

Gendered Filiality and Heroism in the  
*Tale of Golden Bell*, a Chosŏn Fictional Narrative

by

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B.A., Brigham Young University, 2001

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of  
the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

The Faculty of Graduate Studies

(Department of Asian Studies)

We accept this thesis as conforming  
to the required standard.

The University of British Columbia  
Vancouver  
April 2004

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Title of Thesis: Gendered Filiality and Heroism in the Tale of Golden Bell, a Chosŏn Fictional Narrative

Degree: MA

Year: 2004

Department of Asian Studies

The University of British Columbia

Vancouver, BC Canada

## Abstract

### Gendered Filiality and Heroism in the *Tale of Golden Bell*, a Chosŏn Fictional Narrative

Heroic deeds depicted in a Chosŏn-period fictional narrative, *Kŭm pangul chŏn* (*Kŭmnyŏng chŏn* 金鈴傳), or the *Tale of Golden Bell*, are performed by the title character, born with supernatural attributes. All the while exemplifying filiality, Golden Bell wields miraculous power to defeat the enemy, bring solace to a troubled people, protect the nation, and aid Zhang Hailong, a filial young man. The tale portrays a female (born as a golden bell) who possesses power greater than men, but in the end it is through her filial devotion, beauty, polygynous marriage to Hailong, and mothering of two sons that she is deemed virtuous, and not through her feats. Golden Bell, a product of her mother's own filiality to her agnatic lineage, exhibits filial emotions, while Hailong plays the exemplar of filial Confucian virtues. Golden Bell's supernatural achievements are overshadowed by both Hailong's and Golden Bell's emulation of Confucian ideologies.

*Golden Bell*, along with other similar fictional narratives with female protagonists, attracted a wide readership. Why were *Golden Bell* and similar works so popular among readers in Neo-Confucian Chosŏn? How is heroism in *Golden Bell* and other stories with female heroes different from narratives with male heroes? This paper explores the *kososŏl* 古小說 (early fiction) genre; the widespread reading, transcription, and distribution of narratives; the characteristics of female hero narratives; and the heroic deeds presented in *Golden Bell* itself.

A complete translation of *Golden Bell* and a transcription of the oldest extant copy are included in the appendices.



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## Acknowledgements

For various kinds of generosity with respect to this research, I wish to thank Dr. Bruce Fulton and members of his Korean literature translation seminar at UBC—Dr. Ross King, Mrs. Kyoungsun Ahn, Dr. Shin Ju-Cheol (of Hankuk University of Foreign Studies), Sinae Park, Teresa Lee, and Jenny Kim. I am indebted to them for their assistance in translating *Golden Bell*.

Hyuk-Chan Kwon, PhD candidate at UBC, provided invaluable feedback on one of the first drafts of my paper, later presented at the Twelfth Annual Graduate Student Conference on East Asia at Columbia University. Versions of the paper were also presented at the Interdisciplinary Colloquia Series at UBC and at the Ninth Annual Korean Studies Graduate Conference at Harvard University, where I benefited from the insightful comments of Professor Kwon Young Min of Seoul National University.

I feel particularly indebted to Dr. Fulton for covering travel expenses on numerous occasions and for his valuable guidance throughout this project. Dr. King introduced me to Korean scholarship on the topic as well as to the underappreciated scholarship of Adelaida Trotsevich and other Russian work on Korean literature. He spent hours with me reading through portions of these books and checking the early modern Korean transcription.

Elisabeth Toronto Olsen spent days thoroughly proofreading the text, and Catherine Moody of Brigham Young University willingly assisted with the French translation.

I am grateful for the criticism and suggestions from members of my thesis committee, Dr. Fulton, Dr. King, and Dr. Alison Bailey, who spent much of her time going over the text

and providing many references to Chinese literature. And I wish to thank Dr. Tineke Hellwig for willingly chairing the thesis defence.

*Aos meus pais, Roydon S. e Elisabeth Toronto Olsen*

## Gendered Filiality and Heroism in the *Tale of Golden Bell*

### Introduction

Slaying tigers, bringing a person back to life, and saving an entire empire from attack are but a few heroic deeds depicted in a Chosŏn-period fictional narrative, *Kŭm pangul chŏn* 金방울傳,<sup>1</sup> or the *Tale of Golden Bell*. The title character Golden Bell, born with supernatural attributes, performs these feats of heroism, all the while exemplifying *hyo* 孝, or filiality. Golden Bell wields miraculous power to defeat the enemy, comfort her mother, and aid Zhang Hailong,<sup>2</sup> a young man of parallel virtue. The tale provided an alternate view for Chosŏn-period women of an androgynous character, Golden Bell, who possesses power greater than men—she saves a man, protects a nation, and inflicts punishments on both men and women—but in the end it is through her filial devotion, beauty, polygynous marriage to Hailong, and mothering of two sons that she gains official recognition, and not through her heroic feats.

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1. Also known as *Kŭm pangul chyŏn* 金방울전 and *Kŭmnyŏng chŏn* 金령전 (金鈴傳—also 金英전, *Kŭmyŏng chŏn*). It also appeared as *Nŭnggyŏn nansa* 能見難思. The main version of the tale referred to here is the earliest one (see “Versions of *Golden Bell*” below), the 28-leaf *Kŭm pangul chyŏn tan* 金방울전 단, British Library Copy A, which appears in Kim Tonguk, W. E. Skillend, and D. Bouchez, eds., *Kyŏngin kososŏl p’an’gakpon chŏnjip*, 4:35–48.

2. Hailong 海龍 (Haeryong) means “sea dragon.” I have chosen to translate *Kŭmnyŏng*’s (*Kŭm pangul*) name as “Golden Bell” because for much of the story she assumes the form of a round golden bell. Therefore, translating *Hailong* as “Sea Dragon” is a bit misleading, since he never appears in such a form. Since the story takes place in China, I have transcribed characters’ names in pinyin, even though copies of the tale (beginning with the earliest) are in *ŏnmun* 諺文, the Korean vernacular script. The pinyin here is based on the Chinese characters suggested by Sin Kihyŏng, *Han’guk sosŏl paltalsa*, 428–31, and by Chang Tŏksun, Chŏn Kyut’ae, Chŏng Pyŏnghŏn and Yi Yŭgyŏng, Kim Kidong and Chŏn Kyut’ae, Ku Inhwan, Kwŏn T’aengmu and Ch’oe Okhŭi, Pak Yongsik, Sin Tongik, and Yi Sangt’aek in their modern Korean transcriptions.

*Golden Bell*, along with other fictional narratives with female protagonists, attracted a wide readership. Why were *Golden Bell* and similar works so popular among readers in Neo-Confucian Chosŏn 朝鮮? How is heroism in *Golden Bell* and other stories with female heroes different from narratives with male heroes? I explore these questions by discussing the *kososŏl* 古小說 (early fiction) genre; the widespread reading, transcription, and distribution of narratives; the characteristics of female hero narratives; the various copies that exist of *Golden Bell*; and the heroic deeds presented in *Golden Bell* itself.

## *Kososöl*, Early Fiction

According to U K'waeje's 1989 estimate, about 1,270 *kososöl* came out before the *sinsosöl* 新小説, or modern novel.<sup>3</sup> Some scholars have considered using the word *sinhwa* 新話 (new story) for fictional narratives, but since the word is a homophone (*tongŭmiŭiŏ* 同音異義語) with *sinhwa* 神話 (myth), the idea has been dropped. Other terms used for *kososöl* have been *Yi Cho sosöl* 李朝小説, *Yi Cho sidae sosöl* 李朝時代小説, *Chosŏn sosöl* 朝鮮小説, *Chosŏn cho sosöl* 朝鮮朝小説, *Chosŏn wangjo sosöl* 朝鮮王朝小説, and *Chosŏn sidae sosöl* 朝鮮時代小説, in reference to the Chosŏn period. But since the Chosŏn period spans the end of the fourteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century and *sinsosöl* such as *Hyŏl ŭi nu* 血의淚 (Tears of Blood, 1906) by Yi Injik appeared in the Chosŏn period, the term *Chosŏn fiction* is too vague. Some scholars have used *chŏn'gi sosöl* 傳奇小説 (narratives of the strange) as well as *kusosöl* 舊小説 and *yet sosöl* 옛小説 (old narratives), but the terms were not widely accepted because they were either too specific or too broad in meaning. The more prevalent term for fictional narratives is *kojŏn sosöl* 古典小説, but this is problematic because not all are necessarily considered "classics," as the word *kojŏn* suggests. Ch'oe Unsik prefers the term *kososöl* 古小説, the *ko* coming from *kodam* 古談, which refers to old folk tales or legends.<sup>4</sup>

3. Ch'oe Unsik, *Han'guk kososöl yŏn'gu*, 79.

4. Ibid., 27–34. In the footnotes and bibliography I have translated *kojŏn sosöl* as "classical fiction" and *kososöl* as "early fiction." Even though the terms refer to the same works, I wanted to preserve Korean scholars' different terminology. The terms *early novel* or *early fiction* might suffice in English. *Early* before *novel* suggests that the novels are not equivalent in either form or development to what we consider modern-day novels. Or,

The earliest piece from Korea classified as a *kososŏl* is believed to be the collection *Kŭmo sinhwa* 金鰲神話 (New Stories of the Golden Turtle [Mount Kŭmo]),<sup>5</sup> written by Kim Sisŭp 金時習 (styled Tongbong 東峰, 1434–93) around 1465. As with other literary forms, fictional narratives came into Korea through China. Ch'oe Unsik traces the narrative form back to the Tang dynasty (618–907), when mysterious events were written down in prose form.<sup>6</sup> Adelaida F. Trotsevich traces the origin of Korean fiction to “historical biography, Taoist pseudobiography and the Buddhist parable.”<sup>7</sup> Hu Yinglin 胡應麟 in the Ming dynasty (1368–1636) classified Chinese fiction into six different categories: *zhiguai* 志怪 (*chigoe* in Korean; mysterious, strange, or spooky stories), *chuanqi* 傳奇 (*chŏn'gi*; romance—fanciful or strange tale, not necessarily an equivalent of the later *yŏmjŏng sosŏl* 艷情小說, love story), *zalu* 雜錄 (*chamnok*; miscellany), *congta* 叢談 (*ch'ongdam*; collected essays), *bianding* 辯訂 (*pyŏnjŏng*; a type of educational essay), and *zhengui* 箴規 (*chamgyu*; a kind of didactic story).<sup>8</sup>

Chinese prose writing was being read on the Korean peninsula quite early. Emanuel Pastreich writes,

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*fiction* is a general term used presently to mean any type of fictional writing in prose whether it be short stories, novels or historical/autobiographical fiction. *Early fiction* once again suggests an early stage of narrative writing (and the term is much less bulky than “fictional narrative”).

5. Even though the length of the fictional narratives spoken about here varies, I have uniformly italicized each of them (I have placed songs and short folk tales in quotes). I have included a romanized Korean title along with Chinese characters. Though modern sources provide Chinese characters for most *kososŏl* titles, it does not necessarily mean that the piece—or even the title—was ever composed in *hanmun* 漢文 (Chinese script), regardless of whether the background of the story is in China, Korea, or elsewhere. The title is followed with an English translation, which I have placed in parentheses; all English titles are in roman type and headline-style capitalization, differing from sentence-style capitalization for title translations in the bibliography, regardless of whether an English translation exists (relatively few fictional narratives are available in English). If the name of the protagonist in the title is Chinese, I have pinyinized the name—for example, *Kwŏn Ikchung chŏn* 權益重傳 (Tale of Quan Yizhong)—although this should not suggest that in the literary production of the character in a Korean context there was no intercultural hybridity.

6. Ch'oe Unsik, 17.

7. Trotsevich, *Koreiskii srednevekovyi roman*, 197.

8. Ch'oe Unsik, 17–8. For an in-depth look into Hu Yinglin's classification strategy and his definition of *xiaoshuo* 小說 (*sosŏl*), see Laura Hua Wu, “From *Xiaoshuo* to Fiction: Hu Yinglin's Genre Study of *Xiaoshuo*,” 339–71.



The tales of bizarre lands found in *Shan hai ching* [*Shan hai jing* 山海經] (Classic of Mountains and Seas) was introduced into the state of Paekche in the third century C.E. Combined with Chinese Six Dynasties anthologies of stories of the strange (*chih-kuai* [*zhiguai*]), it provided an early literary model for proto-fiction. Some sections from the early historical narrative by Pak Il-lyang [朴寅亮] (d. 1096) entitled *Sui chŏn* [殊異傳] (Records of the Strange and Unusual) survived in later anthologies. Pak Il-lyang employed Chinese schemata and plot constructions to relate strange events in Korea.<sup>9</sup>

In addition, the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 (Extensive Records from the Reign of Great Tranquility) a Song dynasty anthology of tales, highly influential in China, as well as the collection *Soushen ji* 搜神記 (Search for the Supernatural) had made it to Korea by the twelfth century. Yi Illo 李仁老 (1152–1220) took ideas from the *zhiguai* in the latter volume for his *P'ahan chip* 破閑集 (Collection for Dispelling Boredom). For centuries Chinese fiction had a great influence on Korean writers. Kim Sisŭp wrote that he was greatly enlightened by the widely popular collection of spooky stories (*guaitan* [*koedam*] 怪談) *Jiandeng xinhua* 剪燈新話 (New Stories for Trimming the Lampwick) by Ju You 瞿佑 (1347–1433), a Ming-dynasty writer.<sup>10</sup> Even the popular *Ch'unhyang chŏn* 春香傳 (Tale of Ch'unhyang) from Korea includes references to moral tales of Chinese women, elements of *Xixiang ji* 西廂記 (Romance of the Western Chamber) by Wang Shifu 王實甫 (c. 1250–1300), and a Tang

9. Pastreich, "The Reception of Chinese Literature in Korea," 1069.

10. Ch'oe Unsik, 19–20. The first Korean to use the term *sosŏl* in a title was Yi Chesin (1536–84) in his *Ch'ŏnggang sosŏl* 淸江小說 (Blue River Story). Hong Manjong (1643–1724) included the *Paegun sosŏl* 白雲小說 (Tales of White Clouds), claimed to have been written by Yi Kyubo 李奎報 (1168–1241) in the latter Koryŏ 高麗 period (918–1392), in the anthology he edited called *Sihwa ch'ongnim* 詩話叢林 (Anthology of Poems and Stories). Excellent coverage of Ming literature can be found in Ellen Widmer, *The Margins of Utopia: "Shui-hu hou-chuan" and the Literature of Ming Loyalty*.

*chuanqi* narrative of a righteous courtesan, “Li Wa zhuan” 李娃傳 (An Account of Li Wa) by Bo Xingjian 白行簡 (775–826).<sup>11</sup>

Writers found the fictional narrative style very effective in carrying their message. Kim Sisŭp felt that even though the content of the story may be mystical or untrue, narratives were harmless and could fill the reader with joy. Some fictional narratives served a didactic purpose—to teach moral behaviour or to inculcate filial piety into the minds of the readers or listeners. Of fictional narratives, Ming-dynasty author Feng Menglong 馮夢龍 (1574–1646) stated they could easily stir people’s souls and motivate them to change, more so than the *Xiao jing* 孝經 (Classic of Filial Duty) or *Lunyu* 論語 (Analects).<sup>12</sup> Confucian scholars perceived with mixed reactions that the immediacy novels had with their audience was more powerful than the teachings of Confucius.

Scholars were quick to point out that fiction was untruth, or lying. They opposed *sosŏl*-reading, believing that the stories were not only a waste of time, but unrealistic. Yi Hwang 李滉 (T’oegye 退溪, 1501–1570) felt they did not encourage the reader to perform virtuous deeds and were an obstacle to the enlightenment of humanity. Ch’ae Chegong 蔡濟恭 (1720–99) was concerned that women were going into debt borrowing the books from lenders, and Yi Tŏngmu 李德懋 (1739–93) complained that women were reading too much and getting lazy, while Yi Hakkyu 李學達 (1770–1835) wrote, “These days, silk-clad womenfolk very much enjoy reading *kungmun sosŏl* 國文小說 [fiction written in the Korean vernacular script] to the light of an oil lamp” for hours into the night. Hong Chikp’il 洪直弼 (1776–1852) called for prohibiting women from reading *ŏnp’ae* 諺稗 (fiction) because they were turning their ears

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11. Pastreich, 1076.

12. Ch’oe Unsik, 18–20.

from the wise. Chŏng Yagyong 丁若鏞 (Tasan 茶山, 1762–1836) went so far as to say that fiction harms one's health. Efforts made by Confucian scholars to stem the tide of *sosŏl*-reading include harshly criticizing authors, prohibiting the books' import, and burning the books. But not all scholars agreed. Hŏ Kyun 許筠 (1569–1618), as a writer himself, praised the narratives, but did criticize *Shuihu zhuan* 水滸傳, a Chinese narrative attributed to Shi Naian 施耐庵 (c. fourteenth century) and Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中. Kim Manjung 金萬重 (Sŏp'o 西浦, 1637–92) wrote defending children who read fiction.<sup>13</sup> Although there was much official opposition to narrative-reading by top scholars, many of the intelligentsia participated in it nonetheless, attested to by the fact that some *hanmun* 漢文 (Chinese script) versions of fictional narratives were transcribed copies of the *han'gŭl* 한글 (also *kungmun* 國文 or *ŏnmun* 諺文, “Korean vernacular script”) originals, and vice versa—a topic which remains a controversial one to this day, since most early fiction was undated and anonymously written.

Oddly enough, Korean Neo-Confucian scholars did not object to *yŏmjŏng sosŏl*, or love stories, which showed young men and women of social standing falling in love and having relationships without their parents' consent. Possible reasons might be that scholars wrote them anonymously and were either partial to them or considered them beneath their consideration. One of Korea's oldest fictive forms, the love story may have first appeared with one of Kim Sisŭp's stories, *Yi saeng kyujang chŏn* 李生窺牆傳 (Student Yi Peers over the Wall).<sup>14</sup> Idealistic in approach, love stories feature a young couple falling in love and uniting after many obstacles. Numerous examples exist, including the *Ch'aebong kam pyŏlgok* 彩鳳感別曲 (Love Song of Ch'aebong), *Kwŏn Ikchung chŏn* 權益重傳 (Tale of Quan

13. See *ibid.*, 37–98. All translations are my own.

14. According to Chŏng Chudong's survey of 320 fictional narratives, 55% of them end in *chŏn* 傳 (quoted in Sŏng Kisŏl, *Han'guk kubi chŏnsŭng ūi yŏn'gu*, 116 n. 1).

Yizhong), *Ok Tanch'un chŏn* 玉丹春傳 (Tale of Ok Tanch'un), *Paekhaksŏn chŏn* 白鶴扇傳 (Tale of the White Crane Fan), *Sugyŏng nangja chŏn* 淑英娘子傳 (Tale of the Maiden Sugyŏng), *Sukhyang chŏn* 淑香傳 (Tale of Shuxiang), *Unyŏng chŏn* 雲英傳 (Tale of Unyŏng), *Yi chinsa chŏn* 李進士傳 (Tale of Chinsa Yi),<sup>15</sup> *Yŏngyŏng chŏn* 英英傳 (Tale of Yingying), and *Yun Chigyŏng chŏn* 尹知敬傳 (Tale of Yun Chigyŏng).<sup>16</sup>

As shown with the popularity of the love novel—which seemingly defied Chosŏn guidelines on premarital division of the sexes (which was stricter for women, especially high-born women) and parental involvement in children's marriages—events portrayed in narrative literature began to show increasing stages of opposition to the medieval feudal order. Class consciousness and even individual consciousness deepened in the stories. After the *hunmin chŏngŭm* 訓民正音 (“proper sounds to instruct the people”: the Korean vernacular alphabet) was invented in the fifteenth century, the literacy of upper-class women as well as commoners increased.<sup>17</sup>

Although it is not known what the literacy rate was for women during the entire Chosŏn period—Yung-Hee Kim places women's literacy at about ten percent toward the end of Chosŏn<sup>18</sup>—it is known that many aristocratic women read quite a few Chinese novels in Korean translation beginning in the late seventeenth century. About forty such translations, Pastreich writes, “survived in the Naksŏnjae library of the royal palace, where they had been the reading material of palace ladies.” Most of the novels are from the *caizi jiaren* 才子佳人 (scholar-beauty) genre, “relating the struggles of women to overcome barriers to a proper

15. A *chinsa* is a person who has passed only the first exam for an official post.

16. Ch'oe Unsik, 181.

17. “Commoner” is a translation of *p'yŏngmin* 平民, a general term for people not of the aristocratic ruling class. Social strata in Chosŏn are explained below.

18. See Yung-Hee Kim, “Women's Issues in 1920s Korea.”

marriage.”<sup>19</sup> The Korean translations include a high quantity of Sino-Korean vocabulary, showing that many of these women had a remarkable knowledge of Chinese. Lee Eul-hwan states that in upper-class homes women read many of the Confucian classics as well as books on female propriety.<sup>20</sup> Martina Deuchler states that “many women were literate” in Chosŏn Korea and discusses how Korean officials, in order to set “the domestic realm in order,” propagated Chinese texts that extol female virtues.<sup>21</sup> Queen Consort Sohye 昭惠王后 (1437–1504) compiled *Naehun* 內訓 (Instructions for Women) and in it declared, “Women ... are ignorant of the urgency of virtuous conduct. This is what worries me daily!”<sup>22</sup> It appears that she is speaking directly to a female readership.

According to Ch’oe Unsik, Seoul publication (*kyŏngp’an* 京板) readership was mainly female, and Chŏnju publication (*wanp’an* 完板) readership was mainly male.<sup>23</sup> Ch’oe Unsik believes that in Seoul a large number of palace women, upper-class women, and courtesans made up the main portion of the readership; and in Chŏnju men from the *chungin* 中人 (middle class)<sup>24</sup> and *sŏri* 書吏 (petty clerk) classes read them and later, when the members of the farming class moved up economically and learned to read, they too consumed fiction. Furthermore, the Japanese invasions of 1592 and 1597 and the Manchu invasion of 1636 disrupted

19. Pastreich, 1075.

20. Lee Eul-hwan, “A Study on the Conception of Language Ethics of Yi Dynasty Women,” 81, 84–5.

21. Deuchler, “Propagating Female Virtues in Chosŏn Korea,” 142–6. Throughout her article, Deuchler lists individual examples of women who both read and wrote.

22. Quoted in *ibid.*, 147.

23. Ch’oe Unsik, 132.

24. Although social strata developed and changed throughout the Chosŏn period, the following outlines a simplified version of Chosŏn social classes. *Chungin* are those between *yangban* 兩班—“officials of the two [civil and military] orders”: scholar-official class, aristocratic meritocracy (Carter J. Eckert et al., *Korea, Old and New: A History*, 90)—and the lower class (*sangin* 常人). *Chungin* were usually astronomers, interpreters, physicians, professional military personnel, and administrative subordinates to *yangban*. *Sangin*, about seventy-five percent of the population, included craftsmen, farmers, and merchants—it was this class that bore the main burden of taxation. Butchers, convicts, executioners, *kisaeng*, mourners, shamans, shoemakers, slaves, and traveling entertainers made up the lowest class, *ch’ŏnmin* 賤民.

the established societal order. Chŏng Pyŏnghŏn and Yi Yugyŏng cite evidence showing that after the invasions people became more concerned about profiteering than fulfilling one's moral duties. The subsequent disorder affected the aristocracy and inklings of a national consciousness began to grow. JaHyun Kim Haboush discusses the impact the devastation had on postwar literature: "Dead bodies as metaphors for the wounded political body of the Chosŏn state also occupied a prominent place in the postwar discourse of seventeenth-century Korea." A stronger sense of ethnicity emerged, and literature commemorating the dead appeared in the form of *mongyurok* 夢遊錄 (records of dream journeys).<sup>25</sup> Also, commoners' identity and social awareness deepened, and as a result *Sirhak* 實學 ("Practical Learning") developed, which called for greater economic and social justice for people of the lower classes. *P'yŏngmin* 平民 (commoner) culture flourished and attracted vast attention. Therefore, scholars believe that many of the fictional narratives that are assumed to be from the period of roughly the mid-1600s to the early 1900s, including *Golden Bell*, were authored by *p'yŏngmin*. Readership soared during the period. Booksellers and book lenders appeared in cities and all over the countryside as a result of the change. Cheap prices for the books led to greater accessibility to fictional narratives.<sup>26</sup>

Chŏng and Yi write that the right to enjoy culture and the arts was more equalized during this period of change. The rise of the people's culture gave impetus to the phenomenon of more heroes with supernatural powers, or "super heroes," appearing in literature as well as depictions of low-born characters climbing the social ladder and the triumph of righteousness

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25. Haboush, "Dead Bodies in the Postwar Discourse of Identity in Seventeenth-century Korea: Subversion and Literary Production in the Private Sector," 2–5.

26. Chŏng and Yi, "Yŏsŏng yŏngung sosŏl paro pogi," 290.

over evil. *P'yŏngmin* literature, with its didactic characteristics and sentimentality, became a literature for the masses.<sup>27</sup>

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27. *Ibid.*, 291.

## Reading, Transcribing, and Distributing *Kososŏl*

Methods of circulating fictional narratives varied. *Kubi munhak* 口碑文學 (oral literature) existed for centuries in Korea, but there is also the phenomenon of recorded literature being passed on orally as well. In the mid- to late Chosŏn period, *kangdoksä* 講讀師, public readers, would read and even perform the novels. Yi Öppok, household manager of a high-ranking official, would perform the narratives as he read them, acting out the hero and imitating the women.<sup>28</sup> Public readers would often stop at an interesting point and sell copies of the fiction. An account by Yi Töngmu of a reader at a tobacconist shop in Chongno, Seoul, suggests that many listeners were very much enthralled by the story, for when the reader reached the point of deepest despair in the hero's life, one listener was so moved to anger that he stabbed the reader to death.<sup>29</sup>

Not only did fiction become more widely read and listened to during the period from the mid-1600s to the early 1900s, many men (of various classes) and women (of the upper classes) transcribed these stories by hand. Therefore, in addition to printed versions, *p'an'gakpon* 板刻本,<sup>30</sup> many fictional narratives exist in manuscript form, *p'ilsabon* 筆寫本,

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28. Ch'oe Unsik, 103–4. One record states that he dressed up as a woman, wore makeup, spoke like a woman, entered the women's chamber, read *sosŏl* all night, and ended up sleeping with them. When it was found out that he'd also been having intercourse with them, Minister Chang Pungik had him executed.

29. Cho Tongil, "Sosŏl ūi söngjang kwa pyönmö," 3:476

30. In the *p'an'gakpon* category, the oldest extant versions of the narratives are *panggakpon* 坊刻本, which refers to copies locally made by various forms of printing before modern mass-produced copies appeared. *Panggakpon* were generally made by merchants for profit, and the term is used to distinguish them from other books published by the government (*kwan'gakpon* 官刻本), religious/philosophical institutions (*sawön'gakpon* 寺院刻本), and private individuals for non-profit purposes (*sagakpon* 私刻本). Existing copies of *panggakpon* include *hwalchabon* 活字本 (a copy printed with movable type)—both *mokhwalchabon* 木活字本 (wooden type) and *yönhwalchabon* 鉛活字本 (lead type)—*mokp'anbon* 木板本 (printed with woodcut engraving), *t'op'anbon* 土板本 (clay or brick engraving), and *sökp'anbon* 石板本 (stone engraving). See Ch'oe Unsik's chapter on



as well. Ch'oe Unsik argues that the main purpose for the transcription of narratives was most likely for education. Since most women did not read *hanmun*, few educational opportunities existed for them. The fictional narratives, he argues, filled the gap in education for them. He also states,

*Han'gŭl* narratives expanded the insight of women of that period and served as books on ethics or educational materials that instructed them on their code of conduct. Since all things were set up in the interests of men, narratives that emphasized the role of women, who were socially and domestically oppressed, must have reassured their souls and fostered their dreams. Therefore, women fought over the narratives, read them, and transcribed them as time permitted.<sup>31</sup>

Ch'oe Unsik states that the transcription process on the surface may have appeared to help women practice their handwriting or learn appropriate rules of conduct, but the fictional narratives, many of which featured powerful women like Golden Bell, may also have served as a means of exploration and empowerment for them in a society that had distinctly defined roles for women according to their class.

By calling narratives mainly educational materials (*kyoyangmul* 教養物), Ch'oe Unsik posits that women were educated by a male Neo-Confucian hegemony.<sup>32</sup> Some *yangban* did purposefully choose ethical and didactic (non-fiction) texts to transcribe for family use. One fictional narrative was transcribed by a mother for a daughter preparing to be married, one from a father to a daughter, and another from a grandparent to a granddaughter-in-law, most of

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distribution and copying of early fiction, "Kososŏl ūi yut'ong kwa ibon," 106–58. According to Ch'oe Unsik, the locations of the various places where Seoul *han'gŭl panggakpon* were published suggest that they were assembled outside the city gates, where the *chungin* lived (128).

31. Ibid., 119–20. One writer actually witnessed women fighting over who got to read the narratives next.

32. Deuchler notes that educational materials were not necessarily authored by males. Queen-Consort Sohye's *Naehun* (1475), although largely a compilation of teachings from Chinese classics, contains her own advice and admonishments to women. See "The Tradition of Women during the Yi Dynasty," 5–6.

these for educational purposes.<sup>33</sup> Doubtless, many didactic and educational texts existed and were transcribed, but Ch'oe Unsik's analysis does not take into account texts, such as *Golden Bell*, that are Confucian on the surface yet tacitly disguise inner themes of expropriation of power, gender subversion, and temporal liberation from present roles. Such an overgeneralization of the widely practiced act of transcription, in which both men and women took part,<sup>34</sup> dismisses other equally important reasons. The 16-leaf woodblock print edition of *Golden Bell* omits the scene in which Golden Bell saves the empire from Northerner attack. It merely states that Hailong fought with the head enemy and defeated him, leaving Hailong with all the glory.<sup>35</sup> Transcribers (or in this case publishers/engravers) nearly always added, deleted, or altered the stories they transcribed.<sup>36</sup>

A woman known as "Cho T'aeök's mother" would copy by hand volumes of narratives, which suggests that though they were not the original authors, women did take an active role in the process of transcription, in itself a form of creation. A young fourteen-year-old girl known as "Kwön sojyö" (Miss Kwön) copied down a version of the female warrior narrative, *Chǒng Sujǒng chǒn* 鄭秀貞傳 (Tale of Zheng Xiuzhen). She wrote the following:

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33. About 2,500 *naebang kasa* 內房歌辭 (lyrics from the women's quarters) survive. These were unpublished inner-room poetry composed and performed by upper-class women that circulated within the family. The anonymous pieces were often passed on to daughters and granddaughters at marriage. See Kichung Kim, *An Introduction to Classical Korean Literature: From Hyangga to P'ansori*, 123; and Kim Yong-sook, "The Characteristics of Korean Women's Literature: The Fatalistic Approach to the Bitterness in It," 41–44.

34. Ch'oe Unsik notes that *yangban*-class women, palace women, *chungin* men, and *sōri* took part in transcription.

35. Ch'oe Unsik, 140. Ch'oe has produced convincing research to show that old editions of narrative tales can be dated relative to other copies by looking at philological evidence.

36. See *ibid.*, 106–58. He mentions that oral transmission of the texts also underwent alteration by public readers and reciters, quoting from a *yangban* observer who followed a public reader around Seoul for a week. Some transcribers would change character names.

권소저 십스세의 씨노라 니칙 주닌은 갑닌생 권소저 필서라

Kwen swocye sipso sey uy ssenwola ni choyk cyunin un kapninsayng Kwen swocye philsela<sup>37</sup>

Palace women also transcribed fictional narratives. Some poor *yangban* transcribed the narratives for pay—at about 50 chŏn a shot.<sup>38</sup> A closer look at women's copies of narratives, especially of female hero narratives, is necessary. Unfortunately, few women left their names on handwritten copies of fictional narratives.

Could the process of transcription have led to women authoring their own tales, especially those with female heroes? Nothing can be proven. It is known that women were writing in East Asia for a long time. China, looked up to by Korea for centuries, saw its first woman of letters, Ban Zhao 班昭 (45–102?), as early as the Han dynasty,<sup>39</sup> and in Japan Otomo Sakano no Iratsume 大伴坂上郎女 (c. 695–750) wrote poetry. In Korea, the first female authors known by name hark back to the sixteenth century, such as the poets Sin Saimdang 申師任堂 (1504–51), Hwang Chini 黃眞伊 (fl. mid-sixteenth century), and Hŏ Nansŏrhŏn 許蘭雪軒 (1563–89), but none of them authored fictional narratives. Fiction by a woman first appeared in Japan during the Heian period when Murasaki Shikibu 紫式部 (c. 973–c. 1014) wrote *Genji monogatari* 源氏物語 (Tale of Genji), and it wasn't until the Qing dynasty that Wang Duan 汪端 (early eighteenth century) wrote her historical novel. In Korea, it is known that at least two eighteenth-century fictional narratives were written in part by females. The *So ssi myŏnghaeng rok* 蘇氏明行錄 (Memoirs of Lady So) was written by the sons and daughters of Yi Kwangsa (1705–77), and *Wanwŏrhoe maengyŏn* 玩月會盟宴 (Alliance Formed at the

37. Ibid., 99, 110. “Miss Kwŏn wrote this at age 14. Handwritten by Miss Kwŏn, born in the *kabin* 甲寅 year, owner of this book.” The transliteration beneath the quote is in Yale romanization, useful for early modern Korean. The *kabin* year here might be 1852.

38. Ibid., 120.

39. Anne Birrell, “Women in Literature,” 205.

Wanwöl Pavilion), a *roman-fleuve* filling up 180 volumes—the longest Chosŏn-period fictional narrative—was written in part by the mother of An Kyŏmjae and the daughter of Yi Ŏn'gyŏng (both An and Yi held government positions).<sup>40</sup>

The argument for female authorship might also be supported by the fact that many of the earliest extant copies of fictional narratives are in *han'gŭl*, including *Golden Bell*, *Nam Yun chŏn* 南胤傳 (Tale of Nam Yun), *Pak ssi puin chŏn* 朴氏夫人傳 (Tale of Lady Pak), and *Tukkŏp chŏn* 두갑傳 (Tale of a Toad)—or both *hanmun* and *han'gŭl* script or a mixture thereof, such as *Ch'oe Koun chŏn* 崔孤雲傳 (Tale of Ch'oe Koun), *Im Kyŏngŏp chŏn* 林慶業傳 (Tale of Im Kyŏngŏp), *Sŏ Tongji chŏn* 鼠同知傳 (Tale of Tongzhi the Squirrel), and *Sukhyang chŏn*. However, the fact that a piece is in the vernacular script cannot always settle whether a piece was authored by a man or woman. Although scholars often referred to the vernacular script as *amgŭl* 암글 (or *amk'ŭl* 암클, “women’s writing”) and many women were “major contributors to vernacular Korean writing,” many men used the alphabet in their own writing as well.<sup>41</sup> Seeing Korean vernacular script as exclusively “women’s writing” ignores the fact that many male *p'yŏngmin* and *yangban* (often anonymously) used the script.

*Kisaeng* 妓生 (courtesans), many of whom were literate and a few of whom read *hanmun*, might also have been authors of early fictional narratives.<sup>42</sup> One possible explanation to support female authorship of *kososŏl* might be that women, mostly likely from a *yangban* or fallen *yangban* family (since they were the women most often educated in reading and writ-

40. Ch'oe Unsik, 89.

41. JaHyun Kim Haboush, “Versions and Subversions: Patriarchy and Polygamy in Korean Narratives,” 279, and “Private Memory and Public History: The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng and Testimonial Literature,” 124.

42. *Kisaeng* are known to have written poetry since the Koryŏ period. See Kathleen McCarthy, “Kisaeng and Poetry in the Koryŏ Period,” 6–13.

ing),<sup>43</sup> could have written some of the early fictional narratives, and upon her delivering the manuscript to one of the *p'yŏngmin* publishers at the time, the publisher could have added Chinese characters (to account for mixed-script pieces) or edited the piece, resulting in joint authorship.<sup>44</sup> Although limited in their day-to-day activities, upper-class women could engage in some forms of business<sup>45</sup>—maybe behind-the-scenes writing and publishing was one of them. But women writers in premodern Korea faced many obstacles; as a useful parallel, Anne Birrell points out that in China for a woman to “have her voice represented in the canonical tradition,” the following would have been required: (1) literacy, (2) literariness in writing, (3) admittance to a literary salon, (4) sponsorship by a male patron, and (5) access to literary production.<sup>46</sup>

Further studies on Chosŏn women's language might provide details as to the gender of the author;<sup>47</sup> however, determining whether the writing is “feminine” or “masculine” does not necessarily lead to determining female or male authorship, as it is known that male writers (most often poets) have written in the “feminine voice” in China, Japan, and Korea.<sup>48</sup>

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43. I have not come across any sources specifically stating that *p'yŏngmin* women were literate in Chosŏn.

44. Many of the *panggakpon* editions, for example, were published by *p'yŏngmin*.

45. In 1906, Homer B. Hulbert observed, “Strange as it may seem, the only kind of shop [an upper-class] woman can keep is a wine-shop. Of course she never appears in person, but if her house is properly situated, she can turn a portion of it into a wine-shop, where customers can be served by her slave or other servant. ... Silk culture is an important industry, in which ladies take a prominent part.” Another interesting observation he made is that women of lower classes “act as tutors to the daughters of their more fortunate sisters. They teach the *Chinese character and literature, letter-writing, burial customs, music, housekeeping, hygiene, care of infants, obstetrics, religion, fiction, needlework and embroidery,*” as quoted in Denise Potrzeba Lett, *In Pursuit of Status: The Making of South Korea's “New” Urban Middle Class*, 60–61 (my emphasis). My guess is that these women may have come from fallen *yangban* families, or were part of a new generation of women who had access to educational opportunities opening up at the beginning of the twentieth century. See Yung-Hee Kim, 28, for information on pre-1920s education for women.

46. Birrell, 216–7.

47. Lee Eulhwan's article on language ethics during the Chosŏn period discusses how women both studied and were taught about language and behaviour from the Chinese classics (see 93–105).

48. Birrell, 200. Chŏng Ch'ŏl 鄭澈 (1536–93) is an example from Korea of a male writer using the feminine voice.

## Female Hero Fiction

One genre of early fictional narrative often figured women in positions of authority in Chosŏn society. The genre has come to be called *yŏsŏng yŏngung sosŏl* 女性英雄小說. Understanding *yŏsŏng yŏngung sosŏl*, or female hero fictional narratives,<sup>49</sup> will shed some light on heroism as represented in *Golden Bell*.

In Korea, the appellation for the genre has varied over the years and still varies from scholar to scholar. Sŏng Hyŏn'gyŏng refers to the narratives as *yŏgŏl sosŏl* 女傑小說, which Chŏn Yŏngjin later uses in reference to the *Pak ssi puin chŏn*.<sup>50</sup> Cho Tongil distinguishes between *yŏsŏng chuin'gong ŭi yŏngung sosŏl* 女性主人公의 英雄小說 (heroic fictional narratives with a female protagonist) and *namsŏng 男性 chuin'gong ŭi yŏngung sosŏl* (heroic fictional narratives with a male protagonist) in his discussion of *Golden Bell*, *Kim Wŏn chŏn* 金圓傳 (Tale of Jin Yuan), *Sukhyang chŏn*, and others.<sup>51</sup> Chŏng Myŏnggi uses the term *yŏhogŏlgye sosŏl* 女豪傑系小說.<sup>52</sup> Chŏng and Yi place *Golden Bell* with *Hong Kyewŏl chŏn* 洪桂月傳 (Tale of Hong Guiyue), *Ok Chu hoyŏn* 玉珠好緣 (Three Jades and Three Jewels Get Hooked Up),<sup>53</sup> *Pak ssi puin chŏn*, and *Pang hallim chŏn* 方翰林傳 (Tale of Fang the Scribe).<sup>54</sup>

49. I have chosen to translate *yŏsŏng yŏngung sosŏl* as “female hero fiction” and *yŏgŏl sosŏl* as “heroine fiction” to keep in line with Korean scholarship on the topic. But unfortunately, “female hero fiction” implies that these tales were counterparts to or a subclassification of a male heroic fiction genre.

50. Chŏn Yŏngjin, ed., *Hong Kiltong chŏn*, *Pak ssi puin chŏn*, 92; see also Yi Sangt'aek and Yun Yongsik, *Kojŏn sosŏllon*, 37.

51. Cho Tongil, 3:476.

52. See Chŏng Myŏnggi, “Yŏhogŏlgye sosŏl ŭi hyŏngsŏng kwajŏng yŏn'gu” (master's thesis, Yonsei University, 1980). Reference from Chŏng and Yi, “Yŏsŏng,” 285.

53. This is a narrative where three brothers (triplets) Wan 琬 (Handsome Jade), Zhen 珍 (Treasure), and Jing 璟 (Glowing Jade)—referred to as “jades” because they were collectively an auspicious gift—meet three sisters, the jewelily triplets Zizhu 紫珠 (Amethyst), Bizhu 碧珠 (Emerald), and Mingzhu 明珠 (Pearl), who are all

Chŏn Yongmun calls the genre *yŏsŏnggye* 女性系 *yŏngung sosŏl*,<sup>55</sup> but later switches to *yŏsŏng yŏngung sosŏl*,<sup>56</sup> which Chŏng and Yi also use. But they believe the appellation is still problematic. Placing the *yŏsŏng* in front of *yŏngung sosŏl* suggests that the narratives featuring a female hero are a subgenre of the hero narratives featuring males. Chŏng and Yi argue that the narratives with female heroes differ fundamentally from the (male) hero narratives and should be categorized separately.<sup>57</sup>

China has a long history in literature of women who disguise themselves as men and are treated as heroes. Judith Zeitlin explains why. "Filial piety, blood vengeance, requital of true friendship, and the desire to serve the state," she says, "are all acceptable motives."<sup>58</sup> Often, female characters' motives for cross-dressing are justified to maintain a Confucian or noble virtue. (Here, I am using the term "Confucian" as a loose "amorphous and a historical concept," which Dorothy Ko, JaHyun Kim Haboush, and Joan R. Piggot define as "a cluster of ethical ideals articulated in the Chinese classics."<sup>59</sup>) In "Mulan ci" 木蘭詞 (Ballad of Mulan) Mulan goes to war in place of her aging father, in the Tang tale "Xie Xiao'e" 謝小娥 (Xie

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military generals. The emperor is suspicious of his generals' gender, so he has the three brothers and three sisters enter a bathhouse together, and the emperor marries them off to each other.

54. The main character in this story, a woman disguised as a man, gains a government post and marries another woman.

55. Chŏn Yongmun, "Yŏsŏnggye yŏngung sosŏl ūi hyŏngsŏng tongin," *Mogwŏn ōmunhak* 4 (1983) and "Yŏsŏnggye yŏngung sosŏl ūi yŏn'gu," *Ōmun yŏn'gu* 10 (1985). See Chŏng and Yi, "Yŏsŏng," 285.

56. Chŏn Yongmun, "Yŏsŏng yŏngung sosŏl ūi kyet'ongjŏk yŏn'gu," *Ōmun yŏn'gu* 17 (1988) and *Han'guk yŏsŏng yŏngung sosŏl ūi yŏn'gu*. The term was used earlier by Min Ch'an, however, in "Yŏsŏng yŏngung sosŏl ūi ch'urhyŏn kwa hudaejŏk pyŏnmo" (master's thesis, Seoul National University, 1980). The female warrior/general narratives form a subcategory, variously referred to as *yŏjanggun tŭngjang ūi kososŏl* and *yŏjanggunhyŏng sosŏl*, respectively, in Yŏ Seju, "Yŏjanggun tŭngjang ūi kososŏl" (master's thesis, Yŏngnam University, 1981), and Son Yŏnja, "Chosŏnjo yŏjanggunhyŏng sosŏl yŏn'gu" (master's thesis, Ewha Womans University, 1982). Complete references listed above were culled from Chŏng and Yi, "Yŏsŏng," 285.

57. See *ibid.*, 265–6, 285.

58. Zeitlin, *Historian of the Strange: Pu Songling and the Chinese Classical Tale*, 116. In some stories, transvestism is severely punished.

59. Ko, Haboush, and Piggott, *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea, and Japan*, 3. They also cite evidence from the historian Lionel Jensen that the term "Confucianism" was invented by the Jesuit missionaries in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century China.

Xiao'e) Xiao'e dresses as a man to "avenge the murders of her father and husband."<sup>60</sup> In female hero fictional narratives, often female generals command armies or supernatural women control the elements. Women having authority over men in a strictly patriarchal, Neo-Confucian society was either highly unlikely or impossible.<sup>61</sup> The concept of women dressing as men and acting as men closely relates to the concept of transformation in female hero fictional narratives. In *Golden Bell*, the daughter of the Dragon King of the South Sea is born as a golden bell and later turns into a beautiful woman. In *Pak ssi puin chŏn*, Pak's ugliness is transformed into beauty. The depiction of transvestism and transformation is highly significant in a gender-divided and highly clothing-conscious society. In Chosŏn times, one's dress indicated one's status and gender.

Kang Kŭmsuk states that in Chosŏn times, and, I might add, among certain classes of society, at one of the first ceremonies for children, *tol* 돌, boys are given indigo pants and girls a crimson skirt.<sup>62</sup> From their childhood on, boys and girls wear different, sex-specific clothing. An elaborate set of sayings (*soksinŏ* 俗信語) about clothing placed restrictions on the use of men's clothing by women and vice versa—for instance, "A woman should not hang her clothes on top of a man's," "Righteousness is corrupted if a woman wears a man's belt," "A woman should not walk over a man's clothes," and "If a husband places his clothes over his wife's belly, she has easy labour" (50–1). Certain hairstyles were also strictly observed.<sup>63</sup> When consent was given for marriage, girls underwent a ceremony called *kyerye* 笄禮. A girl's

60. Zeitlin, 118.

61. However, Lillias Horton Underwood wrote in 1904, "It is a great pity men do not wear their hair this way [in a topknot] in America. We women who favor women's rights would soon find it a mighty handle by which to secure them, for in the hands of a discerning woman it is indeed an instrument of unlimited possibilities. ... By one of these well-tried arrangements have I beheld a justly irate wife dragging home her drunken husband from the saloon; and firmly grasping this, I have seen more than one indignant female administering the corporal punishment which her lord and master no doubt richly deserved," as quoted in Laurel Kendall and Mark Peterson, *Korean Women: View from the Inner Room*, 7.

62. Kang, *Yŏsŏng ūi kŭl yŏsŏng ūi sam*, 50.

63. Hair customs followed during the Chosŏn period actually date back to Koryŏ times.



mother unbraided her hair and did it up in a chignon. Boys' hair ritual was called *kwallye* 冠禮. Material (as in clothing) and physical (as in hairstyles) transformation was a part of initiation ceremonies.<sup>64</sup> This kind of transformation from one stage to the next through a change of appearance was dictated by Confucian ritual. I quote from Kang above mainly to indicate the level to which division of the sexes developed in the Chosŏn period.

Division of the sexes in Chosŏn is reflected in attitudes toward literature as well. As David McCann notes,

*Hanmun* literature was read and written primarily by men of the elite class. Women and nonelite men infrequently learned the classics and, if literate at all, tended to use only the simpler Korean alphabet, *han'gŭl*. Even within the field of Korean vernacular literature, the dualistic structure appears as a significant motivating factor in the plots of such well-known stories as *The Tale of Ch'unhyang*, or the *Tale of Hong Kiltong* [Hong Kiltong chŏn 洪吉童傳].<sup>65</sup>

Such a "dualistic structure" appears throughout female hero narratives, including *Golden Bell*. On the one hand, Confucian rites and customs are upheld—external issues in a narrative—and on the other they are broken—internal (and sometimes subtle) issues. One issue in female hero narratives that is both internal and external is transvestism. Chŏng and Yi state that *Golden Bell*'s campaniform birth can be seen as the same device as dressing up as a man.<sup>66</sup> For instance, transvestic women openly disregard propriety and custom—their action confuses or "corrupts" ideas of status, gender, and class. Conversely, women uphold Confucian mores by demonstrating their loyalty to the state, as in the female hero narratives where women are cast as generals—their disguise is the only means whereby they can publicly show their loyalty.

64. See Ch'oe Kisuk, "Sŏngjang sosŏl ro pon *Kŭm pangul chŏn*, *Kim Wŏn chŏn*," 153–88.

65. McCann, "Formal and Informal Korean Society: A Reading of *Kisaeng* Songs," 129.

66. Chŏng and Yi, "Yŏsŏng," 297–9.

However, Golden Bell's non-human form differs significantly from a clothes-based issue: Golden Bell is not necessarily wearing a removable costume, she does not choose to wear any particular clothing (she was born as a bell, and it is implied that this shape was decided upon by the Jade Emperor and the ancients), and she is not trying to pass as a man, but her form does serve as a disguise to act in a heroic fashion.

Chŏng and Yi find that tales of supernatural beings (*iin sŏrhwa* 異人說話) and stories in which a woman selects her husband, such as “Sut kumnŭn saram ŭi haengun” 솿 굽는 사람의 幸運 (A Charcoal Burner's Luck) and the *Ondal sŏrhwa* 溫達說話 (Story of Ondal), where Princess P'yŏnggang convinces Ondal to marry her, may have influenced the female hero fictional narratives in which women dressed up as men.<sup>67</sup> Sŏng Hyŏn'gyŏng delineates four types of female hero narratives:<sup>68</sup> (1) a woman in a superior role—a woman is cast as general and a man becomes second in command—as in *Chŏng Sujŏng chŏn* and *Hong Kyewŏl chŏn*; (2) a woman on equal footing with men, acting as general, as in *Yi Taebong chŏn* 李大鳳傳 (Tale of Li Dafeng); (3) a woman acting in military roles under men, helping them, as in *Ongnu mong* 玉樓夢 (Dream of the Jade Chamber); (4) a woman performing magic in the background to aid people, as in *Chang Kukchin chŏn* 張國振傳 (Tale of Zhang Guozhen) and *Pak ssi puin chŏn*. *Golden Bell* would fit in the fourth category.

A reason for the popularity of female hero narratives may be that consumers of early fictional narratives in Korea were often upper-class or palace women.<sup>69</sup> There were also many

67. Ibid., 272–6.

68. Sŏng Hyŏn'gyŏng, “Yŏgŏl sosŏl kwa *Sŏl In'gwi chŏn*: Kŭ chŏjak nyŏndae wa suip nyŏndae, suyong kwa pyŏnyong,” 167.

69. Bruce Fulton, “Korean Novel,” 675; Ōtani Morishige, quoted in Haboush, “Filial Emotions and Filial Values: Changing Patterns in the Discourse of Filiality in Late Chosŏn Korea,” 175; Yi and Yun, 82.

men who only read *kungmun*, fiction written in Korean vernacular script.<sup>70</sup> According to Cho Tongil, female Chosŏn readers (not to mention listeners) far outnumbered their Chinese and Japanese counterparts.<sup>71</sup> Lady Yun, Kim Manjung's mother, was well-versed in *hanmun* and mostly read fictional narratives.<sup>72</sup> Women, either as listeners or readers, may have been drawn to the authority the female characters wielded or the freedom they assumed. In Chŏng and Yi's words, "Female hero narratives are the textualization of dreams that could not come about in the Chosŏn reality."<sup>73</sup> They believed that the power these female characters enjoy is a reflection of Chosŏn women's desire to escape social inferiority. Female heroes must have appealed to women's imaginations. Chŏng and Yi further state, "Literature is not an exact reflection of society, but the result of refraction and change." The *hŏgusŏng* 虛構性 (fictitiousness) inherent in the works has taken events from real life and changed them to create an alternate space for female and male readers.<sup>74</sup> Chŏng and Yi remind us that female heroes, who gain

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70. Ch'oe Unsik, 96–7. Kim Hosu 金戶首 is recorded in the *Yorowŏn yahwagi* 要路院夜話記 (Folk Tales from the Authorities) by Pak Tuse 朴斗世 (1650–1733) as being a man who can read *kungmun*, but not *hanmun*; and in the *Kyŏngsudang chip* 警修堂集 (Collected Works of Kyŏngsudang), Sin Wi 申緯 (1769–1847) admits that after felling trees all day, he enjoys reading *sosŏl* at night, revealing that commoners (*p'yŏngmin*) also enjoyed reading *kungmun sosŏl*.

71. Quoted in Ch'oe Unsik, 91. Cho Tongil, however, does not cite any kind of source to support this conclusion, and Ch'oe notes that public readership took hold later in Korea than it did in China and Japan.

72. Hŏ Nansŏrhŏn also read *hanmun*, but I know of no record stating she read fictional narratives. Her younger brother Kyun gave a portion of her poems to Ming poet Zhu Zhifan 朱之蕃, who had them published as *Nansŏrhŏn chip* 蘭雪軒集 (Lanxuexuan ji; Collected Works of Nansŏrhŏn), to critical acclaim. In 1711 it was published in Japan where it became well-loved (*Han'guk minjok munhwa taebaekkwajŏn*, s.v. "Hŏ Nansŏrhŏn"; McCann, *Early Korean Literature*, 77). I am also unsure of whether Yi I's well-versed mother, Sin Saimdang, read fictional narratives. Lady Song 宋氏 (Tŏkpong 德峯; fl. mid-Chosŏn) wrote *hansi* 漢詩 (poems in Chinese) collected in her *Song ssi sigo* 宋氏詩藁 (Poems by Lady Song) of which there is no extant copy, but some of her work survives: "Ma ch'ŏn ryŏng sang ūm" 磨天嶺上吟 (Recitation over Sky-reaching Peaks), "Hŭi sin sa si" 喜新舍詩 (Joy over a New Home), "Chŭng mi am" 贈眉巖 (To Eyebrow Rock), etc.

73. Chŏng and Yi, "Yŏsŏng," 266. Chŏng and Yi however base their statement on the understanding of the social position held by middle- to upper-class women during the Chosŏn period. They fail to include in their definition of "woman" women who didn't marry into the system or women who were owned as slaves. Such inclusion would greatly diversify their argument, moving it away from an overly narrow view of the "Chosŏn woman."

74. Ibid., 266. It would be interesting to compare female hero fiction to romance novels written for mass consumption in the US today. Romance novels are written primarily for a female audience and in them a woman often subtly (and cleverly) tames a rugged outdoorsy man.

recognition through supernatural powers and through dressing up as men, in the end give up their newfound status and live on in a Confucian society, as in *Hwang changgun chŏn* 黃將軍傳 (Tale of General Huang), *Kim Hŭigyŏng chŏn* 金喜慶傳 (Tale of Jin Xiqing), *Ok Chu hoyŏn*, *Yi Pongbin chŏn* 李鳳彬傳 (Tale of Li Fengbin), and *Yi Taebong chŏn*. However, there are narratives where the woman dresses up as a man and secures her position even after her gender is exposed. The strong female characters outperform inefficient men, and criticize the societal order that excludes them, as in *Chŏng Sujŏng chŏn*, *Hong Kyewŏl chŏn*, *Pang hallim chŏn*, and *Yi haksa chŏn* 李學士傳 (Tale of Li the Scholar).<sup>75</sup>

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75. Ibid., 292–4.

## Versions of *Golden Bell*

Some scholars have attempted to find Chinese counterparts to *Golden Bell*. As a fictional narrative, it is similar to the Tang dynasty “Bai yuan zhuan” 白猿傳 (An Account of the White Monkey; also known as “Xu Jiang shi zhuan” 續江氏傳) and *Bu Jiang Zong bai yuan zhuan* 補江總白猿傳 (Supplement to Jiang Zong’s “Biography of a White Monkey”). In the *Tangdai congshu* 唐代叢書 (Tang Collection of Reprints), a short bibliographical note on *Zhu bei* 猪臂 (The Pig’s Arm) reveals a story with transformation and a golden bell. In her translation of the note, E. D. Edwards writes,

A certain man of Wu saw a fine-looking girl standing on a dyke. He called her and she came and stayed with him till morning. Before she left he tied a golden bell upon her arm. Next day he could not find her anywhere, but chancing to pass a pigsty, he saw inside a sow with a golden bell tied on its fore-leg.<sup>76</sup>

*Golden Bell* also has similarities with the Yuan dynasty *Chen xunjian meiling shi qi ji* 陳巡檢梅嶺失妻記 (Inspector Chen Loses His Wife in Meiling) in Hong Pian’s 洪梗 anthology *Liushi jia xiaoshuo* 六十家小說 (Sixty Stories), also called *Qingpingshan tang hua-ben* 清平山堂話本 (Stories from the Clear and Peaceful Mountain), and *Shenyangdong ji* 申陽洞記 (Record of Shenyangdong).<sup>77</sup> Sin Kihyŏng and Chang Töksun see similarities to

76. Edwards, *Chinese Prose Literature of the T'ang Period*, A. D. 618–908, 2:272.

77. Sin Kihyŏng, *Han'guk sosŏl paltalsa*, 54; *Han'guk minjok munhwa taebaekkwa sajŏn*, s.v. “Kŭm pangul chŏn”; Sin Tongik, “Haeje,” 98–100; and Yenna Wu, “Vernacular Stories,” 597–9. I discuss the tales further in “Review of *Golden Bell* Studies” and “Heroism in *Golden Bell*” below. I have not yet found *Shenyangdong ji* but *Shenyangdong* (same characters) is the background location of *Chen xunjian meiling shi qi ji*.

*Golden Bell* in the Ming dynasty *roman-fleuve* by Wu Cheng'en 吳承恩 (c. 1500–82), *Xiyou ji* 西遊記 (Journey to the West), and Sin sees connections to a Yuan drama of Northern China by Li Haogu 李好古, *Zhang sheng zhu hai* 張生煮海 (Scholar Zhang Boils the Sea).<sup>78</sup>

Any of the above Chinese stories may have directly or indirectly influenced *Golden Bell*, yet it difficult to say with certainty because both the authorship and date of composition of *Golden Bell* are unknown. Cho Tongil believes *Golden Bell* falls into a group of fictional narratives that date to the mid- to late seventeenth century,<sup>79</sup> although no conclusive philological evidence exists to support this. Kim Yŏnho believes that because the patriarchal clan figures so prominently in *Golden Bell*, the piece may date from the beginning of the eighteenth century;<sup>80</sup> Pak Iryong places it at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>81</sup> W. E. Skillend notes that actual copies of the early fiction texts “hardly ever go back beyond the middle of the nineteenth century.”<sup>82</sup> Yi Ch'anghŏn generally agrees. On a detailed chronology chart, Yi places most of the earliest copies of *kososŏl* around 1840, rarely placing a piece prior to this date, as he does *Yongmun chŏn* 龍門傳 (Tale of Longmen) of c. 1829 and *Im Kyŏnggŏp chŏn* (or *Im changgun chŏn* 林將軍傳 [Tale of General Im]) of c. 1780. Yi places the oldest copy of *Golden Bell* at 1860 (which he believes is British Library Copy B, or what *he* calls “Copy A”; I discuss the

78. Sin Kihyŏng, 54; and Chang Tŏksun, “Kŭmnyŏng chŏn,” 210.

79. Quoted in Pak Yongsik, *Han'guk kojŏn munhak chŏnjip: Kŭm pangul chŏn / Kim Wŏn chŏn / Nam Yun chŏn / Tang T'aejong chŏn / Yi Hwa chŏn / Ch'oe rang chŏn*, 10. See also Im Sŏngnae, *Yŏngung sosŏl ūi yuhyŏng yŏn'gu*, i. *Golden Bell* may have been written in the early eighteenth century, according to Kim Yŏnho—see his “Yŏngung sosŏl ūi yuhyŏng kwa pyŏnmo e kwanhan yŏn'gu,” 245. Cho Tongil notes that *Golden Bell*'s oviparous elements predate *Hong Kiltong chŏn* (sixteenth century), but the fact that the protagonist possesses supernatural powers suggests that it may be contemporary with *Hong Kiltong*. However, its portrayal of the dichotomy between heaven and earth place it later than *Hong Kiltong* (quoted in Pak Yongsik, *Han'guk*, 9–10). Cho Tongil also asserts that *Golden Bell* is faithful to the legacy left by the *Tale of Hong Kiltong* (quoted in Cho Hŭiung, ed., *Kojŏn sosŏl chakp'um yŏn'gu ch'ongnam*, 59), yet recent scholarship contests both the authorship and the dating of *Hong Kiltong*. See Robert J. Fouser, “‘Translations’ of Hong Kildong: From Story to Classic to Icon and Beyond,” 25–41.

80. Kim Yŏnho, 245.

81. Pak Iryong, “Yŏngung sosŏl ūi yuhyŏng pyŏni wa kŭ sosŏlsajŏk ūi,” 137.

82. Skillend, *Kodae Sosŏl* 古代小説: *A Survey of Korean Traditional Style Popular Novels*, 13.

disagreement more fully below), but conjectures that this is a copy of an earlier piece.<sup>83</sup> Although it is difficult to date the original *Golden Bell*, philologists and historical linguists could possibly undertake comparative studies to discover which one is the older copy. Because of the many different versions of *Golden Bell* that exist—regardless of which is oldest—this story must have enjoyed wide readership just like other similar stories of filiality from China and Korea.<sup>84</sup>

Ch'oe Unsik has examined philologically the earliest versions of *Golden Bell*. Specifically, Ch'oe Unsik looked at palatalization, use of archaisms, initial consonant dropping (the older form of *yŏja* 여자 [woman] being *nyŏja* 녀자), auxiliary particles, consonantal assimilation and differentiation, and monophthongization.<sup>85</sup> An example would be the changes that took place in the word *son* (*adŭl* 아들) with a direct object particle (*rŭl/ŭl* 를/을):

ㅅ 들 ㄹ → ㅇ 들 ㄹ → 아 들 을

otul lol → otul lul → atul ul

The first change is the drop in the use of the *arae a* (a vowel no longer used in modern Korean), and the second is the modern use of the object particle. The examples above are taken from three different *panggakpon* versions: a 28-leaf one, a 20-leaf one, and a 16-leaf one. Through this example and many others, Ch'oe Unsik has found that the 28-leaf versions are the oldest, followed by the abridged 20-leaf one<sup>86</sup> and the 16-leaf ones.

83. Yi Ch'anghŏn, *Kyŏngp'an panggak sosŏl p'anbon yŏn'gu*, 552–67.

84. Pak Yongsik, “*Kŭmnyŏng chŏn yŏn'gu*: Kkum kwa pyŏnsin ŭi sinhwajŏk pŏmju,” 2.

85. Ch'oe Unsik, 282–3.

86. The 20-leaf Seoul edition actually has an imprint “Songdong Sin'gan” 宋洞新刊—Songdong is present-day Myŏngnyundong 明倫洞 (Ch'oe Unsik, 127–8), near the former residence of Song Siyŏl 宋時烈 (1607–89), prominent in the Sŏin 西人 (Westerner) political faction. The 20-leaf version is reprinted in Chŏng and Yi, “Yŏsŏng,” 75–110.

Each of the editions are in *han'gŭl* and date from the period 1847 to 1862.<sup>87</sup> Two older handwritten copies survive, as well as a dozen or so modern reprints (beginning in 1916).

The oldest extant version is the 28-leaf British Library<sup>88</sup> woodblock print “Copy A,” as opposed to “Copy B,” which is identical to the 28-leaf National Library of Korea (Kungnip Chungang Tosŏgwan 國立中央圖書館) version.<sup>89</sup>

Ch'oe Unsik lists differences between Copy A and the National Library version (identical to Copy B), finding twenty-two orthographical and lexical instances that suggest it is an earlier copy than B and only nine cases in B that hint otherwise (273–5). For example, Ch'oe uses the example 일 ∙ / 혼 (*ililhun*),<sup>90</sup> “one day”; the “ditto” [*ori munja* 오리문자] indicates a repeated character in the original xylographic text and the virgule represents a line break) from Copy A<sup>91</sup> as being a predecessor to 일 / ∙ 은 (*ililun*) in Copy B; Yi Ch'anghŏn uses the same example in his claim that Copy B (his “A”) is the earlier text.<sup>92</sup> Yi claims that the engraver saw the original 일 / ∙ 은 and, because of its placement at the bottom of the line, mistook the ∙ for a ㅎ (h). Ch'oe calls *ililhun* a more archaic form. Both arguments largely leave out any detailed historical linguistic analysis. I am more persuaded by Ch'oe's stance, since 일일히 (*ililhi*) with a ㅎ is an earlier form for 일일이 (*ilili*),<sup>93</sup> the ㅎ appears to have dropped out of the word. Copy B is definitely more legible, which may be one reason that a

87. Ch'oe Unsik, 127.

88. Skillend notes that the British Library was once called the “British Museum Library” (“Puritas Submersa Resurgit,” 126), which is why it is still called “Taeyŏng Pangmulgwan” 大英博物館 (British Museum) in Korean scholarship.

89. All are *kyŏngp'anbon*, editions published in Seoul. Reprinted in Pak Yongsik, *Han'guk*, 14–85. Pak Yongsik includes a modern Korean translation of Copy B. It is unclear which *kyŏngp'an* version Yi Sangt'aek uses in his abridged version in modern Korean, “Kŭm pangul chŏn (Kŭmnyŏng chŏn),” in *Kojŏn sosŏl*, 154–77. A Russian translation, *Zolotoy bubenchik* Золотой Бубенчик, by A. A. Kholodovich appeared in 1960, as cited in Trotsevich, *Koreiskaia srednevekovaiia povest'*, 251.

90. Examples from early modern Korean are in Yale romanization.

91. Page 1b, line 12; see Appendix II.

92. Yi Ch'anghŏn, 40–1.

93. See Nam Kwangu, *Kyohak koŏ sajŏn*; and Yu Ch'angdon, *Yi Choŏ sajŏn*.



complete transcription of Copy A has not yet appeared in print. The other 28-leaf copy is owned by the National Museum of Asiatic Arts (Musée national des Arts asiatiques) in Paris.

The rare 22-leaf and 20-leaf versions can be found in the Aston Collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Sankt-Peterburgskiy filial Instituta vostokovedeniya Санкт-Петербургский филиал Института востоковедения) and in the possession of Kim Tonguk, respectively. The 16-leaf versions can be found at the National Library of Korea, the Academy of Korean Studies (Han'guk Chōngsin Munhwa Yōn'guwōn 韓國精神文化研究院, which has two copies), Seoul National University (Sōul Taehakkyo 서울대학교), and Ewha Womans University (Ihwa Yōja Taehakkyo 梨花女子대학교). Also, one was in the possession of the late Professor Ha Tongho, whose collection of rare books has since been divided. One each of the two manuscript (handwritten) copies exist at the Oriental Library (Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫) in Japan<sup>94</sup> and the Korea University Library (Koryō Taehakkyo Tosōgwan 高麗大學校圖書館).<sup>95</sup> The only copies reprinted in Kim Tonguk et al. are the two 28-leaf British Library copies (4:35–62), Kim Tonguk's 20-leaf copy (1:283–92), and the 16-leaf copy owned by Professor Ha Tongho (4:63–70).

During the period of Japanese rule, at least seven modern-type editions appeared. By 1930, over 250 different adaptations or faithful reproductions of early fictional narratives appeared. During this time many of the original titles were changed to thematic titles. The first *kososōl* to appear in modern typeset were Yi Haejo's 1912 adaptations of *Ch'unhyang chōn*, what he called *Okchunghwa* 獄中花 (Flower in the Prison), and *Sim Ch'ōng chōn* 沈清傳

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94. This was transcribed in *musullyōn* 戊戌年, Year of the Dog, 1898 (Ch'oe Unsik, 270; Skillend, *Kodae*, 42).

95. Ch'oe Unsik shows that the Korea University handwritten copy is actually a transcription of the 1917 modern-type Sech'ang edition (284–91).

(Tale of Sim Ch'öng),<sup>96</sup> which was named *Kangsangnyön* 江上蓮 (Lotus on a River).<sup>97</sup> *Golden Bell* also appeared under the title *Nŭnggyöŋ nansa* 能見難思 (One Can Hardly Believe One's Eyes)<sup>98</sup> in 1917, one of the many *kososöl* marketed under new names invented by the publisher during the period. In recent years the tale has been anthologized several times.<sup>99</sup> *Golden Bell* and many other fictional narratives can now be viewed online ([www.seelotus.com](http://www.seelotus.com)).

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96. Skillend translates Sim Ch'öng as *Shen Qing* ("Korean Literature," 371).

97. Ch'oe Unsik, 136.

98. Skillend's translation (*Kodae*, 58).

99. See "Tale of Golden Bell Transcriptions Listed by Editor/Translator" near the bibliography.

## Review of *Golden Bell* Studies

Although not as extensively studied as other *kososöl* (such as *Hong Kiltong chŏn* or *Sim Ch'öng chŏn*), *Golden Bell* has been the topic of a number of studies over the years.

### Nineteenth Century

In his *Bibliographie coréenne*, Maurice Courant (1894)<sup>100</sup> includes an entry on *Golden Bell* (*Kŭm pangul chyŏn* 金鈴傳), which he romanizes as “*Keum pang-oul tjyen*” and translates, “*Histoire de la sonnette d’or*” (Story of the golden bell). He summarizes briefly the beginning portion of the tale from a 28-leaf copy:

At the end of the dynasty of the Yuan, 元, an official named Tjang Ouen [Zhang Yuan] conceals himself along with his wife in the mountains to escape from the confusion of the war. (418)

Courant continues to relate the story. Here, I have placed my corrections to his summary in angle brackets:

One day, in a dream {the event took place after a dream}, [Zhang Yuan] sees a child prodigy descend from heaven, and introduces himself as the son of a dragon {the Dragon King of the East Sea}; as he was going about with the daughter of another dragon {Dragon King of the South Sea}, he encountered evil spirits {a monster} that were going to kill his companion {she is killed}; he begs the Zhang woman to let him inside her—he asks her to hide him. The

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100. Courant, *Bibliographie coréenne*, 418–9.

woman opens her mouth and the child prodigy turns into red air and enters her body. Nine months later, she gives birth to a child she names “Hǎi ryong,” 海龍 [Hailong] (dragon of the sea). Meanwhile, the “Mak” [Mo] woman has a husband by the name of “Kim Sang nang” [Jin Sanlang] who lives a life of vagrancy. He abandons the woman because she is very ugly; the Mak woman sees, in a dream, a girl prodigy descend from heaven and say: “I shall become your daughter” {Mo is presented the daughter by five ancients}. The Mak woman is very embarrassed to see her stomach grow big because her husband is not there; she gives birth to a golden pumpkin {a golden bell}, that moves as though alive; the Mak woman throws it into the fire and it comes out five days later with greater lustre than before. At about sixteen years of age, the pumpkin {bell} gains great power; she ... can control the elements {it has this power at birth}, and she befriends Hǎi ryong. The two attack the enemy and they flee. The girl prodigy takes off her pumpkin covering {transforms from a bell into a woman} and with Hǎi ryong ascends to heaven {they marry on earth}.

The pumpkin, he incorrectly states, is compared to a bell—hence, the title of the narrative. Although Courant apparently mixes some events in *Golden Bell* with *Kim Wŏn chŏn* (which involves a shiny melon), it is quite remarkable that a nineteenth-century reference to *Golden Bell* exists in a European language.

### 1950s and '60s

Kim Kidong includes *Golden Bell* in his preliminary work, *Han'guk kodae sosŏl kaeron* (1956), but I discuss his research below, based on a later edition of his work from 1975.

Sin Kihyŏng (1960)<sup>101</sup> traces the origin of *Golden Bell*'s birth as a bell to *nansaeng sŏrhwa* 卵生說話, what I like to call "oviparous tales," where heroes are hatched from eggs (see "Heroism in *Golden Bell*" below). He includes a summary of *Golden Bell* and suggests Chinese characters for many of the place names and characters. The story has similarities with the Ming dynasty *roman-fleuve* by Wu Cheng'en, *Xiyou ji*, and a Taoist play of Northern China from the Yuan dynasty, *Zhang sheng zhu hai*. In *Zhang sheng zhu hai*, two immortals are banished to earth, one as a Confucian scholar and the other as the daughter of the Dragon King of the East Sea. They meet up again, marry, and are allowed back into the immortal realm. In *Golden Bell*, Golden Bell and Hailong start out as daughter and son of different dragon kings, are born into mortality and later marry.

Sin also states that various episodes in *Golden Bell* are much like those found in other *kososŏl*. Bian's abusing Hailong is reminiscent of the novercal mistreatment K'ongjwi receives in *K'ongjwi P'atchwi chŏn* 龍귀팔귀傳 (Tale of K'ongjwi and P'atchwi). Golden Bell and Hailong's saving Princess Jinxian and her ladies-in-waiting from a monster is much like Hong Kiltong's saving two men's daughters from a similar predicament. In addition, Sin classifies *Golden Bell* as a *chigoe sosŏl*, a mystical or spooky story, which seems to echo Tang dynasty stories about animals—*Ren hu zhuan* 人虎傳 about a tiger, "Bai yuan zhuan" about a monkey, and "Qian shi zhuan" 仟氏傳 and "Lie hu zhuan" 獵狐傳 about foxes—which he guesses may have influenced the creation of *Golden Bell*.

Sin includes a helpful chart of fictional narratives written in the Chosŏn period, detailing five items: (1) authorship (for example, Pak Chiwŏn 朴趾源 [1737–1805], Kim Manjung, anonymous, etc.); (2) reign period of publication, if known; (3) script used (*hanmun* or

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101. Sin Kihyŏng, 54.

*kungmun* or both); (4) background of the story (China or Korea—or India, as is the case with *Kŭm songaji chŏn* 金송아지傳 [Tale of the Golden Calf] and *Allakkuk chŏn* 安樂國傳 [Tale of Sukhavati], or the human body, as in *Ch'ŏn'gun pon'gi* 天君本紀 [History of the Mind] by Chŏng Kihwa 鄭琦和 [1786–1827]); and (5) genre (*chŏn'gi*, *kundam* 軍談 [war story], etc.).

In a catalogue of the Korean collection at the Institute of the People of Asia, O. P. Petrova (1963) lists a 22-leaf woodblock print of *Golden Bell*, part of the Aston Collection in St. Petersburg.<sup>102</sup>

Number 41 in his survey of *kososŏl*, W. E. Skillend (1968) finds “The Story of the Golden Bell,” as he calls it, “extremely difficult to follow in detail”; but briefly mentions the bell being “born of a woman” and ending “as a woman itself.”<sup>103</sup> He lists the locations of the block prints.

### 1970s

Taking a mythological approach, Kim Yŏlgyu (1971) borrows Joseph Campbell’s notion of a monomyth (what Kim calls *tanwŏn sinhwa* 單元神話)<sup>104</sup> to describe *Golden Bell*:

A hero ventures forth from the world of common day into a region of supernatural wonder; fabulous forces are there encountered and a decisive victory is won; the hero comes back from this mysterious adventure with the power to bestow boons on his fellow man.<sup>105</sup>

Kim finds traces of this myth in the structure of *Golden Bell*, *Kim Wŏn chŏn*, and *Hong Kiltong chŏn*. He further compares *Golden Bell* and *Kim Wŏn* (which he believes to share the same

102. Skillend, *Kodae*, 58.

103. Ibid., 58–9.

104. Kim Yŏlgyu, *Han'guk minsok kwa munhak yŏn'gu*, 14.

105. Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, 30.

structure) to the folk tale *Chihaguk taejök chech'i sörhwa* 地下國大賊除治說話 (Story of Vanquishing the Great Demon of the Underworld—it is also called *Chihaguk taejök t'oech'i sörhwa* 地下國大賊退治說話), some parts of which may have influenced the structure and content of *Golden Bell* (88). To quote from Yun Kyöngsu (1999), the story is as follows.<sup>106</sup> (1) Long ago, a famished demon (*agwi* 餓鬼) of the underworld appears on earth and steals away the king's three princesses. (2) A knight declares that he will save the princesses and heads out with some of the king's men. (3) A mountain god (*sansin* 山神) appears and shows them the entrance to the underworld. (4) The knight leaves the men behind on earth, climbs into a basket, and comes to the underworld. (5) One of the three princesses comes out to fetch some water and meets the knight. The knight turns into a watermelon and enters the demon's house. (6) The three princesses entice the demon with strong drink. Once it is asleep, the knight removes two needles, which are the source of its strength, from the demon's side and chops its head off. (7) The knight sends the princesses to earth, but the king's men do not help the knight out and run off with the princesses to the palace. (8) The knight, his body stuck in the underworld, receives help from the mountain god and returns to earth. He marries the third princess.

Kim Yölgyu sees the same structure in *Golden Bell*. A nine-headed monster steals away Princess Jinxian and her ladies-in-waiting—corresponding to (1) above—and Hailong travels to find the monster that has swallowed Golden Bell (2), although Hailong is unaware of the Princess. The ladies-in-waiting (3) direct him to the monster's lair. He enters the monster's home (5), albeit without any transformation, and *Golden Bell* has incapacitated the monster long enough for Hailong to kill it with a sword (6). The Emperor makes him his royal son-in-law by marrying him to the princess (8). Kim makes no mention of the differences

106. Yun, *Tohae: Han'guk kososöl ūi tonggul mot'ip'ūyön'gu—Tan'gun sinhwa ūi suyong ūl chungsim ūro*, 415.

between the two stories, as in (4) and (7), but rather goes on to give a detailed analysis of the many similarities between the *Kim Wŏn chŏn* and the *Chihaguk taejŏk chech'i sŏrhwa*.<sup>107</sup>

Kim Kidong (1975)<sup>108</sup> notes that both *kyŏngp'an* and *wanp'an* editions of *Golden Bell* exist and gives a summary of its plot. He finds this one the most exciting of the *chuanqi* narratives and, though complex, comparatively well composed. He concludes, however, that there is nothing to the story other than an exciting storyline and the plot itself has been copied from *Kim Wŏn chŏn*.

A. F. Trotsevich (1975) has uncovered a basic formula in the medieval Korean narrative: a main character lacks something essential. For example, he or she might lack conformity between inner and outer qualities. They might be virtuous but have a physical deformity or low-born status. Then he or she would undergo a process to bring these qualities into balance. Trotsevich's theory rings true for Mo. The goodness of Mo's inner qualities of loyalty and filial piety are not manifest in her outward appearance. Her husband rejects her for her ugly face and not until after his death recognizes her virtues, apologizes, and sleeps with her in spirit. Trotsevich continues, noting that characters may lack a stable or unified family situation, such as the hardships K'ongjwi and P'atchwi endure under their stepmother and the struggles Hailong and his parents undergo from being separated during war.<sup>109</sup> Furthermore, Hailong, the son of a Dragon King, is born into the mortal world, and can no longer exercise his magical powers. He is abandoned by Zhang and his wife, picked up by a bandit, and abused by the bandit's wife. He nonetheless receives help from Golden Bell to complete chores, to avoid traps, and to kill a monster. His marrying the emperor's daughter, Princess Jinxian, and, I might add, Golden Bell (his original premortal wife) brings him back to his preordained

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107. Kim Yŏlgyu, 88–91.

108. Kim Kidong, *Yi Cho sidae sosŏllon*, 106–8.

109. Trotsevich, *Koreiskaia*, 35.



place.<sup>110</sup> The hero's quest (Trotsevich refers to Hailong as the hero) in this world prepares him or her for the next.<sup>111</sup>

In the twenty-one narratives Trotsevich examines, she lists eleven common features, three of which *Golden Bell* shares: (1) departure of hero from home (Hailong leaves home), as in *Chang P'ungun chŏn* 張豐雲傳 (Tale of Zhang Fengyun), *Cho Ung chŏn* 趙雄傳 (Tale of Zhao Xiong), *Ch'oe Koun chŏn* (or *Ch'oe Ch'ung chŏn* 崔忠傳), *Chŏk Sŏngŭi chŏn* 赤聖儀傳 (Tale of Chi Shengyi),<sup>112</sup> *Chŏng Sujŏng chŏn*, *Hong Kiltong chŏn*, *Paekhaksŏn chŏn*, *So Taesŏng chŏn* 蘇大成傳 (Tale of Su Dacheng), *Sŏl In'gwi chŏn* 薛仁貴傳 (Tale of Xue Rengui), *Sukhyang chŏn*, *Yang P'ung chŏn* 梁豐傳 (Tale of Liang Feng), *Yongmun chŏn*, and *Yu Ch'ungnyŏl chŏn* 劉忠烈傳 (Tale of Liu Zhonglie); (2) exchange of mementos (Golden Bell gives scrolls to Zhang and his wife and later Hailong), as in *Chang P'ungun chŏn*, *Ch'unhyang chŏn*, *Paekhaksŏn chŏn*, *Sŏl In'gwi chŏn*, *Sugyŏng nangja chŏn*, *Sukhyang chŏn*, and *Yongmun chŏn*; and (3) recognition of person on account of the presentation of memorial objects (Master Zhang and Hailong compare their identical scrolls), as in *Chang P'ungun chŏn*, *Ch'unhyang chŏn*, *Paekhaksŏn chŏn*, *Sŏl In'gwi chŏn*, *Sukhyang chŏn*, and *Yongmun chŏn*.<sup>113</sup>

Trotsevich sees folklore motifs in *Golden Bell*, such as the motif of abduction and salvation. She discusses an example from the Silla period in *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), in which Lady Suro is abducted by a dragon of the sea during a luncheon with her prince. With the help of the local citizens, the prince is able to retrieve her.<sup>114</sup> In *Golden Bell*, the emperor's daughter, Princess Jinxian, is abducted by a

110. Ibid., 76–8.

111. Ibid., 85–88.

112. Chinese characters vary from copy to copy.

113. Trotsevich, *Koreiskaia*, 91–2.

114. Ibid., 112.

monster, and Hailong—with the help of the Jinxian's ladies-in-waiting, Golden Bell, and the princess herself—kills the monster and returns the princess to the emperor. As Trotsevich says, “In the story Hailong is merely present; he does not do anything.”<sup>115</sup>

She includes a brief lexical analysis of *Golden Bell* (156–7) and discusses the shared symbols in the text (180–91), such as the “Kyök yang ka” 擊壤歌 (Ji rang ge; Ground-thumping Song),<sup>116</sup> which is also mentioned in *Ch'unhyang chŏn*, *Hong Kiltong chŏn*, *Pak ssi puin chŏn*, and *Sukhyang chŏn*. Trotsevich also analyzes the conceptualization of time in the story (206–210).

Söng Kisöl (1976), like others before him, compares *Golden Bell* and *Kim Wŏn* to the *Chihaguk taejök chech'i sŏrhwa* and believes that *Golden Bell*'s narrative is a “restructured Korean thing” and a fusion of adapted folk tales. He lists twelve different motifs or themes from folk tales.<sup>117</sup> Söng states that most Chosŏn-period fiction features (1) dreams,<sup>118</sup> which may account for the unusually high number of dreams—seven—that appear in *Golden Bell*; dreams mark the major structure of the narrative. (2) References to Taoism abound: the five ancients appear to Mo and bestow Golden Bell with supernatural abilities and the young lad (Hailong) turns to red ether and enters Zhang's wife's mouth. Folk motifs are (3) the filial daughter-in-law (Mo), as in a story about a daughter-in-law who risks her life to procure a cucumber in the dead of winter (as recorded by Yi of Chŏnŭi 全義 李氏), and (4) sexual in-

115. Ibid., 118.

116. The song may have pre-Han 漢 dynasty (206 BC–AD 220) origins. According to Burton Watson, the song is “reputed to be ... of very early times sung by peasant elders as they beat on the ground to keep time.” Watson has translated the song as, “When the sun comes up we work, / when the sun goes down we rest. / We dig a well to drink, / plow the fields to eat— / the Emperor and his might—what are they to us!” (*The Columbia Book of Chinese Poetry: From Early Times to the Thirteenth Century*, 70).

117. Söng Kisöl, 70, 95–115.

118. Söng Kisöl fails to name any specific folk tale featuring a dream, but I have found “Munhŭi maemong sŏrhwa” 문희賣夢說話 (Munhŭi Buys a Dream), a story set in the Silla period. Pohŭi dreams that she climbs Sŏak 西岳 (present-day Mount Kyeryong 鷄龍山) and urinates. She relates the dream to her younger sister Munhŭi who buys the dream with a silk skirt. Yi Wan'gŭn and Yi Hakchun, eds., “Munhŭi maemong sŏrhwa,” *Sŏrhwa*, [http://www.seelotus.com/frame\\_g.htm](http://www.seelotus.com/frame_g.htm).

tercourse with a non-human (Mo and her deceased husband Jin Sanlang), as in the Tan'gun 檀君 myth in which a man and a bear-turned-woman have intercourse. Other folkloric elements in *Golden Bell* have (5) similarities to oviparous tales, as mentioned above, and (6) an esurient character or cormorant (*yoksim kkurögi* 慾心꾸러기) like Mu Sun, a man who kidnaps Golden Bell. Mu Sun is much like the greedy old hag who steals the fisherman's jewel in the "Dog and Cat Regain a Lost Jewel" (Kyön myo üi poju t'arhwan 犬猫의 寶珠奪還).<sup>119</sup> Golden Bell's bringing Zhang's wife back is reminiscent of (7) gratitude (*poün* 報恩), or repaying someone's kindness, in stories where the gods reward a filial child. Also, episodes in *Golden Bell* featuring (8) monsters,<sup>120</sup> (9) a stepmother, (10) the overcoming of a trial, (11) exuviation,<sup>121</sup> and (12) "miscellaneous items" such as a birthmark, and a battle, may have earlier roots as attested to by the following folklore with numbers corresponding to the items above: (9) wicked stepmother stories, (10) *Chihaguk taejök chech'i sörhwa*, and (12) birthmarks, which might have significance in folk beliefs, and battles, which may have precedents in military fiction.

## 1980s

Kim Sunjin (1980)<sup>122</sup> uses the structure of the *Chihaguk taejök chech'i sörhwa* to compare the structure in *Golden Bell*, *Hong Kiltong*, and *Kim Wön*. Kim also compares how

119. In this story, an elderly man catches a carp and sees tears in its eyes. He feels sorry for it and throws it back into the sea. The following day, the man returns to the shore and a young man appears, introducing himself as the son of the Dragon King. The elderly man is rewarded with a precious jewel, and he and his wife become wealthy. A greedy old hag in a neighbouring village steals the jewel and the elderly couple's dog and cat retrieve it (and later fight over it). Ibid., "Kae wa koyangi üi kusül tat'um."

120. Again Söng Kisöl provides no specific example from a folk tale.

121. For example, *Golden Bell* sheds her shell. Söng Kisöl only uses the *Tale of Lady Pak*, rather than a folk tale, as a comparison.

122. Kim Sunjin. "*Chihaguk taejök chech'i sörhwa* wa Yi Cho chön'gi sosöl üi kujo taebi punsök."

the characters Hailong, Hong Kiltong, and Jin Yuan defeat the enemy and concludes that Golden Bell is merely a helper and not a main character in the biographical narratives.

Ch'oe Tusik (1982)<sup>123</sup> notes that *Golden Bell* follows a basic structure found in heroic fiction, but there is a major gender reversal—the womanly Golden Bell performs all the heroic deeds for the manly Hailong. Because of the Confucian ideal of *namjon yŏbi* 男尊女卑 (men are superior, women inferior), Golden Bell appears in a non-human form to assist her husband Hailong (the two were married in their premortal life).

Sin Tongik (1982) takes a comparative literature approach to *Golden Bell* and *Kim Wŏn*. Using Stith Thompson's 1946 "dragon slayer" model, Sin notes that *Golden Bell* matches many of the basic elements of dragon tales: a man saves a princess from a dragon/monster, the dragon usually has about seven heads (*Golden Bell*'s monster has nine), and the slayer and the princess eventually marry.<sup>124</sup> Sin further shows similarities to a Mongolian tale,<sup>125</sup> in which the protagonist slays a monster with one hundred heads. It also resembles the *Bu Jiang Zong bai yuan zhuan* from the Tang dynasty and *Chen xunjian meiling shi qi ji* from the Yuan dynasty as well as *Shenyangdong ji* (98–110). In *Bu Jiang Zong bai yuan zhuan*, a monster steals a man's wife (so there is no marriage to a princess in the end), and she conceives a simian child (similar to "Bai yuan zhuan"). Both *Chen xunjian meiling shi qi ji* and *Shenyangdong ji* have obvious parallelism: women (wife in *Chen xunjian meiling shi qi ji* and single women in *Shenyangdong ji*) are snatched away by monsters and are saved in the end (the hero of *Shenyangdong ji* marries three beautiful women). Though the Chinese stories may have influenced

123. Ch'oe Tusik, "Kŭmnyŏng chŏn yŏn'gu—kujojŏk punsŏk ŭl chungsim ŭro."

124. Sin Tongik, "Haeje," 94–5.

125. Sin Tongik romanizes this as "Buruldai Bogdo," but I have not yet been able to locate a reference to this.

directly or indirectly the contents of *Golden Bell*, there is no exact match for it. In other words, it is not a copy of a Chinese work, but an intertextual reworking of various folk tales and works of fiction from both Korea and China. Sin also compares *Golden Bell* to *Ch'oe Koun chŏn*, *Ch'oe munhŏn chŏn* 崔文獻傳 (Tale of Ch'oe's Documents), and *Hong Kiltong chŏn*. Once again the comparison of *Golden Bell* to the *Chihaguk taejŏk chech'i sŏrhwa* is rehashed, and Sin finds many connections in all the stories he discusses to Propp's model of a princess captured by a demon, including the introduction to the hero, the monster's capture a princess, the hero's journey to find the princess, the hero's killing of the monster, and the hero's marriage to the princess or the recovering of his wife (135).

Cho Tongil (1983) writes that some heroes in fictional narratives are based on historical figures or events, such as *Hong Kiltong chŏn*,<sup>126</sup> *Im Kyŏngŏp chŏn*, *Imjin rok* 壬辰錄 (Record of the Black Dragon Year), and *Pak ssi puin chŏn*; and others, especially those set in China have no basis in fact, such as *Chang P'ungun chŏn*, *Cho Ung chŏn*, and *Yu Ch'unngyŏl chŏn*. He traces the origin of the heroic fictional narratives with a female protagonist to "Pari kongju" 바리公主 (Princess Pari), who visits the otherworld to obtain medicinal water to save her ailing father. Cho Tongil believes that ancient myths like this influenced *Golden Bell*. He notes that at the end of the story, *Golden Bell*, although a magical being during most of the tale, meets an end befitting such a story—she is allowed to live a peaceful life because she is a woman.

Pak Iryong (1983) explores structural changes in heroic fictional narratives and also discusses the narrativization of the *Chihaguk taejŏk chech'i sŏrhwa* in *Golden Bell*.

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126. The story may be based on an actual person who led a peasant uprising (as noted in the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 [Annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty]) and may have been derived from oral folktales surrounding the man. See Fouser, 28–9.

So Chaeyŏng (1987)<sup>127</sup> compares the cave motif in various tales, suggesting that the cave serves as a space for the reuniting of the protagonist and the captured, just as Hailong meets up with Golden Bell in the monster's lair. Emerging from a cave, where heroes prove their character by overcoming a perilous situation, can signify a rite of passage into the realm of heroes.

### 1990s

Im Sŏngnae (1990) classifies Korean heroic fiction into four types: (1) *ch'eje kaehyŏk hyŏng* 體制改革形 (social reformation type), (2) *aejŏng sŏngch'wi hyŏng* 愛情成就形 (love story type), (3) *nŭngnyŏk ponwi hyŏng* 能力本位形 (trial type), and (4) *il'lyun suho hyŏng* 人倫守護形 (safeguarding morality type).<sup>128</sup> Im places *Golden Bell* in the third category—along with *Chang Kyŏng chŏn* 張景傳 (Tale of Zhang Jing), *Chang P'ungun chŏn*, *Hyŏn Sumun chŏn* 玄壽文傳 (Tale of Xuan Shouwen), *So Taesŏng chŏn*, and *Ssangju kiyŏn* 雙珠奇緣 (Remarkable Alliance of the Matching Jewels)—in which the hero of the story goes through trials to prove his or her skills. The narrative usually details the hero's birth, suffering (usually from poverty or abandonment), rescue, marriage, further hardships, learning, advancement in life, and reunion (with loved ones) as well as prosperity and ultimate death. Im notes that in *Golden Bell* the marriage, learning, reunion, and death steps are skipped but fails to mention they all (except death) do occur at different times in the story, just not in the order he delineates. A commonality Im fails to mention is that all six stories are set in China.

127. So Chaeyŏng, "Kojŏn sosŏl ŭi tonggul mot'ip'ŭ—Chihaguk taejŏk t'oech'i sŏrhwa rŭl chungsim ŭro."

128. Im Sŏngnae, 38. My English translations of the types differ from those Im provides in an English abstract, 168–70.

Referring to Golden Bell's transformation into a bell and into a woman, Pak Yongsik (1990) seeks to explain "transformation": "People can never escape their shadows, which means that while people are themselves they simultaneously exist beyond themselves, that while people possess their own selves, they are also living an imaginary existence outside of themselves."<sup>129</sup> He therefore sees transformation not as strange fantasy, but as a means to break through stifling situations. In early Korean fiction, dreams and transformation are manifestations of that unconscious desire. Like other heroic fiction, *Golden Bell* is divided into twos: heaven and earth, justice and injustice, and trial and triumph. Both protagonists, Hailong and Golden Bell, have their trials. Hailong, born into mortality as nobility, is weakened—he is abandoned and abused and must rely on Golden Bell for help. Golden Bell, a noble woman herself, is born into humble circumstances as a non-human and her mother tries to destroy her. But, unlike Hailong, she has been endowed with great power from the ancients (450–1). Pak writes that dreams are the kernel of the story and perform various functions in the narrative: they prophesy, identify, and warn. Pak then compares *Golden Bell* to *Chihaguk taejök chech'i sŏrhwa* (452).

Kwŏn T'aengmu (1992) begins his and Ch'oe Okhŭi's study with a quote from the Great Comrade (Kim Ilsŏng), "Cultural arts reflect a time's societal order as well as people's political life, economic life, and customs."<sup>130</sup> The main function of the tale, Kwŏn argues in his introduction, is to "extol virtue and reprove vice" (5). He states that the stories he and Ch'oe include in their anthology, *Golden Bell*, *Changkki chŏn* 장끼傳 (Tale of a Cock Pheasant), *T'okki chŏn* 토끼傳 (Tale of a Rabbit), and *Tukkŏp chŏn*, "cannot escape the limitations of

129. Pak Yongsik, "Kŭmnyŏng chŏn," in *Han'guk kojŏn sosŏl chakp'umnon*, 449.

130. Kwŏn, introduction to *T'okki chŏn*, 1.

medieval literature" (12) because they do not clearly reveal the class system and they endorse feudalism polygyny.

Pak Yongsik (1993) calls for more comparative studies between Korean and Chinese literature since *Golden Bell* falls into the *chuanqi* category.<sup>131</sup> He gives a review of the studies done on *Golden Bell* since 1955<sup>132</sup> and identifies seven main topics of research: (1) narrative (Kim Yŏlgyu, Pak Iryong, Sin Tongik, So Chaeyŏng, and Sŏng Kisŏl), (2) *Golden Bell*'s heroism (Cho Tongil), (3) functions of the bell (Sŏng Kisŏl), (4) meaning of women's transformation (Kim Miran),<sup>133</sup> (5) the work's structure and meaning (Ch'oe Tusik, Ch'oe Unsik,<sup>134</sup> Kim Sunjin), (6) comparison to Chinese *chuanqi* (Sin Tongik), and (7) comprehensive studies (Pak Yongsik [1990]). Of all the studies Pak concludes that only Kim Miran and Ch'oe Unsik take fresh new approaches. Pak fails to include Trotsevich's study on *Golden Bell*.

Kim Miran (1995) is the first scholar to take an in-depth gender studies approach to *Golden Bell*.<sup>135</sup> She cites sources postulating that prehistoric humans worshipped the Great Mother (*t'aemo* 太母), a being who rules the earth and its cycle of life and death as well as its productive power. Prehistoric people did not distinguish between themselves, others, and the earth. As totemic society developed, people chose animals, to which they were magically connected, to represent their group or tribe. This might explain why literature, such as the

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131. Pak Yongsik, "Kŭmnyŏng chŏn," in *Kojŏn sosŏl yŏn'gu*, 759.

132. Pak Yongsik cites five books that make brief mention of *Golden Bell* and include no in-depth study: Kim Sayŏp, *Kaego kungmunhaksa* (1955); Pak Sŏngŭi, *Han'guk kodae sosŏlsa* (1958); Yi Chaesu, *Han'guk sosŏl yŏn'gu* (1969); Kim Kidong, *Yi Cho sidae sosŏllon* (the 1975 version of which I cite above); and Chang Tŏksun and Ch'oe Chinwŏn, eds., *Hong Kiltong chŏn, Imjin rok, Sinmi rok, Pak.ssi puin.chŏn, Im Kyŏngŏp chŏn* (1978).

133. I discuss Kim Miran's study from a 1995 version below.

134. I discuss Ch'oe Unsik's study from a 2001 version below.

135. Kim Miran, "Kojŏn sosŏl e nat'anan yŏsŏng pyŏnsin ŭi ŭimi: yŏsŏng ŭi yasŏng kwa kwallyŏn-hayŏ," 271–97. See also Kang, "Warrior/Worshipper/Wanderer: Maternal Images in Contemporary Korean Women Writer's Works," 65–70.



Tan'gun myth or the folk tale "Yŏu nui" 여우누이 (Fox Sister),<sup>136</sup> shows animals turning into humans or being born from eggs. Kim sets up this background to discuss female transformation in Chosŏn fictional narratives, such as *Golden Bell*, *Hyŏngsan paek Ok* 荊山白玉 (White Jade of Verbena Mountain), *No ch'ŏnyŏ ka* 老處女歌 (Song of the Old Maid), and *Pak ssi puin chŏn*. She examines five issues: (1) why female characters in these stories are born as a bell or with a hideous appearance before their transformation, (2) how others in the stories react to their appearance, (3) what the transformation process is, (4) how the transformed appearance is received by others, and (5) for what purpose the women's supernatural power is used (283–4). Kim attempts to find references to the "Great Mother" in nearly every episode of *Golden Bell*, which seems futile since she does not provide enough evidence to show that such a prehistorical concept ever existed.

Pak Yongsik (1998) combines his two previous studies (1990, 1993) into one.<sup>137</sup>

Yun Kyŏngsu has a paper published on *Golden Bell* in 1998,<sup>138</sup> but I discuss his research below, based on an expanded 1999 edition of his work.

Ch'oe Kisuk (1999) sees *Golden Bell* and *Kim Wŏn* as initiation stories.<sup>139</sup> *Golden Bell* and Jin Yuan both undergo transformation, which signifies their ceremonial transition from one realm to the next. Through this transformation, they gain greater capacity to understand the world and their own identities. *Golden Bell* endures her mother Mo's initial rejection and abuse; the only way for her to gain recognition from her mother is to use her powers to perform

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136. This tale depicts a couple who already have three sons and ask for a daughter. As punishment, they are sent a girl who is really a fox (there are many fox women in Chinese tales). One night her oldest brother hides himself to see why the horses are disappearing and sees his sister enter the stable, stick her hand up a horse's rump, fish out its entrails, and eat them. She eventually eats every horse and every member of the family except the oldest brother. He is finally able to kill her and in her place is a swarm of mosquitoes (mosquitoes' proboscides are shaped similarly to foxes' snouts). *Ibid.*, 279–83.

137. Pak Yongsik, "*Kŭmnyŏng chŏn yŏn'gu*," 1–15.

138. Yun, "*Kŭm pangul chŏn e nat'an an yongsin kwannyŏm kwa sinh wajŏk koch'al*," 267–91.

139. Ch'oe Kisuk, 153–88.

filial acts. Once she has proven herself domestically, she later learns to use her powers to protect herself from the thief Mu Sun and other people of that society. Once she is well equipped with experience, she goes forth to aid Hailong (161–73). Also, there is a period of Confucianization in characters where they learn to abide by principles of filiality and loyalty (183–8). *Golden Bell* not only shows filiality to her mother, but loyalty to the state by saving the empire from attack.

Im Suhyŏn (1999) studies the “informational units” in *Golden Bell* to analyze the effects implied elements in the text have on the cognitive process of the reader.<sup>140</sup> Words like *ch’asi* 此時 (now) and *hwasŏl* 話說 (once upon a time)—what Im calls adverbs, but the dictionary classifies as nouns—mark a shift in time, character, and space.

A collection of summaries and critical essays on Chosŏn fictional narratives edited by the Kojŏn Munhaksil (Classical Literature Office, 1999) of the Chosŏn Munhak Ch’angjaksa (Chosŏn [North Korean] Literature and Writing Company) is, like Kwŏn T’aengmu and Ch’oe Okhŭi’s work above, from North Korea.<sup>141</sup> The Munhaksil writes, *Golden Bell* “extols virtue and reproves vice” and teaches adherence to feminine integrity by the necessary division between women and men; an example they give is of *Golden Bell* turning fiery hot when men try to touch her (113). *Golden Bell* not only helps in family affairs, but goes forward to “oppose the irrational and degenerate feudalist family system, extortion by influential and conspiring people, tyrannical oppression of the people by the feudalist hegemony, and attack by foreign invaders”; and she does not “sit still thinking about the unfortunate people” but she works toward saving them and promoting social justice (114–5). She and Hailong have a relationship

140. Im Suhyŏn, “Kosŏsŏl ūi chŏngbo tanwi yŏn’gu: *Kŭm pangul chŏn ūl taesang ūro*,” 101–29.

141. Kojŏn Munhaksil, Chosŏn Munhak Ch’angjaksa, ed. *Han’guk kojŏn sosŏl haejejip*, 106–17.

based on supporting each other and helping their fellow citizens; the story wastes no time dwelling on their love (115).

Yun Kyöngsu (1999) maps out the underlying structure as well as the mythical and archetypal elements of *Golden Bell* using copious diagrams, some more informative than others (some are incorrect).<sup>142</sup> On page 115, Yun mistakes Golden Bell for Hailong, saying that Golden Bell was given a sign to recognize her parents when they abandoned her—this actually happened to Hailong. He also states that Golden Bell was born as a human (405); she is born as a bell. Yun devotes space to the hardships that Hailong faces and how he overcomes them, but although Hailong is hit by the guard in prison and deals with Bian's abuse until Golden Bell appears, the most critical hardships (killing tigers, confronting a monster, gaining victory over invaders) are overcome for him by Golden Bell, which then lead to the *haep'i ending* 해피엔딩 (happy ending) he talks of. Yun mentions several times that Golden Bell and Hailong have committed some crime or sin and then are sent to earth as a punishment (412), but there is no evidence in the story to suggest this.

## 2000s

Cho Hüiung (2000) includes a bibliographical entry in his *Kojön sosöl chakp'um yön'gu ch'onngnam* (Bibliography of Studies on Classical Fiction)<sup>143</sup> and includes quotes on the story's dating (from Cho Tongil, Kim Yönhö, and Pak Iryong) and comparative studies (Cho Tongil, Kim Kidong, Kim Sunjin, Kim Yölgyu, Sin Tongik, and Söng Kisöl).

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142. Yun, *Tohae*, 405–28.

143. Cho Hüiung, 59–61.

Chŏng Pyŏnghŏn and Yi Yugyŏng (2000)<sup>144</sup> write that the struggles Golden Bell undergoes are reflective of the hardships and oppression women faced in Chosŏn society. Golden Bell subtly reflects female superiority but is portrayed as merely helping her man. Chŏng and Yi state that the golden bell functions the same way as transvestism—in this case, women dressing up as men—that appears in other Chosŏn fictional narratives. This theory has its limitations because Golden Bell is not trying to pass as a man.

James Hoyt (2000) makes the first (albeit brief) English-language reference to *Golden Bell* since 1968. He calls Golden Bell the “shamanic protector” of Hailong.<sup>145</sup>

I discuss Yi Ch’anghŏn’s study (2000) in “Versions of *Golden Bell*” above. In his transcription<sup>146</sup> of examples from the 28-leaf British Library Copy A (what he calls “B”), he makes several errors: on page 39 in the paragraph beginning with “B1,” *isteni* 잇더니 (line 2) should be *nisteni* 닛더니 and *hwosang* 호상 should be *hwosyang* 호상 (line 11). On page 40, *non* 논 should be *nun* 는 (B2, 1b), *ca* 자 should be *co* 죽 (B9, 4a), and *lu* 르 should be *lwo* 로 (B10, 4b).

Ch’oe Unsik’s work (2001) offers a useful comparative study of the many different editions of *Golden Bell*—both handwritten (*p’ilsabon*) and locally printed (*panggak-pon*)—from a philological viewpoint to aid in dating the publications.<sup>147</sup> He then takes a look at the work’s structure and meaning (305–44). Ch’oe sees a series of cycles throughout the text that operate between the real and imaginary worlds, between suffering and fortune, and in physical or situational transformation. He also discusses the readership of the novel and offers

144. Chŏng and Yi, “Yŏsŏng,” 289–314.

145. Hoyt, *Soaring Phoenixes and Prancing Dragons: A Historical Survey of Korean Classical Literature*, 461.

146. Yi Ch’anghŏn, 38–46.

147. Ch’oe Unsik, 269–304.

suggestions on why certain elements of the story were deleted or expanded in early twentieth-century editions of *Golden Bell*.

### Summary

Very few of the studies conducted thus far ever consider the contemporaneous Chosŏn consumption of *Golden Bell*, negotiation between genders, or the influence of Chinese literature. A majority of the scholarship focuses on the story's underlying structure, and many scholars go to great lengths trying to make the episodes fit into their diagrams—often of Western (Proppian) origin. Rather than constructing new readings of the text, many scholars have attempted to impose certain models onto the text.

## The Story

Im Suhyŏn has identified 69 individual events that make up the story line of *Golden Bell*.<sup>148</sup> Using his outline as a guide, I provide below a basic plot summary to aid in understanding the story.

The story, set in China,<sup>149</sup> opens at the end of the Yuan dynasty and takes place in the early Ming dynasty (1368–1644).<sup>150</sup> Zhang Yuan, a retired government official, and his wife have no heir. Zhang and his wife meet a young lad who introduces himself as the third son of the Dragon King of the East Sea. He tells them that he and his wife, the daughter of the Dragon King of the South Sea (who is born as a golden bell later in the story), encountered a monster. They fought back—his wife perished and he escaped. The lad then requests Zhang's wife to let him enter her mouth, promising to repay her posterity. She consents, and he turns into red energy and enters her mouth. She gives birth to a handsome and intelligent boy they name Hailong (sea dragon), in reference to his draconic origins. In the midst of a war, the parents feel compelled to leave their boy by the wayside and promise to fetch him back later. Hailong is discovered and taken home to Zhaoji village by a bandit named Zhang Shen.

In the meantime, Mo, a virtuous woman, has cared for her ailing mother-in-law ever since her husband abandoned her. Upon her mother-in-law's death, Mo sees to her burial and builds the ceremonial small hut next to her grave to mourn and watch over it. The spirit of her husband, who has died in a war, returns to apologize for his misconduct and sleeps with her. To

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148. Im Suhyŏn, 106–9.

149. China was a popular setting for Chosŏn fictional narratives. Lee Neung-woo estimates that only ten to twenty percent of them had their setting in Korea ("A New Approach to Women in the Novels of the Yi Dynasty," 9).

150. The late Koryŏ (918–1392) period.

reward Mo's unstinting faithfulness and filiality, the Jade Emperor allows the Dragon Princess (the premortal wife of Hailong) to be born through Mo as a golden bell<sup>151</sup> who rolls about performing all kinds of magical tasks, such as heating the hut at night and retrieving food (like fruit and birds).

Word of Golden Bell's magic spreads. A greedy man named Mu Sun steals Golden Bell, and she causes his house to catch fire in the night. Mu Sun reports to Zhang Yuan (see above), who is now a magistrate, that Golden Bell is like a monster (*yogoe* 妖怪). Zhang Yuan has Mo and Golden Bell arrested and orders his men to destroy the bell. Golden Bell is brought before him, but various attempts to slay her prove ineffective. For example, one man chops her to pieces, but each piece becomes another scurrying bell. Finally, all the bells are thrown in a boiling cauldron, and Zhang Yuan retires for the night believing they have finished her off. But in the night she uses her powers to torment Zhang Yuan with heat and cold until his wife finally convinces him to release Golden Bell and Mo.

Later, Zhang's wife dies of a sudden disease and Golden Bell, in gratitude to the wife for having herself and Mo released, brings her back to life with magical herbs. Thereafter, Golden Bell spends her nights with Zhang's wife and her days with Mo. She gives Zhang and his wife a scroll (which functions as way of communication because the bell cannot speak) with a picture of them abandoning Hailong during the war, and she disappears.

In the meantime, the emperor announces that his daughter, Princess Jinxian, has been kidnapped by a monster and offers a reward to anyone who can find her.

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151. Golden Bell's name might be construed as "Kim Kūm pangul," "Kim Pangul," "Kim Kūmnyōng" (since her father's surname is Kim), "Kūm Ryōng / Nyōng / Yōng," or "Jin Ling / Jinling." In the 28-leaf version, there is a distinction between "Kūm pangul" (or "Pangul," also spelled "Pangŭl" and "Pangol") being her name before she is more officially dubbed "Kūmnyōng" by Zhang Yuan, although she is referred to by both versions throughout the tale.

Back in Zhaoji, the kind bandit Zhang Shen is like a father to Hailong. Zhang Shen's wife, Bian, detests the boy and resents the fact that Zhang Shen loves Hailong more than their own son Xiaolong. On his deathbed, Zhang Shen tells Hailong how he found him and pleads with Bian to love Hailong as much as Xiaolong. After Zhang Shen dies, Bian abuses Hailong and forces him to do all the work. She even attempts to kill him on several occasions. Golden Bell knows of his suffering and comes to his rescue. She warms his room and helps him complete his tasks. Bian is suspicious of Hailong and once again plans ways to get rid of him. One day, Xiaolong goes out and murders someone. Bian blames it on Hailong. Hailong is imprisoned but, through the magic of Golden Bell, is soon released.

Finally, Hailong leaves home for the hills where he meets a monster. Golden Bell shows up to save him but is swallowed by the monster who then heads back to its cave. Hailong follows behind, enters the cave, and meets a group of women who are the ladies-in-waiting to Princess Jinxian. They tell him the whole story of her kidnapping and discuss how to save her. Hailong finds the monster writhing on the floor (Golden Bell is still inside of it, struggling to get out). Princess Jinxian appears and hands Hailong a sword. Hailong kills the monster and Golden Bell comes out. They all return to the emperor, and he marries Hailong to Princess Jinxian.

Around this time, the empire is being attacked by the Northerners. Hailong commands the imperial army to protect the nation, which is ultimately saved by Golden Bell, although Hailong also does his part in the battle. When Hailong returns to the palace, the Empress and Princess Jinxian hand him a scroll (identical to the one given to Zhang and his wife).

Zhang, Zhang's wife, and Mo have been saddened by Golden Bell's disappearance. Golden Bell returns to them, and Zhang and his wife dream that they will meet Hailong while



Mo dreams of meeting her daughter. When they awake, they find a fairy maiden in the place of Golden Bell.

Hailong is again sent forth by the Emperor as a travelling inspector in order to put a stop to banditry. He travels the countryside and brings peace to the nation. He pays a visit to Zhang Shen's grave and has a monument erected there. He has Bian and Xiaolong brought to him, and he gives them enough money and silk to live on for the rest of their lives. Stopping by the local magistrate's home, he sees a scroll hanging on the wall and finds that it matches his own. Soon after, he recognizes the magistrate as his father and the woman as his mother. They tell him about Golden Bell, and Hailong reports to the throne.

A procession from the court is sent to bring Golden Bell, Mo, Master Zhang, and his wife to the capital. All of the parents are looked after at the palace until they die. Hailong marries Golden Bell as well, at Princess Jinxian's suggestion. Golden Bell gives birth to their first son, and Hailong's three sons are appointed honourable government posts and his three daughters are married to respectable families.

## Heroism in *Golden Bell*

In her studies on heroism in English literature, Mary Beth Rose proposes that heroism conjures to mind “morally elevated protagonists” who are “courageous” and the “stress on movement and adventure, on rescue, rule, exploration, and conquest, points to a tradition of heroism that is distinctively masculine.”<sup>152</sup> In such a construct, women are largely viewed as occupying a different sphere, one internal, more private and less public. Heroism associated with maleness is also a feature of Chosŏn-period fictional narratives. The very word for *hero* in Korean—*yŏngung* 英雄—is embedded in a concept of masculinity. When the word *yŏngung* is used in *Golden Bell*, it describes a male in the story. Although *yŏngung* can refer to both males and females in modern-day Korean, Chŏng and Yi point out that there is the *suk’ŏt* (male) *ung* 雄 in *yŏngung*, but that the word has now taken on an extended meaning inclusive of either sex.<sup>153</sup> According to Trotsevich, a basic formula for Chosŏn fictional narratives during this period involves the lack of an essential trait in—or an ideal situation for—a highly moral character, such as deformity or poverty.<sup>154</sup> A lack of conformity between the inner values (filiality, loyalty) and outer qualities (appearance, economic background) creates a need to bring the cosmos back into order, which is a theme throughout *Golden Bell*.<sup>155</sup>

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152. Rose, *Gender and Heroism in Early Modern English Literature*, xi.

153. Chŏng and Yi, 285. The word *hero* in English went through a similar semantic change, having at one point an almost exclusively male connotation: “a man of courage and nobility famed for his military achievements” (*Webster’s Third New International Dictionary*, s.v., “hero”).

154. Trotsevich, *Koreiskaia*, 75.

155. The imbalance in the cosmos may be reflective of an ambivalence toward extreme filiality as shown in the *Samguk sagi*—a topic covered well by Hai-Soon Lee in “Representation of Females in Twelfth-century Korean Historiography,” 75–96.

### **Golden Bell and Hailong: Gifts to Parents**

In a way, Golden Bell functions as a reward for her mother, who has been extremely devoted to mourning for her mother-in-law and tending her grave—even though her husband was unfaithful to her in life. The spirit of her deceased husband appears, acknowledges his ill-treatment of her, and apologizes by reconstituting their union. Thus, Golden Bell is born, the product of faithful application of Confucian ritual and virtue. Mo has loyally served her husband's family, which may help justify Golden Bell's subsequent devotion to her natal home. In addition, a Confucian audience would have recognized and appreciated Mo's unstinting faithfulness, which justifies the superhuman power bestowed on Golden Bell.

Hailong is also born as a gift to parents of noble character. Zhang has been a loyal subject to the previous dynasty and is morally upright, and his wife is equally virtuous. Zhang's wife allows the premortal Hailong to enter her body and be born as their child. Soon after his birth, however, his parents abandon him while fleeing bandits. Hailong is then raised by a kind bandit and by Bian, his cruel wife, a common trope. Hailong is the ideal filial son to his adoptive parents—even after he finds out that he was abandoned. Hailong, therefore, embodies filial virtue, similar to Mo, Golden Bell's mother.

### **Golden Bell's Attributes and Heroism**

Golden Bell's premortal life accounts for her unusual birth and supernatural characteristics. Golden Bell is endowed with power by the five ancients before she is given to Mo. Each ancient grants her special mastery over something—such as the seasons, distance, the

winds and mist—or bestows a particular gift such as strength and a mortal birth to a mega-filial mother by the spirit of her deceased husband.

Mo conceives and produces a golden bell, but why a bell? Golden Bell's shape and metallic body suggest a non-human being without any feeling. But though Golden Bell appears as an animate object, she still exhibits human emotion and psychomorphic attributes. The campaniform body may serve as a disguise to enable her to perform certain tasks. She enters Hailong's room to warm him up and he later disrobes himself completely because of the broiling heat. This subtly implies a particular intimacy between the two, although nothing overtly sexual is mentioned. Golden Bell, once gendered in a former life and now born into the mortal world somewhat degendered, is later regendered as a woman whom Hailong marries. I do not see here a mere duality as some scholars suggest (Kim Miran and Yun Kyöngsu), but a continuous process of negotiating the many roles Golden Bell assumes—first, as the daughter of the Dragon King of the South Sea, then the wife of the son of the Dragon King of the East Sea (who is later born as Hailong), and afterward a beautiful wraithlike woman in the world of spirits. In the midst of the narrative she becomes a non-gendered and silent bell although with construably gendered or humanlike emotions, and finally the fit second wife of Hailong and mother of his first son.

Mo's giving birth to a round-shaped bell may be compared to earlier Korean myths wherein important figures are born from eggs, such as Pak Hyökköse 朴赫居世,<sup>156</sup> the traditional founder of Saro, which later became Silla.<sup>157</sup> Söng Kisöl claims that Korea is the source

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156. What Sin Kihyöng calls *nansaeng sörhwa*, "oviparous tales" (54). Trotsevich also sees Mo's initial rejection of Golden Bell as a folklore motif rooted in oviparous tales (*Koreiskaia*, 116–8). Others born from eggs were Sök T'arhae 昔脫解 of Silla, King Suro 首露王 of Kaya, and King Tongmyöng 東明聖王 of Koguryö (Söng Kisöl, 118).

157. Peter H. Lee, *Anthology of Korean Literature: From Early Times to the Nineteenth Century*, 5; Eckert et al., 19.

for the over 30 or so oviparous tales that exist in East and Southeast Asian traditions, including Sumatran, Bornean, Burmese, Annamese, and Davao (Philippines).<sup>158</sup> Usually it is a man born of otherworldly parents (or one of the parents is human) from an egg and the man goes on to become a hero. But Golden Bell's heroic birth differs from Pak Hyökköse's and others'. When Mo gives birth to a golden bell, she tries throwing it away, drowning it, and burning it. Scholar Kim Miran states that Golden Bell, rejected at first, gains approval from her mother through her own efforts, which differs from stories where men, hatched from eggs, are at first rejected—if rejected at all—and then protected by the local animals.<sup>159</sup>

In several Korean folk tales bells have a magical or protective power: in "Pheasants and the Bell,"<sup>160</sup> the sound of the bell saves a man from a snake; in the Silla "Bell Village,"<sup>161</sup> the sweet sound of a bell underground convinces a child's parents to not bury him alive (the father was acting out of filial piety toward his mother and wanted to save more food for her), and in the Koguryō 高句麗 "Dragon Bell,"<sup>162</sup> a dragon-shaped bell comes to life and wanders from its temple to a pond to protect the temple. Another Koguryō folk tale is reminiscent of Master Zhang's and Mo's attempts to destroy Golden Bell: "The National Fortune and a Gold Bell,"<sup>163</sup> in which neighbouring kingdoms wage war on King Kwanggaet'o 廣開土王 (374–412) until his monk destroys a valuable large golden bell he believes is attracting the enemy.

Not only is the round shape of the bell culturally significant, but bells themselves have a long history in East Asia. In the Cixousian tradition of wordplay, let us consider Golden

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158. Söng Kisöl, 118.

159. Kim Miran, 285. Chumong 朱蒙 is thus protected as it is recorded in Yi Kyubo's "Tongmyōng wang p'yōn" 東明王篇 (Lay of King Tongmyōng).

160. As told by Yi Hön-Gu, in Zöng In-Söb, ed. and trans., *Folk Tales from Korea*, 96–7. I am unsure of the exact Korean title of this and the other folk tales.

161. Tae Hung Ha, *Folk Tales of Old Korea*, 88–9.

162. Park Yongjun, ed., *Traditional Tales of Old Korea: A Mixture of Legend and History of Korea's Colorful Past*, 5:276–9.

163. Ibid., 273–6.

Bell's very name, Jinling 金鈴 (Kŭmnyŏng), which includes the metal/gold character 金 ("brightness in dirt") twice,<sup>164</sup> the second time as a radical to the "command" or "order" character 令, the top part which shows people 人 gathering to one 一 place with a person kneeling underneath 卩, as when heralds used bells to convene people to hear imperial speeches.<sup>165</sup> Both the second character's 鈴 metallic nature and its calling or summoning together a group bespeak prestige and authority as well as the power to bring the cosmos (people and the elements) under submission—the type of power Golden Bell wields. The character 金 also represents money and precious commodities, something to be cherished (as she is by Mo, Zhang, his wife, Hailong, and others). Gold symbolizes fortune and misfortune as well as strange events in China, and the sun, the king, and the gods in Korean myths;<sup>166</sup> Golden Bell receives her unusual strength from ancients representing the Jade Emperor. In Korean literature, gold often represents ethical values, which Golden Bell adheres to. 鈴 means not only "bell" and "wind-chime," as in *yoryŏng* 搖鈴 (handbell) and *yŏngt'ak* 鈴鐸, ([wooden] gong, bell, wind-chime), but also something to summon or conjure the spirit world.

Bells are believed to have originated in Asia, and the earliest bell, found in China, dates to 1,500 BC. Harking back to the Korean foundation myth, Hwang Byung-ki notes that king Hwanin gives his son Hwanung "three things symbolizing the authority of Heaven: a mirror, a sword, and a bell."<sup>167</sup> Drums and bells were used as part of certain rituals (at a *sodo* 蘇途)

164. Although the bell is made of or resembles gold, Ch'oe Kisuk points out that the bell possesses power over its natural metal property and therefore remains unaffected by events (getting pounded on by a rock, being thrown into fire) that would normally deteriorate or damage gold (165).

165. C. A. S. Williams, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism and Art Motives*, 38–40.

166. Han'guk Munhwa Sangjing Sajŏn P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, ed., *Han'guk munhwa sangjing sajŏn*, vol. 1, s.v. "kŭm."

167. Hwang, "The Korean Beat: In Search of the Origins of Korean Culture," 9.

during the Three Kingdoms period.<sup>168</sup> Bells have long held an important and sacred role in Korea, and their large-scale development flourished during the Buddhist Silla period where they took on further meaning as they came to represent a way to “enlighten the sentient beings” with truth. Along with chanting, handbells are used when asking for something of a Buddha, bodhisattva, or spirit.<sup>169</sup> Shamans hold a handbell in their right hands in ceremonies where they invoke the spirits.<sup>170</sup> Ch’oe Kisuk additionally notes that the objects given to *Golden Bell* by the ancients are things used by shamans in *kut* kut (mediation ceremonies): multicoloured silk, a fan, and energy.<sup>171</sup> The preternatural and potent are embedded in the meaning of Golden Bell’s name, as bells are objects capable of functioning as intermediaries between the worldly realm and spiritual realms. Golden Bell exists in the mortal realm, and her being the daughter of the Dragon King of the South Sea in her former life further endows her with otherworldly power.

Not only might Golden Bell’s shape have a precedence in folk tales, but her very conception most likely has its roots in stories featuring sexual intercourse between a human and non-human (*imul kyogu sŏrhwa* 異物交媾說話). Centuries before *Golden Bell*, the Tang dynasty “Bai yuan zhuan” relates the story of a large white gibbon abducting Ouyang He’s wife. William H. Nienhauser, Jr., writes, “Impregnated by the beast, she is finally rescued and gives birth to a son; this young man resembles a simian but eventually gains fame for his skill in literary arts.”<sup>172</sup> Although much different from Mo—a human—sleeping with the spirit of

168. Sŏng Kisŏl, 122–3.

169. Hwang, 9–10. The quote is taken from the inscription on the Divine Bell of King Sŏngdŏk, commonly known as the Emille Bell. Bells are one of the four main Buddhist percussion instruments: the temple bell (*fanzhong* 梵鐘 [*pŏmjong*]), universal drum (*honggu* 弘鼓 [*honggo*]), cloud chime (*yunban* 雲版 [*unp’an*]), and wooden fish (*muyu* 木魚 [*mogŏ*]). Other temple bells include small bells (*xiaozhong* 小鐘 [*sojong*]), handbells (*yaoling* 搖鈴 [*yoryŏng*]), and chimes (*qing*- 磬 [*gyŏngsoe*, brass rice bowls]) and are akin to other metal instruments, such as gongs and cymbals.

170. In some dances, spirits are invoked symbolically, not necessarily for a religious purpose—see “Salp’uri (Spirit-cleansing Dance),” [http:// www.asianinfo.org/asianinfo/korea/perform/salpuri.htm](http://www.asianinfo.org/asianinfo/korea/perform/salpuri.htm).

171. Ch’oe Kisuk, 165.

172. William H. Nienhauser, “T’ang Tales,” 582–3.

her once-human, deceased husband, and giving birth to bell (which resembles neither one of them), the “Bai yuan zhuan” still shows a literary precedence for unusual encounters and strange offspring. Along a similar line with *Golden Bell*, Sŏng Kisŏl notes an instance in the Silla story “Tohwa nyŏ Pihyŏng rang sŏrhwa” 桃花女鼻荊郎說花 (Tohwa and Her Son Pi-hyŏng), where Tohwa sleeps with the deceased spirit of King Chinji and gives birth to Pi-hyŏng.<sup>173</sup> Tan’gun, the legendary founder of the Korean people, is born of a heavenly being and a bear that turned into a woman. The purpose of these incongruous unions may serve to justify the superior qualities of the child. Kim Miran also believes that man’s fascination with the seemingly magical process of women’s reproduction is a prehistoric precedence to *Golden Bell*.<sup>174</sup> Golden Bell’s miraculous birth and magical powers astound both men and women in the story. Magic as portrayed in early myths may account for the supernatural qualities of Golden Bell.

Before her birth as a bell, Golden Bell is bestowed with five gifts from five ancients: (1) mastery of the seasons, (2) mastery over distance, (3) ability to control the winds and the mists, (4) strength, and (5) promise of birth to a loyal, filial mother in the mortal world. Golden Bell’s multiple layers of power, her ability to control the elements, and ultimately her transformation into a woman are reminiscent of the “Tongmyŏng wang sinhwa” 東明王神話 (Myth of King Tongmyŏng) in which Haemosu 解慕數 transforms from an otter to a jackal and then to a hawk in order to represent his dominion and control over the various realms in the natural world: water, land, and sky.<sup>175</sup>

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173. Sŏng Kisŏl, 119–20.

174. Kim Miran, 273.

175. Quoted in Ch’oe Kisuk, 156.



Tales of the strange from China made their way to Korea centuries before *Golden Bell* appeared (see “*Kososöl*, Early Fiction” above), and over the years Chinese fictional narratives depicting uncanny, abnormal events were imported, translated, and consumed in Korea. Many depicted individuals with superhuman traits. Y. W. Ma and Joseph S. M. Lau write, “If one member of a loving couple is not an ordinary mortal, normally it is the woman who plays the superhuman role.”<sup>176</sup> Immensely popular in the Qing dynasty, Pu Songling 蒲松齡 (1640–1715) authored many unusual, even macabre, stories depicting female transformation and women with supernatural powers in his collection, *Liaozhai zhiyi* 聊齋志異 (Strange Tales from Make-do Studio).<sup>177</sup> His stories contain elements similar to those in *Golden Bell*: in “Nie Xiaoqian” 聶小倩 (Nie Xiaoqian) a ghost girl and concubine marry a man and bear him children (reminiscent of *imul kyogu*, sexual intercourse between a human and non-human), in “Xianü” 俠女 (A Chivalrous Woman) a girl possesses strength greater than a magical fox who transforms himself into a “pleasure-boy” for her male lover, and in “Xiaoxie” 小謝 (Ghost-girl Xiaoxie) the king of the underworld sends a ghost boy to be reborn into a mortal family (much like *Golden Bell* is sent to be born of Mo).<sup>178</sup> Judith T. Zeitlin lists themes from Pu’s stories: (1) women are transformed into men, (2) men pose as or are transformed into women, (3) women dress as men, (4) women are born “grotesquely ugly,” and (5) women are cast as shrew or termagants.<sup>179</sup>

176. Y. W. Ma and Joseph S. M. Lau, *Traditional Chinese Stories: Themes and Variations*, 337.

177. Also translated as *Liaozhai’s Records of the Strange*, since *Liaozhai* is Pu’s “scholarly sobriquet” (Zeitlin, 1).

178. Pu Songling, *Strange Tales from Make-do Studio*, trans. Denis C. and Victor H. Mair, 90–102, 106–15, 212–25. Lorraine S. Y. Lieu, Y. W. Ma, and Joseph S. M. Lau translate “A Chivalrous Woman” as “The Lady Knight-errant” in Ma and Lau, 77–81.

179. Zeitlin, 99–131.

But Golden Bell does not fit neatly into any of these categorizations. She is not intentionally concealing her gender, nor is she grotesque or a shrew. Golden Bell uses her innate power to perform chores for her mother. She helps Hailong as well—her power plows his fields, warms his room, saves his life, and wins his heart. Golden Bell also brings Hailong's mother back to life. Supernatural skill, therefore, functions here to satisfy society's filial expectations of a proper Chosŏn woman. Supernaturality is not used for self-serving means or to obtain glory as a victorious hero, but to benefit a mother, a husband-to-be, and in-laws-to-be. Even Golden Bell's spiteful treatment toward Hailong's cruel adoptive mother Bian and her son Xiaolong is justified because neither of the two is a blood relative to Hailong.<sup>180</sup> While she possesses heroic power, Golden Bell nonetheless operates under the state-supported Neo-Confucian constraints operative during the Chosŏn era.

Golden Bell, although she was capable of fighting a sea monster in the supernatural realm into which she was born, of necessity has her female gender—her womanliness—repressed in the form of a bell in order to perform heroic deeds in the world of humans. As something not altogether female, Golden Bell is unmatched in her heroism, and she is enabled to act on behalf of Hailong in masculine capacities. Both Golden Bell and Hailong's heroism is negotiated and defined in relation to each other. Mary Beth Rose states, "Heroism for both men and women comes to be constituted through its enabling *relation* to positions, capacities, virtues, and values usually associated with women and femininity."<sup>181</sup>

North Korean scholar Kwŏn T'aengmu takes a Marxist approach, noting that the female hero's deeds in *Golden Bell* reveal the author's view that women can be liberated from an

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180. The wicked *kyemo* 繼母 (stepmother) figure appears in several Korean fictional narratives: *Changhwa Hongnyŏn chŏn* 薔花紅蓮傳 (Tale of Changhwa and Hongnyŏn), *Hwang Wŏlsŏn chŏn* 黃月仙傳 (Tale of Hwang Wŏlsŏn), *Kim Inhyang chŏn* 金仁香傳 (Tale of Kim Inhyang), and *K'ongjwi P'atchwi chŏn* (a Cinderella-like story). See Ch'oe Unsik, 179.

181. Rose, 113; emphasis added.

oppressive feudal system and the domestic sphere, oppose societal evils in society, and protect national security alongside men.<sup>182</sup> Kwŏn infers that her heroic deeds include affiliating with men and women of all social classes (4). Kim Miran believes that the female hero's ability to transform herself is a means of overcoming women's inferior position to men.<sup>183</sup> Not only do readers see a female crossing new frontiers, they also see Mo's husband beg his wife's forgiveness for having left her for a better-looking woman. Yet, in the end, even though Golden Bell takes on unconventional roles, she is still a second wife to her husband, and Mo remains a faithful widow by not remarrying.

### Hailong's Heroism

Hailong, also the product of a miraculous birth, is frequently recognized for his righteous deeds throughout the story. He is endowed with good looks and valour, but no supernatural power. Hailong honours the grave of his adoptive father, the bandit Zhang Shen, and remains devoted to his adoptive and abusive mother, Bian, even though she attempts to kill him on various occasions and even falsely accuses him of murder. While Hailong serves prison time for alleged murder, Golden Bell casts her spell over the local magistrate's infant son who cries until he is able to play with Hailong. Hailong gains the magistrate's favour and is released. On another occasion, Bian and Xiaolong marvel that Hailong drags home two tigers; however, unbeknownst to them, these are the very beasts Golden Bell has slain. Golden Bell assists Hailong in every trial he faces.

Even in the episode where Hailong kills the demon and saves Princess Jinxian and her ladies-in-waiting, he receives crucial help from the women in the story. Golden Bell, having

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182. Kwŏn, introduction, 4–6. See also *Kojŏn Munhaksil*, 106–17.

183. Quoted in Pak Yongsik, "Kŭmnyŏng chŏn," in *Kojŏn sosŏl*, 766.

been swallowed by the demon in a previous attempt to save Hailong, wreaks havoc on the demon's innards and incapacitates it long enough for Hailong to take a sword—a sword handed to him by Princess Jinxian—and finish the defenceless beast off. The monster is a female, but assumes different forms—is king at one point, nine-headed at creature at another, and the golden female swine at another. For his courage, the Emperor declares Hailong an imperial son-in-law and marries him to the princess. With this newfound prestige, Hailong becomes a high-ranking military officer and saves the nation from invasion by the “North-erners,” who in reality are scared off by Golden Bell. Kim Miran points out, “The fact that Zhang Hailong becomes an imperial son-in-law, renders significant meritorious deeds to his country, and gains a high government position is all due to Golden Bell's strength” (286). Golden Bell is responsible for Hailong's glory and heroism.

But what makes Hailong's filiality and efforts stand out is the fact that he resolves to be devoted without the aid of the supernatural. Even before Golden Bell helps him out, his human integrity is apparent. The story has us questioning the meaning of heroism—does it involve defeating the foe with extraordinary power or is it manifested by adherence to the highest Neo-Confucian virtues? Both Golden Bell and Hailong portray parallel virtuous conduct, but Hailong, interestingly, functions as receptor of fame for deeds performed wholly or in part by Golden Bell.

In two episodes, Hailong as the General and as the Chief Travelling Inspector, does achieve peace in the country by his own merits. Before Golden Bell rescues Hailong from a trap, General Hailong fights Hogak, a general of the opposing Northern forces, and afterward kills him. As Inspector he uses his wisdom and leadership to stop banditry without any help from Golden Bell (who by this time has turned into a woman). Actually, Hailong is bestowed

with many different titles at court (Imperial Son-in-law, General, Prime Minister, Inspector, Prince, etc.), but nearly each time he receives a title or advances to the next level it is all due to Golden Bell.

## Conclusion

*Golden Bell*, like other female hero narratives, has a dualistic structure. Regarding the topic of dualism, I would like to quote at some length from JaHyun Kim Haboush's article "Filial Emotions and Filial Values: Changing Patterns in the Discourse of Filiality in Late Chosŏn Korea":

In proposing that the elite class was also engaged in popular discourse, I do not mean to suggest their wholesale flight from the hegemonic discourse. They were the very same people who produced and consumed prescriptive literature. That the same group of people should participate in two discourses of opposite nature is not unusual. In her study of a Bedouin community, Abu-Lughod describes two different, almost opposite modes of discourse in which the same persons engage depending on the social occasion and company.<sup>184</sup>

Two modes of discourse, covering both internal and external issues, are at play in *Golden Bell*.<sup>185</sup> Korea has a strong tradition of the textual representation of filiality as one of its highest virtues. Clark Sorensen and Sung-chul Kim write, "Filial piety has long been fundamental to Korean ethics." They point out that during the Koryŏ dynasty, the *Pumo ūnjung kyŏng* 父母恩重經 (Sutra of Parental Grace) was popular, and the ethic was subsequently solidified

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184. The Bedouin also have a public discourse that places emphasis on "valor, independence and autonomy," while there is a private discourse in more intimate circles that permits "expression of pain and vulnerability." See Haboush, "Filial Emotions," 172.

185. The Lila Abu-Lughod study, found in *Veiled Sentiments: Honour and Poetry in a Bedouin Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), is quoted in Haboush, "Filial Emotions," 176.

in the Chosŏn period.<sup>186</sup> But Korea also has a history of subtext to these ideal representations. As JaHyun Kim Haboush notes, filiality is a central theme in many Chosŏn-dynasty works, such as *Chŏk Sŏngŭi chŏn* and *Sim Ch'ŏng ka* 沈清歌 (Song of Sim Ch'ŏng), and the main characters of these stories both adhere to filial values and show filial emotions (172). Particularly those tensions between a woman's filial emotion toward her natal home and the insistence of Confucian norms for women to be filial only to their patrilocal family upon marriage are demonstrated. Haboush says of Sim Ch'ŏng, who is loyal to her own father, "It is clear that filial emotion, presented as a powerful, natural force is not seen as gender-based. A woman's filial emotion is as powerful and as untransferable as a man's" (172). This is also true for Golden Bell. She is filial to her natal home and her filiality *is* presented as an empowering agent. However, in the story, it is Hailong who gains rank and honour. Golden Bell remains, albeit not entirely, a behind-the-scenes enigma, keeping in line with the Confucian concept of man governing the outside world and women the inside.

Seen in the light of other Chosŏn-era female hero fiction where female generals return to their domestic spheres after saving their nation, Golden Bell too, in the end, is noted not for her heroic exploits, but for her beauty and for giving birth to Hailong's first son. Golden Bell's supernatural achievements are overshadowed by Hailong's this-worldly feats, and her own emulation of Confucian ideologies so valued by Chosŏn ruling classes. Golden Bell, a product of her mother's filiality to her agnatic lineage, may serve to exhibit the emotional side of filiality, while Hailong plays the exemplar of filial virtues.

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186. Sorensen and Kim, "Filial Piety in Contemporary Urban Southeast Korea: Practices and Discourses," 155.

## Appendix I

### Note on the Translation

Like many other Chosŏn fictional narratives, *Golden Bell* is set in China. Since the story exists only in the vernacular script, during translation I was reluctant to sinify every name because it not only meant resorting to pseudo-Chinese geographical and personal names where reliable equivalents could not to be determined, but also de-Koreanizing a text that has had a significant Korean readership. A sort of Sino-Korean hybridity has existed in Korean literature for centuries. For example, *Samgang haengsilto* 三綱行實圖 (Conduct of the Three Bonds, Illustrated), a Chinese collection of short accounts about filial children, loyal subjects, and faithful wives, appeared in Korean vernacular script as early as 1434. Many of the several hundred people in the stories are believed to be based on historical figures, and all of the accounts focus on Chinese people (save sixteen of them which are set in Korea). Each picture is accompanied by an illustration with both a Korean text and a Chinese one, but the Korean versions of these stories have been subtly changed and provide interesting elucidations for non-Chinese consumption.<sup>1</sup> *Samgang haengsilto* went through many court-sponsored editions under similar titles and each time included more indigenous examples—and always had the aim of inculcating Confucian virtues into the common people. Likewise, the characters in *Golden Bell*, though Chinese (or otherworldly but in a Chinese cosmos), in many ways are the

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1. See Hyeon-hie Lee and Ross King, ed. and trans., “*Samgang haengsil-do*: Conduct of the Three Bonds, Illustrated”; and Shibu Shōhei, *Genkai* “*Sankō kojitsuzu*” *kenkyū*.



same stilted, simplified models, appropriated and overtly Confucianized in a Korean way for Koreans.

Correctly rendering into English both Chinese and Korean references is a topic discussed in part by Robert Fouser and Chang Hyohyŏn.<sup>2</sup> I have taken into account their criticisms of English translations of premodern Korean fiction in my own. Fouser, for example, finds Marshall R. Pihl's translation of *Hong Kiltong* incorrectly sinified, lacking in detail, and too Latinate for the original style. Chang Hyohyŏn further states that Pihl's *Hong Kiltong* translation and Mun Hŭigyŏng's rendering of Pak Chiwŏn's work fail to provide enough annotations for English-speaking audiences; however, the same annotations would be just as helpful for Korean audiences as well.

In the end, however, I chose to identify *Golden Bell* characters and places with Chinese names. In order to render names in pinyin for the translation, I relied on suggestions from modernized transcriptions of and essays about *Golden Bell*. In the main text I use pinyin romanization and in the footnotes I use Yale romanization<sup>3</sup> to transliterate lexical items from the original early modern Korean text and McCune-Reischauer to romanize modern Korean terms. The footnotes also include the *han'gŭl* equivalent where possible, unless it is a word with an *arae a* (a vowel no longer used in modern Korean)—in those cases I only provide the romanization. In the footnotes, I use the following abbreviations for the modern Korean transcriptions I refer to (see "*Tale of Golden Bell* Transcriptions Listed by Editor/Translator" below):

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2. See Chang Hyohyŏn, "Han'guk kojŏn sosŏl yŏngyŏk ŭi che munje," in *Han'guk kojŏn sosŏlsa yŏn'gu*, 703–42. Fouser's article is discussed at length in Chang's chapter. For English translations of *kososŏl*, see Richard Rutt and Kim Chong-un, *Virtuous Women: Three Classic Korean Novels*.

3. I have modified Yale romanization just a bit here for philological reasons. The character ㅍ, usually transcribed as *wu*, does not need the *w* when preceded by a *p* ㅍㅍ or an *m* ㅍㅁ, but I have inserted a *w* in these environments anyway to distinguish a *pu* ㅍㅅ from a *pwu* ㅍㅜ.

Chang	Chang Töksun
Chŏn	Chŏn Kyut'ae
Chŏng & Yi	Chŏng Pyŏnghŏn and Yi Yugyŏng
Kim & Chŏn	Kim Kidong and Chŏn Kyut'ae
Ku	Ku Inhwan
Kwŏn & Ch'oe	Kwŏn T'aengmu and Ch'oe Okhŭi
Pak	Pak Yongsik
Sin Tongik	Sin Tongik
Yi	Yi Sangt'aek

In addition to these nine versions, I also looked at two online versions, whose annotations (or lack thereof) were similar to the printed copies.

One common trait of each of these modern transcriptions is that they provide explanations for select difficult-to-understand Chinese idiomatic phrases, but offer very few explanations of classical Chinese references, obscure or ambiguous Korean terms, and suggestions for *Golden Bell* geography. Some of the explanations could be more inclusive of multiple readings, and some of the information they give is inaccurate. Only a few of the footnotes actually say “*misang*” 未詳 (unidentifiable). Rather than provide examples here, I would refer the reader to the footnotes in my translation below. One item that Chang Hyohyŏn complains about in his evaluation of premodern fiction translations into English is that the translators fail to include enough footnotes to aid the non-Korean in understanding the original text; however, I would like to add that every translator (or transcriber) of *Golden Bell* into modern Korean fails to provide enough notes for a *Korean* to understand the text as fully as possible. While being analyzed in a translation seminar, portions of *Golden Bell* stumped

Korean literature scholars, both Korean and non-Korean alike. Another item that made translation of *Golden Bell* into English difficult was that very few of the translators into modern Korean bothered to reveal which original version of *Golden Bell* they were referring to.

Though a majority of the narrative in *Golden Bell* is in the past tense, it often switches to the present when the author is describing an emotionally charged episode. In English I have uniformly preteritized the sentences. Also, *Golden Bell* makes mention of historical figures, such as the Zhizheng Emperor, but it is still difficult to guess the geographical locations throughout the story. It seems as though the author knew some Chinese place names, but had only a vague understanding of where they were in relation to each other. Any errors detected in this translation are entirely my own.

## The Tale of Golden Bell

Once upon a time, toward the end of the reign of the Zhizheng Emperor<sup>4</sup> of Yuan there lived a man named Zhang Yuan who held a government post and was charged with recording imperial decrees.<sup>5</sup> When the Yuan dynasty collapsed giving way to the Ming,<sup>6</sup> Zhang secluded himself at Mount Yifeng<sup>7</sup> in Taian County.<sup>8</sup> One day Zhang had a dream in which the guardian spirit of Mount Lantian summoned him saying,<sup>9</sup> “The times are inauspicious and presently there will be a great calamity. You had best leave at once.” And with that he disappeared.

Zhang awoke and related the dream to his wife. Then and there he led her back along the way they had come, when suddenly a storm arose. A young lad clad in red appeared before them and beseeched them as follows, “Your humble servant’s life is hanging in the balance. Good woman, please save me.”

Zhang’s wife said in astonishment, “Young adept, whatever is the matter and how do you propose we save you?”

The lad stamped his feet in urgency and said, “Your humble servant is the third son of the Dragon King of the East Sea. I recently wed the daughter of the King of the South Sea<sup>10</sup> and

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4. One of the reign titles (1341–68) under the Emperor Shundi (Toghan-Temür), whose reign in the Mongol Yuan dynasty spanned 1333 to 1368, when he was expelled from China and fled to Mongolia.

5. *Hanwen* refers to *hanyuan* 翰苑, another name for *hanlinyuan* 翰林院 or *yiwenguan* 藝文館, scribal posts that recorded imperial edicts.

6. Around 1368.

7. Sin Kihyŏng gives *Ip'ungsan* 異風山 for *Irŭngsan* 이릉산 (428). Sin Tongik says the mountain is unidentifiable.

8. Ku says that *Thoyancyu* is *Taianzhou* 泰安州. Zhang abandoning his post may be to avoid imprisonment of literati that occurred during the incoming Hongwu reign (1368–98) of the Ming dynasty (Mary Tregear, *Chinese Art*, 142), but here it seems to imply that Zhang’s moral rectitude is at such a level that he cannot bring himself to be disloyal to the former government.

9. According to Ku, *Namcyensan* 남전산 is *Lantianshan* 藍田山.

10. The seas spoken of here most likely are the East China Sea and the South China Sea.

was returning from paying my respects to her parents, when my wife and I encountered the South Island Pearl Monster skimming along the East Sea,<sup>11</sup> whereupon he attempted to snatch away my bride, the Dragon Princess, but we joined forces and fought back. The Dragon Princess fought to the death, but your humble servant, too young to exercise my magical powers, managed to escape. Unable to reach the Underwater Palace as of yet, I have ventured far into the world of humans where I find my strength weakened and can flee no farther. I beg of you, good woman, if you would be so kind as to open your mouth wide for a moment, I will take leave of my body and repay your posterity for this favour.”

Zhang's wife opened her mouth, and with a shudder the Dragon Son turned into red ether and entered her body. The wife swallowed and suddenly everything went dark; there was a mad swirl of wind and an eerie rumbling. Nonetheless Zhang and his wife hastened to conceal themselves in a cavern. Presently the wind grew still and the sun shone brightly. They managed to make their way outside, and found themselves in the border area of Taian and Gaotang counties.<sup>12</sup> Mountainous region though it was, homesteads were plentiful and inhabited by goodly folk. Among these people were many renowned for their devotion to integrity and righteousness, people who would lend a helping hand to those in need. Zhang endeared himself to them with his elegant comportment and his gentle and deferential manner of speaking. One villager lent the couple a house, another lent him the use of a plot of land, and those with children clamoured to engage him as a tutor. Owing to this, Master Zhang secured an ample livelihood and became known as Man of the Mountain.

In the meantime, Zhang was forever lamenting his lack of offspring. One night he dreamed that both heaven and earth turned black, and from the clouds descended a blue dragon

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11. I have read *Tonghoy hwosyanguy namsyem cincyu yokwoy* as *Tonghae hosang esō Namsōm Chinju Yogie* 東海湖上에서 南섬 眞珠妖怪. Chŏng & Yi transcribe *namsyem* as *namsōn* 남선.

12. For *Kwotangcyu* 고당주 might be Gaotangzhou 高唐州 in Shandong Province.

that proceeded to shed its scales, transform itself into a scholar, and approach Zhang, saying, "Ever cognizant of my debt of gratitude to you, I am now aware that you yearn for progeny. I had despaired of ever repaying my debt. But today as the Jade Emperor received his morning audience, he reviewed various false accusations from throughout the realm. One of the cases involved the youngest daughter of the Dragon King of the South Sea. She is my daughter-in-law. She and her groom were returning from their nuptials when she was killed by a monster and her distressed spirit lodged a grievance with the Jade Emperor. His Majesty instructed a deva guardian<sup>13</sup> to exact full retribution and sent my lad clad in red, the Dragon Son, to the world of humans with instructions to live out the remaining karma of the young couple. And so it was that I petitioned the deva guardian to entrust my son to your home." The scholar then vanished whereupon Zhang and his wife awoke and related their dreams to each other, keeping the joyous news to themselves.

And indeed that very month brought indications of pregnancy and in ten moons' time she gave birth to a handsome little boy. His face resembled the young adept they had encountered on Mount Lantian. Babe in arms though he was, he bore a princely countenance and temperament that promised extraordinary talents. They named him Hailong, "Sea Dragon,"<sup>14</sup> and styled him Yingtian, "Moves with Heaven."<sup>15</sup>

Then as now, good things never last. At this time, the Son of Heaven was commanded from on high to ascend the throne, but there was civil unrest. If it wasn't an upstart King of Wei plundering to the south, it was the self-styled King of Zhao marauding to the west. The entire land was in disarray; untold thousands sought refuge. Master Zhang found himself among

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13. Sin Tongik notes that *kumkwang* 금광 is *kūmgang yōksa* 金剛力士, a deva king or guardian, a divine being in Hinduism and Buddhism.

14. *Hoylyong* is *Hailong* 海龍.

15. *Ungthyen* 응텨 is *Yingtian* 應天.

these refugees with the pursuing forces hard on their heels. Zhang and his wife took turns carrying Hailong on their back until at last, energy spent, his wife tearfully spoke, "If we insist on saving our child, the three of us will perish together. Dear husband, leave the child and me behind for now. Later, you can dispose of our remains."

But Master Zhang could not abide the prospect and held them close. They wailed while the enemy grew ever closer. In tears, Zhang implored his wife, "Let's leave Hailong behind."

His wife forced herself to set Hailong down on the side of the road. "We'll come back for you soon, so sit here like a good little boy. Here, eat this while we're gone." So saying, she gave him a piece of fruit.

"Take me with you," Hailong cried. Zhang tried to mollify the boy while urging his wife to flee. They set out but could not help looking back at every step to see Hailong calling them to hurry back.

At this point, the bandits finally arrived and were about to kill Hailong, but one of the bandits, Zhang Shen<sup>16</sup> by name, dissuaded them saying, "What's the use in killing a crying child who's lost its parents?" And with that he set Hailong on his back, fell in again, and said to himself, "I have suffered at the hands of those in the central authority and cast in my lot with the bandit ranks. It was never my original plan. What's more, I can tell this child's features bear all the marks of nobility. This is my chance." He contrived to fall behind and slip away to his ancestral home south of the river.<sup>17</sup>

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16. For *C(y)ang Sam* 장(장)삼, Kim & Chŏn give the characters 張參 (Zhang Shen); the second element can be *can*, *cen* (as in *cenci* 參差, uneven), or *shen* (ginseng) in pinyin. The *ginseng* (shen) concept seems to work well since the bandit saves Hailong. In *Yi Cho sidae sosŏllon*, Kim Kidong writes Zhang San 張三 (106–8).

17. Sin Kihyŏng writes *jiangnan gujun* 江南古郡 for *kangnam kwokwun* 강남고군 (429). Pak translates this as "home south of the river" (*kangnam ŭi kohyang* 강남의 고향). *Jiangnan* (*kangnam*) can refer to the area south of the Yangzi 揚子 river.

From up in the hills, Master Zhang and his wife saw that the dust had settled, and they returned to find Hailong gone.

Zhang's wife beat her chest in despair. "If only I had left some mark by which we could have known him. In all the confusion, I didn't think of it. Once he's grown up, how will we ever know him?"

Zhang comforted her, saying, "We will surely recognize Hailong by the red birthmark on his back in the likeness of the Big Dipper." As they searched all about, they were captured by the mounted officers of the Zhao<sup>18</sup> and pressed into the service of the general. The general noticed Zhang was a man of exceptional bearing and realizing that such men are hard to find, loosed his bonds and admitted him to his retinue. He persuaded Zhang to join in with him whereupon they found themselves in perfect accord. On the spot, the general made<sup>19</sup> Master Zhang an advisor, and it was owing to his wise counsel<sup>20</sup> that the borders were extended by thousands<sup>21</sup> of li. For this, Zhang was rewarded with his choice of a small fortress estate to the southwest where he was to go and take his leisure.

18. Of all eleven modern Korean translations I am referring to, only Pak suggests that the *cwoyang* 조장 in *cwoyang wisyeykuyuy* 조장 위세기의 is *Cho nara changsu* 조 나라 장수 (Zhao commandant). In the translations, *wisyeykuyuy* 위세기의 is translated into modern Korean as both *wise ege* 위세에게 (to authority) and *wisegi ege* 위세기에게. The *-gi* in *wisegi* might be 騎 (cavalryman). But according to Nam Kwangu's *Koō sajōn*, *kuy* 기 can be, among other things, 騎 and *-ege* -에게 (to a living creature) or *-kke* -께 (honorific form of *-ege*). Martin doesn't list *kuy* 기 as functioning as *-ege*, but he lists *-uy* 의 as *-ege*. I inserted the word *mounted* to account for the *kuy* since it is unlikely that *kuyuy* is functioning as a double *-ege*.

19. *Hoi-* is an older causative form equivalent to *sik'i-* 시키-.

20. British Copy A shows *hinchoyk*, where the *hin* could also be either *hyen* (as Pak says) or *hen* (Chang). *Hyōnch'aek* 賢策 is "wise policy," and *hōnch'aek* 獻策 is "counsel, recommendation."

21. Pak transcribes British Copy A as *kwuchyenni* 구천니 (nine thousand li) but translates it *ch'ōn ri* (ch'ōlli) 천 리 (one thousand li); Copy A has *kwu(nwu)chyenni* 구(누)천니—the first character is a bit ambiguous. Other translations show *nu(ru) ch'ōlli* 누(루)천리 累千里, what Kwōn & Ch'oe define in a footnote as *su ch'ōlli* 數千里 (many thousands of li).



From there, Master Zhang, along with his wife, was sent forth to Leiyang District,<sup>22</sup> which lies near the western border of the Shu. The terrain there is rugged and the people peace-loving. Zhang assumed his new post; his administration was even-handed and the subjects laboured in tranquility. The happy voices of his subjects<sup>23</sup> resounded far and near.

Meanwhile, there was a certain Jin Sanlang of Zhaoji<sup>24</sup> Village in Chengnan<sup>25</sup> who combined a chivalrous demeanour with a profligate disposition. He abandoned his wife, Mo<sup>26</sup> by name, for the lack of a beautiful face and took instead a woman of the Zhao<sup>27</sup> clan and settled on their lands. But Mo, unbowed by this turn of events, remained to care for the aging mother of Jin Sanlang. Their destitution compelled Mo to take on menial work for another family, and the breakfast and dinner she received there she would take home to share with her mother-in-law. In time her mother-in-law died. Mo grieved day and night and gave every attention to her funeral. After interring her in the ancestral burial ground, she fashioned a thatched hut before the grave and kept a nightly vigil without fail for a good ten years. Many were the filial daughters-in-law in those times, but none to compare with Mo.

One day, Mo had a dream. Up she rose from the hut to float hither and thither, coming to rest at a place whose hills and streams were unsurpassed and their beauty scintillating. The first thing she noticed was four hoary old men. Mo dared not venture near, and as she was hesitating thus a young attendant presented himself.

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22. I am not sure exactly where *Nwoyyanghyen* 뇌양현 is referring to, so I have assigned it the city of Leiyang 耒陽 (Roe[Noe]yang 뢰[뇌]양 in Korean) in Hunan 湖南 province, since it lies to the south. The *hyen* is most likely *xian* 縣 (district).

23. Kwŏn & Ch'oe say *nakchyo* 낙초 is *rakch'o* 락초 (落樵) and define it as "village woodcutters" (*maül ūi namugun* 마을의 나무꾼).

24. Sin Kihyŏng suggests *Zhaoji* 朝鷄 for *Cokey* 조계 (429). I have transcribed 朝 as *zhao* (morning) instead of *Chao* (Tang).

25. I assume *Syengnam* 성남 is *Chengnan* 城南.

26. Sin Kihyŏng suggests that *Mak* 막 is *Mo* 莫.

27. Kim Kidong gives *Zhao* 趙 for *Co* 조.

“The Jade Emperor has bidden our Masters speak with you. Make haste and go to them.”

Mo did as she was instructed and found the four ancients, each occupying one of the four points of the compass. This is what they told her: “The Jade Emperor is aware of your boundless fidelity and exceeding filiality and commends you unstintingly. It was His Majesty’s desire to bless you with offspring, but as fate would have it, your husband perished in the wars. His Majesty therefore felt compelled to seek another means by which to bless you with filial offspring. It so happened that<sup>28</sup> the daughter of the Dragon King of the South Sea and the son of the Dragon King of the East Sea met a grievous death at an early age, and they proceeded to supplicate the throne of the Jade Emperor for recompense. Whereupon, His Majesty entrusted us four with powers of redress, which we duly accepted, and it was our good fortune to find a favourable place to settle the son of the Dragon King of the East Sea. As of yet, though, we have failed to select a place for the Dragon Princess. And so, now we shall bring her to you. Sixteen years from now you will observe her face. Observe her now and commit her face to memory.”<sup>29</sup>

So saying, they summoned her from above. There descended a wraithlike maiden, and Mo beheld her ageless beauty.

The maiden was addressed by the ancient<sup>30</sup> clad in red: “I can offer you<sup>31</sup> only mastery of the seasons. You may control them at your pleasure. Yes, I shall give you the ability to

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28. Copy A says *kikilwo woktyey thaphany* 기기로 옥데 탐하의 instead of *woktyeykuy woktyey thaphany* 옥데기 옥데 탐하의, as in Copy A (which is the version I compare Copy A to in the following footnotes even if no specific reference is made). Ku, Sin Tongik, Kwŏn & Ch’oe, and Chŏng & Yi treat *kilwo* as a summative and particle, *-kiro* -기로, and attach it to the preceding verb: *hayŏkkiro* 하였기로.

29. Copy A says *chotung* instead of *uysim* 의심. Kwŏn & Ch’oe say this is *ch’adŭng* 差等 (difference in status).

30. A *syenkwan* 선관 is *sŏn’gwan* 仙官, an official in fairyland (*sŏn’gwan* can also refer to a female shaman).

control the seasons.” He produced from his sleeve a length of silk in the Five Colours<sup>32</sup> and presented it to her saying, “In sixteen years’ time we shall meet again; surrender it to me then.”

Next, the ancient clad in blue gave her a fan, saying, “With this, you can cover a thousand li in a single day. Surrender this as soon as you’re finished.”

And now, the ancient clad in white handed her a crimson fan and said, “With this, you can control the winds and the mists. After you have found the Mo woman, surrender it.”

The ancient clad in black merely smiled, saying, “I have nothing to give you, but I shall lend you strength”—whereupon he lent her black *qi*.

The maiden took up her gifts with one last look at Mo, and the moment she was about to ascend, a call of the crane announced the approach of another ancient, who, clad in yellow, descended and seated himself, saying, “Tell me, what recognition have you bestowed on the Mo woman? What recompense have you arranged for the Dragon Princess?”

The first four ancients explained thus and so about their plan to make the Dragon Princess Mo’s very own child.

The yellow-clad ancient knit his brow, saying, “But then the child will lack a proper surname—we could not wish this upon a filial daughter-in-law.” He consequently proceeded to explain thus and so, saying, “In this way, the world will know the Will of Heaven and as for the mother and daughter, they will come to know ethics and morality.”

All present concurred and they set off, each astride his iridescent cloud. All Mo could do was gaze wide-eyed about her. Traces of the ancients disappeared beyond mist and clouds; there was only the rushing of a towering waterfall. As she trudged home, she slipped and fell

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31. Copy A has *chocihol kesi* (what one will possess) instead of *cyemcihol kesi* (what one will be blessed to give birth to). Kwŏn & Ch’oe incorrectly assign Chinese characters to *ch’aji* (次知, housekeeper) but give the correct definition.

32. The Five Colours usually refer to blue, yellow, white, red, and black.

from an icy precipice and awoke to realize it had all been a dream. Reviewing the events of her dream, she realized her husband had died. She did what she could to offer up a memorial ceremony for him. She could not contain her grief.

One day when Mo's sorrows were etched on her face, a chilling gust of wind arose, and there outside her hut stood none other than Sanlang.

Startled, Mo inquired, "Has it not been decades, my husband, since you abandoned me? I knew not whither you had gone and many were my doubts and misgivings, when a divine spirit told me you had perished in the wars. I realized that although dreams are not to be believed, this one was unmistakable, and I therefore prepared a memorial mat for you without a tablet—but I can't help wondering whether I am seeing you in the flesh. Please, explain how it is that you present yourself at such an ungodly hour."

Sanlang said in a voice choked with emotion, "Truly I knew not of your feminine virtues, and was unable to temper my prodigal proclivities. Heaven has visited me with misfortune for the sin of unduly neglecting you, and I died in this time of upheaval. I remain condemned in the next world—and rightly so. Enlightened though I may be, I am not yet wise enough to enter the ranks of the spirit world and am left to wander about in my wanton ways. Your observances on my behalf have been exemplary and added to my shame. In spite of the gulf that separates the worlds of light and darkness, I feel compelled to reward you." He spoke as if he were right there beside her, and he left. He frequented her dreams, where they renewed their intimacy. Before she knew it, Mo had stomach pains, and her belly began to stir with child and grow bigger. She considered this exceedingly strange and worried lest she be found out.

In the tenth moon, she felt the onset of labour and prepared for childbirth in her hut. Lo and behold, there was no child but a being, bright and shiny, in the form of a golden bell.

Astonished at this peculiar sight, she pressed down on it with her hand, but it remained intact. She struck it with a rock, but it did not break. She cast it far and turned away, but it rolled right back. More incredulous, she flung it into deep water, but when she came back, the golden bell was bobbing on the surface. Seeing Mo leave, it came rolling after her as before.

Mo considered, "I was born under a bad star. Meeting a freak of nature such as this bodes ill for me." She proceeded to light the fire and stuffed the bell into the fire hole. Five days later as she poked through the ashes, out popped the golden bell without a scratch, more striking and fragrant than ever.<sup>33</sup> Mo resigned herself to letting it do as it pleased. At night it would snuggle with Mo and by day it frolicked about. If perchance it spotted a bird on the wing, it shot up to retrieve it. It could climb trees to pick fruit. This provender the bell would set before Mo. On closer examination, Mo noticed something like a web from inside the bell that glossed all that it touched, and it had a fine furry outer covering that was invisible to the casual eye.<sup>34</sup> Whenever Mo was chilled, the bell would snuggle up to her, and Mo would no longer feel cold. And when Mo returned to her hut from milling grain out in the elements in the dead of winter, the bell would scamper outside to greet her. When it was cold enough to drive Mo inside, she always found it surprisingly warm, and the light shining from the bell made the interior of the hut bright as day. Mo thought this peculiar. Lest others find out, she kept the bell in the hut by day and slept with it close to her bosom by night. Little by little, the bell grew. It clambered up the hills as if on flat ground. Neither dust nor mud could sully it, roll about where it might.

Things went on like this for quite some time and naturally people came to find out what was going on, and when everyone decided to investigate, the entrance to the hut was teeming

33. Copy A says *te pischi* 더 빛치 (more light) instead of *kum pischi* 금빛치 (golden light).

34. The Copy A text is a bit unclear—the furriness comes from the word that looks like *swulip* 술잎, which Chŏng & Yi, Ku, Pak, and Sin Tongik say is *sollip* 솔잎 (pine needles).

with people. Women would pick the bell up; its light was resplendent and soft, its fragrance soared. But if among these visitors any man tried picking it up, it would dig into the ground. Not only would it be immovable, but its body became as a fireball. No one dared touch it and marvelled at it all the more.

In the village was a man from a well-to-do family named Mu Sun,<sup>35</sup> a scoundrel whose foolish greed and heinous conduct exceeded all humankind. He set out to steal Mo's bell, and seized the chance while Mo was sleeping<sup>36</sup> to spirit away the golden bell and return home and boast to his wife and children. He then hid the bell. That night a fire arose from out of nowhere and enveloped the whole house. Mu Sun was so surprised that he couldn't put on his clothes and dashed outside naked and turned to see the flames reaching the sky and the wind fanning the force of the fire. He could do nothing but watch his many possessions and furnishings turn to ashes. Both Mu Sun and his wife moaned insanely. Amid all of this, they did not forget the bell. They approached the dying embers, dug through the ashes, and found the bell. From the ashes, the bell sprang forth and wrapped itself in Mu Sun's wife's skirts. They retrieved the bell and brought it out.

That night Mu Sun's wife could not bear the cold, and Mu Sun said, "How can you be so cold in this broiling heat?"

His wife said, "Moments ago this bell was burning with such heat, but now it's cold as ice. No matter how much I try to tear it off, it feels as though it has dug into my flesh and it won't come out."

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35. In copies A and B, the name is *Mwok Swon* 목손. His name is also rendered *Muk Son* (Ku and Sin Tongik) and *Mu Son* (Chang, Chŏn, Kim & Chŏn, Kwŏn & Ch'oe, and Yi). For *Mu Son*, Kim & Chŏn suggest *Wu Sun* 武孫. However, I chose the (Korean) surname Mok 睦, *Mu* in pinyin, to retain the *m*-initial element and took Kim & Chŏn's suggestion for the given name.

36. Copy A has *camun* 자는 (sleeping) in place of *epmun* 업는 (not there; away).

As soon as Mu Sun rushed forth to grab hold of it and tear it away, the bell instead turned fiery hot and Mu Sun couldn't touch it. He screamed to his wife, "It's boiling hot! How can you say it's freezing!" And they argued back and forth.

The bell had supernatural power over heaven and earth, so on one side it was cold as ice and the other fiery hot. Mu Sun and his wife had no idea that the bell could change as such—only now did they realize it, saying, "We were rash in our conduct in stealing away this thing that we had no idea was sent from Heaven. We have therefore suffered misfortune and have nothing left to do except apologize to Mo."

That very night, they paid a visit to Mo's hut, where they found her seated, weeping over the loss of the bell. Mu Sun's wife stepped forward, fell to her knees, and implored her. Mo at once called for the bell and before she could say its name the bell rolled into the room.<sup>37</sup> Mu Sun's wife apologized to her, but Mu Sun, holding a grudge, went straight into the magistrate's office to report the golden bell's monstrosity to the magistrate. Master Zhang listened carefully and was so highly astonished that he marvelled at the news. He immediately dispatched a patrol with orders to bring the bell before him.

Not long thereafter,<sup>38</sup> the patrolmen returned and reported, "As your humble servants<sup>39</sup> tried to catch the bell, it would slip away here and slide over there. It is impossible for your humble servants to catch it."

Master Zhang flew into a rage and sent the patrol to apprehend Mo. It was only then that the bell came out rolling.<sup>40</sup> Master Zhang began his official business. He looked at the bell in its resplendent golden light as it illuminated people left and right. Some regarded it as un-

37. Copy A has *pangulwo* 방으로 (into a room) in place of *makulwo* 막으로 (into a hut).

38. Copy A text is unclear, but it appears to be *hokwo* (and then) rather than *niukkwo* 니욱고 (suddenly).

39. From *swointungi* 소인둥이, where *soin* 小人 is a first-person pronoun with a pluralizer.

40. Copy A has *nawonuncila* 나오는지라 (comes out) in place of *stolaonuncila* (follows after).

canny, others as amazing. Master Zhang commanded a patrolman, "Deal it a heavy blow with the iron hammer!" The soldier hit it with all his might. The bell went underground but popped right back out again. This time the soldier set it on a stone and whacked it, but the bell swelled up and gradually got bigger until it grew larger than the size of a man.

Master Zhang handed the soldier a treasured sword and said, "There is none other like this sword under heaven. Even if it inflicts a deep wound on a person, no blood can stain its blade. Destroy it with this sword."

The soldier lifted the sword and struck with it once. The bell split into two identical bells, and they rolled about bumping into each other. He repeatedly struck the pieces, doubling them each time. The courtyard was filled with bells! Everyone was shocked. Zhang ordered, "Bring oil to a boil in a cauldron immediately and throw the bells into it!" Several people followed his command, brought oil to a boil, and threw the bells into it. Gradually the bells became smaller and the people rejoiced. The original bell became smaller and smaller until it was the size of a date pit. It floated on top of the oil before sinking to the bottom. One of the men approached the cauldron's edge in order to draw out the bell, but all the boiled oil had completely hardened into metal.

The cauldron was sealed, and Mo was sent to prison. She was first taken to the women's quarters, where Zhang's wife urged her husband, "I saw today's spectacle and it is certainly heaven-sent. The bell cannot be disposed of so easily by human hands. Please release the woman Mo and see how things turn out."

Zhang said with a sneer, "Magical a monster though it may be, how is it that we cannot control such a little thing?"



His wife tried to persuade him, but he would not hear her. That very night when all were asleep, the bell, still inside the cauldron, took its chance while the guard had dozed off, punctured the sealed cauldron, and rolled out. It went straight into the flue leading to both the women's quarters and the magistrate's quarters. Suddenly, the sleeping Zhang let out a loud cry and awoke.

Taken aback, his wife held him close and asked, "What has stirred you so, dear husband?"

Master Zhang said, "The spot I was lying on is so sizzling hot, I felt I was burning out of my skin!" So he traded places with his wife and lay down. But he was just as hot as before. Unable to stand it a moment longer, he went out to the outer quarters and there too the room was like a roaring fire. Again, unable to endure it any longer, he wandered about outside until dawn. When his breakfast was placed before him, he tried to eat, but the food was so hot there was no way for him to bring it to his mouth. No matter how cold the place was where he let the food cool down, his meal grew gradually hotter. All the day long he grumbled, and then when his supper was placed before him, it was not hot, but cold as ice. Because of this, he skipped his meals, and again at night when he tried to sleep, it was as hot as the day before. And so it continued for three or four days: he could not eat, he could not sleep, he was nearly dead. He knew for certain that the bell's magical powers were behind this and stole away to the cauldron. He discovered that the cauldron was punctured and the bell was nowhere to be found. He sent somebody off at once to the prison, and he returned with this report:

"Ever since the Mo woman was locked up, that bell has penetrated the prison door and has come and gone. Clenching fruit, it has pushed its way inside through a crack in the door.

Your humble servant looked in and could identify no one in the iridescent cloud of Five Colours that had surrounded the prison.”

Zhang’s wife begged for Mo to be released. Master Zhang acquiesced and had her released at once. From that day forward, his eating and sleeping returned to normal. Zhang heard of Mo’s filial acts and felt great remorse. He had her hut taken down and in its place had a large house built and ordered the laudatory Red Gate erected. In addition he prohibited outsiders and gave her a monthly stipend.<sup>41</sup> All in all he made her life comfortable.

Ever since Master Zhang had come to Leiyang, he had been well provided for, but day and night he thought of Hailong and grieved with his wife. Because of this, his wife eventually became bedridden with a serious illness, and all medicines proved ineffective. Master Zhang stayed by her side night and day. One day, the wife took her husband’s hand in hers and wept, saying, “Your humble wife’s fortune is ill-fated. I lost my only child in the war and the thought of meeting him by chance in my lifetime has preserved me to this day. For over a decade, not knowing whether he was dead or alive, an illness has crept into the marrow of my bones. This is the last day I have to live. Even should I go to the highest of the nine heavens, how can I close my eyes? Please, dear husband, take good care of yourself for a long time.”

Her life came to an end. Master Zhang looked into her face and mourned, often fainting. People came right and left to steady him and tend to his needs. The bell came rolling in from outside and approached the wife’s corpse. Everyone watched as the bell dragged in what looked like a leaf, set it down, and left. It was quickly taken up. It appeared to be a leaf from a tree. Upon the leaf was written in fine script, GRATITUDE HERB.

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41. Copy A clearly says *welum* 월음, which Pak defines as *wŏrŭm* 月陰 (money given each month to cover living expenses) though Sin Tongik believes the word is unidentifiable. Chŏng & Yi and Kwŏn & Ch’oe say it is *wŏrŭn* 月銀 (monthly wages).

Master Zhang was elated, and said, “This is a repayment out of gratitude from the Mo woman,” and stuffed the leaf into his wife’s mouth.

In the time it takes to eat one meal, the wife’s body began to move and she turned herself over. The weeping on both sides ceased, and those present massaged her hands and feet. At that moment, she let out long breaths. Master Zhang inquired after her health, and the wife, awakening from her deathly slumber, answered clearly—her mind was vigorous. Delighted, Zhang told the entire story and was happy as never before. After that, his wife fully recovered from her illness and went in person to Mo’s house where she thanked her profusely for granting her a second life. They became sworn sisters,<sup>42</sup> after which the bell rolled up to Zhang’s wife, and she and Master Zhang loved it and never let it out of their grasp. As though already familiar with them, the bell cuddled up to them and welcomed their embraces. It used its cleverness to fulfill people’s wishes. They named her Jinling, “Golden Bell.”<sup>43</sup>

By day, Golden Bell would go to her own home, but at night she would return to Master Zhang’s home and sleep in the wife’s bosom. Their affection exceeded that of kin. One day, Golden Bell dragged something in. Zhang and his wife regarded the thing as bizarre and picked it up. It looked like a scroll. When they unrolled it, they found a drawing of a child sitting on the roadside crying with bandits approaching on all sides as well as the image of a man and woman abandoning their child and fleeing, while looking back and weeping. There was also a drawing of a soldier setting Hailong on his back and heading toward his home in the countryside.

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42. Copy A says *moyco*, which Pak, Chang, Chŏn, and Kim & Chŏn translate as *kyŏrŭi* 結義 (oath of brother- or sisterhood) and Kwŏn & Ch’oe as *maeja* 妹姉, which with *hyŏngje* 兄弟 they say means *nyŏja hyŏngje* 녀자형제 (North Korean spelling of 女子兄弟), “female siblings.” Chŏng & Yi and Ku say *maejŏ* 맺어 (swear) and Sin Tongik *maeja* 맺아, both unlikely translations.

43. *Kumnyŏng* 금녕 is *Jinling* 金鈴 (Golden Bell). From this point on, I refer to the named Golden Bell as a *she*, in order to personify her, to make reference to her premortal form and to foreshadow the human form she will assume.

Master Zhang cried, saying, “This drawing is surely a depiction of us abandoning Hailong.”

His wife also wept, saying, “How do you know he’s still alive?”

Zhang said, “From the picture of someone carrying a child on his back and entering a village. Come to think of it, I’m absolutely certain that it is somebody carrying him away to raise him. Golden Bell is most mysterious—she knew we were grieving and has let us know that Hailong is at least not dead. But she has not given us to know where he is. This too must be the Will of Heaven.”

They hung it over their bed and whenever they looked at it, their sadness found no solace.

Afterward, Golden Bell suddenly disappeared. Mo cried and entered the main wing of the local government office and announced that Golden Bell was gone. Zhang and his wife were as greatly surprised as they were saddened.

Meanwhile, the founding emperor of the Ming dynasty<sup>44</sup> brought peace to the whole land and ruled justly as a good and wise king. He reduced taxes and lightened punishments. Overjoyed, the people of the land responded by singing the “Ground-thumping Song.”<sup>45</sup> The Empress in her old age gave birth to her first child, a princess fully endowed with beauty and virtue, unequalled in ten thousand ages. Little by little, the Princess grew and by age ten her filial deeds went unsurpassed. Her hundred charming<sup>46</sup> talents complemented her gifted

44. Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋 (1328–98; reigned 1368–98), reign name Hongwu 洪武.

45. *Kyök yang ka* 擊壤歌 (Ji rang ge). The song may have pre-Han dynasty (206 BC–AD 220) origins. According to Burton Watson, the song is “reputed to be ... of very early times sung by peasant elders as they beat on the ground to keep time.” Watson has translated the song as, “When the sun comes up we work, / when the sun goes down we rest. / We dig a well to drink, / plow the fields to eat— / the Emperor and his might—what are they to us!” (*The Columbia Book of Chinese Poetry: From Early Times to the Thirteenth Century*, 70).

46. Copy A has *poykhyen* instead of *poykthoy*. *Poykhyen* is *paekhyōn* 百顯 (one hundred talents). Pak is the only one who mentions Copy B’s *poykthoy*, which he transcribes as *paekt’ae* 百態 (“various phases,” used in the terms *miin paekt’ae* 美人百態, “various poses of glamorous women,” and *insaeng paekt’ae* 人生百態,

comportment.<sup>47</sup> The Emperor and Empress cherished her like a treasured jade; they could not set her down, and they gave her the imperial name of Princess Jinxian, “Golden Fairy.”<sup>48</sup>

Now the time is spring, toward the middle of the third month. The Empress gathered the Princess and ladies-in-waiting, and in the moonlight they assembled in her garden,<sup>49</sup> which was adorned with all varieties of flowers. The women were bathed in moonlight, and the flowers’ fragrance drenched their clothing. As nesting birds squabbled, the women led each other with their delicate hands and, drifting elegantly to and fro, went up to the west garden<sup>50</sup> where they gazed all about in wonder. All of a sudden a group of black clouds emerged from the southwest grounds. A raging wind blew something bizarre toward them, and it opened its mouth as it swooped down on them. All the women fainted and fell on their faces. Soon afterwards, the clouds lifted and both heaven and earth became calm once more. By the time the others came to their senses and stood up, the Princess and two ladies-in-waiting were nowhere to be found. All were greatly astonished and searched everywhere for them, but there was neither hide nor hair.<sup>51</sup> Apprised of the situation at once, the Emperor, too, was greatly as-

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“various phases of life”). Pak translates *yoyo* 요요 in the early modern text as *yoyo* 姚姚 (pretty) and then *yoyo* 夭夭 (young) in the modern text.

47. *Choymwoy* here is *chaemo* 才貌. *Mo* 貌 can refer specifically to “reverence in one’s actions.”

48. Kim & Chŏn say *Kumsyen* 금선 is *Kŭmsŏn* 金仙, which is also another name for the Buddha. Chang writes, *Nosŏn kongju* 노선공주 (Princess Nosŏn), and Chŏn renders it, *Nosŏn p’okchu* 노선폭주 (which I am quite sure he did not intend to mean, “Nosŏn the Heavy Drinker”).

49. *Hwuwen* 후원 here is *hwŏn* 後苑 (a queen’s garden).

50. Pak translates *syewen* 서원 as *sŏwŏn* 西園 (garden to the west). Chŏng & Yi believe *syewen* is the famed Shanglinyuan 上林苑, the imperial garden and hunting grounds of the Qin 秦 and Han dynasties. However, the Shanglinyuan was in Changan 長安 (Xi’an 西安) and was believed to be destroyed at the end of the Han dynasty. The imperial gardens spoken of in *Golden Bell* may be set in Nanjing 南京, the early Ming capital before its move to Beijing 北京 in the early fifteenth century. Kwŏn & Ch’oe say *syewen* is *sŏwŏn* 西苑, the Yuan imperial capital’s (Beijing) West Flower Gate (Xihuamen 西華門). There was such a gate centuries later in the late Ming–early Qing palace fortress.

51. Copy A has *hyenghyengi* 형형이 instead of *yenghyengi* 영형이, which Pak says is *yŏnghyŏng* 影形 (shadow). *Hyenghyeng* is *hyŏngyŏng* 影影 (form inseparable from its shadow).

tonished and immediately called for the imperial guards. He had the entire palace surrounded and searched,<sup>52</sup> but no trace was found.

The Empress lamented, saying, "How in heaven or on earth could this have happened?" She could no longer bring herself to eat or drink<sup>53</sup> and grieved bitterly day and night.

The Emperor was also beside himself and had no idea what to do, so he issued an official proclamation stating, "To him who finds the Princess, half the empire!"

Before all this took place, Zhang Shen placed Hailong on his back and slipped away. Within a few days he had returned to his ancestral home.

His wife Bian<sup>54</sup> was so delighted she dashed toward him and said, "I worried day and night, not knowing whether you were dead or alive. I dreamed last night that I saw you ride in on a dragon, and I assumed right away you had met misfortune. How could I have known that I'd live to see you again today?" She pointed toward the child and asked, "Where did you get that child from?"

Zhang Shen explained thus and so.

Bian put on a happy face, but deep in her heart she was greatly displeased.

Late into life, Bian had not yet borne children, until suddenly she showed signs of pregnancy. Zhang Shen was overjoyed when she gave birth to a son and named him Xiaolong,<sup>55</sup> "Little Dragon."

At age seven, Xiaolong began to show some talent, but how could it compare to Hailong, who bore the attractive demeanour of Pan Yue<sup>56</sup> and was magnanimous toward his

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52. The verb here is *etutwoy* 어드되, which may be a dialect form of *öt-* 얻- (obtain); Hamgyōng 咸鏡 dialect has *ödūbonda* 어드본다 for *ödōbonda* 얻어본다.

53. Pak, Chōng & Yi, Sin Tongik, and Ku take *cyelkwok* 절곡 to be *chōlgok* 絶哭 (extreme mourning), and Chang, Kwōn & Ch'oe, Kim & Chōn, Chōn, and Yi write *chōlgok* 絶穀 (abstaining from eating and drinking)—Pak uses the former characters and gives the latter translation.

54. *Pyen* 변 is *Bian* 邊 according to Sin Kihyōng, and *Bian* 卞 according to Kim Kidong.

55. *Swolyong* 소룡 is *Xiaolong* 小龍.

parents? Hailong and Xiaolong learned to write together. For each Chinese character that Hailong learned, he understood ten other characters and with one glance he could easily read multiple things. By age ten, Hailong had mastered composition.

Zhang Shen was a compassionate person, and loved Hailong more than his own offspring. Bian, forever jealous of the attention Hailong received, would strike her son Xiaolong in front of Zhang Shen so frequently that he criticized<sup>57</sup> his wife's lack of kindness.

At age thirteen Hailong had acquired a heroic appearance, wisdom, and talents; the sun paled in comparison to his dignified magnanimity which was clear and shiny as the restless<sup>58</sup> vast blue sea. How could his loftiness and excellence be compared to that of a common child? Still, Bian grew more jealous day by day and plotted every conceivable method to send him away, but Zhang Shen refused to listen to her and loved Hailong all the more. Zhang Shen made sure that Hailong was at his side at each moment to protect his human nature and fate. Hailong was obedient; so complete was he in his devotion to Zhang Shen that no relative dropped by without praising him.

As has always been the case since times of old, if a hero misses out on his chance to confront his destiny, his body exhausts itself soon thereafter. Zhang Shen suddenly fell ill and all medicines proved ineffective. Hailong constantly devoted himself to his adoptive father's aid, but alas Zhang Shen showed no signs of convalescence and each day his condition worsened.

Zhang Shen realized that he could no longer stand up on his own and, holding Hailong's hand in his, wept and said, "Today my life will come to an end. How can I deceive

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56. Pan Yue 潘岳 (247–300) was a poet from Jin 晉 China known for his good looks. Li-li Ch'en calls him the "paragon of pulchritude" (Chieh-yüan Tung, *Master Tung's Western Chamber Romance*, 128 n. 97).

57. Copy A has what looks like *thinhotela*, which is most likely the verb *t'anha-* 탄하- (find fault with; criticize), instead of *hanhotela* (limited).

58. Copy A has *twichimun* 뒤치는 (upset; overturn) instead of *phecinun* 퍼지는 (spread; expand).

your relational propriety? During the war, I found you on the roadside when you were only three years old. You had such a remarkable physiognomy and extraordinary temperament that I put you on my back and ran away, hoping that you'd bring glory to our clan. But, unhappy, I now die and go to the land of the dead—how can I shut my eyes? Bian and her son are uncompassionate and will certainly harm you after I'm gone; your means of self-protection are up to you. Do be careful. A true man does not harbour trifling suspicions, and though Xiaolong is my unworthy son, he is my own flesh and blood. I beg you look after him, and if you do not cast him out, I shall have no lingering regrets though I go to the underworld.”

He called Bian and Xiaolong to his side, bade them sit down, and said, “Even after I die, show your tender love particularly toward Hailong; treat him as you would Xiaolong. Some day Hailong will become respectable and will enjoy glory for ages to come, so do not take my dying words lightly this day.” Thus saying, he died.

Hailong deeply mourned his passing, so that there was not a soul who saw him that did not gape in awe at his devotion. Hailong gave every attention to the funeral and interred Zhang Shen in the ancestral burial ground and returned home. Hailong had no place to turn or rely on<sup>59</sup> and was sad both night and day. After Zhang Shen's death, Bian treated Hailong extremely cruelly and withheld food and clothing from him regularly. Every day she made him work the dry fields and rice paddies. He had to feed the cows. She gave him not a moment's rest when he collected firewood. Bian badgered him night and day. Hailong became even more humble and diligent and indulged in no idleness;<sup>60</sup> his natural appearance grew emaciated as he suffered from hunger and cold.

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59. For *uyyangholtuy*, Chŏng & Yi and Kwŏn & Ch'oe suggest *ũihyanghal kot* 依向할 곳 (place to rely on).

60. Copy A has *hoythoy* (*haet'ae* 懈怠, laziness) in place of *hwoyphi* 회피 (*hoep'i* 回避, avoidance).



The time was the dead of winter. Bian slept with Xiaolong in a warm room and made Hailong mill the rice, so Hailong would pound the rice in the mortar till very late at night. How did this child persevere under one layer of clothing? He went to his room for a moment and tried to rest, but the biting wind drove the snow into his room and he had nothing to cover himself with. He winced and slept on his face, but awoke and saw his room grow bright as though it were day and hot like summer. He was sweating all over and, alarmed, rose to see that the sun had not yet come up. A heavy layer of snow still covered the field. He rushed to the mill to complete the night's work, but it had already been done and the rice had been placed in a vessel. He gaped in disbelief at the strange events and traced his steps back to his room, which was just as bright and hot as before. With great suspicion, he looked all about the room and found what looked like a bell the size of a drum lying on his bed. If he tried to grab it, it would scutter one way or roll the other way out of his reach. Hailong marvelled and looked closely; the golden light shone brightly and had hot spots in the Five Colours on it, and each time it moved, it gave off a powerful fragrance.

Hailong thought, "These are definitely not chance occurrences," and deep in his heart he was delighted. Once steeped in hunger and cold, his body was no longer shivering, and he again fell asleep and slept late.

That night Bian and her son were so cold they could not sleep. They sat through the whole night shivering. When the sun rose, she emerged from her room and looked about. A thick blanket of snow had covered the house and a cold wind nipped at her face. She called for Hailong but received no answer. "He surely froze to death," she silently mused, as she shoved the snow aside, and stepped outside. Opening Hailong's door just a crack, she was taken aback to see Hailong stripped naked and sound asleep. As she tried waking him up, she looked all

around—the snow had completely covered everything in a blanket of white, and only the outer quarters, where Hailong was relegated, remained untouched by even a speck of snow! A powerful heat rose like smoke from his room.

Dumbfounded, she went in and told Xiaolong, “This is so very strange—come and see what he is doing!”

Hailong, roused from his sleep, entered Bian’s room, politely inquired after her health, and grabbed a broom. He had only started to sweep the snow out when suddenly a fierce gust of wind swept up all the snow within minutes. The wind dispelled, and Hailong speculated over the incident.

Bian considered it all the more outlandish and thought, “Hailong is clearly involved in black magic and tricking people. If I let this go on, a great calamity will befall me.” She tried to devise the best way to seize the chance to kill him. However, a clever plot to rid herself of him eluded her, until finally she hit on a scheme. She called Hailong to her, saying, “Since my husband passed on, you’ve seen how our family fortune has disappeared. Our family owns a farm in Jiuhudong,<sup>61</sup> but in recent years there have been so many mishaps because of tigers infesting the area and people getting injured, that the farm has been closed for decades. If you reclaim that land, I’ll marry you off. We too would be happy if we lived under your care, and I do worry that we may regret sending you to such a dangerous place.”

Hailong gladly accepted her proposal, quickly got the plow in order and made ready to leave. Bian pretended to dissuade him, but Hailong laughed, saying, “Life and death are already assigned in Heaven; how can a few beasts hurt me?” and departed with celerity.

Bian came to the gate and told him to hurry back. Hailong responded to her farewell and traveled to Jiuhudong. In a small field with dense vegetation surrounded by steep cliffs, he

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61. I chose to see *Kwuhwotwong* 구호동 as *Jiuhudong* 九虎洞.

grabbed hold of some vines<sup>62</sup> and entered. All he came across were the tracks of tigers, leopards, jackals, and wolves.<sup>63</sup> Any human traces were obscured.

Hailong, unconcerned, proceeded to take off his outer clothes. He rested for a moment. As the sun began to set behind the western mountains, he started to plow a few furrows. Suddenly a strong wind swooped by, kicking up sand. Over a hill a tigress with a white forehead sprang forth, her scarlet jaws agape. Hailong came to his senses and made ready to defend himself, but from the west yet another huge tiger roared like a thunderbolt and jumped forward—Hailong was surely in dire straits. All of a sudden from behind his back, Golden Bell rushed forth and took on the tigers one by one. The tigers bellowed and pounced upon Golden Bell. Golden Bell head-butted them as they came until the two fell to the ground headfirst. Hailong leapt in and killed the animals and then looked to see Golden Bell, rolling quick as lightning. Within half an hour she had plowed the spacious<sup>64</sup> field. Hailong considered Golden Bell strange but enchanting and thanked Golden Bell a thousand times. Dragging the dead tigers, he descended the mountain. When he turned around to look, Golden Bell was nowhere to be found.

Around the same time back at home, Bian was thinking she had sent Hailong to a certain death. She gladly assumed he had been killed and felt the happiest she'd ever been. Suddenly she heard a clamour and people chattering from outside. Bian dashed out and saw Hailong dragging in two enormous tigers. Absolutely shocked, she praised the fact that he'd safely returned, pretended to be happy that he'd caught the large tigers, and told him to get

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62. According to Pak, *tungna* 등나 is *tŭng namu* 藤나무 (wisteria vine). Chŏng & Yi call it *tŭngna* 藤蘿, "a general term for viny plants, such as ivy, arrowroot, etc." To Kwŏn & Ch'oe, it is *taengdaengi tŏnggul* 땀덩이덩굴 (*Cocculus trilobus*, related to the moonseed family, *Menispermum*).

63. Pak suggests that the ravenous beasts are tigers, panthers, wolves, and foxes.

64. *Nelun* 너른 (wide; spacious), yet the same field is called *cyekun* 적은 (small) above.

some rest right away. Hailong mentioned his unworthiness of such praise and went to his room where Golden Bell was already waiting for him.

That night, Bian, together with Xiaolong, dragged the dead tigers into the district office on the sly. Upon seeing this spectacle, the astounded Magistrate asked, "Where did you go to catch those two huge tigers?"

Bian replied, "We were fortunate enough to catch them in a tiger trap, and now we humbly present them to you."

The Magistrate praised them and rewarded them with ten *guan* in cash.<sup>65</sup> Bian accepted the reward and hurried back home, admonishing Xiaolong, "Not one word is to be said about this." As they hastened along, the darkened east grew darker. As soon as they came over a hilltop, a group of strong bandits approached them. Without so much as a "how do you do?" they bound Bian and her son to a treetop, robbed them of all their belongings and clothing, and left the area. Bian hung from the tree naked. Every method she used to escape came to no avail. It was Golden Bell who had magically tied them to the tree—how could they escape?

Then Hailong woke from his sleep, and came in to find that Bian and Xiaolong were missing. He looked all around and could not locate even the captured tigers. Greatly alarmed, he thoroughly checked every nook and cranny. Overhearing some passersby saying amongst themselves, "A bandit tied some people up in a tree and made a run for it," Hailong suspected something and quickly found Bian and her son, naked, hanging high up in a tree. He quickly climbed the tree and helped them down.

Golden Bell's supernatural powers knew no limits. If Hailong were hot, she'd cool him off; if he were cold, she'd make it warm for him. She lightened all his difficult tasks. Hailong set his heart on Golden Bell. Time passed, and one day Xiaolong idly ventured forth and

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65. One *guan* 貫 is a string of one thousand coins.

somehow murdered someone. He returned and told Bian, who was so surprised that she did not know what to do. A constable, large as a tiger, rushed over to haul Xiaolong off, but Bian hid Xiaolong and then dashed out. Pointing to Hailong, she declared, "You killed someone and are deliberately pretending to know nothing about it while trying to put the blame on a young child for it!" She began to strike Hailong, reviling him.

Hailong thought, "If I vindicate myself, Xiaolong will die. I could turn myself in to keep my honorary father's lineage from being discontinued forever—and I could never let that happen. On the one hand, it would be better that I die to pay back the great indebtedness I have to my parents for bringing me up, and yet even more so on the other hand, I should not disregard my master Zhang's dying words to look after Xiaolong." And so Hailong came forward and declared, "I am the murderer; Xiaolong is falsely accused."

Asking no more about the matter, the officer apprehended Hailong, led him to the courtyard of the magistrate's office, forced him to his knees, and demanded a confession. Hailong gladly admitted to the crime and a confession was drawn up. They locked him up in a cangue and lowered him into his cell. A golden luminescence seemed to safeguard Hailong's person as he went. The Magistrate regarded it as odd and sent a servant at night to the prison. Not much later, the servant returned and reported, "In most cells where there are criminals, it is too dark to see anything, but where Hailong rests there is something glowing as bright as a fire. I took a peek and Hailong, even though he is locked up in a cangue, is lying asleep under a silk blanket."

Hearing this and considering it highly unusual, the Magistrate looked deeply into the matter. The law of his district was to severely punish criminals guilty of murder once every fifth day and then shut them up again in their cells. In five days, all the criminals were brought

up, and punishment was meted out to each. It drew near to the time for Hailong's beating. Recently, in his old age, the Magistrate had gained a son, and this year his son turned three. He adored his son, who was like a treasured gem in his hands. This day, the Magistrate sat his child down before Hailong who was getting beaten. With each blow of the cudgel, the child cried his head off<sup>66</sup> and fainted. The Magistrate did not know why this was and became flustered. He ordered the bastinado be stopped, and the child went on playing as before. Terrified, the Magistrate had Hailong's cangue removed, held Hailong under light custody, and dared not strike him again.

Several months passed by, and all too soon it was winter. Even though Bian did not bring Hailong adequate morning and evening meals, he showed no signs of distress. One night, the Magistrate and his wife slept together with their son at their feet. The parents suddenly awoke—their child was nowhere to be found. The couple trembled and searched every quarter, but there were no traces. The Magistrate and his wife hurried about in a dither and shouted for him everywhere. All at once, the jailer rushed in and announced, "It is most unusual—it sounds as though there is a baby bawling in the prison."

The Magistrate stumbled and tumbled all over himself in his flight to the prison where he found the child seated before Hailong and crying. The Magistrate sprang forward, snatched the child up in his arms, and said on his way out, "That wizard Hailong is an atrocious fiend! Whip him to death—no questions asked!"

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66. Pak here says *kankanhi* 간간히 is *kan'gani* 간간이 (at intervals), but Kwŏn & Ch'oe say the former describes a child crying its head off.

The torturer, wielding a huge whip, flung it at Hailong with all his might, but before it hit him<sup>67</sup> the Magistrate's son fainted as before. The Magistrate's wife turned pale and related to her husband in the outer quarters what had happened. The Magistrate was surprised and told them to let Hailong down from the cangue. That night the child disappeared as before, and they ran straight to the prison. The child was having Hailong hold him and they were playfully teasing each other. The parents drew their son from prison, but soon after the child cried and begged to go back into the prison. No matter how much they coaxed him, he would cry and whine day and night. Able to bear it no longer, they had the maid put him on her back and carry him into the prison. Only then did he laugh and romp about, making Hailong pick him up. He did not leave Hailong alone for even a moment. The Magistrate inevitably found Hailong innocent and released him, telling him to take good care of the child. Hailong thanked the Magistrate, and from that day on Hailong lived in one of his outbuildings where the Magistrate showered him with clothing, food, and other niceties.

At this time, Bian wanted to find out whether Hailong had been put to death. To her chagrin, she learned the truth from a confiding local clerk. She consulted with Xiaolong, "Hailong has been set free, and if the governor-general finds out about our false accusation of murder, we will die." She continued, "We have no choice but to get rid of our future trouble."

She called on Hailong right away and told him, "I received word that your uncle's illness is so serious that I must visit him. Xiaolong will travel with me to my brother's home, so come home tonight, sleep, and go."

Hailong consented and slept alone in the outer quarters. In the late hours of the night, a fire suddenly broke out and he was encircled by flames. Jolted from sleep, Hailong quickly

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67. The original says *pwuhuyyethwo* 부회여토 for which I have found no translation. Yi writes *pwuhuythwo*, minus the *ye* (as do Sin Tongik and Kwŏn & Ch'oe), and says the meaning is "before it reaches the body." Pak translates it as *kkomchakto* 꿈작도 and Chŏng & Yi as *kkumchŏkto* 꿈쩍도 ([does not] budge).

came out to see the light from the flames reaching the sky and smoke and embers billowing toward heaven. An unanticipated wind aided the intensity of the flames reducing the home to ashes. Only the outer quarters were left untouched by the flames. Hailong looked toward heaven and sighed, "Heaven, how can you send a person down and weary his whole life so?" He went straight back into the room and wrote something on the wall, then continued out to Zhang Shen's grave, where he wept bitterly for a spell. Then he stood up straight and took to the road. Hailong did not know where he was headed, but he turned his wandering feet southward.

Around this time, thinking that Hailong had most likely died, Bian came back. To her dismay, she saw that Hailong's room had not burned and made out his writing on the wall, which read,

HEAVEN HAS SENT ME HERE, BUT MY FORTUNE HAS BEEN ILL-FATED.

I LOST MY PARENTS IN WAR, AND WANDERED ALONG A ROAD.

DESTINED TO COME TO THIS HOME, I WAS NURTURED FOR OVER TEN YEARS.

THE DEPTH OF LOVE AND AFFECTION, THE SADNESS OF DEATH.

I STROVE TO PAY BACK THE KINDNESS, BUT IT WENT UNNOTICED.

I WAS SENT FORTH TO DIE! ON TIGER MOUNTAIN<sup>68</sup> I TILLED THE DRY FIELDS AND

SURVIVED—WHEN I RETURNED HOME, YOU WERE UNHAPPY.

I WAS PUT IN PRISON FOR MURDER, AND STILL MY MISFORTUNE<sup>69</sup> REMAINS.

A FIRE AROSE TO ENGULF ME! LUCKILY, I AVOIDED THE CATASTROPHE.

I AM DISOWNED. TEARS STREAM DOWN BEFORE MY EYES.

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68. Only Pak mentions *hwosan* 호산 in his translation, which I assume is *hosan* 虎山 (Tiger Mountain; tiger-infested mountain).

69. For *oykhwoy* Pak puts *aekhoe* 厄會 (height of misfortune); all others say it is *aekhwa* 厄禍 (calamity, misfortune), except for Sin Tongik who mistranscribes it as *oehoe* 외회 and says it is unidentifiable.



I MEND MY FAULTS. YOU MAY NEVER SEE ME IN DAYS TO COME.

WHEN I THINK OF DAYS PAST, I WOULD NOT HAVE EXPECTED THIS PATH.

Upon reading all of it, she worried lest others discover it, so she erased the message.

Meanwhile, Hailong left Bian's home and headed south until he arrived at a place where an enormous mountain blocked his path. He could not find a way around, and as he thus vacillated Golden Bell rolled in and led the way ahead. He followed her over a ridge. Between steep cliffs, the green grass and rock became a bit easier underfoot. Hailong sat on a rock and as he was taking a rest, suddenly there was a thunderclap. In the ensuing tremor a strange beast with golden fur gaped open its vermilion mouth, bounded toward Hailong, and tried to bite him. Hailong rushed to avoid its attack, and Golden Bell quickly blocked the beast. The beast shook its body and turned into a thing with nine heads. It snatched up Golden Bell, swallowed her, and entered its lair.

Downcast, Hailong said, "Golden Bell is surely dead," and mourned, not knowing what to do.

Suddenly a mad whirlwind passed by and in the midst of a cloud a voice cried out, "Why do you idly wander so instead of rescuing Golden Bell?"

The cloud disappeared, and Hailong thought, "Heaven has given me instruction, yet I haven't even a small weapon on me. How can I fend for my life? But if it weren't for Golden Bell, how could I have survived?" He girded up his loins tightly<sup>70</sup> and rushed into the cave, but could discern no farther than a few inches in front of him. After several li, he still found no traces. But, exerting all the strength he had, he managed to crawl along until suddenly the

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70. From *cangswok ul tantanhi hokwo*, which means "dress tightly (in order to accomplish something), and ..."

ground and sky came into clear view. The sun and moon cast their bright light. He was thus enabled to examine his surroundings and make out some gold lettering on a stone monument:

PENGLAIDONG, MOUNT LANTIAN<sup>71</sup>

He came upon a stone bridge resembling a cloud, which spanned a towering waterfall. He crossed over the sacred waterfall and found a gate, widely opened, which led into the middle of Penglaidong. There he dimly saw a mother-of-pearl palace with its inner and outer walls. Looking closer, Hailong saw written above the gate, again in large gold letters:

JINXIAN PALACE<sup>72</sup>

Long ago, following the onset of time, the Golden Pig<sup>73</sup> appeared as the spirit of the sun and moon and attained enlightenment; its magic is endless. Hailong hesitated outside the gate and dared not go in. Suddenly, however, he spotted several women beyond the gate coming outside, so Hailong quickly hid himself in the fragrant grass. He watched as the women brought bloodstained clothes to the stream and washed them. They talked amongst themselves, "Our sovereign went out today because of sudden pain in its innards. The thing has been vomiting blood countless times and fainting. What with its supernatural powers and all, to get

71. None of the transcriptions provide any Chinese characters or explanations for *Pwongnoytwong*. In Chinese myths, Mount Penglai 蓬萊山 (Pongnaesan) is a place inhabited by immortals. The name is also used in Korea to describe the Kūmgang Mountains 金剛山 in summer. I use *dong* 洞 for *twong* 동. Mount Lantian is where Zhang and his wife originally meet Hailong.

72. Again, no transcription provides any characters or definitions for *Kumsyensyutwopwi* 금선수도뵈, transcribed as *Kūmsōnsudobu* 금선수도부 by Chōng & Yi, Ku, Pak, Sin Tongik, and Yi; *Kūmsōnsudobi* 금선수도비 by Kwōn & Ch'oe; and *Kūmsōnsubu* 금선수부 by Chang, Chōn, and Kim & Chōn. I am unsure whether this is a direct allusion to Princess Jinxian (Kūmsōn) or not, or to the Underwater Palace (*subu* 水府) that the premortal Hailong was unable to visit. A *syuto* 수도 (archaic spelling for *sudo* 隧道) is a cave, so with *pi* 碑, it could be Monument to Jinxian Cave. *Subu* is also 首府 (capital city), and *kumsyen* could refer to any number of *kūmsōns*, such as 金扇 (gilded fan), 錦扇 (silk fan), 金線 (golden thread), 琴線 (kōmun'go string), or 金船 (golden ship). Or it could be *Kūm sōnsubu* 金船首부, Golden Bow (of a ship). *Sudo* could also refer to a "capital city" (首都), or even a "beautiful city by a lake or river" (水都). Since the following sentence makes mention of the Golden Pig, the word may be a reference to the Pig or its residence.

73. *Kumcyey* 금계 (*kūmjō* 金猪, *kūmch'e* 金鼯) refers to the Golden Pig, a monster believed to live underground. The Golden Pig refers to the monster that has used its magic, including the power to transform itself, to capture Golden Bell.

this kind of disease ... it will be good if it feels better soon. Otherwise, if it takes a while to heal all will be horrible for us.”

One of the women said, “Her Highness the Princess dreamed last night that an ancient came down from heaven and said, ‘Tomorrow around noon, a most gifted lad will come in, capture the evil demon, and rescue you. You will be able to return to your homeland. This lad is the son of the Dragon King of the East Sea and has a destiny bound with yours. These experiences are also a part of your fate. By all means, do not resist the decree of Heaven,’ and asked her to not reveal this to anyone. But it’s already past one in the afternoon and no one has come, so the dream must have been false.” She let out a heavy sigh.

Upon hearing this, Hailong promptly shoved the weeds aside and quickly approached them. Startled, the women began to flee, but Hailong detained them, saying, “Don’t be frightened. I came here to find the evil demon—show me just where it is!”

The women stopped to listen. They remembered the Princess’s dream and marvelled. In tears they approached Hailong and declared, “Because of you we will live! Please make it possible for each of us to return home!” They then led Hailong inside the layered inner gates, where they heard the heinous groans of some beast coming from the beautiful interior of the palace.

Hailong quickly found the beast lying on a table convulsing. When this beast saw Hailong, it tried to get up but fell on its back again, its body writhing so much that it could not get anywhere. All the while it was continuously vomiting blood. Hailong wanted to slay it but he carried no weapon. Suddenly, a most lovely woman, her body delicately arrayed in a crimson skirt decorated with the seven treasures,<sup>74</sup> lifted a valuable sword from its place on the

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74. In Buddhist texts, the seven treasures are usually gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, agate, mother-of-pearl, and coral.

wall and handed it to Hailong. He quickly steadied his grip on the sword and pounced upon the monster's chest, repeatedly stabbing it until at last the beast went limp and died.

A closer inspection revealed the beast to be a golden-haired sow. Hailong tore open her chest whereupon Golden Bell came rolling out. Hailong was exceedingly glad and shouted, "Are you twenty<sup>75</sup> women tricking us? Will you be turning into monsters?"

All the women knelt down together and announced, "We are all humans, not monsters. We were mistakenly abducted by the monster to this place and endured its abuse as servants. The one who moments ago handed you the sword is none other than the present Emperor's only daughter, Princess Jinxian."

Before they could finish their explanation, the resplendent Princess came forth with traces of sorrow on her face and thanked Hailong, saying, "I am indeed the Princess. Six years ago I humbly escorted my mother the Empress in her garden to enjoy the moonlight when this monster snatched us away. The reason for my life being spared night and day is that until this very time my ladies-in-waiting have endured the abuse, and we have thus survived. By the grace of Heaven you took it upon yourself to come to our rescue. If we could but return to our homeland to meet our parents before we die, we would be perfectly gratified." She lifted her sleeve to hide her face and wept bitterly.

After hearing every particular, Hailong was filled with sadness and said, "I wish to accompany you out of here, but it will be difficult to traverse the rough terrain. Let me take leave of you for a short time to report to the local magistrate so that I may return to assist you in all stateliness. Please wait here a moment."

The Princess cried, saying, "But once you are gone, who knows what other mishap might befall us!" She implored Hailong to let them follow him.

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75. Here, the number of women is several dozen, but later it is specified as twenty.

Hailong comforted her saying, "That golden bell is made of the principles of heaven and earth, and so naturally her magical powers entrapped the monster. Your Highness's preservation was also brought about by this bell. No matter the difficulty, she will surely save you. So do not worry. I shall return momentarily," and he made his way quickly out of the cave and headed straight into the southern fortress. He found a crowd of people gathered at a main crossroad. They were reading a public notice, and Hailong plowed his way through to see the writing:

THE EMPEROR HAS CIRCULATED THE FOLLOWING THROUGHOUT THE LAND:

OUR ROYAL PERSON LACKED VIRTUE FOR WE PRODUCED NO CROWN PRINCE AT AN EARLY STAGE AND HAD ONLY ONE DAUGHTER. AROUND MIDNIGHT ON A CERTAIN DAY, SHE WAS ABDUCTED BY A MONSTER. IF THERE BE ANY MAN WHO FINDS HER AND PRESENTS HER TO US, WE SHALL SHARE HALF THE EMPIRE AND BE EQUAL IN RICHES AND HONOUR.

Once Hailong was finished reading, he took down the notice, much to the surprise of the government official in charge of the notice. The official grabbed hold of Hailong and demanded to know the meaning of this.

Hailong replied, "I cannot discuss this matter here." He brought the official before the superior officer and told him the entire story.

The magistrate was delighted beyond measure and had Hailong sit on the floor of the main hall. He congratulated Hailong, saying, "Such a thing has not come to pass for ages!" and had him report the long and short of it. Hailong then mustered up a dignified and capable crew and requested urgent leave. The magistrate and his crew at once ventured with Hailong toward Mt. Lantian.

When Hailong made the first trip, he did not pay close attention to details, and so on the return trip in the vast mountain he lost track of the way and they truly wandered about, until suddenly Golden Bell appeared before them and led the way. The magistrate marvelled at this and followed along into the cave.

From the time that the Princess had sent forth Hailong, she had offered up supplications to Heaven, and now here rolled Golden Bell and behind her a vast multitude of infantry and cavalry. The magistrate alit from his horse, approached the Princess, and inquired after her health. He had the ladies-in-waiting assist the Princess into a sedan chair and they set out. Once the troops had accompanied the twenty ladies-in-waiting along with the Princess out of the cave, Hailong set fire to Penglaidong and brought Golden Bell out. The landscape shook at the sound of their rejoicing. Once the magistrate had arranged for the Princess to stay in a special outlying building and had put Hailong up in an inn, he proceeded to report the circumstances to the imperial throne and then treated his distinguished guests to a feast beyond all measure. The Princess would not let Golden Bell out of her hand for even a moment. Day and night she held Golden Bell close and had her show the way up to the capital, with the twenty women in tow.

Even now, the Emperor and Empress still mourned the loss of their Princess day and night. Even though they lay under silk blankets in opulence, food and sleep were a tremendous burden. Happiness had fled from all they did, until at last they received word about the Princess. Nonetheless they were half in doubt at the news and unable to speak. At last they read the magistrate's report and were extremely overjoyed. The imperial court and all its officials came forth from the five palace gates and requested audience to offer their congratulations to the Emperor. Shouts of joy erupted both inside and outside the palace. Gladness shining from the imperial visage, the Emperor received each congratulatory visitor. Not only did the Emperor

have the Qingzhou<sup>76</sup> magistrate's report circulated, but he also sent forth three thousand ironclad cavalymen early in the morning with instructions to protect the Princess's procession. While he himself was thus preparing to go forth to welcome the procession in person, he quickly thought upon Zhang Hailong's meritorious deed, and with his imperial script made him general over the charioteers and asked him to accompany the Princess.

Still on the road, Hailong was honoured to accept the imperial decree delivered to him and bowed deeply four times facing north. He tied the hefty general's insignia to one side of his waist and took the lead of all local governors and officials. His stately decorum shone with divinity.

Day and night they doubled their pace until they arrived at the imperial capital. As the Emperor led his court outside the city to greet them, his people filled the streets shouting "Long live the Emperor!" They jumped for joy and danced while their happy voices resounded far and near. The procession entered the palace, and the Empress wept, embracing the Princess and holding her face. Teardrops also fell from the Emperor.

The Princess dried her tears and proceeded to explain in detail the entire story of her abduction by the monster and her sufferings. She also recounted her dream in which an ancient had appeared and told how Hailong was able to subdue the pig monster through Golden Bell's magic.

The Empress stroked Golden Bell and said, "Heaven has saved you through this creature."

The Emperor and Empress sat in their thrones in the Hall of Great Supremacy where were gathered all vassals in military and civil affairs and both sides of the imperial family. The

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76. No transcription gives Chinese characters for *chyengcyu* 청주. So I assigned it Qingzhou 青州, a city in Shandong Province 山東省.

Emperor summoned Zhang Hailong. Zhang Hailong entered bowing and expressing his gratitude countless times. The Emperor beheld his dignified countenance and gallant magnanimity—a truly exceptional man in his generation. His heart overjoyed, the Emperor took hold of his hand and said, “Lord, if we discuss your meritorious deed, the highest mountains seem low and the rivers and seas shallow. I do not know how to repay you for this.” He recited the Princess’s dream and desired to make Hailong his imperial son-in-law. The Emperor at once ordered the Ministry of Rites to select an auspicious date and instructed the Treasury, “Build a separate palace just outside of the Pure Flower Gate<sup>77</sup> and arrange a flower garden. Construct a passageway connecting it to this palace, so they may come and go as they please.” He then commanded the Ministry of Rites to prepare the wedding vestments.

The propitious day was upon them. Hailong in dignity received the Princess, and they turned to enter their palace. The bride and groom sat on their bed facing each other—truly they were a match made by Heaven! The Emperor along with the Empress arrived at the new palace. The Imperial Son-in-law and Princess traversed the long veranda to welcome them and together they returned with Hailong escorting the Emperor and the Princess escorting the Empress. The banquet was elegant; the ceremonial jade they wore chinkled. Their solemnity was majestic, their serenity gentle. The Princess solicited the Emperor to allow her to give each of the women abducted by the monster a thousand pieces of gold and then send them back to their own homes. The women all praised the virtues of the Princess.

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77. No transcription provides characters for *Chyenghwamwun* 청화문, so I have chosen Qinghuamen 清華門, which might be an anachronistic reference to Qing Hua Yuan 清華園, the royal flower gardens in Beijing.



Around this time, the northern barbarian<sup>78</sup> Ch'öndal<sup>79</sup> intended to restore the Yuan dynasty. He commanded a military force of one million soldiers and one thousand powerful men. Having made Hogak leader over the van and Söl Manch'öl their deliverer,<sup>80</sup> the army crossed the Yellow River<sup>81</sup> and approached the capital. In every village and district they passed through, the people abandoned all resistance and did what the enemy desired—thus within ten days the enemy had overtaken thirty-six checkpoint stations. They rushed in like a flood and overwhelmed the northern sector.

The Emperor caught word of the invasion and was greatly astonished. He consulted with his court, but not a single one could offer him any help, which sorely grieved him. Suddenly from the crowd of attendants, the Imperial Son-in-law Zhang Hailong stepped forward and said, “Your Majesty’s servant is but young and ungifted, yet if I might be allowed one

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78. *Pwuknwo* 북노, which is most likely *pungno* 北虜. Kwön & Ch'oe say this means *Hyungno* 匈奴 (Huns), while the version of *Golden Bell* that Chang, Chön, and Kim & Chön have based their transcriptions on actually says *Hyungno*; however, the time period of Hun activity in northern China, from about the third century BC to the first century AD, does not coincide with the fourteenth-century background of the story. Since the attempt is to restore the Yuan dynasty, the invading forces are most likely Mongol.

79. No transcription provides any further information on *Chyental* 천달. The *-tal* might be a reference to a Mongol or Tatar (often the names were used interchangeably in China and could denote any barbarian); the Sino-Korean word for Tatar is *Taltan* 韃靼 (*Dada* in pinyin). It is unclear whether the name is meant to refer to a historical figure. One candidate might be Usahar Khan (Togus Temür), who was the last Yuan sovereign known to reign (1378–87) after expulsion by the Ming; however, I have not been able to locate a reference saying he ever tried to restore the Yuan dynasty or the Mongol Empire, as Temür (Tamerlane, 1336–1405) made efforts to in Central Asia (see Beatrice Forbes Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*, 1–2). Although, the Mongols continued to pose a threat to Ming China, it was not until 1449 that they defeated the Ming armies in the Battle of Tumu, where they captured the Chinese emperor (see Moss Roberts’ afterword to Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 453). I have rendered all Northerners’ names as a single unit with no surname, even though Kim & Chön treat the first element as a surname. Exceptions are Söl Manch'öl and Söl Manch'un, whose names appear with and without the Söl.

80. It is unclear who Hwokak 호각 is. In the story, there is a later reference to the Hu 胡 (Ho in Korean), which is what in former times Chinese called non-Han nationalities who lived to the north or west, so I am uncertain whether it should be “Kak the Hu” instead of Hogak—the same with “Tal the Hu” (Hodal) who appears later. I am also unsure of the meaning of the phrase *Syelmanchyelnwo kwuungsolol sama*; most of the transcriptions say, *Söl Manch'öl[ch'un] ro kuingsa rül sama*, and only Kwön & Ch'oe provide any elucidation: “*kuingsa* is unidentifiable.” It is uncertain whether *Syelmanchyl* is a reference to Xue Wanche 薛萬徹 (Söl Manch'öl, d. 653), the Tang general who led forces against Koguryö, or names a Mongol man similar in aptitude to him. A few paragraphs below, a similarly unidentifiable “Söl Manch'un” appears, who must be a different character from Söl Manch'öl. Some transcriptions carry only the name Söl Manch'un throughout. *Kwuungso* may refer to one appointed to save or preserve one’s own people.

81. Kwön & Ch'oe believe that the writer confused this river with one farther north. However, if the army is heading toward Nanjing they would have most likely traversed the river.

company of soldiers, your servant shall sweep away the Northerners and pay back the smallest part of your royal favour.”

The Emperor silently deliberated over the matter for a long time and declared, “Our Royal Person is aware of your capabilities. Yet if I dispatch you to this perilous place, how could my heart be at ease and how would the Empress and Princess allow it?”

His son-in-law knelt and bowed before him, saying, “Your servant has heard it said that in time of national crisis one cannot care for one’s parents. Now that such a time has come upon us how can we trifle over worrying for our wives and children and err in the face of a national calamity?” Even now, Hailong’s dignity was magnified by great wisdom.

The Emperor could not impede the young man’s will and straightway conferred on him the titles General Who Guards the North and Commander of the Navy<sup>82</sup> and presented him with the glowing white lance and gilded axe<sup>83</sup> as well as the Imperial Sword, thus contributing to the might of his army. The General commanded all troops to retreat and then placed the officers and men in divisions. They marched forth in dignified order, chanting in solemnity.

The Empress received word of the goings-on and was greatly astonished. She rushed forth to reason with the General, but alas he was already departing. There was nothing she could do. She said, “Fulfill your meritorious service with haste, sing a triumphal song, and return—do not break my heart!”

The General comforted the Empress and Princess with good words of consolation and departed. As the Emperor, accompanied by his court, saw the army off in person, he took the

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82. Kwŏn & Ch’oe transcribe *syukwun* 尙軍 as *sukkun* 肅軍, suggesting that Hailong was in charge of restoring discipline to the army, which might make more sense than *sugun* 水軍 (navy), since the navy is not involved in this battle on land. *Cinpwuk cyangkwun* 鎭北將軍, transcribed as *chinbuk changgun* 鎭北將軍 (General Who Guards the North), is a title dating back to the Han dynasty.

83. For *poykmwohwangwel*, I have used Chŏng & Yi’s version, *paengmo hwangwŏl* 白矛黃鉞. Pak sees the *paengmo* as 白茅 (lance tied with a white sash), and Kwŏn & Ch’oe as 白旄 (white banner adorned with an oxtail).

General's hand in his, unwilling to let go of it. He implored him again and again. It was late in the day when the Emperor finally returned to the palace. As the General led forth his large army, their great banners, lances, and swords hid the sun and moon. In the midst of the earth-shaking drumbeat and war cries, the top general—a mere lad—wore the phoenix helmet and golden armour. In his right hand he wielded the Imperial Sword<sup>84</sup> and in his left he held the White Feather Fan. He rode astride a Dayuan<sup>85</sup> steed that could cover a thousand li in one day. He was like a god and his steed like a flying dragon; the momentum of their onward march could not be stayed.

Meanwhile, Hogak gathered his forces to Nanchang<sup>86</sup> and met the General's forces there. They fought each other beneath the mountain Huangling.<sup>87</sup> Hogak gathered up the five-coloured banner to beseech the assistance of the gods<sup>88</sup> and came to the front line. His waist was ten spans wide, and his face was like a wagon wheel. His blond hair covered a dark face. He grasped a long spear and came forward, with Söl Manch'un on his left and Hodal on his right—all of them were over nine feet tall,<sup>89</sup> and their faces hideous. From the Ming encampment came the sound of a cannon. The gate to the camp flew open, and there beneath the colourful gate banner stood one general. His face was like white jade, his back like a bear, his waist like a wolf. His majestic appearance was manly and wondrously dignified.

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84. The text says, *ssangkwokem* 쌍고검, which Kwŏn & Ch'oe transcribe as *sangbang kŏm* 尙方劍, which I translated as the Imperial Sword a few paragraphs above.

85. During the Han dynasty, the Dayuan 大宛 (also Dawan) kingdom was situated in the Ferghana Valley (present-day Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan) and was known for its excellent horses.

86. For Namchang 남창, I have used the pseudo-Chinese name Nanchang. There is a Nanchang 南昌 within Jiangxi 江西 province, which is much farther south.

87. This is a made-up name for Hwangnyeng 황녕, as in Huangling 黃嶺 (Yellow Peak).

88. Kwŏn & Ch'oe say that *wosoyksinwu* is *osaek sinu* 五色神佑, a five-coloured banner used to ask for divine assistance. Chŏng & Yi say it is *osaek sinu* 五色迅羽, a five-coloured hawk. They believe that the *sinu* may be referring to fast horses.

89. Nine *che* 尺 (ch'ŏk) would equal about nine feet and eight inches.

Hogak called out in a loud voice, “You baby smelling of your mother’s milk, ignorant of the time appointed by Heaven, come out like a fool to battle—are you ready to become a frightened ghost with one stroke of my blade?”

Infuriated by this, the General took a good look at his left and right before calling out, “Which of you will seize this bandit for me?”

Before he finished so saying, a lieutenant general stepped forward—it was none other than Liang Chun.<sup>90</sup> He brandished his sword and immediately charged toward Hogak. From the ranks of the Hu,<sup>91</sup> Söl Manch’un rode out, his spear forward, to protect Hogak and withstood him. After fifty or so parries with the sword, there was still no victory. Suddenly Söl Manch’un, feigning defeat, slipped away. Liang Chun followed quickly behind, shouting, “Do not flee! Taste my sword at once!”

Manch’un stealthily nocked an arrow on his bow, drew it back, and released it. Liang Chun, chasing him unawares, took the arrow smack-dab in his left shoulder and fell from his horse. From the ranks of the Ming, Zhang Wan<sup>92</sup> rushed out, rescued Liang Chun, and began to return. Söl Manch’un turned his horse around and gave chase. Enraged, Zhang Wan struck Söl Manch’un and they fought. After a dozen bouts, there was no victor, and Hodal rushed forth to aid Manch’un. Pursued on both sides, Zhang Wan fled.

The General ordered the gong sounded, his soldiers drawn back, and Liang Chun looked after. The following day Hogak came again and challenged the General to a decisive battle. This made the General’s blood boil. He charged out on his steed with his spear pointing directly at Hogak. A great fight ensued, and neither was victor even after a hundred or so jousts.

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90. For Yangchyun 양춘, I have assigned the surname Liang 梁 (as in Liang Feng 梁豐) and transcribed the name as Chun (pinyin for the three main *ch’un* characters: 春, 椿, and 璿).

91. I have chosen to see *hocin* 호진 as 胡陣 (Hu battle formation).

92. For Cyang Man 장만, I have chosen Zhang Wan 張萬.

In spirit both generals grew braver and braver—they knew not when to desist until the gong sounded from the Hu ranks and they drew back. Hogak returned to his camp and said to several lieutenant generals, “I had set at naught the Ming general’s youth, but now I realize his valour and strength are difficult to overcome. I will devise the perfect scheme to seize him,” and Hogak did not show his face for several days.

The General strongly urged the enemy to fight. Finally, Hogak threw open wide the gate to the camp and shouted, “Today, either you or I shall die!”

He wielded his spear and rushed forward. He reached the General and they fought. After about fifty jousts, suddenly Hogak turned his horse around and abandoned his ranks, fleeing into a ravine. The General set off on his steed in pursuit, thinking, “The enemy has set some trap, but how can that deter me?” He charged straight into the ravine between two steep mountains and as he was just about to overtake Hogak, Hogak disappeared in a crowd of scarecrows.

The General looked about suspiciously and turned his steed around. Suddenly at the sound of a cannon the mountaintops on either side caught fire. In the light of the flames rising high into the sky, the General realized that these straw effigies standing all about contained explosives such as gunpowder and saltpetre. The way out was shut, and the intensity of the all-consuming flames was spreading into the ravine. He could find no escape. The General looked skyward and cried out, “I set the enemy at naught—how could I have known that I would come here to die this day?”

He drew his sword and was about to slit his own throat when suddenly from the southwest a golden light approached with a clamour. Golden Bell came in, braving the bright

flames, and conjured up a cold wind in front of the General. The fire could not advance any closer to the General and withdrew itself to another spot.

The General looked upon Golden Bell and, overcome by joy, caressed her saying, "How will I ever repay you for all the many favours of saving my life?" He was profoundly happy.

Within a moment the leaping flames had all but vanished, and the General was overjoyed. He brought Golden Bell back to the camp. The officers and soldiers had been rushing about in a frenzy and were immeasurably surprised to see the General return. In high spirits, they caused the ground to shake with their sounds of rejoicing.

The General called forward several lieutenant generals, whispered something in their ears, and, after making an oath with them, secretly moved their encampment to another location.

Meanwhile, Hogak, having lured the General into the ravine and thinking him trapped, returned to his camp and told his generals, "Even though it is said that Zhang Hailong has the bravery to ascend into the skies or to journey deep into the earth, how could he possibly have escaped death today? This night we shall surely plunder the Ming army!"

That very night he gathered his forces and they sped surreptitiously to the Ming encampment, but there was not one person to be found. Hogak was greatly astonished and acted quickly to move his soldiers out, when suddenly, at the shot of a cannon, a general wielding a sword blocked the path and shouted, "Hogak, general of our enemy, do you know who this is?"

Caught in the rush, Hogak was taken by surprise. He cast his eyes about and saw it was none other than Zhang Hailong. Greatly astonished, Hogak went pale and could not even move his hands. With a swift swipe of the General's glowing blade, Hogak's head went tumbling

under hoof. Manch'öl, Hodal, and others witnessed Hogak's death (it nearly scared the life out of them), and they fled to their own encampment to find the Ming banner flying implanted right in the middle of it. Zhang Wan charged forward and thrust his spear through Hodal, killing him. Söl Manch'un faced southward and galloped away, but Liang Chun intercepted him, and killed him with a single thrust. The Ming army proceeded to crush the remaining forces and then returned. The General was greatly pleased and threw a huge feast. After he had rewarded the entire army, he sent news of the victory to the imperial court and it was published throughout the land the very same day. Each village bustled with activity as the people received the returning Ming army in honour and sent them forth again in like manner.

Ever since the Emperor sent his son-in-law to the battlefield, he was racked with worry night and day. Then he saw the news of Zhang Hailong's victory, was overcome with great joy, and received the congratulations of his court. The whole Empire shook with sounds of rejoicing. His Majesty dispatched messengers with urgent orders to comfort the General and lead the army safely home. Within a few days, the Emperor heard that the General was approaching. He led all the government officials forth to a pavilion ten li from the palace to greet the General. From far off the Emperor spotted him—the General's dignity and the orderliness of his ranks truly indicated that he had the makings of such a leader. The Emperor was overjoyed at this and turned to his court and said, "The young commander bears himself with the decorum of Zhou Yafu<sup>93</sup>—indeed he shall be the Beam and Pillar of the State, the Chief Support of Subjects. How can I but care for him?"

His court shouted hurrahs and the nation celebrated their securing such a great man of talent. All at once, the General arrived and paid his respects to the Emperor. His Majesty was

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93. Classical reference used to denote a great general. During the time of Emperor Jing 景帝 of the Han dynasty, Zhou Yafu 周亞夫 (?–143 BC) put down the Rebellion of Seven Kingdoms 吳楚七國亂 in 154 BC.

delighted and took the General's hand in his and placed his other hand on his back, saying "When I sent you to the battlefield, sleeping and eating were a burden for me night and day. Now that you have vanquished the foe, we can sing a triumphal song. My worries have been lightened. What more would Zhang Liang<sup>94</sup> or Kongming<sup>95</sup> have done? And with what may I repay your deed?"

The General prostrated himself and said in a loud voice, "It was not due to any of your humble servant's talents or skills, but rather Your Majesty's great blessings and the efforts of the other generals."

His Majesty considered him all the more worthy of praise, and took the General forthwith to the palace. He gathered all the attendants, discussed with them the General's meritorious deeds, and conferred on him the titles General Who Guards the North, Prime Minister, and Defender of the Empire.<sup>96</sup> The newly dubbed Prime Minister firmly declined to accept these titles, but the Emperor would not hear of it, so the Prime Minister could do nothing but express his gratitude. He returned to his home, entered the women's quarters, and presented himself to the Empress and the Princess. The Empress, though overjoyed to see him, said sadly, "Last night Golden Bell left this behind and disappeared. It is most unusual."

Astonished, the Prime Minister received the scroll she handed him and studied it. There was pictured a young child who had lost his parents in a war and who was sitting down crying. Below that the next scene depicted a soldier carrying the child on his shoulders and heading

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94. Zhang Liang 張良 (?–168 BC), noble descendant of the State of Han, rebelled against Qin rule to help establish the Han dynasty.

95. Kongming 孔明 is the style for Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181–234), who, orphaned at a young age, was chief military advisor for the Shu 蜀 kingdom, which he helped to set up after disintegration of the Han dynasty. He died in an attempt to reconquer land occupied by the Wei 魏. Zhuge Liang is featured in *Sanguozhi* 三國志 (Three Kingdoms).

96. "Prime Minister" and "Defender of the Empire" are my translations of *cwasungsyang* 좌승상 (*zuochengxiang* 左丞相) and *wikwukkwong* 위국공 (*weiguogong* 爲國公).



toward his home in a country village. Once the Prime Minister had looked it all over, he suddenly realized what it meant and with tears in his eyes thought of his own lot in life, "It is all sent by Heaven." He carefully safeguarded the scroll and was sorely grieved when he looked at it from time to time.

Meanwhile, not only Mo sorrowed day and night to have lost Golden Bell, but Magistrate Zhang and his wife also could not get over their grief. One time, as they conversed with each other late into the night, suddenly Golden Bell opened the door and came in. All of them, overcome with happiness, sprang toward her, embracing her in turn—one can scarcely fathom such a scene of immense joy.

That very night Mo and Zhang's wife both dreamed the same dream. An ancient descended from heaven and said, "Your misfortunes are now thoroughly over. Not long hence a son shall pass along this road—do not let the moment slip by." He continued, "When Mo sees the face of the young girl, she shall know her instinctively." And to Golden Bell he said, "You have fulfilled your destiny—your mortal reward shall be grand," and he ran his hand over Golden Bell. All of a sudden the bell burst and a wraithlike maiden appeared.

The ancient said, "Surrender to me the treasured gifts we gave you."

The maiden returned the five articles to the ancient who placed them in his sleeves and rose into the air.

The two women realized this was an extraordinary dream and quickly awoke. They searched for Golden Bell but could find her nowhere. All of a sudden they found a beautiful woman sitting beside them. They stood up to examine her more closely—it was truly the maiden they had seen in their dream. Her every aspect possessed heavenly light and captivated the mind of those who beheld her—indeed she was the fairest of the fair.

As soon as Mo laid eyes on her, she was spellbound and knew not what to do. She simply stared like a child at Golden Bell. Master Zhang received word of the goings-on, and as soon as he rushed in he beheld that which was never before heard of and that which was seen for the first time in all ages. In jubilation, he named her Golden Bell<sup>97</sup> the Young Lady and gave her the sobriquet Shanai, "Kind Loving."<sup>98</sup> He asked her about what she had gone through since they last saw her. He was unable to record all she said, but they thanked Heaven. Nothing could compare to their joy.

One day, Golden Bell implored her mother, "Let us go home."

Mo regarded it as odd, but immediately took Golden Bell home. Zhang's wife followed behind and did not leave Golden Bell's side for even a moment.

Meanwhile, the season's crops failed and people's hearts were filled with unrest. Bandits popped up here and there, slaying many villagers and pillaging their properties. The local authorities could not put a stop to it, which caused even the Emperor to worry. Prince<sup>99</sup> Hailong prostrated himself before him and implored, "Your Majesty's servant is ungifted, but I shall now go forth and put at ease the hearts of the people as well as alleviate Your Majesty's worries."

The Emperor was overjoyed and forthwith made him Chief Travelling Inspector of the Imperial Censorate,<sup>100</sup> and told him to depart that very week to placate every county and district. The Inspector thanked the Emperor for his graciousness and bowed in deference. Once he

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97. Or "Jinling" 金鈴. This is the same name she had as a bell, minus the "Miss" or "Young Lady" 小姐 title.

98. I have construed *Syenoy* as Shanai 善愛.

99. Kim & Chŏn say that *wiwang* 위왕 is *Wei wang* 魏王 (king of the Wei), but it appears to be another way of referring to the multi-titled Hailong.

100. My translation of *syunmwutwochaleso* (*xunfu ducha yushi* 巡撫都察御史). In Ming administration, a travelling inspector (*xunfu*) would oversee provincial administration and was sent out from the Censorate (*duchayuan* 都察院, formerly *yushitai* 御史台).

had withdrawn from the court, taken his leave of the Empress, and paid the Princess a farewell visit, he took to the road. He inspected every town and opened the granaries, providing aid to the starving people. With humaneness and justice, he admonished the bandits, meting out clear rewards and punishments. He investigated and set to rights every county and district he passed through, and the people willingly obeyed him. Within a few years, the hearts of the people had been pacified. The land was governed so well and citizens were so honest that even if someone dropped an article along the wayside, no one would steal it. Bandits disappeared from the mountains, and the people responded by singing the "Ground-thumping Song" to celebrate this time of peace and by naming the Inspector's secret acts of virtue.

After a few months, the Inspector and his men were passing through southern terrain when they came upon Zhang Shen's grave. As the Inspector thought about his past life, his mind was most sorrowful. He went before the grave, composed an encomium, and performed his ceremonial offerings. His collar was soaked with his tears.

He then called out to the Governor, "In memory of the benevolence I was brought up in, I wish to erect a monument and attractively arrange the burial grounds."

The Governor agreed and straightway summoned artisans. Within three days the grave was thoroughly tidied and the work was announced complete. Then Inspector Hailong attempted to find Xiaolong and his mother. At this time, Xiaolong was in destitute circumstances, roving from village to village begging for his food. The Inspector could not overcome his feeling of bleak sadness and so determined to search them out and have them brought before him. When Bian and her son approached him, they could not bring themselves to look up at him. Instead they prostrated themselves before him, asking punishment for their many crimes. Inspector Hailong himself dismounted, took hold of Bian and her son, and sat them upright,

comforting them. Mother and son were frightened and cautious. Unable to say a thing, all they could do was weep. The Inspector was not troubled in the least over past deeds and spoke to them in peace. Bian and her son were overcome with emotion and felt great remorse. The Inspector's request was approved, and Bian and her son were given ten thousand *guan* in cash and one hundred rolls of silk. The Inspector said, "This is not much, but it is to pay back your kindness in raising me for thirteen years. Live here in this land and come visit me once a year."

After the Inspector said his farewells, he took to the road. Xiaolong went to great lengths to see his older adopted brother off and became the richest man in the South. There was not a single person in his town or the neighbouring villages who did not hold him in high regard.

As the Inspector headed toward the capital, the road went through Leiyang District. When he stopped over in Leiyang and stayed the night at an inn, he spoke with the local official. Because of their similar natures, they found themselves in perfect accord and chatted late into the night. After the official left for the night, the Inspector, truly in anguish, could not sleep. He dozed off for a moment, and an ancient holding a stick began to teach the Inspector, saying, "As a young hero with extraordinary capabilities, your name is known throughout the world, and your grandeur makes the heavens and earth shake—yet, do you not think of your parents? Your parents were just here, right under your nose, and you did not recognize them, which shows a lack of devotion on your part. I am ashamed for you." Hearing this, Hailong tried to question him to find out more, but he suddenly awoke and discovered it was all a dream. He was in a quandary and could not sleep again. He betook himself to the local magistrate's home. The official received him in the front courtyard, and together they sat down in the hall set aside for official business. As they spoke, suddenly the Inspector saw a scroll hanging on the wall

just like the one in his own pocket. He looked it over carefully with great suspicion and asked, "What manner of painting is this on the scroll?"

The official said with deep remorse, "Finally in my old age I gained a son, and it has been eighteen years since he was lost in the war. I know not whether he is dead or alive. It weighed on my mind day and night until I met an extraordinary being who, knowing my heart and mind, painted this picture for me. I hung it up and look at it often."

The Inspector forthwith opened his silk pocket, drew out a scroll, and laid it out. The official looked it over and saw that the two scrolls appeared to be painted by the same person with the same brush. They deemed it odd that they could not detect even the slightest discrepancy between the two paintings and were unsure what to think, but since there was no conclusive evidence, they did not know what to say. Finally, the official asked the Inspector, "Where did your scroll come from? There is something quite strange about all of this—please do not hide the matter from me, but tell me every detail."

After the Inspector had told the whole of his story, he related in detail the part about his rising in the world, gaining fame, and entering into nobility through Golden Bell's supernatural powers as well as the circumstances surrounding the scroll which Golden Bell later gave to him before she left. As the official listened, he choked up and managed to say, "I too have something to say about Golden Bell," and continued, "This scroll too is something that Golden Bell dragged in. I had not seen her for several years until now. She returned, shed her covering, and is a rare beauty unmatched in all ages." He added, "My child has seven birthmarks on his back."<sup>101</sup>

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101. In the form of the Big Dipper.

Hearing this, the Inspector lost control and began to moan. Zhang's wife came rushing in and embraced the Inspector. The three of them joined together wailing. Everyone in the district heard the news, and who among them could not but marvel at it?

The Inspector finally dried his tears, knelt down, and besought them, "Because of my lack of devotion it took this long to meet my parents, and I would not regret to die ten thousand times for this crime. Heaven looked out for me and Golden Bell guided me to bring me to this very spot." Accordingly he related in detail everything that had happened to him. He said, "Now, it is said that Golden Bell has returned to her former state. I wish to see her if I may."

Master Zhang and his wife at last composed themselves and said, "Such happiness and joy, rarity and wonder have not been seen since the remotest antiquity. It is not an untoward thing that you wish to see her, but for propriety's sake the girl does not want you to see her."

The Inspector understood. He spent the rest of the night penning a letter and sent it to the capital. When the Emperor read the letter, he rejoiced, saying, "The Prince has traveled throughout all the land and has found his parents and Golden Bell, who is said to have returned to her former state, which is likely something that human power could not have wrought."

The Emperor went in to see the Empress, and both she and the Princess also rejoiced beyond measure. The Princess stated, "Golden Bell is sent from Heaven. If we do not now obey the will of Heaven and of the people, we shall be smitten with calamity for our ingratitude. Your Majesties, I humbly believe that insisting on Golden Bell's marriage to my husband is a suitable way to reward his meritorious service."

The Emperor deemed this as fitting and forthwith instructed several hundred palace women and eunuchs to prepare a magnificent procession, and he sent them forth. He made Golden Bell an adopted daughter of the Empress. With his own handwriting he composed

wrote up a document designating her as "Princess Golden Bell" and had it proclaimed all over that very day. He conferred on Mo the title Great Paragon of Utmost Filial Piety, and declared that Master Zhang and his wife, since they were faithful retainers of the Yuan dynasty, would not receive a government post in the Ming dynasty, and ordered the Prince to be diligent in carrying out his will.

The eunuchs led the procession with dignity and in just a few days' time arrived in Leiyang. After conveying the Emperor's wishes and reading his proclamation, they went straight to Mo's residence. Mo was greatly astonished and flustered. Golden Bell sensed what her mother was feeling and said, "When they come to our home, please have them sit in the main room and exercise exceptional caution. Do not pay heed to anyone's laughter."

Just as she finished speaking, the court ladies and ladies-in-waiting presented them with their name cards, after which they entered the home and inquired after their health. The women from the court then presented them with the imperial proclamations designating Golden Bell as Princess and Mo as Paragon of Piety. The new Princess arranged the incense table and received the proclamation. Afterward she prostrated herself four times toward the North. In pairs the palace ladies approached and bowed in turn. They delivered the Imperial injunction to quickly escort the Princess and Lady Mo to the palace. Lady Mo and her daughter knew they must not delay. When the two of them climbed into the golden palanquin reserved for daughters of the Emperor and set forth, it was impossible to describe the stateliness and glory of their passage.

Master Zhang and his wife also set forth, as did the Prince, and in a few days' time they entered the capital. The Prince and his father expressed their gratitude and Princess Golden Bell entered the inner courts and presented herself to the throne. The Emperor and Empress

brought in Princess Jinxian and as they showered Princess Golden Bell with praise, Jinxian with delight took Golden Bell's hand in hers. They favoured one another and felt as close as sisters. The Emperor instructed the Ministry of Rites to select an auspicious day and ordered the Treasury to prepare a feast. He went out of the palace to welcome the Imperial Son-in-law and receive the congratulatory visitors—such splendour was scarcely seen in any age.

Wearing the marriage robes, the Prince entered the inner courts. When he and Princess Golden Bell were finished with the ceremonial bowing, they returned to the main palace. The marriage fell on the very same day that Princess Jinxian was slated to go forth and greet her parents-in-law.<sup>102</sup> After the groom's parents presented Mo with the ceremonial blue and red silks, the two princesses went in together, received the customary formalities, and sat on their thrones. The eminence and charm in their countenances shone from their eyes and illuminated the entire assembled party. Master Zhang and his wife along with Mo felt a fullness of joy at the sight and rejoiced all through the day, and when the sun began to set behind the western mountains, the young attendants carried candles and led the Prince and Princess Golden Bell into their chamber. The two of them reminisced about past days and talked late into the night until they put out the light, and he led her by her beautiful hands to the bed—their affection for each other was immense as a mountain and vast as the sea and sank deep into their hearts, never to be forgotten.

Early the following morning, the princesses each went to their parents-in-law in bed and inquired after their health. Nothing could compare to the love and endearment the parents-in-law felt toward them. The princesses were both accorded their respective towers:

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102. Although Kwŏn & Ch'oe note that *chinyeng* 친영 (*ch'inyŏng* 親迎) refers to a groom paying respects to his parents-in-law, Chang notes that the word here refers to a ceremony in which a bride goes forth to greet her groom. Since this is the first time Princess Jinxian has met her parents-in-law—Master Zhang and his wife—I have interpreted *ch'inyŏng* as Jinxian's paying her respects to them.



Princess Jinxian lived in Yingyun Tower and Princess Golden Bell lived in Hujie Tower.<sup>103</sup> After the court ladies and ladies-in-waiting were divided and each assigned to one of the towers, they entertained the two princesses in the evening, and during the day waited upon and delighted their parents—even Lady Mo was with them and was carefully looked after.

As time sped by, Zhang and his wife as well as Lady Mo enjoyed good fortune and received a stipend until they passed away from natural causes. Nothing could compare to the intense ceremony of their children's grieving. As time wore on, Princess Jinxian gave birth to a boy and two girls, and Princess Golden Bell bore two boys and a girl. All of them resembled and took after both of their parents. Each boy was handsome and good-natured and each girl ladylike, beautiful, and gentle. The oldest son's name was Mengzhen,<sup>104</sup> borne by Princess Golden Bell, who was appointed as Head of the Government Officials. The second son, Menghuan, borne of Princess Jinxian, became Commander of the Imperial Cavalry. The third son Mengqi, Princess Golden Bell's child, worked as a scribe at the Academy of Imperial Decrees. The three girls were each betrothed to sons of well-known noble families and became virtuous wives to excellent husbands. With the entire family in a spirit of perfect harmony one with another, they lived in peace, free from all worries. The children each gave birth to sons and daughters, and these grandchildren prospered and amassed great fortune and honour—they lacked nothing.

What unfolds next will be told in another tale, but herein is the general summary recorded and the history revealed. Future generations—read it!

Translated from the Korean by Leif Olsen

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103. For Ungwunkak 응운각 (Ŭngun'gak) and Hwocyelkak 호절각 (Hojöl'gak), I have assigned the most common pinyinizations of each Korean syllable (such as *ying* for *ŭng*, *jie* for *chöl*, etc.).

104. Like the towers above, I have invented pinyinized names for the sons of Golden Bell and Jinxian.

## Appendix II

Transcription of *Kŭm pangul chyŏn tan*,

## British Library Copy A

/1a/<sup>1</sup>

- 1 금방울전 단
- 2 화설. 더원 지정 말의 장원이라 하는 지 벼슬이 한원의 닛더니 원
- 3 이 망하고 더명이 중흥하되 시절를 피하여 리(틱)안쥬 이릉산의 숨
- 4 어 스더니 일(일)<sup>2</sup>은 장공이 일몽을 어드미 남전산 신녕이 불너 니락

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1. From the 28-leaf wood-block print *Kŭm pangul chyŏn tan*, British Library Copy A, which appears in Kim, Skillend, and Bouchez, 4:35–48. Ch'oe Unsik judges this version to be the oldest. I have used Pak Yongsik's transcription of British Library Copy B as a general guide (and consulted a copy of the original) and have somewhat followed his word spacing, punctuation, and paragraphing. It is difficult to determine whether some of the *iung* ㅇ are *ngiung/ngi* ㅇ or not, so I have used the ㅇ throughout. See Ch'oe Unsik for a simplified comparison of copies A and B (273–5).

2. There is a squiggly line (*ori munja*) between the 일 and the 은 (in both British Library copies A and B) that functions as a ditto, to show that the preceding character is repeated. It appears consistently throughout the text (except twice, once at a column break and once at a page break). I have indicated the dittoed character with angle brackets {}. For an illegible character in copy A, I inserted the copy B character in square brackets []. For ambiguous characters, I placed the more likely alternative in parentheses ().



- 6 라. 비록 산협이느 민회 부요하고 인심이 순후하더라. 그 중의 모스
- 7 절스의하며<sup>4</sup> 살신성명하는 지 만하니 빅성들이 의지업는 스
- 8 립을 붓드리 구홀시 장공의 거지 단아하고 언시 온공함을 보고
- 9 익중하여 혹 집터도 빌니며 혹 농업을 분작하며 조식 닛는 조
- 10 는 닛토와 슈학하기를 원하니 일노 인하여 성게 유족하니 호칭
- 11 잔(산)인이라 하더라. 초설. 처시 스속 업스를 밋양 슬허하더니 일{일}
- 12 혼 일몽을 어드미 턴디 혼혹하며 구름 속으로서 청봉이 내려
- 13 와 현갑을<sup>5</sup> 벗고 변하여 선비 되어 압히 나아와 니로디, “조식의 급
- 14 혼 거슬 구하시니 은혜난망이라. 갑홀 베풀 이지 못하더니 오늘
- 15 옥데 조회를 베풀시고 텃상 텃하의 원굴혼 거슬 삶피실시 남히

### /2a/

- 1 봉왕의 필녀는 니(나)의 며느리라. 저의 신희하여 오다가 요귀에게 죽
- 2 고 원혼이 옥데기 발원하디 옥데 금광으로 하여곰 꽤히 보유크
- 3 하라 하실시 봉조도 인세의 너여 보너여 미진흔 인연을 다하라 하
- 4 시니 내 금강(광)에게 청하여 그디집의 정하였느니라.” 하고 간 디 업거
- 5 늘 썬여 부뷔 서로 몽스를 닛니 압히하더니 과연 그달 붓터 터기
- 6 이서 십숙이 초미 일기 옥동을 싣하니 얼굴이 남전[산]의서 보던

4. Copy B has *ipcyelsouyhomye* 입절스의하며. Throughout this transcription, I mainly make note of only major lexical differences.

5. Copy B has *ninkapul* 닛갑을.

- 7 선동 갖튼지라. 비록 강보익나 용피 용위호고 기질이 준일호니
- 8 널흙을 히룡이라 호고 즈쿨 응턴이라 하다. 호시다마는 고금상
- 9 시라. 이썸 텃지 슈명어턴(턴)호시나 히너 미정호여 혹칭위왕호고
- 10 혹칭조왕호여 남셔로 노략호니 일경이 진동호여 피란호는 지
- 11 무슈호지라. 장쳐시 이중의 섯겨 피란홀시 쥬병이 급호지라.
- 12 히룡을 서로 돌녀 업고 닷더니 괴력이 진호미 부인이 울며 왈, “이
- 13 으히를 보전호려 호면 우리 세히 다 죽을 거시니 상공은 우리 모즈
- 14 룰 잠간 버리고 피호엿다가 모즈의 히골이나 거두소서.” 호거늘 쳐시
- 15 참아 버리지 못호여 서로 붓들고 통곡호더니 도적이 점{점} 갖가

## /2b/

- 1 온지라. 쳐시 울며 “히룡을 버리고 가즈.” 호며 지촉호거늘 부인이
- 2 할<sup>6</sup> 일 업서 히룡을 길가의 안치고 달녀 왈, “우리 잠간 단녀을
- 3 거시미 이 실과를 먹고 안져스라.” 호니 히룡이 울며 한가지로 가지라
- 4 호거늘 쳐시 조흔 말노 달니고 부인을 지촉호여 다라닐시 거름마
- 5 다 도라보니 히룡이 부모를 부르며 슈히 오라 당부호는지라. 이썸
- 6 도적이 오다가 히룡을 보고 죽이려 호니 그 중 장삼이란 도적이 만(말)
- 7 녀 왈, “어린 으히 부모를 닐코 우는 거슬 무슨 일 죽이려 호뇨?” 호고
- 8 업고 오다가 싱각호되, “내 위세의 꺾박호여 군오의 물입호여스

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6. Ch'oe sees *hel* 헐 (274).

9 니 엇지 본심이리오. 또 이 아회 상을 본즉 귀히 될 괴상이라 이 썩(물)  
 10 타 다라나리라.” 하고 짐짓 완{완}히 가다가 강남 고군으로 다라나니라. 이  
 11 적의 처스 부뷔 잠간 피호엿다가 도뢰 요격호[물] 보고 산의 느려와  
 12 보니 희룡이 간 되 업는지라. 부인이 가슴을 두다려 왈, “아조 일홀  
 13 줄 아더면 무슴 표를 두어 츠줄 썩 보람이 될 거슬 창졸의 생각  
 14 지 못하엿스니 장성호여 츠즌들 엇지 알니오?” 처시 위로 왈, “희룡의  
 15 동의 붉은 스마피 칠성으로 응호여스니 엇지 몰나보리오?” 하며 두[루]

### /3a/

1 도라 찾더니 조장 위세기의 잡힌 비 되어 장하의 드러가니 이 처스  
 2 의 표일흔 괴상을 보고 앓겨 그 민 거슬 글너 장중의 을너 니히로 권  
 3 유호니 지괴 상합흔지라. 즉시 참모를 호이엿더니 참모의 힌(현/현)최  
 4 으로 연경 구(누)천니를 이(어)드니 일노 인호여 남서의 저근 성지를 갈  
 5 회여 한가히 쉬라 호니 처시 부인으로 더브러 뇌양현으로 가니 뇌  
 6 양현은 서촉지계니 산천이 험준호미 빅성이 병혁을 모로는  
 7 지라. 처시 도입흔 후 정시 공평호미 일경이 안업호고 낙초의  
 8 즐겨호는 소리 원근의 들니더라. 이썩 성남 조계촌의 김삼낭이  
 9 란 스릅이 호협방탕호여 가(기)쳐 믹(막)시 얼굴이 곱지 못하므로 조가  
 10 너즈를 취호여 도리(라)오지 아니코 그 짜 빅성이 되니 막시 조금도 설워  
 11 호는 일이 업고 노모를 봉양홀시 집이 빈한호므로 남의 고공이

- 12 되여 조석을 난화 먹더니 그 어미 죽으미 막시 쥬야 익통하고 장스  
 13 톨 극진 차려 선산의 안장흔 후 묘전의 초막 짓고 밤이면 슈직  
 14 햏여 십여 년을 한길(갈)갓치 햏니 천고의 효뵤만햏나 막시의게 밋  
 15 츠리 업더라. 일(일)은 초막의셔 막시 일뭇을 어드미 몸이 공중

/3b/

- 1 의 올라 표탕히 한 곳의 니르니 산천이 절승햏여 풍경이 소쇄  
 2 햏지라. 막시 브라본즉 빅발 노옹이 스방을 응햏여 안젧거늘  
 3 감히 나아가지 못햏고 주저홀 즈음의 동지 나와 널오더, “우리 스  
 4 뷔 옥데 명을 밧즈와 전햏려 햏시니 밧비 나아가 뵤오라.” 햏거늘,  
 5 막시 인햏여 나아가니 노인이 각{각} 방위를 응햏여 안젧다가 막시  
 6 더러 왈, “그더의 더절과 지효를 옥데 알으시고 극진이 표장햏라 햏  
 7 시의(뵤) 즈식을 점지햏려 햏더니 드르미 그더의 장뷔 난중의 죽엇다  
 8 햏는지라. 홀알업서 옥데의 어(이) 스연을 쥬햏즉 옥데 조홀 도리  
 9 로 점지햏라 햏시더니 남햏 농녀와 동햏 농지 조(초)년 원스햏여 기  
 10 기로<sup>7</sup> 옥데 탑하의 보슈햏를 발원햏 즉 옥데 우리로 햏여곰 섣쳐  
 11 햏여 보웅케 햏라 햏신고로 명을 밧드려 동햏 농즈는 맛춤 조흔 곳  
 12 이 {이}셔 구쳐햏여스되 농녀의 거쳐를 정치 못햏여 이제 다려와 그더을

7. Copy B has *woktyeykuy* 옥데기. At the break between lines 9 and 10, the ditto (*ori munja*) is not used for the second *ki* 기, which is not too unusual an occurrence at column breaks.

- 13 주느니 십륙년 후의 얼굴을 볼 거시니 이제 보았다가 후일 츠등<sup>8</sup>  
 14 업계 하라.” 하고 공중을 향하여 농녀를 부르니 {니}옥고 선네 느려와  
 15 [셔]거늘 막시 보니 민(만)고절염이라. 홍의선관이 묻저 니로더, “나는 츠

/4a/

- 1 지홀<sup>9</sup> 거시 업스니 널노 하여곰 춘하츄동을 넘의로 보너게 하리라.”  
 2 하고 스미 안호로서 오식 면जू를 너어 주며 “십륙년 후의 츠즐 씨 이  
 3 슬 거시미 도로 보너라.” 하고 또 청의선관이 [부]치를 주며 왈, “이 거  
 4 슬 가져스면 천니를 하로의 능히 갈 거시니 쓰고 즉시 전하라.” 하고  
 5 벽의선관이 홍선을 주며 왈, “벼람과 안기를 부리느니 찾는 씨의  
 6 전하라.” 하고 또 흑의선관이 우어 왈, “나는 줄 거시 업스미 힘을 빌  
 7 니노라.” 하고 거문기를 쥘거늘 선네 다 바다가지고 막시를 한 번 도라  
 8 보며 공중으로 가려 홀시 학의 우름소리 나며 황의선관이 내려  
 9 와 좌의 안즈며 왈, “막시 포장을 엇지 하며 농녀 보웅을 엇지 마련  
 10 하뇨?” 제선이 더왈, “여차{여차} 점지하엿노라.” 황의선관이 눈섭을  
 11 찡긔여 왈, “니러흔즉 널흙 업는 즈식이 될 거시니 효부의 바라  
 12 는 비 아니라. 여츠{여츠}하면 하늘 뜻을 세상이 알 거시오 모녀는 눈기  
 13 을 알니라.” 하니 모다 올라(타) 하고 각{각} 치운을 타고 훑터지거늘 막  
 14 시 아연히 도라셔{셔} 스면을 바라보미 신선의 즈최 운무의<sup>10</sup> 스라지고

8. Copy B has *uysimi* 의심이.

9. Copy B has *cyemcihol* 점지홀.



15 만장폭포의 흐르는 물소리 뿐이라. 무류히 도라올시 병의의

/4b/

- 1 실죽하여 씨다르니 남가일몽이라. 몽중스를 괴록하미 가부
- 2 의 죽은 출 알고 허위를 비설하고 슬허하물 마지 아니하더라. 막
- 3 시 일(일)은 일만 시름을 썩여 안젖더니 홀런 일진음풍이 {이}러
- 4 나며 초막 밧기 한 스름이 셋거늘 즈서히 본즉 이 곳 삼낭이라. 놀
- 5 나 무르되, “장뵈 나를 버리고 나간지 하마 슈십년이라. 간 곳을 몰[나]
- 6 의려하더니 신령이 이르기를 난중의 죽다 하미 몽스를 미들 거시
- 7 아니로더 녀{녀}히 드럿는고로 녁연을 비설하엿더니 의심컨더 스라
- 8 서로 보미나? 엇지 곱흔 밤의 거취 분명치 아니하뇨?” 삼낭이 목이 메
- 9 여 널오더, “과연 그더의 숙녀지의을<sup>11</sup> 모르고 탕즈의 마음을 것잡지
- 10 못하여 그릇 그더를 박더흔 죄로 텃앙을 버다 과연 난군 중의 죽
- 11 으미 후련의 가도 또한 죄인이라. 비록 씨다르나 가히 밋지 못홀 비
- 12 오. 귀신의 류의도 참예하여 셋기지 못하고 음풍이 단니더니 그더
- 13 나를 위하여 영향이 지극하니 엇지 붓그럽지 아니하리오? 비록 유
- 14 명이 현슈하나 그 감격하물 스테코져 하노라.” 하고 상시와 다름이
- 15 업시 슈작하다가 도라간 후 즈로 왕너하여 몽중의 친밀하미

10. Copy B has *wunwoyuy* 운외의.

11. Copy B has *syuknyecitekul* 숙녀지덕을.

## /5a/

- 1 잇스니<sup>12</sup> 막시 졸언(연) 복병이 {이}서 맞치 티샹의 으히 노듯혀여 점{점}
- 2 크게 지이거늘<sup>13</sup> 심히 고이 너겨 형혀 남이 알가 근심혀더니 십삭
- 3 의 맞쳐는 산점이 {이}서 초막의 업되엿더니 희복하고<sup>14</sup> 도라보니
- 4 아히는 아니오 금방울 갓튼 거시 금광이 찬난혀거늘 막시 더경
- 5 하여 고이 너기며 손으로 누르되 터지{지} 아니하고 돌노 썬쳐도 썬
- 6 여지{지} 아니혀거늘 이의 집어다가 먼나 브리고 돌쳐 보니 금방울
- 7 이 구을너 짜라오는지라. 더욱 의심하여 집어다가 김흔 물의
- 8 드리치고 도라오니 금방울이 물 우회 가비야히 썬단니다가 막
- 9 시의 가는 양을 보고 녀전히 구을너 짜라오는지라. 막시 헤아리되,
- 10 “나의 팔지 괴구하여 이 갓튼 괴물룰 맛나 타일의 일노 인하여 반
- 11 다시 큰 화근이 되리로다.” 하고 불짜힐 썬의 아궁과 두리켰더니
- 12 닷세 후의 헛쳐본즉 금방울이 썬여 나오되 상혀기는 식로이
- 13 더 빗치<sup>15</sup> 더욱 썬{썬}하고 향니 진동혀거늘 막시 흘 일 업서 두고
- 14 보니 밤이면 품 속의 드리 즈고 낮이면 구을너 다니며 혹 칩더 나
- 15 는 식도 잡고 남기 올나 과실도 짜 가지고 와 압히 노흐니 막시 즈세

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12. Copy B has *isteni* 잇더니.

13. Copy B has *pwulnewokenol* 불너오거늘 in place of *khukey ciikenol* 크게 지이거늘.

14. Copy B says *hoymanhokwo* 희만하고.

15. Copy B has *kumpischi* 금빗치 in place of *te pischi* 더 빗치.

## /5b/

- 1 히 본즉 속으로서 실갓튼 거시 온갓 거슬 못쳐오되 그 털이 [술]<sup>16</sup>
- 2 입이 {이}셔 무시외는 반{반}호고 뵈지 아니호거늘 치위를 당호여도 방
- 3 울이 구을너 품의 들면 조금도 칩지 아니호여 엄동 설한의 하
- 4 의셔<sup>17</sup> 남의 방하를 써여 주고 저녁의 초막으로 도라오니 방울이 구
- 5 을너 막으로서 니다라 반기는 듯 썩늘거늘 막시 치위를 견디지 못
- 6 호여 막 속으로 드러가니 그 속이 놀납게 더우며 방울이 빗칠 너여
- 7 밝기 낮갓거늘 막시 괴이 녀겨 남이 알가 저허호여 낮지면<sup>18</sup> 막 속
- 8 의 두고 밤이면 품 속의 품고 즈더니 방울이 점{점} 즈라미 산의 을(오르)
- 9 기를 평디갓치 다니며 존디와 마른디 업시 구을너 단니되 몸의
- 10 흙기 못지 아니호더라. 니럿툃 오러미 즈연히 스름이 아라 저마다
- 11 구경코져 호여 문이 메여 집어 보미 빗치 찬난호고 부드러운 향
- 12 니 응비호고 그 중 스나희들이 집어보려 호면 짜히 박혀 써러지{지}
- 13 아닐 썩 아니라 그 몸이 불쌍이 갓뜯여 손다힐 길히 업스미 더욱
- 14 신통이 녀기더라. 동니의 목손이란 스름이 가세 부요호되 무지호
- 15 욕심과 불측호 거동이 인뉴의 버셔난 놈이라. 막시의 방울롤 도

16. The text is a bit unclear here; several translations take this as *swol* 술.  
Copy B says *chwul* 출.

17. Copy B has *hantuysye* 한디셔.

18. Copy B has *nasimyen* 낮이면.

## /6a/

- 1 적혀려 하고 막시의 자는<sup>19</sup> 스이를 타 가마니 방울룰 도적하여 가
- 2 지고 집의 도라가 처주의게 자랑하며 감초왔더니 그날 밤의 난
- 3 더 업슨 불이 {이}러나 원집을 들넋는지라. 목손이 놀나 밋쳐 오슬
- 4 넘지 못하고 적신으로 썬여 니다라 보니 불꽃치 하늘의 다핫
- 5 고 바람은 화세를 돕는지라. 엇지 홀 길 업서 그런 지몰이며 세
- 6 간을 다 지를 민들미 목손의 부체 실성 통곡하며 그 중의도 그
- 7 방울룰 잊지 못하여 불뿔튼 터의 가 지를 혀(혜)치괴(고) 방울룰 찾지(더)
- 8 니 지 속으로서 방울이 썬여 니다라 목손의 처의 치마의 찢히거늘
- 9 거두쳐 가지고 왔더니 그날밤의 목손의 체 치우물 건되지 못하여
- 10 하게늘 목손 왈, “이갓튼 성열의 엇지 저리 치워하는다?” 기 체 왈,
- 11 “이 방울이 전의는 그리 덩더니 죽금은 차기 어름 갓터여 아무리 써
- 12 히려 하여 살혀 박힌 듯하여 찢러지(지) 아니한다.” 하게늘 목손이
- 13 다라드려 잡아 찢히려 혼죽 도루혀 덩기 불갓터여 손을 다히
- 14 지 못하는지라. 기 처를 꾸지져 왈, “살는 듯하게늘 엇지 츠다 하는
- 15 뇨?” 하고<sup>20</sup> 서로 닳토니 이 방울이 텃지 조화를 가졌는지라. 한 편은 츠

## /6b/

- 1 기 어름 갓고 한 편은 덩기 불 갓터여 변해 이러흔 줄 모로다가

19. Copy B has *eprun* 업는.

20. Pak Yongsik omits this *hokwo* 하고 in his transcription of Copy B.

- 2 그제야 씨다라 널오디, “우리 무상하여 하늘이 너신 거슬 모르고 도
- 3 적하여 왔더니 도로혀 변을 당하니 이제는 홀일 업스미 도로 막
- 4 시의게 가 비러 보리라.” 하고 초아의 막시 초막의 가니 이씨 막시 방
- 5 을룰 일코 울고 안졌더니 목손의 부체 와 업되여 이결하거늘
- 6 막시 급히 방울를 부르니 언미필의 방울이 구을너 방으로<sup>21</sup> 드러
- 7 오는지라. 목손의 처는 스레하되 목손은 오히려 원심을 품어 브로
- 8 고을노 드러가 지현고 금방울의 요괴로오를 고탈니 장공이 듯고 되
- 9 경터괴하여 즉시 나줄룰 보니여 방울룰 가져오라 하엿더니 하
- 10 [고]<sup>22</sup> 도라와 고탈되, “소인등이 방울룰 잡으려 혼즉 이리 밋근 저리
- 11 밋근하오니 소인등 지조로는 능히 잡지 못하깃느이다.” 장공이 더노(로)
- 12 하여 나줄룰 보니여 막시룰 잡으오니 그제야 방울이 구을너 나
- 13 오는지라.<sup>23</sup> 장공이 좌괴를 버리고 방울룰 보니 금광이 찬난하여
- 14 스름의게 쏘이는지라. 일변 고이히 녀기고 일변 신괴히 녀겨 나줄노
- 15 하여곰 첼퇴로 힘써 치라 하니 군시 힘을 다하여 치미 방울이

### /7a/

- 1 싸 속의 드렸다가 도로 썬여 나거늘 다시 둘 우회 노코 짝으니 도{도}라
- 2 저 크 점{점} 크기 길히 남은지라. 장공이 보검을 니여주며 왈, “이 보

21. Copy B has *makulwo* 막으로.

22. Copy B has *niukkwo* 니옥고.

23. Copy B has *stolawonuncila* 쓰라오는지라.

- 3 검은 턴하의 무쌍이라. 스름을 셔{셔} 버히되 피 날의 못지 아니호
- 4 [느]니 이 칼노 버히라.” 군시 칼롤 드러 한 번 치니 두 조각의 나며 서로
- 5 부딪이져 구을거늘 연호여 치니 치는 족{족} 갑절식 되어 썰의 가
- 6 득흔 거시 다 방울이라. 저마다 놀나고 장공이 즉시 기름을 가마
- 7 어(의) 끌이고 너호라 하니 제인이 청녕하고 기름을 끌이며 방울로
- 8 너호니 과연 츠{츠} 적어 가거늘 제인이 젓거호더니 점{점} 적어 더초
- 9 씨만흔 거시 기름 우호로 동{동} 씨다니다가 {가}라안거늘 건지려 호고
- 10 가마가의 나아가니 그리 끌턴 기름이 엉키여 쇠갓치 되엿는지라. 이
- 11 의 그더로 보(봉)흔 후의 막시를 하옥호라 호고 너당의 드러가니 부
- 12 인이 빗비 무려 같오디, “오늘 관경을 보전디 반다시 하늘이 너신
- 13 거시라. 인력으로 가히 업시치 못홀 거시미 막시를 드로 너여노코
- 14 나종을 보스이다.” 장공이 념소 왈, “요물이 비록 신통호나 엇지 저만
- 15 거슬 제어치 못호리오?” 부인이 지산 말니되 장공이 듯지 아니호고

### /7b/

- 1 츠아의 즈더니 방울이 가마의 드렸다가 야심흔 후 슈줄의 잠들
- 2 물 승시호여 가마를 쏘고 나와 구을너 벼로 너당 상방 아궁과 드
- 3 러가더니 {니}옥고 장공이 즈다가 크게 소리 지르고 내려나거늘 부인
- 4 이 놀나 붓들고 문 왈, “상공이 엇지 놀나시뇨?” 장공 왈, “누은 즈리
- 5 덩기 불 갓뜬여 더여버셔질 듯하다.” 하고 부인 즈리와 밧고와 누

- 6 엇더니 또흔 전과 갓치 더운지라. 일시도 견되지 못하여 외현으  
 7 로 나가니 방중이 맞치 불속의 듕 갓튼지라. 또흔 견되지 못하  
 8 여 밧그로 방황하다가 날이 식는지라. 조반을 올니거늘 먹으려  
 9 하되 음식이 다 더워 입의 더할 길히 업는지라. 아모리 찬 더 너  
 10 허 식여되(도)<sup>24</sup> 점{점} 더 {더}온지라. 종일 힐난하다가 또 석반을 더하  
 11 믫 그제는 덤지 아니하고 츠기 어름 갓튼지라. 인하여 조석을 켤하  
 12 고 또 그 밤을 즈려흔즉 어제와 덤기 갓튼지라. 이러하기를 삼  
 13 스일의 밋쳐 먹지 못하고 츠지 못하여 거의 죽게 되엇는지라. 분  
 14 명 방을 조웁 줄 알고 가마니 가마를 가 보니 가밧 뿌러지고 방을  
 15 이 업는지라. 즉시 스름으로 하여곰 옥 중의 가보라 하였더니 회보

## /8a/

- 1 하되, “막시 갓친 후로 그 방울이 옥문 밋츨 쏘고 출입하며  
 2 실과도 물고 드러가기로 문틈으로 드리미러 본즉 오식 차운이  
 3 옥 중을 돌너 그 속의 스름을 몰나 불너이다.” 하거늘 부인이  
 4 노흐를 권하니 장공이 췌닷고 즉시 막시를 노흐니 그날붓되(터) 침  
 5 식이 여전한지라. 장공이 막시의 효형을 듯고 크게 누웃쳐 초  
 6 막을 헐고 그 터의 크게 집을 지으며 정문을 세워 잡인을 금하  
 7 고 달마다 월음을 주야 일성을 평안케 하니라. 초설. 장공이

---

24. Ch'oe sees this as *sikatwoy* 식아되.

- 8 녀양의 온 후로 몸이 평안하냐 쥬야 희룡을 생각하고 부인으
- 9 로 더브러 슬허하더니 부인이 일노 인하여 침석의 위독하여 빅
- 10 약이 무효하되 공이 쥬야 병측을 썬나지 아니하더니 일{일}은 부
- 11 인이 공의 손을 잡고 눈물롤 흘녀 왈, “첩의 팔지 귀박하여 한
- 12 낮 죽식을 난중의 일코 지금 보전하든 요형 성전의 맛느불가
- 13 하엿더니 십여년 존망을 모로되 병입골슈하여 명이 오늘썬
- 14 이라. 구턴의 도라간들 엇지 눈을 감으리오? 바라건더 상공은 기리
- 15 보중하소서.” 하고 인하여 명이 진하니 공이 낮출 다히고 익통하이(여)

#### /8b/

- 1 조로 귀절하되 좌위 붓드러 구호하더니 밧그로서 방울이 구
- 2 울녀 부인 신체 압호로 드리가거늘 모다 보니 풀넙 갓튼 거슬
- 3 무러다가 노코 가는지라. 급히 집어보니 나모넙 갓튼 거시로더 가늘
- 4 게 써스되 보은최라 하엿거늘 공이 더회 왈, “이는 막시 보은흔 거
- 5 시로다.” 하고 그 풀롤 부인 입의 너흐니 식경 후의 부인이 몸을
- 6 운동하여 도라놓거늘 좌위 우릅을 그치고 슈족을 쥐무르니 그
- 7 제야 부인이 숨을 길게 쉬는지라. 공이 병을 무룬더 부인이 조고 나
- 8 되 정신이 썩{썩}하므로 더답하니 공이 더열하여 방울의 슈말롤
- 9 다하고 못너 깃거하더라. 기후로 부인의 병세 과연 경(평)복하니 부
- 10 인이 친히 막시의 집의 가 지성지은을 만{만}스레하고 밧즈 형제 되



- 11 밋 그 후로는 방울이 구을너 부인 압히 오거늘 공의 부체 스랑
- 12 히여 손의 낫치 아니하니 방울이 아는다시 이리 안기며 저리 품기어 영
- 13 민히미 스름 쫓더로 히는지라. 일흠을 금녕이라 히다. 금녕이 낮
- 14 이면 제 집의 갓다가 밤이면 드러와 품의 드러 즈니 정이 골육의
- 15 지나더니 일{일}은 금녕이 무어슬 무러 왔거늘 공의 부뷔 고이히 너

### /9a/

- 1 겨 집어보니 적은 족족 갓거늘 펴본즉 적은 아히 길가의 안저
- 2 우는디 스면의 도적이 쏘쳐오고 남여 낭인이 아히를 버리고 다라
- 3 나며 울고 도라보는 형상을 그렸고 쏘한 장췌 그 으히를 입(업)고 촌가
- 4 로 가는 형상을 그렸거늘 공이 눈물롤 흘너 왈, “이 그림이 분명
- 5 우리 희룡을 버리고 가던 형상이로다.” 부인이 쏘흔 울며 왈, “엇지
- 6 죽지 아닌 줄 아르시느니잇고?” 공 왈, “스름이 업고 촌 중으로 드러가
- 7 는 형상이라. 생각건디 아모나 길으려 히고 업어갈시 적실히거
- 8 니와, 금녕이 신통히여 우리 설위히는 줄 알고 죽지 아닌 줄만
- 9 알게 히고 그 잇는 곳은 가르치지 아니하니 촌역 텃원가 히노라.” 히
- 10 고 침상의 족족롤 걸고 보며 아니 슬허홀 썸 업더라. 그 후의 금
- 11 녕이 홀연 간 디 업거늘 막시 울며 너아의 드러와 금녕이 간디 업
- 12 스를 니르니 공의 부뷔 놀나며 슬허홀물 마지 아니히더라. 지설.
- 13 티조 고향데 히니롤 진정히미 치국지성군이라. 부세를 감히

14 며 형벌를 닛(낫)초니 빅성이 즐겨 격양가를 화답호는지라. 황

15 휘 늑기아 처음으로 공주를 탄싱호시니 식덕이 구비호여 만

/9b/

1 고무쌍이라. 점{점} 즈라 십 세의 밋쳐는 효형이 절눈호고 빅현<sup>25</sup>

2 요{요}호여 지피 겸비호지라. 상과 휘 장중 보옥갓치 익중호스

3 궁호를 금션 공췌라 하시다. 츠시는 춘 삼월 망간이라. 휘 공

4 쥬와 시녀를 다리시고 월식을 띄여 후원의 니르시니 빅해 만

5 발호고 월식이 만정호되 화향은 습의호고 숙조는 정명이

6 라. 옥슈를 잇글고 금연을 움겨 서원의 올라 두루 구경호더

7 니 홀연 서남 싸히로써 한제 거른 구름이 {이}러나며 광풍이 지나

8 는 곳의 고이호 거시 입을 버리고 다라들기(거)늘 모다 괴절호여

9 업더젓더니 {니}옥고 구름이 젓치며 텃지 명낭호지라. 겨우 정

10 신을 츠려 니러나 보니 공쥬와 시녀 들이 간 더 업거늘 더경호

11 여 두로 츠즈되 형영이<sup>26</sup> 업는지라. 급히 상괴 쥬호디 쌍이 더경

12 호스 즉시 어림군을 조발호스 궤중을 쏘고 어드되 종격이 업스

13 니 휘 통곡 왈, “툰디간의 이런 일이 어되 이스리오.” 호시고 절곡호

14 스 쥬야 익통호시니 상이 쏘호 망조호스 아모리 홀 줄 모로시며

15 방을 붓쳐 “만일 공쥬를 츠즈 드리면 텃하 반을 쥬리라.” 호시니

25. Copy B has *poykthoy* 빅티.

26. Copy B has *yenghyengi* 영형이.

## /10a/

- 1 라. 선시의 장삼이 히룡을 업고 다라나 여러날만의 고향의 도라
- 2 오니 그 처 변시 반겨 너다라 왈, “그더의 스싱을 몰나 쥬야 근심하더
- 3 니 간 밤의 꿈을 어드미 그더 농을 타고 드러오니 싱각혼죽 그더 불
- 4 흥흥가 하엿더니 오늘 스라서로 불 줄 엿지 아라스리오?” 하고 그 아
- 5 하를 가르쳐 왈, “저 아히는 어디서 어디 오뇨?” 장삼 왈, “여츠{여츠} 하엿
- 6 노라.” 변시 것츠로 깃거하나 삼중의 불열하여 하더라. 변시 늦도록
- 7 죽식이 엷다가 우연히 터기 이셔 으들룰 나흐미 장삼이 더회하여
- 8 닐흠을 소룡이라 하다. 칠세 되미 약간 지미 이스나 히룡의 반
- 9 악의 풍도와 어워친도량을 엿지 밋츠리요. 갓치 글룰 비호미 히
- 10 룡은 한 즈룰 비화 열 즈룰 통하여 일남첩다하여<sup>27</sup> 십세 안 문
- 11 장을 닐웠는지라. 장삼은 어진 스름이라 괴출의셔 더 스랑하되
- 12 변시는 미양 식기하여 소룡을 장삼 보는 더는 즈로 치니 장삼이 그
- 13 처의 어지{지} 못하[플] 틴(탄)하더라.<sup>28</sup> 히룡이 십삼세 되여는 영풍 준미
- 14 하미 터양이 그 빗출 일코 현{현}하 도량은 창히를 뒤치는<sup>29</sup> 듯 말고
- 15 빗늑며 눅고 췌혀나미 엿지 범아의게 비기리오. 변시 식기하미 날노

27. Copy B has *ilnamchyengkuyhoye* 일남청기하여.

28. Copy B has *hanhotela* 한하더라.

29. Copy B also has *twichinun* 뒤치는, but Pak Yongsik transcribed it as *phecinun* 퍼지는 (“Küm pangul chön,” 38).

## /10b/

- 1 더하여 빅가지로 모히하여 너치려 하되 장삼이 듯지 아니하고 더
- 2 옥 히룡을 스랑하여 일시도 써나지 못하게 하니 {니}러하므로 히
- 3 룡이 성명을 보전하나 공순하여 지성으로 섬기니 친척이 아
- 4 니 칭찬하리 업더라. 영웅이 써를 맛나지 못하면 몸이 문져 곤
- 5 흐른 천고 상식라. 장삼이 졸연 득병하여 빅악이 무효하니
- 6 히룡이 지성으로 구호하되 조금도 츠되 업서 날노 중흔지라. 장
- 7 삼이 스스로 이지 못할 줄 알고 히룡의 손을 잡고 낙누 왈, “내 명이
- 8 오날뿐이라. 엇지 너의 턴눈을 괴이리오. 내 너를 삼세의 난중의
- 9 어드믹 괴골이 비상하기로 내 너를 업고 도망하여 문호를 빗
- 10 널가 브라더니 불행하여 내 이제 죽으믹 황턴의 간들 엇지
- 11 눈을 감으리오? 변시 모지 어지{지} 못하믹 나의 죽은 후 반다시 너
- 12 료 히힐 거시니 보신지척은 다만 네게 이스니 조심하되 더장뷔
- 13 스소 혐의를 두지 아니하느니 소룡이 비록 불초하나 {나}의 골육
- 14 이라. 브라건디 거두어 버리지 말면 디하의 가도 여한이 업시리로
- 15 다.” 하고 변시 모즈를 불너 압히 안치고 갈오더, “내 죽은 후라도 히

## /11a/

- 1 룡을 각별 무이하여 소룡과 다르미 업게 하라. 이 으히 타일의
- 2 귀히 될 거시니 기리 영화를 두리라. 오늘 나의 유언을 저버리지

- 3 말나.” 하고 말룰 맞치며 죽으니 희룡이 의통하기를 마지 아니
- 4 희미 보는 스톱이 감탄치 아니라 업더라. 상네를 극진히 츠려 셴
- 5 산의 안장하고 도라오미 일신이 의향홀디 업서 쥬야 슬허하더
- 6 니 변시 장삼이 죽은 후로 희룡을 박디 터심하여 의복 음식을
- 7 썸의 주지 아니하고 낮이면 밧갈니기와 논미기와 소 먹이며 나무
- 8 희기를 한 썸도 놀니지 아니하고 쥬야로 붓치니 희룡이 더욱 공
- 9 근하여 희터히미<sup>30</sup> 업스미 즈연 용피 하(초)최하여<sup>31</sup> 귀한을 니기지 못하
- 10 더라. 츠시는 용동설한이라. 변시는 소룡으로 더브러 더운 방의
- 11 셔 츠며 희룡으로 하여곰 방아질하라 희미 희룡이 밤드도록 방
- 12 아를 썸트가 훗것 님은 아희 엇지 건디리오. 잠간 제 방의 드러가
- 13 쉬려 희미 설풍은 드리치고 덩흠 거시 업는지라. 곱송그려 업디
- 14 엇더니 잠을 썸여 보니 방안이 밝기 낮 갓고 덩기 여롬 갓터여 일신
- 15 의 썸이 나거늘 놀나 니러나 본즉 오히려 등(둥)방이 미기하고 벽설이

### /11b/

- 1 썸히 썸헛거늘 방아간의 나아가 보니 밤의 못다 썸엇던 거시 다 썸
- 2 여 그르시 담겨 노헛거늘 크게 고히 녀겨 도로 방으로 도라오니 여전히
- 3 밧고 더운지라. 크게 의심하여 두로 삶펴보니 침상의 복(복)만흔 방
- 4 올 갓튼 거시 노헛거늘 잡으려 하면 이리 다라나고 저리 구을너 잡

30. Copy B has *hwoyphihome* 회피히미.

31. Copy B has *chwayhoye* 채하여.

- 5 히지 아니하느니라. 놀나 즈서히 보니 금빛치 방중의 조요하고 오식
- 6 온점이 잇고 움작일 적마다 향취 웅(웅)비하느니라. 히룡이 생각
- 7 하되, “이거시 일정 무심치 아닌 일이로다.” 하고 심중의 암회하더
- 8 니 귀한의 골몰하다가 몸이 칩지 아니미 도로 잠을 드러 늦도록
- 9 즈더니 그 늘 변시 모지 치워 잠을 널우지 못하고 썰며 안즈다가 날
- 10 이 식거늘 나와 보니 적설이 집을 덮혔는디 한풍이 얼굴을 짝
- 11 는 듯한지라. 히룡을 부르되 대답이 업스미 일정 어러죽도다 하
- 12 고 눈을 허(혜)치고 나와 문틈으로 여어보니 히룡이 벌거벗고 잠을 드
- 13 렇거늘 놀나 씨오려 하다가 즈시 보니 텅상 텅하의 빅설이 가득
- 14 하되 오직 외현 집우회 일 겹 설이 업고 더운 기문(운)이 연기 갖치
- 15 내려나거늘 놀나 드러와 소룡더러 이 말롤 니르며 왈, “하 이상하니

### /12a/

- 1 하는 거동을 보즈.” 하더니, 히룡이 놀나 씨여 드러와 변시과 문후하
- 2 고 뷔를 잡아 눈을 쓸녀홀시 홀연 일진 광풍이 이러나 눈을 시각
- 3 의 다 쓰러버리고 바람이 것거늘, 히룡은 짐작하되 변시는 더욱 신
- 4 통이 너겨 생각하되, “히룡이 분명 요술롤 부려 스름을 속이
- 5 니 두엇다가는 더뫼 나리로다.” 하고 아모조록 죽일 의스를 너여
- 6 틈을 타되 히홀 묘책이 업서 하다가 일게를 생각하고 히룡을
- 7 불너 날오더, “가군이 도라가미 가산이 탕피하든 네 보는 비라. 우리

8 집 전장이 구호동의 잇더니 근너 호환이 즈로 이서 스름이 상혀  
 9 폐장이 되언지 핫마 슈십년이라. 그 싸홀 다 니르면 너를 장가도 드  
 10 릴거시오 우리도 다 네 덕의 조히 살면 깃불 거시로디, 의디의 보너며  
 11 흥혀 후회홀 일이 {이}슬가 호노라.” 히룡이 혼연히 허락호고 장기  
 12 룰 슈습혀여 가려 호거늘 변시 거죽 말니는 체 호니 히룡이 웃고 왈,  
 13 “인명이 지터호니 즘심이 엇지 히호리오?” 호고 표연히 갈 시 변시 문  
 14 맞고 나와 수히 오라 호는지라. 히룡이 웅디호고 구호동의 드러가  
 15 니 스면 절벽 스이의 적은 들이 잇고 초목이 무성호디 등나를 붓

/12b/

1 들고 드러가니 다만 호표식랑의 즈최뿐이오 인적은 묘연호지라.  
 2 히룡이 조금도 두려운 괴식이 업고 옷술 벗고 잠간 쉬더니 날이  
 3 서산의 지거늘 드러 밧출 두어 니랑을 니르더니 홀연 더풍이 일  
 4 며 모리 놀니더니 산상으로셔 니마 흰 갈범이 주홍 갓튼 입을 버  
 5 리고 다라들거늘 히룡이 정신을 정혀여 정히 히슈코져 호더  
 6 니 또 서편으로셔 디회 소리를 벽녁 갓치 지르고 다라드니 히룡  
 7 이 정히 급호더니 홀연 등 뒤호로서 금방울이 니다라 한 번식  
 8 브드니 그 범이 소리를 지르고 다라들거늘 방울이 나는다시 연호  
 9 여 바드니 두 범이 갓구러지는지라. 히룡이 다라드러 두 범을 죽이  
 10 고 본즉 방울이 번지 갓치 구을너 반 시 못혀여 그 너른 밧출 다 가

- 11 라(랏)거늘 희룡이 괴특히 녀겨 금녕의게 무슈히 스투히고 죽은
- 12 범을 낫글고 산의 내려오며 도라보니 금영이 간더 업는지라. [이]
- 13 썸 변시 희룡을 스디의 보니고 콰히 죽어시리라 하여 가장 깃거
- 14 하더니 문득 밧거(기) 들네며 스름이 지저괴거늘 변시 급히 나가 보
- 15 니 희룡이 큰 범 둘홀 잇글고 오는지라. 불승더경하여 무스히

### /13a/

- 1 다녀 오믈 칭찬하고 큰 범 잡으믈 깃거히는 체 하며 일즉 쉬라
- 2 하니 희룡이 불감하믈 칭하고 제 방으로 드러가니 방울이 모(몬)
- 3 저 왔더라. 초야의 변시 소룡으로 더부러 죽은 범을 가마니 쓰을고
- 4 관과의 드러가니 지현이 보고 더경 왈, “네 어딴 [가] 저런 큰 범을 잡
- 5 았다 하느냐?” 변시 더 왈, “맞춤 호뎃치 차이엿기로 잡아 밧치느이
- 6 다.” 지현이 칭찬하고 즉시 돈 십관을 상주니 변시 바다 가지고 밧비
- 7 오며 소룡을 당부하여 니런 말롤 말나 하고 썰니 오더니 동방
- 8 이 오히려 미기하엿는지라. 정히 고기를 넘어 오더니 한 썸 강적
- 9 이 니다라 시비곡직을 못지 아니하고 변시 모즈롤 동혀 남기 놓
- 10 히 달고 가진 것과 의복을 벗겨 가지고 다라나거늘 변시 밧거벗고
- 11 달니여 아모리 버셔나려흔들 금녕의 신통으로 먹여시킴 엿지 버
- 12 셔나리오. 초시 희룡이 잠을 씨어 드러와 보니 변시와 소룡이 업거늘
- 13 두루 샅피니 잡은 범도 업는지라. 이의 더경하여 두로 찾더니



14 왕너흔는 스람이 서로 말흔며 가되, “엇던 도적이 스름을 남게 띠고 [갓]  
15 더라.” 흐거늘 히룡이 의으흔여 밧비 가 보니 변시 모지 벌거벗고 남

/13b/

1 괴 뉘히 달너(넛)거늘 급히 올라가 업고 오니라. 금녕의 신통이 무량  
2 흐여 히룡이 더워흐면 서늘하게 하고 치워흐면 덥게 흐며 어려운  
3 일룰 업게 하니 히룡이 마음을 금녕의게 붓쳐 세월룰 보니  
4 더니 일{일}은 소룡이 나가 놀다가 살인하고 드러와 니르거늘 변시  
5 놀나 아모리 흘 줄룰 모로더니 범갓튼 관치 다라드려 소룡을  
6 잡아가려 흐는지라. 변시 소룡을 감초고 니다라 히룡을 가르쳐  
7 왈, “네 스름을 죽이고 짐짓 모로는 체 하고 어린 으희게 미루고치(저)흐  
8 는다?” 흐며 몸을 부딪이져 말(발)악흐거늘 히룡이 생각하되, “내 밧  
9 명곳 흐면 소룡이 죽을 거시니 저는 앓갑지 아니흐나 공의 후시 근(쓴)  
10 쳐질 거시미 내 참아 엇지흐리오? 츠라리 내 죽어 한나흔 그 양혹  
11 흐던 은혜룰 잡고 한나흔 장공이 넘종 유언을 저바리지 아니  
12 흐리라.” 하고 니다라 널오더, “살인흔 즈는 곳 내니 소룡은 의미하니  
13 라.” 하니 치시 다시 못지 아니하고 히룡을 잡아다가 관정의 쓸니  
14 고 다짐두라 하니 히룡이 혼넌히 다짐두거늘 문서룰 민드러 큰  
15 칼 메워 옥의 나리울시 히룡의 일신의 금광이 웅워흔여 가거늘

## /14a/

- 1 지현이 보고 {고}이히 녀겨 밤의 스름으로 하여곰 옥중의 가보라 하니
- 2 니옥고 도라와 보히되, “다른 죄인 잇는 더는 어두어 보지 못히되 히
- 3 룡이 닛는 더는 화광 갓튼 거시 빗최엇기로 즈시 본즉 히룡이 비록
- 4 칼흔 매여(엿)스나 비단 니불룰 덮고 누어 즈더이다.” 지현이 듯고 신괴
- 5 하[히] 녀겨 각별 삶피더니 이 고을 법은 살인 죄인을 오일 {일}치식 중
- 6 형을 하여 가도는 법이라. 오일만의 모든 죄인을 올녀 각(각) 중
- 7 형하고 히룡은 나중 치러 히더니 이찌 지현이 늦기야 일즈를
- 8 어더 금년이 삼세라. 장중 보옥 갓치 익중히더니 초일 지현이
- 9 으히를 압히 안치고 히룡을 치더니 형장이 내려지는 죽{죽} 그 아
- 10 히 간{간}히 울며 괴절흐는지라. 지현이 그 곡절룰 몰나 황{황}히
- 11 여 형장을 그만 굿치라 혼즉 그 으히 여전히 노는지라. 지현이 크게
- 12 겁히여 히룡의 칼룰 벗기고 험하게 가도와 감히 다시 치기(지) 못히
- 13 더니 {니}러구러 슈삭이 지나 겨울이 되엿는지라. 변시 조석을 변{변}아(이)
- 14 니우지 아니 하여도 히룡이 조금도 어려워 흐는 빗치 업더니 일{일}
- 15 은 지현이 부인으로 더부러 으히를 압히 누이고 즈다가 문득 씨여

## /14b/

- 1 본즉 으히 간 더 업는지라. 니외 진동히여 스면으로 츠즈되 중
- 2 적이 업거늘 지현과 부인이 창황망조히여 텃디룰 부르지

3 저 찾더니 문득 옥줄이 급히 드리와 고왈, “옥중의셔 으히 우름  
 4 소리 나니 가장 고이 하더이다.” 하거늘 지현이 전지도지히 옥중  
 5 의 가보니 으히 희룡의 압히 안져 울거늘 지현이 급히 다라드  
 6 러 으히를 안아오며 하는 말이: “요인 희룡이 극히 흉악하니 그  
 7 놈을 못지 말고 쳐 죽이라.” 하니 형줄이 큰 띠로 힘을 다하여 치  
 8 되 부회여토 아니하고 지현의 으들이 전갓치 괴절하는지라. 부  
 9 인이 실식하여 외현의 이더로 고향디 지현이 놀나 희룡을 나  
 10 리오라 하였더니 그날밤의 으히 또 간디 업거늘 바로 옥중의 가  
 11 보니 아히 또 희룡에게 안기여 희룡하며 놀거늘 다려왔더니, 초  
 12 후로부터 그 으히 울며 옥중으로 가즈 하미 아모리 달녀어도 쥬  
 13 야 울고 보치는지라. 견디지 못하여 시녀로 하여곰 업고 옥중으  
 14 로 가니 그제야 웃고 뛰놀며 희룡에게 안기여 일시도 썩나지 아니하  
 15 거늘 지현이 홀일 업서 희룡을 빙방하여 으히를 잘 보라 하니

/15a/

1 희룡이 스레하고 그날부터 별처의 거처홀시 의복과 음식 등  
 2 절로 극진히 공제하더라. 츠시 변시 희룡이 디살은 고스하고  
 3 도로혀 아중의 신임하단 말로 듯고 놀나 소룡으로 더브러 의논  
 4 하되, “희룡이 저릿듯 되여(옛)스니 만일 저의 익미히 디살흔 말로  
 5 터쉬 알면 우리 죽을 거시니 여츠{여츠}하여 후환을 업시할만

- 6 잣지 못하다.” 하고 즉시 희룡을 청하여 갈오더, “이제 외숙의 병
- 7 이 극중하다 기별이 왓스미 아니가지 못홀지라. 소룡으로 더브
- 8 러 가리니 오늘은 집의 와 즈고 가라.” 하거늘 희룡이 응낙하고 의(외)
- 9 현의셔 혼즈 {즈}더니 야삼흔 후 홀연 불이 내려나 스면을 들
- 10 녀는지라. 희룡이 즈다가 놀나 뛰어나와 보니 화광이 년턴하고
- 11 연염이 비공흔지라. 난더업슨 벅람이 화세를 도와 다 스회되
- 12 오직 외현은 불이 범치 아니 하여(엿)스미 희룡이 양턴 탄왈, “하늘
- 13 이 엿지 스름을 너시고 이더도록 곤케 하시난고?” 하고 즉시 드러가 벽
- 14 상의 글룰 쓰고 장삼의 분묘의 나아가 일장을 통곡하고 이의
- 15 몸을 썰쳐 길룰 나미 갈 벅를 아지 못하여 남을 향하여 정처

## /15b/

- 1 업시 가니라. 이짜 변시 희룡이 죽어시리라 하여 도라와 본즉 다
- 2 만 희룡이 낫던 방이 아니 타고 벽상의 글이 {이}셔 하여(엿)스되, “하늘
- 3 이 나를 너시미여 명되 기구하도다. 난중의 부모를 널흐미여
- 4 도로의 분쥬하도다. 이 집의 인연이 {이}스미여 십여년 야혹을
- 5 바다(닷)도다. 은혜와 정의 깃흐미여 유명이 슬푸도다. 은혜를 갑
- 6 고져 흐미여 몸을 도라보지 아니하도다. 죽을 곳의 보너미여 호산
- 7 의 빛출 갈고 스라 도라오미여 깃거 아니하는도다. 살육의 너흐미
- 8 여 나의 익회 진치 아니하도다. 불룰 노화 살오미여 다행히 먼

- 9 화하도록 다 니별을 당하(미)여 눈물이 압흔 셔는도다. 허물물
- 10 곳치미여 후일 다시 보기 어렵도다. 전일를 생각하미여 이 길
- 11 이 의외로다.” 하엿거늘 보기를 다한 후 남이 알기 넘너하여 그
- 12 글썩 업시하니라. 초설. 히룡이 변시집을 써나 남다히로 [가]
- 13 더니 한 곳의 다{다}라는 큰 뢰히 압길흔 막앗거늘 갈 길썩 못
- 14 초초 쥬저흔 즈음의 금녕이 구을너 길흔 인도하느니라. 짜라
- 15 여러 고기를 너머갈시 절벽 스이의 푸른 잔디와 암석이 저[기]

#### /16a/

- 1 편하거늘 히룡이 석상의 안저 쉬더니 문득 벽넱소리 진동하
- 2 며 한 고이흔 금터럭 도친 증상이 주홍 갓튼 입을 버리고 다라드
- 3 러 히룡을 물너 하거늘 히룡이 급히 피하려 하더니 금녕이 [너]
- 4 다라 막으니 그거시 몸을 흔드려 변하여 아홉 머리 가진 거시 되
- 5 여 금녕을 집어 삼키고 골노 드러가거늘 히룡이 낙담하여 왈,
- 6 “분명코 금녕이 죽도다.” 하고 탄식하여 아모리 홀 줄 모르더니
- 7 홀연 일진광풍이 지느며 구름 속의셔 크게 불너 왈, “그더 엇지 금
- 8 녕을 구치 아니하고 저리 방황하느다?” 하고 간 더 업거늘 히룡이
- 9 생각하되, “하늘이 가르치시니 몸의 촌철이 업스니 엇지 더적하
- 10 리오? 그러나 금녕 곳 아니면 내 엇지 스라스리오?” 하고 장속을 단{단}히
- 11 하고 뛰여 드러가니 지척을 분변치 못할너라. 슈리를 드러가되

- 12 종적이 업거늘 죽을 힘을 다하여 괴여 드러가니 홀연 텃지 명
- 13 낭하고 일월이 조요흔지라. 두로 삶펴본즉 돌비의 금조로 삭
- 14 여스되 “남전산 봉니동”이라 하였고 구름 갓튼 석교의 만장폭
- 15 띄 거룻흔지라. 다리를 지나 드러가니 아(이) 문을 크게 열고 동중의

### /16b/

- 1 주궁파궐과 녀성 외곽이 은(은)히 뵈거늘 즈서히 본즉 문 우회
- 2 금조로 크게 뵈시되 “금선수도뵈”라 하였더라. 원니 금제는 텃디 기
- 3 벽 후의 일월정괴로 삼겨 득도하여 신통이 무궁흔지라. 히
- 4 룡이 문 밖괴서 주저하여 감히 드러가지 못하더니 {니}옥고 안호
- 5 로서 여러 계집이 나오거늘 헝룡이 몸을 급히 방초가의 숨엇더
- 6 니 계집들이 피무든 옷슬 가지고 시너가의셔 썰며 서로 말하되,
- 7 “우리 왕이 오늘 나가시더니 홀연 속을 알아 피를 무슈히 토하
- 8 고 괴절하니, 그런 신통으로도 이갓튼 병을 어더시니 일즉 나으
- 9 면 조으려니와, 만일 오리 낫지 못하면 우리등의 괴로오미 되리
- 10 로다.” 하니 그 중의 한 녀지 같오더, “우리 공주 낭{낭}이 간 밤의 한 꿈
- 11 을 꾸니 하늘노서 선관이 내려와 널오더, ‘명일 오시의 일위 슈
- 12 지 드러와 악귀를 잡고 그더를 구하여 고국으로 도라가게 할 거
- 13 시니, 이 스롭은 동희 농왕의 으들노서 그더와 인연이 {이}스니 그더 이
- 14 리 뵈도 쏘흔 텃슈라. 부디 텃명을 어괴오지 말나’ 하더라 하고 당

15 부호시되 ‘누설치 말나’ 호시더니 오시가 지났스되 소식이 [업]스니 [쑈]

**/17a/**

- 1 이 허신가 호노라.” 하며 슬피 탄식호거늘 히룡이 {이} 말로 듯고 즉시
- 2 풀로 헤치고 니다르니 그 계집들이 놀나 다라나려 호거늘 히룡
- 3 이 말뉴 왈, “그대는 놀나지 말나. 내 악귀를 좇으 여귀 드러왔시나
- 4 그 잇는 곳을 좇서히 가르치라.” 그 계집들이 {이} 말로 듯고 몽스를
- 5 생각호미 신기호지라. 나아가 울며 고왈, “그대 덕분에 우리등
- 6 이 스라 각{각} 고향으로 도라가게 호소서.” 호고 히룡을 인도호여 들
- 7 어가니 중문은 첩{첩}호고 전각은 의{의}호 곳의 흥악이 신음호
- 8 여 알는 소리 들니는지라. 히룡이 뛰여 올라가 보니 그 즘성이 상
- 9 우회 누어 알타가 스름을 보고 넓터나려 호다가 도로 잣바지며
- 10 일신을 뒤트려 움작이지 못하고 입으로 피를 무슈히 토호는
- 11 지라. 히룡이 하슈코져 호니 손의 촌철이 엮더니 홀연 일위 미
- 12 인이 칠보홍군으로 몸을 가비야히 거러 벽상의 걸닌 보검을
- 13 갖다가 히룡을 주거늘 히룡이 급히 칼로 들고 다라드러 요괴
- 14 의 가슴을 무슈히 지르니 그 즘성이 그제야 죽어 느러지는지라. 자
- 15 서히 보니 금터럭 도친 암뎃치여늘 가슴을 헤치고 본즉 금병이

## /17b/

- 1 구을너 나오미 히룡이 크게 반기며 소리질너 왓, “너희 슈십인
- 2 계집이 다 요괴로 변화하여 스름을 속이미 아니냐?” 모든 녀즈들
- 3 이 일시의 꾸러 고왓, “우리등은 다 요괴 아니오 스름이라. 그릇 요괴
- 4 의게 잡히여 와육을 참고 스환히더니이다. 앓가 칼 갖다가 쥬
- 5 더니는 다른 스름이 아니라 금턴즈의 독녀 금선 공쥬라.” 히더니
- 6 언미필의 일위 공쥬 슈식을 뿌여 나아와 스레 왓, “나는 과연 공
- 7 쥬러니 늑년 전의 모후 낭{낭}을 피서 후원의셔 완월히다가 이
- 8 요괴의게 잡혀 와 지금 죽지 못히른 시녀등의 쥬야로 직[훤] [연]
- 9 고로 육을 참고 스랏더니 텃헝으로 그더의 구히물 입어 고국의
- 10 도라가 부모를 만나보고 죽으니 다시 한이 업슬가 히노라.” 히며 스
- 11 므로 낫출 가리고 통곡히거늘 히룡이 즈초지종을 듯고 슬푸
- 12 미 교집히여 갈오더, “이제 옥쥬를 피시고 나가고 시브되 길히 험
- 13 악히여 발섭히시기 어려울 거시니, 내 잠간 나가 본현의 고흐고
- 14 위의를 갓초와 올 거시미 잠간 기다리소서.” 공쥬 울며 왓, “그더
- 15 나간 후 쏘 무슴 변이 {이}슬 줄 어이 알니오?” 히며 짜라가기를 익걸

## /18a/

- 1 히거늘 히룡이 위로 왓, “저 금방울이 텃디조화로 된 거시미 [신]
- 2 통이 가히 업서 요괴를 잡고 공쥬를 구함도 이 방울의 [조혜]



- 3 라. 아모리 어려운 일이 {이}셔도 가히 구히리니 녀녀 마르시고 잠간
- 4 기다리소서.” 하고 즉시 골밭과 나와 바로 남성으로 드러가더니 삼(십)
- 5 즈거리의셔 스롭들이 만히 모다 무슨 방을 보거늘 히룡이 헤
- 6 치고 드러가 보니 방문의 히여[엿]시되, “황태는 텃하의 반포히느니
- 7 짐이 무덕히여 일즉 티지 업고 다만 일녀를 두엇더니 모일
- 8 모야의 요괴의게 잡혀갔스니 만일 촌촌 밋치는 지 이스면 강산을
- 9 난화 부귀를 혼가지로 히리라.” 히엿거늘 히룡이 보기를 다흔
- 10 휴 즉시 방문을 싸히니 직힌 관원이 놀나 히룡을 잡아 썬히
- 11 는 곡절을 못거늘 히룡 왈, “이곳은 말 못할 곳이라.” 하고 관원
- 12 을 다리고 상관의 드러가 그 스연을 고흔더 그 관원이 더회히여
- 13 히룡을 청상의 안치고 하례 왈, “이는 천고 업는 일이로다.” 하니
- 14 히룡이 전후 슈말를 다 고하고 위의를 갓초와 밋비가물 청히
- 15 니 즉시 즉시 히룡과 남전산을 바라고 가니라.” 히룡이 올 썬 무심

### /18b/

- 1 히 왔더니 만첩산중의 드러갈 길홀 닐코 정히 방황히더
- 2 니 홀연 금녕이 압셔 길을 인도히거늘 즉시 신기히 녀기며 금
- 3 녀를 싸라 굴노 드러가니라. 이썬 공췌 히룡을 보닌 후료 하눌
- 4 과 축슈히더니 방울이 구을너 오며 그 뒤히 천병만민 드러올시
- 5 즉시 말과 나려 드러와 공췌과 문후하고 시녀로 히여곰 공췌를 뵈

- 6 서 교즈의 올녀 나을시 슈십 녀즈들도 쏘흔 공쥬를 피서 나온
- 7 후 히룡이 동중의 불불 지르고 금녕을 다리고 굴 밧기 나오니
- 8 모다 즐기는 소리 산천을 움작이더라. 즈시 공쥬를 별당의 머
- 9 브리고 히룡은 직스의 정돈흔 후 일변 이 스연으로 텃즈기 쥬문
- 10 하며 스쳐 공괘지절이 니로 측낭업는지라. 공쥬 금방울를 일
- 11 시도 손의 늦치 아니하여 쥬야로 안고 길를 지촉하여 경성으로
- 12 올나을시 이십 녀즈들도 짜라오더라. 이썸 상과 휘 공쥬를 일
- 13 코 쥬야 슬허하스 침식의 번쳐하스 금(금)의 싹혀 만스의 경황이
- 14 업서 하시다가 이 괴별를 드르시고 도로혀<sup>32</sup> 반신반의하스 말로
- 15 능히 못하시다가 즈스의 쥬문을 보시고 환턴희디하실시 만조

/19a/

- 1 빅관이 오문 밧기 와 진하를 청하니 궁녀 궁외의 환성이 물
- 2 쓸툏 하는지라. 상이 진하를 바드시고 텃안의 희식이 가득하스 일
- 3 변 청쥬즈스의 쥬문을 반포하시고 일변 철기 삼천을 조발하
- 4 여 공쥬 형츠를 보호하라 하시며 친형 영접하려 하실시 장
- 5 히룡의 공노를 일시 밧부스 이의 어필노매 거괴장군을 하이스 공
- 6 쥬를 비형하라 하시니 히룡이 노상의서 조셔를 밧드러 북향
- 7 스비하고 말만흔 더 장인을 허리 아리 빗기 츠고 각읍 슈령 등을

32. Copy B omits *twolwohye* 도로혀.

- 8 거느려 행하니 그 위의 범절이 빛나고 거룩하더라. 주야 비도하여
- 9 황성의 니르니 상이 만조를 거느리스 성외의 나아가샤 마즈 들
- 10 어가실시 빅성들이 길히 가득하여 만세를 부르며 용악무
- 11 도하여 환성이 원근의 등턴[하]더라. 비로 더전의 드르시니 황휘
- 12 공주를 안고 낫출 다쳐 통곡하시며 상이 또흔 누슈를 나리오
- 13 시미 공쥬 올기를 굿치고 요괴의게 잡혀가 고행 격던 스연이며
- 14 몽중의 선관이 니르던 설화와 금녕의 신통으로 히룡이 요괴
- 15 잡던 슈말를 낫{낫}치 고향디 황휘 금녕을 어로만져 왓, “하늘이

#### /19b/

- 1 일노써 너를 구하시미로다.” 하시고 황극전의 전좌하스 문무 신
- 2 뇨와 종친 외척을 다 모호시고 장히룡을 명초하시니 히룡이
- 3 드러와 빅비스은흔디 상이 보시미 용되 당{당}하고 괴위 늑{늑}하여
- 4 일세 괴남지라. 성심의 더열하스 그 손을 잡으시고 같으스디, “경
- 5 의 더공을 의논홀진디 티산이 낫고 하히 엇튼지라. 그 갑홀 바
- 6 를 아지 못하노라.” 하시고 또 공쥬의 몽스를 니르시며 부마를 삼으
- 7 [려] 하실시 빗비 네부를 명하스 퍽일하라 하시고 호부의 하교하
- 8 스, “[청]화문 빗기 별궁을 짓고 화원을 버려 더니로 통노하여 출
- 9 입게 하라.” 하시고 네부로 하여곰 혼구를 갓초와 길일를 당하
- 10 디 히룡이 위의를 갓초와 공쥬를 마즈 궁으로 도라오니 신낭 신뵈

- 11 상의 더좌하미 진짓 텃싱비필이라. 상이 황후로 더브러 궁으로 오
- 12 시니 부마와 공쥬 당의 내려 마즈 당의 오르실시 부마는 텃즈를 뵈
- 13 시고 공쥬는 황후를 뵈셔스미 향연은 요{요}하고 띄옥은 정{정}하
- 14 여 위의 엄연하고 화귀 익연하더라. 공쥬 상귀 청하여 요괴의게
- 15 잡히엿던 녀즈등을 각{각} 천금을 주어 제 집으로 도라보네게 하

### /20a/

- 1 시니 모다 공쥬의 덕을 닐갓더라. 촌설. 이씨의 북노 천달이 더
- 2 원을 회복고져 하여 더병 빅만과 [장]스 천인을 거느려 호각으
- 3 로 선봉을 삼고 설만철노 구웅스를 삼아 황하를 건너 니르기
- 4 소과 군현이 망풍귀순 하여 순일 너의 삼십 녹관을 엇고 물
- 5 미듯 드러오니 북방이 진동하느니라. 상이 {이} 괴별를 드르시고 더
- 6 경하스 만조를 모화 의논하실시 일인도 더답하느 지 업거늘 상
- 7 이 탄식하시더니 문득 부마도위 장희룡이 출반쥬왈, “신이 년소
- 8 무직하오나 일지병을 빌니시면 북노를 쓰러바려 성은을 만분
- 9 지일이나 갑홀가 하나이다.” 상이 침음 냥구의 같으스디, “짐이 경의
- 10 지조를 알거니와 흉디의 보너고 짐의 마음이 엇지 편하여 황후
- 11 냥{냥}이 즐겨 허하시리오?” 부마 부복 쥬왈, “신은 듯스오니 국[난]의 불
- 12 고 부피라 하오니 {니}런 씨를 당하여 구{구}히 엇지 처소를 폐렴하
- 13 여 국가 더스를 그릇하리잇고?” 하며 언파의 괴위 정{정}하거늘 상이 그

14 뜻을 막지 못흐스 즉시 부마를 비히여 진북장군 슈군도독을 흐

15 이시고 빅모황월과 상방검을 주스 군위를 돕게 하시니 원슈 슈

**/20b/**

1 명하고 물너와 장졸를 분비히여 형군홀시 호령이 엄숙

2 하고 위의 정제히더라. 황휘 이 스연을 드르시고 더경흐스 원슈

3 를 개유히려 하시나 발서 발헝케 되미 홀일업서, “수히 더공

4 을 세우고 기가를 불너 도라와 짐의 마음을 저버리지 말나.” 흐

5 시니 원슈 호언으로 황후와 공주를 위로하고 발헝홀시 상

6 이 만조를 거느리시고 친히 전송히실시 원슈의 손을 잡고 연{연}히

7 여 지삼 당부히시고 날이 느진 후 환궁히시니 원슈 더병을 휘동

8 히여 나아갈시 고치창검은 일월를 가리오고 뇌고함성은 산천

9 을 움작이는 고터 일위 소년 더장이 봉신투구의 황금 쇠즈갑을

10 넓고 오슈의 쌍고 검을 잡고 좌슈의 빅우션을 쥐고 천니더완마

11 를 타시니 스름은 텃시 갖고 말은 비룡 갖트여 호{호}탕{탕}히 나아가니

12 라. 각설. 하각이 군을 모라 남창의 다{다}라 원슈의 더진을 맛느미

13 황녕 아리 더진히미 호각이 오식 신우를 모라 진전의 나셔니 허

14 리는 열 아람이오 얼굴이 술위 박회 갖고 두발이 누르러 거문 열

15 골를 덩히{히}시며 손의 장창을 들고 나셔니 좌의는 설만춘이오

## /21a/

- 1 우의는 호달이라. 각{각} 신장이 구[척]이오 얼골이 흙악하더라. 명
- 2 진 중의셔 일성포향의 진문이 열리는 곳의 일원 더장이 문과
- 3 아리 셋시니 얼골이 빙옥 갖고 곰의 등의 널희 허리라. 위풍이
- 4 늪{늪}하고 괴위<sup>33</sup> 당{당}흔지라. 호각이 더호 왈, “구성유취의 어린 아히
- 5 텃시를 모르고 망녕도히 전진의 나와 칼 아리 놀난 혼빚이 되고져
- 6 하는다?” 원슈 더로하여 좌우를 도라보와 왈, “뉘 나를 위하여 저 도적
- 7 을 잡을고?” 언미필의 한 장슈 니다르니 이는 양춘이라. 칼로 춤
- 8 추어 브로 호각을 취하니 호진 중의셔 설만춘이 정창출마하
- 9 여 호각을 도와 싣홀시 오십여 합의 니르도록 승뷔 업더니 문
- 10 득 설만춘이 거죽 띄하여 다라나거늘 양춘이 급히 사로며 더호
- 11 왈, “적은 닛지 말고 밧비 내 칼로 바드라.” 하더니 만춘이 가마니 활
- 12 로 달희여 쏘니 양춘이 무심 중 사로다가 정히 왼편 엇기물
- 13 마즈 말과 찌러지거늘 명진 중의셔 장만이 니다라 양춘을 구하
- 14 여 도라가니 설만춘이 말로 두루혀 사로거늘 장만이 더로하여
- 15 설만춘을 마즈 싣화 십여합의 불본승뷔러니 호달이 너

## /21b/

- 1 다라 좌우를 찌치니 장만이 띄쥬하느니라. 원슈 징쳐 군을

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33. Copy B has *kuymwoy* 괴뢰.

- 2 거두고 양춘을 조리하라 하더니 명일의 호각이 쏜 와 도전하
- 3 여 즈웅을 결하즈 하거늘 원슈 디로하여 정창출마하여 바
- 4 로<sup>34</sup> 호각을 가르치며 더브러 싸화 빅여합의 승부를 결치 못
- 5 하미 낭장의 정신이 점{점} 썩{썩}하여 썩늘 줄줄 모로더니 호진
- 6 중의셔 정을 쳐 군을 거두거늘 호각이 본진으로 도라와 제장
- 7 더러 왈, “명장의 년소하플 업수히 녀겨(겻)더니 이제 보건디 그 농녀
- 8 을 당키 어려운지라. 맛당히 계교를 빼 잡으리라.” 하고 슈일톨
- 9 나지 아니하더니 원슈 친히 싸움을 도{도}니 하각이 진문을 크게
- 10 열고 디호 왈, “오늘은 널노 더브러 스성을 결하리라.” 하고 창을
- 11 들너 다라들거늘 원슈 마즈 싸화 오십여 합의 니르러는 문득
- 12 호각이 말롤 두루혀 본진을 버리고 산곡 중으로 닛는지라. 원슈
- 13 말롤 노호 팔로며 생각하되, “적의 간계 이스나 내 엇지 두려하리오?”
- 14 하고 바로 좃쳐 낭산 곡중으로 드러가더니 정히 잡고져 홀 스이
- 15 의 호각은 보지 못하고 초인이 무슈히 섰거늘 원슈 의심하며 말

/22a/

- 1 롤 두루혀(헛)더니 홀연 일성 포양의 두 [편] 피 우회 불[이] [니]러나
- 2 화광이 춤턴중 중 그런 초인이 다 화약 넘초 동물롤 [싸]서 세
- 3 운 거시라. 나갈 길홀 막아 화세 곡중의 미만하여 갈 길히 업

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34. Copy B has *choylwo* 처로.

- 4 는지라. 원슈 앙턴 탄왈, “적을 업수히 녀것다가 오늘{놀} 이곳의
- 5 와서 죽을 줄을 엿지 알니오?” 하고 칼을 켜쳐 주문코져 하더니
- 6 문득 서남각상으로서 금빛치 써드러오며 금녕이 화광을 무
- 7 립서 드러와 원슈의 압히서 녀풍을 지어 너니 그런 불이 원슈의
- 8 압히는 못오고 다른 곳으로 물너가는지라. 원슈 금녕을 보미 반가
- 9 오를 니기지 못하여 어로만져 왈, “네 전후의 술은 은혜를 엿지
- 10 다 갑흐리오?” 하며 못니 즐겨하더니 경각간의 화세 진멸하미 더
- 11 희하여 금녕을 다리고 본진으로 도라오니 제장 군졸이 황{황}망조
- 12 하여 하다가 천만의외 원슈 도라오를 보고 용약하여 환성이 진
- 13 동하더라. 이의 원슈 제장을 불너 귀의 다쳐 여초{여초}하라 하고, 이
- 14 의 약속을 정한 후 원슈 진을 가마니 다른 도로 옮기니라. 이새 호
- 15 각이 원슈를 유인하여 산곡의 너허노코 본진으로 도라와 제장

### /22b/

- 1 더러 왈, “장희룡이 비록 승턴입지하는 용맹이 잇스나 엿지 오
- 2 놀{놀} 죽기를 능히 면하리오? 금야의 가히 명진을 겁척하리라.”
- 3 하고 이튿날의 군수를 모라 가마니 명진으로 다라드니 진중의 한
- 4 스롭도 업는지라. 호각이 더경하여 급히 군을 물니더니 문득 일
- 5 성 포향의 한 장슈 길로 막으며 칼을 들고 꾸지져 왈, “적장 호
- 6 각은 나를 아느냐?” 호각이 황망 중의 놀스 보미 이 곳 장희룡이



7 라. 더경실식하여 밋쳐 손을 놀니지 못하여 원슈의 칼이 빗난  
 8 곳의 호각의 머리 마하의 썩러지는지라. 만철 호달 등이 호각  
 9 의 죽으믄 보고 혼빱이 비월하여 본진으로 다라나더니 본치의  
 10 명진 기호를 세우고 장만이 니다라 한 창으로 호달을 질너 죽  
 11 이고 설만춘이 남을 버라고 닳더니 양춘을 맛나 일합의 죽이  
 12 고 만병을 다 좇지르고 도라오니 원슈 더회하여 더연을 비설하  
 13 여 삼군을 상스흔 후 첩서를 조정의 올니고 즉일 발령호  
 14 시 소과군현이 지영지송의 진동분쥬하더라. 이썩 천지 부마  
 15 를 전장의 보니고 쥬야 녀녀 무궁하시더니 밋 장희룡의 첩서

/23a/

1 를 보시고 불승 더열하스 조정 진하를 보드시니 조이(야)의 환성이  
 2 진동하더라. 상이 스관을 보너스 원슈를 위로하시고 슈히 반스  
 3 하라 지촉하시더니 여러 놀만의 원슈 갓가이 온다 하거늘 [상이]  
 4 빅관을 거느려 십니정의 나아가스 원(원)슈를 마즐시 먼니 바라보  
 5 오니 원슈의 위의와 형(항)오의 정제하미 진짓 장슈의 풍[되]라. 이  
 6 의 더회하스 만조를 도라보스 왈, “년소 더장이 쥬아보의 기습이[시]  
 7 니 가워 동냥지지도 쥬석지신이니 엇지 돌보지<sup>35</sup> 아니리오?” 하시니 만  
 8 괴(죄) 만세를 부르고 국가 득인호를 하례하더라. 니욕고 원슈 니르

35. Copy B has *kispuci* 깃브지.

- 9 러 상의 스은흔더 상이 반기스 원슈의 손을 잡으시고 등을 어르만
- 10 더 같으스디, “경을 전진의 보니고 주야 침숙이 불안흔더니 아(이)[제]
- 11 경이 도적을 진멸하고 기가를 불너 짐의 근심을 덜미 장양
- 12 공명인들 이의셔 더하며 무어스로 경의 공로를 갑흐리오?” [원]
- 13 슈 복디 더왈, “신의 지죄 능히미 아니오라 폐하의 홍복이오 [제장]
- 14 의 공녀이로소이다.” 상이 더욱 괴특허(히) 녀기스 즉시 원슈를 다리
- 15 시고 환궁흐스 제신을 모호시고 원슈의 공노를 의논하여 정[복]

### /23b/

- 1 [장]군 좌승상 위극공을 봉하시니 승상이 구지 스양하여 밋지 아
- 2 니흔더 상이 불윤하시미 마지 못하여 스은하고 집으로 도라와
- 3 니당의 드러가 황후와 공주과 뵈온디 휘 못너 질겨하시며 슬허
- 4 흐스 [왕], “간 밤의 금녕이 {이}거슬 두고 간 더 업스니 가장 고이흐도다.”
- 5 하시[거]늘 승상이 놀나 보다 보니 족족의 어린 으히 난중의 부모 날
- 6 코 안져 우는 형상이오 그 익러 총의는 한 장쉴 그 으회를 업고 마을
- 7 [집]으로 드러가는 형상을 그렸는지라. 승상이 보기를 다히미 문
- 8 득 찌다라 눈물을 먹음고 주괴 신세를 생각히미, “하늘이 주시
- 9 미로다.” 하고 족족을 단{단}히 간슈하고 씨{씨}로 보와 슬허히더라.
- 10 이씨 막시 금녕을 날코 주야 슬허홀 뿐 아니라 장현녕 부뷔
- 11 또한 슬허홀를 마지 아니흔더니 일{일}은 야심토록 서로 [말습]

- 12 흘시 흘연 금녕이 문을 열고 드려오거늘 모다 반가오믈 [이과]  
 13 지 못혀 다라드려 안고 못니 반겨히는 형상을 니로 측냥치 [못]  
 14 흘너라. [츠]야의 낭 부인이 일몽을 어드미 하눌노셔 일위 선관  
 15 이 내려와 नी오더, “그더등의 익운이 다 진혀여시니 오리지 아니[혀]

/24a/

- 1 여 ㅅ들이 {이} 길노 갈 거시니 썩을 날치 말나.” 하고 또, “막시는 녀의  
 2 얼굴을 보면 즈연 알니라.” 하고 또 금녕더러 왈, “너는 이년이 [다]  
 3 진혀여스미 인간 부귀 극홀지라.” 하고 손으로 금녕을 어로만지니  
 4 문득 방울이 터지며 일위 선네 나오는지라. 선관이 नी오더, “우리  
 5 쥬던 보비를 도로 달나.” 하고늘 선네 다섯 가지로 드리거늘 선관  
 6 이 바다 각{각} 스미의 너코 공중으로 올라가는지라. 썩다르니 침상일  
 7 몽이라. 급히 썩여나 방울을 츠즌즉 간 더 업거늘 츠시 삶퍼보  
 8 톱 난더업슨 일위 미인이<sup>36</sup> 겹히 안젓는지라. 니러나 보니 과언 꿈  
 9 의 뵈던 선네니 톱터천광이 스름의 정신을 아스니 가워 텨향  
 10 국식이라. 막시 한 번 보미 정신이 황홀혀 엇지홀 줄 몰나  
 11 어린다시 금녕만 바라[불] 짜름이라. 장공이 {이} 말룰 듯고 밧비  
 12 드려와 본즉 왕고니금의<sup>37</sup> 듯던 바 처음이오 보던 바 처음이라. 회  
 13 {회}낙{낙}혀 नी홈을 금녕 소제라 하고 즈룰 선이라 하여 전후

36. Copy B says *iini* 이인이.

37. Copy B has *kokumuy* 고금의.

14 스적을 무르니 능히 기록지 못하느니라. 하늘과 스레하고 그 즐

15 거하미 비홀되 업더라. 초설. 금녕이 모친과 고후되, “집으로 도

**/24b/**

1 라가스이다.” 하니 막시 기록이 녀기(겨) 즉시 금녕을 다리고 집으로

2 도라올시 가 부인도 뒤홀 썩라 와 일시도 썩나지 아니하더라.

3 초시 {시}절이 흥황하여 인심이 소요올미 쳐(쳐) 도적이 벌니듯

4 하여 빅성을 살학하며 지물롤 노략하되 주현이 능히 금

5 지(치) 못하거늘 상이 근심하시니 위왕이 복지 주왕, “신니 무지하

6 오니(나) 이제 나아가 인심을 진정하여 폐하 근심을 덜니이다.” 하

7 거늘 상이 더열하스 즉시 순무도찰어스를 하이스 주일<sup>38</sup> 발행

8 허(하)이(여) 주현을 진무하라 하시니 어시 스은숙비하고 물너와 황

9 후과 하직하고 공주로 작별 후의 길의 올라 각읍을 순찰

10 하여 창고롤 여러 빅성을 진홀하며 도적을 인의로 효유하

11 어 상별이 분명하니 지나는 벼 군현이 진동하고 빅성이 열복

12 하여 불과 슈 년의 민심이 진정하여 도불습유하고 산무도적하

13 여 인민이 격양가롤 화답하여 어스의 은덕을 닐캣더라. 여러

14 달만의 남정을 지나더니 장삼의 묘하롤 지나느니라. 석일

15 스를 심각하미 가장 감창하느니라. 묘전의 나아가 제문 지어 치

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38. Copy B has *sungil* 승일.

## /25a/

- 1 제 흘시 눈물이 옷깃술 적시더라. 이의 티슈의게 청하되, “장삼
- 2 의 묘전의 비를 세워 치산하여 옛날 양혹흔 은정을 표하고
- 3 저 하노라.” 하니 티슈 웅낙하고 즉시 공장을 불너 삼일 너의 치
- 4 산을 다하고 필역하물 고희미 또 소룡을 불너 오라 하니 이씨
- 5 소룡이 형세 빈궁하여 촌락으로 뉴리걸식하는지라. 어시 불
- 6 승츄연하여 두루 츠즈 오니 변시 모지 니르러 감히 우러{러} 보지
- 7 못하고 다만 부복 청죄하거늘 어시 친히 내려가 변시 모즈를
- 8 붓드러 올녀 안치고 위로하니 변시 모지 황공 축척하여 오직
- 9 눈물만 흘니고 말룰 못하는지라. 어시 조금도 석스를 개의치
- 10 아니하고 말슴이 화평하니 변시 모지 불승 감격하여 즈침홀
- 11 뿐이라. 어시 본관의게 전문 만 관과 비단 빅 필룰 청득하여
- 12 변시 모즈를 주며 왈, “이거시 약소하나 십삼년 양혹흔 은혜
- 13 를 갚느니 이 짜의셔 살고 미년 일츠식 나룰 와 보라.” 하고 작별
- 14 혼 후 길홀 떠나니 소룡이 먼니 전송하고 남방 갑뵈 되믹 인니
- 15 향당이 흠양 아니 하리 업더라. 어시 경스로 향홀시 길이 뇌양

## /25b/

- 1 현을 지나는지라. 뇌양현의 니르러 직스의셔 숙소홀시 본관으로

- 2 말습ㅎ미 즈연 지긔 상합ㅎ여 야심토록 담화ㅎ다가 본관이
- 3 도라간 후 어시 즈연 번뇌ㅎ여 잠을 널우지 못ㅎ다가 잠간 조으
- 4 더니 빅발 노웅이 막더를 드러 어스를 가르쳐 왓, “그더는 소년 영걸
- 5 노셔 명만스ㅎ하고 위진턴하 ㅎ되 부모를 생각지 아니[ㅎ]시느뇨? 이
- 6 제 부모를 겻히 두고 찾지 아니시니 이는 정성이 부족ㅎ미라. 그더
- 7 를 위ㅎ여 붓그려 ㅎ노라.” ㅎ니 어시 이 말롤 듯고 다시 못고져 ㅎ더
- 8 니 홀연 씨다르미 남가일몽이라. 크게 의혹ㅎ여 다시 즈지 못ㅎ
- 9 고 본현의 드러가니 본관이 하당 영접ㅎ여 동현의 안져 말습
- 10 홀시 문득 본죽 벽상의 걸닌 족지 즈긔 낭중의 잇는 족즈와 갓
- 11 거눌 즈셔히 보고 크게 의야ㅎ여 무려 왓, “족즈 그림이 무슨 격이니
- 12 잇고?”<sup>39</sup> 본관이 천연 왓, “노뷔 닛기야 일즈를 나하더니 난중의 일
- 13 혼 지 십팔년이라. 스싱 존망을 몰나 쥬야 각골이러니 맞춤
- 14 이인을 만나 그 정니를 알고 그림을 그려 주기로 거러두고 보느이
- 15 다.” 어시 즉시 금낭을 여러 족즈를 니여 걸거눌 본관이 보미 [두]

### /26a/

- 1 죽(죽)지 여인일필ㅎ여 일호 츠착이 업거눌 서로 이상히 녀겨 의
- 2 아ㅎ느 두렷흔 표격이 업셔 발설치 못ㅎ고 어스더러 문왓, “어
- 3 스의 족즈는 어디셔 닛느뇨? 고이흔 일이 {이}스니 괴이지 말고 즈시 [닐]

39. Copy B has *hyenginiiskwo* 형이니잇고.

- 4 으소서.” 흐거늘 어시 즈긔 즈초지종을 다흔 후 금녕의 [조]화로
- 5 녀신양명하여 귀히 된 일과 나중의 금녕이 갈 씨의 이 족즈
- 6 를 주고 가던 스연을 일(일)히 고흔터 본관이 {이} 말룰 듯고 목이
- 7 메여 갈오더, “나도 금녕의 말이 넋노라.” 흐고 갈오더, “이 족즈도 금녕
- 8 이 무러온 거시오 금녕을 여러 헐룰 보지 못하다가 이[제] 다시 와
- 9 허물룰 버스니 고금의 희한흔 절염이라.” 흐고 또 갈오더, “내 으희
- 10 는 등의 널곱 스마괴 넋나니라.” 하니 어시 이 말룰 듯고 실성통
- 11 곡하거늘 부인이 또흔 너다라 어스룰 안고 삼인이 일시의 어우
- 12 러져 통곡하니 일읍이 {이} 소식 듯고 뉘 아니 괴이 녀기리오? 이의 어
- 13 식 우름을 굿치고 꾸러 엮즈오더, “소지 정성이 부족하와 이제
- 14 야 부모를 맞느스오니 죄 만스무셴이오나 하늘이 삶피스 금녕
- 15 을 지시하여 일이 {이}의 니르도소이다.” 흐고 인하여 전후스연을 닛

#### /26b/

- 1 {넋}치 고흔며 왓, “이제 금녕이 환도하다 호오니 한 번 [보고져] [하]느이
- 2 다.” 공과 부인이 비로소 정신을 차려 갈오더, “깃브며 즐거움과
- 3 귀하며 신긔하미 천만고의 업는 비라. 네 보고져 하미 고이치 아니
- 4 혼 일이어니와 녀즈의 네모 소지의 보기를 원치 아니하리라.” 흐
- 5 니 [어시] 그러히 알고 글월룰 닛가 망야하여 경스로 보니엿더니
- 6 텃지 글월룰 보시고 깃거하스 왓, “위왕이 텃하의 두로 도라 부모

7 와 금녕을 츠즈며 금녕이 환도하다 하니 이는 인녁으로 가히 조작  
 8 지 못할 일이로다.” 하고 너전의 드르시니 황후와 공쥬 또한 것거  
 9 함을 측량치 못하여 이의 공쥬 같오더, “금녕은 하늘이 너신 거  
 10 시라. 이제 웅툼순인치 아니하면 비은하는 양화를 바들지라. 금  
 11 념의 혼인은 성상과 모휘 쥬장하스 그 공을 갑호미 맛당홀가  
 12 한느이다.” 하니 상이 올히 녀기스 즉시 궁녀 수빅과 [황문]시랑으로  
 13 하여곰 위의를 갖초고 형[장]을 [준]비하여 가게 하고 [금]녕은 황  
 14 후의 양녀를 삼고 친필노 직첩을 금녕 공쥬라 하고 [죽]일 [발]  
 15 형하게 하시고 [또] 막시를 디절지효부인을 봉하시고, [장공] [부]

### /27a/

1 부는 원조 출신으로 벼슬을 밋지 아니하리라 하스 위왕의게 하  
 2 교하스 그 뜻으로 돈유하라 하시다. 황문낭이 위의를 거느려 여러  
 3 놀만의 뇌양의 니르러 성지와 직첩을 전한 후 비로 막시 처소  
 4 의 니르니 막시 더경하여 황{황}하거늘 금녕은 지귀하고 모친귀  
 5 고왈, “우리집으로 올 거시미 정당의 좌하시고 각별 삼가 남의 우  
 6 음을 취치 마르소서.” 하더니 언미필의 상궁 시네 몬져 명첩[을] 드  
 7 린 후 드러와 문안하고 공쥬의 직첩과 부인의 직첩을 드리거  
 8 늘 공쥬 향안을 비설하여 직첩을 밋고 북향스비한 후 궁  
 9 네 쌍{쌍}이 드러와 네하고 상궁이 황명으로 공쥬와 부인을 밋비



- 10 피서 올니라 호시물 전하니 부인 모네 지체치 못할 줄 알고 모
- 11 네 금당의 올라 길닐시 도로의 위의 거룩호미 불가성언이러
- 12 라. 장공 부{부}도 발헝홀시 위왕이 비헝호여 {여}러 놀만의 경스
- 13 의 드러와 위왕 부즈는 스은호고 공주는 더니로 드러가 현알호온더
- 14 상과 휘 금선 공주를 다리시고 칭찬호시물 마지 아니호시는 중
- 15 의 공쥬 더욱 반겨 그 손을 잡고 탐{탐}호여 골육지정이 잇는지라.

## /27b/

- 1 상이 하교호스 “네부로 톱일호고 호부로 잔치를 비설하라.” 호
- 2 시고 전의 나스 부마를 영접호여 진하을 보드시니 고금의 이런 영
- 3 화는 희한호더라. 위왕이 길복을 갓초와 니전의 드러가 금녕 공
- 4 쥬로 더브러 교비를 맞고 도라올시 금선 공주의 친영도 쏘흔 그 날
- 5 이라. 구고귀 몬져 납폐흔 후 두 공쥬 빵으로 드러가 네를 맞고 좌
- 6 의 안즈니 그 췌혀 나고 아리췌온 티되 눈의 바이고 만좌의 조요[호]지
- 7 라. 공의 부{부}와 막시 혼 번 보미 만심환회호여 종일 즐기다가
- 8 일모셔산호미 시이축을 잡고 왕을 인도호여 금녕 공쥬 방으
- 9 로 드러가 석일스를 니르며 야심토록 말습호다가 축을 물
- 10 니고 옥슈를 닛그러 침상의 나아가 권권지정이 여산약히라.
- 11 익일의 냥 공쥬 구고귀 신성호미 그 구고의 익중호미 비홀 더 업
- 12 더라. 이의 처소를 정홀시 금선 공주는 응운각의 닛게 호고 금

- 13 녀 공주는 호절각의 닛게 호고 상궁 시녀를 각{각} 분비호여 처  
 14 소를 정호 후 밤이면 두 공주로 더브러 즐기고 닛이면 부모[물] [되]  
 15 서 즐길시 막 부인도 그 중의 되서 함과 지너더라. 니러구러 세월

## /28a/

- 1 이 여류호여 장공 부{부}와 막 부인이 복록을 누리다가 텃연으[로] [세]  
 2 상을 브리미 그 즈녀등의 인통 과례호미 비홀디 업더니 그 후의  
 3 금선공주는 일남 이녀를 두고 금녕 공주는 이남 일녀를 두  
 4 어(엇)스되 다 부풍모습호여 기{기}히 육인군지오 숙녀가완이라. 장  
 5 즈의 명은 몽진이니 금녕의 소성이라 니부상셔로 잇고 츠즈  
 6 몽환은 금선 공주의 소성이[니] 병마 도총도위로 잇고 습즈는 몽괴  
 7 니 금녕 공주의 소성이라 한님학스를 호고 삼기 녀호는 각{각} 공  
 8 문거족의 턱서호여 숙인가랑을 마즈 만[당]화괴로 티평안  
 9 과홀시 여러 즈네 각{각} 유즈성녀호여 즈손이 번성호고 복록  
 10 이 진{진}호여 그릴 거시 업는지라. 이후 일은 별전이 잇기로 더  
 11 강만 기록호여 고적을 알게 호느니 후인은 석남하라.

[한문]

*Tale of Golden Bell* Transcriptions Listed by Editor/Translator

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*sosŏl* [Classical fiction], 154–77. Seoul: Haenaem, 1997.

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