏng introduces a number of narratives as extreme cases of preposterousness and asserts that they cannot be ignored. First he alludes to famous stories in the Chinese narrative tradition: e.g., “Red thread repays her master and steals a box in the bed” (紅線報主人而偷枕中之盒); “Han Xiang becomes enlightened in the ways of

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454 Kan Hoyun, Han’guk kososŏl pip’yŏng yŏn’gu (Seoul: Kyŏng’in munhwasa, 2002), 123-126.
455 This story appears in Taiping guangji.
immortals” (韓湘悟仙道); and “Woman of the Xiang River unties her jade” (江妃解佩), “Old Monk (Bodhidharma) drops his shoe” (老僧墜履). While more examples continue, it is not entirely clear whether he is making further allusions to famous stories in the Chinese [cosmopolitan] tradition, because in some cases the phrases could also refer to stories in TPNS. All of these stories and the four allusions are described as “preposterous for being mystical and paradoxical” (是皆弔詭而荒誕). Although they deserve to be called ‘irreverent’ (不經), Hong Chigyŏng underpins their existence: ‘contrary to one’s expectations, gentlemen who enjoys the old and the refined rather enjoyed discussing them and still take joy in the inexhaustivity of the way’ (好古博雅之君子, 猶能樂道之不厭者), because “they read them not for the sake of trusting or doubting, but to expand their horizons’ (非欲為信信疑而廣見聞也).

Next, Hong introduces the contents of TPNS as depictions of various human experiences that induce rapport with the reader. Hong’s descriptions are reminiscent of the phrase “[descriptions of] human emotions and the disposition of things” (人情物態) quoted above as in Yu Manju’s fiction criticism. The contents are: e.g., “the desire of men and women, strangeness of the immortals and the Buddha, the profundity of one’s desire to use one’s talents, and the transformations of ghosts and spiritual things” (今此編中所載, 男女之慾, 仙釋之奇, 技藝之妙, 鬼物之變). The readers experience “surprise and delight, love and contempt” (可驚可喜, 可愛可惡) by reading TPNS.

In “Biography,” Hong Yonghan uses the phrase “rummaging through and collecting profound and wondrous phrases old and new” (披輯古今奧語奇字) to describe one of No Myŏnghŭm’s pastimes. The phrase “profound and wondrous phrases”
appears in an early nineteenth-century critique of fiction writing (albeit in reverse order: 奇字奧語) in “Hilp’ae” 詔稗 (“Rebuking p’ae”; 1788), an essay discussing the merits and demerits of fiction in an argumentative way by an imaginary opponent (hilcha 詔者) and an imaginary proponent of p’ae (p’aeja 詔者) by Yi Sanghwang 李相璜 (1763-1841; m. 1786; Tong’o 桐漁).④56 Kan Hoyun’s study of traditional Korean fiction criticism notes that by late Chosŏn p’aesŏl comes to be used interchangeably with sosŏl, as in fictional narratives.④57

No previous study has paid close attention to this portion of Hong Chigyŏng’s postface, in which he presents a series of arguments justifying the fictional elements in TPNS, using expressions that resonate with the language of fiction criticism used by many of his contemporaries and later readers and writers of fiction. I contend that Hong Chigyŏng’s keenness to expound on the value of falsehood in his explanation of the actual contents of TPNS points to the text’s conspicuously fictional dimension. Moreover, a pejorative vocabulary for fiction criticism had existed since the early Chosŏn period; however, in late Chosŏn many literary figures developed a favorable attitude toward fiction writing and reading and wrote positively on the value of fiction deploying the very same vocabulary that opponents of fiction had formerly used against it. Once he has emphasized the fictional and emotion-inducing nature of TPNS, Hong proceeds to valorize the historical value of TPNS, and then summarizes that if his reader seeks both, he shall have them both (讀是編[refers to TPNS]者，於此二者求之，庶可以得之)—i.e., fictional elements as well as historical elements with moral lessons. The postface closes

④56 Kan Hoyun, Han’guk kososŏl pip’yŏng yŏng’ŏ sajŏn (Seoul: Kyŏng’in munhwasa, 2007), 54.
④57 Kan Hoyun, Han’guk kososŏl pip’yŏng yŏn’gu, 69.
with Hong gently reminding his reader that the survival of TPNS depends on the
criticism of gentlemen who enjoy the old and the refined (此書之傳不傳, 留俟好古博雅
之君子) and that the reader of TPNS will benefit by being allowed to take a glimpse of
No Myŏnhŭm’s beautiful writings within (公之文詞, 亦可以窺一斑於是書中矣).

Hong Chigyŏng’s postface deserves attention as an act of prolepsis: justification
of noticeably fictional aspects of TPNS narratives. Hong Chigyŏng’s references to TPNS
as both fiction and history compel us to take seriously the paratextual writers’ emphasis
on the value of TPNS as supplementary history and moral instruction. As noted in 5.2,
references to historical corroboration and to the didactic values of private writing had
long been part of the miscellany writing tradition among literati. For this reason, it is
useful to further contextualize the TPNS paratextual writers’ valorization of TPNS as
supplementary history and didacticism.

The paratextual emphasis on these two values and their promotion of TPNS as
“p’ae that surpasses all other p’ae” can be interpreted as a rhetorical strategy for carving
out a new space to accommodate TPNS as a bona fide work of literature. I explain how
this can be done using two historical examples from late Koryŏ to the early Chosŏn: two
prefaces to Nagong pisŏl/Yŏgong p’aesŏl 柏翁稗説 (Insignificant chats by Old Man
Oak; hereafter Old Man Oak) by Yi Chehyŏn from the late Koryŏ period and two
prefaces to P’irwŏn chapki 筆苑雜記 (Miscellanoues records of brush garden; hereafter
Brush garden) by Sŏ Kŏjong in the early Chosŏn period. In both cases, the paratextual
writers (in the case of Old Man Oak, it is the compiler himself who performs this act) use
the notion of “an unparalleled p’ae” to legitimate a new type of prose. There is
significant parallelism between how they achieve this and how the TPNS paratexts
appraise TPNS as a worthy work of literature using the notion of p’ae. See below for how the dialectic of p’ae and non-p’ae rhetorically redraws existing generic boundaries.

6.5.3. The rhetorical function of “p’ae surpassing all other p’ae”

Yi Chehyŏn wrote two prefaces to his Old Man Oak. Both are expository and argumentative pieces with differing rhetorical strategies; each in its own way legitimates p’ae by asserting that the contents of Old Man Oak constitute p’ae that is not p’ae. The first preface reads:

In the imo year [1342] during the Zhizheng period, rain persisted for months. I had no visitors and felt stifled. So I took out an ink stone and caught the raindrops falling from the eaves. I consolidated the letters I had exchanged with friends and encountered what I had written, and wrote things on the backs of these various letters. In the end, I gave it the title Nagong pisŏl [Insignificant chats by Old Man Oak].

The character yŏk nak 樟 is attached to nak 樺 for its phonetic value. It also follows the semantic value of nak 樺 [happiness] because the tree is happy at remaining undamaged because it is not a useful material. Early on, I followed in the steps of great bureaucrats and deliberately avoided such an official career by cultivating an appearance of stupidity; so I gave myself the sobriquet “Nagong” [Old Man Oak] because I attained longevity on account of my uselessness. The character p’ae/pi 薩 follows the character pi 章 for the latter’s phonetic value. If considered in terms of its semantic value, pi 章 means the lowliest part of grain. When young, I knew how to read books. When grown up, I stopped such learning. Now I am old and as I look back, my enjoyment in writing sundry kinds is fruitless and worthless, just like pi 章. Therefore, I name what I wrote “Insignificant chats.”

The narrator of the first preface—i.e., Yi Chehyŏn—defines Old Man Oak as a work written causally on scraps of paper for the purpose of dispelling boredom and yet, as the second paragraph reveals, its contents pertain to the important philosophical question of ‘happiness gained through uselessness.’ This allusion to Zhuangzi is offered

458 An allusion to the chapter “Nourishing the master of life” (yang sheng zhu 養生主) in the Zhuangzi.
in a *p’aja* 破字 (glyphoanalytic) word play. The narrator asserts that the title is read in an unusual way: not *Yōgong P’aesöl*, the conventional way, but *Nagong pisöl*, whereby he gives new semantic and phonetic readings to two sinographs, 槲 and 稣. *Nak* 槲, which literally denotes ‘oak tree’, is interpreted as a combination of ‘tree’ and ‘happiness’ to stand for the writer’s state of mind. *Pi* 稣, which literally denotes ‘hearsay, talk of the town, and/or historical anecdotes’ is given a new interpretation as a combination of ‘grain’ and ‘lowliness’ for the nature of *Old Man Oak*. The narrator’s self-effacement, however, turns out to be a witty way to refer to himself as the fabled Zhuangzian happy trees that brought themselves heaven-endowed longevity because of their lack of useful qualities to offer to the world. On account of such new phonetic and semantic interpretations, Yi’s work becomes *pisöl*—i.e., a *p’ae* that is not *p’ae*, and hence *pi*, because it concerns the philosophical and epistemological question of what determines a thing or person’s significance in the world. In this preface, *p’ae*—newly garbed as *pi*—challenges the generic delimitation of insignificant, miscellaneous writings.

Why *p’ae* is generally considered insignificant is explained more specifically in the second preface. The second preface, attached to the beginning of the second volume, is a conversation between Yi Chehyŏn and an imaginary critic, a (conservative) scholar preoccupied with the superiority of Confucian learning, who has just read Volume One of *Old Man Oak*. The second preface reads:

A guest asked Old Man Oak: “What you wrote in the first volume recounts anecdotes about the royal ancestors, and in between those, it also reports significantly from the speech and behavior of famous nobility. Yet it ends with humorous stories. The latter half offers almost no discussion of the classics and [official] histories. The rest is filled with phrases and paragraphs of detailed discussions and annotations. How did it come about that it lacks any consistency? How can this be the undertaking of a proper scholar or a mighty man?”

Old Man Oak responded: “The sounds of drums are listed in the “Airs of the states” [of the *Shijing*] and various dance moves were compiled in the “Minor odes” [of the *Shijing*]. If so, what is so strange about what I have written? This was written originally to quell uneasiness caused by
leisure and so I followed where my brush went. What is so strange about humorous discussions? Confucius’ taking up things such as chess and board games was wiser than not using one’s mind at all. Compared to chess and board games, is discussing and annotating phrases and paragraphs not a finer substitute? Furthermore, if this work were not like this, I would not have named my work *Insignificant chats*. On the one hand, the critic first praises his object of appraisal for its positive aspects: inclusion of anecdotes about the royal family and the speech and behavior of the nobility; on the other hand, he attacks the narrator for the work’s negative elements: things in which a gentleman should not engage, like humor and random jottings. The narrator—i.e., Yi Chehyŏn—responds with eclecticism; first, the Classics, too, contain onomatopoeia and mimetic expressions, e.g., the *Shijing*; second, the collection comprises writings inspired by spontaneity—another reference to Zhuangzian philosophy; third, Confucius, the sage himself, spoke of the utility of chess and board games as a means to prevent oneself from falling into idleness. That the reader of the preface does not hear a rebuttal from the critic suggests that the critic was defeated in the debate. The narrator’s amalgam of Zhuangzian and Confucian discourses supports the existence of Yi Chehyŏn’s new literary creation.

There are also two prefaces attached to Sŏ Kŏjong’s *Brush garden*, a collection of essays on various matters and historical anecdotes. The first preface (1487), by Cho Wi 曹偉 (1454-1503; m. 1474), deploys the notion of ‘encyclopedic knowledge’ (pangmun kanggi 博聞強記) as a prolepsis to defend Sŏ’s adoption of “humorous

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459 Yi Sejwa 李世佐 (1445-1504; m. 1477), too, wrote a postface to the *Brush garden*. However, it reiterates the points covered in the two prefaces outlined above while offering additional information on the actual publication of the collection.
writings of anecdotal histories” (*pi p‘aesŏl chi pi* 非稗説之比) as the sources for his creation against a possible accusation of indiscriminate selection. Cho compares Sŏ with Sima Qian 司馬遷 (145?-86? BCE) and Ban Gu 班固 (32-92) as historical precedents who “did not expurgate” (*pulsak* 不削) from their historical writings the jocular words of You Zhan 優旃 (fl. during the Qin dynasty, 221-207 BCE) and Dongfang Shuo 東方朔 (154-93 BCE). Lending Sŏ’s collection a heavier historical weight, Cho Wi praises Sŏ’s creation as “not the likes of *p‘aesŏl* (anecdotal histories)” and assures the reader that historians of the future will have use for Sŏ’s work for history writing and advising the king as supplementary history and moral instruction (他日太史氏, 韓蘭棄之藏, 其將無取於是也乎). In a similar way, P’yo Yŏnmal’s 表沿沫 (1449-1498; m. 1472, 1486; Namgye 藍溪) preface to the same collection speaks of the work’s “wide gleanings” (*pakch’ae* 博採) from the affairs of “Our East” (*adong* 我東)—e.g., historical anecdotes about the state and customs of the common folk—and asserts that its contents pertain to instructing the world (*segyo* 世敎) and therefore fully supplement official history (至國家之典故, 

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460 The meaning of ‘encyclopedic knowledge’ mentioned in the prefaces to *Brush garden* can be gleaned from Sŏ Kŏjong’s 1462 preface to Sŏng Kan’s 成侃 (1427-1456; m. 1453) *Sangjŏl T’aep’yŏng kwanggi* 詳節太平廣記 (Comprehensive abridgement of the extensive records of the Taiping era). In it, Sŏ Kŏjong introduces a rhetorical conversation between himself and Sŏng to promote the value of extensive reading. Sŏ admonishes Sŏng’s absorption in books that are not from the classics or literary canon, saying, “One does not need to read books not by the sages” (非聖賢之書不讀可也). At this provocation, Sŏng criticizes Sŏ’s narrow-mindedness (*hyŏp* 狹), retorting that reading extensively is a gateway to becoming an ‘erudite Confucian scholar of the world’ (*ch’ŏnha chi t’ongyu* 天下之通儒). In this fifteenth-century case, ‘extensive reading’ is used as part of the philosophical idealization of a true Confucian scholar.

461 *Maegye chip* 梅溪集 (*Collected Works of Maegye Cho Wi*).
In both of these cases, a surpassing p’ae is used to legitimate Sō Kōjōng’s creation of the Brush garden.

The TPNS paratextual writers’ appraisal of their object of appreciation is comparable to these two historical precedents, which use the concept of ‘a nonpareil p’ae’ to endorse a new type of writing that is potentially vulnerable to criticism. In the case of the prolepsis used in defense of potential criticism that the TPNS is like fictional narratives, the paratextual writers emphasize the potential utility of the TPNS as a supplement to historical writings and as moral instruction. In short, the three men of the Hong family use paratexts as a venue to communicate with their future reader(s) so as to influence the reception of the TPNS as a piece worthy of addition to and incorporation into the existing system of literature. In that respect, the following comment made in Bauman and Briggs (1990) merits attention: “Genres are not road maps to particular texts. Invocations of genre … entail the (re)construction of classes of texts.”

On a final point, I return to Hong Chigyōng’s postface for the following remark:

“If one talks about them [=the stories collected in TPNS], they will startle one’s heart; if one hears them, one will collapse in laughter” (면이시어, 들이조작)” (My emphasis). The use of “talking” (言) and “listening” (聽) forces us to reconsider Yi Kang’ok’s comment that TPNS was a script book for storytelling at the Hong Ponghan household. In order to prove the status of TPNS as a script book for oral performance as suggested in Yi Kang’ok’s iyagi-p’an (venue of storytelling) hypothesis, one would need to find actual textual evidence supporting this claim: e.g., manuscript recensions that contain

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punctuation or some kind of interlinear notes commenting on aspects of performance. I take Hong Chigyŏng’s comments as indexing the kind of casual storytelling that is inspired through reading TPNS in private and then sharing it with others or reading it in the presence of others to comment on what happens in the story—not something that amounts to a storytelling performance—until more evidence is available to corroborate this counterclaim.

Still, the “script book” idea remains interesting for two reasons: (1) as my analysis of the lexical texture of TPNS will show in Chapter Seven, No Myŏnghŭm employed a considerable amount of vernacular Korean idioms and polysyllabic phrases that would have made the recitation of the text a great deal easier than, say, Mencius; (2) reading the book as an act of recitation would have resulted in “listening.” For this reason I pay attention to Hong Naksu when he includes the following line with the word “listening” in his preface: “If I examine [it becomes clear that he wrote it in such a way that], can listen to the stories in it with excitement and admiration” (竊覧編総之意，雖婦人孺子，聽之可以興慕). Related to my first point, the more vernacular lexical texture of TPNS would have made it possible for a non-reader-listener—somebody not literate in hanmun or a new learner of hanmun—to decipher what was being recited; and finally, (3) Hong Chigyŏng’s reference to “listening” could also refer to vernacular translations of the text that would have facilitated oral recitation of the texts. As mentioned in Chapter Four, given that Hong Ch’wiyŏng wrote his preface in 1818, Hong Chigyŏng, too, must have written his postface not long after Hong Ch’wiyŏng’s

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463 It is worth noting that when Yi Wŏnmyŏng compiled Anthology of stories of the East (1869) he made no mention at all of oral recitation or performance in his descriptions of the stories compiled in his collection.
preface. And as mentioned in Chapter One, the first record of recitations of vernacular renditions of yadam narratives is traced to 1786, when Yu Manju made an entry in his diary that he heard his niece’s recitation of ten vernacular renditions of Sin Tonbok’s Haksan. For this reason, it might be possible to link “listening” to vernacular recitation. More studies on Chosŏn reading practice and manuscript culture should yield some useful conclusions.

6.6. Conclusions

This chapter has examined TPNS from three different perspectives on literary forms in history: (1) the narrator of TPNS within Chosŏn literati’s miscellany writing tradition (which was variably referred to as p’ilgi, chamnok, p’aegwan, p’aesŏl, etc.) and in light of three story compilations that preceded TPNS, (2) No Myŏnghŭm’s own perception of his creation of a Yŏm Hŭido story, and finally, (3) the paratextual writers’ appraisals of TPNS as a literary work.

TPNS was created in an environment where Chosŏn literati’s narrative composition had long been exposed to the problematic authority of official history, the possibility of literary manipulation of orally transmitted stories, the value of human experience as authentic and truthful, as well as the unreliability of human perception and memory. As such, TPNS is a collection whose stories are told by a narrator that has the potential to be significantly independent of No Myŏnghŭm himself. In some limited cases, the TPNS narrator is reminiscent of the “storyteller narrator” (seen in vernacular Korean and Chinese fiction) who intervenes in the narrative to voice his opinion of the given situation as if to communicate with his potential reader.
This chapter also offers a glimpse into how No perceived his own creation by comparing various retellings of the story of Yŏm Sit’ak/Hŭido. I introduced the significance of the Yŏm Hŭido story as a story with a highly political origin, by tracing the story’s birth as a fictionalized biography (“Yŏm sŭng chŏn”), its transformation into a more legitimate biography (“Yŏm Sit’ak chŏn”), and finally its transition into entries of story collections and a literary miscellany (TPNS, Haksan, and Songch’ŏn, respectively). The writers of the Yŏm stories tended to materialize their written narratives in response to a certain normative power of what could be loosely considered genre conventions of composing narratives based on orally derived stories vis-à-vis biographical accounts (chŏn). I also illustrated the highly variant nature of the protagonist’s name and certain little details in the different narratives as evidence of influence from oral storytelling.

The last set of perceptions of genre was examined through two prefaces and one postface attached to TPNS as Genettian paratexts that describe and prescribe a piece of work so as to present the work (and shape its reception) in a particular way. That is, I looked for descriptions in the three paratexts (by Hong Ch’wiyŏng, Hong Naksu, and Hong Chigyŏng) while paying close attention to what the paratextual writers were trying to achieve in the way they presented TPNS.

Through close readings of important portions of the paratexts, I showed that all three paratexts foreground TPNS as “p’ae that is not p’ae,” meaning that TPNS belongs to the category of p’ae but that its value surpasses all other p’ae. Similar to previous studies, I focused on how the paratexts valorize TPNS for its historical groundedness and moral instruction. However, my approach differed from previous studies in that I focused on delineating the rhetorical aspects of the paratexts. That is, instead of taking the
paratextual writers’ words at face value, I focused on what they tried to achieve in the claims they made. This approach allowed me to call attention to a hitherto largely neglected portion of Hong Chigyŏng’s postface.

Hong Chigyŏng’s “Postface” dedicates considerable space to expounding on a certain aspect of TPNS that he describes as ‘not fiction yet beyond the realm of possibility’—as something a gentleman of a good taste must not discard, and as one of the two important aspects of TPNS (the others being historical groundedness and moral instruction deriving from historical veracity). These points in the “Postface” provide strong evidence that the paratextual references to historical groundedness and moral instruction are aimed at legitimating TPNS as a new piece of literature that contains highly fictional elements. Similar rhetorical functions of historical veracity and moral instruction as legitimating tools can be treated two similar cases—the valorizations of Yi Chehyŏn’s *Old Man Oak* and Sŏ Kŏjong’s *Brush garden* as new pieces of worthwhile prose that might otherwise be seen as problematic works. I argued that all three cases (Hong’s “Postface” and the paratexts to *Old Man Oak* and *Brush garden*) called for a restructuring of the existing literary hierarchy and categories in order to accommodate a new kind of miscellaneous writing that contributes to literary writing.
7. The lexical texture of TPNS and variant *hanmun* as a literary language

The written differs from the oral … Writing claims an authority the oral cannot.

Language, whether written or spoken, is a material form of social practice … [F]ar from language existing either as some kind of autonomous organism independent of ‘reality’, or as a passive reflection of anterior ‘reality’, language exists as material reality because it is a form of social behavior.
- Barr, *Socioliterary Practice in Late Medieval England* 465

7.1. Introduction

A new piece of writing originates in relation to preexisting styles of literature.

The uniqueness of one literary style cannot completely escape the influence of its antecedents. TPNS was born as No Myŏnghŭm negotiated between emulation and innovation in the face of various sets of literary models. This chapter explores some prominent features of the language of TPNS, with a particular focus on its diverse lexical array, including Korean colloquialisms (*pang’ŏn* 方言), borrowed script orthography (*ch’aja p’yogi* 僑字表記), *idu* expressions, famous set-phrases from the cosmopolitan classics and literary canon (orthodox *hanmun*), and written Chinese vernacular (*baihua* 白話). I examine this diverse array of linguistic resources mobilized by No Myŏnghŭm as a case of experimentation with ‘variant *hanmun*’ (*pyŏnkyŏk hanmun* 變格漢文) as a literary language.

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My use of the term ‘socioliterary practice’ is an attempt to “locate” the production of literary effects historically as part of the ensemble of social practices (1).
Im Hyŏngt’aek (1975) described the language of hanmun tænp’yŏn/yadam as “Han’guk-sik paekhwamun” 韓國式白話文 (Korean-style baihua). As previously discussed, “Korean-style baihua” refers broadly to rather-easy-to-understand language of yadam and Korean colloquialisms in yadam. By treating the language of yadam as similar to baihua, this study imagines that literary languages, both the “Korean-style baihua” and baihua, could capture real-life speech and reproduce what they capture in a rather unmediated fashion.\(^{466}\) Chin Chaegyo (2004) takes this idea a step further by explaining the style of yadam as a mixture of “unadorned hanmun, made-in-Korea Sino-Korean expressions, Korean colloquialisms, and baihua expressions”\(^{467}\) while attributing these characteristics to the oral origins of yadam and to “the language of yadam as reflecting a considerable amount of real-life speech” (yadam ŭi hyŏnsil esŏ sayong hanŭn Ꮖnŏ rŭl chŏkchi ank’e panyŏng han sasil). Chin Chaegyo further contextualizes this within late-Chosŏn literati’s interest in “incorporating Korean colloquialisms and expressing the pathos of the Korean ethno-nation” (saenghwal Ꮖnŏ ŭi suyong kwa minjok chŏngsŏ ŭi p’yoch’ul). These generalizations, however, did not offer concrete stylistic analyses of yadam narratives.\(^{468}\)

\(^{466}\) Im Hyŏngt’aek, “18, 19 segi iyagikkun kwa sosŏl ŭi paltal,” Han’gukhak nonjip 2 (1975): 303.

\(^{467}\) Chin Chaegyo, “Yijo hugi hanmunhak esŏ Ꮖnŏ saenghwal ŭi suyong kwa kyosŏp: ch’angjak esŏ Ꮖnŏ ŭi suyong munje rŭl chungsim ŭro,” Han’guk hanmunhak yŏn’gu ŭi sae chip’yŏng, ed. Yi Hyesun. (Seoul: Somyŏng ch’ulp’an, 2005), 887.

\(^{468}\) I have found few studies on this subject. For example, Im Wanhyŏk (1996) examines stylistic changes in TPNS-to-Kyesŏ yadam transmission. It notes that Kyesŏ yadam has a more plain style and anticipates a relatively lower-brow readership. I discuss Im’s study later in this chapter. See Im Wanhyŏk, “Kyesŏ yadam ŭi sŏsul pansik e taehan il koch’al—Tongp’ae naksong suyong kwajŏng esŏ nat’anan munjang kisul ŭi pyŏnhwa rŭl chungsim ŭro,” Han’guk hanmunhak yŏn’gu 19 (1996): 401-440.

This chapter problematizes these views as a totalizing argument that undermines the preexisting sets of literary conventions into which all yadam narratives were born. As Chapter Two contends, the presumption of oral provenance for yadam narratives originates from and remains an ideological speculation without empirical basis. Chapter Three demonstrates that writers of ‘oral accounts’ were not only intentional in their choices over what to present and how to present it, but they also shifted their narrative writing significantly in favor of fictionalization. The observations that yadam contain ‘Koreanness’—or have something to do with Korean culture—and give life-like portrayals of human lives need another paradigm that can be historically grounded. Moreover, aside from its overtly nationalistic ideology, the current understanding does not explain how the elements of baihua (Chinese colloquialisms that originate from and serve speakers of Chinese language in Chinese society) function as a useful choice for a vivid portrayal of Korean society.

In order to propose a more historicized examination of the language of yadam, this chapter will analyze the lexical texture of TPNS from the perspective of ‘variant hanmun’ in response to Sim Kyŏngho (2008).\(^{469}\) In this seminal study, Sim critiques studies of Korean literature written in hanmun for focusing on orthodox (chŏngkyŏk 正格) hanmun, and failing to notice its complementary yet competitive counterpart in non-orthodox hanmun, or variant hanmun (ostensible hanmun that contains elements of Korean culture, Korean colloquialisms and syntax). Yadam narratives are pointed out as an area where a kind of variant hanmun was used. Sim Kyŏngho (2006) called for an

\(^{469}\) Sim Kyŏngho, “Idu-sik pyŏnkyŏk hanmun ūi yŏksa-jŏk silsang kwa yŏn’gu kwaje” [Historical reality of idu-style Literary Sinitic and suggestions for future research], Ŭmun nonjip 57(2008), 225.
examination of how native Korean lexicon and expressions are used in hanmun prose writing and of how literary styles develop intertextually with other genres, themes, and literary techniques.

In responding to Sim’s call, this study introduces the lexical texture of TPNS within the Sino-Korean written tradition so as to bring yadam closer to traditional thought on literary aesthetics and literary practice in Chosŏn history. As a final point, I contemplate the nature of TPNS as a case of variant hanmun used as a literary language.

**7.2. TPNS within the late-Chosŏn ecology of language**

Within Korea, the privileged status of cosmopolitan hanmun was never questioned. However, hanmun co-existed with various other writing systems and types of literature in a hierarchical relationship. Here is a sketch of the linguistic ecology of Korea prior to the existence of TPNS: Literati and scribes wrote in variant hanmun(s)—idu writing and imun (to be introduced shortly)—as part of their profession, which included drafting documents as workers in the state bureaucracy. The literati’s expressive writings more often than not contained vernacular elements; glaring deviations were excised in the process of publication while some were left behind by mistake. Both literati and scribes used sinographs as semantograms and/or phonograms to transcribe Korean language. Kings utilized the vernacular language and script to translate and annotate hanmun texts for educational and political purposes. By late Chosŏn, the vernacular language and script had developed into a sophisticated literary medium for expressive and documentary writing: letter writing, transcription of vernacular lyrics or narrative
poems (*sijo* 時調 and *kasa* 歌辭), conduct manuals, vernacular fiction writing, litigation documents, recipe books, encyclopedias for household management—such as *Kyuhap ch’ongsŏ* 開關叢書 (Encyclopedia of women’s daily lives; 1869) by Pinghŏgak Yi-ssi 應虛閣李氏 (1759-1824)—and autobiographical writings—such as *Kohaengnok* 苦行錄 (“Records of my hardships”; 1719) by Hansan Yi-ssi (1659-1727) in the early eighteenth century and Lady Hyegyŏng’s memoirs in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.

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471 The vernacular script was closely tied with women’s literary practice. It was a primary medium serving in epistles that involved females on either the sending or receiving end. The most authoritative use of vernacular writing is found in Chosŏn queen regents’ ‘royal orders written in the vernacular script’ (*ongyo* 諭敎, short for *ónmun kyŏji* 訝文敎旨). See JaHyun Kim Haboush, “Gender and the Politics of Language in Korea” in *Rethinking Confucianism: Past and Present in China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam*, ed. John Duncan, Benjamin Elman and Herman Ooms (Asian Pacific Monograph Series, Berkeley: UCLA Press, 2002), 227-243; John Duncan, “Naehun and the Politics of Gender in Fifteenth-Century Korea,” in *Creative Women of Korea: The Fifteenth through the Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Young-Key Kim-Renaud (New York and London: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), 26-57.

Women of low and high social cases at times submitted legal documents in the vernacular to county and provincial courts—a practice established as legal in the early seventeenth century, though not without controversy and not practiced among men until the late-nineteenth century. Jisoo Kim, “Voices Heard: Women’s Rights to Petition in Late Chosŏn Korea,” PhD diss., Columbia University, 2010.

For examples of letters written in the vernacular script, see Kim Ilgŭn, *Ŏn’gan ŭi yŏn’gu: han’gŭl sŏgan ŭi yŏn’gu wa charyo chipsŏng* (Seoul: Kŏn’gu taehakkyo, 1986) and a host of journal articles by Paek Tuhyŏn.


473 Widespread literacy in the vernacular script among women notwithstanding, one should not ignore that many elite women are recorded to have been versed in *hanmun* (e.g., *haengjang* 行狀 writings since the late seventeenth century) and left writings in *hanmun* (e.g., Yunjidang Im-ssi 任允摯堂 [1722-1793] and Ŭiryŏng Nam-ssi 宜寧南氏 [1727-1823]), especially in late Chosŏn.
In mid- through late Chosŏn, written Chinese vernacular (baihua) entered the Korean literary landscape. In the seventeenth century, baihua came in through Korean exegeses to Chinese colloquialisms (ōrokhae). In the eighteenth century, the importation of Chinese books, and translations and adaptations of Chinese fictional narratives into vernacular Korean became de rigueur among the elites in the capital: Korean literati became fascinated with Chinese vernacular fiction and late-Ming and early Qing Chinese writers’ works, while women readers of fiction were beneficiaries of their vernacular renditions, to the point of being criticized for neglecting household management. Vernacular songs were recorded in the vernacular script and in hanmun (i.e., hansi 漢詩 poetry). Fiction written in hanmun was translated into the Korean vernacular. Travelogues were produced in both languages. As a major means of political advancement and self-actualization, the civil service examination churned out successful (and many more failed) examination candidates who were thoroughly trained in the Confucian classics and the hanmun literary canon.

This brief description cannot do justice to the full extent of the complexity of the Korean linguistic situation in the eighteenth century. However, it clearly points to the

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474 Ch’ae Chegong 蔡濟恭 (1720-1799; m. 1743; Pŏnam 樊巖), a minister under King Chŏngjo 正祖 (r. 1776-1800):

As I have observed, what women in the inner quarters would like to do most these days is to treasure fiction. The number of works of fiction thus increases day by day, amounting to hundreds and thousands in all. Book merchants make a clean copy of these books in an attempt to earn profits in the book rental business. Ignorant women pawn their hairpins and bracelets or otherwise run into debt in order to borrow these storybooks, and spend time reading them all day (Translated by Sohyeon Park)

problem of viewing *hanmun* (Literary Sinitic; Literary Chinese) and *hancha* (sinographs) as an object of struggle for Korean people at that time.  

A more accurate picture would understand the various written languages and registers as forming hierarchical and complementary relationships operating according to complex yet agreed-upon divisions of labor. To paraphrase Pollock’s (2006) points about cosmopolitan and vernacular literary practice, *hanmun* was a language that traveled far and wide within a particular world system consisting of multiple political entities of unequal standing while Korean vernacular was a low prestige (and/or, non-high prestige) local language by the very fact that it served Korean people only. In Chapter Three, I called attention to “‘the naturalness’ of the vernacular” as an ideological construct rather than some general human behavior.  

In approaching the lexical texture of TPNS, we should understand that No Myŏnghŭm wrote with a clear understanding of the hierarchies of genres and literary languages and that his penchant for deploying native lexicality should be distinguished from patriotism and nationalism as shaped within the context of modern concepts at the turn of the twentieth century.  

Pollock also notes that within the cosmopolitan-vernacular dynamic in history, local political entities within a given cosmopolis at certain points in time make a series of attempts to elevate the status of the vernacular as a worthy literary language and do away with the cosmopolitan practice of privileging transregional and transcultural languages by preferring to write in the vernacular—a subversion of the linguistic hierarchy. This process occurred multiple times in multiple places over many centuries within the

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475 Examples of studies framed within this struggle metaphor are An Taehoe, “Chosŏn hugi ijung ḏŏnŏ” and Yi Kang’ok, “Ijung ḏŏnŏ hyŏnsang ŭro pon 18-19 segi yadam.”

Sanskrit cosmopolis. The determination to “turn away from translocal to local as a means of dominant literary expression,” Pollock writes, gives rise to a process of “vernacularization” within the Sanskrit cosmopolis starting as early as around 1000 CE.\textsuperscript{477} Pollock emphasizes three interconnected aspects of vernacularization:

1. Literization: vernacular language committed to writing for documentation purposes = local language “admitted to literacy”;

2. Literarization: vernacular language newly used for workly literature\textsuperscript{478}—i.e., writings perceived as aesthetic, respectable, authoritative—which was formerly reserved only for the cosmopolitan language. The literarization process whereby a literized local language is “accommodated to ‘literature’” always lags temporally behind literization; and finally,

3. The superposition of a preexisting cosmopolitan language and literature as a superordinate order for the literarization of the vernacular language.\textsuperscript{479}

Pollock’s account of vernacularization in the Sanskrit cosmopolis emphasizes the rise of localized forms as an ultimate replacement of the cosmopolitan order as he describes the emergence of the new vernacular order as “effecting a break” from the cosmopolitan order.\textsuperscript{480} Pollock’s concepts of the cosmopolitan-vernacular order, intentional language change, and literarization of vernacular language as modeled after the preexisting cosmopolitan contain some useful hints for exploring late-Chosŏn literary culture. The vernacularization process within the Sinographic Cosmopolis, however, can be better understood when one considers scholarship on the aesthetics of written Chinese vernacular as a full-fledged literary language in Chinese vernacular fiction in the late


\textsuperscript{478} “Workly literature” refers to literary inscription or production of texts whereby the writer is concerned with going beyond “contentual and informational” dimensions of language to materialize its “expressive and imaginative” dimensions. Ibid., 4.

\textsuperscript{479} Ibid., 23.

\textsuperscript{480} Ibid., 41.
Ming. Therefore, I end this section by comparing the characteristics of the texture of TPNS narratives in light of the aesthetics of Chinese vernacular fiction.

The lexical texture of TPNS narratives is no doubt a product of the cosmopolitan-vernacular dynamic within the Sinitic cosmopolis. However, it would be a mistake to presume that writing in the cosmopolitan language and conventions meant the development of the Korean literary tradition was identical or contemporaneous with literary forms and genres that existed in China. That is, Intellectual trends in and formal and expressive aspects of Korean hanmun literature cannot be taken as mere derivations or deviations from a Chinese model. Korean elites’ relationship with the Chinese literary canon and interpretations of Confucian classics was always contingent upon politic-socio-cultural and other concerns within Korea.481

Moreover, literary practices in Korea changed along with Chosŏn literati’s perception of themselves within the Sinitic cosmopolis, particularly after the ‘two wars of the Im-Pyŏng years’ (壬丙兩亂) and the fall of the Ming in 1644. The binary opposition of civilized and barbarous was shaken to the core as Korean literati witnessed the Manchu takeover of China. Koreans subsequently declared themselves the heirs to Ming civilization.482 However, the Sinitic cosmopolis itself was never denied entirely.

481 Sim Kyŏngho makes this point by showing the distance-yet-proximity that Chosŏn literati maintained with contemporary developments within the Chinese literary tradition. See Sim Kyŏngho, Chosŏn sidae hanmunhak kwa sigyŏng non (Seoul: Ilchisa, 1999). For cosmopolitan literary paragons valorized in the development of Korean hanmun writing, see “Komun kwa komun non,” 130-311.

482 How to claim heirship to the Ming was a much-contested area. Jahyun Kim Haboush, “Contesting Chinese Time, Nationalizing Temporal Space,” in Time, Temporality, and Imperial Transition, ed. Lynn A. Struve (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2005), 115-141.

Many Ming loyalists moved to Korea after the fall of the Ming. For a study of Ming migrants in late Chosŏn Korea, see Adam Bohnet, “Migrant and Border Subjects in Late Chosŏn Korea,” PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2008.
and things remained so until China was decentered at the turn of the last century. If anything, China was *re-centered* within Korean literati’s perception of the Sinitic cosmopolis after the fall of the Ming.\(^{483}\) It was within this context of general cultural pride among Chosŏn people that No Myŏnghŭm’s TPNS came forth.

Upon casual inspection and in its external appearance, TPNS is written in orthodox *hanmun*, the legitimate cosmopolitan language. I will use the beginning of the story of a special guard (YONSEI 9) as an example to show the general characteristics of the lexical texture of TPNS:

孝廟意在北伐, 多尚武力, 有別軍職一人, 即忠州人也, 往內農圃, 圍人備置供上西果數十箇, 別軍乘園人少出, 蕭數剖食之.

King Hyojong set his mind on the Northern Expeditions. There was a *pyŏlgunjik* who was from Ch’ungju. He frequented Naenonp’o. A *p’oin* had put aside several tens of watermelons for tribute. While the *p’oin* was stepping outside for a short while, the *pyŏlgunjik*, taking an advantage of this, cut all of the [watermelons] open and ate them up.

The above phrase contains no Korean vernacular script and follows the Verb-Object word order of orthodox *hanmun*. In no place does TPNS contain Korean grammatical particles or agglutinative endings. For example, one will not find the typical look of *idu*-style writing used in official documents:

根因則, 不肯詳言是自去乙
As for the main reason, [he] refused to reveal the details of it (so I humbly offer my opinion).

or

丁氏所書是喻知不得是如為白齊\(^{484}\)

\(^{483}\) Anti-Manchu sentiments functioned as a political rhetoric. In terms of international relations, the Chosŏn court accepted the Qing as suzurein of the Sinitic cosmopolis.

Pak Chiwŏn’s *Yŏrha ilgi* 熱河日記 (*Jehol diary*; 1780) begins with an internal monologue of a Korean literatus’s perception of Ming, Qing, and Chosŏn as he is about to cross the river to visit the Chinese emperor as part of a Chosŏn official mission to the Qing court. For a partial English translation of *Jehol Diary*, see Yang Hi Choe-Wall, *The Jehol Diary* (Leiden: Global Oriental, 2010).

\(^{484}\) Han’gukhak munhŏn yŏn’guso, *Ch’uan kŭp kugan* 8 (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1984).
(I humbly offer my opinion that) he has said that he did not know whether it was Chŏng-sŏn who wrote it.

The anticipated reader of TPNS, first of all, would be someone sufficiently educated to be able to decipher sinographs for their meaning and give them Korean readings and to make sense of the general grammatical structure of Literary Sinitic. This implied reader would be quite versed in phrases originating from canonical writings in hanmun. The same TPNS passage, cited above, also contains phrases found in canonical writings.\(^{485}\)

孝廟意在 (intent lies in here) 北伐多尚 (hold in high esteem) 武力, 有別軍職一人卽忠州人也, 住內事, 國人備置 (arrange) 供上西果數十篋, 別軍乘圍人少出盡數剖食之.

Note also that the same passage contains a single expression that is glossed in a sixteenth-century Korean ŏrokhae 語錄解 (exegesis of Chinese colloquialisms and slang expressions) for the Zhuzi yulei 朱子語類 (Classified conversations of Master Zhu):

孝廟意在北伐多尚武力, 有別軍職一人卽忠州人也, 住內事, 國人備置供上西果數十篋 (counter for things in general), 別軍乘圍人少出盡數剖食之.

The overall lexical texture of TPNS, however, suggests that TPNS narratives favor a Korean reader. A typical TPNS narrative consists of a great deal of ‘Korean lexicon’ or idioms written in sinographs but drawn from colloquial Korean expressions such as proper nouns and idioms inscribed in ch’aja p’yogi writing (borrowed-script orthography, including idu writing), Korean sayings, and made-in-Korea sinographs. The contents of TPNS concern historical events and persons in Korean history particularly since the Imjin Wars and Manchu Invasions. The only non-Korean people appearing in the narratives are characters related to the Imjin Wars and Manchu Invasions in the

\(^{485}\) It is in fact difficult to gauge the education level of an implied reader using this particular passage, because the meanings of the underlined words and phrases do not seem too terribly difficult to understand.
stories that have these two historical events as backdrop. “The East” in the title of the text, therefore, is an explicit reference to Chosŏn. In what follows, I first discuss late-Chosŏn writers’ interest in Koreanness and the influence of this interest on the use of (literary) language and literature as a general background for introducing more specific aspects of the lexical characteristics of TPNS narratives.

7.2.1. The inscription of ‘Koreanness’ into the cosmopolitan

In late Chosŏn, various types of writings that foregrounded the importance of fashioning and remembering Korea’s past flourished. One channel, through which late-Chosŏn literati’s interest in recording and narrating Korean history in literature materialized was their compilations of yŏn̄gsa akpu (collected ballads narrating history), a genre that encompass lyrics and narrative writing to narrate the Korean past. To risk gross oversimplification: in China the yuefu genre first existed from the Han dynasty through the Tang, during which time it embraced a narrative prose style. The late-Ming and early-Qing saw the emergence of a so-called yongshi yuefu style (K. yŏn̄gsa akpu, “collected ballads narrating history”),

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486 What was meant by “the East” in contemporary Chosŏn people’s invocation of Korea is a question one should carefully approach with a critical awareness of the master narratives of ‘national history’ (kuksa 国史) and the history of Korea the nation-state, the idea of which was conceived at the turn of the twentieth century.

lyrics that narrated ancient Chinese historical episodes. In particular, *Nigu yuefu* (Imitative *yuefu*) by Li Dongyang 李東陽 (1447-1516) influenced the *Haedong akpu* 海東樂府 (*Lyrics of the Eastern Seas*; 1617) by Sim Kwangse 沈光世 (1577-1624; m. 1601; Hyuong 休翁). In his preface, Sim criticized contemporary Chosŏn Chosŏn literati for having greater knowledge of ancient China while remaining ignorant of Korea’s own past. The contents of Sim’s *Lyrics of the Eastern Seas* narrate both Chinese and Korean history.

Unlike in China, historical *akpu* in Korea developed into a substantial corpus of texts amounting to a literary genre in and of itself. In China, the genre somewhat subsides somewhat after Li Dongyang and reemerges in the late Ming and early Qing as ballads that narrate contemporary history. By contrast, in Korea, Sim Kwangse’s *Haedong akpu* precipitated a whole host of historical *akpu* in late Chosŏn whose title phrases—such as “Eastern Seas” (海東), “Eastern Country” (東國), and “Great East”

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488 Sim Kyŏngho, *Chosŏn sidae hanmunhak*, 128-129.
489 Sim Kyŏngho, ibid., 122.
490 Sim Kyŏngho, ibid., 128. See note 233 on this page for examples of historical *akpu* writing in late Chosŏn.
491 For examples of early-Qing literati who inherited Li Dongyang’s historical *yuefu* ballads, Sim quotes Pan Shuzhang 潘樹章 (1626-1663) and Wu Yan 吳炎 (dates unknown) and their ballads on Ming history. Ibid., 117-120.
492 The meaning of “Eastern Seas” was first coined in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, along with “Eastern Country” (東方/東邦/東國 read in Korean tongbang, tongbang, and tongguk, respectively) and “Green hills”/Azure Hills” (青丘, ch’ŏnggu). For the origins and development of these terms as appellations for Koryŏ, see Remko Breuker, *Establishing a Pluralist Society in Medieval Korea, 918-1170: History, Ideology and Identity in the Koryŏ Dynasty* (Leiden: Brill, 2010). At times Haedong included Liaodong 澂東.

Professor John Duncan in a private conversation once noted that in early Chosŏn, Sin Sukchu uses the term “Eastern Seas” (*Haedong* 海東) to refer to Japan in his *Haedong cheguk ki* 海東諸國紀 (*Records of various countries in the east of the sea*; 1471); I speculate that Sin Sukchu’s use of the term suggests that Chosŏn considered itself a central point of reference regarding Japan.
—refer to the Korean past, or those that refer to specific regions within Korea such as “Yŏngnam” or “Kyonam” (嶺南 or 嶺南). *Akpu* as a literary genre had a close relationship with Koreanness for it collected folk lyrics, and Sim Kwangse’s *Lyrics of the Eastern Sea* was by no means the originator of the genre itself in Korea. However, in late Chosŏn, historical elements became a prominent constituent of *akpu* and the sensitivity to Korean (vernacular) cultural identity vis-à-vis the Chinese (cosmopolitan) past is a distinguishing feature of late-Chosŏn *haedong akpu* as a genre.\(^{493}\)

Another notable development in the late-Chosŏn literary landscape were literati’s endeavors to discover, preserve, and circulate Koreanness by collecting native songs. Existing vernacular lyrics were inscribed in *hansi* poetry and in the vernacular script, while *hansi* compositions were often inspired by commoners’ lives.\(^{494}\) The professed reasons for giving *hansi* translations of preexisting lyrics of the past point to the desire...
for wider circulation.\footnote{Qu Yuan’s 屈原 (339-278 BCE) name appears often within the context of the promotion of vernacular lyrics. For example, Sŏp’o chip 西浦集 (Collected works of Sŏp’o Kim Manjung) by Kim Manjung 金萬重 (1637-1692; m. 1665; Sop’o 西浦) compares “Lisao” 離騷 (“Encountering Sorrow”) by Qu Yuan with Chŏng Ch’ŏl’s 鄭澈 (1536-1593; m. 1562; Songgang 松江) vernacular lyrics (“Kwandong pyŏlgok” 關東別曲 (“Songs to the Diamond Mountains”), “Sa miin kok” 思美人曲 (“Longing for the loved one”), and “Sok miin kok” 續美人曲 (“Longing for the loved one, cont.”). I have yet to see a study delving into this connection between Qu Yuan and the value of recording of Korean lyrics.} The reasons stated clearly reveal that the writers perceived the cosmopolitan-vernacular differentiation of hanmun and the vernacular script as follows:

(1) Permanence: The vernacular script is not for suitable for permanent inscription.
(2) Transregionality: The vernacular script is bound to the land and thus cannot be appreciated by non-Koreans cosmopolitan readers.

When Nam Kuman 南九萬 (1629-1711; m. 1656; Yakch’ŏn 薬泉) gave a hansi translation of a song by Yi Hangbok 李恒福 (1556-1618; m. 1580; Paeksa 白沙),\footnote{See Yakch’ŏn chip 薬泉集. Quoted from Kim Myŏngsung, Chosŏn hugi hansi ŭi minp’ung suyong, 173.} he explained his motivation like this: “Songs are unrefined and local; they cannot, be written in sinographs, and or match them in either longevity or reach” (歌曲俚諺也，不可與文字之傳，纔其久遠).

Giving hansi translations of two pieces of vernacular lyrics from a famous sixteenth-century minister named Chŏng Ch’ŏl 鄭澈 (1536-1593; m. 1561; Songgang 松江), Kim Sangsuk 金相祿 (1717-1790; ch. 1744; Ch’oru 草樓) wrote:

These two songs are written in the vernacular language. If the local people hear it, even women and young children can understand it. However, if people of other places (countries) see it, they will surely not know what language it is. However, if one entrusts feelings of loyalty and love to the lyrics of a lamenting woman, he enables those who need them for the next thousand years to feel as if they are reciting Qu Yuan’s poetry.

I have yet to see a study delving into this connection between Qu Yuan and the value of recording of Korean lyrics.
These acts of pulling vernacular lyrics closer to the cosmopolitan are related to the incorporation of vernacular elements into cosmopolitan writing in late Chosŏn, especially in hansi writing. Korean idioms consisting of Korean place names, Korean names of buildings, and Korean personal names were not uncommon in Korean hansi poetry. However, in late Chosŏn, a more daring practice of incorporating commonplace Korean native expressions, proverbs, folk songs, and allusions to existing Korean literary precedents (典古) in poems emerged.\(^{497}\) For example, Iŏn 俚諺 (Words of the unrefined) by Yi Ok 李鉫 (1760-1813) relies heavily on Korean vernacular idioms. Some of the expressions that are pointed out as characteristically vernacular in Yi Ok’s writings are also found in TPNS: e.g., “令監” (form of address used to refer to high-ranking officials), “阿哥氏 (or 阿只氏)” (form of address used to refer to a young person of superior social standing), “行首” (the leader of a group [of kisaeng, assistant clerks at local magistracy, merchants, etc.]), “別監” (a cover term used to refer to assistant clerks at a local magistracy or military guards at the palace), and “案前” (lit. ‘before the desk’; a local magistracy or the magistrate himself).\(^{498}\)

In writings from the early- to mid-eighteenth century, Korean vernacular lyrics were also promoted as potential ‘literature’ among compilers of vernacular lyrics who used the vernacular script for their literary medium. The inscription of vernacular lyrics


\(^{498}\) Ibid., 152-153.
into the vernacular script invoked the value of the vernacular songs for being contained in the form of poetry.

Vernacular lyrics had been admitted once to writing in the sixteenth-century Akchang kasa 樂章歌詞 (Words for songs and music, ca. 16th c.). In the eighteenth century, vernacular lyrics were claimed as lyrics composed in the form of poetry, unquestionably a genre of true literature. Prior to the promulgation of the vernacular script in 1446, Yongbiŏch'ŏn ka 龍飛御天歌 (Songs of flying dragons) was composed in 1445 and released in 1447. Could this be considered a case of literarization of the vernacular after a long tradition of using writing systems based on the principle of borrowing sinographs for their semantic and phonetic values (e.g., ch’aja p’yogi 借字表記, or borrowed script orthography)? But at the time of the release of Songs of flying dragons, no writings in the vernacular script had ever existed, let alone put into practice. The capacity of the vernacular script as a viable vehicle for literary language was first experimented with in Songs of flying dragons at the launch of the script, only to be submerged on account of the continuous practice of writing in the cosmopolitan language and ch’aja pyogi system.

The transcription of vernacular lyrics in the vernacular script in the sixteenth century may have been a re-commitment of the oral to writing. This textualization of vernacular lyrics into hansi by literati like Nam Kuman and Kim Sangsuk, then, may have brought about a gradual elevation of the vernacular lyrics themselves by putting them into a new, more ‘appropriate’ container—an act done with a rather clear understanding of inscribing something into a ‘proper’ literary form. On that note, it merits our attention that Chŏng Naegyo—first introduced in Chapter Four as a
yŏhang’in scholar and literary figure as well as an acquaintance of No Myŏnghŭm and a teacher of Hong Ponghan—explains the significance of Ch’ŏnggu yŏng’ŏn (Everlasting words of the green hills, 1728), a compilation of 580 Korean lyrics (with musical notation for singing rendered) in the Korean vernacular script and compiled by Kim Ch’ŏnt’ae (dates unknown; a yŏhang’in singer and poet; Nam’a South). Chŏng Naegyo sets out to put Korean vernacular lyrics on an equal footing with the Shijing (Book of poetry) as follows:

As for our Chosŏn dynasty, although no generation has suffered from a shortage of poets, either there were no song lyrics, or if there were any, they were not transmitted for very long. How could a country esteem so exclusively written literature and yet neglect music so?

Here, Chŏng calls attention to the tradition of collecting lyrics in the Han (206 BCE-220 CE) through the Sui (581-618) dynasties, and notes how songs (music) and poetry grew apart with the development of literary conventions for poetry. Chŏng attributes the reason for this song-vs.-poetry isolation to a lack of people capable of both writing poetry and singing, whereby he valorizes Kim Ch’ŏnt’ae as just the sort of person who excelled in both:

… Kim Ch’ŏnt’ae is the best singer-musician in the country. Not only is he versed in sound and rhythm but he has also mastered the craft of poetry. The songs he wrote or refashioned have become known to the common folk in obscure lands who have eagerly learned them. Subsequently, he searched for and collected song lyrics written by our country’s famous men and illustrious scholars along with popular ballads in the rhythms of humble neighborhoods and rustic villages, stopping only when he had gathered more than several hundred of them.

He corrected distortions and erroneous renderings and arranged the songs in a book. Seeking to promote that anthology and to publicize his efforts, he asked me to write a preface. Thus I took a close look at the lyrics. …

The lyrics meet the high standards of poetry inside and out; there is none that does not fit this. … The lyrics may not have exhausted the depths of poetic ability, but the benefits that shall accrue to the world from them are great indeed! (My emphasis)

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499 The English translation is by JaHyun Kim Haboush. Quoted from Sources of Korean Tradition II, ed. Young-ho Ch’oe, et al., 189-190.
Chŏng Naegyo’s juxtaposition of songs and poetry and valorization of *Everlasting words of the green hills* as an elevated representation of lyrics in the form of poetry—a cosmopolitan medium rendered in the vernacular script—is unmistaken. To what extent this claim influenced later Chosŏn writers in general cannot be accurately measured as yet; however, Chŏng’s claims are striking as a comment anticipating the beginning (or resumption) of the vernacularization process as described in Pollock’s cosmopolitan and vernacular within the realm of poetic expression in late Chosŏn.

Still, one can note a similar attempt to valorize an anthology of Korean lyrics in poetic style a couple decades later in “Haedong kayo sŏ 海東歌謡序 (“Preface to Lyrics of the Eastern Sea”). Kim Sujang 金壽長 (1690-?), a professional singer and sŏri 肄吏 (petty clerk) at the Ministry of War (Pyŏngjo 兵曹), writes that he compiled *Haedong kayo 海東歌謡 (Lyrics of the Eastern Sea; 1755 and 1763) on the basis of songs by people of varying social classes. Kim Sujang’s own preface to the text reads:

[I have personally compiled one hundred and forty nine long and short ballads] created by kings, famous ministers, eminent scholars, singers, fishermen, sŏri, gallant men, famous kisaeng, all the way down to the nameless of late Koryŏ to the current state, as well as my own.

In light of Nam Kuman’s reasons as to why he gave *hansi* translations of Yi Hangbok’s vernacular lyrics (i.e., the impermanence and boundedness of vernacular lyrics to the land because of their linguistic medium), these eighteenth-century collections of vernacular lyrics in the vernacular script and the compilers’ attempts to
elevate their collections must have lent a certain rhetorical satisfaction to the act of compiling vernacular lyrics in the vernacular script.\textsuperscript{500}

The act of elevating the status of the vernacular, as described above, did not imply bringing the status of the cosmopolitan down to the level of the vernacular; rather, it was rendering the spoken closer to cosmopolitan literary forms. The distinction is significant in that while the end result for either case is noticeable permeation of spoken Korean into cosmopolitan hanmun, the ultimate motivation was the stability and centrality of the cosmopolitan language—a far cry from a weakening of the existing hierarchy between the cosmopolitan and the vernacular (which modern nationalism hopes to find). The relevance of the above-described literary phenomenon to our understanding of TPNS is that a growing interest in transference~translation of vernacular idioms from a low-prestige linguistic medium to its high-prestige counterpart by way of transposition into high-prestige inscription must have influenced the way No Myŏnhŭm composed his narratives, the source materials of which had significant connections with orally transmitted stories. Without sufficient knowledge of Korean history, famous Korean persons, Korean customs and cultural identity vis-à-vis China and Japan, Korean sayings and colloquialisms, including idu expressions (though not found in this particular example), the reader would not fully appreciate TPNS.

To return to the beginning part of the “Story of a special guard,” this passage is selected to illustrate No Myŏnhŭm’s utilization of an ample Korea-specific lexicon. The underlined and translated parts indicate Korean vernacular idioms.

\textsuperscript{500} As Kim Yongch’an notes, the majority of the collected vernacular lyrics by identifiable authors were by the literati, yŏhang’’in, and kisaeng, with a prominent presence of yŏhang’’in authors next to the literati. Kim Yongch’an, Chosŏn hugi sijo munhak ŭi chip’yŏng (Seoul: Wŏrin, 2007), 15-29.
As the small sample quoted above hardly does justice to the diverse range of native lexicality found in TPNS, the next several sections of this chapter offer specific examples of the TPNS lexical texture.

### 7.2.2. *Idu*-style expressions

“*Idu* expressions” refers to expressions commonly found in *idu*-style writing used in administrative documents such as the records of interrogation. For example, in the story of Sŏng Sammun (YONSEI 15), Sŏng Sammun’s father entertains the thought of tracking down runaway family slaves to procure marriage money for his daughter. Sŏng Sammun uses a humilific expression (白 *saro-e*)\(^{501}\) as he admonishes his father by saying that such is not the way of an aristocratic yangban:

成謹甫白 (humbly speak one’s mind to a social superior) 曰: 推奴之行, 嚴士大夫之所宜.

In the story of U Hahyŏng’s wife (YONSEI 55), U Hahyŏng’s wife finds her husband, who has recently become a local magistrate and from whom she has been hiding, so as to help him concentrate on his preparations for the civil service examinations. Dressed as a man wearing a straw hat, she presents herself as a commoner with a request, and visits her husband:

托以白活 (read *palgwal*, not *paekhwal*: petition) 民, 入官庭, 立階下, 仰達 (offer up words with respect) 曰: 有穩白事 (a matter to report), 請上階.

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\(^{501}\) By presenting “白” as an example of “*idu* expression,” this study does not imply that the expression originated in Korea or was unique to premodern Korean documentary writing.
One also spots numerous Korean expressions rendered in *ch’aja p’yogi* orthography: the use of sinographs as phonograms and/or semantograms to write Korean. For example, the straw hat U Hahyŏng’s wife wears is indicated with a compound word consisting of a Korean native word rendered in sinographs: “平凉” (approximately, *p’aeraeng*) with the semantogram for a straw hat, or “笠.” The aforementioned Sŏng Sammun also meets a commoner man (常漢) wearing a “平凉子.” Other such examples include *kwiri* 耳牟 for ‘oats’ and *tanggol* 單骨 for ‘patron or regular customer.’ In the story of Hŏ Hong (YONSEI 31) is found a native Korean counter for a lot of land—i.e., *majigi* 斗落—commonly used in inheritance or transaction documents written in *idu*-style writing.

Before I discuss more examples of *idu* expressions in TPNS, a brief introduction to Korean writing prior to King Sejong’s 世宗 (r. 1418-1450) promulgation of the “Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People” (*hunmin chŏng’ŭm* 訓民正音; 1446) or the Korean vernacular script, is in order. There were four types of *ch’aja p’yogi*: renditions of Korean proper nouns, *idu*, *kugyŏl* 口訣, and *hyangch’al* 鄉札.\(^5^0\)

The earliest examples of Korean writing are transcriptions of Korean proper nouns such as local place names, personal names, and official titles of persons, etc., in orthodox *hanmun*. The next development is *idu*\(^5^0\) in a broad sense—alteration of a

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\(^5^0^3\) The Silla scholar Sŏl Ch’ŏng is often credited with the creation of *idu*. When debates surrounding the creation of the Korean vernacular script occurred, conversations between the
*hanmun* text so that it could be read according to Korean syntax, in addition to rendering
Korean proper nouns. *Idu* writing allows one to mark grammatical features of Korean
(particles, agglutinative endings, and syntax) using sinographs without altering their
shapes; thus, to the untrained eye, *idu* writing looks like *hanmun*. The earliest such
developments are found as early as the mid-sixth century.504 *Idu* developed into a more
complex system that allowed one to write Korean particles and verb endings from around
the eighth century, and continued through the Koryŏ period.

*Kugyŏl* 口訳 (vernacular glosses) refers to annotational markings inserted in
canonical *hanmun* texts, typically Buddhist sutras and Confucian classics, and were
always parasitic to the *hanmun* text, rather than functioning as a completely independent
code. *Kugyŏl* existed in its own distinct form as the so-called *kugyŏl*-script, a kind of
phonogram syllabary, similar to the Japanese *kana* 假名, made by abbreviating Chinese
characters in various ways.505 *Kugyŏl* glossing conventions changed over time as
Koreans’ knowledge of *hanmun* grew considerably and systematically. For example,
around the thirteenth century, interpretive-reading (*sŏktok* 釋讀 or *hundok* 訓讀) *kugyŏl*,
which makes the reader follow *kugyŏl* markings in order to give a complete translation of

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504 For more details on the origins and development of *idu*, see Yoon Seon-tae, “The Creation of
*Idu*,” *Korea Journal* 50.2 (Summer 2010): 97-123.

505 Comparative research on Korean *ch’aja p’yogi* methods and their Japanese counterparts is
most active in the studies of *kugyŏl* and its Japanese counterpart *kunten* 訓点 (interpretive
glosses).
the source text into Korean using Korean word order, was replaced by phonetic-reading (iséeok or sundok 順讀) kugyol, which helps the reader with a better grasp of hanmun read the source text in chunks without throwing the text into Korean word order.

*Hyangch’al* 鄉札 (“local letters”) refers to a relatively short-lived system used primarily to record vernacular songs (hyangga 鄉歌) and notes of a mostly Buddhist nature during Silla and early Koryo—only twenty five songs have survived. The point here is that both *Idu* and kugyol facilitated the decipherment and indigenization of hanmun writing. It is worth noting that within the realm of Buddhism in Korea, another type of literary language existed, i.e., Buddhist Hybrid Sinitic (a vernacularized Literary Sinitic born out of translations of Buddhist sutras into Literary Sinitic around the 4th and 5th centuries CE). Jörg Plassen suggests that by the tenth century, Buddhist Hybrid Sinitic had become a genre-specific literary medium for writing commentaries among Buddhist monks. Records suggest that some eminent monks of late Silla and early Koryo (e.g., Úisang 義湘 [625-702] and Kyunyö 均如 [923-973]) used a Korean vernacular writing system to prepare their lecture notes on their commentaries and their disciples transcribed their oral lectures in the vernacular. Colophons attached to the

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506 Interpretive-reading kugyol annotated not only grammatical features of Korean, but also the Korean sound through the method of “final-sound addition” (末音添記). See Chung Jaeyoung, “Use of Chinese characters in ancient Korea,” 64.

  An example of the method of final-sound addition is found in TPNS, illustrated later in this chapter.

507 Ibid., 65.


published versions of these sutra commentaries reveal that later disciples in the thirteenth century removed such vernacular annotations in the process of producing a clean copy for publication—a practice preferred to as sak pang ’ön sŏk 創方言釋—because they found it unnecessary.

The above example suggests several interesting points about Korean linguistic ecology. First, it shows that besides hanmun, another literary language (vernacularized hanmun) existed in Korea and influenced reading and writing in Korea, although the extent of its influence on Korean literary practice has yet to be examined adequately. It also marks a co-dependent yet hierarchical relationship of literary and vernacular languages; a person may rely on the easiest possible method to write, but not everything that got written was worthy of preservation for posterity. It also demonstrates earlier examples of the custom of textual intervention (‘cleaning up’ of traces of vernacular inscription) in the process of publication of texts—a commonplace practice in the compilations of munjip 文集 (collected literary works) and the Chosŏn wangjo sillok 朝鮮王朝實錄 (Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty).

Idu as “clerk reading” has a narrower definition. I deploy this narrower definition of idu in my use of ‘idu expressions’ here. It refers to a written language used for administrative documentation for various purposes. Idu writing had its own set of lexical items commonly used to register the social hierarchy between interlocutors, and generally four-character phrases for commands and the execution of orders. Moreover,

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511 According to Chŏng Kyubok, Samguk yusa 三國遺史 (Memorabilia of the three kingdoms) and Kyunyŏ-jŏn 均如傳 (Biography of [Monk] Kyunyŏ) from the late Koryŏ, and Kim Sisúp’s (1435-1498; Maewŏltang 梅月堂) Kūma sinhwa 金嶽新話 (New tales from Turtle Mountain) have connections with Buddhist Hybrid Sinitic. See Chŏng Kyubok, Han’guk munhak kwa Chungguk munhak. (Seoul: Pogosa, 2010), 41-45.
*idu* writing employed particular verbs, adverbs, and other terms that facilitated writing in *hanmun*.\(^{512}\)

As a low-prestige variant *hanmun, idu* established itself as a full-fledged script used for documentary writing for practical and official uses.\(^{513}\) As the famous fifteenth-century debates around the invention of the vernacular script between the pro-script and the anti-script camps show, by the early-Chosŏn period *idu* was fully ensconced as a functional writing style and as a “vernacular script” (characters created to represent a people’s native sounds)—to be distinguished from orthodox *hanmun*. Outwardly, *idu* resembled Chinese writing, yet it was “an entirely new writing system qualitatively distinct” from orthodox *hanmun*.\(^{514}\) In the early years of the Chosŏn dynasty, *idu* was used in translating or writing codes of law: e.g., the *Tae Myŏng-nyul chikhae*

大明律直解 (*Translation of The Great Ming Code; 1395*) and *Kyŏngje yukchŏn*

経黌六典 (*Six codes of governance; 1397, 1413*). As such, *idu* was the most consummate

\(^{512}\) Sim Kyŏngho, “*Idu*-sik pyŏnkyŏk hanmun,” 206.

\(^{513}\) Ibid., 212-220.

See also the preface to *Yusŏ p’ilchi* 儒脅必知 (Must-know for scholars and clerks; ca. mid- to late-nineteenth century; published) a manual for unorthodox *hanmun* for drafting formal documents for a variety of occasions, including official reports, contracts, official announcements, petitions, litigation, etc.:

What the so-called what *isŏ* 史胥 (petty clerks) should study does not refer to *munbu* 文簿 (bookkeeping) only; rather, it refers to the styles of *sangŏn* 上言 (petition to the king), *soji* 所志 (appeal), and *ŭisong* 議送 (appeal to a higher court). All of the above are things about which sŏri cannot be ignorant. Moreover, they are not things which only *isŏ* must know. Bureaucrats in general (those who deal with administrative works) cannot be ignorant of them, either.

所謂史胥之學者, 非獨文簿而已, 上言所志議送等體也, 皆是史胥之不可不知者, 又非獨史胥之所可知也, 凡為吏治者, 亦不可不知者.

\(^{514}\) Yoon Seon-tae, “Creation of *Idu*,” 100.


and widespread form of variant *hanmun* writing prior to the advent of the vernacular Korean script.

Within the realm of Korea-China diplomacy, there were two languages: *imun* 吏文 for drafting documents and *hanô* 漢語 for spoken Chinese. Chosŏn literati had little to do with the spoken language, as the task of oral communication with their Chinese counterparts was handled by a hereditary group of official interpreters (譯官 *yŏkkwan*). The interpreters learned Chinese from manuals like *Nogôltae 老乞大 (The old Cathayan)* and *Pak t’ongsa 朴通士 (Interpreter Pak)*; after the invention of the vernacular script, these books were translated into vernacular Korean. By contrast, literati were required to master *imun*, a writing style initially developed as a means to communicate with the Chinese government. *Imun* was modeled after an administrative style of writing called *hanliwen* 漢吏文 used by the Yuan dynasty. *Hanliwen* was modeled after Haner language 漢兒言語, a koiné based on the languages of Northern Eurasians (particularly Mongolians) migrating to Beijing during the Yuan Dynasty. As such, *hanliwen* adopted characteristics of the agglutinative languages used by the speakers of Haner language. *Hanliwen* was comprised of useful set-phrases for drafting official documents.

During the Chosŏn dynasty, *imun* came to be used to serve two different functions: foreign diplomacy and administrative documentation more generally. Like *hanliwen*, *imun* adopted Korean colloquialisms. One may distinguish the two as “漢吏文” (Chinese *liwen*) and “韓吏文” (Korean *imun*), although they are homonyms in

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516 Yang Ojin notes that two sets of textbooks for *imun* writing existed during the Chosŏn period: one for Korea-China foreign relations and the other for administrative documentation in general. Yang Ojin, “Imun kwa imun che chimnam ŭi yŏn’gu” *Han’guk chunggugŏ ŏnô hakhoe* 14 (2002): 193.
Korean. The use of Chinese *liwen* grew in later centuries, eventually encompassing a wider range of administrative documentation.\(^{517}\) Korean *imun* can be understood as a style based on Chinese *liwen* which was then based on *hanliwen* of the Yuan dynasty, but with *idu* grammatical morphology such as “教是置,” “為去在乙,” “為白有如乎,” which were interspersed in between generally orthodox Literary Sinitic writing. In late Chosŏn, *imun* became intermixed with *idu* to the point that it was impossible to distinguish one from the other.\(^{518}\) As for the distinctive stylistic characteristics of *hanliwen*, *imun*, and *idu*, scholars point to four-character phrases within which sinographs are used as semantograms, rather than phonograms.

Before I introduce some *idu* expressions found in TPNS, I reiterate that *idu* writing was part and parcel of the literary practice shared by both literati and clerks. The literati’s perceptions of *idu* writing style, however, varied. Over time, Chosŏn literati found the use of *idu* expressions cumbersome as their knowledge of orthodox *hanmun* expanded,\(^{519}\) although only little information survives about how Chosŏn literati viewed *idu* writing. Another reason for the literati’s dislike of *idu* was that it remained unstandardized and was thus not user-friendly, as it were.\(^{520}\)

Within this context, literati grew increasingly ignorant of *idu* writing conventions. Some *yadam* collections use officials’ ignorance of *idu* writing as a motif.\(^{521}\) King

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\(^{517}\) This point is also made in Sim Kyŏngho, “*Idu*-sik pyŏnkyŏk hanmun,” 219.

\(^{518}\) Chŏng Kwang, “Imun kwa hanimun,” 63.

\(^{519}\) Sim Kyŏngho, “*Idu*-sik pyŏnkyŏk hanmun,” 222.

\(^{520}\) Ibid., 218.

\(^{521}\) Sim Kyŏngho, ibid., 216. The example presented in Sim’s study depicts a fallen *yangban* who could not finance his preparations for the examination so that he voluntarily registers his name in the clerk roster. Entry 617 (Yonsei edition) of *Compendium of records of hearsays* contains an anecdote concerning Sin Kwanghan’s 申光漢 (1484-1555; *m.* 1510; Kijae 企齋)
Chŏngjo once compared the relationship between *idu* writing and official documentation drafted by literati with vernacular translations of and/or *kugyŏl* annotations of Confucian classics, and he promoted *imun* writing among the elites.⁵²²

Kim Ch’unt’aek’s 金春澤 (1670-1717; Pukhŏn 北軒) following remarks are particularly germane to the lexical texture of TPNS.⁵²³ In general, Kim considered the use of *idu* grammatical markings (particles and agglutinative endings) in writing beneath the dignity of literati. He went so far as to state that even when he was on duty at the state tribunal for the interrogation of criminals, he avoided spelling out *idu* grammatical markings for the scribes who took dictation—which suggests that high-ranking interrogators’ spelling out of Korean grammatical endings was a rather common practice within this particular context. Yet, it is important to note that Kim expressed a particular tolerance toward the expression “I; myself; the person in question” (*ūisin* 當身) as a way to refer to oneself in writing. It is worth noting that one TPNS entry, which deals with a court case and a scene of interrogation at a local magistracy, portrays the criminal using phrases like “I; the criminal himself” (*ūisin* 當身) and “my brother; this person’s brother” (*ūihyŏng* 當兄) in his statements—as mentioned previously, *idu* expressions as grammatical markings are thoroughly absent in TPNS.

Kim justified the use of “當身” reasoning that he was following widespread ‘idioms that reflected contemporary times and customs’ (時俗稱謂). Using the same

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⁵²² Ibid., 218-219.
⁵²³ Ibid., 222-225.
reasoning, he considered the literati’s use of the following Sino-Korean expressions far from deplorable despite their strong connections with spoken Korean: e.g., “satto 使道” for military general and local magistrates, and “taegam 大監” or “yŏnggam 令監” for ministers. Moreover, expressions like “my dear brother” (兄主) or “my dear uncle” (叔主) common in epistolary writing (sŏch’al 書札), too, was not a problematic practice for him. Furthermore, Kim excused himself for ‘resorting to’ expressions such as Wansan 完山 to refer to Chŏnju 全州 in Chŏlla Province, again arguing that doing so was a customary practice (習俗然也). All of these expressions—“兄主,” “叔主,” and “完山” are found in TPNS.

Below is a table of some of the “idu expressions” that I have located in TPNS—this list is far from exhaustive. Although No Myŏnghŭm did not use idu grammatical features, or adopt Korean Object-Verb word order, TPNS nonetheless houses a host of lexical items commonly found in idu writing (what is described above as “韓吏文”).

Moreover, TPNS contains all of the seemingly problematic expressions that Kim

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524 See Pukhôn kŏsa chip 北軒居士集 (Collected works of Master Pukhôn), vol.16. Quoted from Sim Kyŏngho, ibid., 223.
525 Han’gukhak munhŏn yŏn’guso ed., Ch’uan kŭp kugan 8 (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1984).
526 I have seen only a single case where idu grammatical features are inscribed in a yadam collection. The Kyujanggak edition of Kyesŏ yadam 漢西野談 (Stories by Kyesŏ; mid- to late 19th c) has one entry that is supposedly a reproduction of an actual report made by a provincial governor to the court concerning a criminal case. The contents of this document are narrated in a form of prose narrative—yadam style—in an entry immediately preceding it. The report is written in idu and as such, it is an idu counterpart of its yadam counterpart.

For a modern Korean translation of these two entries of Stories by Kyesŏ, see Yu Hwasu and Yi Ùnsuk, trans., Kyesŏ yadam (Seoul: Kuhak charyowŏn, 2003). This modern translation of Kyesŏ yadam mistakenly credits this text to Yi Hŭijun. The compiler of Kyesŏ yadam remains unknown. Yi Hŭijun used to be identified as the early nineteenth-century compiler of Kyesŏ chamnok (Kyesŏ’s miscellany); later scholarship persuasively ascertained that Kyesŏ is the sobriquet of Yi Hŭip’yŏng, i.e., Yi Hŭijun’s brother. Kyesŏ’s miscellany and Stories by Kyesŏ share numerous overlapping entries—which suggests that the anonymous compiler of Kyesŏ yadam used Yi Hŭip’yŏng’s Kyesŏ yadam as one of his source materials.
Ch’unt’aek noted, as introduced above. As an example of “韓吏文,” I rely on “Yosŏng Ch’ŏ Kyŏng ch’uan” 妖僧處lesai 推案 (“Records of special investigations by the State Tribunal of the evil monk Ch’ŏ Kyŏng”) and modern Korean *idu* dictionaries, and “Na-Ryŏ *idu*” (*Idu* of Silla and Koryŏ) found in Volume 40 of *Kogŭm sŏngnim* 古今釋林 (*Forest of interpretations, old and new; 1789*)—I return to *Kogŭm sŏngnim* later. Some idioms—marked with an asterisk in the table—are found quite frequently in the *Sŏngjŏngwŏn ilgi* 承政院日記 (*Records of the Royal Secretariat*) and “Records of special investigations by the State Tribunal of the evil monk Ch’ŏ Kyŏng,” while not found in the *Veritable records of the Chosŏn dynasty*.

### Table 7.1. *Idu*-style expressions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Idu</em>-style phrases</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A 於 B 爲 a kinship term</td>
<td>e.g., 李於朴為七村侄 ‘Yi was a son of Pak’s second cousin once removed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>素昧*</td>
<td>Complete stranger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>頭末</td>
<td>Beginning and end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>卜馬</td>
<td>Horse used for carrying stuff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>酌酌</td>
<td>Suppose; conjecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>白曰</td>
<td>Humbly say to a superior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>僱人</td>
<td>Servant; steward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>伊</td>
<td>This (indicative pronoun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>的知*</td>
<td>Have accurate knowledge of something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>的訪</td>
<td>Visit the first place (the place one has originally planned to visit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>斗落</td>
<td><em>Majigi</em> = 斗落只; counter for a patch of land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>均分</td>
<td>Equal inheritance among children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>別給</td>
<td>(Partial) inheritance money given to children prior to their parents’ death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>次</td>
<td>When (= 時)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>牢謹*</td>
<td>Close one’s mouth and deny something completely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>白活</td>
<td><em>Palgwal</em>; petition to an authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>白事</td>
<td>Affair to report to someone superior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>白</td>
<td>Offer up words to someone socially superior (including children to parents)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>冒懶</td>
<td>Swallowing one’s shame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>敘阻</td>
<td>Ask after one’s wellbeing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>畢身</td>
<td>Myself; himself; the person in question</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some explanations about the *Records of the Royal Secretariat* are in order. By far the most voluminous single set of historical documents in Korean history, it comprises of journal-style records kept by *chusŏ* (lit. ‘annotator-recorders’; senior seventh grade post), who dealt with all kinds of documents and comments that came in and out of the Royal Secretariat, along with detailed records of the king’s every move and the contents of his conversations with his subjects. The *Records* over some 288 years, from the reigns of King Injo 仁祖 to Kojong 高宗—1623-1907.

*Chusŏ* were required to have the ability to simultaneously translate from Korean speech into orthodox *hanmun*. Among successful examination candidates, those who excelled at writing quickly and accurately were selected to be *chusŏ*. They carried around notepads to keep a detailed log of what happened throughout the day, often using personal shorthand and point form for later reconstruction of final drafts.\(^{527}\) The Royal Secretariat handled the processing of information based on written documents and ‘dictation’ of oral accounts into a particular type of written language based in *hanmun*.

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\(^{527}\) The information about *Sŭngjŏnwŏn ilgi* is found in [http://db.itkc.or.kr/itkcdb/text/seojiViewPopup.jsp?bizName=MS&seojiType=heje&seojiId=A13](http://db.itkc.or.kr/itkcdb/text/seojiViewPopup.jsp?bizName=MS&seojiType=heje&seojiId=A13)
What ultimately survives as the *Records of the Royal Secretariat* may be described as a mixture of varying *hanmun* phraseologies.528

Because all official documents went through the Royal Secretariat and the contents of the *Records of the Royal Secretariat* became one of the most important bases for the compilation of official history, the *Records of the Royal Secretariat* has a highly intertextual relationship with a host of other texts that were written for varying purposes and that must have been written in somewhat different styles of *hanmun* than those found in more literary compositions. Originally written in the cursive style, the entire *Records of the Royal Secretariat* began to be de-cursivized (*t’alch’o* 脫草) in 2006 and digitized. This digitization will benefit Korean studies immensely, especially studies of variant *hanmun*, for the purpose of stylistic comparisons of writings containing the same information but written for different purposes with different conventions.

There are significant overlaps in the lexicon found in the *Records of the Royal Secretariat* and in TPNS. For example, the story of a poor student of the capital (YONSEI 31) contains some *idu*-style and colloquial idioms. While this chapter focuses on discussing various forms of vernacular idioms in TPNS, it is worth being reminded that TPNS contains classical idioms, whose meanings tend to be fairly easy to comprehend for someone with a level of Confucian education that does not necessarily accompany rigorous training in literary composition or rote memorization of classical allusions.

| 濮内 (tongnae: in the same neighborhood) | 富弁 (military official or someone on track to become a military official) | 李先達 (sŏndal: title referring to examination passers yet to enter officialdom) |

528 The way *chusŏ* used their shorthand summaries may be likened to the Buddhist masters’ use of vernacular writing for the preparation of their lectures; what survives in the end is a final draft purged of the services rendered by vernacular inscription.
In the same neighborhood was a military official named Yi sŏndal, who came by, wanting to buy [the protagonist’s horse] in order [to ride on it] for going to the capital. Moreover, Yi’s thirty majigi of rice paddy for early season rice was located in front of Kim’s gate. He asked to exchange the paddy land for Kim’s horse.

### 7.2.3. Phonetic transcription of Korean words

In one case, No Myŏnghŭm uses the traditional method of “final-sound addition” (marŭm ch’ŏmgi 末音添記) to index the Korean pronunciation of an expression he used. The phrase “斗乙暗牛,” read “tul amso,” means ‘barren cow’. This is found in the story of a poor student of the capital (YONSEI 54): complaining that he has three wives yet they have not borne him a son, a rich old man, at whose house the protagonist stays, call his wives as tul amso. The expression was formulated as:

\[
\{ \text{斗 (tu)} \} + \{ \text{乙 (ŭl) “final-sound adding”} \} = \text{tul} + \{ \text{暗 (am-) phonetic reading for female animals} \} + \{ \text{牛 (so: interpretive reading) for cows} \} = \text{tul amso}.
\]

Such a rending of the Korean pronunciation of a word is an exception within the TPNS lexicon. Most generally, Korean expressions show a one-to-one correspondence with sinographs in terms of syllable counts, as shown in the following examples:

**Table 7.2. Phonetic transcription of Korean words**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Character</th>
<th>Reading</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>平凉子</td>
<td>P’aeraeng’i</td>
<td>Bamboo hat (see also kogûm sŏngnim 893) – variations: 平陽子/蔭陽子/平涼子/蓬涼笠</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>耳牟</td>
<td>Kwiri</td>
<td>Oats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>單骨</td>
<td>Tanggol</td>
<td>Patron; regular customer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>退問</td>
<td>T’oeokkan</td>
<td>A walkway-like space surrounding a building; space created by erecting additional pillars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7.2.4. Made-in-Korea sinographs

Several ‘made-in-Korea’ sinographs are noted in TPNS. Here are some examples:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHARACTER</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>娘</td>
<td>Form of address used by a woman to address her brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>媼</td>
<td>Parents-in-law (wife’s perspective)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>痹</td>
<td>Rice paddy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7.2.5. Comments on a Korean dialect

This rather enticing category has one entry (YONSEI 76) that contains the narrator’s gloss on an expression revealed as a common term used by “northerners.” The story concerns a military official who is appointed to serve as the magistrate of Yŏnghŭng 永興, Hamgyŏng Province 咸鏡道:

“Sangdo naũri-nim” is an honorific expression used by northerners to refer to illustrious yangban of the capital.

This information does not offer any insight into the phonetic aspects of the expression, but indicates the center-periphery bifurcation in the late-Chosŏn period in a vivid way. This is the only case I have found of a local Korean expression in TPNS. See also my discussion of Im Pang’s annotation of “toryŏng” 都令 below.

### 7.2.6. Korean sayings and proverbs

There are several Korean sayings and proverbs in TPNS. The aforementioned tul amso is one example, whose origin remains unknown. The saying ‘a mouse in a jar’ (入囊[之]鼠) meaning ‘between the devil and the deep blue sea’ (YONSEI 1) is revealed as

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Late-Chosŏn literati in exile left poems in which the local idioms and sounds are inscribed: Yu Ŭiyang 柳義養 (1718-?; m. 1763; Husong 後松) for Kyŏngsang Province, Chŏng Yagyong for Chŏlla Province, and Yi P’irik 李必益 (1636-1698) for Hamgyŏng Province. Once demoted to serve as governor of Hamgyŏng Province, Hong Yangho 洪良浩 (1724-1802; m. 1752; Igye 耳溪) also left writings on the characteristics of language and customs of Hamgyŏng Province.
short for ‘a mouse in a jar has no place to run away’ (入甕之鼠, 無處可走), found in
“Paek ᄀᆞᆫ ᄇᆡ” 百諧解 (“Exegesis to a hundred vernacular sayings”) by Yi Ik 李瀟
(1681-1763; Sŏngho 星湖), a famous scholar whose lifetime partially overlaps with No
Myŏnghŭm.

In late Chosŏn, several compilations of hanmun translations of Korean sayings emerged. Beside Yi Ik’s “Exegesis to a hundred vernacular sayings,” there are Sunoji
旬五志 (Records in fifteen days; 1647) by Hong Manjong 洪萬宗; Yŏlsang pang’ŏn
洌上方言 (“Vernacular language”) by Yi Tŏngmu 李德懋 (1741-1793; Ch’ŏngjanggwan
青莊館); two texts—Aŏn kakpi 雅言覺非 (Refined words, enlightening the incorrect; 1819) and Idam sokch’an 耳談續纂 (Sequel to Er Tan530) by Chŏng Yagyŏng (1762-
1836; m. 1789; Tasan 茶山); and Miscellaneous records by Cho Chaesam 趙在三 (1808-1866; Songnam
Chapchi 槿南雜識; ca. 1855) by Cho Chaesam 趙在三 (1808-1866; Songnam 松南).

Compilations of Korean proverbs show not only contemporary literati’s keen interest in vernacular expressions but also their view of literature and language. All of these compilations postdate the invention of the vernacular Korean script, and yet all of them choose hanmun as a literary medium to transcribe spoken Korean. This suggests that during this time hanmun was the only worthy and appropriate literary means for such endeavors. In other words, their method of representing Korean vernacular idioms is better understood as translation-cum-transcription rather than as simple transcription, unless the transcriber actively adopted ch’aja p’yogi to inscribe phonemes to annotate a given entry with its Korean pronunciation.

530 Er tan is a compilation of Chinese proverbs by Wang Tonggui 王同軌 (fl. 1620) of the Ming.
As Ryu Chunp’il (2008) persuasively explains, Korean vernacular idioms were first admitted into hanmun through “translation” (漢譯) in Yi Ik’s “Exegesis to a hundred vernacular sayings.” In so doing, Yi Ik elevated the status of the language of the local and vulgar—hence, vernacular—to that of hanmun. Chŏng Yagyong’s Sequel to Er Tan was yet another move toward cosmopolitan rendering of Korean vernacular—i.e., pushing Korean sayings and (vulgar) idioms into the realm of the refined language of hanmun—because he attempted to rectify the current use of vernacular sayings that originate from classical idioms by elucidating their etymology, for the purpose of promoting ‘correct’ language use. Ryu suggests that Chosŏn literati’s compilations of Korean vernacular idioms cannot be explained from the nationalistic perspective of ‘Korean vs. foreign’ languages because their activities were determined by the hierarchy of written languages within the Sinitic cosmopolitan-vernacular order. No Myŏnhŭm’s inclusion of Korean sayings in TPNS must be understood within the same paradigm. I have examined the compilations of Korean sayings listed above to check for overlap with the following sayings recorded in TPNS, but found no match.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>掛於鰻齒</td>
<td>Get caught between whale’s teeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meaning: Danger of drowning in the sea; be food for fish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>老壽千年亦捉一雉</td>
<td>A thousand-year old falcon can surely catch a pheasant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meaning: An experienced person surely excels at what he does.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>所謂晨虎，不暇僧狗者也</td>
<td>‘A dawn tiger hasn’t the leisure [to differentiate] a dog from a monk.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Meaning: Beggars can’t be choosers.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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532 Ibid., 203.
In particular, one Korean saying is noteworthy: ‘to pluck out one’s hair to make shoes from it’ (摰髪織履). This appears in the story of Yŏm Hūido (YONSEI 56) when the daughter of a slave whose life was saved by Yŏm Hūido’s honesty expresses her deep gratitude to Yŏm. This phrase seems to be either No Myŏnhŭm’s description of a local custom or a phrase derived from a local custom. In 1998, when the tomb of a yangban family in Andong was exhumed for reburial, “Yi Ŭngt’ae puin ŏn’gan” (“Letters in the vernacular by Yi Ŭngt’ae’s wife [1586]”) were discovered along with a few mummies and about ninety artifacts. Among them was a vernacular letter written by the woman to her deceased husband, and used to wrap a pair of shoes knitted of human hairs and hemp. The expression seems to come from a local burial custom in Andong, Kyŏngsang Province, to ease the journey of the deceased to the netherworld. I have not found any historical document that comments on this social custom.

TPNS also contains expressions that look like vernacularized cosmopolitan expressions, which likely functioned as Korean idioms. Phrases like ‘seeing Chu and Yue’ (視楚越) to mean ‘a relationship as aloof as Chu from Yue’ (YONSEI 51) or “blocked as if in-between Chu and Yue” (阻如楚越), obviously come from the two ancient Chinese states and perhaps directly from ‘the liver and the gall, the Chu and Yue’

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(肝膽楚越) to mean ‘to be close in proximity yet distant’. In TPNS, the narrator and a story’s character both utter this saying.

Glen Dudbridge (1983) notes that a writer’s use of allusions in the Chinese literary tradition varies depending on his intention or the value of a phrase as an allusion. A writer may use it to anticipate his reader’s recognition of it. He may use it unconsciously because he has internalized it. The phrase may be so familiar that it carries immediate significance. Or, the phrase has become part of the “common stock of current literary usage,” to borrow Dudbridge’s words. While originating from Chinese history, the expression concerning the states of Chu and Yue should be treated as a Korean idiom that has lost its status as a sophisticated allusion. Another saying that seems to fit this case is: ‘A speedy falcon destroys small sparrows’ (快鷹之搏小雀) appearing in the story of pylŏngunjik (YONSEI 9). This expression likely came from ‘ten thousand sparrows cannot defeat a falcon’ (萬雀不能抵一鷹) found in Bao pu zi 抱朴子 (Master who embraces simplicity), a Daoist text by Ge Hong 葛洪 (283-343). This phrase, too, could have easily been taken as a general saying rather than as an allusion to Bao pu zi.

It is worth noting that Im Pang’s Invisible workings seems to have influenced No Myŏnghŭm’s use of sayings. Invisible workgings, too, has phrases like ‘The [Korean vernacular saying says that it is difficult to change one’s wife’ (諺稱, 難化者婦人) and to ‘see each other like Qin and Yue’ (視如秦越). The second is clearly reminiscent of No Myŏnghŭm’s use of “視楚越.” Invisible workings also contains the phrase “There is nothing that [he] was capable of. It was a case of ‘eyes unable to recognize the

character [while looking at the shape of a sickle.]” (百無一能, 目不識丁). This four-character Chinese saying has a Korean counterpart—although when this Korean saying came about cannot be dated—with a strikingly similar meaning: *Nak nook kiyökcha morūnda* (나목 농고 기억자 모르다) meaning ‘eyes unable to recognize the “ㄱ” character—[the way the Korean consonant producing the ‘k’ sound is spelled]—while looking at the shape of a sickle’.

Compared to *Invisible workings*, then, the TPNS expects a much more middle-brow readership in that in *Invisible workings*, both the narrator and the story’s protagonists are capable of making allusions to existing literature to discuss the subject at hand. By contrast, TPNS characters use such sayings in order to give a succinct description of their circumstances. I return to the idea of ‘stripping of allusions’ of phrases formerly used as allusions in the final section of this chapter.

**7.2.7. Forms of address**

The most striking presence of Korean expressions in TPNS is No Myŏnghŭm’s adoption of an impressive array of forms of address. Using forms of address to mark social ranks or statuses of the described people is a common practice in literary writing. According to Jerry Norman (1988), one of the characteristics of Classical Chinese (i.e., orthodox *hanmun*)—which is also found in later-period writings—is its register of honorific or humilific nouns that substitute for pronouns:

There was a tendency in Classical Chinese (as well as in later periods) to avoid the use of personal pronouns in certain circumstances … When speaking to a person of higher station it was necessary to have recourse to various honorific substitutes. Among the common substitutes employed in this were *zi* (master) and *jun* (lord). Similarly, when addressing superiors it was common to use
deferential forms for the first-person pronouns; in Classical texts, for example, lower-level functionaries often use *chen* (servant, vassal) when talking to people of higher rank.535

No Myŏnghŭm offers a distinctively colorful and colloquial assortment of forms of address used by characters. Honorific substitutions reflecting social ranks—such as “minister” (*yŏnggam* 令監 / *taegam* 大監), “local magistrate or a military official” (*satto* 使道), and “civil or military examination passers who have yet to enter officialdom” (*sŏndal* 先達)—are common in TPNS. Honorific expressions in TPNS also include “travelers” (*haengch’a* 行次) and “entourage protecting a yangban lady on the road” (*naehaeng* 内行). Such Korean forms of addresses are used by characters who would use humilific expressions to refer to themselves: e.g., “(humilific) I” (*soin* 小人), “this lowborn person” (*ch’ŏnin* 賤人), and “squalid lowborn beggar” (*陋賤乞兒*). The use of humilific substitutions is not as diverse as that of honorific substitutions.536

Some forms of address originating from vernacular speech are forms comprised of a mixture of made-in-Korea Sino-Korean words accompanied by the Korean suffix, “-nim,” rendered with the sinograph, “主” (underlined below). Household slaves and servants to their masters, or at times by secondary wives to their husbands, use it. E.g.: “my master” (*sangjŏn-nim/chuin-nim* 上典主), “Mister/Sir” (*naŭri-nim* 進賜主) “young master; my dear husband” (*sŏbang-ju* or *sŏbang-nim* 書房主), “my lady; daughter of one’s master” (*agi-ssi* 阿只氏). The expression “主” anticipates a vernacular reading of “–nim.” “Nim” is a full noun that has become a suffix registering honorification and its


536 Expressions like *taegam* 大監 and *soin* 小人 are also found in Im Pang’s *Invisible workings* and Sin Tonbok’s *Haksan*. Sin Tonbok also frequently used “*haengch’a* 行次.”
earliest example is found in the *hyangga* song, “Song of potato boy” (善化公主), in which a princess is referred to as “honorable Princess Sŏnhwa or Princess Sŏnhwa-nim” (“善化公主”)

No Myŏnghŭm’s use of diverse forms of address was a deliberate choice, especially in light of honorific expressions that seem otherwise highly superfluous: e.g., “young master’s brothers; one’s master’s two sons (so sangjon hyŏngje 小上典兄弟), “the master of this honorable house (who holds the classical licentiate degree)” (此宅主人生員主).

Based on conclusions drawn from a corpus linguistics method, one describes the use of the suffix “-nim” in documents in the vernacular script from the fifteenth century to the present as follows. In the fifteenth through the sixteenth centuries, the suffix ‘-nim’ was used to refer to family members. In the seventeenth century, it was used of people of more or less high official rank, albeit in a limited fashion. The study speculates that words like the king or Buddha themselves carried enough authority that there was no need to affix them an additional suffix. Yet, some examples from the seventeenth century include “Guest-nim” (son-nim), “Saengwŏn-nim” (saengwŏn-nim), and “Magistrate-nim” (wŏn-nim). Semantically, they correspond with 行次 (for a traveller), 生員主, and “使道”/“侍,” in TPNS, respectively, although in TPNS “guest” and “magistrate” are not attached with the suffix. Around the eighteenth century, the suffix is found far more frequently, not only with kinship terms but also with titles of official posts and

professions (*chikham-myōng* 職銜名) both high and low (e.g., the king, one’s master, Buddha, a storage keeper, etc.). Historically speaking, the suffix began to be used increasingly in non-familial relations over time. No Myōnghŭm’s lexical choices for creating TPNS narratives reflect this social change; whether the vernacular writings are always reflective of actual speech habits is beside the point here.

The precedents for No Myōnghŭm’s use of Korean forms of address in narrative composition may have some connection with Im Pang’s annotation in *Invisible workings*, in which he glosses the word “*toryŏng*” as: “*Toryŏng* is a vernacular expression referring to an unmarried *yangban*” (都令乃國俗士未娶之稱也). In *Invisible workings*, “*toryŏng*” stands out as rather foreign to the rest of the text, so to speak, in that Im glosses the word at the time of its introduction. However, in TPNS, No Myōnghŭm treats it as part of the narrator’s speech as well as that of his characters. That is, vernacular forms of address are not at all otherized but are fully integrated in TPNS. As introduced earlier, Kim Ch’unt’aek (1670-1717) expounded on the need to use “idioms that reflected contemporary times and customs” (時俗稱謂). One of such “idioms” makes its way into *Invisible workings* by Im Pang (1640-1724) about thirty-years junior to Kim Ch’unt’aek. The same idiom then appears without any rationale for its existence as an expression in a literary work. Can this be generalized as a particular literary phonemenon of late Chosŏn? While this question awaits further research, the lexical texture of TPNS points to strong connections between TPNS, the changing linguistic ecology, and No Myōnghŭm’s literary sensibilities to inscribe this trend into his narrative composition.

In a note in Chapter Six, I described Mok Manjung’s stylistic rectification and his claim of the historical authenticity of his own retelling of Kim Kyŏngch’ŏn’s “*Yŏm
sùng cheon” as an important case whereby contentual and stylistic elements of a literary text went hand-in-hand. In light of the examples that Kim Yongjin (1999) points to as the result of Mok’s stylistic rectification, No Myonghum’s integration of colloquial forms of address seems to have brought about an opposite kind of literary effect in his narratives. That is, what Mok Manjung would have considered sub-par for his composition of the Yom story that was supposed to be superior to Kim’s not only appears in TPNS but is also materialized in diversified and conscious way. Kim Yongjin’s study links made-in-Korea idioms along with imun elements in Kim Kyongs’on’s Yom story to Kim’s social background and extensive career path as an ajon 衙前 (petty clerk), another term referring to people who perform the role of hyangni and sori. As I discussed in CHAPTER FOUR, No Myonghum himself formed close bonds with both elites and yohang’in literary figures, some of whom worked as scribes (e.g., chesulgwan in Embassies of Communication to Edo)—writers of documents for administrative purposes. However, by calling attention to this connection, I do not argue that TPNS was meant for circulation among yohang’in circles only; nor do I assert that No Myonghum completely empathized with the yohang’in. Rather, the lexical texture of TPNS seems to manifest a yangban writer’s bold appropriation of elements from a particular type of literary language formerly reserved for documentation (non-literary) writing in order to bring particular effects in his storytelling. Still, it seems highly plausible that No Myonghum anticipated ‘a lower-brow’ readership than his predecessors’ story compilations in that TPNS is entitled “Repeatedly recited stories of the East” (my emphasis)\(^{539}\) and that Hong Chigyong’s “Postface” mentions women and children—two groups that were generally

\(^{539}\) The same point is made in Im Hyongt’ae (1990).
not part of rigorous Confucian learning regardless of their social statuses—as potential listeners of TPNS narratives.

7.2.8. Vernacular idioms listed in two late-Chosŏn encyclopedias postdating TPNS: Kogŭm sŏngnim pangŏn and Songnam chapchi

This section compares the lexicon of numerous TPNS entries with two late-Chosŏn encyclopedias that contain sections on contemporary vernacular expressions. The idioms collected in these encyclopedias suggest that their compilers recognized certain expressions as either Korean or Chinese-originating-yet-fully-nativized idioms—the latter perhaps not unlike allusions stripped of their metaphoric functions and hardened to connote things in particular. My research findings further suggest that No Myŏnghŭm’s use of vernacular idioms should be contextualized within contemporary Chosŏn interests in transcribing Korean expressions as a de rigueur literary practice. A great number of idioms constituting the lexical texture of the TPNS narratives appear in two encyclopedias in their sections dealing with vernacular idioms. I begin this section by giving general introductions to these two encyclopedias.

7.2.8.1. Kogŭm sŏngnim

Kogŭm sŏngnim 古今釋林 (Forest of interpretations, old and new; 1789) is a forty-volume dictionary of multiple languages (Ancient Chinese phrases, Sanskrit, Mongolian, Manchu, Japanese, Vietnamese, and various languages of India) drawn from 1550-some sources and compiled by a scholar-official Yi Úibong 李義鳳 (1733-1801; m. 1733; Naŭn 懶隱). Kogŭm incorporates almost all earlier foreign-language textbooks and

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540 For a photographic reproduction of Kogŭm sŏngnim, see Asea munhwasa, Kogŭm sŏngnim (4 volumes) (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1977 and 1999).
dictionaries of colloquial Chinese, including textbooks like Nogŏltae 老乞大 (*The old Cathayan*) and Pak t’ongsa 朴通士 (*Interpreter Pak*); various lexical manuals (ŏrokhae 語譯解) on *Recorded sayings of Zhu Xi* and Chinese vernacular fiction works such as *Sangguozhi yanyi* 三國志演義 (*Romance of the three kingdoms*); *Shuihuzhuan* 水濬傳 (*Water margin*); *Xiyouji* 西遊記 (*Journey to the west*); and *Xixiangji* 西廂記 (*Romance of the western chamber*); dictionaries of foreign languages such as *Yŏgŏ yuhae* 譯語類解 (*Classified dictionary of translated words and phrases for interpreters*); *Yŏgŏ yuhae po* 譯語類解補 (*Supplemented classified dictionary of translated words and phrases for interpreters*); *Mongŏ yuhae* 蒙語類解 (*Classified dictionary of translated works and phrases of Mongolian*); and *Waeŏ yuhae* 倭語類解 (*Classified dictionary of translated words and phrases of Japanese*).  

In volumes 27-28, Yi lists Korean lexical items according to historical period: i.e., Tan’gun Chosŏn 檀君朝鮮, Kija Chosŏn 筠子朝鮮, Wiman Chosŏn (衛滿)朝鮮, Nangnang 樂浪, Mahan 馬韓, Chinhān 辰韓, Puyŏ 扶餘, Karak 駑洛, T’amma 聾羅, Koguryŏ (高)句麗, Paekche 百濟, Silla 新羅, T’aebong 泰封, Koryŏ 高麗, and the ‘current dynasty’ 本朝. According to Sim Chaegi (1981),  the section’s title “‘Tong Han yŏgŏ” 東韓譯語 means “Translations of lexicon used in the East (Korea) into hanmun.” Yi’s compilation of Korean expressions and his translation of them into hanmun shed light on how he viewed the act of inscribing Korean speech in writing. While he saw the

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541 For further details, see Kim Kyŏngnok’s bibliographic notes on the text available online at the official website of the Kyujanggak Library at Seoul National University.

practical value of using spoken Korean, Yi Ùibong viewed it as ‘not official (公式的) enough’ because of its unsophisticated and vernacular nature (sok 俗 and hyang 鄉). For him, language meant that which could be recorded in hanmun.\footnote{Ibid., 229.} Sim Chaegi’s remarks echo Ryu Chunp’il’s observations about Chosôn literati’s perceptions of writing-literature and language in their compilations of Korean sayings.

TPNS contains a considerable number of lexical items that overlap with entries in Kogûm sŏngnim. This fact counters the claim that elements reminiscent of spoken Korean in yadam narratives denote an unmediated connection with actual oral storytelling events. Rather, in a way reminiscent of the chusŏ who recorded the Records of the Royal Secretariat, No Myŏnghŭm used translation-paraphrasing of what he heard and read into a style of hanmun that he perceived as suitable for TPNS.

\subsection*{7.2.8.2. Songnam chapchi\footnote{Songnam chapchi has been thrice reproduced photographically. The second reproduction comes with an annotated translation of the entire text into contemporary Korean. See Kang Min’gu, trans., Kyogam kugyŏk Songnam chapchi written by Cho Chaesam (Seoul: Somyŏng ch’ulp’an, 2008). For the first two photographic reproductions of Songnam chapchi, see Tongsŏ munhwasa, Songnam chapchi (Seoul: Tongsŏ munhwasa, 1987) and Asea munhwasa, Songnam chapchi written by Cho Chaesam (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1986).}}

Miscellaneous records by Cho Chaesam (Songnam Chapchi 松南雜識; ca. 1855) is a fourteen-volume yusŏ 類書 (encyclopedia; C. leishu)\footnote{For a comparative view on the origins and development of yusŏ and leishu (類書) in Korea and China, see Ch’oe Hwan, Han’guk yusŏ munhwâ kaegwan (Taegu: Yeongnam taeakkyo ch’ulp’an).} of 4378 items in 33 categories. Its compiler, Cho Chaesam 趙在三 (1808-1866), states that he compiled this work in order to educate his two sons. I compared the TPNS lexicon with Cho’s volumes 5-6 “Pang’ŏn-nyu” 方言類 (“Vernacular expressions”). Cho Chaesam’s explanations are
at times obscure in that he provides only relevant excerpts without much detail. Some of
Cho’s commentary is reminiscent of Chŏng Yagyŏng’s attitude, in that he was interested
in finding discrepancies between the etymology of an expression and its current use.

At the end of these volumes, Cho has attached “Kŭnch’i-p’yŏn 近取篇
(“Recent gatherings”) in Ahŭi wŏllam 兒戱原覧 (Easy-to-read reference source for
children; first published in 1803; xylography) by Chang Hon 張混 (1759-1828; Liŏm
而已厂); “Recent gatherings” contains di-, tri-, and quadra-syllabic phrases circulating
widely in the world. Cho Chaesam reproduced Chang Hon’s “Recent gatherings” in its
entirety and added two more phrases, making the total number of phrases 200 from the
original 198.546

Below is a table of TPNS lexical items corresponding to entries in Kogŭm
sŏngnim and Songnam chapchi. The numbers next to Kogŭm sŏngnim refer to the page
number on which the given word appears in the Asea Munhwasa reproduction of 1977.

Table 7.5. Vernacular idioms listed in two late-Chosŏn encyclopedias postdating TPNS:
Songnam chapchi pang’ŏn (SNCC) and Kogŭm sŏngnim (KGSN)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EXPRESSION</th>
<th>CITED IN</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 上典       | KGSN     | ‘[My] master’
            |          | (Chosŏn)
            |          | Origins unknown. Slaves call their masters sangjŏn
            |          | (上典). |

546 “Recent gatherings” was first published in woodblock prints in the late nineteenth century as
part of an anonymously compiled phrase book titled Collection of words and phrases
(Muncharyu chip 文字類集). For details on this text, see Yi Yunsŏk, “Muncharyu chip e

For further details on Miscellaneous writings by Cho Chaesam, see Chŏng Kyŏnghŭi’s
bibliographic notes on the text available online at the official website of the Kyujanggak
Library at Seoul National University:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EXPRESSION</th>
<th>CITED IN</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>先達</td>
<td>SNCC, KGSN</td>
<td>‘Sir; mister’ (Chosŏn) Passers of the examinations (civil and military) who have yet to enter into the bureaucracy are called sŏndal (先達).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>都令</td>
<td>SNCC</td>
<td>‘Unmarried man’ Toryŏng-gong 都令公  is used to refer to a holder of sŏngji 承旨 (senior third-ranking post for scholar-officials).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>水汲</td>
<td>KGSN</td>
<td>‘Water-drawing slave girl at a local magistracy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>兩班</td>
<td>KGSN, SNCC</td>
<td>‘Civilian and military officials’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>狼狽</td>
<td>SNCC</td>
<td>‘Flabbergasted; not knowing what to do’ The compiler quotes “Biography of Zhou Bao” (周勃傳) in Han shu 漢書.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>行李</td>
<td>SNCC</td>
<td>‘Travel paraphernalia’ The compiler remarks that this is a mistaken use of ‘messengers’ (行李) to mean ‘travel paraphernalia’ (haengjang 行裝); original meaning of 行李 is found in Chunqiu zuozhuan 春秋左傳 (Zuo commentary on Spring and Autumn Annals).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>別監</td>
<td>KGSN</td>
<td>‘Assistant attached to local magistracy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>小科, 大科</td>
<td>SNCC</td>
<td>‘Civil service examinations’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>潺狽</td>
<td>SNCC</td>
<td>“Distance” The compiler quotes “Biography of General Li” (李將軍傳) in Shiji.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>舍廊</td>
<td>KGSN</td>
<td>‘Guestroom in the house; hangout place for men in the house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>惡少年</td>
<td>SNCC “Recent gatherings”</td>
<td>‘Ill-behaving boys; hooligans’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>令監, 大監</td>
<td>KGSN, SNCC</td>
<td>‘(Honorific) Mister’ Refers to holders of high-ranking posts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>良人</td>
<td>KGSN</td>
<td>(Chosŏn) ‘Commoner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>伴人</td>
<td>KGSN</td>
<td>(Chosŏn) employee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>名下士</td>
<td>SNCC “Recent gatherings”</td>
<td>Scholar known for his literary skills or scholarship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>內行</td>
<td>KGSN</td>
<td>Entourage protecting a yangban 女人 on the road</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

547 In Imun chimnam 史文輯覽 (Reference for administrative writing; 1539) Ch’oe Sejin 崔世珍 (1465?-1542) gives a different explanation: a soldier who is doing shift work and who is about to do shift work is called yangban (軍人上番下番, 參兩班).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>EXPRESSION</strong></th>
<th><strong>CITED IN</strong></th>
<th><strong>MEANING</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>阿只氏</td>
<td>SNCC</td>
<td>7.2.7. “Forms of address” above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>傳</td>
<td>KGSN</td>
<td>‘Message’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>赤手</td>
<td>SNCC</td>
<td>‘Bare-fisted; poor; have no means’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>彷彿</td>
<td>SNCC</td>
<td>“Recent gatherings”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>露積</td>
<td>KGSN</td>
<td>(Chosŏn) ‘Grains stored in the courtyard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>案前</td>
<td>SNCC</td>
<td>Lit. ‘be before a desk’; metaphor for magistrates; governors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>骨髓</td>
<td>SNCC</td>
<td>“Recent gatherings”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>孟浪</td>
<td>SNCC</td>
<td>‘Bone marrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>圭角</td>
<td>SNCC</td>
<td>‘Preposterous’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>狼藉</td>
<td>SNCC</td>
<td>‘Things in disarray’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>殺風景</td>
<td>SNCC</td>
<td>“Recent gatherings”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>除拜</td>
<td>SNCC</td>
<td>‘Killjoy; desolate atmosphere’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>倫倖</td>
<td>SNCC</td>
<td>‘Receive a royal recommendation’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>總角</td>
<td>SNCC</td>
<td>‘Clever; talented’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>觀光</td>
<td>SNCC</td>
<td>‘Unmarried boy or girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>橫財</td>
<td>SNCC</td>
<td>‘To go on a journey to take the civil service examination’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>丐闒</td>
<td>SNCC</td>
<td>‘Windfall; an unexpected good fortune’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>武弁</td>
<td>SNCC</td>
<td>‘Military official’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>上舍</td>
<td>KGSN</td>
<td>‘Passers of saengwŏn and chinsa examinations’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>本柞</td>
<td>KGSN</td>
<td>‘(Honorific) Local magistrate’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The compiler of KGSN writes: Unknown origin; the low-born call their social superiors naiti (進賜); speculated to have derived from the custom of calling tanghagwan officials naiti in reference to their commute (按今稱堂下官曰進賜，蓋謂將進於仕也，俗稱 나이리). The compiler of SNCC identifies it as a mistake for the Chinese 老爺 (an honorable person).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>EXPRESSION</strong></th>
<th><strong>CITED IN</strong></th>
<th><strong>MEANING</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>進賜主</td>
<td>KGSN SNCC</td>
<td>‘(Honorific) Master; mister’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.2.9. Vernacular idioms not listed in Songnam chapchi pang‘ŏn or Kogŭm sŏngnim

Table 7.6. Vernacular idioms not listed in Songnam chapchi pang‘ŏn or Kogŭm sŏngnim

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>EXPRESSION</strong></th>
<th><strong>MEANING</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>完</td>
<td>Another name for Chŏnju (Pukhŏn chip 北軒集)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>一塊肉</td>
<td>Lit. ‘a piece of meat’; refers to a lone surviving descendant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Similar to *idu* expressions, a number of expressions are listed in the *Yijo sillok nanhaeŏ sajŏn* (*Dictionary of obscure expressions in the Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty*; 1993), a republication of a North Korean compilation based on expressions that needed long annotations in the process of making a modern Korean translation of the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* in North Korea.  

### Table 7.7. TPNS expressions listed in *Yijo sillok nanhaeŏ sajŏn*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EXPRESSION</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>客舍</td>
<td>Guest house for the local magistrate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>結卜</td>
<td>As in 卜數: harvest amount</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>京所/郷所</td>
<td>Local advisory committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>立案</td>
<td>Draft a document</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>新來</td>
<td>New examination passer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>遊街</td>
<td>Parade a new examination passer through the streets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>風聞</td>
<td>Rumor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>紅牌</td>
<td>Certificate conferred upon a successful candidate for the civil service examination</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7.2.10. Ŭrokhae, Sosŏl ŭrokhae, and Yŏgŏ yuhae po

TPNS contains lexical items overlapping with entries found in a number of Korean glosses of Chinese colloquialisms based on actual speech used in Korean

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interpreters’ communications with Chinese officials, Zhu Xi’s recorded sayings, and works of vernacular Chinese fiction. I point out the parallels between these texts and TPNS not to suggest that No Myŏnghŭm read them. Rather, my point is to show the lexical diversity within TPNS and the spread of certain Chinese ‘colloquialisms’ in Chosŏn literati’s literary practice. All of the parallels I have found also appear in *the Records of the Royal Secretariat*.

### 7.2.10.1. Ὠροκχαε

TRPS contains a significant amount of lexical items found in Ὠροκχαε (exegeses of Chinese colloquialisms and slang expressions) and sosŏl Ὠροκχαε (OffsetTable on Chinese vernacular fiction), both of which originate in the mid-seventeenth century with the spread of Cheng-Zhu learning and Chinese vernacular fiction.⁵⁵⁰

าะรัก are exegeses of *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 (*Classified conversations of Master Zhu*; 1270). In the sixteenth century, scholars like Yi Hwang 李滉 (1501-1570; m. twice in 1534; T’oeuye 退溪) and Yu Hŭich’un 柳希春 (1513-1577; m. 1538; Miam 眉巖) created their own lexical manual to decipher the *Recorded sayings of Zhu Xi*. Chŏng Yang 鄭潢 (1600-1688; ch. 1618; Puikcha 孫翼子) compiled existing Ὠῥοκχαε and published the results in 1657 (xylography). Nam Isŏng 南二星 (1625-1683; m. 1662; Úijol 宜拙) published an updated version in 1669 (xylography).

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Words and phrases are ordered according to syllable count, ranging from one to six. The words and phrases found in ḍorokhae are Chinese lexical items that the two sixteenth-century scholars considered having strong connections with spoken Chinese and that Chosŏn literati trained only in orthodox hanmun found too difficult to understand. The most commonly known copy of ḍorokhae appears in tandem with a sosŏl ḍorokhae published in 1919—I explain this text shortly. In it, the ḍorokhae is titled as Chuja ḍorokhae 朱子語錄解. Moreover, the ḍorokhae of 1657 also contains glosses of Chinese colloquialisms not based on Zhu Xi’s recorded sayings. Grouped under the heading “Hanŏ chimnam cha hae” 漢語集覽字解 (Compilation of glosses of Chinese colloquialisms/language) and “Purok” 附録 (Addendum), these are not marked as explanations by Yi Hwang or Yu Hŭich’un. “Hanŏ” is based on the Old Cathayan and Interpreter Pak, but its contents are also found in Imun chimnam by Ch’oe Sejin and in the anonymously compiled Pibu ch’oŭi chimnam 比部招議輯覽 (Compilation of interrogation reports in the Ministry of Justice). The contents in “Purok” are obscure—An Pyŏnghŭi speculates that it was based on expressions used by Chosŏn envoys who visited China or those who worked at the Royal Secretariat. For my comparison of TPNS and ḍorokhae, I consulted the 1919 edition and three copies of earlier publications found in An Pyŏnghŭi (1983).

To what extent was ḍorokhae influential in the creation of No Myŏngghŭm’s TPNS or in late-Chosŏn literati’s life in general? This is difficult to answer. However, Sim Kyŏngho notes that Chinese colloquialisms permeated literati’s epistolary practice,
records of their masters’ sayings, and the Chosŏn wangjo sillok, although they never replaced orthodox hanmun.\textsuperscript{551}

7.2.10.2. \textit{Sosŏl ārokhae}

\textit{Sosŏl ārokhae} is a cover term for a corpus of exegeses of words and phrases in four Chinese vernacular works of fiction, including Sangguozhi yanyi (Romance of the three kingdoms), Shuihuzhuan (Water margin), Xiyouji (Journey to the west), and Xixiangji (Romance of the western chamber).

Until Paek Tuyong 白斗鎬 (1872-?; passed examination for official interpreters in 1888) combined them along with the ārokhae on \textit{Classified conversations of Master Zhu} and published them under the title \textit{Chuhae ārok ch’ongnam} (General overview of annotated Ārokhae; published by Hannam sŏrim 翰南書林 in 1919), sosŏl ārokhae circulated only in manuscript copies. Its authorship remains unknown.\textsuperscript{552} Kim T’aejun’s \textit{Chosŏn sosŏlsa} (History of Korean fiction; 1933) states that sosŏl ārokhae was compiled and published (出版) in 1699; however, this seems to be a mistaken remark.

\textsuperscript{551} Sim Kyŏngho, \textit{Chosŏn sidae hanmunhak kwa sigyŏng non}, 133. Kim Yŏngjin notes that Sim Nosung 沈魯畝 (1762-1837; ch. 1790; Mongsan kŏsa 夢山居士), a scholar-official of the early nineteenth century, commented on how hyangsi candidates (candidates for the provincial examinations) in Kyŏngsang Province prepared for the examination by reading two particular stories from Jiandeng xinhua. See Kim Yŏngjin, \textit{Nunmul iran muŏsin’ga} (Seoul: T’aehaksa, 2003), 216.

\textsuperscript{552} Quoting Takahashi Tôru, “Chōsen no yōmoa,” \textit{Gobun ronsō} 8 (1939), 67, Ōtani Morishige speculates that sosŏl ārokhae was compiled by talented yet economically and politically challenged scholars of non-yangban class who resided in the capital (委巻文士). See Ōtani Morishige, \textit{Han’guk kososŏl yŏn’gu}, (Seoul: Kyŏng’in munhwasa, 2010), 186. This book by Ōtani is a compilation of his journal articles, which were published originally in Japanese between 1959 and 2009 and had not been available in Korean translation.
referring to Nam Isŏng’s ᄇᆞ📅 Honolulu 553 The format of sŏsŏl ᄇᆞ📅 either follows that of ᄇᆞ📅—i.e., organization according to syllable counts of the glossed expressions or organization according to chapter division.554 Depending on the source text, the number of syllables in a single phrase can be as many as forty-one, as in the case of Xiyouji.

According to Ōtani Morishige, in Japan, Chinese vernacular fictional works were imported through Japanese interpreters of Chinese in Nagasaki. ᄇᆞ📅-like exegeses to Chinese vernacular expressions became popular among scholars of sinology in Edo 江戸, Kyōto 京都, and Ōsaka 大阪, giving birth to dictionaries and adaptations of Chinese vernacular fiction into Japanese by scholars, interpreters, doctors, and book shop owners.555

Morishige contrasts this with the Korean case.556 Chinese vernacular fiction was generally consumed for entertainment purposes only in Korea. Literati considered it sub-par literature and read it in secret. Ultimately, readers of Chinese vernacular fiction created hanmun fiction and readers of translated versions of Chinese vernacular fiction created vernacular fiction. Translations of Chinese vernacular fiction catered to female

553 Ōtani, Han’guk kososŏl yŏn’gu, 187. For a more recent study on sŏsŏl ᄇ ещ掳, see Min Kwandong, “Suhoji ᄇ ещ掳 kwa Sŏyugi ᄇ ещ掳 yŏn’gu,” in which Min speculates that compilers of sŏsŏl ᄇ ещ掳 were the literati and/or official interpreters (yŏkkwan 譯官) (111).

554 The most accessible sŏsŏl ᄇ ещ掳 is Paek Tuyong’s 1919 printed edition, which is the first printed edition and is easily available online at Tijit’al han’gŭl panggal (Digital Museum of the Korean alphabet) http://www.hangeulmuseum.org/. This edition is organized in the former style. However, Min Kwandong observes that surviving manuscript editions of sŏsŏl ᄇ ещ掳 are more commonly arranged according to chapters of the Chinese original. See Min Kwandong, “Suhoji ᄇ ещ掳 kwa Sŏyugi ᄇ ещ掳,” 124.


556 Ōtani, Han’guk kososŏl yŏn’gu, 193.
readers of the *yangban* class. Textbooks or dictionaries for official interpreters also suggest that vernacular Chinese fiction was not used for educational purposes. Little interest was shown in turning Chinese vernacular fiction into an object of study.

Morishige’s point about Chosŏn readers’ general lack of interest in systematizing their knowledge of Chinese colloquialisms is an accurate description. However, it should not be taken to mean that Chosŏn literati were not fascinated by Chinese vernacular fiction in that the above-quoted generalizations largely concern vernacular Chinese fiction rendered in vernacular Korean translations in the vernacular script. As introduced in *Chapter Four*, late-Chosŏn literati showed a fascination with *Shuihuzhuan*, particularly Jin Shengtan’s commentary on it, and left writings inscribing their reading experience.

The strongest evidence for this fascination in connection with TPNS is found in *In admiration of the choicest* (*Hŭmyŏng* 欽英) by Yu Manju 俞晚柱 (1775-1788), a journal on reading which he kept for over thirteen years. Yu Manju was a contemporary of No Myŏnhŭm, an avid reader, and a meticulous diarist. His diary contains references

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557 I use the term ‘reader’ to imply those engage in general perusing activities that include reading for the purpose of enjoying the pleasure of reading, creating copies of what one has read to leave behind one’s own calligraphy to posterity, practicing one’s use of the vernacular script, and reading for edification. See Yi Chiyŏng, “Han’gul p’ilpa pon e nat’an an han’gul p’ilpa ŭ munhwa-jŏk maengnak,” *Han’guk kojŏn yŏsŏng munhak yŏn’gu* 17 (2008): 273-308, for a wide range of purposes stated by late-Chosŏn female readers-cum-copyists-cum-writers in their perusal of texts in the Korean vernacular script, including fictional narratives in the vernacular script.

558 Although not as fully vernacular as other Chinese novels listed in this study, *Sanguozhi yanyi* was extremely popular among late-Chosŏn literati. See Hyuk-chan Kwon, “From *Sanguo zhi yanyi* to *Samgukchi*: Domestication and Appropriation of *Three kingdoms* in Korea,” 2010, for details of the reception of *Sanguozhi yanyi* in Korea. This study details the Korean reception of *Sanguozhi yanyi* from the seventeenth century all the way through contemporary Korea along with the various socio-historical and ideological contexts that facilitated the enduring popularity of this work.

For further discussions on female readership of Korean vernacular fiction, see also studies on the so-called “Naksŏnjae pon sosŏl” 用善齋本 小說, a corpus of vernacular fictional narratives written in the vernacular script.
suggesting that he read stories from the *Unsophisticated talks, Invisible workings, Old tales, and Haksan.* This means that these *yadam* collections circulated along with a host of other Chinese texts such as Chinese vernacular fiction, classical fiction, and late-Ming and early Qing literary figures’ writings. Inspired by what he read, Yu himself composed a few *yadam*-like narratives. Moreover, records suggest that his granddaughter had a copy of a vernacular rendition of Sin Tonbok’s *Haksan*, which Yu heard her reciting. His diary also mentions a story contained in TPNS (YONSEI 73) as something that he had recently *heard*. Although Yu Manju was not an official, he came from one of the illustrious capital-residing clans; this suggests that *yadam* collections circulated in tandem with various types of written narratives of both Korean and Chinese origins within the socio-literary circles to which Yu Manju belonged. These facts indicate that vernacular Chinese fiction had *much* to do with Chosŏn literati.

With regard to other Chinese colloquialisms, a few more examples from *yadam* collections are worth mentioning. In the Yŏm Hŭidŏ story of TPNS is a phrase in *baihua* with the use of “是” as copula as in “Who are you?/You are what kind of a person?” (汝是何人). In the *Compendium of the records of anecdotes and hearsay* (mid-19th c.) an expression that survives in modern spoken Chinese appears: i.e., “Who is that person

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Sin Tong’il’s PhD dissertation deals with this topic; regrettably, it focuses on a much later time period from the creation of TPNS. Further research is needed on this topic.

Sin Tong’il’s study reveals one interesting fact about the story of Kwŏn of Andong (YONSEI 11). In a version of *Jingu qiguan*, or more appropriately, *Kŭmgŏ kigwan*, the story of Kwŏn of Andong, which, as far as my research goes, originates from TPNS, is included as an entry.
over there?” (這位是誰). Further historicization of the language of TPNS and other yadam collections will shed light on the ways in which Chinese vernacular expressions permeated late-Chosŏn literary practice. Furthermore, Kiri ch’onghwa 綺里叢話 (Compendium of stories by Kiri Yi Chyŏn’gi), a nineteenth-century miscellany by Yi Hyŏn’gi 李玄緯 (1796-1846), contains a full-length fictional narrative written in baihua only: i.e., “The story of Chang, the faithful widow” (Chang sugwa chŏn 張守寡傳).\footnote{Yi Sanghyŏn, “Kiri ch’onghwa yŏn’gu,” MA thesis, Sŏnggyungwan University, 2009, 74-87.} According to Yi Sanghyŏn, Yi Hyŏn’gi used baihua for the story because Chosŏn literati at that time perceived baihua as the language of fiction writing.\footnote{Ibid., 85.} Yi Sanghyŏn notes that in some limited and isolated cases Chosŏn literati experimented with baihua within their writing, although he does not provide concrete examples. However, full-scale fictional narratives written in baihua are extremely rare. Out of the twenty narratives (including the “Story of Chang”) in Compendium of stories by Kiri Yi Hyŏn’gi, several of them have counterparts in Green hills. Intertextual connections between Compilation of stories, Green hills, and TPNS suggest that a stylistic comparison of the three compilations will yield meaningful data on the overall stylistic features of yadam narratives as a genre.\footnote{According to a recent study, No Kŭng, No Myŏnghŭm’s son, adopted baihua-style in his prose composition, although no clear analysis of No’s prose style is provided in it. See An Taehoe, Kojŏn sanmun sanch’ae: Chosŏn ūi munjang ūl mannada (Seoul: Hyumŏnisŭt’ŭ, 2008), 127.}

7.2.10.3. Yŏgŏ yuhae po

One more lexical encyclopedia relevant to TPNS is Yŏgŏ yuhae po 譯語類解補 (Supplemented classified dictionary of translated words and phrases for interpreters)
1775), compiled by Kim Honggil 金弘喆 (1715-?; passed the interpreter’s examination in 1740) at the School for Official Interpreters (Sayŏgwŏn 司譯院). This was an update of the Yŏgŏ yuhae 譯語類解 (Classified dictionary of translated words and phrases for interpreters; compiled in 1682, published in 1690).563

See below for examples of TPNS baihua lexicon that appear as entries in Ōrokhae, sosŏl ŏrokhae, and Yŏgŏ yuhae, from my reading of the sections on mono- and di-syllabic expressions.

Table 7.8. Ōrokhae, Yŏgŏ yuhae po, and Sosŏl orokhae

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ōrokhae</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>資: General counter for things</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>他: Someone else; something else</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>是: Copula</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>作+ noun (originally ‘verb+object’ or ‘verb+verb’): 為 to do (something)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>看: (Physically) follow someone</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>漢: (Derogatory) a man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>黔: Third-person pronoun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>做: Do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>須: Must</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>解: Know; comprehend</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>恰: Appropriately</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>討: Seek as in 討飯 (not just for beggars)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>宿留: Stay overnight (留宿 in TPNS)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>去處: Place; destination. See also Yŏgŏ yuhae po.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>何物人: As in 何物村翁 (What old country bumpkin [are you]?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>以: = 由: Reason; cause</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>分付: Command; give directions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>伶俐: Clever; talented.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See also 7.2.9. “Colloquial idioms” listed in Kogŭm sŏngnim and Songnam chapchi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>大: Many; most</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>活計: Livelihood; work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>都是: (Not) at all</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>無所: Nowhere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>打話: Talk; say something</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>一場: A round of; a bout of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>一齊: At the same time; simultaneously</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

563 For further details on Yŏgŏ yuhae po, see Yŏn Kyudong’s bibliographic notes on the text available online at the official website of the Kyujanggak Library at Seoul National University.
### Ōrokhae

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>许多</th>
<th>A great many; heap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>多少</td>
<td>More or less</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>從來</td>
<td>Hitherto; previously</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>從前</td>
<td>Hitherto; previously</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>十分</td>
<td>Most; utterly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>一件</td>
<td>A set of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Sosŏl ōrokhae

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>入眼</th>
<th>as in “入眼男子”: pleasing to the eye; a person to one’s liking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>敢</td>
<td>dare; flout (=侮)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>煩</td>
<td>hassle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>些/些少</td>
<td>for a short while</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>買買</td>
<td>transaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>本錢</td>
<td>capital; seed money (also Yŏgŏ yuhae po)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>和尚</td>
<td>Buddhist monk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>頭陀</td>
<td>Buddhist monk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>可憐</td>
<td>pitiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>再冉</td>
<td>softly; gradually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>一併</td>
<td>together with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>一路</td>
<td>the whole way; all the way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>水陸</td>
<td>food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>如此</td>
<td>like this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>朦朧</td>
<td>hazy; unclear</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Yŏgŏ yuhae po

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>班師</th>
<th>Withdraw troops</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>合掌</td>
<td>Put one’s palms together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>張口</td>
<td>Open one’s mouth wide</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>納幣</td>
<td>Sending of wedding gifts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>本錢</td>
<td>Capital; seed money (also found in Sosŏl ōrokhae)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>再三</td>
<td>Two, three times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>如何</td>
<td>Like how</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>去處</td>
<td>Place; destination (also found in Ōrokhae)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7.2.11. Classical idioms

Up to this point, I have discussed the lexical texture of TPNS with a focus on Korean colloquial idioms and idioms recognized by Chosŏn people as originating from Chinese colloquialisms in TPNS. For the remaining part of this section, I discuss classical idioms found in TPNS. In light of Dudbridge’s comments on a writer’s use of and a reader’s perception of allusions, classical idioms used in TPNS may be divided into...
three types: phrases stripped of their metaphoric dimension, more allusive phrases, and less allusive phrases. As such, classical idioms in TPNS might better be termed idioms ‘originating from classical writings (Confucian classics and the literary canon).’ Classical idioms in TPNS are context-dependent and thus, thorough and time-consuming research is required for a fuller exposition. Therefore, I will point out only some general characteristics and offer examples for future research.

Intertextuality, insofar as it refers to one text’s connection with another, has long been an important part of Korea’s literary tradition, especially in orthodox hanmun writing. Confucian classics and other works of the Chinese literary canon formed a set of venerated exemplars for emulation. Writers’ alignment of themselves to preexisting paradigms formed both centripetal and centrifugal forces for new literary creations. Making explicit or allusive references to existing literary works was a common literary practice for writers to legitimate the raison d’être or to elevate the status of a piece of writing. For example, the aforementioned Yi Chehyŏn’s (1287-1367) preface to his Old Man Oak alludes to Zhuangzi’s tree that preserves its life by being ‘useless.’ Using this allusion, Yi Chehyŏn rhetorically legitimizes his entire endeavor to produce something that does not quite fit the standard of ‘literature.’ In the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty, Sŏ Kŏjong’s (1420-1488) Tongmunsŏn 東文選 (Anthology of literature of the East; 1478) alludes to China’s Wenxuan 文選 (Anthology of literature) by Zhaoming taizi 昭明太子 (501-531) in order to assert Korea’s cultural identity by juxtaposing Korea’s
illustrious past with that of the Chinese literary tradition. Intertextuality was both a common and important aspect of premodern literary practice in Korea.\footnote{For an example of a fifteenth-century Korean literatus’s caliber of literary allusion, see Anne Husstad-Nedberg’s annotated translation of Kim Sisūp’s (1435-1498) “Manboksachōp’o ki” (萬福寺樗蒲記 (“Game with a Buddha of Myriad Blessings Temple’’), a chuangji creation inspired by Jiandeng xinhua 剪燈新話 (New stories while trimming the wick) by Qu You 翟佑 (1347-1433). See Ane Husstad-Nedberg, “An annotated Translation of ‘Manboksachōp’o ki’ by Kim Sisūp,” MA thesis, University of Oslo, 2005.}

For classical idioms, it is important to note what period of the Chinese literary past a particular Chosŏn literary figure desired to use as exemplar (chŏnbŏm 典範) for his own creation. Investigating various literary exemplars is a complex topic that requires a lengthy discussion of the politics of the Koryŏ and Chosŏn dynasties, the transition from the former to the latter, philosophy, the institution of China-Korea international relationships and the roles of Korean scholar-officials’ exchanges of poetry with Chinese counterparts, the circulation and publication of books, and the general history of these two dynastic periods. A summary of all aspects of the question of role models would exhaust the space limitations of this chapter; moreover, we do not have any other writings by No Myŏnghŭm. Therefore, I will simply mention some prominent traits of literary exemplars in the late-eighteenth century.

Generally speaking, from Koryŏ to mid-Chosŏn,\footnote{For the relationship between late-Silla-to-early-Koryŏ literature and Chinese literature, see Yi Hyesun, Koryŏ chŏngi hanmunhaksa (Seoul: Ewha University Press, 2004).} Tang style,\footnote{For discussions of Tang style in the late Koryŏ to early Chosŏn context, see John B. Duncan, The origins of the Chosŏn dynasty, (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2000), 5-6, 237-265.} Tang-Song style (唐宋體), and/or Pre-Qin and the Two Han’s (先秦兩漢) formed commonly-invoked paragons to be emulated for poetry and prose. Who invoked under what circumstances was contingent upon contexts. To take a few examples, Yu Mong’ın, who...
flourished in the early seventeenth century, espoused the styles of Pre-Qin and the Two Han’s while deprecating Tang-Song style as unsuitable for his prose composition. Yu’s contemporary Hŏ Kyun came from a family whose literary tastes favored Tang poetry, while Hŏ Kyun himself was one of the very first Chosŏn literati fascinated with the writings of the Gong’an School (公安派) of the late Ming. After Hŏ, numerous late-Chosŏn literati adopted and adapted the literary thought espoused by the Gong’an School, so that by the eighteenth-century, literati’s interest in the style proposed by the Gong’an School grew more prominently. Yu Manju, the diarist from the late-eighteenth century, read various kinds of Chinese books written by late-Ming and early Qing figures. Many late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century literati were avid readers of sop’um who materialized their creative impulses by experimenting with new styles they saw in sop’um writings. Sim Kyŏngho describes the late-Chosŏn literary landscape as a complex one, in which Tang-Song style, Pre-Qin and the Two Han’s, and late-Ming xiaopinwen 小品文—sop’um as defined by Kim Yŏngjin (2003)—were widely read, and literati socialized with non-yangban literary figures (such as yŏhang’in), while female composers of hansi poetry became prominent. It has also been suggested that scholars’ factional affiliations influenced the formations of distinctive discourses on literary

567 Kang Myŏnggwan, Antchok kwa pakkatchok (Seoul: Somyŏng ch’ulp’an, 2007).
568 Kang Myŏnggwan, Kong’an-p’a wa Chosŏn hugi hanmunhak (Seoul: Somyŏng ch’ulp’an, 2007).
570 Sim Kyŏngho, Chosŏn sidae hanmunhak kwa sigyŏng, 19.
Within this context, there was ample room for writers to express their individuality. Here we want to remind ourselves that Hong Yonghan, No Myŏnghŭm’s biographer, once described No as critical of unoriginality and as interested in innovative literary styles in his later years.

Still, the orthodox literary models in late Chosŏn were the so-called Eight Masters of the Tang-Song 唐宋八家, especially in the last decade of King Chŏngjo’s reign (1780s-1790s). During this period, the Cheng-Zhu orthodoxy became increasingly politicized in the realm of literary writing and as a result, the Tang-Song literary paragons emerged arguably as sunjŏng komun 醇正古文 (“untained use of old phraseology) to become more prominent than ever in Chosŏn history.572 King Chŏngjo’s own comments on the propriety of literary styles were based upon the idea of the monarch as the promoter of proper literary styles in the public sphere. For example, while serving as Grand Heir, he worked on the Sawŏn yŏnghwaw 詞苑英華 (Elegance of writings; compiled and published in 1775) and the Munwŏn pobul 文苑黼黻 (Exquisite patterns of writing; compiled in 1775, published in 1787); these were collections of literary styles used in official documents since the foundation of the dynasty up to his time. Once on the throne, Chŏngjo published Chuŭi ch’an’yo 奏議纂要 (Compilation of bureaucratic reports to the king; 1780)573 and Yukchu yaksŏn 陸奏約選 (A concise guide

571 For an example, see Song Hyŏkki, “17 segi huban – 18 segi ch’o Hŏ Mok kyeyŏl Namin munden ū sanmun non: Tong sigi Kim Ch’anghyŏp sanmun non kwa ū taebi rŭl chungsim ūro,” Minjok munhaksa yŏn’gu 27 (2005): 80-108.


573 The exemplary writings of the three patriarchs of Cheng-Zhu neo-Confucianism, Cheng Yi 鄭鎰 (1032-1085), Cheng Hao 鄭頊 (1033-1107), and Zhu Xi 朱熹, and nine Chosŏn scholar-
to Lu Zhi’s writings; compilation completed in 1794, published in 1797). These writings were references for “model literary styles for official documents” (館閣文).

In the last two decades of his reign, King Chŏngjo used the discourse of sunjŏng komun to argue that the mores of the scholars and the mores of the states are one and the same: “Literary styles follow the mores of the scholar. The mores of the scholar are none other than the essential moving force of the state” (文體隨士氣 士氣即國之元氣).

With this motto, he openly criticized literati’s perusal of Chinese vernacular fiction and xiaopin writings and their emulation of writing styles in them. First labeled as the

officials, including Cho Kwangjo 趙光祖, Yi Hwang 李滉 (1501-1570; m. 1534 T’oegye 退溪), Sŏng Hon 成渓 (1535-1598; Uglye 牛溪), Yi I 李珥 (1536-1584; m. 1564; Yulgok 栗谷), Cho Hŏn 趙憲 (1544-1592; m. 1567; Chungbong 重峰), Kim Changsaeng 金長生 (1548-1631; Sagyе 沙溪), Kim Chip 金集 (1574-1656; ch. 1591; Sindokchae 懷獨齋), Song Chun’gil 宋渾吉 (1606-1672; s.-ch. 1624; Tongch’undang 同春堂, and Song Siyŏl 宋時烈 (1607-1689; s. 1633; Ujae 尤齋). 574

574 隴贊 Lu Zhi (745-805) was a famous Tang minister.

575 Numerous poetry anthologies were also published: e.g., the Tubo punun 杜律分韻 (Shared rhymes in Tu Fu’s regular poems; 1798), the Yugyu lunun 陸律分韻 (Shared rhymes in Lu You’s regular poems; 1798), the Tu Yuk punun 杜陸分韻 (Shared rhymes in regular poems written by Tu Fu and Lu You; 1798), the Tu Yuk ch’ŏnsŏn 杜陸千選 (Anthology of one thousand poems by Tu Fu and Lu You; 1799), etc. Most of the literary paragons were Chinese authors, but there were also some that included the works of Chosŏn figures. A greater number of models for prose writing were published, too. The eight masters of the Tang and Song dynasties and Zhu Xi were, unsurprisingly, the most prized paragons. In 1781, Chŏngjo published the Tang-Song P’alja paeksŏn 唐宋八子百選 (One hundred essentials from the writings of the Eight Great Literary Figures of the Tang and Song Dynasties). In 1796 were published the Ŭjong sagi yŏngsŏn 御定史記英選 (Royally designated essentials of the Shiji; 1796), extracts from Sima Qian’s Shiji and from the Han shu by Pan Gu. Chŏngjo also published several works by Zhu Xi. In 1796 he published the Chusŏ paeksŏn 朱書百選 (A selection of one hundred epistolary writings by Zhu Xi).

All of these writings were later compiled and published in 1798 through 1799 in a single text entitled the Sabu sugwŏn 四部手圈 (Handbook for the Four Genres). This compilation of the four essential literary traditions included Chŏngjo’s own punctuation (圈點) and evaluative markings (批點).

For various publication projects during Chŏngjo’s reign, see Kim Munsik, Chŏngjo úi kyŏnghak kwa chujahak (Seoul: Munhŏn kwa haesŏksa, 2000), 13-28.

576 Chŏngjo sillok 33 (15/08/pyŏng’o).
“munch’e panjông” 文體反正 (‘rectification of literary styles) of King Chŏngjo by Japanese scholar Takahashi Tôru 高橋亭 (1877-1967) in 1932, Japanese scholar Takahashi Tôru 高橋亭 (1877-1967) in 1932, King Chŏngjo’s series of attempts at curbing the flourishing of new and diverse literary styles was targeted particularly at the literati’s Chinese vernacular fiction and xiaopin writings and their emulation of writing styles found in them. While promoted as a kind of literary movement, the “munch’e panjông” was as political as it was cultural in that within a society where literature was understood to be the ‘vessel of the Way’ (載道之文), the act of promoting a particular set of literary styles as superior, pure, and correct to others was by nature political.

It is difficult to measure the impact of King Chŏngjo’s literary rectification on the formation and survival of TPNS. Circumstantial evidence suggests that TPNS perhaps remained unattended to for a few decades after No’s death because of his son No Kŭng’s exile in the 1780s; the exile has been convincingly explained as a direct consequence of King Chŏngjo’s literary rectification campaign because of No Kŭng’s close relationship.  

578 Tokahashi’s label continues to be used in Korean scholarship. There are several dozens of studies dedicated to Chŏngjo’s “munch’e panjông.” Due to space limitations, I will not attempt to introduce them all here, but offer a brief summary. The earlier studies tend to bifurcate around whether the essence of the rectification movement was political or literary in nature. Studies delving into the political subtext revealed close connections between Chŏngjo’s attempt to control the growing power of the Old Doctrine Faction at court because they constituted the vast majority of late-Chosŏn readers of Chinese fiction and xiaopin writings; according to these studies, Chŏngjo was seeking to consolidate his monarchical authority by securing strong political footing for the hitherto weak Southerners, some of whom were being criticized for their affiliation with Catholicism, which was a heterodox learning. This line of reasoning presented Chŏngjo’s literary rectification attempts as a kind of smoke screen to divert ‘public’ attention at court. Other studies focused on examining specific areas (such as the literary styles found in actual civil service examinations, Yŏnam Pak Chiwŏn’s style, and Yi Ok’s exile) criticized by Chŏngjo as having deteriorated. Still, others investigated specific references found in Chŏngjo’s collected works to delineate what he proposed. Some studies are dedicated to situating the “munch’e panjông” within the general literary practices of the late eighteenth century. More recent studies approach the issue from a more nuanced perspective by acknowledging both the political and literary nature of the events.
with Hong Nagim.\textsuperscript{579} As previously mentioned, the fortunes of the P’ungsan Hong family were contingent upon their relationships with the royal family. The earlier years of Chŏngjo’s reign, which began in 1776, were difficult times for the Hong family because of Chŏngjo’s resentment that his maternal family members were implicated in the death of his father, Prince Sado. Although the relationship between the two improved toward the end of his reign, Chŏngjo’s death in 1800 precipitated a series of antagonistic moves from the rivals of the P’ungsan Hong family, as detailed in Lady Hyegyŏng’s highly defensive descriptions of the plight of her family during the early days of King Sunjo 純祖 (r. 1800-1834; 1790-1834), who succeeded Chŏngjo. No Myŏnghŭm’s manuscript seems to have suffered neglect on account of various indirect and direct consequences of the “munch’e panjŏng.” As to whether the literary paragons promoted or criticized by Chŏngjo had any direct bearing on No’s literary styles or the ways in which the Hong family members explain the value of TPNS as a literary work, this is an intriguing question that demands further research on the consequences of Chŏngjo’s literary rectification movements on Chosŏn literary culture in general and is beyond the scope of this study.

Among the variety of literary models that fascinated Chosŏn literati, one stands out: the \textit{Shiji} by Sima Qian. \textit{Shiji} had been introduced to Korea long before the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{580} However, in the sixteenth century, the text reemerged as an object of aesthetic interest for numerous writers who espoused literary innovation. For example, Pak Chiwŏn (朴趾源, 1737-1805; Yŏnam 燕巖) expounded on the notion of “emulating

\textsuperscript{579} Kim Yŏngjin, “Chosŏn hugi sadaebu ŭi yadam ch’angjak kwa hyang’yu ŭi il yangsang,” 29.

\textsuperscript{580} A most obvious example of the influence of the \textit{Shiji} in Korean history is that Kim Pu sik, an official of the Koryŏ dynasty, compiled the first official historical writing in Korea, and gave it the title \textit{Samguk sagi} 三國史記.
the ancient to establish the new” (法古創新); Pak’s idea and his practice of this literary philosophy through writing became enormously popular among contemporary Chosŏn literati. Pak created a unique style of his own (一家), insofar as his writing was recognized as “Yŏnam-style” (燕巖體) during his own lifetime. At the heart of Pak Chiwŏn’s “emulating the ancient” was Sima Qian’s Shiji.\(^{581}\) The characteristics of Pak’s literary style have been pointed out as ample use of “Korean-style Sino-Korean expressions” (which I call vernacular idioms), baihua-style writing (고로기語錄體), lexical items from Shuihuzhuan-like “yanyi xiaoshou (演義小說)” in terms of non-orthodox hanmun lexicon; four-character phrases (四言句) in terms of rhythm; and apt use of particles (助字) which Pak modeled after Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007-1702); idioms from Shiji and Hanshu\(^{582}\); descriptions that evoked verisimilitude; etc.\(^ {583}\)

Much can be and has already been said about Pak Chiwŏn’s brilliance. The reason I bring him in here is that although No Myŏnghŭm remained a nameless and poor failed examination candidate, his TPNS, too, showcases literary experimentation in its ample use of vernacular idioms of varying kinds, numerous expressions found in the Shiji and Hanshu, and Chinese colloquialisms found in órokhæ, all of which lend credence to Hong Yonghan’s emphasis on No Myŏnghŭm’s literary experimentation. Hong Ponghan once studied the Shiji under Chŏng Naegyo—the man who prefaced Everlasting words of

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\(^{581}\) See Kang Hyesŏn, Pak Chiwŏn sanmun ŭi komun pyŏnyong yangsang (Seoul: T’ae haksa, 1999) for a monograph dedicated to Pak Chiwŏn’s prose writing and its connection with the ancient style (古文).

\(^{582}\) The structure of his collection of short narrative fiction titled Panggyŏkkak oejŏn 放瑣閣外傳 was modeled after the “Biographies” in the Shiji. See Kang Hyesŏn, Pak Chiwŏn sanmun, 115-118.

\(^{583}\) See Kang Hyesŏn, Pak Chiwŏn sanmun, 66-85.
the green hills so as to elevate the status of recording vernacular lyrics in vernacular songs by juxtaposing poetry and lyrics. Although more concrete historical evidence remains to be discovered, circumstantial evidence points to the need to examine No Myŏnghŭm’s TPNS in close relation to late-Chosŏn literati’s literary philosophy. The point is not to elevate No Myŏnghŭm to the position of Pak Chiwŏn, but to view the former as a man of literary prowess who lived at a time when the circulation of books and ideas among literati later gave birth to someone of the caliber of Pak Chiwŏn.\footnote{The amalgamation of old and new found in Pak Chiwŏn’s and No Myŏnghŭm’s writings compels me to call attention to a commentary on Pu Songling’s \textit{Liaozhai zhiyi} (found in Allan H. Barr’s dissertation) by Feng Zhenluan (1760-1830), despite the time difference:}

Moreover, No Myŏnghŭm’s use of classical idioms should be understood as literary effects that he envisioned, rather than as something to be calibrated against Pak’s similar deployments. For example, No Myŏnghŭm’s use of the phrase “an awl in a bag” (囊中只有錐). This phrase seems to be a spin-off of the four-character parable ‘exceptional talent that is revealed at last like an awl in a sack’ (囊中之錐) originating from the “Biography of Ping Yuan” (平原君列傳) in the \textit{Shiji}. In the story of Hong Yŏl (YONSEI 6), a threatened Hong Yŏl is carried on the back of a vicious tiger. Looking for a way to separate himself from the tiger, Hong Yŏl looks into his sack to discover that he

Recent authors of informal literature always try to excel in diction, importing an abundance of flowery phrases so as to exhibit their talent, smearing on classical allusions so as to display their scholarship. \textit{Liaozhai}, in rough attire and unkempt appearance, inserts now and again one or two archaic phrases, and embellishes the tales somewhat with one or two archaic words, just as the biographies of the \textit{Shiji} occasionally cite ancient proverbs or current expressions as well as old books from before Qin and Han. As the varying shades contrast, dripping with bright color, the more natural and spontaneous the work appears, without the slightest suggestion that this is some poor man’s son contriving to make a fool of himself, like a pauper presenting to be rich. It is for this reason that the work merits admiration (My emphasis).

See Allan H. Barr, “Pu Songling and \textit{Liaozhai zhiyi}: A Study of Textual Transmission, Biographical Background, and Literary Antecedents,” PhD diss., Oxford University, 1983.

Aside from suggesting a rather contemporaneous development of literary thought and practice in Korea and China, this passage calls attention to the value of classical and contemporary idioms and the model of the \textit{Shiji} in narrative writing.
does not have a knife but only an ‘awl in [his] sack.’ Within the story, the original meaning of the phrase “囊中之錐” is completely irrelevant. This seems to be No Myŏnghŭm’s innovative use of an existing allusion—not to imply that No Myŏnghŭm is the begetter of this style in Korean narrative writing tradition—a potential pun.

In two TPNS stories, variations on the phrase “佇門/倚門” appear. The phrase is often used as a metaphor to mean ‘(often, a mother) leaning against the gate waiting eagerly for someone’s return’ as in “佇門佇閾/倚門俟之/倚門而望” or ‘rely on someone (parasitically)’ for a particular purpose. In the story of Oksosŏn (YONSEI 40)—a scholar-beauty story reminiscent of the “Tale of Li Wa”—the meaning is rather literal when the protagonist, who has been sweeping snow in the hopes of being recognized by his old love who is sitting outside the door of her room, later describes the situation to his old acquaintance by saying, “Leaning against the door, she recognized my face” (佇門省識吾面). Likewise, in the story of Chŏng the grave keeper (YONSEI 74), one sees another literal use of the phrase. When a marriage proposal is about to be taken to a certain poor boy’s house, the mediator asks his clerk how to broach the matter. The clerk volunteers to go, saying that he frequents the boy’s house and that the boy’s mother

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585 Examples of the latter metaphor are found in Samguk yusa 三國遺事 (Memorabilia of the three kingdoms) from late Koryŏ as in “living by borrowing others’ hands (begging)” (倚門藉手) and Jiandeng xinhua in the “Tale of Aiqing” (“Aiqing zhuan” 愛卿傳) as in “know only relying on others to sell entertainment” (惟知倚門而獻笑). Using the key word “倚門,” I searched munjip (collected works of Korean writers) in the “Database of Korean classics”: one similar usage is found in Yi Ik’s writings in which he uses “倚門賣笑” to refer to prostitution, while all the other cases (a total of sixty) are used metaphorically to mean a parent’s waiting for the return of his or her child.

A search for the phrase “佇門” yields two hits; in both cases the phrase means “rely on (a famous teacher).”
leans against the house’s twig gate and talks to him without avoiding him

(老夫人依扉而無避所, 小人自往告之, 優可偕[諧]矣).

Im Pang’s Invisible workings, too, contains two cases of literal use of the phrase “倚門.” The story “Sweeping snow, catching a glimpse of Oksosŏn” (TENRI 16) is an antedating narrative of the story of Oksosŏn in TPNS. “Sweeping snow” contains the phrase, “The son of the magistrate happened to open the window and lean against the door” (巡使之子, 方開窺倚門)—whereas in TPNS the one who opens the door is Oksosŏn. Another story, “Superintendent comes out of a chest naked” (TENRI 21), has the phrase “lean against the twig door and call a servant boy” (倚門扉呼小童). A similar kind of stripping of allusions is found in a yadam collection that postdates TPNS. In Entry 247 of the Yonsei University edition of Kimun ch’ongsŭa (Compendium of records of anecdotes and hearsay; mid-19th c.) contains a scene, in which a newly-wed Yi Annul 李安訥 (1571-1637; Tong’ak 東岳) goes out to enjoy himself on the fifteenth day of the first year to see the year’s first full moon (上元). Too inebriated to go home [after drinking], he leans against the door of someone’s house and falls asleep: ‘Master Yi (sobriquet Tong’ak), after he was married, went out to hear the sound of the bell on Unjong-no on the fifteenth day of the first year. Intoxicated on the street before Ri-dong, he leaned against a certain [house’s] door and lay down’

(東岳李公新婚後, 上元夜, 聽種於雲從街, 醉過履洞前路, 依一門而臥).

As mentioned in an earlier footnote, Im Wanhyŏk (2004) compares stylistic features between parallel narratives found in TPNS and Kyesŏ’s stories. This study convincingly suggests that Kyesŏ’s stories anticipates readership by lower-brow reader
than the TPNS. As an example of a classical idiom, we can cite the phrase “the territories of
the princes are of equal extent” (translated by James Legge) (地醜德齊) from *Mencius*
in the story of Yi Kwangjŏng (YONSEI 35). This appears paraphrased in a *Kyesŏ stories*
reception of the story as “families of equal standing” 門戶相嫡, a literal translation of its
TPNS counterpart. This lexical transformation, as Im notes, reveals the creative impulses
of the anonymous author-compiler of *Kyesŏ’s stories*.

I quote these examples in order to highlight three aspects of TPNS. (1) TPNS
expects a Korean reader who has a certain level of education in the classics. The reader,
however, does not necessarily have to summon extra-textual knowledge for
understanding allusions. From the perspective of a highly educated reader, then, it seems
plausible to think he or she might have taken delight in phrases that are stripped of their
conventional metaphorical functions but serve as elements that render the familiar
unfamiliar. (2) The author-compiler of *Kyesŏ’s stories* is keenly aware of the impact of
his stylistic change. This also suggests that manipulation of formerly metaphoric phrases
in *Invisible workings* and TPNS can also be taken as an example of stylistic changes
from more conventional writing that relied heavily on allusions. Further examination of
the lexical texture of TPNS will offer a fuller understanding of the stylistic choices
available to nineteenth-century author-compilers of *yadam* and lay the groundwork for
studying the relationship between TPNS and its predecessors in more detail.

Here are numerous classical idioms from the *Shiji* and *Hanshu* found in TPNS
and presented as my final point in this section:

**The story of Yun Kyŏl (YONSEI 32)**
尹進士淸中朝朝人, 卒孟子千遍能文章, 而屏居 (live in retirement: *Shiji*) 窮巷 (humble abode:
*Shiji*), 門稚長者嘑 (lit. ‘the door rarely [visited by the cart] wheels of important people’; visitors
are rare: *Shiji*), 一日, 有奴入告, 有客到門外, 服飾鞍馬, 非宗班則武弁也, 請諸進士主雲云
Chinsa Yun Kyŏl was a person, [who flourished] during the reign of King Chungjong. He read Mencius a thousand times and was a skilled writer. He lived in retirement in a humble abode, where important visitors were rare. One day, a slave came in to report, saying: ‘A visitor is outside the gate. [Judging from] his attire and horse, he must be a royal relative or a military official. He asks to see you, Master.’

The story of a great scholar of Yŏngnam (YONSEI 34) 邑南有一巨擘，發增廣別試鄉解近十四五次，及至會闕，概不得志，子有司家事剝落 (situation deteriorates: Hanshu) 無餘 (have no room: Shijing) 地.

A great scholar of Yŏngnam had already passed the hyangsi (provincial examination) as a chunggwang pyŏsīl (special examination held on account of a large-scale state celebration) almost fourteen to fifteen times. However, when it came to passing the poksi (repeat examination), he repeatedly failed to achieve his goal.

For the modern learner of hanmun, some are easier to understand than others. For example, “窮巷” and “無餘” appear self-explanatory while “剝落” requires the help of a reference tool. “門稀長者敝” seems self-explanatory, while “屏居” is not. It is difficult to measure the full extent of No Myŏnghŭm’s use of classical idioms. I close this section by presenting a table of a small sample of classical idioms from two groups: Pre-Qin and the Two Han’s. To create this table, I consulted two online Chinese databases: ctext.org and zdic.net. A more elaborate search for idioms of the Wei-Jin and the Six dynasties (魏晉六朝), the ‘ancient styles of Tang-Song (唐宋古文), and late-Ming-and-Qing (晚明清初), would offer more in-depth explanations about the lexical texture of TPNS.

Table 7.9. Classical idioms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>潦端</td>
<td>All sorts of affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>餓殍</td>
<td>Corpses of people starved to death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>暴死者</td>
<td>Sudden, violent death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>却立</td>
<td>Stand aloof/standoffish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>尸祝</td>
<td>Principle ritual performer and eulogy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>惶惶</td>
<td>Disappointed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>惶惴</td>
<td>Anxious and fearful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>膏肓</td>
<td>Callus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>童仕</td>
<td>Enter into officialdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>餓色</td>
<td>Seek carnal pleasure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>辟易</td>
<td>Avoid someone (out of fear)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPRESSION</td>
<td>MEANING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>脩力</td>
<td>Physical strength</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>括据</td>
<td>Financial straits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>銘然</td>
<td>Stare wide-eyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>槽穀</td>
<td>‘Grain and chaff’; short for “糟穀之妻” meaning ‘the wife with whom one shared one’s difficulty and poverty who cannot be discarded in one’s affluence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>峙輹</td>
<td>Bumpy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>蒐視</td>
<td>Look carefully; scrutinize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>歎抃</td>
<td>Clap in excitement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>轟繃</td>
<td>Continuous visit of people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>始累</td>
<td>Bring trouble to another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>薄具</td>
<td>(Often humilific) poorly arranged things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>塵駖</td>
<td>Poor scholar of a renowned pedigree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>宿縈</td>
<td>Predestined relationship</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>奪目</td>
<td>Enticing; dazzling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>窠聚</td>
<td>Accumulate (money)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>蟻齧</td>
<td>(Of hair) disorderly; unkempt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>輪騷</td>
<td>‘Wheels and hooves’ = (the sound of) carts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>半子</td>
<td>Son-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>馤習</td>
<td>Tame</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So far, I have shown how the lexical texture of TPNS can be contextualized within late-Chosŏn literati’s keen interest in preserving and fashioning Koreanness by inscribing Korean colloquial expressions in hanmun writing. In the final section, I discuss how No Myŏng’hŭm’s lexical choices exhibit his conscious decision to utilize them for literary effects. In particular, I focus on what scholars of Chinese vernacular fiction observe as the aesthetics of late-Ming vernacular fiction vs. classical fiction in terms of a strong presence of linguistic consciousness in the former. In so doing, I will entertain the possibility of reading TPNS as an example of a yadam compiler’s carving out a space for variant hanmun in narrative composition.
7.3. TPNS: making room for variant hanmun for prose narrative

Earlier in this chapter I called attention to how Pollock’s conception of the vernacularization process results in a break from the existing cosmopolitan order. But no such break occurred within the Sinitic Cosmopolis. The vernacularization process took much longer and did not fully mature until the turn of the twentieth century in these two countries. The reason for this has been attributed to the way in which Literary Sinitic functioned as a written language—as a written code largely unrelated to any spoken language: it was a “demicryptography largely divorced from speech,” according to Mair’s description.\footnote{Mair, “Rise of Buddhism,” 708.} Liangyan Ge’s study of the rise of Chinese vernacular fiction and the rise of baihua as a full-fledged literary language begins by contrasting the European situation with the Chinese one in the following way:

In the history of Western literature a significant moment of the writer learning to babble was in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when men of letters in Europe who had written exclusively in Latin—which was predominantly a literary language seldom spoken out of the church—turned to orality and brought writing more in line with speech. The results were vernacular works such as Giovanni Boccaccio’s Decameron and Geoffrey Chaucer’s Canterbury Tales, which heralded the ascendance of European national literatures written in the vernaculars. In China, due to particular social and cultural conditions and especially to the unique nature of the Chinese script, vernacularization was a much longer and more arduous process\footnote{Ge’s use of “babble” is reminiscent of Pollock’s “literarization”; Ge uses ‘babble’ to highlight how vernacular writers’ use of vernacular language was “re-learning” to speak. See Liangyan Ge, Out of the Margins: The Rise of Chinese Vernacular Fiction (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2001), 2.} (My emphasis).
Using vernacularization in the Sanskrit Cosmopolis as a model, Pollock has made the following observation regarding the Sinitic Cosmopolis:

(1) [In] the wide sphere of Chinese literary communication the vernacular transformation in places like Vietnam or Korea occurred so late as to appear to be the project of a derivative modernization; (2) The innovations in both Korea and Vietnam appear to have been largely instruments designed for the promulgation of neo-Confucianism; and (3) Nor does anything of the same cultural or political order pertain to the “vernacular” novel in China, where vernacularization of the sort considered here never occurred.\(^{588}\)

This is because the vernacularization in the Sanskrit Cosmopolis around the beginning of the second millennium correlated with a “new kind of vernacular political order.”\(^{589}\)

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with women. English, which has had a rich lexis for describing the vernacular since the fourteenth century at the least, might originally have termed this the “vulgar,” “lewd,” or “fleshly” tongue, or, more positively, the “kynde” (natural) tongue.

Because many languages have developed in competition with one another, or with a prestigious classical or learned language such as Latin or Greek, this first sense of the term shades into a second one, describing a national language that acts as a focus for the cultural and political aspirations of a people and their rulers, for underprivileged and privileged alike: in Middle and Modern English, the mother tongue. Used in this sense, the condition of vernacularity is, on one level, something a national language aspires to transcend, whether by standardizing and codifying its phonology, morphology, and spelling or by generating a literature worthy to stand comparison with the classics. This is so even though apologists for a vernacular also stress its distinctiveness and independence from the languages and literatures with which it is in competition.

The same dichotomy between classical and vernacular often also gives rise to a third sense, only tenuously connected with the word’s etymology, in which the term denotes, neither the local nor the national, but the universal: in Middle and Modern English, the common tongue. Claims to this status can be particularly volatile. On the one hand, the vernacular is what the unlearned share with each other, as well as with those who have access to classical or learned language: it is what people all around the world have in common regardless of any one vernacular’s more limited range. But on the other, the learned language, or at the very least its rudiments, can also (counterintuitively) be perceived as vernacular in this sense, forming as it does a means of communication between groups far removed geographically or historically. While the lord in Trevisa’s Dialogue between a lord and a clerk (written in Middle English in the 1380s) rejects this second understanding of the phrase “common tongue” with scorn (since speakers of Latin are few), and while it can be especially controversial in postcolonial cultures, where this common tongue is the language of the former colonizers, such a language still holds value for many who rely on it.

In all three cases (with the possible exception of the last), the term describes, not a language as such, but a relation between one language situation and another, with the vernacular at least notionally in the more embattled, or at least the less clear-cut, position. But despite the overlap between these uses, and the slippage that occurs between them, they remain in theory startlingly distinct, if not mutually contradictory.


\(^{588}\) Sheldon Pollock, Language of the Gods, 595.
The relationship of Literary Sinitic to vernacular Korean was not the same as that of Sanskrit to the vernacular languages of South Asia, nor was it the same as that of Latin to the vernacular languages of Europe. That is, different ecologies of the cosmopolitan and the vernacular can account for others in only limited ways. Moreover, vernacular Korean is an S+O+V language, while Sinitic languages follow the word order S+V+O. The presupposition that unadorned hanmun or hanmun writing containing colloquial Korean expressions could be somewhat closer to spoken Korean glosses over the fact that in Korean literary tradition, writing in hanmun, whether unadorned and simple or elaborate, requires a complex process.

Putting aside the question of a breakage from the existing order, Korea and China seem to have altered the relationship between the cosmopolitan and the vernacular without necessarily decentering wenyan/hanmun and without involving the emergence of drastically new vernacular polities. For example, as I have shown above, inscriptions of vernacular songs into the vernacular can arguably be perceived as a case of vernacular literary form with the superposition of a cosmopolitan model.

In what follows, I highlight the importance of TPNS as a case of vernacularization that involved some new political ordering. This is not to suggest that TPNS is somehow a lesser version of the vernacularization found in the Sanskrit Cosmopolis. Nor have I come across specific linkages between TPNS and Chinese vernacular fiction to claim that TPNS was under direct influence of Chinese vernacular fiction. The connection between the style of TPNS and the vernacular aesthetics is too strong to pass over. My primary goal then, is to present my observations so as to invite

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589 Ibid., 7.
further investigation into the relationship between wenyan, baihua, and variant hanmun in terms of the vernacularization process for written-only language.

In China, as Pollock also notes, baihua grew to become a kind of legitimate literary language, just as did Buddhist Hybrid Sinitic, both within limited spheres first, and next (in the case of baihua) as a full-fledged literary language in the sphere of fiction writing; the high prestige of wenyan remained unaffected, yet baihua came to share the honor of being treated as ‘literature’ within certain discursively constructed realms, i.e., fictional prose. As I have shown above through my explanations and demonstrations of the lexical characteristics of TPNS, a strong penchant toward vernacular language and idiom is unmistakable in TPNS and its emergence was not unrelated to the fall of the Ming and the rise of the Qing, which brought about in Korea a re-centering of the Sinitic Cosmopolis within the domestic perception of the self as against the absoluteness of the preexisting Sinocentric order. In what follows, I discuss the lexical characteristics of TPNS in light of how baihua and wenyan are explained within studies of Chinese vernacular fiction, an area where baihua enjoyed the status of literary language—a status formerly available only to wenyan.

Here are some characteristics of baihua and its similarities and differences with wenyan. Deborah Porter notes that baihua could co-exist with wenyan, as it was “structurally the same as the classical” (My emphasis).\textsuperscript{590} Baihua and wenyan frequently borrowed characteristics from and mixed with each other.\textsuperscript{591} Baihua materialized as grammatical variations of classical Chinese, as a “hybrid medium that represents a self-


\textsuperscript{591} Mair, “Rise of Buddhism,” 709.
conscious mixing of varying levels of speech.” \(^{592}\) The major difference between *wenyan* and *baihua* lies in “the integrity and purity” of a “highly mannered style” in *wenyan*. \(^{593}\)

Stylistic differences between *wenyan* and *baihua*, then, are best examined when one adopts a continuum with *wenyan* on one end and *baihua* on the other in terms of lexicon and syntax in order to investigate stylistic features of the vernacular Chinese story. This is the method pioneered by Patrick Hanan (1981) \(^{594}\) in his study of the stylistics of the Chinese vernacular story (話本小說), a method he uses to date surviving narratives using the concepts of “period style” and “individual style.” Hanan notes that many vernacular stories had an umbilical relationship with classical tales and he distinguishes tale (written in classical language) and story (written in vernacular language) to characterize their stylistic differences.

The relation of the short story to the Classical tale is a special case. Both are prose fiction within the sphere of written literature, and if the vernacular author has respected the tale he chose to imitate, he will inevitably have established an umbilical relationship to it of broad technique as well as fictional matter. To an exceptional degree, the tale will then contain within itself the main literary provenance of the short story, and will thus offer a natural starting-point to the critic. \(^{595}\)

The vernacular adaptation of a classical tale is thus explained as genre translation, due to the power of generic convention: “… When the tale was turned into a story, it was never merely translated into the vernacular. It was always transformed into the other genre.” \(^{596}\)

Patrick Hanan’s study (1981) and that of Shuihu Yang (1994) point out that Feng

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\(^{593}\) Mair, “Rise of Buddhism,” 709.


\(^{595}\) Hanan, “*Pearl-Sewn Shirt*,” 124.


Professor Ross King of UBC points out that Russian scholar A. F. Trotsevich makes a similar point about Korean vernacular translations of Chinese stories, which are *generically* translated into folkloric texts.
Menglong, a major writer of vernacular stories, used the vernacular deliberately in order to raise its status. Hanan’s concept of genre translation alerts us to the possibility of examining the relationship between TPNS and antedating story collections and literary miscellanies with parallel narratives.

Liangyan Ge notes that the 1610 edition of Shuihuzhuan is the “earliest full-length fiction narrative” in “true vernacular prose,” which was part of a larger vernacularization process.597 Taking Ge’s claim of “true vernacular prose,” I pay close attention to his description of the stylistic characteristics of Shuihuzhuan as a case of written vernacular used as a literary language. Baihua is more accommodating to common speech, meaning that “characters in the written vernacular can therefore correspond to speech sounds, usually one character to one syllable”598 and as such, baihua shows an “acclimatization of writing to speech.” This acclimatization of writing to speech does not presume straightforward transcription of speech events. Rather, Ge emphasizes that baihua is a form of textualization.599 Ge interprets the rise of baihua as engineered by frustrated men of letters who could not enter officialdom and who used a unique style of writing to “revolt against the craft literacy in the wenyan tradition and anchored the storytellers’ voice in written words.”600

A full discussion of baihua is not the point of this chapter; therefore, I now compare baihua as a literary language in Chinese vernacular fiction with the lexical textuality of TPNS. Following Ge’s scheme of wenyan-baihua comparison, TPNS, in

598 Ge, Out of the Margins, 5.
599 Ibid., 7.
600 Ibid., 8.
light of No Myŏnghŭm’s lexical choices, without a doubt falls into the latter category of the vernacular; many of the word choices No Myŏnghŭm made in TPNS are easily recognizable to this modern Korean reader as corresponding to speech sound in terms of syllabic counts, a characteristic that Ge notes of baihua. Moreover, Ge describes a wenyan narrative as “tending to be sustained by a linguistic detachment from the narrated world”\textsuperscript{601} while baihua registers “different types of linguistic consciousness.”\textsuperscript{602} The characters in wenyan narratives “do not speak in their own voices” because the world in which they live functions within an “illusory image of verbal-ideological homogeneity of the social reality.”\textsuperscript{603} In wenyan narratives, it is the narrator who speaks.

I have already discussed a variety of colloquial forms of address used in hierarchical social situations in TPNS. Like characters in baihua narratives, the TPNS characters use “first-person pronouns depending on whom they are talking to.”\textsuperscript{604} In TPNS, characters’ social statuses are clearly marked with the type of speech they employ—the narrator lets his characters speak for themselves, as it were. To take the story of Ilt’ahong (YONSEI 39) as an example, it is a scholar-beauty narrative in which a prodigal yangban and a kisaeng meet, fall in love, experience a temporary separation, and reunite in the end after the boy successfully passes the civil service examination to become an official. One might notice that this story and the story of Oksosŏn share the same gist; in both Im Pang’s Invisible workings and in TPNS, the two stories appear as pairs. In the story, the kisaeng Ilt’ahong uses expressions like “Little me” (小人), “Your

\textsuperscript{601} Ibid., 184.
\textsuperscript{602} Ibid., 186.
\textsuperscript{603} Ibid., 186.
\textsuperscript{604} Ibid., 189.
humble wife” (妾), “I” (吾, 我), and “Your secondary wife” (小室) when she refers to herself in front of her lover, Sim Hŭisu (沈喜壽 1548-1622; m. 1572; Ilsong 一松).

The TPNS narrator—much like his characters—also employs diverse expressions to refer to the same person. To take the same story as an example, the narrator first calls the male protagonist “Minister Sim Hŭisu, sobriquet Ilsong” (一松沈相國喜壽). Yet, when Sim Hŭi’s childhood is introduced, the narrator immediately switches to using “the boy Sim” (沈童). For the most part, Sim is referred to as “Sim” (沈) or “he” (渠).

However, after Sim passes the civil service examination and visits one of his father’s old friends, the narrator calls Sim by the vernacular expression “the Newly Matriculated” (sinŭn 新恩) to mark Sim’s position vis-à-vis the old friend of Sim’s father. Such a trait of the narrator suggests yet again that No Myŏnghŭm gave his narratives airs of oral performance.

Furthermore, not only do all of the low-born characters mark their positions vis-à-vis their masters by using honorific forms of address—i.e., their use of humilific expressions like “(humilific) I” (小人)—but they are also capable of choosing what forms of address to use, whether to use them at all, or how to use them for what ends. For example, in the story of Kwŏn of Andong (YONSEI 11) a father character imitates his slave’s speech when he orders the slave to have his son summoned, by saying, “Go fetch Little Master (書房主) at once.” In the story of Yun Kyŏl (YONSEI 32), a visitor to a scholar’s house reassures the slave of the house who thinks that the guest has come to the wrong place by saying, “I have come to the right place to pay a visit to Your Master, the [holder of a] literary licentiate” (汝上典進士主). In another story, speaking to an old
friend of his former master, a slave refers to the children of his old master as “Little Masters, Brothers” (小上典兄弟), “Oldest Son Master” (伯上典), “Younger Son Master” (季上典) (YONSEI 30). To revisit the story of Ilt’ahong, the kisaeng Ilt’ahong calls her lover-turned-husband Sim Hŭisu using a host of titles, such as “Son of an illustrious family” (都令主 or 道令主), “My dear husband” (書房主), or “My (dear) master”/“Honorable Sir” (進賜主). Within the family, nephews call their uncles “My dear uncle” (叔主) (YONSEI 3) while the ghost of a younger brother calls his older brother “my dear older brother” (兄主) (YONSEI 21). As previously introduced, a scholar-official son of a high-ranking official and a lowborn secondary wife are described to have used the humilific verb “白” (to humbly offer up words) when speaking to his father and her husband, respectively.

Characters’ speech is fully incorporated as part of the storytelling as seen in the following examples. Non-yangban family characters speak in a noticeably earthy manner marked with a lack of decorum. For example, in the story of Chŏng Kiryong (YONSEI 22), the single daughter of a hyangni employs disrespectful speech to challenge her parents when her doting parents express their will to select a son-in-law for her. Her mother, too, uses equally aggressive speech mannerisms to upbraid her daughter. However, when the daughter refers to them in front of her husband, she employs an expression of respect: “my (dear strict) parents” (吾嚴親). Here are two excerpts:

Their daughter said, “A woman’s life depends on her husband. If she makes one mistake, then there will be no end to her regret. How could one simply sit silently with a shy look on her face and wait for her parents’ selection of her spouse? In this town, my father is versed in the affairs of administrative work. However, you are of a low social class. How could you have developed discernment to recognize a good person? I myself will use my own taste to select my spouse. Even if my age goes beyond the marriageable age, I will not stop until I have found the right person.”
Her parents could not force her.

The mother rebuked her, saying, “You did not allow your parents to pick a spouse for you and promised that you would select an exceptional person. Now you have chosen this shabbily clothed beggar on your own. Your eyes are better to be gouged out.”

The daughter said, “Mother, don’t talk nonsense.”

After a little while, the clerk [= the father] came home and said the same thing as his wife. The daughter said, “My father’s taste is truly despicable. How can you not recognize this boy’s greatness? Although he is in rags, if you take his ears, eyes, mouth, and nose apart and examine each, how could there be a single thing that is not well-formed?”

Close examination showed this apparently to be the case and her father said, “If your mind has been made up already, I cannot help but follow your wish.”

The earthy speech in this narrative has two functions: (1) it marks the social status of the characters—members of a *hyangni* class—who are not bound by the usual Confucian propriety of filial submission and parental authority and (2) it highlights the girl’s ambition to achieve upward social mobility because of what she sees in him—a prominent public figure in the future.

TPNS clearly represents a case where the characters have “control over the way they speak” and the narrative does not “present an illusory image of verbal-ideological homogeneity of the social reality, forcing the diversity of life into a ready-made linguistic uniform.” To borrow again Ge’s characterization of the stylistic features of Chinese vernacular fiction, TPNS “registers and orchestrates” “different types of linguistic consciousness.”

In short, TPNS evinces that No Myŏnghŭm constructed a linguistic consciousness in his narratives that gives his characters voices of their own.

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605 Ibid., 186.
As Chapter Four and Chapter Six have shown, TPNS does not employ the storyteller-narrator found in vernacular Chinese story or novel genres. The narrative world that No Myōnghūm creates is an interesting mixture of casual oral storytelling and professional oral storytelling—this perhaps holds some key to the kind of oral form that No Myōnghūm envisioned creating within TPNS. Still, by drawing a direct connection between No Myōnghūm’s life experience and the kind of narratives he produced, I distance myself from TPNS as a reflection of oral events—as most often suggested by scholars of the text. Rather, I side with the notion of imitation of oral forms in No Myōnghūm’s textualization of his narratives.

To return to TPNS using Deborah Porter’s description of baihua as a literary language, TPNS, too, is “a hybrid medium that represents a self-conscious mixing of varying levels of speech” and employs “a series of styles that are differentiated in part by a mix of the classical and vernacular languages.”

Patrick Hanan points out as one of the characteristics of the Chinese vernacular fiction its “formal realism,” along with detailed logical plots and concretization of settings, and refers in this context to the narrator’s careful attention to the characters’ names, where they lived in terms of location and social status, and how they spoke. Some of the TPNS protagonists remain unnamed; yet the narrator is kind enough to reveal that he has forgotten a protagonist’s name. For the most part, the narrator pays attention to where and how the protagonists live without necessarily committing them to a specific point in time, while what the protagonists do is almost always clearly within the context of contemporary Korea (100-150 years ago). The verb dao to mean ‘say’ is a

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characteristic of baihua literature; indeed, all the characters in the aforementioned rare baihua narrative titled the “Story of Chang the faithful widower” employ dao, or to in its Sino-Korean reading. In TPNS, dao/to is used only when the characters summarize what has happened to them, never as a marker of direct quotes. In terms of mimetic level, most of the TPNS narrators are life-size heroes or ironic heroes—this means that there are no larger-than-life epic heroes.

Hanan also mentions that the vernacular story was written for a broad reading public. This seems quite possible given that a great deal of the classical idioms found in TPNS seem relatively easy to decipher or appear to be rather literal. The point about readership, however, should be understood not as an absolute one but as a relative one. For example, as Im Wanhyŏk’s study of Kyesŏ’s stories shows, this particular yadam collection is far more vernacularized. Conversely, Yi Wŏnmyŏng’s Anthology of stories of the East cannibalizes heavily from preexisting written narratives, including some from TPNS, without citation and brings them closer back toward a classical style by replacing the so-called unadorned style of yadam with highly embellished substitutions.

In light of Pollock’s discussions of vernacularization and Ge’s concept of slow vernacularization because of the difficulty of Literary Sinitic, Yi Wŏnmyŏng’s act can be interpreted as an attempt to elevate yadam narratives and bring them into ‘literature’ proper. What Yi Wŏnmyŏng perceived as unsuitable arguably began with No Myŏnhŭm’s tour de force in TPNS in the late eighteenth century when he incorporated a host of vernacular idioms, vernacular speech, and baihua elements and intermixed them with hanmun. In short, the author-compiler of Kyesŏ’s stories—and quite possibly of other nineteenth-century yadam collections like Kyesŏ miscellany, Green hills, and
Records of hearsay, as suggested in this chapter—perceived vernacularization-in-the-making within TPNS and took it to another level, while Yi Wŏnmyŏng, too, perceived this same vernacularization-in-the-raw only to put a stop to it and bring it back into the realm of conventional literature. All of this strongly points to the contribution TPNS made to the literarization of variant hanmun. The lexical texture of TPNS, therefore, suggests No’s attempt at a grand experiment in the deployment of variant hanmun as a literary language for composing prose narratives that were acknowledged as such by successive compilers of hanmun prose narratives dealing with orally circulating stories.

7.4. Conclusions

This chapter has examined the lexical characteristics of TPNS and used the research findings to entertain the possibility that TPNS was a case of variant hanmun used as a literary language. “Lexical characteristics of TPNS within the late-Chosŏn ecology of language” showed the diverse array of lexical items found in TPNS, including: (1) inscriptions of forms related to Korean history, persons, places, and customs; (2) idu expressions; (3) phonetic transcriptions of Korean words; (4) made-in-Korea sinographs; (5) comments on Korean dialect; (6) Korean sayings and proverbs; (7) colloquial forms of address; (8) vernacular idioms listed in two late-Chosŏn encyclopedias; (9) vernacular idioms not listed in these two encyclopedias; (10) Chinese colloquialisms in light of ōrokhae, sosŏl ōrokhae, and yŏgŏ yuhae po; and finally (11) classical idioms.

My discussions juxtaposed the creation of TPNS with the more general interest among late-Chosŏn literati in discovering, preserving, and fashioning Koreanness that grew prominent from the seventeenth through late eighteenth century and discussed
TPNS in the context of experimentation with new literary styles in the mid- to late eighteenth century. Through my discussion, I presented TPNS as a case where variant hanmun was used in prose narrative. I made a case for future research into stylistic aspects of TPNS as well as yadam narratives in general as a literary category within the Chosŏn written tradition.

In “TPNS: Making room for variant hanmun for prose narrative,” I examined characteristics of TPNS in light of the wenyan-baihua distinction made in Sinological research on Chinese narrative fiction. I illustrated strong connections between the aesthetics of Chinese vernacular fiction in TPNS. Linking the status of TPNS as one of the first story collections that was heavily cannibalized by nineteenth-century yadam compilers to Yi Wŏnmyŏng’s Anthology of stories of the East, in which the author-compiler engages in a serious “literary rectification” project to bring the literary language back into the realm of the cosmopolitan, I argued that TPNS is a case where the use of variant hanmun was used as literary language for prose narrative in the sense of vernacularized hanmun. In light of Patrick Hanan’s concept of genre translation in classical-to-vernacular narrative transmission in the Chinese narrative tradition, I also identified the need to examine yadam narratives and parallel precedents.

Most importantly, this chapter questioned a previous conclusion made about Korean vernacularization within the Sinitic Cosmopolis by offering two cases as examples of Korean writers’ appropriation of colloquial Korean expressions for literary composition modeled after the superposed cosmopolitan. The first was Chŏng Naegyo’s valorization of Kim Ch’ŏnt’aek’s compilation of Korean vernacular songs in the Korean vernacular script not as transcription but translation into the form of poetry. The second
was No Myŏnghŭm’s heavy-duty embracing of vernacular idioms and Korean vernacular that were otherized as inappropriate for proper writing and that had been used in *idu*-style documentary writing in order to create literary effects in prose narrative. The importance of No Myŏnghŭm’s use of vernacular idiom lies *not* in the fact that he used them, but in *how* he used it. I showed that No Myŏnghŭm manipulated language in general but the colloquial forms of address in particular to make his protagonists behave in a manner that is highly reminiscent of the aesthetics of *baihua* in Chinese vernacular fiction. For this reason, I presented TPNS as a case of an experimentation of language toward vernacularization of *hanmun* in prose narrative, while inviting further research on this point.
8. Conclusions

The idea of yadam as a ‘difficult-to-define’ genre is closely connected with how it has been treated as a research topic. Borne out of the discourse of national literature, yadam narratives were treated as encapsulations of authentic late-Chosŏn social reality and harbingers of Western-style modernity and the modern (Western) Novel. They used to be imagined almost exclusively as repositories through which one could recapture the past. In more recent years, text-based analyses and historical contextualizations of yadam narratives within Chosŏn literary culture have continued to move away from older nationalism-laden discourses to further concretize the boundaries of yadam as a literary category. This dissertation began by joining this latter trend and critically interrogating how nationalistic discourses shaped yadam studies at their genesis and by accentuating heretofore under-examined aspects of yadam narratives as literary compositions by individual writers with from a specific historical time and place.

As such, this dissertation has touched on many big topics: nationalist historiography, the forging of new genres and new disciplinary identities, changing ideas about the relationship between speech and writing, the act of literary creation, perceptions of genre, the changing dynamics of literary practice in history with a specific focus on late-Chosŏn literary culture within the Sinitic Cosmopolis in the late eighteenth century, the interplay between cosmopolitan and vernacular, and finally, the life experience of an individual author-compiler and his collection of literary compositions dealing with stories circulating in the world during his lifetime.

The first-generation scholars’ definitions of yadam as a literary category were destined to fall short as a viable conceptual or methodological paradigm.
Kuyŏn (Actual Oral Storytelling Events) in Late-Chosŏn yadam revealed the inherently dehistoricizing discourses that shaped the origins of yadam studies. The generic boundaries of hanmun tanp’yon were defined along the lines of the teleology of modernity—a linear model of historical development, and romantic nationalism—according to which literary works in Korean history are assessed as valuable elements that serve to glorify Korea as a nation-state. Hanmun tanp’yon as a late-Chosŏn category was borne as a corpus of narratives summoned from an otherwise seemingly amorphous masses of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literary texts in Literary Sinitic to be newly grouped as representatives of late-Chosŏn social reality. This was accomplished through a complex and eclectic amalgamation of ideas based on national identity and modernity that held forth the possibility of capturing in writing an authentic late-Chosŏn human voice and experience in an unmediated way. Plucked out of their original contexts and co-opted into a nationalistic historiography, hanmun tanp’yon were treated as written narratives faithful to some actual/historical oral storytelling events, as useful resources for studying social history, and as narratives written in ‘unadorned’ hanmun and hence ‘closer’ to real-life spoken Korean. They were imagined as vessels of modern ideas, albeit housed in ill-fitting, premodern forms. These discursively constructed semantic parameters went on to mold the definitions of yadam—both at the micro level of individual stories and at the macro level of the genre itself—even while the actual utility of these claims in light of textual corroboration remained untested.

In Toward a more historicized framework for yadam: TPNS as a vantage point, I first called attention to some important conceptual and methodological advances made by scholarship since the 1970s. These included a partial debunking of the
kangdamsa thesis through the introduction of the method of munhŏn chŏnsŭng (creation of new yadam narratives by way of written-to-written transmission), contextualization of yadam author-compiler’s lives in history, perceptions of yadam through the lens of contemporary Chosŏn people, and direct and circumstantial evidence that Chosŏn literati’s reading experience of Chinese classical and vernacular narratives constituted significant life-giving forces for yadam narratives. However, the central point of my review was to demonstrate that the effects of the ideologically-constructed semantic parameters of hanmun tanp’yŏn in the 1970s are still felt today: e.g., yadam narratives are narratives directly and always originating from kuyŏn (performance-like oral storytelling events in history), and by extension, yadam are conduits of Korean essence, social reality, and actual speech from late Chosŏn.

Instead of this kuyŏn-centric paradigm, I have constructed a new framework by incorporating insights from text-based yadam studies that help us situate yadam narratives and their author-compiler’s in concrete historical contexts. I have borrowed ideas from folklore studies, and from studies of Chinese narrative to point out how presupposing a simplistic oral-to-written transmission in writing in general, and in prose narrative writing in particular, is misleading at best. Rather than treating yadam as reflections of actual oral storytelling events and social history, I proposed to treat yadam as literary compositions whereby author-compiler’s strategically deploy oral forms to construct a style of writing that gives an aura of oral provenance. I emphasized that when a new piece of writing is brought into the world, it is always a product of the writer’s decision-making as to how to fit his narrative into the existing literary landscape and as to whether to emulate pre-existing conventions or to innovate literary forms (i.e., the
writer must take into consideration the intertextual gaps that he intends to manipulate. I proposed to re-examine No Myŏnhŭm’s TPNS as a significantly undervalued yadam collection—precisely because of the dehistoricizing tendencies in South Korean scholarship that privilege oral storytelling as historical events over creative impulses on the part of the compilers.

As the first chapter of my series of textual analyses of TPNS, The Life of a Yadam

Author-Compiler and the Origins of His Text reconstructed No Myŏnhŭm’s life and his creation process at Hong Pŏnghan’s household in light of four commemorative texts by members of the Hong family along with other relevant historical information. Although discussions in this chapter depended heavily on the information excavated in the meticulous contextualization of No Myŏnhŭm’s life at the Hong house in Kim Yŏngjin (1998), my study, predicated on the premise that No Myŏnhŭm must have left traces of his life trajectories in TPNS itself, was the first to uncover as much interconnectedness as possible between No Myŏnhŭm’s life and the actual contents of TPNS. I portrayed No Myŏnhŭm’s life chez Hong Pŏnghan as that of a fallen yangban with considerable literary prowess living with one of the most powerful and illustrious families of his time—i.e., a marginalized yangban who has experienced the highs and the lows of a late-Chosŏn social elite’s life. Offering a detailed annotated reading of Hong Yonghan’s “Biography of Master No, a clumsy old man” and of some relevant portions from two prefaces and one postface, I demonstrated that (1) TPNS narratives have a strong tie with the capital in two ways—(a) the vast majority of the narratives deal with prominent persons or families in the capital and (b) a considerable number of TPNS entries deal with economically or social marginalized protagonists who are either
residents of the capital or aspire to move to the capital; (2) many entries deal with secondary sons and wives and their upward social mobility; (3) several entries deal with chivalry and violence; (4) several entries seem to serve as sites for No Myŏnghŭm’s autobiographical inscription in that they deal with themes of upward and downward economic and/or social mobility, use and abuse or misuse of talents, and formation of new social bonds based on ties other than bloodlines.

Calling attention to the postscript-like comments that No Myŏnghŭm left at the end of a large number of TPNS entries, I showed that No Myŏnghŭm foregrounds oral storytelling as major sources for his materials while actually making very little reference to written source materials. Previous studies have tended to emphasize TPNS as a work in which the author-compiler offers detailed information regarding his source materials drawn from oral storytelling. I countered this view by hypothesizing that No Myŏnghŭm’s claims that almost all of his materials were drawn directly from oral accounts should be taken with a grain of salt, because all four writers of the commemorative essays emphasize that No Myŏnghŭm was an avid reader, researcher, and note-taker, as well as a talented raconteur. With my emphasis on authorial compiler’s creative impulses, I excavated numerous references in these commemorative essays on TPNS as a product of No Myŏnghŭm’s painstaking efforts over an extended period of time and as a literary work bearing his beautiful writing style. I speculated that the kind of oral storytelling to which No Myŏnghŭm was exposed was casual, spontaneous storytelling among acquaintances rather than him performing like a professional storyteller. I concluded that TPNS as a compilation of written narratives was accomplished in a space far removed from any actual oral storytelling performance.
Surviving manuscript editions and literary antecedents offers an updated introduction to several surviving manuscript editions of TPNS. The central point of this chapter is that No Myŏng-hŭm was an author-compiler who had designed his collection to be structured in a particular order and that his structure was done in emulation of Im Pang’s Invisible workings. This chapter sketched out a method by which to trace No Myŏng-hŭm’s retelling strategies using preexisting narratives, using the story of Pak Chinhŏn (in Hujae chip) as a point of departure. Along with my excavation of a structural resonance between TPNS and Invisible workings, discussions in this chapter called for a rethinking of the parameters of written-to-written text transmission. That is, the notion of syntagmatic reproduction—an important criterion for discerning a direct relationship between two parallel texts dealing with the same stuff material—as a criterion for discerning a direct influence from one text to its later counterpart has been based primarily on observations about nineteenth-century yadam collections. By contrast, TPNS and its parallel preceding narratives display strong stability in terms of general characterization and plot development, as well as significant paraphrasing in at least two cases beyond that of the story of Pak Chinhŏn, the only story to be have been singled out previously as a ‘lone case’ of written-to-written transmission in TPNS.

Perceptions of generic boundaries surrounding TPNS brings TPNS closer to the preexisting tradition of written narratives that were textualizations based directly and indirectly on orally derived sources. I began by contextualizing TPNS within the Chosŏn literati’s tradition of miscellany writing and moved on to focus on (1) the narrator of TPNS in light of three story compilations that preceded TPNS (Insignificant talks, Invisible workings, and Old tales), (2) No Myŏng-hŭm’s composition of his retelling of
the story of Yŏm Hŭido, and finally (3) No Myŏnghŭm’s contemporaries’ appraisals of the value of TPNS.

This chapter first revealed that No Myŏnghŭm composed TPNS narratives within an environment where the writing of narratives had long been exposed to literati’s problematization of the authenticity and authority of official history and to their interests in narrating the truth through the fictionalization of real events. No Myŏnghŭm’s narrator in TPNS contrasts with the narrators found in the other three story compilations in that he tends to efface himself considerably whereas his predecessors are almost always identifiable as the compilers themselves. Moreover, No Myŏnghŭm’s narrator lets stories stand by themselves and expends considerably less effort to authenticate the veracity of the narrated events or to expound on their significance. Second, intertextual comparisons of various versions of the story of Yŏm Hŭido testify that writers of orally derived stories, each in his own way, responded to a certain extent to the normative power of prevailing genre conventions in their written retellings. Finally, this chapter reframed the four commemorative essays on TPNS as Gennetian paratexts—performative framing materials that descriptively and prescriptively introduce the nature of a given work to an implied reader—written in order to explain and valorize the value of TPNS as a work of literature. The commemorative writings unanimously categorize TPNS by foregrounding the notion “p’ae that is not p’ae”—i.e., by claiming that while TPNS seems to belong to the category of p’ae (sub-par literature; miscellaneous writings on insignificant matters written in non-refined styles), its value actually makes it superior to all other p’ae.

In particular, I engaged in a close reading of a hitherto-neglected section in Hong Chigyŏng’s “Postface to TPNS” to show how he expounds at length on TPNS as ‘not
fabrication yet stories dealing with things beyond the realm of possibility’ and as a work from which readers can gain the pleasure of reading both history and fiction. I presented this point as strong evidence that the paratextual references to historical groundedness and moral instruction perform the rhetorical functions of legitimating TPNS as a valuable piece of literature, and not to be criticized for its noticeably fictional characteristics. Previous studies emphasized how the paratextual writers highlight the value of historical veracity and moral instructions as potential to be derived from reading TPNS. However, by focusing on this particular section in the “Postface” and juxtaposing ‘p’ae that is not p’ae’ with two similar cases found in paratexts to Yi Chehyŏn’s Old Man Oak (1342) and Sŏ Kŏjong’s Brush garden (1487), this chapter demonstrated that the paratextual emphases of the historical veracity of TPNS can be read as a kind of proleptic gesture to defend TPNS from criticisms that the work contains overtly fictional elements. That is, explicit valorization of a piece of writing for its value as supplementary history and moral instruction perform to reconfigure the existing literary hierarchy in order to accommodate a new piece of worthy writing.

The final chapter of this dissertation, **The lexical texture of TPNS and variant Hanmun as a literary language**, examines the language and style of TPNS. This chapter focuses on answering the question: If are treated as repositories or reflections of real-life spoken Korean as drawn from actual oral storytelling events, how are we to understand the Literary Sinitic language of yadam in relationship to vernacular Korean? To answer this question, I investigated the lexical items constituting TPNS narratives. This method demonstrates that No Myŏnghŭm’s lexical choices have strong resonances with expressions deployed in administrative writing (idu-mun), expressions considered
Korean colloquialisms, Koreanized expressions of Sinitic origin, and elements found in Korean glosses to Chinese vernacular expressions. The diverse lexical repertoire of TPNS was categorized into: (1) inscriptions of forms related to Korean history, persons, places, and customs; (2) *idu* expressions; (3) phonetic transcriptions of Korean words; (4) made-in-Korea sinographs; (5) comments on Korean dialect; (6) Korean sayings and proverbs; (7) colloquial forms of address; (8) vernacular idioms listed in two late-Chosŏn encyclopedias; (9) vernacular idioms not listed in these two encyclopedias; (10) expressions that Chosŏn literati glossed in ŏrokhae, sosŏl ŏrokhae, and yŏgŏ yuhae po; and finally (11) classical idioms. In so doing, I showed that a typical TPNS narrative written in ostensibly orthodox Literary Sinitic writing is in fact a kind of hybrid *hanmun* displaying strong native lexicality, suggesting that this type of writing and reading was likely intelligible only to Koreans (or those with intimate knowledge of Korean life) rather than to cosmopolitan, transregional readers and writers of Literary Sinitic. Furthermore, relying on observations made in Sinological research on Chinese narrative fiction, I pointed out No Myŏnhŭm’s deployment of a wide range of lexical items for his storytelling and characterization resonate strongly—albeit not to the same extent—with the ‘linguistic consciousness’, an important characteristic that distinguishes Chinese vernacular/bauhua fiction from classical fiction written in wenyan. In light of these aspects, I proposed to read TPNS as No Myŏnhŭm’s attempt at carving out a space for a new type of literary style for writing prose narrative.

By de-centering *kuyŏn* and bringing *yadam* narratives closer to preexisting written tradition, we gain a better understanding of the parameters of *yadam* in history. The predominant tactics of viewing *yadam* as a stepping stone on the way to the ‘the
Western Novel shared among a wide public critical of existing social orders’ and assuming the Western Novel to be the ultimate destination for prose narratives produced in late Chosŏn are anachronistic and dehistoricizing. While such ideas overtly biased toward Western modernity are easy to detect, the dehistoricizing ideas first borne out of this framework and yet no longer explicitly conscious of their origins are far more difficult to detect. The continuous treatment to this day of yadam narratives in general, or of particular compilations of stories as housing ‘progressive ideas’ and yet being ‘contained in backward forms’ is one example of the kind of teleological reasoning that prevails over efforts to make sense of the existence of yadam in history. Expecting yadam narratives to have always derived from actual oral storytelling environments is likewise doomed to fall victim to dehistoricization. By giving priority to oral storytelling as lifeblood, such approaches obliterate writers’ intentions to perform—intentions that were contingent on the kind of environment and circumstances in which the author-compilers existed. The relationship between oral storytelling and yadam narratives revealed in the present study of No Myŏnghŭm and TPNS is thus considerably more nuanced. Regardless of how strong and direct the influence of oral storytelling on the formation of yadam narratives, questions such as who wrote in what manner and for whom within what kind of preexisting written tradition ultimately determine how yadam narratives become materialized into written texts.

This dissertation is the first study on yadam in English. As such, offers up-to-date discussion of the preexisting scholarship on yadam, and deconstructs the birth and development of this particular research site within premodern Korean literary scholarship. Moreover, it also seeks a conceptual and methodological rethinking of the
yadam genre by incorporating ideas from other non-Korea-specific research, as it is informed by more theoretical studies dealing with nationalistic historiography, folklore studies, studies of Chinese narrative, language ideology, language ecology, the cosmopolitan and the vernacular, manuscript studies, history, and literature. The self-reflexivity of this study directly challenges the perennial problem of nationalistic master narratives that have molded and continue to sculpt general discussions of premodern Korean literature. Discussions in Chapters Four through Seven, in particular, delve into the question of the relationships among yadam and genre formation, the vernacular, and late-Chosŏn social history and intellectual thought by investigating various aspects of a single yadam collection. The correctives proposed in these chapters will serve as a useful basis for further historicization of yadam as a genre. Chapter Seven, in particular, offers a specific set of examples of the existence and development of Korean-style hanmun writing in history; as such, it contributes to facilitating discussions of vernacularization and the multifaceted existence of vernacular inscription within the Sinographic Cosmopolis.
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No chorong chŏn 盧拙翁傳, Changju chip 長州集 (“Biography of No, a Clumsy Old Man” in Collected works of Changju Hong Yonghan)
Tongp’ae naksong sŏ 東稗洛誦序, Nogŭm chip 鹿隱集 (“Preface to Repeatedly recited stories of the East” in Collected works of Nogŭn Hong Ch’wiyŏng)
Tongp’ae naksong sŏ 東稗洛誦序, Tugye chip 桂溪集 (“Preface to Repeatedly recited stories of the East” in Collected works of Tugye Hong Naksu)
Tongp’ae naksong pal 東稗洛誦跋, Soju chip 小州集 (“Postface to Repeatedly recited stories of the East” in Collected works of Soju Hong Chigyŏng)
“Yosŏng Ch’ŏ Kyŏng ch’uan” 妖僧處瀛推案 (Records of special investigations by the State Tribunal of the evil monk Ch’ŏ Kyŏng). In Han’gukhak munhŏn yŏn’guso, 1984. Ch’uan kip kugan 8 [Records of special investigations by the State Tribunal], 108-136. Seoul: Asea munhwasa.
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kiihan iyagi [Complete annotated translation of Records of the invisible workings  
of heaven: strange tales circulating among the commoners during the Chosŏn  
period]. Seoul: Sungkyungwan University.

of Miscellaneous records by Songnam Cho Chaesam]. Seoul: Somyŏng ch’ulp’an.


**English translations of primary sources**


**Titles of the primary sources cited**

*Ahūi wŏllam* 兒嬉原覽 (Easy-to-read reference source for children)

Aiqing zhuan 愛卿傳 (“Tale of Aiqing” from *New stories while trimming the wick*)

Akchang kasa 樂章歌詞 (Words for songs and music)

Aŏn kakpi 雅言覺非 (Refined words, enlightening the incorrect)

Anwa yugo 安窩遺稿 (The remaining works of Anwa Hong Nagin)

Changju chip 長州集 (Collected works of Changju Hong Yonhan)

Chapki kodam 雜記古談 (Miscellaneous records of old tales; also known as Nansil manp’il 蘭室漫筆, or Miscellaneous records of old tales; Leisurely brushings by Nansil Im Mae)

Chil Nagwŏn chŏn 侄樂遠傳 (“Biography of my nephew Nagwŏn”)
Chog’in Sasō chôn 族人士叙傳 (“Biography of my kinsman Sasō”)
Ch’ônggu yadam (Stories from the green hills)
Ch’ônggu yadam sô (“Preface to Stories from the green hills”)
Ch’ônggu yông’on 青丘永言 (Everlasting words of the green hills)
Chŏngsŏng chapki 青城雜記 (Miscellaneous writings by Ch’ŏngsŏng Sŏng Taejung)
Chŏnyerok 天倪錄 (Records of the invisible workings of heaven)
Chosŏn wangjo sillok 朝鮮王朝實錄 (Veritable records of the Chosŏn dynasty)
Ch’u‘jae kii 秋齋紀異 (Ch‘u‘jae Cho Susam’s records of the marvelous and the extraordinary)
Chunqiu zuozhuan 春秋左傳 (Zuo commentary on Spring and Autumn Annals)
Chu‘í ch‘an’yo 奏議纂要 (Compilation of bureaucratic reports to the king)
Er shì xiāo 二十四孝 (Twenty-four paragons of filial piety)
Gengshen waisi 庚申外史 (Unofficial history of the Gengshen Emperor)
Guixin zazhi 癸辛雜識 (Miscellaneous observations of the year guixin)
Gujin xiaoshuo 古今小說 (Stories old and new)
Haedong ijŏk 海東異蹟 (Marvelous traces of the Eastern Seas)
Haedong akpu 海東樂府 (Lyrics of the Eastern Sea)
Haedong kayo 海東歌謠 (Lyrics of the Eastern Sea)
Haedong yuju 海東遺珠 (Remaining gems from the Eastern Sea)
Haedong yuju sŏ 海東遺珠序 (“Preface to Remaining gems from the Eastern Sea”)
Haksan hanŏn 鶴山閑言 (Leisurely talks at Haksan Sin Tonbok)
Hanch‘ŏn yugo 寒泉遺稿 (Remaining writings of Hanch‘ŏn Chŏng Min’gyo)
Haedong cheguk ki 海東諸國紀 (Records of various places in the east of the sea)
Han‘gŏ chammok / Han‘gŏ mallok 閑居雜錄/閑居漫錄 (Miscellaneous records in leisurely dwelling)
Hanp‘ojae chip 寒圃齋集 (Collected writings of Hanp‘ojae Yi Kŏnmyŏng)
Hanjungnok 閑中錄 / 悲中錄 (Records in idleness/Records in bitterness)
Hanshu 漢書 (History of the Han dynasty)
Hanwŏn chip 漢源集 (Collected works of Hanwŏn No Kŭng)
Hilp’ae 詰箋 (“Rebuking p’ae”)
Hŏ-saeng huji 許生後識, Okkap yahwa 玉匣夜話 (“Epilogue to ‘The Story of Hŏ’” in Night tales at Yuxia)
Huangting jing 黃庭經 (Book of the yellow court)
Hŭmyŏng 欽英 (In admiration of the choicest)
Idam sokch’an 耳談續纂 (Sequel to Er Tan)
Igikchae mallok翼翼齋漫錄 (Leisurally records of Master Igikchae Hong Ponghan)
Imun chimnam吏文輯覽 (Reference for administrative writing)
Iŏn俚譯 (Words of the unrefined)
Judang chip二憂堂集 (Collected writings of Judang Cho T’aech’ae)
Ihyang kyŏmnunok里鄕見聞錄 (Records of hearsay from the countrysiide)
Ji Zhen計真 ([The story of] Ji Zhen)
Jiandeng xinhua剪燈新話 (New stories while trimming the wick)
Jingu qiguan今古奇觀 (Wonderful tales old and new)
Kia箕雅 (The refined of the East)
Kimyo rok己卯錄 (Records of the Kimyo year)
Kimun ch’onghwa紀聞叢話/紀聞叢話 (Compendium of records of anecdotes and hearsay)
Kiri ch’onghwa綺里叢話 (Compendium of stories by Kiri Yi Hyŏn’gi)
Kogŭm soch’ong古今笑叢 (Compendium of jokes old and new)
Kogŭm sŏngnim古今釋林 (Forest of interpretations, old and new)
Kohaengnok苦行錄 (Records of my hardships)
Kŭmo sinhwa金鱉新話 (New tales from Turtle Mountain)
Kunch’wip’yŏn近取篇 (“Recent gatherings” from Easy-to-read reference source for children)
Kwandong pyŏlgok關東別曲 (“Songs to the Diamond Mountains”)
Kwŏn Paekhang chŏn/Kwŏn Paekkang chŏn權伯傳 (“Biography of Kwŏn Paekhang/Paekkang”)
Kyŏngje yukchŏn經濟六典 (Six codes of governance)
Kyuhap ch’ongsŏ閩閾叢書 (Encyclopedia of women’s daily lives)
Kyunyŏ-jŏn均如傳 (Biography of [the monk] Kyunyŏ)
Kyesŏ channok溪西雜錄 (Kyesŏ Yi Hūip’yŏng’s miscellany)
Kyesŏ yadam溪西野談 (Kyesŏ’s stories)
Liao zhai zhi yi聊齋志異 (Strange tales from make-do studio)
Lu ji zhuan, Wu Ji, Sanguo zhi陸續傳, 吳志, 三國志 (“Biography of Lu Ji” in the “Book of Wu”, Records of the Three Kingdoms)
Li wa zhuan李娃傳 (“Tale of Li Wa”)
Maegye chip梅溪集 (Collected works of Maegye Cho Wi)
Maeong hallok梅翁閒錄 (Leisurally records by Maeong Pak Yanghan)
Manboksa chŏp’o’ki萬福寺楞蒲記 (“Game with a Buddha of Myriad Blessings Temple”)
Mengxi bidan夢溪筆談 (Brush talks by Mengxi)
Mengzi 孟子 (Mencius)

Miam ilgi 眉巖日記 (Daily records by Miam Yu Hŭich’un)

Min Chŏn bo chŏn (“Biography of Min Chŏnbo”)

Mo ke huixi 墨客揮犀 (Scholar’s wielding of a rhinoceros horn)

Mong’wa chip 夢窩集 (Collected writings of Mong’wa Kim Ch’angjip)

Muncharyu chip 文字類集 (Collection of words and phrases)

Munwŏn pobul 文苑黼黻 (Exquisite patterns of writing)

Myŏng’yŏp chihae 莊葉志譜 (Almanac recording humor)

Nanhua jing 南華經 (Book of Nanhua / Book of Zhuangzi)

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Ōjŏng Hong Ikchonggong chugo 御定洪翼靖公奏䆓 (Royal selections of memorials and other writings by Master Hong’ikchŏng)

Oju yŏnmun changgiŏnsango 五洲衍文長箋散稿 (Scattered drafts of Oju Yi Kyugyŏng’s rough writings on long note paper)

Ōmyŏnsun 駕眠楯 (Shield against sleepiness)

Ōrokhae (Exegeses of Chinese colloquialisms and slang expressions)

Panggyŏkkak oejŏn 放瑣閣外傳 (Random jewels from another tradition)

Pibu ch’o’i chinnam 比部招議輯覽 (Compilation of interrogation reports in the Ministry of Justice)

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Pŏnam sŏnsaeng chip 樊巖先生集 (Collected works of Master Pŏnam Ch’ae Chegong)

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Qingshi 情史 (History of desire)

Sa miin kok 思美人曲 (“Longing for the loved one”)

Sabu sugwŏn 四部手圈 (Handbook for the Four Genres)

Samgang haengsildto 三綱行實圖 (The illustrated conduct of the Three Bonds)

Samguk yusa 三國遺事 (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms)

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Sangnyuyŏn chuin chŏn 桑柳椽主人傳 (“Biography of Master Mulberry Willow Rafter”)

Sangjŏl T’aep’yeong kwanggi 詳節太平廣記 (Comprehensive abridgement of the Extensive records of the Taiping Era)

San yan 三言 (Three words)
Sapkyo mallok 雲橋漫錄 (Leisurely records of Sapkyo An Sŏkkyŏng)
Sapkyo pyŏlchip 雲橋別集 (Collected poems and prose of Sapkyo An Sŏkkyŏng)
Sawŏn yŏnghwa 詞苑英華 (Elegance of writings)
Shiji 史記 (Records of the Grand Historian)
Shijing 什經 (Book of songs)
Shuixuhuan 水浒傳 (Outlaws of the marsh)
Sojae chip 結齋集 (Collected writings of Sojae Yi Imyŏng)
Soju chip 小州集 (Collected writings of Soju Hong Chigyŏng)
Sok miin kok 續美人曲 (“Longing for the loved one, cont.”)
Sok ōmyŏnsun 續禦眠楯 (Sequel to Against sleepiness)
Song Ch’iyang chŏn (“Biography of Song Ch’iyang”)
Songch’ ŏn p’ılam 松泉筆談 (Brush talk by Songch’ ŏn Sim Chae)
Songnam chapchi 松南雜識 (Miscellaneous records by Songnam Cho Chaesam)
Sŏngso pubu ko 悅所覆瓿譜 (Writings suitable for covering earthen urns)
Sosŏl ŏrokhae 小說語錄解 (Exegeses on Chinese vernacular fiction)
Suno-ji 旬五志 (Records in fifteen days)
Tae Myŏng-nyul chikhæ 大明律直解 (Translation of The Great Ming Code)
Taedong yasŭng 大東野乘 (Unofficial transmissions of the Great East)
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Taehan kyenyŏnsa 大韓季年史 (Seasons and years of Korea)
T’aep’yŏng hanhwa kolgye chŏn 太平閑話漫稽傳 (Peaceful and humorous stories for leisure)
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* Xixiangji 西廂記 (Romance of the western chamber)
* Xiyouji 西遊記 (Journey to the west)
* Xieduo 諧鐸 (Humor bells)
* Yakch’ŏn chip 藥泉集 (Collected works of Yakch’ŏn Nam Kuman)
* Yadam 野談 (Yadam)
* Yi Chŏng’ŏn ŏnse sŏnsaeng chŏn 李正言[彥世]先生傳 (“Biography of Teacher Yi Chŏng’ŏn ŏnse”)
* Yi Kyŏngnyu myogal 李慶流 墓碣 (“Inscriptions on Yi Kyŏngnyu’s tombstone”)
* Yŏgong p’aesŏl 樁翁稗説 (Insignificant chats of Old Man Oak)
* Yingying zhuan 鶯鶯傳 (“Tale of Yingying”)
* Yŏ sa só só 女四書序 (“Preface to Four books for women”)
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* Yŏm sŏng chŏn 廉承傳, Pangmun 博聞 (“Tale of Steward Yŏm” in Wide gleanings)
* Yŏm sŏng chŏn 廉承傳, Sonwa mallok 鴻窩慢錄 (“Tale of Steward Yŏm” in Leisurably records by Sonwa Kim Kyŏngch’ŏn)
* Yŏm Sit’ak chŏn 廉時度傳, Yŏwa chip 餘窩集 (“Tale of Yŏm Sit’ak” in Collected works of Yŏwa Mok Manjung)
* Yongbiŏch’ŏn ka 龍飛御天歌 (Songs of flying dragons)
* Yongch’ŏn tamjŏk ki 龍泉談寂記 (Random records by Yongch’ŏn Kim Allo)
* Yongjiae ch’onghwag 憶齋叢話 (Compendium of talks by Yongjiae Sŏng Hyŏn)
Yongjo sillok 英朝實錄 / Yŏngjong taewang sillok 英宗大王實錄 (Veritable records of the reign of King Yongjo)
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Yŏm Sit’ak cyŏn 엽시탁전 (“The Tale of Steward Yŏm”)
Yi ŭng’t’ae puinŏn’gan 이응태부인 연간 (“Letters in the vernacular by Yi ŭng’t’ae’s wife [1586]”)
Yugyul punun 陸律分韻 (Shared rhymes in Lu You’s regular poems)
Yuk sin chŏn 六臣傳 (“Biographies of Six Ministers”)
Yukchu yaksŏn 陸奏約選 (A concise Guide to Lu Zhi’s writings)
Yun Tŏgi chŏn 尹德而傳 (“Biography of Yun Tŏgi”)
Yusŏ p’ilchi 儒胥必知 (Must-know for scholars and clerks)
Zhouyi cantong qi 周易參同契 (The seal of the unity of the three in accordance with the Book of Changes)
Zhuzu yulei 朱子語類 (Classified conversations of Master Zhu)

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Books


Journal articles and book chapters


Dissertations and theses

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