Introduction to the Chang'ga*: the Long Poem

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The founding of the Koryŏ dynasty (918—1392) by Wang Künk in 918 marked a new phase of Korean culture. In the beginning the new dynasty showed a spirit of freedom and independence; and so powerful was this new kingdom that in 935 Silla surrendered to Koryŏ without any fight. In the following year, Koryŏ annexed the Posterior Paekche (892—936). To cope with the Khitan Tartars in the north, King Taejo cultivated a friendly relationship with the Posterior T'ang dynasty (923—934) from the sixteenth year of his reign (933), and adopted the latter's name of era. But soon on the continent, the Posterior T'sin, Han, Chou, and Sung dynasties succeeded one another, and in the north, Khitan Tartars established the Liao dynasty in 946. To face these changes in the Asian map, and to revive the former independant spirit, the Korean name of era was used again for four years from the first year of King Kwangjong (949). But under the influence of Shaung Chi and Chou Chu, refugee scholars from China, and Ch'oe Ō-wi, a Silla scholar educated abroad, Koryŏ leaned towards the trimming policy, and the name for the era used by the Sung dynasty was again adopted in 963. On the other hand, the system of the Government Examination was enforced from 958, and the two-caste system of government, civil and military, became effective from 976. By this system, only the high officials chosen by the Government Examination occupied state affairs, and they attempted to oppose the Tartars and alien powers by the adoption of a trimming policy. The result was that the government adopted its name of era from the Kin dynasty founded by the Nü-chëns in 1117. Thus for 170 years after the establishment of the dynasty, the aristocracy and high officials held

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1 Silla: an ancient Korean kingdom (57 B.C. — 935 A.D.); ruled variously by the Pak, Sŏk, and Kim families.
2 Government Examination: "Kwagŏ" in Korean; see KRS, Sections on Choosing of Officials, King Kwangjong 9, 15; Kyŏngjong 2; Sŏngjong 2, 6.

* The romanization of Korean names follows the McCune-Reischauer system (Seoul, 1938); however when the personal name begins with "i" this was made into "yi". This is the first time these poems are translated into any Western language; the late Wallace Stevens read the translations.

[1] 高麗
[2] 王建
[3] 後百濟
[4] 契丹
[5] 太祖
[6] 光宗
[7] 雙冀
[8] 周啟
[9] 崔彥播
[10] 科舉
the reins of power and regarded the military class with scorn and contempt. This sort of administration resulted in a revolt by the suppressed class in 1170. The general Ch'ōng Chung-bu\textsuperscript{[12]} and others put to death all the civil officers and political power passed into the hands of military caste, where it was to remain for the next eighty years. Intellectual activities were for the time being interrupted and a dark age ensued. But in 1196 a famous military man, Ch'oe Ch'ung-hyōn\textsuperscript{[13]}, brought the country under his single authority and engaged men of culture and ability for high posts. Literary productions increased, and our culture flourished again.

Since 1219 the powerful Mongols had an eye on Koryŏ; in 1232 the capital was transferred from Kaesōng\textsuperscript{[14]} to Kanghwa\textsuperscript{[15]} Island, and the Koryŏ people fought indomitably against the invader for forty years. The Mongols, who had conquered a large part of Asia and Europe, did not succeed in controlling Korea. The invaders then took conciliatory measures, and in 1258 a Mongol princess became the Koryŏ queen. During this period, the Mongol mode of living became fashionable, and king and aristocracy adopted the Mongol dress and spoke the Mongol language. When the thirty-first King Kongmin\textsuperscript{[16]} took an anti-Mongol policy in 1352, our own way of living was restored again. Up to 1083, Koryŏ had produced quite a good Buddhist and Confucian culture; but during the subsequent three hundred years, Koryŏ suffered greatly from the following causes: internally, from opposition between ideas of independance and of toadyism, and between military and literary castes; externally, from the invasion of the Khitans and Nü-chêns and Mongols and Japanese.

Since the beginning of the dynasty, the government had engaged many naturalized Chinese scholars such as P'o Yen\textsuperscript{[17]}, Shuang Chê\textsuperscript{[18]}, Liu Tsai\textsuperscript{[19]}, Hu Tsung-tan\textsuperscript{[20]} and Shên-chih\textsuperscript{[21]}. Confucianism and related sciences developed to the highest degree; but this Confucianism was considered a part of Buddhism, and was used as a basis of politics. Exegetics was the only science in vogue, and scholars studied phonetics and did explication de texte. During 1047—1122, the barbarians in the north were quiet, and in consequence peace reigned and enlightenment in the country reached its apex. Education was taken seriously, and one of the most famous Confucianists of the time, Ch'oe Ch'ung\textsuperscript{[22]}, established a private institution\textsuperscript{[23]} of his own; following his example, Ch'ông Pae-gôl\textsuperscript{[24]} and others founded eleven other private schools.

With the purpose of developing education and Confucianism, books concerning the Chinese classics, history, law and literature were published

\textsuperscript{[22]} The name of this institution was "Sijung ch'oeongdo"\textsuperscript{[25]}.
in 1065, the tenth year of King Munjong; and again in 1059, similar books were printed at Ch’ungju and sent to the Royal Library. Koryŏ gradually became known throughout the Far East as the best country for publication, and even Sung sent scholars to Koryŏ to procure texts unavailable in China (1091). At the same time, the Taefang kyŏng (Collection of Buddhist Canons) was printed, and the publishing technique was developed to such an extent that metal movable type was invented. We do not know the exact date of the invention of movable type in Korea; but around 1234, the twenty-first year of the twenty-third King Kojong, twenty-eight copies of the Sangjong yemun (50 chs.) were printed on Kangwha Island. Libraries were established in Sŏgyŏng (950) and in the royal palace (1116, 1129, 1392). In 1314, in accordance with the suggestions of Hong Yak and others, 17,000 volumes of the Imperial Library in Sung were bought from China and were preserved in the Confucian Academy in Seoul. Chuhsiism was imported by An Hyang (1290) and was taught by An Sa-jun and others. The study of this new doctrine reached its culmination with such great scholars as Chŏng Mong-ju, Yi Saek, Kilchae, and Chŏng To-jŏn; it in return rejected Buddhism. Among the most important publications of the time, the following books are still available today: the Samguk sagi (1145); the Samguk yusa

4 This book is by Ch’oe Yun-i.

5 The Samguk sagi (Historical Record of the Three Kingdoms) was compiled by Kim Pu-sik (1075—1151) and others by the order of King Injong in 1145. The book is based on old documents and fragments and on many Chinese sources. Since the publications in the time of Koryŏ were lost, it was republished in succession between 1393—1394 and again in 1512. After that, it had been printed several times in block-letters or in movable types. The division of the book is as follows: 1—12 chs., history of Silla; 13—22 chs., history of Koguryŏ; 23—28 chs., history of Paekche; 29—31 chs., chronological tables; 32—40 chs., monographs; 41—50 chs., biography. We may recall that Kim Pu-sik was also one of those scholars who rejected any consideration of vernacular poetry. A. WEDEMEYER in Japanische Frühgeschichte (Tōkyō, 1930, p. x11) calls it "geschichtliche Denkwürdigkeiten aus den drei Staaten". COURANT calls it "Memoires Historiques des Trois Royaumes" in Bibliographie Coréenne, v. 2.

6 The Samguk yusa (Relics of the Three Kingdoms) was written by Great Priest Illyŏn (1206—1289). This book is one of the two most important documents preserving the original texts of old Korean poetry. This book is a collection of the antiquities of Silla, Koguryŏ, and Paekche, and is headed by chronological tables. The book records in essay style anecdotes and incidents pertinent to Buddhism. It was compiled about 140 years after the publication of the official history, the Samguk sagi. While the latter is primarily concerned with such elements of history as main national events and the accomplishments of royal families, in the former the emphasis is laid on the personal history of the people,
The founder of the Koryo dynasty was himself a devout Buddhist; he believed in the defence of the country by means of Buddhism and had many Buddhist temples built in Seoul and provinces. In due time, Buddhism was

their romances and events, their narrative tradition in effect. While the latter had to omit, revise, and even change the contents in order to conform to the styles and patterns set forth by the *Historical Records of China*, the former tried to preserve the original forms in the manner of miscellanies, regardless of regulations set forth by Chinese classics. We must give some credit to Illyon whose primary purpose for this compilation was to preserve the indigenous culture of Korea and thus make it available to posterity. From the bibliography that Illyon gives at the time of its publication, it seems that the old documents were still in his hands. This book preserves twenty-five titles of poems, fourteen with texts and eleven without. WEDEMEYER calls it "Vergessenes aus den drei Staaten" in *Japanische Frühgeschichte* (p. x11); COURANT calls it "Antiquites des Trois Royaumes" in *Bibliographie Coreenne*, v. 2.

7 The *Chewang ungi* (Rhymed History of Kings): Compiled by Yi Sùng-hyu in the thirteenth year of King Ch'ungyöl (1287), the twenty-fifth King of Koryo. Consisting of two volumes, the first volume treats Chinese history, and the second, Korean history. In both volumes, seven-word line rhymed poetry is used instead of prose.

8 The *Kyunyö chön* (A Life of Kyunyö): a biography of the life and achievement of the Great Priest Kyunyö, written by Dr. Saryön. Saryön says in his preface that since no authentic book was written on Kyunyö until 1075, he was asked to write one by Master Yöng'un, officer at the Queen's Palace. The family name of the Great Priest was Pyön. Born on the eight day of the eighth moon of the year 917, he became a bonze at the age of fifteen, and first studied at Temple Puhung and later at Temple Yöngt'ong. He was not only a great priest, but was also an erudite scholar, and annotated and added commentaries to many classics which would otherwise have been difficult. King Kwangjong rebuilt for him Temple Kwiböp below Song'ak Mountain, and Kyunyö spent his last years and died there. He also excelled in poetry, and his eleven devotional poems are recorded in this book. But this book does not provide us with the dates of the poems. Since the poems deal with the teachings of Buddhism, we may conjecture that they were written after Kyunyö had entered the priesthood. But we could not suppose that they were written immediately after beginning the priest's life: the must have been produced when he had attained wisdom and virtue and had won the public's confidence as an accomplished priest. Since it was in 953, the thirty-sixth year of his life, that he was ordained a priest, and since the poems were written after the pattern of *Bhadra-cari-pranidhana*, it is possible that the poems were produced when the author perfected his learning and was able to elaborate Buddhism to the people. The eight chapter gives the translation of eleven poems into Chinese by Ch'oe Haeng-gwi in 967, a contemporary of Kyunyö. Since the book also mentions that Chinese translations were made a few years after the original poems were written, we have good reason to guess that the dates of the poems are between 963—967.

9 The *Haedong kosung chön* (Biographical Dictionary of Celebrated Priests): compiled by Kak'urn, head priest of the Temple Yöngt'ong in 1215, second year of King Kojong, the twenty-third king of Koryo. The biographies of famous priests in Koguryo and Silla are given.
encouraged to such an extent that there were about three hundred temples in the capital, whose population was 130,000. These temples were endowed with land and with slaves—both exempt from tax. Princes and aristocracy entered the priesthood one after another; eminent priests were chosen as counsellors to the king, and a special government examination was instituted for priests which classified them in seven different categories. In 1036, the government enacted a law that a family with four sons should dedicate one son to the priesthood; this law was revised in 1059, to prescribe one out of three sons. In consequence, the number of priests increased, and the aristocracy and people from the other classes gathered in the temples, extended their properties, erected luxurious temples, possessed slaves and soldiers, and formed a small kingdom of their own. Using their superior economic power, these temples practiced usury and monopolized the sale of rice and corn, of wine and cattle, and of salt and other necessities of life. The people suffering from the exploitation of the aristocracy turned to the temples for help, dedicated their possessions, and sought an easier life there. Thus the Buddhist temples became the most tragic cause of the difficulties of the national economy, of the disturbance of administration, and in short, of the fall of the dynasty itself.

Another aspect of Buddhism in Koryo is found in the fact that it was the priests of the aristocracy who wielded the power; they interfered with political affairs, and invited discord among the sects. The result was that there was no development in the doctrinal studies worthy of mention. They thought that the best way to govern the country was to turn to the mercy of the Buddha. This blind formalism reduced Buddhism into superstition, and encouraged such national enterprises as the erection of Buddhas and of temples, and the publication of the Taejang kyong. In consequence the quality of creativity and lucidity of Silla Buddhism was no more seen, and instead Koryo Buddhism found expression in imitation and in false magnificence.

Nevertheless the great achievement of Koryo was the publication of the Taejang kyong. The intention of this enterprise was to repel the invading Tartars and Mongols by meritorious deeds to Buddha. When the Khitan Tartars invaded the country (1011), King Hyonjong[60] took refuge in Naju[61] and there resolved to publish the Taejang kyong. Miraculously the enemy who was nearing Seoul retreated. Encouraged by the Buddha's answer, Hyonjong ordered blocks cut for printing, and throughout the times of Kings Tochong[62], Chongjong[63], and Munjong[64], which span sixty years, 6,000 volumes were printed. This publication surpassed that of Sung by 1000 volumes. But the wood-blocks were burnt to ashes in 1232 by the havoc of war. Another publication took place in 1096 numbering 4,740 volumes. Since the above-mentioned two publications were again destroyed by the Mongol war, Ch'oe U[65] began another edition in 1237.
and Sugi the priest supervised the work, made a close textual study of the blocks, and published 6,791 volumes during a sixteen-year period (1251). The wood-blocks number 81,658 sheets, and they are now preserved in the Temple Haein in Korea.

While Buddhism and geomancy were the faiths of the aristocracy, the popular belief among the common people was Shamanism. The Shaman priests and priestesses exorcised demons by songs and dances, induced the descent of spirits, and cured diseases by prayers. The Shaman priestess was called “Mudang” or “Malmyöng”, and the Shaman priest, “Paksu” or “Hwarang”.

The most important product of fine arts in Koryo was the celadon. As early as 1096 this art exhibited independent techniques, and in the beginning and middle of the thirteenth century, it attained its highest peak. The exquisite celadons were made in Kaesong and Kangjin. Refined porcelain works were produced, either in grey or painted in blue, white, yellow, and black. However, the most beautiful ones are blue and white celadons whose forms are widely appreciated by the world today. The highly developed artisans also baked blue tiles (1150) and even glass tiles (1280). Foreign trade also grew, and in Pyöngnando, 20 Li west from Seoul, ships from Sung, Liao, Kin, and Yuan dynasties, Japan and the Loochoos and Saracen entered and cleared. As the result of foreign trade, the Koryo dynasty was known to the West, and the name “Corea” (later Korea) was transmitted to Europeans, and our musical instrument, the “Kemangeh”, was introduced among the Arabs.

Music was developed for occasions like Yondunghoe which took place on the fifteenth day of the first moon. During these feasts, lanterns were burnt, fruits and wine were served, demons were exorcised, and ancestors were worshipped. People gathered together, and sang and danced, and prayed for perpetual peace. There were, however, two kinds of music: popular music and T’ang music. In 1164 the court music was imported from Sung and it became the refined music played in the court on official occasions. Bells, horizontal psalteries, musical stones, string instruments, lyres, bamboo-flutes, with seven holes, pipes, reeds, and egg-shaped wind-instruments made of porcelain were used. Good examples of popular music are the Ode on the Seasons, and the Song of P’yöng’yang. Besides, there were the music of farmers, and Shaman music. The famous dances of the Silla dynasty, sword and Ch’öyong dances, were continually popular in the Koryo period; and influenced by the Yuan drama, the mask-play was also acted in the court on the eve of the end of the eleventh moon to exorcise demons. The puppet play was also attended by the people on the eighth day of the fourth moon, on the occasion of lantern festivals.

[66] 守其 [70] 博士 [74] 碧潤渡
[67] 海印寺 [71] 花郎 [75] 懶燈會
[68] 巫塲 [72] 開城 [76] 處容
[69] 萬明 [73] 唐津
So far we have seen that in the kingdom of Koryö, the conditions necessary in order to produce good vernacular poetry were totally absent. The Koryö kings were either devout Buddhists or sinofolias, and cared little about the cultivation of vernacular poetry. The world of thought was completely dominated by either Confucianism or Buddhism, and the indigenous culture of our own, which once enjoyed its full blossom in the Silla dynasty, decayed gradually. In Silla, a long poetic tradition reached its culmination in the polished form of the native poetic genre, *Hyang'ga* [77], and many poets of genius used and perfected this form. But in Koryö, everything that was indigenous was absorbed by an alien culture. The *Idu* [84], the crystallization of glorious Silla culture, was no more in use in Koryö times. Even the Koryö kings looked down on our own poetry, and encouraged only the writing of verse in Chinese. The vernacular songs were termed either vulgar or obscene, and the compilers of official dy-

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10 The *Hyang'ga*: is a general term denoting Korean poetry and covering in particular the poems written from the beginning of Silla to the end of the tenth century. See SGYS, Bk. 5; the *Samguk sagi*, ch. 11, Annals of Silla 11; Cho Yun-jae [78], *Kungmuhak sa* [79], pp. 26–33; Yang Chu-dong [80], *Koga yŏngu* [81]; Chi Hŏn-yong [82], *Hyang'ga yŏyo sinyŏk* [83].

11 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 was invented by a scholar, Solch'ong [85], around 692. We do not know the exact date of the importation of the Chinese to Silla; but since Chinese characters are ideographs, they can be borrowed for their ideographic value in their original sense, although the Chinese pronunciation of the characters is not known. In Korea, they were also used for their phonetic value to transliterate the Korean language. This was due to the absence of any other system of writing in Korea until 1446. The Korean alphabet is not evolved from the Chinese as are Japanese phonograms; however, there are affinities between the Manyŏ-gana which were used in transcribing the Japanese poems in the *Manyŏshū*, and the *Idu* of Korea. Solch'ong 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; in short, he made, so to speak, an *explication de texte*. And during the process of this *explication*, he gave a logical systematization to the Chinese characters thus used. But it is held among specialists of 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. We can trace this very easily in the texts of the poems themselves where the method of transcription is not uniform but variant, leading scholars to tear their hair in agony. A complete interpretation of the system, it seems, can be attained only when one has mastered the historical phonology and philology of Chinese and Korean and the comparative philology of oriental languages. It is encouraging to see that some scholars in Korea have entered upon a study of comparative etymology and the possible interrelationships between Korean and the other oriental languages, See the Chewang ungi 2, Silla; SS 26; Bibliographie Coréenne, v. 1, pp. 88–91. “L'Oeuvre de Syel Tchong a été de faciliter la lecture à haute voix, et par suite l'intelligence du chinois en écrivant les particules coréennes telles qu'elles sont usitées pour le lecture de textes chinois.” (p. 88) “Il a certainement contribué à la diffusion de la culture chinoise.” (p. 89).
nastic histories and anthologies simply refused to treat them. A handful of recorded poems were also from time to time expunged by the Yi dynasty compilers for the same reason. It is in consequence difficult to determine whether the poems we have now are in their original or in a modified form.

The aftermath of the Hyang'ga is seen in the Dirge\(^{[86]}\) (1120), which is written in a mixture of the Idu and Chinese letters. When we enter the Koryö period, the use of the Idu in poetry disappears. It is because Chinese, which developed to a considerable degree towards the end of Silla, proved itself really capable of translating our emotions and innermost feelings. The truth is that scholars found the Idu letters inefficient; the literary works produced in this period are all in Chinese. However we see in the Dirge a transitional period, a period in which the Idu and Chinese still struggled for 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\(^{[87]}\) (1282—1348). Here the Idu letters are used sporadically here and there to transliterate not only connectives but also refrains. It is evident from these examples that in the beginning of Koryö, 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. Thus we must conclude that the Hyang'ga of Silla was not abandoned in a day, but suffered a gradual decay throughout the Koryö period.

Historical sources record sixty titles of Koryö poems, twenty with texts, forty without. Among the twenty with texts, only twelve can be considered vernacular poetry, as eight others were written either in Chinese or translation in Chinese of the then existing poems\(^{[12]}\). Among

\[^{12}\text{There are three poems written in Chinese and Korean connectives during the Koryö period. First of all, Hanlim pyölgok}\]\(^{[88]}\) was composed sometime 1214—1259 by Confucian scholars as a product of their leisurely life. It is characterized by its catalogue of things: in the first stanza, for example, names of the then famous Confucian scholars; in the fourth stanza, names of good wine and precious cups; in the sixth stanza, names of musical instruments, and the like. This poem was sung in the court to the musical instruments, and its usage continued throughout the Yi dynasty. SNS ch. 58, 6. 8.

Another two are by An Ch'uk (1282-1348), the Kwandong pyölgok\[^{[89]}\] and Chuk'ke pyölgok\[^{[90]}\]. The former was composed on the occasion of his returning from a government post in Kangnung\[^{[91]}\] in 1330. The poem sings of beautiful scenes in the eastern part of Korea, in particular the eastern coast and the vicinity of the Diamond Mountains. On the other hand, the latter sings of beautiful scenes in Sunhung\[^{[92]}\], author's birth place. See KRS, Music; TT ch. 46, King Konmin 3; TT ch. 25; CMP Section on Astronomy; Cho Yun-jae, Kungmunhak sa, pp. 62—68.

In the Essays (1363, 1600, 1693) by Yi Che-hyon\[^{[93]}\], eleven poems are translated into Chinese in a four-line stanza of seven-word line. Here Yi attempted to translate into Chinese the then popular vernacular poems. Among the eleven poems, we find a translation into Chinese of the second stanza of The Turkish Bakery. See KRS, Sections on Music and on Biography.

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\[^{[86]}\text{李朝} \]
\[^{[87]}\text{安軔} \]
\[^{[88]}\text{翰林別曲} \]
\[^{[89]}\text{関東別曲} \]
\[^{[90]}\text{竹溪別曲} \]
\[^{[91]}\text{江陵} \]
\[^{[92]}\text{順興} \]
\[^{[93]}\text{李齊賢} \]
the twelve, such poems as the *Dirge, Regret, and Maternal Love* are shorter poems. Even in the *Regret*, we see the afternath of the *Hyang'ga* only with regard to the total number of lines which amounted to ten. However we do not see here a clear stanzaic division as we do in the *Hyang'ga* of Silla. But it is the Long Poem that characterizes this period. It is thus called because of the refrain that follows each stanza; by adding this refrain the poems continued on like a chain. The reason for this is probably that these poems were orally transmitted, and that their origin lay in the folksong or the popular ballad. The authors are all ordinary people; they used this form freely to reveal their inmost feelings. These poems were usually sung to musical instruments, and they found their place whenever men or women met together and entertained each other with songs.

King Ch'ung'yöl [94] (1275-1308), though his excessive love of luxury made him something less than an ideal king, was a great lover of popular songs and music, and gathered musicians and dancers from all over the country, and encouraged them to study popular music [13]. One of the favorites in the court at that time seems to have been *The Turkish Bakery*, which was of course condemned in the Yi dynasty as vulgar. When the King went to the Yuan capital, the Yuan emperor asked him for a Koryo song. Two Korean generals, Song Pang-yong [95] and Song Yong [96], sang this *Turkish Bakery*, and the King himself is said to have danced to the tune [14]. It is very likely that many popular songs composed in the reign of King Ch'ung'yöl were eliminated by the Yi dynasty historians.

The long poems suffered most during the reign of King Sŏngjong [97] [15] (1470—1494) of the Yi dynasty. This was the period when the popular poems were expunged or revised, as injurious to public decency. The Yi dynasty scholars termed these poems as "that which deals with love between the sexes", or "that which pleases men and women". It is true that these poems deal primarily with affection between the sexes; but any student of literature knows that love is the eternal theme of poetry in the East and West. 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 as they were. There is, however, another conjecture — that the poems as we have them today had already been expunged, and we have only a purified version of them. If this is so, we have no way of confirming or rejecting the opinion of those scholars. But if these poems as we have them now still possess the

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13 *KRS* ch. 125, Biography; *TT* ch. 38, King Ch'ung'yöl 6.
14 *KRS* ch. 32, King Ch'ung'yöl 30.
15 *SNS* ch. 215, 19, 4; *SNS* ch. 240, 21, 5; *SNS* ch. 219, 19, 8.

[94] 忠烈王
[95] 宋邦英
[96] 宋英
[97] 威宗
same texture as they did in Koryŏ, we are inclined to demand a justification. The poems that suffered most were *The Turkish Bakery*, *Song (9)*, *Song of P'yŏng'yang*, and *Song (12)*. 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 complexity of technicalities, and a depth of the reality revealed — these are some of the qualities of the Koryŏ poems.

The original texts of twelve poems are preserved in the *Akchang kasa*[^98] (Words for Music) and *Akhak koebŏm*[^99] (Canon of Music). 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[^100] (c. 1470—1494), Yu Cha-gwang[^101], Sin Mal-p'yŏng[^102], Kim Pok-kŭn[^103] and others revised and edited the great body of scores and established rules in the Board of Court Music, and compiled them into nine chapters (in three volumes). It also has sections on musical instruments, folksongs, and dance music. In the third and fifth chapters of the book, texts of seven poems, which are found nowhere else, are recorded. The first edition was published in 1493, and the present one is a later edition republished in 1609 and 1655.

The *Akchang kasa* is probably by Pak Chun[^104], and was first published some time 1510—1569. It is the oldest extant anthology of poems in Korea, and it 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 ten other poems either in Korean or in Chinese translation. The book is divided into four sections:

1. Texts of popular music: under this heading, three titles are given.
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 are recorded here; among nine, the texts of seven 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.

[^98]: **樂章歌詞**
[^99]: **樂學軌範**
[^100]: **成倪**
[^101]: **柳子光**
[^102]: **申未平**
[^103]: **金福根**
[^104]: **朴淵**
The Koryo sa[105] and Ch'ungbo munhôn pigo[106] are indispensable to the scholar. The former is a dynastic history compiled by Ch'ông In-ji[107] (1395—1468) and others by the order of King Sejong[108], dedicated to King Munjong[109] in 1451, and republished in the time of King Tanjong[110] (1453—1455). In the seventieth and seventy-first chapters, the sections on music, the original texts of the poems of the three kingdoms and of the Koryo dynasty are recorded.

The latter was first compiled by Hong Pong-han[111] (?—1778) by the order of King Yôngjo[112] (1725—1776) in 1770. It had 100 chapters and consisted of forty volumes. King Ch'ôngjo[113] (1777—1800) ordered Yi Man-un[114] to add seven more sections to the book, but they were not published during his time. In the beginning of the twentieth century, King Yunghi[115] (1907—1910) ordered Pak Yong-dae[116] and others to revise and augment the book. The compilers divided the Encyclopaedia into sixteen topics: astronomy, geography, genealogy, rites, music, military affairs, justice, land taxes, expenditures, household population, rice sales, exchange of gifts, choosing of officials, schools, official ranks, and the fine arts. Practically all the titles of Korean poems are recorded in the sections on music and on the fine arts.

We have discussed the historical, social, cultural backgrounds that were hostile to the growth of vernacular poetry in Koryô, and have also treated the history of the compilation of these poems. During the Yi dynasty, these poems did not receive as much attention from scholars as they deserved. The active research of ordering and establishing texts began only in our day. Several scholars in Korea assembled materials, carefully undid the effects of time, and examined authorship, authenticity, chronology, collaboration, and revision. They not only edited the manuscripts from historical research and criticism and established a correct text of the poems, but also annotated and made valuable commentaries on linguistic and historical matters. But a full appreciation of the poems has not yet been attained even in Korea. There is still doubt as regards problems of chronology, authorship, and edition. Linguistic studies are considerably advanced; but a higher criticism of the poems as poetry has not yet began. But we have good reason to believe that this will be undertaken in the very near future.
King Yejong
r. 1106—1122

A DIRGE
1120

The loyal mind that saved the king
Reaches Heaven, bright, great.
Though your spirit abandoned you,
You are still true to your duty.

O men of merit, brave, handsome,
It is not hard for me to believe
That the traces of fidelity remain
Since you preferred death to shame.

King Yejong, the 16th king of the Koryŏ dynasty, was well versed in
poetry and wrote several poems himself. The Dirge was written in memory of
the two generals, Kim Ak and Sin Sung-gyŏm, when the King visited
Pyŏng'yang and saw the masks of the two generals in a religious ceremony.
The poem is recorded in īdu and it occupies an unique position in the history
of Korean poetry. The original text is recorded in the Changjŏlgong yusa
(Relics of Duke Changjŏl). See KRS ch. 3.

Chŏng Sŏ

My mind that has thought of you and wept
Is like a cuckoo in a lonely hollow.
That their slanders were untrue and vain.
The waning moon will know, and morning stars.
Your soul, my Lord, be there where mine drifts.
Who has opposed, insisted without fear?
I have had no faults, nor sins.
They are all slanders, alas, terrible.
Have you already forgotten me wholly?
Show favor to me, I entreat you, Lord, I pray.

The original text is recorded in AHKB ch 5; see TT ch. 20; SS ch. 3; SNS ch. 219; Essays of Yi Che-hyŏn, ch. 4; Essays of Yi Ik (1682—1764).
SONG OF CH'ÖYONG: A CHORAL DANCE FOR EXORCISING DEMONS

Prologue: In the reign of Silla, calm and bright,
Lived Ch'öyong, son of the Dragon King.
Inheritor of the virtues of Rahu(1)
With him the great and mysterious,
We the living never had a word,
Never had a friendship in this world.
His virtues prevail like the wind, and
Disperse the three calamities, the eight difficulties.

First Chorus: O his handsome mask, noble bearing,
Head, slightly inclining, with cuttings of flowers,
The broad brow that manifest longevity,
Long eyebrows, like those of a brave elephant;
Perfect eyes, clear and kindly;
Happy ears, garden of excellence;
Pink face of peach-blossoms;
And having smelt five incenses, your high nose.
Indulgent mouth, as though drunk on fortune,
Teeth, like white jade or porcelain,
Chin, slightly curved, happily,
Sleeves, hanging down, flooded with joy,
His breast, endowed with wisdom and wit,
Stomach, full with the good and lucky,
Pink sash bringing his waist down,
Legs, walked through the world at ease,
And his feet, to what tune danced a round!

Second Chorus: Who has made, who has made,
Without a needle, without thread,
Who has created Prince Ch'öyong?
Many have created him, built him,
Twelve kingdoms put him together.
Yes, many have created him, Prince Ch'öyong.

Demon: Crab-apples, green plums, ay, come,
Come out to tie my shoes.
If you not, I will curse you.

Second Chorus: Having caroused far into the night,
In the moonlit capital,
I return home, and in my bed,
Behold, four legs.
Two have been mine;
Whose are the other two?
Think now, Ch'öyong sees you,
O demon of pestilence, he will cut you to pieces.

What shall we offer you, Prince Ch'öyong,
Thousands of gold piece, the seven treasures?

Not the gold, nor the treasures,
Catch me that demon, catch him.

Over the field, over the water,
Avoid Ch'öyong, far away.

(The demon besought thus: demon of pestilence.)

The Song of Ch'öyong of Koryô is different from that of Silla. The original story of Ch'öyong as recorded in the SGYS is as follows: Since prosperity and peace prevailed and the people rejoiced, King Höngang of Silla visited Kaeunp'o. When he started back to his castle, suddenly black clouds arose, a dense fog thickened, and his men could not march forth. An inquiry was made, and a weatherman answered that this was all due to the anger of the Dragon King of the Eastern Sea, and that he could only be calmed by prayers in the temple. Accordingly, the prayers were offered, and the sun reappeared. The Dragon King, much pleased by the offering, appeared with his seven sons before the King, and praised his virtues. When the Dragon King returned to the Sea after the song and dance, one of his sons did not accompany him, but instead followed King Höngang and came to the capital. He, the son of the Dragon King, called himself Ch'öyong, and married a certain woman from the Kang family. Seeing that she was extremely beautiful, an evil spirit transformed himself into a man and attacked her in her room while Ch'öyong was away. But Ch'öyong returned, and witnessed the scene; and with calm he sang this song, which so moved the evil spirit that it went away. Thus after the event of the year 879 in which Ch'öyong drove away the evil spirit, his mask was used by the people for the same purpose of expelling demons. In the New Year's Eve, this choral dance was used to be performed in the court in order to exorcise the evil spirits and demons from the country. AHKB ch. 5; ACKS; SGYS ch. 2, Samguk sagi, ch. 11; KRS ch. 71, Music; TT ch. 32; Essays of Song Hyôn, ch. 1.

(1) Rahu is the god of solar eclipse. Ch'öyong was considered a son of the god of solar eclipse, because the appearance of the Dragon King in the Eastern Sea in the later 9th century occurred immediately after an eclipse of the sun.

A Mistress

THE TURKISH BAKERY

c. 1275—1308

I go to the Turkish shop, buy a bun,
An old Turk grasps me by the hand.
If this story is spread, abroad,
You alone are to blame, o little puppet (1).
I will go, yes, go to his bower:
Compact and close no place was more.

[126] 憲康王
[127] 開雲浦
[128] 姜
107
I go to the Temple Samjang, light the lantern.  
A chief priest grasps me by the hand.  
If this story is spread, abroad,  
You alone are to blame, o little lad.  
I will go, yes, go to his bower:  
Compact and close no place was more.

I go to the village well, draw the water,  
A Dragon within grasps me by the hand.  
If this story is spread, abroad,  
You alone are to blame, o little ladle.  
I will go, yes, go to his bower:  
Compact and close no place was more.

I go to the tavern, buy the wine,  
An innkeeper there grasps me by the hand.  
If this story is spread, abroad,  
You alone are to blame, o little measure.  
I will go, yes, go to his bower:  
Compact and close no place was more.

KRS ch. 71, Music 2; ACKS; SNS, ch. 240, 21, 5.

(1) In the bakery, the Turks were supposed to have a little puppet on the shelf for decoration.

Anonymous

ODE ON THE SEASON

I
With virtue in one hand,  
Happiness in another,  
Come, come ye gods,  
With virtue and happiness.

II
The river in January  
Now freezes, now melts.  
O my self born into the world,  
Why do you live thus alone?  
Under the full-moon of February,  
My love is handsome as  
The lantern burning bright on high.  
Your face shine upon the world.

In the last day of March,  
Plums bloom in the late spring.  
O blossom, your's that magnificence,  
The target of our brazen envy.
Orioles do not forget April,
They come in Paris, singing.
O my own love, high officer,
How could you forget bygone days?

In the festival of iris,
I make a concoction of healing herbs,
That lengthens your life a thousand years.
This I offer you this morning.

On the middle day of June,
Having bathed and combed by the water,
I, an abandoned comb on the stream,
Alone pursue you, my true love.

In the feast of all souls (1),
Having prepared many kinds of food,
I pray in this mid-year day,
You and I be forever together.

Under the full moon
In the mid-autumn festival (2),
Lucky I am to be near you, with you,
Under the moon, gently swaying.

O season of chrysanthemums.
In the double nine, September (3),
Having drunk wine and flower,
My love, take care, be well, strong.

October is the season of frost.
My love is handsome as the laden tree.
But once the tree is chopped down,
Where are you, love, where is the tree?

In a long November night,
An empty room, cold pillow, quilt,
I lie thus alone with troubled heart.
My love, without you, night too long.

In December, I place on his plate
Chopsticks carved from pepper wood.
They are for him, I meant so:
An unknown guest holds them and eats.

An anonymous work. According to the CMP, a certain Yu T'ak (129) in Happ'o (130) went to assist the army upon the Japanese invasion at Sunch'on (131) and Changsaengp'o (132). When arrived in the battle-field, the enemy fled immediately without further combat. This poem is said to have been composed by the soldiers to celebrate victory. Also the book entitled Imhap'ilgi (133) tells us

[129] 柳罐
[130] 合浦
[131] 順天
[132] 長生浦
[133] 林下筆記
that Yu T'ak lived in the time of King Kongmin (1352-1374); but if so, there
must have been some explanations as regards the authorship and date of the
poem in the KRS. The KRS merely says that this poem is panegyric and highly
poetic. As for the authorship, we cannot take it to be by soldiers. First of all,
if it was done by soldiers in the 14th century, the KRS should have mentioned
it, but it did not. The contents of the poem is panegyric, and there is nothing that
is pertinent to military affairs. Since this is a long poem on the seasons, this
could not have been written impromptu. KRS ch. 71; AHKB ch. 5; Essays of Song
Hyŏn ch. 1; MHP ch. 106; Essays of Yi Ik, ch. 4.

(1) The 15th of the 7th lunar month, and the last day of the Lantern Festival.
The festival is for the deliverance of hungry ghosts, often spoken of as the Feast
of All Souls, from the Sanskrit, ullambhana, deliverance. (2) The 15th of the 8th
lunar month; according to the lunar calendar, it is the mid-autumn day. (3) The
9th day of the 9th lunar month.

A Mistress

SONG OF P'YONG'YANG

Although P'yŏngyang is my home and capital,
Although walls have all been repaired,
Must I part from you, be left behind,
I'd stop spinning cottons and weaving (1),
Follow you, my own love, with salt tears.

Were the pearls to fall on the rock,
Would the thread be broken?
Were I to part from you one thousand years,
Would my heart be changed?

O boatman, you know the Taedong River,
Which is at once both wide and narrow.
Why do you set sail, then, boatman,
Ignorant of the sorrow that masters me?
I long for my love, impossible love.
O boatman, you have let him go, go abroad.
Once he has crossed that awesome water,
He will pluck another flower, alas.

An anonymous work, and there still is doubt whether this poem was written
in the time of Koryŏ. The name of this poem was mentioned neither in the MHP,
nor in the KRS. But it was first mentioned in the SNS as vulgar in contents and
thus condemned by compilers during the Yi dynasty. ACKS; SNS ch. 215, 19.4.

(1) Some mistresses did spin and weave in the past days.

Anonymous

A SONG OF GREEN MOUNTAIN

We should live, yes, let us live,
Let us live in the green mountain.
With wild grapes, wild thyme,
Let us live in the green mountain.
O birds, you cry and moan,
After you awaken, cry and moan.
I that harbor tremendous sorrow,
Cannot but weep after I wake.

Have you seen a bird, flying,
Across the water, crying?
I, standing with a blunt plough,
Have seen bird, flying.

And I have thus spent the day;
But at night in this deserted place,
Where no man comes or goes,
How, how am I to pass the night?

At what place was this stone thrown?
At what person was this stone thrown?
Here where no man loves or hates,
Were I to stumble on the stone, alas.

We should live, yes, let us live,
Go to the sea, let us live.
With seaweeds, cowries,
Let us live, live by the sea.

Listen, while you are turning there,
While you are going to a kitchen.
Listen to the Tartar violin of birds,
Perching on young antlers.

On the way to the sea, brew
Strong wine in a round jar.
A gourd-shaped leaven chases me behind,
Begs me to stay here; what now?

An anonymous work. A love song in which a lost lover takes a pessimistic view of life and tries every means to disburden himself from sorrow. He finally comes to the conclusion that the best anodyne is wine. The poem ends with an invocation to and a praise of it. ACKS.

Anonymous

SONG OF THE GONG: A HYMN

Lo, the King reigns; ring the gong.
In a sanddune, fine and plain,
Let us, let us live and love.
In this age, calm and lucky,  
Let us plant chestnuts, five pints.  
When the chestnuts shoot, sprout,  
Then we part from the virtuous Lord(1).  

Let us carve a lotus out of jade,  
And graft the lotus in the stone.  
When it blossoms in the coldest day,  
Then we part from the virtuous Lord.

Let us make an iron armor,  
Stitch the pleats with iron thread.  
When it has been worn and is spoilt,  
Then we part from the virtuous Lord.

Let us make an iron ox, and  
Put him to graze amid the iron tree,  
When he has grazed all the iron grass,  
Then we part from the virtuous Lord.

Were the pearls to fall on the rock,  
Would the thread be broken?  
Were I to part from you one thousand years,  
Would my heart be changed?

The poem sings of an unbroken line of kings and prays that the life of kings be coeval with heaven and earth. (1) This refrain can also be translated as “Let us part from the Virtuous Lord.” This is an unique rhetorical device of the time, though it may appear obscure. This roughly says that we never part from the virtuous Lord, our king, because what they sing in the previous lines is all impossible, and that we will serve the king until the impossible becomes possible. ACKS.

A Mistress  
SONG

Under the sleet that falls thick and fast,  
Do you come, treacherous love, who made me  
Spend half the night with open eye,  
Over the pass where tumultuous bushes cry?

My body is soon to dissolve,  
Either by thunderbolts or hell-fire,  
My body is soon to wither,  
Either by thunderbolts or hell-fire.

On what mountain pass shall I seek you?  
I promise to do whatever you wish,  
The this and that, whatever you wish.  
Love, I will follow you, I vow, wherever.

Mentioned in the SNS as vulgar in contents and that which pleases men and women. ACKS; SNS ch. 240, 21, 5.
Anonymous

MATERNAL LOVE

Spade too is an edged tool;
But in sharpness sickle certainly wins.
Father is father of man;
But in love the mother surely surpasses.
Yes, his indeed cannot be more than hers.

It is a short poem, and literary historians are still arguing whether this poem is a heritage of the ancient period or a then existing folksong. ACKS.

A Mistress

A SONG

And will you go away?
Will you thus forsake me,
Without this me, will you go?

Alone how could you leave me
That loved you everyday,
Can, you still go away?

I can cling to you, stop you;
But fear you would never return,
Scared by my salt tears.

Go, then, I'll let you go.
But return soon, soon return,
As easily as you leave now.

The song sings of the sorrow of parting. ACKS.

A Mistress

SONG

Were I to build a bamboo-hut on the ice,
Were I to die of cold with him on the ice,
O night, run slow, till our love is spent.

When I lie alone, restless, vigilant,
Only peach-blossoms wave over the west window.
You have no grief, welcome the spring breeze.
I have ignored those who vowed each other:
"May my soul follow yours forever".
Who, who persuaded me this was true?

"O duck (!), beautiful duck, why come you
To the swamp, instead of the shoal?"
"If the swamp freezes, the shoal will do, it will do."

A bed in the South Mountain, a jade pillow, gold brocade,
Beside me a girl sweeter than musk,
Let us press our hearts together, our magic hearts.

This poem was also rejected by the Yi dynasty compilers as vulgar in contents. The first stanza was translated into Chinese by Kim Su-on[134] (c. 1456—1468). ACKS; SNS ch. 219, 19, 8. (!) The commentators say the word "duck" was used as half pejorative and half coaxing epithet in the Koryŏ dynasty.
Abbreviations:

SGYS: Samguk yusa (Relics of the Three Kingdoms), 1279–1512.
CMP: Ch'ungbo munhón pigo (Korean Encyclopaedia of Reference & Archival Materials), 1908.
KRS: Koryŏ sa (History of the Koryŏ Dynasty), 1445–1451.
TT: Tongguk tonggam [117] (Korean Annals), 1484.
AHKB: Akhak koebŏm (Canon of Music), 1493, 1609, 1655.
ACKS: Akchang kasa (Words for Music), c. 1510–1569.
SS: Sejong sillok [118] (Sejong Annals), 1454.
SNS: Sŏngjong sillok [119] (Sŏngjong Annals).

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