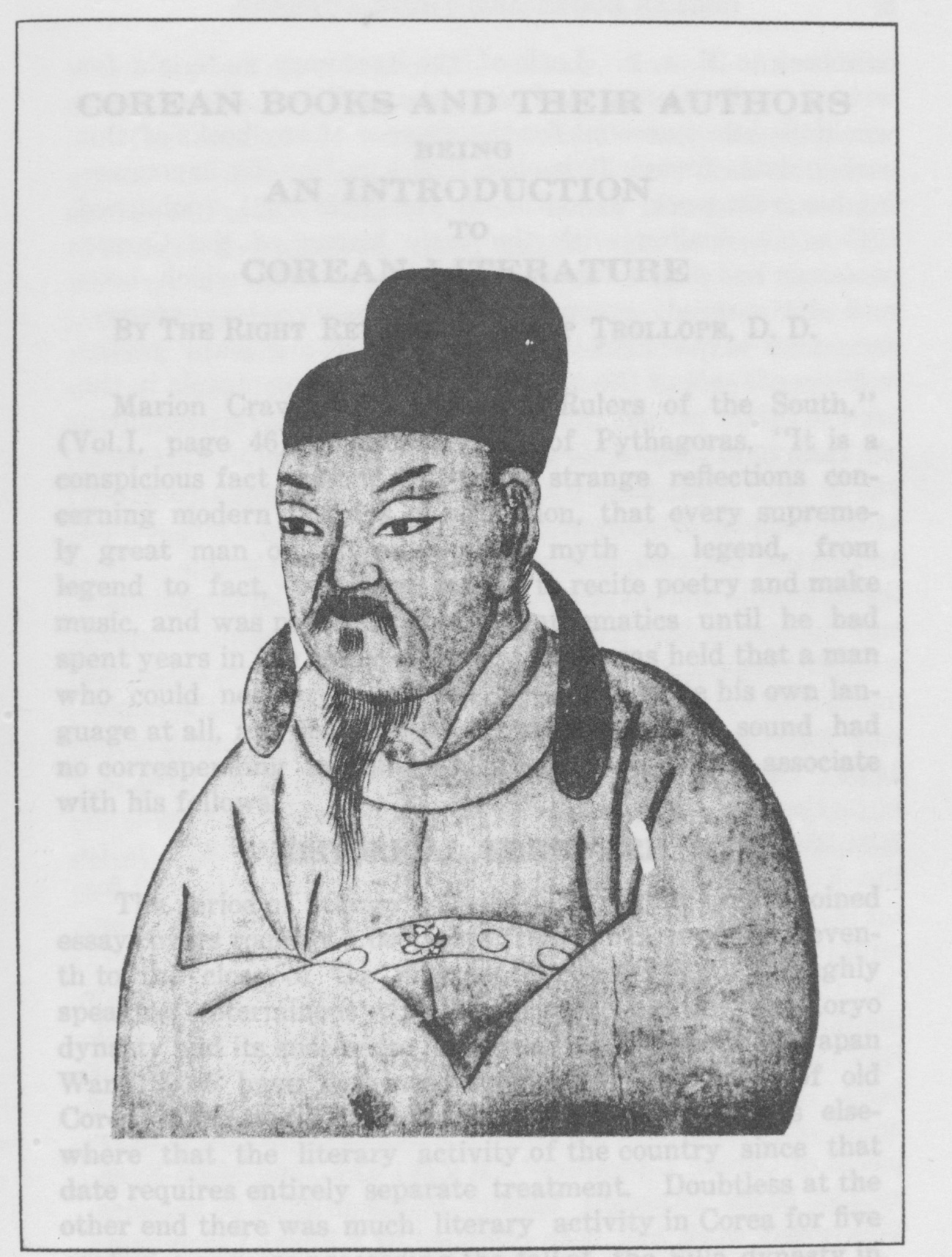
COREAN BOOKS AND THEIR AUTHORS

BEING AN INTRODUCTION TO COREAN LITERATURE

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND BISHOP MARK NAPIER TROLLOPE, D. D.

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CHOI CHI WON

BORN 857 DIED 915

Renowned statesman and literary man of Silla, called by some “The Father of Korean Literature.” Supposed not to have died but to have been translated.

[page 1]

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Marion Crawford in his book “Rulers of the South,” (Vol. I, page 46), says in speaking of Pythagoras, “It is a conspicious fact and one that raises strange reflections concerning modern theories of education, that every supremely great man of antiquity, from myth to legend, from legend to fact, was first taught to recite poetry and make music, and was not instructed in mathematics until he had spent years in the study of both ; for it was held that a man who could not write in verse, could not write his own language at all, and that a being for whom natural sound had no correspending meaning was a barbarian unfit to associate with his fellows.

HISTORICAL FOREWARD

The period of literary activity dealt with in the subjoined essay covers roughly 1,000 years from the close of the eleventh to the close of the nineteenth century, ana is rougnly speaking coterminous with the period covered by the Koryo dynasty and its successor The years since the China-J apan War 1894-5 have witnessed such a bouleversement of old Corea, in the world of literature as in other matters elsewhere that the literary activity of the country since that date requires entirely separate treatment. Doubtless at the other end there was much literary activity in Corea for five centuries or more preceeding the fall of the Silla dynasty in the IXth century A. D. But of this there are only epigraphical remains in the shapes of a few monumental inscriptions on stone-tablets of which one indeed appears to [page 2] date back to 85, A. D. Lack of the necessary materials for writing and printing and constant political disturbances would doubtless account for the absence of any books of this, earlier date, though it is plain that Kim Don-Sik in composing his great work, Sam-Kuk-Sa-Kui (三國史記) (published 1345 A. D.) dealing with the early history of the Corean peninsula had at his disposal authentic records which have now disappeared, except so far as their contents are preserved for in his page s. Although there are many myths and legends about the history of the Corea peninsula in the pre-Christian period going back as far as the reputed birth of Tankun in 2333, B. C. there is only one date of historical value, viz ; 1122, B.C. when Ki-tja, who is always reckoned as the founder of Corean civilization, migrated from China and settled in Corea, making Pyeng Yang his Capital. But the authentic and continuous history of the Corea peninsula may be said to date from a period roughly speaking covered with the beginning of the Christian Era, the three kingdoms into which (if we could disregard smaller states) the peninsula was then divided having been founded at the following dates ; Silla 57 ; B.C. Ko-Kouryu 37 ; B. C. Paik-tjyei,18 ; B. C. these three all united by 668, A. D. under the sway of Silla 250 years later, who passed the sceptre in 918, A. D. to the Koryo dynasty, and they in turn made room in 1392 for the Yi dynasty ruling the country under the name of Chosen, until its annexation by Japan in 1910.

The literature of Corea presents a vast and (except for the labours of Japanese scholars) an almost unworked field. How vast the field is may be estimated from the following facts. In the year 1478 of our era, there was published under royal auspices a great ‘‘Collection of Select Masterpieces of Corean Literature” (東文選) The Tong-Moon-Syen, in 130 books (Corean) usually bound in 48 or 50 volumes. This great work had been compiled by a Royal Commission of twenty-three members, including half a dozen scholars of first rate rank, and included compositions by all the well known Corean writers from the close of the Silla dynasty, [page 3] which expired early in the xth century, down to the middle of the xvth century, in which the book appeared.

The number of individual writers whose compositions appear in this great collection, which only deals with one section of corean literature, i. e. “belles lettres,” amounts to close on five hundred. And that, it must be remembered, takes us only down to about 1450, A. D. I have on my own bookshelves the collected works certainly of no less than 500 authors of note, who have flourished since that date and whose works fill nearly 5,000 volumes. Before I leave the Tong-Moon-Syen, I should like to add, that so highly is this collection of literary masterpieces prized—as indeed most all Corean literature is prized by the Japanese scholars of to-day—that it was reprinted in extensa, as recently as 1914 by the committee set up under the auspices of Prince Ito, shortly before the annexation of Corea by Japan for the express purpose of reprinting the works of old Corean authors. In this shape printed in small type on thin foreign paper, it occupies seven closely-printed volumes, copies of which, neatly bound in green cloth, may sometimes be purchased for yen 40 or 50, in the second hand book shops of Seoul complete sets of handsome old Korean editions of 1478, or its subsequent reprints are very difficult to get my own set lacks many volumes. I should further say that a supplementary collection of 15 volumes (24 koun) was published in 1518, just forty years after the original publication of 1478, and that in 1713 when no less a person than Kangheui, the great Manchu emperior of China, with a proper appreciation of his vassal state’s literary eminence, demanded, among other tributes, a gift of Corean books, another and an abreviated edition of the “Tong-meun-syen” in 15 volumes, was among the literary treasures sent to Peking.

Much earlier literature has doubtless disappeared, owing to the constant invasions of the peninsula, both from the Chinese and Japanese sides, and also to the internecine warfare between the three kingdoms (Ko-Kou-Rye, Paik-Tjyei and Silla) into which the country now known as Corea [page 4] (or Chosen) was divided until under the sway of Silla in 668, A. D.

The great mass of literature is practically all written, as will be readily understood, in Chinese—and Chinese of the most severely classical style. For although Corea has always used, for purposes of speech, its own vernacular language, which differs in every way from spoken Chinese and has only very remote resemblances to Japanese, the Coreans have steadily used the Chinese characters, for reading and writing though their use appears to have been adopted at different times by the different states which until the seventh century divided the peninsula between them. Ko-Kourye, as the state situated nearest the Chinese frontier, was naturally the first in the field, and seems to have adopted the Chinese script possibly as early as the first century and cer-tainly not later than the fourth centurv A.D., when Paik-tyjei and Silla seem to have followed suit in the fourth and sixth centuries respectively and in every case the use of the new literary medium being much fostered by the activities of the Buddhist missionaries, then making their first appearance into the peninsula. And by the seventh century the Confucian Classics imported from China had undoubtedly become a subject of general study throughout the land. And since Chinese, as written in Corea, was based on the study of the classics and not modified by the accidents of daily speech, as it has been in China itself. it has always preserved a somewhat archaic flavour, which has rather added to its charm in the eyes of Chinese and Japanese scholars. This use of one language for speech and another for reading and writing which seems so strange to us, though it has a parallel in the use of Latin in Europe, Corea has shared with Japan, and indeed to a certain extent with China, where the spoken dialect or dialects are entirely different from classical Chinese.

The skill of Corean scholars in Chinese composition was indeed famous in China and Japan—especially in that highly developed and complicated form of composition which con- [page 5] sisted of verse making in one or other of the metres familiar to Chinese and Japanese scholars. Two instances out OF many may here be given. In 1377 A. D., when the famous Corean stateman, Tjyeng Mong-tyou (鄭夢周), was engaged on a somewhat delicate mission to Japan, his experiences in this connection are described as follows –

4’Requested by the monks to write verse, Tjyeng Mong-tyou took his brush and without effort wrote splendid lines, whereupon other monks pressed upon him to read his verses and inviting him, provided a Sedan chair to convey him to their respective dwellings, where they begged him to write for them, poems.”

An even more famous instance is that which records the experience of Tcha T’yen-noy (車天絡차천뢰 ) (1556-1615) who formed one of the important delegation of statemen despatched in accordance with custom by the king of Corea to meet the Chinese envoy Tjyou Tji-pon (朱之蕃주지번)— himself a scholar of note—on the occasion of his official visit to the Court of Corea in 1606. The story is as follows “The King hearing that Tjyou Tji-pon, the famous master of the pen was on his way from China to Corea, as envoy, sent Yi Chung Kwi with a number of his associates to meet him. Arriving in Pyeng Yang, he asked that a poem should be written before cockcrow of the morning, the subject being that of the beautiful city of Pyeng Yang, and bowing gracefully he took his leave and retired for the night. Yi called his friends together feeling that the request was almost impossible yet wishing to carry out the desire of the envoy. One suggested that each should write a verse and then piece the thing together, but this Yi felt would be an offence to His Excellency and would soon be detected by him. Yi Chung Kwi then called Tcha T’yai-noy, the famous scholar, and saia “Tcha, you are the very man to meet a need.” Tcha thought for a moment and then said “I am a fool but I will try. He called for a screen which he placed around him so that he was quite hidden from view, then for a brazier, a bowl of wine and a fan. Han Suk Pong (韓石峯), a writer [page 6] of beautiful style, sat outside the screen with a roll of paper in his hand and a well watered ink-stone. Tcha took a long drink and then mumbling, collected his thoughts. Tuning up, he beat time with his fan on the rim of his brazier and then springing to his feet, shouted “ready.” Like a rippling stream from a fairy fountain the soft couplets came tripping forth in song. His spirit rose as he gathered speed. Off went first his coat, then other garments as he warmed up to his marvellous lines. The company could see his head bobbing up and down above the screen while Han with skilled hand and brush wrote speedily the inspired characters. In a trice it was done, rolled beautifully, sealed and carried to the Chinese envoy who being then asleep was surprised to be awakened to receive the messengers at so early an hour. Tjyou unrolled the poem and the rhythm so fascinated him that he took his fan and began beating it on the brazier to the measure of the poem, and so absorbed was he that he beat his fan to shreds before the poem was ended. “A wonderful poem,” said Tjyou, “Corea is the land of the great bard.”

The “capping of verses” and the mutual exchange of poetical compositions was indeed a great feature of these periodical meetings of Chinese and Corean envoys, at least until the expiring of the Ming Dynasty in 1644 There is a famous collection of such in 25 volumes, (50 koun) which was published by royal authority in 1773 under the title of “Hoang-hoa-tjip” (皇華集황화집), and which covers a period of nearly two centuries from 1450-1633. There are moreover not a few cases in which the collected works of some deceased Corean scholar-statesman have on their publication been honoured by prefaces of well known Chinese literati.

With regard to literature in the vernacular or spoken language of Corea, it is of course matter of common knowledge that there was no means of committing them to writing until in 1443 King Syei-Tjong, (世宗大王), one of the best monarchs who ever reigned in Corea— (1418-1450) performed his memorable feat of inventing the Eun-moun [page 7] alphabet (or rather syllabary), which has since been of such untold value to his country. The tomb of this royal benefactor of his race may still be seen at Yo-Ju (驪州), and deserves to be visited by grateful piligrims instead of being treated to the comparative neglect which is its fate. It must however, be admitted that this admirable means of committing thoughts and speech to writing though far more handy than Japanese “Kana” was never estimated at its true value by Coreans, until Christian missionaries came to show what use could be made of it The Royal Edict by which King Syei-Tjong brought this invention to the knowledge of his people is a document of such importance that it deserves to be put on record here. It may be found in volume L of the Ryel-syeng-e-tjyei, or “Collection of Royal Writings “ (列聖御製렬성어졔)

King Syei-Tjong’s edict is as follows : —

“ It is well known that the spoken language of the Coreans is different from that of the Chinese. The Chinese characters and the Corean speech are not easily assimilated, and as a result unlearned and ignorant people cannot express their thoughts in writing. Out of real compassion and simpathy I have invented an easy script of twenty-eight phonetic signs which the common people can easily understand and easily learn ; and in so doing they will be able to use them daily in the exercise of reading and writing. “

Then follow an explanation of the use of the twenty eight letters of the alphabet:

(a) One of the first uses to which the newly invented alphabet was put was to supply a vernacular rendering of the moral stories in the Sam-Kang-Haing- Sil-To (三網行實圓삼강행실도 ), a book illustrated with woodcuts and first published by royal authority in 1434 with a Chinese text, in praise of three fundamental social duties, loyality to the king, filial piety to parents and conjugal fidelity to husbands. This was of course actually ten years before the invention of Eun-moun, and early editions [page 8] of this book have the vernacular version of the stories printed in the margin of leaves containing the woodcuts whereas the Chinese text occupies a page facing the illustrations. It would appear therefore that the book was first published with woodcuts and Chinese text only, and that in subsequent editions the Eun-moun text was cut on the empty margin of the blocks from which the woodcuts were printed. In 1518 a supplementary volume called the “ I-ryoun-haing-sil-to “ (二儉行實圓이륜행실도), in praise of the other two great social duties, fraternal love between brothers and faithfulness between friends, was similarly published by royal authority. In 1797 the two were combined in a much improved edition under the title of “O-ryoun-haing-sil-to ‘‘ (五倫行實圖 오륜행실도) a work which is familiar to many of us.

(b) But even more important, at least from the Corean point of view, was the use of Eun-moun to provide Eun-hai, or “vernacular interpretations” of the great classical scriptures of China, so dearly connected with the name of Confucius which had been as already stated adopted as objects of study. And of which in 692 A. D. it is recorded that the Corean scholar Syel-chong (薛聰셜총), succeeded in explaining the Nine Classics of China to his pupils in the vulgar tongue. Syel-chong occupies the first place among the sixteen Corean sages who have attained the supreme honour of being admitted to worship in the temples of Confucius. Syel-chong’s method seems to have consisted in inserting at all necessary points of the Chinese text, the vernacular To or connective particles which are necessary to make the syntax and grammatical structure of a Chinese sentence, clear. This practise of inserting To has been followed to this day by Corean scholars in reciting the Classics, or reading the Chinese writ-[page 9] ings. Syel-chong lived of course seven and a half centuries before the invention of Eun-moun, and in lieu of an alphabet in which to write down their connecting particles and inflections, appears to have invented a syllabary composed of a certain number of Chinese characters arbritrarily chosen for their sound value, and without any reference to their sense. Thus the Chinese character (隱), (which means to ‘ hide ‘ or ‘conceal’ and which happens to have the same sound (은) as the appositive case ending in spoken Corean) was chosen without any reference to its sense as a means of writing that case ending down. And so with the other syllables in the Corean spoken language. This seventh century syllabary of Syel-chong’s was known as Yi Moon (吏文리문), or Yi T’oo (吏讀 리두), script, and remained in use in official circles and in legal documents like title deeds long after the invention of Eun-moun and down to the end of the nineteenth century. But for the purpose of literary study it was superseded by the simple Eun-moun syllabary, shortly after the invention of the latter. And the Eun-hai at first simply took the form of printing the connecting particles or inflections in Eun-moun in the margin at the top of each page . A further development was later made by printing in Eun-moun beneath each cnaracter its traditional Corean sound or “eum” (very different both from the Chinese and the Japanese pronounciation). And the latest development of all was to print after each paragraph so annotated, a run-ning translation in Eun-moun, (식음) giving the sense of the paragraph, in question, in the vernacular. The famous scholar Yi Youl-Kok (李栗谷) 1536-1583, seems to have taken a prominent part in the work of annotating the Classics, and his labours and those of his colleagues resulted in an edi- [page 10] tion being put out under royal authority in 1581, and subsequently very often reprinted until quite modern times.

The “Soh-hak”, or (小學소학) lesser learning, and some other Chinese works of note, like the poems of Tu-fu, and even a few Buddhist and Taoist works received a similar treatment

At least three other important uses of Eun-moun must be noted :

(c) It was used as a means of recording the text of vernaclar songs, to be sung to music, whether folk songs sung by labourers at their work or the old traditional songs sung at Court functions. Of which we find specimens in the Ak-Hak-Kui-Pum

(樂學軌範악학궤법) (1474) but of which the most famous example was the Yong-Pi-Au-T’chun-Ka (龍飛御天歌룡비어천가) l445), or songs composed as jeux d’esprit by Corean literati, who occasionally unbent so far from their strict adherence to the classic literary models. A famous instance of this last is the patriotic songs of Tjyeng-mong- tjyou, (鄭夢周) which runs as follows :—

“The Song of the True Heart” (丹心歌)

“This body dies;it is dead; “

“It dies a hundred times.”

“The white bones turn to black earth,”

“Be the soul or spirit present or absent ; “

“My heart is towards the king,”

“How can it ever be changed ?”

Unlike our western songs or the classical poetry composed by Chinese and Corean scholars, these songs were as a rule unhampered by considerations of metre or rhyme, being more akin to our ‘recitatives’ and depending for their charm solely on rhyme and on the ideas which they were intended to convey.

(d) Again Eun-moun was freely used, at least from the reign of King Yong-Chong (1724-75) onward to provide vernacular renderings of Royal Edicts, [page 11] (綸音륜음), and other Royal pronouncements, which were beautifully printed in Chinese with a free translation into the vernacular Eun-moun at- tached. These documents were of a very varied description, ranging from historical State papers giving the official version of important political happenings, or moral discourses down to regula-tions dealing with the size of the chimas to be worn by the palace ladies, or with the perennial 기 difficulty of controlling and rescuing the beggajr children in the streets of Seoul One of the last and best known of these was the T’chok-Sa-Youn-Eum (斥邪論香척사륜음) or “Edict against Christianity” promulgated by the Tai-Won-Kun in 1866.

(e) And last but by no means least, came the use of Eun-moun for the vulgar 이야기책, novellette, which formed until recently the most popular literature of Corea, and the modern descendants of which are now to be found in the cheaply printed books, bound in covers of startling binding exposed for sale on the pavements of the streets of Seoul

M. Courant in the fascinating Introduction to his monumental Bibliographie Coreenne, gives an amusing account of these rather deplorable products of the cheap printing press in old Corea, and the shops in which they used to be exposed for sale side by side with tobacco pipes and pouches, hairpins, cakes of soap, cheap matches, dried fish and seaweed, and the usual stock in trade of the Corean general store.

It would however create quite a misleading impression of Corean literary activity if we stayed any longer over that infinitesimally small and relatively unimportant section of it which found expression in the vernacular through the medium of the native Eun-moun, creditable as was the invention of that very remarkable syllabary. For all Corean [page 12] literature, with any claim to be regarded as literature has from time immemorial been composed in Chinese, and Chinese moreover of a rather old-fashioned and scholastic type, redolent of the old Confucian Classics which have played almost as important a part in the culture of the Far East as the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments have in the West. Those who regard it as strange that any nation should use any thing but its own vernacular speech as a medium of literary expression may be reminded of the extraordinary vogue of Latin throughout Europe from the days of the Roman Empire down to the seventeenth or eighteenth century, long after the various vernaculars of England, Italy, France, Germany, Spain, and the rest had been developed to a great pitch of excellence. Even such epoch making expressions of English thought as Francis Bacon’s “Novum Organum” in the sixteenth century, and Isaac Newton’s “Principia” in the seventeenth century first saw the light in a Latin dress, while so good a Protestant as John Milton was Latin secretary to Oliver Cromwell and in certain circles at least is as well known by his “Defensio” as by “Paradise Lost and Regained”, “Lycidas”, Alle-gro, and “Il Penseroso”. And in certain sciences, such as botany, Latin is to this day the world’s language.

In dealing with this vast mass of Sinico-Corean litera-ture—i. e. literature composed in Chinese by Corean authors –it will be convenient to adopt the classification universal for many centuries and still used throughout the Far East which divides all works into four sections, Kyeng (經) (Classics), Sa (史) (history), Tja (子) (usually rendered “philosophies” but used to describe works on special subjects) and Tjip (集) (usually rendered “belles lettres” but actually used to describe the “collected works” or what used to be called in old English bibliography the “remains” of well known authors). It is worth noting that in this by no means exhaustive catalogue of the Government General’s library of Corean books, prepared by expert Japanese librarians about 3,000 separate items are listed of [page 13] which a bare 200 fall under the heading ofclassics’, about 1,300 under the heading of ‘history’, (which includes a good many things besides what we should regard as history) and a bare 500 under the heading of ‘‘philosophies’’ (or writings on special subjects) and about 1,000 under the heading of “belles lettres”, or the collected works of individual authors or groups of authors. The last mentioned is the most varied and interesting as well as the most voluminous since not a few of the items run into 20 or 30 volumes, some into 50 or 60 and even into 100.

We must however begin at the top with :--

(I) Kyeng (經) the Classics, a term which denotes oi course the great Classical Scriptures of China, so intimately connected with the name of the famous sage known to Europeans as Confucius (551-479 B.C.) to whom the world is indebted in the main for their transmission, if not (except in a slight degree) for their authorship. This is not the place to enlarge either on the personality of Confucius or on the Classics which go by his name, full information with regard to which may be found in any of the many excellent books which have been written on China and the Chinese. Suffice it to say here and now that the expression ‘‘Classics’’ or “Confucian Classics” is used to denote the nine works, sometimes (as we have seen in the reference to Syel-chong) known as the “Nine Classics” (九經), but more accurately referred to as the ‘‘Five Classics (五經), and the “Four Books” (四書).

The “Five Classics”, are the

Book of Changes (周易)

Book of History (書傳)

Book of Odes (詩傳)

The Spring and Autumn Chronicle (春秋) The Record of Rites (禮記)

The “Four Books” are the

Confucian Analects (論語)

The Great Learning (大學) [page 14]

The Doctrine of the Mean (中庸)

Mencius (孟子)

Confucius himself always disclaimed the title of author and only claimed to be the faithful transmitter of what had come down from ancient times. And indeed only one of the Five Classics (the “Spring and Autumn Chronicle”) is entitled to be regarded as the work of Confucius’ own pen, while for the Four Books—though they largely record for us Confucius’ own words and teaching— we have to thank his disciples, ending with the one who is known to Europeans as Mencius (372-289 B. C.). Two events only need delay us in the long history of these ancient writings.

(1) The attempted destruction of them (and with them of all record of the literary history of China) in 213 B. C. by the Emperor Chin-hsi hwang, (秦始皇) better known to us of his other famous exploit of building the Great Wall of China.

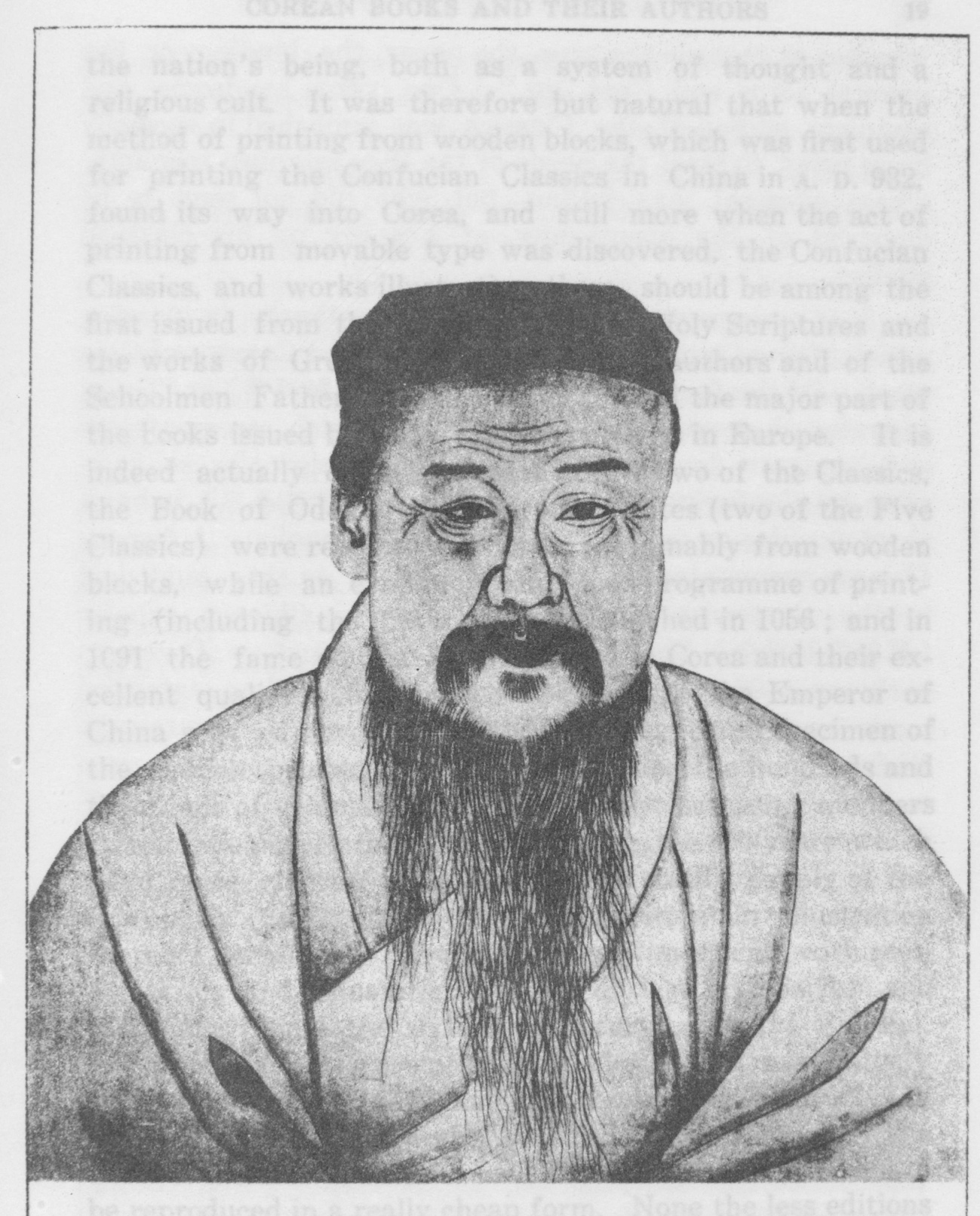
(2) The complete overhauling, codification and annotation which these Classical books underwent in the twelfth century A. D. at the hands of Chu-Ja (朱子) (1130-1200 A. D.)—probably the greatest figure in Chinese history after the sage Wang- Su-in (王守仁) 1472-1528 A. D.

It is hardly too much to say that Confucianism as we know it to-day is largely the handiwork of Chu-Ja. Nor are there wanting critics — Chinese and foreign-who will tell us that Chu-Ja succeeded in many respects in giving a tone, ana imparting a colour to the whole system contained in the Confucian classics, which was largely foreign to the mind of Confucius himself. Be that as it may, for the Chinese classics as they have come to us to-day we are indebted, chiefly, to Chu-Ja. The text is the text fixed (with a good deal of critical acumen) by him, the authorized commentaries are those which he composed or compiled, and which are almost invariably printed together with the texts themselves. When we remember that the whole fabric of Corean as well as Chinese society and only to a slightly less extent that of [page 15] Japan also, is built upon the social, political, moral and philosophical ideas contained in the Confucian Classics, it will be realized that the statement already made that those occupying a position in the Far East analogous to that held by the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments and the writings of the Greek and classical authors in the West, is none too strong.

Those whose memory of Corea goes back as mine does to the years preceeding the fateful (甲牛年) (1894), when the old regime practically came to an end, will remember that that though there was in those days nothing in the way of a system of popular education, nearly every village and hamlet boasted its little Kul-pang (글방) or school, in which some old Confucian scholar eked a more or less precarious living by teaching the rising generation the elements of Chinese. Well we remember how the welkin rung with the voices of the youthful scholars reciting the 1,000 characters (千字文), from which they were promoted by easy stages through the Tong-Mong-Syen-Syep (童蒙先習동몽선습) or the Kay-Mong-P’hyon (啓蒙篇계편) (Children’s Primers) and the many volumes of the Tong-Kam (通鑑통감) (an abbreviated history of China valued chiefly as, a means of teaching Mun- Li (文理문리) or Chinese syntax) until those of sufficient promise were introduced to the Four Books and Five Clas- sics. The system had its defects but it would be a great mistake to regard it as a valueless effort to impart to the young a certain amount of polite but useless information. For every such school, apart from its literary merits or demerits had a moral and social end in view. It was impossible for a youngster to attend such a school, without sooner or later (and more or less) being impressed with the supreme importance of the (五常오상) O Sang, or Five Cardinal Virtues of benevolence, good manners, prudence and loyalty, as well as of the (五倫오륜) O Ryen—those funda-mental moral social principles, strenuously inculcated by Confucianism in which the whole social fabric of the East rests and which have played within their sphere a hardly [page 16] less important part than the Mosaic Decalogue in the West. Moreover the village school and the education imparted there supplied the first stage in the curriculum which, for those who had the wits, led ultimately to the Kwa-Gau (科舉과거) the great public examination system which Corea borrowed from China and which formed the sole avenue to public office and the service of the State ᅳa system so democratic (in theory at least) that the humblest peasant child might aspire to end his life as his country’s Prime Minister. This system of education based on the Confucian Classics which had found their way into Corea, certainly by the sixth century A. IX, was of course closely related with the semi-religous cult of Confucius and the ancient sages, which had its head quarters in the great Confucian temple or college, known as (成均館성균관) “Sung Kyen Kwan” in the capital, with its smaller replicas, the (鄕校향교) Heang Kyo,” of which one was to be found attached to each prefecture throughout the country. At what date this cult was introduced into Corea may be uncertain, but it certainly received a great impulse towards the end of the tenth century A. D., when it is recorded that in 983, A. D. the learned doctor (任成老임성로) Im-Sung-No brought back from China, then gloriously at peace under the Sung dynasty, plans and records describing the chief temples in the Chinese capital, of vessels used in the sacrificial worship there, and of the 72 sages to whom worship was paid, while a further record seems to state that the multiplication of Confucian colleges throughout the peninsula dates from 986, A. D. But Confucianism as a religious cult, hampered as it was by its characteristic dislike of religious fervour and display and its consequent lack of popular appeal, had a hard struggle during the next four hundred years to make any sort of headway against Buddhism, then at the height of its popularity and power. And though there were periods of Confucian revival during the eleventh century under (崔沖 최충) Choi Chong (1068 A. D.) who was known as the (安裕 안유) (1306 A. D.) and shortly before the close of the Koryo [page 17] dynasty at the end of the fourteenth century, under Yi Chei Hyen (李齊賢리제현) (1367 A. D.) and Cheng-Mong-Tyou (鄭夢周정몽주) (1392 A. D.) it was not until well into the fifteenth century, when the Yi dynasty was firmly seated on its throne, that the literati finally succeeded in dislodging Buddhism from its pride of place and relegating it to the humiliating position it has ever since occupied, while claiming and securing for Confucianism the undisputed hegemony in things moral, intellectual and spiritual throughout the peninsula.

It should be noted that the Confucian temples, or colleges, whether in the capital or provinces, in their simplest expression consisted of a ‘‘Shrine of the Great Complete One” (大成殿 대성뎐) with subsidiary shrines for lesser sages, in which a rather austere worship was offered to the shades of Confucius and his associate sages at stated intervals by the representatives of the State and the corporation of scholars ; and of a Myeng-Ryen-Tang (明倫堂 명륜당) or hall for expounding the moral duties, in other words, the Classics, and were therefore in no sense, and at no time, centres of popular interest and devotion. None the less is it true that their very existence and the rites and ceremonies punctiliously performed therein, were a constant reminder of the great debt owed by all and sundry to the sage and his disciples and gave cohesion to the body of doctrines which were taught in his name. In this work the Confucian temples and colleges were well seconded from the sixteenth century onwards by the ever-increasing number of Soh-Won (書院 셔원) or academies which were founded far and wide throughout the eight provinces, and which united in themselves the functions of (a) memorial chapels in which periodical worship was offered to the shades of one or another of Corea，s native sages， scholars, heroes or statesmen and of (b) literary clubs where the local gentry and literati could pursue their studies. The first of these Soh-Won (書院 셔원) was founded in 1541 by Chu-syei-pong (周世鹏 듀쉐붕) (himself a scholar and statesman of note) at Poung-Keui (豊基 풍 [page 18] 긔) in Kyeng Syang-to in honour of An-Yu (安裕안유), the scholar who did so much for Confucianism in the dark days of the thirteenth century. The fashion thus set was eagerly followed by others until the country was covered with these “academies’’ which unfortunately, in addition to, or instead of, fulfilling their original pious and literary functions, rapidly became centres of political intrigue, from which the literati or nyang ban class engineered schemes for still further fortifying themselves in their position of outrageous privilege, oppressing the less favoured classes, interfering with the government of the country and fostering the political partisanship which finally contributed not a little to the ruin of Korea as a separate and independent nation. It was the (大院君대원군) Tai Won Kun, father of the late Ex-Emperor, who from 1864-1873 ruled the country with a rod of iron, as regent for his son during his minority, who scented the danger from these (書院 서원) Soh Wons, and dealt drastically with them. We think of him chiefly as the man responsible for the massacre of the French missionaries and their converts in 1866, and for the disaster of the ‘‘General Sherman” in the same year. He was, however, in those early days of his, a strong and shrewd ruler, and having made up his mind to break the power of the literary and privileged classes, he struck them a deadly blow by ordering the dissolution of these academies and the destruction of the buildings in which they met And when threatened with the anger of the spirits of the departed sages, whose shrines he was thus violating, replied manfully that it any of them ventured to come back to earth and dispute his rights he would mete out to them the same severe treatment as he proposed to apply to their disciples. A few exceptions were made in favour of Soh-Wons (書院 서원) which were genui-nely memorial shrines to departed sages and statesmen, but the rest were swept away in 1866, the very year of the “General Sherman” episode.

Enough has now been said to show how intimately Confucianism in Corea was intertwined with the very fibres of



AHN YOO

BORN 1243 DIED 1306

Notable Confucian scholar. He advocated the emancipation of all slaves.

[page 19] the nation’s being, both as a system of thought and a religious cult It was therefore but natural that when the method of printing from wooden blocks, which was first used for printing the Confucian Classics in China in A. D. 932, found its way into Corea, and still more when the act of printing from movable type was discovered, the Confucian Classics, and works illustrating them, should be among the first issued from the press, just as the Holy Scriptures and the works of Greek and Latin classical authors and of the Schoolmen Fathers of the Church formed the major part of the books issued by early printing presses in Europe. It is indeed actually on record that in 1045 two of the Classics, the Book of Odes and the Record of Rites (two of the Five Classics) were reprinted in Corea, presumably from wooden blocks, while an even more ambitious programme of printing (including the Classics) was launched in 1056 ; and in 1C91 the fame of the books printed in Corea and their excellent quality had travelled so far that the Emperor of China sent an envoy to demand a catalogue and specimen of the Corean printers’ craft And among the hundreds and thousands of volumes issued in gradually increasing numbers from Corean printing presses during the 800 years which have since elapsed there has been a steady supply of the Confucian Classics and of works written in illustration thereof, sometimes mere texts, sometimes texts with commentaries and annotations (more or less extensive) and sometimes (since the sixteenth century) with the Eun-hai, or vernacular interpretation, attached, with a relatively small number of original and independent works by Corean scholars treating of questions raised in the Classics. The Classics themselves seem to have been held too sacred ever to be reproduced in a really cheap form. None the less editions varying from those suitable for a scholar’s study, to magnificent editions de luxe, like the edition of the “Spring” and “Autumn Classic” published under royal auspices at the end of the eighteenth century. These far excels anything in the way of book production that either China or Japan can show, [page 20] whether as regards the type, the paper, the binding or the general form and “get up.” One very handsome and complete edition of the Classics was published in specially large print, to meet the needs of the then reigning monarch, whose eyesight was failing, but who did not seem to be deprived of the opportunity of keeping up his classical studies.

It is perhaps worth while trying to estimate in passing which of the Classics seem to have attracted Corean scholars most Of the four books, the Tai Hak (大學대학) or “Great Learning,” seems to have been that to which commentators and students devoted most attention. Originally as compiled by Confucius’ disciple Ch’ung Ja (曾子 증자), it has a short treatise on political and moral philosophy. A famous Chinese commentary (大學衍義대학연의) on this, published in the thirteenth century A. D. by the Chinese scholar (眞德秀 진덕슈) Chin Tok-Su, was reprinted in Corea as early as 1406 A. D. and was made the basis of an extended work on the same lines by the great scholar statesman Yi Sok Hyeng (李石亨 리셕형) in 1477, in which, to come to more recent times, King Chung Chong (正宗大王정종대왕) at the close of the eighteenth century published an elaborate “Variorum” edition, including the text and the annotation of most of the well known commentaries in a magnificently printed work of ten volumes in 1799 called the Tai Hak-You Oui. (大學類義대학류의)

The Five Classics, the ancient and mysterious ‘‘Book of Changes,” which even some European thinkers have re-garded as containing the kernel and pith of all wisdom, has challenged the interpretative skill of generation after generation of Corean scholars, and of the “Spring and Autumn Chronicle” (in itself a rather jejune record which owed more than half its value to the elaborate annotations of four famous Chinese commentaries) an elaborate reprint was issued from the royal press as far back as 1480 in the shape of fifty-five beautifully printed folio volumes, which included [page 21] the original Confucian text, together with the annotations of all four commentaries set out in extenso.

But it is when we come to the last of the Five Classics, the “Record of Rites,” that the Corean scholar, who seems to be a born Ritualist, fairly lets himself go. Not only has the original “Record of Rites” been reprinted over and over in Corea during the last nine centuries, and been supplied with a Kou-tok (句讀구독) or vernacular interpretation since the middle of the fifteenth century, but reprints of its companion rituals, the “Chu-Rei” (周禮듀례) and the “Oui Rai” (儀禮의례) have also been issued at less frequent intervals from Corean printing presses. These and Chou-Tja,s twelfth century codification of so much of the ancient rites as deals with domestic and family ceremonies such as marriages and funerals, have given rise to a most voluminous literature, to which most of the noted Corean scholars of the last five or six centuries, have in their day contributed, in a series of works which are not infrequently issued with illustrations of woodcuts a rather rare feature in Corean books. One elaborate and voluminous set of books, published in 1474，properly illustrated, deals with the “Five Ceremonies of the Court” (國朝五禮儀국죠오례의) divided under the headings (吉凶嘉賓軍길흉가빈군), Marriage, Death, Capping of Adults, Hospitality, War. Another even more voluminous, and frequently illustrated, deals with the four domestic ceremonies (四禮사례) or (家禮가례), as expounded by Chou-Tja (朱子쥬자), i. e.(冠趣판례) Capping of the Adults (婚糖혼례) Marriage (喪禮상례) Funerals (祭禮졔례) Ancestral Worship.

This concentration on the ritual or ceremonial side of life, whatever its good points, had one very disastrous result, as it resulted in the erection of all sorts of trivial ceremonial details into matters of principle, and thus paved the way for the bitter feuds and controversies between the various political parties, and contributed so much to the weakness of the old Corean government ; and its ultimate downfall, coupled with the loss of the nation’s independence. We must, how- [page 22] ever, now pass from the Classics to the second great division of Corean literature and bibliography— namely History. And here three preliminary remarks must be made :—

1. History as understood by Chinese and Corean bibliographers includes a great deal more than we should understand by the term. In addition to history proper as we understand it, including perhaps bibliography, genealogy, the study of inscriptions and kindred subjects, in Eastern bibliography it includes also geography, topography (and maps), codes of statues, works on the constitution of the State and organisation of government departments, as well as those contemporary documents and State papers which are of course the record of history in the making. Even the great encyclopedia of Corea, the Tong-Kuk-Tong-Kam (東國通鑑동국통감)is entered in the ‘history section’ of Corean libraries and book catalogues.

2. “History” has alway been a favourite subject of study with the literati of the Far East, ranking next in importance to the Classics, a very high moral value being attached to the study of the past with its examples of conduct to be avoided and condemned. Hence the frequent use of the word 鑑감 or ‘mirror’ in the title of historical works. But it must be remembered that history as written and studied in China and Corea, dealt only with the world as known to them, i. e., pre-eminently with the “Great Kingdom” or “Middle Kingdom” known to us in Europe as China, of which from time immemorial Corea, the Eastern Kingdom, or Kingdom East of the Sun, regarded itself as an out-post vassal and satellite. As we shall see, Corean students starting from the background of the history of China (as we in Europe start from that of Greece and Rome) have been very busy also with the Chronicles of their own country, but they never evinced the slightest interest even in the history of the Japanese or other neighbouring races. China under its various dynasties was regarded as the great suzerain power whom it was their duty and privilege to serve, a relative described in the Classical phrase borrowed from [page 23] Mencius, Sa-Tai (事大사대), while Japan was classed with Loo-choo, Annam, and the Tartar tribes always hovering on their northern frontier as neighbours with whom they held “intercourse,” a relative described by the Mencian formula Kyo-Rin (交鄰교린). Of Europe and the West they were as contentedly ignorant as Europe was, until recently, of the Far East, or even with less excuse of Egypt, Assyria and the Near East

3. “History” proper as understood in China and Corea always came to an end with the accession of the dynasty actually in power. To publish a history of the dynasty regnant was regarded as lese majeste, and anything of the kind that existed was as a rule circulated in manuscript and subrosa. As far as Corea was concerned, therefore, history proper stops short with the fall of the Koryo dynasty and accession of the Yi dynasty in 1392, which with regard to China, it stops short with the fall of the Mings and the accession of the Manchu dynasty in 1644 (Koreans indeed cling to the memory of the Mings with an obstinate loyalty akin to that of the Jacobite devotees to the Stuarts. And even as recently as the early years of my own residence in the country forty years ago, documents were not infrequently dated as though the last of the Ming Emperors was still on the throne although two and a half centuries’ had passed since his demise). This does not mean, however, that no records are available for all the recent centuries，for the gap is filled in two ways, first by those private and unofficial records known as the Pyel Sa (別史 별사 ) and the Ya Sa (野史야사) of which we shall hear more later on, and secondly by the Sil-Nok (實錄실녹) faithfully composed year by year by the official historiographers of the realm, whose work however no one—least of all the monarch was allowed to see! Year by year these records were compiled ana stored away in the four royal depositories of records, the Sa-Ko (史庫사고), of which one was on Chung-Chok-San (鼎足山정죡산) in Kangwha, one on O-tai-san (五臺山오대산) in Kangwondo, one on Tai-pak-San (太白山태백산) in [page 24] Kyeng-Sang-Puk-Do and one on Chuk-Sang-San (赤裳山 적상산) in Chulla-Nam-Do. Immediately after a dynastic revolution one of the first duties of the newly established dynasty was to open the old deposits of records and appoint a commission of scholars to compile the official history of the dynasty defunct. And it is thanks to this excellent system that we possess the history of the nineteen dynasties which have successively reigned over China since the first Han Emperor ascended the throne in 206, B. c. Thanks to a similar custom in Corea it is that we possess the invaluable Sam-Kuk-Sa (三國史삼국사) published in 1145 giving the history of the Corean dynasties which preceded that of Ko- ryo, i.e. up to 918, A. D. and the Ko-Ryo-Sa (高麗史고려사) published in 1454 which brings that history down to the accession of the Yi dynasty in 1392 A. D. Presumably the authentic records of the Manchu dynasty are now in the hands of the Chinese Republic, as those of the Corean since 1392 A. D. are certainly in the hands of the Japanese Government General, and it is up to them in accordance with the agelong practice to give them to the world. Let us hope that, in the one case as in the other, no effort may be spared to write true history” based on these priceless records.

And now we must briefly turn our attention to the actual contents of the historical section of Corean literature.

(a) And first pride of place must be given to the splendid reprints of the standard histories of China, other than the Classic of History and the Spring and Autumn Annals, beginning with the famous ‘‘Historical Record” (史記사기) of Sa-Ma- chyen (司馬遷사마천) who has been called the Heroditus of China, and whose great work published in 1032 A. D. carries us from mythical times down to 140, B. C. the date of Sa-Ma-chyen’s date. This has been reprinted many times and in many forms in Corea. Probably the best edition is that known as the Sa-Kui-Ph，eng-Im (史記評林사기평림) (the Historical Record with a forest of [page 25] comments) in thirty-three volumes. Following on this came the dynastic histories of the several dynasties from the Han to the Ming, with a number of separate original studies by Corean scholars, or reprints of works by Chinese scholars, or special periods, special events in Chinese history, early and late. But that which seems to have appealed to the Corean literary world most was the famous Cha-Ch’i Tong-Kam-Kang-Mok (資治通鑑綱目자치통감강목) which we owe, as we owe so much else, to the pen of the indefatigable Chu-tja, (朱子주자) (1200. A. D.). This may be described as an extensive sunmary of Chinese history from 425, B. C. to 960, A. D. standing in something the same relation to the dynastic histories that Gibbon’s “Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire” stands to Livy, Caesar, Tacitus, Suetonius and the original writers from which our great English historian drew his information.

This was one of the first books printed from movable type in Corea, in the year 1435, A. D. And a magnificent work it is, consisting of 75 folio volumes, printed with a specially prepared fount of type, modelled on characters written by the Crown Prince who was famous for his calligraphy and afterwards ascended the throne as King Syei-tjo (世祖大王세조대왕) (1455-1398). Naturally such an edition was too cumbrous for common use, and m 1700, A. D. another very pretty fount of much smaller type was cast which enabled the same work to be brought out in thirty volumes,

(b) We must, however, not delay any longer over the many works on Chinese history, whether written by Chinese or Corean authors, which have issued from Corean printing presses, but turn our attention to Corean history proper. First among them stand two great works already mentioned, the Sam-Kuk-Sa-Kui (三國史記삼국사기) and the Koryo-Sa (高麗史고려사) published in A. D. 1454 [page 26] in one hundred volumes (139 books). Although both have been several times reprinted, old printed editions are difficult to get, and I have so far had to content myself with a manuscript copy of the one and a cheap Japanese reprint of the other.

Next in importance certainly stands the great Tong-Kuk-Tong-Kam (東國通鑑동국통감) 28 volumes (50 books), the “Complete Mirror of the Eastern Kingdom.” by Soh-kau-Chung (徐居正서거정) in 1463 under royal -auspices in the model of Chu-tja’s Tong-Kam-Kang-Mok. This has an interesting bibliographical story attached to it A copy was carried off by Hideyoshi’s troops early in the seventeenth century to Japan, where it fell into the hands of one of the Tokugawa family, who was so pleased with it that he had a fresh set of blocks cut in Japan to reprint it, and these blocks are still preserved in Kyoto, and in recent years a fresh reprint has been brought out under the auspices of the Government General of Corea, of whicn by the generosity of the late Governor General of Chosen my library is the happy possessor of a copy. As also I possess an old Corean printed copy of the same, it is possible to gauge to some extent the truth of the charge that the Japanese are in the habit of garbling Corean histories which pass through their hands in the interests of Japan. Whatever truth there may be in the charge so far as it applies to text books of Corean history as used in Government schools (and this I have not tested) it certainly is not true with regard either to this Japanese edition of the Tong-Kuk-Tong-Kam or to the many books reprinted under the auspices of the Committee set up by Prince Ito and referred to at the beginning of this paper.

(c) The three great histories referred to above, which have also formed the basis of a host of revisions, abbreviations, summaries, etc., valuable and interesting as they are, only carry the history of Corea down to 1392 A. D., for reasons which I have already given. But although it was contrary both to law and custom to publish full histories of the [page 27] reigning dynasty or in any way to divulge the contents of the Sil-nok (實錄실녹) stored away in the State depository of records, the royal house itself has undertaken from time to time the publication of a not unimportant work, called the Kuk-Cho-Po- Kam (國朝寶鑑국죠보감) or “Precious Mirror of the Royal Family,” in which the more glorious and meritorious acts of successive sovereigns are faith- fully recorded as an incentive to following generations. These histories, originally printed in separate volumes for this or that reign, were gathered together and published in an uniform edition of 28 handsome volumes (90 books) towards the end of the nineteenth century, and form a repertory of much useful and interesting information with regard to events occurring since the accession of the Yi dynasty in 1392. They are of little use when it comes to the more painful episodes in the history of the country, which are either ignored or passed over with a light touch. For instance, one of the most disastrous episodes in the history of the country was the Manchu invasion of 1636 A. D., when the King and court fled in great disorder to Nam Han and endured the miseries of a siege there during the winter, while the Crown Prince and his brother were taken captive and thousands of the inhabitants lost their lives. After the king and his ministers had surrendered, the Manchu Emperor withdrew his forces, carrying off the reigning princes to Mukden as hostages. But the only entry in the Kuk-Cho-Po-Kam (國朝寶鑑국조보감) is to the effect that in November “the Court removed to ‘‘Nam-Han” and in February “the Court returned to Seoul.” Still the book is not without its value, and side by side with it should be placed 8 large volumes of the (璿源系譜記略선원계보) Syen- Won-Kay P’o, or elaborate “family tree of tne [page 28] Royal House, from which a good deal of biographical and genealogical information may be gained.

(d) More valuable still are the special records, private and unofficial histories, or “rustic records” (紀事 기사), (別史별사), (野史야사), existing in manuscripts only, which throw a flood of light on the periods dealt with. Some of them, like the Yul- Yo-Ki-Sul (燃藜記述련려기술) the most famous of them all, published towards the end of the seventeenth century, give a full account of events from the accession of the Yi dynasty onwards ; others deal with special periods or special events, such as the Japanese Invasion, 1592 A. D., and the Manchu Invasion, 1636 A. D., which have a large literature of their own ; internal rebellious and political discussions, embassies to China and japan, and the like. Others, and these are the most interesting, are casual and gossipy records, something like Pepys, Diary. There is one great collection of these last, the Tai-Tong-Ya-Sung (大東野乘대동야승), in 72 volumes, comprising: such records of no less than 50 different individuals at different periods under the Yi dynasty. And this, like the Yul-Yu-Ki-SuI (련려긔술) and You-Syeng-Yong’s (柳成龍유성룡), contemporary account of the Japanese invasion called the Ching-Pi-Nok (懲毖錄징비록) has been reprinted in full by the Japanese committee before referred to.

(e) Biography is another very favourite form of historical composition, and though individual biographies are more usually to be found printed in the “collected works’” of individual authors which will be described by and by in the “belles lettres”department, there are large collections af admirable biographies, as well as individual biographies published as separate works. Many of these are of [page 29] the greatest historical value, though some of them dealing with early days, like the biographies of Ki-Ja Sil-Kui (箕子實記기자실기) or some of the stories recorded in the O-Ryen-Haing-Sil (五倫行實오륜행실) have obviously a value which is rather moral than soberly historical. Closely allied with these are the great genealogical collections and domestic histories which record in detail the story of most of the great families of Corea, whose members have in one way or another played an important part in their country’s history, and whose undoubted pedigrees stretch back in not a few cases more than a thousand years. As already explained, works on the constitution of the State, or the organisation and practice of government departments (such, for instance, as the Court of Interpreters) ; the codes of dynastic statutes ; royal edicts, and proclamations ; diaries of the proceedings at royal audiences and ministers’ councils, and other collections of State papers together with manuals of practical guidance in the problems of administration, form yet another department in the historical section of Corean literature. The Chung-Pop (政法정법) and the Kui-Nok (記錄기록) : of them the most important is perhaps the series of dynastic statutes, first published in 6 volumes under the title Kyeng-Kuk- Tai-Chun (經國大典경국대전) in 1474, and constantly added to, and revised until they appeared under the title Tai-Chun-Whai-T’ong (大典會通대전회통) in 1865. There is a long series of royal edicts on every conceivable subject, and another series of books describing certain court ceremonials and festivities, often illustrated with beautifully finished engravings. Altogether the catalogue includes 600 or 700 items under these headings, though many of them are of no great length. [page 30]

(g) Lastly in the geographical department of the historical section, we have first and foremost the monumental “Gazetteer of the Kingdom “ in 25 volumes (55 books) known as the Tong-Kuk-Ye-J-i Seung-Nam (東國輿地勝覽동국여지승람) which was begun by royal order in 1478 and published in a revised and completed form in 1530, and which gives a minute historical account of every city and town in the kingdom. And besides these are a large number of Eup-Chi (邑誌읍지) or detailed local histories of separate towns, some of which, like that of Songdo, are of outstanding merit ; and a smaller number of similar histories of well known temples and other buildings. On a general survey, therefore, of the historical section of Corean literature, it appears that while there are at least three good and full histories of Corea, for the period ending 1392，there is for the period of over five centuries which have elapsed since that date─ quite apart from the authentic records” of the recently defunct Yi dynasty, now in the hands of the Japanese Government一 an enormous amount of undigested material ready to the hand of any who will have the patience and take the pains to sift it out with a view to elucidating the history of Corea as a whole, or certain periods and aspects of that history.

We now pass to the third great division of Corean literature—that designated by the character (子) usually rendered “philosophies”, but which for our purposes may be more conveniently translated “writings on special subjects”. Naturally this division has many sub-sections, which cover a large and varied amount of ground. First we have books on the three religions, Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism. Secondly works on the Sciences and Arts, to wit the Science of War (Military Treatises), the Science of Agriculture, the Science of Medicine, the Science of Astronomy, with which the art of making calendars, and also the science of mathematics are closely connected, as well as astrology and geo-[page 31] mancy. Thirdly, the study of foreign languages, with which I have classed dictionaries and lexicons of the Chinese language. Fourthly, encyclopedias, or repositories of general information. Fifth, calligraphy and prints ; and sixth, fiction. A varied assortment represented by about 500 items in the official catalogue of the Government General Library.

First, the Religious. We may omit Confucianism, although there are several works which it is difficult to class elsewhere, the bulk of the works which would come under this heading are more conveniently dealt with under our first division, that of the Confucian Classics, while others are mostly to be found bound up with, or are closely associated with, the collected works in individual authors, which form the fourth and last division of our subject We pass therefore to Buddnism and here one pauses in despair partly because there is so little to be said on the subject of Corean Buddhist literature, and partly because the subject is so vast that it requires a treatise to itself. I shall therefore content myself with a few words in justification of the Buddhist works in contradicting statements, and after a few references to one or two outstanding works, leave the subject for further treatment elsewhere. What do I then mean by saying that there is so little to be said on the subject of Buddhist literature in Corea? Why this, that Buddhism has led such a depressed life in Corea, even since it was disestablished at the end of the fourteenth century, and its adherents have been such retiring people, that it has for centuries practically ceased to have any contact with the daily life of the rest of the nation. It must be remembered that the professed adherents of Buddhism, the monks and nuns, after centuries of prosperity and power had, with or without reason, become so discredited and distrusted, that right up to 1894 the law which for centuries forbade any Buddhist monk or nun to enter Seoul or any other city on pain of death, still held good. By hook or by crook they perpetuated themselves in the ever shrinking number of monasteries and nunneries, buried in the beautiful scenery [page 32] of Corea’s mountain ranges such as those we are familiar with in the Diamond Mountains and anyone who wanted Buddhism had to go and find it there. This actually had its effect in the publication and circulation of Buddhist literature. You may look in vain for it even now in the few old book shops of the capital And in all my own book collecting experience I have only once or twice had Buddhist books brought to me. They had to be sought in the temples in the mountains. Even the Government General library catalogue of Corean books contains less than three dozen Buddhist entries, out of three thousand items which fill its page s, and this includes hardly any of Buddhism’s most famous productions, though I believe that pains are now being taken by the libraries to fill this section, which fairly represents Corea’s attitude to the Buddhist religion during the last 500 years. So much for the impotent insignificance of Buddhism in Corea. On the other hand we know that the Buddhist monks Soun-To (順道순도)and Ato (阿道아도) found their way into Corea in 374 A. D., and that twenty years later Buddhism was adopted as the national creed. That in 384 A. D., the Buddhist monk Maranda(摩羅難陀마라난타) started preaching in the country with equal success and that less than 150 years later, i. e., in 528 A. D. the new religion had found its way into Silla where it met with a generous welcome. Even if the records did not expressly state it as they do, we might assume that the missionaries brought their scriptures with them, as we know also that in 552 A. D .they carried them from Corea to Japan. And we know also that for close on a thousand years—i.e. until 1392—Buddhism occupied a position of paramount influence in the country, comparable to that which it still occupies in Burmah and Siam, or to that which the Catholic Church occupied in Europe during the middle ages. And one notable relic of those days still survives. The great temple of Hei-in-sa (海印寺해인사) in Chul-la-do still possesses and is one of the few places in the world which do possess a complete set of wooden blocks for printing the whole of the Buddhist Scrip-[page 33] tures. In spite, therefore, of centuries of neglect and decay, there must be scattered up and down Corea an enormous amount of old Buddhist literature, which does not, however, come into the market and which will only be found by those who go out of their way to look for it It is not, I think, too much to say that a thorough research into the history, monuments and literature of Corean Buddhism is one of the great desiderata of the time. I have on my shelves a rather ragged collection of Buddhist works which have come into my hands more of good luck than management Some of the library editions of the Pop-Wha-Kyeng (法華經법화경) are beautiful specimens of typography. Most of them are illustrated with engraved frontispieces, and some have illustrations all the way through. A few of them, like my own edition of the Keum-Kang-Kyeng, or Diamond Classic (金剛經금강경) (which gives its name to the Mountains), have Eunmoun renderings of the text and one contains a collection of Sanscrit spelts or mantias, with renderings into Eunmoun and Chinese. Among the most interesting, if most modern, are manuscript Eunmoun copies of the Keum- Kang-Kyeng (金剛經금강경), in the beautiful penmanship for which the ladies of the palace were noted, and these have obviously been used for purposes of devotion in the time of Queen Min or the Lady Om. For although all the kings of the Yi dynasty, with the active support of their ministers, have, with the exception of King Sei-Cho (世祖大王세조대왕), who reigined 1455-1467, frowned upon Buddhism, it has always counted devotees among the queens, princesses and ladies of the palace. King Sei-cho it was, you will remember, who built, in 1464, the great Buddhist temple of Ouen-kak-sa (圓覺寺원각사) in Seoul, of which only the beautiful pagoda, and the tablet with the erased inscription, remain to tell the tale. The Confucian scholars left no stone unturned after his death in their efforts to get this offence removed, and at length succeeded in their efforts in 1512, less than fifty years after its erection. So much for Buddhism. [page 34]

Of Taoism, the religion of Laotze (老子노자) there is not much to be said. For although efforts have been made to acclimatize it as in Ko-Kourya between 624, and 650, A. D. and though it looked at one time as though it might even supplant Buddhism in regal and popular favour (650, A. D.) it never took root in the Corean peninsula. I have an old Corean reprint of the To-Tok-Kyeng (道德經도덕경), the fundamental Scripture of Taoism, and of the great mystic Lang-ja (楊子양자) whose system was related to Taoism, and the famous Taoist “Book of Penalties” (感應篇감응편) so popular in China, has been popularized and often reprinted in Corea, where it shares with the above mentioned O-ryoun-haing-sil the distinction of being the only book printed in Chinese and Eun-moun on parallel page s, with woodcut illlustrations to each of the stories of which the book is composed. A small amount of quasi Taoist literature also emanates from the two great temples of the God of War, outside the East and South Gates of Seoul, which, like their companion temples in Pyeng-yang, were erected in commemoration of, and in gratitute for, the part which he and his heavenly hosts were believed to have taken in repelling the Japanese invaders in 1592-3.

From religion we pass to Science, and at the head of the sciences stands, I am sorry to say, the Science of War, which is responsible for some two or three dozens of military treatises, including reprints of the well known Seven military Classics of China. Besides these, however, are a considerable number of other military works, some original, some adapted from the Chinese. One, the Tong-Kuk-Pyeng-Kam(東國兵鑑동국병감), first published under royal auspices in 1457, is an interesting record of the wars waged by Coreans in defence of their country previous to that date. This and some of the others are handsome specimens of the printers’ art, often containing diagrams illustrative of military evolutions. One published in five volumes (Chinese with Eun-moun rendering) has a complete and very spirited set of illustrations of all sorts of military exercises, wrestl- [page 35] ing, boxing, single stick, sword and spear exercises, by both infantry and cavalry, and even something which resembles polo. Oddly enough, none of the military books so far as I know have anything to say of the favourite Corean sport of archery, possibly because it has for so long been regarded as a sport rather than a military exercise. One of the most interesting books in the military section is a large 2 volume book printed in Chinese and Eun-moun about 1630, a Veterinary Science, illustrated with woodcuts of an unfortunate horse.

From war we pass to Agriculture, with which is associated sericulture, and botany, although this is a department in which Corea makes a very poor shewing.

The indefatigabie Chu-tja’s estimation in praise of the agriculture industry, with other similar Chinese works, has been reprinted in Corean together with some original compositions on the culture of silkworms and other kindred subjects. But the best known names in this connection are (1) Kang-heui-an (姜希顏강희안) a member of a distinguished family of scholar statesmen, who produced one or two practical works on agriculture, and a charming little treatise on gardening and the culture of flowers in 1440 A. D. called the Yang-Wha-Nok (養花錄양화록), and (2) Soh-you-ke (徐有居셔유거) (1764-1845) who, in addition to other work, brought up to date and published in 8 volumes an elaborate work, the San-im-kyeng-chay (山林經濟산림경제) originally compiled by one Pak-Syei-Tang (朴世堂박세당) at the end of the seventeenth century, and dealing with every conceivable matter connected with the fruits of the earth and their culture.

In Medicine Corea has a distinguished record, for among the dozen or more works on medical science which have been issued from the Corean press, some original and some secured from China, is one of first rate importance for the study of Eastern Medicine, viz. the Tong-eui-po-kam (東醫寶鑑 동의보감) or “Precious Mirror of Eastern Medicine,”published in 1613 by Ho-tjyoun (許俊허준) who was physician to [page 36] the king all through the troubles of the Japanese invasion, and his work in 25 volumes is so famous that it has even attained to the honour of being reprinted and circulated in the Chinese Empire.

Astronomy is rather a confused department, as it has been always so intimately connected with the measurement of time and the making of calendars, and it is also regarded on one side as forming one subject With mathematics and on the other closely allied to astrology and geomancy. The old Silla observatory at Kyeng-Ju, and the antiquity of the office of Kwan-Sang-Kam (觀象監관상감) or astronomer royal are evidence of the ancient esteem in which astronomy was held. And in later years we know that the Corean astronomers came in Peking into contact with the Jesuit astronomers, Adam Schall (1653) and Ignatius Koegler (1741). Closely connected with this was the making of the clepsydra or water-clock which is described in at least two books. Astronomy has always been closely connected with mathematics, on which subject an important work containing much arithmetical information and even a little trigonometry, was published by a well known Corean scholar as early as the eleventh century. (The Bishop is probably referring to an early work published in the reign of King Moon-Chong (文宗문종) of the Koryo dynasty, Corea (高麗고려) by Kim Song-Taik (金成澤김성택) who wrote a book on Astronomy called the Sip-Chong-Yok (十精曆십정력) in the eleventh century A. D.) A still more famous book, the only copy being preserved in France, is the “ Yun-tai-rok (年代暦 년대력) by Cho-chi-ouen (崔致遠최치원) (858-910 A. D.). Probably the two most famous Coreans in this line were the two brothers Nam Pyeng-Ch’yel (南秉哲남병 철) and Nan-Pyeng-Kil (南秉吉남병길) who flourished in the early part of the nineteenth century, and who, in addition to their works on astronomy and mathematics, published at least one work on the calculation of propitious days ana seasons, on which subject too an elaborate treatise in 10 volumes was published by royal authority in 1795. An-[page 37]other interesting evidence of this aspect of astronomy is ta be found in the publication in 1708 of the T’yen-tong-sang-oui-ko (天東象緯考천동상위고), an elaborate work which notes all the portents and signs in the sun, the moon and the stars which occurred during the 475 years of the Koryo dynasty, and traces their connection with the fortunes of the nation.

There is quite a considerable literature on the study of foreign languages, wnich for all intents and purposes meant the study of spoken Chinese (as distinct from classical written Chinese) for the purpose of the annual tribute embassies to China. A court of interpreters had been established for this purpose in the capital of Corea, as far back as the close of the thirteenth century during the Koryo period. After the accession of the Yi dynasty at the close of the fourteenth century this was enlarged so as to include also the study of the Japanese, Mongolian and Tartar languages, and text books were published from time to time. A very interesting history of the court of interpreters, the T’ong-mun- kwan-chi (通文館志통문관지), giving a fairly complete conspectus of Corea，s foreign relations from 18 B. c. onwards (as to Japan ; and from Kija’s time in relation to China, 1122. B. C. E. d.), was published officially at the end of the thirteenth century and republished with a supplement at the end of the nineteenth. With the works on foreign languages it seems convenient to associate the dictionaries or lexicons of Chinese characters, whether arranged according to the radicals or the tones and rhymes, the main object of which was to give the correct pronunciation as well as to give the scan of each character. Some of them go back to the early part of the fifteenth century and are based on a work put out by the first of the Ming Emperors.

The most recent and most practically useful is the Chun-oun-ok-p’yen (全韵玉篇전운옥편), which is based on the great dictionary of Kanghui, Emperor of China, and gives the correct pronunciation of each character in Eun-moun, [page 38] and a brief description of its various meanings in Chinese. This seems to have been published towards the end of the eighteenth century, but neither date nor name of compiler is given. Next to these comes a very important department composed of what for convenience may be called encyclopedias or repertories of general information. One of these in my possession, the Kyeng-sa-chip-syel (經史集說경 사집설) which is unfortunately imperfect and appears to be of very considerable age, having been printed apparently from im-movable type (possibly of clay) at a time when the art of such printing was in its infancy. But there are at least six or seven of first rate importance compiled by scholars of note ：─

The Tai-tong-oun-pou-kun-ok (大東韻府群玉대동운부군옥)by Kwon-Mun-Hai (權文海권문해) published in the sixteenth century in 20 volumes.

The Sung-ho-sa-syel (星湖僿說성호사설) by Yi-Ik (李瀷리익) (1681-1765) in 30 volumes.

The Chi-pong-you-syel (芝峰類說지봉류셜) by Yi-Syu- Kwang (李晬光리수광) (1563.1628) in 10 volumes.

The You-ouen-chong-po (類苑叢寶류원총보) by Kim- Yeuk (金堉김육) (1570-1658) in 22 volumes.

The Ko-sa-choaUyo (故事撮要고사촬요) by Aw Syuk Kwon (魚叔權어숙권) (begun in 1534 and completed in 1636) in 3 volumes.

The Ko-sa-sin-soh (故事新書고사신서) by Soh-Myeng- Eung (徐命膺셔명응) rpublished in 1771) in 7 volumes.

The Pavrkey-su-nok (磻溪隨錄반계수록) (published in 1770).

All these, however, were eclipsed by the great Tong-kuk-moun-hyen-pi-ko (東國文獻備考동국문헌비고), the en- cyclopedia in 40 volumes by King Yong-Chong (英宗大王 영종대왕) in 1770 and an enlarged and second edition of 50 volumes in 1908. One can only express one’s regret that in this last edition more pains were not taken to improve the [page 39] arrangement of the matter and fill up some obvious dis- crepancies.

Short but very interesting books of information on common things are the Ah-heui-won-nam(兒戱原覽아희원람) and the Ah-on-kak-pi (雅言覺非아언각비).

A separate department in this section is composed of specimens of calligraphy, drawing and painting, which two last were always regarded as derivative of calligraphy. These, how ever, like collections of autographs rubbings of inscriptions, ought rather to be regarded as museum subjects than literature, and I do not propose to delay over these items. Nor need we stop long over the last sub-divisision of this section, which includes Fiction—a form of literature never highly esteemed in Corea—less than a dozen entries appearing in the Government GeneraFs Catalogue of Corean Literature. One of these is the Kou-oun mong(九雲夢구운풍 or ‘Cloud Dream of the Nine” made familiar to us by Dr. Gale’s translation, which appears to have been originally written in Eunmoun (though later translated into Chinese) by Kim Man Chung (金萬重김만중) (1637-1692), a grave and reverend signior of the Confucian College, to amuse his old mother, and afterwards improved upon and published by Kim Ch’unTaik (金春澤긴춘택) (1970-1717), who was also responsible for another story describing the sufferings of a wife at the hands of an intriguing concubine and styled “Lady Su’s Journey to the South.”

The fourth great division of Corean, as of all Far Eastern Literature, is that described by the charaters. (集집) This, as I have already stated, is usually translated “belles letters”, but is more accurately rendered “collected works”, or as one used to say the “literary remains”, Indeed a synonym often used to describe works of this kind (遺稿유고) is almost exactly “remains”. Let me try briefly to explain what it means. In the days when every statesman was a scholar, and every scholar a statesman (though of course both the scholarship and statesmanship varied much with individuals it became usual after the death of such an one to [page 40] collect all that had been left behind in the way of written material and to publish it to the world at large. As the cost and the labour of this fell on either his disciples or the members of the family or of the literary corporation, or academy, to which he belonged, there was obviously nothing of self glorification in it. And the custom became so usual that not only did the ruling monarchs have their works published, at one end of the scale, but at the other end many a man who was known perhaps but to a small circle, obtained the same meed of immortality. My own library contains over 3,000 volumes, belonging to this department, embracing the works of not less than 600 individuals, dating from the end of the ninth century to the end of the nineteenth, a period of just one thousand years. The contents of these collections are of the most varied character. First came all the poems or effusions in one or other of the many difficult metres in which Chinese poetry is written. Capacity to dc this was a highly prized attainment. In some cases envoys kept their diaries on their long official journeys to China and Japan, in verse, the metres and rhymes of which had to follow rules as intricate and exacting as those of a sonnet in the English tongue.

After the poems came the state papers of all kinds which the author had a hand in drawing up—obviously of great value for the history of the country.

Then came the letters—on every conceivable subject grave and gay─but mostly grave.

Then a miscellaneous collection of mixed writings, essays on every conceivable subject, Historical records of buildings, diaries of travel, or of every day occupation.

Then a number of sepulchral and memorial inscriptions, chiefly of a biographical character, of great historical value, followed by sacrificial prayers and addresses to departed great ones.

Lastly set biographies either of members of the family or of leading statesmen, etc.

Such collections were almost always prefaced by a fore-[page 41]word written by some prominent scholar—in a few cases by Chinese scholars of repute. And these were nearly always reproduced by being engraved on wooden blocks in the exact handwriting of the writer. Lastly more often than not were added the memorial inscriptions, biographical studies, etc., of the man himself, written by one or other of his contemporaries or disciples. Some of these collections do not fill more than a single volume. Others, like those of Song-ou-am (宋尤庵송우암) (1607-1689), fill over 100 volumes. Those of his friend Pak-hyen-sok (朴玄石박현석) (1631-1695) fill over 60 volumes. Some of them, like those of Cheung-po-eun (鄭圃隱정포은) the great hero, who is commemorated by the “bamboo bridge” at Song Do (1337-1392) have been printed over and over again in the last 500 years, each time acquiring a new preface by some distinguished writer.

This “chip” class of literature places us on terms of intimacy with the men who in a greater or less degree have helped to make the History of this land. (For fear of being ungallant may I add that there are at least two instances in ancient times of ladies occupying a rank so distinguished among scholars, that their collected writings have been published. Sa-im-tang (師任堂사임당) the mother of the great sage Youl-kok (栗谷율곡) has become almost legendary in her manifold excellences and capacities.) On the other hand you will realize that it is impossible to write or speak of such literature as this without peppering one’s remarks with references to individuals by name. And this brings us to a double difficulty. Firstly most of us foreigners find Oriental proper names not only extraordinarily repellent (or even laughable) but very difficult to remember and so to fix in our memories as to distinguish them one from another — just as in everyday life, certainly when we first arrive in the East, we find it extraordinarily difficult to distinguish faces. I shall endeavour to limit myself to a comparatively small number of the best known names, which I am anxious to fix in your memories, relegating the [page 42] larger number to the list of writers, for which Dr. Gale prepared a large amount of material, which I hope it may be possible to print as an appendix to this paper. The second difficulty comes from the great variety of names boasted by Orientals of any note. Beside his surname—and the surnames are so comparatively few that they are soon learned by foreigners—any Corean boasts of his (名일홈) or (冠名관명) composed sometimes of one, more often of two characters answering to our Christian names) by which he was officially known. There was，however, certain respectful reserve exercised by others in the use of this personal name, which led to its being called (諱휘), or “secret”, and which led to the adoption by practically everybody of another set of chara-cters for everyday familiar use, which was called (字자) And in books you will find a man called sometimes by one of these names, and sometimes by another. Moreover, once a man attained to any official rank (and such rank was sometimes given posthumously j he was usually known by his special title, to the exclusion of either of his names. And as there might easily be several people of the same surname, holding the same official title, this leads to a great deal of confusion. Over and above this, every man of any literary distinction boasted his “pyel-ho”, (別號별호 ) by which he was commonly known in literary circles, and some of them attained to the great distinction of being given a “Si-ho” (證號시호) or posthumous name of honour. To give one instance, amongst the most famous of all Corean writers the name of “Song” (宋송), his (諱휘) or (冠名관명) being “Si-oul’，(時烈시열) and his (字자)”Yong-po”(英甫영포), but he is much better known by his pen-name “Oo-am” (尤庵우암), and in biographies is as likely as not to be called by his (論號시호) of “Mounchong-kong” (文正公문정공) But I will do my best to keep the nomenclature as simple as possible, usually using either the “name” (諱휘) or pen-name (別號별호)

As in other departments of literature so in this, no Corean library was complete without copies of the collected [page 43] writings or “cnip” (集집) of some of the most famous Chinese writers - over and above those of the Classical age. Of these Chinese literary celebrities, whose works were as familiar to the Corean scholars as those of Virgil, Homer, Cicero, or Plato to scholars of the West, some few dated from as early as the Han dynasty, i. e. round about the beginning of the Christian era, others as late as the Mmg dynasty, the expiring of which in 1664 was apt to be regraded by Corean scholars as the end of all things in literary as in other matters. One very famous, but not very voluminous, Chinese writer was the poet To-youn-myeng (陶淵明도연명) of the fourth century A. D. whose works were highly prized by Corean scholars and whose Kui-kau-ray-sa (歸去來辭귀거래사) is one of the best known pieces of poetry in the Orient.

But the great writers of the Tang and Sung dynasties were then held in greatest esteem. And we find beautiful Corea reprints of the works of such famous Tang authors as Han-yu (韓愈한유) the statesman ; Teu-po (杜甫두보) the poet, or the great Chou-tja (朱子주자), or Chang-Nam-hen (張南軒장남헌) or Chang-Hoing-kau (張橫渠장횡거) and the like, while one of tne most beautiful specimens of typography issued from the royal press was the one hundred elegant extracts from the writing of the eight scholars of the Tang and Sung dynasties.

We must not, however, delay too long over these masterpieces of Chinese belles lettres, my special task being to introduce to you the famous Corean writers, though I beg you to notice that I do not aspire to do more than introduce them to you by name, leaving on one side for the present all attempt to offer criticisms or appreciation of their hand work.

At the head of all others we must put, I think, those who have attained the supreme honour of being canonized and having their tablets enshrined together with those of Confucius, and the great saints and sages of China, in the Confucian temples of Corea—an honour which no amount of literary eminence gave a title, unless combined with some- [page 44] thing pre-eminent in the matter of moral excellence, and loyal service rendered to the State. Of these there are 18 and no more— the first Corean canonization having taken place in 1022 A. D. and the last in 1883 ; this last date being a very stable meeting point of the old and new, for it was the year in which the Treaty with Great Britain (following on one made the previous year with America) was signed ; the year in whicn the submarine cable connecting Fusan with Japan was contracted for, and the port of Chemulpo opened to trade.

It would take too long and only confuse you if I stayed now to speak in detail of all these 18 saints and sages, by name, though the life and works of each of them would well repay a separate study. It will be useful, however, to record their names :-

COREAN WORTHIES ENSHRINED IN THE TEMPLES OF CONFUCIUS

Eastern Shrine

1) Syel Cchong 薛聰 설 총 (c700 A. D.) Canonized 1022 A. D.

2) An You (Hoi-han) 安裕 안유 (1243-1306) “ 1319 A. D.

3) Kim Kwang-pil 金宏弼 김광필 (1454-1504) “ 1610 A. D.

4) Cho Kwang-tjo 趙光祖죠광죠 (1482-1519) “ 1610 A. D.

5) Yi Hwang 李滉 리황 (1501-1570) “ 1610 A. D.

6) Yi E 李珥 리 이 (1536-1584) “ 1682. A.D.

7) Kim Chang-saing 金長生김장생 (1548-1631) “ 1717. A. D.

8) Song Choun-kil 宋淺吉송쥰질 (1606-1672) “ 1756 A. D.

Western Shrine

1) Choi Chi-won 崔致遠최치원 ( 858-910 ) Canonized 1020 A. D.

2) Chung Mong-tjyu 鄭夢周정몽주 (1337-1392) “ 1517 A. D.

3) Chung Aye-chang 鄭汝昌정여창 (1450-1604) “ 1601 A. D.

4) Yi En-tjyek 李彥迪이언 적 (1491-1553) “ 1610 A. D.

5) Kim In-hou 金餘厚김인후 (1510-1560) “ 1796 A. D.

6) Syeng Hon 成渾 성혼 (1635-1598) “ 1682 A. D.

7) Song Ai-yel 宋時烈송시렬 (1607-1689) ‘‘ 1756 A. D.

8) Pak Syei-chai 朴世采박세치 (1631-1695) “ 1764 A. D.

Recent Additions

Cho Hyen 趙憲죠헌 (1514-1592) Canonized 1883 A. D.

Kim Tjip 金巢김 질 (1574-1656) “ 1883 A. D. [page 45]

Of two of the.above practically no literary remains survive, viz. Syel-ch’ong (薛聰셜총), of whom I spoke to you in the first part of these lectures as having been the first to succeed in explaining the Chinese Classics to his pupils in the vulgar tongue,” as far back as the end of the seventh century ; and An-you (安裕안유), whose chief title to fame and gratitude is the prominent part that he took at the end of the eighth century in establishing the Confucian cult and fostering Confucian studies. Of the other 16, five at least stand out in such prominence that their names have become household words in Corea, as Dante in Italy, Goethe in Germany, or Shakespeare in England. Of these the first is Choi-chi-won (崔致遠최치원) who may be regarded as the father of Corean literature, for he is the first of those whose works have, in part, been handed down to posterity. Born in 858 A. D., he witnessed the gradual failure of the old kingdom of Silla, dying about 910 A. D., a few years before the Koryo dynasty succeeded in establishing itself on Silla’s ruin, with the new capital at Songdo. (An account of Choi Chi-won from the pen of Dr. G. H. Jones appeared in Volume III of our Society’s proceedings in 1903.) These were the days when the brilliant and wonderful Tang dynasty in China was also tottering to its fall─a fall which after a period of confusion was followed by the equally brilliant and great Sung dynasty in 960 A. D. But when Choi-chi-won was a boy, the kings of Silla still held sway over the Corean peninsula and the Tang Empress over the Middle Kingdom. It was therefore to the China of the Tangs that the young Choi at the age of 12 was sent, after his preliminary studies in Keung-Ju, to complete his education, his father warning him as he started on his 1,000 mile trip that unless he obtained his doctorate in the Chinese schools within 10 years he need no longer look to be reckoned as a son of his. Six years, however, sufficed to bring him to the coveted degree, and for over ten years he was employed about the Chinese court in posts of great importance, before returning in 885 A. D. to his own native land of Silla, where naturally he soon [page 46] rose to the foremost rank in the State. Towards the end of the century, however, probably disheartened by the corruption and feebleness of the Silla court, he retired to the mountain of Kaya San (彻挪山가야산) where he died at an unknown date early in the Tenth Century. And of him it is recorded as of Moses that “no man knoweth of his sepulchre until this day,” a very unusual event in the Far East. There are not a few monumental inscriptions due to his pen still extant in Corea, rubbings of some of which I have in my library. But of his other literary works all seem to have perished except one collection of his writings in 4 Volumes, still known by the title of Kay-ouen-ph’il-kyeng (桂苑筆耕계원필경) or “Pen-ploughings in the Garden of Cinnamon,” a composition almost entirely of documents connected with his public career in China. This was first published and presented to the king of Silla in 886 A. D., and after having been nearly lost sight of for years, was republished by a distinguished scholar of the Hong family in 1834—nearly a thousand years after its first publication.

Next on the list of famous Corean scholars enshrined in the Temple of Confucius comes one whose name is even more of a household one than that of Choi-cni-won. And that is Chung Mong-tjyu (鄭夢周정몽주) (commonly known by his pen-name of Po-eun (圃隱포은) the great patriot, scholar, and statesman who, after a lifetime spent in endeavouring to uphold the failing fortunes ofthe Koryo dynasty, and to replace a corrupt Buddhism, by the austere teaching Of Confucius, met his death at the hands of an assassin in 1392 A. D. just as the regal power was passing from the hands of the old Koryo dynasty to the royal family of Yi, which held it until the annexation of Corea by Japan in 1910. His memory is kept green in the old capital of Songdo, where the Syen-choyk-kyo, or “bridge of the bamboo of excellence” (善竹橋선죽교), still appears to bear the stain of the blood which he shed in loyalty to his king and country. During his lifetime, over and above his occupation with home affairs, he was more than once entrusted with missions

 CHEUNG MONG JU

BORN 1337 DIED 1392

Statesman and famous teacher at the close of the Koryo Dynasty. He refused to swear allegiance to the new dynasty and in consequence was killed on “Blood Bridge,” Songdo, where the stains are said to be still visible.

[page 47] of great importance, to China in 1382 A. D. and to Japan in 1377 A. D. in both of which countries he met with a very flattering reception from high and low. Born in 1337, A. D. when the Mongol Yuan dynasty, which had done much to corrupt and depress its Corean vassal, still held sway in China. He was only just over 30 when the Mongols were displaced by the famous and purely Chinese dynasty known to us as the Mings, whose advent to power he warmly welcomed and from whose first Emperor he received signal marks of favour. His works in (a modern edition which with the subsidiary biographical material, occupy 4 volumes) have been printed over and over again, each new edition acquiring a fresh preface from some contemporary scholar of note. They comprise a large number of poems, in the composition of which his skill was as much admired in China and Japan as in his own country, as well as a few state papers and documents of a more private and personal character. But although he was an ardent Con- fucianist and so famous as a philosopher as to be called the “grandfather of metaphysics,” he has left practically no philosophical writings behind him. Indeed it is as a loyal and patriotic statesman that he is best remembered and it is very much to the credit of the Yi dynasty, whose rise to power was responsible for his death, that they assented to his canonization as one of the saints and heroes of Corea, by enshrining his tablet in the Confucian temple, a little over a century after his death. His memory is kept green in Songdo not only by the “bamboo Bridge,” but also by the collegiate chapel or Soh-won (書院셔원) where his portrait is still to be seen. But his grave is in a rather remote spot in Yong-in prefecture, about 10 or 12 miles N. E. of Su-won. Passing over four or five of the others who have attained the supreme honour of canonization in the Temple of Confucius, we jump from the end of the fourteenth century to the middle of the sixteenth, when Corea was graced by the presence of two beautiful characters, whose memory does much to keep fragrant the [page 48] ratber dull century which preceded the Japanese invasion of 1592 A. D. They both boast of the surname of Yi (李리) though sprung from entirely different families of that name ─ Yi Hwang (李滉리황) (1501-1570), better known by his pen-name Toi-kyei (the ebbing-brook), and Yi Ei (李珥리이) (1536-1574) , better known by his pen-name as Youl-kok or ‘‘chestnut valley”一the pen-name in both cases being derived from the favourite rural spot to which they loved to retire from the busy haunts of men. Toi-kyei, who was by over thirty years the older of the two, came from North Kyung Sang Do, in a remote corner of which is fixed his favourite residence, and where his descendants still reside. Brought up by an uncle, he early developed a great taste for reading and gave early evidence of his powers of versification. After taking his Chin-sa (進士진사) degree he had some little experience of official employment, for which, however, he evinced a great distaste, refusing the most pressing invitations from the king to leave his beloved eb- bing-brook” and accept the post of Minister of State in Seoul. The king was so impressed by his desire to remain in retreat and his unwillingness to take office that he despatched a special artist to paint pictures of the scenery around this beloved abode, and a literary author to write an account of it. In his capacity, however, as the holder of a subordinate office, he presentea a memorial to the king which so impressed the king and his court that he was appointed Tai-chai-hak (大提學대졔학) or Chancellor, or President, of the Confucian College in Seoul, the then holder of the office voluntarily retiring to make room for him. Most of his life was spent in the retirement and studious pursuits which were so dear to him. When he died at the age of 70 his funeral became the occasion of a great demonstration of affection and respect And it is worthy of note that in his desire to avoid all posthumous adulation, he took the precaution of writing his own epitaph of precisely ten characters and no more. As may be surmised, he was a very voluminous author, his collected writings with subsidiary bio- [page 49] graphical matter amounting to over 40 volumes, apart from several separate works of considerable size on philosophical and other subjects. Besides a large number of verses and some state papers, his collected works contain a vast amount of correspondence, chiefly on moral and metaphysical subjects, with all contemporary scholars of note, of whom Kui- tai-sung (奇大升기대승) was one of the best known. And among his miscellaneous writings are a few very valuable biographies, incluuing one of King Myong-chong, who reign- ed from 1545-1567, and two of Korea’s most famous sages, Yi En-tjyek (李彥迪리언젹) and Cho Kwang-tjo (趙光祖죠광죠) who both subsequently shared with him the honours of the Confucian temple. His namesake Yi of the “chestnut valley” (Youl-kok) was born in 1536 A. D. and died in 1584 A. D. at the age of 48 to the great grief and regret of his contemporaries. Youl-kok’s mother, known by her pen- name of Sa Im-tang (師任堂사임당)，is one of Corea’s great female heroes. Left a widow early she spared no pains in the education of her son, being herself famous for her literary attainments as well as her skill in penmanship and embroidery. He is one of the few scholars of note who showed any interest in Buddhism, spending some time in the Diamond Mountains to study its tenets, a fact which was long remembered against him by strict Ccnfucianists, although he soon discovered a lack of satisfaction in Buddhism and remained all his life a very orthodox disciple of Confucius. After taking his degree in the general examinations, he built himself a house in which his descendants still live, in a beautiful spot called Syek-tam (石潭석담) (or rocky pool) some miles to the N.W. of Hai Ju (海州해주), the capital of Whang Hai Do (黃海道황해도) of which he was once provincial governor. And he divided his leisure time between that and another beauty spot, the “chestnut valley” (from which he takes his name and near where he lies buried) in the prefecture of Pa-ju (坡州파주). During his lifetime he held most of the important offices of state, and was, like his namesake of the “ebbing brook,” Chancellor of the Con- [page 50] fucian College in Seoul. A statesman of great sagacity, he seems to have foreseen the trouble that might be expected from Japan, as he strongly urged the formation of a large army of 100,000 men. His advice was set aside largely in deference to another famous minister, You Syeng-yong (柳成龍류성룡) who gave it as his opinion that “to breed soldiers was to breed trouble,” but who, when he had to bear the brunt, as he did a few years later, of the Japanese invasion, openly expressed his regret that he had not profited by Youl- kok’s foresight The complete works of Youl-kok have been several times reprinted and in the last edition occupy 23 volumes.

The fifth and last of those whose names I have chosen from the list of the 18 canonized sages of Corea, is perhaps the most famous of all, Song Si-yel (宋時烈송시렬 ) (1607- 1689), better known by his pen-name of Ou-am (尤庵우암) whose long life of 82 years covered nearly the whole of the seventeenth century. Certainly he is one of the most prolific and voluminous of the Korean writers whose works have come down to us. His collected works were published about 30 years after his death in 53 volumes, to which a supplement of 40 volumes was subsequently added, and in 1847 a magnificent edition de luxe of the whole in 102 volumes was given to the world under the title of Song-cha-tai-chun (宋子大全송자대젼) “Complete edition of the works of the philosopher Song,” a title modelled on that of a similarly monumental edition of the Chinese philosopher Chong-cha Cha(程子정자) with whom Coreans have always loved to link his name. Song Si-yel seems to have been not averse to being thus closely linked to his great model, whose pen-name was Hoi-am, “twilight (or dusky) cottage,” since he chose for his own pen-name Ou-am (尤庵우암), which may be translated “one cottage more.” Born just after the great disaster of Hideyoshi’s Japanese invasion, which began in 1592 and lingered on for a full eight or ten years, Song Ou-am’s life was chequered by two great events. First he was barely 30 when he was called upon to share in the shame and [page 51] suffering of the great Manchu invasion of 1636-37, which was undertaken with the intention of forcing Corea to transfer its allegiance from the Ming to the Manchu dynasty of China, and which was followed by a complete collapse of the Ming dynasty in 1644. This made a great impression on the mind of those who, like Song Si-yel, felt they were under a tremendous debt of honour to the Ming dynasty for all the help given by the Chinese generals in repelling the Japanese invaders 30 years before. The other great event or series of events which influenced Songs Si-yeFs long life was the tremendous development of internal political strife and domestic divisions between parties which followed the removal of pressure by invaders from without These political fights were always a fight to the finish, including the loser in the penalty of exile, if not in that of death,—of both of which Song Si-yel had experience, for after a long experience as minister of state, he found himself in exile in Quelpart, and finally died on his way to a second exile in his 83rd year from a dose of poison self-administered by order of the king. It was not long, however, after his death that, all his honours were publicly, if posthumously, restored. subsequent monarchs heaped honours on his memory, by the erection of such monuments as the great Tai-ro-sa (大老祠 대로사) at Yo-Ju, and the privileges accorded to the college erected to his honour at Hwa-yang-tong (華陽洞화양동) near Ch’ong-ju, close to where he lies buried. He was, in spite of his manifold activities, all his long life a great scholar, and most prolific writer, being the master of a singularly pure and lucid Chinese style, which is not only much admired by scholars but has the advantage of being comparatively perspicacious to students of moderate attainments. Both as a statesman and writer he is recognized as standing in the very first rank, and his writings are much prized.

Leaving those who attained the supreme honour of can-onization in the Confucian temple, I must more briefly run through the names of some of the more famous of those [page 52]

Corean writers, who from the point of view of literary eminence undoubtedly occupied a rank hardly less distinguished than some of their canonized brethren.

At the head of these—both in age and fame—stands Yi Kyou-bo (李奎報리규보), the great poet, scholar, statesman, and I am afraid I must add, tippler, of the Koryo dynasty. For like Yi Tai-paik (李太白리태백), and many another of he famous poets of China, Yi Kyou-po was undoubtedly fond of the bottle. Born in 1168 and dying in 1241, he played a very prominent part in the affairs of the Koryo dynasty, at a very dark period of its career, when Genghis Khan’s Mongols were troubling the unfortunate peninsula to such purpose that in 1232 the capital was removed from Songdo to Kangwha, where it remained for close on 40 years. Yi Kyou- bo followed hi3 royal mister thither and there, after his death in 1241 he was buried on the Eastern slopes of Chin- kang-san (鎭江山진강산) in Kangwha. His collected works, first published after his death, nave been reprinted over and over again, but are not easy to come by in the Corean edition, as they occupy 14 volumes. They were, however, reprinted as lately as 1913 in a handy two volume edition by the Japanese committee to which I have more than once referred, and are invaluable to students both of the literature and the history of Corea in the days of the Koryo dynasty.

Next we must pass on to the brilliant galaxy of writers who cluster round the closing years of the Koryo and the opening years of the Yi dynasty, at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth sentury. Looking to Yi Tjya-hyen (李齊賢리제현) (1287-1367) as their master, they were famous most of them as men of affairs, as well as men of letters, some of them passing into the service of the new dynasty, others laying down their lives or retiring from public life with the passing of the old one. Foremost among them was Chung Mong-jou (or Po-eun) to whom I have already referred at length, and with him was closely associated Yi-syong-in (李崇仁리슝인) (1347-1397), known as To-eun (陶隱도은) and the still more famous Yi-saik (李



YI CHAI HYUN

BORN 1287 DIED 1367

The greatest literary master of his day. He saved his country from becoming a province of the Mongol Empire.

[page 53] 穡리색) (famous son of a famous father) 1328-1396, best known by his pen-name of Mok-eun (牧隱목은). Owing to the similarily of the last character in their pen-names, they were sometimes known as the “Three Euns,” a fourth being occasionally added in the person of Kil-chai (吉再길재) or Ya-eun (冶隱야은), who, though famous as a loyal patriot, has left but few literary remains behind him. Of these Yi Mok-eun is perhaps the most famous as he is certainly the most prolific, his works filling 25 volumes. Anongst them who passed into the service of the new dynasty, none is more famous than Kwon-Keun (權近권근) (1352-1409), known best by his pen-name Yang-Chon (楊村양촌) whose fame as a writer spread to China and where his works still survive in 8 volumes. Another brilliant group who are mostly associated with the two great kings Sei-jong (世宗大王세종대왕) and Sei-jo (世祖大王세조대왕) (the former being the inventor of Eun-moun), whose combined reigns, from 1418-1468, stretch over a period of fifty years, interrupted by a disturbed period of six years which covers one of the greatest tragedies of Corean history, round which a whole literature has grown up. Sei-jong，the inventor of Eun-moun, who reigned from 1418-1459, was undoubtedly one of the best kings that Corea ever had. He was not only the inventor of Eun-moun, and a great patron of literature, but also a good and beneficent ruler. On his death in 1450 he was succeeded by his eldest son, Moon-jong (文宗大王문종대왕), who reigned but for two years and, dying early, left the crown to his son, a mere boy of 12 years old. The boy’s uncle, i. e. the second son of King Sei-jong, and brother of the king just dead, succeeded in getting himself appointed first guardian and then regent to the boy king, and then bringing about his abdication and banishment, to Yung-wol (寧越영월) where he shortly afterwards died, a victim of foul play. The way was thus paved for ascent of the wicked uncle to the throne, where he reigned gloriously for 12 years, being: famous (or infamous) among the kings of the Yi dynasty for his patronage of Buddhism. [page 54]

Whatever we may think of his moral and political conduct, he was, like his father Sei-jong, a great patron of letters, and the fifty years covered by the two reigns make a period of great literary activity. It was the year which produced the great histories, Tong-kuk-tong-kam (東國通鑑동국통감) and the Koryo-Sa (高麗史고려사): also the Great Gazetteer, the Ye-ti-seung-nam (與地勝覽여지숭남), and the great collection of Corean masterpieces, the Tong-moun-syen (東文選동문선). And So-kau-jung (徐居正서거정) and the other scholars who were employed on these works left behind them also large collections of literary compositions of their own.

Of the sixteenth century which followed I have already spoken as being illuminated by the genius and character of the great and learned scholar-statesmen Ye Toi-kyei (李退溪 이퇴계) and Yi Youl-kok (李栗谷리률곡). There was no lack of new stars during this century. But it was the stress and strain of the Japanese invasion, from 1592 onwards, which produced a group of men who were as much men of affairs as of letters, and as powerful with the sword as with the pen. There are on my shelves the works of just 100 writers who cover the forty odd years between the beginning of the Japanese invasion in 1592 and the Manchu invasion which followed in 1636. These are, of course, of varying importance both from the literary and the political point of view, including Cho-hen (趙憲조헌) who was killed in the first onslaught of the Japanese in 1592, and who was one of the last couple to be admitted to the Confucian temple in 1883. His works are preserved in 10 volumes, as well as those of many of the commanders and statesmen of that time, whose writings of course throw much light on the state of Corea during these years of stress and strain. Notable amongst them is You Syeng-yong, (柳成龍류성룡), the Prime Minister, who was so sorry that he had not taken Youl-kok’s advice on the matter of a standing army, and Yi Soon-sin (李舜臣리순신) the famous admiral whose prowess and skill in manoeuvering his tortoise boat is among the first things we learn in the history of Corea. And then there are [page 55] at least ten or twelve other authors of first rate importance in this period whose works will repay study, including Yi- soo-kwang (李晬光리수광) who, in addition to his collected works, published a further collection of “Table Talk and Miscellaneous,” the Chi-pong-ye-syel (芝峯類說지봉유설) which has been thought worthy of reprinting by the Japanese Committee of which I have spoken ; and Yi-chong-kou (李廷龜리정구) or Wol-sa (月沙월사) whose works in 22 volumes attracted so much attention that they were published by well known statesmen from China.

The crisis of the Manchu invasion which followed in 1636-7 and the disturbed political conditions which followed, brought forth a fresh crop of distinguished men of action and letters (over and above those mentioned as having been canonized in the Confucian temple) whose activities carry us on to the end of the seventeenth century, and of whom I should count not less than 20 as of first rate importance. I do not know whether it is fancy on my part but by the time we get to the eighteenth century, which produced at least 100 authors of note, we seem to have got into a rather more drab and prosy atmosphere, suggestive rather of Dryden, Pope, Johnson and their contemporaries in England. There was indeed no lack of industry, and there are not a few whose writings extend to 12, 20, even 30, volumes in which, while there is much that is dull, there is also much of real value for the student of Corean history and manners.

Nor was the nineteenth century, at least in its early part, lacking in men of literary distinction ─ one very interesting and encyclopaedic writer, Chong Yak-yong (丁若鏞정약용) being among those who lost their lives in the early persecutions directed against the Roman Catholic Mission and its converts, while two members of the Hong family who died respectively in 1842 and 1852 and whose works were published in 28 and 20 volumes respectively, are reckoned among the last of the real “scholars” (士선비) who handed down the torch of Corean literature to days within the memory of those now living.