

The *Kasa* Poems of Pak In-no: Their Place in the History of Korean Poetry

By Peter H. Lee

(Honolulu)

The *kasa*^[1] is perhaps the least explored genre of Korean poetry. It came to be studied only recently, and there is a great body of unclassified materials scattered in various collections. There are, for example, poems which exist in two or more widely divergent versions. The traditional dates of some poems have been challenged by linguistical and historical studies as well as stylistic investigations¹. The compilation of the texts of the majority of *kasa* poems, together with their chronology, authenticity, and authorship, had long been awaited. A systematic study of *kasa* has at last been made possible by the publication of two anthologies: *Chuhae kasa munhak chŏnjip* (1961) and *Chŭngbo kayo chipsŏng* (1961).

The *kasa* can best be defined as a new form of verse originating as song words written to prevailing *kasa* tunes. Such tunes are numerous both in number and kind, and performance of a *kasa* poem to such tunes is complicated. The *kasa* poem, sung by both men and women, is divided into several sections, with a set number of drum beats, hand clappings, and elaborate regulations governing the phrasings². The musical aspect of the *kasa* properly belongs to the domain of music; we are concerned here with its literary aspect, the texts of the poems written for *kasa* tunes. Since song words thus written had to conform closely to the existing tunes, in the process of "fitting words to a tune" a pattern of composition was established for the poet, and this pattern was soon regarded as a definite verse form. Today the *kasa* are chiefly known by the titles of the song words written for the tunes rather than by the names of the tunes themselves.

As a new genre of vernacular verse, the *kasa* appeared first towards the middle of the fifteenth century³. It is regarded as the modified form of the

¹ The *Hwasan pyŏlgok* (25 lines), for example, exists at least in two divergent versions. The authorship of the *Todŏk ka* (45 lines) is attributed at least to three persons: Yi Hwang, Yi I, Cho Sik. The *Tosan pyŏlgok* (61 lines), traditionally attributed to Pak In-no and existing in eight different versions, was proven to be a composition by Cho Sŏng-sin (1765—1835). Also many new poems have been unearthed: the *Pongsan kok* (or *Ch'ŏndaek kok*; 101 lines) by Ch'ae Tŭk-ki; *Kwisan kok* (44 lines), *T'aep'yŏng kok* (79 lines) and *Ch'ŏnghaktong ka* (18 lines) by Monk Ch'imgoeng (1616—84); and *Hŭisŏl ka* (164 lines) by Hong Kye-yong (1687—1705).

² Chŏng Pyŏng-uk, *Kungmunhak san'go* (1959), 110 ff; Kim Sa-yŏp, *Kaego Kungmunhak sa* (1956), 338—48; Sŏng Kyŏng-nin, "Seoul ūi sokka", *Hyangt'o Seoul*, 2 (1958), 52—77; Yi Hye-gu, "Hyŏn kagok kyemyŏnjo", *Tongbang hakchi*, 3 (1957), 195—226; *idem*, "Yanggŭm sinbo ūi sajo", *Hanguk ūmak yŏn'gu* (1957), 26—47; Yi Nŭng-u, "Yijo siga mood ūi saekch'ul", *Ilsok Yi Hui-sŭng sŏnsaeng songsu kinyŏm nonch'ong* (1957), 410—30; also the *Glossary of Korean Music* compiled by Yi Hye-gu (n. d.) contains valuable information on the musical aspect of the *kasa*; Chang Sa-hun, *Kugak kaeyo* (1961), 86—7.

³ The *Chuhae kasa munhak chŏnjip* lists four *kasa* poems, supposed to be written in the Koryŏ period, but their chronology is suspect to a literary historian.

long poems of Koryŏ⁴, and some maintain that the norm of this form was already visible in the poems written in the twelfth century and thereafter. What differentiates it from the *changga*^[2] is that it has no stanzaic division, but continues on like a chain, and has a tendency towards description and exposition rather than subjective lyricism. The earlier examples of this kind are, however, rich in subjective lyricism, sometimes even in the outburst of emotion, while the later examples tend to be more realistic and often "journalistic"⁵. The *kasa* has such characteristics as the use of accentuation and rhythm, of the caesura, and of balanced parallel phrases, verbal and grammatical parallelism in particular. This is why one theory attempts to compare it with the *fu*.

Before analyzing the norm of the *kasa*, a short survey of the characteristics of the native genres of vernacular verse that preceded it is in order.

I. *Saenaennorae*^[3]

The basic rhythm is that of 2 groups of 4 syllables, or its variations of alternations of 4 and 3 or 3 and 4⁶.

II. Variant Form of the *Saenaennorae* [*Chŏngŭp sa*⁷; *Chŏng Kwajŏng*⁸; *Samo kok*⁹]

1. Each group (foot) in a line has 2 or 3 syllables, but most commonly 3.
2. Generally each line consists of 3 feet, but 2 feet are also possible.
3. There is no set number of lines in a poem.
4. A poem can be divided into two parts.
5. Generally a poem consists of a single stanza.

⁴ CHO YUN-JE, *Chosŏn siga ūi yŏn'gu* (1948), 123; CHANG TŒK-SUN, *Kungmunhak t'ongnon* (1960), 178—90.

⁵ The *kasa* of definite authorship dating from the middle of the eighteenth century are mostly travel diaries. The *Il'long changyu ka* (1764) is a travel description by KIM IN-GYŎM who accompanied the Korean envoy to Edo. The poem depicts in smooth and rhythmic language his travel from Seoul to Pusan, Pusan to Tsushima by boat, his arrival in Edo, and his meeting with the Japanese men of letters. There are also two travel records to Peking, one anonymous (1798) and another (1866) by Hong Sun-hak. The latter covers the period of his departure from, and return to, Seoul. The section on his meeting with Chinese literati deserves special mention. There are also the *Hanyang ka* (1844) and *Pukch'ŏn ka*. The former is a eulogy on the institutions of the Yi dynasty and opens with the description of the beauty of the capital. The latter, consisting of 607 lines, is by KIM CHIN-HYŎNG (b. 1801) who was banished to Myŏngch'ŏn in the 7th moon of 1853. The poem covers the period from his trip to Myŏngch'ŏn until his return to his birthplace, Andong, after the expiration of banishment. Descriptions and considerations of the *kasa* are quoted verbatim from my forthcoming *Korean Literature: Topics and Themes*, prepared under a grant from the American Council of Learned Societies, Research Program in Uralic and Altaic.

⁶ Peter H. LEE, *Studies in the Saenaennorae: Old Korean Poetry*. Serie Orientale Roma XXII, Rome 1959, 40; Yang Chu-dong, *Koga yŏn'gu* (1954), 65.

⁷ CMP 246, 21 a; KRS 71, 46 a; YC, 37—64; CHANG SA-HUN, "Chŏngŭp sa p'yŏn'go", *Tŏksŏng hakpo* (1958), 61—7; KIM HŶONG-GYU, "Chŏngŭp sa chusŏk", *Seoul taehakkyo nonmunjip*, 2 (1955), 280—301.

⁸ AHKB 5, 14 b; KRS 71, 38 b—39 a; PHL, 216—7; YC, 201—24; YI KA-WŎN, "Chŏng Kwajŏng kok ūi yŏn'gu: Chŏng Kwajŏng kok e taehan sin'gojŭng ūi chaenon", *Sŏnggyun*, 4 (1953), 70—80.

⁹ ACKS, 6 b; PHL, 219; SH, 10 b—13 b; YC, 356—60.

III. Standard Form of the *Changga* [*Tongdong*¹⁰; *Ch'öyong ka*¹¹; *Ssang-hwajöm*¹²; *Sögyöng pyölgok*¹³; *Ch'öngsan pyölgok*¹⁴; *Chöngsöök ka*¹⁵; *Kasiri*¹⁶]

1. Each foot in a line has 2 or 3 or 4 syllables, but most commonly 3.
2. Generally each line consists of 3 feet, but 4 feet are also possible.
3. There is no set number of lines in a stanza or of stanzas in a poem.
4. The refrain occurs either in the middle, or at the end, of each stanza.

IV. Variant Form of the *Changga* [*Isang kok*¹⁷; *Manjöñch'un*¹⁸]

1. Each foot in a line has 2 or 3 syllables, but most commonly 4 syllables.
2. Generally each line consists of alternating 3 or 4 feet, but 4 feet seem to be predominant.
3. There is no set number of lines in a stanza or of stanzas in a poem.
4. The refrain tends to disappear from a poem.

V. Standard Form of the *Kyönggi-Style Verse*^[4] [*Hallim pyölgok*¹⁹; *Kwandong pyölgok*²⁰; *Hwasan pyölgok*²¹; *Oryun ka*²²; *Yön hyöngje ka*²³]

3	3	4	
3	3	4	
4	4	4	
3	3	4	
4	4	4	4
3	3	4	

¹⁰ AHKB 5, 8a—b; KRS 71, 31b—32a; PHL, 218; YC, 65—139; Peter H. LEE, "Two Middle Korean Poems", *Orient/West*, 6/7 (1961), 25—6.

¹¹ ACKS, 14a—15b; AHKB 5, 12b—13a; CMP 246, 22a; KRS 71, 36a; PHL, 217; *Samguk yusa* (Ch'oe Nam-sön ed.) 2, 88—89.

¹² ACKS, 7a—8b; KRS 71, 42a; PHL, 217; SNS 240, 18b; YC, 250—73; Peter H. LEE, "Two Medieval Korean Poems", *Poetry*, 98/6 (1961), 358.

¹³ ACKS, 4b—6a; PHL, 218; SH, 14a—15a; YC, 274—303; CHANG SA-HUN, "Sögyöng pyölgok", *Hangül*, 113 (1955), 13—21.

¹⁴ ACKS, 3b—4b; PHL, 218; SH, 24b—25b; YC, 304—31; Peter H. LEE, "Song of Green Mountain", *Orient/West*, 6/11 (1961), 69.

¹⁵ ACKS, 2b—3b; PHL, 218—9; SH, 23a—24a; YC, 332—47.

¹⁶ ACKS, 8b—9a; PHL, 219; SH, 27a—28a; YC, 361—7.

¹⁷ ACKS, 8a—b; PHL, 219; SH, 15a—21a; SNS 240, 18b; YC, 348—54.

¹⁸ ACKS, 17b—18b; PHL, 219; SNS 219, 4b; YC, 363—79; Peter H. LEE, "Two Medieval Korean Poems", *Poetry*, 98/6 (1961), 356—7.

¹⁹ KRS 71, 40b—41b; YC, 225—49.

²⁰ ACKS, 12a—13b; PHL, 219; YC, 406—17.

²¹ A eulogy by PRÖN KYE-RYANG (1369—1430) which praises the capital city of Seoul and the king's benevolent government in eight stanzas. ACKS, 18b—20a; SS 28, 1b—2a.

²² A didactic poem, consisting of six stanzas, is perhaps by PYÖN KYE-RYANG. ACKS, 20b—21b.

²³ Another didactic poem, consisting of five stanzas, which is deposited in the Bureau of Music in 1432. ACKS, 21b—22b; SS 57, 21b—22b.

VI. First Variant Form of Form V [*Chukkŏe pyŏlgok*²⁴; *Sangdae pyŏlgok*²⁵; *Puruhŏn kok*²⁶; *Hwajŏn pyŏlgok*²⁷]: the characteristics common to Forms V and VI are:

1. Generally each foot in a line consists of 3 or 4 syllables.
2. Generally each line consists of 3 feet, but one 4-foot line occurs in each stanza.
3. Each stanza always consists of 6 lines.
4. Each stanza can be divided into two parts.
5. Generally each poem consists of 5 to 8 stanzas.

VII. Second Variant Form of Form V [*Sŏngdŏk ka*²⁸; *Ch'uksŏngsu*²⁹; *Todong kok*³⁰; *Yukhyŏn ka*³¹; *T'aep'yŏng kok*³²; *Tongnak p'algot*³³]

1. Each foot in a line consists of 3 or 4 or 5 syllables, but most commonly 4.
2. Generally each line consists of 4 feet.
3. There is no set number of lines in a stanza.
4. Division in the stanza tends to disappear.
5. Generally each poem consists of several stanzas.

The characteristics common to Forms IV and VII are:

1. Generally each foot in a line consists of 3 syllables.
2. Each line has 3 feet.
3. Generally each stanza consists of 6 lines, with some modification.

²⁴ PHL, 219; YC, 418—23.

²⁵ A eulogy by Kwŏn Kŭn (1352—1409), consisting of five stanzas, is composed in the beginning of the 15th century. ACKS, 23a—b; CMP 107, 3b.

²⁶ A poem by Chŏng Kŭg-in in six stanzas. Chŏng's polite name was KAT'AEK and his pen name PURUHŒN. He passed the civil service examination in 1453. During the reign of Tyrant Sejo he retired to a country village and devoted himself to teaching. King Sŏngjong praised him for his loyalty, and in an answer to the royal favor he composed this poem. He was awarded the posthumous rank of Second Minister of Rites, and his tablet was enshrined in the Musŏng Academy in T'aen. His collected works, *Puruhŏn chip*, consist of two parts: the first section is his verse in Chinese while the second is his other writings and his tomb inscription. See CJJ, 3a; KS, 1664a—b; SNS 122, 9b—11a.

²⁷ By Kim Ku, written in the *Kyŏnggi*-style and consisting of six stanzas.

²⁸ A eulogy, composed in 1420, by Pyŏn KYE-RYANG and others. See SS 7, 19a; 44, 22b—23a.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ A didactic poem, consisting of nine stanzas, by CHU SE-BUNG. The poem sings of the history of Confucianism and its importation to Korea.

³¹ Another didactic poem by CHU SE-BUNG. See CHO YUN-JE, *Kungmunhak sa* (1932), 154—6.

³² Another poem in five stanzas by CHU SE-BUNG. He also wrote the *Ōmyŏn kok*.

³³ By Kwŏn Hŏ-MUN (1532—87) whose polite name was CHUNGJANG and pen name, SONGAM. When young he studied under Yi Hwang and later retired to a hut on Mt. South and devoted himself to study. Although he took a *chinsa* in 1561, he did not take office but retired below Mt. Ch'ŏngsong where he built himself a solitary grass-roof. He would climb on the terrace in the morning, and row on a nearby stream in the moonlit night. He entertained friends and pupils with wine and verse, and many gathered around him for simple but elegant pleasure. His disciples worshipped him at the Ch'ŏngsong Academy where his tablet was enshrined. His writings in Chinese are collected in the *Songam chip*. CJJ, 1851a—b; CMP 248, 5a—b; KS, 866a—b.

4. Each stanza can be divided into two parts.
5. Generally each poem consists of several stanzas.

The characteristics common to Forms IV and VII are:

1. Generally each foot in a line consists of 4 syllables.
2. Generally each line consists of 4 feet.
3. There is no set number of lines in a stanza.
4. Division in the stanza and refrain tends to disappear.
5. Generally each poem consists of several stanzas.

VIII. Basic Form of the Standard *Sijo* ^[5]

The norm consists of a stanza of three lines, with 14 to 16 syllables in a line, the total number of syllables never more than 45. Each line has generally 4 feet, but internally it can be divided into 2 groups of several syllables. A pause, equivalent to "caesura", comes after the second group of syllables in each line. Thus the basic form is:

3	4	4	4/3
3	4	4	4/3
3	5	4	3

Upon scrutiny we note the following characteristics of the *sijo* form:

1. In the 1st and 2nd lines, each foot can have 3 or 4 syllables, sometimes fluctuating between 2 and 6 syllables.
2. The 1st foot in the 3rd line has invariably 3 syllables.
2. The 2nd foot in the 3rd line should never have less than 5 syllables.

From this it is evident that the basic rhythm — excluding temporarily the *Saenaennorae* — in Korean poetry consists of trimeter or tetrameter lines³⁴. The *kasa* shares several characteristics with other native genres, and the norm consists of a group of 2 4-syllable words (or alternating 3 and 4 or 4 and 3) which forms a single unit and is repeated in parallel form. But it is, from the viewpoints of grammatical phrasing and logical pause, closer to the point to say that the basic line of *kasa* consists of 4 groups of syllables, with a caesura after the second group³⁵.

³⁴ CHŎNG PYŬNG-UK, "Kosiga ūmnyullon sŏron", *Kungmunhak san'go* (1959), 136.

³⁵ To demonstrate the formal characteristics of the *kasa*, let us consider the first and last lines of *kasa* poems beginning Chŏng Kŭg-in.

	first line				last line			
<i>Sangch'un kok</i>	3	4	4	4	3	5	4	4
<i>Kyuwŏn ka</i>	3	4	4	4	3	6	4	3
<i>Pongsŏnhwa</i>	3	4	4	4	3	4	4	4
<i>Kangch'on pyŏlgok</i>	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
<i>Nakpin ka</i>	3	4	3	4	3	4	4	3
<i>Kwandong pyŏlgok</i>	3	4	3	4	3	4	5	2
<i>Sa miin kok</i>	2	4	4	4	3	7	5	3
<i>Sok sa miin kok</i>	3	3	3	4	3	6	4	3
<i>Sŏngsan pyŏlgok</i>	2	4	3	4	3	7	4	3

To sum up: the *kasa*, as a new form of discursive or narrative verse, is a development from the second variant form of the *kyōnggi*-style verse as it passed through the transitional period of the *akchang*^[6] form. The *kasa*, therefore, inherited from these two forms of verse their two special characteristics. From the first, its aristocratic and escapist nature and from the second, its typically Confucian element.

The *kyōnggi*-style verses, we recall, are products of a mature period of aristocratic culture and reflect the leisurely life of scholars secluded in the mountains far from the din and bustle of the world. The contents of the poems are therefore Epicurean or Taoist, and their tone is dignified and quiet, composed and learned. Scholars used this unique verse form in which the traditional elements of Korean poetry and Chinese verse forms are mixed together. After the foundation of the Yi dynasty, however, this form was adopted for eulogies by meritorious subjects who assisted in the revolution and who framed and executed the policy of the new government. In accordance with the policies of the new dynasty, which rejected Buddhism and Taoism as subversive of public morality and adopted Confucianism as its official political philosophy, the authors of these eulogies intended to emphasize the legitimacy of the new kingdom and to praise the new institutions.

In this paper I propose to study the *kasa* poems of Pak In-no^[7] (1561—1643), master of this form in the seventeenth century, for two reasons: 1) Pak marks the end of the first period of *kasa* in the Yi dynasty; and 2) his poems are typical specimens of this first period which is marked by the rise of Neo-Confucianism and of social and didactic verse. The *kasa* poems, including the earliest extant piece by Chōng Kūg-in^[8] (1401—81) and those of Pak himself, were chiefly finger-exercises by scholar-statesmen or philosopher-poets on the elegant life away from the court. But in the eighteenth century, the *kasa* became predominantly a popular form of poetry among women and common folk. This change was partly owing to the rise of the novel about the same time and the decline of verse genres. The *kasa* occupied, as it were, a middle position between prose and verse, and the rise of prose and of the middle class brought about changes in the inner form of the *kasa*, its subject matter, its audience, and its tone. Whereas the previous *kasa* dealt chiefly with elegant pleasures among nature, the beauties of the four seasons, the praise of civilization, and

	[Pak In-no's poems]							
<i>T'aep'yōng sa</i>	3	4	3	4	3	6	4	4
<i>Sōnsangt'an</i>	2	4	3	4	2	5	4	3
<i>Saje kok</i>	3	4	3	4	3	3	4	4
<i>Tongnaktang</i>	3	4	4	4	3	3	4	3
<i>Nuhang sa</i>	3	4	4	4	3	5	4	4
<i>Yōngnam ka</i>	2	4	4	4	3	6	4	3
<i>Nogyē ka</i>	3	4	4	4	3	6	4	4

[6] 樂章

[7] 朴仁老

[8] 丁克仁

the like, the subject matter of the new *kasa* was daily life itself, the life of both men and women of the middle and lower classes. The new poets and poetesses rejected the empty and idealistic world which the poet-philosophers or scholar-statesmen had once created; they relied solely on colloquial diction and conversational rhythm for effect and welded written and spoken language into one. One feature of this period is that the *kasa* was mostly written by women, particularly in the southwestern part of the peninsula³⁶. These women authors considered the study of the *kasa* the most important part of their education, and each woman, so we are told, knew by heart both the texts and tunes of several dozen poems. Many *kasa* were composed extempore either to teach their friends and children or to entertain themselves and their friends with songs. Thus the *kasa* spread rapidly from the eighteenth century on, and the number of anonymous works dating from that period attests to the popularity of this genre at that time. It is for these reasons that one may very well say that with Pak In-no ends the age of Neo-Confucianism in Korean verse and the new period of popular literature begins. What kind of man, then, was Pak In-no, who, between the years 1598 and 1636 produced seven major *kasa*, in quantity certainly unsurpassed, and in quality next only to those of Chŏng Ch'öl¹⁰¹?

Pak In-no was born, as the first of three sons of Pak Sök, on the twenty-first day of the sixth moon, 1561 (1 August 1561), at the village of Toch'on, Yöngyang³⁷. The Pak family is supposed to have descended from Pak Hyökköse of the Silla dynasty³⁸, and some of Pak's ancestors distinguished themselves in the Koryŏ and early Yi dynasties³⁹. Already in his childhood Pak was unusually gifted, and memorized passages from the Classics by merely listening to others' recitations⁴⁰. His earliest attempt at verse in Chinese is said to have been written when he was thirteen. His biographers tell us little about his formal education or his youth. We find him again at the age of thirty-eight (1592) when he joined the army headed by Chŏng Së-a⁴¹ to fight against the Japanese invaders. At that time the invaders already occupied Tongnae, Ulsan, Kyöngju, and even Pak's birthplace, Yöngyang (2 June 1592). Soon in the same year, Pak was ordered to report for duty by Regional Commander of the Left Bank, Söng Yun-mun, and rendered conspicuous service⁴². When the defeated enemy fled by sea, Pak composed his first *kasa* poem, the *T'aep'yöng sa*⁴³ [101] or *Song of Peace*

³⁶ KIM SÖNG-BAE e. a., *op. cit.*, 429—574.; CHANG TÖK-SUN, "Kyenyo kasa siron", *Kungmunhak t'ongnon* (1960), 351—9.

³⁷ NC II, 29 b, 36 b—37 a; TYS 22, 20 aff.

³⁸ NC II, 29 a, 36 b (King Yuri instead of Pak Hyökköse); I, 1 a (*Segye to*).

³⁹ NC I, 1 a; II, 29 a—b, 36 b.

⁴⁰ NC II, 29 b.

⁴¹ 1535—1612.

⁴² NC II, 29 b—30 a, 37 a.

⁴³ NC II, 30 a.

(1598) which consoled the soldiers under his command by predicting the advent of a peaceful era. In 1599 he passed the military service examination and was appointed as the *manho*^[11] (junior fourth rank) at Chorap'o^[12] on Kōje Island⁴⁴ [13], a distant military post off the Korean shores. Pak did his best not only to strengthen the defence but reassure the inhabitants and soldiers. When he resigned his official post, he rode away on a shabby horse, with only an empty napsack over his shoulder. The inhabitants and men under him, moved to tears by his purity and high character, erected a monument to praise his exemplary life⁴⁵. In 1605, there were again signs of Japanese movement on the southeastern coast and Pak was named the *T'ongjusa*^[14] in *Pusan*⁴⁶. On this occasion he composed his second *kasa* poem, the *Sōnsangt'an*^[15] or *Lament on the Water*. The poem digresses for several lines on the origin of ships, but soon returns to a description of his determined loyalty at the moment of national crisis. The poem ends with a prayer that the invaders will soon surrender and peace reign again; only then can he enjoy again the autumn moon and the spring breeze, rowing on moving waters.

After that date his military career ends, and a study of the Classics and a carefree hermit life became his concern. We are told by his biographer that one day Pak, struck by the saying of Confucius, "In the morning, hear the Way; in the evening, die content" [*Analects* IV, 8], resolved to master the Confucian classics and Neo-Confucian philosophy. His fervent zeal for learning was such that the Duke of Chou, it is said, visited him in his dream⁴⁷. Thinking that the Duke's appearance was to enlighten his ignorant mind, at night he would burn incense and contemplate the spirit of ancient sages. He drew diagrams⁴⁸ illustrating the norms of the teachings contained in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, *Greater Learning*, and *Lesser Learning*, and meditated on them day and night.

In the autumn of 1601 Yi Tōk-hyōng⁴⁹ [16] (1561—1613), the *Sado toch'ech'alsa*^[17], arrived in Yōngch'ŏn and met Pak for the first time. When Yi made a gift of a basketful of persimmons, Pak composed four shorter

⁴⁴ NC II, 30 a; 37 a; TYS 32, 30 b ff, esp. 34 b. The present Ku Chorap'o, Irun myŏn, T'ongyŏng kun, South Kyōngsang Province.

⁴⁵ NC II, 28 a, 30 a.

⁴⁶ NC II, 30 a.

⁴⁷ NC II, 30 b, 37 a.

⁴⁸ NC I, 1 a—3 b.

⁴⁹ C: MYŎNGŬO, H: HANŬM, S: MUNIK. At twenty he passed the examination and was chosen for the Lake Hall of Scholars (Hodang). His reputation was so high that at thirty-one he became *Taejehak*. In 1592, when the Japanese invaded, Yi went to P'yōngyang to serve King Sŏnjo and went to Ming to secure military alliance. He then served as Inspector-General, Minister of Punishments, and Third State Councillor. In 1601 he went to Ming again in behalf of Kwanghaegun. He died in Yongjin Hon 20 November 1613. CJJ, 708 c—710 b; KS, 163 a.

[11] 萬戶

[12] 助羅浦

[13] 巨濟島

[14] 統舟師

[15] 船上歎

[16] 李德馨

[17] 四道都體察使

poems⁵⁰. In 1611 Yi had to leave the court owing to party strife at court and came to Yongjin⁵¹ to spend his last years. Pak used to visit him, and the host would unburden his sorrow before the guest. Yi, knowing Pak's ability and his moral power, intended to promote him but died in 1613 at the age of fifty-three. The *Saje kok*^[18] or *Song of the Sedge Bank* (1611) describes the beautiful spots at Saje and Yi's idle life and elegant pleasure in that setting⁵². Asked by Yi about the condition of his life in the mountain, Pak wrote his famous *kasa*, the *Nuhang sa*^[19] or *In Praise of Poverty*, which describes the joy of a poor but pure life, content in the pursuit of the Way.

As his knowledge of history and philosophy deepened, so Pak's admiration for the noble and pure life of scholar-statesmen increased. Pak therefore made a pilgrimage to the Hall of Solitary Bliss on Mt. Jade^{52a} (Chaok) in Kyōngju where the remains of Yi Ōn-jōk⁵³ [20] (1491—1553) are preserved. On this occasion Pak wrote the *Tongnaktang*^[21] or *Hall of Solitary Bliss*, which reveals his deep admiration for this learned man and pays tribute to his memory. At about the same time, Pak visited Chang Hyōn-gwang^[22] (1554—1637) and Cho Ho-ik⁵⁴ [23] (1545—1609) and entreated them for instruction. Pak was on drinking terms with Chang⁵⁵, for whom he wrote several verses in Chinese as well as twenty-nine shorter poems in Korean⁵⁶ (1629) which deal with the beauty spots at Ibam^[24] at

⁵⁰ NC III, 9b—10b.

⁵¹ TYS 26, 9a.

⁵² NC II, 33a, 36a, 37a.

^{52a} Mt. Ok or Chaok.

⁵³ C: POKKO. H: HOEJAE. or CHAGYEONG. S: MUNWŎN. After passing the examination in 1514, he served as Fourth Inspector (1526) and Second Censor (1530). He then opposed Kim Al-lo (1481—1537), returned home, and spent his time in his retreat, the Hall of Solitary Bliss, on Mt. Chaok (TYS 21, 7b.). He was recalled by King Chungjong and was named Second Counselor in the Jade Hall. He then filled in the following posts: Rector of the National Academy; Inspector-General; First Counselor; Magistrate of Seoul; and Minister of Personnel, Rites, and Punishments. Later owing to party strife at court, he was banished to Kanggye. King Sōnjo honored him with the posthumous title of Chief State Councillor. In 1610 his tablet was placed in the Confucian Temple. CJJ, 559a—61a; KS 130a—31a, 176b—7b, 265b—6a, 1289a—b, 1235b, 1751b—2a; CMP 204, 14aff; 246, 3a, 3b, 7b.

CMP 204, 14 ff.

⁵⁴ C: SAU. H: CHISAN. Born in Ch'angwŏn. He studied under Yi Hwang but offended him and was banished. Released after some years, he distinguished himself during the Japanese invasion. He then served as governor or prefect of southern towns and provinces. He died in the eighth moon of 1609. He was granted the posthumous title of Second Minister of Personnel. CJJ, 1447a—c; HMN II, 101—6; KS, 53b and 117a, CMP 241, 4b, 5a.

⁵⁵ NC II, 34a, 37b. CHANG HYŎN-GWANG [C: TŎKHŎE. H: YŎHŎN. S: MUN'GANG]; in 1658 he was granted the posthumous title of Chief State Councillor. Chang was born on 23 February 1554 and died on 24 October 1637.

⁵⁶ NC III, 27b—31a. This source contains only 22 poems under the title, but the newly discovered MS, dated 1782, contains 7 additional poems.

[18] 莎堤曲

[19] 陋巷詞

[20] 李彦迪

[21] 獨樂堂

[22] 張顯光

[23] 曹好益

[24] 立巖

Yöngil⁵⁷, the retreat of Chang. In 1619 Pak also made friends with Chöng Ku^[25] (1543—1620), specialist in mathematics, military science, medicine, and geomancy, and together with him Pak visited Sukchöng^[26] in Ulsan⁵⁸ and wrote two shorter poems in Korean⁵⁹. When Yi Kün-wön⁶⁰ [27], *Yöngnam anjöl'sa* [28], was about to leave his post in 1635, the people, moved by his good administration, asked him to remain in office. The *Yöngnam ka* [29] or *Song of the South* (1635) was written on this occasion to praise the virtue of Yi. The last of his *kasa*, the *Nogyé ka* [30] or *Song of the Reedy Stream* (1636), was written in Nogye, the poet's retreat. The poem deals with the scenic beauty of the Reedy Stream and describes his idyllic life.

He died on the sixth day of the twelfth moon, 1642 (25 January 1643) and was buried on Mt. Taerang⁶¹ [31].

Judging from the memorials sent in on Pak's behalf by government officials, Pak was, during and after his lifetime, noted for his noble character and filial piety. The *Nogyé chip*⁶² [32] or *Collected Works of Pak In-no* contains three such memorials, the first drafted by students in the provincial academy⁶³, the second by the magistrate of Yöngyang⁶⁴ (modern Yöngch'ön), and the third by military inspector of Kyöngsang Province, Yi Myöng⁶⁵. They invariably praise his warmheartedness, his pure and sincere disposition and action, his contentment with poverty, his delight in the pursuit of the Way and finally his filial piety and brotherly harmony. In response to these memorials which also requested the Throne to confer an insignia of merit on the poet, King Injo (1595—1623—49) granted him rice and meat and helped restore his family to its former prosperity⁶⁶. He was, therefore, considered by his contemporaries as well as posterity to be a paragon of Confucian virtues; indeed, it is no wonder that the poems from the pen of such a man should be predominantly didactic.

⁵⁷ In Yöngil kun, Chukchang myön, Ibam ri. See KIM SA-yöP, "Nogyé Ibam kok üi kyebo", *Kyöngbuk taehakkyo nonmunjip*, 3 (1958), 31 ff; TYS 23, 13 b ff.

⁵⁸ TYS 22, 1 a ff.

⁵⁹ NC III, 27 a — b.

⁶⁰ Little is known of him except that he was the *Yöngnam anjöl'sa* during the time of King Injo.

⁶¹ NC II, 31 a, 38 a.

⁶² Nogye is in Ilsöng kun, Sannae myön, Taehyön ri, in North Kyöngsang Province, 4 ri from Toch'ön. For the studies of Pak's poems see KU CHA-GYUN, "Nogyé üi kasa wa sijo üi kyoju", *Koryö taehakkyo osipchunyon kinyöm nonmunjip* (1958), 555—604; PAK SÖNG-ÜI, *Nogyé kasa l'onghae* (1960); PANG CHONG-HYÖN, "Nogyé kasa", *Hangül*, 118 (1956) 38—43; SIN YÖNG-CH'ÖL, ed. *Nogyé kajip* (1948); YI SANG-PÖ *Kaego Pak Nogye yön'gu*, Seoul, 1962.

⁶³ NC II, 26 b — 27 b (by SIM CHI-wÖN).

⁶⁴ NC II, 27 b.

⁶⁵ NC II, 27 b — 28 b, 31 a.

⁶⁶ NC II, 37 b — 38 a, his tablet is enshrined in the Togye hyangsi. CMP 213, 13 b.

[25] 鄭述

[26] 椒井

[27] 李謹元

[28] 嶺南按節使

[29] 嶺南歌

[30] 蘆溪歌

[31] 大朗山

[32] 蘆溪集

There are altogether three editions of the *Nogyé chip*. The first edition was printed in block letters in 1800, the second again in block letters in 1904, and the third also in block letters but at an unknown date. The first chapter of the *Nogyé chip*, headed by the family tree of the poet, diagrams on the *Chung yung*, *Ta hsüeh*, and *Hsiao hsüeh*, etc., contains his verse in Chinese: *fu* (1); five-word *chüeh-chü* (9); five-word *lū-shih* (3); seven-word *chüeh-chü* (39 titles and 73 poems); seven-word *lū-shih* (5 titles and 6 poems); and seven-word *ku-shih* (2). It also contains two prose works: *Muhaong chön*^[33] [NC I, 16b—17b] and *Monggyŏn Chugong ki*^[34] [NC I, 18a—19b]. The second chapter, entitled simply the Appendix, contains prose pieces of various types in Chinese; memorials sent in on Pak's behalf by officials, a dirge, a biography, excerpts from the local gazeteer, tomb inscriptions, invocations used on spring and autumn sacrifices, etc. The third chapter, the most important section of the *Works*, contains sixty *sijo* and seven *kasa* poems in Korean. One curious feature about the second edition is that a *kasa*, entitled *Tosan ka*^[35], is inserted at the very end of the *Works*. There are, however, two reprints of the first edition, one with the text of the *Tosan ka* and another, without. The copy I have used has in the *Contents* [4b] the later addition of the title, but without the texts. His *sijo* poems are, with a few exceptions, mostly finger-exercises in the tradition of moral verse in the Yi dynasty. We are exclusively interested in his seven *kasa* poems.

As a staunch upholder of the Confucian Way and an ardent practitioner of *tao-hsüeh*^[36], Pak developed a style of his own which combines both learnedness and lyricism. Indeed Pak was able to weave into the texture of his verse quotations from, and allusions to, Chinese philosophy and poetry. This combination of Chinese and Korean poetic traditions, of Neo-Confucianism and Taoism, is Pak's favorite theme. These allusions appear clothed mostly in four-word phrases, the significance of which can be understood only in terms of the nature of the native rhythm of the Korean language. We have mentioned that the basic rhythm in Korean verse is tetrameter lines. Already Yi Cho-nyŏn^[37] (1268—1342), in one of the *sijo* poems dating from the later Koryŏ period, demonstrates his concern with Chinese phrases. The first group of the first line which goes "Ihwa e wŏlbaek hago . . ." can be rendered into pure Korean without changing the

⁶⁷ CHO YUN-JE, *Kungmunhak sa* (1953), p. 236; Yi Tong-yŏng, in a collection of essays published by Ch'ŏnggu University, affirmed that the true author of the poem is Cho Sŏng-sin; Yi Ka-wŏn, in "Tosan pyŏlgok ch'wenon" *Hyŏndae munhak* (1956/4, 6, 7), also proved it.

⁶⁸ C: WŎNNO. S: MUNNYŎL. A *chinsa* of 1294, he accompanied Kings Ch'unghyŏl and Ch'unghye to Yüan. Later he was enfeoffed as the Lord of Sŏngsan. His tablet was placed in the royal temple of King Ch'unghye. CJJ, 486a—b; KRS 109, 9b—13a.

[33] 無何翁傳

[34] 夢見周公記

[35] 陶山歌

[36] 道學

[37] 李兆年

meaning or the tone: "Paekkoch'e tari palkko . . ." In the first group of the second line occurs the four-character phrase, "Ilchich'unsim" [38], which is taken from a line by the Liu-Sung poet, Lu Kai⁶⁹ [39]. The first impression the reader gets from these lines is the palpable influence of Chinese verse. This poem, up till the second group of the second line, could have been a four-word verse in Chinese. The remainder of the poem is, however, not in the same tone or same language. The sensibility is Korean, and turns of phrases and vocabulary are typically Korean. Ch'oe Yŏng⁷⁰ [40] (d. 1388), in his only extant *sijo*, uses the phrases "Nogisangje" [41] and "Yongch'ŏn-sŏrak" [42]. The first invokes the famous steed of King Mu of Chou⁷¹ while the second alludes to the famous sword of the kingdom of Ch'u, one of the three brilliant swords forged by Ou Yeh-tzu [43] and Kan Chiang⁷² [44]. Here, as in the case of "Ilchich'unsim", no four-syllable Korean words can convey the tone and dignity of these expressions. Indeed, these phrases are employed not to fill in the lines but for poetic amplification. By the introduction of these images the poet was able at once to stir and release the reader's imagination and carry it back to the past. The result is as rich poetic experience commensurate with such device. In the famous poem by Chŏng Mong-ju⁷³ [45] (1337—92), a climax is achieved in the third line by a single image in four-word phrase, "ilp'yŏndansim" [46]. Again here, I can

⁶⁹ BD, 1419 (d. 504); MOROHASHI I, 22d; SUZUKI TORAO, *Shina bungaku kenkyū* (1934), 165.

⁷⁰ KRS 113, 23a—55a.

⁷¹ *Chu-shu chi-nien* (SPPY ed.) B, 4b; *Lieh tzu* (SPPY ed.) 3, 3b; *Mu T'ien-tzu chuan* (SPPY ed.) 4, 2b; *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* (Chung-hua shu-chū ed.) 896, 1a, BD, 1559.

⁷² MOROHASHI XII, 1114d, 1129d; *Yüeh chüeh shu* (SPPY ed.) 11, 1b—2a; BD 934; *Chung-kuo jen-ming ta-tzu-tien*, 1508d.

⁷³ C: TALGA. H: POŬN. S: MUNCH'UNG. He took a first in the civil service examination of 1360 and, together with Yi Sŏng-gye, repulsed the Jurchen and Japanese corsairs. When the Northern Yüan sent an envoy to a powerful minister at court, Chŏng opposed the opening of diplomatic relations with them and was banished (1375). He amply manifested his diplomatic ability when he went to Ming seven times altogether (the chief ones being in 1372, 1384, and 1386) and succeeded in establishing a friendly relation with China. He also went to Kyushu (1377) to persuade the return of Korean captives taken away by the Japanese corsairs. In 1389, together with Yi Sŏng-gye, he set up King Kongyang, a member of the royal family of Wang. When Yi's party planned to overthrow Koryŏ, Chŏng formed an opposition and strove to preserve the falling dynasty. The Yi party was anxious to remove him and waited for every opportunity. On his way home from a sick-call to Yi Sŏng-gye, Chŏng was attacked by Yi's fifth son (Yi Pang-wŏn, later Taejong) and his henchmen.

Upbraiding the assassin Chŏng started to spur his horse away. When the assassin ran after him and hit the head of the horse Chŏng finally fell down and fled by foot. Thereupon the assassins killed him on the Sŏnjuk Bridge which is still said to be dyed with red by the blood Chong had shed at that time. In 1401 he was granted a posthumous title, and in 1517 his tablet was enshrined in the Confucian Temple. CJJ, 1751a—2a; KRS 117, 1a—20a; HMN 1, 4—6; *Poŭn sŏngaeng chip*, yŏnbŏ 1b—20a and 20a—39a in the *Yŏgye myŏnggyŏn chip* (1959).

[38] 一枝春心

[39] 陸凱

[40] 崔瑩

[41] 絲耳霜蹄

[42] 龍泉雪鏢

[43] 歐冶子

[44] 干將

[45] 鄭夢周

[46] 一片丹心

think of no adequate equivalent in Korean that can replace it. The usage of such four-word phrases in the *sijo* continued throughout the Yi dynasty. Even such masters of the *sijo* form as Chŏng Ch'öl and Yun Sŏn-do⁷⁴ [47] (1587—1671) had recourse to this technique. What are, then, the reasons for such a technique in the *sijo*? Have these poets arrived at such phrases by design or by chance?

The first of these reasons seems to me to be the formal restrictions of the *sijo* itself. The poets employed such phrases whenever a four-syllable Korean equivalent failed them. But I would hazard the guess that the more important reason has to do with the total structure of the poem itself. That is, these allusions are called in to enhance the meaning of the poem as a whole. Indeed, a skilful use of such phrases contributes not only to poetic amplification but to the music of the poem. They help achieve not only balance and harmony but suggest variety in the internal music of the poem. In the case of Chŏng Mong-ju, for example, the phrase, "ilp' yŏndansim", by falling into the accented position in the line, attracts the attention of the reader. The poet, by insisting upon this phrase, forces the reader to read it slowly, emphatically, and even meditatively. This brilliant focussing upon a word or phrase abounds in good *sijo* poems. At its worst, however, an abuse of such practice tends to make the poem monotonous and dull, which is unfortunately the case with some *kasa* poems.

With the genre of the *kasa*, however, the nature and function of such phrases change. Chŏng Kŭg-in, author of the first extant *kasa*, makes use of fifteen such four-word phrases, of which only two allude to Chinese sources⁷⁵. As time went on, poets came to rely heavily on such a technique for allusion and poetic amplification. In some *kasa*, notably that of Ch'a

⁷⁴ C: YAGI, H: KOSAN, S: CH'UNGHŎN. The greatest poet in the *sijo* form and perhaps also in the Korean language. He was born in the capital as the second son of Yun Yu-sim. A *chinsa* of 1612, he did not take office because of the unsavory political situation under Kwanghaegun. In 1616 he sent in his first memorial criticizing the corrupt minister, Yi I-ch'ŏm who banished him to Kyŏng-wŏn. This marked the beginning of his thorny and turbulent political life that consisted of exile, recall, and retreat. In 1623, upon enthronement of King Injo, he was released and returned to Haenam. In 1628 after passing another examination in the capital he was appointed Tutor to the Heir Apparent (later Hyojong). As a result of courtly intrigue, Yun was soon demoted. When the Manchu invaded in 1636—7, Yun, together with members of his family and servants, sailed off to Kanghwa Island; but upon reaching the Island he learned that it had already fallen. He then returned to the south and found himself a retreat in the Crystal Grotto. In 1642 he discovered the Grotto of Golden Chains where he wrote 18 poems under the heading of *New Songs in the Mountain*. In 1651 he wrote the immortal *Angler's Calendar* in the same Grotto. No Korean poet suffered vicissitudes of public life more than Yun. His political career covered the reigns of four kings, Kwanghaegun, Injo, Hyojong, and Hyŏnjo, the worst period of factionalism. He sent in at least six memorials and spent fourteen years in exile. His seventy-five poems are preserved in the *Kosan yugo*, CJJ, 79c—80c; CMP 249, 17a; and *Kosan yŏnbo* (1898).

⁷⁵ *Analects* VI, 9 and XI, 25/7.

Ch'ön-no ⁷⁶[48] (1556—1615), the whole poem consists chiefly of such phrases, joined clumsily by Korean connectives. Such masters of the *kasa* form as Chōng Ch'öl and Hō Nansōrhōn ⁷⁷[49] (1563—89) skilfully used this technique of four-word phrases. Indeed, this device was not a decoration nor a game of charades, but became, in due time, the *sine qua non* of *kasa* poetry in the Yi dynasty. By a judicious analysis of these allusions, which constitute strata of norms in the poem, one can arrive at the poet's world, metaphysical qualities in the poem, the quality of life which is revealed ("vision"), etc.

We have said that Pak was a staunch upholder of the Confucian Way and ardent advocate of the kingly government. But the version of Confucianism he believed in was Neo-Confucianism, especially its preoccupation with the problems of human nature and society. The Yi dynasty which adopted Neo-Confucianism as its official political philosophy was the period of the Confucian revival in Korean history. The teachings of the Ch'eng-Chu School were imported to the country in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and several great men of ideas adorned the end of the Koryō dynasty. But already there were tendencies of bifurcation in the learned world: one emphasizing the study of the classics and the other pure literature. The latter group of scholars were purists in their aspiration who scorned worldly careers and lived far from the court. Already at the end of the fourteenth century, Kil Chae ⁷⁸[50] (1353—1419), a surviving

⁷⁶ C: POGWŌN. H: OSAN. He passed the special examination held in the National Academy on occasion of the royal visit to the Confucian Temple (1577). He excelled in verse and prose in Chinese, and his writings were characterized by rich texture and witty turns of thought. During the Japanese invasion, when the Ming army came for succor, Ch'a, together with other leading men of letters, drew up documents, correspondences, and manifestoes. The Ming General, Li Ju-sung, interviewed him at his camp in P'yōngyang and is said to have marvelled at his genius. Upon withdrawal of the Ming army, King Sōnjo ordered five writers to compose farewell verse, and Ch'a managed to write 600 stanzas overnight. Also, the Ming envoy to Korea, Chu Chi-fan, upon return to China, is said to have named Ch'a as the most remarkable writer of Korea. CJJ, 778b—c; CMP 248, 20b; KS, 6—4b—5b, 6—6a.

⁷⁷ Daughter of Minister Hō Yōp and younger sister of Hō Kyun, author of the *Life of Hong Kiltong*. She died at the age of 27, but left a number of beautiful verse both in Korean and Chinese. She is especially remembered by her two *kasa* poems.

⁷⁸ C: CHAEBU. H: YAUN. S: CH'UNGJŎL. Native of Sōnsan, he first studied the writings of Confucius and Mencius before he went to the capital where he frequented such writers as Yi Saek and Chōng Mong-ju. In 1386 he took a *chinsa* and became Professor in the National Academy. His reputation was so high that not only the students in the Academy, but sons of the officials flocked to him for instruction. In 1389 he declined an offer and retired to Sōnsan to attend to his ailing mother. Yi Pang-wōn (later King T'aejong) was a classmate of Kil Chae; and when the former became Heir Apparent, he named (1400) his friend Professor of Royal Sacrifices (*T'aesang paksaj*). Kil answered that as there were no two suns in the sky, so he could not serve two dynasties and begged T'aejong to permit him to withdraw. King Chongjong, greatly moved by his sense of loyalty, honored him and allowed him to retire to his village. There Kil devoted himself

Koryŏ loyalist, had set the pattern in the south, in Sŏnsan⁷⁹, when he taught his disciples the Confucian classics, especially the *Lesser Learning*, and refused to serve the new dynasty. Kŭl Chae was a follower of Chŏng Mong-ju in his emphasis on the study of the classics and the actual practice of the sage's teachings. His teachings were bequeathed to Kim Chong-jik^{80 [51]} (1431—92), Kim Koeng-p'il^{81 [52]} (1454—1504), and finally to Cho Kwang-jo^{82 [53]} (1482—1519).

to education of qualified pupils. Upon his death, one of his disciples erected an academy in his honor on the upper reach of the Naktong River. King Sŏnjo named the place as Kŭmo Academy. CJJ, 212b—c; HMN 1, 6—8; *Yŏllyŏsik kisul* (1912) 1, 47—50; also see his *Yŏnbo*, 2a—4b in his collected works included in the *Yŏgye myŏnghyŏn chip* (pp. 1193—1272).

⁷⁹ TYS 29, 1a ff, esp. 10b—11a.

⁸⁰ C: KYEON, H: CHŎMP'ILCHAE, S: MUNCH'UNG. One of the most revered scholars and writers of the Yi dynasty, Kim took a *chinsa* in 1453 and passed the final civil service examination in 1459. When King Sŏngjong reinstituted the Office of the Royal Lectures, Kim was one of the some ten scholars chosen for the Office. As Prefect of Hamyang his reputation was so high that the King requested his ministers to promote him. After the three-year mourning period, he still declined to take part in the civil service; but the King named him Fourth Counselor in the Hongmungwan and urged him to attend his duties. Kim then held the following posts: First Royal Secretary, Second Minister of Punishments, Magistrate of Seoul, and Minister of Works, and finally Minister of Punishments. In the autumn of 1489, owing to his illness, he retired to a life of poverty. Upon hearing his predicament, the King granted him rice and medicine. King Sukchong granted the posthumous title of Chief State Councillor. Head of the "Mountain and Forest" school in the south, Kim produced a generation of famous scholars and officials. The Purge of 1498, which was directed against Kim's school, did away with most of his disciples. Kim himself suffered posthumous punishment, and his historical drafts were burnt. CJJ, 937b—8a; HMN 1, 10—11; KS, 1417b—8a, 1497b—8a, 1840b; CMP 246, 19a and 19b; 247, 18a.

⁸¹ C: TAEYU, H: HANHWŎNDANG, S: MUN'GYŎNG. Born in Seoul, he is said to have been a wild child, running about the streets of the capital beating other children. Resolved to change and pursue his studies with diligence, he studied under the famous Kim Chong-jik. Master Kim instructed Koeng-p'il especially in the *Lesser Learning*, remarking that every classical study should begin with that book. Kim, therefore, read only the *Lesser Learning* until he became thirty, at which time he began to study other classics. Intent on the acquisition of knowledge, he shut himself in a room, and his family would ascertain his presence only by the faint recitation. In this manner he established himself as an authority on classical learning. In 1480 he produced a memorial criticizing Buddhism as a heterodox religion. From 1483 he held various posts in the government. Due to his study under Kim Chong-jik, he was implicated in the Purge of 1498 and was banished to Hŭich'ŏn. At the time, Cho Kwang-jo was in the vicinity of Hŭich'ŏn and hastened to him to receive instruction. Kim was finally forced to take poison by Tyrant Yŏnsangun. King Chungjong honored him with the posthumous title of First Royal Secretary and ordered to offer sacrifice to his spirit in spring and autumn. Kim was one of the five scholars whose tablets were permanently enshrined in the Confucian Temple in the ninth moon of 1610. His writings are collected in the *Hanwŏndang chip*. CJJ, 930b—1b; HMN 1, 11—13; CMP 247, 21a.

⁸² C: HYOJK, H: CHŎNGAM, S: MUNJŎNG. Statesman and scholar, at eighteen he studied under Kim Koeng-p'il at Hŭich'ŏn in the north and resolved to devote his life to Sung Philosophy. Cho chose as his classics the *Lesser Learning* and *Chin-ssu lu* or *Summary of Systematic Thought* by Chu Hsi (1130—1200). After taking a *chinsa* in 1510 he was nominated Fourth Censor. Loved by King Chungjong for his brilliance and devotion, he was named First Counselor and sub-

After the usurpation of Sejo in 1455 and the misgovernment of Tyrant Yönsangun (1476—95—1506) ^[54], the people were reduced to great misery, and ethics and morality in the country were slackened. Upon his enthronement, therefore, King Chungjong (1488—1506—44) realized that Neo-Confucianism with its emphasis on social relations was the best means to relieve his country and people. He himself lectured on the *Great Learning* and clearly outlined the path Yi dynasty scholarship was to take. That path was expressed in the following message: "Study of Confucian classics is the root, and the art of literary composition is the branch"⁸³. And when he selected Cho Kwang-jo, who was known to his generation as the supreme interpreter of the classics and an assiduous practitioner of Confucian virtues, the condition of the academic world came to be completely changed. Cho Kwang-jo accepted the King's offer and immediately introduced reforms into the civil service examination and university curriculum. He and his group advocated a close study of the classics and scorned as "spurious art" the composition of essays and verse which had hitherto been the major part of the examination. His group rightly asserted that the emphasis on literary skills amounted to a utilitarian exploitation of classical learning but not of its recreation or practice in one's own age. Cho's group, ardent reformists and militant Confucianists who were determined to recreate the age of Yao and Shun in Korea, outrightly condemned literary art as "spurious learning" and its practitioners as "superficial and frivolous". They even argued that the sovereign should not compose poetry and should not command his officials to compose verse for presentation to him. Their radical reform movement was challenged by older officials and scholars who followed the traditional mode of learning in the country. They quickly initiated a purge and killed

sequently Inspector-General (5th moon of 1519). In order to correct corrupt customs originating in the time of Tyrant Yönsangun and to enforce reform programs, Cho supported the system of the Recommendation Examination which took place in the spring of 1519. He also argued that the choice of meritorious subjects in 1506 was irregular and excessive and advocated the revision of the roster of the Chungjong Enthronement Meritorious Subjects. After heated discussions and recriminations the King finally agreed to the deletion of 76 names. Only four days after the resolution of this issue, did the Purge of 1519, initiated by older officials who opposed the militant policies of Cho, begin. At night the rebels entered the Palace, mobilized the troops, and arrested Cho and his supporters. Honest ministers and students in the National Academy wept and wailed in the palace garden entreating the release of Cho. Despite the intervention of First State Councillor Chöng Kwang-p'il (d. 1538), Cho was banished to Nüngju and took poison on January 20, 1520. Later generations never ceased to praise Cho's devotion and statesmanship. He was honored with the posthumous title of First State Councillor, and his tablet was placed in the Confucian Temple. Yi I and Yi Hwang praised him as the father of Neo-Confucianism in Korea. His writings are collected in the *Chöngam chip*. CJJ, 1612a—14b; *Chungjong sillok* 37, 54 ff; HMN 1, 15—7; CMP 204, 14a—15a; 248, 2b; KS, 1039a—40b.

⁸³ *Chungjong sillok* 13, 27b.

[54] 燕山君

Cho Kwang-jo and his groups⁶⁴. But Cho's untimely death could not prevent the division of the world of Chinese learning into textual criticism and belles-lettres, or philosophy and literature, schools. Indeed, factional struggles arising from this split and from other exegetical differences drove many scholar-statesmen to seclusion. The more these struggles intensified, the more the idea of seclusion rose; and after a number of literati purges initiated by scholar-statesmen, such great Neo-Confucianists as Yi Hwang^[55] (1502—71) and Yi I^[56] (1536—84) advocated that the study of the classics and literature were one. Temperamentally and artistically Pak In-no was directly in the line of so-called "Mountain and Forest" school, which traced its founders to Kil Chae, Kim Chong-jik and others.

His first preoccupation is therefore with that of the five relations which runs through his earlier poems. Filial piety is often extolled in the *Song of Peace* and *Song of the Sedge Bank*. In the former it appears in a flat statement amounting almost to a sermon; but in the latter it is presented through a series of concrete situations. He builds "a grass roof" for his mother, "brew(s) magic herbs", entertains her "with the dresses of Lao lai tzu", and "shows (her) the virtue of a young crow". His respect and love of his master, in whom are represented all the Confucian virtues, is fondly dealt with in the *Song of the Sedge Bank* and *Song of the Solitary Bliss*. In the latter, the language glows with personal admiration of his teacher, whose absence is likened to "an empty hill without a phoenix". Yet "his fragrance lingers on" for he sees him "in the soup and on the wall". Of all the five relations his loyalty to, and longing for, the king runs through all his poems. In times of national crises, the speaker, "imbued with public spirit, forgetting himself, / With napsacks and bags, took to the field / To die in the last ditch". In times of peace, he regrets his absence from the court and longs and prays for him. Included in the prayers that

⁶⁴ Edward WAGNER, "The Recommendation Examination of 1519: its place in Early Yi Dynasty History", *Chōsen gakuho*, 15 (1960), 1—80.

⁶⁵ C: SUKHŌN. H: YULGOK. S: MUNSŌNG. Great Neo-Confucianist, statesman, writer, Yi was born in Pukp'yŏng Village near Kangnūng, Kangwŏn Province, as the son of Yi Wŏn-su who held a senior sixth rank at court. His mother, Sin Saimdang, was a poetess and painter who exercised a great influence upon his education. At six he went to the capital with his mother under whose guidance he began his studies. In 1558 he visited Yi Hwang. After taking a *chinsa* in 1564, he took altogether nine examinations in the following years and was known as "Mr. Nine Honor". His political career began in 1565 and included such posts as Second Counselor (1573), Governor of Hwanghae Province (1574), Censor-General (1574, 1580), Minister of Taxation (1581), Minister of Personnel and Punishments (1582). In 1581 he published the *Kyŏngyŏn ilgi* or *Sŏktam ilgi*, a collection of his lectures and discussions on the classics between 1565 and 1571. In 1624 he was granted the posthumous epithet of Munsŏng, and in 1682 his tablet was enshrined in the Confucian Temple. His collected works were first published in 1744 in 38 chapters and six chapters of Supplement. CJJ, 571 a—4 a; CMP, 246, 3 a—b, 4 a, 9 a, 23 a; KS, 298 a, 626 b, 816 b, 991 a—b, 1051 a—3 a, 1069 a, 1453 b—4 a, 1878 a—b, 1895 a, 1898 b—9 a; *Yŏllyŏsil kisul* 19, 44—48.

end the first and last *kasa* is "that He may enjoy a long life / Until every hill is made low, every sea runs dry", and "that we always have a beloved king above us". The king is, following the *Analekts* II, 1, likened to a pole-star, "which remains in its place while all the lesser stars do homage to it". The ruler can be compared to a pole star, however, only if he rules by moral power (*tê*). He should not rule by compulsive laws, decrees or orders, but should teach by personal examples, ultimately by Goodness (benevolence, humanity, etc.) alone. Examples of such ideal rulers are, of course, the legendary sage-kings Yao and Shun and great ancestors of the ruling houses of Shang and Chou. And the ruler can emulate these hoary rulers by studying the classics which embody enduring principles for moral regeneration and the solution of contemporary problems. Ch'eng Yi (1033—1107), in his memorial to the Emperor Jen-tsung (1010—22—63), states: "The world does not lack worthy men; the problem is how to find them. The purpose of seeking out worthy men is good government, and the way to govern the empire is the way followed by the Five Emperors, the Three Kings, the Duke of Chou, and Confucius⁸⁶." Ch'eng Hao, in his memorial to the Emperor Shen-tsung (1048—68—85) entitled "Ten Matters Calling for Reform", declares: "Now in ancient times all people, from the son of Heaven down to the commoners, had to have teachers and friends in order to perfect their virtue. Therefore even the sages — Shun, Yü, Wen and Wu — had those from whom they learned⁸⁷." And when that vigorous reformer Wang An-shih (1021—86) interviewed Shen-tsung in 1068, Wang remarked: "Your Majesty should take [the sage-kings] Yao and Shun as your standards⁸⁸." The restoration of the ancient order and golden age was, therefore, the ultimate goal of both Sung Neo-Confucianists and Yi dynasty scholar-statesmen. Pak's poems are haunted by such culture heroes, sage kings, and wise ministers of the golden age as Fu Hsi, I Yin, Yao, Shun, Hou Chi, Kao Yao, Wu-huai, and Ko-t'ien whose names are fragrant to him.

Indeed, one can become virtuous and wise, a gentleman in fine, through learning, especially the teachings of Confucius and Neo-Confucianists, says Pak. Emphasis on the importance of the acquisition of knowledge in the Confucian tradition and that on culture is indirectly revealed by constant references and quotations from Chinese sources: the *Four Books*, the *Five Classics*, and dynastic histories. All these were made to yield quotations or arguments in support of the poet's convictions and theses expounded in the poems⁸⁹. It is however interesting to note that the Sung scholars such

⁸⁶ W. T. de BARY, ed. *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, New York 1960, 452.

⁸⁷ W. T. de BARY, ed., *op. cit.*, 454.

⁸⁸ W. T. de BARY, ed., *op. cit.*, 464.

⁸⁹ KIM SA-yŏp, "Tohakcha ūi kagokkwan", *Kyŏngbuk taehakkyo nonmunjip*, 1 (1956), 1—41; PAK SŎNG-ŭi, "Kungmunhak kojŏn e nat'anan Yubulto sasang", *Ilsok Yi Hŭi-sŭng sŏnsaeng songsu kinyŏm nonch'ong* (1957), 262—95; AOKI MASARU, *Shina bungaku shisŏshi*, Tōkyō 1944, 36 ff, 205—55; MAX HAMBURGER, "Aristotle and Confucius, a Study in Comparative Philosophy", *Philosophy* (1956), 324—57; *idem*, "Aristotle and Confucius: a Comparison", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XX/2 (1959), 236—49.

as Ch'eng I, Chou Tun-yi, Ssu-ma Kuang, and Chu Hsi are generally represented as learned hermits in a beautiful and quiet setting of nature; and the places associated with them are called in chiefly to be used as similes or metonymies. The poet, immersed in their teachings and reverent of their deeds, cannot see the Korean mountains and rivers without at the same time seeing the I or Lien River and Wu-i or Tzu-yang mountains.

Waters are green like the I and Wei, (*Song of the Sedge Bank*)

The peaks are graceful as Wu-i mountain
And the river winds around like the I. (*The Hall of Solitary Bliss*)

Compare the same technique used in *Paradise Lost*:

Titan, Heav'n's first born
With his enormous brood, and birthright seized
By younger Saturn, he from mightier Jove.
His own and Rhea's son, like measure found:
So Jove usurping reigned: these first in Crete
And Ida known, thence on the snowy top
Of cold Olympus ruled the middle air,
Their highest heav'n; or on the Delphian cliff,
Or in Dodona, and through all the bounds
Of Doric land. (*Paradise Lost* I, 510—519)

But if the Way does not prevail, if the virtuous men are neglected or slandered, and if there is no place for integrity and justice, it is then best to "withdraw from one's generation" [*Analects* XIV, 39]. Indeed, it was inevitable, under the bureaucratic system, that some at court pursued personal profit or material interest rather than the interests of the state or society. Pak's time was no exception. And Pak the poet, therefore, sought the calm and quiet of nature rather than "the cap and gown" and "gilded titles of the three dukes". There may be several reasons for such retreat: whether he realized that there was no place for him in the world, or the world did not accept him. In the case of Pak, however, it was the poet in him that sought seclusion that would enable him to cultivate his poetic soul. He therefore became a simple and free hermit, priest of the rituals of the seasons. His life was patterned after the "Tao" of nature, the "Way" in which nature works, and nature with its manifold faces and endless mysteries was the book that he studied and contemplated. He cultivated his sensibility, saw the smallest things in life and even those which were never seen or felt before. Hence Hsü Yu, Ch'ao-fu, Chang Chü, Chieh Ni, Chang Han, and Yen Kuang become his guardians, and they are praised for the course they had chosen, to contrast them with those philistines who pursued "a name and money".

This contrast is subtly achieved by the key adjective in Pak's poetry, and for that matter, one of the most important adjectives in the *kasa* poetry of the Yi dynasty. It is the verb "kaböpta" and its adjectival form, "kabömnün", and its cognate "nimjaeöpta" with its adjectival form "nimjaeöpsan", and adverbial form "nimjaeöpsi". "Kaböpta" has two basic

meanings: 1) not worth putting a price on, having no value, hence not yet sold; and 2) having a value beyond all price. Sōng Hon^[57] (1535—98) in his *sijo*, writes:

The mountain is silent,
The water without form.
A clear breeze *has no price*,
The bright moon no lover.
Here after their fashion,
I will grow old in peace.

Pak In-no writes in the *Song of the Sedge Bank*:

Gulls and herons, stags and hinds,
They are my cattle that I raise here;
And the *unsold* breeze and *unsold* moon,
They too naturally belong to me.

Again in the *Song of the Reedy Stream*:

The fields plowed by Chang Chū und Chieh Ni,
The fishing beach haunted by Yen Kuang,
Still *unsold*, natural, natural, . . .

And the "nimjaeōmnūn", which is a logical consequence of the "kabōmnūn", means "has no owner, nobody has yet claimed it his own".

Among the flowery reeds, befriending the moon
And clear breeze, which *have no owner*,
I will grow old in a natural way. (*In Praise of Poverty*)

I visit the Valley of the Reedy Stream.
There hills and waters *have no owner* . . .

Indeed, sycophants at court, with all their worldly power and wealth, cannot *purchase* the hills and waters, because nature cannot be bought or sold and they have no sensibility to win it to their side. Hence they were unable to infiltrate into the *priceless* nature which can be won only by the sensibility of the poet. Corrupt courtiers have rank and riches; but the poet has the sensibility and joy of nature. By a skilful usage of this single suggestive word, Pak In-no and Yi dynasty poets were able to achieve not only new tones and new shades of feeling in expression but also many layers of meaning consonant with such a device. This *Leitmotiv* runs through all the *kasa* poems written before the eighteenth century. The author of the first extant *kasa* declares in his *Hymn to the Spring*:

I am not the only man under the skies:
But the pleasures of the hills are *mine*.

Ch'a Ch'ōn-no's *Country Life*, which repeats the same theme, begins:

To exercise my talent or leave my mark,
That is not my intention, not at all.
What is a name? What is a rank?

[57] 咸渾

An anonymous *kasa*, *Return to the Mountain*, concludes with the following two lines:

Perhaps I alone, I alone
Am guardian of these hills and streams.

The love of the priceless nature, the significance of which only the poet who has renounced the world knows, therefore, becomes the *sine qua non* of the poet. Hence another favorite expression among Yi dynasty poets [58]:

This life "free as duckweed" is, however, a poor life in material terms. But the poet declares that he is poor but does not resent [*Analects* XIV, 11]. To him "any thought of accepting wealth and rank by means that (he knows) to be wrong is as remote from (him) as the clouds that float above" [*Analects* VIII, 15]. Emphasis is therefore laid on his purity, that refuses to accept the salaries of the corrupt court and is content with what he has:

Not enough you say, but I do not starve.
How delicious is my corn in my hut! (*Song of the Sedge Bank*)

Poverty cannot bend the noble mind. Poverty is not his concern: his only concern is how to delight in the pursuit of the Way. In this connection, a word should be said about the favorite quotation from the *Analects* XI, 25/7 in Pak's and all Yi dynasty *kasa* poetry. While Tzu-lu, Jan Ch'iu, and Kung-hsi Hua desired power and politics, Tsêng Hsi, in perhaps the most beautiful and Taoistic passages in the *Analects*, expressed that what he desired was not a kingdom but a life in harmony with the *li*, with his fellow men, and with nature. Indeed he was concerned how one should develop and refine the faculty in man, in order to become "a man among men". To such a man a gilded title is as meaningless as "floating clouds".

I have attempted to analyze what seems to me to be the important technique of Pak's poetry. We have to remind ourselves once again that Pak lived in an era which took Confucian morality seriously and which was willing to have images and symbols point eloquently to such concepts and values. Yet does Pak's poetry contain "wise counsels" or is it, in Sidney's words, "full of virtue-breeding delightfulness"? Upon analysis, his poems, I feel, can survive a rigorous reading, because they are closely written and the poet was able to maintain a certain measure of aesthetic distance. It is true that he drew heavily upon Chinese sources and that his works, strictly speaking, are compositions full of echoes. But that kind of art was consonant with the contemporary taste for poetry which stressed sophistication, erudition and sometimes eloquence, and perfection of finish. Undue amount of allusions, in his day, was not looked down upon but served "to establish community of mind, of imagination, and of life between him and his hearer". His thoughts breathe but words do not always burn. The sensitive reader, upon several readings of his poems, is, however, aware of Pak's profound sense of music in poetry and his force-

[58] 三公不換此江山

ful cadences. Even and dignified diction graces his works, and there is no artificiality of tone despite the occurrence of axiomatic phrases. He lived in the Taoist fashion⁹⁰, but kept his spirit always in the Confucian world. Indeed, the best phrase that summarizes his view on poetry is "*shih yen chih*"⁹¹ [59].

Abbreviations

- ACKS: *Akchang kasa* (Yiwangga tosōgwān ed.), Seoul 1957.
 AHKB: Sōng Hyōn, *Akhak kwebōm*, Seoul 1930.
 BD: Giles, *Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, Shanghai 1898.
 CJJ: *Chosōn jimmei jisho*, Keijō (Seoul) 1920.
 CKT: *Chung-kuo ku-chin ti-ming ta-tzu-tien*, Shanghai 1930.
 CMP: Pak Yong-dae e. a., *Chūngbo munhōn pigo* (Kojōn kanhaeng hoe ed.), 3 vols, Seoul 1957.
 HMN: Kim Yuk, *Haedong myōngsin nok* (Chosōn kosho kankōkai ed.), Seoul 1914.
 KRS: Chōng In-ji e. a., *Koryō sa* (Tongbanghak yōn'guso ed.), 3 vols, Seoul 1955.
 KS: Maema Kyōsaku, ed. *Kosen sappu*, 3 vols, Tōkyō 1944—57.
 LE GROS CLARK: Cyril Drummond le Gros Clark, *The Prose-Poetry of Su Tung-p'o*, Shanghai 1935.
 MOROHASHI: Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai kanwa jiten*, 13 vols, Tōkyō 1957—8.
 NC: Pak In-no, *Nogyē chip* (1904 ed.).
 PHL: Peter H. Lee, "Popular Poems in the Koryō Dynasty as Described in the *Koryō sa* and *Akchang kasa*", *Oriens Extremus*, 5/2 (1958), 202—27.
 SH: *Siyong hyangak po* (Tongbanghak yōn'guso ed.), Seoul 1954.
 SLc: *Shih-wen lei-chū d'ien-chi* (Tê-shou-t'ang ed.).
 SLH: *Shih-wen lei-chū hou-chi* (Tê-shou-t'ang ed.).
 SNS: *Sōngjong sillok in the Chosōn wangjo sillok* (Vols. 8—12), Seoul 1955.
 SS: *Sejong sillok in the Chosōn wangjo sillok* (Vols. 2—6), Seoul 1955.
 TYS: No Sa-sin and Yi Haeng, *Sinjūng Tongguk yōji sūngnam* (Kojōn kanhaeng hoe ed.), Seoul 1958.
 YC: Yang Chu-dong, *Yōyō chōnju*, Seoul 1954.
 [C: *cha* (polite name). H: *ho* (pen-name). S: *si* (posthumous epithet)]

⁹⁰ Irving BABBITT, "Chinese Primitivism", *Rousseau and Romanticism*, Boston, 1947, 395—8; Joseph NEEDHAM, *Science and Civilization in China*, II, Cambridge, 1956, 86 ff; LIN TUNG-CHI, in his essay, "The Chinese Mind: Its Taoist Substratum", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, VIII/3 (1947), 267, says: "However divergent in visible manifestations, the rebel and the recluse are one in their aversion to social forms and formalities. The rebel braves them and the recluse shuns them — the one with desperation, the other with grace. What both seek at bottom is intrinsically an "escape", which a man temperamentally at variance with society must of necessity obtain if his creative energy is to find due expression. For this reason, Chinese art, be it of Dionysian dynamism or of the pantheistic repose, carries inevitably an escapist tinge, although as in all creative aesthetics the escapism in either case takes on a positive content destined to become a source of joy and inspiration to man." See also OTANI MORISHIGE, "Chosōn no tōhi shisō to sono bungaku", *Chōsen gakuho*, 18 (1961), 83—108.

⁹¹ CHEN SHI-HSIANG, "In Search of the Beginning of Chinese Literary Criticism", *Semitic and Oriental Studies Presented to William Popper*, Berkeley 1951, 45—60.

Long and narrow our land remained abandoned [1a]^{*}
 To the east of the Yellow Sea.
 Through all ages we followed the practice of Ch'i tzu¹.
 Rites are firm and our civilization matched²
 The glory of Han, T'ang, and Sung.
 But one morning a million island savages
 Clashed with millions of innocent souls,
 Resolved to follow the glitter of the sword.
 Bones lay in heaps on the peaceful plain,
 And majestic cities and large villages
 Were turned to caves for the wolf and fox.
 Cold and lonely his carriage sped to the north³,
 In the smoke and dust that gauzed the sunlight. [1b]
 Our Son of Heaven, marvelous and valiant,
 Cast a deadly roar upon the invading foe
 And cut them down with a single sword.
 Like the wind he spurred troops southward,
 Pressing the enemy hard to the seashore.
 We did not chase or storm the hungry pirates⁴
 But besieged them patiently for several years.
 And to the east of the Naklong River
 The pick of our army like lofty clouds
 Met a great general like Chu-ko Liang⁵,
 And under his brilliant five virtues⁶
 Our soldiers became hunters of wild dogs.
 The benevolence and bravery of our heroes
 Blended with the eloquence of a mediator⁷,
 Peace settled again in the south, and
 Soldiers and horses reserved energy, waiting.
 But one evening a storm broke again and
 Generals like dragons, soldiers like clouds,
 Under the royal standard that braved the sky⁸,
 Spread along the frontiers of ten thousand *li*.

^{*} Refers to the *Nogyé chip* III, ka.

¹ The uncle of the last monarch of the Shang dynasty, who fled to Korea in 1122 B.C., when the Shang was deposed by the Chou, and built a capital at P'yŏng-yang. Traditionally his dynasty lasted until 194 B.C. But recent scholarship, particularly Yi Pyŏng-do, has proved that Ch'i tzu never came to Korea. Yi Pyŏng-do, *Hanguk sa: kodae p'yŏn*, Seoul, 1959, 92—114.

² Literally: two hundred years since the foundation of the Yi dynasty.

³ The carriage (entourage) of King Sŏnjo; it also refers to the royal composition of a five-word poem of four lines, from which the term is taken.

⁴ See *Sun tzu* VII, 28b—34a (Lionel GILES, *Sun Tzu on the Art of War*, London 1910, 69): "Do not press a desperate foe too hard."

⁵ Refers to Sŏng Yun-mun, Regional Commander of the Left Bank of the River.

⁶ The five virtues are: wisdom, sincerity, benevolence, courage, and strictness. Lionel GILES, *op. cit.*, 3.

⁷ Refers to the Ming mediator between Korea and Japan, Ch'ên Wei-ching. See *Ming shih* 320, 7903b. On eloquence see *Shih ching* 260, 3 (KARLGREN, 228—9): "The King charged Chung Shan-fu: 'Be a model to those many rulers, . . . [be] the king's throat and tongue; promulgate the government abroad.'"

⁸ [60] (LE GROS CLARK, 127): "His fleet from stem to stern covered a thousand *li*; his pennons and banners filled the sky."

Hills and valleys echoed the battle cry,
 Generals led the van and rushed the enemy [2a]
 Like flashes of lightning in a stormy rain.
 Callow Captain Kiyomasa⁹ was in our grasp;
 But tired soldiers under the hurricane rain
 Raised the siege instead, stiffened the morale.
 Bandits then ran away in the four directions,
 And we chased them to every cave where
 What remains now is a heap of ashes.
 A natural fastness is not all in a battle¹⁰.
 Since the holy virtue of God on High and
 The abundant influence of our King
 Are spread to four corners like the sun,
 Heaven punished the bandits with death,
 And manifested humanity and justice everywhere.
 Was it yesterday that we sang of peace¹¹?
 Even idle people became Majesty's men,
 Fought desperately to repay his great favor,
 Fought to the last for seven years.
 Today peace reigns again over the land,
 And we return to the willowed barracks¹²
 Putting spears aside and singing. [2b]
 Listen, songs of peace and drums and horns
 Loud as the cry of dragons and fishes
 That reside deep in the Water Palace¹³.
 Royal banners, too, in the west wind
 Flutter like clouds, gay and lucky¹⁴.
 The scene of peace is endless and serene.
 Raise the bow, friends, lift the arrow,
 The triumphal tune floats¹⁵ in the sky.
 With the three-foot sword, keen and bright,
 Looking up to heaven and whistling a tune,
 When I stand up in the mood for dance,

⁹ Pejoratively used to slight the enemy general.

¹⁰ Refers to *Mencius* IIB, 2 (LEGGE II, Oxford 1895, 208—10): "Opportunities of time vouchsafed by Heaven are not equal to advantages of situation afforded by the Earth, and advantages of situation afforded by the Earth are not equal to the union arising from the accord of Man. . . ."

¹¹ The characters in the original^[61] refer to the *Han-shih wai-chuan* V/12; J. R. HIGHTOWER, *Han Shih Wai Chuan: Han Ying's Illustrations of the Didactic Application of the Classic of Songs*, Cambridge 1952, 171—2: "In the time of great peace there are no sudden winds or violent rains or waves and inundations on the sea."

¹² *Hsi-liu ying* [62] in the southwest of Hsien-yang in Shensi, where Chou Ya-fu (d. 143 B. C.) once camped his troops. According to the *Han shu*, Chou was made a General in 158 B. C. and encamped temporarily at Hsi-liu. In 157 B. C. he was made General of chariots and cavalry. In 154 B. C., during the rebellion of the seven kingdoms, he was made the imperial general and subjugated the troops of Wu and Ch'u. See H. H. DURS, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, Baltimore 1938, 296—7, 297—9, 326, and note 8. 6 (326—7). BD 426 says: "In B. C. 174 he was appointed to a command against the Hsiung-nu, who were then invading the empire; and when the Emperor Wen presented himself at his stronghold, his Majesty was unable to gain admittance until Chou himself had given orders for the gate to be opened."

¹³ The palace of the Dragon King.

¹⁴ In the original: as if a piece of auspicious clouds falls in the sky.

¹⁵ In the original: to freeze, congeal, or gather.

The magic sword¹⁶ that I lifted high
 Shines between the Plough and Weaver, and
 Hands and feet dance with beating heart
 Praising the seven virtues of chivalry¹⁷.
 What can surpass this joy of mine?
 I'll dispatch the news to Mt. Hua;
 I'll send an arrow to Mt. T'ien¹⁸.
 Now let's be only loyal and filial.
 Idly I lie asleep in the camp
 And ask in what dynasty I live.
 The golden days of Fu Hsi¹⁹, of course.
 The sun too shines brighter after rain.
 Old men scattered in ditches and moats²⁰
 Return home²¹ like swallows in the spring breeze.
 Welcome, undamaged people of Chou²²,
 Tell me the joy of your return
 And think of the royal favor that saved you.
 Under his favor brighten the five norms,
 Let people gather what this teaching sowed²³,
 And remember it was the command of Heaven,
 Heaven helped us and blessed our dynasty.
 So we pray that the royal house be endless.

[3a]

[3b]

¹⁶ [63]: Wang Tzu-an chi (SPTK ed.) V, 1 a.

¹⁷ While T'ang T'ai-tsung, still as the Prince of Ch'in, was subjugating the four quarters, there was a piece of music named *Ch'in-wang p'o-chên-yüeh* [64] in circulation. The earliest record of its performance dates from 627. In 633 T'ai-tsung ordered the choreographic diagram *P'o-chên-wu t'u* to be drawn up and instructed Lû Ts'ai to teach 120 musicians how to perform the dance according to the diagram. Later this dance was called the Dance of Seven Virtues. See SUZUKI TORAO, *Po Lo-t'ien shikai*, Tôkyô, 1952, 41; *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 192, 6030; 194, 6098, 6101. The first reference to the seven virtues occurs in the *Tso chuan*, Duke Hsüan 12 (LEGGE V/1, Hongkong 1872, 320). They are the repression of cruelty; the calling in of the weapons of war; the preservation of the great appointment; the firm establishment of one's merit; the giving repose to the people; the harmonizing all [the State]; and the enlargement of the general wealth.

¹⁸ Western sacred mountain in Kiangsu. SLH 13, 11 a — 17 a; CKT, 934 d. Mt. T'ien, also called Hsüeh shan, is in Sinkiang. CKT, 130 d—131 a.

¹⁹ One of Chinese culture heroes, inventor of writing, fishing, and trapping. BD, 585.

²⁰ Mencius IIB, 4 (Legge II, 217): "In bad calamitous years, and years of famine, the old and feeble of your people, who have been found lying in the ditches and water-channels, and the able-bodied, who have been scattered about to the four quarters, have amounted to several thousand. . . ."

²¹ [65]: LEGGE, *The Li Ki*; Oxford 1885, 131; S. COUVREUR, *Li Ki*, Ho kien fou 1913, 131; "The ancients had a saying, that a fox, when dying, adjusts its head in the direction of the mound (where it was whelped); manifesting thereby (how it shares in the feeling of) humanity."

²² [66]: *Shih ching* 258, 3 (KARLGREN, 223 f.): "The drought is excessive, it cannot be removed; it is fearsome, it is terrible, like lightning, like thunder; of the crowd of people that remained of the Chou, there is not an undamaged body left; . . ."

²³ [67]: Refers to *Tso chuan*, Duke Ai 1 (LEGGE V/II, Hongkong 1872, 794): "Give Yueh ten years for the growth of its people and the collection of its resources, and (other) ten years for the instruction of its people, and in little more than those twenty years, Woo is likely to be made a pool. . . ."
 Stanford 1954, 37; SLc 33, 2 a; See note 228 on page 204 of J. R. HIGHTOWER's "The Fu of T'ao Ch'ien", HJAS, 17/1—2 (1954).

[63] 天寶龍光

[64] 秦王破陣樂

[65] 首丘初心

[66] 子遺生靈

[67] 教訓生聚

That the sun and moon of the Three Dynasties
 Shine on the golden age of Yao and Shun,
 That there be no more war for myriads of years,
 That people sing in the field and by the well,
 That they strike drums on the fat soil²⁴,
 That we always have a beloved king above us,
 And that He and we share the joy of peace²⁵.

Lament on the Water

1605

The Lord summoned this sick and old body [10b]
 And dispatched me as a ship master.
 Therefore I travel down to Pusan
 In the sultry summer month of the *āisa* year²⁶.
 Sick as I am, I dare not sit still
 In this gateway, the important door.
 Wearing a brilliant sword aslant
 Boldly I step into the warship,
 Muster my courage and stare scornfully
 At Tsushima that lies beneath our water.
 The yellow clouds that chase the winds
 Are gathered up here, gathered up there, [11 a]
 And the dim green waves and sky are one.
 I wander about on the ship recalling the past—
 My foolish mind reproaches the Yellow Emperor.
 Since the sea surrounds heaven and earth,
 What barbarians will cross winds and waves
 And dare to encroach upon our shores?
 Why on earth did people learn to build ships?
 Throughout the ages²⁷ they became an endless evil,
 Fostering sorrow in the people's heart.
 It is rather the fault of the First Emperor.
 Granted that ships had to be made,
 Were they not for the Japanese thieves,
 Would empty ships have started out for Tsushima?
 The First Emperor believed in empty words
 And sent maidens and boys to solitary isles²⁸
 To procure the pills of immortality.
 Thus he bred savage bandits on some islands²⁹ [11 b]
 And brought shame upon the Middle Kingdom.
 Immortality pills and the Great Wall,
 Did they bring long life to him?
 He and his people too were mortals.
 When I think over the matter carefully,

²⁴ *Ku-shih hsüan* (SPPY ed.), 1, 1 a; Henry H. HART, *Poems of the Hundred Names*, Stanford 1954, 37; SLC 33, 2 a; see note 228 on page 204 of J. R. HIGHTOWER's *The Fu of T'ao Ch'ien*, HJAS, 17/1—2, 1954.

²⁵ [68]; Mencius 1 B, 1 (LEGGE II, 153): "If your Majesty now will make pleasure a thing common to the people and yourself, the royal sway awaits you."

²⁶ The year 1605.

²⁷ [69]: cf. *Shih ching* 205, 2; KARLGREN, 157.

²⁸ *Shih chi* 6, 0024 d—0025 a.

²⁹ Here the poet argues that descendants of those "boys and maidens" settled on Japanese islands and became ancestors of the Japanese people.

Hsü Shih³⁰ was stupid and went too far,
 Could he seek refuge as a royal subject?
 He did not see the spirits; but had he returned,
 The aged master would not have lamented now,
 Forget them all, no use to blame the past³¹.
 I calmly meditate, I was too obstinate.
 The ship building carriage of the Yellow Emperor³²
 Was not too bad an idea.
 Had there been no ships, my readers,
 How could Chang Han arouse his mood³³
 When the autumn breeze gently caresses him,
 How could he return to west of the River,
 When the sky is clear and the sea broad? [12a]
 How can a fisherman go to sea without a boat
 To enjoy his life free as duckweed
 Among natural hills and natural waters³⁴?
 Indeed, a system of ships is admirable.
 But why can we not be in high spirits
 On the light boat day and night
 When we sing of the moon in friendly winds?
 In old days wine tables crowded ships³⁵;
 Today only large swords and long spears.
 A ship it is, but not as ships once were.
 Therefore sorrow and joy too differ greatly.
 From time to time I gaze at the North Star,
 Tears of a bearded man deplore the age³⁶.
 Our civilization is bright as Han, T'ang, and Sung.
 But fortune seemed to desert our dynasty.
 And due to the barbarity of ugly pirates
 We must brook lasting regret. [12b]
 We have not yet wiped out this shame³⁷.
 However incapable I am, I am your subject.
 The way of success being different today,
 I get old without serving you in person.

³⁰ Or Hsü Fu who persuaded the First Emperor of Ch'in to send out an expedition, accompanied by several thousand young men and women, to search for the Isles of the Blest which were supposed to be inhabited by immortals. *Shih-chou chi* 1 a—b; BD 788; also see Po Chü-i's poem, "Magic", (WALEY, *A Hundred and Seventy Chinese Poems*, New York 1918, 195—6): "Men have fabled, in the midst there stand three sacred hills / On the hills, thick growing, — herbs that banish Death. / Wings grow on those who eat them and they turn into heavenly "hsien". / The Lord of Ch'in and Wu of Han believed in these stories. / And magic-workers year by year were sent to gather herbs. / The Blessed Islands, now and of old, what but an empty dream?"

³¹ [70]: *Analekts* III, 21 (WALEY, 99): "What already belongs to the past, one does not censure."

³² The Yellow Emperor was supposed to be the inventor of wheeled vehicles, ships, armors, pottery and others. BD, 871.

³³ *Chin shu* 92, 1312a; BD, 54.

³⁴ In the original: natural hills and waters that cannot be exchanged for the three dukes.

³⁵ Cf. Su Shih's *Red Cliff* (LE GROS CLARK, 128—9): "And when our repast was finished, with cups and plates lying about in disorder, we lay ourselves down in the boat."

³⁶ For North Star see *Analekts* II, 1.

³⁷ Refers to the Japanese invasion, 1952—8. For [71] see LE GROS CLARK, 127.

But my anxious heart is always with you.
 Love of country and firmness of will
 Become stronger as one gets old. But
 This little body being sick in bed, when
 Could I cleanse this shame, redress this grief?
 The dead Chu-ko Liang chased the alive Ssu-ma I³⁸,
 And the limbless Sun Pin captured P'ang Chüan³⁹.
 Much more I who have four limbs, still alive,
 Would I fear the thieves of mice and dogs⁴⁰?
 When I charge the enemy van and face them
 They will be fallen leaves in frosty winds.
 By freeing them and seizing them seven times⁴¹
 We too will succeed like Chu-ko Liang.
 O wriggling savages from the island country, [13 a]
 You know the surrendered are set free —
 So yield now and avoid a total loss.
 To the noble virtue of our Majesty,
 To his favor everyone is brother.
 He will become another Yao or Shun
 Whose virtue daily renews like the sun and moon⁴².
 And we who ride on battle ships
 Will soon sing on the fishing boat
 In the autumn moon and spring breeze,
 And laying our heads on the high pillow
 We will see once more the happy era
 When all the waters sing in unison.

Song of the Sedge Bank

1611

You raised this stupid and clumsy body, [3 b]
 My Lord, your good graces were great.
 Bowed down I exhausted my energy⁴³,
 Laid down my humble life for our country.
 Day and night, diligent and attentive⁴⁴,

³⁸ Refers to the story of Ssu-ma I (178—251) who was scared by the dead Chu-ko Liang (181—234). "In this month [Chu-ko] Liang died, with the army. The *chiang-shih* Yang I put the army in order and marched off; the population rushed off to Ssu-ma I and informed him, and I pursued them. Chiang Wei ordered [Yang] I to turn the banners and beat the drums, as if intending to meet I. I thereupon departed, with his troops in battle formation. Entering [Yeh]-ku he announced the death of [Chu-ko] Liang]. The people made it a saying, "Dead Chu-ko has put live Chung-ta to flight!" Achilles FANG, *The Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms*, Cambridge 1952, 435—6; BD 459 and 1754.

³⁹ Refers to the famous story of how Sun Pin of Ch'i defeated the Wei army of P'ang Chüan. *Shih chi* 65, 0182b—c; Lionel GILES, *op. cit.*, 40.

⁴⁰ [72]; refers to the Japanese invaders.

⁴¹ Refers to the story of Chu-ko Liang capturing and releasing Meng Hao seven times. CJT, 556 b.

⁴² [73]; *Shang-shu ta-chuan* (SPTK ed.) 1 B, 19 a.

⁴³ [74]; cf. *Hou Ch'u-shih piao* of Chu-ko Liang. See *Wen hsüan* 37, 3 b.

⁴⁴ [75]; *Shih ching* 260, 4 (KARLGREN, 229); "... morning and evening he [Chung Shan-fu] does not slacken, in the service of the One Man."

[72] 鼠竊狗偷

[73] 日月光華

[74] 鞠躬盡瘁

[75] 夙夜匪懈

I pondered the course of our dynasty;
But a torch cannot brighten the sun and moon.
Have I neglected my duty for pleasure?
Sick and old you let me leave you;

[4 a]

So to east of the Han River
I return among the hills and waters,
On the Sedge Bank by the Yongjin River.
Abandoned, Nature is without a host; but
Bright waters and green hills are familiar
Where my cherished dream would take me.
Therefore these mindless hills and waters
Seem to breathe out warmth.
Gulls too play in threes and fives
On the white sand by the bank
Veiled in a dim spring mist.
Quiet, birds, let me ask you,
Whether you too chose this sunny shore.
Waters are green like the I⁴⁵ and Wei⁴⁶,
Peaks are levelled like Fu-ch'un⁴⁷ and Chi⁴⁸,
Forests are deep and roads are dark like Yün-ku⁴⁹,
Springs are sweet and the soil is fat
Like the P'an Valley of Li Yüan⁵⁰.
I wander about and ponder it,
But I do not know where I stand.

Fungus by the shore and orchids on the bank⁵¹,
Their fragrance floats far and near, and
The petals fall thick and wide
On the south torrent and east stream.
Clearing out the brambles and thorns
I build a grass roof and invite my parents
To fulfill the son's duty till their end.
So I learn today I am the only host
Among these hills and these streams
That I'll not exchange for a cap and gown⁵².
Gulls and herons, stags and hinds,

[4 b]

⁴⁵ I River is where Ch'eng Yi (1033—1108) used to live, who is generally referred to as "the master of the I River". BD, 280; CKT, 282 d.

⁴⁶ In Shensi where T'ai-kung (BD, 1862) spent his time fishing. CKT, 911 b.

⁴⁷ Where Yen Kuang, a contemporary of the Emperor Kuang-wu, retired. *Hou Han shu* 113, 0892 c; *Kao-shih chuan* (SPPY ed.) 3, 1 a — 2 a; SLc 33, 3 b — 4 b, 12 a; 37, 10 a; BD, 2468; CKT, 889 c.

⁴⁸ In Honan where Ch'ao-fu and Hsü Yu retired. CKT, 1116 a.

⁴⁹ [76]: "Cloud Valley" in Fukien where Chu Hsi used to live. *Sung shih* 429, 5583 a—5585 b.

⁵⁰ P'an Valley in Honan, 20 li north of Chi-yüan hsien. For Li Yüan, see CJT, 438 a. CKT, 1183 d.

⁵¹ [77]: cf. *Yo-yang-lou chi* in *Fan Wen-cheng-kung chi* (SPTK ed.) VII, 3 b. For Fan Chung-yen (989—1052), see James T. C. Liu, "An Early Sung Reformer: Fan Chung-yen", *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, Chicago 1957, 105—31.

⁵² In the original: [78] which comes from a poem by Tai Shih-ping. See *Shih-ping shih-chi* (SPTK hsü-pien I) 7, 5 b. Three dukes were originally the three ministers of state in Chou, the grand tutor, the grand assistant, and the grand guardian, but in Korea they refer to the first three state councillors, chief, second, and third.

These are my cattle⁵³ that I raise here;
 And the unsold breeze and unsold⁵⁴ moon,
 They too naturally belong to me.
 My riches are different from other riches.
 With no envy, with no mortal friends,
 Far from strife and worldly worries,
 But without budding flowers and falling leaves,
 Who would know the change of the seasons? [5a]
 When the "ding-dong" from the Chungün Temple
 Knocks at my window with its plum blossoms,
 Awakened but with sick eyes I see
 The blossoms opened by rain at night.
 Their fragrance tells of the advent of spring.
 With new spring dresses and a blue staff⁵⁵,
 With six or seven uncapped boys⁵⁶,
 I walk slow and heavy across the young grass
 Where spring came slowly over the hills.
 I wash my feet in the stream and
 By the bank where winds are fresh,
 Elated I return singing with Tsêng Tien.
 No less great is the joy of autumn.
 When the golden wind, chilly and lonely,
 Passes the garden or by the riverbank,
 The rustle of the paulownia leaves
 Startles even deaf ears.
 Welcoming the punctual⁵⁷ autumn winds,
 With a rod on the shoulder I open [5b]
 The smartweed bush and unloose a boat
 And let it float down to the foreshore.
 And let a fair wind speed it back when
 The sun sets in the dim mountains,
 Leaving the front hills far behind⁵⁸.
 In an instant I become an immortal
 Sailing on a boat of lotus leaves.
 Can Su Shih's poem on the Red Cliff
 Equal my blessed pleasure?
 Nor can Chang Han's return to east of the River⁵⁹
 Match the splendor of today.

⁵³ In the original: [79], the six types of domestic animals: horse, cattle, sheep, goats, fowl, and dogs.

⁵⁴ The Korean word, "kaböpta", like the English "priceless", has two different meanings; (1) not worth putting a price on, having no value; and (2) having a value beyond all price.

⁵⁵ [80]: a cane of chenopodium.

⁵⁶ One of the recurrent allusions to the *Analekts* XI, 25/7 (WALEY, 160): "Tsêng Hsi said, At the end of spring, when the making of the Spring Clothes have been completed, to go with five times six newly-capped youths and six times seven uncapped boys, perform the lustration in the river I, take the air at the Rain Dance altars, and then going home singing."

⁵⁷ [81]: Li Po's poem [82], *Li T'ai-po ch'üan-chi* (SPPY ed.) 1a—b.

⁵⁸ One of the recurrent phrases in fisherman's poetry in the Yi dynasty. In the second poem of Yi Hyön-bo (1467—1555), for example, the same line appears.

⁵⁹ He took office with Prince Ching of Ch'i but resigned because "he could not do without the salad and fish of the Sung River in Kiangsu". BD, 54; *Chin Shu* 92, 1312a.

[79] 六畜

[80] 青藜杖

[81] 正值秋風

[82] 送張舍人之江東

Since the life by the water is so,
 I can easily imagine the delight on the hills.
 When autumn dusk assails the mountain study,
 Unable to master memories and longings,
 With a cane I climb up a stony path
 And there among friendly monkeys and cranes
 I lean against the pine and scan the four corners.
 How artfully the Creator wields his brush.
 White clouds and clear mist float high and low. [6 a]
 Hanging on every peak and every valley.
 Maples, reddened by frost, brave spring blossoms,
 Screens of brocade stretched fold upon fold.
 Myriad forms seem to roll in luxury.
 If one were to fight for these scenes,
 My humble self might not win them; but
 Since nobody stops me from my pleasure here
 I can leisurely enjoy the shifting scenes.
 At the foot of South Mountain I plant five grains.
 Not enough you say, but I don't starve.
 How delicious is my corn in my hut!
 If you add sweet herbs and various fishes
 You would say nothing lacks in the valley.
 Not enough delicacies, I know;
 But I'll serve my parents here
 And show them the virtue of a young crow⁶⁰.
 Retired as I am from the court
 How can I forget for a moment
 The vast favor of our beloved Lord? [6 b]
 When I raise my head toward the north⁶¹,
 Secret tears often wet my sleeves.
 Seeing these tears you would say
 I should not have left him behind.
 But this clumsy body caught a disease,
 My mother too nears her eightieth year.
 So here I must brew magic herbs,
 Waiting on⁶² her day and night.
 My life being so, when can I leave this hill?
 No, I'll serve her and age with her
 With the cleansed ears of Hsü Yu⁶³,
 With the dresses of Lao lai tzu⁶⁴,
 Until the pines have turned into green iron,
 The pines thick in the stream in front.

⁶⁰ Young crows, paragons of filial piety, are said to disgorge in order to feed their parents. *I-wen lei-chü* (Hung-ta-t'ang ed.) 92, 1a ff, esp. 3a.

⁶¹ *Analects* II, 1 (WALEY, 88): "The Master said, He who rules by moral force (tê) is like the pole-star, which remains in its place while all the lesser stars do homage to it."

⁶² [83]: The *Li Ki* (LEGGE, 67 and COUVREUR, 10—11): "in the evening, to adjust everything (for their repose), and to inquire (about their health) in the morning."

⁶³ Legendary recluse famed for his purity. BD, 200; *Kao-shih chuan* 1, 2a—3a.

⁶⁴ One of the twenty-four examples of filial piety. "At seventy, he was still accustomed to divert his aged parents by dressing himself up and cutting capers before them." BD, 1087; *Kao-shih chuan* 1, 7a.

Foolish and impractical I am, no man is more so.
 I trust to luck, and deep in this rustic corner⁶⁵ [7 a]
 Build myself a grass roof, cook rice or make gruel
 With straws wet from wind and rain.
 But why so much smoke, volumes of smoke?
 I offer my empty stomach only lukewarm rice-tea.
 Although my days are spent in this manner,
 Will a man of spirit yield to his will?
 I weather the storm, poor but untarnished,
 Aim high and live honest.
 O contradiction, o necessity.

If autumn is short, let spring be plentiful.
 If the pocket is empty, let the bottle be filled.
 Penury harasses more than one man.
 Let hunger and cold threaten my living warmth.
 Sincerity's bright red burns in me still.
 Imbued with public spirit, forgetting myself,
 With napsacks and bags⁶⁶ I took to the field
 To die in the last ditch. I fought
 My country's battle for five years, stepped over
 Bodies that lay in heaps, forded a river of blood. [7 b]
 So my days went by; my house was empty.

A long beard of a servant⁶⁷ has forgotten
 The status of master and servant.
 Who will inform me of the nearing spring?⁶⁸
 Whom should I ask to plow the field?⁶⁹
 An old man farms there, sows and reaps.
 He is I, an old man in rustic winds.
 Look at him among the asarum plants⁷⁰,

⁶⁵ *Analects* VI, (WALEY, 117—8): "Incomparable indeed was Hui! A handful of rice to eat, a gourdful of water to drink, living in a mean street . . ."

⁶⁶ He fought a sea battle against the invading Japanese in the Straits of Korea. It was on this occasion that Admiral Yi Sun-sin (1545—98) invented an armored warship and defeated the invading foe. Here the reference is to the *Shih ching* 250, 1 (KARLGRÉN, 206—7): "Staunch was Prince Liu, . . . he tied up provisions in bags, in sacks; . . ."

⁶⁷ Refers to a poem by Han Yü; Erwin von ZACH, "Dem Lu T'ang übersandt", *Han Yüs Poetische Werke*, Cambridge 1952, 123: "Meister Yü ch'uan, mein Freund, lebt in Loyang / in einigen wenigen Kammern eines verfallenen Hauses. / Ein Sklave mit langem Bart und ohne Kopftuch / Und eine alte bloßfüßige, zahnlose Magd sind seine Bedienung." *Ch'ang-li hsien-sheng chi* (SPPY ed.) 5, 3 a—b.

⁶⁸ Refers to *The Return of T'ao Ch'ien*; J. R. HIGHTOWER, "The Fu of T'ao Ch'ien", *HJAS*, 17/1—2 (1954), 222: "The farmer tells me that now spring is here / There will be work to do in the west fields."

⁶⁹ [84]: cf. *Sung shu* 77, 1616 c.

⁷⁰ Refers to I Yin, minister under Ch'eng T'ang. BD, 913; *Mencius* 5 A, 7 (LEGGE II, 362).

Look at him bending over a distant mound⁷¹.
No one will say he is mean; but
However much I intend to plough,
Can I do it without an ox?

Crops are backward this year after the long drought,
But I draw water from a puddle⁷² to the westward land
And wend a moonless path at dusk to one
Who has half promised to lend me his ox.
Standing outside the firmly closed door I cough
Loudly twice or thrice.

[8 a]

"Who's there?" "Shameless me."

"What has brought you here at night?"

"It is improper to come every year, I know;

But I am here for your ox."

"I would certainly let you use it;

But last night my neighbor invited me

For a red pheasant cooked on a charcoal fire,

Plied me with new-brewed⁷³ wine till I was tipsy.

I have promised my ox to him tomorrow.

It is a delicate matter, indeed it is."

If this is so, I say, what can I do?

With an old straw hat, with worn-out sandals,

A small figure leaves him. Only a dog barks.

[8 b]

I return to my snail-shell of a hut. But how
Can you ask me to sleep without being sleepy?
At my north window I wait up for the dawn.
The mindless cuckoo⁷⁴ makes my regret more keen.
Disappointed, all night I look at the field.
The gay farmer's songs are gay no more.
A blind sigh knows no end. Only
The harrow is there, shining, on the wall,
Waiting to work the weed-grown field,
The harrow waiting in an empty hut.

Let us not worry about the spring ploughing —
Long since I dreamt of rivers and lakes.
O necessary fault of mouth and belly —
So I look at the bamboo, green and green,

⁷¹ Refers to Ch'en Sheng (or She); Burton WATSON, *Records of the Grand Historian of China*, I, New York 1961, 19—33: "When Ch'en She was young, he was working one day in the fields with the other hired men. Suddenly he stopped his plowing and went and stood on a hillock, wearing a look of profound discontent. After a long while he announced, 'If I become rich and famous, I will not forget the rest of you'. The other farm hands laughed and answered, 'You are nothing but a hired laborer. How could you ever become rich and famous?' Ch'en She gave a great sigh, 'Oh, well', he said, 'how could you little sparrows be expected to understand the ambitions of a swan?' See SLc 36, 2b.

⁷² Literally: a puddle formed by a shower.

⁷³ [85]: the wine brewed on the third boar-day of the first moon. Pak Sŏng-ŭi, *Nogyŏ kasa t'onghae*, Seoul 1960, 38—9.

⁷⁴ [86]: LEGGE, *The Li Ki*, 265: "... the cooing doves clap their wings, and the crested birds light on them."

In the winding waters of Ch'i⁷⁵.
 O graceful gentleman, lend me an angling-rod.
 Among the flowery reeds, befriending the moon
 And clear breeze, which have no owner,
 I will grow old in a natural way.
 Mindless gulls neither invite nor reject me.
 Indeed only bright moon and clear breeze
 Do not fight each other like men.

[9 a]

What noble resolve rests in me —
 I have given up several remaining furrows.
 I will cook gruel if there is rice,
 Will starve and die, if there is not.
 I will not envy others and others' goods.
 You may loathe a poor and humble life:
 You cannot pull it by the hand.
 You may envy a rich and noble life:
 You cannot clap hands to invite it.
 Indeed fortune determines human affairs.
 To be poor and yet not resent⁷⁶ —
 Since I have lived thus I am happy.
 A modest⁷⁷ life is enough for me.
 To be well-fed and well-clad is no my dream.
 In this world, calm and free,
 Loyal and filial, reconciled and true.
 This is the way; this is the way of life.
 As for other matters let them come as they will.

[9 b]

The Hall of Solitary Bliss

Long since and many times I have heard tell
 Of the quiet and cool of these places —
 Mt. Chaok⁷⁸ and Hall of Solitary Bliss.
 But I was long a soldier
 With anxious and burning heart.
 Shores were violated, it was urgent⁷⁹.
 So I hastened with a gold spear,
 Rode, rode fast on a horse of iron.
 A fervent zeal for my teacher
 Still deepens under this grizzled hair.
 So today I start out at last
 With a bamboo stick and straw sandals.
 The peaks are graceful as Wu-i⁸⁰ Mountain
 And the river winds around like the I⁸¹.

[13 b]

⁷⁵ *Shih ching* 55, 1 (WALEY, 47): "Look at that little bay of the Ch'i, / Its kitefoot so delicately waving."

⁷⁶ *Analects* XIV, 11 (WALEY, 182): "To be poor and not resent it is far harder than to be rich, yet not presumptuous."

⁷⁷ *Analects* VI, 9: literally "a handful of rice and a gourdful of water".

⁷⁸ Mountain in Kyōngju.

⁷⁹ [87]: cf. *Shih ching* 194. 6; KARLGREN, 141.

⁸⁰ In Fukien, 30 li south of Ch'ung-an hsien. CKT, 503 a.

⁸¹ See 45.

But all is without the host,
 My master abandoned this beauty place.
 Sages and gentlemen of Silla and Koryŏ,
 How many have crossed this mountain peak?
 Heaven spared it, earth treasured it;
 They left him all its secrets.
 Everything has its master, they say⁸²;
 How true, only my teacher is master.
 Opening the creepers, entwined and green,
 I open the Hall of Solitary Bliss.
 Secluded and elegant its beauty is unmatched.
 A thousand bamboo, straight and solemn,
 And on the walls ten thousand books.
 Yen Hui and Tsêng Hsi are on the left;
 Tzu Yu and Tzu Hsia⁸³ on the right.
 He respected and admired⁸⁴ ancient sages,
 Made it his job to compose poems,
 And immersed in the stillness of nature,
 Found himself at home in all situations.
 He called it therefore Solitary Bliss,
 A fit name for an elegant life.
 Ssu-ma Kuang too had Tu-lo yüan⁸⁵, but
 Could that match the Hall of our host?
 Still pursuing I enter the Yangjin Hut,
 Winds caress me as I contemplate it,
 And my wish too is pure and bright.
 T'oegye⁸⁶ appears in person and in his writing.
 I descend to the Kwanŏ Terrace,

[14a]

⁸² [88]: from Su Shih's *Red Cliff*; LE GROS CLARK, 128: "Moreover, everything in this world has its owner. If it does not belong to me, not one single atom of it can I take. But, the fresh breeze over the river, the silvery moon amongst the hills — things which become music to the ear and colour to the eye — these we may take without hindrance, enjoy without cessation." Also see LIN YUTANG, *The Gay Genius*; New York 1947, 230.

⁸³ Disciples of Confucius.

⁸⁴ [89]: *Mencius* 5B, 8; LEGGE, 391—2.

⁸⁵ [90]: a retreat of Ssu-ma Kuang (1019—86) in Honan, south of Loyang. He was a native of Shensi and was a leading opponent of Wang An-shih; wrote the *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* or *General Mirror for the Aid of Government*. See Su Shih's: [91] in the *Chi-chu pen-lei Tung-p'o hsien-sheng shih* (SPTK ed.) 10, 10b—11a; SLh 9, 17b—18a; BD, 1756.

⁸⁶ Perhaps the most famous Neo-Confucianist in the Yi dynasty. He passed the final civil service examination in 1534 and was chosen, in 1541, as a member of the Lake Hall of Scholars. The court offered him a series of high posts but he always declined them. Yet unable to refuse the summons from King Sŏnjo, he went to the capital and held such important positions as Rector of the National Academy (1552), First Counselor (1552), Minister of Works (1566), Minister of Rites (1568), and Minister of Personnel (1569). In 1560 he established the Tosan Academy in Yean. He was granted the posthumous title of Chief State Councillor (1571), the posthumous epithet (si) of Munsun (1576), and his tablet was enshrined in the Confucian Temple (1610). He was a prolific and versatile writer, and the manuscripts his disciples collected amounted to more than one hundred volumes. The *Collected Works of T'oegye* were compiled and published by the Taedong Research Center, Sŏnggyun-gwan University, in 1958. This collection contains almost all the significant works of the master. See *T'oegye sŏnsaeng yŏnbo* 1, 1a—2, 23b.

[88] 物有各主

[89] 尚友千古

[90] 獨樂園

[91] 司馬君獨樂園

Pebbles mirror my sticks and sandals.
 Dense is the forest of fresh pines —
 Welcome, it retains the ancient air.
 Refreshed I visit the Orchid Room⁸⁷
 And recall the antiquities and think —
 Piled rocks and deep cliffs are
 A muscovite screen painted by Lung-mien⁸⁸.
 In the lucid and leaping water, [14 b]
 Like the cool breeze and clear moon,
 The sky and clouds swim magnificently.
 Hawks and fishes⁸⁹ were his friends.
 He sank in contemplation, sought truth,
 And continued the work of ancient sages.
 I stride over the brook and question
 The white gulls on the fishing beach:
 Do you know, birds, when
 Yen Kuang⁹⁰ returned to the Han House?
 Only the evening smoke swims on the mossed beach.
 In spring dress I climb Yōnggwī Terrace;
 Beauty is too much, and spirits are high.
 Enjoy the breeze and return home, singing⁹¹.
 Today I have the pleasure of Tsêng Hsi.
 A rain passes over the lotus pond
 Scattering pearls on the jasper leaves.
 Chou Tun-yi left us many years ago; [15 a]
 But the wonders of clear views are here still,
 And only the fragrance of my Master lingers on.
 Through the trailing purple mist
 A cataract is a swinging stream
 Over a red cliff, solemn and steep.
 Where is Censer Peak? Mt. Lu⁹² is here.
 I look down Chūngsim Terrace;
 The rustic and narrow in my mind
 Are cleansed with freshness.
 Alone I sit on the empty terrace;
 Only mountains swim in the clear water,
 And birds twitter among green boughs.
 I wander and meditate on the world —
 Spring is clear on T'agyōng Terrace;
 But men still wrangle in the dusty world
 Instead of washing their hat-strings⁹³.

⁸⁷ Cf. *Kung-tzu chia-yü* (SPPY ed.) IV, 4 a.

⁸⁸ Li Kung-lin of Sung, lived on Mt. Lung-mien and excelled in verse and painting. Agnes E. MYERS. *Chinese Painting as Reflected in the Thought and Art of Li Lung-mien, 1070—1106*, New York 1923.

⁸⁹ [92]: *Shih ching* 239, 3 (KARLGREN, 191): "The hawk flies and reaches heaven; the fish leaps in the deep;"

⁹⁰ See note 47.

⁹¹ *Analects* XI, 25/7.

⁹² Also called Nan-chang shan, north of Hsing-tzu hsien and south of Chiu-kiang hsien in Kiangsi, immortalized in the poems of Li Po and Su Shih. See *Li T'ai-po ch'üan chi* 21; CKT, 134 a—b; SHIGETOSHI OBATA, *The Works of Li Po*, New York 1922, 132—3.

⁹³ Cf. David HAWKES, tr. *Ch'u Tz'u*, Oxford 1959, 90—1; esp. 91; *Mencius* 4 A, 9 (LEGGE, 299).

I climb Lion Rock and survey Mt. Todōk.
 As jade contains brightness within itself⁹⁴, [15b]
 So our master shone here until yesterday.
 Now the phoenix has left and hills are empty⁹⁵;
 Only a solitary cuckoo sighs at dusk.
 The water from Tohwa Cave flows
 Day and night carrying the fallen petals⁹⁶.
 Is it Mt. T'ient'ai?⁹⁷ Is Hangchow here?
 Footsteps of the spirits are remote and afar.
 I am ignorant and have not yet attained wisdom,
 But still find delight in the hills⁹⁸.
 Leaning on the rock I scan the scene
 Of waters and hills both far and near.
 Tens of thousands of flowers weave a brocade,
 The valley winds carry fragrance of plants;
 And ding-dong from a distant temple
 Echoes in the clouds and dies on the air.
 Even a pen of Fan Hsi-wen⁹⁹ will betray us.
 Idly I ramble moving slowly and watching [16a]
 The sunset over the West Mountain.
 I then climb again to the same Hall and look,
 Look left and right to see my master.
 He appears in person, he welcomes me.
 I see him "in the soup and on the walls"¹⁰⁰.
 And looking up to him I recall his deeds.
 He sat at the table by the bright window,
 Displayed merits harvested from his studies,
 Continued the tradition and opened the new way.
 A happy gentleman¹⁰¹ he was, a light in the East.
 Moreover with piety, love, and loyalty,
 He became a Hou Chi and Chieh¹⁰² and hoped

⁹⁴ [93]: cf. Lu Chi's *Wen fu*; E. R. HUGHES, tr. *The Art of Letters, Lu Chi's "Wen Fu"* A. D. 302, New York 1951, 103: "The jade is concealed in the rock, yet the hill is refulgent with it; the pearl is enveloped in the waters, but the stream betray its charm". Also SHIH-HSIANG CHEN, *Essays on Literature Written by the Third-Century Chinese Poet Lu Chi*, Portland 1953, xxvi: "Let it [meaning], then, be contained like jade in rocks, that a mountain loom in radiance, / Or cast it like a pearl in water that a whole river gleam with splendor."

⁹⁵ [94]: cf. Li Po's poem: [95]; See *Li T'ai-po ch'üan-chi* 21, 10 a; OBATA, *op. cit.*, 114.

⁹⁶ [96]: cf. *Analects* IX, 16; WALEY, 142.

⁹⁷ In Chekiang, CKT, 131 d — 132 a.

⁹⁸ *Analects* VI, 21 (WALEY, 120): "... The wise man delights in water, the Good man delights in mountain. For the wise move; but the Good stay still. The wise are happy; but the Good, secure."

⁹⁹ Fan Chung-yen, author of the *Yo-yang-lou chi*. BD, 535.

¹⁰⁰ Refers to a tradition that Shun longed for Yao for three years after his death and saw his image on the walls whenever he sat, and in the soup whenever he ate.

¹⁰¹ [97]: *Shih ching* 4, 1; 125, 1—5; 222, 3—5 (KARLGREN 4, 116—7, 176).

¹⁰² Hou Chi or Lord Millet, inventor of agriculture, ancestor of the Chou people. *Shih ching* 245, 1 (WALEY No. 238, p. 241): "She [Chiang Yüan] trod on the big toe of God's footprints, / Was accepted and got what she desired, / Then in reverence, then in awe, / She gave birth, she nurtured; / And this was Hou Chi." Chieh is a wise minister under Shun.

[93] 玉韞含輝

[94] 鳳去山空

[95] 登金陵鳳凰臺

[96] 不舍晝夜

[97] 樂只君子

To achieve the peace of Yao and Shun.
 But time rebelled, loyalists were banished
 To the deep mountains and deep valleys,
 Yet he still suffered the country's fortune.
 Seven long years¹⁰³ he did not see the sun, [16 b]
 He shut the door and searched his heart,
 He garnered virtue and polished the Way.
 Right prevailed over evil at the end,
 And the people claimed him knowing what he was.
 They feared his laudable footsteps
 And erected even a shrine in Kanggye¹⁰⁴,
 His place of exile, mean and cold.
 Learned men hastened to him in awe,
 And built an academy on Mt. Chaok,
 And students¹⁰⁵ pluck the lute and hum poetry
 As though Chou Tun-yi and young scholars of Loyang¹⁰⁶
 Have all gathered here once again —
 I ascend to the Kuin Hall,
 There stands the solemn Ch'ein Temple.
 His sons and grandsons repeat a rite on his altar,
 But in order to worship and follow him more,
 They offer him sacrifice in the Confucian Temple.
 Our civilization matches that of Han, T'ang, and Sung;
 Indeed we are in Tzu-yang, we are in Yün-ku¹⁰⁷.
 Water flows, his virtues too flow. [17 a]
 His spirit lingers where a dragon reigns.
 How wonderful is the Creator's power —
 Drunk with delight I tarry along,
 Hammering the rustic brain with sincerity.
 I open every leaf and peruse his works;
 Every word speaks of wisdom and sparkles,
 Bright as the sun and moon, a candle at darkness.
 Let his precepts fill our breast,
 Let's order our mind and pursue the Way¹⁰⁸.
 Let mouth be loyal and hands faithful¹⁰⁹,
 Goodness will then naturally follow.

¹⁰³ Here the poet compares his master to Chia I (201—169 B. C.), grand tutor to Wu Ch'a, King of Ch'ang-sha, and King Huai of Liang.

¹⁰⁴ TYS 55, 15 b f. CMP 213, 37 b—38 a. For the Oksan Academy on Mt. Chaok (3 lines below) see CMP 213, 1 a.

¹⁰⁵ *Shih ching* 91, 1 (KARLGREN, 58—9); "Blue is your collar; . . ."

¹⁰⁶ Such men as Shao Yung (1011—77), Ssu-ma Kuang (1019—86), Ch'eng Yi (Yi-ch'uan, 1033—1107), and Chang Tsai (Heng-ch'ü, 1021—77).

¹⁰⁷ Tzu-yang shan is the place where Chu Sung (1097—1143), father of Chu Hsi, lived. BD, 470.

¹⁰⁸ [98]: *Great Learning* I, 4 (LEGGE 1, Hongkong 1861, 221—2): "The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the empire, first ordered well their own states. Wishing to order well their states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons. Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their hearts. Wishing to rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts. Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things."

¹⁰⁹ [99]; *Analects* XV, 5 (WALEY, 194): "Be loyal and true to your every word, serious and careful in all you do;"

Look, friends, look up to this wise man,
Great as Mt. T'ai, remote as the Plough.
Heaven that is high and earth that is fat,
They too have an end and dissolve to dust.
But only the clear breeze is infinite
That blows over the Hall of Solitary Bliss.

[17 b]

Song of the South

1635

For a thousand *ri* along the southern borders,
You who are unscathed by the bitter war,
Who first braved the enemy's rage¹¹⁰,
What trades have you now and what work?¹¹¹
In the ruins overgrown with weeds
You build a grass roof.
You cannot till stony and barren fields.
You who have so much to do,
You are no less pressed into service.
Starving you aged in cold and hunger;
But your constant hearts still burn.
Our beloved king bright as the sun,
With pitying love reaching far and wide,
With his deep goodness and lofty virtue,
Sent the Minister to survey the people,
And we people who were spared see another autumn.
Bright as the jade and deep as the ocean,
He felt it his duty to renew his people¹¹²,
With nine precepts and eight criteria¹¹³,
He became a Hou Chi, became a Kao Yao¹¹⁴.
O Minister, you widely spread the Good,
Intending to nurture His majesty's children,
You bestowed upon them great favor¹¹⁵
Sweet as rain drops over a hundred grains,
Fresh as water to fish in a dry rut¹¹⁶.

[18 a]

¹¹⁰ Who checked the march of the Japanese invaders.

¹¹¹ Literally: pursue one's business which has been handed down from generation to generation with diligence. PAK SÖNG-ŪI, *op. cit.*, 82.

¹¹² [100]: *Great Learning* I, 1 (LEGGE I, 220): "What the Great Learning teaches, is to illustrate illustrious virtue; to renovate the people; and to rest in the bright excellence."

¹¹³ [101]: *Chung yung* XX, 12 (LEGGE I, 272): "All who have the government of the Empire with its states and families have nine standard rules to follow: the cultivation of their own character; the honoring of men of virtue and talents; affection towards their relatives; respect towards the great ministers; kind and considerate treatment of the whole body of officers; dealing with the mass of the people as children; encouraging the resort of all classes of artisans; indulgent treatment of men from a distance; and the kingly cherishing of all the princes of the States." For [102] see Note 95.

¹¹⁴ Kao Yao: famous minister under the emperor Shun. BD, 965.

¹¹⁵ [103]: *Great Learning* IX, 2 (LEGGE I, 234): "Act as if you were watching over an infant. If a mother is really anxious about it, though she may not hit exactly the wants of her infant, she will not be far from doing so."

¹¹⁶ *Chuang tzu* XXVI (H. A. GILES, *Chuang tzu*, London 1926, 353 f.): "Chuang tzu's family being poor, he went to borrow some corn from the Prince of Chien-ho. 'Yes', said the prince, 'I am just about collecting the revenue of my fief, and will then lend

Hundreds of thousands of houses sing peace,
 The bounteous wind blows from the east,
 And waves of favor are beyond compare.
 You urge us to grow grain and mulberry trees [18 b]
 And warn us not to neglect spears and swords.
 Man plows, woman weaves, everyone works,
 Strengthens our border with bows and arrows¹¹⁷.
 With ice-cold spirit, with moon-clear breast,
 You toil, loyal to the land.
 Bright precepts and deep learning, you say,
 Are the roots of clear politics
 That serve the way of Master K'ung¹¹⁸.
 You think this is your sole mission;
 So is my Way that I happily tread.
 Minister, your hard work stirs us deep;
 Lesser ones too follow your footsteps,
 And love and benefit children of the South.
 Once we bled¹¹⁹, today we live in Arcadia¹²⁰.
 Who sings¹²¹ among the bamboo and pine,
 By the window and willowed arbor,
 Who plucks strings to hymn Yao and Shun,
 But the children of Wu-huai and Ko-t'ien? [19 a]
 O wretched suitors, where do you hide?
 People are wise now, so prisons are empty.
 Offices are in peace, so are villages.
 Men walk on one side, women another,
 And in the west land, fat and wide,
 Farmers give the bank to each other¹²².
 Answer, cuckoo, what is this land?
 Have we entered the Kingdom of Chou?
 Our Minister's moral power has no end;

you 300 ounces of silver. Will that do?' At this Chuang tzu flushed with anger and said, 'yesterday, as I was coming along, I heard a voice calling me, I looked round, and in the cart I saw a stickleback. 'And what do you want, stickleback?' said I. 'I am a denizen of the eastern ocean', replied the stickleback. 'Pray, sir, a pint of water to save my life.' 'Yes', said I, 'I am just going south to visit the Princes of Wu and Yüeh. I will bring you some from the West river. Will that do?' 'At this the stickleback flushed with anger and said, 'I am out of my element, I have nowhere to go. A pint of water would save me. But to talk to me like this, — you might as well put me in a dried fish shop at once.'"

¹¹⁷ [104]: *Shih ching* 220, 1 (KARLGREN, 171): "... the bows with their arrows are stringed."

¹¹⁸ [105]: cf. *Analects* IX, 5; WALEY, 139.

¹¹⁹ Refers to Tu Fu's poem, "A Recruiting Officer at Shih-hao": William Fung, *Tu Fu*, Cambridge 1952, 141: "In the evening, I found a lodging place in Shih-hao Village. / A recruiting officer came to take men at night. / My old host scaled the wall and fled; / His old wife went to answer the gate."

¹²⁰ Namely "Peach-Blossom Fountain": CHANG and SINCLAIR, *The Poems of T'ao Ch'ien*, 101—2.

¹²¹ See note 24.

¹²² [106]: refers to a tradition that when the legendary emperor Shun went to Mt. Li, he was given the field, and when he went to Lei Stream (Marsh) he was given a good place for fishing. *Shih chi* 1, 0006 a; CHAVANNES, *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-Ma Ts'ien*, I, Paris 1895, 72 ff.

K'ou Chun too followed the Duke of Shao¹²³,
 Folks in Yöngnam, listen to me,
 Let's buy white silk, and buy bright colors,
 Paint his portrait and full figure¹²⁴,
 Hang it on the walls of every house, and
 When his face flashes through our mind,
 We'll see him then, our beloved Minister.

[19b]

Song of the Reedy Stream

1636

In my old age I visit hills and streams.
 I know it is a bit too late, but
 In order to meet my heart's desire,
 In the warm spring of the South-Rat year¹²⁵,
 Putting on my new spring dress,
 With a bamboo stick and straw sandals,
 I visit the Valley of the Reedy Stream.
 There hills and waters have no owner
 Despite the traffic of hermits from olden times.
 Heaven secured them, earth preserved them,
 They meant to hand them only to me.
 I hesitate a while in the setting sun,
 Climb the high ridge¹²⁶ and view the four corners. [20a]
 Green Dragon in the east, White Tiger in the west,
 Somber Warrior in the north, Vermillion Bird in the south¹²⁷,
 Ordered and complete as a painted scroll.
 Below the range of hills, to the south,
 I advance through thick creepers, and
 With a few rafters build a thatched hut.
 The hills behind it, it faces the stream,
 Five willows too stand in front¹²⁸.
 And there a cliff at the water's edge¹²⁹
 Is like a dragon loitering in the deep,
 And under the pine crested with passing clouds
 My grass roof perches on a huge rock.
 The shows of Nature are venerable and curious,
 A thousand styles and ten thousand shapes —

¹²³ When K'ou Chun (d. 1023) of the Sung dynasty became governor of the Pa-tung district, he planted a pair of cedar trees, following the example of the sweetpear trees planted in honor of the good administration of the Duke of Shao. *Shih ching* 16 (KARLGREN, 10): These two lines go literally: "moved by the moral power of the Duke of Shao, let's ask K'ou Chun to stay another year."

¹²⁴ Literally: like the portrait of Ssu-ma Kuang.

¹²⁵ The year 1636, the 14th year of King Injo (1595—1623—49).

¹²⁶ [107]: *Shih ching* 3,3 (KARLGREN, 3).

¹²⁷ Guardian symbols of the four corners according to the ancient Chinese pseudo-science.

¹²⁸ Refers to the story of T'ao Ch'ien who was known as "the scholar of the five willows". See CHANG and SINCLAIR, *op. cit.*, 106; Robert PAYNE, ed. *The White Pony*, London 1949, 130.

¹²⁹ Literally: a cliff that is a thousand feet high.

Peaks are graceful as Mt. Fu-ch'un¹³⁰,
 Waters coil and leap like Ch'ili Foreshore¹³¹.
 And white as snow, miles of sand bank.
 I am not Ch'ao-fu, nor Hsü Yu,
 I may not be faithful to my principles,
 But here I am, master of these lovely scenes.
 Natural are silent hills and waters, [20 b]
 Natural the bright moon and clear breeze,
 Natural are the unsold gulls and herons,
 Natural, too, many stags and hinds.
 The field plowed by Chang Chü and Chieh Ni¹³²,
 The fishing beach haunted by Yen Kuang,
 Still unsold, natural, natural —
 Since they too naturally become mine,
 You might say there is another hermit;
 I am Yen Kuang, another Chang or Chieh.
 Have I suddenly become a sage?
 I alone possess the ancient worthies.
 Sages are not made by the power of man;
 The mysteries of hills and waters favored them.
 Clear breeze and shining moon
 Enter into the bright mind far from worry,
 And the vast passion nature renews daily¹³³.
 With birds and beasts as my cattle,
 I angle under the moon and plough [21 a]
 The fields that are among the clouds.
 Little I have but shall not starve.
 I can divide among my children
 Hills and waters and idle fields,
 But fear it is hard to allot
 The burning moon and the cool breeze.
 I will rather choose him who cherishes my will¹³⁴,
 Be gifted he or not and leave him all
 In a certificate drawn by Li Po and T'ao Ch'ien¹³⁵.
 You say my word is impractical but
 What else have I for my children?
 But my kind of life has become a habit
 To this foolish self, neither good nor wise;
 I'll not exchange my waters and hills
 For the gilded titles of the Three Dukes.
 You may mock my word but you cannot change my life.
 Further in this bright age, having nothing to do, [21 b]
 I look upon fame and name as floating clouds
 And think only of happy transcendence.
 When welcoming spring days get longer,

¹³⁰ The retreat of Yen Kuang.

¹³¹ West of Yüan-ling shan, T'ang-lu hsien in Chekiang. CKT, 4a.

¹³² Two recluses of the state of Ch'u. *Analects* XVIII, 6 (WALEY, 219); *Kao-shih chuan* 1, 8b.

¹³³ [108]: *Mencius* IIB, 2/11—13 (LEGGE II, 189—90).

¹³⁴ [109]: *Mencius* 4A, 20 (LEGGE, 309—10): "nourishing the will" or "gratifying and carrying out the father's wishes".

¹³⁵ [110]: See PAK SÖNG-ÜI, *op. cit.*, 98—99.

Shouldering a rod I walk across a beach
 With an arrowroot hat and cotton cloth.
 The rain over, winds glide in the sunny sky;
 And in the placid water with shining pebbles
 I can count the familiar fishes.
 As they know me they are not startled;
 I cannot drop a line, cannot cheat them.
 Clouds and sky now fall upon the blue,
 And fishes leap above the mirrored clouds.
 Startled I gaze, above shines another sky. [22 a]
 A fisherman's flute in the east wind
 Hymns the solitude of blessed nature.
 Leaning on my cane I view left and right-
 Water resembles sky, sky water,
 Endlessly white gulls too come and go.
 Flowers weave a brocade on the rock,
 Weeping willows suspend a green screen.
 Commanding a fine day with a loving look
 I summon a boy and question him
 Whether there is fish and game to be had in the valleys.
 Let us insert fat brackens between pork and venison,
 And fragrant herbs too,
 And place them all in a willow box. [22 b]
 Let us taste fresh minced perch and pheasants,
 And filling a gourd cup with plain wine,
 Drink one by one until we are tipsy;
 And when peach-blossoms shower over our face,
 Prop ourselves on a pillow of mossed stone,
 Welcoming once again the golden days of peace¹³⁶.
 Retired as I am among streams and lakes,
 Often I raise my head toward the North Star
 Shedding secret tears in a corner of sky;
 And I pray that He may enjoy a long life
 Until every hill is made low, every sea runs dry,
 That the bright sun shine on our kingdom¹³⁷, [23 a]
 That swords be sheathed for ever and ever,
 That people sing in the fields and by the well,
 And this body in the hills and waters
 Will never age like winds and the moon.

¹³⁶ Literally: do I live in the time of Wu-huai and Ko-t'ien? Indeed the golden age of Fu Hsi is here.

¹³⁷ In the original: the peaceful era of Hsia, Yin, and Chou.