Popular Poems in the Koryo Dynasty

as Described in the Koryo sa and Akchang kasa

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It is a generally accepted commonplace among literary historians that a study of middle Korean poetry is extremely difficult. This is not because there is no lyric poetry in the Koryo dynasty but rather because there are few written records to which we may refer to about its origin and authorship, its texture and structure. It is therefore regrettable that we cannot systematically survey the musical life of the Koreans during 470 years of the Koryo period.

There are of course several inevitable reasons for this difficulty. First of all, there was no proper system of writing the Korean language in the Koryo dynasty. The result is that many poems of native and folk origin were sung or orally transmitted from time to time and were therefore not recorded or preserved for posterity. While the preceding Silla dynasty invented the

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1 According to the report of the Board of Rites, more than 50 songs written before the Yi dynasty were available by 1433. These songs could yield, the report continues, the cause of any success or failure in administration and therefore could be used as a means of public admonition. But already in the year 1430, Pak Yön (1378—?) regrets in his memorandum to the throne the number of music scores unaccompanied by text and recommends a wide collection of popular songs from all over the country, not only those concerning moral practices but also those dealing with love. The Board of Rites again suggests in 1433 in a memorandum to the throne a collection of all folksongs, not to mention those which render admonitions concerning the principles of five human relations. But the actual collection which seems to have begun in this period does not seem to have been successful, judging from another memorandum dated 1477 which still regrets the lack of material on this subject. There is, however, this difference in the intention of Pak Yön and later champions for the collection of popular songs: the former's suggestion rose from a purely literary consciousness to gather and preserve popular poetry and music. The latter merely had a didactic purpose in that they wanted to use this material for moral instruction. When later Wŏn Ke-ch'ae in 1592 again complains of the same necessity, he had clearly this didactic function of popular poetry in mind. The collection therefore became an issue of political importance, and scholars tried to justify its significance only in terms of Confucian principles. Thus the work which started in the beginning as a purely cultural activity soon came to have moral implications and the project was abandoned and popular poetry forever lost. CWS 3, SS 47, 220b; CWS 3, SS 61, 514a; CWS 15, CS 65; Cho Yun-je, Chosŏn siga sagang (Seoul, 1937), 190—206.
transcription method of Korean in Chinese, the *Idu*², and the succeeding Yi dynasty the phonetic alphabet of twenty-eight letters, the *Hunmin chong'âm* (Correct Sound in Teaching the People; 1443)³, the Koryŏ dynasty neither maintained the use of the *Idu* nor substituted any other system. The invention of the *Idu* was an indispensable stimulus which facilitated the rapid development of the polished form of the native poetic genre in Silla, the *Saenaennorae*⁴, and many poets of genius used and perfected this form. The *Idu* letters were used until the time of King Kwangjong (950—75) when Great Priest Kyunyŏ (917—73) wrote his eleven devotional poems in them⁵.

² The *Idu*: a method of transcription in Chinese of the Korean language. According to this system, Korean is transcribed into Chinese in accordance with their phonetic and ideographic values. Historical sources tell us that this system of writing was first used by a scholar, Sŏl Ch’ŏng, around 692. Sŏl Ch’ŏng was a profound scholar and used this method of transcription primarily in deciphering the Chinese classics which were very difficult for the beginners to read and interpret. What he did was to insert auxiliary words in between the Chinese characters and to indicate how they should be read in the Korean reading. And during the process of this explanation, he gave a logical systematization to the Chinese characters thus used. But it is held among specialists today that this system was not the product of an individual genius but of many people who used the characters in the same way for different purposes. s. Preface to the *Hunmin chong’âm* (Correct Sound in Teaching the People), 1446; Postscript to the *Taemyŏngnyul chikhac* (Literal Interpretation of the Great Law of Ming), 1867; SGYS 46, 5; *Sinfung tongguk yǒjí súngnam* (CKK- edition; 1921) 21, 290—9; *Tonggyŏng chapki* (CKK-edition; 1910) 2, 517—8; Maurice Courant, *Bibliographie Coreéenne* (Paris, 1894—7), 88—91; Ogura Shimpel *Hyang’ga oyobi Idu no kenkyū*, Keijō (Seoul), 1929, 271—95; *Idu Shüsé*, Keijō (Seoul), 1937.

³ Until 1446, Chinese was the written language in Korea. Great King Sejong (1419—50) from the 2nd year of his reign, established the Academy and had researches made in phonetics of Chinese and other oriental languages. In the 12th moon of the 25th year (1443), a highly efficient phonetic alphabet with 11 vowels and 17 consonants (now 24 letters) was invented, thus placing the writing of every-day Korean speech within the easy possibility of people’s learning. Further in the 2nd moon of 1444, the King had several Chinese classics translated into and printed in the new alphabet. In this manner, after three full years of revision, this new alphabet was promulgated on the 29th day of the 9th moon of the 28th year of King Sejong (1446). Der große Herder (v. 5, p. 685) calls it „die einfachste Schrift der Erde u. einzige Buchstabenschrift Ostasiens.“


⁵ Great Priest Kyunyŏ’s eleven poems are recorded in the 7th chapter of the *Taehwaom sujwa Wŏnt’ong yangjungdaesa* Kyunyŏ chŏn, a biography of the life and achievement of the Priest written by Dr. Saryŏn Chŏng in 1075. The 8th chapter of the book gives the translation of the poems into Chinese by Ch’oe Haeng-gwi in 967, a contemporary of Kyunyŏ. Kyunyŏ wrote his poems after the pattern of *Bhadra-cari-pranidhāna* between 963 and 967 using two stanzas of 4-lines plus a stanza of 2-lines, while Ch’oe used the form of 7-word verses with an 8-line stanza. s. Ariga Keitarō, *Shijūshichi shin zuki Wŏnt’ong yangjungdaesa* Kyunyŏ den, Keijō (Seoul), 1921; Oya Tokujō, “Chosŏn Haeinsa Keihan kŏ, tokuni Daizōkyō hohan narabīnī zōgai zappan no bukkyŏ bunkengakuteki kenkyū”, TG 15 (1926), 282—362, especially 305—11.
and perhaps as late as 1021 according to the inscription to the tower at Hyŏnhwa Temple in Kaesŏng. The eleven poems by Kyunyo were however for philological and cultural reasons grouped with other fourteen poems written before 900 as Old Korean poetry. Thus strictly speaking when we enter the Koryŏ period, the use of the Idu and that of the genre of the Saenaennorae disappears. It is because Chinese, which developed to a considerable degree towards the end of Silla, proved itself really capable of translating the Korean emotions and innermost feelings. The truth is that scholars found the Idu inefficient; they called it a puzzle and abandoned it and the genre of the Saenaennorae which went with it. We see however in the To ijang ka (1120), which is still written in Idu letters, a transitional period, a period in which the Idu letters still had supremacy. This is indeed a piece of Silla poetry, and it occupies an important position in the history of Korean poetry. Much later, in the fourteenth century, we see another example of this type in the two poems by An Ch'uk (1282—1348). Here the Idu letters are used sporadically here and there to transcribe not only connectives but also refrains. It is evident from these examples that in the beginning of Koryŏ, where Silla culture still had influence, the recording method of the previous dynasty was still used; but in time Chinese began to infiltrate and it was finally used in poetry to the exclusion of the Idu. We conclude therefore that the Saenaennorae of Silla was not abandoned in a day, but suffered a gradual decay throughout the Koryŏ period.

The intensive study of Chinese literature and the encouragement of composition only in Chinese, which were responsible for other reasons of our difficulty, demand explanation. The Koryŏ dynasty which started with a spirit of freedom and independence soon lost its original spirit and leaned towards the policy of toadyism since the time of the Khitan invasion (993, 1010, 1018). As a result of the adoption of the system of the recruit examination, the two-caste system of government, civil and military, became effective from 958; and only civil officials chosen by this examination occupied the state affairs and attempted to oppose the invaders by adoption of a trimming policy as early as 963. After seventy-six years of peace (1047—1122) Koryŏ gradually declined and suffered from the following causes: internally the opposition between ideas of independence and toadyism and between military and literary castes; externally from the

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6 The inscription on the tower at Hyŏnhwa Temple in Kaesŏng, Hyŏnhwasa pi' am'gi, reports that in the year 1021, King Hyŏnjong (1010—31), the 8th king of the Koryŏ dynasty, visited the Temple and with his subjects composed eleven Saenaennorae and had them carved in the woodblock. Thus this form of poetry was still used in the beginning of the 11th century. S. Chosŏn kinseki sōran 1, comp. by Chōsen sōtokufu, Keijō (Seoul), 1919, 247—52, especially 251.
7 KRS 4—5, 51a—74a; KT, 192ff.
8 KRS 2, 31b, 34a; KRS 73, 494 ff; also KRS 73—4, 494 ff.
9 KRS 2, 32a; Suematsu Yasukazu, "Koryŏ sho kä no 'Yangban' ni tsuite", SZ 36 (1953), 149—79; Ikeuchi Hiroshi, "Koryō-cho no gakuhei", Iwanami tōyō shisō kōza 15 (1936), 69—127.
invasions of the Khitans, Jurchens, Mongols, and Japanese. On the other hand, during the period of both peace and decline, Confucianism and Buddhism dominated the world of thought. A degenerated hedonism formed the basis of the upper class culture, which attempted to disguise its troubles and worries with Taoist, Confucian, and Buddhist philosophy and lived a secluded escapist life. The loss of the independent spirit, the worship of the powerful — therefore the study of Chinese literature only —, and internal disturbances and foreign invasions, all made scholars and historians to reject the indigenous culture. Everything that was indigenous was absorbed by alien culture, and the government not only cared little about the cultivation of vernacular poetry but even looked down on Korean poetry as "popular songs" or "unrefined language". Thus even the songs transmitted in idu letters, if they were not by the members of royal families or by famous officials or literati, and if they did not deal with national administration or current affairs, were not recorded in historical documents. Even the songs collected specifically as references for national customs and government affairs and those selected as materials for moral instruction, were handled severely by historians and anthologists who gave briefly their origin but not their contents.

Lastly a handful of recorded poems were either lost in the course of time or were occasionally expunged by the Yi dynasty annalists and anthologists as vulgar and obscene. As soon as the national policy was formulated, the Yi dynasty turned its attention to the poetry and music of the previous kingdom. This was a way to shake off dusts of Koryo and thus to make a new start for the Yi. The fall of Koryo was for this reason ascribed to Buddhism and all the vices accompanying it, and the new dynasty was built on rational ethics and strong political philosophy. But the choice of Confucianism as national policy had a deeper significance. Founders of the new monarchy were anxious to justify their revolution; the change of the dynasty had to be justified and praised. The traditional Confucian or pre-Confucian idea of "heavenly mandate" was called in for this purpose; it was Heaven that punished the virtueless Koryo dynasty and General Yi Sŏng-ge, founder of the new dynasty, was only its instrument to fulfill the mandate of Heaven.

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12 KRS 71, 465a; Cho Yun-je, Chosŏn sīga sōgang, 89—90, 190—206.
and in order to fulfil this mandate, the state had to be based on Confucian principles. What went with this new policy was however a blind reverence for China and a respect for Chinese tradition. Thus when the Yi dynasty critics discussed tradition, it was the Chinese tradition which was a criteria for the judgement of literature and the arts. Their criteria for Koryŏ poetry was then a code of ethical practice based on Confucianism, and it was according to this subjective interpretation of moral doctrine that one poem was termed "vulgar" and another "classic". We must therefore regret the illusion of the Yi dynasty scholars who lost the sense for the inborn poetry and tradition of their own but instead worshipped only a foreign tradition. The period of Kings Sejong (1419—50), Sŏngjong (1470—94), and Chungjong (1506—44) was the period when the poetry and music of the previous dynasty were regulated and codified, and the critics concerned with this work condemned the popular poems of Koryŏ under three headings: vulgar, obscene, or Buddhistic. For instance, in times of King Sejong, the *Hujŏn chiunjak* came into question as "obscene" and *Muae* as "Buddhistic and fantastic". Among the three generations, the Koryŏ poems suffered most during the reign of King Sŏngjong when six among the existing poems were expunged or revised as injurious to public decency. Scholars termed them as "that which deal with love between sexes" or "that which pleases men and women". It is true however that six poems, which became an issue, deal primarily with affection between sexes. This was probably because the lower class, driven to dire poverty and pain by internal disturbances and foreign invasions, either became Buddhists renouncing the worldly life or became hedonists praising love for love's sake. But if we read these poems with a map of world literature in mind, we feel that these poems are good examples of the expression of the quality of experience. Accordingly we may ask ourselves whether these poems deserved to be treated contemptuously as they were. It is however quite possible that the poems as we have them today are versions which have already been censored by the Yi dynasty scholars. It is therefore difficult for us to pass a definitive judgment on poetry the texts of which may have been altered by Confucianists of the time. Thus it is difficult to confirm or reject the opinions of these scholars on the merits of Koryŏ poetry. But if the present versions possess the same texture as they did in Koryŏ times, we are inclined to demand a justification for the patronizing attitude of the Yi dynasty scholars.

In view of the above-mentioned reasons, it is easy to comprehend the scarcity of any collections of poems during the Koryŏ dynasty or of any reference data compiled during the succeeding dynasty as regards our subject. Our only available sources are the section on music in the Koryŏ

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13 CWS 11, SNS 240, 599b; CWS 11, SNS 215, 322b; CWS 15, CS 32, 415a—b; CWS 11, SNS 219, 364b.
14 CWS 2, SS 3, 296a.
15 CWS 3, SS 65, 587a.
16 CWS 11, SNS 215, 322b; CWS 3, SS 3, 296a; CWS 11, SNS 240, 599b.
sa, a few scattered remarks in private literary collections\textsuperscript{17}, and reference books related to poetry and music compiled during the Yi dynasty; with these materials only we will try to investigate the outline of Koryŏ dynasty lyric. Historical sources record sixty titles of Koryŏ poems, twenty with texts (eleven poems in pure Korean; one in Idu letters; three in Idu and Chinese; two in Chinese translation; three with Korean reading of the Chinese translations and Korean connectives) and forty without (ten with a modified version of Chinese translation; eight prophetic songs with Chinese translation; twenty-two only by titles).

The section on music\textsuperscript{18} of the Koryŏ sa (1445–51), a dynastic history of Koryŏ compiled by Chŏng In-ji (1395–1468) and others, gives thirty-one titles of Koryŏ poems (ten with excerpts of Chinese translation; three originally written in Chinese; nineteen by titles only). Here the editors begin the section on popular poems with the comment that since the poems used the colloquial language instead of Chinese, their texts do not deserve to be recorded\textsuperscript{19}; the book gives instead circumstances in which these poems were written. It is not surprising that the editors, who were foremost champions of Confucianism, had to eliminate the original texts of popular poems. In the fourth chapter of the Ikchae rango\textsuperscript{20} (10 chs; 1363, 1600, 1693), a collection of works of Yi Che-hyŏn (1288–1367), eleven poems are translated into Chinese in a four-line stanza of seven-word line. Here Yi gives a rough Chinese translation of the then popular vernacular poems. Among eleven, outline translations of seven poems are copied in the Koryŏ sa; one poem is a translation of part of the Sŏgyŏng pyŏlgok (Song of P'yŏng'yang) the text of which is preserved in another anthology; and three are translations of unknown poems which for convenience we shall designate by the temporary title\textsuperscript{21}.

The texts of twelve Koryŏ poems are preserved in the Akchang kasa (Words for Music) and Akhak kwebŏm (Canon of Musik). The latter is a collection and explanation of all court music and its systems and theories. In accordance with the order of King Sŏngjong in 1475, Sŏng Hyŏn (c. 1470–94), Yu Cha-gwang, Sin Mal-p'yŏng, Kim Pok-kŭn and others revised and edited the great body of scores and established rules in the Board of Court Music and compiled them in three volumes of nine chapters. It also has sections on musical instruments, folksongs, and dance music. The third

\textsuperscript{17} Titles of other Koryŏ songs are scattered in the following works:
Ch'angbo munhŏn pigo; CTK, 74.
Haejong okpu (1617) by Sim Kwang-se; CTK 571.
Ikchae rango (1603); CTK, 371.
Ku'nae chipt (1870); CTK, 371.
Sejong sillok; see an excellent introduction to the Annals in the CWS.
Tonggak chapki by Yi Chŏng-hyang.
Tongguk tonggam; CTK, 36–7.

\textsuperscript{18} KRS 70–71, 439a–72a.

\textsuperscript{19} KRS 91, 465a.

\textsuperscript{20} IR, 234–6; on Ikchae, see KRS 110, 320a–8b.

\textsuperscript{21} We give them the following temporary titles: "So'nyŏnhaeng", "Sujŏngsa", and "T'ammayo". YC, 11.
and fifth chapters of the book, which record the texts of seven poems, preserve the texts of two Koryŏ poems which are found nowhere else. The first edition was published in 1493, and the present one is a later edition republished in 1610 with a postscript of Yi Chŏng-gu. There is another edition of 1655.

The Akchang kasa (also called: Kukcho sojang) was probably edited by Pak Chun and was first published sometime between 1510—69. It is the oldest extant anthology of poems in Korea, which not only records the texts of twenty-four poems written during the Koryŏ and in the beginning of the Yi dynasties, but also those of more than sixty other poems in Korean or Chinese translation. The book is divided into four sections:

1. Texts of popular music: under this heading forty-four titles are given.
   - Music for the Yöngnyöng Hall in the royal ancestral temple (twenty-eight titles)
   - Music for the Secret Palace composed by Nam Kong-ch’ol (eleven titles)
   - Music of royal composition for the royal temple (three titles)
2. Texts of refined music: under this heading sixteen titles are given.
4. Texts: under this heading twenty-four titles are given: eighteen poems in Korean (nine poems we are dealing here are recorded; among nine, the texts of eight poems are given nowhere else but here); three poems in Chinese; three poems in Chinese and Korean connectives.

The book has no preface, no postscript, and no date of publication. This anthology is probably the most important one of its kind as it is only here that we find the texts of Koryŏ poems which are found nowhere else. The poems of the Koryŏ dynasty may not have been known to us had we not this anthology. A recently discovered music book, the Siyong hyang’ak po (Music Book of Contemporary Popular Songs) throws a brilliant light on the texts of middle Korean poems. This book is a collection of scores and texts for music compiled sometime in the beginning of the sixteenth century (c. 1504). The book was comparatively unknown to the public until Chosŏn Christian University published a photolithographic copy (1954) of the book from the only existing edition published before the Japanese invasion (1952). The scores for popular songs were handed down from father to son among the musicians and therefore remained unavailable to the public. The marvel is, however, that this collection of scores and at the same time anthology of poems is preserved intact through the Yi dynasty despite the heavy censorship on such matter by the Confucianists of the time. The music book

22 They are “Tongdong” and “Chŏng Kwajŏng”. On the AHKB, s. Yi Hong-jik, “Imjin chŏnp’an ūi Akhak kwebŏm”, Hanguk komunhwa nongo (Seoul, 1954), 239—57.
23 Yi Hwang, T’oege chip (Tosan sŏwŏn-edition, 1923), 43, 3b.
contains twenty-six titles altogether, including the texts of seven Koryô poems with which we are dealing.

We have mentioned that the To ijang ka occupies a transitional period between the Saenaennorae and Koryô poetry. Even in the Chông Kwajông (c. 1151—70) we see the aftermath of the Saenaennorae only with regard to the total number of lines which amounted to ten; we do not see here however a clear stanzaic division as we do in Silla poems. The characteristic forms of Koryô poetry are the Chang'ga (long poem) and the Kyônggichi'e ka (Kyônggi-style poem). The former is so called because of the refrain that follows each stanza; by adding this refrain the poem continued on like a chain. The reason for this is probably that these poems were orally transmitted and that their origin lay in folksong or the popular ballad. The authors are all ordinary people; they used this form freely to reveal their innermost feelings. These poems were usually sung to musical instruments, and they found their place whenever men and women met together and entertained each other with songs. As a matter of fact, the refrains in the poems serve not only as a link between stanzas but sometimes as meaningless onomatopoëia of drum sounds in order to keep the beat of musical accompaniments. The latter is so called because of the refrain that begins "küi ötôhainiitko?" (What do you think about it? / How about it?) and comes in the fourth and sixth lines of a stanza. We have three poems of this type as Koryô products, the Hanrim pyölgok (c. 1214—59) by Confucian scholars, and the Kwadong pyölgok (1330) and Chukke pyölgok (c. 1330) by An Ch'uk. This is rather a unique verse form in which the traditional elements of Korean poetry and Chinese verse forms are mixed together. They are written in the form of a six-line stanza, and the texts are either in Idu and Chinese (Kwandong & Chukke pyölgok) or in Korean and Chinese (Hanrim pyölgok) and are characterized by the catalogue of things. These poems are products of the mature period of aristocratic culture and reflect a leisurely life of scholars hidden in the mountains far from the internal disturbances or foreign invasions. The contents of the poems are therefore Epicurean or Taoist and their tone is dignified and quiet, composed and brilliant. This form of poetry was still used in the Yi dynasty among scholars.

It is, as in other genres of Korean poetry, the number of groups of syllables that determines the accent and rhythm in middle Korean poetry. Each line consists generally of three groups of two-five syllables (commonly three-four syllables) and the number of accented syllables generally corresponds to the number of groups of syllables in a line. The number of lines in a stanza varies from three to twelve, and the number of stanzas in a poem from one to thirteen. They also had such devices as alliteration, onomatopoëia, inversion, personification, metaphor, simile, balance, antithesis, assonance, and others.

26 Cho Yun-je, Kungmunhak sa, 62—8; idem, Chosôn siga sagang, 102—8; idem, Chosôn siga üi yôn'gu, 110—15; YC, 230—2.
27 YC, 231—2.
We shall list hereunder in chronological order titles of Koryo poems as they appear in historical documents — first, poems known only by titles or by excerpts in Chinese translation, then poems whose texts are still available.

— Poems known only by titles —

The Muae\(^{28}\) was supposed to have been originated from the West of China and was characterized by an occurrence of a large number of Buddhist terms and dialect words. The Sôgyöng\(^{29}\) is an anonymous song from the former capital of the Kija period (1122 B.C.—194 B.C.). Kija taught his people a spirit of courtesy and righteousness to respect the sovereign and elders in the form of a song, which was so influential that even the broken willow tree revived with freshness. The authorship of the Taedonggang\(^{30}\) is attributed to the people. Emperor Wu of Chou dynasty enfeoffed Chosôn to Grand Tutor Chi’i-tzu (Kija). The latter gave education on eight articles and taught the people the sense of propriety and reverence. In consequence peace reigned and the joyful people praised him in an eulogy which compared Taedong River to Yellow River and Mt. Yöngmyöng to Mt. Sung in Honan. The Hansongjöng\(^{31}\) was, tradition says, written on the bottom of a five-stringed lute and was drift ashore in the province of Kiangsu and Anhwei. The people who found it were unable to decipher the text until Chang Chin-gong went there as an envoy in times of King Kwangjong and rendered the text with a verse in Chinese: "The moon is white in the Hansong arbor, / The autumn water calm at Kyöngp’o Terrace. / Only a faithful gull / Comes and goes with a sad song." While his poem is recorded in a four-line stanza of five-word line, the Ch’önggu yöng’ön\(^{32}\) (The Eternal Language of Green Mounds) contains another poem in Korean on the same subject under the authorship of a certain woman Hongjang or Hwang Chin-i (fl. 1506 — 44).

In the moonlit Hansong arbor,
Water is calm at Kyöngp’o Terrace.
Gulls wander about habitually,
Searching for the by-gone days.
But our Lord who left us,
Why, why does he not return?

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\(^{28}\) KRS 71, 465a—b; CWS 3, SS 65, 587a; SGYS 4, 194—7.
\(^{29}\) KRS 71, 465b.
\(^{30}\) Ibid.
\(^{31}\) KRS 71, 467b.
\(^{32}\) Ch’önggu yöng’ön is an anthology of poems compiled and edited by Kim Ch’n-t’ae in the 3rd year of King Yöngjo. It contains the poems written from the end of the Koryo dynasty to the beginning of the 18th century. The number of the poems included varies according to various editions; but principally, 998 shorter poems and 17 longer poems are classified by tunes and musical settings. It also gives the names of 140 poets and short notes on them. We have consulted two editions, one published by Keijö teikoku daigaku (Seoul, 1930) and another compiled by Chu Wang-san and published by the T’ongmungwan (Seoul, 1946). cf. CY, 145.
It is uncertain whether it is incorrectly ascribed to Hongjang or Hwang Chin-i or the original story was turned into a song by her. At any case, it is difficult to trace the original structure of the poem either in a Chinese translation or in a Korean version. The authorship of the Kūmgangsŏng is attributed to the people. When King Hyŏnjong (1010—31) built the Castle Na after the Jurchens had burnt down the palaces in Kaesŏng, the people sang it to celebrate the construction. Another version reports that the people composed it on occasion of the return of the government from the Kanghwa Island to Kaesŏng during the Mongol invasion. The name of the castle in Chinese characters means "diamond" or "precious and hard" which conveys the firmness of the castle. The Pŏlgokcho (The Cuckoo) was composed by King Yejong (1106—22), the sixteenth king of Koryŏ, who wished to learn of popular criticism on his faults and his policies. But since he feared that ministers and subjects might not reveal their opinions, the King composed the song in the form of allegory. The Pohyonch'al is a prophetic song which was supposed to have predicted the revolt of the military class. On the occasion of the royal visit to Pohyŏn Temple by King Ùijong (1147—70), military men Chŏng Chung-bu, Yi Ŭi-bang and others rose in revolt and put to death all the civil officials. Thus the political power passed into the hand of military class where it was to remain for seventy years. This song, it was said, circulated among the people before the rebellion, which runs: "Where is Pohyŏn Temple? According to the plan, we will kill you all."

The Homok was said to have been in vogue with the younger people in the eleventh moon of the thirty-sixth year (1249) of King Kojong, which portrayed the suffering of the lower class. "Let's cut a branch of gourd and cleanse it in water. / Let's cut a stalk of sedge and cleanse it. / Go away beyond the mountain, go. / As one cuts the unfrosted hemp with a sharpened sickle."

King Ch'ungnyŏl (1275—1308), a great champion of popular music and dance, cared little about national affairs but indulged in various games and sumptuous banquets. The admonitions of the prince and princess were rejected, loyal ministers all retired to their birthplaces, and only treacherous subjects such as Kim Wŏn-sang, Sŏk Ch'on-bo had power. Under the pretext that the court needed more musicians, they dispatched sycophantic retainers to select the most beautiful and gifted singers and dancers among hetaerae, Shaman priestesses, and female servant in the whole country. The selected ones were registered in the palace, wore silk dresses and horse-tail hats, and formed a company "Namjang" (women in male attire). They were taught new songs and dances, and together with the King, spent day and night in dance and game regardless of etiquette. The Sayong, together with the Taep'yong kok, is the representative product of this time. The latter was

33 KRS 71, 466a—b.
34 KRS 71, 466a.
35 TT 25, 182—4; KRS 19, 287a—8a.
36 CMP 11, 14a.
37 KRS 28—32, 426a—509a.
38 KRS 71, 469a—b.
39 KRS 71, 469a; KRS 125, 566a.
composed by Kim Wón-sang (d. 1321) who taught it to a hetaera, Chök Sŏn­
næ. When she sang it once at a banquet, the King asked for the author and
conferred upon him the title of "T'ongnyemunjufu" for his ability in com­
position. The Ssang'yŏn kok\(^{46}\) was composed by catamites in the court of King
Ch'ungsŏn and sung in the Yuan court. When the King celebrated the
birthday of the Yuan Emperor with 200 sheep and 200 butts of wine, and
when he visited the palace in the following day to give another feast, the
Yuan Emperor asked for a Koryŏ song. The King ordered Generals Song
Pang-yŏng and Song Yŏng to sing it. King Ch'ungsŏn (1309—13), who was
also at the Yuan court, played sandalwood blocks, and King Ch'ungnyŏl
himself danced to the tune, which pleased the Yuan Emperor and Empress
greatly. The Mansusan\(^{41}\) is a contemporaneous song, but we know nothing
about its authorship or content. The Yanghwasa\(^{42}\) was supposed to have
been composed by Han Ch'ong-yu. He was a man of commanding presence,
generous and dignified, and was looked upon with awe. He associated with
prominent men of the time, and his group was called the "Yanghwado".
Once under the influence of wine, he danced and sang: "My mind that waits
is like the wind in a dark night. / See it flies, it reaches the Yellow Pavilion".

The Tongbaengmok\(^{43}\) was written by Ch'ae Hong-ch'iŏl who in time of
King Ch'ungsuk (1314—30) was censured and transported to a lonely
island. When he composed this song in his place of exile, the King heard of
it and recalled him immediately to the capital. Another version reports
that Ch'e merely modified the existing old song to suit his own purpose.
The Mukch'aek\(^{44}\) is contemporaneous with the Tongbaengmok. It was com­
posed to satirize the maladministration of Kim Chi-gyŏng and his group
who constituted the office of investigation which was to examine civil
servants in the sixth and twelfth moon of the year and degrade inefficient
officials. But they received bribes and engaged in mutual slander among
themselves. The people compared the resulting confusion to mixing of red ink
with black. "Officials are brought off by hemp; / Everything depends on
their brush. / I need palm oil to be an official. / But alas this year hemp-seed
is scarce\(^{45}\).

The Hujôn chinjak\(^{45}\) and Aya ka\(^{46}\) date from the time of King Ch'unghye
(1331—2), who spent his days with concubines and composed love songs.
His contemporaries called one of his songs, the Hujôn chinjak, and its
text and musical tune were banned from public use during the time of
King Sejong. When the King died in the Yoyang district in Yüan, the

\(^{40}\) KRS 31, 496b—9b, 492a—b; TT 40, 46; on Song Pang-yŏng, s. KRS 125, 562b—3b.
\(^{41}\) In OE (p. 102) is stated that the Ssanghwajŏm was sung; but that was a mistake for
this song.
\(^{42}\) CMP 11, 14b.
\(^{43}\) KRS 110, 320a.
\(^{44}\) KRS 71, 467b.
\(^{45}\) CMP 11, 14b; TT 43, 133.
\(^{46}\) CWS 2, SS 3, 296a.
\(^{47}\) TT 45, 169.
people sang the Aya ka to lament his death: “Tell me not you are gone. / If you go now, when will you return?”

There are six songs which date from the time of King Kongmin (1352—74). The authorship of the Ch’ongsŏdkchŏng⁴⁷ is attributed to a certain Kich’ol who held the office of councillor. When he climbed Ch’ongsŏdkchŏng in Kangnŭng, viewing the remains of four fairies and the azure Eastern Sea, he composed this song which celebrated the beauty of the natural settings in the Diamond Mountains. The authorship of the Changsaengp’o⁴⁸ was attributed to soldiers. When Yu T’ak took part in the campaign in the Chölla province, he gained a great popularity among soldiers through his personal strength and benevolence. On the occasion of the Japanese invasion at Changsaengp’o in Sunch’ŏn, when Yu went for reinforcement, the enemy, frightened by his presence, fled without combat. This song was, tradition says, composed by soldiers to celebrate their victory. The Udæhø⁴⁹ was in vogue in the tenth year (1361) of King Kongmin, when the King fled from the capital to Yŏngho Pavillion in Andong. The song was supposed to have predicted the attack of the Hungchin and the flight of the King. One version says the King fled to the Wau Peak on the sudden attack from south; another says at that time the bull bellowed, the dragon left the ocean, and the blue wave billowed in a shallow stream. The fourth song of the same time, the Kungsubun⁵⁰, was composed by Chŏng To-jŏn (d. 1398) but lost. The Changdan⁵¹, according to the Korean Encyclopaedia, dates from the same time. King Ta’aejo (918—43), who was a guardian of national customs, did not neglect to help the people in their daily needs and to share their joy and sorrow; and the grateful people never ceased to praise his virtue. When King Kongmin visited Changdan, the town people sang of the virtue of the former king in a eulogy which ended with admonition for the present king. The Songsan⁵² is another eulogy composed by the people on the occasion of the establishment of Kaesŏng as capital and praised the unbroken line of kings and the prosperity of the country.

The Mokcha tugkuk⁵³ is an anonymous song composed in the fourteenth year (1388) of Usurper Sin’u. When General Yi Sŏng-ge returned with his army from the Wihwa Island, soldiers and people prophesied in song the establishment of the new dynasty by the General. Of the Sŏgyŏngsŏng⁵⁴, which dates from the same time, we have only a following fragment in Chinese: “The fire rages beyond the P’yŏng’yang castle; / The smoke rises over the Anju fortress. / General Yi, who passes through this turbulence, / Save us, we entreat you, both young and old.”

⁴⁷ KRS 71, 466b. ⁴⁸ KRS 71, 466b; CMP 106, 15a. ⁴⁹ KRS 39, 602b—3a; CMP 11, 14a—b. ⁵⁰ CMP 106, 18a; on Chŏng To-jŏn, s. KRS 119, 475b—87a. ⁵¹ CMP 106, 15b; KRS 71, 466a. ⁵² KRS 71, 467b. ⁵³ KRS 137, 753a. ⁵⁴ Tonggak chapki (in the Taedong yasŭng 53; CKK-edition, 1910) 1, 341.
The date of the following fifteen songs is unknown. The Ogwansan (or Mokkye ka) is composed by a filial son, Munch'ung, who lived at the foot of Mt. Ogwan. Although every morning he rode thirty li to the capital for his service, he did not neglect to inquire after the health of his mother in the evening. He composed this song to lament her old age. There is a Chinese translation of the song, the original of which is lost, and it seems to have been handed down to the middle of the Yi dynasty. “I carve a cock out of wood, / Hang it up in my mother’s room. / Only when this cock crows in confusion, / Your face be like the sun that sets.” The Kôsayôn was composed by the wife of a soldier, who was away at the wars. The song, which was addressed to a magpie and a black spider, revealed her earnest wish for the safe and quick return of her husband. “A magpie hums on the branch by the hedge. / A spider spins above the table. / I know your return is at hand. / The heart knows it already; ah it tells me.” The Sarihwa is again a song of folk origin. Since the people suffered from excessive taxes and influential families forcibly seized the property of the poor, the people composed this song which compared bad officials to yellow birds which perpetually peck the millet. “Where do they come and go, orioles? / We do not know this year’s harvest. / After a lonely widower has tilled the field, / The millet are, alas, all wasted.” The Chang’öm was written by an old man. When To Yong-ch’ol was in exile at Chang’öm, he befriended an old man. As he was recalled to the capital, the old man warned him against the heedless blunder. He was once raised to the rank of privy councillor but was again degraded. On this occasion his friend sent him the satiric poem: “Why on earth did you become a sparrow, / And caught by a net as an abuse? / Where are your eyes, my friend, / Pitiful and foolish, to become a netted bird?” The Chewibo is a song by a woman who was pronounced guilty and punished with heavy labour at Chewibo. Unable to wipe out this disgrace, she sang: “I cleanse silk by the willowed stream; / An officer on horseback grasps my hands and persuades me. / Drops falling from the eave in March, / Could they cleanse away my shame?”

The So’nyonhaeng is an anonymous poem which now only exist in Chinese: “I take off spring clothes and shoulder them, / Enter into the flowerbed calling friends. / We chase butterflies from east and west. / Our joyful days, ah, they are still here.” The Sujongsa satirizes the life of the priests who indulged in a luxurious life and acquired mistresses. “Although the dyke is repaired in the capital, / Water flows over the Sujöng Temple. / A mistress is hidden in the upper room, and / A priest becomes a lover with yellow hat.” The T’umnayo is a folksong of the Cheju (Quelpart) Island.

55 KRS 71, 465b; IR 4, 235.
56 KRS 71, 466b; IR 4, 235.
57 KRS 71, 467a; IR 4, 235.
58 KRS 71, 467a; IR 4, 234.
59 KRS 71, 467a; IR 4, 235.
60 IR 4, 235.
61 IR 4, 235.
62 IR 4, 236.
The Island was narrow and uncultivated, and the only visitors were merchants from Cholla province who traded chinaware and rice with the population. But afterwards the traffic of high officials became heavy, and the economy of the people suffered from numerous receptions and farewells given to them, which sometimes resulted in riots. "Everywhere on the mound the barley lay entangled. / Hemp too is thick on both sides of the hill. / With a full load of ceramics and rice, / A boatman longs for the shore in the northwind." The Yangju is a folksong from the area of the present Seoul, characterized by its fertile soil and wealth of the people. It was said that the people sang it when the country was filled with the blessing of spring. The Wölchönghwa was a dancing girl in Chinju. Wi Che-man, general executive inspector, abandoned his wife for the love of this beautiful woman. When his wife died, the people in Chinju composed this song to express their sympathy for the dead and to blame the disgraceful deed of Wi. The Wönhüng is attributed to the wife of a Wönhüng merchant who composed it when her husband returned from the sea. The song seems to have been used as court music till the Yi dynasty. The Andong chach'ông is by an unknown woman. Once woman loses her virtue, she is an object of perpetual contempt, and the change of her state is compared to the turning of many-coloured thread.

The Yesönggang consists of two parts. A merchant from T'ang, Ho T'ai-kang, found a beautiful woman upon his arrival on the Yesöng River. He wanted to make her his own and devised a strategy for this purpose. He played chess with her husband under the condition that if he lost, he would offer all his merchandise to him, and if her husband lost, he would give his wife to him. The merchant won the game and sailed off with her. The husband regretted his rash promise and composed the first part of the song. The wife, although taken by the merchant as promised, fortified herself in such a way that he would not be able to approach her. On the way, however, the ship suddenly stopped and revolved on the sea. A diviner advised that the storm was due to the anger of the Dragon King who had a deep sympathy for the virtuous woman and the only way to save the ship was to send the wife back to her husband. The sailors were all afraid and begged the merchant to return her at once. When the wife was thus sent home, she composed the second part. The Chŏngsan is a popular song originating from Chŏngsan, a district in Kongju, which compared the enduring happiness and a prosperous career with the drooping and intertwining of branches. On the Yŏngsŏn'ak we know nothing.

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83 KRS 71, 465b—6a.
84 KRS 71, 466a.
85 Ibid.
86 KRS 71, 467a.
87 KRS 71, 467b.
88 KRS 71, 466a.
89 CMP 106, 18b.
When King Kyŏnhwŏn (892–935) of the Posterior Paekche dynasty ravaged the Silla capital in the tenth moon of the fourth year (927) of King Kyŏngae, T'aejo of Koryŏ was greatly angry, took the field in person, and attacked Kyŏnhwŏn at Mt. Kong, northeast of Taegu. The chances were against T'aejo, and the Kyŏnhwŏn army surrounded him. The King was saved only by the desperate resistance offered by General Sin Sŏng-gyŏm, together with Wŏn Po and Kim Ak. When King Yejong in the tenth moon of the fifteenth year (1120) of his reign visited the “P'algwanhoe” (harvest festival) at Sŏgyŏng, he saw the play of the two masks on horseback, with hatpins and purple dress and gold cord, and the tablet at hand; the horses pranced around the garden. The King thought it strange and inquired about it. Upon learning that they were the images of two generals, Sin and Kim, the King was deeply moved by their heroism and loyalty and honoured them with a royal poem of eight lines, To ijang ka, the text of which is recorded in the P'yŏngsan Sinssi Koryŏ T'æsa Changjŏlgong yusa (Relics of Duke Changjŏl, Grand Tutor of Koryŏ, of the Sin Family of P'yŏngsan).

The Chŏng Kwajŏng was written by Chŏng Sŏ, a favourite subject during the time of King Injong (1123–40). Upon the enthronement of King Ŭijong, he was banished from the capital to his birthplace, Tongnae, as the result of party strife at court. King Ŭijong explained to Chŏng that he was forced to make this decision, but would recall him soon to office. Despite this promise the King's summons never came. Grieved at the unjust treatment, he composed this poem and sang it to the lute whose tone was described by the annalists as moving and sad. He won, however, public sympathy from his contemporaries, and Yi Che-hyŏn translated the poem into Chinese using a four-line stanza of seven-word line which summarizes the original ten-line stanza poem. During the Yi dynasty, Yi Sejwa explained Chŏng's predicament to King Sŏngjong; and this poem was praised as an expression of loyalty to sovereign and was established as

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The P'algwanhoe: along with the Yöndunghoe, was one of the important annual functions during the Koryŏ dynasty. T'aejo already indicated the importance of these two ceremonies in his ten article instructions to his descendants. According to his instructions, the lantern festival ( Yöndunghoe) is a Buddhist ceremony, while the former was in honor of local deities. There is, however, little ceremonial difference between the two. In both, lanterns were burnt, fruits and wine served, hundred games produced, heaven and earth and ancestors worshipped, and the King and his subject shared joy and prayed for perpetual peace. The P'algwanhoe, which took place commonly in the 15th day of the 11th month, consisted of a two days ceremony, the larger and smaller, the smaller taking place on the 14th day of the month. Its origin can be traced far back to the ceremony of sowing and harvesting during the primitive society. It was regarded as more important than the lantern festival, and foreign envoys and merchants came to participate in it. Imanishi Ryū, “Koryŏ T'aejo kunyŏ jitchŏ ni tsuite”, TG 8 (1918), 419–27; KT, 191–2; Ninomiya Keinin, “Koryŏ no P'algwhanhoe ni tsuite”, CG 9 (March 1956), 235–51.

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court music and a requisite for all musicians. The poem is recorded in the Akhak kwebŏm under the title of “Samjinjak”, a designation for its musical tune.

The Ch’öyong ka has forty-five lines consisting of four parts; the first part (1–6 lines) is a prologue; the second part (7–24 lines) describes and praises the form and appearance of Ch’öyong; the third part (25–8 lines) describes the making of the Ch’öyong mask; finally the fourth part (29–45 lines) describes the power of Ch’öyong over the demon, the confession of the demon, the dialogue between Ch’öyong and people, and ends with the plea of the demon. This choral dance was used to be performed at court on New Year’s Eve in order to exorcise the evil spirits and demons from the country.

The authorship of the Hanrim pyŏlgok is attributed to Confucian scholars. This is the first poem in the Kyŏnggi-style, consisting of eight six-line stanzas, each stanza being topically arranged. The first stanza lists the then famous Confucian scholars; the second, famous Chinese classics; the third, the famous calligraphers; the fourth, good wine and precious cups; the fifth, beautiful flowers; the sixth, musical instruments, the seventh, famous pavilions; and the last, the gracious movement of a swing. Two-thirds of the poem is in Chinese, and the poem may be said to have more interest for literary historians for its peculiar form than for students of literature. It was sung in the court to musical instruments, and its usage continued throughout the Yi dynasty.

The Ssanghwajom purports to be by a hetaera and dates from the time of King Ch’ungnyŏl. This was the time popular songs and music flourished, with the encouragement of the King himself, who gathered musicians and dancers from all over the country for his entertainment. From the contents of the poem, critics prefer to see it as a folksong of the day in the capital rather than as a poem of definite authorship. It consists of four eight-line stanzas, the last two lines being a refrain occurring at the end of each stanza. The fifth and seventh lines in each stanza are an imitation of drum sounds carrying no definite meaning. The poem is in the first person throughout and the speaker narrates her adventures in four different circumstances; she uses the direct language typical of the
time, and her determination finds expression in the refrain: "I will go, yes, go to his bower; Compact and close no place was more".

The Tongdong\(^79\) (Ode on the Season) is a long anonymous poem of sixty-five lines, divided into thirteen four-line stanzas with a line of refrain at the end of each stanza. The first stanza is a panegyric prologue and the following twelve stanzas are devoted to each of the twelve months of the year. Its traditional form of monthly division and its romantic content make it clear that it is a folksong of the time. The song was loved even in the Yi dynasty, and the annalist reports that the "Tongdong Dance" together with the choral dance of Ch'öyong were performed on New Year's Eve in the beginning of the Yi period.

The Sögyông pyölgok\(^80\) is a dramatic lyric by a mistress, consisting of two twelve-line stanzas and a eighteen-line stanza. Eight lines in the first and second stanzas and twelve lines in the third stanza are a kind of refrain serving to keep the text to the musical tune. The second stanza seems to have been popular in itself, apart from the entire poem, and recurs as the final stanza of the Chöngsök ka. The third stanza is most intense with the speaker's plea to a boatman on the Taedong River not to allow her lover to cross the water, for "once he has crossed that awesome water, He will pluck another flower, alas." (lines 38—42). The poem became a political issue during the reign of King Söngjong and was officially condemned as vulgar.

The Ch'ongsan pyölgok\(^81\) (Song of Green Mountain) is an anonymous poem in which a lost lover takes a pessimistic view of life and tries every means to unburden himself of sorrow. He finally comes to the conclusion that wine is the best anodyne, and the poem ends, therefore, with an invocation and lines in praise of wine. The text was not mentioned in any historical record, but the Akchang kasa records its texts. The poem is written in eight four-line stanzas with the refrain at the end of each stanza: "Yalli­yalli yallasöng yallari yalla."

The Chöngsök ka\(^82\) (Song of the Gong) is an anonymous hymn which sings of an unbroken line of kings and prays that the life of kings be coeval with heaven and earth. The poem begins with a three-line stanza of introduction and continues in five six-line stanzas. The third, fourth, and fifth stanzas end with a refrain: "(only) Then we part from the virtuous Lord" which says that we never part from the virtuous Lord, our king, because what they have sung in the previous lines is impossible (for example, an iron

\(^{79}\) AHKB 5, 6a—b; KRS 71, 465a; OE, 108—10; YC, 65—139; Söngho saesöl 4b, 329; Chibong yusöél (CKK-edition, 1915) 18, 241; Yongjae ch'onghiwa 1, 15—6.

\(^{80}\) ACKS 4b—6a; CWS 11, SNS 215, 325b; IR 4, 235; OE, 110; SH, 14a—15a (gives the first 3 lines); YC, 274—303.

\(^{81}\) ACKS 3b—4b; OE, 110—1; SH, 24b—25b (gives only the 1st stanza); YC, 304—31.

\(^{82}\) ACKS, 2b—3b, OE, 111—2; SH, 23a—4a (gives the first 3 lines); YC, 332—47.
ox grazing the iron grass in the fifth stanza) and that we will serve the king until the impossible becomes possible.

The Isang kok<sup>83</sup> (Treading Frost) is an anonymous love poem of thirteen lines with no stanzaic division, of which the third line is a refrain. This poem, together with the Ssanghwajom, was mentioned in the Sŏngjong Annal as vulgar in content and as being that which pleases men and women.

The Samo kok<sup>84</sup> (also called: Ònori: Maternal Love) is a short anonymous poem of five lines in all, and some literary historians question its Koryŏ origin. Despite the scarcity of reference materials on it, the vocabulary and its syntax and rhythm would seem to indicate that it is a Koryŏ product. The poem is simple in structure and compares the difference between paternal and maternal love to that of sharpness between spade and sickly.

The Kasiri<sup>85</sup> (Would you go?) is another love poem by a hetaera. The poem, which consists of four two-line stanzas with a refrain at the end of each stanza, is grouped here with other poems for the same reason which dated the previous poem. This poem is in the first person and has much literary merit; the language is simple but intense, and it is filled with tender sentiments for the parting love.

The Manjŏnch'un<sup>86</sup> is an anonymous love poem of four three-line stanzas. The speaker is perhaps a hetaera, abandoned by her lover and forced to spend long spring nights alone. She tries to console herself and, at the end of the poem, reveals her strong desire to follow him and possess him. The tone is frank and outspoken, and this is probably the reason the poem was condemned by the Yi dynasty annalists.

Two poems by An Ch'uk, the Kwandong pyŏlgok<sup>87</sup> and Chukke pyŏlgok<sup>88</sup>, are other examples of the Kyŏnggi-style poetry. The former was composed on the occasion of his return from a government post in Kangnung. The poem praises beautiful scenes in the eastern Korea, in particular, the eastern coast and the vicinity of the Diamond Mountains. On the other hand, the latter praises beautiful scenes in Sunhŭng, the author's birthplace. The former has eight six-line stanzas and the latter five six-line stanzas. In both, the Idu letters are used especially in the fourth and sixth lines of stanzas.

Towards the end of Koryŏ, when the founder of the succeeding dynasty became popular, Chŏng Mong-ju (1337—92), together with Kim Chin-yang and others, decided to support and follow the fortunes of the falling dynasty. When Yi Sŏng-ge was about to ascend the throne, Chŏng formed the oppo-

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<sup>83</sup> ACKS, 8a—b; CWS 11, SNS 240, 599b; OE, 112; SH, 15a—21b (gives “Ssanghwa kok”, which is a eulogy and recorded in Chinese in a 12-line and a 10-line stanzas of 4-word line); YC, 345—54.

<sup>84</sup> ACKS, 6b; OE, 113; SH, 10b—13b (The page 12 lacks); YC, 356—60.

<sup>85</sup> ACKS 8b—9a; OE, 113; SH, 27a—8a (gives only the 1st stanza; given under the different title of “Kwiho kok”); YC, 361—7.

<sup>86</sup> ACKS, 17b—8b; CWS 11, SNS 219, 364b; OE, 113—4; YC, 368—79.

<sup>87</sup> Kŭnjae chip 2, 11; YC, 406—17. On An Ch'uk, s. KRS 109, 307a—b.

<sup>88</sup> Kŭnjae chip 2, 12—3; YC, 418—23.
sition party and secretly plotted to overthrow him. T'aejong (1401—18), the fifth son of Yi Sŏng-ge, was anxious to remove the oppositionists and gave a feast in honour of Chŏng when the latter visited General Yi under the pretext of a sick-call. T'aejong (Yi Pang-wŏn) urged the guest to drink and composed the Hayô ka: "What if the world has become this way? / What if the world has become that way? / What if the walls of Sŏnghwang Hall, / Have crumbled to pieces behind us? / What if our people have survived, friend, / The fall of the decaying dynasty?" Upon this challenge, Chŏng exchanged a cup singing the Tansim ka:

Were I to die, and die again,
Dying a hundred times more,
Were my bones to become dust,
And my soul depart,
Could the fidelity of my heart,
My crimson heart be changed?

Having noticed the unshakable determination of the guest, T'aejong sent assassins and had Chŏng killed on Bridge Sŏnji (now Bridge Sŏnjuk) on his way home. The Korean version of the Hayô ka given by the Ch'ŏnggu yŏng'ŏn differs from the Chinese version.

What if the world has become this way?
What if the world has become that way?
What if the brambles at Mt. Mansu
Creep and intertwine in confusion?
We too will intertwine like the plants,
And share the life of a hundred years.

Here again it is difficult to determine how much of the original is retained in its Chinese translation or its Korean version.

The Chahadong was written by Ch'e Hong-ch'ŏl, who lived in Chahadong and named his room the Chunghwa Hall. One day he invited an old man but felt weary and lonely in mind and composed this poem in Chinese and had it sung by a servant:

My home is in Chaha grotto at Mt. Song.
Clouds and mist meet in the Chunghwa Hall.
Today I offer you a cup of longevity wine,
Which will lengthen your life thousand years.
So I beg you to pass the cup around;
Age is not my concern in my life.

89 The Haedong akpu is compiled by Sim Kwang-se after the pattern of the Hsi-yai yüeh-fu of Li Tung-yang and gives Chinese translation of a poem by Chŏng Mong-ju and that by Yi Pang-un. Haedong akpu (CKK-edition, 1909), 673—4; Poün chip (CKK-edition, 1915) 1, 332; CY, 8; on Chŏng Mong-ju, s .KRS 117, 442b—50a.
90 Haedong akpu, 673—4, Poün chip 1, 332; Tonggak chapki 1, 342.
91 CY, 4.
92 KRS 71, 469b.
Spring grasses grow on the lake bank,
Birds sing among the willow in the orchard.
Elders of three dynasties feast in the Hall,
With flowers on the grizzled hair.
Let’s exchange the gold cup, friends,
Our way of life surpasses that of fairies.
Under the moon let’s sing a song of peace,
And sir, tell me not you are tipsy.
Nowhere in life can you find my equal,
I, who abandon hundred years if without wine.
Pray drink till the glass be drained while
My strings produce a happy melody.
O it is a pleasure for thousand years.
Since we can’t see Emperor Fu-hsi again,
I beg you to drink day after day, and
Let your blessed body be fragrant with wine.
Now the wind and strings overflow the grotto,
Which is filled with excellent guests —
Yes, they are elders of three dynasties.
With flowers on the snowy hair, when
We offer and exchange the gold cup,
The fairies in the P’ênglai mountain,
Could they equal us in gaiety and elegance?

The Yasimsa⁹³ is an anonymous poem in Chinese which deals with the joy shared by the king and his subjects.

The sun and winds are warm,
Warm are the sun and winds.
Let’s spread the mat for the feast
Of the full moon of the first month.
Under the lamp guests are gathered.
Water drips through the palace roof,
The vase is full of flowers,
And the cup filled with wine.
Sovereign and subject, both of them,
Drink and sing praises of peace.
Night is deep while the cup turns,
The cock crows; the day will break.
Difficult it is to stop the feast now.
Should we wait for one, friends,
Who does not come, never come?
In a long and sleepless night,
Where are they? Love comes not —
Among gauze and embriodered curtains,
Here is still the fairy land; whereelse?

⁹³ ACKS, 11b—2a; KRS 71, 468b.
The P'ungipsong is an anonymous eulogy recorded in Chinese.

The son of Heaven in the eastern country,
Assisted by both Buddha and Heaven,
Spreads his influence, governs the world.
His deep grace reaching near and far,
Ah it has no equal through all ages.
Foreign states rush towards our land;
They rely on us with loving trust.
Spears are put aside on four borders.
His illustrious virtue, it surpasses
Even that of Emperors Yao and T'ang.
In this age, calm and lucky,
Among the pan-pines and flutes, when
Happy sounds overflow every house,
Let's burn incense, pick a pearly ear of grain,
Pray for the long life of the throne.
Cheers shake the mountain and sky, hark!
Since four oceans are peaceful and good,
Yao and Shun are nothing better.
O carefree general on the frontier,
Whip out the sheathed magic sword.
Barbarians from south and from north
Came with tributes of a hundred treasures.
And on the gold stair in the Jade Hall,
They pray for the endurance of our reign.
Beautiful is the music of winds and strings
That sings praises of perpetual peace.
The sovereign is holy, subjects wise,
All the actors in rainbow dress
Play the jade pipe before the throne.
Its harmonious melody overflows the garden,
And he and we exchange our cups.
In this happy day when he is full of joy,
Pray pass him not the silver cup too often —
When a hundred officials extol his long life,
Lo the royal carriage appears, and
The gold palace and azure pavilion swim
In the auspicious mist. Among the thousand rows
Of people flower-decked, a still pipe
Challenges the fairies. And the songs of
The royal return trumpet: long live the King!

ACKS, 11a—b; KRS 71, 468a—b; SH, 44a—5a (gives only a few lines). The Yasimsa was written after the pattern of the poems by the same title by Wu Wên-ying (?—1260?). S. Mêng-ch’uâng i-kao, 1b—2a; Mêng-ch’uâng ping-kao, 3b; Mêng-ch’uâng ting-kao, 9a in the Sung liu-shih ming-chia ts’u 8 (Ssu-pu pei-yao edition).
We have surveyed the outline of Koryŏ poetry and discussed the historical, social, and cultural backgrounds that were hostile to the growth of vernacular poetry in Koryŏ. The Koryŏ dynasty corresponds to the medieval age in European history; it occupies the middle position between ancient and modern Korea. Politically it inherited the Silla organization and culturally the Silla Buddhism. In the midst of the chanting of sūtras and distant bells, the thought of conversion and salvation through Buddhism produced the idea of dependence on supernatural power, hence killing the spirit of independence and dynamism once seen in the Silla Buddhism. Furthermore Koryŏ was drawn into the vortex of political upheavals on the Continent, the succession of Liao, Kin, Sung and Yuan dynasties. Together with the sensitive diplomatic and political reactions against the rise and fall of foreign dynasties, Koryŏ imported much philosophical and cultural material from the mainland, and Confucianism (later Chuhsism) gradually appeared as a dominant current of thought and started to transform the quality of the Koryŏ society. The longing for the promised land, on the one hand, discouraged the expression of worldly life, the reality in which they lived. On the other hand, the emphasis on the study of Confucianism neglected the preservation and continuation of indigenous culture, vernacular poetry in particular. Not only this. The rise of Confucianism stifled the emotional expression of the people and consequently the development of Korean sensibility. The study of Chinese literature and composition in Chinese finally became the leading literary activities. Writings of Confucianists were not only purely Chinese in their inspiration but also used Chinese language and allusions. Hence an additional characteristic of the period: the lack of originality and an emphasis on imitation.

It is therefore not difficult to imagine the fortunes of vernacular poetry in Koryŏ. In the shadow of Chinese literature, vernacular poetry was considered unorthodox and secondary and termed as “popular” literature against “artistic” literature. The vernacular poems handed down from the previous dynasty, the festival songs used at court, and religious poems used at Buddhist or agricultural festivals developed into the vernacular genre of middle Korean poetry: the long poem. But their fortune was such that they were only used as occasional music and later recorded in the music book of popular songs. Scholars today consider therefore the Koryŏ period the dark age in the history of Korean poetry. The treatment of a handful of available Koryŏ poems by the Yi dynasty annalists must be termed tragic. The Yi dynasty, which was organized upon Confucian principles and which worshipped China as “middle kingdom”, was more intolerant and contemptuous of the vernacular poetry of the previous dynasty which they termed either obscene or vulgar. Poetry, they preached, had to be didactic; it must be used as a means of inculcation, to teach and praise what is good and to enjoin and condemn what is evil. In fine, poetry must be a manual of

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95 Cho Yun-je, Kungmunhak sa, 62.
96 Yi Sung-nyŏng and Kim Tong-uk, Kungmunhak sa (Seoul, 1955), 28 ff.
morality for the governing and the governed. During the great literary inquisition of the reign of King Sŏngjong, the existing poems were heavily expunged to make them conform to the moral principles of Confucianism. It is however deplorable that the commissars during the Sŏngjong period were more severe in their inquisition than their Chinese colleagues as regards, for example, the love poems in the Classical Anthology.

But it is a consolation that despite the undeserved treatment suffered at the hands of Confucianists in the Koryŏ and Yi periods, the Koryŏ poems were still preserved and handed down to posterity. The mere fact that they were still used either as court music or festival music during the Yi dynasty is a proof that the literary value of the poems was not considered small even by the Yi dynasty commissars themselves. The available poems seem to have flourished from the time of King Ch'ungnyŏl, when the relations with the Yuan imperial house started, and when the traditional Chinese ceremony and music was replaced by the vernacular poems of folksong origin. And in spite of possible textual modifications and corruptions, the true face of Koryŏ poetry can be seen only here, where the Korean sensibility finds its proper expression. A choice of simple but concrete images, an intensity of emotion, a technical complexity, and a depth of the reality revealed, these are some of the qualities of Koryŏ poems. The study of these poems will therefore enable us to see not only the unity and continuity of the poetic tradition but also the rise and fall of vernacular poetic genres in Korea.

Abbreviations:

ACKS: Pak Chun, Akchang kasa. We have used the privately hand-copied edition from the only available Yiwangga tosŏgwan pon preserved at the royal library. Paging of this edition (Seoul 1957) corresponds to that of the royal library edition.

AHKB: Sŏng Hyŏn and others, Akhak kwebŏm (Keijō teikoku daigaku-edition, Keijō [Seoul], 1930).

CG: Chŏsen gakuhō.

CKK: Chosŏn gunsho talkei, published by the Chosŏn kosho kankōkai. The books in this series are given as "CKK-edition" Keijō (Seoul).

CMP: Ch'ungbo munhŏn pigo (Korean Encyclopaedia; first pub. in 1908). We have used the Tongguk munhwasa-edition, Seoul, 1957.

CTK: Chosŏn tosho kaidai, Keijō (Seoul), 1932.

CWS: Chosŏn wango sŏllok, compiled by the Kuksa p'yŏnch'ŏn wiwŏnhoe, Seoul, 1955. This is the most important project undertaken by this Committee to reproduce 888 fasciculi (1893 chapters) of the Yi dynasty annals within 50 volumes of photolithographic edition based on the existing Taebakseon edition. So far 20 volumes have been published. The Japanese edition was published (1933-4) under the title of Yiyo sŏllok. The Sejong, Sŏngjong, and Chungjong sŏllok consulted are all from this new edition.

SS: Sejong sŏllok (1452-4; first pub. 1466-72. 163 chaps.)

SNS: Sŏngjong sŏllok (1495-9, 297 chaps.)

CS: Chungjong sŏllok (1456-50. 105 chaps.)

CY: Ch'ŏnggu yŏng'ŏn (Keijō teikoku daigaku-edition; Keijō [Seoul], 1930).


KRS: Koryŏ sa (Kokusho kankōkai-edition; Tôkyô, 1908-9).


SGYS: Illyŏn, Samguk yusa (Ch'oe Nam-sŏn edition), Seoul, 1954.

p. 94, line 1: for "Wang Kun" read "Wang Kön".
line 14: for "the year 949" read "the year 950".
line 15: for "Ch’oe Ó-wi" read "Ch’oe On-wi".
line 20: for "the year 976" read "958".
line 24: for "the year 1117" read "1119".

p. 95, line 16: for "the year 1258" read "1274".
line 19: for "the year 1352" read "1356".

p. 96, line 11: for "the year 950" read "990".
line 13: for "17000 volumes" read "10800 volumes".

p. 97, Note 8: for "Yöng’un" read "Ch’ang’un".

p. 98, line 41: for "an 1096" read "in 1086".

p. 99, line 30: for "the year 1164" read "1116".

p. 102, line 21—2: for "sang this Turkish Bakery" read "sang the Ssangyǒnkok".

p. 103, line 26: for "3 titles are given" read "44 titles are given".
line 31: for "the texts of 7 poems —" read "the texts of 8 poems —".

p. 106: the date of the Song of Ch’öyong: for "c. 1213—1259" read "c. 1214—59".

p. 109, line 2: for "They come in paris" read "They come in pairs —".

p. 111, line 8: for "Have seen bird, flying." read "Have seen a bird, flying".

p. 113: the 3rd line of the 2nd stanza of A Song, no comma after can.

p. 115: for "Chi Hōn-yǒng" read "Chi Hŏn-yŏng".
for "Hyang'ga yöyo sinsŏk" read "Hyang’ga yöyo sinsŏk".
The publication date of the Hanguk munhwa sa is 1950, not 1947.
<table>
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| Taedong yasüng | 大東野乘  | 大東野乘  |
| Taehwaöm sujwa | 吳同’仰謨  | 韓義大師均如傳  |
| Wŏnt’ong’yangjung- daesa Kyunyŏ chŏn |  |  |
| Tansim ka | 丹心歌  | 阿花曲  |
| T’aebaeksanbon | 太白山本  | 太平曲  |
| T’aep’yong kok | 太平曲  | 慶羅謐  |
| T’amnayo | 退溪集  | 退溪集  |
| T’oege chip | 悼二將歌  | 悼二將歌  |
| To ijang ka |  |  |  |

| Yanghwado | 楊花徒  | 牛大吼  |
| Yanghwasa | 楊花詞  |  |
| Yangju | 楊州  |  |
| Yasimsa | 夜深詞  |  |
| Yesönggang | 禮成江  |  |
| Yi Chŏng-hyang | 李延馨  |  |
| Yiwangga tŏsŏgwan pon | 李王家圖書館本  |  |
| Yŏngsŏn’ak | 迎仙樂  |  |