Around the middle of the thirteenth century a verse form was developed by academicians about the same time the bawdy changga were becoming popular at the Koryŏ (918–1392) court. The designation of this verse form, coined by the Korean literary historian Cho Yunje (1904—), is taken from the anaphoral phrase kyŏnggŭi òttŏ hanikko which occurs in most verses. Structurally, each stanza is composed of six lines, viz., four trimeter lines and a two line refrain. Unlike the contemporaneous changga which were...
of folk origin and written in Korean, the kyŏnggi ch'ega were written principally in Chinese, although phrases or even an entire verse written in Korean in *idu* [25] or *han'gŭl* [28] are not uncommon.

The kyŏnggi ch'ega had a visual appeal through the use of Chinese characters. This choice of style restricted the circulation of the form to literati circles. The oldest extant kyŏnggi ch'ega the *Hallim pyŏl̄gok* [39] attributed to Confucian scholars of the reign of Koryŏ Kojong (1214—1249) [8], gives every appearance of a verse game. Indeed, some literary historians — Cho Yunje, for example — believe that the Koryŏ period works of this sort may have been composed at banquets with each guest taking a turn at the composition [9]. The first seven stanzas of the *Hallim pyŏl̄gok* are written almost entirely in Chinese and are simple enumerations of well-known Koryŏ period writers, titles of Chinese classics and literature, styles of writing, wines, pharmacopoeia, musical instruments and scenic locations. The final stanza is written chiefly in Korean. As an illustration of this form the first and last stanzas of the *Hallim pyŏl̄gok* are set forth below, with each line numbered for reference; the symbol $R$ is used to indicate the refrain [10].

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5 *Idu* is here used as a general term of reference for the system of writing Korean using Chinese characters primarily for their phonetic value. An example of idu usage may be seen in the following line from the 5th stanza of the *Ch'ukkye pyŏl̄gok* (the same line occurs in the 6th stanza of the *Kwandong pyŏl̄gok*) [29], where the final four characters form the grammatical ending -*isaida* for the verb *no(J)-* [27]. The fifth and final stanza of the *Sŏngdae pyŏl̄gok* is another example and is almost entirely in idu.

6 Since the Korean alphabet, whose modern designation is *han'gŭl* "the script of the Han peoples", was promulgated in 1446, it is only found in texts which appeared after that date, excluding the *Yongbi oĉ'ŏn'ga* [30] of 1445 the first work written in the new script then called *hunmin chŏngŭm* [31].

7 The *Hallim pyŏl̄gok* is found in Koryŏsa 71.40b-41b in a Sino-Korean and idu version, and in the Akchang *kasa, ka-sang* [33] 11a-13b in a Sino-Korean and *han'gŭl* version. The former notes, "This song was written by Confucianists of the Hallim academy in the reign of Kojong". Koryŏsa 71.42a.

8 Wang Ch'ŏl [34], the twenty-third monarch of Koryŏ was born in 1192, ascended the throne in 1213, died in 1259, and was canonized Kojong. For biographical information see Koryŏsa 22.4-9 and 24.44b—45a.


10 Akchang *kasa, ka-sang*, 12a—13b.
1. Prose of Wŏnsun [37] 11, shih poems of Illo [40] 12, the anthetical style of Kongno 13.

11 The reference is to Yu Wŏnsun [38] one of the compilers of the Myŏngjong sillon [39] cf. Koryŏsa 101.13a. He was killed in 1232 when he attempted to oppose the transfer of the Koryŏ capital from Kaesŏng to Kanghwa Island ordered by the military ruler Ch'oe U. For further biographical information see Koryŏsa 102.6a—b.

12 Yi Illo (1152—1220) had the courtesy name, cha [141], of Misu [142] 1, the literary appellation, ho [43]. He passed the civil service examinations in 1180, in the reign of Koryo Myongjong [45] ((r. 1171—1197). During the rebellion of Chŏng Chungbu [46] he cut his hair and became a monk to escape the purges of civil officials. Later he returned to secular life and employment in government under the Ch'oe military rulers. He was one of the members of the Seven Sages of the Left Bank, kongja ch'ŏnhyŏn [48], an informal group of wine and verse associates. His works included Undaejip [49] 20 kwŏn [50] plus hujip [51] 4 kwŏn; Ssangmyŏngjaejip [52], 3 kwŏn, and P'ahanjip [59] 3 kwŏn, of which only the last is extant. For biographical information see Koryŏsa 102.10a—b.

13 Yi Kongno (?—1224), who had the courtesy name of Kŏhwa [54], passed the civil service examinations in the reign of Koryŏ Myŏngjong and served the Ch'oe military rulers. For biographical information see Koryŏsa 102.9a-10a.

14 Yi Kyubo [56] (1168—1241) who gained the nickname Chŏngŏn after having served in the post of that name (cf. Koryŏsa 100.21a), was one of the great statesmen and literary figures of the Koryŏ period. His courtesy name was Ch’un’gyong [57] and his literary appellation was Paegun sanin [58]. He received his first official post in 1191 and later served the Ch’oe military rulers. He died in 1241 at the age of 74. His collected works are contained in Tongguk Yi Sangguk chip [59] and Paegun sosol [60]. For biographical information see the genealogy in Tongguk Yi Sangguk chip and Koryŏsa 102.3a—5b.

15 Chin Hwa [62] had the nickname of Chin Hallim [63] after serving in the Hallim academy. His literary appellation was Maeho [64]. He passed the civil service examinations in 1200 and while he served in the central government, he died while holding the post of Governor of Kongju, kongju moksa [65]. He was in his own time as famed as Yi Kyubo (see note 13) for his verse. His collected works are in Maehojip [66]. For further biographical information see Koryŏsa 100.21a.

37. 元淳 38. 俞元淳 39. 明宗實錄 40. 仁老 41. 字
32. 巴叟 43. 號 44. 雙明柰 45. 明宗
46. 鄭仲天 47. 崔 48. 江左七賢 49. 銀台集
50. 卷 51. 傳集 52. 雙明柰集 53. 破閭集
54. 去華 55. 李正言 56. 李奎報 57. 春卿
58. 白雲山人 59. 東国李相国集 60. 白雲小說 61. 陳
62. 陳澤 63. 陳翰林 64. 梅湖 65. 公州牧使
66. 梅湖集
3. The problem-essays of Chunggi\textsuperscript{[67]}\textsuperscript{16}, Kwanggyun’s\textsuperscript{[69]}\textsuperscript{17} commentaries on the classics, the shih and fu\textsuperscript{[71]} verse of Nanggyöng\textsuperscript{[72]}\textsuperscript{18}.

4. wi\textsuperscript{19} The (civil) examination site — Oh, what a sight\textsuperscript{20}!

R. Erudite K'lm’s\textsuperscript{21} students with elegant hands,

Erudite K'lm’s students with elegant hands\textsuperscript{22}.

R. wi How many are following me?

1. Tangdangdang, on a Chinese walnut or an acacia tree.

2. String up a red swing with a red rope.


4. wi Others may go to the place where I played.

\textsuperscript{16} The reference is to Yu Chunggi\textsuperscript{[68]} of whom little is known; Koryös\textsuperscript{a}a 74.16b and 99.30b contain brief references.

\textsuperscript{17} The reference is to Min Kwanggyun\textsuperscript{[70]} of whom little is known.

\textsuperscript{18} KIM Yanggyöng (d. 1235) — he later changed his name to In’gyöng\textsuperscript{[73]} — passed the examinations in the reign of Myöngjong and first distinguished himself at the battle of Kangdong in 1218. Due to defeats suffered in 1227 against the Eastern Jürcen raiders in Korea’s northeast, he was demoted to Governor of Sangju, sangju moksa\textsuperscript{[74]}. He was later recalled and went on to become President of the Ministry of Civil Officials, ibu sangsö\textsuperscript{[75]}. For biographical information see Koryös\textsuperscript{a}a 102.7a—9a.

\textsuperscript{19} The expressive element wi\textsuperscript{[77]}\textsuperscript{,} similar to the more commonly used aë\textsuperscript{[77]}, is often written in idu with the characters\textsuperscript{[77]}. Similar expressive elements are rather common in Korean lyrics, for which see Hwang Huiyöng\textsuperscript{[79]}, and “Han’guk siga yöüm ko”\textsuperscript{[80]}, Kugö kungmunhak\textsuperscript{[81]} 18 (1957) 12, pp. 42—76.

\textsuperscript{20} The line can be rendered literally: “wi the scene at the examination site, what can one do about that?”\textsuperscript{[82]} Despite the rendering into two parts, the justification for the translation is based upon the line as a single phrase.

\textsuperscript{21} KÖM Üi\textsuperscript{[83]} (1153—1230), had the courtesy name of Chölji\textsuperscript{[84]}. He passed the examinations in 1184 and later served the Ch’oe military rulers. For biographical information see Koryös\textsuperscript{a}a 102.1a—3a.

\textsuperscript{22} “students with elegant hands”\textsuperscript{[85]} is from a poem by Kim Yanggyöng and refers to the loyalty of his students at a trying point in his career. Following his demotion to Governor of Sangju (see note 18) KIM was ignored by his former friends. Some of his students accompanied him to the outskirts of the city where KIM composed the following poem.

"Can a single whip be expected to sweep away the Tartar dust completely? The southern wastes of 10,000 li (await) an ousted servant. (My) students with elegant hands have come to bid farewell. Moved, it is difficult to stop the tears from wetting my handkerchief."

For the verse see Koryös\textsuperscript{a}a 102.8b; the translation is from Henthorn, William E., Korea: The Mongol Invasions, E. J. Brill and Co., Leiden, 1963, p. 38 note 19.

\hspace{1cm}

67. 神基 68. 劉 69. 光釣 70. 閔 71. 畏 72. 良鏡
73. 仁鏡 74. 尚州牧使 75. 吳部尚書 76. 女 77. 哉
78. 偉, 爲 79. 黃希榮 80. 韓國詩歌餘音敘
81. 국어국문학 82. 前試場人景리티디소니잇고 83. 琴儀
84. 節之 85. 玉筝門生
R. Scraping jade finely, finely, with both hands.
R. wi Playing hand in hand. Oh, what a sight!

In these two stanzas there are some similarities to the Koryo period changga in the use of two couplets to form a basic quatrain to which a refrain is added. The final stanza is similar in theme as well. In this respect it is interesting to note the occurrence of the phrase naeganondzi ‘the place where I played’ in the Chöngüpsa.

There are only two other kyönggi ch’ega of the Koryo period, viz., Kwandon pyölgok written ca. 1300, and Chukkye pyölgok written between 1330–1348. Both are the work of An Ch’uk who indexes the scenic beauty of mountainous Kangwôn Province on Korea’s eastern coast in the Kwandon pyölgok. In the first stanza the author sets the theme with a reference to the military garrison he has recently commanded in Kangwôn Province — this is the Kwangdong, East of the Mountain Pass, of the

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23 This line is probably also form a verse of the period but I have been unable to find it.
25 The Kwandon pyölgok and Ch’ukkye pyölgok are contained in Künjaejip, the collected works of An Ch’uk. It is a work in 3 kwón, to which are appended the writings of An’s three direct descendants. The work was collected and published in Cheju by a later descendant, An Kyöngun in 1680. For further bibliographical information see Vol. 1, p. 221, Yi Hongjik, Kuksa taesajon, Seoul: Chimungak, 2 vols., 1962–3.
26 An Ch’uk had the courtesy name of Tangji and the literary appelation of Künjae. In 1324 he passed the Yuan civil service examinations but declined appointment in Liaoyang to serve in the Koryo academy Sŏnggyun’gwan. He was appointed to a position in Kangnung in the reign of Koryo Ch’unghye (r. 1331, 1340–44) and later enfeoffed as Hüngyönggun. During his term of office in the Bureau of Historiography, Ch’unch’ugwan, he participated in the compilation of the Veritable Records of Koryo monarchs Ch’unsŏn and Ch’unsuk. For biographical information see Koryo’sa 109.21b–22b.
Double a thousand seas, pile up ten thousand mountains, that is the wonderful district of Kwandong!
The oiled blue streamers, the red lotus tents, the Commander of the Military Garrison!
The cordial relations between the generals, the black lances and red flags, the loud neighing of the horses.
Out on patrol—Oh, what a sight!
The people, everything of this frontier district.
My spirit leaps with the wind.
How civilization flourishes—Oh, what a sight 27!

The kyŏnggi ch’ega form continued in popularity into the early Yi dynasty with the following works, authorship and date of composition as indicated 28:

1. Kwŏn Kŭn [104] (1352—1409) 29  
2. Anon.  
3. Anon.  

28 Here I have followed Yi Myŏngyu, “Kyŏnggi ch’ega ui hyŏngsŏng kwajŏng sogo”, op. cit., pp. 31—2.
29 Kwŏn Kŭn was a noted follower of the school of Chu Hsi orthodoxy of the late Koryŏ—early Yi period. His courtesy names were Kawŏn and Sasuk [105] and his literary appelation was Yangch’ŏn [106]. He was a member of the faction of Yi Saek [107] (1328—95) and imprisoned with them at Ch’ŏnju but later pardoned. Following his release from prison he lived at Ikchu for a period where he wrote ḭphak tosŏl [108]. He also authored a kugyŏll [109] edition of the nine classics. He was appointed to office in the central government again with the rise of the Yi dynasty and made several trips to Ming China endeavoring to reconcile Yi—Ming relations.
30 The text of the Sangdae pyŏlgok is contained in Akchang kasa ka-sang 23a—b.
31 The text of the Oryun’ga is contained in Akchang kasa ka-sang 20b—21b.
32 The text of Yŏnhyŏngjegok is contained in Akchang kasa ka-sang 21b—22b.
33 Pyŏn Kyeryang had the courtesy name of Kögyŏng and his literary appelation was Ch’unjŏng [114]. He was active as a military officer and was for a period in charge of the pharmacy of the central government. He also participated in the compilation of the Kukcho p’ogam [115]. A noted poet, he is most known for his sijo verse. His collected works are contained in the Ch’unjŏngjip.
34 The text of the Hwasan pyŏlgok is contained in the Akchang kasa ka-sang 18b—20a. Also see Sejong changhŏn taewang sillok [117] 28.1b—2a. All references to the annals of the Yi dynasty are to the Gakushuin edition, Tōkyō, 1956—1967.
Many of the Yi period works listed above have a common theme, praise of the new dynasty and the merits of its founders. They were didactic displays of the teachings of Chu Hsi, themes which permeate the prose and verse of this period. The changes in theme from the Koryo period verse, reflects the objections of the early Yi period scholars to the rather earthy changga of folk origin which they replaced with works considered more suitable to the new dynasty and which reflected the new philosophy of the ruling elite, viz., Chu Hsi orthodoxy. The zenith of such works was reached in the lengthy...
later 125 stanzas — Yongbi och'ón'ga which also makes use of the öttö hanilikko portion of the kyönggi ch'ega refrain. The kyönggi ch'ega had been sung at banquets in the Koryó period as had the more popular changga. The need to find replacements for the changga may partially account for the continuance of the form during the Yi period. Whatever the possibilities the kyönggi ch'ega form might have possessed, they apparently were never realized for they soon ceased to be written. The use that was made of this form is hardly inspirational. An enumeration no matter how amusing to construct is apt to grow boring rather quickly in repetition.

Although some variations are encountered in the kyönggi ch'ega mentioned such as the replacement of the phrase kyönggi öttö hanilikko with a different line, occasional lengthening or shortening of a line, or even omission of a portion of the refrain, the majority of the works follow to a surprising degree the form of the Hallim pyölgok and like it are metrically regular. This regularity may be seen in an outline of syllable-groups by line for the first verse of the Hallim pyölgok:

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334
334
334
434
444
423
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The Ch'uksøngsu is an exception and only the structure of the refrain and the use of the phrase kyönggi öttö hanilikko resemble the form of the kyönggi ch'ega. In the same category of extreme variations are four works of Chu Sebung composed ca. 1514, viz., Todonggok, Yukhyön'ga, Œmyön'gok and T'æp'yon'gok as well as the work

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42 The phrase occurs in five stanzas, e. g. stanza 71, Yongbi och'ón'ga 8.30b. Kyujanggak ch'ongsö Nos. 4 and 5, Seoul: 1937—38.
43 Chu Kugin, for example, consciously used the Hallim pyölgok as a model for his Puruhôn'gok. For example, cited Yi Myönggu, "Kyönggi ch'ega üi, yöksa jök sönggyökök ko'ch'al". op. cit., p. 100. In the refrain of the first verse of the Hwaj6n pyölgok Kim Ku uses the line 'how many are following me', from the refrain of the first stanza of the Hallim pyölgok.
44 Chu Sebung had the courtesy name of Kyöngyu and his literary appellation was Sinjae. He passed the civil service examinations in 1522. He is known for establishing the first of the early Yi period sówôn at Paegundong in honor of An Hyang (1243—1306), in 1543. His verse is collected in Murung chapko. He also authored Ch'ukkyeji and Tongguk myöngsin onhaengnok. For further biographical information see Han'guk inmyông taesajon, op. cit., p. 910.
45 The texts of these works are contained in Murung chapko, the collected works of Chu Sebung. A 16th century woodblock edition appeared but was lost in the Hideyoshi invasions and in the mid-19th century distant relatives recollected and reissued the work in 16 kwôn. For further bibliographical information see Kuksa taesajon, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 488.
Tongak p'algok\textsuperscript{141}\textsuperscript{46} of Kwôn Homun\textsuperscript{144} (1523—1587)\textsuperscript{47}. Stanzas eight and nine of Chu's Todonggok, for example, are lengthy narrations; in fact, they are longer than the preceding seven stanzas combined. This suggests that the works of Chu Sebung and Kwôn Homun were not written as lyrics for particular tunes as were the other kyönggi ch'ega but as verse to be read. This is analogous to the development of the narrative sijo, sasól sijo\textsuperscript{148} from the p'ýóngsijo\textsuperscript{149}.

The place of the kyönggi ch'ega in the history of the development of Korean verse forms has and still is widely debated, particularly forms from which the kyönggi ch'ega may have developed, e. g., hyangga\textsuperscript{150}, changga, Sung tz'u, and the forms whose development the kyönggi ch'ega may have influenced, e. g., sijo and kasa\textsuperscript{151}\textsuperscript{48}. Each of the arguments advanced has its own merits. It is not difficult to point out similarities but in this instance it is rather difficult to prove the influence on a particular form.

In the broader scope of the history of Korean literature the position of the kyönggi ch'ega may be seen more clearly\textsuperscript{49}. In the Koryö period they were

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\textsuperscript{46} The text of the Tongnak p'algok is contained in Songamjip\textsuperscript{142} the collected works of Kwôn Homun. Yi Myônggu, "Kyönggi ch'ega üi ýoksajôk sônggyûk koch' al" op. cit., p. 106, points out an apparent eccentricity, viz., Kwôn's Tongnak p'algok "Eight Songs of the Pleasures of Solitude" has only seven verses while his cyclical tangg\textsuperscript{146} Han'go sipp'algok "Eighteen Songs of a Leisure Life", has nineteen verses.

\textsuperscript{47} Kwôn Homun had the courtesy name of Changjung, and the literary appellation of Songam\textsuperscript{145}. He passed the examinations for the chinsa\textsuperscript{144} degree in 1561, but was not given appointment to office. He then built a study at the foot of Mt. Ch'óng-söng\textsuperscript{147} where he spent the remainder of his life. He built a reputation as a writer of verse, e. g., p'yöng sijo and linked sijo and is related to have had many students. For further biographical information see Han'guk inmyông taesajôn, op. cit., p. 63.

\textsuperscript{48} Chông Pyönguk\textsuperscript{152}, "Pyölgok üi ýoksajôk hyöngt'aego\textsuperscript{153}, Sasanggye\textsuperscript{154} 3 (1955), has put forth the view that changga like the Chôngûpsa, Chông Kwajông\textsuperscript{152} and the Samogok\textsuperscript{156} were forerunners of the kyönggi ch'ega. The opinion that the kyönggi ch'ega were a Koreanization of the Chinese tz'u was first put forth by Ch'ónndae Sanin, loc. cit., who called them "... a kind of Chinese tz'u ... in which i du was used and to which a short verse was appended as a refrain". Yi Myônggu, "Kyönggi ch'ega üi hyöngsSONG kwajông soGO", op. cit., pp. 53—55, has put forth the view that these works were Korean lyrics written for the tunes of the Sung tz'u.

\textsuperscript{49} Yi Myônggu, "Kyönggi ch'ega üi ýoksajôk sônggyûk koch' al", op. cit., p. 112, expresses the view that these works were written by the sadaebu or new elite class which represented the rise of regional officials, hyangni\textsuperscript{157}, to power over the military rulers during the late 13th century. It was this group which supported Yi Sônggye to the throne as the founder of the Yi dynasty in 1392.
amusing displays of scholarly wit and as such were poetic (lyric) counterparts to the prose personification tales cast in pseudo-biographical form. In both cases the authors were chiefly literati who prospered under the patronage of the Ch'oe military rulers (1196—1259) and later Koryŏ period followers of the literary fashions they had implemented. Again, both forms, prose and lyrics, had a visual appeal through the use of Chinese characters. The use of the kyŏnggi ch'ega in the early Yi period as court songs was more political than literary in nature. Finally, in the works of Chu Sebung and Kwŏn Homun, there is a departure both in form and theme with the latter reflecting the author's own life and experiences. Similar themes were taken up more effectively in the new kasa form then becoming popular and the kyŏnggi ch'ega was abandoned to become a curious footnote in the history of Korean literature.