CHAPTER 34

SINO-KOREAN LITERATURE

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(WITH TRANSLATIONS BY JOHANN NOH AND WIEBKE DENECKE)

The Scope of Sino-Korean Literature

The traditional meaning of the term "literature" or "letters" (K. mun) in premodern Korea as elsewhere in East Asia encompassed a wider scope than the modern concept of "literature" (munhak). It refers not only to refined writing in Literary Chinese, but also to more utilitarian public and private writings in Literary Chinese composed in the context of daily life. Thus, "Sino-Korean literature" includes not only literary writings but also historical records, scholarly essays, public documents such as diplomatic correspondence, and private texts such as correspondence in Literary Chinese. Works in Literary Chinese with interspersed vernacular expressions as well as works using Chinese characters phonetically to inscribe the Korean language belong under the purview of Sino-Korean Literature.

Although Korean vernacular script, hangeul, was invented in 1446 and promulgated by King Sejong the Great in 1446, Literary Chinese remained the language of government, scholarship, and belles lettres until the early twentieth century, when it was abandoned in response to the rise of national consciousness and a reappraisal of the role of the vernacular. Thus, literature written in hybrid Sino-Korean styles or in plain Literary Chinese constitutes the greatest portion of Korean classical literature, while hangeul was used for private communications, especially by women; for translations of Chinese vernacular fiction; for bilingual works; and, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for classical Korean fiction (ko seseol 古小說).

The premodern elite, the members of the yangban class, appropriated Chinese literature for their own purposes, but they also tried to establish their own distinctive styles of Sino-Korean Literature. They initiated new trends and new forms of literature to reflect their own political and cultural allegiances at various stages in the history of Korea. They were keen to express their thoughts and feelings from within a Korean context and, in their Sino-Korean works, they absorbed, both consciously and unconsciously, forms derived from oral storytelling, folk songs, and other popular genres.

1 Unless indicated otherwise the transcription of terms and titles in this chapter is Japanese.
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<td>prose based on written vernacular Chinese (koraeokhwa jaljumun 古白話散文)</td>
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<td>exam literature (kwamun 科文) (shi poems, fu rhapsodies, exegetical essays [jiun 疑問], examination essays kwachok 科策)</td>
<td>exam poems, shi poetry</td>
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<td>Buddhist literature</td>
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<td>Korean-style poetry without rhyme (Chosun sik kop'ang 朝鮮式 古僞) and shi poetry</td>
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Korean-style Chinese (including "clerical reading" [ada 史課])

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Tang fifty-eight candidates had passed the "Guest and tributary examination" and a further thirty-two succeeded during the Later Liang and Later Tang Dynasties. Most of them came from the "head-rank six" class, and some received high praise in China for their literary achievements; a good number of their poems were included in Quan Tang shi 全唐詩 (Complete Tang Poems). There are also many "epistolary verses" (Ch. zengda shi 贈答詩) exchanged between Silla and Tang literati in Quan Tang shi that show the active level of cultural exchange between Silla and Tang China.

When Silla unified the peninsula, its reach did not extend to the northern borders of Koguryo, and in 690 a new state was created by Koguryo refugees, which is known as Parhae in Korean and Bohai in Chinese. This state came to an end in 926 when it was overwhelmed by Khitan tribes from the west and its literary heritage was destroyed. However, whatever vernacular languages may have been spoken there, the written language was Literary Chinese, so Parhae was another participant in East Asia's Sinographic sphere. Evidence of this survives in a number of pieces of diplomatic poetry preserved in contemporary Japanese chronicles and poetry collections and in the surviving poems of refugee Parhae poets who fled when their country was overrun (Yi 1998: 64-72, Cho 2005).

In the Koryo Dynasty, the civil service examinations were first established in 958. The examinations were divided into the more prestigious examination testing literary composition and an exam testing knowledge of the Classics. Candidates in literary composition demonstrated their skills in composing shi poetry, fu rhymes, song 頌 odes, and problem-essays (chüe 試) in three stages. In 1369, King Kongmin 景宗王 (r. 1351-1374) adopted the examination system of the Yuan court, establishing a three-stage examination system consisting of provincial examinations (biyang 郡試), the metropolitan examination (houchi 會試), and a final palace examination (chonsi 賢試).

The Choson court combined the Koryo dynasty's examinations in literary composition and the Classics into the "Literary examination" (munkwa 文科), and established a new military examination (mukwa 武科). Examinations in the Choson Dynasty were divided into four broad categories: literary licentiate examinations, literary examinations, military examinations, and miscellaneous examinations (including medicine and foreign languages). This examination system functioned until the Kabo Reforms of 1894.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the distinctive literary style of examination poems and rhymes was established. "Examination rhymes" were composed on topics selected from the Chinese histories, while "Examination poems" (kwasi 科詩) consisted of thirty-six lines of seven characters each, set in rhymed regulated verse, prefixed by a topic phrase extracted from an older poem, and featuring a character from the topic phrase of the title as a rhyming word to the end of the eighth line (Yi 1994).

In the early Choson Dynasty, handbooks composed in China for the study of parallel fu, petitions, letters, and examination essays were distributed by both the central and local governments. Prominent examples included Yuanhu zhi an 源流至論 (Exhausting Discussion of All Developments), compiled by Lin Jiong 林騭, and...
The Authors of Sino-Korean Literature

From the Three Kingdoms Period to the early Choson Dynasty, the principal authors of Sino-Korean literature were Buddhist monks rather than scholar-officials, kings, and their brothers, as was the case during most of the Choson Dynasty. Wŏnhyo 元曉 (617–686), Wŏnch'aek 甑魁 (613–696), and Ulsang 裏相 (625–702) were not only eminent Buddhist monks but also remarkable authors of Sino-Korean literature, composing records, commentaries, and Buddhist gatha verse.

The remarkable poet and scholar-official Choe Chi’won 崔致遠 (857–?), who for some time served at the Tang court, composed Nanghye hwasaeng gi 昌慧和聖記 (Inscription of the monk Nanghye, 890) at the order of Queen Chinsŏng 常聖女王 (r. 887–897), and from this it appears that Liu Xie’s 文心論語境 (Bilingual Vernacular Edition of Du Fu’s Poetic Poetry, commissioned in 1481) (Sim 1999).

However, it is very difficult to give an account of the intellectual and literary history of the early Choson Dynasty, owing to the lack of sources concerning Buddhism. Although Confucianism functioned as the dominant political ideology during the reigns of King Sejong, Munjong 文宗 (r. 1450–1452), and Sejo, Buddhism was supported at the royal
court and in the intellectual and religious life of the people, including the scholarly elite. Not only notable Buddhist monks but also kings and princes fostered the development of Buddhism. However, once Confucianism became established as the principal political ideology, documents relating to Buddhism were lost. For example, King Sejong ordered the crown prince (the later King Munjong), Prince Suyang, and King Sejo, and Prince Anpyeong, to supervise Buddhist ceremonies. Prince Anpyeong was delighted to comply, while playing a leading role in the literary gatherings of scholars belonged to the Hall of Worthies in the mid-sixteenth century. Owing to the lack of the necessary sources, a comprehensive study of Choson intellectual and literary history that accords Buddhism its proper place is yet to be undertaken (Sim 2012a).

Meanwhile, from the mid-Koryo Dynasty onwards, elites often expressed their awareness of social realities and their anxiety about social problems in their poems. For example, Yi Kyobo (165–1241) wrote poetry that reflects concerns about the real world around him rather than the life of privileged scholar-officials. The following poem, supposedly written on behalf of farmers, is a good example.

Exposed to rain, I weed crouching on the furrow, my dirty and dark figure is not that of a man. Princes and nobles, do not disdain me, your riches, honor, and luxury all come from me. New grains, green, are still in the field, but county clerks are out to collect taxes. Tilling hard to enrich the state depends on us. Why do they encroach upon us and strip our skin? (Lee 2003: 121)

Did this moving and evocative poem reflect genuine social concerns, or is it an intellectual conceit?

In the late Koryo Dynasty, small and middling landowners had become critical of Buddhism, which had previously been the ideological foundation of power, and they spearheaded the reform of the political and economical system, encouraging, for example, the observance of family rituals (karye 家禮) and the construction of ancestral shrines. Scholar-officials of the Koryo and Choson dynasties endorsed the Confucian motto of "literature conveying the Way" (mun chae kong 言以載道) and in their writings conveyed their ideas about private cultivation and political practice. Since the ultimate goal of the study of the Confucian Classics was to pacify the realm (pyeong chonha 平天下), it was natural that they should have concerned themselves with actual politics. They severely criticized literary works which were indifferent to social problems and the pursuit of social justice and which they thought contained nothing but rhetorical flourishes. Instead, they strove for a poetics of "gentleness and sincerity" (onyu tomha 溫柔敦厚), and sometimes distanced themselves from political realities to atone themselves to nature.

In the late Choson Dynasty, authors from a variety of social backgrounds participated in literary activities: scholar-officials, the chungin 中人 middle class, the underprivileged sons of yangban by secondary wives (sodal 士階), female writers, and poet-monks (sotong 詩僧). Works concerning the king and the ruling system were mainstream, while those expressing people's inner psychology and a sense of community, reflecting real life experiences and the voice of the people, constituted another stream. Although Sino-Korean literature was strongly influenced by the transmission of family knowledge passed down from one generation to the next and by the transmission of teachings from master to disciple, each historical period gave birth to its own new literary trends. If we look at the writings of Confucian scholars, different literary trends can be identified in each period, for Confucianism in Korea emphasized different values and served different social-political functions at each stage in history. Overall, belles lettres were not given the highest priority, and literary trends with purely aesthetic intentions did not really emerge. Until the mid-Koryo Dynasty, Confucian scholars had no shared opinion about the social-political function of literature, nor did they have common interests in specific literary themes or techniques, and thus there were no "literary trends" to speak of; although aristocrats and critical scholars pursued literature in their own distinctive ways. Thus, under the Koryo military regime the so-called "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove" (chungnim chilhyeon 竹林七賢), named after China's eponymous free-spirited poets, formed a literary group and together engaged in various literary pursuits. Although it might not count as a "literary movement" in the modern sense, they had broadly the same vision of what functions literature should serve and thus created a literary trend of sorts. In the late Koryo Dynasty, a group of newly emerging literary merged Neoconfucian ideas with the political motto of "literature conveying the Way," spearheading a literary trend that was to become central to literature of Confucian inspiration. During the Choson Period the roles and ideals of its authors further diversified, giving birth to a rich body of literature written by government officials, Confucian scholars, writers of belles lettres, recluses and virtuous men, and writers who distanced themselves from the reigning political ideology (Yi 1982, Sim 2013).

The reign of King Sejong 世宗 (r. 1662–1688) and Kwanghaegun 光海君 (r. 1688–1693) marked a cultural highpoint: the brilliant scholar Kim Hyun 許泳 (1659–1688) expressed innovative ideas in his treatises, fictional biographies, and fictional writings such as The Tale of Hong Kil-dong and the great writer Choe Rup 禄 وفي the early seventeenth century, however, was beset with various political problems, including rebellions, factional rivalry at court, diplomatic tensions with China, the Manchu invasions of Korea in 1627 and 1636, and the conflicts between those who were for or against making peace with the Qing empire. Sin Hŭm 申韓 (1656–1688), Chang Yu 張維 (1587–1618), Choe Myonggil 崔明吉 (1586–1647), and Yi Sik 李穈 (1584–1647) all sought their own solutions in this confused political situation. For example, Chang Yu promoted the concept of "heavenly design" (chŏngi 天機), which emphasized the individual nature of each human being, and Choe Myonggil, applying Wang Yangming's 王陽明 (1472–1529) ideas to the Korean context, criticized his contemporaries' blind loyalty to the Ming court in his Pyŏngja pongja 丙子封事 (Memorial in the Year of Pyŏngja) (Yi 1992).

In the eighteenth century, as the range of authors expanded, theories and practices of literature began to include many new elements. In this period, while leading
government officials and literati belonging to minor factions or the lower ranks of the elite were forming their own independent literary circles, the literary scene flourished as a result of their mutual interconnections and interactions. Since the eighteenth century, the gulf between Seoul and rural areas had increased so that, while the cultural traditions of each faction that had been transmitted from generation to generation continued, new literary trends emerged that transcended the century-old factionalism and created a common ground (Sim 2013a).

In the Choson Dynasty, the majority of authors belonged to the yangban elite; accordingly, their literary works focused on supporting the successful governance of the dynasty (kyongguk munjang 補國文章) and glorifying the state (hwaguk munjang 華國文章). The activities of their literary circles shaped their class identity. Although they sometimes give insight into the living conditions of nonelite people, they were less interested in the circumstances of their actual lives than in the material foundations of society.

In the late Choson Dynasty, as the hierarchy of Confucian scholars diversified, poor scholars (hansa 寒士) who shared living space with the middle and lower classes of society created their own new literary world. Although on the surface they took a self-deprecating attitude toward their literary accomplishments, they found their own ways to foster their self-esteem. For example, Yu Hui 俞僖 (1773–1817), who worked as a doctor to earn a living, lived his life without any official post, but he left behind a voluminous literary collection, Munjong (文通). He never lost his ambition to rectify faults in society and expanded the scope of his thinking by adopting new ideas such as European calendrical science. He explains in his Mun quelle 文錄 (Tasks of Literature, 1831) that he found a deeper meaning to his literary activities in a daily life where scholars and ordinary people coexisted in harmony (Sim 2014).

In the late Choson Period, a hybrid Korean-style Chinese (pyeonggug hanmun 變格漢文) was used in various artistic compositions and novels in Literary Chinese. The Chinese collection iandong xinhu 剪燈新話 (New Stories Told While Trimming the Wick) was widely studied in rural areas as a primer for literary styles of official documents as well as various examination genres for the provincial examinations (hyangsi 鄉試). Yi Ok 李鍧 (1660–1815) mentions that people in the countryside studied iandong xinhu, and he himself appreciated the hybrid style of Chinese texts used among lower-class people in contrast to standard Literary Chinese.

Many stories included in the nineteenth-century story collection Yoran 要覽 (Overview of the Essentials) seem to have been read not as fiction for entertainment but as a training guide that helped lowly officials compose texts in "clerical reading" (sdo 更讀). Examples abound, and of particular interest is the fictional Choe Chiwon chon 崔致遠傳 (Biography of Choe Chiwon), also included in Yoran, which emphasizes in particular the role of lowly officials. When quoting from texts in standard Literary Chinese such as the Taipeng guangji 太平廣記 (Extensive Records from the Taiping Reign), it retains the language of the original, but the rest of the text shows the typical features of hybrid Korean-style Chinese: first, switching Chinese words into Korean word order; second, frequent use of compound words of Korean origin; third, frequent use of diction typically used by lowly officials; fourth, frequent duplication of expressions, violating the principle of changing words to avoid duplication (pyeongmun p'okchax 文文避嫌); and fifth, frequent use of the character ye 禹 in predicate position. Given these features, it is probable that this collection was compiled by and for lowly officials (Sim 2013a).

In late Choson much poetry on romantic love affairs was composed. Ch'ong Yangyong 丁若镛 (1762–1836) mentions in his Adn kakpy 雅言覺非 (Realization of the Errors in Everyday Phrases) that this style was called Korean-style kop'yong 古風 ("old style"). In late Choson writing poetry in the kop'yong style, which had no rhyme, was popular among the people. According to Ch'ong Yangyong, children practiced writing poems matching the number of characters while omitting the rhyme. The case of prayer texts (sajö ch'umun) was similar. Until mid-Choson, they were in most cases rhymed and in regular lines. In Late Choson, when writers of Sino-Korean literature lost their connection with the literary high society of the court and kept themselves alive by living in and writing for rural communities, unrhymed prayer texts in regular lines increased (Sim 2000).

Sino-Korean literature did not come to an end at the beginning of the twentieth century, nor did it disappear under Japanese colonial rule. In spirit, however, it was transformed into a literature of nationalism or one that compromised with the realities of colonial rule while carrying on the legacy of premodern literary traditions.

The Forms of Sino-Korean Literature

Stelae inscriptions, collections of rubbings, manuscripts, and personal collections of the literati (munjip, both in woodblock and movable-type print) constitute the most important forms of Sino-Korean literature. Before the mid-Koryo Dynasty, it was uncommon for scholars to compile their personal collections. However, we can study texts from that period through stelae inscriptions and collections of rubbings, which constitute a large part of the surviving materials. Some literary works dating from between the Three Kingdoms Period and the early Choson Dynasty are preserved in Tong munson 東文選 (Eastern Selections of Refined Literature, 1478). It includes 4,302 pieces by 500 writers, including Silla poets such as Kim Injun 金仁潤 (629–694), Sŏch'ŏng 薛聰 (655–73), and Ch'oe Ch'iwon. Similarly, Sinjong Tongguk yǒgi singnam 新增東國輿地勝覽 (Compendium of the Geography of the Eastern Land [Korea]), commissioned by King Chongjong 中宗 (r. 1506–1544) in 1530, includes poems related to each geographical area and features a few lost works from the Koryŏ and early Choson dynasties.

The oldest extant encyclopedia (yuksa 載書) is Taejong unbu kwonok 大東鏡府群書, a group of encyclopedias (Encyclopedia of the Eastern Land Classified by Rhyme, 1589), which was compiled by Kwŏn Munhwa 權文海 (1534–1591) and only printed between 1812 and 1816. A catalogue of the source materials used stands at the head of the encyclopedia; of the works mentioned in the section on Korean books, around forty are now lost. One of them, Silla sui chon 新羅殊異傳 (Silla Tales of Wonder), is an interesting case, since fourteen of
its stories survive in other works. One of the stories, Sŏnyŏ hongdae 仙女紅袋 (The Fairy Maiden's Red Pocket), tells an apocryphal story involving Ch'oe Ch'il'yon and the tombs of two beauties; it is the longest of all extant tales of marvels from the Silla Period (Komine and Masuo 2011).

From the late Koryŏ and throughout the Chosŏn Dynasty, many writers compiled literary anthologies, some of which were disseminated in woodblock editions. However, there also exists a vast amount of manuscript material, such as "remains on poetry" (silla 詩話), or essays (manap文筆), which were commonly not printed but circulated separately in manuscript. Most of the Chinese-style poems composed in response to or rhyming with poems by the king (kuengje 賞詠), as well as most linked verse were preserved in the form of manuscript scrolls. While many response poems to the king were preserved in the royal library, linked verse written by literati hardly survives.

From the mid-Koryŏ, literati began to compile their own personal collections, or hoped that somebody would collect their works after their death. Thus a great number of personal collections were compiled and published in premodern Korea. The oldest extant personal collection is Ch'oe Ch'il'yon's Kyewin p'ilyŏng chip 桂苑詩稿集 (Collection of Writings while Ploughing the Cassia Grove with a Writing Brush). He went to Tang China in 868 at the age of twelve, took the top place in the examinations in 874, and served in a series of administrative offices in the Chinese civil service. During his stay in China he became acquainted with several Chinese poets, and his poetry and prose in Chinese was sufficiently highly esteemed by his Chinese contemporaries to be mentioned in the bibliographic chapters of the Xun Tang shu 新唐書 (New History of the Tang). He returned to Korea in 886. In 888, he presented Kyewin p'ilyŏng chip and another collection of his works, the Ch'ungsan pokkwe chip 中山覆瓿集 (Overturning the Basket and Completing One's Learning at Zhongshan: A Collection of Writings) to King Hóngang 萬庚王 (r. 875–886), along with a collection of regulated verse. In 898, he was dismissed and retired to his "Reading Hall" and to a life of wandering around mountain temples throughout Korea, at some of which he left poems inscribed on rocks. Many of his extant poems appear to reflect the loneliness of his life in China, such as one entitled "On a rainy autumn night":

I only chant painfully in the autumn wind,
for I have few friends in the wide world.
At third watch, it rains outside.
By the lamp my heart flies myriad miles away. (Lee 2003: 97)

The number of personal collections compiled during the Koryŏ and Chosŏn dynasties amounts to 1,079. Personal collections were often re-edited in order to include more works than the author had originally included in his own collection. There were also exceptional cases of personal collections published by special grace of the king. The compilation process for personal collections produced in the Koryŏ and Chosŏn dynasties followed certain rules. Typically, works were divided into poetry and prose, with poetry featuring in chronological order and prose classified by genre and style. This template is rooted in practices of the Song Dynasty and in collections such as that of Su Dongpo's works. Often supplemental materials such as a chronology of the author's life, related works composed by his friends, or later literary criticism on his works were added. Compilers of personal collections generally aimed to include the author's complete works, although some collections by the ch'ung 'in middle class and sons of yangban by secondary wives contain only particular genres that showcase the strength of the author. There are many personal collections from the Koryŏ and Chosŏn dynasties that single out pŏsil'yon 驅禮文 (parallel prose) and sangnyangmun 上稿文 (letters for ceremonies marking the completion of the foundations of a building) as an independent genre category. Parallel prose style was considered to be indispensable, as it was also associated with genres of diplomatic correspondence, although its mannerist formalism was criticized. Sangnyangmun was singled out because the house-foundation ceremony, which was required after laying the foundation of any government building throughout the country, was a crucial event ensuring the longevity of the building and the connections between the community members (Sim 2015b).

Scholar-officials during the Koryŏ and Chosŏn dynasties greatly esteemed biographical genres that recorded and evaluated a person's life, such as epitaphs (myuyi 墓誌, myobi 墓碑), biographical chronicles (hongjung 行狀), and narrative biographies (chŏn 傳). These works were designed to extalt a person's achievements and bring honor to his family, thus receiving recognition from the central government and local community. Some literati composed alternative biographies (p'ilyŏn 別傳) to pique their readers' interest by describing the personalities of ordinary people. Because Confucian mourning rituals and funerals constituted an important part of their lives, scholar-officials during the Koryŏ and Chosŏn dynasties often wrote prayer texts which would also contain biographical details of the deceased. This was particularly meaningful because, deployed in this way, their literary skills affirmed their status in local society.

Editors of personal collections generally aimed to collect the author's complete works, but certain choices were obviously left to the discretion of the compiler. First, works related to Buddhism were categorically excluded; second, editors strove to include all works, but absolutely had to include forms such as poetry and prose genres as well as ju; third, editors usually emphasized works related to governance of the state. Texts that were originally penned in hybrid Korean-style Chinese such as "clerical reading" inscriptions were not included or sometimes transposed into standard Literary Chinese and included in this modified fashion.

As for stele inscriptions, another central corpus of Sino-Korean literature, few remain from the Three Kingdoms Period. They can be broadly divided into four categories: first, texts for the dead set up at the grave; second, stele recording a person's achievements; third, signs for administrative use; and, fourth, stele with instructions for preserving a grave site. The first category is the most numerous. Inscriptions from the Three Kingdoms Period and the Northern and Southern States Period (between the late seventh and early tenth centuries, when Unified Silla and Parhae coexisted) are written in different styles depending on their function and distinctive character: some are in standard Literary Chinese, while others are in hybrid Korean-style Chinese. The oldest
among the datable inscriptions are Tōkūngi kobun myōchi 徳興里古墳墓志 (Epitaph of the Tumulus in Tōkūngi, 408) and Kukkangsan Kwanggaebo kyeōng pyōnggam hagasaewang pi 順開上廣開土塚等碑(Stele of Great King Kwanggaebo, 414). There are more inscriptions from Koguryō, and many epitaphs and stone monuments have been excavated from Silla. The styles of the inscriptions can be divided into four categories: first, prose in standard Literary Chinese; second, parallel prose in standard Literary Chinese; third, prose in standard Literary Chinese with verse attached at the end; and, fourth, texts in hybrid Korean-style Chinese, including "clerical reading" inscriptions.

During the Koryŏ Dynasty, tombstones set up above the ground were in most cases for Buddhist monks. Memorial stones buried in the ground were for Buddhist monks, court officials, women, or children. In the Chosŏn Dynasty, memorial stones for court officials and Buddhist monks were set up above ground, whereas those for women, the chung' in middle class, and children were buried in the ground. In the nineteenth century, the use of tombstones and memorial stones started to spread widely (Sim 2010).

**Vernacular Reading of Chinese Texts**

At least by the eighth century, techniques for reading Chinese texts using the vernacular had been developed. These are known as sŏktok kugyŏl 釋讀口訣 and they made use of dry-point glosses (marks made in a text using a sharp point such as the wrong end of a writing brush) or abbreviated characters (lo 풍) placed in Chinese texts to enable Koreans to read Literary Chinese as if it were Korean. This is a similar practice to that of kundokta in Japan, and it is likely that the practice was developed initially by learned monks of the Flower Ornament (Ch. Huayan) school of Buddhism and transmitted by them to Japan. In Korea, vernacular reading of Chinese texts seems to have been confined to Buddhist texts. Sometime around the thirteenth century, sŏktok kugyŏl gave way to sŏndok kugyŏl 音讀口訣, a mixed strategy in which whole phrases of Chinese were read in Chinese order in Sino-Korean pronunciation with forms of the verb hada 用 used to connect them and the Korean copula used to complete the sentence (Whitmore 2011: 98–99).

The invention of hânggul in the fifteenth century aimed in the first place to make the Chinese classics more accessible to a wider population rather than to facilitate the development of Korean literary forms. In fact, although hânggul was indeed used for letters and for other forms of vernacular writing, the overwhelming bulk of writing in Korean using hânggul is to be found in hybrid books in which a Chinese text was accompanied by a translation into Korean. These are called òndheobŏn, a term that combines the old name of the hânggul script, òmmun ("vulgar writing"), and the word haeobŏn 解説, meaning "explanation". Thus òndheobŏn contained first a paragraph of a Chinese text, usually a classical text from China but occasionally texts written in Chinese in Korea, presented in the form of sŏndok kugyŏl, that is, with the Korean pronunciation indicated beneath each character and with Korean verbal forms and occasional particles represented in hânggul after this came a Korean translation.

The earliest òndheobŏn were produced in the second half of the fifteenth century, thus not long after the invention of hânggul, and at that stage they consisted not of Confucian texts but mostly of Buddhist texts and of the work of Chinese poets of the Tang dynasty. Later a wide range of òndheobŏn were published, including new versions of the Four Books with revised translations based on the interpretations of Zhu Xi, medical and veterinary texts, and even a Korean work on firearms, the Hwapyŏks òndheob 火藥式譯解 (Vernacular Explanation of the Technique of Using Firearms). These have been little studied, except for the light that the translations throw upon the development of the Korean language, but the translations also reflect the interpretive stances adopted towards the Chinese texts they translated and therefore served to "fix" the interpretations, which often reflected those of Song Dynasty China (Hong 1994: 113–127; Yun 2003, 2007).

**The Relationship between Sino-Korean Literature and Classical Chinese Literature**

Throughout the various stages of its history, Sino-Korean literature was influenced in various ways by Chinese texts and books. However, Korean writers never simply imitated Chinese literature, but absorbed and appropriated it selectively. For example, while song lyric (Ch. ch'ŏl) was a popular genre starting in the Song Dynasty in China, it had few practitioners in Korea.

The relationship between literary developments in Ming and Qing China and Sino-Korean literature during the Chosŏn Dynasty shows interesting characteristics. First, the Chosŏn court and its elites had a negative attitude toward scholarship under the Ming Dynasty and were not active in reprinting personal collections of Ming literati. However, late Chosŏn literati appreciated the classicism of the "Former and Latter Seven Masters" of the Ming (Ch. qian hou qiao 前後七子) while also creating their own distinctive world of Sino-Korean literature.

Second, at first Chosŏn elites had high regard for Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582–1662), because he added poems of Chosŏn origin to the history of poetry under the Ming in his Lishao shiji 列朝詩集 (Collected Poems of the Dynasties). However, when they understood in the eighteenth century that Qian had been criticized by the Qing government, scholars like Park Chiwon 朴趾煥 (1737–1805) began to find fault with him.

Third, the three Yuan brothers of the Gong' an school (Ch. Gong' an pai 公安派), especially Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道 (1568–1610), had a deep impact upon the development of Sino-Korean literature. Yuan Hongdao's work stimulated ethnic consciousness in literature, emphasized the immediacy of true feelings in literary expression, took a stance against classicism, and expanded the repertoire of narrative
techniques used in Sino-Korean literature. Late Chosŏn literati were also affected by Yuan Hongdao's "marvelous writing" (Ch. qìwen 奇文) when they speculated about questions of fiction and reality. However, they kept a distance from his theories on Buddhism, and urban literati living in Seoul rejected the essayistic xiaoyao 小雅 style of the late Ming, also practiced by Yuan Hongdao, because they regarded this style as inappropriate for a government official (Sim 2004).

Fourth, in the late Chosŏn some literati welcomed the literary style of works like Zhang Hu's 377–787 Yuchi xinzhi 高初新志 (Wizard Yuchi's New Records), which dealt with the individual characters and the daily life of ordinary people, and Wang Shizhen's 王士禛 1634–1711 theory of spirited charm (Ch. shen yun shuo 神韵說), which opposed Shen Deqian's 沈德潜 1673–1769 theory of prosodic form (Ch. ge dao shuo 诗歌说). However, most literati, unable to free themselves completely from a sense of anxiety about society, criticized Wang Shizhen's idea of "spirited charm" as artificial and contrived. Meanwhile, Ch'ŏng Yŏngyŏng criticized both Wang Shizhen's and Zhao Zhixin's 趙執信 1662–1744 ideas about tonality. He argued that it rather complicated the understanding of the presence of tonal patterns in seven-syllable old-style poems and suggested another theory derived from empirical research based on actual poetry.

It is true that Sino-Korean literature was in general composed in Literary Chinese, and that the Chinese Classics and Chinese literature were respected and appreciated as canonical models by Korean authors throughout the various stages of Korean history. However, Sino-Korean literature was not just a part of Chinese literature or a miniature version of it. Korean authors, while respecting and appreciating Chinese literature, created their own distinctive world of Sino-Korean literature.

Korean shi poetry, for example, was certainly in some respect hackneyed, as it could hardly escape the clichés of Chinese poetry, and Confucian scholars in the Chosŏn Dynasty did not develop a poetics of literature that acknowledged human desire as genuine feeling. However, with their deep faith in the laws of nature, their poems were able to capture the vitality of nature and humanity's harmonious communion with nature. Women poets also came to the fore in the Chosŏn dynasty, for example Hŏ Nansŏrhŏn 許蘭雪軒 1653–1753. In the seventeenth century, Chosŏn literati created the new concept of "Chosŏn-style poetry" (Chosŏnsŏl 朝鮮詩) or "Chosŏn-style" (Chosŏnsŏl 朝鮮詩) literature that posited a new poetics which pursued distinctively Korean styles of poetry. Yi Ik 孝鉉 1681–1765 proved into the question of the existence of Korean-style poetry by asserting, however warily, that vernacular diction could also be poetic language. Similarly, Ch'ŏng Yŏngyŏng asserted that, just as Chinese poetry kept changing with the various ages of Chinese history, Sino-Korean poetry changed along with the stages of Korean history.

Not only Sino-Korean poetry but Sino-Korean literature in general was preoccupied with certain topics from its earliest stages: resistance against foreign powers, a strong consciousness of the borderlands, an interest in native history as well as vernacular language and literature, an appreciation of high culture and civilization, the rediscovery of ethnic identity and recognition of a national community, and the discovery of the nature of a country that had its own distinctive identity different from that of China.

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CHAPTER 35

EARLY SINO-JAPANESE LITERATURE

WIEBKE DENECKE

Terminologies, Temporalities

One dreary autumn night in Kyoto in the early 900s, a soaking-wet messenger from the senior official Fujiwara no Tadanobu bursts into the residence of Empress Teishi with a letter for her lady-in-waiting Sei Shōnagon. “You are there in the flowering capital, beneath the Council Chamber’s brocade curtains—how should this end?” Tadanobu’s attempt to rekindle a cooling affair with Shōnagon through a line the Chinese poet Bai Juyi 白居易 (772–846) had written to a friend in Changan when exiled to Jiangzhou is a witty provocation. Shōnagon certainly knows her Bai Juyi, but as a Heian period (794–1185) woman she is confused to composing in Japanese and cannot simply reply with the “end” of the poem in Chinese. Her ingenious answer gains her Tadanobu’s and the court’s admiration: she seizes a piece of dead charcoal from the brazier and responds in the “woman’s hand” of kana letters: “Who will come visit this grass-thatched hut?” In little more than a dozen syllables she manages four things at once. She proves her knowledge of Bai Juyi’s next line, where the poet sits on a rainy night in his grass-thatched hut beneath Mount Lu; she reproaches Tadanobu for letting their passion die down; she caps a seven-syllable line from a Chinese poem with half a waka 和歌 poem, in two seven-syllable lines; and when resorting to the piece of charcoal, she brilliantly draws on the material poetics of waka, which combines words with apropos objects. This is Heian court literature at its best. It showcases the intricacies of Japanese literary culture, revealing the place of Chinese learning, literary gender roles, the dynamics between Chinese-style and vernacular idioms, the importance of creative wit, and—with Bai Juyi’s poetry functioning as conversational lexicon—the peculiar reception of Chinese poetry in Japan.

Sino-Japanese literature stands out among the Chinese-style literatures of East Asia for the wealth of texts preserved from the early period (seventh through twelfth