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Modernity in Korean Literature  
Based on the Study of  
Ch'unhyang-chŏn

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD

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## ABSTRACT

Modern Korean literature has been blighted by the notion of being ‘transplanted’ from Western literature. This research, however, asserts that modern Korean literature has maintained its own distinctive literary tradition.

I first examine the concepts of Korean modern literature and novels in relation to the rise of Western novels, then argue that the concept of modern literature was incompatible with the Confucian state ideology of the Chosŏn Dynasty. This explains why the modern was delayed in Korean literature and shows this lag to be a deliberate choice by the state.

This research investigates the modernity of Korean literature by examining the thematic and discursive aspects of Ch’unhyang-chŏn, the tale of Ch’unhyang. For the thematic aspects, nine editions are examined, implementing Jameson’s ideas on interpretation. Here it was found that an irreversible stream of modern thoughts flowed into Ch’unhyang narratives, strategically contesting conflicting ideas over time. For the discursive aspects, three works are analysed employing Kim Hŭngkyu’s theory of ‘scene maximisation’ and Western narratology. Here I found that *p’ansori* narrative demonstrates solid narrative structure, with skilful management of rhythm and time, well-controlled narratorhood, and effective usage of ‘showing’ as a narration method. I contend that these elements sufficiently demonstrate the strength of pre-modern narrative as a foundation for the modern novel.

Finally, I argue that Ch’unhyang-chŏn, born before Hangŭl orthography existed, transcended the limits of the times, exhibiting vibrant colloquialism in the vernacular language. I contend that under such unfavourable circumstances,

Ch'unhyang-chŏn developed its own form and content which demonstrates vivid modern traits.

This research contributes to bridging the rupture between pre-modern and modern Korean literature by proving the sturdy modernity of the former, inherent in its themes and discourse, which played a key role in accommodating Western literature and alleviating the shockwaves of its introduction.

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Aim of the Research

This research seeks to investigate concepts of literary modernity in relation to classical Korean fiction from the late Chosŏn period, with the aim of challenging existing notions of ‘modern’ Korean literature as peripheral and colonial, and also questioning the currently established periodisation of, and distinction between, ‘pre-modern’ and ‘modern’ Korean literature.

The concept of ‘modern literature’ is problematic not only for Korea but for many nations outside Western Europe, the region explicitly designated as the centre of modern literature in Edward Said’s *Orientalism*. Said identified a binary paradigm: the West and the East; centre and periphery; self and other; power and powerlessness. The key idea of Orientalism is that the East is represented as the ‘other’ of the West and is subject to distortion through the agency of the West.

Even before the publication of *Orientalism* in 1978, Im Hwa (1940) declared that ‘modern Korean literature’ was *yisik-munhak* (transplanted literature), imported from the West via Japan, the colonizer of Korea at the time. This idea has long been a thorn in the side of Korean scholars of Korean literature, and many have agreed, both explicitly and implicitly, that Korean literature studies must move past this notion of transplantation, regardless of the way in which Im’s views and their implications have been received. However, the field of Korean literature studies has yet to make a breakthrough on this issue.

Franco Moretti (2000) coined the term ‘law of literary evolution’ to explain the colossal impact of Western literature (usually French or English) on the periphery of the

literary system. The ‘law of literary evolution’ means that in cultures that belong to the periphery “the modern novel first arose not as an autonomous development but as a compromise between a western formal influence and local materials” (58). Moretti argued that the “modern novel is certainly a wave but a wave that runs into the branches of local traditions and is always significantly transformed by them” (67).

The wave of the modern novel swept through Korean literature as it did through other local literatures. This phenomenon can be seen in the history of translated literature in the early 1900s. Korean intellectuals who went to study in Japan in the 1910s were exposed to Western modern literature without ever having studied pre-modern Korean literature in any depth. They advocated the need to translate works of world literature (and many engaged in the work of translation) in order to advance the development of Korean literature<sup>1</sup>, which was perceived as substandard in terms of quality and quantity (Son Söngchun 2014, 41). In the 1910s, the first heyday of translated novels, there were numerous translations from Japanese, Chinese, and Western literature (Ibid., 50-52). In the 1920s, the second heyday of translated novels, however, the number of translations was overwhelmingly greater, and French and Russian novels were the main focus (Ibid., 53-54).<sup>2</sup> In both the 1910s as 1920s, the mainstays of newspaper novel serializations were translated works rather than works written in Korean (Ibid., 61). For those Korean writers who are now referred to as modern writers, modern literature was Western literature, and they wanted to learn about it and follow it through translation. From this

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1 Many of the major modern Korean writers, such as Ch'oe Namsön, Yi Kwangsu, Chin Hakmun, Hyön Ch'öl, Kim Tongin, Yöm Sangsöp, Kim Ök, Hyön Chinkön, Na Tohyang, Cho Myöngghüi, Yang Könshik, Chu Yohan and Pang Chöngghwan, were also translators and showed great enthusiasm for translation (Son Söngchun 2014, 42).

2 This phenomenon overlaps with the flow of Japanese literature since the Meiji 30's in Japan. This is because the secondary translations of the 1920s, led by former Korean students who had studied in Japan, were largely based on Western literature available in Japanese in the 1910s, which was when they were studying in Japan (Ibid., 54).

perspective, we can see that Western novels were at the centre of Korean modern literature in the early 1910s.

However, there still remain questions that call for thorough investigation. Questions such as: To what extent did Korean literature maintain its own distinctive literary tradition and heritage? And, in the whirlwind created by the influence of the western novel, how successfully was Korean national literature transformed into a modern literature? This study will examine the extent to which the law of literary evolution applies to Korean literature and the ways in which foreign form(s) and local materials confronted and compromised each other. It will also consider exactly what these Korean local materials were, with a view to identifying some distinctive elements that might define the specificity of Korean literature and its literary tradition. In doing so, I hope to question the binary paradigms of centre and periphery, pre-modern and modern. While exploring such issues, this research will also pursue the following key questions which surround the discussion: How do we define ‘the modern’ or ‘modernity’ in literature? What is the concept of modernity in Korean literature? And what is the link between pre-modern and modern literature in the Korean context?

## 1.2. Introducing the Case Study: why Ch’unhyang-chŏn?

For this research Ch’unhyang-chŏn<sup>3</sup> (The Tale of Ch’unhyang) has been chosen as a case study. The foremost reason for this choice is that the various versions of this story demonstrate a degree of continuity between pre-modern and modern Korean literature.

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<sup>3</sup> In this research ‘Ch’unhyang-chŏn’ or ‘Ch’unhyang-narrative’ is used to refer to the general story of Ch’unhyang, as distinct from its individual texts, which are marked in italics. The title ‘Ch’unhyang-chŏn’ is not italicised since it is used to denote all extant editions of Ch’unhyang-chŏn. While ‘Ch’unhyang-

The story originated from the oral tradition of *p'ansori* in the early 18th century. Before analysing Ch'unhyang-chŏn in earnest, we need to look at the nature of *p'ansori* since it is significant to the interpretation of different editions of Ch'unhyang-chŏn when considering their creation and development.

*P'ansori* is a traditional oral narrative form of Korea, sung by a professional singer called a *kwangdae*, with the accompaniment of a drummer, known as a *kosu*. Of the twelve *p'ansori* repertoires, only five are extant. *P'ansori* is composed of *aniri* (speeches) and *ch'ang* (songs). The singer both narrates the story and dramatizes all of the characters, male and female.

The term *p'ansori* is derived from the words *p'an* and *sori* (sound). *P'an* has multiple meanings: a place or scene where things happen; a place where several people gather; a piece of wood or metal used to imprint pictures or letters; and a (musical) tone. The meaning of the term *p'ansori* is not certain, but it can be interpreted as 'sound of the place of recreation' or 'a fixed sound' or 'a song of set tune' (Cho Tongil 1988, 11).

As to the origin of *p'ansori*, the most influential theory is the *sŏsa-muga* (the shamanistic narrative song) theory. The close connection between the *sŏsa-muga* and *p'ansori* can be found in two aspects: the origins of the *kwangdae*, and the literary and musical similarities of *sŏsa-muga* and *p'ansori*. The first reason for this is that, in practice, the figure of the *p'ansori kwangdae* was often the husband of a female shaman (Ibid., 16). In the case of *Tangol* shamans in Chŏlla province, a woman would inherit the work of a shaman from her mother-in-law, and her husband would play musical accompaniment as an assistant shaman. However, it is difficult to make a living working

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narrative' is used to indicate all forms of a product which contains the generic story of Ch'unhyang, 'Ch'unhyang-chŏn' is used to denote the novel form of Ch'unhyang-narrative.

as an assistant shaman. As a result, if he had talent, the man became a *p'ansori kwangdae*. The second reason is that, as the shamanistic narrative song is a long epic poem like full-length *p'ansori*, the transition from the shamanistic narrative to the *p'ansori* could easily be accomplished. The shamanistic narrative song not only consists of *ch'ang* and *aniri* like *p'ansori*, but also had the same rhythm changes as *p'ansori* (Ibid.).

Kim Hŭngkyu (1999, 105-120) has developed the history of *p'ansori* generally accepted in Korean academia as follows. Though there is no precise data, the first appearance of *p'ansori* is generally seen as the late 17th or the early 18th century. It is presumed that the common people were the social foundation for early *p'ansori*. In the 18th century, *p'ansori* was established as a more developed vocal music, and by the mid-18th century, the proportion of *yangban* (aristocrats) in the *p'ansori* audience increased. From the beginning of the 19th century, *p'ansori* penetrated the entire *yangban* class, and developed into a very sophisticated vocal music, with qualitative changes made based on support from the *yangban* class. After the mid-19th century, it became an artform that actively interested the royal family. The elevated status of *p'ansori* in this period can be seen in the fact that *p'ansori kwangdaes* were well rewarded, and master singers were bestowed honorary titles recognising special performances in the presence of the king (Ibid., 118). With this change of audience composition, at some point *p'ansori* singers had become conscious of the support of the upper classes, and there was a considerable difference between *p'ansori* of the 17th and 18th centuries and *p'ansori* in the 19th century (Ibid., 121).

As a *p'ansori* novel with this background, the texts of Ch'unhyang-chŏn vividly demonstrate the conflict between pre-modern and modern literature. This is the first reason for the choice of Ch'unhyang-chŏn as the object of this research. Ch'unhyang-

chŏn displays some of the clashes between medieval and anti-medieval ideas, and was developed by various people: *kwangdae*, literati, middle-class people, anonymous writers, and named modern writers. This range of authorship also displays the striking contrast between the respective ideologies of literati and non-literati writers.

As *p'ansori* was created and developed by *kwangdae* of the lowest classes in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, it was justly assumed to possess a strong anti-medieval ideology and plebeian tendencies. However, as discussed, from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, along with considerable financial support from the *yangban* class, the elements of anti-medievalism and folk characteristics in *p'ansori* were considerably weakened, and *p'ansori* came to feature medieval and conformist aspects (Kim Hŭngkyu 1974; Chŏng Ch'ulhŏn 2000, pp. 79-113).

For example, a brief comparison of the *Wanp'an 84 changbon*<sup>4</sup> (which is a Hangŭl edition) and Hanmun (Sino-Korean) editions demonstrates how literati and non-literati writers differ in terms of their respective representations of Ch'unhyang and in the projection of their ideologies.<sup>5</sup>

The tale of Ch'unhyang-chŏn is simple. An aristocrat's son, Yi Toryŏng,<sup>6</sup> falls in love with Ch'unhyang, the daughter of a *kisaeng* (a female courtesan or entertainer)<sup>7</sup> in

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4 In '*changbon*' '*chang*' means page and '*pon*' means edition, thus *84 changbon* is an 84-page edition. 'Hanmunbon' literally means an edition written in Sino-Korean.

5 A full comparison is conducted in the third chapter.

6 In the majority of texts, however, his real name is Yi Monglyong. Toryŏng was a respectful form of address for an unmarried youth from a noble family. Yi Toryŏng is still a popular way of referring to the character.

7 The class status of a *kisaeng* was transferred to their offspring. According to *Koryŏsa* (History of the Koryŏ Dynasty, vol. 1, Saega, 4, p86) the *kisaeng* system already existed before 1002 in the Koryŏ Dynasty. Koryŏ had established an institution called the Kyobang (Teaching Institution), and they trained *kisaeng*. They were mobilized in the main ceremonies and banquets of the court to perform dancing and music as shown in the *Koryŏsaakchi* (History of Koryŏ Music). Chosŏn succeeded the Koryŏ system. Every three years, the government picked up the local *kisaeng*, took them under the jurisdiction of *Changakwŏn* (a music teaching department) and taught them music, dancing and calligraphy. They were mobilised to play music and dance at ceremonies and banquets related to the king and the royal family (Kang Myŏngwan 2009, 9).

Namwŏn. They marry secretly, and part when Yi Toryŏng's father, the governor (*Satto*), is transferred to a new post in the capital, Sŏul. Another governor is then appointed to the town. He demands that Ch'unhyang serve him as a courtesan, and when she refuses, he calls for her imprisonment. Meanwhile, in Sŏul, Yi Toryŏng attains government rank as a Secret Royal Inspector (*Amhaengŏsa*). He returns to Namwŏn, punishes the lecherous governor, rescues his faithful wife, and the couple live happily ever after.

*Wanp'an 84 changbon* represents Ch'unhyang as a self-conscious, articulate, and faithful character, who puts up strong resistance to the demands of the governor. This representation enables the text to accommodate diverse issues such as the conflict between medieval ideologies and modern outlooks, class struggle, true love, fidelity, and human freedom. However, the Hanmun editions depict Ch'unhyang as a passive, submissive character, and romanticise the story by focusing on chastity and love. This is fundamentally related to the attitude of the respective writers, who belong to different classes and thus espouse different ideologies.

Interestingly, *Wanp'an 84 changbon* was published in a woodblock print edition and was widely read. On the other hand, the Hanmun editions existed only as manuscripts, which is indicative of their limited and even exclusive readership, as the target audience for works written in Hanmun was exclusively the elite scholar class (who were literate in Hanmun). The discrepancy between the themes of the two disparate groups' works and their respective public reception clearly demonstrates that Ch'unhyang-chŏn is the very site where modern and pre-modern ideas conflict.

The second reason for choosing Ch'unhyang-chŏn is that various editions coming out over a long period of time present progressively more modern elements in content and expression. As to the modern elements, discussed in detail in the next chapter, here I suggest they include rationality, realism and refinement.

The various versions of Ch'unhyang-chŏn demonstrate a persistent effort towards fictional truth, reality, and verisimilitude on the part of the authors, which would eventually furnish Ch'unhyang-chŏn with consistency, logicity and realism.

It is thought that in the very nascent stage of *p'ansori*, its original content was simple, and its expression was relatively crude. Since *p'ansori* initially served as a somewhat crude form of entertainment, *kwangdae* strove to hold and enhance the audience's interest. The basic structure of *p'ansori* consists of a series of independent episodes. To improve their repertoire, *kwangdae* would insert their own inventions, known as *dŏnŭm*, into the basic plot as it had been transmitted. Their attempts were not always successful. Only when the audience accepted the innovation could it be included in the *p'ansori* tradition. In this way, *kwangdae* embellished and refined *p'ansori* over generations, but this process of improvement also resulted in inconsistency and contradictions between episodes. Consequently, their 'refinements' led *p'ansori* in a process of self-correction, seeking logicity and plausibility. This process also furthered the general development of *p'ansori*, enabling versions of Ch'unhyang-chŏn to approach the characteristics of modern literature. An example follows:

*It is said that when Ch'unhyang heard this, she broke a hand mirror and a large mirror. But judging from her polite name, this can't be true. When people hear such terrible news, their faces change colour. Ch'unhyang's face turns pale immediately.*<sup>8</sup> (Kim Yŏnsu's *sasŏl* (libretto))

The gradual refinement of *p'ansori* libretti is one part of the progress of Ch'unhyang-narrative towards modern forms of literature. Once Ch'unhyang-narrative and the libretti started to be put down in words on paper by a variety of people, regardless of whether they were named or unnamed, upper or lower class, it was destined to go

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<sup>8</sup> All of the English translations in this paper are the author's own work.

forward towards modern literature as it sought rationality and reality, to convince and appeal to the readership. One of the prime aims of this study is to trace the process of this change.

The third reason for choosing Ch'unhyang-chŏn is its prevalence in Korean culture. Its ever-changing guises do not only reflect the course of history, but also the movement of Korean literature towards modernity.

Since Ch'unhyang-chŏn was developed by *p'ansori* singers from the eighteenth century (Yi Sangt'aek 1981, 169), resulting in more than one-hundred extant editions in novel form alone, it has pervaded the lives of the Korean people, crossing over various genres. The story was initially told and sung as an epic narrative in *p'ansori* performances, then written in verse and prose in both Hangŭl and Hanmun. Thereafter, with the progress of mass media and performance art since the beginning of the twentieth century, it has also been conveyed in opera, ballet, theatre, film, TV drama, musical comedy, and cartoon forms.

The numerous forms and performances through which Ch'unhyang-chŏn has been told in recent decades demonstrate that Ch'unhyang-chŏn has not only survived over 250 years but also maintained a high level of popularity (Sŏng Hyŏnkyŏng 2001, 325-329). It has moved beyond being a mainstay of Korean literary heritage to become an all-round cultural phenomenon.

Many instances have demonstrated the fact that the Ch'unhyang-narrative is not only a literary heritage but also a cultural phenomenon. During the late-Chosŏn period, Ch'unhyang-ka<sup>9</sup> was the most frequently performed *p'ansori* at banquets in both the

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9 'Ka' literally means 'song'; therefore, 'Ch'unhyang-ka' generally refers to *p'ansori sasŏl* of Ch'unhyang-narrative. As in the case of Ch'unhyang-chŏn, it is only italicised here when it refers to a specific text.

central and local official courts. During the same period, it was customary to hold *p'ansori* performances in private houses, especially to celebrate the passing of the national-level civil service examination by the son of a household. Ch'unhyang-ka was also the most popular song among the *p'ansori* repertoire performed at such celebrations. From the 1880s onward, the wood-block printing industry emerged, printing books for private and commercial purposes. Ch'unhyang-chŏn, the narrative in novel form, was incredibly popular at this time, becoming the most widely distributed of the wood-block printed books published until 1900. Before the emergence of wood-block printing editions in the 1880s, books were hand-written by individuals for private owners or commercial rental purposes. Book rental businesses, *sech'aekŏp*, emerged around the beginning of the eighteenth century and flourished until the 1940s, where people could rent out manuscripts—wood-block printed editions between 1880s and 1900s, and books printed by the more modern means of *hwalchabon*, movable-type press, from the beginning of the twentieth century. According to the extant records of *sech'aekpang*, book rental shops, Ch'unhyang-chŏn was at the top of their rental lists. The immense popularity of Ch'unhyang-chŏn can also be seen in the film industry throughout the twentieth century. There are numerous cases through which to ascertain that the Ch'unhyang-narrative has pervaded throughout the lives and culture of successive generations of Koreans.

What are the reasons for the sustained prevalence of the Ch'unhyang-narrative over such a long period? Its popularity seems to be perpetual and to have never lost its lustre. Why have Korean people rewritten and reconstructed the tale of Ch'unhyang again and again, even though they are already well acquainted with the content? What did the countless authors of various versions of Ch'unhyang-chŏn want to deliver to their

readership both consciously and unconsciously? These very questions form one of the starting points for this research.

Though copious research papers have been presented during the last few decades in relation to *p'ansori*, Ch'unhyang-sasŏl, the libretto of Ch'unhyang-ka, and Ch'unhyang-chŏn, there seems to have been no research which pursues the questions raised above. This may be because the world of the Ch'unhyang-narrative is too vast to encompass all of the issues related to the text in a single study. While the issue of the origin of the story has yet to be resolved, there are numerous editions of Ch'unhyang-chŏn in circulation, new editions have recently been unearthed, and it is likely that more editions will come to light in the near future. The writers of Ch'unhyang-chŏn or Ch'unhyang-narratives include individual performers, individual authors, and groups of co-authors, all of whom belonged to a range of different social classes. The lack of any overarching research may also be due to the generic issues which involve questions of narrativity, musicality, and performativity. Using the questions outlined above as a compass, this study will pursue the meanings of the Ch'unhyang-narrative from a very different perspective to previous research.

### 1.3. Research Methodology

I will approach Ch'unhyang-chŏn in two ways, thematic and discursive, in order to investigate both its literary forms and content. This study compares different instances of Ch'unhyang-narrative. Dating and placing numerous editions in a chronological sequence and establishing the relationships between them has been a major stumbling block, especially for the field of *p'ansori* narrative study. Under the circumstances, the philological study undertaken by Yi Oksŏng and Kang Sunae (2012) offers a classified

table of Ch'unhyang-narrative editions, although there are some editions on which they fail to reach a consensus on their year of publication or authorship.<sup>10</sup>

Yi and Kang (2012) divided Ch'unhyang-narrative editions into five time periods. The first period (1750s-1830s) is the time when only one edition of Ch'unhyang-narrative, Manhwa Yu Chinha's (1711-1791) *Manhwabon Ch'unhyang-ka* (*The Song of Ch'unhyang*, 1753), appears in the span of almost one century. The second period (1840s-1870s) covers four decades. During this period three Hanmun editions, Mok T'aerim's (1782-1840) *Ch'unhyang-sinsöl* (*The New Story of Ch'unhyang*, 1804), Susan Cho Hang's *Kwanghallu-ki* (*Record of Kwanghan Pavilion*, 1845), and Yun Talsön's *Kwanghallu-akpu* (*Kwanghan Pavilion Akpu*, 1851); and two Hangül editions, *Namwön-kosa* (1864-9) and Shin Chaehyo's *Namch'ang Ch'unhyang-ka*<sup>11</sup>(1867-1873) were created. The third period (1880s-1900s) witnessed a high increase in manuscript editions and the emergence of wood-block editions covering many versions of *Wanp'an*<sup>12</sup> and *Kyöngp'an*<sup>13</sup>. During this period, rental books and wood-block editions were established as a new type of cultural product. As a result, the publishing and distribution of Ch'unhyang-narrative expanded more in this time than in previous periods. The fourth period (1910s-1920s) was the most flourishing time in terms of the publishing and distribution of Ch'unhyang-narrative. The majority of the books of

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10 The identification of the process of the formation and development of Ch'unhyang-narrative from the *Manhwabon* to 1950 seems to be an impossible task to achieve. The numerous different editions are too tangled to organise in terms of lineage and chronicle order. For this reason, there has been a tendency for studies of Ch'unhyang-narrative to mainly focus on the analysis of an individual work, or comparison between different editions, studies on its genesis and lineage, or the characteristics of the *p'ansori sasöl* and *p'ansori* novel. In such circumstances, the study by Yi Oksöng and Kang Sunae on the lineage and bibliographic studies of Ch'unhyang-narrative constitute a very welcome contribution.

11 According to Kang Hanyöng, the year *Namch'ang Ch'unhyang-ka* was authored is between 1867 and 1873 (Kang 1971, 13-14).

12 The literal meaning of '*Wanp'an*' is 'Wanju print' with Wanju being the old name for the city of Chönju, in Chölla Province. *Wanp'an*, therefore, is a woodblock edition printed in Wanju.

13 Woodblock editions printed in Söul and Kyönggi Province.

Ch'unhyang-narrative that circulated in this period are whole copies or adaptations of the *Kyōngp'an* and *Wanp'an* Ch'unhyang-chōn, and Yi Haecho's *Okchunghwa*. The fifth period (1930s) saw a dramatic decline in manuscripts and wood-block prints of Ch'unhyang-chōn with the arrival of modern print (metal typeset printing) editions of Ch'unhyang-narrative and annotation books, which adopted modern Hangŭl orthography.

### 1.3.1. Thematic Study - The Political Unconscious

#### 1.3.1.1. The Selection of the Editions of Ch'unhyang-chōn

In the third chapter of this study, I examine the thematic aspects of nine editions of Ch'unhyang-chōn. For thematic study, I will cover the major editions of the first four periods, as the fifth period, which is after 1930, goes well past the time during which modern literature was produced in Korean.

Due to its high affinity with *p'ansori*, Ch'unhyang-chōn has been generally known as literature for commoners. However, as shown above, the first four Ch'unhyang-narratives in written form were ironically works by members of the literati class. These works recreated Ch'unhyang-narrative in the forms of Chinese poetry and the novel as *yangban* also began to enjoy *p'ansori* in the later stages of its development<sup>14</sup>. In the first section of this study I will analyse all four of the Hanmun editions from the first two periods. Thereafter, I will examine *Namwōn-kosa*, which was written in the Hangŭl vernacular by an unnamed author. *Namwōn-kosa* was most widely-read by women and

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14 There is a consensus among academics that the whole narrative of *p'ansori* Ch'unhyang-ka had been already fully formulated before the *Manhwabon* appeared.

commoners in the capital city of Sōul and the surrounding Kyōnggi Province. Next, I will examine Shin Chaehyo's *Namch'ang Ch'unhyang-ka*. Shin Chaehyo was a *p'ansori* professional who educated and sponsored *p'ansori* singers and compiled six *p'ansori* repertoires. He was a *chungin*, part of the middle-men class, which came between the high *yangban* class and commoners.

For the third period, I will discuss *Wanp'an 84 changbon* (hereafter *Wanp'an 84*). It is believed that *Wanp'an 84* is the longest and the best woodblock edition among the *p'ansori* strand of Ch'unhyang-chōn in terms of literary quality (Sōl 1994, 191). Among the editions to be discussed, *Wanp'an 84* is the closest edition to the traditional *p'ansori* Ch'unhyang-ka.<sup>15</sup>

The editions selected for discussion in this research will be able to sufficiently accommodate authors from a wide range of classes and their conflicting and common interests which are reflected in the varied versions of Ch'unhyang-narrative.

For the fourth period (1910s-1920s), the editions to be discussed are Yi Haecho's *Okchunghwa* (*Imprisoned Flower*, 1912) and Yi Kwangsu's *Ilsōl Ch'unhyang-chōn* (1925-1926)<sup>16</sup>. *Okchunghwa* has been regarded as a critical edition in the history of Ch'unhyang-narrative. According to Cho Yunche (1957, 13) *Okchunghwa* is a transitional work which moves from pre-modern to modern literature. The work also created an independent and distinct line called the *Okchunghwa*-strand in Ch'unhyang-narrative (Sōl 1994, 211-243). As for Yi Kwangsu, there is a general consensus that his novel *Mujōng* (*The Heartless*) was the very first modern Korean novel.

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15 Shin Chaehyo's *Namch'ang Ch'unhyang-ka* was reconstructed for *p'ansori* performance and was actually performed. However, as Shin's intention was to rationalise the contemporary *p'ansori sasōl*, he changed many parts of the Ch'unhyang-ka sung during his time. For this reason, Shin's Ch'unhyang-ka is not particularly close to the prototype of Ch'unhyang-ka, which is assumed to exist but has yet to be found.

16 Serialised from September 1925 to January 1926 in the *Tonga-Ilbo*, under the title of "Ch'unhyang."

In this study, several references will be made to Yi Kwangsu's *Mujǒng*. When discussing modern Korean literature, Yi Kwangsu and *Mujǒng* cannot but be mentioned, as they offer some benchmarks, whether positive or negative, in discussing the development of Korean literature and its modernity. In this regard, I will also briefly look at the discussion among scholars as to why *Mujǒng* is called a modern work.

I will first look at how *Mujǒng* is evaluated in the historical context of Korean literature. First, Im Hwa (1935) criticises *Mujǒng* as a half-length figure of cultural freedom, which dismisses politics and social aspects, but evaluates the modern character of *Mujǒng* as 'a modern consciousness of the people.' Kim T'aechun in his *Chosǒn-sosǒlsa (The History of Chosǒn novel)*, which was the first Korean book on the history of Korean novels, said that *Mujǒng* instilled in the young mind idealism, humanitarian ideas and resistance to old morality, and created a borderline far from previous novels (1933, 253). Kim Yunsik and Kim Hyǒn said "*Mujǒng* has an indelible value in that it is the first work to complete a Korean writing style," and another value it holds in Korean literary history is as the first love story (1984, 125-127). Kim Yunsik and Chǒng Houg considered the characteristics of *Mujǒng* as an "internalisation of politics" and *Mujǒng* as culturally-oriented enlightenment literature (1993, 61-62), stating that the idea of evolution and liberalism combined happily with the artist's inner development. Yun Hongro believes that the modern nature of *Mujǒng* lies in making the reader realise the tragedy of Yǒngch'ae's transitional period in which she wanders between the motifs of conservative filial piety and progressive self-discovery (2005, 108). For Yun, it is a work that awakens awareness of the modern self and the situation of the times contrary to the logic of the Confucian ethical consciousness.

All of these discussions can be summarized into the following three main viewpoints: the enlightenment as a thematic aspect, encompassing idealism, humanitarianism, and

resistance against old morality and Confucian ideas; the opening of a new novel genre such as the love novel; the completion of the style of the vernacular language.

In terms of the present research, the most interesting aspect of these studies is their focus on the themes of enlightenment and progressiveness in the work. However, since the 1990s, many studies have argued that the modernity of *Mujǒng* is a translation of the modernity of the West, given the newly prevailing logic that Korea's modern literature was formed in the process of translating the modern systems and culture of the West through Japan.

One such study of *Mujǒng* by Ch'oe Hyesil (1999) considers the work in terms of the translation of the romantic love of the modern West. Ch'oe argues that *Mujǒng* was written in an era when the institutionalisation of love and marriage emerged as an important process for establishing bourgeois ideology, and it should be noted that *Mujǒng* projects this ideology. In a similar line of discussion, Yi Yǒnga (2002) examines the dynamics of marriage, sexuality, and love in the early modern era, focusing on the modernity of the "body" in *Mujǒng*. Michael Shin (1999) also argues that what appeared in *Mujǒng* was not just an imitation of the modernity of the West (Japan), but a literary process that expresses its modern yet Chosǒn-style identity: the process of internal search.

Lastly, I will introduce the discussion of Chǒng Pyǒngsǒl (2011, 235-253), who approached the modernity of *Mujǒng* in terms of expression. As a scholar of classical literature, Chǒng examines the modernity of *Mujǒng* in the context of classical literature. Although it is often believed that the character of *Mujǒng* as a modern novel comes from enlightenment, realistic portrayals, internal analysis and description of characters, he argues, however, that in comparison to the earlier literature, it is not enough that *Mujǒng* has shown modernity in terms of enlightenment and realistic

portrayal. For Chǒng, the most modern novelistic aspect of *Mujǒng* is the internal analysis and description.

Chǒng notes in *Mujǒng* that the inner aspect of the main character is as detailed as the narrator sees it, and that the sharp internal analysis is linked to the expression of inner sensibility. He associates these internal descriptions with Yi Kwangsu's "chǒnggyuk theory" that the Korean people should develop emotions. He argues that Here, "chǒng" (emotion and feeling) has a strong character of liberation, to unleash the emotions and desires of the oppressed human being. The suppression of *chǒng* is the core of Chosǒn Confucianism, therefore, Yi's *chǒnggyuk* theory contradicts Confucianism. Chǒng claims that this is where we should locate the very modern orientation of Yi Kwangsu.

In the discussion above, we have seen that the modernity of *Mujǒng* is illuminated from various angles. Their discussions also demonstrate how Korean scholars generally characterise the modernity of the novel. These discussions offer an interesting contrast to Ch'unhyang-chǒn, however, there is little room here to discuss the modernity of Ch'unhyang-chǒn by comparing it with *Mujǒng*. This is because the works of Ch'unhyang-chǒn itself are so numerous that there is no way to obtain generality for comparison with *Mujǒng* by choosing just one example, and, moreover, the understanding of the modernity of Ch'unhyang-chǒn sought in this study would be in danger of being limited by comparison with *Mujǒng*.

A far cry from *Mujǒng*, Yi's attempt at Ch'unhyang-narrative has not attracted much academic attention<sup>17</sup>. Nevertheless, this paper anticipates that *Il sǒl Ch'unhyang-chǒn* will have some modern elements, as it was not only written in the era of modern

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17 "Since Yi Kwangsu's *Il sǒl Ch'unhyang-chǒn* was defined not as a proper novel but merely as a pop novel, it has not been the object of study for quite a long time." (Ch'oe Chuhan 2016, 329)

literature, but also authored by Yi Kwangsu, a writer credited with making a profound impact on modern Korean literature.

This paper will only examine the editions which appeared by the fourth period, so by 1930. This is mainly because most of the editions from the fifth period were reproductions of previous popular versions, and more importantly because modern literature had already been produced in Korean well before 1930. Such a choice of editions should provide a good foundation for tracing the shifts towards modern literature in Ch'unhyang-narrative, while also encompassing a sufficiently broad time-span, enabling an appreciation of the diversity of the distinctive characteristics of each text.

#### 1.3.1.2. Culture, History, and Marxism: the Ch'unhyang narrative and history

The starting point of this study is an acknowledgement of the huge prevalence of the Ch'unhyang-narrative as a cultural phenomenon. This study aims to pursue the psychology, the conscious and the unconscious, through which the Ch'unhyang-narrative is projected into the historical period in which the text is produced. Since its first appearance in the 1750s, the Ch'unhyang-narrative has survived turbulent eras of socio-political and economic changes and upheavals: political disorder by so called *setochǒngch'i* (politics in power), the open ports policy forced upon Korea, intervention in internal affairs by powerful foreign countries, the Peasant Revolution of the late Chosŏn period, and the decline of Chosŏn (all decisive signs of the end of feudal period); the rise and fall of the Great Korean Empire, as a new but failed attempt at building a new modern country; colonization by Japan; civil war; the division of Korea into North and South; and in the South, the subsequent long and turbulent process of the

establishment of democratic politics. The Ch'unhyang-narrative has also ridden out changing trends in literary modes and ideals: romanticism, enlightenment, realism, modernism and post-modernism. Certain characteristics of the tale of Ch'unhyang have allowed the work to reflect and to adapt to socio-political history over time, by transforming its narrativity, characterisations and plot schema to correspond to the changing trends of different periods.

Certain characteristics of the tale of Ch'unhyang have allowed the work to reflect and adapt to socio-political history over time, by transforming its narrativity, characterisations and plot schema to correspond to changing trends and periods. In this vein, this study examines the human beings of a particular time and place through literature.

Under the circumstances, in order to examine the Ch'unhyang-narrative from a social point of view, I will take Marxism as my guide, since it is regarded as the most relevant and the best methodology among literary theories when it comes to how to perceive things and affairs in reality. In other words, Marxist theory is more immediately relevant to the issues generated by the many different editions of the Ch'unhyang-narrative, such as changes to the social status of Ch'unhyang and class-based struggles between characters.

In this sense, I find Fredric Jameson's assertion of the "political unconscious" particularly useful in understanding the Ch'unhyang-narrative and its many changes over time. In *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (2007), Fredric Jameson argues for the priority of the political interpretation of literary texts. He points out that the political perspective is "not as an optional auxiliary to other interpretive methods current today—but as the absolute horizon of all reading and all interpretation" (2007,1), squarely confronting many of the more fashionable post-

structuralist methodologies in 'On Interpretation,' the first chapter of the book. Jameson's position here is that "only Marxism offers a philosophically coherent and ideologically compelling resolution" (2007, 3) of the cultural past contained in the literary text.

Jameson begins *The Political Unconscious* with the famous opening words: "Always historicize!" (2007, IX). For Jameson, any critical account of a literary work which does not heed the ways in which the specific historical circumstances shaped the development of that particular form and content cannot be complete.

Jameson distinguishes 'History' from 'history.' The latter is the specific historical circumstances, the happenings of a given time. As a Marxist theorist, when he talks about 'history' Jameson is referring to the class struggle and economic evolution of society. 'History,' on the other hand, is Lacan's notion of the 'Real' which "resists symbolization absolutely" (2007, 20, ref. 18), and Althusser's concept of 'absent cause' which follows on from Spinoza's idea of the 'absent cause.' The 'Real' or 'History' can never be accessible and apprehended directly as it is an 'absent cause' as such. 'History' cannot be accessed unless it is channelling through a mediatory mechanism, and at this very moment the concept of 'mediation' is invoked.

For Jameson (2007) then, the key to 'mediation' to access 'History' is narrative. Narrative is an essential path by which to approach the 'Real' and to mediate between the individual and society, as well as society and the 'Real'.

*... history is not a text, not a narrative, master or otherwise, but that, as an absent cause, it is inaccessible to us except in textual form, and that our approach to it and to the Real itself necessarily passes through its prior textualization, its narrativization in the political unconscious. (p.20)*

William C. Dowling (1984) elegantly elaborates on Jameson's standpoint, noting that "This is not to make the conventional claim that we make up stories about the world to understand it but the much more radical claim that the world comes to us in the shape of stories" (1984, 95).

This demonstrates why narrative is so crucial for Jameson's arguments. It also implies the significance of narrative study and the infinite potential expansion of literary study. Given that "Narrative is really an epistemological category traditionally mistaken for a literary form" (Dowling 1984, 96), this new concept of narrative also offers great freedom to the present research, to cross over and encompass different forms beyond literature, such as film, ballet, and opera, as long as they are concerned with the Ch'unhyang-narrative.

Marxist criticism since Marx and Engels has essentially been inclined towards realism as the appropriate frame in order to see and explore the actualities of real life and the 'Real.' However, realism has become sclerotic and hardened as the formulas of representing the real began to take root as if there was only one way of expressing the real which we perceive. As it were, 'this is just as it really is.' The formulas of realism began to become constraints. These ideas gave rise to the need to replace realism with something still within the frame of Marxist aesthetics but that would serve to ease the restrictions.

In this context, Fredric Jameson provided the most eloquent replacement for realism: romance. Jameson champions the aesthetics of romance as a magical resolution for conflicts which could never have been resolved otherwise (2007, 89-136), deliberately naming Balzac, Scott and Dreiser as "the non-chronological markers of the emergence of realism in its modern form," and indicating that they did not write realism, at least not in the terms of the sclerotic and restricting mode. Jameson criticises the aesthetics

of realism, pointing out that the characteristics of “exhilarating heterogeneity” and “a corresponding versatility” exhibited in Scott, Balzac and Dreiser “tend to be sealed off and re-contained again in high realism and naturalism...in particular the threefold imperatives of authorial depersonalization, unity of point of view, and restriction to scenic representation” (2007, 90-91).

Jameson declares that at the time of such “gradual reification of realism in late capitalism” (2007, 91), romance is the place where freedom from that oppressive reality principle can be attained. His notion of romance keeps in line with that of Northrop Frye, who assimilates “the salvational perspective of romance to a re-expression of Utopian longings” (Jameson 2007, 91). In this framework, Jameson (2007, 91) argues that “the association of Marxism and romance therefore does not discredit the former so much as it explains the persistence and vitality of the latter, which Frye takes to be the ultimate source and paradigm of all storytelling”.

Jameson’s aesthetics are unique in many respects. The way in which Jameson sees the key nineteenth century authors, not as realist figures in the strict sense, demonstrates that he has consciously distanced himself from a narrowly conceived ‘traditional’ Marxism. The way Jameson views the aesthetic of romance also displays his unique standing in the sphere of Marxism. Jameson’s standing also gives this paper more freedom to manoeuvre, unrestrained by sclerotic realism and hard-line Marxist ideas.

Jameson’s viewpoint, briefly introduced here, displays a great correlation with Ch’unhyang-narrative. This is because this study regards Ch’unhyang-narrative as a kind of culture beyond literature and intends to explore the meaning of this and its implications. The study of culture through the Ch’unhyang-narrative is a means of apprehending modernity and ‘History.’ Moreover, the Ch’unhyang-narrative can be categorised as a romance since it meets the criteria for romance: a main character from

the lowest class; conflict with and suffering caused by the oppressor; the ending of the salvational perspective; utopian longing; and resolution. Ch'unhyang-narrative also conceives the "historical rhythms" of the last 250 years it pertains to, and the "utopian transformations of a real," unshakably set in the late Chosŏn period.

To put it simply, the aim of this study is to catch a glimpse of 'History' or the 'Real,' in order to gain a fresh understanding of the society to which the work belongs. Jameson's theory will provide this paper with a clear framework for reasoning, and room to steer for these purposes.

#### 1.3.1.3. Interpretive Frameworks

Chapter 3, that deals with the thematic analysis of Ch'unhyang-chŏn, will be divided into three sections, following Fredric Jameson's three interpretive schemes: the political, the social, and the historical.

For Jameson, the concept of narrative always comes with the concept of interpretation and the two are inseparable. Utilising Freud's terms and ideas, Jameson divides interpretation in two arenas: manifest meaning and latent meaning. The latent meaning refers to *the unconscious* and it is associated with the mechanism of repression. For Jameson, latent meaning is 'the political unconscious.' Jameson argues that cultural critics should explore the repressed, hidden deep in cultural products, and identify their nature, i.e. their latent meaning.

Jameson re-appropriates Freudian ideas of a hierarchical model (i.e. id, ego, and super-ego) and its functioning, and applies it to his Marxist literary theory of base and superstructure. Jameson looks for hidden and cryptic manifestations of economic and

political meaning from cultural products. In literature, the base of economic and political aspects is highly likely to be concealed, but it still exists.

Jameson provides a specification of the literary and cultural interpretation in three concentric phases or horizons: the 'political', the 'social', and the 'historical.' He employs the word 'concentric' to emphasise that each framework is re-contained within the next horizon: the political is embraced in society and society is embraced within the historical.

The first phase of the political is the notion of political history. In this context history refers to a narrowly conceived concept of history, a kind of chronicle record of successive happenings and events, and also plot in a fictive text. It remains at the level of an individual literary work or cultural artefact in the narrow sense. The second phase of the social has widened "to include the social order" and the very work of the analysis is thereby "dialectically transformed" from "an individual 'text' or work in the narrow sense to the great collective and class discourses" (Jameson 2007, 61). Finally, in the last phase, the individual text and its *ideologemes* are contained in terms of what Jameson calls, "*the ideology of form*, that is, the symbolic messages transmitted to us by the coexistence of various sign systems which are themselves traces or anticipations of modes of production" (Jameson 2007, 62).

In the three progressively widening semantic horizons, the text is firstly an object as a form of expression and is read as a single and individual work. Secondly, the text is a social and cultural object conditioned within a social and cultural context. Finally, the text is read in terms of *the ideology of the form*, which is a medium for historicizing the text within multiple sign systems, which are themselves placed somewhere on the spectrum of modes of production.

### 1.3.2. Discursive Study

For the narrative analysis, this study will compare the *Wanp'an 26 changbon* (1850s-1880s), *Okchunghwa* (1912), and *Ilsöl Ch'unhyang-chön* (1925-6). *Wanp'an 26 changbon* is thought to be a very early edition of *Wanp'an Ch'unhyang-chön* and *Okchunghwa* is derived from the *Wanp'an* strand. Having originated from *p'ansori*, *Wanp'an 26 changbon* and *Okchunghwa* must certainly have a strong affinity with narrativity, but they are also expected to display substantial differences as *Okchunghwa* is greatly expanded from the *Wanp'an* editions. *Ilsöl Ch'unhyang-chön* does not differ greatly from the original story in terms of content, however, it exhibits substantial changes with regards to narrative discourse. Therefore, I envisage that a comparison of these three editions will demonstrate how *Ch'unhyang-chön's* narrative discourse has been transformed from its nascent stage to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, thus enabling this research to illuminate the origins of certain characteristics of modernity in Korean literature.

To investigate the narrativity of *Ch'unhyang-chön* is to find the modernity inherent in the work by exploring it in terms of form. In the novel, "narrativity" refers to many factors such as the narrator, reader, writer, plot, focalisation, time, space, and so on. The reason why narrativity is important in modernity is that modernity itself is fundamentally related to the subject of modernity. The narrative presupposes the subject of the narrative. Many of the factors listed above will be discussed, but among them, the narrator is at the centre of the discussion.

The entity of the narrator in *p'ansori* literature is quite problematic compared to other narrative discourses, given the tangible presence of the *kwangdae* as narrator. I will

apply theories of narratology developed in both Korean and Western scholarship in order to investigate the nature of the narrator in Ch'unhyang-chön.

Since Aristotle delineated the issues of narrative structure, there have been numerous theorists who have shaped and furthered narrative theory. This research will follow in the tradition of structuralists such as Roland Barthes, Tzvetan Todorov and Gérard Genette, as their theories have had significant influence upon ideas of *story* and *discourse*, in other words, *what* the narrative is and *how* the narrative is expressed.

In the fourth chapter, I examine narrativity and issues surrounding the figure of the narrator in the selected editions. In the course of the investigation, the analysis will be contextualized by referring to Gérard Genette (1983), Seymour Chatman (1980) and Mieke Bal (2009). Genette conducted a comprehensive survey of narrative perspective and point of view and provided new insights by distinguishing between two elements which had previously been confused and conflated: focalisation and narration. This distinction is paramount for any discussion of the nature of the narrator. Chatman (1980) and Bal (2009) synthesized the most powerful insights of critics and theorists of narrative theory, and the latter is especially useful in that he presents an updated, systematic account.

Within this theoretical framework, I will also discuss Korean scholarship of *p'ansori*, bringing in Kim Hŭngkyu's theory of *changmyŏn kūkdaehaw* (intensifying the dramatic effect of the scene), which appeared in his paper, 'Narratology of *p'ansori*' (*p'ansoriüi sŏsachŏkkujo*, 1976) and has since become a key theory for understanding *p'ansori* narrative. I will explore the characteristics of the principle of 'intensifying the dramatic effect of the scene' using the interpretive tools of Western narrative theory.

## 2. Rethinking Modernity in Korean Literature

In this chapter, I will examine the concepts of Korean modern literature and novels in comparison to the West and investigate what historical background Korea had during the transition from pre-modern literature to modern literature. The discussion will also provide a basis to understand the historical background of Ch'unhyang-chŏn, which will be analysed from the following chapter onwards.

### 2.1. Modernity and the Rise of the Novel

In this section, I will discuss concepts of modernity, modern literature, the modern novel, and the possibility of Ch'unhyang-chŏn as modern literature, while unfolding the development of prose fiction in Korea until the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Since defining modernity is an overpowering task, and deviates from the main scope of this research, for the purpose of my analysis I will define modernity in very generic terms. To put it rather plainly, from the view of the West, modernity, in general, is formed by the combination of non-simultaneous and heterogeneous elements such as distrust of tradition and favouring autonomous reason, faith in inevitable social, scientific and technological progress, movement from feudalism towards capitalism and the market economy, the development of the nation-state and its constituent institutions, and the prioritisation of individualism, freedom and formal equality.

For the East, these elements of modernity can also be accepted without dispute if feudalism is replaced with the monarchy, which was maintained in the East and especially in Korea until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Modern literature, then, can be regarded as the embodiment of these elements in the form of literature.

What, then, does modernity refer to in Korean literature? The definition of modernity formulated by Kim Yunsik, a Korean scholar who did perhaps the most serious and extensive research on Korean modern literature, has many implications. He argues that modern literature is literature in which modern consciousness is projected, and that modern consciousness is “a spirit to understand and overcome structural contradictions and conflicts within the society itself” (Kim Y. & Kim H. 1984, 19-20). He also criticised Im Hwa, who first introduced the theory of transplanted literature, and scholars such as Paek Ch’öl, who followed Im Hwa, by asserting that the West should be understood as a variable which had a strong influence on Korean literature, and that they should break from the misconception of seeing Westernisation as modernisation. Furthermore, Kim Yunsik opposed the claim of Im Hwa and his followers that the starting point of modern literature was the 1910s, contending instead that it actually began as early as the era of King Yǒngjo (r. 1724-1776) and Chǒngjo (r. 1776-1800), when systematic efforts were expressed to overcome the structural contradictions of Chosŏn society.

Kim Yunsik’s basis for this argument was the emergence of works, such as Ch’unhyang-chŏn, and writers, such as Pak Chiwŏn and Kim Byŏngyŏn, who embodied the structural contradictions of contemporary society in the language of modern consciousness by pioneering a new genre (Ibid., 30-65). Pak Chiwŏn wrote prose fiction that criticised the status system and the incompetence and hypocrisy of the upper-classes, and Kim Byŏngyŏn showed irregularity and cast a caricature style in his poems.

This research starts from the premise that, as Kim Yunsik asserts, modern literature is literature in which modern consciousness is embodied in a new form, and at the heart of modern consciousness is, above all, a drive to overcome the current contradictions and absurdities that have arisen from tradition.

In this context, what makes a modern novel? Before going into a full-fledged discussion of this issue, it is first necessary to define the terms which refer to prose fiction in Korea and the West. The term ‘novel’ is used here in the same context as the 18th century novel genre that occurred in the West. In Korea, the term ‘novel’ is translated as ‘*sosŏl*.’ However, while the term ‘novel’ in the West itself includes modernity, which means disconnection from the previous narrative genre, the word *sosŏl*, which encompasses characteristics of the Western ‘romance’ genre, is used in Korea as a term to refer to a very diverse category of records, ranging from *sihwa* (talks on poetry and poets) and miscellaneous records to varieties and creative works until the late Chosŏn dynasty (Cho Namhyŏn 1983, 20-32). In this section, to avoid confusion, I will use the term ‘novel’ to refer to Western novels of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the term ‘*sosŏl*’ or ‘pre-modern novel’ to refer to the fictional narrative genre of the Chosŏn dynasty until the nineteenth century.

### 2.1.1. The Rise of the Novel in the West

Comparison between Eastern and Western novels is important because it allows us to discover the individuality that lies within the universal nature of the novel. However, while discussing Korean novels in literary scholarship it has been very rare to pursue and define the concept of the novel in depth. In most cases, it is simply assumed that works from the 1910s onward are modern works. This is because the concept of the novel itself is too broad and abstract, making it difficult to pin down. Western critics have also expressed the difficulty of defining the novel. In *The Theory of the Novel* (1920) Georg Lukács states that “the novel is the most hazardous genre” (1971, 73).

Christopher Gillie also remarked, “The novel, of course, is a form that has always resisted definition” (1972, 197).

Despite the vague and complex nature of the word novel, however, Ian Watt’s *The Rise of the Novel* (1957) can provide a framework for pursuing the characteristics of Korean fictional prose with a more solid and substantial comparison of the emergence and concept of the novel in the East and the West. Watt’s work has many implications for finding concrete answers by linking specific socio-historical conditions to the emergence and characteristics of the novel.

Watt examines how the novel took shape in England during the 18th century with Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe*, Samuel Richardson’s *Pamela*, and Henry Fielding’s *Tom Jones*, and how socio-historical changes shaped and responded to the new genre. Watt explains that the three authors worked independently and that it is difficult to find similarities between them except for having a sense of creating something new that was contrary to previous genres. He then argues that understanding of the emergence of novels can only be achieved by uncovering the literary and social factors that made it possible for these three writers to appear simultaneously. He delineates literary characteristics of the novelists and their works, and links them to the detailed social and historical factors of 18th century England.

Watt attributes realism as a defining characteristic of the novel. He contends that “the novel’s realism does not reside in the kind of life it presents, but in the way it presents it” (2001, 11). The realism Watt refers to stems from the French school of Realists, and is the antonym of idealism. He claims that the French Realists should have paid more attention to the problem that the novel reflects reality more sharply than any genre: “the problem of the correspondence between the literary work and the reality which it imitates” (2001, 11). He then argues that “this is essentially an epistemological

problem.” Thus, the clarification of the concept needs the help of philosophers (2001, 11). He reasons that philosophers such as Descartes and Locke broke away from the past, resisted tradition and developed an entirely new concept of realism and the individual, and these new trends in philosophy are best reflected in the form of the novel (2001,12-13). The novel rejects the unified world view of the middle ages and focuses on particulars; particular experiences of particular individuals. Thus, philosophical realism extends to individualism (2001, 13).

In this new literary perspective, the plot had to be changed for the novel to be able to freely embody “the individual apprehension of reality” (2001, 15). Accordingly, the characters and scenes of their actions had to be placed by particular people in particular circumstances in particular places at particular times, “rather than, as it had been common in the past, by general human types against a background primarily determined by the appropriate literary convention” (2001, 15). Thus, characterisation, the link between a proper name and an individual identity, presentation of specific time and space, and description for a realistic setting all became critical elements for the novel. In addition, the diction of the novelists was also different from that of well-educated writers. Defoe and Richardson used an easy and realistic prose style that matched the natural diction of their under-educated characters, whereas cultivated writers used language that was unnecessarily flamboyant for the subject they were dealing with. Watt argues that writers who were not familiar with the norms of classical literature became major writers in the era of the novel, and this is the source of the creativity shown in their works. It was their social standing which enabled them to better understand and respond to the needs of their middle-class readership. He therefore links the new features of the novel to the rise of the English middle class and socio-economic factors.

The socio-economic conditions Watt presented can be summarised as follows. From the Renaissance to the 18th century, various social and economic changes played a major role in making the novel a dominant genre. Above all, the colossal growth of commerce and trade created a wealthy merchant class, and the middle-class was emerging as the mainstay among them. The development of technology and industry also provided the public with more opportunities to access reading culture. These all brought about great changes in British society and culture, which became a key driver for the birth and development of the novel. Above all, due to the development of printing technology, changes in the modes of book distribution and growing literacy rates, books, which had once been exclusive items for the elites, were now reaching classes that had previously been alienated from them, the working-class in particular. The development of commerce and industry also contributed to the rise of novels by providing more leisure time for women who had traditionally spent considerable time in domestic labour. This meant a rapid increase in the number of female readers. Women of the upper and middle-class especially read novels during their leisure time.

In addition, the growth of circulating libraries, which became very popular by the 19<sup>th</sup> century, emerged as an important factor in the rise of novels since they enabled more people access to reading materials. The centre of the reading population, however, was still occupied by the middle class as subscription fees for circulating libraries were a sizable sum that low classes could not afford. Nevertheless, they played a major role in expanding readership and increasing the incomes of writers and publishers.

These changes also brought about significant changes to writers. Until that time, they worked under the upper-class patronage system, but now they became free agents, reliant on commercial success in the literary market. Due to the changing composition of the reading public, writers came to predominantly reflect the values of their middle-

class readership. The language employed by novelists was not demanding for middle-class readers. After all, the novel was a product of capitalism.

The capitalist nature of the novel can also be found in many other aspects. As readership expanded, it became the commercial product of a new group of entrepreneurs. Booksellers who were publishers and even retailers endeavoured to meet the tastes of an expanding readership who spent money on cultural goods. They also hired writers directly to engage in their work and asked authors to write lengthier novels so that they could generate higher profits. The development of book reviews in popular periodicals, specialist magazines and newspapers also boosted the rise of the novel. It was these multiple phenomena, triggered by the development of industry and economy, that prompted the rise of novels.

### 2.1.2. The Rise of the Sosŏl in Korea

Watt's observations on the rise of novels also has many implications for the environment in which the buds of the novel began to appear during the late 18th and early 19th centuries in Korea. In relation to the rise of the novel, the East and the West could be expected to differ greatly, since they followed different social and historical paths. However, the following discussion will reveal that, although there is a great deal of difference in scale and detail, on this issue Korea and the West in fact share many similarities.

First, unlike European countries, Korea had a dual language structure until the early 20th century. Although the creation of Hangŭl (a phonetic alphabet for vernacular Korean) in 1443 brought a golden opportunity to break away from this dualistic structure, it carried on until the early 20th century. This was one of the most fundamental

reasons for the slow rise of modern literature in Korea, because a writing system that can freely transcribe the native language is a prerequisite for modern literature.

Like most Eastern countries, Korea had used Hanmun (Chinese characters) since the beginning of the Christian era. The invention of Hangŭl meant that Koreans could finally freely express their thoughts and feelings in writing in their native language. Moreover, the writing system was designed to be very easy to learn, with a scientific and systematic nature, to create a foothold for Koreans of all classes to equally partake in writing culture. However, even after the invention of Hangŭl, Hanmun still maintained a deferential place as the writing system for official records and the mainstream culture of the upper classes. Although the official name given to Hangŭl was *Hunminjŏngŭm* (Correct Sounds for Teaching the People), at the time of its invention, it was called *ŏnmun* (common script)—as opposed to “true script” which was used to refer to Hanmun—or *amkŭl* (female script) as women who were excluded from the mainstream culture principally used Hangŭl. *Őnmun* and *amkŭl* were both terms that denigrated Hangŭl.

Another obstacle to the development of the *sosŏl* was the tendency to regard the *sosŏl* as a trivial form of writing, while poetry was considered a proper genre, part of mainstream literature, leaving the *sosŏl* to become peripheral literature. This meant it was rare for the educated to write *sosŏls*, and even if they did, it was nothing to boast about.

Despite such unfavourable circumstances, the *sosŏl* began to grow in popularity. Just as the rising literacy rate in England became the impetus to the rise of the novel, the dramatic increase in the literacy rate due to the dissemination of Hangŭl was a great driving force for the development of the *sosŏl*.

*Sosŏls* began to appear in Korea only in the early 15th century. The first *sosŏl* was Kim Sisŭp's (1435-1493) *Kŭmoshinhwa* (New Stories from Golden Turtle Mountain), which was written in Hanmun and consisted of five short stories. As mentioned above, one of the predominant reasons that *sosŏls* were not created sooner was the lack of a writing medium for the vernacular language. It would have been difficult to express even basic thoughts in Hanmun, and creating a *sosŏl* in Hanmun must have been extremely challenging. However, Ch'ae Su's (1449-1515) ghost story, *Sŏlkongch'an-chŏn* (The Story of Sŏlkongch'an) was initially written in Hanmun. The Ministry of Law insisted that Ch'ae Su should be executed since he caused confusion and deluded people from all parts of the country by making an absurd story. This was the first time in Korea that an author was punished for literary work. His work had gained currency by being copied and translated into Hangŭl just fifty years after its invention (Ch'ungjong Annals, 2 Sep. 1511). As a result, although Ch'ae Su preserved his life, he was dismissed from his high-profile post. The incident was a historical event that demonstrated the power of both Hangŭl and fiction: it gave rise to the idea that people could be misled on a state-wide scale. Around this time, Chinese *sosŏls* such as *Chŏndŭngshinhwa* and *T'aep'yŏnggwanggi*, which were also ghost stories, were already circulating. By the 16th century, there was also a proliferation of *sosŏls* in Hangŭl. This was accelerated by the full-fledged importation of Chinese *sosŏls*, which were translated into Hangŭl (Chŏng Pyŏngsŏl 2005, 269), from the mid-16th century.

The first *sosŏl* originally created in Hangŭl, *Hong-Kiltong-chŏn* (The Tale of Hong Kiltong) by Hŏ Kyun (1569-1618) appeared in the early 17th century. This is often regarded as the period when the era of full-scale fiction occurred. In the 17th century, the *sosŏls* that had already been established in the 16th century were tested in various

types: Hanmun and Hangŭl, male and female, short and long, Korean and Chinese, reality and romance, seriousness and commonality (Song Sŏnguk 2002, 241).

In terms of economic history, Chosŏn was still in the Middle Ages until the first half of the 17th century, and the birth of capitalism in the Chosŏn dynasty can be said to be the middle and late 17th century. Despite two major wars, the Japanese invasions of Chosŏn (1592–1598) and the Qing invasion of Chosŏn (12, 1636-1, 1637), Chosŏn Korea saw remarkable economic growth in the middle and late seventeenth centuries. Before the wars, the population was slightly over 100,000, but by the end of the 17th century it increased rapidly to 300,000. This population surge accelerated the urbanisation of Sŏul and caused the expansion of commercial districts (Chang Chiyŏn 2002, 73-77; Koh Tonghwan 1998, 436)

Interestingly, the era when the *sosŏl* started to be fully enjoyed in Chosŏn coincides with this period. Both the Hanmun *sosŏl* and the Hangŭl *sosŏl* actively appeared, and it was common for Hanmun *sosŏls* to be translated into Hangŭl and Hangŭl *sosŏls* translated into Hanmun. Sometimes there were even double translations, for example, from Hangŭl to Hanmun, and back into Hangŭl. In the late 16th and early 17th centuries, Hanmun *sosŏls*, such as *Chusaeng-chŏn* (1593) by Kwŏn P'il (1569-1612), *Unyŏng-chŏn* (unknown author), and *Kangno-chŏn* (1630) by Kwŏn Ch'ik (1599-1667), appear to have been translated into Hangŭl, and Hangŭl *sosŏls*, such as *Ch'angsŏngamŭirok*, *Sassinamjŏnggi*, and *Sŏlsosŏ-chŏn* were translated into Hanmun (Pak Hŭipyŏng 1998, 13-14).

What is noteworthy at this time is that women played an important role in the rise of the *sosŏl* in Korea, as they did in England. The root of this phenomenon was the invention of Hangŭl which exploded the literacy rate among women. While Hangŭl was a supplementary medium for men, it was a major medium for women. The government

encouraged women of the upper class to learn Hangŭl, while royalty and nobles also wrote in Hangŭl when they communicated in writing with women. It was rather unusual for even upper-class women to learn Hanmun. The development of commerce and industry enabled women to have more leisure time to read *sosŏls* in the 17th and 18th centuries. As a result, *kyubang* (upper-class women's quarters) literature and *kyubang-sosŏl*, which were written in Hangŭl were established in the 17th century. In the middle of the 17th century, *kyubang-sosŏl* were already very popular. At that time, *kyubang-sosŏl* had a cultural meaning as refinement for women, edification beyond entertainment (Im Hyŏngtaek 1988, 103). Im Hyŏngtaek posits that vernacular *sosŏls* were developed further by the demands of the *kyubang* women, and their heavy demands led to the emergence of not only works with literary significance, such as Cho Sŏngki's (1638-1689) *Ch'angsŏngamŭrok*, Kim Manchung's (1637-1692) *Kuunmong* (Nine Clouds Dream), and *Sassinamchŏnggi*, but also full-length vernacular *sosŏls* (1988, 160-161). It is well-known that Cho Sŏngki and Kim Manchung wrote these works to satisfy their mothers' desire for reading.

As outlined above, the novel steadily grew in prevalence from the 15th century onwards and is seen to have reached its zenith in the 18th century. But how did the *sosŏl* circulate? Were there phenomenon in Korea like the printing activities or circulating libraries that existed in England at the time of the rise of the novel? If so, what did they look like?

Ryu Chunkyŏng (2017, 501) estimates that, until the 17th century, the *sosŏl* had not yet passed the level of individual readers exchanging manuscripts, and that the *sosŏl* was not enjoyed nationwide. However, the popularity of the *sosŏl* that grew rapidly from the 16th century onwards inevitably required changes in the distribution of the *sosŏl* at some point.

Since the early days of its foundation, Chosŏn adopted a policy of reverence for writing, and the publishing of books had proceeded under the direction of the *Kyosŏgwan* (publishing department) that was part of the royal court. As for the mode of distribution, the king would bestow them on government libraries and his retainers. Since the publishing and dissemination of books in the Chosŏn period proceeded under the leadership of the state in this way, the distribution of books was restricted (Yuk Suhwa 2015, 86). Under the circumstances, there were no bookstores until the 18th century. However, there were book brokers who imported some books from China and sold them. Based on the record in *Yŏngjo Annals* 117 *kwŏn* (Shinyu 24, Sep. r.47) that Ch'e Chaekong (1720-1799) visited bookstores all over Sŏul in 1771, the bookstore already seems to have existed before that time and become quite popular (Yuk Suhwa 2015, 88).

In order to compensate for this weak publishing activity, *sech'aek* and *panggak* appeared, opening the way for commercial distribution. *Sech'aek* refers to commercial book-rental, in which books were copied professionally and lent out for money, and *panggak* refers to commercial publications of wood-block printing which made mass production possible.

When precisely did *sech'aek* and *panggak* emerge? Unfortunately, there is no direct data to answer this question. However, there is consensus that *sech'aek* books were very popular in the late 18th century based on records such as Ch'e Chaekong's *Yŏsasŏsŏ* (referenced in 1999, 236), which mentions the existence of bookstores around 1740, and Yi Tŏkmu's (1741-1793) record which says that some women indulged themselves in *sech'aek* to the extent of damaging their household's finances. As for *panggak*, the physical evidence of the first commercial *sosŏl* publishing can be found in the Hanmun version of *Kuunmong*, published in 1725, in Naju, Cholla Province.

Based on more indirect evidence and records, Chŏng Pyŏngsŏl estimates that *sech'aek* appeared around 1720 (2016, 123) and *panggak sosŏl* also appeared in the early 18th century (2005, 274-281). He further argues that a revolution in the distribution of the *sosŏl* took place between the 18th and 19th centuries (2016, 39). Chŏng estimates that by the mid-19th century tens of thousands of *sosŏls* were distributed in Sŏul, and more than 100,000 were distributed nationwide (2016, 102).

However, Chŏng's claim to the "revolution in the distribution of the *sosŏl*" is criticised by Ryu Chunkyŏng (2017), who argues that it is only conjecture in the situation of the 18th-19th century, which cannot be ascertained through peripheral data and reasoning. This controversy is indicative of the most fundamental difficulty in the study of Korean classical *sosŏls*. In fact, the *sosŏl* of the traditional era was a subculture, mostly written in Hangŭl and mainly enjoyed by women: abandoned after being enjoyed, not organized or recorded. For example, Chŏng said that he could not find a single record or list of publications with which to estimate the total number of *sosŏls* released in the late Chosŏn period (286). Therefore, even in the 18th and 19th centuries, when the *sosŏl* was largely flourishing, it is difficult to understand the situation with real copies or specific records. Therefore, there are limitations that can only be verified through inference and peripheral data (Ryu Chunkyŏng 2017, 498-9).

Although these discussions show that the distribution of *sosŏls* in the 18th and 19th centuries may not be called revolutionary, nonetheless it was quite active, and commercial circulation methods, such as *sech'aek* and *panggak*, became a powerful vehicle for the rise of the *sosŏl*, though their origins cannot be precisely determined.

Now, in the context of the discussion above, we can consider whether such *sosŏls* had modern characteristics: whether or not we can call them (modern) novels. The answer, however, is not so positive. It is important to note that it is still the *sosŏl* that is

referred to here, Hanmun *sosŏls* and Hangŭl *sosŏls*, that were translated from one to the other and distributed. In addition, it is often difficult to tell whether the original text was Hanmun or Hangŭl. The use of different languages in Hangŭl and Hanmun presupposes that their writers and readers have different philosophies and ideas, meaning that the mixture of Hangŭl and Hanmun *sosŏls* not only makes it difficult to grasp the characteristics of each, but also blurs their boundaries.

Hangŭl *sosŏls* were actively created during this period. However, according to Ryu Chunkyŏng “most Hangŭl *sosŏls* revealed Confucian ideals in the background of China, and they did not address the issues of ‘here and now’ or directly express individual desires” (2017, 503). Ryu went on to contend that the degree of resistance shown in *Hong Kiltong* and *Chŏnuch’i-chŏn* (The Story of Chŏnuch’i) and the degree of realism in the materials dealing with revolt in the *Sin-Mirok*<sup>18</sup> show the most modern characteristics among *sosŏls* published during the Chosŏn Dynasty.

Chŏng Pyŏngsŏl attributes the fundamental reason for this to the political factors of the publication structure. As mentioned above, publication was carried out on a government-controlled basis. Chŏng claims that the government’s extremely strict ideological control was the key factor in the restriction of book circulation. He then, argues that due to the harsh political environment in which the government did not even feel the need to have a censorship system, the performance of writing and publishing shrunk, however, as the *sosŏl* was treated as a separate territory it was able to broaden the base of reading much later, even in the midst of severe political constraints and harsh economic conditions (2016, 137). Chŏng continues to assert that the *sosŏl* still failed to “step away from the Confucian ideology of domination in its content” (2016, 139).

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18 *Sin-Mirok* was based on the revolt of Hong Kyŏnrae, which took place in 1811.

However, Ryu rebuts Chŏng's claim and insists that the failure to deviate from Confucian ideology in commercial publishing and the *sosŏl* was hardly related to the control and suppression stemming from Confucian ideology, but rather due to the social atmosphere that revered Confucianism. Ryu argues that "in the late Chosŏn period, 'Confucian ideology' functioned like a social value that everyone pursued. The Confucian values represented by the *yangban* was the same as the social capital that everyone desires" (2017, 507-508).

In the context of this research, however, Chŏng's argument is more persuasive. As can be seen in historical situations such as the *Munch'ebanjŏng* of King Chŏngjo, which will be discussed in this chapter, the criticism and suppression of free writing style and liberal ideas by governmental authority, based on Confucian logic, hindered the development of modern literature in Korea. It is also true that Confucianism was embedded deep in the minds of Koreans over the centuries, as the philosophy and ideals of life that people sought to pursue. Contemporaries always bear the limitations of their time, both consciously and unconsciously. Nonetheless, there must have been an inner cry for freedom from Confucianism and its political system in people living in the second half of the Chosŏn era, when commercialisation was well underway and the status system, the pillar of Chosŏn Confucian society, had been disturbed.

In the discussion above, we have seen that the fictional prose in Korea was already established in the 15th century and had been actively created and circulated in the 18th and 19th centuries. Examining the socio-economic and historical factors that led to the rise of the novel in England in the context of Chosŏn, we saw that phenomena seen in Britain, such as the increase in literacy, the role of women, the development of printing, and commercial activities such as circulating libraries, all appeared in Chosŏn also, but in different shapes and sizes.

The *sosŏl* made great progress in Chosŏn, however, this took place in a specific social, economic and historical context. At this time, the main industry of the state economy was still agriculture, meaning that the economy was far behind that of Britain, which was going through the Industrial Revolution (1770s-1820s). Politically, the 17th and 18th centuries were when Britain was steadily moving from rule by the monarchy to parliamentary democracy, while democratic politics was also beginning to take root in Europe with the French Revolution (1789-1794). In Chosŏn Korea, however, royal rule with politics based on Confucianism was practiced until the end of the 19th century. Therefore, even though circumstances corresponding to the conditions of the formation of novel as Watt outlined them were created on a small scale in the 17th and 18th centuries, it was difficult for the novel to actively rise in Korea at this time.

Does this mean that Korea had to wait for the arrival of modern literature until the 20th century? In fact, Korean literary history is still in the process of discovery, with many works still being uncovered, including literature in Hanmun before the 20th century, that have not yet come into the hands of scholars. Although study of classical literature is very exhaustive, considered marginalised literature until the 20th century, *sosŏls* have not been properly filed and recorded. Throughout the colonial period (1910-1945) premodern literature was neglected and abandoned, left unnoticed by most critics and writers who understood modernisation simply as Westernisation. Furthermore, many *sosŏls* were lost or damaged during the Korean War (1950-1953). In addition, the Hangŭl in premodern literature is substantially different to modern Hangŭl. The system of Hangŭl orthography was only officially established in the 1930s, so it is difficult for researchers to understand texts written with unfamiliar orthography including obsolete letters. All of this presents a challenge to researchers

Therefore, while additional works may be discovered and interpreted in the near future, Korean classical researchers have yet to grasp the overall flow of classical *sosŏls*. For the time being it is known that most classical *sosŏls* have non-modern elements. In this context, *p'ansori sosŏl*, which emerged in the 18th century, offer a new possibility as literary works that clearly show elements of modernity in classical literature. The primary authors of *p'ansori*, the *kwangdae*, were uneducated, from the lowest social class. Since they were not accustomed to the conventions of the contemporary *sosŏl*, like De Foe and Richardson, they could show remarkable originality in terms of language, background, characters, and plot, in comparison with existing *sosŏls* of the time. For example, Ch'unhyang-chŏn meets one of Watt's requirements for being modern in that it shows the freshness of colloquialism despite its frequent usage of Hanmun words; its expressions contain elements of realism, and the main character Ch'unhyang demonstrates growth of self-consciousness against the background of Korea at a particular time, place and character.

I will begin my study of Ch'unhyang-chŏn defining modern literature as work containing the contents of modern consciousness projected in a new and original form at a time when the socio-economic environment was created in which modern literature could be fostered.

## 2.2. The Specificity of Korean Literature

This section discusses the distinct nature of Korean literature compared to Western literature<sup>19</sup>. For a better understanding of Korean literature and the concept of modernity in Korean literature, I will briefly discuss the history of Chosŏn (1392-1910), the last Korean dynasty, in relation to literature and offer common historical examples of Chosŏn writing culture. I will then focus on the *Munch'ebanchŏng* (Restoration of Pure Writing Style), a historical event more directly relevant to literary practice in late Chosŏn, which demonstrates many aspects of pre-modern Korean literature.

The concept of 'transplanted modern literature' and the ensuing rupture between pre-modern and modern Korean literature this concept created has been a major hurdle for Korean literature to overcome. Whenever this has been raised as an issue, however, suggestions for solutions remain divided.

Since Im Hwa proposed the theory of transplanted literature, it became the norm in the discussion of modernity in Korean literature to evaluate Korean literature against the standards set by Western literature. While searching for modernity within Korean literature, scholars adopted the standards of Western literary movements such as realism, naturalism and modernism, and modern trends of thought which were developed in the spectrum of history of the Western world. In this process, those engaged in the pursuit of modernity in Korean literature ended up lamenting that Korean literature did not possess the modern elements seen in Western literature. With hindsight we can now consider that this is because the modern elements of Western literature were derived

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<sup>19</sup> The notion of Western literature used in this paper refers to literature which is written in languages of the Indo-European family, as well as a few other languages that are closely related to the European cultural sphere such as Basque and Hungarian. What they have in common is that their literary heritage originated from ancient Greece and Rome. ("Western literature." Encyclopaedia Britannica, Accessed 22 February 2018)

from Western culture and history. Although works of Western literature were imported to Korea, the Western culture and history which had produced Western literature were not carried over and never could be. In the same way, Korean literature emerged in the context of Korean culture and history. It was not until the beginning of the 20th century that the two disparate literatures met in the space of Korea.

The concept of modernity in literature is a global issue to be examined and shared, therefore it would be short-sighted to argue that modernity in Korean literature is somehow unique or exceptional. That said, comparisons of Korean and Western literature under the premise of the ideas of the latter have obfuscated the identity of modernity in Korean literature, and created an environment where literary tradition is portrayed as severed into pre-modern and modern Korean literature, with wide disagreement over the periodisation of these separated entities. Such ruptures and disagreements are bound to continue as long as the criteria of Western literature are applied in the investigation of the modernity of Korean literature. Therefore, I propose to take a step back from the Western literary tradition and examine the Korean literary tradition in its own historical context. Rather than trying to pigeonhole 'literary modernity' as something Western or Korean, I seek to attain specificity with relation to modern Korean literature.

In general, the history of East Asia is characterised by the strong influence of China, and for large parts of its history Korea was firmly within the Chinese sphere of influence. Nevertheless, the status of Korea was quite different compared to other East Asian countries. Many other East Asian countries emerged and disappeared according to changes in the historical and political circumstances of China. Korea, however, was able to administrate state affairs in a comparatively independent manner, as long as it served China in the frame of a relationship between subordinate and superior. This unique

position can be seen to stem from Korea's geo-political background as a peninsula: sharing a land border only with China.

While also in close proximity to the islands that make up Japan, Korea received comparatively little cultural and literary influence from Japan. Although Japan often threatened the Korean peninsula with invasions, marred as it was by internal power struggles and further from the cultural 'centre' of China, Chosŏn intellectuals tended to regard Japan as a country lower in the cultural pecking-order. On the other hand, throughout the history of East Asia, Korea has had a profound impact on Japanese culture, architecture, religion, and technology. This tendency was more pronounced especially in ancient times, since the Korean peninsula acted as a cultural bridge between Japan and the mainland Asian continent.<sup>20</sup> Korea's influence on Japan magnified as knowledge and technology such as neo-Confucianism, white porcelain, moveable type printing, etc. were transferred to Japan through events such as the Imjin War (Japanese invasions of Korea, 1592 to 1598)<sup>21</sup>. In these circumstances, Korean culture and literature were under the sole influence of the culture and literature of China until the 19th century when Chinese influence began to be eroded during the late Qing dynasty (1644-1912).

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20 Korea introduced the knowledge of iron metallurgy, burial mounds, housing style, Buddhism, Chinese writing, and new forms of pottery to Japan between well before BC and AD 600 (Barnes 2015, pp.271-273; Habu 2004, 258; Hane 1991, 26).

21 Refer to Ha Woo Bong (2014, 324–325, 335); Lee, Hyoun-jun (1970, 18, 33); Jansen (2000, 70); Sato (1979, 293).

### 2.2.1. Chosŏn, Confucianism, and Literature

The Chosŏn dynasty was established on the Korean peninsula in 1392 and came to an end in 1910 with the beginning of the Japanese colonial period. The dynasty survived for 518 years through primogenitary kingship<sup>22</sup>. The longevity of the Chosŏn dynasty was exceptional in world history, and the state was ruled by successive generations of one royal family, the Yi clan, for the whole period.

The Chosŏn dynasty is renowned for its intellectual heritage of writing and Confucian philosophy. One example of this heritage is the unprecedented development of a metal movable-type printing press, which hints at a well-established intellectual writing culture. Chosŏn inherited excellent printing technology from the Koryŏ Dynasty (918-1392). The sophisticated writing culture of Koryŏ is demonstrated by the *Tripitaka Koreana (P'almandaejanggyŏng, 1237-1248)*,<sup>23</sup> woodblocks for printing the world's oldest and most comprehensive Buddhist script in Chinese characters. It is also acknowledged that Koryŏ developed the first metal movable-type printing system in the world, more than a century before the Gutenberg metal movable-type printing press was invented around 1450 in Europe.

Metal type was developed in Koryŏ on the basis of already sophisticated woodblock printing technology in order to meet heavy demand for printing due to the civil service

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22 Primogenitary kingship was the principle for succession to the throne in the Chosŏn dynasty, however, in the political whirlwind surrounding the throne, or due to the lack of the firstborn son's fitness for the leadership, only 8 out of 27 of the kings were succeeded by their principle heir.

23 The Tripitaka Koreana (or Goryeo Tripitaka) is a Korean collection of the Tripitaka Buddhist scriptures (the Sanskrit word for "three baskets"). It is often called the *P'alman Taejanggyŏng* (Eighty-thousand Tripitaka) as it was carved onto 81,258 wooden printing blocks. According to the UNESCO Memory of the World, it possesses "high cultural value as an example of the best printing and publishing techniques of the period. ... Due to the sophistication of its editing and process of compilation and collation, the Tripitaka Koreana is known as the most accurate of the Tripitakas written in classical Chinese" (UNESCO Memory of the World. United Nations. Accessed October 2018).

examination system and for religious reasons. Although the inventor and exact time of the invention are not clear, historical records remain in a set of ritual books, the *Sangjōnggogŭmyemun* (Detailed and Authentic Code of Etiquette)<sup>24</sup>, and a Buddhist scripture, *Nammyōng-ch'ōnhwasangsongjūngdo-ga*, which were printed in 1234 and 1239 respectively. These confirm that metal-type was invented at least in the early 13th century. In addition, the *Chikchishimch'eyojōl* (Anthology of a Great Buddhist Priest's Sōn Teachings) of Koryō is the oldest extant metal movable-type printing in the world. It was written in 1372 by a Buddhist high priest, Paekun (1298–1374) and printed in 1377 at Hūngdōk Temple, in Ch'ongju. It was inducted as a UNESCO Memory of the World in 2007.

Metal movable type was essential for the dissemination of knowledge. Koryō, then, was a pioneer of metal letterpress printing. In this way, Chosōn, which followed Koryō, had the best possible technology with which to develop a writing culture.

Another example of writing culture to note is *Chosōnwangjoshillok* (The Annals of the Chosōn Dynasty) also inducted as a UNESCO Memory of the World. It records meticulously the everyday conduct of each king through its numerous volumes. This act of writing demonstrates how seriously the Chosōn state took writing culture.

In this context, it seems natural to raise the question: Why did this matured writing culture and unprecedented development of printing techniques not foster the rise of the novel? There are two fundamental reasons for this: Confucianism and the medium of the written language.

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24 The original book is called *Sangjōnggyemun*, which was named after the collection of ancient examples. 17 scholars including Ch'oe Yunŭi collected and compiled laws and moral codes that were promulgated from 1147 to 1162 under the orders of King Injong (1109-1146).

Confucianism is centred on pursuing the unity of individual self and Heaven. The principle of Heaven (*li* 理, or *To* 道, the Way) is the source of all order and its structure is monistic: an individual can become one with Heaven through the understanding of the Way and the contemplation of such order (Taylor 1990, 2). This self-transformation can be expanded into family, society and universe to create a harmonious community.

Chosŏn introduced New-Confucianism as its founding and governing ideology, which served as ideological backing for the central government until the demise of Chosŏn. Neo-Confucianism was a revision of earlier Confucianism, combining existing Confucianism with elements of Taoism and Buddhism to develop a new academic system. Neo-Confucianism contained the strong intention to achieve political unity, cultural solidarity, and social stability (Chang Kongcha 2012, 198).

At this time, Neo-Confucianism called for the resolution of social problems by ethical practice, emphasizing compliance with rites (禮 *ye*) in which the idea of propriety was codified. To materialize the ideology, Chosŏn set specific relations called the ‘five relationships’ (五倫 *oryun*), and the ‘three bonds’ (三綱 *samgang*)<sup>25</sup>, between men and women, between sovereign and subjects, between seniors and juniors, in accordance with the order of discrimination and justification. These relations became social norms and were used as the standard. In other words, they evolved into the logic that the family, the society, or the state must be governed by a system of order. Abiding by the ‘five relationships’ and ‘three bonds’ was fundamental to the construction of harmony within the family, as well as the state.

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25 The ‘five relationships’ are: *üi* (義), righteousness and justice, the relationship between monarch and the people; *ch'in* (親), warmth and closeness between parents and children; *byöl* (別), differentiation between husband and wife; *sö* (序), order between seniors and juniors; and *shin* (信), trust between friends. The ‘three bonds’ are: *ch'ung* (忠), loyalty to the king; *hyo* (孝), filial obedience to the parents; and *yöl* (熱), differentiation between men and women.

This means that top priority was placed on the hierarchy between classes and the elderly and young, family values, the maintenance of order and harmony, and the lower social status of women. Rituals were very important ceremonies to honour ancestors, and the need for learning throughout life has been a value to pursue. Neo-Confucians regarded hard work, purity and politeness as desirable and valuable human qualities and refrained from inappropriate behaviour. It was important for everyone to know their status in society and act accordingly.

Confucianism influenced and controlled the everyday lives of everyone in Chosŏn. In the Confucian worldview literature was an instrument for attaining Confucian ideals. The following lines from Chŏng Tochŏn 's preface to the *Mokŭnmunjip* (Collected Works of Yi Saek) demonstrate the literary trend of early Chosŏn: "Literature is the vehicle of *To* (the Way). If one attains *To*, one can illuminate under heaven the teachings of the classics" (Lee, P. H. 2008, 317). The following statement by Sŏng Hyŏn outlines the relationship between the classics and literature: "The classics are the sayings and deeds of the Sage, and literature is the dregs of the six classics. Not taking the classics as a model in writing is like facing the wind, not taking the classics as a model is like crossing the waves without an oar" (1842, cited in Lee, P. H. 2008, 317). The notion that the classics are the gateway to the Way, and that literature must realise the Way, was supported by many eminent scholars such as Sŏ Kŏjŏng (1420-1488), Yi I (1536-1584) and Yi Hwang (1501-1570), and sustained throughout the Chosŏn period. The notion that literature is inferior to the classics led to the idea that literature is a small or trifling affair. However, due to its potential for didactic narratives, literature was more than small and trifling, since it could develop and transform human nature. Accordingly, for the Confucian literati, the function of literature was to contribute to maintaining Confucian order in society: securing absolute conformity to the class system and

bringing peace to all classes under heaven—from royalty to the lowest class. As Neo-Confucianism was progressively strengthened and applied to statecraft, literature was seen as an entity of censure by Neo-Confucian scholars such as Yi I and Yi Hwang.

### 2.2.2. Munch'ebanchǒng

The most prominent reason for the delayed development of the novel in Chosŏn was the strong influence of Confucianism. From the early Chosŏn period the writing of any novel-like work of fiction was absent, while literary practice focussed on poetry and essay writing. Fictional writings, as well as the creation of fiction, were officially and politically forbidden by Chǒngjo's *Munch'ebanchǒng* (The Restoration of Pure Writing Style) royal edict. This edict served to hold back the momentum of modernity in Korean literature for centuries.

In Chosŏn society, the king was the supreme and sole ruler. Being a leading politician was synonymous with being a prominent scholar, and most men entered their administrative career through the civil service examination system called *kwagǒ*. The aim of *kwagǒ* was to recruit officials trained in Confucian philosophy, so that they could exert their learning, leading the state in the ideals of Confucian society. This meant that the country was governed by an elite group of scholar-officials.

King Chǒngjo (1752-1800) was known to be the supreme intellectual of his time. Neo-Confucianism presents a philosophy of politics with a sage king and emphasises the roles of king and subjects<sup>26</sup>. As king, Chǒngjo aimed to firmly establish Neo-

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26 The relationships between all members of the state do not only require loyalty from the lower parts of the relationship but also expectations of love and protection towards lower parts from the upper parts. The king, therefore, should cherish reverential thoughts towards heaven as his father and endeavour to exert his virtue as a heavenly son, providing for his subjects with parental love and installing laws out of benevolence.

Confucianism as the state ideology and have the state pursue righteous scholarship. During his reign (1776-1800), Chosŏn was a culturally maturing state, situated at a significant turning point. At this time three trends of thought co-existed: *Chinkyŏngmunhwalon*, which viewed Neo-Confucianism critically and aimed to formulate Chosŏn's own unique ideology; *Pukhaklon*, which was eager to actively adopt the advanced culture of China; and *Sŏhaklon*, which was attracted to Western technology and religion, namely Roman Catholicism, which had entered into Korea through Qing China. In this dynamic cultural environment, the attitude of the literati towards the novel was changing. There are even records of literati who were very fond of reading novels acquired from Ming and Qing China.

From 1788, however, Chŏngjo implemented a series of policies on writing style. These policies included the censorship of books and writings, and the follow-up measures were labelled by scholars of Chinese classics as *Munch'ebanchŏng*. The measures were: prohibiting the importation of Catholic books and Chinese books including novels and history books; officially raising the issues of writing style through the questions included in the civil service examinations (*ch'aekmun*); publishing selective collections of 'proper' writing; and creating of an anthology of '*kwangagmun*' to be used in official documents in government to ensure correct writing practice.

As for Chŏngjo himself, it was said that there was not one book that he had not read, and he had an accurate grasp of the critical issues of the classics, history and literature of his own time (Kang Myŏngkwan 2001, 121). Chŏngjo established a royal library in his palace called *Kyuchanggak* and led lectures on the classics and history, appointing distinguished scholars as *Ch'okyemunsin*. The eminence of the king in this respect reflects his capacity to discern contemporary culture and make cultural decisions, the impact of which would continue throughout history.

The implementation of *Munch'ebanchǒng* was a complicated event, intertwined with the issues of new cultural trends, pre-existing state ideology, institutions, and cliquish politics.<sup>27</sup> For the purposes of this study, I will specifically examine the cultural sphere surrounding *Munch'ebanchǒng*.

*Munch'ebanchǒng* was sparked off in 1785 by the *Ch'ujochǒkpal-sakǒn* which demonstrated how *Sǒhak* (Western learning), which until then had remained merely an object of study, had taken root in the form of a new religion: Catholicism. The term *Sǒhak* was used to refer to Western scholarly books translated into classical Chinese, and Western science and technology, which were introduced in Ming and Qing China in the late Chosǒn period. In a narrow sense the term was also used to mean Catholicism.

The *Ch'ujochǒkpal-sakǒn* was when, in the spring of 1785 (Chǒngjo r.9), Hyǒngjo (the Minister of Justice) uncovered secret religious observance by Catholics. Yi Sǔnghun, who was baptised into the Catholic Church in Beijing in 1784 and returned to Korea, regularly gathered people together at the house of Kim Pǒmu, in Myǒngrye-dong (Myǒng-dong), Sǒul. In March 1785, while listening to the doctrinal teachings of Yi Pyǒk, those who had gathered in Kim Pǒmu's home were arrested by the law officer who was patrolling for a crackdown on gambling. They numbered around ten people including Yi Sǔnghun, the three Chǒng brothers (Yakchǒn, Yakchong, Yakyong) and Kwǒn Ilsin and his son. Most of the Catholics arrested were sons the of the *Namin* (southerner) faction. However, Kim Hwajin, the chief judge of the Ministry of Justice, only imprisoned Kim Pǒmu, who was the only one of those arrested from the middle-man class, and released the others who were from the literati class. In response, young

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27 From the political point of view, *Munch'ebanchǒng* can be regarded as a calculated policy to develop public opinion to protect *Namin* faction from *Sǒin* (The Westerner) faction's attack against *Sǒhak*. (See Chang Yechun 2013)

Confucian scholars, including Yi Yongsŏ, stirred up public opinion that they should be punished, and made an appeal to Chŏngjo. Despite the appeal, Chŏngjo only exiled Kim Pŏmu to Tanjang, Kyŏngsang Province, arguing that the Western learning trend would die away of its own accord when Confucian study prevailed.

As a result of this event, Chŏngjo ordered the prohibition of the importation of Catholic books, Chinese fiction and history books, and the order was repeated in 1786, 1787, 1791, and 1793. The *Munch'ebanchŏng* censorship was intensified in 1791 following an incident in Chinsan (the *Chinsan-sakŏn*). In this case, in 1791 (Chŏngjo r.15), two men of literati families who lived in Chinsan, Chŏlla Province, refused to offer ancestral rites for their deceased mother and burned her memorial tablet. At that time, the incident was regarded as a grave crime, since the Neo-Confucian rituals of honouring ancestors were highly valued. The two men, Yun Chich'ung and Kwŏn Sangyŏn, confessed that they had acted according to Catholic doctrine. The king ordered their execution. They were beheaded outside P'unngnam gate in Chŏnju<sup>28</sup>.

The Chinsan incident also had huge political repercussions in Sŏul. Chŏngjo had appointed people of the *Namin* faction to check up on the *Sŏin* (westerner) faction, which held great influence in the royal court at that time. However, since Yun Chich'ung and Kwŏn Sangyŏn politically belonged to the *Namin* faction, the incident provided the pretext for the *Sŏin* to attack the *Namin*.

The Chinsan incident was the turning point of Chŏngjo's *Munch'ebanchŏng* policy: following the incident it was fully enforced for the first time. Furthermore, the king punished young Confucian scholars for their adopting the *p'aekwan sop'um-ch'e* (the small work writing style of *p'aekwan* clerks) at the civil service examinations, and

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<sup>28</sup> This was the first case of Catholics being executed in Korea.

dismissed statesmen for employing the new writing style for memorials to the throne. Chǒngjo also penalised the *Namin* faction for employing an ‘impure writing style’ in relation to Catholicism and punished some of the rising scholars of the *Noron* and *Soron* factions (both sub-factions of the *Sǒin*) for using freewheeling writing styles as well as being absorbed in *Pukhak* (northern learning), which insisted on enriching the material economy of Chosǒn and enhancing people’s quality of life by actively accepting the scholarship, culture, and technology of Qing China.

As already mentioned, King Chǒngjo aimed to firmly establish righteous scholarship and Neo-Confucianism as the state ideology. However, in the wake of the Chinsan incident, Chǒngjo must have felt that the new religion of Catholicism posed a great danger. In order to protect against this danger, on a number of occasions he directed criticism at ‘new writing styles.’

*Though I have already recounted that the harm of sop’um is more serious than that of sahak<sup>29</sup>, people could not perceive it. As a result, an incident like the Chisan-sakǒn broke out. It is easy to deal with sahak as people can easily see it since it can be punished and repelled. However, so called sop’um is nothing but writing by ink-stick. Young people whose knowledge is superficial and whose talent is not great, like and imitate comparatively new things and dislike the ordinary. Just as obscene music and women gradually captivate people, the ill effects of sop’um lead young people to criticise elders, violate the rightful ways, disregard moral law, and be disloyal.*  
(1797, Chǒngjo r. 21, in *Hongchaechǒnsǒ*, che 164kwǒn, iltüklok 4, 184)

*The ill effect of sop’um is that one will regard the sage wrongly and will eventually dismiss ethics, becoming against the classics . . . Therefore, I say that to eradicate sahak, sop’um ought to be eradicated first.*

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<sup>29</sup> *Sahak* literally means ‘evil learning’ and refers to Western studies including Catholic ideas.

(Chǒngjo, *iltŭkkok*, *Hongchaechŏnsŏ*, 5 Taehaksa, 1986, 12)

*If one wants to prohibit Western study, p'aekwanchapki ought to be prohibited first, if one wants to prohibit p'aekwanchapki, the anthologies which appeared at the end of Ming and beginning of Qing ought to be prohibited.*

(Chǒngjoshillok, year 15, October 24th)

*P'aekwanchapki* refers to miscellaneous records (*chapki*) by government clerks of minor official rank (*p'aekwan*). In such works, the author took on the status of a kind of historian official, tasked with collecting folktales, legends, and myths in order to gather information about the customs and culture of the common people. *P'aekwan* literature, or *p'aekwan* novels, which were based on these collections, were elaborated from these writings by *p'aekwan* and literati. It is believed that *p'aekwan* novels were a transitional form of pre-modern novel. Such collected materials have now become an important historical resource.

Chǒngjo insisted in his criticism of the intellectuals' inclination towards new ideas, new religion, and impure writing styles, that books of *p'aekwan sop'um*, and more crucially the writing style of the late Ming and early Qing, was the ultimate cause of the chaos at the time. What were these *sop'um* which Chǒngjo was so determined to expel? *Sop'um* literally means 'small work', a light and short work, the opposite to a masterpiece or serious work. For Chǒngjo in his historical context, however, *sop'um* meant the small works created by anthology keepers in the late Ming and the early Qing dynasties. Narrowed down to the literary aspect, prevailing thought at the time was closely related to the literary theory of *konganp'a*.

In liberated forms of language, *konganp'a* literature accommodated various subjects which never existed before in the sphere of literature. The criticism and creation of

*konganp'a* literature stemmed from Wang Yangming's philosophy of Yangmingism, the key principle of which is that one can attain the supreme principle (*li* 理) from one's own heart, without pursuing it externally. In other words, truth or ethical subjects do not exist outside of the human, but inside; therefore, there is no need to pursue truth in the words of the sages or texts of the classics, because truth can be attained through individual enlightenment. This represents a substantial departure from Confucianism. For the left faction of Yangmingism, this idea extended to doubting all of the classics and teachings of the sages. Adopting this philosophy, *konganp'a* literature resulted in the championing of emotion and imagination, the liberation of verbal expression, fostering the feelings innate in humans, and the free-release of thoughts and feelings. This made it completely opposed to Confucianism, which espouses control of the human mind to attain the (same) supreme principle (*li* 理).

Until the emergence of *konganp'a* literature, the principle literary practice was to emulate the classics. Accordingly, the criterion for evaluating literary works was their proximity to the canon. However, the *konganp'a* principle began with the negation of the classics, freeing literary practice from the tight constraints of the canon. The *konganp'a* trend involved experimenting with language and genre, and the invention of new words and expressions. Under the circumstances, the *sosŏl*<sup>30</sup> not only gained more popularity than *sop'um*, but a huge volume of diverse and lengthy *sosŏls* also flowed into Chosŏn from Ming and Qing China. The *sosŏl* then emerged as a new form of entertainment. However, *sop'um* is considered the precursor to the *sosŏl* as a transitional form.

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30 As mentioned earlier, at this time, the term *sosŏl* meant tale or narrative which was small and trivial compared to the classics.

The connections between the *p'aekwan sop'um*, the writing styles of the Ming and Qing dynasties, and the *sosŏl*, demonstrates why Chŏngjo criticised *sop'um*. Chŏngjo's reasoning was that it was easy to distinguish the ideas and doctrines of Catholicism and Western learning, as they differed so apparently from those of Confucian philosophy. Therefore, there was no need to be too concerned with them. Instead, the real cause for concern existed with the *sop'um*. According to Chŏngjo, while reading *sop'um*, one is unlikely to be inclined towards the classics and easily become attracted to *sahak* and Catholic ideas (Kang Myŏngkwan 2001, 127).

What was it that Chŏngjo really intended to stamp out? The target of his prohibition was actually the new ideology which made a frontal attack against the state ideology of Neo-Confucianism. Chŏngjo's reasoning for criticising *sop'um* is understandable and even shrewd, in that he discerned that *Sŏhak* and Catholicism exhibited their ideology clearly, while literature has an innate facility to conceal its ideology, consciously or unconsciously, with adroit devices. Chŏngjo sensed the danger of literature, more precisely of fiction or novels, which could hide real meaning, anti-state desire, and anti-Confucian ideas in their narratives.

Chŏngjo emphasised the pursuit of Neo-Confucianism and sought to restore scholarship of the classics and the old writing style of the masters in the classics. Chŏngjo argued that writing practice should be practically effective in order to cultivate and edify the subject as well aid state governance: "If scholarship is not beneficial to the right Way it is worse than if it did not exist at all, if writing is not beneficial to practicality it is worse than if writing did not exist at all" (*Hongchae-chŏnsŏ*, 163 *kwŏn*, *Itŭkklok*, 137).

For Chŏngjo, the writing style of the late Ming and the early Qing dynasties was full of excessive expression of emotion, embellishment, playfulness, and curiosity. It also

showed a lack of seriousness. Chǒngjo held that it was a waste of time and dangerous for young intellectuals to follow this writing style, aspiring instead to lead them to practical learning (An Sehyŏn 2006, 152). Consequently, no one was severely punished in line with the *Munch'ebanchǒng* edicts, but Chǒngjo oversaw and exercised censorship on the academic sphere and heretic ideas right up until the end of his reign. According to Kang Myǒngkwan, the King's persistent censorship enfeathered new thinking and expression.

Despite the *Munch'ebanchǒng*, many indications of modernisation can be found in Chosŏn society. *Silhak* (practical learning) emerged as a Korean Confucian social reform movement in late Chosŏn. *Silhak* appeared in response to the increasingly metaphysical characteristics of Neo-Confucianism that appeared to be disengaged from the rapid agricultural, economic and political changes taking place between the late 17th and early 19th centuries. It is no coincidence that the two most influential figures in Chǒngjo's era were the *Silhak* masters: Tasan Chǒng Yakyong (1762 – 1836) and Yŏnam Pak Chiwŏn (1737-1805). Chǒng Yakyong was a member of the *Namin* faction and became absorbed in *Sŏhak*, while Pak Chiwŏn was born of a meritorious *Noron* clan and was a central figure in *Pukhak*. Both were deeply involved in *Munch'ebanchǒng*.

Chǒng Yakyong was a great scholar, knowledgeable in almost every field, and he showed a modern tendency in many respects. He encouraged the adoption of scientific knowledge and industrial technology, and their application to real life. When Chǒngjo assigned him to the design of Suwŏn Hwasŏng (Hwasŏng Fortress, a fortification surrounding the centre of Suwŏn), he completed the Fortress in only 28 months, going against the prediction that it would take 10 years, by introducing the latest technology and inventing devices, such as the *kǒjunggi* which was similar to a modern crane. The fortress is considered a meticulously designed city in terms of commercial functions and

was inducted as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1997. Suwŏn Hwasŏng, then, showcases the abilities of Chŏng Yakyong as a *Silhak* scholar who excelled in civil engineering.

On the other hand, Chŏng Yakyong was also a modern-oriented administrator and politician. This is well illustrated in his book, *Mongminsimsŏ* (1818)<sup>31</sup>, which attracted attention with its keen grasp of reality and presentation of references. His writing of the work was inspired by his anger at the phenomenon of peasant privation, which he had witnessed, particularly during his years of exile from 1801 to 1818. At this time, it was difficult for the administrative power of the central government to reach the provinces, and therefore local leaders and petty officials colluded with each other to exploit the people. The book deals with the ethical awareness of local authorities and the development of the agricultural economy. It presents guidelines that the local leader, the *Mogmingwan*, should follow while revealing and criticising the tyranny of local officials. The work is deeply rooted in *minbonjuŭi* (the ideology of promoting the interests and happiness of the people).

Thus known as a great authority in *Silhak*, Chŏng Yakyong was considerably inclined to Catholicism, *Sŏhak*, as a member of Namin faction. He was also the cousin of Yun Chich'ung of the *Chinsan-sakŏn* and one of the 10 Catholics arrested in the *Ch'ujochŏkpal-sakŏn*.

Here we can see the link between Catholicism, democratic ideology and *Silhak*, which forms the embryo of modern thoughts in late Chosŏn society. Catholicism contributed to fostering modern thought in late Chosŏn not only by spreading new ideas, such as equality which goes contrary to Confucian ideology that justifies class society,

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31 *Mokminsimsŏ* is an administrative guide that documented the proper mindset and attitude for local government officials.

but also playing a large role in the spread of Hangŭl. At that time, Hangŭl was infrequently used due to the perceived cultural superiority of Hanja, even after three centuries had passed since its creation (1446), and remained unofficial, used only in the writings of women and the lower classes. The first Catholic Catechism, *Chugyoyoji*, was compiled in Hangŭl by Chŏng Yakyong's elder brother, Chŏng Yakjong (1760-1801), so that women and the lower classes could easily access Catholic ideas. Though the year of the compilation of *Chugyoyoji* is not clear, it is believed to be between 1794 and 1801, which also corresponds to the period of employment of Chŏngjo's *Munch'ebanjŏng*. It started out as a manuscript, but due to explosive demand, the book was published in both woodblock and movable-type prints in 1895 and 1897 respectively and was secretly disseminated by Catholics. Catholic leaders also encouraged laymen to learn Hangŭl so that they could read the catechism. This led to a very active distribution of Hangŭl and rapid expansion in Catholicism. As such, *Chugyoyoji* can be seen as a milestone that expedited the progression of Confucian-centered Korean history in a new direction.

Catholicism in Korea began to spread in earnest during the 1780s in the form of *Sŏhak* and propagated rapidly through the Korean Catechism. If Catholicism, which used Hangŭl as a propagation medium, had been acknowledged at that time, it may have been able to grow against the backdrop of leading scholars in the introduction of Western and modern cultures, such as Chŏng Yakyong, and the historical journey of Korean modernisation and modern literature would have been very different. However, in addition to the edict of *Munch'ebanjŏng*, the massive persecution of Catholicism called the Sinyu Persecution was imposed one year after Chŏngjo's death, in 1801, upon the order of Queen Dowager Chŏngsun. Consequently, the proliferation of Hangŭl decelerated remarkably.

The other of the two influential figures, Yŏnam Pak Chiwŏn, brought about a great change especially in literature. The *Pukhak*-line in which Pak Chiwŏn was a leading figure conducted a stylistic experiment which shook the foundations of classical Chinese writing through *Sop'um* and *Ch'oktok* (letter writing). The definitive edition of this experiment was *Yŏrhailgi* (Jehol Journal). *Yŏrhailgi* was a travelogue, *Silhak* philosophy book and literary work, written by Pak Chiwŏn in 1780 when he joined the Korean delegation to Qing China.

*Yŏrhailgi* contains rich information about various facets of the Qing Dynasty, such as politics, economy, society and culture, which he witnessed, based on his *Silhak* philosophy. Pak Chiwŏn testified various aspects of the development of Qing China focusing on commerce, and offered concrete measures to reform the outdated society of Chosŏn (Kim Myŏngho 2006, 102). The book also contains Pak Chiwŏn's famous novels such as "Hojil" (a Tiger's Rebuke) and "Hŏsaeng-chŏn" (The Tale of Hŏsaeng).

Kim Myŏngho argues that apart from the novels in the book, fictional features are also evident in the parts that seemed to take a form far-flung from fiction. One example he gives is that Pak Chiwŏn re-enacts every detail of his experiences while traveling in a very rich and interesting story by cleverly structuring them into a scene. In such scenes there is also lively conversation that makes people's voices heard. Dialogue with Chinese people is always expressed in the spoken language of the Chinese, Paekhwa, adding a sense of realism. The Korean-style Chinese characters and their native proverbs are used to enhance the taste of native Korean words, whilst also adding a humorous effect. In addition, *Yŏrhailgi* sets up a kind of novelistic foreshadowing, making the description of events as structured and interesting as possible (Ibid.). This type of writing was completely different from that of other Chosŏn intellectuals

Because of *Yŏrhailgi*, Pak Chiwŏn was designated by Chŏngjo as the main culprit behind the corruption of the writing culture, and this work is known to have provided a pretext for the issuance of the *Munch'ebanchŏng*. Chŏngjo ordered Pak to pay for his misconduct by writing a letter of apology using the pure classical writing style and conveyed that he would offer him an official position if he followed this command (An Sehyŏn 2006, 139). However, Pak never wrote the letter (Koh Misuk 2003, 130-131).

Pak Chiwŏn wrote eleven novels and nine are still extant. They are characterised by satirizing the false consciousness and hypocrisy of the *yangban*, and portraying the poor and the humble in a positive light. In *Kwangmunja-chŏn* (The Tale of Kwangmun), he exposed and criticized the pretentious morality of *yangbans* by contrasting the righteous moral conduct of Kwangmun, a beggar, with a *yangban* man who is blinded by his selfishness. Pak Chiwŏn's other work, *Yangban-chŏn* (The Tale of Yangban), depicts the historical reality and necessity of the downfall of the *yangban*. It is penetrated by sharp criticism and exposition of the malaise of the *yangban*: their incompetence, the falsity and hypocrisy of their morality, and their finances based on unabashed exploitation. He satirised the *yangban*, as follows:

*When the heavens bring forth the people, there are four kinds, and the most precious among them are the sŏnbi. They are called yangban, and their profits are enormous. They are not supposed to farm and do business. If they leaf through some books, they will pass the civil servant examinations, and if they do well they will become a Chinsa at least<sup>32</sup>. Though the red plaque issued to the finalists who pass the liberal arts examinations is only 60 centimetres long, it is money-purses. ... Even if a poor yangban lives in the countryside, he can do whatever he wants. Who will think of him as a soft spot when he first plows the field with his neighbour's ox and takes village*

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32 The first test gate to qualify for the entrance exam of the liberal arts in *Kwagŏ* was the *Chinsa* and *Saengwŏn* examination, and those who passed the exam were given a kind of certificate or degree, *Chinsa* or *Saengwŏn*.

*workers to weed his fields? If he pours out lye on your nose and holds on to the end of your head and pulls out your beard, you will not dare to resent him.*

In this way, Pak Chiwŏn demonstrates his modernity through his criticism of the status system and the upper class, and through his openness to new culture from Qing China when most of the literati at the time despised the country as a land of barbarians. To be able to capture this innovative thinking, Pak also had to innovate in the trendy retro style of the time. However, Pak Chiwŏn had no viable successor, who dared to criticise Chosŏn society through *sop'um* and fictional writing style. In this way, the new affluent and diverse thinking he practiced sank in popularity. As a consequence, after the reign of Chŏngjo, the writing styles which may have equalled the new writing style for his era were hardly apparent in Chosŏn (Kang Myŏngkwan 2001, 127).

The reign of Chŏngjo was a turbulent era, an era of change and innovation, and a time when the most brilliant cultural heritage was produced, such as Suwŏn Hwasŏng. For that reason, the period is referred to by Korean historians as the Chosŏn Renaissance period. Chŏngjo wanted to implement a full-fledged cultural policy by establishing the Kyujanggak as a core institution of the regime to encourage scholarship and cultivate young talent. In line with the spirit of King Yŏngjo's (r.1724-1776) policy of trying to balance political forces between factions to prevent factional strife, Chŏngjo embraced the merits of various schools such as the *Silhak* school rooted in *Namin* and the *Pukhak* school based in the *Noron* faction<sup>33</sup>, and also focused on publishing books. If the buds of modern ideology, represented by Chŏng Yakyong and Pak Chiwŏn, had flourished

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<sup>33</sup> *Pukhak* belongs to the study of *Silhak* in a broad sense since it shares the *Silhak* philosophy that aims to solve social problems in the real world by practical ideals and methods away from the traditional conceptual world of Neo-Confucianism.

and come to fruition under such a monarch, the arrival of Korean modern literature along with the modernisation of Korea would have been much quicker. However, though Chǒngjo showed modern consciousness in various aspects, such as encouraging *Silhak*, he did not allow deviations from orthodox scholarship, literature, and writing style, all of which were deeply rooted in Confucianism. In other words, his deep-rooted Confucian thoughts prevented the flow of modern literary content and form.

In summary, this section has discussed Chǒngjo's *Munch'ebanchǒng* which was implemented from 1788 until Chǒngjo's death in 1800, to give a picture of what the cultural and literary environment was like at the end of the eighteenth century. As a pre-eminent scholar as well as king, Chǒngjo saw creative and fictional writing as disparate to the old style of the classics, and the legacy of his *Munch'ebanchǒng* had a huge influence on Korean literary history, the late emergence of the novel in particular. It was Chǒngjo's decision to demote creative fictional writing and his decree dictated the literary practice of the literati.

Despite Chǒngjo's failure to promote modern ways of thinking and writing, and the subsequent nipping in the bud of modern literature, before we judge the failure and success of Chǒngjo's *Munch'ebanchǒng*, it is important to accept that Chǒngjo's decisions on literature were made in consideration of his country, and caused the course of modern literature to halt during his reign. Whatever the repercussions, considered in terms of politics, he may have been right to do this, as the Chosŏn dynasty survived one more century after his reign. The despotic politics of the Chosŏn dynasty, systematically supported by Confucian ideas, could not be compatible with novel writing.

### 3. Modernity in Ch'unhyang Narrative: the thematic aspect

This chapter will discuss critical editions of Ch'unhyang-narrative, implementing Jameson's ideas on interpretation. The chapter is divided into three sections according to Jameson's three analytical phases: the political, the social, and the historical.

#### 3.1. The Political

##### 3.1.1. Preliminary Remarks

Jameson characterises each of the interpretive horizons in turn. He points out that analysis of the work in the first horizon is not simply reducible to annals and chronicles of the plot in the fictive place but has "yet to specify" the individual text as a symbolic act (Jameson 2007, 62). The methodological example Jameson takes is Lévi-Strauss' anthropological analyses of the facial decorations of the Caduveo Indians. In Caduveo facial paintings there are two conflicting sets of formulas which divide the human face and its outcome is a tension between symmetry and asymmetry, which may be called 'contradiction.' This is purely immanent analysis, as Lévi-Strauss focuses on the formal and aesthetic structures in their own visual terms only.

Up to this point Lévi-Strauss' discovery of the contradiction in Caduveo facial paintings is conducted within the first political horizon. What does this contradiction mean? Lévi-Strauss then related the contradiction to the Caduveo caste system. This is the moment when the first phase begins to be contained in the second. The Caduveo live in a strictly hierarchical society, divided into three endogamous castes, and did not have any means to dissimulate real hierarchy and inequality. In contrast, the neighbouring Guana and Bororo had some institutional devices for masking the relationships of

domination. However, according to Lévi-Strauss (1971, 179-180) Caduveo were unable to formulate or conceptualise this remedy in reality, instead they began to dream it and project it into the graphic of “mysterious charm” and “apparently gratuitous complication.” Lévi-Strauss argued that the graphic art must be interpreted “as the fantasy production of a society seeking passionately to give symbolic expression to the institutions it might have had in reality, had no interest and superstition stood in the way” (1971, 176).

In this context, the visual text of Caduveo facial painting turns out to be a symbolic act, in which Caduveo find a resolution for a real contradiction at the symbolic or imaginary level. According to Jameson a basic analytical principle of the first horizon, the political, is that an individual narrative “is to be grasped as the imaginary resolution of a real contradiction” (Jameson 2007, 62). And the key concept of the first horizon, for Jameson, is a *contradiction*.

This study, therefore, looks for ‘contradictions’ within each text and between the texts for the analysis of the first horizon in this section. Ch’unhyang-narrative is indeed a cultural product of the imaginary resolution of a real contradiction, as a rigid class system was maintained throughout the Chosŏn Dynasty on the basis of Confucian ideology. Initially, the tale of Ch’unhyang was created by the lowest class who sought to fulfil their dreams through the story. However, the narrative was not only a story to be told but also something to be sold in the market of the time. *P’ansori* singers sang Ch’unhyang-ka for a living, everywhere from humble markets to the royal court. This characteristic of Ch’unhyang-narrative as a product for sale created complications in its nature, as it had to appease the tastes of each different class, while the upper classes increased in the composition of the audience between the mid-18th and 19th century.

This also hints at the relationship between base (economy) and superstructure (culture) in Marxist theory.

Ch'unhyang-narrative was subject to modification reflecting market forces. As the literati class produced their own Ch'unhyang-narrative, it faced another new force; their writing was not done for sale but other reasons, such as artistic expression, or the enforcement of ideology. In this way, though each edition of Ch'unhyang-narrative tells the story in the frame of the base plot, it expresses or buries its own wishes, reasoning and ideology, situated somewhere on the spectrum of silence and voice. As a result, Ch'unhyang-narrative displays a number of contradictions between editions as well as within a single edition itself.

According to Jameson, for "the ideological analysis" of completed cultural products, the analyst should embark on "the immense preparatory task of identifying and inventorying such *ideologemes*" (Ibid., 73). Since this study examines nine editions of Ch'unhyang-narrative, however, it is impossible to discuss each text in detail here. Therefore, for the first stage of the interpretation, each text will be introduced focusing on differences and contradictions in and between the edition(s). I will concentrate on finding contradictions, and many of these will be left as questions, with these questions revisited in the next step, 'the social,' within the antagonistic class discourse embracing the socio-historical context according to Jameson's interpretive scheme. As the same general plot unfolds in each narrative this process could be extremely tedious. However, amongst the editions there are countless variations in characters, narrators and settings, which constitute the different *ideologemes*.

As outlined in the first chapter, the editions to be discussed are: the four Hanmun editions, *Manhwabon* (1753), *Ch'unhyang-sinsöl* (1804), *Kwanghallu-ki* (1845), and *Kwanghallu-akpu* (1851); and five Hangŭl editions, *Namwŏn-kosa* (1864-9),

*Namch'ang Ch'unhyang-ka*<sup>34</sup> (1867-1873), *Wanp'an 84 changbon* (1906), *Okchunghwa* (1912), and *Il söl Ch'unhyang-chön* (1925-26)<sup>35</sup>.

The Hanmun editions and Hangül editions span a period of 170 years, but most can be said to have been developed and created in the late Chosön period, with the same general socio-historical background. Moreover, the editions all exhibit an affinity with the *p'ansori* versions of Ch'unhyang-chön, though there are differences in terms of degree. The Hangül editions and the four Hanmun editions contrast strongly with each other in terms of language, and the writer's social status and identifiability: vernacular language versus Chinese characters, the lowest class versus the *yangban* class and *chungin* (middle-men) class, and anonymous authors versus named authors. In addition to the similarities, these differences are essential components in creating their own Ch'unhyang-chön. Studying the Hangül and Hanmun editions together provides a good comparison, and should help in understanding what Chosön aristocrat writers and unidentifiable people, including *p'ansori* singers and their audiences, wanted to project through their own Ch'unhyang narratives from their particular socio-political perspectives.

There has been wide consensus that Ch'unhyang-narrative is fundamentally political in numerous aspects, notably in changes to Ch'unhyang's status among different editions, and in the nuances of Ch'unhyang's confrontation with the new governor. What is intriguing in Ch'unhyang-narrative is that no edition is exactly the same except for in the most basic elements of the plot.

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34 According to Kang Hanyöng (1971, 13-14), the year of writing *Namch'ang Ch'unhyang-ka* is between 1867 to 1873.

35 Note that the detailed sources of these editions can be found under the 'Primary Texts' section of the Bibliography and are not specified in the main body of the thesis for ease of reading.

Whether it is noticeable or not, numerous details change in each edition, such as: Ch'unhyang's status at birth; the relationship between Ch'unhyang and Yi Toryŏng; the relationship between Ch'unhyang and the other characters; the way Ch'unhyang confronts the new governor; and the degree of Ch'unhyang's reward at the end of the story. As a result, readers meet different Ch'unhyang in each edition. Ch'unhyang is not one, but many, born anew in each edition. Ch'unhyang is not the only one whose characteristics change in Ch'unhyang-narrative. These noticeable, subtle, or even hidden changes get more complicated whenever a new edition is added, and the changes form a permutation of modifications silently struggling for their voices to be heard.

In this vein, it is beneficial to begin by examining issues related to Ch'unhyang's social status: such as Ch'unhyang's status at the beginning and end of the narrative, the way Yi Toryŏng and other characters see Ch'unhyang's status, the way Ch'unhyang sees herself, and Ch'unhyang's confrontation with the new governor. As the major confrontation in the story stems from the new governor's oppression of Ch'unhyang, the characteristics of the new governor will also be closely examined.

Since Ch'unhyang-chŏn is set in the late Chosŏn Dynasty, the text contains many scenes unfamiliar to modern people. According to Jameson's interpretive framework, the first phase is an intrinsic analysis of the work, and the second phase is "to include the social order," thereby dialectically transforming the work from "an individual 'text' or work in the narrow sense to the great collective and class discourses." Therefore, for this first stage, I will go over very basic issues for a better understanding the work.

Confucianism demands the absolute obedience of the lower classes to the upper classes, based on a rigid caste system, and deviation from it is subject to legal sanctions. Late Chosŏn society consisted of four classes, from the top, the *yangban*, *chungin*, *sangmin* (commoners), and *chŏnmin* (the lowest). As the daughter of a *kisaeng*

Ch'unhyang belongs to the lowest class, *chŏnmin*, and Yi Toryong and the governor are *yangban*, the highest class. The employees of the local government office, such as Yibang or Hobang, belong to the *chungin*, the 'middle' rank, and the villagers would be *sangmin*, the third rank.

Ch'unhyang is subject to dual sanctions in Confucian society, not only does she belong to the lowest class, she is also a woman, and Confucian Chosŏn had various laws that shackled women. In Neo-Confucianism, what was most emphasized about women was to maintain chastity. One typical example of such customs is the *Naeoi* (in-out) law, which prohibited free contact between men and women. As a result, women in *yangban* houses were restricted from going out of their house, and even if they went outside, they rode in a palanquin or cloaked their faces. Under such circumstances, the existence of Ch'unhyang, who was considered an entertainer of the *yangban* due to her inherited status, considerably contradicts the customs and ethics of Chosŏn. This should be kept in mind when reading the text. The caste system and the status of women will be discussed in detail in the next section.

### 3.1.2. Hanmun Editions

#### 3.1.2.1. Manhwabon Ch'unhyang-ka

*Manhwabon Ch'unhyang-ka* (1754, hereafter *Manhwabon*) by Yu Chinhan is the first written work of the story of Ch'unhyang, written in a Chinese poetry form of heptasyllabic verse in 400 lines. Yu wrote it after watching a *p'ansori* performance of Ch'unhyang-chŏn while travelling in the Chŏlla region, where *p'ansori* originated (Ryu

2003a, 14). His concluding remarks (line 397-400) show that the focus of his work is to record a bizarre and extraordinary love story.

It is important to note which character is presented as most important in each piece. Yi is described as the central character in most of the Hanmun editions, and Ch'unhyang is the more central character in the Hangŭl texts. Like all the other Hanmun editions, *Manhwabon* strongly places Yi Toryŏng as the central figure in the story. The author employs Yi as a first-person narrator in the work and the story unfolds from his point of view.

This version gives Ch'unhyang the lowest rank, while her reward at the end is the highest. *Manhwabon* is the only edition portrays Ch'unhyang as a *kisaeng* rather than a *kisaeng*'s daughter, and there is no mention of her father. She has already been working as a *kisaeng* when she first meets Yi. Yi also sees Ch'unhyang as a *kisaeng* throughout the work as in:

*Wŏllo*<sup>36</sup> ties me with a beautiful *kisaeng*. (4)

*You are a beautiful kisaeng who has had a narrow escape from death.* (316)

In the beginning, Ch'unhyang is thoroughly portrayed as a professional *kisaeng*. She seductively bathes in a brook (line 23-29) and swings so coquettishly at the Manbok Temple that every passer-by looks at her (line 30-38). Ch'unhyang does not show any sign of hesitation in receiving Yi. She kneels submissively before him and voluntarily shows him the location of her house at their first meeting (line 42-44). This contrasts starkly to later editions, in which Ch'unhyang initially refuses to go to Yi, implying that she does not identify herself as a *kisaeng*. When they have to part, Ch'unhyang obediently accepts their separation, without one hard word against him.

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36 Wŏllo is a character of legend, an elderly man who tied a man and a woman together in wedlock.

Ch'unhyang's lack of self-awareness here emphasises Yi's dispensational attitude towards her as a member of the upper-class. Yi writes a *pulmanggi* (letter of perpetual remembrance) and gives it to Ch'unhyang on their first night together. Ch'unhyang is so pleased that she bows deeply to Yi and says that it is a brilliant sign of promise (line 55-56). Yi also offers Ch'unhyang precious gifts such as jewellery and a pair of silk shoes on the day after their first night together. He even boasts to his sister that he has acquired a concubine before his legal marriage. In the end, Yi announces, "*I will remove your name from the kisaeng register of the local government office. Therefore, you must marry me and look after me for all your life*" (line 329-330). Ch'unhyang and Yi are not equal in their relationship, one is subject to what the other wants. Though he is a *yangban*, Yi is generous enough to keep his promise to a lower-class *kisaeng*, to love her and make her his lawful wife. In the end Ch'unhyang becomes the formal first wife of Yi and is designated a *Chŏngryŏl-puin* (Woman of Great Constancy) by the King.

No other Hanmun editions offer Ch'unhyang the position of the legitimate wife of a *yangban*, not even the Shin Chaehyo edition, in which Ch'unhyang's initial status is set at the highest level, as the illegitimate daughter of a *yangban*. In this regard, Yu seems a writer much ahead of his time. However, he does not make Ch'unhyang a self-conscious character, and has Yi treat her as a *kisaeng*. According to his concluding remarks (line 400), Yu's main purpose for writing the work was to transmit the story to future generations. Therefore, he may well have followed the storyline of the *p'ansori* Ch'unhyang-ka of his time.

This version best describes the festive atmosphere of *p'ansori*, with the ending providing details at great length for the reader to be able to enjoy how the couple live happily together, including more festive scenes than in the other editions (line 335-400).

Regarding the confrontation between the governor and Ch'unhyang, despite limited space due to its poetry form, the work clearly expresses that the governor is cruel and licentious, and a corrupt bureaucrat. However, there is no actual scene in which the confrontation takes place. Ch'unhyang herself describes the flogging scene and how she suffered, in quite graphic and vivid terms.

#### 3.1.2.2. Ch'unhyang-sinsöl

*Ch'unhyang-sinsöl* (The New Story of Ch'unhyang), is the first novel form of Hanmun Ch'unhyang-chön. It is presumed to have been written in 1804, by Mok T'aerim (Chöng 2003, 35). In the introduction, Mok states that his aim in writing the work was to record Ch'unhyang's exemplary chaste behaviour for the edification of future generations. He goes on to contend that *p'ansori* versions of Ch'unhyang-chön are too disorderly, coarse and wanton: not literature but only wild chit-chat in danger of being lost in the mists of time. As shown in the title of the work, *The New Story of Ch'unhyang*, Mok wanted to recreate a decent and logical Ch'unhyang-chön, with Ch'unhyang as the model of a chaste woman. Thus, Mok represented Ch'unhyang as a more modest, educated character. A similar attitude is also found in the authors of *Kwanghallu-ki* and *Kwanghallu-akpu*, but the former focuses on Ch'unhyang's faithfulness, whereas the latter aims to enjoy the aesthetic taste of Ch'unhyang-narrative, highlighting the couple's love.

Ch'unhyang-sinsöl shows the strongest Confucian traits among the works discussed here. Chosön society stipulated women's conduct, as clearly shown in the *Samjongjido* (Three Obediences). *Samjongjido* was a moral norm that required women to obey their parents as children, their husbands as wives, and their sons in widowhood. The ethical

standards around female chastity in Chosŏn were also extremely demanding. Women were expected to be faithful to their husbands beyond death, and thus widows were not allowed to remarry. Based on such norms, we can see that the writer wanted to portray Ch'unhyang as the epitome of the virtuous woman.

The author's strong Confucian orientation is shown in his placing of Yi Toryŏng as the central figure, and the long explanation of Yi's ancestry. As in *Manhwabon*, the work also unfolds with Yi as the central figure. Although all four Hanmun editions posit Yi Toryŏng as the central figure, *Ch'unhyang-sinsŏl* is exceptional in that, at the very beginning of the story, Yi's family tree is traced back to his great-great-grandfather. On the other hand, Ch'unhyang's father is not mentioned at all. Along with an acute class consciousness, shown in his placing strong weight on Yi's *yangban* pedigree, and thus emphasising Ch'unhyang's as the lowest class, the author displays a belief in the idea of male supremacy.

The author's strong Confucian tendency is projected onto Ch'unhyang, who reveals a double self. She recognises herself thoroughly as a *kisaeng*, and behaves as a *kisaeng* in her encounter with Yi. On the other hand, in daily life and in front of the new governor she behaves as a daughter of a noble family. Thus, the author establishes Ch'unhyang as a character who is thoroughly obedient to those of higher rank and preserves her chastity for her husband even if doing so means her death.

Ch'unhyang recognises herself as a *kisaeng* and behaves accordingly. This is shown in her reply to Yi's poem during their first meeting in Kwanghallu:

*"Thou art a prominent man from Seoul  
I am a beautiful kisaeng from the Southern province."* (51)

Ch'unhyang is also represented as an extremely proactive *kisaeng*. When Yi comes to her in the evening after their first meeting, she comes outside and happily welcomes

him. Even before Yi acts, Ch'unhyang herself ushers him into her room and has a drinking table set up.

Somewhat in contradiction, in everyday life Ch'unhyang behaves as if she is a nobleman's daughter, and Pangja supports this, saying that although Ch'unhyang is a low-born *kisaeng* her manners are no different from that of a nobleman's daughter. When Yi and Ch'unhyang have to part, Ch'unhyang calmly accepts it and also advises Yi to forget her and devote himself to studies. However, she asks him to exchange *sinmuls* (keepsakes as a sign of love). After their parting, Ch'unhyang only expresses a sense of longing, rather than vexation or bitterness. Consequently, whether behaving as a *kisaeng* or a nobleman's daughter, Ch'unhyang shows little sense of self-identity.

This lack of self-awareness in Ch'unhyang can also be seen in the scenes of conflict with the governor. When Ch'unhyang confronts him, she does not show any resentment but only begs his mercy.

Interestingly, Ch'unhyang-sinsöl contains three extremely long and detailed legal documents in Hanmun, written by Ch'unhyang to appeal the governor in accordance with the processes of her trial (Hö H. and Kang C. 1998, 72-85). According to Söng Hyönkyöng, Mok must have wanted to create a plausible and realistic Ch'unhyang-chön by including the legal process and documents (1998, 243). Thus, he sought to present a prudent, faithful, educated, and dignified Ch'unhyang as a plausible character.

As to the corporal punishment and imprisonment Ch'unhyang is subjected to by the governor, a few descriptions are briefly presented, but Ch'unhyang's ordeal is not detailed as vividly as in *Manhwabon*. As a result, the conflict structure between Ch'unhyang and the governor is not pronounced in this work. Ch'unhyang also refuses to flee with Yi when a prison caretaker gives her an opportunity to escape.

As a result, Ch'unhyang's expressive and defiant voice, present in the trial scene in most of the Hangŭl editions, is completely silenced here. The character of Ch'unhyang becomes a rigid champion of Confucian ideology rather than a real-life, flesh-and-blood woman. Thus, *Ch'unhyang-sinsŏl* not only lacks Ch'unhyang as a realistic character, but also the charm of literature, since the author's orientation towards realistic representation and emphasis on chastity overshadow the natural flow of the story.

The author is so reverent to Confucianism that he also removes the last festive scene, one of the most important scenes in Ch'unhyang- chŏn as *p'ansori*. When Yi appears as *Amhaengŏsa* at the local government office, Ch'unhyang is sent home and Yi and Ch'unhyang enjoy their happy reunion at Ch'unhyang's home later. Mok must have considered their reunion and happiness a private affair, and judged that the secret royal inspector should not make a scene with his lover in the government office.

When Yi reports the case to the King, the King has a *yŏllyŏchŏngmun* (gate to commemorate a faithful wife) installed for Ch'unhyang. After three years, Ch'unhyang's mother Wŏlmae dies and Yi brings Ch'unhyang to Sŏul, taking her as a concubine, not a legal wife.

Since Mok tries hard to employ realism in his work, he does not offer Ch'unhyang the position of the legitimate wife of a *yangban* or title of *chŏngryŏl-puin*. In *Ch'unhyang-sinsŏl*, Ch'unhyang is rewarded with a *yŏllyŏchŏngmun* and only becomes Yi's concubine. To Mok, these are the highest rewards realistic for Ch'unhyang.

### 3.1.2.3. Kwanghallu-ki

*Kwanghallu-ki* (Record of Kwanghan Pavilion), is a novel version of Ch'unhyang-chŏn derived from *p'ansori* Ch'unhyang-chŏn and written in 1845 by Susan Cho Hang, a

literati resident in Sŏul (Lyu C.2003a, 76; Chŏng H. 1995, 10). It borrows the structure of Kim Sŏngtan's critical edition of *Sŏsanggi*. The work tries to win sympathy from the readers and depict the essence of the characters, providing readers with a *tokpŏb* (reading method), reviews of the beginning and ending of each chapter, and comments on the phrases within the main story.

In *Kwanghallu-ki*, Susan ardently tries to project pure love between the two main characters, here Yi Torin and Ch'unhyang. In the review of the first chapter in the introductory part, Susan states how the two protagonists should be characterised, and criticises the way *p'ansori* editions portray them:

*A beauty should be portrayed like a flower reflected in the mirror and like the moon projected on water. A man of wit should be illustrated like a pillar that stands against brushing wind and like a moon-lit pavilion.* (Sŏng H. et al. 1997, 36)

*In Sokbon<sup>37</sup> Ch'unhyang is portrayed as an excessively voluptuous and coquettish woman and Yi Toryŏng is depicted as an extremely dissipated youth.* (37)

Susan adds in the *tokpŏp* that:

*Ch'unhyang is the most excellent beauty and Yi Toryŏng is the most talented and witty man ... Extreme care should be given when two excellent people need to be characterised.* (20)

The statements in the *tokpŏb* show that Susan wanted to depict true love between an idealised man and woman: a more sincere, untainted love, which transcends the boundaries of social status. In order to achieve this, the author does not wish to portray

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<sup>37</sup> *Sokbon* literally means a common or low-class edition, Susan uses this term to refer to *p'ansori* Ch'unhyang-chŏn.

Ch'unhyang as submissive. In this regard, Ch'unhyang is represented as a more assertive and confident character, with a greater sense of self-identity than in other Hanmun editions.

The author makes Ch'unhyang articulate how their love should be, intending thus to strengthen the idea of their love as pure and transcending the social status and gender roles which were enforced by the strict Confucian ideology of the time. When Yi tells Ch'unhyang that he wants to sleep with her, she replies:

*“If you treat me as a kisaeng, it is not what I want . . . If a man and I love each other and promise to share our whole lives with the same true heart, I will have no regrets when I die.”* (41-42)

Through this assertive statement Ch'unhyang gains a solid promise from Yi that their relationship shall not be between a *kisaeng* and a *yangban*, but between a man and woman, beyond social status.

It is noteworthy that the Ch'unhyang in *Kwanghallu-ki* is the most loved by Yi among the versions under discussion (except, perhaps, for *Ilsoŭl Ch'unhyang-chŏn*) in that he respects and cares for her not as a *kisaeng* but as a lifelong partner. Yi's sincere love for Ch'unhyang is clearly stated in detail in chapter seven. Since arriving in Sŏul, Yi works hard whilst consistently longing for Ch'unhyang. He frequently dreams of her and intentionally remains distant from many beautiful ladies and *kisaeng* who are infatuated with his stately mien and artistic tastes (92-94). This type of description has rarely come up in any other versions, and makes this work more distinguished in that Ch'unhyang is treated as a far more valuable being. Ch'unhyang's status in relation to the relationship with Yi is higher and sturdier as it confirms the fact that Yi has already purely loved her as a woman, not because she proved her love for him at the cost of her life.

Since their love is unconditional, rewards for Ch'unhyang's chaste behaviour are supposed to be insignificant and are indeed represented as such. After Yi dismisses the governor, he throws a party and goes up to Söul with Ch'unhyang and Wölmae. In the end, the writer comments that:

*What use is it to write any more of their lives full of wealth and honour?  
Even the greatest miracle that ever occurred is no more than a spring-day  
fantasy. (112)*

To Susan, what is most important is the bond between the two lovers, not an elevated social rank or official recognition.

In *Kwanghallu-ki*, Ch'unhyang is a *kisaeng*, the daughter of the head *kisaeng*, Wölmae. There is no information about her father. She remains of lower-class status throughout the story, as in the other Hanmun editions. However, in *Kwanghallu-ki* Ch'unhyang seems unique and modern in the way she actively pursues true love, and for that reason, she appears to have a strong sense of her identity as a *kisaeng*. This is in direct contrast to how she is portrayed in most of the other versions.

As to the new governor, he is described as the epitome of a wickedness. Intriguingly, he seems to be criticised more in this work than any other, not only amongst the Hanmun editions but the rest of the editions discussed here. More interestingly, the level of Ch'unhyang's resistance is also the highest here among the four Hanmun editions. While the other three Hanmun editions avoid a spiteful conflict between the governor and Ch'unhyang, in this work Ch'unhyang firmly stands against the new governor, fearlessly articulating why he is wrong. This is quite unexpected, considering the author's indifference to Ch'unhyang's status and avid inclination for true love between a man and a woman. This demonstrates a particularly striking contrast with

*Ch'unhyang-sinsŏl* which tries to minimise any social criticism, especially in relation to the governor.

However, as *Kwanghallu-ki* principally concentrates on pure love, the energy of Ch'unhyang's fierce confrontation is not directed to develop social criticism but to emphasize love beyond social class.

*Kwanghallu-ki* was written for those who appreciate art and *p'ungryu*, a type of aestheticism. From the beginning to the middle of the Chosŏn dynasty, the *p'ungryu* forms a cultural style of the literary class and can be considered an aesthetic term expressing their playfulness. *P'ungryu* is routinely embodied through expressive media such as poetry, books, paintings, and music. In this *p'ungryu* activity, artistic integration was nothing more than the cultivation and hobby activities of Confucians, who pursued the harmony of emotion and reason. However, by the end of Chosŏn, collective enjoyment of *p'ungryu* had spread to various levels of society, from *yangban* bureaucrats and literati to *chungin*, thus the nature of and the space for *p'ungryu* were transformed.

Since *p'ungryu-pang* (*p'ungryu*-spaces) emerged, operated by *kisaeng* and people of *chungin* class, *p'ungryu* became more popularised, while potential sensual pleasure from it became more visible (Chŏng Pyŏnghun 2005, 105-6). As the era of Ch'unhyang-chŏn is placed at the end of Chosŏn, the concept of *p'ungryu* discussed here is closer to 'sensual pleasure.' Shin Chaehyo, a benefactor of *p'ansori*, made a pond in his house where was a lotus flower and a floating boat and built a pavilion next to it. In addition, there was a bamboo grove. In his room there were paintings, poetry books, and musical instruments. In this environment, *p'ansori* would have been sung all the time. It can be said that it is the life full of *p'ungryu*. This is the way to enjoy *p'ungryu* in late Chosŏn.

The *tokpŏp* in the introduction suggests four reading methods: reading whilst drinking, playing the *kŏmungo* (a Korean stringed instrument), contemplating the beauty of the moon, or contemplating the beauty of flowers. It makes clear the writer's intention that the work is to be enjoyed in the style of *p'ungryu*. Susan's desire to make the story of Ch'unhyang aesthetically enjoyable weakens the Confucian ideology in the work, and also the social criticism.

Ch'unhyang is reimagined as a self-conscious woman in *Kwanghallu-ki*, but only in relation to love. This characterisation is a way to make the character of Ch'unhyang into an object of *p'ungryu*, suited to the contemplation of those with artistic tastes. Consequently, Ch'unhyang could not be depicted as an independent human being with a full sense of self-identity. For Susan, Ch'unhyang's social status should remain low, since the lawful wife of a *yangban* does not make for compelling art.

#### 3.1.2.4. Kwanghallu-akpu

*Kwanghallu-akpu* (Kwanghan Pavilion Akpu) is written in a traditional Chinese poetic form known as *Akpu*. It was written in 1852 by Hosan Yun Talsŏn, and is comprised of 108 stanzas. Each stanza contains four lines of seven syllables. *Kwanghallu-akpu* has many features in common with *Manhwabon* which was also written in verse form. However, Yun seeks to employ more of the aesthetic tastes, or *p'ungryu*, of *p'ansori* in this work, while Yu's aim was more to record and transmit the content of *p'ansori* Ch'unhyang-ka.

In *Kwanghallu-akpu* there are three prefaces, written by Yun Talsŏn, Kyŏmsan and Okchŏnsanin respectively. Interestingly all three prefaces present positive attitudes towards *p'ansori* Ch'unhyang-ka, though they agree that the *p'ansori* Ch'unhyang-ka

lacks some subtle expression for human emotion. Moreover, they do not only appear to like the *p'ansori* Ch'unhyang-ka but also seem very much attracted to the character of Ch'unhyang portrayed there. Okchönsanin says:

*There are no lines which do not convey the spirit of Ch'unhyang, while Ch'unhyang's one gesture, one look, one smile, one word, one tear and one runny nose appear between the lines. . . . If Ch'unhyang were to read this writing, would she not smile beautifully and turn her head out of shyness?*  
(Kim Yöngpong et al. 2006, 204)

Such sentiment makes it easy to imagine a literati man who has fallen in love with the main character of the narrative. Their favourable attitudes towards the *p'ansori* Ch'unhyang-ka and affection for Ch'unhyang imply that those in the literati class considerably enjoyed the *p'ansori* Ch'unhyang-ka and Ch'unhyang-narrative itself.

In *Kwanghallu-akpu*, the narrative aspect of Ch'unhyang-chön is much more limited than *Manhwabon*, since Yun mainly concentrates on the love between Yi and Ch'unhyang, attempting a lyrical expression of this love. Accordingly, the Confucian ideology of female chastity is very much weakened in the work. The author describes Ch'unhyang's confrontation with the governor only very briefly (stanzas 61 to 65) and less eventfully, with no big commotion. Moreover, no criticism of the governor is explicitly made on the part of any of the characters, except for one criticism in relation to his lewd nature (stanza 60).

As Ch'unhyang and the other characters' resistance to the governor is rarely described, there is not much evidence of class conflict and social criticism. There is not one line in *Kwanghallu-akpu* where Ch'unhyang expresses her resentment of the governor. Consequently, in *Kwanghallu-akpu* Ch'unhyang has no opportunity to build up or exhibit her sense of identity, as her conflict and suffering are barely explored. As

*Kwanghallu-akpu* fully concentrates on lyrical love, compared to other editions the description of a sense of longing and loneliness are greatly expanded. Eight of the 108 stanzas, from 51 to 58, express Ch'unhyang's loneliness and longing for Yi following their separation; they are all emotion, no action. As a result, Ch'unhyang is represented merely as a woman in love, who expresses more loneliness and sorrow at being apart than annoyance or resentment towards Yi or the governor. Under the circumstances, Ch'unhyang cannot be represented as a confident, assertive character with a sense of self-identity.

In comparison to *Manhwabon*, *Kwanghallu-akpu* could be considered a more Ch'unhyang-centred story, in the sense that 34 stanzas focus on Ch'unhyang and 53 focus on Yi. Nevertheless, the story unfolds with Yi as the central figure. Ch'unhyang's status is that of a *kisaeng* and there is no mention of her father. In the very beginning (stanza 12), Ch'unhyang is introduced as a child-*kisaeng* who does not yet belong to the *Kyopang* (official education institution for the cultivation of *kisaeng*), and she remains a *kisaeng* until the end of the story.

In the rest of Hanmun editions aside from *Manhwabon*, Ch'unhyang is a child *kisaeng* due to her age being sixteen, the same age as Yi, and Ch'unhyang's name having been left off of the office registry. However, the manners in which Ch'unhyang's age, status, and the issue of her being missing from the register, are introduced slightly differently in each work, directly relating to how Ch'unhyang is treated throughout.

In *Manhwabon*, Ch'unhyang is introduced directly as a "pretty *kisaeng*" (4) by Yi's voice in the very beginning, without the favourable introduction of Pangja shown in most of other works. Also, as a *kisaeng*, Ch'unhyang gratefully accepts and goes to bed with Yi. However, in *Ch'unhyang-sinsöl* and *Kwanghallu-ki*, Pangja introduces Ch'unhyang saying that she is the daughter of the local *kisaeng* Wölmae, and that she is

brilliantly beautiful and possesses many talents and virtues. In *Ch'unhyang-sinsöl*, Pangja says, "Though *Ch'unhyang* is of the ignoble origin of the brothel, she behaves herself with discretion, like the daughter of a yangban family" (*Ch'unhyang-sinsöl*, p44). Nevertheless, *Ch'unhyang* gratefully accepts Yi's courtship. However, In *Kwanghallu-ki*, Pangja further improves the dignity of *Ch'unhyang* by telling Yi that she will not come, even if he calls her. *Ch'unhyang* also assumes a high-handed attitude compared to *Ch'unhyang-sinsöl*, as shown in her articulation that she wants a man who does not treat her as a *kisaeng* but as a lifelong companion and lover.

In contrast, the *Ch'unhyang* of *Kwanghallu-akpu* is focused on being more beautiful due to her youthfulness. Without the supporting introduction of Pangja, *Ch'unhyang* is introduced directly by Yi's voice: "A fine figure putting on a thin layer of make-up / she does not yet belong to the *Kyopang*" (line 1-2, stanza 12). This means that she is too young to enter the *Kyopang* where would-be *kisaeng* were trained in singing, dancing, and writing etc. In *Kwanghallu-akpu*, unlike in *Kwanghallu-ki* and *Ch'unhyang-sinsöl*, *Ch'unhyang* accepts Yi's courtship without any conditions and welcomes Yi "clapping, coming out of the flowers and dragging me [Yi] to the east side of the small garden" (stanza21).

The stance of *Ch'unhyang* had gradually risen from *Manhwabon* to *Kwanghallu-ki* but seems to regress in *Kwanghallu-akpu* to the level of *Manhwabon*. Nevertheless, compared to *Manhwabon*, *Ch'unhyang* is portrayed as an elegant lady in *Kwanghallu-akpu* since she does not take baths where passers-by can see, and Yi does not treat her as a *kisaeng* as he does in *Manhwabon*.

The omission of *Ch'unhyang*'s name from the *kisaeng* register is the same in all the three works except *Manhwabon*. While *Ch'unhyang-sinsöl* and *Kwanghallu-ki* make it a favourable issue for *Ch'unhyang* in the conflict with the governor, in *Kwanghallu-*

*akpu*, this is not the case. In *Kwanghallu-akpu*, there is no device to enhance Ch'unhyang's position.

Unlike any other editions under discussion, *Kwanghallu-akpu* comes to an end when Yi appears as a secret royal inspector in the District Hall. Ch'unhyang is not rewarded with a *yölyöchöngmun* or the official title of *chöngryöl-puin*, neither does she go to Söul as Yi's concubine or legal wife as in other editions.

In the introduction to *Kwanghallu-akpu*, Yun recommends that literati readers should let a *kisaeng* sing this work and listen to it whilst drinking under fluttering flower petals. This is similar to the reading methods recommended by Susan in *Kwanghallu-ki*. Rather than delineating Ch'unhyang as a social being with a sense of her own identity, *Kwanghallu-akpu* depicts her as an elegant *kisaeng* in order to chime with the tastes and lifestyles of the *yangban*, because it was written for their enjoyment. In this regard, Ch'unhyang becomes a peripheral character intended to entertain upper-class men.

To conclude, *Kwanghallu-akpu* is an overtly male-dominant and ruling-class-dominant literary work. Ch'unhyang remains an entertainer with no sense of identity throughout the work. In this vein, *Kwanghallu-akpu* and *Kwanghallu-ki* share many similarities in their representations of Ch'unhyang. However, *Kwanghallu-akpu* is worse in terms of social criticism in that it does not display any concrete image of confrontation between Ch'unhyang and the governor, nor criticism of the governor.

### 3.1.3. Hangŭl Editions

#### 3.1.3.1. Namwŏn-kosa

*Namwŏn-kosa* (The Old Story of Namwŏn) is a manuscript edition which was transcribed and distributed by a rental book shop in Sŏul called Nudong (Yi Yunsŏk 2009, 13). Like many other Hangŭl novels from the Chosŏn period, its author and the year of its creation are unknown, but it is believed that the year the manuscript was transcribed was between 1864 and 1869. According to a philological study, *Namwŏn-kosa* is the earliest Hangŭl edition for which the year of publication can be confirmed (Yi O.& Kang S. 2012, 384). Until the time when the presence of the *Namwŏn-kosa* housed in Institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (INALCO) was recognized in the Korean academic sphere at the beginning of the 1970s, *Wanp'an 84* had been regarded as the most representative edition of Ch'unhyang-chŏn and had been the most frequently researched Ch'unhyang-narrative text. However, Kim Tonguk (1978) argued that the *Namwŏn-kosa* should replace the status of *Wanp'an 84* on the ground that its style is flowing and elegant while maintaining the characteristics of *p'ansori*. It is also the longest among extant Ch'unhyang-chŏn, and every detail is well organized, reflecting the way ordinary people would have thought. There is consensus that the *Namwŏn-kosa* is a work which was reconstructed for full-fledged novelization by an author/authors charged with creativity while retaining the principle structure of the *p'ansori* narrative (Sŏl 1994, 194).

In *Namwŏn-kosa*, Ch'unhyang is the daughter of the *kisaeng* Wŏlmae and a lower-class man whose surname is Kim. While her paternal line is not present in all the Hanmun editions, which was normal at the time as her mother was a *kisaeng*, in this work Ch'unhyang comes to have known her father. Her father's status is also assumed

to be low-born, as he was a close friend of Hō P'ansu, a low-born fortune-teller. The fact that Ch'unhyang has a surname indicates that her status is a little improved in this work. *Namwŏn-kosa* also raises the issue of *taebichŏngsok*<sup>38</sup>—getting out of slave status by designating a female slave in place of oneself—for the first time among the editions discussed. After parting with Yi, Ch'unhyang has herself replaced so that she can be free from the demands on her as a *kisaeng*'s daughter. Ch'unhyang argues against the governor's *such'ŏng*<sup>39</sup> order referring to her *taebichŏngsok* status. The governor flatly dismisses the issue and eventually punishes and imprisons her. Interestingly, however, there are no comments regarding the liability of the governor's *such'ŏng* order and the treatment of Ch'unhyang in relation to her *taebichŏngsok* status. The issues remain unclear and the same in all the later works. At the very end of the work, by the order of the King, Ch'unhyang is honoured as *chŏngryŏl-puin* and a legal wife of Yi. Among the editions which appeared before 1900, along with *Manhwabon* this is the most favourable ending to any Ch'unhyang-narrative.

The Ch'unhyang depicted in *Namwŏn-kosa* is very straightforward and outspoken. Even though she is first introduced by Pangja as a well-mannered lady, Ch'unhyang soon scolds Pangja harshly when he comes to fetch her on Yi's order:

*“If I don't go, what can he do? Would he kill me or tear me apart? You frivolous and fickle feind, garrulous and wacky rascal. Don't bang on like an oxtail on a rainy day. Don't bother me like a dog on a bad day.”* (72)

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38 A way to legitimately escape from slave status, based on the 5th volume of the Criminal Code of *Sok-taechŏn* (1774) a sequel code to *Kyŏngkug-taechŏn* (1485). A slave woman or *kisaeng* from a government office could buy someone else and put her in her place to become free.

39 *Such'ŏng* literally means “waiting outside a room,” but it also implies sharing a bed and offering sexual service.

Interestingly, the Ch'unhyang in the *Namwŏn-kosa* is the most confident, assertive, ambitious and bold Ch'unhyang character amongst all the editions. Ch'unhyang announces to Yi what kind of a man she wants to marry, listing famous heroes like Sobu and Hŏ Yu<sup>40</sup> (80). She also demands her matrimonial post as a legitimate wife, not a concubine (79-80). As a result, Yi promises that he will take her as a formal wife, as if he had acquired a wife through lawful marriage.

When it comes to their parting scene, Ch'unhyang lets out her rage verbally and physically.

*Ch'unhyang's face loses all its colour. Clenching her dainty hands, beating her chest like a bucket of white powder, the way a Buddhist monk pounds a drum,<sup>41</sup> and tearing, rending at it as though pulling up grass, she says "Are you saying this to cheat me? I want to die, drop with a thud after tying my neck with the end of a towel and hanging the other end from a tree." (145-6)*

She even threatens Yi that she will appeal her case to the law using the *pulmanggi* (the document of the pledge of the marriage) Yi wrote, listing the steps she will take, with logic and emotion, which would lead eventually to the King. She reproaches Yi's irresponsibility and frivolousness:

*"Did I ask you first, young master, to live with me when we met at the very beginning in Kwanghallu? Have you forgotten all that you said to me at the very first? Did I not refuse your marriage proposal as I expected this would happen?" (150)*

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40 Sobu and Hŏ Yu are people of the age of Yo-Sun of China. The king of Yo tried to hand over the country to them, but they refused.

41 An instrument used in Buddhist ceremonies.

This parting scene exhibits a striking contrast with the Hanmun editions in which all the Ch'unhyang characters accept the parting submissively and helplessly.

In *Namwŏn-kosa*, Ch'unhyang becomes a fundamentally different character from the Hanmun editions. She is not a submissive *kisaeng*, not a super romantic character, not a champion of Confucian principles. At the same time her characteristics become more realistic and humane. She swears, dreams mundane dreams of social mobility, and behaves as a *kisaeng* when necessary. She shouts fiercely at her lover and at her oppressor when she feels wronged.

Ch'unhyang in the *Namwŏn-kosa* is the most advanced character in terms of assertiveness and self-consciousness. However, it is exceedingly ironic that when it comes to the issue of sexuality, *Namwŏn-kosa* is the edition in which Ch'unhyang is most frequently made the object of sexual desire.

Even the narrator is eager to create an erotic atmosphere, presenting Ch'unhyang as a coquettish woman in the arousing spring scene at the beginning of the story.<sup>42</sup> Ch'unhyang is also often subjected to verbal and physical sexual harassment by various male characters, regardless of social stratus, such as Pangja<sup>43</sup>, the guards<sup>44</sup>, Namwŏn playboys, and the blind fortune teller.

Pangja says to Ch'unhyang:

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42 The narrator describes the scenery of the path to Kwanghallu, mentioning a variety of trees, flowers, creepers and birds, and ends the section with: "As a female bear commits adultery, a buck hare turns green with envy" (59). In the middle of the spring scene the narrator presents Ch'unhyang as a creature "looking for flowers, following willow, playing the thousands of thousands of coquetries" (62).

43 When Yi urges Pangja to enter Ch'unhyang's house before him on the day of their first meeting, Pangja jokes, "Then I will come out after having sex with her" (100).

44 When the guards from the local government office come to fetch Ch'unhyang to the governor, she behaves coquettishly: "Ch'unhyang shakes the heart of the guards by playing coquette . . . grabbing their hands like a hook on a rope with her fine, white hands . . . When the guards look down, their lower parts have risen hard. Their hardened hearts melt as the ice on the river melts in the spring wind and their six thousand bones are melting too" (195-6).

*To tell you truthfully the young master is a playboy . . . if you soak him in your fragrant words, making him soft like a pickled jellyfish, then remove your silk underwear from your crotch and stick it very tightly on his, how could he not be hooked on you? All of Namwŏn will be yours. (72)*

Even the blind fortune-teller, Hŏ P'ansu, molests Ch'unhyang:

*His hand touches downward from Ch'unhyang's face, and moves very slowly once it reaches her breasts. . . . He wriggles to touch the hole between Ch'unhyang's legs. Pulling out his hands and undoing his belt, on his knees, he tries to take a stance . . . (299)*

This tendency is hardly seen in the Hanmun editions. In this regard, it can be said that *Namwŏn-kosa* has retreated in terms of modernity in relation to sexual discrimination. Ch'unhyang is continuously subjected to sexual harassment even when she is facing impending death. With the anonymity of the author(s) in this work the conception of the otherness of women surfaced without reserve. On the other hand, the prominence of sexuality in Ch'unhyang-narrative can be seen as an outlet for the oppressed sexuality demanded by the strict Confucian society. Such expression is an important element of modern literature, but in this case, it comes at the expense of the heroine. Given that *Namwŏn-kosa* was fundamentally produced for a commercial purpose, as a rental book, the people related to its distribution and sale must have been very much concerned with profit. Consequently, the contents of the narrative were influenced by capitalism, sexuality, and gender-discrimination, as well as freedom of expression.

In the confrontation with the governor, Ch'unhyang demonstrates obstinate resistance, with no hesitation. Since the conflict between the two is more heated, the conflict between low and high status also stands out more vividly. The conflict

intensifies as the governor frequently comes under blistering criticism from many other characters. As well as criticism of the governor, Yi is also subject to more criticism than in the Hanmun editions<sup>45</sup> and he even becomes the object of ridicule. This phenomenon also signals criticism of the ruling class in general, and not only the corrupted upper class represented by the governor.

*Namwŏn-kosa* displays many more modern tendencies than the Hanmun editions, and even many of the Hangŭl editions examined in this study. In relation to Ch'unhyang, her rise to *yangban* status at the end of the work shows the splintering of Confucian class consciousness. In addition, the work depicts Ch'unhyang as an independent modern subject by portraying her as a very confident, imposing, self-assertive woman. Moreover, in her relationship with Yi, Ch'unhyang's position as a wife is respected: Yi takes her as his legal first wife, as she demanded, thus overcoming the differences of status. Ch'unhyang's character is progressing towards characteristics of modern womanhood and the couple's relationship moving towards gender equality. As for the issue of sexuality, while the othering of women is intense, it can be seen as a manifestation of human nature in the sense that the excessive sexual expression, which had not been seen before, is openly displayed in the space of popular culture. Finally, we can get a glimpse of the growth of citizen consciousness through the intense criticism and ridiculing of the upper classes, the governor, and Yi. All of these aspects of *Namwŏn-kosa* can be said to show a trend toward modernity, contrasting with the more conservative Hanmun editions discussed above.

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45 In the Hanmun editions, farmers criticise Yi as heartless for deserting Ch'unhyang.

### 3.1.3.2. Namch'ang

*Namch'ang* (song for a male singer) was written by Shin Chaehyo (1812-1884) between 1867 and 1873. It has the rare combination of having been written in Hangŭl and having a named author, since most Hangŭl editions did not have a named author until the appearance of *Okchunghwa* (1912). However, Shin had a unique position as a man from the *chungin* class, a status posited between the *yangban* and non-*yangban* classes. He adapted six *p'ansori* collections (*madang*) “pondering on them word by word” in order to get them organized. He did not just record original *sasŏls* (libretti) but transformed them into works which have a consistent, logical authorial voice, reinforcing the reasonability and accuracy of its language and events while entrusting the musical aspects to trained singers (Kang Hanyong 1971, 669). *Namch'ang* is one of these collections.

In *Namch'ang*, Ch'unhyang and Yi are characterized as more decorous and self-disciplined than in any of the other editions. The author reshapes Ch'unhyang as a well-bred young lady from an upper-class family, improving her birth status to the highest possible in numerous ways. *Namch'ang* depicts Ch'unhyang prior to Yi's appearance in the narrative. Moreover, the narrative begins with a panegyric on Ch'unhyang: “*When an absolute beauty is born, she receives the vital force of the mountains and rivers*” (3). The work continues to elaborate on Ch'unhyang's noble birth, presenting a *t'aemong* (a prenatal dream that mothers-to-be have before their babies are born or conceived). The dream indicates that Ch'unhyang is the reincarnation of an outcast celestial being.

Above all, in *Namch'ang*, Ch'unhyang is the illegitimate daughter of Sŏng Ch'ŏnch'ong, a high-profile military officer of the *yangban* class, and her mother is the “retired *kisaeng*” Wŏlmae. Wŏlmae's reputation is also improved here to that of a

celebrated *kisaeng*, renowned across the whole country for her beauty, singing and dancing. It is said that Wŏlmae made offerings and prayed at each temple in Chiri Mountain for the conception of Ch'unhyang. Apart from this, *Namch'ang* makes it clear at the very beginning of the story that Ch'unhyang is not a *kisaeng* as she has gone through the *taebichŏngsok* process, and this fact is repeated several times throughout the work. Ch'unhyang therefore sees herself as the daughter of a respectable family and behaves accordingly. These facts are all produced for the first time by Shin, and critically change Ch'unhyang's birth status, talents, up-bringing and behaviour, which all support her decency and accomplishment. However, unexpectedly in such circumstances, Ch'unhyang is rewarded neither as a *chŏngryŏl-puin* nor as Yi's legal wife.

Yi is also portrayed as a respectable, noble youth, but he is introduced with little in the way of decorative motif, simply as the son of a good governor, the Namwŏn Pusa. However, in the prenatal dreams related to Ch'unhyang, he is also presented as a celestial being, predestined to be her husband.

To save Ch'unhyang from losing face, the author has her refuse Yi's order for her to visit him, and instead makes him visit her on the night of their first meeting. In this way, their meeting and marriage unfold differently to previous versions.

When Yi comes to Ch'unhyang on their first night together, she is reading a book called *Yegi* (The Classic of Rites) which emphasises that Ch'unhyang is well-versed (not only is it written in Hanmun, but also one of the Five Classics<sup>46</sup>) and will behave with good manners since it is a text on the theory and practice of decorum. The walls of her room are full of pictures of faithful women. Upon Yi's arrival at Ch'unhyang's house,

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46 The Five Classics are the Classic of Poetry, the Book of Documents, the Classic of Rites, the Book of Changes, and the Spring and Autumn Annals. These are five pre-Qin Chinese books which make up part of the traditional Confucian canon and show the essence of traditional Chinese spiritual culture.

Wölmae controls the situation, replacing Ch'unhyang's role in previously discussed versions. Yi asks Wölmae for permission to marry Ch'unhyang and she grants it.

While Yi and Wölmae are discussing their match, Ch'unhyang hides or sits shyly beside her mother. Ch'unhyang's character here is deprived of the vitality, ambition and pride, of the Ch'unhyang in *Namwön-kosa*, and the self-consciousness and assertiveness of the Ch'unhyang characters in both the *Namwön-kosa* and *Kwanghallu-ki*.

Though the author of *Namch'ang* intends to shape Ch'unhyang and Yi as elegant characters, the work is not immune to sexuality of a general. However, the level of obscenity is much lower, and the length of the description of their first coupling is much shorter than in most other Hangül editions. The author omits the erotic descriptions which generally appeared in *p'ansori* strand editions.

The parting scene also unfolds very differently in *Namch'ang*. Since Yi's father has already been aware of Yi's misconduct regarding Ch'unhyang, he orders for Yi to be shut in a small room. Subsequently, they only barely meet once more, in Orijöng, when Yi is on his way to Söul. This text structurally prevents the virtuous Ch'unhyang from making a frantic last-ditch effort to keep Yi beside her, not allowing her to express natural resentment or come across as a woman who does not care about all the social norms and expectations of women in Confucian society.

In view of the Confucian orientation of the author in this work, Shin is never far behind *Ch'unhyang-sinsöl*'s writer Mok T'aerim. As well as the Three Obediences which women should observe in Chosön, there was another rule paired with the Three Obediences called *Ch'ilgöjiaek* (The Seven Evils). *Ch'ilgöjiaek* literally means "seven wrongs for which a woman can be thrown out," so seven reasons for a woman to be unilaterally divorced by her husband. The Seven Evils were: disobedience to in-laws, failure to bear a son, adultery, jealousy, hereditary disease, talkativeness and theft.

Women had no right to choose their marriage partner, they could not apply for a divorce, and weren't even allowed to feel jealousy, while men could have second wives and have several concubines. In *Namch'ang*, after parting with Ch'unhyang, Yi marries a minister's daughter in Söul. The work does not show any sympathy for Ch'unhyang regarding Yi's marriage to someone else. In this work, Ch'unhyang is portrayed as a woman who is silent and thoroughly obedient to her husband and parent, adhering to the Three Obediences and prohibitions of the Seven Evils.

Since the author depicts Ch'unhyang as a faithful, obedient and elegant woman, her resistance to the governor in the latter part of the story is structurally bound to be limited. The intensity of Ch'unhyang's confrontations with the governor is of a medium level: not as defiant as the other Hangül editions, such as *Namwön-kosa* and *Wanp'an 84*.

All of the events of the story are the same as in other editions, but their details differ vastly. These changes are made to elevate Ch'unhyang's status and transform her into a lady of an upper-class family. However, apart from this elevated status and her environment, in terms of modernity, her characterisation markedly deteriorates. She has a much restrained, inactive, passive and submissive personality. She is intended to be seen as a virtuous woman, the epitome of Confucian ethics, but turns out to be an uninspired, conforming and undistinguished character.

*Namch'ang* demonstrates fierce reservation when it comes to criticism of the ruling class. The governor is initially portrayed as rather cautious and gentle, conciliating with Ch'unhyang and acknowledging her merits. The narrator makes it clear that, rather than anger at Ch'unhyang's refusal of his order, the new governor becomes enraged because Ch'unhyang likens her accepting his *such'öng* order to him serving two kings. The author is careful not to present the governor as one who behaves unreasonably and obstinately. Nonetheless, *Namch'ang* uses quite a large portion of the text in depicting

the governor as corrupted, while only briefly describing quite important motifs, such as the process of making the match between Ch'unhyang and Yi, and their parting. Moreover, the governor's corruption is well examined in diverse aspects by various characters, and interestingly, does not seem to be an isolated phenomenon, but rather somehow systematic.<sup>47</sup> However, the overall target of criticism is limited to government officers, the author does not forget to praise the King (97), an aspect which will be discussed further in the section on "The Social." In this vein, *Namch'ang* is a major achievement in that it delivers an organised criticism of the corrupt ruling class that oppresses lower-class people. This is an unprecedented move which advances towards modern trends of thought. However, this is a contradictory movement when we consider why the author tries so hard to raise Ch'unhyang's birth-status, and yet does not reward her with upward mobility at the end of the story.

Since the writer values rationality and accuracy, the way events unfold becomes very different. For instance, the narrator emphasises Ch'unhyang's great self-control and unyielding spirit, but dramatically shortens the length of her replies in the "ten-clubbing song" saying: "If the flogging song is too long, how could Ch'unhyang sing the song in the short time between when the executioner wields the club and when he beats her? Consolidating one phrase, the inside is the letter itself and the outside is vulgar talk" (45).

However, within the song Ch'unhyang makes a most mysterious statement. At the tenth clubbing, Ch'unhyang replies "Don't believe that there is no tree which does not

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<sup>47</sup> This will be discussed in detail in section, 3.2.4.5 dealing with the governor.

fall after being chopped at ten times. I won't give you a *ssip*<sup>48</sup> (45). The use of the vulgar word "*ssip*" goes against the depiction of Ch'unhyang as a virtuous woman. Moreover, as a word too vulgar to utter in public, this "*ssip*" does not appear in any other editions. This is a big question that remains as yet unanswered.

*Namch'ang* displays marked differences with the other texts in terms of lyrical and tragic beauty. Most other texts try to develop tragic beauty, such as in the scenes of parting, flogging, and the couple's reunion during Ch'unhyang's imprisonment. This is probably because the writer of *Namch'ang* valued the rationality of the events more than emotion. In this vein, he removes the parting scene and turns many emotionally and tragically charged scenes into more positive ones. For instance, during their reunion in the prison, Ch'unhyang does not cry, but instead anticipates her wedding procession, having faith in a dream she had that foretold she would enjoy the five blessings (longevity, wealth, honour, health, and progeny). Neither does the writer exaggerate the flogging scene to beautify Ch'unhyang's suffering as is done in *Kwanghallu-ki*, which describes how "on the second clubbing her snow-white skin flew like downy hairs" (Söng *et al.* 1997, 78-79). In this way, the author refused to romanticise the narrative, taking a step toward realism in literary expression.

In *Namch'ang*, there are considerable achievements in many aspects: organised criticism of the ruling class, realistic expression, and the pursuit of rationality, all of which move towards modernity. However, there are many questions left unanswered. Why was the author so obsessed with raising Ch'unhyang's status and elaborating her lady-like behaviour, but had her use coarse language during the beating scene? Also, if

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48 A colloquial and derogatory word for 'vagina' or 'sexual intercourse' in Korean. It is also a swear word. The word 'ssip' and the Sino-Korean word for ten are homophones.

he did not intend to promote her to the status of *chǒngryǒl-puin* and Yi's formal wife at the end of the story, why did he make such efforts to elevate Ch'unhyang's status at the beginning? The writer also presents the governor in a very confusing way, given that he is introduced rather positively in the beginning, but displays his cruelty in relation to Ch'unhyang and is frequently criticised by the public as notoriously corrupt. These are contradictions found in the first phase, "The Political" according to Jameson's three-phase interpretive scheme, and thus will be investigated further in the second phase, "The Social," to transform them into a collective and class discourse.

### 3.1.3.3. Wanp'an 84

The *Wanp'anbon* (Wanju Woodblock Print)<sup>49</sup> was derived from *p'ansori* Ch'unhyang-ka and produced in Chǒnju, Chǒlla Province, where *p'ansori* originated and developed. There are four strands of *Wanp'an* editions, named according to the number of pages: *Wanp'an 26chang*, *29chang*, *33chang*, and *84chang*. It is not yet clear when and why the editions started to be engraved or how they were distributed.<sup>50</sup> There is consensus that *Wanp'an 33chang* was produced through modification of *Wanp'an 29chang* and became *Wanp'an 84chang* through modification and expansion.<sup>51</sup> *Wanp'an 84chang* (hereafter *Wanp'an 84*) was the most popular edition amongst these and became a representative edition in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century alongside *Okchunghwa* (1912), which also belongs to the *Wanp'an* strand. *Wanp'an 84* was initially engraved in 1908

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49 Wanju was the old name for the city of Chǒnju.

50As *Wanp'an 26* only shows its affinity with *Wanp'an 29* due to its missing parts and excessive reduction, more transitional change can be observed only through *the Wanp'an 29, 33, and 84*.

51 Earlier studies contended that *Wanp'an 29* was produced between 1840 and 1850 (Kim 1976, 1) and *Wanp'an 33* in 1846 (Söl 1994, 186). A more recent study argues that *Wanp'an 33* was produced in 1906 (Chǒn Sanguk 2008, 218).

and continued being published until 1949 (Yun Kyusöp 1940; Ryu T'agil 1981; Chön Sanguk, 2006).

The main direction of the change from *Wanp'an* 29 to *Wanp'an* 84 is to heighten Ch'unhyang's status and image. As a result, it causes contradiction and dissonance in the logical flow of the narrative. However, the change among the *Wanp'an* editions seems also to be in accordance with the history of Ch'unhyang-chön. As the macro-narrative of Ch'unhyang-chön had already encompassed the traditions of Ch'unhyang-narrative for over three centuries by the time *Wanp'an* 84 was published, Ch'unhyang's status had by this point been steadily heightened in almost all branches of Ch'unhyang-chön. Though it is difficult to identify at this stage what were the main characteristics of the macro-narrative of Ch'unhyang-chön at that time, it can be crudely said that it was constituted by the covert surfacing of the development of modern thoughts in the text in terms of realistic expression, elevated self-consciousness of the protagonist, and social criticism etc. In some ways, the occurrence of contradictions between *Wanp'an* editions seems to be very natural as years go by and the modern era approaches.

In *Wanp'an* 29 and 33, as the daughter of the *kisaeng* Wölmae, Ch'unhyang's status is *kisaeng*, and there is no mention of her father. From *Wanp'an* 33, Ch'unhyang's image begins to improve with the addition of two motifs, the Song of Hwangrŭng Grave<sup>52</sup> and the Namwön *kisaeng* motif<sup>53</sup> (Chön S. 2008, 219). In *Wanp'an* 84, the idealisation of Ch'unhyang is intensified and this change demonstrates that *Wanp'an* 84 accepts or shares almost all the changes which *Namch'ang* made, but takes them one step further,

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52 Where various women, historically renowned for their chastity, appear to comfort Ch'unhyang.

53 The *kisaengs* of Namwön comfort Ch'unhyang after she is whipped as punishment.

and manages to maintain the unique characteristics of *p'ansori* and the traditions of preceding *Wanp'an* editions.

As in *Namch'ang*, in the very beginning of the story, *Wanp'an* 84 presents Ch'unhyang before Yi (whereas in *Wanp'an* 29 and 33, Yi appears earlier than Ch'unhyang), indicating that the story centres more around Ch'unhyang. Then, Ch'unhyang's mother's prenatal dream follows that of *Namch'ang*. The dream indicates that Ch'unhyang is the reincarnation of an outcast celestial being, but the content of the dream is slightly different. The status of Ch'unhyang's father rises further, as he is a scholar official called Sŏng Ch'amp'an<sup>54</sup> whose government rank is much higher than the military rank of Ch'unhyang's father in *Namch'ang*.

To raise Ch'unhyang's status, as in *Namch'ang*, Wŏlmae is introduced in a very favourable light: "*Though she is more than half a hundred, but she is in a gentle shape and well behaved, beautiful and full of blessings*" (61). When Yi comes to Ch'unhyang's house in the evening on the day of their first meeting, it is Wŏlmae who ushers him in, and Yi asks Wŏlmae's approval to marry Ch'unhyang and pledges to take her as his first wife, as in *Namch'ang*.

In summation, Ch'unhyang has the highest status in *Wanp'an* 84 and in general the editions which come later follow suit. This status strongly affects both the characterisation of Ch'unhyang and the other characters' attitudes towards her. For instance, even the way the blind fortune teller treats Ch'unhyang is completely different. While *Wanp'an* 26 does not contain the motif, in *Wanp'an* 29 and 33 the man sexually harasses Ch'unhyang by "*pushing his hand deeply*" (*Wanp'an* 29, 76). He also molests

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<sup>54</sup> Ch'amp'an is the third grade of scholar official, while the Ch'ŏnch'ong rank of Ch'unhyang's father in *Namch'ang* is in the third grade of military official.

Ch'unhyang in *Namwŏn-kosa*, but in *Namch'ang*, he treats her politely, though he takes an interpretation fee for deciphering her dream. In *Wanp'an 84*, far from sexual assault, the blind man extends Ch'unhyang every courtesy and offers her blessings while declining the money she offers him (Söl S.1995, 165-169).

However, this tendency of preserving Ch'unhyang's dignity is not consistently maintained. This inconsistency can be observed in relation to sexuality. When guards come to bring Ch'unhyang to the governor, she flirtatiously pulls their hands, treats them to drinks in a coquettish manner, and bribes them with money, succeeding in persuading them to return to the District Office without her (131-133). What is even more contradictory is the representation of Ch'unhyang as an object of sexual desire. Though the narrative elevates Ch'unhyang's social status to the highest level, the work literally and metaphorically undresses Ch'unhyang, and places her naked body right in the eyes of the public. What is obscene is not Ch'unhyang's behaviour itself, but the description of her given by the narrator<sup>55</sup>. Ch'unhyang does not behave licentiously, but the narrator lets Yi lead the sexual activities and display sexual maturity which seems excessive, given his young age.

In *Namwŏn-kosa* Ch'unhyang is sexually harassed by various male characters. In *Namwŏn-kosa*, the sexual portrayal of the heroine is the result of the formation of a sexual atmosphere, but in *Wanp'an 84*, sexual acts are expressed directly and explicitly, with a very long expression of explicit sexual acts on the first night of the marriage. On the other hand, *Namwŏn-kosa* puts in sexual remarks here and there, but does not contain actual sex acts. It is worth noting, however, that in *Namwŏn-kosa*, Ch'unhyang is the

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55 Some examples include: "suck her earlobe, suck her lip, nip her tongue," "trembling while grabbing her breast," "Her hands were moist as she stroked him," "Let's play piggy back . . . we are both naked. You crawl around the room on all fours. I will stick to your bottom tightly, grip your waist with my knees and slap your behind" (93).

daughter of *kisaeng* and her father is of the lower class, while in *Wanp'an* 84 she is the daughter of a scholar-official and retired *kisaeng*, meaning that there is a huge gap between the identities of the two Ch'unhyangs.

In line with the anonymous nature of the writer(s), it can be interpreted that the work reveals the carnivalesque aspect of *p'ansori* culture, allowing readers to enjoy freedom of speech, and providing an outlet for repressed desires in a derailing from ordinary life. As a result, in *Wanp'an* 84, Ch'unhyang is explicitly and publicly exposed for the voyeuristic sexual desire of anonymous producers and audiences. Notwithstanding, this reasoning cannot iron out the contradiction whereby *Wanp'an* 84 simultaneously elevates Ch'unhyang's status to the highest level and portrays her the most obscenely as a sexual object.

Ch'unhyang's characterisation is also inconsistent. For instance, when Wölmae and Yi discuss the marriage, Ch'unhyang's behaviour is the same as in *Namch'ang*. When Yi enters Ch'unhyang's house, she hides, and later sits beside Wölmae, shy and silent. In the parting scene, however, she behaves actively, like Ch'unhyang in *Namwön-kosa*. She suddenly becomes lively, assertive and defiant as in: Ch'unhyang "frowned with flashing eyes and contracted her brows, her nostrils flared, she ground her teeth," then, breaking mirrors and throwing household items about, Ch'unhyang cries, "Don't think that you can throw me off and be done with me because I was humbly born" (99-101). This inconsistency may have resulted from the raising Ch'unhyang's status in the midst of the traditional *p'ansori* Ch'unhyang-ka story, which the *Wanp'an* editions were derived from. However, it is equally feasible to judge that, along with her heightened status, Ch'unhyang's self-consciousness has risen, so she can mount a heroic resistance against the governor in the later sections.

The conflict between Ch'unhyang and the governor is more intensified here than in previous editions. Ch'unhyang fiercely rejects his *such'ong* order, and her clubbing is described more graphically, with her replies to each clubbing far more extended than in previous editions. Ch'unhyang pours out her resentment and criticisms of the governor. Her resistance demonstrates her articulate, self-conscious, character and defence of her chastity, and also a spirit of resistance to social injustice. Two verses of the ten-flogging song follow:

*Then came the fourth stroke. [Ch'unhyang cries] "The governor, official scholar! He does not care about the public affairs of the people, but neglects them. He rules by force and power. Don't you know that the people from the forty-eight sectors of Namwŏn are condemning you? Though my four limbs are severed, alike in life and death, I'll never forget my husband."* (145)

*The eighth stroke came: [Ch'unhyang cries] "I am so fortunate to have met the greatest governor in all the eight provinces! Are the governors of the eight provinces sent to rule the people well, or are they sent to do them evil?"* (147)

Ch'unhyang's reinforced sense of self most likely correlates with her elevated class status, as shown in *Namch'ang*. However, this is not always the case. In *Namwŏn-kosa* and *Kwanghallu-ki* Ch'unhyang demonstrates powerful resistance though she is of the lower-class. Therefore, though Ch'unhyang's fierce resistance against the governor is closely related to her strong self-consciousness, it is hard to confirm that this is purely a class issue. Nevertheless, the correlation between self-consciousness and social status carries much more weight in reality than in the fictional world, and hence the argument that the Ch'unhyang of *Wanp'an 84* possesses stronger self-identity due to her heightened status is quite convincing.

As for the governor, his representation differs in every edition. Generally, the older the edition, the more negative. This tendency also applies to *Wanp'an 84*. *Wanp'an 84* portrays the governor as not a very bad, but rather a very ordinary governor, whose fault is a love of womanising. However, ironically, this reinforces the intensity of Ch'unhyang's resistance to him, in a dire combination of strengthening the resistance of the heroine against the governor and a more favourable representation of the governor she so resists.

*Wanp'an 84* makes great efforts to raise Ch'unhyang's class, but despite this elevated status, in this work Ch'unhyang becomes the object of the obscenest sexual desire and expression. She also demonstrates strong self-consciousness, which leads to fiery resistance to the governor. It is understood that her strengthened self-identity is due to her heightened status. In the end Ch'unhyang is given the title of *chōngryōl-puin* but it is not clear whether she becomes Yi's legal wife. As for the governor, *Wanp'an 84* leaves a question unanswered: why is he presented so favourably while Ch'unhyang's resistance to him is maximised?

#### 3.1.3.4. Okchunghwa

*Okchunghwa* was serialised by Yi Haecho in *Maeil-sinbo* (The Daily News) from January to March 1912, and published in a type-printed book form in August of the same year<sup>56</sup>. During the 1910s the Korean publishing industry began a modern transformation, from wood-block print to movable type print (*hwaljabon*). Ch'unhyang-chōn was the most popular among traditional novels in *hwaljabon* and recorded the highest number

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<sup>56</sup> This paper uses the Nurimedia e-book edition (2011).

of publications, with 97 in total (Yi Chuyǒng 1998, 106). Most Ch'unhyang-chǒn editions published after 1910 were based on *Okchunghwa*, with little variation. Though Yi Haecho clearly stated that *Okchunghwa* was based on the style of the *p'ansori* singer Pak Kihong by specifying "Pak Kihong style" on the cover page of the printed books, there was no record of Pak Kihong and Pak Kihong *sasŏl* before *Okchunghwa*. Ironically Pak Kihong *sasŏl* was recorded only after the publication of *Okchunghwa*, so it is said that *Okchunghwa* is ironically the original script of the literalised Pak Kihong *sasŏl* (Kim Chongch'ŏl, 1995). It is believed, therefore, that though *Okchunghwa* was principally based on the contemporary Pak Kihong *p'ansori sasŏl* it could not possibly exclude the writer's view completely.

One of the most distinctive features of *Okchunghwa* is the characterisation of Ch'unhyang. *Okchunghwa* depicts Ch'unhyang as someone with a strong sense of self-identity, transcending that of all Ch'unhyang characters depicted in previous editions. The text demonstrates modernity in many ways, which will be examined in turn.

All the devices and motifs which were introduced in *Namch'ang* and *Wanp'an 84* to raise Ch'unhyang's birth status and dignity are accommodated. The introductory part is taken from *Namch'ang*, beginning with: "When an absolute beauty is born, she receives the vital force of the mountains and rivers" (1). Ch'unhyang is introduced prior to Yi, indicating that the text centres more on her. Ch'unhyang's mother's prenatal dream is brought from the motif in *Namch'ang*. Ch'unhyang's birth status is the same and as high as in *Wanp'an 84*. When Yi comes to Ch'unhyang in the evening on the day of their first meeting, Wŏlmae lets him in and Yi asks Wŏlmae's permission to marry Ch'unhyang and writes a marriage certificate on Wŏlmae's request. As for the sexual expression of their first night, following the precedent of *Namch'ang*, *Okchunghwa* removes the

obscene contents, replacing it with a wholesome love song: The narrator says that, “Recently, there are love songs like ... but this is too lewd, harmful to customs, and would be an insult to Ch’unhyang’s fidelity. However, it would not be fun to get rid of all the contents, so I shall sing it roughly” (36). In the end, Ch’unhyang rises to the status of *ch’ungryöl-buin* and becomes a formal wife of Yi. This may not be entirely modern, but by considering women’s position it seems to take a step forward compared to the previous editions, which targeted Ch’unhyang from a male-dominated viewpoint.

*Okchunghwa* makes it clear that Ch’unhyang clearly recognises her status and utilises it when necessary. When Pangja forces Ch’unhyang to go to see Yi at Kwanghallu by saying that it is a *yangban*’s order, Ch’unhyang replies; “You rascal! Is only the young master yangban? Am I not yangban too?” (11). When the head of the *kisaeng* comes to fetch her to the new governor, Ch’unhyang once again clarifies her status: “I will not be going, as I am not a *kisaeng*” (75). These examples show how, not only does Ch’unhyang have a clear perception of her status, and utilises it as it conflicts with social convention, she also has a strong sense of self-identity. Ch’unhyang’s self-esteem in relation to her status is stronger here than in *Wanp’an 84* or *Namch’ang*, where Ch’unhyang never negates her *kisaeng* status.

This strong sense of self-awareness expands to the concept of equality and faith between lovers beyond issues of class. In the parting passage, Yi tells Ch’unhyang that, as a *kisaeng* of humble birth, she cannot go with him as the governor forbids it:

“If it is talked about that the son of yangban has taken a concubine of low birth before marriage, he would surely be expelled from the genealogy and be barred from partaking in memorial services for the ancestors. What a bind to be in!” (43)

On hearing this, Ch'unhyang expresses her frustration unreservedly, frowning, yelling, and smashing furniture. Ch'unhyang in *Wanp'an 84* does the same, and Ch'unhyang in *Namwŏn-kosa* even threatens to take up legal proceedings against Yi. What the Ch'unhyang of *Okchunghwa* does surpasses even these, in that she problematises Yi's class discrimination to his face, and criticises his hypocritical attitude. Ch'unhyang expected that Yi would have risen above such distinction the moment he swore to take her as his wife<sup>57</sup> but he did not.

*What? What did you say? A low concubine? Huh, a low concubine? What is this word? . . . The master [you] sat here, and I, Ch'unhyang, sat there and you told me "Even if the mulberry field becomes blue sea, let us never part." Did'nt you swear to me? (44)*

In the scene of their meeting in prison, Ch'unhyang asks Yi to look after Wŏlmae after she dies, as her execution is set for the following day. Given that the setting of the narrative is the latter half of Chosŏn, it does not seem feasible or ordinary for a concubine of low *kisaeng* birth to ask a very young *yangban* husband to support her elderly mother as a dying wish. For instance, in *Ch'unhyang-sinsŏl*, Yi takes Ch'unhyang to Sŏul only after Wŏlmae dies, and this is three years after the scene with the emergence of the Ŏsa. This request, for Yi to care for Ch'unhyang's mother, does not appear in any previous editions. However, this little variation signals that their relationship has turned into that of a man and woman of equal standing.

This view is powerfully supported in the couple's reunion scene during the Ŏsa's inspection period. As in all the other editions, Yi tests Ch'unhyang, ordering her to take

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<sup>57</sup> Yi writes for Ch'unhyang a kind of insurance letter, in substitution for a wedding ceremony and rites before their first night together (30).

his *such'ōng*. However, in *Okchunghwa*, when Ch'unhyang finds out that the identity of the Ŏsa is Yi, her response is diametrically opposed to the convention of Ch'unhyang-narrative in which Ch'unhyang is extremely happy at finding him, embraces him and dances for joy. In *Okchunghwa*, Ch'unhyang gives an agonised cry and bitterly expresses her resentment:

*. . . not coming out of the internal organs but from the gallbladder.*

*“Ai ai ai ai - - -!”*

*“You are harsh! Harsh! The Sŏul yangban[Yi] is harsh! You saw how tormented I was in the prison last night! If you had told only me ‘Be at peace!’, I would have not been so agonised last night. But you try to see how I suffer and die . . . If I had known, I would not have been already in this world.” (180-1)*

This aspect of *Okchunghwa* is a significant development. In all other versions, despite all the pain and suffering of the previous night, Ch'unhyang gratefully and delightfully accepts Yi's return without the slightest resentment or criticism of the way Yi treats her, and Yi remains a saviour and benefactor. In *Okchunghwa*, for the first time in Ch'unhyang-narrative, Ch'unhyang raises the trust issue, criticising Yi's lack of sympathy and care for her. Such an attitude clearly signals a step towards modern thinking, with Ch'unhyang's self-consciousness, and conception of love between man and woman as that of equals.

Regarding Ch'unhyang's elevated status, *Okchunghwa* is quite revolutionary, as Yi's parents accept Ch'unhyang as their prospective daughter-in-law. Before they leave for Sŏul they send Ch'unhyang a large sum of money, a considerable amount of rice, jewels, fabric and gold, with the message: *“If the young master [Yi] passes the state exams, we will send for you, so do not be sad and stay well” (59-60).*

In many editions, Yi does not dare to tell his parents about Ch'unhyang, or if he does, he is severely scolded. In *Okchunghwa*, not only is Ch'unhyang accepted by Yi's parents before the official marriage, she is also rewarded as a *ch'ungryoŏl-buin* and Yi's formal wife at the end of the story. Ch'unhyang's status is not a stigma as it was in other editions. This hints that the caste system, which was the foundation of Confucian society, was considerably weakening.

In this vein, *Okchunghwa* reflects the way in which the rigidity of the Chosŏn social system was being undermined. This weakening of Confucian ideas can also be found in the fact that *Okchunghwa* portrays Yi as an explicitly comic figure. In fact, a far cry from the Hanmun editions and *Namch'ang*, in most Hangŭl editions Yi is presented as a frivolous child to some extent until he reveals his identity as *Amhaengŏsa* and executes his public duties. In *Okchunghwa*, the nature of Yi's frivolity extends far further, going well beyond anything that can be accepted in the Confucian system.

At the beginning of the text, Yi is introduced as a playboy, who "*matured early, loves poetry and p'ungryu, indulges in wine and women . . . and is truly magnanimous*" (2). The image of Yi as a pleasure-seeker explains his impious behaviour toward his father and ancestors, such as his comment that "*Even if twenty thousand of my relatives died, I would not bat an eyelid* (41-2)."

*Seeing tears in his eyes, before she hears the farewell news from Yi,  
Ch'unhyang asks,*

*"Have you heard news of a relative's death?"*

*"Even if twenty thousand of my relatives died, I would not bat an eyelid."*

*"Oh, you frustrate me! Please speak!"*

*"The Satto fell down."*

*"Was he hurt by the fall?"*

*"You have always listened upside down. If he had fallen and been severely injured, it would be enough for him to take medicine. But he has been*

*promoted to the government position of tongbusŭngji and must go to the capital to work in the palace.” (41-42)*

When Yi meets Pangja, who is on his way to Sŏul to hand him Ch'unhyang's letter, Yi carelessly exposes his identity as the Ŏsa (120). At the banquet of the governor, Yi makes a hilarious scene. He forces a *kisaeng* to sit on his knee, “*Not eating the ribs, he puts them in his mouth and removes them with plenty of saliva, then offers her the ribs dripping with spit*” (163). In the banquet scene, Yi's comic words and deeds are displayed in almost all editions, except the Hanmun editions. In *Okchunghwa*, however, the scene is so exaggerated that Yi is made into a caricature. In fact, the narrator of *Kwanghallu-ki* does not allow Yi to become the subject of this comical scene, interposing “*In the low [p'ansori] edition, the Ŏsa is in the banquet place. However, how can it make sense?*” (107).

Based on the examples gathered above, it is fair to suggest that Yi is made into a caricature to incite laughter by trampling Confucian tradition. The fact that the caricature of Yi is expanded through the history of Ch'unhyang-narrative implies that the upper class represented by Yi was ripe for ridicule. Yi stands for the upper class, as a figure of absolute power entrusted to him by the king. In this sense, the caricature of Yi indicates that the reverence of the lower class towards the upper class is diminishing.

As for the conflict between the governor and Ch'unhyang, it is as strong as in *Wanp'an 84*. Ch'unhyang receives tremendous support from various groups of people, but their criticism of the governor does not expand much to the issues of his administration. Moreover, the governor is introduced more favourably than in *Wanp'an 84*. Therefore, there is dissymmetry, since Ch'unhyang's resistance to the governor is fiercer and the people's support for Ch'unhyang is stronger, but the portrayal of the governor is more favourable, and criticism of the governor's administration is sparse.

This kind of imbalance has been already witnessed in *Wanp'an 84*. However, what is most surprising in this work is that Yi pardons the governor, and lets him stay in his position as governor of Namwŏn, he even thanks him: “*How could Ch'unhyang's faithfulness be known, if it were not you.*”

In *Okchunghwa*, modern thoughts permeate many aspects of Ch'unhyang-narrative. Ch'unhyang's self-consciousness is articulated more, she problematises class discrimination, and develops and advocates the concept of love between equals. The weakening of Confucian social structures is also visible in the behaviour of Ch'unhyang, Yi, and the people around them. There are also questions left to ponder with regard to the views of and treatment of the governor. It is clear that all of these are inextricably related to the socio historical background in which *Okchunghwa* was written. There will be discussion of the social and political changes related to this work in the next section on “The Social,” since the main concern here is contradictions within or between editions, along with internal analysis of the work.

### 3.1.3.5. Ilsŏl Ch'unhyang-chŏn

*Ilsŏl Ch'unhyang-chŏn* (hereafter *Ilsŏl*) was written by Yi Kwangsu and published in the *Tonga- Ilbo* between 1925 and 1926. The *Tonga-Ilbo* reported its recruiting project for a Ch'unhyang-chŏn manuscript on December 1924, announcing that Ch'unhyang-chŏn was the most widely known “national literature” of the Chosŏn people, so it would be a great achievement if it were re-written in a modern style. In addition, the author of *Ilsŏl*, Yi Kwangsu, also wrote *Mujŏng* in 1917, widely acknowledged to have been the first modern Korean novel. This context, therefore, makes it clear that the work was written with the aim of creating a modern Ch'unhyang-chŏn.

The fact that *Ilŏl* is similar to *Okchunghwa* and *Kobon Ch'unhyang-chŏn* has already been pointed out by many academics as far back as Cho Yunche (1940). Yi Chiyŏng (2016) also supports these findings. Generally, the first half of the *Ilŏl* is similar to *Okchunghwa*, and the latter half is similar to *Kobon Ch'unhyang-chŏn*, which is based on the Hyangmok-dong rental book of the *Namwŏn-kosa* strand. Despite this fact, in the first half of the work, Yi Kwangsu made major adjustments to the love between Ch'unhyang and Yi, and to Ch'unhyang's suffering after their parting. In the latter half, Yi Kwangsu's adjustments are less extreme, mainly coming through after the appearance of the Ősa.

In one word, *Ilŏl*'s most defining characteristic is modernity. Since *Ilŏl* was written in 1925—when the Confucian-centric Chosŏn had been completely dismantled, the class system abolished, concepts of feudal ideology decisively weakened, and when liberty, equality and individuality were gaining prominence—its underlying modern thought is quite a natural phenomenon.

*Ilŏl* demonstrates a shift in the Ch'unhyang-narrative from romance to novel, an example of this being that it refrains from including any superhuman set-up for the protagonists. Typically, the heroes of romances are of noble birth, possessing special talents and abilities, and occupy a spectrum different to that of ordinary people. In the novel, however, the main character is an ordinary person, placed in reality. In *Ilŏl*, the two protagonists are presented as more realistic figures through such a process.

*Wanp'an 84*, *Okchunghwa*, and *Ilŏl*, all present Ch'unhyang as a beautiful and brilliant woman, who is excellent at writing and skills related to the feminine domain, such as needlework. However, while *Okchunghwa* and *Wanp'an 84* portray Ch'unhyang as an absolute beauty, comparing her to figures in Chinese history and fables, and present her as a heavenly being through Wŏlmae's prenatal dreams, *Ilŏl*'s Ch'unhyang

is neither an absolute beauty nor a heavenly existence. Pangja says, “*I don’t know if she is an absolute beauty, but rumour has it that she is the most beautiful woman in the Honam [old name for Chölla province] region*” (426).

It is also worth noting that Ch’unhyang is degraded from a celestial being to a mere human, and brought into ‘real space’ or a world of ‘realism.’ When Wölmae refers to the same prenatal dream as the one presented in *Namch’ang*, Ch’unhyang flatly dismisses it as having been forcibly deciphered, saying, “*Mother, you deciphered it well yourself*” (433).

There is no lengthy account of Yi’s lineage when he is introduced, and the staple passage, “*Yi Toryong is as handsome as Tumokchi, a Yi Paek at composing verses, a Wang Huichi at calligraphy*” (*Wanp’an* 84, 23), is also omitted. Pangja simply introduces him as a man who is handsome, has a good character, and devotes himself to reading: a positive image of Yi without exaggeration.

Yi Kwangsu’s intention is further strengthened by the use of Yi’s given name, Mongryöng, rather than any title; this is a first Ch’unhyang-narrative. Since the title of Toryöng (young master) reveals a strong sense of social hierarchy, the use of ‘Mongryöng’ demonstrates the writer’s attempt to characterise the male protagonist simply as a man, removing the trappings of class. Later in the story, however, his name is replaced with the title ‘Ösa’ when he is appointed to the position by the King.

In relation to the status of Ch’unhyang, from *Namch’ang* to *Okchunghwa*, the writers tried to raise her status, whereas the writer of *Ilsoöl* focuses more on Ch’unhyang’s consciousness of her identity, rather than making efforts to raise her status. In *Ilsoöl*, Yi Kwangsu also introduces new motifs to further highlight the self-consciousness that Ch’unhyang has about her identity, such as Ch’unhyang’s sadness at being unable to call Mongryöng’s father “father” (455), or her worries over how her future children

would be treated as the children of a *kisaeng* like herself (448). In the previous versions, Ch'unhyang keeps silent about her class consciousness, but here she expresses it actively. This active expression on the part of Ch'unhyang is a strong trait of modernity in *Ilŏl*.

The modernity of *Ilŏl* is also revealed by the discourse around the couple's love. Ch'unhyang-chŏn is labelled a love story, however, in the most read editions, the *Namwŏn-kosa* and *Wanp'an* 84, it is hard to see how the love between the two protagonists grows and matures. There is no love in the love story, only struggle on the part of Ch'unhyang, to protect her love by risking her life. Ch'unhyang suffers great difficulty after rejecting the governor's *such'ŏng* order, and her love is confirmed on the eve of the governor's birthday, by showing her loyalty to Yi, who is said to have lost everything and have nothing to offer her.

Yi's love is not tested like Ch'unhyang's. He is merely an instrumental character, given the role of son in a prestigious family. He is a character who provides the conflict structure that enables Ch'unhyang to struggle with the governor. In *Ilŏl*, however, this stereotypical character is given an independent colour.

Starting with *Manhwabon*, the earliest version of Ch'unhyang-narrative, Yi is introduced as a 'playboy': "*Though he is young, he has an ample taste for beauty*" (line 65). Then in *Namwŏn-kosa*, he is described as going to *kisaeng* houses and bars every day in the fair seasons (65). *Ilŏl*'s Yi, however, is introduced as a naive young man whose face reddens after only three or four cups of alcohol (447), lacking what it takes to become a man of *p'ungryu*. As the character of Yi Mongryŏng is established in this way, the relationship between Ch'unhyang and Mongryŏng is transformed from a relationship between a beautiful *kisaeng* and the young master of powerful family who enjoys beautiful things, into the meeting of a beautiful man and woman who love and respect each other.

This also shapes the way in which they marry. Unlike in previous versions, Mongryǒng treats Ch'unhyang as his first formal wife instead of a *kisaeng*, extending her every courtesy. For example, Mongryǒng asks Ch'unhyang to sing a song to go with their wine, but he makes it clear in advance that he is not thinking of her as a *kisaeng*, but that it is a happy day for them. When Ch'unhyang finishes her song, he replies that "husband and wife are one body" (446). When Ch'unhyang laments her *chǒin* (lowest status) birth, Mongryǒng comforts her, saying "*I am the best, not my father. Is it not so? . . . If you don't change, I would be happy to be the slave of a slave*" (448).

Such statements demonstrate Mongryǒng's modern thinking. The extent to which what he says is actually a practical possibility depends on the era to which he belongs. The era the Mongryǒng of *Ilsoŭl* is supposed to inhabit is a matter for discussion, but he seems to be the most progressive male protagonist in any of the versions.

The description of the couple's love eliminates any sexual portrayals by completely omitting description of their first night together. In most Hangŭl versions, especially in *Wanp'an 84*, with a little variation, the text focuses on how the couple play sexual games on the first night of their marriage, until they hear of their impending separation. However, in *Ilsoŭl*, a section entitled "Love" is set aside to show how their relationship matures, by describing what has been going on between them for over a year from their first night together until the time when they must part. The reinforcement of this subplot is the next step to provide a foothold for why Ch'unhyang is able to face the governor in a fierce confrontation and also express unwavering love for Mongryǒng. If *Ilsoŭl* views Ch'unhyang-chǒn fundamentally as a love story and wants to emphasise this, the reinforcement of this subplot can be regarded as a key adaption.

Mongryǒng's love should be interrogated further in relation to traditional Ch'unhyang-narrative. When Ch'unhyang-chǒn is considered a love story, the part that

is most unfriendly or questionable is that Mongryǒng tries to conceal his identity even to Ch'unhyang until the last moment, when he emerges as the Ŏsa. This means that Ch'unhyang must spend a most desperate night. In addition, as Ŏsa he gives Ch'unhyang one more test of her fidelity. For Mongryǒng these are the moments of joy that confirm Ch'unhyang's love, but for Ch'unhyang they are the hours of despair, in which she stands before the unknown abyss of death. In *Ilŏl*, however, Mongryǒng expresses frustration at not being able to reveal his own situation: expressing his sadness many times, and repeatedly sending messages to give Ch'unhyang hope.

Through such changes to Mongryǒng's personality, the couple's love grows in different dimensions, and the result is that Ch'unhyang-chǒn becomes a love story on a different level. However, it is also worth noting that this new dimension of Ch'unhyang-chǒn can seriously undermine the topic of class struggle in the narrative.

Another aspect of modernity shown in this work is the weakening of the class system and Confucian discipline. The weakening of medieval ideologies shown in *Okchunghwa* is much strengthened in *Ilŏl*, and it should also be noted that the subject of change is Mongryǒng, the upper-class character, just as it is in *Okchunghwa*. Mongryǒng says to Ch'unhyang, "*We're both in love and pledged to live together for a hundred years. Yukrye*<sup>58</sup> *are old and troublesome. They serve no purpose for us.* (448)" Here Mongryǒng contradicts fundamental disciplines of Confucian tradition, hierarchy, and the class system altogether. Mongryǒng also shows a liberal attitude many times in his remarks about his father, ancestors, and elders. For example, when Mongryǒng hears that Pangja is a posthumous child and feels that his father is a stumbling block in his relationship with Ch'unhyang, he says, "*I wish I were a posthumous child too*" (440)

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58 The six rites of marriage in Confucian society.

The modern tendencies of Mongryŏng also appear in his respect and warm treatment of the servants in the government office. In *Ilŏl* Yi Kwangsu also presents the hardships of the lower classes at various points, an example being that Pangja expresses his economic and social problems. As for social issues, *Ilŏl* contains stronger social criticism than any other version of Ch'unhyang-narrative. This is done entirely through the governor. The characterisation of the governor in *Ilŏl* reinforces the details given in the introduction of *Namwŏn-kosa*, elaborating on his absurdity. Yi Kwangsu emphasises the governor's maladministration and bad nature, and all the episodes related to this that were presented in *Namwŏn-kosa* are included in *Ilŏl*.

As mentioned earlier, *Ilŏl* borrowed most of the episodes of *Namwŏn-kosa* in the latter part of the work and transferred the *sasŏl* as it is. In addition to this, the original episodes of *Namwŏn-kosa* are given further detail, providing more concrete description. An example is the episode that shows officers collecting excessive rice and fabrics from the people of Namwŏn (*Namwŏn-kosa*, 288). There are many such versions of Ch'unhyang-narrative, but it is common for the governor's punishment not to be dealt with in detail. Most versions simply offer an explanation by the narrator that he was dismissed and locked up in the government office. In *Okchunghwa*, for the first time, a face-to-face meeting between the Ŏsa and the governor is included, in this case however, the tradition of Ch'unhyang-narrative is dismissed with the pardoning of the governor, and the Ŏsa requesting that he govern the people of Namwŏn well. In *Ilŏl*, however, the Ŏsa confronts the governor in a direct manner and punishes him with dismissal and imprisonment. It can be seen that in the latter half of the work, Yi Kwangsu seeks to emphasise the corruption of the upper classes represented by the governor. It should be recognised that it was an intentional decision by Yi Kwangsu to choose *Kobon*

*Ch'unhyang-chŏn* of the *Namwŏn-kosa* strand, which takes the most critical attitude toward the governor, as his basis for this aspect of the story.

Another aspect of modernity revealed in *Ilŏl* is the nature of capitalism. Such capitalist attributes are revealed more prominently in *Ilŏl* than in any other version in the history of Ch'unhyang-narrative through Wŏlmae.

Unlike other versions, *Ilŏl* gives considerable space to peripheral characters. Among them, the role of Wŏlmae is expanded more than in any other version. The presence of Wŏlmae in the Hanmun editions is meagre, but it gradually grows in the Hangŭl editions. In most cases, she is renowned as a person who shows a little culture, the temperament of a *kisaeng*, materialism, and maternal love for Ch'unhyang. In *Ilŏl*, along with all these tendencies, Wŏlmae's inclination towards the material manifests negatively, thereby introducing capitalism into Ch'unhyang-narrative in earnest.

As for Ch'unhyang's status, as in *Wanp'an 84* and *Okchunghwa*, Ch'unhyang is the illegitimate daughter of a high-ranking scholar official, Sŏng Ch'amp'an, and retired *kisaeng*, Wŏlmae. In addition, the issue of *Taebichŏngsok*, which was not dealt with in *Wanp'an 84* and *Okchunghwa*, is raised again, and Ch'unhyang's exemption from *kwanbi* (*kisaeng* of the government) status through the *Taebichŏngsok* is confirmed and recognised by characters such as Pangja and the Chief Secretary of the local government office (the *Hojang*). Wŏlmae's confidence in Ch'unhyang is the highest here among the editions under discussion, as in her line, "Even if I die, I don't want to give Ch'unhyang to a yangban as a concubine," (444) revealing her ambition for Ch'unhyang's ascendancy, which would have been difficult to realize in the reality of the Chosŏn Dynasty.

Nevertheless, Ch'unhyang is treated as *kisaeng* by many other characters. When Ch'unhyang is waiting for Yi after their parting, many playboys come to Ch'unhyang

and ask or threaten her, saying, “*Let’s live together,*” (468) even swearing when they are turned down.

“*Following the rumour that Ch’unhyang has been keeping herself chaste since the son of the previous governor went to Sŏul, the guys in Namwŏn who were good at womanising, like the clerks of the government office, men of town, and playboys, gave Ch’unhyang their hearts*” (468).

However, it should be noted that Wŏlmae in *Ilŏl* is much worse regarding Ch’unhyang’s *kisaeng* status. When Ch’unhyang is crying after parting with Yi, Wŏlmae says: “*there will be another young master. Don’t worry, there will be no husband famine!*” (464).

“*I cried the same way for my first husband. But if you taste a new one, you’ll find he’s as good as the old one. As time goes by . . . When a new governor arrives, there will be another young master. Don’t worry, there will be no husband famine!*” (464).

Ch’unhyang is treated as a *kisaeng* and her body is coveted by men regardless of their class. The blind fortune teller enters the prison door and “squatting on his knees, pushes his hands into the cell and touches Ch’unhyang’s body” (505). As shown in these examples, though Ch’unhyang is said to be exempted from *kisaeng* status through the *Taebichŏngsok*, she lived during a time when this could be ignored at any time according to the whims of other people. This aspect of *Ilŏl* seems thoroughly unmodern, especially since *Wanp’an 84* and *Okchunghwa* already showed auxiliary characters treating Ch’unhyang with respect. Yi Kwangsu must have handled this aspect in this way because he chose *Namwŏn-kosa* as the basis for his work: the Ch’unhyang-narrative that portrayed the most supporting characters sexually harassing Ch’unhyang, regardless of their caste. Another possible reason is that the “modern age” in which Yi Kwangsu lived was not yet a full-fledged modern age. In 1925 when the work was

written, only 30 years had passed since the abolishment of the class system that had been deeply rooted in Korea for over 500 years. Many remnants of the system remained, and this work reflects this fact.

Yi Kwangsu's *Ilŏl* shows a lot of modern aspects, including: more common description of the protagonists, growth in Ch'unhyang's self-consciousness, the concept of love, the weakening of Confucian consciousness, observations on the lives of the lowest class, strong criticism and punishment for corrupt bureaucrats, and the rise of capitalist property. These have many implications for future discussions, particularly when considering the colonial context in which *Ilŏl* was written.

Finally, if we compare *Ilŏl* with *Mujŏng* with in terms of modernity, we can find common features in terms of criticism of and resistance to Confucianism, and exploration of free love. In the sense that *Ilŏl* presents ideas of love and marriage, and thus implies that modern love should go in this direction, it can be said to share an enlightenment agenda with *Mujŏng*.

## 3.2. The Social

### 3.2.1. Preliminary Remarks

According to Jameson's three-phased interpretative framework, the previous section of this paper constituted the first stage of analysis of the nine editions of Ch'unhyang-chŏn spanning three centuries. In my analysis I sought out contradictions within and between narratives, to establish ideologemes of macro Ch'unhyang-narrative.

Jameson's second phase, "The Social" widens "to include the social order" and the very work of the analysis is thereby "dialectically transformed" from "an individual 'text' or work in the narrow sense to the great collective and class discourses" (Jameson

2007, 61). Within the first phase, an individual work is *grasped as a symbolic act*, an imaginary solution, and within the second phase the individual text becomes “a *parole*, or individual utterance, of that vaster system, or *langue*, of class discourse” (Ibid., 70). Accordingly, the interpretation in this stage seeks to grasp the text as “a symbolic move in an essentially polemic and strategic ideological confrontation between the classes” (Ibid., 70-71).

In Marxism, the very content of a class ideology is relational, as its ‘value’ is always defined against the opposing class: the ruling class always seeks all strategies of legitimation of its power system while the opposing class seek to contest and subvert the dominant ‘value system’ in hidden and covert strategies. In this vein, following Mikhail Bakhtin, Jameson (Ibid., 69-70) says that within the second phase, class discourse is “essentially dialogical in its structure” and “the normal form of the dialogical is essentially an *antagonistic* one,” and that “the dialogue of class struggle is one in which two opposing discourses fight it out within the general unity of a shared code” (Ibid., 70). Jameson provides an example of a shared master in the case of the seventeenth-century English revolution. In 1640’s England, the shared master code was religion: the dominant formulations of a hegemonic theology.<sup>59</sup> The diverse classes and class divisions had to contend their ideology through the shared medium of a religious master code while re-appropriating and contentiously revising the code. This example demonstrates how, “within the apparent unity of the theological code, the fundamental difference of antagonistic class positions can be made to emerge” (Ibid., 74). This can be applied to Chosŏn society, where various classes had no option but to accept and embrace Confucian ideology, obliged to contend their ideology through the shared

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<sup>59</sup> Refer to Christopher Hill. (1972).

master code of Confucian ideas. In Ch'unhyang-chŏn, the shared master code is Confucian ideology: 'faithfulness' and 'fidelity.' Accordingly, the different classes re-appropriate this master code and polemically modify it, with 'displacement in emphasis' occurring depending on the position of each class.

Ch'unhyang-chŏn changed like a living creature over three centuries. In the very beginning of the construction of the narrative, Ch'unhyang-chŏn might have been produced out of sheer confusion and uneasiness, as the Caduveo created facial painting to express their perplexity derived from their caste system. However, unlike the Caduveo who did not have any means to resolve the uneasiness in reality, the people of late Chosŏn were somehow able to resolve their contradictions, or to 'disguise' them with the help of institutionalised Confucian ideology, but the inequality and the vexation they experienced in their daily lives could never be expressed publicly outside of their subconscious. They could not materialise their uneasiness because the state cleverly and persistently instilled Confucian ideology into them to make them obey the upper class; and because expressing ideas opposed to Confucian political ideology would cost them their lives. In this context, as they were unable to conceptualize the contradiction and its resolution directly, they began to fantasise, and convey this in the imaginary narrative form. In this way, they sent signs of their uneasiness to Chosŏn society as the Caduveo did through their visual form of art.

Jameson contends that "by definition the cultural monuments and masterworks that have survived tend necessarily to perpetuate only a single voice in this class dialogue, the voice of a hegemonic class" (2007, 71). He argues that the marginalised voices opposed to that of the hegemonic class were mostly "stifled and reduced to silence" and that cultural monuments and masterworks should be "properly assigned their relational

place in a dialogical system” through “the restoration or artificial reconstruction” of the stifled and silenced voice of the marginalised (2007, 71).

Jameson’s contention is particularly resonant with Ch’unhyang-chŏn as it is a story about the love and conflict between ruling class and lowest class within a rigid caste system. We can infer from this context that the writers and the *kwangdae* must have taken great care in dealing with each word and each scene in order not to offend the ruling class even slightly, especially as performance was the mode of the narrative’s existence. This meant that writers and *kwangdae* of Ch’unhyang-chŏn would have had their content stifled. Under the circumstances, as Jameson argues, the interpretation of Ch’unhyang-chŏn should be a rewriting of its sub-text, and the stifled and silenced voice of the marginalised should be restored and reconstructed in the sub-text.

According to Jameson, within this second phase, the work of the analysis becomes “the *ideologeme*, that is, the smallest intelligible unit of the essentially antagonistic collective discourse of social classes” (Ibid., 61). The text of Ch’unhyang-chŏn is itself an *antagonistic dialogue of class voices* as a cultural artefact. In order to identify and make an inventory of ideologemes in the antagonistic discourse, this section will relate the contradictions already examined in the previous section to the contemporary socio-political context of the text. However, since it is difficult to accommodate all the contradictions in the nine works, this section will examine the most representative issues of the text, the ‘antagonistic dialogue of class voices’: the issues of Ch’unhyang and the new governor.

### 3.2.2. Ch'unhyang's Status

#### 3.2.2.1. Changes in Ch'unhyang's Status

Interestingly, it is found that in terms of the base storyline, Ch'unhyang-chŏn did not change much over the three centuries from *Manhwabon*, the first written Ch'unhyang-chŏn, to *Ilŏl Ch'unhyang-chŏn*, the latest version discussed here. Though *Manhwabon* is written in verse, it contains considerable relevant details and chains of events related to the storyline of Ch'unhyang-narrative that have been transmitted up to the 20th century. Therefore, it is believed that the narrative had already been stabilised before *Manhwabon* was written. Nevertheless, many subtle elements of the narrative have undergone changes in numerous ways, and these changes generated waves of sub-changes, which influence various elements of the narrative. Considering that Ch'unhyang-chŏn has over 150 versions derived from various family groups, it would be almost impossible to map out the changes of all the details. Nonetheless, through the examination of the nine works, it has been found that some irreversible changes towards modernity occurred.

The most noticeable change in details is that the status of Ch'unhyang changes in each edition. The status of Ch'unhyang affects the elements of the narrative in an immediate and multifaceted manner since the caste system shapes nearly every aspect of a person in Chosŏn. This not only changes Ch'unhyang's behaviour and her relationship with other characters, it also makes some authors create new episodes that support her elevated status.

We have already discussed how Ch'unhyang's class appeared in each of the works in the preceding section, "The Political." I will summarize the changes that have been made in each work for the discussion below.

Appendix 1 (p.333) presents the change of Ch'unhyang's status in the nine works discussed earlier. There are many other ensuing issues that can be derived depending on whether Ch'unhyang's status is *kisaeng* or non-*kisaeng*, but the table is drawn up based on the most directly related issues: motherhood, paternity, *taebichöngsok*, prenatal dream, and acquired status. Ch'unhyang's status gradually rises going into the later versions.

Ch'unhyang's birth status is dependent on her mother's class status. However, Ch'unhyang is not simply the daughter of a *kisaeng*. In *Manhwabon*, Ch'unhyang is a *kisaeng*, and in *Ch'unhyang-sinsöl*, *Kwanghallu-ki*, *Kwanghallu-akpu* and *Namwön-kosa* she is the daughter of a *kisaeng*. In *Namch'ang*, she is elevated one step further as the daughter of a retired *kisaeng*. In subsequent works since then, Ch'unhyang is always the daughter of a retired *kisaeng*. In *Namch'ang*, Ch'unhyang's mother gave birth to Ch'unhyang in her forties (3) and in *Wanp'an 84* she had Ch'unhyang in her forties by praying to heaven and earth long after her early retirement (16-18). Such explanation is provided to support Ch'unhyang's decent upbringing, which makes the reader imagine that the environment of Ch'unhyang's home is distant from a *kisaeng* quarter, and closer to an ordinary family home. Consequently, Ch'unhyang's status steadily improves according to the connotation of each of the three modes: *kisaeng*, daughter of *kisaeng*, and daughter of a retired *kisaeng* who gave birth long after her retirement.

Secondly, the status of Ch'unhyang's father makes a decisive difference concerning Ch'unhyang's status. In most editions of Ch'unhyang-chön, there is long description of Yi's paternal line to emphasise his pedigree. However, in all four Hanmun editions, there is no mention of Ch'unhyang's father. In the Hanmun editions Ch'unhyang does not even have a surname. In Chosön it was customary for *kisaeng* belonging to the local government not to possess surnames, thus, Ch'unhyang does not have one (Chöng

Yönsik 2004, 288). However, in *Namwön-kosa*, Ch'unhyang's father, whose surname is Kim, is mentioned just once and appears to be a commoner (299-300). Here Ch'unhyang is at least able to have her own surname. In *Namch'ang*, Ch'unhyang's status rises to a different level as she becomes the illegitimate daughter of a *yangban* whose military rank is quite high. In *Wanp'an 84*, Ch'unhyang's status is elevated one step higher as her father is now a *yangban* government official of an even higher rank. In *Okchunghwa* and *Ilsöl Ch'unhyang-chön*, Ch'unhyang's status remains the same as in *Wanp'an 84*.

The next issue is *taebichöngsok*. Shin Chaehyo's *Namch'ang* is the first work which makes Ch'unhyang's *taebichöngsok* status very clear, through Pangja's statement in the very beginning of the text (9). In *Namch'ang*, Ch'unhyang has already been freed from slave status before she meets Yi. The issue of *taebichöngsok* appeared for the very first time in *Namwön-kosa*, but there Ch'unhyang did *taebichöngsok* only after marrying Yi. The term *taebichöngsok* does not come up in any of the four Hanmun editions. In *Manhwabon*, Yi tells Ch'unhyang that he will remove her name from the *kisaeng* register and that she should marry him and serve him for the rest of her life (329). However, this only happens after Yi settles the new governor's maladministration as Ösa, and it is not clear whether he is referring to *taebichöngsok*. The issue of *taebichöngsok* is fairly important as Ch'unhyang often uses her freedom from *kisaeng* status as grounds for why she cannot serve the new governor, and many other characters agree with her. It is noteworthy that Hanmun editions deprive Ch'unhyang of the chance to carry out *taebichöngsok* or to be in a better position to fight the governor.

The fourth issue is Ch'unhyang's pre-birth status. *Namch'ang* presents Wölmae's prenatal dream in which Ch'unhyang appears as a heavenly being in the form of an

expelled fairy. The works which came after *Namch'ang* all follow suit, aside from *Ilsöl* which attempted to be a modern novel.

The last issue is Ch'unhyang's acquired status. In *Manhwabon*, Ch'unhyang is rewarded as a *chöngryöl-puin* by the King. In the other three Hanmun editions, there is no such a reward. In *Namwön-kosa*, Ch'unhyang is rewarded as a *chöngryöl-puin*, Yi's parents approve their marriage, and Ch'unhyang is subsequently introduced to the household shrine as Yi's proper and legitimate wife. In *Wanp'an 84* Ch'unhyang is rewarded as a *chöngryöl-puin*, but there is no clear statement about whether she becomes Yi's legitimate wife. In *Okchunghwa* Ch'unhyang is rewarded as a *ch'ungrüöl-puin* and becomes the legal wife of Yi, and in *Ilsöl*, she is rewarded as *chöngryöl-puin* and Yi's legitimate wife.

Combinations of these elements in each work, from Ch'unhyang's birth status to her acquired status, display some kind of correlation. However, Shin's *Namch'ang* shows confusing results. Examining changes in details of Ch'unhyang's status in relation to her mother and father, *taebichöngsok*, and her acquired has shown that Shin's *Namch'ang* took an unprecedented path in all of these aspects, without exception, and changed Ch'unhyang's status in versions to follow. From *Namch'ang* onwards, Ch'unhyang becomes the illegitimate daughter of a *yangban*, free from her previous *kisaeng* status through *taebichöngsok*, and a celestial being who was sent to earth for punishment. These are all unprecedented moves, nevertheless, within *Namch'ang* Ch'unhyang's status does not rise: she is not rewarded as *chöngryöl-puin* nor does she become a legitimate wife. Yi simply tells his parents about her and grandly takes her to Söul. The story finishes telling the reader that they lived happily ever, having many children. The reader is informed in the middle of the story, however, that Yi marries the

daughter of a minister after his family goes to Sŏul. Therefore, Ch'unhyang cannot be Yi's legitimate wife. Despite this, Shin does not grant Ch'unhyang the honour of being designated a *chŏngryŏl-puin*, something she was already awarded in previous editions, such as *Manhwabon* and *Namwŏn-kosa*. What purpose, then, do the advanced moves to raise Ch'unhyang's status in *Namch'ang* serve? With these findings, which show the general change of Ch'unhyang's status, this paper will discuss each edition within the second phase of interpretation.

#### 3.2.2.2. The Chosŏn Class System

Now, this paper should consider the social background in order "to include the social order" in the second stage. Therefore, in this stage, Ch'unhyang-chŏn becomes "a *parole*, or individual utterance," of the vaster system, "or *langue*, of class discourse" (Jameson 2007, 70). I will discuss several controversial issues arising from the conflict between Ch'unhyang and the governor in light of historical factors. In addition, I will also investigate on what legal and social basis the events related to the conflicts are occurring in the actual historical time.

First, we will examine the Chosŏn class system and discuss the position of the main characters in relation to it.

Chosŏn accepted the hierarchical order of state as a universal principle based on Neo-Confucian ideas. The order of status was settled as an institution by the compilation of *Kyŏngjeyukchŏn* (Six Codes of Governance, 1388-1397) and *Kyŏngguktaejŏn* (the highest code of law throughout Chosŏn, 1485). There were strict distinctions between privileges and duties, and a large part of *Kyŏngguktaejŏn* was a clause that institutionalized discrimination.

However, academia is divided as to the details of the class system in Chosŏn. In fact, the class system changed from early to late Chosŏn. In particular, there has been heated controversy since the 1980s regarding *yangch'ŏn-chae* (the system of the good and the low) and the four-class system in the early Chosŏn period (Kim Pŏm 2011, 99). However, consensus seems to have now been reached on *yangch'ŏn-chae* in the domain of Korean history<sup>60</sup> (Ibid.).

*Yangch'ŏn-chae* was an East Asian system that divided all peoples into *yangin* (good people), and *ch'ŏnin* (low people). *Ch'ŏnin* were subordinate to the state as public servants and included slaves of private households. In addition, *yangin* refers to all people except *ch'ŏnin*, from the top to the common people. Basically, a *yangin* was a free person, a citizen, and was able to secure basic rights and serve in government posts, but a *ch'ŏnin* was not only variously restrained as non-free person in daily life, but also treated as the property of the *yangin*. *Yangch'ŏn-chae* played an effective role in maintaining the absolute ruling system.

The legal framework of the *yangch'ŏn-chae* continued almost to the end of the Chosŏn Dynasty, but from the 16th century onward there was a strictly-delineated four class system with the *yangban* ruling class, *chungin* middle class, *yangin or sangmin* commoner class; and *ch'ŏnin* lowest class. *Yangban* was a privileged landowner class. By studying Confucianism, the *yangban* monopolised the qualifications for serving in the government, which led to their becoming the intellectual and ruling class, superior and distinguished from non-*yangban* classes. In Ch'ŏlunhyang-chŏn, Yi Toryŏng and the new governor belong to this class. *Yangin* corresponds to common people or ordinary people, including farmers, merchants, and artisans. The *yangin* were almost never

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<sup>60</sup> See Kim Bŏm (2011) and (Han Hŭisuk 2009, 337) for a discussion of the issue of the class system and the controversy among historians.

allowed to take the civil service examination to enter the government. The *ch'ŏnin* class included people subordinate to the state such as *kwangdae*, musicians and *kisaeng*, as well as shaman, entertainers, butchers and *nobis* (slaves) of private households.

As a *kisaeng*/the daughter of a *kisaeng* Ch'unhyang belongs to the *nobi* and thus the lowest *ch'ŏnin* class. *Kisaeng* were basically female slaves of the state, which were divided into *kisaeng* (妓) and simple *nobi* (婢). According to Pak Yŏngmin (2013, 154), local government *kisaeng* were registered on the *kisaeng* register at the age of seven or eight and would learn dance and music, and receive regular training. This training took place at the *kyobang* (teaching institution) of the local government, and the *kisaeng* were subjected to strict corporal punishment until they mastered the music, dance and poetry they were taught. They were under the strict control of the *Haengsu* (the head of the *kisaeng*). Their main role was to provide singing and dancing at banquets of the local government office, such as the banquet to celebrate the taking office of a new head governor of the district (Kang Myŏngwan 2007, 28).

### 3.2.2.3. Ch'unhyang and the Class system

From now on, we will investigate the issues associated with Ch'unhyang as a *kisaeng* within this class structure.

First of all, the question arising from Ch'unhyang's birth status is whether Ch'unhyang can escape from her official *nobi* status if her father is a *yangban*. The factual answer is no. According to the law of the Chosŏn Dynasty, her status should remain *nobi* regardless of who her father is, as long as she is the daughter of a *kisaeng*.

In this framework of the caste system, Wŏlmae belongs to the *ch'ŏnin* class, as a *kisaeng* subordinate to the state. From the early Chosŏn period, in accordance with the

law of *Chŏnchasumo* (which stated that *chŏin* status is determined by the status of the mother) which was established during the Koryŏ Dynasty, a daughter born between a *yangban* official and a *kisaeng* subordinate to the state became a government *nobi*. However, since it was considered too harsh to make the children of a *yangban* government *nobi* purely because their mothers were *kisaeng*, a law to exempt such children from being *chŏnmin* was enacted. This law, however, was changed several times, because of the issue of how to validate whether or not the child of a *kisaeng* was really fathered by a *yangban*. Finally, in the 9th year of the reign of King Sŏngjong (r.1469-1494), it was confirmed that only the children of *kisaeng* who lived as a *yangban*'s concubine in his house were made into *yangin*. In the case of Ch'unhyang then, she would not be exempted from *chŏnin* status since her *yangban* father, be it Sŏng Ch'amp'an or Sŏng Ch'ŏnch'ong, did not live in the same house (Chŏng Yŏnsik 2004, 289-291).

The next issue is about the feasibility of Ch'unhyang's becoming a *chŏngryŏl-puin* or legal wife to Yi. Could a *kisaeng* become the formal wife of a *yangban* scholar-official? According to Chŏng Yŏnsik (2004, 292) in Chosŏn, even if a *kisaeng* was exempted from her *nobi* status, she could not become the legitimate wife of a scholar-official, but only a concubine.<sup>61</sup> Was it feasible, then, for a *kisaeng* to be heralded as a *chŏngryŏl-puin*? In fact, there was no official title of *chŏngryŏl-puin*, though there were similar titles, namely *chŏngkyŏng-puin*<sup>62</sup> (Lady of Honour), *Chŏng-puin*<sup>63</sup> (Lady of Virtue) and *Suk-puin*<sup>64</sup> (Lady of Lucidity) (Ibid.).

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61 Chŏng Yŏnsik says that he has never witnessed such a case through historical sources of Chosŏn Dynasty (2004, 292).

62 The title given to the wife of the first grade of Chŏng and Chong official.

63 The title given to the wife of the second grade of Chŏng and Chong.

64 The title given to the wife of the third grade of Chŏng and Chong official of tangsangkwan.

On the basis of the caste law of Chosŏn, there were no ways to elevate Ch'unhyang's status, whether by birth or her virtues. However, the late Chosŏn period in which Ch'unhyang-chŏn was created was a time when agitation of the caste system was extreme. Since the 17th century, as the infrastructure underpinning the conventional caste system changed according to socio-economic changes, the framework of its foundations also changed, thus the *yangch'ŏn* system went through many modifications (Yi Yŏngho 1991, 26; Ko Sŏkkyu 1991, 330). In the latter half of the 18th century, the escape of many publicly owned *nobi* and the legitimate exemption of *nobi* led to a shortage. Shortly after the liberation of sixty-six thousand *nobi* in 1801, the public *nobi* system was virtually disbanded. This shows that as trade and commercial activity became more active in Chosŏn, changes were occurring in the agricultural-oriented economy, so that *nobi* could escape and survive (Cho Kwangguk 2002, 440-441). Among the *yangban* there were also "ruined *yangban*" who were hardly different to *chŏnmin* status having lost their land and power, while many from the *chŏnmin* class managed to accumulate wealth and formed a new class that enjoyed virtually equal power and lifestyle to the *yangban*.

In the midst of such socio-economic changes, there were also *kisaeng* who accumulated wealth. Some *kisaeng* were legally redeemed after paying a large sum as a part of country-wide relief policies (Ibid., 441). During the time of agitation to the caste system, the phenomenon of the avoidance of *kisaeng* service, a deliberate omission from the *kisaeng* register, and *taebichŏngsok* were common. However, in the legal system, it was not possible for a *kisaeng* to escape her status. Concerning the status of *kisaeng*, the exemption of *kisaeng* status could not have been allowed except for at the special command of the King, and this aspect of the system of law and order did not change until the end of the dynasty (Ibid., 444).

Ch'unhyang's changing status in the works spanning over three centuries reflects multiple dimensions of the changing socio-political conditions and demonstrates the frustration of those who felt trapped in the lower-classes. Examining Ch'unhyang's status in the nine works has brought to light a silent conflict going on among the writers as to how to deal with Ch'unhyang's status within the boundaries of the caste system. However, the caste system was abolished by the Kabo Reforms in 1894 and the state *kisaeng* system was repealed from 1897 to 1908. Therefore, it is believed that the writers of *Okchunghwa* and *Ilsoŭ Ch'unhyang-chŏn* must have felt a certain freedom when dealing with this issue. Therefore, *Okchunghwa* and *Ilsoŭ Ch'unhyang-chŏn* should be treated differently when it comes to the matter of class. On the other hand, although *Wanp'an 84* was published in 1906, it appears to be still greatly under the influence of the class system, derived as it was from *Wanp'an p'ansori sasŏl*.

The examination of changes to Ch'unhyang's status demonstrates that the writers of the Hanmun editions placed Ch'unhyang at the lowest level. Especially in *Manhwabon* where Ch'unhyang is simply a *kisaeng*, but while *Manhwabon* sets Ch'unhyang's status lowest, at the end it raises it to its highest. As the first written Ch'unhyang-narrative, it is believed that *Manhwabon* has the most original features of the Ch'unhyang-chŏn among the editions. In this vein, it can be said that in the very early stages of written Ch'unhyang-chŏn, Ch'unhyang was a *kisaeng*, but at the end she became not only a *chŏngryŏl-puin*, but also the legitimate wife of a *yangban*.

In the formative stage of Ch'unhyang-chŏn, the narrative must have embraced the dreams of the marginalised, purely for the sake of fun and drama, treating the narrative as a fairy tale. However, since it earned popularity and became a wide-spread form of entertainment, its content and details began to create tension, reflecting uneasiness, as the main conflict of the story features a clash between the ruling class and the low-class.

To borrow Jameson's words, it became "*the essentially antagonistic collective discourse*" (Jameson 2007, 61).

As writers from the ruling class joined in recreating Ch'unhyang-chŏn in the forms of the Chinese literature of the time, they re-appropriated Ch'unhyang-chŏn and the emphasis of the story changed. The Hangŭl editions were also sites of re-appropriation by anonymous writers, mostly *kwangdae* or the literate from the marginal stratum. Their shared master code was 'fidelity and loyalty,' a tenet of Confucianism. While bearing in mind the questions arising from the comparison of Ch'unhyang's status among the nine works, the following section will explore these issues to examine how the writers re-appropriated the narrative and what the emphasis of their narrative was.

### 3.2.3. Fighting Over Power

There are two types of power in Ch'unhyang-chŏn. The first type comes from the king and is represented by Yi Mongryŏng. This power stands for all that is good, and is expected to protect the people in exchange for their absolute allegiance to the king in accordance with Confucian ideology. The other type of power comes from the ruling class, the scholar-officials, and is represented by the new governor. The second type of power stands for all that is evil; it is the source of misery for the people and conflict and contradiction in the story. The first power is ideal, conceptual, imaginary, and far away. The second power is real, immanent, and concrete, shaping all facets of people's lives. The contradiction here, however, is that the second power is delegated by the first. The two powers are one, not separate. Thus, when criticizing and fighting against one of the two powers, one is in fact fighting against both. As a consequence, such protest is action

against the king, and fighting is seen as a rebellion before it can successfully become a revolution.

In Ch'unhyang-chŏn, the form of protest has always been based on complete loyalty to the first power so that the second power can be protested. Therefore, the shared master code in the story is absolute faithfulness to the king, and the object of this faithfulness is extended to Yi Mongryŏng, as not only the representative of the king but also the husband of the subject of the resistance. In other words, the people's criticism of the ruling class is replaced with discontent with and criticism of the governor, just one local figure of authority. At the same time, their criticism of the ruling system is veiled by loyalty to the king through the praising of Yi Toryŏng, the king's deputy. However, how the master code of the royalty and the hidden real contention play out varies among the different editions. I will examine these differences first in relation to how the texts treat the conflict between Ch'unhyang and the governor.

The origin of the conflict between the ruling class and the subjugated class, represented by the governor and Ch'unhyang respectively, starts from the *such'ŏng*<sup>65</sup> order from the governor to Ch'unhyang. Therefore, before moving on to the examinations of the texts, the nature of the service of the *kisaeng* in Chosŏn should be clarified in relation to the *such'ŏng* order, along with the position of the governor, to understand how the texts reflect reality.

To begin with the nature of the governor, the question arises: what was the position of the governor like and how much influence did they have on their people in the late Chosŏn period when Ch'unhyang-chŏn was written?

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<sup>65</sup> *Such'ŏng* literally means waiting outside a room, but it is extended to mean to share a bed and offer sexual service.

From the very beginning, Chosŏn sought to establish a powerful centralised bureaucracy. In the 18th century, a bureaucratic local government system was completed through *Suryŏngje* (the governor system) and *Kunhyŏnje* (the system of counties and prefectures) (Oh Tongkyu, 2003, *ii*). Governors were dispatched from the central bureaucracy to even the smallest prefectures in order to directly control the residents statewide. As the king's representative, governors had local administrative, judicial, and military power. Initially observers (*Kwanch'alsa*) were dispatched to survey the goings on outside of the capital, and after the Imjin War (1592-1598), the post of Secret Royal Inspector (*Amhaengŏsa*) was created, and they were sent to the eight provinces across the country to check on the misdeeds of the governor, and examine the lives of the people (Cho S. and Ch'oe Y. 2011, 199).

In the late Chosŏn period, as the *Noron* faction firmly established itself as a central force in the central government, the foundations of the authority of provincial noble families in the provinces were weakened and instead the role of the governor was emphasized. Thus, in areas that central government surveillance struggled to reach, the governor became all-powerful, and this resulted in growing disruption. The harmful effects of the system grew towards the late Chosŏn period, causing national unrest (Ibid.).

The *Kunhyŏnche* divided the country into eight provinces, and within these: *pu*, *mok*, *kun* and *hyŏn*. Since Namwŏn belonged to administrative division of *pu*, the governor in Ch'unhyang-chŏn is called Namwŏn *Pusa*, and is a very high-profile official, who has judicial and military control according to this system. In other words, he is a very powerful official, able to exercise massive influence on his people.

Now I will examine how the governor, who had such status, could exert his power in relation to the *such'ŏng* order he gave Ch'unhyang. According to the law, as discussed

earlier, Ch'unhyang was destined to be registered on the *kisaeng* register of the local government as a *kisaeng* or *kisaeng's* daughter and follow the course she would be assigned. The questions, then, is whether *kisaeng* were obliged to offer their bodies for sexual entertainment, beyond singing and dancing. Was the *such'ong* order of the new governor legal? The simple answer is no: it was against the law, and related officials were punished accordingly.

It was specified in a clause of the *Taemyǒng-ryul* (The Code of The Great Myǒng) of Chosǒn Criminal Law, that a government officer who sleeps with *kisaeng* is subject to sixty clubbings. In the highest code, *Soktaechǒn*, promulgated in the middle of the 18th century, it stated that a local government head who secretly adulterates with *kwanbi* (female slaves of the local government) should be prosecuted and dismissed from his position. The same clause succeeded in *Taejǒn-t'ongpyǒn* under Chǒngjo (1785) and *Taechǒn-hoit'ong* under Kojong (1865), until the end of the 19th century. Chǒng Yakyong (1762-1836)<sup>66</sup> stated in *Mongminsimsǒ* (1818) that it is illegal for an official to even playfully hug a *kisaeng*, let alone sleep with them.

However, in actual reality, the law and regulations described above were not abided, and inappropriate relationships between government officers and *kisaeng* were commonplace. According to Oh Such'ang (2012 a, 355), it was common, in the reality of everyday life, for a governor to demand *such'ong* from a *kisaeng* without needing to take any legal action. He goes on to state that “in fact, in the provisions of the code of *Soktaechǒn* and *Taejǒn-t'ongpyǒn*, punishment for a governor who committed adultery with *kisaeng*, only served to restrict one another within the ruling class, and it did not seem to have been attributed to the female *nobi* as their rights” (Ibid.).

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66 *Mokminsimsǒ*, Article 5 of the *Hyǒngjǒn-yukcho*, Article 3 of *Yijǒn-yukcho*.

Based on the illegality of *such'ōng*, sexual service requested from a *kisaeng* by a government official, Ch'unhyang-chōn becomes an antagonistic class discourse, where major discrepancy between the law and reality is presented. The editions are all conscious of this issue, and writers of the ruling class skilfully shifted the core of the conflict and justified the illegal demands. On the other hand, the people could not articulate that the demands of the ruling class were against the law. *Such'ōng* was to them customary behaviour that had existed since the Koryō period, despite being in contradiction with the law. In this vein, although the people felt it was unjust, they were also in confusion on what was really wrong and could not articulate their frustration clearly; even if they did know how to express themselves, they could not claim their rights, lost through many years of customs. Thus, Ch'unhyang and the people surrounding her, even behind the governor's back, were not strongly critical of the legal injustice of the governor's conduct, but simply felt that it was morally unjust. In this context, Ch'unhyang's struggle is also seen simply as a brave fight by someone of the lower class disobeying the invincible upper class.

#### 3.2.3.1. Hanmun Editions

Since the writers of the Hanmun works set Ch'unhyang as a *kisaeng*, a child-*kisaeng*, or the daughter of *kisaeng*, each Ch'unhyang in the four Hanmun texts does not seem to have much justification or power to defy the governor's *such'ōng* demand, as in these four texts Ch'unhyang accepts her *kisaeng* status very naturally. However, though each Ch'unhyang cannot stand up to the governor with her *kisaeng* status conditioned by the Confucian society, she wealds the same Confucian ideals used to oppress her by the governor as her weapon to counter him, by re-appropriating loyalty to the king and

faithfulness to husband. Though these editions admit Ch'unhyang's low born status as a *kisaeng*, they utilise her being the wife of a *yangban* man.

#### 3.2.3.1.1. Manhwabon

In *Manhwabon*, though the description of how cruelly the new governor treated Ch'unhyang is quite graphic and vivid—involving fainting, bruising, broken bones, blood-soaked clothes, and hatched maggots in her wounded thighs (lines 204 -210)—there is no actual scene where the confrontation between Ch'unhyang and the new governor takes place. As a result, Ch'unhyang is deprived of a chance to voice herself to the new governor and to the world of the narrative. However, Ch'unhyang criticises the governor to Yi for “sneakily coveting another man's wife” (line 195).

#### 3.2.3.1.2. Ch'unhyang-sinsöl

The Ch'unhyang of *Ch'unhyang-sinsöl* is the most flattering towards the new governor. She does not cry out for justice but begs him for mercy. Ch'unhyang writes a document called *wŏnchŏng* (a document to appeal) at exceedingly great length. The aims of the appeal are to implore the governor to have mercy on her and praise him by writing that all the local people, even the children, applaud his good administration, and that as his merciful governing has spread across the district. Ch'unhyang never criticises him, on the contrary, she even admits her wrong doing, repeating “*though I deserve to die ten thousand times for the rejection of your such'ŏng order.*” However, she justifies her rejection on the grounds of the Confucian ethics of chastity, and pleads with the governor to be generous. The overall tone of the appeal is not bitter at all, but mournful. Ch'unhyang's attitude towards the governor is shown by the fact that her appeal remains

the same throughout the work. After being sentenced to clubbing and imprisonment, she tells him, “*though I accept gladly ten thousand deaths of my low born body, I am afraid that the sentence could bring you into disrepute*” (75).

Here, the writer advocates the action of the governor in relation to the *such’ōng* order and Ch’unhyang’s refusal of it, and justifies that he, as a reasonable governor, could only do so to Ch’unhyang. It seems that the writer wants to clarify all that may be controversial in this work and in all the other Ch’unhyang-chōn at that time through the governor. The governor makes it clear that, as a *kisaeng*’s daughter, Ch’unhyang is definitely a *kisaeng*, and her name being missing from the register gives her no advantage. Furthermore, he states that *kisaeng* need to provide sexual entertainment as directed by the local government, and are subject to legal punishment when such service is not provided.

*The Pusa is a government officer who protects and governs the subjects and this district, and Hyanglang<sup>67</sup> is of the mere low birth of a brothel. Her body is already low as the daughter of Wōlmae, though her name is not registered in the kisaeng roll. How dare she not follow my request . . . how can a kisaeng keep her body chaste? (70)*

Though she continues to refuse the governor’s request, Ch’unhyang fully agrees with his statement and acknowledges her own wrongdoing.

Although the governor’s *such’ōng* request is illegitimate, he argues against the law, and states that Ch’unhyang should be punished as she refuses to fulfil her duty as a *kisaeng* and disobeys the order of the government officer whose right and power was entrusted by the king. Ch’unhyang’s criminality is shifted: the governor punishes her

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<sup>67</sup> ‘Lang’ in Hyanglang is a term to address a young woman with respect. ‘Hyang’ in Hyanglang is an abbreviation of Ch’unhyang.

not because she refuses his *such'ǒng* order but because she does not obey authority. The governor's twisted law enforcement is little protested in this work. However, Ch'unhyang also re-appropriates the Confucian ideal of faithfulness to one's husband.

The governor's punishment of Ch'unhyang is described in vague terms. The governor sentences Ch'unhyang to severe clubbing and imprisonment, but the description of this is very brief: "*The soldiers that were standing in the line ran like a swarm of bees, swinging their clubs, and Ch'unhyang was covered with blood*" (74). Since Ch'unhyang does not respond to the actual punishment, there is no commotion like in the ten-clubbing song. Consequently, the level of tension created by the governor's severe treatment of Ch'unhyang sounds moderate and much weaker in this text than in the other editions. The arguments between Ch'unhyang and the new governor take place in very long conversations and official documentation. In the whole process of conviction and confrontation, Ch'unhyang presents herself as humbly as possible, as a person from the lowest-class, while the governor exhibits an imposing and commanding presence. Moreover, the author portrays the governor as a reasonable official who treats Ch'unhyang somehow fairly, reasoning with her with regard to her position and trying to persuade rather than browbeat.

This is a device for asserting that the governor's conduct is not unreasonable, by contending that the sentencing and punishment for Ch'unhyang's actions are all processed through legitimate legal proceedings. It also shows that although Ch'unhyang's refusal of the governor's request interferes with the commands of authority, it can be accepted as the constancy of a wife to her husband. Moreover, in contrast to other versions, Ch'unhyang respects the decisions of authority, by affirming the governor's claims. The author seeks to portray Ch'unhyang's Confucian virtue of keeping to the Three Bonds, Five Relationships, and Three Obediences. From a modern

point of view, however, this virtue appears unbearably and blindly obedient to Confucian ideals. After all, the writer of *Ch'unhyang-sinsŏl* argues that the conflict between Ch'unhyang and the governor did not deviate greatly from Confucian principles.

However, the governor, who attempted to present legal legitimacy, is finally disciplined, and the author dilutes the essence of the conflict by altering the nature of the event as caused by the instinctive sexual desire of the male, rather than condemning it as an institutional failure. In addition, through the complete submission of Ch'unhyang to the court, the narrative is essentially blinding the reader to the class conflict inherent in the story. The writer of *Ch'unhyang-sinsŏl* re-appropriates Ch'unhyang-chŏn as a place for the practice of Confucian ideology.

#### 3.2.3.1.3. Kwanghallu-ki

In *Kwanghallu-ki*, the intensity of the conflict between Ch'unhyang and the new governor is the highest among the four Hanmun editions. While the other three editions avoid a spiteful face-to face conflict, when the governor tries to persuade Ch'unhyang, she launches a serious attack on his fidelity to the king.

*Though there is high and low between men and women, loyal subject and faithful wife are no different. If the country is invaded on its border by a foreign enemy while having many affairs to attend to, you would be the one who hoists a flag of surrender even before the castle falls to the enemy. (78)*

This grave challenge against the governor appears here for the first time in Ch'unhyang-narrative. In a fury, the new governor orders for Ch'unhyang to be killed and she is clubbed ten times. Ch'unhyang's response to this is also fierce and chilling.

*Please kill me quickly so that I cannot forsake my vow and be shameful to women of chastity. If you grant this I will think that I received a benefit from you. (79)*

Though the level of Ch'unhyang's resistance is the most intensive here among the four Hanmun editions, the description of the clubbing and imprisonment is presented rather briefly, with even less detail than in the Hangŭl editions. Why does this literati writer present Ch'unhyang's resistance to the new governor as so fierce? Did the writer consider the hearts of the oppressed? This does not seem to be the case. The following comes from the description of the clubbing scene.

*As dew falls on pine trees, heartless tear drops flow,  
as the wind blows on peach and apricot, fragrance silently exudes. (79)*

This description demonstrates that the narrator is much more concerned with the aesthetic quality and romantic atmosphere of the work than any realistic presentation of Ch'unhyang's ordeal.

In the *tokpŏb* (reading guide) in *Kwanghallu-ki*, the writer states:

*When you read this book, if you drink it will lift your spirit, if you play the kŏmungo it will enhance its quaint beauty, if you face the moon it will help your soul, and if you look at flowers it will increase its refinement. (16)*

This work was written as entertainment, a way of enjoying *p'unryu* and this *tokpŏb* more than sufficiently confirms this fact. The writer sought to depict true and untainted love between an idealised woman and man, love which transcends the boundaries of social status. In order to achieve this, the author portrays Ch'unhyang as far more assertive and articulate than in any other editions. Ch'unhyang's role is to demonstrate unbending resistance towards the object which challenges her love. In this vein, the

writer sees the governor as an obstacle to perfect love. Ch'unhyang's response to the governor is a thorough rebellion. Also, the affection of the writer towards the main character and her love leads to a thoroughly critical depiction of the governor.

In this context, the confrontation framework completely eliminates class conflicts in the narrative. Nevertheless, the writer sets Ch'unhyang as a daughter of not just any *kisaeng* but the head *kisaeng*. This implies that Ch'unhyang is likely to be more talented in music and dancing. However, Ch'unhyang's class consciousness is not a concern to the writer. Ch'unhyang's status remains that of a *kisaeng* to the end.

The character of Ch'unhyang is an object of aesthetic beauty and a romantic heroine, she is presented not as a social being but one living in the author's fantasy. The writer sought to remove all the sickening social issues and simply enjoy the beautiful love and the beautiful woman in the story, while drinking beneath a tree among falling petals.

As a member of the ruling class, the writer completely removes the core from the story born of class consciousness, and re-appropriates it as a pure love story as if love between men and women is the most important thing in the world. The writer therefore silences Ch'unhyang's voice as a social subject, who exhibits modern selfhood that is assertive and shows strong self-consciousness when it comes to love, surpassing the limits of the time.

#### 3.2.3.1.4. Kwanghallu-akpu

Based on *p'ansori Ch'unhyang-ka*, *Kwanghallu-akpu* is a work for *p'ungryu* and was written to elevate the narrative as a work of art in a new verse form of *akpu*, disparaging the artistic value of *p'ansori Ch'unhyang-ka*. In this sense, *Kwanghallu-akpu* shares many common features with the *Kwanghallu-ki*. However, while the prose form of

*Kwanghallu-ki* maintains the narrative character of Ch'unhyang-chŏn well and presents the conflict between Ch'unhyang and the governor sharply, the verse form of *Kwanghallu-akpu* keeps its narrative character to a minimum while concentrating on the love of a beautiful man and woman, and the pain of separation. *Kwanghallu-akpu* focuses on the feelings and emotions of the main characters, not on events. In this way, *Kwanghallu-akpu* thoroughly ignores the class consciousness underlying the work in order to achieve the aesthetic taste of *p'ungryu*.

Ch'unhyang is introduced as a child *kisaeng* and remains a *kisaeng* until the end of the story. The issue of Ch'unhyang's status is never raised among the characters, even at the time of the governor's *such'ŏng* order. In this same vein, the conflict between Ch'unhyang and the governor is not particularly prominent. The author describes the scene in which Ch'unhyang is summoned and imprisoned by the governor in only five stanzas (61 to 65) out of a total of 105. *Kwanghallu-akpu* does not contain the frantic and acrimonious resistance displayed in many other editions. Instead, Ch'unhyang exhibits an utterly passive attitude, refusing the governor's *such'ŏng* demand with a smile and no resentment, as in: "Though I showed him a smiling face, high upon my shoulders, I closed my red lips firmly and sheds tears" (stanza 64). The work does not even mention how the governor is treated, sentenced or punished after the Ŏsa's emergence at the banquet.

Given that *Kwanghallu-akpu* is to be enjoyed while the writer is drinking under a flowering tree (208), fierce confrontation and a ghastly atmosphere would not be compatible with *p'ungryu* and harm the drinking mood.

The main objective of the narrative is to create the aesthetic taste of *pyungryu*, thus is focuses on the joy of love and the pain of loss, with a talented young man and a beautiful woman. As in *Kwanghall-ki*, the literati author of *Kwanghallu-akpu* re-

appropriates Ch'unhyang-narrative for *p'unryu*. But while the Ch'unhyang of *Kwanghallu-ki* is also the object of *p'unryu*, she is at least given a voice to dispute the claims of the governor. In this sense, Ch'unhyang in *Kwanghallu-akpu* is the most unfortunate Ch'unhyang character among all of the nine editions. She becomes nothing but the object of aesthetic taste. In this work Ch'unhyang is completely deprived of the voice with which to express her class consciousness in any way. According to Jameson's interpretation framework, this is the least extensible work under discussion here, given that the goal of the second stage is to go beyond the intrinsic analysis of the work and to view the text as a huge collective and agonistic class discourse.

### 3.2.3.2. Hangŭl Editions

#### 3.2.3.2.1. Namwŏn-kosa

In Hangŭl Ch'unhyang-chŏn, the confrontation between Ch'unhyang and the governor is clearly distinguished from the Hanmun texts. In *Namwŏn-kosa*, Ch'unhyang's resistance reaches a completely different level.

The Ch'unhyang of *Namwŏn-kosa* is introduced as a *kisaeng*'s daughter and at the end of the story she becomes a *chŏngryŏl-puin* and the formal first wife of Yi. These facts display an affinity with *Manhwabon*. However, the statuses of the two Ch'unhyang characters in the two works are somehow different, in that while Ch'unhyang in *Manhwabon* is a *kisaeng* who actively works as a *kisaeng* from the beginning, Ch'unhyang in *Namwŏn-kosa* has never worked as a *kisaeng*, has a commoner father, thus has the surname Kim, and gets her status changed to *yangin* class by means of *taebichŏngsok* after becoming Yi's wife.

In many later Hangŭl versions Ch'unhyang does *taebichŏngsok*. However, the governor consistently ignores Ch'unhyang's new status, and is not deterred from requesting Ch'unhyang with a *such'ŏng*. As confirmed already, the exemption of a *kisaeng* from *chŏnmin* status was illegal throughout the entire Chosŏn period<sup>68</sup> (Cho Kwangguk 2002, 436) and Ch'unhyang could not have escaped *kisaeng* status by the positive law of late Chosŏn even if she had carried out *taebichŏngsok*. However, the reality was different from the law. Cho Kwangguk confirms that scholar-officials continued to make *kisaeng* their concubines; conspiring with officials from the local government, many of them were even public about doing so. In the 18th century, this phenomenon worsened. Even though *taebichŏngsok* of *kisaeng* violated the law, in reality it was difficult to detect and make arrests in such cases (Cho Kwangguk 2002, 438-440).

The governor manipulates the operation of the law. His demanding *such'ŏng* from a *kisaeng* follows a common practice which was nonetheless against the law, but he shifts the focus of the essence of the issue to that of obedience to authority, which leads him to charge Ch'unhyang. On the other hand, with the matter of *taebichŏngsok*, the governor applies the law strictly in his own favour, and points out its illegitimacy, completely disregarding common practice.

By Chosŏn law, the *such'ŏng* order had long been illegitimate, therefore, Ch'unhyang already had the right to refuse it, but her refusals would not have worked in previous editions as the law was ignored by the ruling class. Thus, the writers of Hangŭl texts

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68 From the time of Chungchong (r. 1506-1544), making a *kisaeng* into a concubine was banned. *Kwanbi* were banned from any type of exemption of *chŏnmin* status (*MYŏngjong Annals*, vol. 9, Year 9, *Kiyu*, December), and in 1769 in the reign of King Yŏngjo *kisaeng* concubines were brought back to the local government to which they originally belonged and the 100 people who had made them their concubines were subjected to severe punishment (*Yŏngjo Annals*, vol. 112, Apr. 45, *Sinmi*, *Imsin*, in Cho Kwangguk 2002, 436).

provide Ch'unhyang with a device to enforce her position in confrontation with the governor. In the case of *Namwŏn-kosa*, it is the *taebichŏngsok*.

The way Ch'unhyang confronts the governor in *Namwŏn-kosa* is entirely different from the Hanmun editions. She writes to the governor: “*Moreover, I have become free from the chŏnin class through taebichŏngsok*” (208). Since the governor ignores this, she clearly restates, “*I have not been a kwanbi since having made taebichŏngsok . . . therefore, I refuse your order, to preserve my chastity*” (211). Since the governor keeps trying to persuade Ch'unhyang to accept the *such'ŏng*, hardly paying attention to her *taebichŏngsok* status, she replies ferociously in the form of the ten-clubbing song and adds:

*Are you going to serve two kings as a liege when the state falls in troubled times? . . . What can I say in front of you governor who has a mind to plot treason? . . . Quickly, kill me by putting the crime of insulting authority on me. Please governor, you should slash my neck yourself with a fine blade, the way soldiers riding on horseback hit the ball in a game of Kyokku<sup>69</sup>, hand my body to my family but pickle my head in salt from Ongjin<sup>70</sup>, and put it in a wooden box. Make offerings with it to your ancestors. (221-222)*

After listening to Ch'unhyang's vehement criticism, “*being enraged like a fierce tiger,*” the governor yells like thunder: “*Drag her down quickly!*” (222), and orders that she be clubbed. The process of sentencing and the execution of the sentence are described vividly: the sound of Ch'unhyang's clubbing is:

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69 Korean style polo game.

70 A name of place in Hwanghae province.

*...like a yellow dragon hitting the azure sky and a thunderbolt striking in heavy summer rain ... Ch'unhyang's beautiful leg like white jade is smashed and red blood spurts from the wound spraying from side to side. (224-225)*

Ch'unhyang keeps on demonstrating her defiance, shouting:

*"Kill me, kill me, kill me quickly! If you kill me quickly, thanks to your killing, my spirit will fly into the palace in Sŏul and find my husband. If you say that my keeping my chastity is a crime, please strike my shank with a kitchen knife." (225)*

In *Namwŏn-kosa* there is a full-on showdown between Ch'unhyang and the governor. Ch'unhyang's voice, which had been stifled until then, is exploded by the writer(s) of this Hangŭl edition. In *Namwŏn-kosa*, Ch'unhyang is firmly armed with notions of Confucian ideology and fidelity—the same principles the ruling class used to justify the discrimination and subordination of the lower class—and she begins to strike back fiercely. The Confucian political ideology is now contentiously re-appropriated by Ch'unhyang and the writer(s). In this way, the antagonistic class discourse latent in Ch'unhyang-narrative begins to surface, but is still disguised within the master code of Confucian discipline: allegiance to the king.

#### 3.2.3.2.2. Namch'ang

In *Namch'ang*, Ch'unhyang is the illegitimate daughter of Sŏng-Ch'ŏnch'ong, a higher birth status than she had ever been given before, and she is already in the state of *taebichŏngsok* before she meets Yi. In addition, through Wŏlmae's prenatal dream, and Ch'unhyang's dream during her imprisonment, she is confirmed twice as being a

heavenly being. However, *Namch'ang* does not elevate Ch'unhyang to Yi's formal wife or *chǒngryōl-puin* at the end of the story.

Not only the narrator but also Ch'unhyang herself repeats her status many times in the work. She argues that she should not be treated as a *kisaeng* because of *taebichǒngsok*, her marriage with Yi as approved by her mother, and her possession of Yi's letter as proof of their marriage. Unlike in other works, here the chief secretary says to the governor: "*She is not a kisaeng but a kisaeng's daughter.*" However, as in all the other editions, the governor flatly denies this and orders Ch'unhyang to start *such'ōng*. According to the documents kept by the office, Ch'unhyang's crime is also that of "*refusal of such'ōng order and insult to the head of the office*" (95). This suggests that the *such'ōng* demand of a scholar official is almost legitimate.

In addition, the author defends the governor by justifying his motive for punishing Ch'unhyang in the conflict situation based on Confucian politics. When Ch'unhyang criticises him, as in "*As there is no difference between upper and lower class in keeping chastity . . . Are you going to serve two kings?*" (41), the narrator makes it clear that the new governor becomes more frantic with Ch'unhyang's likening her taking *such'ōng* order to his serving two kings, rather than Ch'unhyang's refusal of his order.

Although Ch'unhyang is given such high status, the writer is actually not very sympathetic to her. The severity of Ch'unhyang's suffering is not that intense and not described as graphicly as in other versions, such as *Manhwabon*, *Kwanghallu-ki* and *Namwǒn-kosa*. Ch'unhyang's pain and torture is described very briefly, as in "*The sound of clubbing, ttak-, reverberates a furrow in the tiled roof*" (45).

Ch'unhyang is not as defiant as in other Hangŭl editions such as *Kwanghallu-ki*, *Namwǒn-kosa* and *Wanp'an 84*, and the actual situation in which Ch'unhyang challenges that governor is not as fierce as that of *Kwanghallu-ki* and *Namwǒn-kosa*. As

a result, in *Namch'ang* the intensity of the confrontation is presented at the medium level.

However, as discussed earlier, a most perplexing statement appears in the ten-clubbing song: “----- *I won't give you a ssip*” (45). With Ch'unhyang's heightened status, the author strives to depict Ch'unhyang in *Namch'ang* as the most virtuous woman among all of the editions, but this raw and vulgar outcry profoundly contradicts with her character.

*Namch'ang* is the only Hangŭl work with a named writer, Shin Chaehyo, until the publication of *Okchunghwa* (1912). Shin comes from the middle-class stratum and worked for the local government office in Koch'ang, Chŏlla province. He also supported *p'ansori* and cultivated *p'ansori* singers with his accumulation of wealth due to the commercial foundation that his ancestors established. It is said that he was active as a local worthy and had strong connections with the local literati.

Although he had a considerable fortune and greatly contributed to *p'ansori* culture enough to leave a significant mark in its history, Shin had to live as a member of middle class all his life in the strict caste society. Thus, he would have felt Ch'unhyang's class consciousness as his own. On the other hand, he would have had a disdain for Ch'unhyang's identifying herself with the supremacy of having a higher class when coming from the lowest-class. His treatment of Ch'unhyang seems to reflect these subtle feelings.

Although Shin upgraded the status of Ch'unhyang in his work, he deprives Ch'unhyang of the chance to complain to Yi when he leaves for Sŏul, and has Yi marry the daughter of a state minister. It can be argued that this would accurately reflect reality, but it is hard to deny that Shin is very unfavourable to Ch'unhyang. This contradiction

can be regarded as the projection of his psychology into the text, which was created by the dual situation of his middle-class status.

Through his own experience in the local government, Shin thoroughly recognised that the daughter of a *kisaeng* could not achieve such status improvement in reality by the law and projected this into the work. On the other hand, he lets Ch'unhyang express the anger and despair which had been latent in her subconscious about the systems of Chosŏn and the governor who represents them. The writer lets the resilient and graceful Ch'unhyang pour out her resentment through the raw expression of "*I won't give you a ssip.*" The author's own unconscious voice, and his anger towards the ruling class and the ruling system, are released in this way and made permanent in his work. It is a sweet revenge that only he can attain as a writer.

The author gives the governor a legitimate reason to punish Ch'unhyang and the confrontation between the governor and Ch'unhyang is presented on a moderate level. Above all, by not allowing Ch'unhyang's class ascension, symbolising his affirmative view of the social system, the writer conceals the antagonism of his unconscious. In the end, the author hides his resentment and criticism in his work while not letting a dream escape too far from reality.

#### 3.2.3.2.3. Wanp'an 84 changbon

In *Wanp'an 84*, Ch'unhyang's identity is set equally to that in *Namch'ang* and even higher as Ch'unhyang's father, Sŏng Ch'ŏnch'ong, is replaced with Sŏng Ch'amp'an, who is of higher rank in the government. Accordingly, Ch'unhyang has the highest status compared to all the previous works.

In this text, Ch'unhyang's protest becomes bolder and fiercer than in the previous works. Ch'unhyang says in the presence of the governor: "*If raping a married woman*

*is not a crime, what is?"* (141). In this work, not only does the governor's language and movement get more intense and agitated, but also the number of times Ch'unhyang is clubbed is much higher than in previous versions. Ch'unhyang pledges revenge on the governor in the ten-clubbing song, saying that even if she dies: *"If my soul floats in the midst of the air, and appeals this case to our benevolent king, would even the governor be safe? Kill me, I would be thankful!* (148)"

In *Wanp'an 84*, the scene of the confrontation between Ch'unhyang and the governor is longer and more clearly depicted than any of the works discussed so far, and the rhythm of the event is tense:

*The governor's voice grows harsh: "Take this girl away", he shouts. The guards and nobi answer, "Yes sir!" and run forward to grab Ch'unhyang by the hair and drag her away.*

*"Guards!"*

*"Yes, sir!"*

*"Take this girl away!"*

*Ch'unhyang shakes off their hands: "Let go of me!"*

*She has come halfway down the steps when the guards rush up:*

*"You bitch! You bitch! How can you hope to live, if you talk to the governor like that?"* (140)

In *Wanp'an 84*, there is a subtle change in the decisive momentum where the governor flares up in anger and orders that Ch'unhyang be clubbed. In *Wanp'an 29* (67) and 33 (135), *Namwŏn-kosa* (222) and *Namch'ang* (41), on hearing Ch'unhyang saying, *"When the world changes, are you going to serve two kings?"* the governor shouts for her to be punished. However, in *Wanp'an 84*, the wording changes slightly, removing the "to serve two kings." Ch'unhyang says:

*"The concubine who betrays her husband and forsakes his family is the same as the local government head who is ruining the country and raising his wages. Dispose of me as you like!"* (139)

The governor, of course, is “greatly upset” with this, but his real flare-up follows Ch’unhyang’s subsequent reply, “*If raping a married woman is not a crime, what is?*” (141). At last, the governor explodes with rage:

*The governor in his fury pounded the writing-desk with his fist with such force that his hat-band snapped and his topknot was released. The governor’s voice grew harsh: “Take this girl away,” he shouted. (141)*

When it comes to the political situation of Korea at the time when the work appeared (1908), it becomes clear that the narrative really speaks of the time in which it is produced. *Wanp’an 84* was produced and read just two years before the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910. In reality, Japan had already begun to significantly violate the sovereignty of Korea, with the Korea-Japan treaty of 1905, Japan’s arm-twisting policies had already begun before annexation. The premise Ch’unhyang put forward, “*If the world changes,*” became true, and Korean people were forced to “serve two kings.” In this sense, Ch’unhyang’s cry becomes a real sting to the characters, readers, colonial rulers, and the colonised. Under such circumstances, the intensity of Ch’unhyang’s statement had to be moderated, and the change speaks in this situation.

Under these circumstances, *Wanp’an 84*, which was derived from *p’ansori* Ch’unhyang-ka that traditionally maintained a high level of criticism against the governor, significantly lowered the level of criticism. On the other hand, it remarkably intensified Ch’unhyang’s resistance against him. Now the issue of class consciousness is no longer a real concern in the society where the caste system has been abolished, thus, the author(s) can elevate Ch’unhyang’s level of protest according to their will. However, the issue of the governor’s loyalty to the king and the state is now in a situation where it could be read as criticism of the colonial system.

Japan's colonial policy toward Korea carried out monitoring and exploitation that was extremely thorough compared to the West, which was at the forefront of colonial imperialism. According to Kim Tongno, Japanese colonial rule was based on a strong direct ruling system that was hard to find in Western imperialism (2006, 215). The first move by Japan after taking over Korea in 1910 was the centralisation of the political system. In order to carry out the practical work of the colonial regime, the central government attempted to centralize the administration by appointing bureaucrats to the smallest prefectures so that the central power could control the nation through a spiderweb-like network. With this, the number of bureaucrats surged to more than 87,500 in 1937, a nearly nine-fold increase from 10,000 before 1910. Considering the fact that France appointed 3,000 bureaucrats for their colonial rule of Vietnam and France practiced direct rule, Kim Tongno contends that the Japanese attempted a centralisation unprecedented in the history of world imperialism (2006, 217).

As a result, Japan gained more systematic and efficient control measures for dominating Korea through the centralisation of the political and financial structure (Ibid., 217-8). What was unusual about the Japanese centralised colonial system was its concentration in a way that maximised the repressive pressures of the state, including the military and the police. Japan maintained a strong military presence since the early days of colonial rule to suppress resistance. In response to this, the March First Movement, the Korean independence movement, took place in 1919. After this Japan advocated cultural policy. However, Japan's reliance on repressive force was further strengthened in the period of cultural politics after the March First Movement, and it became more intense in the last phase of the colonial period, with the exercise of a scale of physical force, including the police and the army, that is unique to Japanese imperialism and hard to find in Western imperialism.

Kim Tongno has argued that Japan eventually exerted the power of control through repressive force even in the most minor areas of individual life in Korea, and the domination of the Koreans became much more detailed and systematic than before. Kim asserted that “the nation of this era of Japanese colonial rule has become an omnipotent that can exist anywhere and exercise all its powers by intervening all over the daily life of an individual” (Ibid., 222). Under colonial rule, which oversaw everything in the colony with so much manpower and physical repression, Ch’unhyang-chŏn, which has a structure to resist the ruling class, also faced a time of nervousness.

Ch’unhyang’s faithfulness is the master code of Ch’unhyang-chŏn, and emphasis on the master code is the strategy of the writers of *Wanp’an 84*. The work maximises Ch’unhyang’s resistance to strengthen criticism of the oppressor under the surface, but softens the criticism of the oppressor, the governor, to create a defence mechanism for itself. Now the times have changed. The object of Ch’unhyang-chŏn’s criticism was no longer Confucian ideology and the political system of Chosŏn but the colonial power, Japan. Accordingly, the object of Ch’unhyang’s protest turns from the feudal system into imperialist states. The object of Ch’unhyang’s protest is the power that oppresses people, whatever it is, and thus the story of Ch’unhyang-chŏn can be confirmed as having an inherent structure to continue its existence as long as the oppressor and the oppressed exist.

#### 3.2.3.2.4. Okchunghwa

*Okchunghwa* was published in 1912, two years after the destruction of the Chosŏn Dynasty by the Japanese annexation of Korea. What will happen to the direction of Ch’unhyang-chŏn now, in the absence of the system and ideology of the feudal era as well as the entity that governed it?

One of the most striking things about Ch'unhyang's identity in *Okchunghwa* is that she is recognised as a daughter-in-law by Yi's parents who send her wedding gifts before they leave for Sŏul. This would have been impossible in the Chosŏn period, but it can be regarded as a reflection of changing conceptions at the time *Okchunghwa* was written when the class system had been abolished. *Okchun*

*ghwa*'s Ch'unhyang, with the highest birth status among in all Ch'unhyang-chŏn, is depicted as a more imposing Ch'unhyang than in *Namch'ang* and *Wanp'an* 84. As discussed in the previous section on "The Political," the Ch'unhyang of *Okchunghwa* clearly defines her status as *yangin*, and whenever her status is undermined, she strikes back and insists on her *yangin* status.

Ch'unhyang's protest against the governor is as strong as in *Wanp'an* 84. However, it is noteworthy that the momentum when the governor erupts with fury, which subsequently leads to Ch'unhyang's severe punishment, is shifted further away from the essence. In *Okchunghwa*, Ch'unhyang's condemnation of the governor is reduced to denouncing the intention of raping a married woman, and not only the phrase "Will you serve two kings," but also a phrase that implies it does not exist at all.

*"Governor, you are a yangban, thus know the proprieties. If the governor rapes a faithful woman, would this be appropriate to the governor as the parent of this village? When I see unfaithful men and women who forsook faithfulness, I become vexed and gnash my teeth."*

*When the governor hears this, his sights are darkened, his nostrils become tight, his voice has gone, his hat-band snaps and his topknot comes undone, his jaw trembles . . . (89)*

This scene leads to Ch'unhyang's clubbing and the protest of Ch'unhyang and Ch'unhyang's ten-clubbing song. Ch'unhyang is clubbed hard thirty times as in *Wanp'an* 84, and the description is presented in an exaggerated manner.

*As Ch'unhyang has been clubbed thirty times, the flesh on her legs like white snow has gone and only broken bones remain. (96)*

In *Okchunghwa*, Ch'unhyang's protest receives much stronger support from various groups of people, compared to all the previous texts. One example is that a group of widows, newly emerged in *Okchunghwa*, submits a petition to Yi Ŏsa for lifting the criminal charges against her. What is interesting here is that the forces supporting Ch'unhyang extend almost to the level of insurrection, threatening the public affairs of high-ranking government officials. This creates a situation in which Ch'unhyang's antagonism to the governor can be extreme.

As there is no episode in which Yi's parents give wedding gifts to Ch'unhyang at their separation in the Ch'unhyang-chŏn that were written during the Chosŏn Dynasty, such support for Ch'unhyang as people threatening and petitioning the scholar-officials could not appear in Ch'unhyang-chŏn until after the dynasty had ended. In this sense, Ch'unhyang-chŏn has always been forced to take a conservative stance compared to the flow of the times. As Jameson said, "by definition the cultural monuments and masterworks that have survived tend necessarily to perpetuate only a single voice in this class dialogue, the voice of a hegemonic class" (2007, 71), Ch'unhyang-chŏn is a single-voiced narrative, a surviving classic narrative, written by a dominant class. *Okchunghwa* reveals the wishes of people of the Chosŏn period. But it also divulges the people's desire of the era when it was written, hidden and can only emerging on the surface in disguise.

Further discussion of the governor will be conducted in the next section, but here it should be noted that the governor in *Okchunghwa* receives little criticism in relation to his mal-administration. He is depicted as a scholar-official who is generally good natured, and only flawed in his excessive drinking and womanizing. Even after the scene

when the Ŏsa returns, Wŏlmae asks Yi Ŏsa to pardon the governor: “*If I was the governor, I would have slapped her dead immediately . . . If it were not for the governor, how could Ch’unhyang’s constancy have been revealed?*” (183). The Ŏsa also says to the governor, “*Desiring flowers is something which applies all the same to every man, including heroes and patriots . . . If it was not for the governor, how could Ch’unhyang’s constancy have been recognised?*” Nor does he discharge him from office or have him locked up, he asks him to provide good governing as a governor of Namwŏn (186).

*Okchunghwa* expresses a direct challenge to the authority of the ruling class, establishing a more extreme conflict structure than in any other editions. In *Okchunghwa*, the good ruling class represented by Yi Ŏsa and the lower class represented by Ch’unhyang’s mother, forgive the bad ruling class, which was initially the target of revenge and criticism by both. Consequently, the conflict between strata is resolved, aiming at a harmonious world. In this structure, criticism and resistance against the bad ruling class is systematically expressed to an extent which can be considered very much modern. Somehow, however, it shows a sudden jump to the modern era, and fails to utilize the developed conflict structure productively, with the speedy resolution of the conflict by the forgiving of the governor by Yi Ŏsa and Ch’unhyang’s mother.

*Wanp’an 84* and *Okchunghwa* share a common feature in that they express a favourable view of the colonial power that had emerged as a new dominant force. However, the latter shows a much more favourable attitude. Since *Okchunghwa* was written by a named writer at a vulnerable time of colonial policing and control, it must have required much more political sensitivity than *Wanp’an 84*, which as a *p’ansori* strand novel did not have a named writer(s).

Under these circumstances, it is fair to interpret that Ch'unhyang's protest against the governor and the full support of the people around her, which is strongly depicted in the following citation, are directed toward the colonial power, which is disguised on the surface as enthusiastic support for the feudal system of Confucianism.

*A farmer ran over and slapped Yi's cheek and swore, "You are setting faithful Ch'unhyang up and insulting her. Have you seen it? Have you heard it? If you've seen it, I will take your eyes out and if you heard it, I will rip your ears. Say it right!" He slapped him again. "Bring in a spade, let's dig and bury him." (103)*

In this sense this work re-appropriates the master code of Ch'unhyang narrative to covertly but strongly criticise colonial power. This is why *Okchunghwa* shows an ambivalent stance, with modernity and anti-modernity, by presenting the most modern characteristics in relation to Ch'unhyang, but also by taking the most anti-modern ending with respect to the governor.

#### 3.2.3.2.5. Ilsöl Ch'unhyang-chön

In *Ilsöl* Ch'unhyang's birth status is the same as in *Wanp'an 84* and *Okchunghwa*. What improves Ch'unhyang's status further in *Ilsöl* is that, for the first time, Ch'unhyang's mother can clearly articulate that she does not want Ch'unhyang to be a *yangban's* concubine (445), and Yi agrees and keeps his promise. Wölmae says:

*"My status is too low to have Ch'unhyang married to a yangban, but I don't want her to marry to a lower class man. I don't want to give Ch'unhyang to a yangban as a concubine even if it kills me . . ." (445).*

Wŏlmae could not have dared to say such things during the Chosŏn era. This also reflects the social background of the time *Ilŏl* was written, when the official class system had been abolished.

In *Ilŏl* Ch'unhyang's identity is presented in both personal and social relations. Until now, Ch'unhyang did not personally reveal any concerns related to her identity, except when she was called to Yi at Kwanghallu, when the pair separated, and when she argued with the governor. However, in *Ilŏl*, Ch'unhyang expresses her concerns about her status to Yi several times, because *Ilŏl* places great emphasis on the maturity of love between the two main characters, and thus spares space for conversations they share in their daily life.

For example, when Ch'unhyang calls Mongryŏng's father "the governor," after their first night together, Mongryŏng says:

*"Who is the governor? You should call him father."*

*Ch'unhyang sheds tears and asks, "Can I call the governor father?"*

*Mongryŏng again comforts her, "I come first not my father . . . Who can call you a concubine? . . . We're both in love and pledged to live together for a hundred years. Marriage formalities are old and troublesome."* (448)

When Mongryŏng asks Ch'unhyang to give birth to a child, Ch'unhyang says:

*"Even if I give birth to a child, I would be worried. The baby cannot be registered on the birth register, will be fatherless like me, and have a humiliating life. How can he wear a scholarly gentleman's hat?"*

*Mongryŏng replies, "Don't be vexed. I will take you to Sŏul as I am going to pass the state examination within the next three years."* (455)

While Ch'unhyang was portrayed as a typical member of the *kisaeng* class and the oppressed lowest class in previous works, here for the first time she can express herself as an individual *kisaeng* living in the shackles of such status. In this sense, it can be said that the Ch'unhyang of *Ilŏl* shows a modern self-awareness of her identity. It should be

also noted that, before being seen as the result of modern traits of the writer, such opportunity for a *kisaeng* to express her wishes and sorrows in public only comes well after the demise of the Chosŏn Dynasty.

In *Ilŏl* most of the scenes of the conflict with the governor are supplanted from *Namwŏn-kosa* and *Okchunghwa*, making it difficult to expect the author's active involvement in formulating the conflict between Ch'unhyang and the governor. However, Ch'unhyang's resistance to the governor here is not rooted in the practice of Confucian ideology, as in the Ch'unhyang-chŏn of the feudal period, but rather in true love between a modern man and woman. In this new paradigm the writer has changed the source of Ch'unhyang's resistance against the governor.

The reason the governor bursts out in anger to punish Ch'unhyang returns to the same reason as in editions before *Okchunghwa*. It is because Ch'unhyang questions his allegiance to the king, using the phrase "to serve two kings": "*If you go to war as a servant of the king and are troubled, will you surrender to the enemy and serve two kings?*" (480).

The conflict between Ch'unhyang and the governor is also depicted fiercely as in *Namwŏn-kosa*, *Wanp'an 84* and *Okchunghwa*. However, *Ilŏl* adds more detail to the depiction of the governor's misgoverning than is expressed in *Namwŏn-kosa*, and raises the strength of its criticism in contrast to *Wanp'an 84* and *Okchunghwa*.

More crucial is the return from the ending of *Okchunghwa* back to the previous versions in relation to the governor's punishment. Except for *Okchunghwa*, the previous versions do not show much of the face-to-face encounter between the Ŏsa and governor, and they do not show Ŏsa's scolding him. However, in *Ilŏl*, unlike *Okchunghwa*, the scene is depicted in detail: the Ŏsa directly faces and severely rebukes the governor, discharges him from office and orders for him to be locked up.

Ch'unhyang-chŏn written in Chosŏn and under Japanese colonial rule adhered to the system of the present day on the surface, but concealed anger and resistance in their depths, re-appropriating the master code of Ch'unhyang-chŏn, Confucian ideology, according to the systems and ideas of the age, and the position of the writer. On the other hand, *Ilsŏl* can be said to have been able to use all the major cards of Ch'unhyang-chŏn: in *Ilsŏl*, Ch'unhyang is able to express awareness of her identity as an independent self, and demonstrate her resentment towards the governor based on her love for Yi, which matures in the modern self, while the Ŏsa was able to punish the governor as much as the people would have wanted. How was *Ilsŏl* able to depict such intense criticism and punishment on the governor, who represents the oppressor, without being conscious of Japan?

*Ilsŏl* was written in 1925, a context seemingly distant from the caste system and Confucian ideology of Chosŏn, though not actually that distant as modern institutions and technology emerged around the early 20th century. By this time, Ch'unhyang-chŏn was already recognised as a classic, rather than a discourse that portrays the contemporary reality, and *Ilsŏl* was an adaptation written by Yi Kwangsu under the auspices of the *Tonga-Ilbo* newspaper, which sought to recreate Ch'unhyang-chŏn in a modern literary form. *Okchunghwa* (1912) was also serialised in the *Maeil Newspaper* only two years after Japanese rule started, at a time when Japan was implementing a tough colonial policy in the early years of colonialism. However, early Japanese colonial policy was strongly resisted by the independence movement in 1919, and Japan changed its attitude toward liberalisation, at least on the surface. In addition to this background, the author Yi Kwangsu was already walking the path of a pro-Japanese writer by writing *Minjok-kaechoron* (On Racial Reconstructionism) in 1922, and *Ilsŏl* was serialised in

the public space of the *Tonga-Ilbo* newspaper. All these elements should be taken into consideration when trying to understand its projection of Ch'unhyang-chŏn.

Since the writer, who already had pro-Japanese inclinations, had serialised this work in a newspaper, *Ilsoŭl* must have produced contents with defence mechanisms so that it could get past censure, since the Japanese imperialists did not question it. What were their defence mechanisms? First, in *Ilsoŭl*, the love between Ch'unhyang and Mongryŏng is concentrated in the first half of the work, so that the narrative axis is shifted to the love story of the two protagonists, rather than the confrontation between the governor and Ch'unhyang, that is, class conflict. The function of the governor as an obstructor who interferes with the love of the two protagonists is to strengthen the conflict structure of love. On the other hand, it also significantly reduces the ability for his evil deeds to be converted into the evil of the ruling class.

Secondly, by making Ch'unhyang often reveal her class consciousness on the surface of the work, her character succeeds in highlighting herself as a heroine of times gone by with new self-consciousness. This allows the narrative to give the impression that it is an old story that is far away from its present time, and thus avoid being caught for criticism of reality in relation to the governor.

However, what should be noted here is that the re-appropriation of the master code is not the exclusive property of the producers of the works. This is especially true because Ch'unhyang-narrative belonged to all Koreans for a long time before *Ilsoŭl* appeared. Now the re-appropriation of the ideology of the work has been passed on to the reader, and it is then for the reader to decide who will be defined as the oppressor and the oppressed.

### 3.2.4. Class Conflict – The Governor

At the beginning of this section, I gave the governor the character function of ‘evil power.’ I will examine here how the description of the governor, who can be symbolised as ‘abusive ruling class,’ changes with the passage of time over the nine texts under discussion.

Here we need to look at the ‘abusive power’ from a more socio-historical viewpoint. In the late Chosŏn period, as the *Noron* faction firmly established itself as a central force in the central government, the influence of provincial noble families weakened and instead the role of the governor was emphasized. In this situation, while various appointment systems for selecting governors had been implemented, the governor position was occupied and manipulated by Sŏul residents and clans, who were the core forces of the existing central government or who had power and wealth (Cho and Ch’oe, 2011, 199). Therefore, the appointment of the governor was not influenced by ability, but rather, by appeal, and it was reduced to a means of enforcing bureaucracy and maintaining the power of a dominating hierarchy of distinguished clans (Ibid., 183-202). On the other hand, with political collusion between the Sŏul-resident bureaucracy and the local governors, the erosion of the local economy by bureaucrats residing in Sŏul intensified (Ibid., 199).

Under these circumstances, local government posts were bought and sold leading to the operation of local governing bodies devoid of local ruling order, not simply exploitation by the governor and the *Isŏ* (the subordinates under the governor). In the midst of the over-growth of bureaucracy in place of the monarchy, the governor took control of the centre and his subordinates exercised substantial influence, replacing the power of the local community centred on local residents (Yi Sangyŏb 2002, 153).

Although governors were taken from among the bureaucratic elite and intellectuals of the society at the time, their knowledge was general, so there was a limit to their abilities to cope with the increasingly specialized and complex economic and social problems. The gap between the two classes was filled by the *Isǒ*, meaning that the lack of control over the *Isǒ* group, social and organizational contradictions, ethical problems between bureaucrats and the *Isǒ* class, incomplete administrative structure, and political corruption, led to the spread of general corruption in local communities. As the problems of rural communities grew and the patience of farmers ran out, people began to take issue with the contradictions that they were surrounded by.

As the anti-protagonist, the governor is the main player in the core conflict of the work, and the character itself implies a class conflict in the confrontation of the lowest class represented by the heroin, Ch'unhyang. Therefore, the governor's characteristics signify what the work is confronted with. However, since his characteristics change in each work, he is not always portrayed as an evil figure. In this sense, the governor is a problematic character, one through which we can perceive what the work and the main character fight for and against.

In this section, the nature of the governor will be investigated focusing on the governor as a public figure and as an individual human, referring to his psychological attitude toward Ch'unhyang.

#### 3.2.4.1. Hanmun Editions

##### 3.2.4.1.1. Manhwabon

The new governor is depicted as the epitome of an evil governor, abusing and exerting his full power in *Manhwabon* as follows:

*The new Namwŏn Pusa is ravenous and vile  
All the people are having their skin torn away  
It is clear that he is a corrupt official who does not know shame at all  
Extremely heartless when he deals with criminal offences  
He is as cruel and heartless as a wild dog (lines 188-192)*

*Coveting another man's wife sneakily  
Committing evil acts with power like the sun (lines 195-196)*

His malicious administration is only displayed here in his treatment of Ch'unhyang, while his other offences are vaguely implied in how Yi punishes him.

*Gnashing his teeth in fury, counting the crimes committed by the governor  
He resolves to disqualify him and lock him up tomorrow morning (245-246)  
The new governor becomes like an imprisoned pig (286)  
Dealing with the new governor's sins with Abu's old law<sup>71</sup> (305)  
He was like the defeated Chinchayŏung who had string tied at his neck (306)*

Since *Manhwabon* is the oldest edition of Ch'unhyang-chŏn, its depiction of the governor's characteristics is highly likely to reflect those in the early *p'ansori* Ch'unhyang-ka, thus it can provide criteria or scale for comparison with later editions. *Manhwabon* treats social problems in late Chosŏn head-on, but they are disguised as an issue of the heroine's faithfulness to her husband.

#### 3.2.4.1.2. Kwanghallu-ki

Despite the fact that the governor is an evil character in *Manhwabon*, the governor turns into a more positive character in later works. However, *Kwanghallu-ki* maintains the principle of *Manhwabon*, and being written in prose form, the governor's evil

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71 This refers to a severe punishment for greedy government officials: being boiled alive.

personality is played out more concretely. The governor in *Kwanghallu-ki* is even worse than in the rest of versions, aside from *Ilsoŭl*, because the writer invests considerable care in shaping the governor's absurdity, womanising, and corrupt bureaucracy. The following quotes give an astonishingly vivid reflection of the appointment of the governor and his wide-spread corruption.

*While he has retreated from an office of the state due to old age, he is newly appointed to the post of Pusa of Namwŏn, leaning on the power of Hong Lyun, the King's recent favourite retainer, though he does not have a good refutation and is not respected by others . . . In every government post he has had, his administration has always revered his predecessors as the Wŏnsung sought only good land and wealth. The people of his district lived in poverty, worry, and resentment. He has never regretted his maladministration and regards flattering influential men his speciality. As a result, people carrying loads on their backs and horses queue in front of his residence . . . the dizzying sound of a symphony resounds in the office hall, and the office kitchen is like a forest, packed with wine and meat. (72)*

The new governor being referred to as 'Wŏnsung' reflects his nature as one to be ridiculed, as it comes from 'Wŏnsungi,' the Korean word for 'monkey.' The scene in which the governor orders the roll call early in morning, being eager to find Ch'unhyang, exemplifies his absurdity and misgovernment in a mocking tone (74-75). This description conjures the hilarious image of the court yard of the local government, in which all the staff are summoned and must gather all of a sudden in the early morning, not knowing what is going on, with all the *kisaeng* fully dressed up, being called out one by one in a long, slow procession.

Moreover, the author introduces supporting characters to enforce the governor's evil nature, namely Chang Ch'ŏl and two leading *kisaeng*. Chang Ch'ŏl instigates the governor's evil deeds, as if his evil nature alone was not enough to explain his misdeeds.

Chang Ch'öl is initially a wanderer, who has indulged in womanising and drinking; there is reportedly no *kisaeng* bar in Söul where Chang Ch'öl has not been. One of the two leading *kisaeng* is Maehyang. As the governor cannot coerce Ch'unhyang into submission, he loses his head over a *kisaeng* called Maehyang, and does not take care of the district, leaving the administration in the hands of Maehyang and her family, and allowing the funds of the treasury to flow into the hands of Maehyang and other *kisaeng* and clerks in the office. On the day of his birthday, the governor also says, "*Now that Ch'unhyang, a young kisaeng has reached the point where she insults me in my presence, I will kill her to vent my anger!*" (107). The governor is portrayed as a man of cruel nature, beyond just being a cowardly individual or unfair and corrupt official.

In all the other Hanmun editions, Ch'unhyang does not rebel against the governor in their confrontation. However, Ch'unhyang in *Kwanghallu-ki* fiercely confronts him, and the strength of the rebellion is significant even compared with the Hangül editions. Therefore, the conflict is acute, taking place as it does between one of the most aggressive Ch'unhyang characters in different editions, and the worst governor of all. In this sense, it can be argued that the *Kwanghallu-ki*, which was written to be enjoyed as *p'ungryu*, unexpectedly and strongly counteracted the upper class. However, as already discussed, since the writer completely wipes out Ch'unhyang's class consciousness, it is also true that it gives an unbalanced feeling of what the author is pursuing in this work.

In fact, little is known about the writer of the *Kwanghallu-ki*, Susan, and the other writers of the Hanmun versions, except their names and social stratum. Therefore, it is difficult to interpret their works from the standpoint of the writers as historical individuals. What did Susan want to say through the work? Why does the work ridicule the character of the governor who is of the same ruling class as the writer? Did Susan

want to hide criticism of bureaucrats behind the love of a beautiful young couple, as critics of the literati alienated from power? If so, the criticism of the ruling class is so thorough and consistent that it is highly praiseworthy. However, the issue of pure love in this version also serves to conceal the social issues. Consequently, it is clear that, although he might show progressive colour through strong criticism of the governor, Susan silenced the voice of the marginalized with his own voice as a member of the ruling class by removing Ch'unhyang's political consciousness.

#### 3.2.4.1.3. Ch'unhyang-sinsöl and Kwanghallu-akpu

*Ch'unhyang-sinsöl* and *Kwanghallu-akpu* are critical and insensitive to the governor.

*Ch'unhyang-sinsöl* does not display any denouncement of the new governor by gossip, anecdote, or through any other people other than Yi. Far from criticising the governor, *Ch'unhyang-sinsöl* gives an impression of protesting for him, portraying him as not such an unreasonable bureaucrat by showing his persuasive attitude towards Ch'unhyang and law-abiding tendency presented in the legal process. The writer even has Ch'unhyang tell him that his grace and good administration shine on all the people, and asks him to take care of her too, with the same grace. The people criticise the governor only in relation to Ch'unhyang, not his administration.

Even when the Ösa criticises the governor, the writer argues that the evil he did to Ch'unhyang should be forgiven as it was due to a man's lust, which is human nature, letting the *Yönggwang* governor, Yi Sehyöng, speak for him: "*When judging people, do not include boozing and womanizing.* (117)"

As a literati writer, the author of *Ch'unhyang-sinsöl* depicts Ch'unhyang as an extreme conformist, without her own voice, and concentrates on the conflict with the

governor as purely a matter of the constancy of a woman, while minimizing the governor's wrongdoing. As a result, the class issue in this work enforces and strengthens the class system.

Written in a poetry form and oriented towards *p'ungryu*, *Kwanghallu-akpu* is more indifferent to social issues than any other versions. There is no passage where the governor is criticised in relation to his administration, he is only criticised as a womaniser. As a newly appointed governor, even though he is old he begins his official duty by checking the *kisaeng* register to call for Ch'unhyang, rather than attending to more pressing administrative affairs:

[He] commences his official work on the third day after his arrival  
and is unfamiliar with the work of the six departments.  
As soon as he gets out of his palanquin he asks after Ch'unhyang  
though he is old, the foolishness of his mind is unchanged. (Stanza 60)

The authors of the Hanmun editions, with the exception of Yu Chinhan who wrote *Manhwabon*, all expressed their intention to sublimate *p'ansori* Ch'unhyang-ka into beautiful and high-quality literature; criticising the *p'ansori* in the prefaces of their works for being vulgar. However, they consciously rather than unconsciously overlooked the class conflict already encoded deep in Ch'unhyang-chŏn and suppressed and disempowered the voice of the marginalised by reducing the core of the narrative to the love between beautiful young lovers, or the faithfulness of a woman. The most fundamental reason for this is that they belonged to the privileged class.

What about Hangŭl Ch'unhyang-chŏn? So far, no version except for *Ilsoŭl* was able to depict a governor as evil as the governor in *Manhwabon*.

### 3.2.4.2 Hangŭl Editions

#### 3.2.4.2.1. Namwŏn-kosa

In *Namwŏn-kosa*, the new governor is called Pyŏn Haktŏ , and the name remains the same in later versions. Pyŏn is a womaniser, incompetent but good at soliciting for a government post. The narrator's tone towards him is always scornful.

*Though he was the last on the personnel list for the office, he was unexpectedly appointed as Namwŏn Pusa thanks to his connections. Long ago he had heard a rumour that there was an excellent kisaeng in Namwŏn, since the day of his appointment, his mind is there and waits day and night ... (171)*

In *Namwŏn-kosa*, many minor characters pour out harsh criticisms of the governor's corruption and unfair treatment of Ch'unhyang. They also reveal that the way he settles accusations and law-suits is ridiculous:

*One man accused another of the theft of his cow. The governor asked the accuser, "How many cows do you have?"*  
*He replied, "I have one bull and one cow."*  
*The governor made a ludicrous verdict, "You have many blessings and are greedy to have two cows. Does this man have any sin not to have even one cow? It would be fair if both of you each have one cow."*  
*The governor dispossessed the accuser of one cow and gave it to the thief.*  
*(276)*

Another example demonstrates the gravity of the governor's mishandling of a serious crime:

*After someone reported a murder, the governor ruled, "There are only a few households here. Since among these few people one has died, the situation*

*is bad enough. If I kill one more person, I will have lost two people in my district. Drive them out of this office right away!” (288)*

The way he exploits the people is presented in their raw expressions:

*The Satto is exceedingly greedy to rake in rice, money and fabric. He is a starving demon for women and a shit bag when it comes to administration . . . this time he will be having a feast to collect three toi of rice, seven p’un in cash, and three eggs per household of all the forty-eight districts.(324)*

Excited under the influence of drink, at his birthday party the governor himself lays out his injustice related to an accumulation of wealth by illicit means.

*“Dear Imsil, I have exquisite schemes. When I’m bored, I find out the unregistered land with the chief secretary and divide it precisely between us, could there be any better entertainment than this?” (331-332)*

To this extent, the governor here looks even worse than that of *Kwanghallu-ki*. On the other hand, the writer of *Namwŏn-kosa* does not really describe him as an evil person as in “*He is warm in heart, and there is nothing that he does not offer if he comes to like someone once*” (210). Though he orders that Ch’unhyang be clubbed, he does not mean to treat her harshly:

*As the governor is not hard-hearted, seeing Ch’unhyang beaten, he says to himself, clicking his tongue, . . . “Who is this son of a bitch executioner? Even though he is a country bumpkin to the root, he can strike a pretty woman like her so badly.”*

*The governor is fidgety while Ch’unhyang is being clubbed, and in the end says, “How bad it would be if I had someone killed as soon as I arrived in my new post?”(225)*

The governor has the clubbing stopped and Ch’unhyang put in prison. With this the writer is saying that the governor is a licentious and a corrupt bureaucrat, but not truly vile. The governor also says that he exploits his people without choice:

*“Dear Governor of Hamyŏl, I’ve exploited the people’s property heavily, but I did it without choice. There have been many new lots that have to be sent to Sŏul, and friends and relatives who are strained by life, and the*

*people who are trying to get money from me have never been broken. The gifts that I have to send are double what they were before, so I cannot make my share without being exposed. I think day and night how to make it and have come up with these methods: it is nice to have interest attached when you collect the Hwangok<sup>72</sup>; in the spring, I give one egg to the people, and in the fall, I get back young chickens, they become thousands altogether; if there is a famine, I buy in fabric from the people at a bargain price. If I do not do these things, there is no way to sustain myself.” (332)*

In *Kwanghallu-ki*, the governor is consistently depicted as an evil individual and public figure, but in *Namwǒn-kosa* there is an imbalance between the two. In *Kwanghallu-ki*, all the problems that the governor causes are attributed to the problem of an evil individual, while *Namwǒn-kosa* depicts him as a sexual molester, but indicates that the reason he is corrupted as such results from the organisational contradictions of the political system.

*Namwǒn-kosa* is a vivid and accurate reflexion of the diverse aspects of corruption of the provincial government, which was pervasive in real life at the time. It is already drawn to high intensity in *Kwanghallu-ki*, but *Namwǒn-kosa* reveals that the corruption of the provincial government is caused not by one single governor but by the structural contradictions that are taking place nationwide starting from the central power system.

In this sense, *Namwǒn-kosa* has a great effect on the object of criticism of Ch'unhyang-narrative, that is, the object that suppresses the heroin is transferred from an individual bureaucrat to the state power structure. However, this critical attitude is hidden at the bottom of the work, since the work presents some positive aspects of the governor who symbolizes state power on the surface, thus avoiding the censure of the state, and becoming the most popular Ch'unhyang-chǒn, that survived until the early

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72 During spring, the government lends the people crops and collects them again after harvest.

20th century in Sŏul and Kyŏnggi district. *Namwŏn-kosa* deals with the nature of the governor strategically, in order to criticise state power.

#### 3.2.4.2.2. Namch'ang

In *Namch'ang*, the governor presented by the narrator and the governor presented by the characters within the work stand in sharp contrast. The narrators of *Namwŏn-kosa* and *Kwanghallu-ki* describe the governor as an evil and incompetent man who lacks ability to be the Namwŏn governor. However, in *Namch'ang*, the narrator does not say that the governor is incompetent and was appointed to the post thanks to his connections, instead he is presented as a handsome man with refined tastes who is merely a little lewd. Interestingly, this portrayal of the governor as a womaniser is compatible with the idea of a *p'ungryu* man, thus in the culture of the late Chosŏn period it is not really a negative thing:

*The governor is a Sŏul yangban . . . 45 years old . . . good-looking. As he loves p'ungryu, loves women, and Ch'unhyang of Namwŏn is famous for her beauty in both the capital and provincial areas, he volunteered to take the post of head of Namwŏn district office in order to see her. (35)*

According to the narrator's introduction, the governor is an ordinary scholar-official, aside from his love of womanising, and he is not so ostensibly caricatured as in *Kwanghallu-ki* and *Namwŏn-kosa*. However, when the governor punishes Ch'unhyang, he appears to be crueller, judging from his order, "*Beat her to death!*" (47) and that Ch'unhyang is clubbed thirty times while he shows no regret or pity, contrary to *Namwŏn-kosa* and some other editions.

In practice, however, the critique of the governor's administration in *Namch'ang* is the sharpest and most detailed among the versions. The governor deals with lawsuits unfairly and his ruling is swayed by money. *Namch'ang* also reveals how the governor bullies the people, practices usury and squeezes money from his subjects.

*He visits people who do not starve and asks them to borrow money from him. If they do not readily accept, he extorts money from them by strictly punishing and imprisoning them . . . if someone bribes him, he lets him win . . . Letting sly petty officials serve him like an instrument, the governor rakes in all things looking like money in Namwŏn, leaving nothing, not even the money inserted in children's coat strings. Therefore, children born since he came to office do not know what money looks like. (63)*

Along with this, the following scene also reveals how viciously the governor extorted money from both the rich and the poor. In this scene, the Ŏsa orders a prison document to be brought.

*Opening the list of prisoners, Ŏsa investigates the charges of an offence and pursues the truth. Some of them are rich low-class people who refused the governor's request for them to borrow money from him, some of them are petty clerks who were against the governor's will to take off their office, and some are ordinary people who were convicted as they did not treat officers who worked outside the district well. They are all ordinary people and unjustly accused criminals. (95)*

The injustice of the convictions and the resentment of the people is demonstrated in the eulogy sung by the wrongly convicted prisoners who are freed by the Ŏsa.

*"Great, great! How frustrating it was to be forced to borrow money, which was totally unnecessary! How bitter it was for the governor to try to extort my salary! How can I give hospitality to the clerks in the office, who I don't want to even look at?" (97)*

However, the section in *Namwŏn-kosa* where the governor says at his birthday party that he has no choice but to commit corruption, is also laid out in *Namch'ang* in the same wording. With this conversation between the Ŏsa and the governor of Koksŏng, the author emphasises that this corruption and bribery are pervasive within the ranks of high-level officers. High-level officers offer bribes to be able to take a high-ranking government position, then once they attain the position, they start extorting people in the district. In this vein, the author seems to denounce the tendency of governors' corruption as corruption based on institutional contradiction.

*Being an old man, the Koksŏng governor uses tricks to look pitiful while conversing with the Ŏsa.*

*“With the aim of earning the cost of a coffin, I attained the position of Koksŏng governor. However, I have been worried about losing the position day and night less than a year after stepping into office . . . If you tell people that I am an excellent governor, thus I am able to keep the position, you will enjoy prosperity for generations, as it says that there will surely be a happy occasion for the one who gives alms.” (97)*

The writer of *Namch'ang*, Shin Chaehyo, who worked as a secretary in the local government office in Koch'ang, Chŏlla Province, had spent the majority of his life face-to-face with the corruption of local officials. In other words, he was a subordinate of the governor, belonging to the *Iso* class, who committed corruption by associating with the governor. For this reason, Shin's description of the corruption of the governor is more detailed and acute than in any other version. He sets the governor as a better person than that of *Namwŏn-kosa*, but his degree of corruption is even worse. In other words, through the enlargement of the imbalance between the individual and the public figure within the same person of the governor, the writer of *Namch'ang*, like the writer of *Namwŏn-kosa*, emphasises that corruption is taking place at the institutional level, not

at the individual level. In this vein, his Ch'unhyang-chŏn is more computed than any other. Issued under the writer's own name, however, *Namch'ang* ensures that the object of criticism is confined to the bureaucracy, and not about the highest state power, by clearly showing absolute support for the king.

*The king may be able to see ten thousand li like the sun and the moon, having sent us Ŏsa, who transparently deals with public affairs, in order to save us. If not, our lives would have disappeared like bubbles. (97)*

The writer creates more of an asymmetry in his work than in *Namwŏn-kosa*, between the general figure of the governor as an individual and the public figure of the governor, to criticise the ruling class and balance the social criticism by adding a thorough submission to the sovereign.

#### 3.2.4.2.3. Wanp'an 84

In *Wanp'an 84*, the introduction of the governor changes even more positively than in *Namch'ang*.

*A new governor is appointed to Namwŏn, Pyŏn Hakto, of Chaha-dong, in Sŏul. He is good at writing and a fine figure of a man. As he is well-versed in p'ungryu, he has sufficient experience of womanising. However, he has one fault: as he is ill-tempered, he sometimes behaves irresponsibly, loses his virtue and makes errors of judgement. Therefore, all the people who know of him think him stubborn. (116)*

Now it is safe to say that since *Kwanghallu-ki*, description of the governor has become more and more positive. What is interesting, however, is that this trend is captured in changes within the works of the *Wanp'an* branch.

In *Wanp'an* 29 and 33, the narrators introduce the governor quite negatively with identical wording:

*There is a yangban called Pyŏng Hako, of Chaha-dong but he is not normal for lust because of the harshness of his soul. Since he heard that there were many beautiful kisaeng in Namwŏn and learned the beauty of Ch'unhyang, his mind has been unsettled.* (Wanp'an 29, 64; Wanp'an 33, 131)

The difference between *Wanp'an* 84 and *Wanp'an* 29 and 33 is equally evident in the description of the governor's administration. The level of criticism of the governor is completely lowered in *Wanp'an* 84 compared to the previous *Wanp'an* editions and *Namch'ang* and *Namwŏn-kosa*.

The following criticism of the governor by a subordinate talking to Yi Ŏsa appears in *Wanp'an* 26, 29, 33 and *Namch'ang*, but *Wanp'an* 84 removes it.

*"What do people say about your governor?"* [Ŏsa asks]

*"Our district is sa-mang<sup>73</sup>."*

*"Does he deal with public affairs well?"*

*"I will count and you listen, the rich are p'ae-mang [collapsed crazy], the secretaries of the governor are to-mang [escaped, or alternatively 'gambling crazy'], the people are won-mang [resentful] and the Ch'ulp'ae<sup>74</sup> is yang-mang [failing everywhere]. Is all this not sa-mang [the four failures]?"*  
(Wanp'an 26, 44; Wanp'an 29, 73; Wanp'an 33, 145; Namch'ang, 57)

In *Wanp'an* 29, when Yi Ŏsa happens to meet a shopkeeper, he laments over his misfortune.

*"Tomorrow, there will be a birthday party for the governor. I was assigned to take eggs from every house and collect fifty thousand of them all together. How can I do this job? How can I do this job?"* (75)

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73 A play on words, sa-mang refers both to death itself and to four ruins or craziness such listed as p'ae-mang, to-mang, wŏn-mang and yang-mang.

74 The officer who invents a scheme outside the district to catch gangs who plan ill projects.

In *Wanp'an* 29 and 33, when the governor tries to persuade Ch'unhyang into taking his *such'ōng* order, he says:

*"If you groom yourself and do such'ōng from today, the storehouse of the Namwōn government will be your side dish, and the government's rice store will be your warehouse, and the government's money will be your own. Don't speak such nonsense, conduct the such'ōng."* (*Wanp'an* 29, 67; *Wanp'an* 33, 135)

Among the three quotations, the first clearly reveals the governor's maladministration in general and the second and third demonstrate his corrupt and despotic governing in detail.

*Wanp'an* 26, 29, and 33, introduce the governor as evil and describe his administration as evil, while *Namch'ang* and *Namwōn-kosa* introduce the governor relatively favourably at an individual level, but add criticism of his maladministration as a corrupt scholar-official. In *Wanp'an* 84, however, the introduction of the governor becomes much more positive, and in terms of administration, the voice of criticism remains not only related to Ch'unhyang, but presentations of administrative corruption have almost completely disappeared. These accounts provide evidence that *Wanp'an* 84 tries to consciously improve the governor's character, through calculated amendments and eliminations of the passages where the governor is presented as a vicious character.

When the evil nature of the governor, the main force that oppresses Ch'unhyang, is suppressed, the conflict structure of the story is significantly weakened. The writer changes the composition of the conflict from one between individual and state power to one between two individuals: Ch'unhyang and the governor who is in general normal but whose only fault is lustfulness. Thus, the energy of the characters against the anti-protagonist, the governor, is drawn out through criticism of his lust.

Therefore, Ch'unhyang's resistance to the governor is the strongest here and the energy of the people shows the most passionate support for her. Most of the people who support Ch'unhyang are newly formed characters in *Wanp'an 84*, and some characters who already existed in previous editions, such as the blind man, also exhibit tremendous support for her and behave differently from those in previous versions. For example, the executioner of the clubbing punishment quietly tells Ch'unhyang how to deal with the upcoming blows: "*Just stand a couple of blows. I can't avoid it but twist this leg this side and that leg that side. (142)*" The playboys of Namwŏn, who are watching Ch'unhyang's punishment, grumble of the governor, "*The governor is heartless, heartless! Why is there such a punishment? (145)*" and say of the executioner, "*I will give him a sudden death when he comes out of the door! (145)*" People of all ages and genders who are gathered for the punishment shed tears, even the clerks and servants of the office wail, "*One can't do this as a child of a human! (149)*" Women washing clothes under Ojak-bridge also take pity on Ch'unhyang and criticise the governor, and the blind man shows Ch'unhyang the highest courtesy.

*Wanp'an 84* removes all existing criticism of the governor, leaving only his tendency of lasciviousness, and concentrates on this issue. Therefore, it appears that *Wanp'an 84* seeks to portray the governor as someone who is not a very bad, but rather an ordinary governor, whose fault is a love of womanising. However, ironically, this reinforces the intensity of Ch'unhyang's resistance, in a dire combination of strengthening the resistance of the heroine against the governor and a more favourable representation of the governor she so resists.

At the time of the appearance of *Wanp'an 84*, the Korean people were disempowered by Japanese colonial rule. However, in this way, the Ch'unhyang-narrative of the

powerless found a strategy to speak in their own voice: settling for what they could get away with.

#### 3.2.4.2.4. Okchunghwa

The tendency of not criticizing the governor as a public figure in *Wanp'an 84* leads directly to *Okchunghwa*.

The introduction to the governor in *Okchunghwa* presents him more positively than in *Wanp'an 84*. He is described thus:

*There is a governor called Pyŏn Haktō. He is handsome and sings the songs of male and female singers well. Since he is well-versed in p'ungryu, he spends well and drinks well. He is a hero of his generation. (61)*

However, as in *Wanp'an 84*, he is flawed:

*There is one fault with him, foolishly stubborn, knowing good words badly, knowing bad words correctly, carrying gunpowder and not being careful of fire for drinking and womanising. (61)*

According to the narrator, the governor makes mistakes because he likes women, is stubborn, and indulges in excessive drinking. In this work, there is no criticism about the governor's misgoverning, aside from one statement made by farmers. On the other hand, the sympathy and protection for Ch'unhyang from the people is stronger here than in any other versions.

*As Yi Ŏsa went down to Namwŏn, he met with farmers and asked,  
"How is your governor doing with public affairs?"  
One of them laughed, "Haha! He eats well, drinks well, hoes well, rakes well, and forks well. That's why there is no better governor than him. He says he will kill Ch'unhyang, a faithful woman, after a feast tomorrow."*

*“That rascal, if he kills her, he will be treated in luxury with a chiptunguri . . . Hey Myōngsam!”*

*“Uh-?”*

*“Have you seen the sabalt’ongmun?”*

*“I saw it.”*

*“If only the servants of the forty-eight myōn in Namwōn would come, there would be more than several thousand people.”*

*“Hush! Stop talking!” (133)*

Thus, the people are very angry with the governor and are preparing for an insurrection if he kills Ch’unhyang given that the *chiptunguri* (literally “the house nest,” referring to a group of people organising an uprising) and *sabalt’ongmun* (the coded document used to communicate plans for an uprising) in the quotation were used to secretly communicate for rebellion by peasants and servants in late Chosŏn.

The people’s protection of Ch’unhyang represented by these farmers is also seen in the following, when Yi hears the farmers talking about her:

*Yi asked, “Does Ch’unhyang have a husband thus, that she does not listen to the governor?””*

*A farmer ran over and slapped Yi’s cheek and swore, “You are setting faithful Ch’unhyang up and insulting her. Have you seen it? Have you heard it? If you’ve seen it, I will take your eyes out and if you heard it, I will rip your ears. Say it right!” He slapped him again. “Bring in a spade, let’s dig and bury him.” (103)*

This passionate statement resonates with the mature public consciousness developed through a series of insurrections by peasants and slaves such as the Tonghak Peasant Movement.

The enthusiastic support for Ch’unhyang also appears in the passage where Namwōn widows appear in groups before the Ŏsa who is inspecting the Namwōn government office. As they petition for Ch’unhyang, Ŏsa replies, “*She insulted authority as a*

*prostitute, thus she cannot be forgiven*” (176). Among the widows, “a hard hearted and harsh lady,” complains to the Ŏsa, “frowning and grinding her teeth,” “*Please first catch the child, that thief called Yi Mongryŏng. Punish him with nŭngjangchuroi.*”<sup>75</sup> Another widow stands up, saying, “*If the Ŏsa does not let Ch’unhyang go, the Ŏsa will suffer a great loss,*” and then leaves (178).

All of these episodes above are newly created in this work. However, this hard-lined resistance is directly related to the unjust treatment of Ch’unhyang, and nothing to do with the maladministration of the governor. The author of *Okchunghwa*, like the author of *Wanp’an 84*, tries to reduce the nature of the conflict between the governor and Ch’unhyang to the lewd nature of the governor, while raising the level of resistance at the level of insurrection, showing quite a contradictory stance on the part of the writer.

It is worth noting here the prevalence of people’s movements during the Chosŏn Dynasty. Historians often refer to the 19th century as an era of revolt. Not only was the number of civil wars high, it was also the era of three major popular movements: Hong Kyung-rae (1811), the Imsul-Revolt (1862), and the Tonghak Peasant Movement (1894). The introduction of the word *Sabal-t’ongmun* in *Okchunghwa* shows the work taking a spatial background, especially after the Tonghak Peasant Movement. *Sabal-t’ongmun* is a compound of *sabal* (bowl) and *t’ongmun* (notice or statement). A *sabal-t’ongmun* was a *t’ongmun* where a bowl was placed in the centre and the names of the participants written around the circumference of the bowl in order to hide the leader. It was widely used in the latter part of the Chosŏn Dynasty, and especially as the peasants’ uprisings intensified in the late 19th century. People gathered in villages by handing *sabal-t’ongmun* around to protest the government.

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75 A type of corporal punishment where both legs are tied and a long paddle is put between the legs and twisted.

The Tonghak Peasant Movement was based on *tonghak* ideology, founded in 1860 by Ch'oe Cheu (1824-1864). *Tonghak* was basically a very political religious idea, drawn from the socio-economic and political situation in the 19th century. In the late 19th century, Korea was struggling both internally and externally. Internally, Chosŏn came to the limit to deal with problems such as the power struggle within the ruling class, corruption and exploitation of the people by the middle bureaucratic class, which eventually led to poverty and the displacement of the marginalized population, and a large scale of resistance movements. In addition, Chosŏn had not been able to escape from the crisis of foreign affairs in which Western powers and Japan explicitly revealed the ambition of utilizing Korea as an outpost of external expansion (Kim Chŏnggho 2012, 42). For this reason, the Tonghak Peasant Movement was anti-foreign as well as anti-feudalistic.

Under such a national crisis, *tonghak* played a role as a spiritual foundation for the promulgation of the advent of the new world based on equality. The motivation behind *tonghak* was for the people to overcome discrimination, inequality, oppression, poverty and the economic, cultural, and religious aggression of foreign powers (Ibid., 45).

The relationship between the Tonghak Peasant Movement and Namwŏn is also notable, as Namwŏn was the centre of the movement and the first place where *tonghak* was propagated by Ch'oe Cheu. In 1894, the revolution broke out, and even after the Tonghak Army withdrew from Chŏnju, Namwŏn became a key base for a second insurrection. Namwŏn was a geographically important point for transportation, with fertile land and abundant raw materials, and it was a good place to hide because of its proximity to Mt. Chiri. For this reason, Namwŏn was the base of the revolution by the Tonghak Army.

It is ironic that Namwŏn, the site of historical struggle, is the setting of Ch'unhyang-chŏn, the story most loved by Chosŏn people. Especially considering the period from the foundation of *tonghak* (1860s) to the Tonghak Peasant Movement (1894), and the annexation of Korea by Japan (1910), Namwŏn has a tremendous weight as a temporal and spatial background for Ch'unhyang-chŏn produced during this period.

In the peasant uprisings, including the Tonghak Peasant Movement, corrupt ruling-class people, governors and the *Isŏ* group were the main cause of discontent, and thus subject to punishment. Although there is a difference in the level of punishment, the governor is punished in most Ch'unhyang narratives. However, *Okchunghwa* takes a much more pro-government stance than previous editions. There is a sad irony to the use of the people's explosive resistance and revolution in a love story, and the transformation of an object of revenge and punishment into one for appreciation. This once again reminds us of Jameson's statement that masterworks that have survived tend necessarily to perpetuate only a single voice in class discourse: the voice of a hegemonic class (2007, 71). At the time of *Okchunghwa*, the exploitation of the government and upper-class people which had triggered uprisings had changed only in terms of the agents of exploitation during the Japanese colonial period, and in fact became much more intensified.

When we reach *Okchunghwa*, Ch'unhyang-narrative is able to demonstrate the growth of modern consciousness of low-class people who show awareness of the social reality and behavioural practice against it. However, the modern consciousness of *Okchunghwa* recedes far further, with an unprecedented reversal in the tradition of Ch'unhyang-chŏn due to the Ŏsa's pardoning of the governor.

What is the reason for this reversal? It has already been foreseen from *Wanp'an 84*, so it is necessary to look back at the time when *Wanp'an 84* and *Okchunghwa* were

produced. At this time, Koreans were completely under Japanese colonial rule. Moreover, Japan had enforced hardline colonial policy since the very beginning. In an era when there was now no king and thus no Ŏsa to punish the corrupted power, in the mind of Ch'unhyang-chŏn readers, the governor was in a state of a natural conversion to the oppressor colonial class.

The authors of Ch'unhyang-chŏn had to build a new strategy when the nature of their oppressors changed. Thus, when the energy with which they criticised the ruling class was at risk of losing direction, the core of the conflict turned from resistance to corrupted power to resistance to an individual official. Consequently, it turned this energy into an agenda of protecting the heroine, the symbol of resistance and the oppressed, and also the colonised now that their country had been stolen by a colonial power.

When Ch'unhyang-chŏn was faced with powerful oppression like this again, it put emphasis on the master code of Ch'unhyang-chŏn, and disguised its criticism beneath the surface. In other words, this work pretends to criticise only one bureaucrat, the governor, but he is projected to readers as the oppressor of the people and the evil power that tramples their country, by utilising the master code of "faithfulness" in this narrative. By doing so, this text is able to pour out anger and criticism against the governor in place of criticising the colonial power. The text transforms the criticism into a protest for the master code, and then, taking a strategy to appease criticism of the coloniser.

#### 3.2.4.2.5. *Ilsŏl* Ch'unhyang-chŏn

*Ilsŏl* has a stronger social charge than any other version, and this is mainly created through criticism of the governor. As mentioned, however, many episodes from

*Namwŏn-kosa* have been transferred into this work with little change. Of the eight versions discussed above, *Namwŏn-kosa* and *Namch'ang* are the most acrimonious critics of the governor. However, *Ilŏl* takes one step further with its intense criticism.

The following is an introduction of the governor on *Ilŏl*:

*The newly appointed Namwŏn Pusa is the one called Pyŏn Hakto living in Namch'on. Since he is handsome, he has liked women since his boyhood and placed his hands on all the female servants and women living in the servant quarter as soon as they came in his household. He has been humiliated in a number of cases trying to get his hands on even married women and faithful widows. That is why he has been named by his relatives and friends a womaniser and a scallywag. He cannot write a letter properly, but his yangban lineage is good because his bones are of the ancestors and his maternal pedigree is good. His wife's parental lineage enabled him to start work as Namhaeng-ch'osa and move around as a governor of small mountain prefectures. He deserves to sleep on the cold floor of a small rural village, however, thanks to his yangban lineage, he was on the list for promotion and was unexpectedly appointed as Namwŏn Pusa. Therefore, it goes without saying that he assumes a triumphant air. Moreover, as he heard that Namwŏn is famous for women and there is a renowned kisaeng called Ch'unhyang, he feels one hour as three years and cannot calm himself down. He waits day and night for the chief clerk of the new post to come. (470)*

The introduction of *Ilŏl* to the governor is the longest and the worst amongst the versions discussed here, reinforcing the detail in the introduction of *Namwŏn-kosa*, and presenting the absurdity of the governor with high intensity. In *Namwŏn-kosa*, the governor has some good points, as in “*He is warm in heart, and there is nothing that he does not offer if he comes to like someone*” (216), but in *Ilŏl*, he has none. *Ilŏl* presents the governor as a thoroughly wicked person.

Thus, the writer of *Ilŏl* emphasises the maladministration and wicked character of the governor and borrows all the motifs related to his evil in *Namwŏn-kosa*. In addition

to this, *Ilsöl* adds more detail to the original episodes of *Namwǒn-kosa* in some motifs to create a more concrete description. Here is a comparison.

*Officials of the local government say that the 27th of this month is the governor's birthday and pick up money and rice regardless of whether a house is big or small. The resentment of the people is reaching the sky and every house is crying. (Namwǒn-kosa, 288)*

*For the governor's birthday, officials of the government office divide the households of Namwǒn into big and small to collect rice and money. They grade rich households and demand a calf for the first grade and a length of silk for the second grade. Accordingly, civil complaints are piercing the sky and every house is crying. When it is the busiest time of the year for farming, on the street, men are carrying bags on their backs and women on their heads, helping the elderly and children to proceed. Numerous people are leaving their loving homes, wandering on the street since they cannot manage their livelihoods. The sun is not shining and the mountains and rivers are colourless. (Ilsöl, 502)*

The writer of *Ilsöl* also brings in a passage from *Namch'ang*, as if the governor's evil deeds presented in *Namwǒn-kosa* were not enough, perhaps because the motif is described in more detail in *Namch'ang* than in *Namwǒn-kosa* (*Namch'ang*, 63; *Ilsöl*, 501).

It can be seen that *Ilsöl* not only includes all of the negative factors related to the governor in previous Ch'unhyang-narrative but also tries to present them in more detail. In this respect, it is evident that the writer of *Ilsöl* places great significance on the corruption of the state bureaucracy.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> The passage of *Namwǒn-kosa* that the governor said at his birthday feast that he cannot help committing such corruption is also included in *Ilsöl*. However, since the description of the governor has been portrayed negatively throughout its introduction to the end, without any positive description, it loses its power to expand into a structural contradiction.

In *Ilsŏl*, the Ŏsa directly summons the governor to reveal his wrongdoings. The governor bows low to the Ŏsa, sheds tears, and begs for forgiveness, but the Ŏsa dismisses him from his post and orders for him to be locked up. In this respect, *Ilsŏl*, at least with regard to the punishment of the governor, can be considered to provide the most gratifying scene for the reader in the history of Ch'unhyang-narrative.

*Ilsŏl* adopts all the critical aspects of the governor from the *Kopon Ch'unhyang-chŏn* (the base text of this work which comes from one of the strands of *Namwŏn-kosa*) and even related a passage from *Namch'ang*. It is clear, then, that the writer was intent on emphasising the corruption of the ruling class represented by the governor, even adding partial details of his own.

How, then, could the work strongly criticise the governor in the colonial situation in which strong criticism of the governor could have been subjected to Japanese censorship? The answer can be thought of in two ways. First, since this text is set in Chosŏn, the story can be dismissed as an old story. Thus, Japan could have eased its vigilance, and the colonial authorities might have been content to show that the Korean people had previously been subjected to extreme oppression and exploitation from their own leaders. Second, by changing the core of the conflict, the work found a strategy to criticise the ruling class relatively safely, that is, by replacing the conflict of Ch'unhyang and the governor with the love of Ch'unhyang and Yi. Thus, the conflict between the two protagonists and the anti-protagonist, the governor, makes it possible to reduce the likelihood that the description of the evil of the governor will be converted into a critique of the ruling class, while emphasising his function as a disturber of their love, thus contributing to deepening the conflict structure of the love story. With this strategy, the work could avoid the censure of the Japanese colonial authorities.

### 3.3. The Historical

In the first two levels of Jameson's interpretation scheme, the concept of contradiction was greatly stressed. Now, in the third horizon, the contradiction emerges as the mode of production. What should be done in this third stage is to demonstrate the horizon of the mode of production by presenting the form the contradiction takes on this level and the relationship of Ch'unhyang-chŏn to it.

The mode of production is a system of ideas or production generated by an underlying socioeconomic structure. Jameson lists the modes, or "stages" of human society, from primitive communism to communism.<sup>77</sup> In relation to this classification, he argues that this new and final horizon cannot consist in the concept of an individual mode of production by retaining Poulantzas's suggestion that every social formation or historically existing society has in fact consisted in the overlay and structural coexistence of several modes of production all at once, including vestiges and survivals of older modes of production ( Jameson 2007, 80).

Jameson contends that "all previous modes of production have been accompanied by cultural revolutions specific to them" and the concept of cultural revolution is "the reconstruction of the materials of cultural and literary history" (Ibid., 81-2). He also asserts that "overt revolution," such as the French Revolution, is not punctual, and "the overtly 'transitional' moments of cultural revolution are themselves but the passage to the surface of a permanent process in human societies, of a permanent struggle between

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<sup>77</sup> The modes of production have traditionally included the following: primitive communism or tribal society (the horde), the gens or hierarchical kinship societies (Neolithic society), the Asiatic mode of production (so-called Oriental despotism), the polis or an oligarchical slave holding society (the ancient mode of production), feudalism, capitalism, and communism.

the various coexisting modes of production” (Ibid., 82-83). He then argues that, within this final horizon, the task of analysis is “the rewriting of its materials in such a way that this perpetual cultural revolution can be apprehended and read as the deeper and more permanent constitutive structure in which the empirical textual objects know intelligibility” (Ibid., 83).

With Ch’unhyang-chŏn, what should be done in this third stage is to demonstrate the horizon of the mode of production by presenting the form the contradiction of the narrative takes on this level and the relationship of Ch’unhyang-chŏn to it. To fulfil this task, I find Greimas’ semiotic actantial model<sup>78</sup> (1983, 172-191) particularly useful, as it enables analysts to read the characters as functions between the narrative surface and the underlying actantial mechanism (deep structure), and to explore the relationship between characters. By reducing characters to functions, characters in the story, who are not individuals any more, are put in an impersonal process.

It is found that in Ch’unhyang-chŏn, the character who has the function of a donor as an actantial function character is crucial, as it liberates the heroine from the stifling feudal ideology. ‘Donor’ is something like a mediator or a catalyst, designed to prepare the hero for some magical object, which, in the case of Ch’unhyang-chŏn, is exemption from the sexual services that she is obliged to offer. According to my examination, the donor character is assigned more to Wŏlmae than to Yi Toryŏng, who also functions as a major donor on the surface.<sup>79</sup>

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78 Greimas’ actantial model allows us to reduce an action into three groups of six actants: Sender (what instigates the action)/Receiver (what benefits from it), Subject (Hero)/Object (Value), and Auxiliary (a donor)/Villain (an opponent).

79 In Greimas’ semiotic model, a function can be played out by many characters and also a character can play multiple functions.

In this final horizon of the interpretive process, the analysis of Ch'unhyang-chŏn needs to look at the socio-economic dynamic of its composition: in this case the economic dynamic from the 18th to the early 20th centuries when proto-capitalism was rising and developing while disrupting the older land-based agricultural order and the caste system of Chosŏn society.

Capitalism is dynamic, it is efficient and energetic, and gets things done, but it is cruel, brutal and oppressive, treating people with indifference. Capitalism is embodied in the character of Wŏlmae. Wŏlmae provides a magical source for the heroine to almost escape from her lowest social stratum, through her mysteriously accumulated wealth.

The level of the function of Wŏlmae varies from *Manhwabon* to *Ilŏl*. On the surface, however, as the birth status of Ch'unhyang rises, it appears that the social status of Wŏlmae is rising, even though it is not a legal status. At first, it appears that in order to raise Ch'unhyang's social standing, the role of Wŏlmae has increased and her position has risen. However, at the level of the deep structure, the opposite situation occurs, that is, as the position of Wŏlmae moves high, Ch'unhyang's position turns high.

The status of Ch'unhyang can be said to be raised by *taebichŏngsok* or the emergence of her *yangban* father. However, there is no reason why the level of Wŏlmae rises in the first place, and since Wŏlmae plays an auxiliary character—even more insignificant in the early editions—the reader hardly comes to question the reason for this. This makes Wŏlmae's role as a donor more discreet. To tease out this discreet strand in the narrative, I will examine what kind of changes occur in the role of Wŏlmae throughout the works.

In *Manhwabon*, Wŏlmae functions purely as the mother of Ch'unhyang. Ch'unhyang is a *kisaeng*, but we are not sure whether Wŏlmae is also a *kisaeng*. Wŏlmae is depicted as an old mother, who is very weak and poor, and appears for the first time in the work only after Yi returns as Ŏsa, and does not utter any criticism toward Yi Ŏsa:

*My precious daughter is imprisoned without reason  
there is no one to take care of me when it comes to this situation  
as the two of us were starved to death  
we ate chaff and empty heads of grain. (Lines 155-158)*

In *Ch'unhyang-sinsöl*, however, Ch'unhyang is introduced as the daughter of *kisaeng* Wölmae, and Wölmae appears as a woman of wealth, which can be observed from the description of Ch'unhyang's house on the first night when Yi visits her.

*They passed through long walks of servants' quarters, and finally, hand in hand, walked through the various gates. Finally, they went into the place where Hyangrang [Ch'unhyang] resides. The house had white walls on all sides. As a person who was good at drawing had been invited and drawn plum blossom and bamboo on the walls, staying in there was like sitting in a spring breeze. There was a pond of water artificially drawn into the house and its perimeter was stacked with dozens of patterned stones. (54)*

The description continues with peonies, goldfish, mandarin oranges, lotus and many other kinds of flowers in the garden. Since *Ch'unhyang-sinsöl*, the description of Ch'unhyang's house has been portrayed in a very gorgeous and luxurious manner, and the landscape-oriented description of the garden became a fixture in the works to come. The food which was prepared by the servant, Wölgye, is also rare and exquisite.

However, in *Ch'unhyang-sinsöl*, like in *Manhwabon*, Wölmae cannot say a word against Yi who came back as Ŏsa. Wölmae is an old mother of seventy years, and her role is that of an almost purely functional character, creating an environment in which Ch'unhyang could have a comfortable upbringing.

In *Kwanghallu-ki* Wölmae appears as the head of the *kisaeng*. The luxurious portrayal of the house remains the same, but lavish portrayal of Ch'unhyang's room is

extended, as though it had been lacking, and subsequent works include this splendid description of the house and the room.

Wōlmae, transformed from an ordinary *kisaeng* to the head *kisaeng*, is now different from *Manhwabon* and *Ch'unhyang-sinsöl*: she is a character who says whatever she likes, like she does in the Hangŭl editions. When Yi Ŏsa appears like a beggar, she shows her resentment to him by saying “*Save my baby!*” and criticises him directly for never giving Ch'unhyang any economic help:

*“I lived as a kisaeng for the last forty years and met numerous men of p'ungryu. There are some who are alive and some who are dead among them, but what I have been wearing and consuming has all come out of their benevolent affection, like the sea and mountains. I have not seen anyone like this, with no faith or sense of honour.”* (105)

Then Wōlmae drives Yi out of her house.

In *Kwanghallu-akpu* there is no mention of Wōlmae at the beginning and no mention of her being the head *kisaeng*, but the situation is more or less the same as in *Kwanghallu-ki*. Everything is expressed simply, since the work itself is in verse form. However, Ch'unhyang's colourful house and room are described in some detail. It is also revealed that Wōlmae gives the cold shoulder to Yi Ŏsa: “*You would have held me accountable for leaving you out in the cold, but I deliberately did so as I was afraid the heavens might open*” (stanza 105).

Ch'unhyang is also the daughter of a *kisaeng* in *Namwōn-kosa*. However, her house is much more imposing than in previous versions. Arriving at the gate, Yi is amazed at the scale of the house, and thinks that he has been deceived by Pangja: “*How can a kisaeng's house be so magnificent and gorgeous? You seem to be trying to attract me to the house of a man of power and humiliate me like the son of Chung Bong...*” (88). After

entering and going to Ch'unhyang's room, he says: "*I am a chicken in a basket of rice*" (103). Then after Ch'unhyang marries Yi she does *taebichöngsok* and when she becomes a prisoner, Wölmae consults doctors for her and has a shaman perform an exorcism to give her good luck (103). All of these processes are premised on Wölmae's financial capability.

From *Namwön-kosa*, Wölmae is clearly showing her earthly desire, even at the cost of Ch'unhyang's constancy: "*That guy, Yi, is my enemy . . . Look at what Ch'unhyang is doing while Oksön, who is doing such'öng for the governor, is accumulating enormous wealth . . . Ch'unhyang rejects these good things and puts me in difficulties!*" (319). The level of her resentment shown to Yi Ösa becomes higher than in previous versions also: "*shaking her completely grey hair out loose, she grabs her skirt, beating her breast, and tearing her whole body, she shouts at him, 'Kill me!'*" (321).

Wölmae is much more distinct in *Namwön-kosa*, and Ch'unhyang also reveals the strongest self-consciousness compared to previous versions. From *Manhwabon* to *Namwön-kosa*, Ch'unhyang and Wölmae share the same upward trend in voicing their opinions, and in this context, the Ch'unhyang and Wölmae of *Manhwabon* are reborn as completely different characters. Crucially, these changes are based on Wölmae's wealth, which is scaled up for each version.

Where does Wölmae's financial power come from? Of course, a *kisaeng* could make a fortune. However, the issue is how it was possible to make such a large fortune. *Namwön-kosa* leaks the answer unexpectedly. When Wölmae hears that Ch'unhyang was released after the Ösa's emergence, being in a good mood, she drinks a cup of rice wine, and then the first thing she does is threaten men who worked in the government.

*"You will be punished by the removal of all your toes! Pay me the drink prices and the soup price! People who work at the local government! Come*

*out, all of you! Don't even think of not paying what you owe me!"* (350, emphasis added)

Here we can see that Wŏlmae was engaged in commercial activity with the words “drink price” and “soup price.” Aside from this, the source of Wŏlmae’s wealth is not mentioned, even within *Namwŏn-kosa* as well as in other works. Although Wŏlmae could not achieve a legal ascent in status through commercial activities, she was able to enjoy a luxurious lifestyle in a magnificent house in a scenic place, which even amazes the son of the governor of Namwŏn, and to buy higher social status through *taebichŏngsok*. Thanks to her fortune, the Hobang in the government office also says: “Ch’unhyang is not a *kisaeng* but the daughter of a *kisaeng*, Wŏlmae.” On this material basis, Ch’unhyang had already been able to form a confident self, well before she met Yi, and to a certain degree, to shake off the stigma of her class identity. Thus, in Ch’unhyang-chŏn, the embryo of early capitalism is hidden in Wŏlmae.

However, the proto-capitalism that emerged accidentally in *Namwŏn-kosa* has yet to be silenced by feudal ideology, since Ch’unhyang-chŏn always represents the times one step behind the actual history, as a classical narrative that has survived through the ages. The political ideology and system of Chosŏn based on Confucianism made farming policy the basis, while commercial activities were largely limited, and perceived as an activity that should not be done by the literati class. Thereby the stratum of tradespeople was the lowest within the *yangin* class. In this context, Wŏlmae’s business activities, the selling of alcohol and food, would eventually be a detriment to the improvement of Ch’unhyang’s identity. In this way, Wŏlmae’s capitalist activity sinks to the bottom of the work.

In *Namch’ang*, Ch’unhyang is the daughter of military-official Sŏng Ch’ŏnch’ong and the retired *kisaeng* Wŏlmae, and the scale of Wŏlmae’s fortune is further increased,

shown in her patronising many religious events and each temple scattered in Chiri Mountain in order to conceive. The first thing to note here is that Wölmae appears for the first time as a person who has authority in terms of Ch'unhyang's marriage, and who Yi asks for permission to marry Ch'unhyang. In all the previous versions, Ch'unhyang invites and sleeps with Yi regardless of Wölmae's presence or opinion. However, in *Namch'ang*, Wölmae is the first person who Yi meets when he enters Ch'unhyang's house and it is she who decides whether Ch'unhyang will marry him.

On the contrary, in *Namwǒn-kosa*, when Wölmae asks Yi “*What brings you here?*” seeing him in her house, he replies, “*Whether I have a job or not, it's not something for you to care about. Do not worry*” (98). Here, despite her substantial fortune, she is ignored at once. Therefore, it can be surmised at first that the change of Yi's attitude toward Wölmae is due to the influence of the status of Ch'unhyang's father. However, it can be seen in *Tongch'ang* that this was not the case. *Tongch'ang* was also written by Shin Chaehyo during the same period when he wrote *Namch'ang*.

In *Tongch'ang*, there is no mention of Ch'unhyang's father, and Ch'unhyang is just the daughter of *kisaeng*. The description of Ch'unhyang's house and room is as gorgeous as in the previous version. Here, as in *Namch'ang*, Yi asks, “*I want to marry Ch'unhyang. What do you think?*” (67). Thus, it is shown that the key to the elevated position of Wölmae is her substantial wealth, regardless of the social status of Ch'unhyang's father. This was not a time in which *yangban* could ignore a person of the lowest class with a substantial fortune. This is further supported by the consensus that Shin Chaehyo reproduced the events in the story reflecting the realities of the time.<sup>80</sup>

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80 The examples of the writer's realistic depictions are: Ch'unhyang's status is not elevated at the end of the story, Ch'unhyang is not given the title of *chǒngryǒl-puin*, and Yi marries the daughter of a minister after he goes to Sǒul.

On the other hand, the reason why Wölmae was neglected at once by Yi in *Namwön-kosa* could be because it was created in an earlier era, when the class system was more stable,<sup>81</sup> or because Wölmae's fortune was much larger in *Namch'ang*. Ch'unhyang-chön was conceived at a time when the caste system was being agitated. Among the *chönmin*, there were *chönmin* who lived a more affluent life than ordinary *yangban*, and there were ruined *yangban* who lived in poverty. Thus, Wölmae's wealth makes it possible for her and Ch'unhyang to maintain a certain degree of social status, regardless of their legal status.

This continues in *Wanp'an 84* and *Okchunghwa*, and the voice of Ch'unhyang's mother becomes even louder. Until then, there was no scene in which Wölmae intervened in the separation of Ch'unhyang and Yi, but in this work Wölmae intervenes and is even physically violent towards him. Pounding her hands together, she rushes to Yi:

*"Talk to me! Are you going to forsake my daughter? Tell me what she is guilty of? ... You can't do this... you two-headed goblin! Oh, it's bitterly hard, you monster!"*

*She jumps at him. "If the governor should get to hear of it, there would be terrible trouble."*

*Yi responds, "Mother-in law, look here: if I can take Ch'unhyang with me would you stop this?" (103)*

Perplexed by Wölmae's violent response, Yi comes up with a nonsensical resolution:

*"Please don't treat me so roughly, ... I have a plan ... but I can't tell you what it is because it will not only ruin me but it would be an offence to my ancestors if it gets out." (105)*

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81 The actual date recorded in *Namwön-kosa* is the time when the manuscript was copied for rental, and it is believed that the time of creation would have been earlier.

*“When the household sets out tomorrow, the palanquin with the ancestral tablets will be at the end of the procession. ... I will take the tablets out and carry them in the sleeve of my robe. Then Ch’unhyang can ride in the palanquin. There is no other way.” (105)*

Yi is forced by Wölmae’s condemnation to suggest that he will sneak Ch’unhyang into the palanquin that carries the ancestral tablets. This idea can be seen to subvert Confucian society. This scene also symbolises the bare and frontal conflict between Confucianism and capitalism, as represented by the ancestral tablets, which were considered the most sacred and respected entity in Confucian society.

Since Ch’unhyang finally rejects this proposal, it can be seen that capitalism has moved one step backward, as Ch’unhyang-chön, on the surface, has shown a conservative stance that conforms to the system of the upper class.

Wölmae’s rough treatment of Yi continues to the scene where he returns disguised as a beggar after becoming Ösa. When Wölmae hears that Yi has become a beggar, she says:

*“You heartless man! . . . what will become of Ch’unhyang?”  
She leaps forward in a fury, trying to bite his nose. (191)*

All these events and situations lead directly to the later works of *Okchunghwa* and *Isöl*. In *Isöl*, however, as Wölmae’s bias toward the material is further expanded, capitalism comes to the surface in earnest. Wölmae seems to be somewhat decent at the beginning of the work, however, the separation of Yi and Ch’unhyang becomes a turning point for her. She turns into a *kisaeng* mother who is very much obsessed with money.

On hearing that Yi is going to Söul and leaving Ch’unhyang behind, revealing her material world view, Wölmae says:

*“You lured an innocent child with sweet lies, you ruined her by playing with her for a year or two. Now you are forsaking her, not taking her with you! ... If you cannot take her, you should at least leave something for her to live on.” (458)*

There are no cases in any of the other versions of this scene in which Wōlmae requires Yi to provide a material reward for Ch’unhyang. After this, Wōlmae has blamed Yi for his stinginess without exception at every opportunity.

When Ch’unhyang finally breaks away from Yi in Oryuchōng and falls down on the ground, Wōlmae comes and pours out blame on Yi for leaving without giving Ch’unhyang any material reward.

*“Though he has a fuzzy appearance and a rhetorical sense, he is horrible under heaven and he is a miser. ... I expected that even if he could not take you, he would leave you some rice fields or fabric. ... But, he didn’t say or leave anything. Where can we find a miser like him? ... Since this time last year, for almost a year, whether it is cold or hot, I have not been able to sleep at night preparing night snacks and drinks for him. I spent several thousand nyang out of my savings on him. ... He left without thanking me. That son of a bitch! He will never be any better than a beggar or beggar monk!” (463-464)*

Ch’unhyang replies:

*“Mother, do not speak so. How could the young master living under his parents have any money, and even if he did and offered it to us, how could you accept it and how could I receive it?”(464)*

Wōlmae answers:

*“Why not? Why not? Why not take the money if he gave it? There is nothing better in the world than money. ... Even if the husband is good, marriage is*

*half love and half money. Do we live on love? We can eat and live only if we have money. You are still young and do not know other things. When you are young, you should make your own money, several thousand nyang, if you cannot have several thousand nyang in your pocket, you will starve to death. Ah, it is good that he went away if he would go. If he had been here another year I would had to have sold my house.” (464)*

Later, seeing Ch'unhyang dragged into the government office, beaten and wearing a cangue, Wölmae cries out to her, trying to persuade her to take the *such'ōng* order.

*It's all your fault! It's all your fault! ... If you had taken the governor's order ... all the 48 areas of Namwōn would have become your cupboards. When I was young too I met countless high-ranking officials, the ones I could not forget are those who gave me a lot of money. Who is not as good as you? If the governor requests you again, accept and take the practical benefits.” (483)*

When Mongryōng appears in humble clothing, Wölmae resents him and clarifies that she has suffered material damage because of him.

*“Where is my house? After Ch'unhyang was put in prison, I sold the household goods that were left after you ate and used as much as you wanted.” (504)*

Wölmae goes to see Ch'unhyang in prison with Yi Ōsa and once again condemns him.

*“What a waste of pain has been poured out because Ch'unhyang has kept her chastity and waited for this beggar. What a waste of constancy! All my prayers are in vain. You son of a bitch! Save my daughter! Even if you die in her place, save my daughter, precious like gold and jade.” (509)*

Then, when Wŏlmae hears on the day of the governor's birthday celebration that she has an Ŏsa as her son-in-law, she is overjoyed and drinks a cup of rice wine saying to the people of the local government office that they must pay back their debts to her.

Wŏlmae also tells the following story, in addition to boasting that she successfully drove Yi away when he came to her the previous day. This is also in *Namwŏn-kosa* in exactly the same wording. Here Wŏlmae shows that she is leading her daughter to sexual merchandising.

*"I told my baby this morning not to think of Yi again and to take the such'ŏng order if the governor asks her again. Ch'unhyang may have lost hope having seen the shabby looking Yi Toryŏng and have taken Ŏsa's request. That's a good thing now. If Ch'unhyang had taken the governor's request, things would have been overturned."* (*Namwŏn-kosa*, 392; *Isŏl*, 351)

In fact, this tendency of Wŏlmae has already been expressed in *Kwanghallu-ki* and becomes pronounced in *Namwŏn-kosa*. Then, in *Isŏl*, it comes to the surface in earnest. Wŏlmae's love of wealth over chastity was suppressed by feudalism, representing a mere trace of the early stages of capitalism, but in *Isŏl*, the figure of reified capitalist society explodes to the forefront of the work.

Wŏlmae is the locus of history in this macro-narrative: her mysterious fortune makes her a proto-capitalist. She recodes the new economic energies as strong motherhood. The strengthening position of Wŏlmae then constitutes the narrative mechanism whereby dynamic capitalism disrupted the feudal order but eventually reconciled with the time of the agricultural life and its ideology, but still claims a partial victory, waiting for its time to come.

In this sense, it can be said that Ch'unhyang-chŏn is an allegory of the socio-economic circumstances of late Chosŏn. However, this does not mean that the named

and unnamed writers of Ch'unhyang-chŏn aimed to write an encoded criticism of capitalism. It is rather that the disrupting force of capitalism determined and conditioned the way the writers depicted a character like Wŏlmae in the first place.

The writers of the first generation of Ch'unhyang-chŏn looked for the literary mode available to them to account for the narratives, created the *p'ansori* narrative form at first, and then put in the form of their stories. The stories were produced out of their own social and cultural determinants which were already embodied in the narratives as unconscious. The writers who came after those of the first generation had strongly and skilfully contested their ideas and views, which were already determined by their social strata, on the proto-narrative of Ch'unhyang-chŏn in their works while trying different literary forms and writing mediums.

For the first stage of the interpretive scheme, I looked for the contradictions in each edition and between them. For the second phase of the scheme, I considered the antagonistic discourse of each edition within the apparent unity of the Confucian master code. I found that differences of the works emerged in many cases in disguise, by re-appropriating the all-embracing unity of the single master code while reflecting socio-economic-political changes over the three centuries. For the final stage of the scheme, I sought to identify “a field of force in which the dynamics of sign systems of several distinct modes of production can be registered and apprehended” (Jameson 2007, 84) and found that proto-capitalism was concealed in the ‘donor’ figure, Wŏlmae, which had taken shape in stages by each edition through time.

Through this investigation, I was able to confirm that Ch'unhyang-chŏn is a form of ideology in which the narrative found its form and developed it from the form of *p'ansori* narrative to the modern novel form; sufficiently carried out ideologies

determined and conditioned by their own socio-economic circumstances; and strongly contested conflicting ideas, skilfully undermining the oppressor or the ruling class and thereby bringing modernity into the narrative. Cultural revolution “in which coexistence of various modes of production were visibly antagonistic” (Ibid., 81) was witnessed, and proto-capitalism gradually emerged from an almost silent entity to a full-blown form in the end. In this way, Ch’unhyang-narrative can sufficiently prove its modern characteristics which were carried through its numerous editions and cannot be put away as just an old traditional narrative which can never be related to the modern.

## 4 Modernity in Ch'unhyang Narrative: the discursive aspect

This chapter explores the modernity of Ch'unhyang-narrative in terms of form. One of the most important factors of the vitality and popularity of Ch'unhyang-chön must have been that it was basically “fun.” The reason *p'ansori* could be sustained for a long time as a manuscript or a woodblock print was fundamentally due to the audience and readers' attraction to the narrative of Ch'unhyang-chön. Where did this pulling power come from? One source of this is the narrative technique. By analysing the narrative technique, this chapter aims to discover how Ch'unhyang-narrative contributed to the transformation of Korean modern literature.

Since Ch'unhyang-chön originated in the oral literature of an anonymous *kwangdae* in the 18th century, there are now over one hundred extant editions of the story in the novel form alone. However, these editions are intertwined with commercial activities related to publishing, and written by writers with diverse backgrounds.

The texts I have selected to discuss here are *Wanp'an 26 chang*, *Okchunghwa* and *Ilöl Ch'unhyang-chön*. It would be preferable to select editions with appropriate time between them to track changes spread over time, however, it is difficult to accurately identify the dates of most of the editions produced until the beginning of the 20th century, except for the Hanmun editions and Shin Chaehyo's. Since I want to consider the origin of Ch'unhyang-chön, I use the *Wanp'an* edition, which has the highest affinity with *p'ansori*, as the basic axis for selection. Therefore, I first review *Wanp'an 26* since, it is believed to be an early version among *Wanp'an* editions. Moreover, as it is the shortest in terms of length, it seems likely to provide a fundamental and detailed analysis.<sup>82</sup>

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82 Productions of most of the *Wanp'an* editions had been concentrated between the 1850s-1880s to 1910s (Chön Sanguk 2008, 204; 212-218; Ryu T'akil 1981, 158-177; Yi O. & Kang S. 2012, 386,396). Among the Hangül editions, *Namwön-kosa* is the earliest in time. However, not only is *Namwön-kosa* non-

*Wanp'an 26* is estimated to have been issued between the 1850s and 1880s. *Okchunghwa* was published in the *Maeil-sinbo* in 1912, therefore the interval between *Wanp'an 26* and *Okchunghwa* is about 30 to 60 years. *Okchunghwa* was so popular that it created an *Okchunghwa* strand and also had a huge impact on the history of Ch'unhyang-chŏn. In addition, it was published five years before *Mujŏng* appeared in Korea. *Ilŏl Ch'unhyang-chŏn* was written 13 years later than *Okchunghwa*. The time of its appearance not only corresponds to the period when Korean modern literature was actively proceeding since the appearance of *Mujŏng*, Yi Kwangsu who wrote *Ilŏl* was the author of *Mujŏng*. For these reasons, the works make for valuable comparison.

I will analyse the narrative techniques of Korean pre-modern novels represented by Ch'unhyang-chŏn to examine their characteristics and the formation process of modernity in Korean literature by tracing their changing aspects.

#### 4.1. Preliminary Remarks

To investigate the nature of the narrative of Ch'unhyang-chŏn I will apply theories of narratology developed in both Korean and Western scholarship. Since Aristotle delineated the issues of narrative structure, there have been numerous theorists who have shaped and furthered narrative theory.<sup>83</sup> This chapter will follow in the tradition of structuralists such as Roland Barthes, Tzvetan Todorov and Gérard Genette, as their

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*p'ansori* line, but also was produced in the 1850s. Given that *Wan'pan 26*'s issue date is estimated to be between the 1850s and the 1880s, there is no reason to select *Namwŏn-kosa* over *Wan'pan 26*.

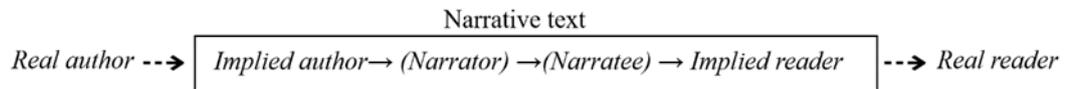
The *Wanp'an 26* text which this paper will discuss is the *Wanp'an 26* of Im Hyŏngt'aek, and it is presumed that its first edition was published between the 1850s and 1890s (Kim Sŏkpae 2010, 190-192; Kim Chongch'ŏl 1996, 25-46).

83 These include Anglo-American narrative theorists such as Henry James, Percy Lubbock, and Wayne Booth, the Russian formalists Vladimir Propp, Mikhail Bakhtin, and the French structuralists Roland Barthes, Tzvetan Todorov, Gerald Genette and Gerald Prince.

theories have had significant influence upon ideas of ‘story’ and ‘discourse,’<sup>84</sup> in other words, *what* the narrative is and *how* the narrative is expressed.

In this chapter, I intend to examine issues surrounding the figure of the narrator in *Wanp’an 26 chang*, *Okchunghwa* and *Ilŏl Ch’unhyang-chŏn*. While investigating, I will contextualise the analysis by referring to Gérard Genette (1983), Seymour Chatman (1980) and Mieke Bal (2009).

Chatman (1980, 151) presents a very useful diagram of the whole narrative-communication situations as follows:



The box indicates that “only the implied author and implied reader are immanent to a narrative” and that “the narrator and narratee are optional” by putting them in parentheses. It excludes the ‘real author’ and ‘real reader’ from the narrative transaction by locating them outside itself, though “these are indispensable to it in an ultimate practical sense” (Ibid.).

When considering the narrative situation of *p’ansori*, there is bound to be some confusion as to which category the *kwangdae* should be assigned to. All *kwangdae* who sing Ch’unhyang-ka adopt the role of the real author to varying degrees. First, either an individual *kwangdae* or a group of *kwangdae* created the story, and those who came afterward changed it, adding and removing parts of the story. Then, the narrating and singing of the story by a *kwangdae* was transformed into a *p’ansori* novel.

The author and narrator are different entities, as literary theory has made clear. For

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84 In addition, in discussing the narrative structure of *Wan’pan 26* I will employ the terms ‘story’ and ‘discourse’ within the conventions of narrative theory, whereby “story is the what in a narrative that is depicted, discourse the how” (Chatman 1980, 19).

convenience's sake, it is possible to sever the narrator from the real author in discussing Ch'unhyang-chŏn. However, we may have to return to this arrangement, at least when discussing the early editions of Ch'unhyang-chŏn, in which the presence of the *kwangdae*, or author, is more strongly felt on the surface of the narrative.

Mieke Bal argues that the term 'implied author'<sup>85</sup> was suggested by Wayne C. Booth (1961) "to discuss and analyse the ideological and moral stances of a narrative text without having to refer directly to a biographical author" (2009, 17). Furthermore, he asserted that "the notion is not specific to narratology, which has as its objective the narrative aspects of a narrative text" (Ibid.). This paper also considers the notion of the 'implied author' as a convenient tool for discussing characteristics of a narrator in line with Bal's idea. However, in this chapter, I will not discuss the implied author of the works to be examined, as I intend to focus on narrative structure rather than their moral or ideological stance.

### **Narration and Focalisation**

Alongside the issue of focalisation, I will consider the 'distance' of narrator of the three works, to examine how the narrator manipulates its presence in the narrative. By 'distance' I mean the narrator's positioning on the spectrum between *mimesis* (perfect imitation) and *diegesis* (pure narrative). How narrative presents its information and representation depends on the narrator's choice of how much of a 'distance' to keep from what it tells. However, Genette argues that the very idea of showing is "completely

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85 According to Wayne Booth, who introduced the notion of 'implied' author, the 'implied' author is created by the author and reconstructed by the reader from the narrative (1961, 70-71). Chatman argues that the implied author is the creator and designer of the discourse of the story inside a work, existing in an abstract, reconstructed and formless form. He defines it as "a structural principle" that just "instructs silently through the design of the whole." Chatman contends that "unlike the narrator, the implied author can tell us nothing. He, or better, it, has no voice, no direct means of communicating" (1980, 148).

illusory,” and “all we can have is degrees of diegesis” (1983, 163-164). Though the degree varies, authors may make an effort to achieve the *illusion of mimesis*, to have events seem to “literally unfold before the reader’s eyes” (Chatman 1980, 147).

Genette conducted a comprehensive survey of narrative perspective and point of view, and provided new insights by distinguishing between two elements: focalisation and narration. Genette initially differentiated narration and focalisation with the terms *mood* and *voice*, which he employed in “Discourse du récit” (1972),<sup>86</sup> a major revision of the theory of point of view. Genette argues that there was a “regrettable confusion” “between the question *who sees?* [focalisation] and the question *who speaks?* [narration]—apparently obvious but universally disregarded” (1983, 186).<sup>87</sup> Genette used the term ‘focalisor’ for the one who sees.

This distinction is paramount for any discussion of the nature of the narrator. Chatman (1980) and Bal (2009) synthesized the most powerful insights of critics and theorists of narrative theory, and the latter is especially useful in that he presents notation systems. In order to analyse focalisation, I will introduce Mieke Bal’s notation system (Bal 2009, 145-165)<sup>88</sup> which clarifies who sees and who narrates. Bal invented his own analytic terms in relation to narration and focalisation on the base of Genette’s distinction. I will borrow his terms for the sake of clarification to analyse the relationship between various focalisors, and their subject and object.

Mieke Bal employs an elaborate system of notation to discuss the narrative situation in more detail (Ibid.). CF is “character-bound focalisation.” CF can differ and move

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86 “Discourse du récit,” a portion of *Figure III* by Gerard Genette, was published in French, by Editions Due Seuil in 1972.

87 *Narrative Discourse* is the English translation of “Discourse du récit,” published in 1980. I use the first printing, Cornell Paperbacks, 1983.

88 The first edition of *Narratology* by Mieke Bal was published in 1985. The edition I refer to in this paper is the third edition, issued in 2009.

from one character to another. The character who focalises can be shown by putting their name or initial in round brackets following CF, such as in CF (Mary). EF stands for “external focalisation,” non-character-bounded focalisation. EF is an anonymous agent and is situated outside the story functioning as focalisor. Bal also uses ‘-p’ and ‘-np’ to indicate how far and deep a focalisor can see or at look<sup>89</sup> an object. While ‘-p’ stands for perceptible focalised object, i.e. something that is outside itself, ‘-np’ indicates non-perceptible focalised object, something which can be visible only inside the ‘head,’ ‘mind,’ or ‘feelings’ of a character. The dash in ‘-p’ and ‘-np’ shows the relation between the subject and the object of focalisation. He also uses notation to distinguish levels of focalisation, as in: (F1), the first level of focalisation; (F2), the second level of focalisation.<sup>90</sup> As for double focalisation, Bal uses the double nomination EF1+CF2, he also distinguishes EF1+CF2 from EF1/CF2, ambiguous focalisation, in which it is hard to decide who focalises, between EF1 and CF2 (Ibid., 163).

### **The Principle of Scene Maximisation**

Along with this theoretical framework, I will also discuss Korean scholarship of *p’ansori*. In this chapter, I will bring in Kim Hŭngkyu’s principle of “scene maximisation” (*changmyŏn kūkdaehwa*) which appeared in his 1985 paper, “Narratology of *p’ansori*’ (*p’ansoriŭi sŏsajok-kujo*),” and has since become a fundamental theory of *p’ansori* narrative. I will explore the characteristics of the

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89 Bal makes a distinction between the two verbs, ‘see’ and ‘look’. Whereas ‘seeing’ is a non-perceptible action, ‘looking’ is a perceptible action.

90 Examples of focalisation:

Mary participates in the rally. (EF-p)

I saw that Mary participated in the rally. (CF (‘I’)-p)

Michele saw that Mary participated in the rally. (CF(Michele)-p)

However, if Michele is an embedded focalisor in the discourse, it is analysed thus: CF2(Michele)-p. (Bal 2009, 160-2)

principle of scene maximisation using interpretive tools of Western narrative theory.

Kim Hŭngkyu argued that scene maximisation is a primary principle in relation to the narrative structure of *p'ansori*. He contended that the long-winded rhetoric, unnecessarily amplified statements, contradictory episodes and confusion of narrative perspective are due to the tendency of focusing on the scene (*changmyŏn chihyangsŏng*), which aims to enforce the contextual meaning of a situation and to intensify the emotional effect. He argues that narrating the event is not the first principle of *p'ansori* narrative, but rather functions to impose appropriate scenes. In short, plot is not so important in *p'ansori*, as audiences are already well acquainted with the story. The audience's enjoyment stems more from the heightening and relaxation of emotions they can experience while watching a *p'ansori* performance. According to Kim, in literature where plot is important "parts operate for the structure of the whole work," but in *p'ansori* "a flow of events serves the parts . . . not the whole" (Ibid., 113).

This argument is fundamental to analysis of Ch'unhyang narrative, as it could settle the problematic issue of unity, which was seemingly lacking in *p'ansori* versions, both novels and scripts. However, since Kim Hŭngkyu first set out this argument the question of the specific characteristics of the principle of scene maximisation have not been pursued in depth. Therefore, while examining the discourse of *Wanp'an 26*, I will also investigate the characteristics of the principle of scene maximisation, as these ultimately pursue the same thing: the characteristics of narrative structure. Though I do greatly benefit from Kim's insight, I will review the framework of his theory prior to my investigation in order to contribute to its refinement.

Firstly, Kim Hŭngkyu's argument is grounded in the complex characteristics of *p'ansori* as a performance art: a mixture of drama, songs and narration. In order to develop his argument, he emphasised the performance characteristics, such as

musicality, rather than the written text. However, I wish to situate *Wanp'an 26* more within the context of literature.

Secondly, he uses the term 'narrative structure' (*sōsajok-kujo*) in a rather ambiguous sense in which "characters, acts and ideology are intermingled, thus, building and displaying the work" (Ibid., 107). I will restrict the term 'narrative structure' to the way in which it is used in the context of narrative theory, expounded by theorists such as Wayne Booth, Genette, and Chatman, and focus more on the level of 'discourse.' Aside from the narrator's being a central issue in narratology, the entity of the narrator in *p'ansori* literature is quite problematic compared to other narrative discourses. In *p'ansori* a flesh-and-blood narrator is present on stage and speaks directly to the audience, hence Ch'unhyang-chōn editions which have an especially strong affinity with *p'ansori* must have the voice of the live narrator somewhere, whether it is loud or muffled. In this sense, investigating the narrator of Ch'unhyang-chōn is crucial, thus I will more closely observe narratorhood while discussing *Wanp'an 26*.

Lastly, the term 'scene' in the principle of scene maximisation is not defined clearly by Kim. The term seems to indicate 'episode'; thus, scene maximisation indicates maximising the effect of each episode. Achieving this effect would presumably involve lengthening each episode. In my research, I will use the term 'scene' specifically in relation to mimesis. Genette uses Platonic terms, *mimesis* and *diegesis*, to formulate a single larger category on his own account by provisionally calling it "that of the modalities of representation or degrees of mimesis" (1983, 30). Mimesis and diegesis<sup>91</sup> also denote showing ('representation' in Todorov's term) and telling ('narration') respectively. Genette argues that since Aristotle's upholding "the superiority of the

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91 These terms (mimesis/diegesis) are revived by Gérard Genette in *Frontières du récit*, *Communications*, 8 (1966).

purely mimetic just after Plato's appeal for the pure narrative, which was far less effective, its influence exerted on the evolutions of narrative genre. The canonisation of tragedy as the supreme genre in the entire classical tradition is the prime example of the influence. Moreover, as the dramatic model was exercised over narrative, the word 'scene' was used to generally designate 'the basic form of novelistic narration'" (1983, 172). Genette contends that "Up to the end of the 19th century, the novelistic scene is conceived, fairly piteously, as a pale of the dramatic scene: mimesis at two degrees, imitation of imitation" (1983, 173).

Behind the concept of scene comes the question of time, an important element of narrative structure. In relation to narrative time, Genette says that the tempo of the narrative rhythm in the Western tradition was in the replacement of summary and the scene (1983, 98, 109).

*Narrative is a ... doubly temporal sequence....: There is the time of the thing told and the time of the narrative (the time of the signified and the time of the signifier). This duality not only renders possible all the temporal distortions that are commonplace in narratives (three years of the hero's life summed up in two sentences of a novel or in a few shots of a "frequentative" montage in film, etc.). More basically, it invites us to consider that one of the functions of narrative is to invent one time scheme in terms of another time scheme. (Christian Metz 1974, 18; Genette 1983, 23)<sup>92</sup>*

In the end, this reveals that the way of dealing with the author or the narrator's time is directly related to *showing* and *telling*. For this reason, analysis of time in the texts should also be conducted. This chapter attempts numerical analysis to investigate to the

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<sup>92</sup> This book is translated by Michale Taylor. However, according to Jane E. Lewin, the translator of the book *Narrative Discourse* (Genette, 1980) altered this translation slightly, so as to align its terms with the terms used throughout *Narrative Discourse*. For the same reason, I use Lewin's translation here.

extent that it examines the percentage for time analysis. The reason for this is that not only can it effectively show a series of events and their discourse time in each piece, but it should also show objective indicators in comparing the three pieces that are significantly different in length.

Western literature has been discussing how to represent a narrative in the spectrum of mimesis and diegesis since Plato. On the other hand, in Korea, as the environment for in-depth discussion of novelistic representation was unable to be created in traditional literature, there had been no way to actively develop the narrative technique which had conformed to the Western concept from Plato to the end of the 19th century. In other words, Korean narrative literature did not heed the dichotomous opposition to *showing* and *telling* in its developmental stage, and proceeded without giving precedence to either. In this respect, it will be informative to see how Ch'unhyang-chŏn constructs narrative by using these two methods, in terms of its comparative aspect with Western literature, but also the characteristics of Korean classical literature.

By employing the terms of Western theorists such as Genette, Bal and Chatman, and considering their ideas of narratology in this context, the principle of scene maximisation can be sharpened and refined. This process will reveal the fundamental characteristics of Ch'unhyang-narrative and become a springboard to investigate its modern transformation.

## 4.2. Wanp'an 26 changbon

### 4.2.1. Narrator

The narrator is different from both the real author and the implied author. Bal says that "a narrative text is a text in which a narrative agent tells a story" and the narrative agent,

or narrator, is a “linguistic, visual, cinematic subject . . . a function and not a person, which expresses itself in the language that constitutes the text” (2009, 15). Moreover, Bal refers to the narrator as ‘it’ to distinguish the narrator from the real or implied author (2009, 15). Although Bal’s concept of the narrator tallies with the conventions of narrative theory, it seems rather eccentric when compared to the narrator of a *p’ansori* novel.

Can the narrator(s) of *Wanp’an 26* be referred to as ‘it’? Though we can technically accept the idea of the narrator being a function based on the conventions of narrative theory, the idea is still challenged by the narrator of *Wanp’an 26* who speaks in the dialect of Chölla province, where *p’ansori* and the *kwangdae* originated. An example follows and here the word ‘next to’ is the English translation of Chölla dialect:

*Pangja having been next to (젯테) Yi Toryöng... (9, emphasis added)*

Characters, of course, may speak in dialect, but can a narrator who is only a function speak in dialect also? This phenomenon of a narrator who speaks in dialect had almost disappeared by *Wanp’an 84*, the last *Wanp’an* edition, and is completely absent in 20th century versions, such as Yi Kwangsu’s *Ilsoŏl*. However, the *p’ansori sasöŏl* and novels in which the phenomenon occurs make it hard to ignore this issue. The strong physical presence of the narrator in the early Ch’unhyang-chön editions needs to be investigated in depth.

Despite the resounding voice of the *kwangdae*, following Bal, I will refer to the narrator as ‘it,’ to deal with it technically as a function within the ‘textual’ text rather than in relation to the performance text.

The narrator of *Wanp’an 26* is very conscious of its positioning on the spectrum of narratorial presence or audibility, and tries to keep its distance close to the pole of ‘pure

mimesis' as a hidden narrator. This is very paradoxical as it naturally seems that the presence of the narrator is as prominent as it is in *p'ansori*. This aspect can be a critical factor in how the narrator manipulates its presence in the discourse.

In *Wanp'an 26* there are three levels of narrative. To distinguish between the three levels, I will employ Genette's terms<sup>93</sup> while using Bal's notations. I will refer to the first narrative level as extradiegetic, the second narrative level as intradiegetic, and the third narrative as metadiegetic.

Since 'pure mimesis' is an illusion, the question is how to achieve the illusion. As Genette argues, the two fundamental principles of mimesis are "Jamesian dominance of *scene* (detailed narrative) and the (pseudo-)Flaubertian transparency of the narrator" (1983, 166). He also clarifies the relationship between the scene and the narration in a formula such as: "information + informer = C," which means that "the quantity of information and the presence of the informer are in inverse ratio; mimesis being defined by a maximum of information and a minimum of the informer, diegesis by the opposite relationship" (Genette 1983, 166).

In *Wanp'an 26*, the narratees exist in the flood of information in each scene and therefore the presence of narrator as an 'informer' should be felt minimally. I will examine how the narrator of *Wanp'an 26* achieves this effect.

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93 Genette defines the differences in level by saying that "any event a narrative recounts is at a metadiegetic level immediately higher than the level at which the narrating act producing this narrative is placed." He calls the first level intradiegetic; events told inside this first narrative metadiegetic or intradiegetic; events told in a narrative in the second degree, metadiegetic. "The narrating instance of a first narrative is therefore intradiegetic by definition, as the narrating instance of a second (metadiegetic) narrative is metadiegetic by definition." (1983, 228-229)

#### 4.2.2. Time and Scene

As the first step of analysis, I will discuss how *Wanp'an 26* builds story time and discourse time to learn how it constructs rhythm of the narrative.

Ch'unhyang-narrative does not show complicated temporal distortion which can often be found in modern novels. The order of the signified and that of the signifier does not differ greatly in accordance with its humble origin or the time of creation, which was well before the era of modern literature. However, we can still observe that the narrative plays with time to some extent, and this has significant relevance to its choices on the spectrum of showing and telling, in terms of the presentation of events in the signified.

An analysis of the temporal order in which events or segments are arranged in the narrative discourse of *Wanp'an 26* will follow. *Wanp'an 26* consists of 52 pages in total.<sup>94</sup> Of these, three pages, 12, 13 and 14, were lost, and two, 27 and 28 have been truncated. Moreover, there are some letters which cannot be recognised. Under these circumstances, the analysis tries to faithfully reflect its time, following the explicit time index, but also includes inferable times from contexts.

#### **Discourse Time** (see Appendices 2-1 (pp.335-8) and 2-2 (p.339))

The table in the Appendix 2-1 displays the discourse time of the narrative. For the sake of simplicity, the 'p' for page has been omitted and numbers followed by a semi colon indicate the number of lines used in the discourse in all analysis of the works.

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94 In *Wanp'an 26 changbon*, 'chang' is a unit to count a leaf of paper which consist of two pages, front and back. Therefore, *26 chang* consists of 52 pages. In *26 changbon*, 'bon' means edition. The total number of characters is 14,210, with each page consisting of 12 to 14 lines. The first edition of *Wanp'an 26* probably consisted of 12 lines per page but through a few subsequent revisions, *Wanp'an 26 changbon* changed as in the way Im Hyönt'aek's did (Chön Sanguk 2008, 206).

### **Time order - Juxtaposition**

In *Wanp'an 26*, the discourse time progresses in the same order as the story time since the discourse follows the movements of Ch'unhyang and Yi chronologically. However, the four- or five-year period from the separation to the reunion appears twice as the narrative describes Ch'unhyang and Yi within separated time zones; Ch'unhyang's time zone B and Yi's time zone C. Since their separation, discourse B focuses on Ch'unhyang and presents her conflicts with the new governor, hardships and longing for Yi in lengthy and detailed descriptions covering 17 pages out of 52.

The discourse time C goes back to the time of discourse B to present how Yi has been from the time of the parting to the time of the reunion. During this time Yi takes the state examinations, receives the highest marks and is appointed as Chöllla Ŏsa. However, by presenting a brief summary of the time of these major events, the whole discourse time of the work is not greatly disturbed and discourse C gives the impression of proceeding like the story time. This is related to the implied writer's intention to emphasise the sadness, longing and conflict Ch'unhyang experiences more than the intelligence and success of Yi. However, from the point in time when Yi becomes Ŏsa and is approaching Namwön, Yi's discourse time slows down as the scene 14) in which Ŏsa meets the farmers, signalling the beginning of his inspection. Yi's time passes much more slowly as he gathers information about Ch'unhyang and the governor, especially in the scene of the Ŏsa's emergence. A detailed description of the misgoverning of the new governor is a necessary way to justify his punishment at the ending scene. This is made possible as the narrator is an omnipotent narrator that can naturally observe the two main characters in another space at the same time and give the information to the narratee.

## Summary of Time

Interestingly, there are two occasions, discourses 7) and 13), when the narrator, who seems to be indifferent to time, specifies time. The two describe itineraries of the new governor and Yi Ŏsa from Sŏul to Namwŏn. However, the times are not eventful and the descriptions are purely brief summaries of the itineraries outlining both the new governor and Yi's journey and sleep. It takes the governor 3 nights and Yi 2 nights. The former makes up 7 lines (24: 3-9) and the latter 6 lines (38: 7-39: 4), taking up 13 lines in total. The discourse for these 5 days is a prime example of 'telling' using summaries. Descriptions<sup>95</sup> in discourses 7) and 13) have speedy rhythm by listing places they pass through. Through the listing of numerous places, the summary in discourse 7) (24: 3-9) allows the reader to visualise the new governor being rushed away to Namwŏn with the intention to see Ch'unhyang quickly. Likewise, the summary in discourse 13) (38: 7-39: 4) conjures the image of Yi Ŏsa's travelling incognito and expeditiously.

Apart from these examples, there are other descriptions which present much shorter summaries of far longer durations than that of those aforementioned journeys.

Since parting with Yi, Ch'unhyang passes her time in sorrow and longing for Yi until the new governor comes. However, it is unclear when they part and when the new governor arrives. Instead, the narrator gives us the vague information in one condensed phrase in discourse 5): "*Locked inside her room Ch'unhyang has let heartless time pass with a farewell song*" (23).

However, we can figure out the time span from their parting to the time when Ch'unhyang waits for Yi in her prison from discourse 11): "*Though it has been four or*

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95 Actually, the descriptions are borrowed from a song called "the record of itinerary" (*Nojŏnggi*) which was a popular song at that time of p'ansori. Other p'ansori work also includes this song with variation.

*five years since we separated*” (35: 7) / “*Though four or five years have passed [since he left], there has been no news from him*” (37:2).

### **Narration of Showing**

The discourse time follows the temporal order of the story time. The metadiegetic story time is approximately 5-6 years. However, the whole discourse concentrates on only about 10 days, as shown in Appendices 2-1 and 2-2. However, among the 10 days, the following five days are the most important; (a) the first day of their meeting (1:5-19:1), in the space of 18 pages; (b) and a part of (c), their parting day (19:1- 22:7) in 4 pages; (e) the day of the conflict between Ch’unhyang and the new governor (24: 9-36:8) in 12 pages; (i) the day before the Ösa’s emergence (39:4-45:5) in 6 pages; (j) the day of the Ösa’s emergence (45:6-52:3) in 7 pages.

Five days of the discourse time amount to 45 pages out of 52, i.e. 86.5% of the whole discourse volume. In fact, the 3 days of (a), (e) and (j) among the 5 days are far longer than the rest. The one day, (a), during which the main characters first meet, marry and spend their first night together, takes up 35% of the text (18-19 pages out of 52). This shows that the lovers’ meeting and falling in love are the most focused on. The second most important day is the day in discourse (e) which constitutes 20% of the text. This day deals with the conflict between Ch’unhyang and the new governor. The third most important day is the day in (j) which accounts for 12% of the text. The events on this day constitute the climax of the narrative, with the rescue of Ch’unhyang from impending death and gratifying retribution for the new governor. It is these three days that are dealt with most critically.

These findings suggest that the events which take place on 3-5 days are the most crucial. However, more importantly concerning our discussion related to narrative

techniques, this clearly indicates that the narration will be far closer to showing than telling. By allowing 5 days to be spread out across ample space, the narrator is able to “show” the scenes of the 5 days in detail.

### **Iterative Narrative**

The reader cannot be sure about the timing of the events accounted for. Even the whole story time would have been vague if the following lines had not been included: “*Though it has become four or five years since we separated with each other...*” (35: 7), “*Though four or five years have passed [since Yi left], there has been no news from him and we have lost touch with each other; I cannot help but die*” (37: 2). These are the only indications of the whole story time and the discourse time in the text (35: 7-37: 3). According to these lines, the time between the separation and Ch’unhyang’s waiting for Yi in prison takes four to five years. However, it is difficult to decipher how long the separation, the arrival of the new governor, and Ch’unhyang’s imprisonment each take. Moreover, it is unclear how much time passes from their first meeting to their separation, i.e. the time between discourses (a) and (b). If it can be arbitrarily estimated roughly as one year, the total story time would be five to six years. Therefore, the four to five years within the space of five to six years indicated in the discourses (c) and (f) takes up most of the story time except for the 10 days clarified in the analysis. Despite this, discourses (c) and (f) occupy 3 and 3.5 pages respectively, accounting for only 12.5% of the total length.

Then, is the time of (c) and (f) insignificant to the implied writer? To Ch’unhyang the time is an endless, lonely, and torturous period. Though the long time is unfolded in short discourses, the implied writer shapes the time of this four to five years by strongly imprinting the deep sorrow and hardships of Ch’unhyang. How can the implied writer

treat this long time as a meaningful time in the short discourse? This is achieved by using a device called iterative narrative, that extends the time by narrating once.

While the issue of repetition in narratives has been scarcely studied, it is Genette who first designates this aspect as “narrative frequency.” Genette expounds frequency using a system of numerical relationship between “the narrated events (of the story) and the narrative statements (of the text)” (1983, 114). He reduces the relationship to “four virtual types”: narrating once what happened once (1N/1S), narrating n times what happened n times (nN/nS), narrating n times what happened once (nN/1S), narrating once what happened n times (1N/nS)” (Ibid., 113-116).

Genette labels the first type 1N/1S, which is too ordinary to have a name, as “singulative narrative” given that it is the most common. Most of the events in the text are of this type, except for those in discourses (c) and (f). Genette calls the fourth type “iterative narrative” (Ibid., 116), where a single narrative utterance takes upon itself several occurrences of the same event together (in other words, once again, several events considered only in terms of analogy). Discourses (c) and (f) apply to the fourth form. In discourse (c), the mourning of lovers who are about to part is expressed alternately through interior monologues. Ch’unhyang’s farewell song is sung just before the end of the longing scene. Then, the narrator intervenes in the end and summarises the scene with the final closing comment: “*Locked inside her room Ch’unhyang has let heartless time pass with a farewell song*” (23: 2-3). Employing the iterative narrative in this way, the implied writer implicitly suggests that Ch’unhyang’s farewell song is not sung just once but sung repeatedly, over an extended period.

The iterative applies equally to discourse (f). When Ch’unhyang is meted out clubbing as punishment and confined in prison, she grieves over her unjust charges and endless waiting for Yi in interior monologues. By adding the sylleptic formulation

(Genette 1983, 116), such as “today – or – tomorrow,” to the inner monologue, the narrator suggests that the act occurred countlessly: “*Will any news from him come today? Or will news from him come tomorrow? I am dying waiting for him*” (36: 8). Thus, the narrative time of the four to five years is silently progressing in meaningful time, not just skipping or summarising.

The iterative narration is much closer to description than summary in its nature. The iterative discourse of (c) and (f) is also close to description, in other words showing. In this sense, *Wanp’an 26* demonstrates the excellence of the narrative technique in that it handles a long time of four to five years in a short time, but does not deal with it with summary but rather with scene. In the end, we can see that the entire narrative rhythm is thus done laid out in an effective process of time.

Discourses (c) and (f) share common features with discourses (d) and (h) in that the processing of the time is very apace. However, the two groups must be clearly distinguished by nature. The latter is a ‘singulative narrative’ consisting of a summary, while the former with a much longer story time is presented through extended texts, with a description rather than a summary.

In discourses (c) and (f) the narrator fills the four to five years’ time with interactive monologues of Ch’unhyang and Yi, and interior monologues of Ch’unhyang respectively. On the other hand, the 3 days in discourses (a), (e) and (j) account for 67% of the whole discourse, hence the time of the whole narrative is greatly delayed. However, as if it compensates the speed which has slowed down as such, the period of the 4-5 years’ time passes quickly in discourse (f) by using iterative narration. In this way, it is made possible for the time of 4-5 years to maintain and continue with the strongly imprinted psychology of the characters in the monologues.

According to Genette, though literary studies has not been interested in iterative narrative while it was a universal subject for grammatical scholars, it is in fact a very traditional form throughout the history of classical and modern novels. He goes on to say that in classical narratives and even up to Balzac, iterative sections are almost always functionally subordinate to the singulative scenes providing a sort of informative frame or background (1983, 116).

In *Wanp'an 26*, the iterative discussed performs the function successfully but does more than that regarding thematic importance. The iterative contributes to the consistency of Ch'unhyang's resistance against the new governor and loyalty and love towards Yi. If it was not the iterative, Ch'unhyang's acts would have appeared exaggerated or unrealistic.

### **Indicators of a Change of Time**

Narrating can be subsequently followed only by the events which take place in the narration. However, story and discourse can occur at the same time by using the present tense. The narrator of the metadiegetic level in *Wanp'an 26* uses the present tense, giving the impression that the story is playing out at this very moment in time, much like a live broadcast. The result is that the discourse appears objective and seemingly erases the time gap between the narrating instance and the story. However, of course, this cannot work forever. Therefore, the narrator must summarise at certain points.

*Summaries almost everywhere inferior to the descriptive and dramatic sections. For the very reason that summaries are brief, they probably take a very limited place in narrative history, even in classical narrative. On the other hand, summary, up to the end of the nineteenth century, remained the most usual transition between two scenes and the background that relieves the extrusion of scenes, making itself the most prominent connective tissue*

*in novelistic narrative, whose fundamental rhythm is defined by the alteration of summary and scene.. Summary is also an efficient tool to economise long and insignificant periods of time. Employing summaries is unavoidable in novelistic narrative except for modern writers who intend to create embarrassment or surprise out of extrusion of scenes. (Genette, 1983, 96-97)*

In *Wanp'an 26*, the narrator summarises the passage of time at the cost of its position as a covert narrator since the summarising act draws the narratee's attention to the existence of the figure who is summarising. However, the narrator of the metadiegetic of *Wanp'an 26* attempts to minimise the frequency and impact of the temporal summary to reduce the sense of its presence. In order to do so, the narrator uses an indicator of shifting time and scene, "at this time." The narrator of the metadiegetic, in general, does not much pay attention to time and rarely makes time clear. However, he uses the index word "*at this time*" or *this time* when needing to change time period and scene.

*As I have heard no news from him though four or five years has passed, I cannot help but die. [Changing the subject] At this time, on leaving Ch'unhyang, Yi went up to Söul and worked hard. (37:2-3, emphasis added)*

*Locked inside her room Ch'unhyang let heartless time pass with a farewell song. [Changing the subject] At this time, the former governor ascends and the new governor comes home after making his farewell to the king with full honour. (23:2-3, emphasis added)*

Using an indicator like "at this time" seems to be a very economical and efficient way to seamlessly transport the reader from one scene or time to another. On the whole, the narrator does not mention the specific time when moving on to a new scene but presents events with sufficient sequentiality.

Eventually, in relation to time, *Wanp'an 26* deals with the story which spreads over a total of 5 to 6 years but only focuses on the 5 days in a rhythm of skipping time by dedicating the space of 90% of the total discourse to them. Thus, the narrator can enjoy the ample space of the discourse to narrate them, and three days can 'show' enough to feel longer than the real three days. In addition, the narrator employs 'iterative narration' in the place where the summary can fit or is necessary, thereby it displays plenty of narrative 'showing' rather than 'telling.'

Therefore, this analysis of time has not only demonstrated how precise Kim Hŭngkyu's principle of 'scene maximisation' of *p'ansori* was but also contributed to revealing the nature of the principle. Also, this analysis confirmed that the rhythm of the narrative has a great correlation with the rhythm of the discourse time.

So far, I have analysed *Wanp'an 26* in relation to distance by applying the narrative technique discussed in Western theories. As Genette mentioned regarding the issue of telling and showing, showing was recognised as a much better narrative technique by Henry James (1843–1916), who was recognized as the master of point of view and was praised for improving the novel thereby (1983, 166). This chapter focuses on the fact that the writer already constructs the narrative with this effect in mind, while there had been no discussion of writing and teaching about postmodern narratives in the West, rather than discussing the difference between showing and speaking. There had been no discussion of the issue of narrative techniques of the novel, especially showing and teaching in Korea. Rather than discussing the differences between the two, this chapter focuses on whether the writer had already constructed the narrative with this effect in mind in *Wanp'an 26*. As a result, it has obtained positive results from the analysis. *P'ansori* represented by *Wanp'an 26* is a showing-oriented narrative, and its rhythm of the time is well taken, so the narrative is considerably dynamic.

### 4.2.3. Dialogues

Representation of an untouched transcript of a character's speech and action could be on the pole of pure mimesis. In this regard, the narrator of *Wanp'an 26* is very close to the pole since it uses dialogues or dramatic or interior monologues of characters on almost every page. Only three pages (1, 17 and 52) out of the total fifty-two do not contain direct speech.<sup>96</sup> The first and last pages occur partially on the intradiegetic level, providing an outer frame for the story.<sup>97</sup> The 17th page is completely made up of descriptive discourse, describing Ch'unhyang's room.

Genette distinguishes three states of characters' speech whether uttered or 'inner' in relation to narrative 'distance': *narratized* or *narrated* speech, *transposed* speech and *reported* speech.<sup>98</sup> Among the three states, reported speech which is 'dramatic' in type is the closest to mimesis i.e., the most "mimetic" (1983, 170-3). The narrator of *Wanp'an 26* uses reported speech without exception whenever a character's speech is delivered in the narrative.<sup>99</sup>

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96 It constitutes 47 pages as 3 pages are lost, and 2 pages are damaged.

97 The first pages foreground the temporal setting, introducing a main character, and presenting the early stages of an actual event: the preparation for Yi Toryŏng's outing in the spring. The last page, 52, sums up the end of the story, provides a follow-up to the metadiegetic story, and includes a comment from the narrator.

98 An example follows:

Narratized or narrated speech: The mayor sent Yi a servant to reprimand him.

Transposed speech: The servant says that the mayor is very upset with Yi Toryŏng's reading. Then (the servant) asks why this is.

Reported speech, dramatic in type, the most "mimetic" form: The servant says "The mayor is very upset with your reading. What is the reason?"

99 The validity of this statement is open to question as the distinction between direct and indirect speech in reported sentences is not clear in Korean. (See Kim Ch'ŏnhye 1991, 150-151.) Moreover, as *Wanp'an 26* does not use punctuation, any interpretation will be arbitrary. However, I interpret the reported speech in *Wanp'an 26* as direct speech since the text is under the strong influence of *p'ansori* Ch'unhyang-ka, in which the narrator dramatises all the characters' speech.

The narrator allows all the characters to speak for themselves rather than condensing or summarising what they say. Even characters who appear just once, such as the page or the officer, are heard in reported speech.

*The governor is startled, "What's all that noise?"*

*"That is the sound of Toryŏng reading a book."*

*The governor criticises, "How on earth can he read like that as an yangban's son?"<sup>100</sup> (11)*

Three methods are used for introducing direct speech in the text. The example below comes after a long description of Ch'unhyang's swinging on the third page. It shows all three ways of introducing direct speech.

① *Look at Yi. Being in rapture, [Yi] asking Pangja, "Hey Pangja, what is what comes and goes over there?"*

② *[Pangja] saying, "I can't see anything with my eyes."*

③ *"You rascal! Are the eyes of yangban and those of low class different from each other?"*

④ *Pangja saying, "There is something among flowers as I see carefully."<sup>101</sup>*

Firstly, adverbial words or subordinate sentences are added to reported speech when the speaker has some strong feeling which would be conveyed in the speech itself: such as in (①) 'Being in rapture.' This type of speech is mostly important as in the example in which Yi discovers Ch'unhyang's existence, the basic motivation for subsequent events. Secondly, a short reporting tag, such as 'he says,' is used ((②), (④)). Lastly, direct speech is transcribed without tag or interruption ((③)). The first method shows that the narrator as a focaliser sees the character who utters the direct speech, and attempts to convey

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100 The dialogues are reported without a reporting tag. When this text was written there were no such punctuation marks, not even a full stop. The punctuation in this translation is mine.

101 In Korean sentences the subject can frequently be omitted when the context makes this clear. I have put the omitted subject in parentheses.

how the character feels at the cost of its narrator-presence. It takes the role of a parenthetical in play script.

The narrator fears that the narratee may have missed a key sign as if they are watching a film or drama. The narrator furtively and briskly leaves information through perceptive focalisation rarely dipping into the psychology of the speaker. This observation shows that though the narrator attempts to project mimetic presentation by using reported direct speech as a covert narrator, his voice is heard, but rather quietly, through the short observant description.

#### 4.2.4. Focalisation

There are three levels of narrative in *Wanp'an 26*. The concept of the multiple diegetic level is valuable in relation to *p'ansori* strand narrative in that it can accommodate the *kwangdae's* place as a narrator. The extradiegetic level functions as the outer frame of the story, both the intradiegetic and the metadiegetic, and it is where its narrator pretends to talk directly to the reader in real situations. The intradiegetic level functions as the outer frame of metadiegetic level and can be located far from actual story, the metadiegetic level, in time and space. In the second level, the second narrator, who I will refer to as intradiegetic exterior focalisor (IEF), locates the story, which will be in a metadiegetic level, in time at the beginning of King Sukchong's reign and introduces Yi Toryŏng;

*When King Sukchong first ascended the throne, the times were secure and seasons harmonious, peace and security reigned within the state, people were well-fed and happy, there were faithful ministers in the palace and filial sons and virtuous wives in the homes of the people. (1)*

On the last page, it appears again to *tell* us a follow-up story outside the metadiegetic level and to give a moral lesson to the narratee who exists within the second narrative level.

*Though, in general it is extremely difficult for ordinary women to keep their fidelity, it is a truly rare thing of all times for a woman of a brothel background to keep fidelity and eventually to fulfil her purpose. Therefore, I have written this incident so that future generations can emulate the act of persevering loyalty and fidelity. A man who serves a king must not have two hearts. (52)*

The narrator of the intradiegetic level can only speak to the narratee in the same level, as does the narrator of the metadiegetic level. Intradiegetic exterior focalisor (IEF) is all-knowing, authoritative, and didactic, but the third narrator at the metadiegetic level, who I will refer to as EF,<sup>102</sup> is more reticent and conscious of its own presence. Its stance as a narrator is close to the negative pole of narrator-presence: the pole of pure mimesis. Since the narrator of the metadiegetic level leads almost the whole narrative except the first and last page, I will refer to the narrator of the metadiegetic level as the ‘narrator.’ Whenever I speak of the narrator at the intradiegetic level, I will clearly indicate it as IEF or ‘the narrator of the intradiegetic level.’

After the narrator, IEF, locates the story temporally at the beginning of King Sukchong’s reign, it zooms straight in on the specific object, the main character, Yi, from this background setting, with the indicator of shifting time or/and scene “at this time.”

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102 For simplicity’s sake, I would call this EF1 instead of MEF1 (metadiegetic exterior narrator) as the third narrator of the metadiegetic level is present during the whole narrative except for the very beginning and end of the text.

*At this time, the son of the governor of Namwŏn in Chŏlla, Yi, is now sixteen years old. He is as handsome as Tumokchi, he is as excellent as Yipaek at composing verses. He is easy-going for all his life and enjoys playing. (1)*

Afterwards the new metadiegetic level, the new narrator, EF ushers the reader in the specific time “*It is springtime, the good time to hang out!*” again with “*this time.*”

*What time of year is this time? It is springtime, the good time to hang out! Isn't it the time for flowers and willows? Let's go to see the scenery of mountains and rivers. Brush the donkey and saddle the donkey. Scarlet-tasselled purple reins and a coral whip, pretty blue and scarlet reins hung with red bobbles . . . (2, emphasis added)*

Since the narrative has come to the metadiegetic level, in other words, EF leads the narrative, the time slows down, the narrator depicts the splendour of Yi's attire and the sophisticated preparation for Yi's excursion to Kwanghallu in a verbose manner. Then the focalisation is soon overlapped with that of Yi, such as in “*Everywhere the scenery is good*” (2) (EF1/CF2),<sup>103</sup> synched further down with “*A beautiful woman like a flower with jade-like figure rides a swing. . . Her figure does not seem to belong to this world*” (3) (EF1+CF2), then the focalisation clearly rests with EF as in “*see what Yi does! Being in rapture, he asks . . .*”. To sum up, this scene is focalised first by EF but EF narrows its focalisation down to and synchs for a while with Yi, CF (Yi Mongryŏng) (hereafter CF(M)), and can see what CF(M) sees and feels. However, the EF pulls its focalisation away from CF(M) when it needs to cover other objects.

In *Wanp'an 26* the discourse is primarily focalised by an external EF. However, shifts between levels of EF and CF(M) take place until the farewell scene. In this way, the

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103 Ambiguous double focalization, in which it is hard to decide who focalizes (Bal 2009, 163).

narrator completely narrows the gap with the character who focalises or the narrator focalises. In certain sections, the distance between EF and CF(M) becomes close enough to make conflict of focalisation.

*“Hey! Pangja, let’s go.”*

*Setting Pangja with a lantern with a red-and-blue silk shade in front [of him], [he] goes to Ch’unhyang’s house. When [he] reaches the door, a dog barks and a pair of white pigeons on the fence fly over. It looks as if they are welcoming me. [He] goes inside and looks around. The interior is great, and the landscape is exquisite!”* (emphasis added, 11)

In this case, the phrases of “*Setting Pangja with a lantern with a red-and-blue silk shade in front [of him], [he] goes to Ch’unhyang’s house,*” is description by the narrator (EF) and “*The interior is great, and the landscape is exquisite!*” is by EF / CF. However, it is described as “welcoming me” instead of “welcoming Yi.” It is not that the narrator sees Yi, but Yi acts as narrator intervening in the narrating act of the narrator. This confusion of focalisation, however, occurs only once on page 11 of the 52 pages.

From the point when Ch’unhyang and Yi face separation, EF’s focalisation more frequently moves to Ch’unhyang. As in the case of Yi, Ch’unhyang also becomes CF. EF and CF(Ch’unhyang) (hereafter CF(C)), get so close it is not clear who focalises, but the confusion does not occur on a syntagmatic level as was the case in CF(M).

While the focalisation occurs in this way, one of the ways the narrator tries to be covert is to principally let the events be told in the characters’ speech. Moreover, the characters’ speech even takes on the responsibility for describing place, and even time as discussed. For instance, Ch’unhyang describes the state of her prison cell as a focalisor in pages 33-34 using her interior monologue. However, as a verbal narrative *Wanp’an 26* inevitably comes to need descriptive passages which characters’ speech

cannot facilitate.

When this becomes necessary, the narrator chooses one of two methods: either it focalises (EF-p) or it lets a character focalise (EF [CF-p]). As to the latter, the descriptive passages focalised by a character convey the character's feelings. For instance, in Ch'unhyang's swinging scene (EF1[np CF(M)-p]) the narrator implies through Yi's focalisation that Yi feels Ch'unhyang is extraordinarily beautiful and that he is strongly attracted to her at first sight: "*The way she swings backward and forward is like the fairy of Musan riding on the cloud to arrive at Yangdae. Her figure does not seem to belong to this world*" (3). On the other hand, what is focalised by the narrator is described in a neutral tone, since it is mostly somewhat brief presentations of a series of events such as the birthday banquet of the governor and the Ōsa's emergence (45-51).<sup>104</sup>

This approach of narrating allows the narrator to minimise expressing feelings or thoughts of characters, preferring to let a character take on that task themselves. These observations make it clear that the narrator is very conscious of its own position on the spectrum of narrator-presence as a covert narrator.

However, there are exceptional cases where the narrator, who tries to take the position of showing rather than telling, makes some deviations. These are related to sections where Ch'unhyang's hardship and Yi's talent are presented. When describing the scene where Ch'unhyang is clubbed, the narrator exhibits its sympathy for Ch'unhyang's predicament: "*Ch'unhyang's weak body will die hopelessly . . . Ch'unhyang's weak legs are broken to the bone. Tears flow under [her] two ears like jade. Blood spurts from [her] torn flesh*" (30). In the new governor's banquet scene, the narrator praises the

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104 Although this analysis has some arbitrary elements, such an analysis is intended to reveal the attitude of the narrator in the narrating method through microscopic differences whether the writer intended or not. As with all the analyses in this paper, I intend to compare them with general tendencies of the narrative of modern novels.

excellence of Yi's composition of a poem: *"Isn't it a masterpiece? This is how he composed!"*

In these two cases, it seems it was irresistible to the narrator to put distance from Ch'unhyang and Yi. The narrator seems to fear that if it does not express the situations in this manner, Ch'unhyang's true predicament and the brilliance of Yi's talent and poem could pass unnoticed among the narratees. The narrator exhibits that it possesses strong intimacy with the two main characters, while its stance indicates instability on the pole of narrator-presence as a covert narrator.

Having discussed the two narrators of the two narrative levels, the narrator of the metadiegetic level, EF, is all-knowing, like IEF, the narrator of the intradiegetic narrative. The narrator of the metadiegetic level, EF, focalises every character as a principle focalisor in the metadiegetic level and, as an omniscient narrator, can perceive all the characters' feelings and thoughts. However, all-knowing does not mean all-telling. Unlike IEF, EF is more conscious of its own presence as a covert narrator. The scope of EF's focalisation is selective depending on whom it chooses to focalise. It can freely enter into characters' minds but it reigns in this power, restricting its role as a reporter. It sometimes hands focalisation over to characters, predominantly Ch'unhyang and Yi.

The narrator limits its visual scope to what CF can see. Mostly, EF and CF see only perceptible objects as the audience can see only the actors' speech and movements in a play. This is important, since it helps to keep the narrator's stance close to the positive pole of mimesis. However, it also means that it is only through their interior or dramatic monologues that it is possible to see deep into the characters' psyches. EF allows only two main characters, Ch'unhyang and Yi, to have interior monologues in the text, and then only when they are in extreme circumstances: parting and waiting for death. By

doing this, the narrator of *Wanp'an* 26 demonstrates that it is controlling its position of narrator-presence, trying to stay close to the pole of mimesis, though on rare occasions it shows inconstancy.

#### 4.2.5. Narrator Talking Directly to Narratee

Contrary to its cautious stance as a hidden narrator in the metadiegetic level, the narrator also often blatantly exposes its presence by directly talking to the narratee using the phrase “see what one does” in an imperative mood and persuasive tone. The phrase “see what one does” comes just before the spectacular speeches or actions of characters.

*See what the men of Ch'ongbae post do: lifting high the round brass warrant, like the sun, they shouted: “The royal secret inspector comes!”*  
*As the air shakes with the sound, it seems to flip the place half upside down.*  
*The local magistrates at the banquet are scared, take flight in a hurry, and fall and tumble. Their frightened movements are bizarre. See what the governor does: grabbing the scabbards, wetting himself, saying “It’s cold! The door’s coming in, shut the wind!” “The water’s dry, give me my throat!”*  
*See the governor of Koksŏng: riding his horse backwards. . . See what the Ŏsa does: he removes the governor from office, suspends the administration, submits the result of the inspection to the king and finishes his work. (49-50 emphasis added)*

The section above displays an example of an extremely dramatic scene, in which a grand and stormy declaration to announce the appearance of the Ŏsa takes place, and subsequently, the flabbergasted governor and provincial officials who attended the birthday banquet are attempting to escape the site in a hurry. Not all the sections followed by the phrase “see what one does” are as dramatic and excited, as in the following examples:

*See what Yi does: being so ecstatic, he calls Pangja and asks, “What is there to go back and forth?” (3-4)*

*See what Ch’unhyang does: frowning, her eyebrows like a blue mountain, like the letter of number eight<sup>105</sup>, half-opening her pretty teeth and red lips, she speaks to him in a jade-like voice. (6)*

However, they all appear to be quite visual or sensual, and form gripping images. The phrase “see what one does” functions as a marker that something interesting or exciting is going to happen and is used to draw the narratee’s attention to what is going to emerge.

There is another indicative phrase: “if you see (something).” It is principally used to introduce a vivid visual description of environment, such as the extravagant banquet which is presented to Ch’unhyang and Yi on the first night of their knotting a tie, or the miserable prison-cell where Ch’unhyang is imprisoned: “if you see the food on the table,” “if you see drink bottles,” “if you see drink” (17), “if you see the state of the prison cell” (33). For example:

*If you see drink bottles: coral from the blue seas, bottles of green bamboo from a garden in Ji-hyeon,<sup>106</sup> paulownia bottles like golden autumn leaves falling into a well, flawless white jade bottles, handsome glided bottles, bottles of the finest silver, bottles with short tortoise necks, bottles with long egret necks, bottles shaped like turtles, Japanese painted bottles and Chinese painted bottles. (17)*

These phrases of “see what one does” and “if you see (something)” seem at first to indicate an inconsistency in the narrator’s position on the spectrum of narratorial presence. However, I argue that this ‘seeming’ discordance of narratorhood is brought

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105 The Chinese letter of number eight is 八 this shape is used to describe Ch’unhyang’s frown.

106 In Henan Province, China.

about due to ‘narrative metalepsis.’ Genette uses the term ‘narrative metalepsis’ to describe the transition from one narrative level to another, as in a “play on the double temporality of the story and the narrating” (1983, 234-235). I apply the term to describe the transgression of the narrator in *Wanp’an 26*. To put it differently, the narrator of the metadiegetic level (EF1) transgresses from the metadiegetic level to the extradiegetic and begs the narratees of the metadiegetic level to also deviate from that level. By ‘the extradiegetic’ I mean outside of the world of the story, as if it is happening in reality. This deviation enforces the boundary between the extradiegetic and both intradiegetic and metadiegetic narrative levels, consequently producing an effect of defamiliarization. The narratee is reminded that they are outside the metadiegetic level, outside the world of the story, in the pseudo-reality where the flesh and blood narrator is singing the narrative.

The contradiction or discordance of the narrator’s stance in relation to narrator-presence can be explained by *Wanp’an 26*’s being a *p’ansori* version novel. *P’ansori* is, by nature, a performance. The *kwangdae* narrates, dramatizes, and sings in a *p’ansori* performance, impelling the audience to be gripped by the world which the narrative recounts. He is performing, not reading. His performance can succeed only with the accompaniment of his drummer and the audience’s positive reaction according to the nature of *p’ansori*. In addition to drumming, the drummer cries out exclamatory words to urge the *kwangdae* on, and the audience also shouts out their approval after a particularly good turn to encourage the *kwangdae*. Strangely, in a *p’ansori* performance, even when the audience is gripped by the sadness of the story so much as to be in tears, they are supposed to exclaim, “Good!” at just the right moment, without disturbing the rhythm and flow of the *kwangdae*’s performance. The *kwangdae* must achieve mimetic representation in order to bring the audience into the world of his story; on the other

hand, from time to time he must also drive the audience out of the story and into reality, i.e. the actual site of the performance, where the audience participates as one element of this performance. This movement in and out of the story continues for the duration of the performance. This very nature of *p'ansori* requires a fine balancing act on the part of the narratees, between the world of the story and the world of reality. To maintain this balance, the narrator-*kwangdae* needs to transgress from one narrative level to the other. For this reason, the narrator of *Wanp'an 26* often crosses the boundary between the extradiegetic and metadiegetic levels.

#### 4.2.6. Conclusion

As discussed in Chapter 2, by the time *p'ansori* emerged, Hangül *sosŏls* were actively created and read in Korea. However, because most of the Hangül *sosŏls* employ China as their background, explicitly revealing Confucian ideals, they do not contain realistic representation of life, and do not directly express individual desires (Ryu Chunkyŏng 2017, 503). *P'ansori*, however, originated from oral tradition, and was born in a world completely different from the previously created Hangül *sosŏls*. The creator of *p'ansori*, the *kwangdae*, belonged to the lowest-class, and, in the early state of *p'ansori*, made a living by singing in the market. The *kwangdae*, therefore, could not have been familiar with the grammar of the narrative of such *sosŏls*.

Under the circumstances, whoever the writer of *Wanp'an 26* was, they were making new attempts without the basic or established framework of the narrative genre. There is no possibility that they would have had theories of the techniques, such as point of view or focalisation. Nonetheless, in *Wanp'an 26*, the discourse, in terms of narrating, can be seen to be consistently controlled and elaborated in general except for on the rare

occasions noted above.

In relation to narrative time, according to Genette the tempo of the narrative rhythm in the Western tradition was in the replacement of summary and the scene (1983, 98, 109). In fact, Ch'unhyang-narrative is different from the Western narrative tradition as the portion of the scene is much larger than that of the summary. This is a major defining property of Kim Hŭngkyu's principle of scene maximization. It seems that this is one of the most important devices that has enabled Ch'unhyang-narrative to captivate readers and audiences for such a long time, outside of its thematic values.

By examining the narrative discourse of *Wanp'an 26*, we have seen how the narrator deals with mimesis and diegesis. The narrator mainly relies on mimesis, using reported direct speech with minimal assistance from telling and description. It is like a play, but a narrated play. It uses telling when the discourse needs to cover a lapse of time but only rarely and in a very short discourse. In this way, the work maximises the mimetic effect, but unlike conventional narrative theory in which this effect is directly proportional to the absence of a narrator, the narrator does not pretend to be absent. The narrator often transgresses the narrative levels, directly telling the narratee to 'see someone or something,' as if tugging at the narratee's sleeve to urge them into crossing the boundary of the narrative levels. I have argued that this comes from the nature of *p'ansori* as a performing art, requiring a fine balance on the part of the narratees between the world of the story and the world of reality, between the extradiegetic and metadiegetic levels.

The ways in which the narrator of *Wanp'an 26* attempts to achieve mimetic representation are key to the principle of scene maximisation. In this regard, all my findings can contribute to defining the characteristics of this principle.

Through this examination, I have found that the narrative discourse of *Wanp'an 26* is unexpectedly and surprisingly well-written and well-constructed as far as narratology

is concerned, especially with regard to issues surrounding the narrator. This is somewhat surprising considering that it is a very early example of a novel edition of *p'ansori* Ch'unhyang-ka.

### 4.3. Okchunghwa

*Okchunghwa* was written just four years before Yi Kwangsu's *Mujŏng* was published. Examining *Okchunghwa* in this section should show what an edition of Ch'unhyang-chŏn close to modern literature was like, on its own, and also how Ch'unhyang-narrative had changed in the 30-60 years since *Wanp'an 26*. Moreover, the fact that *Okchunghwa* belongs to the *p'ansori* strand narrative, like *Wanp'an 26*, makes the comparison more effective, as the study will show changes and some continuity among the works with the same origin. However, unlike *Wanp'an 26*, whose writer is unknown as with all other *Wanp'an* editions, *Okchunghwa* has a named writer, Yi Haecho. He was a renowned writer in the *sinsosŏl* (new novel) genre which, was a transitional genre from traditional narrative to the modern novel. This named authorship also makes a good comparison in that the work is created by a writer who must have consciously dealt with his own edition of *p'ansori* novel, having his name attached to the work as with modern novels.

One of the most obvious differences between *Wanp'an 26* and *Okchunghwa* is length. *Okchunghwa* is much longer than *Wanp'an 26*. *Okchunghwa* is made up of 184 pages and approximately 2760 lines (the number of lines per page is about 15 in average), compared to the 52 pages and 624 lines of *Wanp'an 26*: making *Okchunghwa* roughly 4.4 times longer. These figures provide a criterion to compare how *Okchunghwa*'s narrator handles *showing* and *telling* with *Wanp'an 26* and *Ilsŏl*.

In this section I focus more on changes between the two works, since my aim of examining Kim Hŭngkyu's principle of scene maximisation in relation to the narrativity of *p'ansori* was achieved to some extent in the previous section. Therefore, this section focuses on the overall trend in how quantitative expansion takes place in *Okchunghwa* and what impacts these trends and changes brought to the history of *p'ansori* narrative.

#### 4.3.1. Time

I examined the issue of narrative time in *Wanp'an 26* in the previous section. Although there are some differences between *Wanp'an 26* and *Okchunghwa* in detail, *Okchunghwa* faithfully follows the plot of *Wanp'an 26* in the larger context; the order of the sequence of narrative time, and the way the narrative deals with time do not show significant divergence.

Appendices 3-1 and 3-2 present analyses of the temporal order of the discourse. While *Wanp'an 26* sets its time frame in the early period of Sukchong's reign, *Okchunghwa* does not designate a temporal background for the story. Instead it foregrounds the geographical importance of Namwŏn as Ch'unhyang's home and presents a brief summary of Ch'unhyang's birth and life relating Wŏlmae's dream of Ch'unhyang's conception. The narrator of *Okchunghwa* does not generally pay much attention to the precise time or period of events as in *Wanp'an 26*. In *Okchunghwa*, the discourse time chronologically proceeds in the same order as the story time and the way it operates is also the same as in *Wanp'an 26*. The narrative time first follows the two protagonists in one timeline as in A. Since they separate, time of Ch'unhyang and time of Yi are juxtaposed as in B and C respectively, then alternated as in D. Since they meet

again in Ch'unhyang's prison, the time merges in one timeline as in E. This process is the same as in *Wanp'an 26*.

Inferring from Yi's statement of "*I have been away from Namwŏn for less than three years. How can it come to this extent?*" (136), the story time of the narrative can be considered approximately four years. Yi says this when looking down at Ch'unhyang's deteriorating house from Kwanghallu, as he returns to Namwŏn as Ŏsa. As *Okchunghwa* is not only over four times longer than *Wanp'an 26*, the narrator tends to be unclear in indicating time, making it more difficult to determine how long each event or scene takes. However, it can be assumed that the time which the discourse focuses on is roughly 20 days. Among these 20 days, 6 days are critical: 1), the first day of their meeting in the space of 32 pages (2-34), 17% of the whole text; 3), the two days of their parting in 21 pages (38-58), 11.2%; 8)-9), one day, from the calling of the *kisaeng* roll to Ch'unhyang's imprisonment in 34 pages (68 -101), 16%; 17)-18), one day, the day when Yi is approaching Ch'unhyang's house (129-184), 8.5%; 20)-26), one day, the day of Yi's emergence as Ŏsa in 42 pages (146-187), 22.3%. These five days take up 119 pages out of the 188 total, accounting for 75% of the whole discourse. This demonstrates that the narrative concentrates on the critical six days, following *Wanp'an 26*. Accordingly, the discourse of each of these days offers plenty of information and detail.

Appendix 3-2 (p.344) lists nine of the longest scenes in terms of the number of pages taken up. The 9 scenes also appear in *Wanp'an 26* and all of them constitute crucial parts of the main plot. Each scene occurs at one place on one day, and deals with one major issue, such as parting or reunion, in a large space between 8 to 15 pages, unfolding the issue in substantial detail. The analysis demonstrates the narrative is prevailing in description and showing rather than narration and telling. This does not mean that a long

discourse which covers a short time span is always descriptive, but this is considered valid in general and it is the case in this narrative.

Apart from the 20 days, the rest of the 4 years is briefly presented in summary, sometimes with descriptive expressions and dialogues. The narrator of *Okchunghwa* deals with rather big gaps between main events or scenes in the same way as *Wanp'an 26*, using summary and iterative narrative.

*They had so much fun at midnight in spring. One and two days passed, and when it became about the tenth day, their love had grown fully and they lost their shyness. One day they begin to tease each other and joke with each other, it becomes a love-song . . . [love song spans 4 pages, 35-8]  
. . . While they play like this, one day, Yi goes to Ch'unhyang's house--- one day . . . (38, emphasis added)*

*Time passed so quickly, like flowing water. The old governor went up to Sŏul and a new governor came and had worked for months. Meanwhile, Ch'unhyang had been ill both in body and mind. She lay down alone in her room having closed the doors and sang a love song yearning for Yi. At this time, after one year passed since he came to Namwŏn, the governor moved to Naju for a new appointment. A new governor was again appointed to Namwŏn, Pyŏn Haktŏ, of Chaha-dong, in Sŏul. (60-61, emphasis added)*

The two examples above show the iterative. The first example shows that Ch'unhyang and Yi used to spend their time together teasing each other and singing love songs until they faced parting. The narrator covers this long period with the iterative of their teasing and singing. The second example exhibits the way Ch'unhyang passed the time for the months by the iterative, singing a sad song. Although there is a lack of time expression in the entire work, as shown in the case of the unclarified time span from Ch'unhyang and Yi's meeting to parting, there are some cases in which the temporal relation between episodes and events is clearer than in *Wanp'an 26* as shown in the underlined parts in

the examples above. In this sense, it seems that there is some improvement in the perception of time in the narrative.

#### 4.3.2. Attributes of Quantitative Expansion

The two analyses in Appendices 3-1 and 3-2 provide a rough outline of the expansion of length. They illustrate how the same episodes as in *Wanp'an 26* are extended in length with variation and new episodes or motives are introduced. The dream of Hwangrŭng-grave in 10) which Ch'unhyang dreams during her imprisonment, and Yi's visit to Manbok Temple on his way to Namwŏn in 15) are examples of such new episodes. The episodes are added for particular purposes. The former is added to give prominence to Ch'unhyang's character as a faithful woman, the latter to emphasise that Yi's success is thanks to the providence of Buddha and the prayers of Ch'unhyang's mother. The inclusion of new episodes is, in most cases, highly likely to bring a new aspect into the narrative or emphasise a certain aspect of existing themes. In many cases, this new addition of motifs or events not only makes the story more interesting and colourful in narrativity but also makes it more sophisticated and elaborated in its thematic scope. However, as the aim of this section is to examine the narrativity of the work, it will focus on elements of narrativity.

The following examples exhibit what the expansion is like in relation to existing episodes. In general, most of the expansion occurs by adding a mixture of narration and description within and between pre-existing scenes or episodes. The size of expansion varies from a few lines to a few pages.

*Wanp'an 26: Listening to his master he went in a hurry without a break.*

*"Hello, Ch'unhyang!" (5)*

*Okchunghwa: Pangja is compelled to go to fetch her. He walks across as nimbly as a butterfly that is flying in the spring wind. Sneakily walking into the bushes below the hill in order not to be seen he suddenly shouts. "Ch'unhyang!"* (10)

This example shows a short expansion. The fragment is about the way Pangja goes to fetch Ch'unhyang after receiving Yi's order. In *Wanp'an 26*, the narrator recounts Pangja's act in narration with a short phrase, but in *Okchunghwa*, it describes the same act in two and a half lines, with a mixture of description and narration. On the other hand, there are also many scenes which stretch pre-existing events a great deal. For example, in *Wanp'an 26*, in the scene where the chief secretary calls the names of each of the *kisaeng* on the *kisaeng* roll, there are only 7 *kisaengs* presented in a concise introduction. On the other hand, in *Okchunghwa*, 23 *kisaengs* are called out, spanning over four pages (69-73). They are first presented with long descriptions, though the length of these descriptions is shortened following the request of the new governor.

*"After the rain on the eastern hills: Myöngwöl [Full Moon]!"* (*Wanp'an 26*, 25)

*"In the middle of a night in Namp'o, the moon is deep! When a ferryman sets sail, a passer-by asks him, 'Is your boat a kyetogömböm?'"*<sup>107</sup>

*Lanju [Magnolia-boat]!"*

*The head of the kisaeng comes in, lifting her silk skirt a little, and gracefully sits. She must be the moon in the autumn sky! "I am here."* (*Okchunghwa*, 69-70)

In addition to sections extended from pre-existing elements, there are also many instances where brand-new description is added. The following example from *Okchunghwa* is a description of how splendidly people from Namwön district office are

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<sup>107</sup> *Kyetogömböm* is known to be a boat which a beautiful woman boards.

dressed in an array for the new governor. They are those who come to Sŏul to greet the new governor and accompany him on his way to the new official residence according to the custom of the time. While *Wanp'an 26* only presents a summary of the itinerary in the space between the governor's departure from Sŏul and arrival in Namwŏn, the following fragment that accounts for 2 pages (over 32 lines) is a new addition in *Okchunghwa* in order to visually emphasise the grandeur of the procession.

*See the apparel of Yibang, the chief clerk of the new post!*

*See the apparel of T'ongin, the page of the new post . . .*

*See the apparel of Kŭpch'ang, the servant of the new post . . .*

*See the apparel of Kunro, the soldier of the new post . . .*

*See the apparel of Saryŏng, messenger of the new post . . . (64-67)*

After *Wanp'an 26*, the major expansion of *Okchunghwa* has been made in this way, whether by addition to an existing segment or new inclusion, the discourse of *Okchunghwa* stays fundamentally descriptive; showing more than telling, as in *Wanp'an 26*. In this sense, *Okchunghwa* chooses to be close to the spectrum of description. Bal defines "description as a textual fragment in which features are attributed to objects," calling this aspect of attribution "descriptive function." Following Bal, I consider "a fragment as descriptive when this function is dominant" in discourse (Bal 2009, 37).

The closest thing to pure mimesis is dialogue, which performs a descriptive function for narrative. Dialogue plays a key role in presenting events and is the major constitution of narrating event in the work. For instance, the events of each scene in Analysis 2, in general, are recounted predominantly through characters' conversations or interior monologues. Narration and description are normally placed at the beginning of new events to set a scene and at the end of a conversation to wrap up the scene or

conversation, and to ease the transition to the next event. This is done in a segment where Ch'unhyang and Yi meet each other face to face in scene 6 (in Analysis 2): the reunion of Yi and Ch'unhyang at Ch'unhyang's prison. The following is a dissection of the whole passage by narration, description and dialogue. This analysis shows what a huge role dialogue plays in the constitution of the discourse. The beginning (a) and the ending (b) of the event consists of narration and description. In the middle, the event unfolds through short (b) and long (d) conversation (b and d). In the middle of the two conversations, the short descriptive passage (c) bridges the two conversations.

The following analysis concludes that the quantitative expansion derived from the expansion of description and high volume of dialogues which are used in this work is a prime example of its incline for description: showing.

### Analysis 3

- a) While Ch'unhyang's mother is at a loss for words, Yi Ŏsa enters the prison. (149, 1 line)
- b) Conversation among Ch'unhyang, Ch'unhyang's mother and Yi Ŏsa in about 10 lines (149-150, 10 lines)
- c) Ch'unhyang barely moves her body and grasps his hands rising in trembling. Tears continue hanging and falling from her eyes. (150)
- d) Conversations between Ch'unhyang and Yi last for 6 pages. (150-155)
- e) Yi Ŏsa bids Ch'unhyang a farewell and comes out of the prison door. (155)

As time goes by, with more addition of new events and motifs, Ch'unhyang-narrative gets more and more sophisticated, colourful, and interesting, both in thematic and narrative aspects.

The following passage is the scene that the Ŏsa sees on his way to Namwŏn. This passage realistically presents a farmer who is preparing his pipe using a tobacco kit.

*After transplanting rice for a while, farmers walk out of the rice paddy and drink. As the Ŏsa looks to one side, a farmer, wearing a conical bamboo hat, shouldering a hoe, sticking his thatch rain cape on one side, is sitting in front of a fire which he has made with hulls of rice. He takes out his leather tobacco-pouch, puts the tobacco onto his left palm and spits on it and rams it into the pipe with his thumb. He lights a fire of a chaff and sticks his pipe into the embers, he sucks the tobacco pipe. Ŏsato looks at it nearby . . . (132)*

This passage exemplifies that Ch'unhyang-narrative is capable of realistic representation in terms of realism. The expression is vivid, realistic and lively.

The following is another example of a descriptive passage.

*Hyangdan, whilst standing up to light a lantern, announced "As the bell has struck it is now time to go to the lady."*

*Hyangdan led the way with the lantern in hand and Ch'unhyang's mother coming before her and the Ŏsa [Yi] following behind, as they descended into the prison. That night there was a rainstorm and the wind blew 'uruuru' as if the ground was vibrating. The heavy rain was scattered by the wind as the thunder rumbled 'ururu ururu' and lightning bolts struck 'pŏnttŭt-pŏnttŭt.' The sound of the crying ghosts of the prison was 'turŏn-turŏn': the ghost who died by beating with a whip, the ghost who died by beating with a club, the ghost who died on a torture chair, the ghost who died by beating with a t'aejang, the ghost who died 'taerong-taerong' by hanging on a beam. In pairs and triplets, they cried 'hŭihŭihoho aiai.'*

*The lightning was sudden, the thunder ran 'uru-uru,' the rain was trickling 'churuk-churuk,' the winds blew hitting the door paper and it shuddered 'tŏrŭ-tŏrŭ.' The night bird cried 'putput,' the rain bird cried 'pibi,' the prison door clunked 'tŏlk'ŏk,' the rain drops fell 'ttuktuk' whilst the sound of a rooster cry from a far village could be heard in the distance faintly. And all the while Ch'unhyang lay alone crying, thinking of her husband. (144-5, onomatopoeia and mimetic words marked with quotations)*

This passage is a description of the scene in which the Ösa, Ch'unhyang's mother and the servant, Hyangdan, are heading to Ch'unhyang's prison cell. While most other editions do not mention the weather in this scene, the work introduces a description of the weather to emphasise a bleak and miserable mood. This passage successfully conjures up the grim image of early dawn which accompanies with stormy rain, thunder and lightning. It also captures the grotesque and chilling image surrounding the prison with the ghosts of those killed by all sorts of corporal punishment. This expression effectively emphasises the physical and psychological status of Ch'unhyang, who is helplessly facing impending torture and death in a prison cell in appalling conditions.

Here, the work competently uses various onomatopoeic words to generate an atmosphere. The function of the onomatopoeia is to give readers the impression of sensual immediacy to the situation or object described, so that they have the feeling of really being in the situation. The usage of the onomatopoeia in this scene vividly conveys abundant visual and acoustic images to readers. In addition, a number of parallelisms and enumerations are also employed to evoke the dismal scene. This description does not extend to realism or naturalistic portrayal in the strict sense, because the narrator includes the cry of ghosts, nevertheless, these examples demonstrate the capacity of Ch'unhyang-narrative in terms of expression or description, which is abundant compared to the so-called realistic novel or modern novel.

This examination of the nature of the quantitative expansion of this work has revealed that the quantitative expansion of Ch'unhyang-narrative mostly takes place in the direction of description, which eventually led the narrative to qualitative improvement.

#### 4.3.3. Narrator

As discussed in the previous section, there are three levels of narrative in *Wanp'an 26* (extradiegetic, intradiegetic, and metadiegetic), and the metadiegetic level among the three is where the actual events are recounted. On the other hand, there are two levels, extradiegetic and (intra)diegetic (hereafter diegetic), in *Okchunghwa*, and the diegetic is where the events unfold. For this reason, I will call the narrator of the diegetic 'narrator' as was the case for the metadiegetic in *Wanp'an 26*.

In *Wanp'an 26*, the narrator of the extradiegetic sets the time frame of the narrative in the very beginning of the text and leaves didactic comments to urge the narratee or the reader to emulate Ch'unhyang with the follow-up story located outside the metadiegetic. However, the narrator of *Okchunghwa* begins the narrative without the time setting but with a description of an august geographical environment which suits for the birth of 'the absolute beauty,' Ch'unhyang. It ends without didactic comments. Moreover, the nature of the narrator is not different from the beginning to the end of the narrative. This is why one narrative level is reduced in this work. Thus, the level at which the actual story unfolds is intradiegetic and its outer frame is extradiegetic. I will call the narrator of the (intra)diegetic the 'narrator' and EF (exterior focalisor) in the discussion that follows.

The narrator of *Okchunghwa* is very different from the one of *Wanp'an 26*. One of the most noticeable traits of the narrator of *Wanp'an 26* is its human-like property. As discussed, it is difficult to consider the narrator of *Wanp'an 26* as a technical tool as a narrating agent since it has more quality of a human being compared to other general narratives. The narrator speaks in Chölla dialect and has a tendency to strike up a conversation with the narratee, using identifiable phrases like 'look at someone or

something' or 'see what one does.' These traits have not completely disappeared in *Okchunghwa* but the narrator does not use Chölla dialect. This change alone considerably removes its sensual contiguity with a human.

In *Wanp'an 26*, the narrator of the intradiegetic and that of the metadiegetic are both omniscient as external narrators. But the two are very different in nature. The narrator of the intradiegetic provides information in diegetic representation standing close to the pole of 'pure diegesis.' However, though the narrator of the metadiegetic is omniscient, it is very conscious of its presence as a covert narrator, trying to keep its distance close to the pole of 'pure mimesis' as a covert narrator. On the other hand, in *Okchunghwa* the narrator of the intradiegetic (who plays the same role in *Okchunghwa* as the narrator of the metadiegetic in *Wanp'an 26*), is getting far from the pole of 'pure mimesis' and closer to that of 'pure diegesis' as an overt narrator. The narrator of *Okchunghwa* is omniscient, authoritative, and didactic. This narratorhood is directly related to the focalisation of the narrative.

#### 4.3.4. Focalisation

In *Okchunghwa*, the narrator of the diegetic (EF), begins the narrative with Ch'unhyang's mother's dream of the forthcoming conception of a baby, Ch'unhyang, and how she has grown. Then it presents Yi. Up to that point the narrator has supplied information of Ch'unhyang and Yi in summary in narration. With 'one day,' a marker which signals turning to a new event, the narrator starts to use descriptive expression including abundant dialogue. The narrator, as an exterior focaliser, sees and speaks what the characters see, think and feel. However, character-bound focalisers are limited to the main characters, such as Ch'unhyang, Yi, Wölmae, and the new governor.

While in *Wanp'an 26* characters whose minds the narrator can see and speak of are limited by the narrator restricting its capacity as an omniscient narrator, in *Okchunghwa* most characters are barely restricted. The narrator of *Okchunghwa* reveals thoughts and feelings of the characters regardless of their importance to the narrative, as shown in the following examples.

*“Are all the viewers kisaeng?”*

*The head of the servants is dumbfounded, “Yes, these are all kisaengs.”*

*Greatly delighted, the governor says, “At last, I’m being struck by kisaeng lightning.”*

*. . . He wanted to call kisaeng attendance right now, but he thought about face and endured two more days, gnashing his teeth. As he ground his teeth too hard, his front teeth are on the verge of falling out. (67-68, emphasis added)*

*Since the chief secretary knows the mannaers of Ch'unhyang, “Could she be that?” he guessed in his mind, and went into the office and asked the governor. (76)*

*[Ch'unhyang] Holding their hands, “Come on, come on!”*

*Those guards are not able to receive such a treat from Ch'unhyang.*

*They are on the point of having a rash since Ch'unhyang holds their hands and talks. (80)*

In these examples, apart from the new governor, the rest of characters, the head of servants, the chief secretary, and the guards, are all minor characters who appear just one or twice in the narrative. The expressions of the characters' feelings are not completely surplus, they help the reader understand certain circumstances. For this reason, this sort of expression occurs even in *Wanp'an 26*, but the frequency is much higher in *Okchunghwa*.

The narrator of *Okchunghwa* goes further than just express what characters think and feel. It uses its full power as an exterior omniscient narrator. The narrator expresses its own judgment on the characteristics and appearances of certain characters and uses its knowledge and views in order to justify or explain why a certain character behaves in a certain way and why certain events proceed as they do.

#### 4.3.5. The Nature of the Narrator

The narrator of *Okchunghwa* also explains things and characters. In the following examples, the narrator explains the actions of the characters as resulting from their characteristics, and it is the narrator that defines the characteristics of the characters:

*As Ch'unhyang's mother rolled and cried sorrowfully in disbelief, Ch'unhyang, being the good daughter that she was, hid any light of her worries and calmly consoled her. (58, emphasis added)*

*On the floor of the palace, two mistresses wearing white clothes raised a jade scepter slightly and motioned her to take a seat. However, Ch'unhyang was not ignorant as she was a woman of good manners, so politely refused. (102, emphasis added)*

It also comments on or judges how the characters look:

*Although Ch'unhyang reluctantly entered the local government office with her scattered hair sprawled below her ears, the appearance of her 'kõtũm-kõtũm' collecting together her skirt width and walking delicately like a swallow in the rain was like that of Wang Sokun. (84, emphasis added)*

This clearly indicates the actively intrusive nature of the narrator. However, the narrator goes further as in the underlined phrase in the following example:

*In preparation to appear in front of the king as the winner of first place in the state examinations, Yi Mongryǒng, who already gave off the air of a Taoist hermit and ascetic, washed his face once again and put on his full-dress gentlemen's robe. (111, emphasis added)*

The narrator also voices public opinions on behalf of the public:

*Seeing her daughter's actions, Ch'unhyang's mother calmed her sobs and also consoled her daughter boldly with good words. For such ways, she was called Wǒlmae of Namwǒn. (58, emphasis added)*

The underlined statement above emphasises that Wǒlmae is tolerant and lofty, enlarging the scope of the narrator. The narrator does not only declare how people in Namwǒn think of Wǒlmae, but also that it can see everything and everyone from a bird's eye point of view and speak on behalf of the multitude.

However, the narrator takes a step further. The following examples demonstrate that the way the narrator reveals its judgemental views on characters and events extends further, to ideological scope across the boundary of the narrative. The narrator argues that a certain character should have behaved in a certain way based on its reasoning, and the causes of a certain character's behaviour come from a certain idea of the general nature of human beings. The judgemental standing of the narrator in the underlined statements belongs to the outside of the narrative level. The narrator is a commentary narrator, going across the level of the narrative to express its view founded on its outlook or moral standing. In this vein, in *Okchunghwa*, the presence of the implied author becomes quite audible.

*During his first days after appointment, if the new governor had accepted that he had called upon Ch'unhyang in vain without knowing about her usual conduct and responded to Ch'unhyang's words with compliment and admiration and let her go, both the government office and Namwǒn would*

*have been left unharmed and well. However, Ch'unhyang's vast beauty was such that the governor thought that he could attempt to greedily obtain her by intimidation. He therefore gave her a big scolding. (71)*

[Guard] *"Sir! Ch'unhyang has been brought in."*

*Ch'unhyang was bent over like a corpse. Although her miserable appearance was difficult to watch for people even with good eyes, the governor yelled loudly at her once again. (178, emphasis added)*

*It is said that Ch'unhyang threw herself onto the floor of the office, hugged the Ŏsa and danced with tears of joy, but is this really how Ch'unhyang would have reacted? When a person suffers such aghast deeds, their hearts grow bad and when there is such good and welcoming news they will naturally be full of sorrow. Ch'unhyang vacantly gazed up at the platform where the Ŏsa stood on the floor, tears like marbles trickling from her eyes and dampening her clothes. Her cries were not like those that originate from the strong emotions of the guts and organs, nor were they like the cries that originate from the human's six-thousand bone fragments. Her cries were like that released by the gall bladder. (180)*

However, the narrator of the following example shows that the narrator of the discourse belongs to a different league compared to the narrator of the previous examples above. The latter, however distant it goes from the narrative, can be considered that it is still crossing the boundary of the narrative. However, the former does transcend the boundary. The narrator of the following examples argues that some passages of previous or other versions of Ch'unhyang-narrative are wrong in that they are not reasonable and logical, and then corrects them in its own way. The last passage in the examples refers to other versions where *kisaeng* come to console Ch'unhyang after she was clubbed and sent to prison, or just before she was locked up. The narrator corrects these details and gives its reason, therefore the capacity of the narrator extends to transcend the narrative level.

[Servant] “Hush! Young Master, why did you shout so? The governor was so shocked that he asked me to find out what was going on.”

The young master laughs, “Haha—, if the governor is shocked is it my fault? He can’t hear the resentful cries of his subjects but he can hear this in one go?” It is said that this was the young master’s reply, but this is the nonsense tales of the kwangdae. Would the young master really have responded in this way?

[Toryōng] I am sorry that father was so shocked. Please tell him that whilst reading some text, I read the character in [men, 人] and was thinking about it as I shouted aloud. (15-16, emphasis added)

It is said that Ch’unhyang’s mother was inebriated from a number of glasses of alcohol and did not cross over into her own room due to her love for the young master and Ch’unhyang. Instead she looked to talk till dawn with her useless babble. Therefore, the young master is said to have, out of embarrassment, suffered from a feigned stomach ache or pretended to be in a drunken frenzy. However, would Ch’unhyang’s generous, sympathetic mother really have acted like this? After Pangja departed, Ch’unhyang’s mother stood up, laid down some silk bedding, wished the couple an early night as the night was already very deep, and left. (33, emphasis added)

This very young man, as Pangja of Namwŏn government office, was requested many favors by Ch’unhyang and for all this time had carried them out. So even if ten years had passed, is it really possible that he could have been unable to recognise the Ŏsa? These are all the jokes of the kwangdae. Pangja saw the Ŏsa on the road and greeted him, after which... (119-120, emphasis added)

“Raise your face and look at me!”

After being ordered for the second and third time, Ch’unhyang raised her face and perused the floor of the office. She was sure that it was her husband who had come outside the prison door the previous night. It is said that Ch’unhyang jumped up on to the floor, hugged the Ŏsa and danced and played with tears of joy. But why would Ch’unhyang have acted like this ... (179)

At this point, if Ch'unhyang had been a kisaeng, many licentious kisaengs would have come to give their regards. However, as she was not a kisaeng, no such happening occurred. (98)

The narrator in the passages above is a surely transcendent narrator. At this point, this discussion must go back to the issue of narrative levels.

The reason why I argue that there are two levels, extradiegetic and (intra)diegetic, in the discourse of *Okchunghwa* is to accommodate or characterise the transcendent narrator that suddenly and occasionally voices in the discourse. The extradiegetic level is where the narrator suddenly transgresses, and it is not the level on the realm of the narrative but refers to reality where many different versions of Ch'unhyang-narrative exist. The narrator of the extradiegetic talks and comments on the other texts in reality and argues that some courses of certain motives are wrong as they are not reasonable based on the characteristics of certain characters, cultural norms, or social systems. The source of this phenomenon can be identified in the process of development of *p'ansori* narrative.

*P'ansori* is essentially a product of serial composition by many singers and writers over a long period of time. It is thought that the original content was simple and that the way in which its content was expressed was relatively crude. To improve their repertoire, the *kwangdae* would insert their own inventions, known as *dõnũm*, into the basic plot as it had been transmitted. In this way, *kwangdae* embellished and refined *p'ansori* over generations, but this process of improvement also resulted in inconsistency and contradictions between episodes. The various versions of Ch'unhyang-chõn demonstrate a persistent effort towards fictional truth, reality, and verisimilitude on the

part of the authors, which would eventually furnish Ch'unhyang-chŏn with consistency, logicality and realism.<sup>108</sup>

The narrator's deviation from the diegetic to the extradiegetic (in this case, reality) is part of the self-correcting process of *p'ansori* narrative. I discussed the transcendence of the narrator of *Wanp'an 26* in the previous section using Genette's term 'narrative metalepsis' to describe the transition from one narrative level to another (Genette 1983, 234-235). I argued that this results from the *p'ansori* narrative origin of the text and used the concept of 'narrative metalepsis' to solve the contradictory attitude of the narrator, acting as a covert narrator staying closer to the pole of mimesis but occasionally talking directly to the reader.

In *Okchunghwa*, the narrator of the diegetic presents scenes most of which consist predominantly of descriptive narration and dialogues. The narrator also uses the evoking phrases such as 'see what one does' and 'if you see something.' However, when comparing the frequency of these two phrases in the two works, the former is displayed 11 times<sup>109</sup> in *Wanp'an 26* and 3 times<sup>110</sup> in *Okchunghwa*, and the latter is displayed 5 times<sup>111</sup> in *Wanp'an 26* and 3 times<sup>112</sup> in *Okchunghwa*. Therefore, their presence and impact are not substantial in *Okchunghwa*, especially when considering that *Okchunghwa* is 4.4 times longer than *Wanp'an 26*. Also, the second expression has nothing to do with the situation in which the narrator speaks to the reader/narratee. In *Wanp'an 26* although it is not crystal clear who is the focalisor for the phrase, it seems

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108 On the other hand, the activities of correction can manoeuvre the ideology of the narrative in certain ways, but that will not be discussed here

109 In *Wanp'an 26*, it appears on pages 3, 5, 6, 7 (twice), 16, 41, 49 and 50.

110 In *Okchunghwa*, it appears on pages 4, 57 and 109.

111 In *Wanp'an 26*, it appears on pages 16, 17 (twice), 29, 33.

112 In *Okchunghwa*, it appears on pages 26, 27, 28.

to be most likely to be the (external) narrator (EF), otherwise the focalisation can be a double focalisation in which EF looks over the shoulder of CF(Mongryǒng), EF1/CF(M)2. In both cases, the focalisor directly talks to the reader recounting the focalised objects. However, in *Okchunghwa*, the focalisor for the verse is Yi Mongryǒng and simply relates the focalised objects caught by Yi's eyes without striking up a conversation with the reader. In this context, the second phrase has nothing to do with the situation in which the narrator speaks to the reader. Thus, there is no need to distinguish the narrator who utters the phrase from the narrator of the diegetic level, and thus there is no need to set a different narrative level. As a whole, there are still traces of *p'ansori kwangdae* in *Okchunghwa*, such as the narrator's usage of colloquial verb endings. However, in comparison to *Wanp'an 26*, the reduced significance of the two phrases which were important indicators of the *kwangdae*'s voice, and the emergence of the narrator who uses the standard language instead of the Chǒlla dialect, considerably erases the lively voice of *kwangdae* from the narrative. Subsequently, the level of the narrative set apart for the narrator of living voice of *Wanp'an 26* became unnecessary in *Okchunghwa*.

Since *Okchunghwa*'s narrator of the diegetic is already very talkative, judges the personality of the characters, and expresses its ideological view over the boundary of the diegetic level as an omniscient narrator, it can seamlessly integrate with or embrace the nature of the evoking two phrases in its own narratorhood. Nevertheless, the presence of the narrator is felt more conspicuously in a different way, since it occasionally expresses its own views and leaves active comments on characters and their actions, offering its moral and ideological stance. As a result, it cannot be considered a covert narrator but rather an intrusive, judgemental, didactic, and omniscient narrator.

What are the reasons for this change? Firstly, *Wanp'an 26* is principally aimed at delivering the narrative in a dramatic format with a comparatively limited length. This reminds the reader of its being a *p'ansori* narrative which was produced for performance. The narrator wants to convey the narrative as it is occurring in real performance time. Performance on stage is aimed at showing rather than telling. As a result, expressing the narrator's thoughts on characters, events etc. is very limited. However, as the *p'ansori* narrative developed through time, in the forms of both performances to be watched and printed versions to be read, and the narrative became more elaborate and lengthier, writers must gradually have come to focus on narrativized representations rather than dramatic ones. This does not mean all the representations were narration-oriented. However, compared to the nascent stage of *p'ansori* narrative, writers must have turned their attention to more literalised, in other words, written, narrativity. Under these circumstances, the way that the writers recounted the story became more experimental. The voice of the *kwangdae* also goes through changes.

It seems that the existence of the *kwangdae* was close to the position of the narrator at first, but gradually overlaps with the position of the author/implicit author. Since the narrator actually makes the voice of the implied author, the voice of the implied author and the narrator become entangled. The narrator who speaks directly to the narratee is the voice of the *kwangdae*, and the (another) narrator who corrects other editions is the voice of the implied author. The confused voice of the narrator can be seen as a transitional phenomenon, as the core of *p'ansori* narrative moves from performance to narrative.

#### 4.3.6. Conclusion

To conclude, I have examined *Okchunghwa* in comparison to *Wanp'an 26*. In the previous chapter, I found that the nature of the narrative time of *Wanp'an 26* is strongly related to the principle of scene maximisation, which explains the status of the narrator of the work. This can also be applied to *Okchunghwa*, except for the change of narratorhood. I examined the discourse of *Okchunghwa* in relation to narrative time and the way in which the narrative expanded compared to *Wanp'an 26*. My examination revealed the following. Firstly, the narrative time works in the same way as in *Wanp'an 26*, which indicates that the discourse also considerably inclines to showing. Secondly, the quantitative expansion mostly results from expansion of description especially with dialogues including monologues, which also defines narrativity which is closer to mimesis. These findings demonstrate the dynamic relationship between narrative time, description and dialogue, as well as the close relationship between the two works which have *p'ansori* origin and the principle of scene maximisation. In addition, in *Okchunghwa*, the descriptive narration is not only expanded but also substantially improved in quality. Lastly, the changes of narratorhood in *Okchunghwa* indicate the trace of a transitional phase of *p'ansori* narrative, from dramatic representation to literalised representation.

#### 4.4. Ilsöl Ch'unhyang-chön

*Ilsöl* by Yi Kwangsu is considered the first work of Ch'unhyang-chön that was reformed in a modern design. It was serialised in the *Tonga-Ilbo* from September 1925 to January 1926. By the time *Ilsöl* was being written, in 1925, modern literature was already well

underway. Therefore, since *Ilŏl* can be regarded as a modern novel to some extent, the main concern when considering *Ilŏl* is not what makes it a modern novel, but how or what elements of preceding editions are regarded non-modern aspects, and what is infiltrated or transmitted into the modern novel of *Ilŏl*.

Unfortunately, Yi's putting a modern format onto Ch'unhyang-narrative cannot be said to be complete, since the first half of the work is similar to *Okchunghwa* and the latter half is mostly taken from and *Kobon-Ch'unhyang-chŏn*. *Kobon-Ch'unhyang-chŏn* adopts and copies many parts of a Hyangmok-tong rental edition originating from the *Namwŏn-kosa*-strand, so it can be said that the latter half mostly comes from *Namwŏn-kosa*. Under such circumstances, I will mainly focus on the first half of *Ilŏl* which shows distinctive differences from the previous editions.

While *Okchunghwa* is about 4.4 times longer than *Wanp'an 26*, *Ilŏl* is far longer again. Although it is difficult to compare the length of the three works, a basic calculation of the number of lines gives us: *Wanp'an 26*, 936; *Okchunghwa*, 2,820; and *Ilŏl*, 8,568. Based on an average of 16 characters per line, this calculation indicates that *Ilŏl* is three times as long as *Okchunghwa*, and 9.2 times as long as *Wanp'an 26*.

#### 4.4.1. Time

*Ilŏl* also follows the plot line of *Wanp'an 26* as *Okchunghwa* does, therefore, the order of the sequence of narrative time and the way the narrative deals with the time are almost the same. *Ilŏl* is divided into seven sections, each with its own title. Appendix 4-1 (pp. 345-347) is an analysis of the seven divisions and narrative time.

In the very beginning of the narrative, the narrator enters straight into the main narrative level and locates the reader in the middle of nowhere. The narrator of *Ilŏl*

does not set a clear or even rough temporal background of the narrative, beginning with direct speech in the very first line of the narrative: “*Hey, Pangja!*” Like *Wanp’an 26* and *Okchunghwa*, the narrative time is the same as the story time, in other words, it proceeds chronologically. Though there appears a little difference in the D sections, which is made by the fact that Ch’unhyang dreams two dreams in *Okchunghwa* and one dream in *Isöl*, this does not change the bigger flow of narrative time.

Though the way the narrative time is organised is the same as in *Okchunghwa* and *Wanp’an 26*, there are noticeable differences in its nature. The whole story time is 4 years, as clearly shown in 6) and 18): 6) “*Since Yi met Ch’unhyang and they came to love each other, it was already a year after the fall and spring passed. ... A day of sad farewell came*” (455); 18) “*Though spring and winter have gone twice or three times, it is not for sure when news from Söul will come and Ch’unhyang will be released from prison*” (487).

The days most focused on in the narrative are roughly the 7 days: a) 1 day (first day of their meeting, 25%); c) 2 days (parting days, 10.8%); f) 1 day (when Ch’unhyang is clubbed and imprisoned, 14.3%); i) 2-3 days (when Yi is approaching Ch’unhyang’s house, 10.6%); j) 1 day (Ösa’s inspection day, 19.1%). The discourse for these 7-8 days accounts for 79.8% of the narrative.

The 7-8 days coincide with the 5 days in *Wanp’an 26* and 6 days in *Okchunghwa*, and the days in each narrative deal with the same episodes and are most focused on the base of spaces they take. These days account for 71.8 % in *Okchunghwa* and 86.5% in *Wanp’an 26*. The numeric comparison indicates that the days which comprise 5 periods are most critical in the narrative time and unfold in long and detailed discourse. In this sense, the principle of scene maximisation works well throughout the three works.

In the previous sections I presented tables where the nine longest scenes in *Wanp'an 26* and *Okchunghwa* are listed. Appendix 4-2 (pp.348-349) shows the 9 scenes in the three works for comparison.

The numeric comparisons between the three works demonstrate that regardless of how extended the story is, or whether it is an old or a modern edition, Ch'unhyang-narrative maintains its early narrative structure on the base of narrative time and scenes. This demonstrates that the structure of Ch'unhyang narrative is considerably solid. It also indicates that Kim Hüngkyu's principle of scene maximisation remains relevant to the constitution of the characteristics of the narrative.

However, the way the scene maximisation works in *Ilsoŭl* seems to display changes compared to the other two works. Scene maximisation argues that illogicality or severance between episodes is attributed to the nature of *p'ansori* narrative, focused on a scene itself rather than whole sequences of the narrative, with the aim of maximising the effect each scene produces. However, the history of Ch'unhyang-narrative is also in line with the history of improving this irrationality by enforcing consistency and logicality. In the previous section on the narrativity of *Okchunghwa*, many examples of a correcting process were displayed. In some cases, this was done blatantly, with phrases such as 'Could it be so?' However, this kind of passage does not appear at all in *Ilsoŭl*.

Regarding time, the narrator of the *Ilsoŭl* does not set temporal background in the very beginning, while *Wanp'an 26* does. However, it is the most conscious of the time relations between events or episodes amongst the three works. The narrator of *Ilsoŭl* makes time clear whenever necessary, whether it speaks for itself or characters: [Pangja] "Today is *Tano Day*"<sup>113</sup> (426), "Since Yi met Ch'unhyang and they came to love each

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113 5<sup>th</sup> of May according to the lunar calendar. Swing riding is one of the customs of this day.

other; it was already a year after the fall and spring passed. ... *A day of sad farewell came. 'One day' ... the governor called and told him to leave early the next day*" (455).

The other examples are shown in 6), 8), 10) etc.

The narrator not only tries to present the time relation between events and their duration clearly but also tries to express them in a realistic time span. Such as in 12): "*After Governor Yi went to Sŏul, Governor Kim came and worked for a year and was sent to a new post in Naju. And another new governor, Pyŏn Hakto, was again appointed to Namwŏn.*" The author tries to let events unfold in more realistic presentations. Since Namwŏn is geographically quite far from Sŏul, one cannot come and go in several days as in *Wanp'an 26* and *Okchunghwa*. That is why it says that "*13 days after his appointment, new clerks of Namwŏn office came to Sŏul to greet and bring him to Namwŏn*" (470).

As a result, the sequence of the events becomes much clearer in terms of both story and narrative time. In this sense, the narrative appears to be more orderly, avoiding the impression that it is unorganised or unpolished. However, this phenomenon appears more pronounced in the first half, the fourth section, 'Longing,' and the second half is not much different from *Okchunghwa*, since it contains a lot of content from *Okchunghwa* and *Kobon-Ch'unhyang-chŏn*. I already identified that *Okchunghwa* also showed some improvement in expressing time for and between events, therefore, it is believed that the authors of Ch'unhyang-narrative were conscious of clarifying the time of the narrative as time went by, and *Ilŏl* carries on such a line.

### **Iterative Narrative**

There are several time gaps between important days in the three works. I argued in the previous sections in this chapter, on *Wanp'an 26* and *Okchunghwa*, that iterative

narration is used to fill comparatively long-time gaps between main events. One of the first major time-gaps is that between the first night of the marriage and the day of the farewell. The duration is assumed to be quite a long time in *Wanp'an 26* and *Okchunghwa* and is about one year in *Ilsoŏl*. The first gap is filled with love songs in *Wanp'an 26* (18:2-19:1), and lengthened love songs in *Okchunghwa*, without adding any other events. (35-38)

The second major gap is the period between the parting and the arrival of the new governor. In *Wanp'an 26*, the second gap is filled with the iterative in which the two lovers sing songs or have monologues on farewell and longing for one another (20: 7-23:3). The closing narration is that “*Locked inside her room Ch'unhyang has let heartless time pass with a farewell song.*” However, in *Okchunghwa*, no iterative event occurs, instead one singulative event occurs, where Yi's parents send Ch'unhyang a large sum of cash and wedding presents as a token of their recognition of her relationship with Yi.

The third gap is the period between Ch'unhyang's imprisonment and the time just before Ch'unhyang and Yi's time merges. In *Wanp'an 26*, the gap is also filled with the iterative of Ch'unhyang's lament in the form of interior monologue or soliloquy: “*Will news from him come today? Or will news from him come tomorrow? I am dying in this way waiting for him.*” (36: 8). In *Okchunghwa*, the narrative includes Ch'unhyang's monologue (101) as *Wanp'an 26* does, and the motif of Ch'unhyang's Hwangrŭng-grave dream where she meets ladies who are all renowned as women of constancy in Chinese history or fables (101-107).

The narrative of *Ilsoŏl*, however, displays considerably disparate structure in filling these three gaps. The narrative adds a lot of new events in which actual actions are taking

place while absorbing the existing motifs such as love songs and Ch'unhyang's interior monologues.

The space for the first gap consists of many new anecdote-like events or episodes, while only love songs occur in the other two works. The discourse contains events related to following issues: Ch'unhyang's concerns and frustrations about their secret wedding; the lamentation of Ch'unhyang's own inferior status; Yi making fun of Ch'unhyang being too careful not to disturb him while he is studying; Ch'unhyang stitching while Yi reads a book; Ch'unhyang and Yi having a lover's quarrel; Yi pressing Ch'unhyang to play the *kōmungo* when he is bored with studying; Yi pestering Ch'unhyang to treat him to alcohol when he is fed up with studying; singing love songs with Ch'unhyang; Ch'unhyang's scolding Yi when he is lazy with his reading; talking about having a baby.

For the second gap, the narrative fills up the period by also putting in many incidents: Ch'unhyang and Yi exchange letters; Wōlmae continuously denounces Yi for not providing them with economic help and urges Ch'unhyang to forget him and move on to another man; many playboys who want to take on Ch'unhyang make all kinds of intimidation and courtship to her.

Regarding the third gap, as this part is in the latter half of the work, few new events are added. *Ilsoŭl* does not take on the Hwangrŭng-grave dream motif from *Okchunghwa*, but does include the motif of the playboys of Namwōn visiting Ch'unhyang to console her and keep her company (485-486), from *Namwōn-kosa* (239-250). The Hwangrŭng-grave dream motif was added to reinforce the virtue of the faithfulness of Ch'unhyang in later editions since *Wanp'an* 26, including *Okchunghwa*. The playboys motif had already appeared in the *Namwōn-kosa*, most of which was reused in *Kobon-Ch'unhyang-chōn*.

Though the latter half of *Ilŏl* accommodates most of its motifs from *Kobon-Ch'unhyang-chŏn*, the author's choice of the motifs displays his attitude in relation to the narrativity. The writer seems to have selected the motifs which are more plausible, realistic, and tangible, shown in the events in the first and second gaps. It also includes Ch'unhyang's monologue as in *Wanp'an 26* and *Okchunghwa*. However, Ch'unhyang's monologue contains pragmatic issues like making kimchi for winter and winter clothes for mother and Yi, while in the other two works, the narratives only express abstract feelings of sorrow itself, not relating to any practical issues.

In *Wanp'an 26*, the three gaps are mainly filled in with songs and interior monologues/soliloquies to handle soaring emotions such as the feeling of love, sorrow, longing, resentment, and powerlessness in the iterative narrative. *Okchunghwa* follows *Wanp'an 26*, though it is not as distinct. However, *Ilŏl* tries to build the feelings more rationally in forms of narrativization, by adding anecdotes encompassing more tangible everyday activities instead of boosting the emotions of happiness and sorrow with dramatic gestures like songs and monologues.

We have discussed how the three works, *Wanp'an 26*, *Okchunghwa* and *Ilŏl*, deal with the time gaps between major days so far. With these findings, we should move back to the question of time in the three works at this point to contextualise the rhythm of narrative time in each work.

In *Wanp'an 26*, the narrative heavily focuses on 5 specific days while the story time is about five to six years. Under such circumstances the narrative time slows down on the 5 days, and suddenly speeds up in the iterative narratives for the rest of story time. The time between the major 5 days is unfolded in the iterative discourses in the form of showing rather than telling, with characters presenting interior monologues like a soliloquy in a drama. With this, the principle of scene maximisation is well played out

in the discourse, whether the narrative time is slowed down or sped up. The narrative of *Okchunghwa* is not very different from *Wanp'an 26* in dealing with the three gaps. In *Wanp'an 26* and *Okchunghwa*, therefore, the rhythm of the narrative time dramatically fluctuates, enabling the principle of the scene maximisation to work out perfectly.

In *Ilsoŭl*, however, the fluctuating rhythm of the narrative time becomes steady with the addition of many events which recount everyday life, rather than emotion-filled descriptions of the character to cover the gaps in the long time between important events. In line with this change of narrative time, the effect of scene maximisation becomes greatly weakened. Therefore *Ilsoŭl* is far removed from the influence of the principle, while *Wanp'an 26* strongly reflects the principles of scene maximisation, and *Okchunghwa* retains this.

#### 4.4.2. Method of Narrating

While discussing *Wanp'an 26* and *Okchunghwa* in the previous sections, I argued that the majority of the scenes were mostly presented in dialogues and descriptions, therefore, the narrating act was much closer to showing than telling. One of the most noticeable characteristics in *Wanp'an 26* and *Okchunghwa* is the overwhelming abundance of description of people and things. Though *Wanp'an 26* is short in length, it contains plentiful descriptions of things like: the splendid saddlery for Yi's outing; a young, handsome Yi in the best costume of his time; beautiful springtime scenery at Kwanghallu; and the captivating beauty of Ch'unhyang on a swing, etc. *Okchunghwa*, which is roughly 4.4 times longer than *Wanp'an 26*, retains many of the descriptions presented in *Wanp'an 26* but also appears to take a selective attitude about which description should be retained or discarded. Prior to discussing *Ilsoŭl*, I will first examine

on what grounds the narrator of *Okchunghwa* made the selection process in comparison to *Wanp'an 26*. The result will then be compared with *Ilseöl*.

The following first two examples display those of reduction or omission. For the first example, *Okchunghwa* describes Yi only as “*dressed well in modest clothes*” when he goes out for an excursion to Kwanghallu, while in *Wanp'an 26*, how magnificently Yi is dressed is described in a long and detailed description (2: line 1-4). For the second example, regarding the drinking table presented to Yi at Ch'unhyang's house, in *Okchunghwa* the narrator completely removes the description of exquisite drinking bottles and precious drinks presented in *Wanp'an 26* (17: 2 - 18:1). Instead, the narrative presents only two dishes, along with fruit and kimchi as side dishes, with no rhetoric, and adds the phrase “*the popular dishes of the time.*” In *Wanp'an 26*, twelve precious and luxurious dishes in lively and exaggerated rhetoric are laid out on the table, such as “*slender waist mudfish sashimi*” and “*steamed lively mullet*” (16: 7 - 17:2).

The third example is a newly added description in *Okchunghwa*, where Yi looks around Ch'unhyang's room when he visits her house on the first day of their meeting. In the scene, the paintings on the walls are thoroughly described, and furniture and household goods in the room are listed across two pages:

*Looking at the room for a while, though there is not much luxury, there are two famous paintings on the wall . . . Looking at the south wall . . . Looking at the north wall . . . Looking at the household goods . . .* (26-28)

Given that the third case introduces a new description which is rather long and in extra detail, it does not appear that the writer of *Okchunghwa* wanted to reduce the amount of pre-existing description or omit it. The newly added description could easily be left out of the narrative without being missed. Moreover, none of the three examples is

indispensable in terms of the plot. It is believed that the author of *Okchunghwa* retains or removes an existing description based on rationality and thematic aspects.

The second example demonstrates how *Okchunghwa* deals with irrationality. The narrator implies in the beginning of the work that Ch'unhyang's mother, Wölmae, who, as a retired *kisaeng*, has brought up Ch'unhyang as a well-behaved lady having created a good family home environment for her education. However, this would be contradicted if there were luxurious drink bottles and liquor in the house where only the mother and the daughter live, as is the case in *Wanp'an* 26. In relation to the food, it would not have been possible to have fresh sashimi and steamed fish on a drinking table that could be suddenly served in the middle of the night in a commoner's home during the era of Chosŏn Dynasty. Moreover, not only would Wölmae and her servants not have been able to prepare such diverse foods for a very short time, but of course, nor could Yi and Ch'unhyang have even eaten them. So *Okchunghwa* erased that part, but laid still two classy yet elegant dishes, abalone wraps and dried beef slices, referring to them as "*the foods that are popular at that time*" (31), which hints that though the dishes are also precious they could have been ready as they were popular at that time.

The first case displays an example of a change, or toning down, of an existing description, and the third one shows that of introducing a new description. Both the two examples are related to thematic aspects or characterisation. In the first case, it seems that the author does not want the readers to see Yi as a privileged boy who enjoys extreme affluence. The image of this idolatry contradicts the image of the person who will later stand in the position of punishing the governor who exploits the people of the district. In the third case, it appears that the writer introduces a new depiction of famous paintings, a desk, and stationary products in Ch'unhyang's room in order to build an image that Ch'unhyang is an educated and graceful lady, devoted to reading and writing.

We can see, therefore, that *Okchunghwa* reduces and omits existing descriptions in order to redefine existing episodes and also creates new descriptions to stress a certain thematic aspect.

With this finding, I will examine how *Ilsŏl* deals with such matters of description and what the results tell us. Here, again, I will focus on the first half of the narrative, where the writer's own new motifs are displayed.

*Ilsŏl* is 3 times as long as *Okchunghwa*, and 9.2 times as long as *Wanp'an 26*. In *Ilsŏl*, the amount of description is greatly increased by the narrative adding many new episodes, however, the narrative rather boldly excludes some existing descriptions. While *Okchunghwa* is concerned with rationality and thematic aspects in relation to the existing description, along with these two factors, *Ilsŏl* seems to eliminate or reduce descriptions that do not play a large role in the narrative flow, thereby reducing the scene-orientated characteristics of *p'ansori* and enhancing the narrativity where more actual events are recounted.

For example, in many editions, the lengthy description of the donkey's harness which Yi will ride in the scene of Yi going to Kwanghallu is followed by a long-winded description of Yi's costume. *Wanp'an 26* (1:6-2:4) and *Kobon-Ch'unhyang-chŏn* (9:5-19) both have very detailed descriptions of both the decoration of the donkey and Yi's outfit. *Okchunghwa* accommodates a lavish description of the donkey (4:5-9) but little on Yi's costume. *Ilsŏl*, on the other hand, does not adopt the description of the donkey at all, but it embraces almost all the description of Yi's clothes from the *Kobon-Ch'unhyang-chŏn* (*Ilsŏl* 423).

In the light of this comparison, it seems that the writer wanted to avoid excessive descriptions. This speculation is supported by other examples. The description of the table with drinks, bottles, and dishes, is dramatically reduced to nothing but "drink"

(444). The description of Ch'unhyang's room is also greatly reduced in length and is replaced with an expression closer to narration than description.

*Mongryōng sees the paintings on the four walls, looks at the letters posted on Changji on the wall, looks at the books and stationary on the stationary chest, sees the kōmungo standing in the corner of the upper part of the floor, sees the papered floor, touches the cushion he sits on, touches the hem of Ch'unhyang's skirt hanging on the wall, then sees Ch'unhyang sitting down shy and modest, and even though he tries to speak many times, the words will not come out, just when he is about to be unable to endure the tedium anymore, Wōlmae comes in, letting Sangdan take a drink table.*

*Putting the table in front of Yi, Wōlmae says, smiling, "Master, I am so surprised that you came to my house like this. Though there are no dishes to accompany the drink, please help yourself to a drink before you go." (443-444)*

As seen here, there is no description of precious bottles, drinks, and dishes, and no description of what is on the paintings on the walls. The discourse displays Yi's noticing the presence of things on the wall or in the room, as if the narrative respected the existing descriptions. Through this examination, it can be said that the writer wanted to cut down the length of excessive descriptions and to eliminate unnecessary ones, while weighing each description on the spectrum of importance regarding the plot.

I will now return to the issue of quantitative expansion, to examine this finding in a larger picture. As discussed, *Okchunghwa*'s quantitative expansion has been made in the direction of description and dialogue, mainly based on existing episodes, although it also creates a few new episodes.<sup>114</sup>

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114 For example, there are three episodes that are newly seen in *Okchunghwa*. One is when Yi's family goes to Sōul: Yi's parents send Ch'unhyang money and gifts (59). Secondly, when Ch'unhyang is imprisoned, widows come to comfort her (98-99, 5lines) and when Yi Ōsa officially appears as an inspector, the widows deliver him a petition for Ch'unhyang (174, line 5; 175-177; 178) and finally Wōlmae asks Yi Ōsa to forgive the new governor (183, 75%) and Yi Ōsa pardons him (185-186, 50%).

However, *Ilŏl* is different. *Ilŏl* is not only expanded in length but also in the width of the themes and issues, by the addition of plenty of sub episodes to the underlying episodes. While doing this, it also greatly reduces or removes existing description.

The writer attempts to expand its thematic scope by illuminating the lives of the secondary and peripheral characters, increasing their roles in the beginning of the work. In the first section, “Predestined Tie,” and the beginning of the second section, “Love,” there are no new episodes. However, in these sections, the narrator increases the role of Pangja, Wŏlmae and Nangch’ŏng (the governor’s guest who lives in the residence) by inserting small conversations into existing episodes without creating an independent and major event.

For instance, in “Love,” there is a scene where Nangch’ŏng and Governor Yi have a conversation on the evening when Yi and Ch’unhyang are secretly wed. This scene appears in many other editions. However, while other editions generally portray Nangch’ŏng as a parasitic houseguest,<sup>115</sup> *Ilŏl* reveals his individual characteristics by letting him speak of his personal life and difficult past in the conversation with Governor Yi. On the other hand, there are many newly made conversations in which Pangja and Wŏlmae join together or separately with the main characters.

This tendency of the narrator can be characterised as selective acceptance of the existing description, but it further shows that the expansion of the narrative dismantles the scene-centred narrative. The clearest example is the “Love” section, where the writer’s adaptation of this method is exercised independently and on a large scale. In

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These three are mainly composed of dialogue and description as in existing episodes, however, the amount they occupy in the entire narrative is insignificant as it accounts for only 4.4% (8.2 pages).

115 The character of Nangch’ŏng does not exist in *Wanp’an 26* and *Okchunghwa*.

previous editions, singing love-songs is the only event that takes place from the first night to the separation, and the duration is assumed to be about a year.

The love songs are long and short depending on the length of each edition. They illustrate that Yi and Ch'unhyang's love is deepened by presenting how they exchange sweet words and enjoy sexual intimacy. Other editions that appeared before *Ilsŏl* present one big picture with the love songs, to describe their happy life and the growing love between them (these results from the scene maximisation of *p'ansori*). However, *Ilsŏl* removes the big picture and replaces it with many small pictures in which little sweet incidents happen in reality, thereby it can show how they build their relationship as lovers, and as wife and husband in practical life. This attempt of the writer results in the dismantling the scene of love songs. Thus, the fundamental principle of structure of *p'ansori* narrative turns in the direction of narrative where actual events occur. This change demonstrates that the writer tries to change Ch'unhyang-narrative as a drama into more of a narrative, like a modern novel. In addition, by doing so, the writer is also able to introduce more realistic representation, to realise the nature of the couple's love which has been somewhat intangible in other editions.

The writer of *Ilsŏl*, who intended to modernise Ch'unhyang-narrative in the first place, seems to view the abundance of the description in the two works as overwhelming, and unfit for a modern novel. As a result, he removes or downsizes some descriptions which seem irrelevant and surplus to certain events and themes, and replaces some major scenes with many small-sized events. While the major scenes are structured to produce maximum effect for what the scene intends to convey, the new events are made up of concrete anecdotes about everyday life. By doing this, the scene-oriented structure of *p'ansori* narrative is dismantled, moving towards a more novelised narrative.

#### 4.4.3. Narrator

##### **Levels of Narrative**

I have argued that there were three levels of narrator in *Wanp'an 26* and two levels in *Okchunghwa*. In *Wanp'an 26*, the three levels are set for the three narrators: the narrator that recounts actual events as an omniscient narrator in a metadiegetic level; the narrator in the intradiegetic level that sets the time of the text and closes the narrative leaving a lesson with didactic comments; and the narrator in the extradiegetic level that exists as a transcending being whose voice appears the same as the first narrator but strikes up conversation with the narratee with identifiable phrases, often entering pseudo-reality.

In *Okchunghwa*, there were two levels in the narrative: the middle level of *Wanp'an 26*, the intradiegetic level, does not exist in *Okchunghwa*, the role which the narrator of the intradiegetic takes is not present. The (intra)diegetic level of *Okchunghwa* is applicable to the metadiegetic level of *Wanp'an 26*. Though both two narrators are omniscient and exterior, while the narrator of the *Wanp'an 26* is very conscious of its presence as a covert narrator, that of *Okchunghwa* freely exposes itself as authoritative and didactic. The extradiegetic level of *Okchunghwa* is applicable to the extradiegetic level of *Wanp'an 26*, however, they are distinct in nature. For example, the narrator of the extradiegetic level of the *Wanp'an 26* uses Chölla dialect while in *Okchunghwa* it uses standard language. Consequently, in the narrator of *Okchunghwa*, the characteristics of the narrator of the extradiegetic level of the *Wanp'an 26* remain so meagre that there is no need to establish a distinct narrator with such characteristics in *Okchunghwa*.

The narrator of the extradiegetic level of *Okchunghwa* suddenly transgresses from the diegetic to the extradiegetic, which is literally reality, and comments on the text itself,

passing judgement on motives of the text and other versions. This is related to the development of *p'ansori* narrative, and for this reason, I argued that the extradiegetic narrating voice was fused with the voice of the implied author and devised the extradiegetic level in both of the works to accommodate traits derived from *p'ansori* narrative in terms of 'narratorhood,' more specifically the trace of the *kwangdae*'s presence in *p'ansori* narrative. I found that this trait of the tangible presence of *kwangdae* shown in *Wanp'an 26* is fading away in *Okchunghwa* in the transitional circumstances from a performance-oriented narrative to a reading-oriented one.

With this change, I will examine how the *Ilsoŏl* deals with the narratorhood. Unlike the two works directly originated from *p'ansori sasŏl*, *Ilsoŏl* was written to meet the demand for modernised Ch'unhyang-narrative, which was publicly requested by the *Tonga-ilbo*. Under the circumstances, Yi Kwangsu must have aimed to rid Ch'unhyang-narrative of what he thought did not fit into modern narrative. What aspects did he consciously leave out? The first thing he wanted to remove from Ch'unhyang-narrative must have been the traits of *p'ansori*, and therefore the voice of *kwangdae*.

As expected, the two indicative phrases, 'look at someone or something' and 'see what one does' are not present at all, thus there are no traces of the narrator attempting to talk to the reader in the work. The narrator of *Ilsoŏl* does not transcend or cross any level of narrative, and does not argue about or comment on the text itself or any other versions outside the world of the work. It does not set a specific time background for the story in the beginning, nor does it leave a didactic lesson at the end.<sup>116</sup> Consequently, in *Ilsoŏl* there is one narrator and one narrative level.

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116 There is a discourse at the end of the text which is unrelated to the narrative level:

*From this time, kwangdaes of eight provinces composed a song for Ch'unhyang's fidelity and have sung it for hundreds of years. It is this book that the person named Ch'unwŏn wrote, having gathered songs of Ch'unhyang who is forever a woman of constancy. (524)*

The narrator of *Ilŏl* is omniscient, all-knowing and all-seeing, as an external narrator and focaliser. It does not restrict its capacity so that it can freely say what it observes and what major or minor characters say, think and feel. However, it does not judge characters' moral groundings or comment on non-narrative issues beyond the narrative level. In that sense, the implied writer is very conscious of technical issues in relation to focalisation and the stance of the narrator it chose.

#### 4.4.4. Focalisation

The most striking difference, compared to other editions including *Wanp'an 26* and *Okchunghwa*, is the way the narrative begins.

*“Oi Pangja!” shouted Mongryŏng. He sat blankly at a desk with an open book which he appeared to be reading and not reading at the same time. Deep in thought, he shouted out to Pangja.*

*“Yes sir” replied Pangja, who appeared to be a person of great humor. Shrugging his shoulders, Pangja ran in and stood in front of the library steps, politely bowing.*

*Mongryŏng abruptly opened the window, which had been left half closed to block the sunlight falling onto the table, as if it were bothering him, and said, “My boy, is there not anything worth seeing in your Namwŏn village?”*

(423)

*Ilŏl* thus opens the narrative by summoning a character in direct speech out of blue. Ch'unhyang-narrative editions before *Ilŏl* mostly include a type of introductory discourse, such as setting a temporal background (*Wanp'an 26*) or outlining Ch'unhyang's auspicious birth (*Okchunghwa*) at the very beginning of the narrative. In

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However, as it includes Ch'unwŏn, the real pen name of the writer, Yi Kwangsu, the discourse should be regarded as an epilogue, not as part of the narrative.

*Ilsŏl*, however, from the very beginning of the narrative the narrator enters straight into the main narrative level and locates the reader in the middle of nowhere providing no information or reference. This shows that Yi Kwangsu was determined to surpass the frame of old narrative (traditional Korean narrative) and transform the Ch'unhyang-narratives which were circulated at that time such as *Okchunghwa* or *Wanp'an* 84 into a modern narrative, specifically in a novel form. This also shows that, though it is not certain how acutely the writer is familiar with techniques of modern novel writing, he seems to have already known the techniques of modern Western literature at least to some extent.

The following contrasting examples demonstrate the narrator's cautious stance in relation to focalisation. The first is the description of Ch'unhyang swinging in *Wanp'an* 26.

*Looking over a place full of blooming flowers. A beautiful lady, intending to swing, hangs long ropes twisted in five colour silk threads up on a high branch of a peach tree. She takes off her green brocade jacket and her skirt of crimson red Chinese silk and throws them on a rock. She grasps the two ropes of the swing in her dainty hands, lightly climbs on to it with her feet in white- silk socks and pushes the swing. On one push and another push she soars into the air playing peach blossom in full bloom on high branches. Her braided hair is released by itself like a cloud. The hairpin with silver engraved bamboo nodes and gold Phoenix falls on the coloured pavilion, her costume is blown by the wind, and the sound of the jade falling is stunning. The appearance of her coming and going on the swing seems like the king of the Qin Dynasty riding a crane to ascend to heaven and the fairy riding in the clouds to arrive at Yangtai. She is so lovely that she seems not to belong to this world. (Wanp'an 26, 3)*

The following is the description of the same scene in *Ilsŏl*.

Mongryǒng saw three or four of young ladies dressed in green and red swinging on the swings under an old willow-tree on the other side of Magpie Bridge across the path. As their skirts fluttered the tips of their hair ribbons rolled forward and hit the branch behind, and rolled back and hit the branch in front, the trembling leaves gleaming in the sun.

*It was not the first time that Mongryǒng had seen young ladies playing on swings, but he realised that he felt unsettled. Moreover, among the ladies who were swinging, a lady in a pink skirt and yellow jacket strangely attracted Mongryǒng's heart. As the distance was too far to see her face, her figure was extraordinarily beautiful among them. (425, emphasis added)*

The scene of Ch'unhyang swinging is depicted in great length in *Wanp'an 26* (3, 1-10 lines). *Okchunghwa* and *Kobon-Ch'unhyang-chǒn* not only accept most of the description in *Wanp'an 26* but give even longer descriptions.<sup>117</sup> In *Ilŏl*, however, the description is greatly reduced. As discussed in the previous section, in *Ilŏl* the narrative boldly excludes descriptions that are considered irrelevant to actual events, selectively accepting existing descriptions. However, the reduction of this scene in *Ilŏl* is not related to its importance or relevance to the actual events or the narrative but to focalisation.

If the discourse cited from *Wanp'an 26* above is compared to a film, Ch'unhyang's swinging scene is shot with a mixture of long and short shots, and presented in much slower motion. In the first sentence of the example above, though the subject who is taking the action of 'looking' is omitted,<sup>118</sup> according to the context it must be Yi, so he is the focaliser. The external focaliser (and narrator at the same time) narrates and sees what character-bound focaliser, Yi Mongryǒng (CF(M)), sees (EF1[npCF2(M)]). In

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117 The length of the description of Ch'unhyang swinging in *Okchunghwa* (6) is more than twice as long as *Wanp'an 26* and it is in *Kobon-Ch'unhyang-chǒn* (160-161) more than four times as long as *Wanp'an 26*.

118 In general, it is common to omit a subject in a sentence in the narrative, especially in colloquial usages.

reality, watching from a distance, Yi is unable to see whether Ch'unhyang's clothes are made silk or whether she is wearing a hairpin, let alone what is engraved on it.

The narrator of *Ilseol* takes a note of this issue and clears the odds of confusion or ambiguity of focalisation in advance, saying "*Mongryŏng saw.*" The narrator avoids existing descriptions which exceed the focalisor's visual scope, tacitly explaining the reason the scene cannot be described further by saying, "*As the distance is too far to see her face.*" In this sense, the description of *Ilseol* is certainly more applicable to reality, as Yi's eyes cannot be a camera lens which can zoom in on the scene in *Wanp'an 26*. This does not only explain the reason for the decrease in length, but also shows that the writer is very conscious of the focalisation issue.

This little change epitomises the difference which the writer wants to create in *Ilseol* in comparison to other editions. The writer seems to want more realistic and novel-like representation, with more elaborated adaption of modern technical devices like focalisation. The narrator of *Ilseol* is an external, omniscient narrator, and freely tells what it can see and learn from characters and situations with its power as an all-knowing narrator. It also tells what character-bound focalisors can see and feel. However, the narrator is careful with who is focalising and does not cross or transcend a boundary of the narrative. In that sense, the narrator of *Ilseol* is closest to a narrator in modern novels in which the narrator is external and omniscient.

#### 4.4.5. Conclusion

To conclude, in this section on *Ilseol*, three issues have been discussed in comparison to *Wanp'an 26* and *Okchunghwa*. Firstly, *Ilseol* has been examined with regard to narrative time. The numeric comparisons between the three works demonstrate that regardless of

difference in length and time of their appearances, Ch'unhyang-narrative maintains its early narrative structure on the base of narrative time and scenes. It also indicates that Kim Hŭngkyu's principle of scene maximisation remains a principle constitution of characteristics of the narrative, but when it comes to *Ilŏl*, the principle becomes challenged with the aim of the modernisation of Ch'unhyang-narrative. The clarity of the temporal relationship between events becomes more pronounced in later works since the examination shows that *Okchunghwa* is better than *Wanp'an 26* and *Ilŏl* is better than *Okchunghwa* in this respect. Concerning the way of dealing time gaps which refer to rather long periods between major events, *Ilŏl* exhibits an approach distinct from *Wanp'an 26* and *Okchunghwa*. *Wanp'an 26* mainly fills the gaps with songs and interior monologues, expressing soaring emotions of happiness and sorrow, and *Okchunghwa* does likewise. On the other hand, *Ilŏl* fills the gap with many anecdotes in which actual incidents can occur in real life. As a result, the first two works retain the fluctuating rhythm of narrative time, in which narrative time passes considerably slowly in main events and passes extremely quickly for the rest. On the other hand, in *Ilŏl* the rhythm is made steadier, since the presence of many events does not only give the impression that their being recounted one by one takes time, but also it takes up time and space in the text in a real sense. This situation results in weakening the effect of scene maximisation.

Secondly, the way *Ilŏl* deals with description in relation to the narrating act has been studied. The writer eliminates or diminishes the amount of description and replaces it with a series of events in which actual incidents are recounted. In this way, the sequence of the events could have more plausibility or feasibility, thus build up well-organised plot. However, in doing this, *Ilŏl* tries to deconstruct the foundational principle of

*p'ansori* narrative, scene maximisation, and transform the dramatic structure of *p'ansori* narrative to a novel-like narrative.

Lastly, the nature of the narrator of *Ilsoŭl* is discussed along with issues of narrative levels and focalisation. The (implied) author does not let the narrator retain a human-like attitude (like the narrators who speak in dialect, strike conversation with the reader, or talk about other editions, as in *Wanp'an 26* and *Okchunghwa*). Consequently, the narrator perfectly becomes a function, as Bal calls a narrator *it* (2009, 15), and the narrator does not cross or transcend narrative levels. Accordingly, there are no multiple narrators, nor are there multiple narrative levels. The author is also very conscious of the issue of focalisation, and clears away some of the ambiguous focalisation that occurred in the previous editions. The narrator of *Ilsoŭl* is an exterior omniscient narrator and focalisor, hence it freely tells the reader about feelings and thoughts of all characters using its full power. Therefore, the narrator of *Ilsoŭl* seems much more talkative, but it remains as a function, which only plays a role of narrator.

The process of this phased change from *Wanp'an 26* and *Okchunghwa* to *Ilsoŭl* exemplifies what paths *p'ansori* narrative should go through to arrive at the modern novel. For Yi Kwangsu, one of the most essential tasks for the project of the modernisation of *p'ansori* narrative was to trim the abundant descriptive narration, thereby doing away with scene maximisation. Another essential task is to silence the voice of the *kwangdae* that speaks in Chŏlla dialect, unexpectedly addresses the reader and justifies a certain course of its own discourse, commenting on why other editions of Ch'unhyang-narrative were wrong on certain issues. However, it is hard to say whether Yi Kwangsu successfully transformed Ch'unhyang-narrative in to a modern novel as he adopted the latter half of the work from existing versions. It also remains a question whether it is desirable to dismantle the structure of *p'ansori* narrative as *Ilsoŭl* did.

## 5. Rethinking Modernity with Ch'unhyang-chŏn: the colloquial

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first discusses modernity in Korean history and views on Ch'unhyang-chŏn in the transitional era from pre-modern to modern at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. The second part discusses a characteristic of Ch'unhyang-chŏn which can be considered both a limitation of it, and as having contributed to the formation of the modern novel in Korean.

### 5.1. From Early Modernity in Korean Society to Views on Pre-modern Novels

This research focuses on investigating the interface between pre-modern and modern Korean literature by following the huge stream of Ch'unhyang narrative. Numerous scholars have struggled to establish the identity of modern Korean literature and modern novels in Korean. Encountering the issue of tradition in relation to modern literature, scholars trying to define Korean modern literature have not been able to free themselves from Im Hwa's theory of the "transplantation of modern literature." Thus, even before the interface between modern and traditional literature could be properly considered, the concept of modernity in Korean literature stagnated.

In Chapter 2, I outlined modernity as the constituent of the following elements: distrust of tradition and favouring autonomous reason, faith in inevitable social, scientific and technological progress, movement toward capitalism and the market economy from feudalism, the development of the nation-state and its constituent institutions, and the prioritization of individualism, freedom and formal equality.

While the West underwent modernisation, formed by different mixtures of these elements, Korea still maintained a dynastic royal system, the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1910), that had governed Korea with its firmly established political ideology of Neo-Confucianism for over 500 years. Under the circumstances, modernisation alone would have been a perplexing task for the Korean people to understand or undertake. However, colonialism posed an additional confounding problem, which exerted a significant impact on the formation of modernity in Korea.

Understanding Korea's modernisation has to be based on an awareness of the circumstances in which it took place; the transformation into modern society did not arise autonomously but was distorted by foreign intervention from the late 19th century onward and Japanese colonial rule in the early 20th century. The development of modern society is premised on the emergence of capitalism and the formation of the civil class. In the late Chosŏn Dynasty, capitalism emerged in its nascent stage and civil classes began to form. However, indigenous capitalism and civil classes died on the vine as they lost the nation, the very existence of which was also crucial for modernity, as the ground where the civil class could grow and operate capitalist activities (Yi Chunsik 2014, 32).

Yi Chunsik argues that after the opening of the ports<sup>119</sup> in 1876, a “dichotomous way of thinking about modernity and pre-modernity was prevalent . . . Western modernity was a paradigm of civilization” and “the Korean pre-modern period was conceived of as one of barbarism and an object to be dispelled.” He goes on to say that since the Korea-Japan Annexation Treaty (1910), the idea of attaining modernity

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119 Treaty of Kanghwa Island (1876) was the first forced treaty by Japan to open the ports.

through modern Japan became more common, “however, little is known about whether modernity in Japan was actually pre-modern or anti-modern” (Ibid.).

This situation was also the case with literature. Just as the concept of modernity should be established on continuity and succession by the inherent logic of the society and through the ordinary institutional structuring process during the formation of the modern nation state, the concept of modern literature should also be formed through the inherent logic of culture and the history of the society. However, due to colonisation, modern literature in Korea developed based on disconnection and discontinuity in the context of losing the nation. All the while, the nation is itself the very object and institution of the conceptualization of modern literature. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a salient and turbulent transition period in Korean history, Korean literary criticism drifted back and forth from the heritage of traditional literature and modern literature from the West, facing the demands of a newly conceptualised quintessence of literature. However, it eventually failed to demonstrate the autonomously subjective and creative competency in a dialectic synthesis of the two entities. As a result, the native traditional literature of Korea was denied, whilst Western modern literature which was refracted through colonial Japan was accepted and was assumed as mainstream literature.

Under such circumstances, pre-modern novels, particularly those written in the vernacular language, Hangŭl, became objects of neglect and contempt. Confucian scholars such as Chang Chiyŏn, Pak Ŭnsik and Shin Ch’aeho accused the pre-modern Hangŭl novel of harming everyday customs. However, they also highlighted the potential of novels as a valuable medium from the view of Enlightenment.

Pak Ŭnsik (1979) condemned the Hangŭl novel in the prologue to *Sŏsagŏnguk-sŏ* in 1907.

*There are no exemplary works among novels transmitted in our country . . . Hangŭl novels . . . are popular on the streets and provide spiritual nourishment to ordinary people. However, this is all absurd, unfounded, and obscene, making people's minds dissipated and breaking down proper customs. . . the harm is not small. (Pak Ŭnsik 1979, 197)*

Shin Ch'aeho also argues in the *Taehanmail-sinbo* newspaper that the contents of pre-modern novels were the cause of the depravity of customs.

*More than half of the pre-modern Korean novels are weird stories, lascivious accounts of the mulberry fields and the blessings of the Buddha and prayers for fortune. These are also what destroy the minds of men and proper customs. (11<sup>th</sup> July 1908)*

With the exception of Shin Ch'aeho, Chang Chiyŏn and Pak Ŭnsik conducted their writing of history and biographies in a style which primarily used Chinese characters, while Hangŭl was auxiliary, which strongly implied their intention for patriotic enlightenment. As a result, their literary activities were far from modern literature, as well as their intention to enlighten the public.

Korean literature came to the notion of the novel in a broad meaning, with the outline of the genre in place by around the 1900s, and reaching something similar to that of the Western concept of the novel through the process of gradually reducing the breadth of the meaning into the mid-1930s (Kim Yŏngmin 2006, 34-58). In the midst of this, it was Yi Kwangsu who first delved into the concept of literature in Korea in the form of modern criticism. He defined literature based on Western literary concepts and practice in his work "What is Literature"? (*Munhakiran Hao?*). In 1916 he wrote, "[I] translated the term literatur or literature of the West into the term 'Munhak'" (2011 a, 547). He goes on to define this term:

*Literature refers to what expresses human thoughts and feelings under a specified form. (Ibid.)*

It is a simple statement, but sought to approach the quintessence of literature, and was quite unlike the perspective from which literature had been viewed up to that time, as an instrument of enlightenment. Yi Kwangsu also discussed the issue of form:

*As for the specified form, there are two types. One is what is written by letter, thus the oral novel cannot be called literature, and one can call it literature only after it is written. The other is the forms of literature such as poetry, novel, drama, criticism. However, even if written, if the writings are written without structure, simply following the pen where it goes, they cannot be called literature. Thoughts and emotions mean the contents . . .*  
(Ibid., 547-548)

The form of literature he describes is a genre distinction between literature and simply recording in writing as a means of expression. In the distinction of genre, he only introduces types of genre from Western literature, and he does not yet have the epistemological logic of the distinction of the genre. However, based on his perception of genre, he goes a step further and defines the novel. He now states that novels are not “simple, light and worthless” like a “joke” or “story,” but that they are “what opens up the world within the imagination of the author in earnest, and makes the reader feel as if they are in reality in the world by describing an aspect of life in a precise and accurate way” (Ibid., 551-552). He refers here to description in relation to the novel technique, and recognises that the role of description is to provide the reader with a sense of reality. However, he cannot yet reach an understanding of how description relates to literary devices and contributes to the literary manifestation of the literary truth independent of convention.

As such, Yi Kwangsu defines the concept of literature for the first time in Korea as a translation of Western “literature,” and presents genre analysis that was established in the West, based on his limited understanding of modern literature through

superficial encounters in Japan as a colonial student. Yi therefore views Korean traditional literature as a strange, heterogeneous entity, and does not acknowledge it as literature. He declares, in 1916:

*Chosŏn literature has only the future, the past does not exist. Thus I hope that a great genius will emerge to pioneer the desolate Chosŏn literature, where human footsteps have not yet trod.* (Yi K. 2011 a, 555, emphasis added)

In 1918, he also said in *The Gleam of the Restoration* (Puhwalŭi Sŏkwang)<sup>120</sup>: “In the past, there was no art that could be considered literary. . . . . There was no Chosŏn poetry, no novels, no drama.” (2011 b, 25). In this way, Yi judged Korean traditional literature based on a Western concept of literature.

Yi Kwangsu was not only the first Korean modern literary critic to present the concept of literature based on Western modern literature, he was also the author of *Mujŏng* and went on to write *Ilŏl Ch’unhyang-chŏn* which has been discussed here at length. Yi once strongly insisted that “the oral novel cannot be called literature” and that “one can call it literature only after it has been written” (2011 a, 547). Therefore, he cannot have regarded *p’ansori* narrative, including *Ch’unhyang-chŏn*, as literature, since its text is not firmly fixed by one original author but exists in numerous versions. But he was attracted enough to *Ch’unhyang-chŏn* to want to write a “modern” version of it himself. Yi wrote:

*Ch’unhyang-ka and Simch’ŏng-chŏn may be called opera, but they are also primitive, legendary, playful and never artistic. Ch’unhyang-ka and Simch’ŏng-ka, which are the librettos of the opera, are legends, and are not works of art. These legends are indeed legends of the Korean people, that have come into contact with the lives of Koreans, but they are not works of art, as they are only legendary materials until they are moulded*

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120 First published in *Ch’ŏngch’un*, in March 1918.

*in the hands of an artist. Moreover, the way they are performed is also not artistic.* (2011 b, 26, emphasis added)

Here we see Yi Kwangsu also expressing a fundamental distrust in the manner of the performance of *p'ansori* and devaluing it, saying that Ch'unhyang-chŏn and Simch'ŏng-chŏn should be regarded as primitive entertainment or legend until rewritten by a modern artist.

## 5.2. Ch'unhyang-chŏn and Modernity - in relation to the colloquial style

### 5.2.1. Modernity and the Concordance of Spoken and Written Language

In this chapter, we have gradually narrowed down our view from the modernity of Korean history to the concept of modern literature, the novel and finally to Ch'unhyang-chŏn with the aim of understanding the status of Ch'unhyang-chŏn when modern waves were sweeping through Korea. In this unsettled environment, during the process of the conceptualisation of literature pre-modern literature and Ch'unhyang-chŏn lost their place and became objects of negation and liquidation. In the meantime, Yi Kwangsu, wrote *Ilsoŭl* in 1925 in order to recreate Ch'unhyang-chŏn as a 'proper novel' and 'proper art,' becoming himself the 'artist' and timely 'great genius' he believed this task required. While so doing, he tried to eliminate the non-modern elements of Ch'unhyang-chŏn, which he intended to rebut in the framework of modern literature he conjectured.

Yi's stance gives rise to many questions. What elements in Ch'unhyang-chŏn did he regard as non-modern? Were the elements he sought to eliminate indeed non-modern, and if so, could they be represented as a difference between the modern and

non-modern? Based on my examination of *Ilŏl* in the previous chapter, what I found Yi did most clearly was to eliminate or change the characteristics of the *p'ansori* narrative, and try to transform the narrative to appear more like the form of the novel he conjectured. Moreover, this tendency was detected only in the first half of the work, which can be said to have been passed through his hand in practice, since the second half mainly comes from the two existing editions. This clearly indicates that he conceived of the distinctiveness of the *p'ansori* narrative as non-modern narrative.

Another thing that is surely different from the preceding editions of Ch'unhyang-chŏn is the change in its appearance. Most critics agree that *Ilŏl* was dressed up in a “modern style” (Yu Sŭnghwan 2014, 317). The term “modern style” is used here to refer to the new look coming from a series of attributes, such as elimination and modification of Hanmun expressions and phrases including reference to Chinese legend and history; usage of vernacular language; quotation marks; ‘*öt/at*’, ‘*왔/왔*’, as past tense; ‘*-ta*’, ‘*-다*’, as a sentence-closing predicative ending; and use of the third person pronouns, ‘*kŭ/kŭnyŏ*’ (he/she). This discussion should be followed by further research, but since it is beyond the scope of this study, I will briefly touch on this topic with regard to the influence of Ch'unhyang-chŏn on the modern writing style of Korean literature.

It is easy to agree that Ch'unhyang-chŏn was modernised through *Ilŏl* due to these changes in terms of the modification of its appearance. However, if we turn this around and say that the lack of such surface modifications in previous versions renders them non-modern, the statement becomes unjustifiable. There is more to modernity in literature than the orthographical and linguistic changes introduced in *Ilŏl*.

As for modern orthography, efforts to unify Hangŭl orthography began in November 1894. Under the jurisdiction of the Japanese colonial Chosŏn Governor-

General, the “Unified Hangŭl Orthography for Elementary Schools” (*Pot’onghakkyoyong Ŏnmun Ch’ŏlchabop*) was enacted in 1912, marking the first systematic arrangement of Hangŭl orthography. However, full-fledged Hangŭl orthography, including grammar and punctuation was only established with the announcement of the “Draft for Unified Hangŭl Orthography” (*Hangŭl-Match’umbop T’ongilan*) on October 29, 1933, under the leadership of the Korean Language Society (*Chosŏn Ŏhakhŏi*). Therefore, the Hangŭl orthography had not yet been established until the time of *Okchunghwa*.

Therefore, it is anachronistic to consider Ch’unhyang-chŏn editions which appeared before 1912 non-modern simply because they were not written following systematized Hangŭl orthography. Neither is it logical to refer to *Ilŏl* as modern just because it was. By 1925 when *Ilŏl* appeared, there had already been considerable improvement in the orthography system. Critics would not call *Ilŏl* a modern novel just because it used contemporary spelling and punctuation. However, since orthography makes a great change visually and has a major impact on our perceptions, works that do not follow modern orthography can be easily considered as pre-modern purely for this reason. My perspective is more concerned with the unfairness traditional works face in relation to orthography than on criticism of *Ilŏl*. Therefore, the attitude of judging *Ilŏl* and works preceding it as modern or non-modern based solely on the presence of systematic orthography should be avoided.

The focal point of this discussion regarding the appearance of Ch’unhyang-chŏn writing is the question of the concordance of spoken and written language. It is a well-established fact that one of the most important factors for which *Mujŏng* was regarded as modern was its achievement of concordance between spoken and written language

for the first time in Korean literature. This tendency in academia is a good place to begin our discussion in relation to modernity in Ch'unhyang-chon.

Around the 1900s, modern Korean writing went through a painstaking transition from the style of Hanmun to the vernacular writing of Hangŭl. As for modern writing, it will take the example of newspapers, which are generally regarded as the most open but exemplary writing form in relation to the question of usage of language and writing medium. Pae Such'an (2008, 223-226) conducted a study on the editorials published in seven newspapers, including the *Hwangsŏng-Sinmun*, *Daehan-Mail-Sinbo*, and *Mansebo*. He regards the years from 1896 to 1910 as the formative era of the editorial, and examines the form in which it is written. Bae surmised that at that time, there was no consensus on what type of model sentence could be adopted for writing editorials in relation to the usage of Hanmun and vernacular language. The editorials he analysed exhibited utter confusion with regard to writing style due to the editorialists' disparate educational backgrounds and preoccupations. They were divided into two groups: Hangŭl-only policy and Hanmun group. The former was centred around intellectuals from a Western educational background, and the latter was those from the traditional educational background. The two groups developed their own ways, and there was a sense of apathy between them.

However, writing in both ways had to go through a strenuous and baffling process (Ibid., 226-237). In the case of the Hangŭl-only style, it began at a childlike level, where sentences were simple, each only consisting of one subject and one predicate, based on colloquial language. The language of the Hangŭl only policy group, such as in the *Tongnip-sinmun*, was colloquial, however, it failed to attract readers from various background as the language was actually too unrefined to be easily understood. As to the Hanmun group, it presented a mixed style of Hanmun and Hangŭl called

*Ŏchŏl-Hyŏnt'osik-Kukhanmunch'e*. This was far from the medieval Chinese sentence and changed the word orders of Classical Chinese sentence structure in order to fit in Korean word-order. In *Ŏchŏl-Hyŏnt'osik-Kukhanmunch'e* Hanja were used for lexical roots, and Hangŭl for grammatical words such as postpositional particles and inflections. The Hangŭl-only style based on colloquialism had a tough competition with the Hanmun group, and eventually disappeared after 1910, being absorbed into the mixed style of Hanmun and Hangŭl.

Bae's study demonstrates the arduous and complex process of reaching a Hangŭl-style based on colloquialism. In the literary sphere, however, the process began much earlier. Writing only in Hangŭl had already been experimented with in pre-modern novels. The first novel in Hangŭl, *Hong-Kiltong-chŏn* (Tale of Hong Kiltong) by Hŏ Kyun (1569-1618), appeared in the 16th century, after Kim Sisŭp (1435-1493) had written Korea's first novel, *Kŭmoshinhwa* (New Stories from Golden Turtle Mountain) in Hanmun. In the 16th century, as the readership expanded, pre-modern novels crossed between Hangŭl and Hanmun for their writing medium. This phenomenon became much more active in the 17th century, "the era of novels" (Chŏng Ch'ulhŏn 2003, 173).

Popular Chinese novels were introduced, adapted or/and translated into Hanmun or Hangŭl, and works originally written in Hanmun by unnamed Korean writers were converted into Hangŭl, such as *Ch'oe Koun-chŏn* (Tale of Ch'oe Koun), and vice versa, as in *Pŏnsŏlgyŏng-chŏn* (The Translated Tale of Sŏlgyŏng) (Ibid., 168). In addition, there were also works showing multi-stage transformation. Kim Manchung's (1637-1692) *Sassinamjŏnggi* (Record of Lady Sa's Journey South) was originally written in Hangŭl, translated into Hanmun, then translated back into Hangŭl.

As the writing medium for newspapers went through a frustrating process to finally reach a consensus in the early 20th century, writers and translators of pre-modern novels must also have had deep concerns about style and expression when transitions in the writing medium occurred or when they chose between Hangŭl and Hanmun for their works. An examination of the changing structures in these two media from a stylistic perspective would provide a significant preliminary work for assessing the contribution of pre-modern novels to the development of modern Korean novels. Unfortunately, this is beyond the scope of this research limited to Ch'unhyang-chŏn, itself a huge corpus of diverse texts. Before moving on to discuss Ch'unhyang-chŏn in this context, we should take a brief look at the case of novel writing in colloquial style in Japanese.

Japan was the first East Asian country to go through the process of transition from the disintegration of Classical Chinese to the native (or vernacular) language as it was the first to delve into coping with the modernity of the West. Authors of Japanese modern literature had great difficulty in establishing a colloquial writing style in their native language. Tsubouchi Shōyō (1859-1935), a leading figure in Japanese modern literature, first tried to write novels in colloquial language in Japan. In "*Kamkkokchi*" (1933) he called the early days of the movement of concordance of colloquial and written language around the 20th year of Meiji (1887) the "painful era of expression." Futabatei Shimei (1864-1909), who was inspired by Shōyō, wrote the first Japanese novel in colloquial style, *The Drifting Cloud (Ukigumo)* (1887-1889), but he stopped before completing the work since he suffered tremendously from the experience of not being able to express a new idea in a colloquial style. Looking back on the period when he was writing *The Drifting Cloud*, in *My Origin of Concordance of Colloquial and Written Language*, he wrote, "I could not write even one sentence" (1906).

Tsubouchi Shōyō and Futabatei Shimei were unable to capture the new form of writing to express new ideas in colloquial style, and both ended up deciding to stop writing a novel (An Yōunghŭi 2011, 125-6). In the end, concordance of colloquial and written language in Japanese modern literature was established in the 40th year of Meiji (1907), through an arduous process that took twenty years (Ibid., 157).

These two cases demonstrate how perplexing the transitional process from Hanmun style to colloquial was. Aside from Yi Kwangsu, another writer considered to have played a major role in colloquial style was Kim Tongin. Kim argued that Yi presented an incomplete colloquial style. An Yōunghŭi (Ibid., 148-157) contends that writing in a style where colloquial and written language were in accordance came to fruition in Kim Tongin's works, and through the literary magazine *Ch'angjo* (Creation),<sup>121</sup> in which his works were published. Kim Tongin also discussed stylism in the modern novel in detail in his "Novel Writing" (*Sosŏl Chakpŏb*).

The issue of writing in colloquial style in modern novels was complicated in Korea by the process of translation of European and Japanese works into Korean. This was not an issue isolated only to Korea. East-Asian countries, which shared the culture of writing in Chinese Characters, faced the same challenge as Japan when they encountered Western literature. In fact, when Kim Tongin first conceived of a novel, he would plan it in Japanese and then write it in Korean. He reminisced on the difficulty of his writing process in 1948 in "The Trace of 30 years of the Literary Circle" (*Mundan 30nyŏnŭi Chach'oe*):

*All the novels that I had envisioned in my mind alone in the past were what I imagined in Japanese, and I was stuck when I sat in front of my desk to write in Korean. (Kim Ch'ihong 1980, 434)*

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121 This magazine was published every three months for 28 months, from 1 February 1919 to 30 May, 1921.

The general consensus is that the great achievement of Yi Kwangsu and Kim Tongin in terms of the writing style in colloquial language was the introduction of the closed ending of predicative part, ‘-ta’, ‘-다’; past tense, ‘-ssta’, ‘ㅆ다’; and the third-person pronouns, ‘kũ/kũnyŏ’, ‘그/그녀’. Kim Tongin said that he referred to Japanese for their introduction. Yi and Kim did create decisive modern words and grammatical devices, able to deal with the issues in the Korean sentence structure that they found while translating European languages and Japanese into Korean. However, considering the history of Hanmun culture in mainstream texts and literary activities for more than a millennium, it would have not been possible to solve the problems raised concerning writing in colloquial language merely with the introduction of ‘-ta’, ‘ssta’ and ‘kũ/kũnyŏ,’ without the tradition of the pre-modern Korean novels written in vernacular language.

Writing in colloquial style cannot be suddenly devised by a genius or two. The examples of the editorials of the leading newspapers and the two pioneering Japanese modern writers sufficiently demonstrate that it was a great challenge, indeed a kind of revolution in language. Yi Kwangsu and Kim Tongin may be considered to have completed the task of colloquialism, but the colloquial performance of pre-modern Hangŭl novels was undoubtedly a launch pad for their producing such achievements. Until now, however, Korean literary critics have underestimated the achievements of the pre-modern Hangŭl novels in connection with the concordance of written and colloquial language of Korean modern novels and little research has been done on the issue. Discussions on writing in colloquial language regarding Korean modern novels should begin with pre-modern Hangŭl novels which have been left as a tangible entity through literary action in vernacular language.

In this sense, the value of *p'ansori* novels is significant. A considerable number of the novels enjoyed in Chosŏn were novels imported from China. Also, many of the novels written by Koreans were related to Chinese novels in terms of form and content, including their setting. In *p'ansori*, on the other hand, Koreans performed in their indigenous language, dealing with the reality of Korea against the backdrop of Korea, and these *p'ansori* were turned into novels. Among pre-modern narratives, there is none which is based on oral tradition as much as *p'ansori*. Therefore, *p'ansori* is an important source of tracing the process of completing the style in concordance of written and spoken language in Korean literature.

#### 5.2.2. Ch'unhyang-chŏn and Concordance of Spoken and Written Language

In order to glimpse the role of Ch'unhyang-chŏn as a *p'ansori* narrative in connection with colloquial language, and thus the modern novel, this section will examine one small part of the narrative. Appendix 5 (pp.350-357) presents the same scene from three versions: *Wanp'an 26*, *Okchunghwa* and *Ilsŏl*. The scene begins with Yi Toryŏng commanding Pangja to fetch Ch'unhyang to him, and ends with Ch'unhyang's refusal. The aim of this comparison is to see how the three versions realise colloquialism.

Written in 1850/80, 1912, and 1925 respectively, the three works appeared at considerable intervals, but all of them can be considered to have substantially realized colloquialism. However, when comparing the three, it is difficult to judge whether *Ilsŏl* is more colloquial than the other two. In fact, it is hard to know how people contemporary to the time would have talked, moreover, the judgment could be quite

arbitrary. When focusing on conversation, however, *Wanp'an 26* appears to be the closest to colloquialism.

*Ilsöl* is also colloquial, but it is less vigorous than the other two. Conversation progresses calmly and slowly compared to the other two works, and gives the impression of having been filtered while being transformed from spoken word to writing. Moreover, it is hard to find a phrase in *Ilsöl* that is not normally used in writing or too colloquial to write. *Ilsöl* also tends to have less intensity and immediacy of conversations as all the dialogue is much longer than the other two, and the narrator intervenes at length between the dialogues. As a result, *Ilsöl* seems to lose a little vigour in the realisation of colloquialism.

In *Wanp'an 26*, compared to the other two editions, actual conversation proceeds a little too fast, so that tension between the dialogues is maintained, but leaving the reader unsatisfied, wanting to hear more. This is pronounced further by minimal narration and orthography. There are no sentence endings, as the predicative ending 'ta' has not yet come into being and there is no punctuation, including full stops, thus the flow never breaks except when the page must be turned. This gives conversation a sense of immediacy and reality as it is carried out without any pause.

There is also dialect depicted in *Wanp'an 26* (which does not feature in *Ilsöl*) so the local colour becomes clear, reinforcing the colloquial feeling in the text. The word of exclamation, "Attata," uttered by Pangja is Chölla province dialect, used to ask or recommend something to the listener: "Attata, --- please don't refuse to go to master Yi, let's go to him quickly" (*Wanp'an 26*, 5). Using such common spoken language gives the impression that the actual conversation has been placed in the work.

The style of *Okchunghwa* also realises remarkable reproduction of the spoken language. Unlike *Wanp'an 26*, however, *Okchunghwa* uses a number of Classical

Chinese phrases, including stock imagery made up of Chinese characters and references to Chinese people and things, which are all written in Hanmun and Hangŭl side by side. In *Ilŏl*, these Chinese phrases are almost disassembled or minimised in the vernacular language, and references to Chinese people or objects are often omitted. Furthermore, the first half *Ilŏl* is principally written in Hangŭl, while in the second half there are numerous instances of Hangŭl and Hanmun being written side by side. It is understood that Yi had little choice but to retain the Hanmun as a large portion of the second half was taken from previous versions. The example in Appendix 6 (p.358), taken from the beginning part of the first half of the narrative, shows that Chinese references are eliminated but their meanings are retained.

Apart from the issues related to expressions in classical Chinese, however, *Okchunghwa* demonstrates almost perfect colloquialisms. In fact, one reason for the depreciation of *p'ansori* narrative's contribution to the colloquial style of the modern Korean novel is the fact that various editions of Ch'unhyang-chŏn contain parts which are written heavily in Hanmun using numerous Chinese references. Hanmun expressions are presented in both *p'ansori*-strand editions like *Wanp'an 84*, and non-*p'ansori* strand editions like *Namwŏn-kosa*-strand editions.

Colloquial style and Hanmun phrases seem to be incompatible with each other. However, Ch'unhyang-chŏn made it compatible to meet the demands of the age when it was conceived and by so doing was able to draw readers of all classes. One reason Ch'unhyang-chŏn had to use Hanmun expressions must have been the difficulty of verbalising human emotions and thoughts in writing with only vernacular language. The period when *p'ansori* was created corresponds to the time at which the buds of modernity were seen in Korean society in various fields; as seen in the era of King Chongjo, discussed in the section dealing with *Munch'ebanjŏng*. However, to put it

rather simply, since writing medium is one of the most conservative cultural products, the ruling class stubbornly maintained Hanmun culture until the 1900s based on the thoroughly Confucian worldview of the Chosŏn Dynasty, seeking to maintain their dominance in society.

Hangŭl had been treated as inferior since its invention in the 15th century, considered the preserve of women, the pre-modern novel as a peripheral literary genre, and persecuted Catholics. In this way, fostering writing culture in the vernacular and colloquial language was bound to be largely left to the marginalised, who were outside the mainstream of classical Chinese culture. Under such circumstances, excluded from the intellectual culture, Hangŭl writing had serious limitations in employing mature and rich expressions.

Therefore, it is reasonable to speculate that although the style of *p'ansori* novels would have benefited from previous vernacular novels, *p'ansori* novels' stylistic experimentation was also a difficult journey, due to its origin in oral tradition. Since *p'ansori* was first performed in the form of a playful show on the street and in open markets, it must have been colloquial. In addition, the subjects and objects of the play were also commoners and people of the lowest stratum. Therefore, in its early stages, *p'ansori* would have been constituted of very basic language. However, *p'ansori* had to bring up Chinese phrases and references at certain points when it extended in length and needed to enhance its literary quality.

With the development of *p'ansori*, scenes and episodes were extended, followed by elaborate coordination between music and language. Also, under the principle of scene maximisation, it was necessary to be able to express the depth of delicate emotions and abstract thoughts to enhance each scene. To fulfil this task, the authors of *p'ansori* must have undergone the same kind of pain as the modern authors who had suffered

in the effort to achieve the colloquial writing style in the early 1900s, although perhaps to a different degree. After all, the limitations discussed here are limitations not of *p'ansori* but of the vernacular writing at that time.

The decisive factor in the acceptance of Chinese phrases and expressions in *p'ansori* was that the stratum of *p'ansori* lovers expanded to include the *yangban* class. The proportion of *yangban* in the composition of *p'ansori* audiences gradually grew in the 18th century, and in the 19th century they emerged as the most influential audiences, becoming almost absolute patrons and commentators that *p'ansori* singers had to respect (Kim, Hŭngkyu 1999, 102-133). The *yangban* went from being temporary spectators with less influence on *p'ansori* to judging and commenting on the value of *p'ansori* through their own sense of value and understanding, resulting in intervention that caused change (Ibid., 119).

According to Kim Hŭngkyu, in the 19th century, *p'ansori* underwent considerable correction of representation of social aspects, where once the perception of the social realities and anti-medieval orientations had been artistically intensified. Kim added that the songs and music also changed significantly due to intervention by *yangban* who respected discipline, balance and refinement (Ibid., 131). *P'ansori* performance that consisted purely of colloquial language would not have been of interest to the literati class, who lived in the language culture of Hanmun. Therefore, the acceptance of Hanmun phrases in *p'ansori* can be regarded as a prerequisite for the viability of *p'ansori* in the 19th century. Such demand was met by Hanmun literate joining in partnership with existing commoner and *kwangdae* writers of *p'ansori* for the recreation of *p'ansori* narrative. Chinese character expressions were used to make the story and the objects of the descriptions more respectable. They were also used to make amusing, playful, and even hilarious puns and other word play, including a series

of impromptu love songs exchanged between Yi and Ch'unhyang. These features must have been more approachable to the reader of low social status than the Chinese allusions of literary expressions. In this regard, it can be said that when *p'ansori* was faced with the demand to satisfy all levels of people in two disparate languages, it successfully resolved the issue, fostering fine balance between them.

Finally, the presence of Chinese characters in *p'ansori* narratives ironically corresponds to realism, an axis of modern literature. In Ch'unhyang-chŏn, each person uses language according to his or her situation. Two of the main characters, Yi Toryŏng and the new governor, were of the *yangban* class, thus their language would have differed in practice from the other characters', most of which were commoners. Ch'unhyang is also presented as a well-educated lady, who reads as many books as Yi Toryŏng. Therefore, the Chinese characters that emerged from the dialogue between the three of them, or the language of their monologues, should be accepted somehow as a very realistic representation.

The examples from the three versions presented in Appendix 7 (pp.359-360) are from the scene where Yi instructs Pangja to summon Ch'unhyang. Of the three examples, *Wanp'an 26* and *Ilŏl* seem to be far more colloquial than *Okchunghwa*, as Yi Toryŏng speaks to Pangja at Pangja's level, without mixing Hanmun words. However, if you imagine the linguistic customs of the scholarly class at that time, where the *yangban* class studied and habitually referred to Chinese classics, and wrote Chinese characters as the official language, it could be a mistake to say that the Hanmun phrases Yi employs here are not colloquial. At that time, it would be more natural for a *yangban* to use Hanmun words frequently in their daily lives. Even if we take this into consideration, it is difficult for readers of the 20th century to see a novel with a large number of Chinese phrases as a work embodied in the concordance of

spoken and written language. This is one of the main reasons why Ch'unhyang-chŏn is regarded as a non-modern narrative and not related to modern literature.

In addition to its apparent non-colloquial nature, the inclusion of Hanmun substantially changed the nature of *p'ansori* narrative, both in its inclusion of lengthy Chinese idiomatic expressions and the need for increasing redundancy in the text to accommodate all classes of readers. The Classical Chinese language is a greatly traditional system that is inherently based on the binding use of set vocabulary and styles (Shim Kyŏnggho 1998, iii). In other words, the use of particular words or meanings in Hanmun requires the learner to know and understand its previous usage in classical texts. In addition, the use of set words in new contexts involves a process of partial modification. Therefore, the use of Hanmun phrases at that time naturally lengthened the narrative as it took phrases in which references are intertwined, rather than using one word or short phrase independently. For such reasons, once Chinese characters are used, they tend to be clustered, as they contain many set idioms and references, and this explains why it becomes difficult to call the style colloquial even though colloquial language is used in a much larger proportion of the work.

For example, in *Okchunghwa* (17), instead of simply “*Even the most precious things in this world must each have their owner,*” Yi likens “*the most precious*” to “the white Jade of Hyŏng Mountain” (衡山白玉) and “the gold of Ryŏsu” (麗水黃金). These phrases are examples of classical Chinese references. For “*must each have their owner*” he uses the exact translation ‘物各有主.’ Yi then redundantly repeats the phrase in vernacular language as “*imja ka kakkak innanira*” (임자壬子가 각각各有잇는나라). Yi does this for Pangja, who is not expected to comprehend the Chinese reference given his class status, and maybe also for the general audience.

However, most versions of Ch'unhyang-chŏn are also replete with precious expressions of the vernacular language. In the example included in the excerpt from *Okchunghwa* in the Appendix, the image of Pangja's figure going to Ch'unhyang with his master's message "running light and fast with a big step," is portrayed well with the mimetic word 'ch'yungch'yung kŏryŏ' (충충거려). Further along, other vernacular mimetic words conjure the image of Pangja's playfulness. When Pangja comes close to Ch'unhyang, he approaches her quietly 'kamangaman' (가만가만) to take her by surprise, then suddenly, 'uttuk' (웃득) and 'ssŏk' (씩), reveals himself in front of her.

This section has discussed the tendency to regard the usage of Chinese phrases as non-modern elements in Ch'unhyang-chŏn, and how the lack of this quality in *Ilŏl* has rendered it 'modern style' in comparison to previous editions. However, this paper has raised a counter-argument against the use of Chinese phrases as a reason to define a work as a non-modern narrative. This paper argued that when *p'ansori* was created and developed, the vernacular language had many limitations on literary writing and that the use of Hanmun within *p'ansori* was an inevitable result of *p'ansori* accepting the *yangban* stratum into its audience. In addition, Hanmun expressions were arguably colloquial for the *yangban* class at the time. In such circumstances, the balance of vernacular versus Hanmun expression was well handled in a single narrative by embracing both the upper and lower classes, and as a result Ch'unhyang-chŏn presented itself as a Korean colloquial novel in many, though not all, aspects. Thus, Ch'unhyang-chŏn written in Hangŭl greatly contributed to the development of the modern Korean novel.

It is believed that *Ilŏl*, written to create a modern adaptation of Ch'unhyang-chŏn, transformed traditional Ch'unhyang-chŏn into a modern novel to a certain extent,

especially with regards to colloquialism. Yi Kwangsu employs modern grammar in this work, however, the modern appearance of *Ilseol* comes more from the fact that he used a stabilised orthographical system including punctuation, spacing, and line breaking rules, which was established after the time of writing of the previous versions.

Just as capitalism in Korea could not be prevented, modernity also had to come. Classical Chinese characters had to be dismantled and the orthography system for the vernacular language stabilized. Ch'unhyang-chŏn was born under such socio-political circumstances in an era when the native tongue and native writing medium were neglected and there was no orthography for them. However, even though it embraces the expression of Classical Chinese, it demonstrates vibrant colloquialism in vernacular writing. It can be said that Ch'unhyang-chŏn is one of the pre-modern Korean narratives which has flowed most progressively toward the modern, with regards to both form and subject, while overcoming the limits of the age. The story of Ch'unhyang is giant narrative, which has played a leading role in opening the way for the modern Korean novel.

## 6. Conclusion

This study was prompted by a questioning of the continuity between Korean modern and pre-modern literature, with particular concern paid to Im Hwa's theory of *yisik-munhak* (transplanted literature): that 'modern Korean literature' was imported from the West via Japan, the coloniser of Korea at the time. The premise of this study was that the wave of the modern novel swept through Korean literature as it did through other literatures, but nonetheless, the development of the Korean modern novel was autonomous, despite being substantially shocked by Western literature. In this process, modern literature was established in Korean on the basis of the already transmitted pre-modern narrative tradition of Korea.

I chose Ch'unhyang-chŏn as the case study for this research because its various versions demonstrate a degree of continuity between pre-modern and modern Korean literature over three centuries. I have approached Ch'unhyang-chŏn in two ways, thematic and discursive, in order to investigate both literary form and content.

### **Rethinking Modernity in Korean Literature**

Chapter 2 was designed to discuss the characteristics of modern literature and the specificity of Korean literature. First, I compared concepts and developments of modern literature and modern novels in Korea with those of the West, and tried to understand the specificity of Korean literature in a larger context, focusing on the *Munch'ebanchŏng* of King Chŏngjo in the cultural and historical context of the late 18th century. Then I examined the development of Korean *sosŏls* by comparing it with the rise of the novel in the West, as explored by Ian Watt. According to Watt, the

defining characteristic of the novel is realism, which deals with the particular experience of particular people at particular time and particular space.

Although the scale and details of the development of Korean *sosŏls* differ, the socioeconomic factors pointed out by Watt appeared in Chosŏn society and had a significant impact. The *sosŏl* developed steadily and rapidly along with social and historical changes the 15th to the 18th century. The invention of Hangŭl enabled the growth in Korean *sosŏls*, when it was difficult to write novels with Hanmun. Along with a general growth in literacy, women of noble families learned Hangŭl and became fervent readers, generating their own sub-genre of *sosŏl*. However, most *sosŏls* emphasised Confucian ethics against the backdrop of China, and did not reflect their present time. Thus, they failed to create realism, the defining characteristic of the modern novel, which has meant that these *sosŏls* have been trapped in the category of the ‘pre-modern novel.’

Under these circumstances, it is important to recognise that *p’ansori* novels are very different to Hangŭl *sosŏls*. Since the primary author of *p’ansori*, the *Kwangdae*, was of the uneducated lowest class, they were not accustomed to the conventions of the contemporary *sosŏl*, and they could show remarkable originality in terms of language, background, characters, and plot.

Ch’unhyang-chŏn meets a requirement of the modern *sosŏl* in that it shows the freshness of colloquialism despite its frequent usage of Hanmun words; its expressions sufficiently contain elements of realism, and the main character, Ch’unhyang, demonstrates growth of self-consciousness against a Korean background with a particular time, place and character.

In the following section, I discussed the disparate nature of Korean literature compared to Western literature in relation to Confucianism and *Munch’ebanchŏng*.

The first and foremost reason for the delayed development of the novel in Chosŏn was the strong influence of Confucianism. Yi I's notion that the classics are the gateway of the Way, and that literature must embody the Way, had long been sustained through the Chosŏn period. The writing of any novel-like work was restricted from the early Chosŏn period and literary practice was limited to poetry and essay writing.

In the late 18th century, new scholarship, ideas and religion attracted the attention of intellectuals. The reign of Chŏngjo was an era of change and innovation, and a time when Chosŏn produced the most brilliant cultural heritage. King Chŏngjo, also an eminent scholar himself, strived for cultural development, establishing the royal library and edifying publishing books. These could have been favourable conditions for the foundation and blossoming of modern Korean literature. However, Chŏngjo sensed the danger of fiction or novels, which could hide real meaning and anti-state desires, and regarded new ideologies and writing styles as a target for eradication. As a result, Chŏngjo implemented *Munch'ebanchŏng* from 1788 until his death in 1800, holding back the momentum of modernity in Korean literature on the grounds of Confucianism. For Chŏngjo, Confucianism could not be compatible with fiction.

### **Modernity in Ch'unhyang Narrative: the thematic aspect**

For the examination of Ch'unhyang-narrative, nine versions were chosen spanning different times, authors, and writing mediums. In Chapter 3, I dealt with thematic aspects, applying Fredric Jameson's three-phase scheme for literary and cultural interpretation, moving from "The Political" to "The Social," and "The Historical."

Examining the political, I looked for 'contradictions' within each text and between the texts. I introduced each text focusing on differences and contradictions in and between the editions, and issues related to Ch'unhyang's social status. Though the

same plot is unfolded in each narrative, countless variations in characters, narrators and the nature of conflict were displayed amongst the editions. These noticeable, subtle, or even hidden changes, got more complicated whenever a new edition was added, and the changes formed a permutation of modifications, silently struggling for the voice of each edition to be heard. Each edition contained antagonistic discourse within the apparent unity of the Confucian master code: faithfulness to the king. I found that differences in the works emerged in many cases in disguise, by re-appropriating the all-embracing unity of the single master code while reflecting socio-economic-political changes over three centuries.

In the second phase, examining the social, I widened the scope of my analysis to include the social order, and the very work of the analysis was thereby ‘dialectically transformed’ from an individual text in the narrow sense to the great collective and class discourses. The interpretation in this stage was to grasp the text as “a symbolic move in an essentially polemic and strategic ideological confrontation between the classes” (1983, 70-1). Because examination of the social encompassed so many things I broke this phase down into sub-sections, to look more closely at changes in details of Ch’unhyang’s status, the class system of Chosŏn, and the position of Ch’unhyang in the class system, the shared master code, issues of power, and the figure of the new governor.

The examination of changes in Ch’unhyang’s demonstrated that the writers of Hanmun editions placed Ch’unhyang at the lowest level, however, in general, Ch’unhyang’s birth status became higher and higher in the later versions written in Hangŭl, and subsequently, so did her acquired status. However, this was not always the case, but Jameson contends that different ideas can be contested through the shared master code, and this appeared to be happening in Ch’unhyang narrative.

To examine the issues of power, I designated two types of power: the power of good, which comes from the king and is represented by Yi Mongryǒng; and the power of evil, which comes from the ruling class, the scholar-officials, and is represented by the new governor. In Ch'unhyang-chǒn, the form of protest has always been based on complete loyalty to the first power, the king, so that the second power can be protested. Therefore, the shared master code in the story is absolute faithfulness to the king, and the object of the faithfulness is extended to Yi Mongryǒng, as not only the representative of the king, but also the husband of the subject of the resistance. However, how the master code is played varies among the different editions. I examined these differences in relation to how the texts treat the conflict between Ch'unhyang and the governor.

Based on the illegality of the new governor's *such'ǒng* order, Ch'unhyang-chǒn becomes an antagonistic class discourse where the major discrepancy between the law and reality is presented. All of the editions are conscious of this issue. As writers from the ruling class joined in recreating Ch'unhyang-chǒn, they re-appropriated it and changed the emphasis of the story. In *Manhwabon*, as there is no scene of actual conflict between Ch'unhyang and the governor, she does not have the chance to voice herself against him. The writer of *Ch'unhyang-sinsǒl* re-appropriates the story of Ch'unhyang-chǒn as a place for the practice of Confucian ideology through the complete submission of Ch'unhyang to the law and the governor. The authors of *Kwanghallu-ki* and *Kwanghallu-akpu* completely dilute the theme of class conflict, by re-appropriating Ch'unhyang-narrative for the aesthetic taste of *p'ungryu*, turning the story into a pure romance. These Hanmun editions essentially blind the reader to the class conflict inherent in the narrative, shifting the focus of Ch'unhyang-narrative and justifying the illegal demands of the ruling class.

On the other hand, the lower-class people could not articulate that the *such'ōng* order was against the law. Despite being in contradiction with the law it was customary practice that had existed since the Koryō period, and so although it was felt to be unjust, it also caused confusion and perplexity. Under such circumstances, the authors of the Hangŭl versions provided Ch'unhyang with everything they could to give her a more favourable foothold to better stand against the governor: raising her birth status, making her a heavenly figure, and letting her have *taebichōngsok* status. Ch'unhyang begins to have self-consciousness and voices herself against the governor, giving him blistering remonstrations. The severity of her resistance gets stronger and stronger toward later versions. These changes reflect the socio-political background which changed greatly in this period. Nonetheless, the Hangŭl editions are immensely heedful that Ch'unhyang's resistance is to preserve her faithfulness, contentiously re-appropriating Confucian ideology. Disguised in the master code of Confucian discipline, the antagonistic class discourse latent in Ch'unhyang-narrative begins to surface.

Next, I investigated the character of the new governor more closely. The character itself implies a class conflict, as it confronts the lowest class represented by the heroine. Therefore, his characteristics signify what the work itself confronts. However, the governor's characteristics change in each work. He is a problematic character, complicating what the work and the main character fight for and against. The nature of the governor encompasses both that of a public figure and that of an individual human. In *Manhwabon* the governor is portrayed as a cruel, licentious, and corrupt bureaucrat, but in later works he turns into a more positive character. Interestingly, *Kwanghallu-ki* maintains the characteristics of the governor presented in *Manhwabon*, and depicts his absurdity, womanising and corrupt bureaucracy more vividly. However,

since the writer wipes out Ch'unhyang's class consciousness and highlights pure love between the two main characters, criticism of the ruling class is considerably weakened, creating an imbalance between the social criticism and the aesthetic taste of *p'ungryu* which the author ostensibly seeks. On the other hand, *Ch'unhyang-sinsöl* and *Kwanghallu-akpu* are critically insensitive to the governor. *Ch'unhyang-sinsöl* advocates for the governor, far from criticising him. Among the Hanmun editions, after *Manhwabon*, *Kwanghallu-ki* is the only one to provide a strong critique of the governor.

The depiction of the governor in Hangül editions becomes more complicated. On the one hand, the governor is presented as a vile official and his corruption and ridiculous maladministration are described in detail. On the other hand, he is presented as someone who has a good nature. This is a device to present that corruption and misgoverning are not the problem of an individual official but an institutional contradiction. The level of imbalance between the two-opposing depictions of the governor reaches its peak in *Namch'ang*. In *Wanp'an 84* and *Okchunghwa*, the criticism of the governor almost disappears, except for his oppression of Ch'unhyang. However, in *Isöl*, the work severely criticises the governor both as an individual and as a public figure, returning to level of criticism seen in *Manhwabon* and *Kwanghallu-ki*. Interestingly, in all the Hangül editions, Ch'unhyang's fiery and fierce confrontation with the governor is presented and it gets stronger in later editions, even in *Wanp'an 84* and *Okchunghwa*, both of which rarely criticise the governor. The antagonistic class discourse between low and high, between the oppressor and the oppressed, are all presented in varying degrees in all the works, but they are all presented in the unity of the Confucian master code of loyalty and faithfulness.

In the third stage, examining the historical, I demonstrated the horizon of the mode of production by presenting the form the contradiction takes on this level and its Ch'unhyang-chön's relation to it. To do this, I applied Greimas' semiotic actantial to Ch'unhyang-chön. I assigned Wölmae as a donor character because she provides a magical source for Ch'unhyang to almost escape from her social class through her mysteriously accumulated wealth. Wölmae's character as a proto-capitalist gradually developed from *Manhwabon* to *Ilöl*, where it came to the surface in earnest. Wölmae is the locus of history in this macro-narrative: her enigmatic fortune makes her a proto-capitalist, recoding new economic energies as strong motherhood. Strengthening the position of Wölmae then constitutes a narrative mechanism whereby dynamic capitalism disrupted the feudal order, but still claims only a partial victory, waiting for its time to come. In this sense, it can be said that Ch'unhyang-chön is an allegory of the socio-economic circumstances of late Chosön.

### **Modernity in Ch'unhyang-narrative: the discursive aspect**

The aim of Chapter 4 was to investigate how *p'ansori* narrative contributed to establishing the modern novel in terms of literary form. I chose three works, *Wanp'an 26*, *Okchunghwa*, and *Ilöl* and investigated narrative structure in terms of time, methods of narrating, and issues surrounding narrator, referring to Kim Hüngkyu, Gérard Genette, Seymour Chatman, and Mieke Bal.

In relation to narrative time, I found that the structure of the narrative was retained throughout the three works. In *Wanp'an 26* and *Okchunghwa* the narrative heavily focuses on a specific few days while the story time is a number of years. Therefore, the discourse time exceedingly slows down on the specific days and suddenly speeds up for the rest of story time. The time between the major days is unfolded in iterative

discourses in the form of showing rather than telling by a character presenting interior monologues like a soliloquy in a drama. With this, the theory of scene maximisation is well played out in the discourse regardless that the narrative time is slowed down or sped up. However, the fluctuating rhythm of the discourse time is steadied in *Ilsoŏl* with the addition of many events which recount everyday life to fill the huge gaps between important days. In line with this change of narrative time, the effect of scene-maximisation becomes greatly weakened. Moreover, the clarity of the temporal relationship between events becomes more pronounced in later works since the examination shows that *Okchunghwa* is better than *Wanp'an 26* and *Ilsoŏl* is better than *Okchunghwa* in this respect.

Since discourse time is structured in this way, the subsequent question is how the events in the rhythm of the time are accounted for. In *Wanp'an 26*, on the important days there are abundant descriptions about things and people in the text. As a *p'ansori* narrative, the narrator or *kwangdae* tried to capture the imaginations of the audience through concrete and intensive depictions of specific scenes. However, depictions sometimes preceded logic, and rationality is sacrificed in order to bring the audience catharsis. *Okchunghwa*, increases description, adopting many existing descriptions, while reducing or eliminating some, and creates new ones for certain things or people to strengthen rationality and thematic aspects. In this process, the description becomes more thorough and colourful, and the play of language becomes more intense and richer. The writer of *Ilsoŏl* seems to view the abundance of description in the two works as overwhelming, and not in keeping with a modern novel. Therefore, *Ilsoŏl* removes or downsizes some descriptions and replaces some major scenes with many small anecdotes about everyday life. This dismantles the scene-oriented structure of *p'ansori* narrative and moves towards a more novelised narrative.

As for the issue of narration, the three works demonstrate gradual changes toward the modern novel. In *Wanp'an 26*, there are three narrators to accommodate the strong presence of the voice of the *kwangdae*. The narrator of the intradiegetic sets the time frame of the narrative in the very beginning of the text and leaves didactic comments with the follow-up story located outside the metadiegetic. Inside the actual story there are two narrators. The first is the narrator of the extradiegetic level which possesses a human-like property, speaks in dialect and transcends to reality outside the narrative level by striking up conversation with the narratee. The other is the narrator of the metadiegetic level, who accounts for actual events in the story, and maintains its stance as a 'covert' though omniscient narrator.

In *Okchunghwa*, one narrative level disappeared compared to *Wanp'an 26*, thus there are two narrators. The traits of the human-like narrator in the work have not completely disappeared but the narrator does not use dialect and rarely strikes up conversation with the narratee. The first narrator is that of the intradiegetic, and plays the same role as the narrator of the metadiegetic in *Wanp'an 26*. It is very different from the narrator in *Wanp'an 26* as it gets far from the pole of 'pure mimesis' and closer to that of 'pure diegesis' as an overt narrator. The second narrator is that of the extradiegetic level, and it suddenly transgresses from the diegetic to the extradiegetic, to talk about the text itself and other versions. This is related to the development of *p'ansori* narrative: the narrating voice of the extradiegetic is fused with the voice of the implied author.

In *Ilsoŭl*, there is just one narrator. A perfect function narrator that does not cross or transcend narrative levels. Accordingly, there are no multiple narrators, nor multiple narrative levels. The author is also very conscious of the issue of focalisation and clears up ambiguous focalisation from previous editions. The narrator of *Ilsoŭl* freely

tells the reader about the feelings and thoughts of all the characters, using its full power as an omniscient narrator and focaliser. However, it remains the simple function of the narrator. The process of this phased change from *Wanp'an 26* and *Okchunghwa* to *Ilsoŭl* exemplifies what paths *p'ansori* narrative went through to become a modern novel.

The numeric comparisons between the three works demonstrate that regardless of the difference in length and time of their appearances, Ch'unhyang-narrative maintains its early narrative structure on the base of narrative time and scenes. The continuation of the basic narrative structures shows that the narrative structure of Ch'unhyang-chŏn is solid. The numeric comparison also revealed that the fluctuating rhythm of the time and the usage of abundant description exhibits the characteristics of scene maximisation. Now, however, *pansori* novels have reached the point where it is time to give way to the next generation of modern novels.

In Yi Kwangsu's *Ilsoŭl* we see that one of the most essential tasks for the project of the modernisation of *p'ansori* narrative is to trim away the abundant descriptive narration. Another essential task is to silence the voice of the *kwangdae*. The aspects Yi sought to eliminate or displace are in fact the very properties of *p'ansori* narrative. What Yi wanted to achieve was not completely new. Long scenes could be replaced with multiple small scenes, and more narration employed than description, and the disappearance of the voice of the *kwangdae* was natural as modern novels would be narrated in the first place by a narrator in the text, not a *kwangdae* on a stage. The most important thing here is that Korean literature had an experienced, solid narrative tradition which could be used as a launch pad to progress toward the new type of narrative. Apart from the scene-centred structure, the *p'ansori* narrative *Wanp'an 26* demonstrates controlled focalisation in a strong narrative structure and narrating

method. In this sense, *p'ansori* narrative provided Korean literature with the opportunity to grow and develop a narrative type of new generation, modern novel.

### **Rethinking Modernity with Ch'unhyang-chŏn: the colloquial**

In Chapter 5 I discussed modernity in Korean history, and views on Ch'unhyang-chŏn in the pre-modern to modern transitional era at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, then explored how Ch'unhyang-chŏn contributed to the concordance of spoken and written language.

Yi Chunsik argued that following the opening of the ports in 1876, a dichotomous way of thinking about modernity and pre-modernity was prevalent in Korean society, with Western modernity considered a paradigm of civilization and the Korean pre-modern considered barbarous (2014, 32). The same sense can be said to have applied to attitudes to literature: pre-modern novels became objects of neglect and contempt. Yi Kwangsu defined the concept of literature in Korean for the first time, as a translation of Western 'literature.' Yi viewed Korean traditional literature as a strange, heterogeneous entity and thoroughly denied it, but his idea of literature was founded on a limited understanding of Western literature.

Taking on the role as the leader of modern literature and a critic of Ch'unhyang-chŏn, Yi Kwangsu wrote *Ilŏl* in 1925, intended to be a new, modern version of Ch'unhyang-chŏn that would be a 'proper novel' and 'proper art.' One thing that is surely different in *Ilŏl* from the preceding editions of Ch'unhyang-chŏn is its orthography.

Although such orthography was not available to writers of Ch'unhyang-chŏn prior to *Ilŏl*, in general Ch'unhyang-chŏn displays sufficient concordance of spoken and written language. With earlier versions, the vernacular language was limited for

literary writing at that time, and the use of Hanmun within *p'ansori* was almost inevitable, due to its acceptance into the *yangban* stratum. In addition, Hanmun expressions were arguably colloquial for the *yangban* class at the time. Within such circumstances, the balance of vernacular versus Hanmun expression was dealt with well, and Ch'unhyang-chŏn presented itself as a Korean colloquial novel in many aspects. Thus, the Ch'unhyang-chŏn written in Korea's own writing medium, Hangŭl, greatly contributed to the development of the modern Korean novel.

Ch'unhyang-chŏn emerged in the latter half of the Chosŏn era in unfavourable conditions for the creation of the novel genre. When Korean began to appear by the 18th century, they were consistent with the non-modern elements of time, and were out of touch with reality. Therefore, the emergence of *p'ansori* novels with a completely different nature presented a new phase for Korean novels.

In terms of content, thematically, Ch'unhyang-chŏn has strategically reflected the history of socioeconomic politics in the late-Chosŏn period and the early colonial period, through constant changes over the course of three centuries. While doing so, it sufficiently bore ideologies determined and conditioned by specific socio-economic circumstances: conflicting ideas were strongly contested, skilfully undermining the oppressor or the ruling class, thereby bringing modernity into the narrative. Cultural revolution, in which various modes of production coexist with visible antagonism, was witnessed and proto-capitalism gradually emerged from an almost silent entity to a full-blown form. Modernity is embodied in Ch'unhyang-chŏn in the fact that another name for modernism, capitalism, was personified in the works as an active medium.

In terms of literary form, Ch'unhyang-narrative demonstrates its solid narrativity including narrative structure, consistency in narratorhood, focalisation, and the

method of showing in its narrating events. Even though it embraces the expression of Chinese characters, it exhibits vibrant colloquialism in vernacular writing, indeed Ch'unhyang-chŏn is a pre-modern Korean tale which has flowed progressively toward the modern novel with regards to both form and subject, while overcoming the limits of the age.

For this study, I defined the concept of modern literature following Kim Yunsik (1984, 19-20) as literature in which modern consciousness is embodied in a new form, to overcome the current contradictions and absurdities that have arisen from tradition.

Ch'unhyang-chŏn accurately captured the changing reality as Chosŏn history fluctuated over three centuries, and formed a politically antagonistic discourse to expose, criticise and resolve the structural contradictions of the time, while strategically covering its own criticism. In addition, Ch'unhyang-chŏn emerged in a new form, *p'ansori*, to convey its own ideas in ways unlike the existing novel at the time. It is undeniable that Ch'unhyang-chŏn has modern characteristics.

In this vein, when Western modernization swept over colonial Korean society in the early 20th century, the tradition of Korean narrative literature represented by Ch'unhyang-chŏn in this paper, being based on its reserved strength, was able to play a role as a leverage for developmental harmony with the new Western modern narrative literature. Therefore, the process in which Korean traditional narrative literature developed into modern literature should be regarded as a successive development, not a complete break or before and after. The example of Ch'unhyang-chŏn explored here has gone some way to deny the 'transplanted literature' theory of Im Hwa, in which heterogeneous Western literature suddenly entered the Korean literary domain and an entirely new Western literature emerged and developed as

modern Korean literature, cutting off the traditions of pre-modern literature which had been carried on for so many years, and leaving modern Korean literature rootless.

# Appendix

## Appendix 1

Writing Medium	Text, year, author and status	Ch'unhyang's birth status	Ch'unhyang's father	Taebichōngsok (exemption of slave status)	Ch'unhyang's elevated status + wife status	Wōlmae's prenatal dream/ Ch'unhyang's celestial being
Hanmun	<i>Manhwabon</i> (1753) <i>Yangban</i>	<i>Kisaeng</i>		Removed from the <i>kisaeng</i> register after the emergence of the Ōsa	<i>Chōngry ōl-puin</i> Formal wife	
	<i>Ch'unhyang-sinsōl</i> (1804) <i>Yangban</i>	Daughter of <i>kisaeng</i>				
	<i>Kwanghallu-ki</i> (1845) <i>Yangban</i>	Daughter of <i>kisaeng</i>				
	<i>Kwanghallu-akpu</i> (1851) <i>Yangban</i>	Daughter of <i>kisaeng</i>				
Hangŭl	<i>Namwōn-kosa</i> (1864-9) Unknown	Daughter of <i>kisaeng</i> + non- <i>yangban</i> father	Kim <i>p'ansu</i>	<i>Taebichōngsok</i> after parting Yi	<i>Chōngry ōl-puin</i> Formal wife	
	<i>Namch'ang</i> (1867-1873) Shin Chaehyo, middle-man	Illegitimate daughter of military officer, <i>yangban</i> + retired <i>kisaeng</i>	Sōng Ch'ōnch'ong	<i>Taebichōngsok</i> (From beginning of story)		Wōlmae's prenatal dream- Ch'unhyang's pre-birth status as a fairy
	<i>Wanp'an 84 changbon</i> (1906) Unknown	Illegitimate daughter of Sōng Ch'amp'an + retired <i>kisaeng</i>	Sōng Ch'amp'an.		<i>Chōngry ōl-puin</i> no reference as a legal wife	Wōlmae's prenatal dream- Ch'unhyang's pre-birth status as a fairy
	<i>Okchunghwa</i> (1912) Yi Haejo (class system abolished)	Illegitimate daughter of Sōng Ch'amp'an + retired <i>kisaeng</i>	Sōng Ch'amp'an		<i>Ch'ungrŭ ōl-puin</i> Formal wife	Wōlmae's prenatal dream- Ch'unhyang's pre-birth

						status as a fairy
	<i>Ilsŏl Ch'unhyang-chŏn</i> (1925-26) Yi Kwangsu (class system abolished)	Illegitimate daughter of Sŏng Ch'amp'an + retired <i>kisaeng</i>	Sŏng Ch'amp'an	<i>Taebichŏngsok</i>	<i>Chŏngryŏl-puin</i> Formal wife	Mentioned by Wŏlmae but ignored by Ch'unhyang

Appendix 2-1

Analysis 1 *Wanp'an 26*

\*YT stands for Yi Toryŏng and CH for Ch'unhyang.

Narrative Time			Time	Time Expression	
<b>A. CH and YT's time</b>	1 Predestined Time	1) From the first meeting to the time they meet at Ch'unhyang's house (1-8.3)	(a) 1 day (1:5-19:1)	<p>“At this time, it is a good spring day to play, and the spring day of 90 days is good!” (1)</p> <p>On one spring day when the two main characters first meet, they tie a knot and sleep together. Pages 12, 13 and 14 are missing but it is clear that the story time of the three missing pages belong to the first day, between Yi's entrance into Ch'unhyang's house on page 11, and Yi and Ch'unhyang's exchange of wedding presents on pages 15 and 16.</p>	
	2 Love	2) Meeting at Ch'unhyang's house, marriage and sexual intercourse			3) Love songs (18.8-19.1)
		3 Parting			4) Parting
	4 Longing	5) Parting Songs of Ch'unhyang and Yi (20.7-23.3)	(c) Undefined time period	<p>“Locked inside her room Ch'unhyang let heartless time pass with a farewell song” (23:2-3)</p> <p>An unknown amount of time elapses from their parting to the arrival of the new governor (20:7-23:3)</p>	
<b>B. CH's Time</b>	5 Faith-fulness	<p>6) The new governor's appointment</p> <p>7) The governor's itinerary from Sŏul to</p>	(d) 3 days	<p>The amount of time elapsed is ambiguous. This passage summarises the new governor's itinerary from Sŏul to Namwŏn with spatial movements (24:3-9).</p>	

		Namwŏn (23.7-24.8)		
		8) The procession for the new governor's arrival (24.2-25.5) -Taking attendance of the <i>kisaeng</i> (25.4-26.3)		
		9) Conflict between Ch'unhyang and the governor + Ch'unhyang's imprisonment (28.2-32.7)  10) Wŏlmae and playboys visiting Ch'unhyang (32.3-33.5)	(e) 1 day	This passage presents one long day when the new governor arrives at Namwŏn. He calls the names on the <i>kisaeng</i> roll of the district office and then summons, punishes and imprisons Ch'unhyang.
		11) Ch'unhyang's lament in prison (33.5-37.3)	(f) 4-5 years since the parting	"Though it has become four or five years since we separated with each other" (35: 7) "Will any news from him come today? Or will news from him come tomorrow? I am dying waiting for him" (36:8) "Though four or five years have passed (since he left), there has been no news from him and we have lost contact with each other, I cannot help but die" (37:2)
<b>C. YT's Time</b>	6 Ŏsa	12) Yi's appointment as Chŏlla Ŏsa (37.3-38.8)	(g) Undefined time period	"At this time, upon leaving Ch'unhyang, Yi Toryŏng went up to Sŏul and worked hard. . . The king immediately appointed him as a Chŏlla Ŏsa." - This section covers an undefined amount of time, but it can be inferred to have lasted around 4 to 5 years. This discourse time overlaps with the times of sections 4) Longing, and 5) Faithfulness (20.4-37.3).

<b>Alternative Time of YT and CH</b>	<b>a. YT's time</b>	13) Yi's itinerary from Söul to Namwön (38.2-39.4)		2 days It briefly summarises Yi's journey.
		14) Ŏsa meeting farmers - Ŏsa deceived to believe Ch'un-hyang's death - Ŏsa's questioning to the people about the governor (39.6-41.3)	(h) 2 days  (i) 1 day	1day Though many events happen, the exact amount of time passed is unclear. (39:4-45.5) Yi Ŏsa gathers news about Ch'unhyang and the new governor while approaching close to her house.
		15) Yi's arrival at Ch'unhyang's house, meeting Wölmae (41.7-42.2)		Yi arrives at Ch'unhyang's house late at night and meets Ch'unhyang's mother (41:2- 42:2) As the sun sets, Yi Ŏsa enters Ch'unhyang's house. (41: 4)
	<b>b. CH's time</b>	16) Ch'unhyang's dream and the blind man's interpretation of it (42.8-43.3)		
	<b>c. YT's time</b>	17) Departing for Ch'unhyang's prison (43-41)		
<b>E. Fusion of CH's and YT's time</b>	<b>7. Emergence of Ŏsa</b>	18) Reunion in prison (43.6-45.5)		In the late evening of this day, Ch'unhyang and Yi's time merges as they meet in the prison cell. The time when Ch'unhyang dreams and asks the blind man for the interpretation of the dream overlaps with the time at which Yi meets Wölmae. "At this time, Ŏsa enters Ch'unhyang's house . . . arrives at the prison door." (43: 4-7)
		19) The birthday banquet for the governor (45.5-49.5)	(j) 1 day	"Yi returned to Ch'unhyang's house and stayed up until the morning..." (45)

		20) The scene of frenzy due to the sudden emergence of Ŏsa (49.5-50.4)		1 day – The day when all conflicts are resolved (45.5-49.5) Ŏsa’s official appearance, new governor’s dismissal and saving Ch’unhyang (45:6-52:3)
		21) Reunion (50.6-51.5)		
		22) Festival (51.5-52.2)		
		23) Ch’unhyang’s reward - <i>Chōngryōl-puin</i> and formal wife of Yi (188)	Undefined time period	1 day to indefinite time (52:3 – 6) The day after, Yi Ŏsa administers official works, their opulence and prosperity are endless.

## Appendix 2-2

### Analysis 2 *Wanp'an* 26

	Scene	Pages	Percentages
1	Yi Toryǒng's arrival at Ch'unhyang's house and spending the night with Ch'unhyang	11.5-19.1, 8.6p	16.5%
2	Parting	19;9-22.5, 4.4p	8.5%
3	Parting at Orijǒng	Non-existent	0 %
4	Conflict between Ch'unhyang and the governor; from when Ch'unhyang is taken to the governor to when the governor orders to imprison Ch'unhyang	28.2-32;7, 3.9p <sup>122</sup>	7.5%
5	Yi Toryǒng's return to Ch'unhyang's house and meeting Ch'unhyang's mother	41.7-42.2, 0.9P	1.7%
6	Reunion of Yi Toryǒng and Ch'unhyang at Ch'unhyang's prison	43.6-45.5, 2.1P	4.0%
7	Birthday banquet for the governor	45.5-49.5, 4p	7.7%
8	Hectic scene due to an official appearance of Ŏsa	49.5-50.4, 1.1p	2.1%
9	Reunion of Yi Toryǒng and Ch'unhyang at the office hall and revealing Yi Toryǒng's Ŏsa status	50.6-51.5, 1.1p	2.1%

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122 In the page 26, the guards come to pick up Ch'unhyang, in the 27th page there are only 2 lines are left, and in the 28th, also only two lines which contains a conversation between Ch'unhyang and the governor are left. Therefore, this part is somewhat inaccurate.

## Appendix 3-1

### Analysis 1 Okchunghwa

Narrative Time			Time	Time Expression	Proportions
A. CH and YT's time	1 Predestined time	1)From leaving for Kwanghallu to YT's sending Pangja to CH (3-9) -Conversation between Pangja and CH (10-13) -YT's waiting for the time to depart for CH and arriving at CH's house (14-22) -YT's waiting for and meeting CH at CH's house (22-28) -CH and YT's knotting a tie and spending the night together (28-34)	1 day	The first day of their meeting – 1 day (2-34), 33p, 17.6%	2-34 17%
	2 Love	2)Love songs	More than 10 days	Singing love songs - 1 day, the 10 <sup>th</sup> day from their first day (35-38), 4, 2.1% “As one day, two days and several days have gone, it is the 10 <sup>th</sup> day since they have been together. They are full of affection with no shame between them, they sing love songs.” (35)	35-38 2.1%
	3 Parting	3)The night before the day of parting – conversations among CH, YT and CH's mother (38-51, 14pages) -Farewell at Orijöng (51-58, 8pages)	2 days 1night	“As they have been playing for quite a while in this way,” they get a news of the governor's promotion implying their separation. (38) *Duration from marriage to parting is unclear.	38- 58 11.2%

<p><b>B. CH's time</b></p> <p>From farewell to the time when Pangja, sent to hand CH's letter over to YT, meets YT on the road to Söul.</p> <p>(PP.58-108, 51 pages, 27.1%)</p>	<p><b>4</b> Longing</p>	<p>4)YT's mother sending CH money and gifts- 1 to a few days (59)</p>			
		<p>5)CH's passing time singing sad songs for YT (60)</p>	<p>Several months</p>	<p>“Time passed so quickly, like flowing water. The old governor went up to Söul and a new governor came and had worked <u>for months</u>. Meanwhile, CH had been ill both in body and mind. She lay down alone in her room having the closed doors and sang a love song yearning for YT.” (60)</p>	<p>60 0.53%</p>
	<p><b>5</b> Faithfulness</p>	<p>6)The New governor's appointment - The governor's itinerary from Söul to Namwön, (<i>Nojönggi</i>) - Ceremonial event of welcoming the new governor- 3days</p>	<p>1 year</p>	<p>New governor's appointment as Namwön Pusa to arrival at Namwön (61-67) “At that time, <u>as a year has passed</u> since the new governor arrived, he was sent to a new post as Naju Moksa and another new governor, Pyön Hakto is again appointed” (61)</p>	<p>61-68 4.3%</p>
			<p>2-3days</p>	<p>Governor wants to take attendance of <i>kisaeng</i> but waits 2 days to save face (68)</p>	
			<p>1 day</p>		<p>68-97 16%</p>
					<p>101-106, 3.2%</p>
		<p>11) CH's sending Pangja to YT for her letter (107-108)</p>			

C. YT's time	6 Ösa	12) YT's appointment as Chölla Ösa	3 years		109-113, 2.7%
D. Alternative time of YT and CH	a. YT's time	13) YT's itinerary from Söul to Namwön	4 days 3 nights		113-114
	b. CH's Time	14) YT's inspection coming close to Namwön	Several days	Time unclear - Very brief summarisation	115 (5 lines)
	c. YT's time	15) YT meeting Pangja who carries CH's letter and goes along with him to Manbok temple (115-119)	2 days 1night	"On the following day" after YT witnessed the monk's offering prayers for YT and CH (120-123) YT makes a donation to the temple (124) "The following day YT sends Pangja to Unpong and leaves for Namwön" (124)	
	d. CH's Time				
		16) CH's dream and the blind man's interpretation			125-128, 2.1%
		17) Ösa meeting farmers and facing mistreatment from them 1. Meeting various group of people	1 day	Many events happen, but time is not clear. -Ösa meets farmers on the way to Namwön, is treated roughly as they gossip about CH (129-135)	129-135 3.7%
		18) Ösa's arrival at CH's house and meeting Wölmae - Ösa eats dinner listening to Wölmae's complaints. (137-144, 7pages)	129 -145 8.5%	-Looking at CH's decadent house at Kwanghan-pavilion, YT says, "I have been away from Namwön for less than three years, how can it come to this?" (136)	136-145 5.3%
	19) CH's dream in which she meets YT who succeeded (145)	1 day 145-187 22.3%		145	
E. Merging of CH and YT's time (146-188)		20) Reunion in prison			146-155 5.3%
		21) YT goes to guesthouse due to Wölmae's grudge (156-157)			
		22) The governor's			157-188

	7 Emergence of Ōsa	birthday feast (157-167, 11p, 5.9%)		32 pages 17%
		23) Scene of frenzy due to emergence of the Ōsa (168 -172, 15 pages)		
		24) Reunion, saving CH (172-181, 10 pages)		
		25) Festival (182-187)		
		26) CH's reward - Ch'ung-ryōlbuin and formal wife of YT (188)		

## Appendix 3-2

### Analysis 2 Okchunghwa

	Scene	Pages	Percentages
1	Yi's arrival at Ch'unhyang's house and spending the night with Ch'unhyang	22-34, 13P	6.9%
2	Eve of their parting where Ch'unhyang, Yi and Ch'unhyang's mum argue and accept their parting	38-51, 14p	7.5%
3	Parting at Orijǒng	51-58, 8p	4.3%
4	Conflict between Ch'unhyang and the governor; from when Ch'unhyang is fetched to the governor to when the governor orders to imprison Ch'unhyang	85-97,13p	6.9%
5	Yi's return to Ch'unhyang's house and meeting Ch'unhyang's mother	137-144, 7P	3.7%
6	Reunion of Yi and Ch'unhyang at Ch'unhyang's prison	146-155, 10P	5.3%
7	Birthday banquet for the governor	157-167, 11p	5.86%
8	Hectic scene due to an official appearance of Ŏsa	168-172, 15p	8.0%
9	Reunion of Yi and Ch'unhyang at the office yard and revealing Yi's Ŏsa status	172-181, 10p	5.3%

## Appendix 4-1

### Analysis 1 Ilsöl Ch'unhyang-chön

Narrative Time	Chapters	Existing Episodes	New Episodes	Passing Time
A. CH and YT's Time	1. <b>Predestined Time</b> (423- 436) 14 pages, 13.7%	1) YT's seeing CH at Kwanghallu	2) YT's sending a letter to CH and CH replying to the letter.	a) 1 day  423-448
	2. <b>Love</b> (436 – 455) 19pages, 18.6 %	4) Marriage and First night (“ <u>Cock and Cock, 'the rooster cries.</u> ” (442-448)	3) Conversation between YT and Pangja on their way to CH's House	25.5 pages, 25%
		5) Growing Love	Love play between CH and YT	b)1Year 449- 455 6.9%
3. <b>Parting</b>  (455-465)  11 pages  10,8%	6) Parting “Since YT met CH and loved each other, <u>it was already a year after</u> the fall and spring passed. ... A day of sad farewell came. ‘One day’ ... the Pusa called and told him to leave early on the next day.” (455) -Conversation between CH and YT and CH's mother (455-461) - (YT has left CH's house and the east sky is already clear. 461)  8) Parting at Oryujöng “ <u>The next day YT</u> ate an early breakfast --- he left for Söul. <u>This time is late May ---)</u> ’ 461-	7) YT and Ch'unhyang brushes each other's hair. (459-460)  9) Wölmae criticises YT after he left and Ch'unhyang makes her stop it.	c)  2 days 1night  455 - 465 11pages, 10.8%	
		4. <b>Longing</b>  465-470  5.7pages  5.6%		10)YT sent CH a letter and CH replies with a <u>‘Twenty days after</u> YT left for Söul’, He sent CH a letter for Söul. 466 (Time is unidentified) -CH also sends YT a letter. (467)

			11) Namwŏn Playboys visit CH (468-470) “YT’s letter did not come <u>over a year</u> since his last letter.” 470	e) 1 Year
	<b>Faithfulness</b> 470 -491 21.7 pages, 21.3%	12) The new governor’s appointment: After Yi Pusa went to Sŏul, Kim Pusa came and <u>worked for a year</u> and was sent to a new post as Naju Moksa and another new governor, Pyŏn Hakto was again appointed to Namwŏn Pusa.” ... <u>13days after</u> his appointment, new clerks of Namwŏn office came to to him to greet and bring him to Namwŏn. <u>The following day</u> , they leave for Namwŏn. 470 13) The governor’s itinerary from Sŏul to Namwŏn, ( <i>Nojŏnggi</i> ) -Ceremonial event of welcoming a new governor-		
		14)Taking attendance of the <i>kisaeng</i> ( <u>3 days after</u> arriving at Namwŏn) (477) 15)The Conflict between CH and the governor and CH’s imprisonment (477-483)	16)Thoughts and feelings of CH in prison	f)1 day 477-483 14.3%
		17)Playboys of Namwŏn visit CH in prison to console her. (485-486)  18)CH’s song for longing and her life in prison for 2-3years - ‘Though <u>Spring and Winter have gone twice or three times</u> , it is not for sure when news from Sŏul will come and CH will be released from prison.’ (487)	19)Thoughts of CH (In the late autumn, CH is thinking about <i>kimchang</i> (Making kimchi for winter) and mother and YT’s winter clothes) 20)Wŏlmae’s support for CH and repetitive advice for CH to forgo her faithful attitude	g) 2-3 years
<b>C. YT’s Time</b>	<b>6. Ōsa</b> 492 – 514 22.3 pages 21.9%	21) YT’s appointment as Chŏlla Ōsa: ‘ <u>Less than three years</u> after he went to Sŏul, he was said to be a great literary boy, some said that he was better than a great literary man. - At this time, there is an <i>Alsŏnggwa</i> (state examinations) .... ‘(492) 22) YT’s Itinerary from Sŏul to		h) 3 years

		Namwŏn (494) The names of place are detailed but there is no mention about time.		
		23) YT's meeting a various group of people coming close to Namwŏn (495-) -Meeting farmers and young literati -Eating a meal at Manbok-temple 24) YT's meeting Pangja who carries Ch'unhyang's letter to YT (498) -YT's reading Ch'unhyang's letter Time is not mentioned. (499) 25) YT's Meeting a various group of people – young man and elderly man (501) 26) Ŏsa's arrival at CH's house and meeting Wŏlmae -He eats dinner listening to Wŏlmae's complaints. 502.4-505.1		i) 2-3 days 495-505 10.6% Though many events happen. Time is not clear. The time can be inferred to 2-3days.
<b>D. Alter-ation of CH and YT</b>	<b>C H</b>	27) CH's dream and its interpretation by the blind (505)		j) 1day 505-524 20pages 19,1%
	<b>Y T</b>	28) YT, Wŏlmae, Hyangdan go to CH in prison. (508)		
<b>E. Merging CH and YT's Time</b>		29) Reunion in prison (508-513)	30) YT goes to the guest house and meet beggars. (514)	
	<b>7. Ŏsa's Emergence</b> 514-524 11 pages 11%	31) The governor's birthday feast (514- 519)		
		32) The Scene of frenzy due to the sudden emergence of the Ŏsa (519 - 520)		
		33) Reunion and saving CH (520-523)		
		34) Festival (523-524)		
	35) CH's reward - <i>Ch'ungrŏl-buin</i> and formal wife of YT (188)		Undefin-able Time	
<b>Non-narrative Time</b>		The author exposes his own name Yi Kwangsu and his intention of writing this story.		Exterior time of the narrative

## Appendix 4-2

### Analysis 2 *Ilŏl Ch'unhyang-chŏn*

	Scene	Pages Ilŏl	Percent Ilŏl	Percent Okchung hwa	Percent Wanp'an 26
1	Yi's arrival at Ch'unhyang's house and spending the night with Ch'unhyang	442-449.2, 7.2P	7.1%	6.9%	16.5%
2	Eve of their parting where Ch'unhyang, Yi and Ch'unhyang's mum argue and accept their parting	455.7- 461.8, 6.5P	6.4%	7.5%	8.5%
3	Parting at Orijŏng	461.2- 465.1, 3.3p	3.2%	4.3%	0 %
4	Conflict between Ch'unhyang and the governor; from when Ch'unhyang is fetched to the governor to when the governor orders to imprison Ch'unhyang	477.3- 483.5, 5.8p	5.7%	6.9%	7.5%
5	Yi's return to Ch'unhyang's house and meeting Ch'unhyang's mother	502.4- 505.1, 2.5P	2.5%	3.7%	1.7%
6	Reunion of Yi and Ch'unhyang at Ch'unhyang's prison	508.7- 513.4, 5.1P	5.0%	5.3%	4.0%
7	Birthday banquet for the governor	514.7- 519.2, 4.9p	4.8%	5.86%	7.7%

8	Hectic scene due to an official appearance of Ŏsa	519.8-520.8, 1.6p	1.6%	8.0%	2.1%
9	Reunion of Yi and Ch'unhyang at the office hall and revealing Yi's Ŏsa status	520.2-523.1, 2.3p	2.3%	5.3%	2.1%

## Appendix 5

*Wanp'an 26changbon* (1850/80, 5)

이도령이 니 말 듯고 뒤희후야 방주다려 분부후되 그러헐시 분명후면 잔말 말고 불너  
오라 방주놈의 거동보소 도련임 분부 맞사 한 거름의 밧비 가서 이 익 춘향아 계집아하  
라 후논 것시 추천을 허라거던 너의 집 들보의나 미고 씩거나 송정의다 미고 씩던지 허  
논 거시 울커던 삼도 네거리예 호기 잇게 추천후이 우리 도련임이 네 거동 잠간 보고 밧  
비 부르시어 어셔 가주 춘향이 이 말 듯고 감짝 놀니 후논 말리 너더러 춘향이니 안양이  
니 네 미이 네 할미이 종조리시 열씨 싸듯 조랑조랑 후라던야 업싸 이 익아 수소주제 분  
부여던 네 어니 거역후리 우리 도련임이 만고일식이라 시양말고 어셔 가주

### - English Translation

After hearing this, Yi Toryöng was extremely happy and ordered to Pangja “if that is true, stop your gibberish and bring her here”. Look at what Pangja does, he has taken on Toryöng’s orders and busily proceeded in one step. “Child Ch’unhyang, if a young girl is to go on a swing, she should tie it to the pillar of her own home or to the pine tree pavilion to ride. As you bravely ride the swing in three-way intersection that connects to three provinces, our Toryöng briefly observed your actions before swiftly calling for you. Let’s head at once.” Ch’unhyang was shocked on hearing this news and spoke ‘Did he really ask you to endlessly babble away like a lark cracking a cedar seed speaking of whether I was Ch’unhyang or Anyang? [place name, used for rhyming effect]’

“Attata! Come on child, it is the order of the *Satto*’s son, how can you reject? Our Toryöng is extremely good looking so stop refusing and let’s go”

(In fact, the original text was not spaced, but it was spaced here according to modern orthography.)

Okchunghwa (1912, 9-12)

道令 (도령) 님 허허 웃고

네 말이 無識 (무식) ㅎ다 衡山白玉 (형산백옥) 과 麗水黃金 (려수황금) 이 物各有主(물각유주)라 壬子 (임자) 가 各各(각각) 잇느니라 잔말 말고 불너오너라

房子(방자) 홀일업서 春香(춘향) 부르러 간다 光風(광풍)의 나뉘 날듯 충충거러 건너가며 언덕 아래 숲플 시의로 보이지 안케 감안감안 웃둑 썩 드러서 소리를 크게 질너 春香(춘향)아

부르니 春香(춘향)이 싹싹 놀라 그네 이리 내려서며

.....

(房(방)) ..... 修身(수신) ㅎ는 계집 ㅎ이가 三南大路邊 (삼남대로변) 에 秋千 (츄천) 이 當(당) ㅎ며 오논 사람 가는 사름 너만 보고 精神(정신)업시 가지 안코 안져 보니 네 行實(행실)이 穩全(온전) ㅎ냐 使徒子弟(수도주데) 道令(도령)님이 廣寒樓(광한루) 구경왔다 너를 보고 부르라니 二三次(이삼차) 엇쥬어도 종시 듯지 아니시고 불너오라 ㅎ시기로 홀수업서 건너왔스니 어서 밧비 갖치 가자

(春(춘)) 못가갠다

(房(방)) 엇지 ㅎ야 못가갠느냐 兩班(량반)이 부르시논 天然(턴연)히 못간다 ㅎ야

(春(춘)) 이 녀석 道令(도령)님만 兩班(량반)이오 나논 兩班(량반)이 안이나

(房(방)) 너도 兩班(량반)이로 너논 절눔발이 兩班(량반)이라 쓸 없논 말이니 어서 밧비 건너가자

(春(춘)) 못가야

(房(방)) 못 갈 來歷(력)을 말 ㅎ여라

(春(춘)) 못갈 來歷(력)을 드러보아라 兩班(량반)의 宅( ) 道令(도령)님이 글 工夫(공부) 아니 ㅎ고 遊山(유산) ㅎ기 緊(긴)치 안코 遊山(유산)을 홀지라도 남의 집 女子(녀주) 보고 傳囑(전갈) ㅎ기 當(당)치 안코 傳囑(전갈) 은 홀지라도 女子(녀주)의 道理(도리)로 男子(남주)의 傳囑(전갈) 듯고 라가기 怪異(괴이) ㅎ다 海棠花(당화) 그늘 속으로 본테 안코 돌아서니 房子(방주) 噓噓(허허) 웃고

(房(방)) 使徒子弟(수도주데) 道令(도령)님은 얼굴이 一色(일 )이오 風采(풍채)는 杜牧之(두목지)오 文章(문장)은 李太白(리태 ) 筆法(필법)은 王羲之(황희지)라 世代忠孝大家(세 충효대가)로서 家勢(가세)가 長安甲富(장안갑부) 地闊(디벌)은 宴安(연안)이오 外家(외가)는 淸風(청풍)이라 男便(남편)을 엇으랴면 이러흔 男便(남편)을 엇지 식골 무지렁이를 엇논단 말이나

- English Translation

Toryōng laughed “*hōhō*”

“Your words are ignorant. It is the case that the white jade in Hyōng Mountain the gold in Yōsu [name of place] each has its own owner. It is said that objects have owners, so to each object there is an owner. Stop your gibberish and bring her here.”

Pangja is compelled to go to fetch her. He walks across as nimbly as a butterfly that is flying in the spring wind. Sneakily walking into the bushes below the hill in order not to be seen he suddenly shouts. “Ch’unhyang!”

Having been called, Ch’unhyang is shocked and comes down from her swing,

Pangja – Is it correct for a female girl with such a well-rounded and cultivated being to ride a swing in a big road? How can your actions be right when the passerbys take one glance at you and mindlessly sit to watch you instead of passing by? The son of the *Satto*, lord Toryōng saw you as he was perusing the Kwanghan Pavillion and asked for you. I told him two to three times, but he will not listen to me and continues to ask for you, so I have come across to you with no other choice. Let us go quickly.

Ch’unhyang – I cannot go.

Pangja – How is it that you cannot go. How can you say so casually say you cannot go when a *yangban* is calling for you?

Ch’unhyang – You foolish man, is only lord Toryōng a *yangban*? Am I not also a *yangban*?

Pangja – [To be a *yangban*,] you are only half a *yangban* so stop your useless words and let’s go over quickly.

Ch’unhyang – I cannot go.

Pangja – Please tell me the grounds for which you cannot go.

Ch’unhyang – Listen to the reasons why I cannot go. It is not correct that the *yangban* lord Toryōng is not studying writing but instead playfully wandering outside. And even if we accept this behaviour it is not right for him to observe another family’s female and send

someone over to bring her. And again, even if we accept this, it is strange for a woman to dutifully follow because a man has requested so.

After this, Ch'unhyang turned around into the shadow of the sweetbrier as if she had not even seen him. Pangja laughs "hōhō" and says "

"Yi Toryōng is as handsome as Tumokchi, a Yipaek at composing verses, a Wang Huichi at calligraphy", (Wanp'an 84, 23)

Generation after generation, his household is famous for their allegiance and filial piety. As such his family power is extremely rich in the capital city. In addition, his noble lineage is from Yōnan [name of place] and his mother's family from Ch'ōngp'ung [name of place]. If you are to find a husband you should obtain one like this, are you saying you would rather obtain an ignorant countryside man?

It is the same text as in the original except spacing. Originally, printed editions have their own spacing but it is written with a contemporary orthography, and the line breaking follows the original text.

*Ilŏl Ch'unhyang-chōn* (1929, 17-22)

몽룡은 짐짓 성을내어 담배ㅅ대로 마루ㅅ바닥을 두드리며

「이놈아 내가 불러오라면 불러올게지 웬 잔말이냐」

하고 소리를 높인다.

방자는 마치못하여하는드시 시무룩하야 그네터를 향하고 건너간다.  
버들ㅅ가지 하나를 심술긋게 썩씩거서 잔가지를 우직근우직근 다듬어서  
걱구로 잡고 군노사령의 거름본으로 충충충 걸어간다 오작교건너 큰길건너  
잠간 집모퉁이에 들어 안보이더니 그네터에 썩 나서며 바로 그네에서 나리라는  
춘향의 뒤로 발자취ㅅ 소리업시 삽분삽분 뛰어가서 목을 썩 빼며 (17)

.....

「큰일났다」

하고 방자는 과연 무슨 큰일이나 생긴드시 고개를 끄덕끄덕한다.

「무슨 큰일?」

하고 춘향도 방자의 말에 주의를한다.

「오늘이 오월단오가 아니냐」

「그래」 (19)

「오늘이 오월단오라고 책방도련님이 광한루구경을 나오시어 지금 저기 안저게신데 네가 그네 쉼것을 그만 눈사 동자가 근두박이를 치어서 날더러 너를 불러오라고 야단이시니 이를 잊지하느냐, 어느 령이라고 거역할수는업고 부득불 잠깐 네가 가 보아야겠다.

연분 [六]

몽룡이가 자기를 부른다는말에 춘향은 못맛당한드시 눈추리를 썰죽슬 어 올리며,

「애 그 말가지아니한 소리마러라 책방도련님이 내가 누군줄알고 오너라말어라 한단말이냐」

하고 잘 맞지안는 태도를 보인다.

방자 한 손을 이마에 대어 별을 가리우고 한손을 이마에 대어(번역) 벗을 가리우고 한손을 넋짓 들어 광한루를 가르치면서

「얘야 내가 언제 거죽말하드냐, 네 저기를 바라보아라 저기저 남쪽 솟기둥에 비스듬히 기다여섯는데 부채질하는이가 책방도련님이아니시냐」

춘향도 방자의 가르치는편을 바라보았다, 서편으로 기울어진벚에 눈이 부시어 (20)

자세히는 분간할수업서도 방자의말대로 었던 소년 하나가 비스듬히 기둥에 기다여섯는데 그 차림차림이 귀한집 공자일시 분명하고 이곳에 귀공자라면 책방도련님일시 분명하다, 책방도련님이 풍채죠히 재조잇단말은 춘향도 들엇던터이라 한번 보앗스면 하는 맘도 업지아니하건마는 그러케 부른다고 수월히 갈리아잇스라

「글세 그이가 책방도련님인지는 모르겠다마는 그이가 나를 누군줄 알고 부르신단 말이냐, 공연히 말만코 일만흔 네가 못지안는말을 춘향이니란향이니하고 일러바친게지」

「말이야 바로하지 네가 춘향이란말은 내입으로 나왔다마는 네 일흠도 알기전에 네모양만 보고 벌써 혼이 반은 싸지어다라나서 날더러 네가 누군가 알아올리라 하시니 내가 먹을것이 잇서서 내일부터라도 삼문안 구실을 안다니면 몰아도엇지 도련님을 그일수가잇느냐, 그래서 말이야바로 내입으로 바른대로일러바쳤다」

하고 방자는 춘향의 귀에 입을 갖가이다히고 한층 말사 소리를나초아

「애야, 말이야바로 책방도련님이 과연 네배필이 될만한 량반이다. 풍채조코 맘착하고 그러고도 시언시언하고 글이야 내가 아느냐마는 글도잘하신다더라—밤낮 글만 넓으니 그만치 넓으면 우리집 도야지놈도 글을 잘못하고는 못견딜것(21)

이다, 나도 너를 친동생가티 아니말이지 도련님말을 잘 들어보아라—해롭지 아니할라」

「응 너 나를 후러내러드는구나」

하고 춘향이 방그레 웃더니 다시 정색하고 방자더러

「가서 이러케 도련님께 엿주어라. 불러주시는 뜻은 감격하오나 규중처자로서모르는 남자의 전갈듯고 싸라가웁기는 넷 성현의 훈계에 어그러지니 못갑니다고..... 쏘 공부하시는 도련님이 소창을 나오시면 소창이나하실것이지 남의집 처자더러 오라말아라하시는것이 점잔흐신 체면에 어그러지지안습닛가고—그러케 가서 엿주어라, 나는 갈수업다」

하고 칼로 썩 쓴느드시 말하고는 뒤도 안돌아보고 새춤하고 집으로 들어가버리고 만다. (22)

- English Translation

Mongryōng, whilst knocking the hardwood floor with his smoking pipe out of anger, raises his voice to say “My man, if I ask for her you should bring her. Why do you babble so?”

Pangja reluctantly sulks across towards the swing. He mischievously breaks off a branch of a willow tree and trims off the crackling small branches. Holding it upside down, with the

likeness of a soldier's march he walks with deliberation. After crossing the big road of Ojak bridge he shortly disappears as he goes into the corner of a house. He swiftly heads towards the swings with silent footsteps and light running. Catching Ch'unhyang from behind just as she is coming off the swing he stretches out .....

"There has been big news." Pangja nods his head as if there has been some serious news.

"What news?" Asked Ch'unhyang, giving attention to Pangja's words.

"Isn't today the May Tano?"

"Yes."

"As it is the May Tano, the library Toryǒng has come out to see the Kwanghan Pavillion and is currently sitting there. On seeing you on the swing his eyes have helplessly fallen for you and now he is bawling for me to bring you to him. What can I do? I cannot refuse a *yangban*'s orders and so we have no choice but for you to briefly go see him.

Ch'unhyang, as if disapproving of the news that Mongryǒng called for her, prudely raised her eyes.

"Please stop speaking nonsense. What do you mean the library Toryǒng, who does not even know me, is telling me to come or go as he pleases?"

She says as though she does not believe him.

Pangja raises one hand onto his forehead to block the sunshine and carefully raises the other hand to point at the Kwanghan Pavilion to say,

"When did I ever lie to you. Look over there. Is not that man over there leaning obliquely on the southernmost pillar, standing to fan himself the library Toryǒng?"

Ch'unhyang also looked towards where Pangja was pointing. Although she could not distinguish clearly due to the glare of the sunrays tilting to the west, there was a boy as Pangja described leaning obliquely on the pillar. It was clear that the man's guise was that of a son of a wealthy family and in this place if there is a son of such worth it must be no other than the library Toryǒng himself. Ch'unhyang had also heard that that the library Toryǒng was of good

physique and highly talented, so it was not as though she had no intention of meeting him. However, she could not go over so easily to the lord Toryǒng because he had called for her as such.

“Well, I don’t know if this man is or is not the library Toryǒng but what does he know of me to call for me like this. I am sure a chatterbox and busybody such as you informed him of things he did not ask, telling him whether I was Ch’unhyang or Nanhyang.”

“Let’s get this straight. I did tell him with my own mouth that you were Ch’unhyang but before he even knew your name, he saw your figure and fell in love with you at once and asked me to go find out who you were. It is not as though I have enough food to quit my job tomorrow, so how could I disobey the Toryǒng’s orders. That is why I told him the truth with my own mouth”

Having said this, Pangja placed his lips near Ch’unhyang’s ear and lowered his tone a level,

“My dear girl, the library Toryǒng is the very man who is suitable to become your husband. He has good physique and a kind heart but is not shy, and his writings of course I cannot know for myself but I have heard he is a good writer – day and night all he does is read. If you read that much even my own son could not be bad at writing. I also think of you as a younger sister so why don’t you listen to the Toryǒng’s request – it won’t do you any harm.”

“Okay. You have clearly come to convince me” said Ch’unhyang smiling happily before returning to her previous serious facial expression to say “Go and tell the Toryǒng this. I am deeply moved that he is calling for me, but as a gentle/virtuous young girl it is against the teachings of the sages for me to hear the beckoning of an unknown man and follow him. Because of this, I cannot go with you. In addition, if the studious Toryǒng is to go out somewhere for a change, he should just go out. Does it not go against his decent facade for him to order the lady of another household to come and go? Go and ask him this. I cannot go.

She said this as if she had cut the conversation with a knife and prudely walked into her home without even a backwards glance.

## Appendix 6

### *Okchunghwa*

(房(방)) 使徒子弟(수도주테) 道令(도령)님은 얼굴이 一色(일 )이오 風采(풍채)는 杜牧之(두목지)오 文章(문장)은 李太白(리태 ) 筆法(필법)은 王羲之(황희지)라 世代忠孝大家(세 충효대가)로서 家勢(가세)가 長安甲富(장안갑부) 地闊(디벌)은 宴安(연안)이오 外家(외가)는 淸風(청풍)이라 男便(남편)을 엇으랴면 이러흔 男便(남편)을 엇지 식골 무지렁이를 엇노단 말이나

English translation for the citation above:

*The Toryŏng of the governor is handsome with an imposing appearance as Tu Mokchi. He is a Yi T'aepaek for composing verses, a Wang Hŭiji for calligraphy. He is a descendant of a family of loyal subjects, his family's fortune and power is the highest of the district. He is a son of a renowned lineage of Yŏnan and his maternal lineage is Ch'ŏngp'ung if you want to have a husband, you must meet one of this kind of husbands. Will you have a rural ignorant?*

### *Ilsŏl*

「애야, 말이야바로 책방도련님이 과연 네배필이 될만한 량반이다. 풍채조코 맘착하고 그러고도 시언시언하고 글이야 내가 아느냐마는 글도잘하신다더라— 밤낮 글만 읽으니 그만치 읽으면 우리집 도야지놈도 글을 잘못하고는 못견딜것이다, 나도 너를 친동생가티 아니말이지 도련님말을 잘 들어보아라— 해롭지 아니할라」

English translation for the citation above:

*“Sweetheart, the master is the man who will be your spouse. He is handsome, good-hearted, and so cool. What can I know about writings? But it is said that he also writes well. All he does is read day and night, and it won't be possible that my house pigs cannot read well if it reads like the Toryŏng. I have regarded you as my sister. Listen to him well, it will not harm you.”*

## Appendix 7

### *Wanp'an 26*

이도령이 니 말 듯고 디희후야 방주다려 분부후되 그리헐시 분명후면 잔말 말고  
불너오라 방주놈의 거동보소 도련임 분부 맞사 한 거름의 밧비 가서

#### - English Translation

After hearing this, Yi Toryöng was extremely happy and ordered to Pangja “*if that is true, stop your gibberish and bring her here*”. Look at what Pangja does, he has taken on Toryöng’s orders and busily proceeded in one step.

### *Okchunghwa*

道令 (도령) 님 허허 웃고

네 말이 無識 (무식) 후다 衡山白玉 (형산백옥) 과 麗水黃金 (려수황금) 이 物各  
有主(물각유주)라 壬子 (임자) 가 各各(각각) 잇느니라 잔말 말고 불너오너라

房子(방자) 훑일업서 春香(춘향) 부르러 간다 光風(광풍)의 나뉘 날듯 충충거러 건너가  
며 언덕 아래 숲플 시의로 보이지 안케 감안감안 웃дук 썩 드러서 소리를 크게 질너

#### - English Translation

Toryöng laughed “*hōhō*”

“*Your words are ignorant. It is the case that the white jade in Hyöng Mountain the gold in Yösu [name of place] each has its own owner. It is said that objects have owners, so to each object there is an owner. Stop your gibberish and bring her here.*”

Pangja is compelled to go to fetch her. He walks across as nimbly as a butterfly that is flying in the spring wind. Sneakily walking into the bushes below the hill in order not to be seen he suddenly shouts.

*Ilsŏl Ch'unhyang-chŏn*

몽룡은 짐짓 성을내어 담배스대로 마루스바닥을 두드리며  
「이놈아 내가 불러오라면 불러올게지 웬 잔말이냐」  
하고 소리를 높인다.

- English Translation

Mongryŏng, whilst knocking the hardwood floor with his smoking pipe out of anger, raises his voice to say “*My man, if I ask for her you should bring her. Why do you babble so?*”

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