

Articles

Allegory and Language in Koryŏ Pseudo-biographies

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Yi Ch'om, “Biography of Master Mulberry” and Moral Cultivation

*Selections of Refined Literature from the Country to the East (Tongmunson)*¹ included amongst its selections of biographies, the texts of seven Koryŏ “biographies” of wine, cash, ferment, a turtle, bamboo,² paper, and a staff: “Biography of Wine” (*Kuksun chŏn* 麴醇傳)³ and “Biography of Square Hole Cash” (*Kongbang chŏn* 孔方傳) by Im Ch'un (fl. late 12th-early 13th centuries); “Biography of Master Ferment”⁴ (*Kuk sŏnsaeng chŏn* 麴先生傳) and “Biography of Turtle, Emissary from the Clear Yangzi River” (*Ch'ŏnggang saja hyŏnbu chŏn* 清江使者玄夫傳) by Yi Kyu-bo (Ŭijong 22 [1168]-Kojong 28 [1241]); “Biography of Lady Bamboo” (*Chukpuin chŏn* 竹夫人傳) by Yi Kok (Ch'ungnyŏl 24 [1298]-Ch'ungjŏng 3 [1351]); “Biography of Master Mulberry” (*Chŏsaeng chŏn* 楮生傳) by Yi Ch'om (Ch'ungmok 1 [1345]-T'aejong 5 [1405]); and “Biography of Staff, the Attendant” (*Chŏngsija chŏn* 丁侍者傳) by Sigyŏngam 息影庵.⁵ These biographies

1. The anthology was modeled after the *Wen xuan* of Xiao Tong. Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng (1420-1488), Kang Hŭi-maeng (1424-1483), and Yang Sŏng-ji (1415-1482) completed the first compilation in 1478 (Sŏngjong 9). An addendum was compiled in 1518 (Chungjong 13) by Sin Yong-gae. I have consulted a facsimile reprint with Korean vernacular translation.

2. The term Lady Bamboo (*zhu furen* or *chukpuin* in Korean) was a metonymy that referred to a form of bedding woven of bamboo, placed between the body and the bedclothes during hot weather. Zhang Lei (1054-1114) and Yang Weizhen (1296-1370) wrote pseudo-biographies entitled *Zhu furen zhuan*. Nineteenth century writer Lu Jingan also wrote a work by the same title. For further details, please see Franke 1974, 26.

Hwang Chae-guk (1979, 153-54) argues that the referent of the *zhu furen* biographies is bamboo bedding, and not, as some other Korean scholars have said, bamboo. Su Shi referred to the *zhu furen* in “Sending bamboo bedding to the Talented Genius Xie” (*Song zhuji yu xie xiucui shi* 送竹几與謝秀才詩). Liu Zihui 劉子彙 uses the term in “Casting aside Lady Bamboo” (*Qi zhu furen* 棄竹夫人).

3. The main character's name is Kuksun 麴醇. *Kuk* 麴 is ferment used to brew wine from grain or rice. Sun 醇 is undiluted wine. The character's name thus means undiluted wine brewed with ferment.

4. Master Ferment's name Kuk (*qu* 麴) means *nuruk* in Korean, or ferment that is used to brew wine or soy sauce from grain or rice. Fungus is cultivated on grain such as wheat; the grain has been ground for the *nuruk*. The word *nuruk* refers to the fungus and the grain on which the fungus has been grown. Tenney Davis (1947, 24-44) uses the word “ferment” to describe this culture of fungus and grain. The fungus has enzymes used to brew alcohol. The enzyme that the *nuruk* fungus makes converts starch to sugar, and is thus used in brewing. Xuan He wrote in the *Classic of the Diagram of Koryŏ (Gaoli tujing)*: “[t]he Koryŏ people make wine using non-glutinous rice combined with ferment (*kuk*)” (Koryŏ taehakkyo minjok munhwa yŏn'guso 1982, 489n11). The name Kuk sŏnsaeng or “Master Ferment” is a metonymy for wine.

5. According to Kim Hyŏl-lyong, Sigyŏngam was Tŏkhŭng-gun Hye, son of King Ch'ungsŏn (1308-1313) (Cho 2007, 125; qtd. in Yi 1984, 229). Koryŏ monk Hyesim (1178-1234) wrote two such

were written in a genre that Han Yu (768-824) created with the work “Biography of Fur Point” (*Mao Ying zhuan* 毛穎傳).⁶ Chinese and Korean literary historians have referred to the genre as *jia zhuan* 假傳 (pronounced *kajŏn* in Korean). Von Herbert Franke (1974, 23-31) has translated *jia zhuan* as pseudo-biography. *Kajŏn* traced representations of subjects such as “wine” in literary texts (Im 1999, 123). As An Pyŏng-sŏl (1974, 37) notes, the *Kajŏn* depicts human beings’ perceptions of subjects such as “wine” and “ferment.” In “Biography of Lady Bamboo” (*Chukpui chon*), Yi Kok depicted Lady Bamboo by tracing representations of bamboo in literary texts.

On misty mornings, or moonlit nights, when she would chant with the wind or whistle with the rain, her appearance and comportment were indescribably refreshing. Busybodies would furtively draw her portrait and transmit it as a great treasure, so that men like Wen Yuko⁷ and Su Zizhan⁸ were even more enamored of her than ever. (Yi Kok, “Biography of Lady Bamboo”)

Im Chong-uk (1999, 131) theorizes that Koryŏ writers wrote *Kajŏn* to trace the “origins” of subjects in texts. Im Chong-uk (1999, 123) thinks that writers of *Kajŏn* were trying to search for the origins of a subject by tracing the history of depictions of the subject; they tried to examine the significance of the subject in literary texts.

In order to understand the significance of the pseudo-biography to Koryŏ writers,⁹ and why they wrote in this genre, it is helpful to read Yi Ch’ŏm’s essay “Inquiry on Water,” which was written in another genre that Han Yu invented: the *yuan*, or “inquiry.” The title of this genre—*yuan*—means to investigate the origins and nature of a subject. Yi Ch’ŏm interpreted the “tracing of origins” in

biographies: “Chukchonja chŏn” about bamboo and “Pingdoja chŏn” about ice (Kim 2007, 19; Im 1999, 120). Another Koryŏ work in this genre was “Mudan kongja chŏn” 無腸公者傳 by Yi Yun-bo 李允甫, though this work is no longer extant. For further details, please see Im 1999, 120.

6. For a translation of *Maoying zhuan* see Nienhauser 1976, 153-74

7. The polite name of Wen Tong (1018/9-1079) is Wen Yuke. According to Bush and Shih (1985, 20-21; 345), Su Shi (1037-1101), a distant cousin of Wen Yuke, wrote about Wen Yuke’s paintings of bamboo: “[t]he most famous literati painter of ink bamboo.”

8. According to Bush and Shih (1985, 20-21), this is Su Shi’s polite name.

9. Im Chong-uk (1999, 127-28) discusses this work.

the *yuan* in light of the philosophy of human nature expressed in the *Mencius*.

Yi Ch'öm, author of "Biography of Master Mulberry," wrote about moral cultivation in his essay "Inquiry on Water" (*Wömsu* 原水).

"Inquiry on Water" by Yi Ch'öm

The Yangzi River, the Huai River, the Yellow River, and the Han River¹⁰ are great bodies of water. Everyone knows that these rivers emerge from Bozhong,¹¹ Tongbai,¹² Kunlun,¹³ and Min mountains.¹⁴ However, they do not know where the waters have their source before they reach those mountains. It is the nature of water to moisten, seep, and flow downwards.¹⁵ When water is in the ground, it lies hidden, accumulates, and gathers. When it emerges aboveground, however, it flows, moves, and surges. One can see its principle (*li*), in action. If people's knowledge of water ended with what they see, then they would be ignorant about what is unseen.

10. As a branch of the Yangzi River, the Han River has its source in Shanxi province, and flows through Hubei province.

11. A mountain in Shanxi province, Mian prefecture.

12. A mountain in Zhejiang province, in northwest Tiandai prefecture.

13. Sima Qian wrote that the Yellow River had been said to have its source in the Kunlun mountains: "[t]he emperor also sent emissaries to trace the Yellow River to its source. They found that it rests in the land of Yü-t'ien among mountains rich in precious stones, many of which they brought back with them. The emperor studied the old maps and books and decided to name these mountains, where the Yellow River has its source, the K'un-lun Mountains" (qtd. in Ssu-ma Ch'ien 1969, 288).

Sima Qian wrote in the same account, however, that envoys sent to trace the Yellow River to its source did not find the Kunlun Mountains: "[t]he Grand Historian remarks: *The Basic Annals of Emperor Yü* records that the source of the Yellow River is in the K'un-lun Mountains, mountains over twenty-five hundred *li* high where the sun and moon in turn go to hide when they are not shining. It is said that on their heights are to be found the Fountain of Sweet Water and the Pool of Jade. Yet, since Chang Ch'ien (envoy to Da yuan [Ferghana]) and the other envoys have been sent to Ta-hsia, they have traced the Yellow River to its source and found no such K'un-lun Mountains as the *Basic Annals* records. Therefore, what the *Book of Documents* states about the mountains and rivers of the nine ancient provinces of China seems to be nearer to the truth, while when it comes to the wonders recorded in the *Basic Annals of Emperor Yü* or the *Classic of Hills and Seas*, I cannot accept them" (qtd. in Watson 1969, 298-89).

14. The Yangzi was said to have its source at Min Mountain. There are various theories as to where Min mountain was located, and these include locations in Sichuan and Gansu provinces; moreover, the name Min may refer to a mountain range in Sichuan and Gansu provinces.

15. "The goodness of human nature is like the downward course of water" (*Mencius* 6A; qtd. in deBary and Bloom 1999, 147).

Thus, the sages of antiquity saw that water was in the ground, established the hexagram *shi* [teacher or master], and only after that followed with the hexagram *bi* [to govern or to bring near]. This was to indicate to people that if one searches for the origin of the river, then one will find the river's flow.

Do people indeed know the sources of rivers? Swamps and wetlands have moisture because of the surfeit of water's material force (*qi*).¹⁶ Rivers flow without ceasing, like thread. When they reach great rivers and vast oceans, the waters are immense and cannot be stopped. Who could investigate and discern this except for those who know both the subtle and the manifest? This is why people see, and yet do not know.

When I was in Hadong,¹⁷ there was a small spring next to my house. Its source was overgrown with weeds, and no one knew which direction it flowed. People in the village speculated that it emerged from putrid, unclean soil. They scorned it, and would not drink the water from that spring. I went and looked at it. I cleared the source of the spring, and let the spring flow freely. I built a well with brick walls around the spring, a little to the east of the source.

Then I realized that the spring was from the same aquifer as a spring that was known as Cold Well. Moreover, it tasted the same as the water from Cold Well. It was a branch of water from the same source. The village fathers and elders then vied to congratulate me, and came to the well and drew water, and it did not go dry.

I persisted in using wisdom to manage water, and I traced the flow of waters and found the waters' source. There are similarities between managing water and the employment or setting aside of men. There are men of talent who are capable of helping the ruler to fulfill his capacity for good government and to help the people to prosper, yet they are cast aside and not utilized. Such men then go into retirement, and wait with patience and humility for the time when their talent may be utilized. To meet with a sagely ruler and colleagues who understand one, and then be able to put into practice one's understanding of the Way—how could this be different from managing water?

Nowadays those in power select men on the basis of looks and words,

16. Wing-tsit Chan translates *qi* as "material force" (Chan 1963, 784).

17. A county in South Kyŏngsang province.

and not on the basis of the straightness or crookedness of their mind. It is like knowing the flow of a body of water, but not knowing its source.

Those who speak of the various heavens always put their theories to the test in human relations. This is true also of my discussion of water. Mencius said, “there is an art in the contemplation of water; it is necessary to contemplate its swelling waves” (Legge 1875, 355). I, too, say that there is an art to contemplating water: one must trace it to its source.

In the essay “Inquiry on Water,” Yi Ch’ŏm compared the evaluation of human character for office, with seeking the source or origin of a flow of water. When evaluating a person for office, one considered their moral cultivation. Mencius likened the process of fulfilling one’s humaneness to enabling a spring to flow. All human beings have the “four beginnings of humanity.”

“For one to have these four beginnings and yet to say of oneself that one is unable to fulfill them is to injure oneself, while to say that one’s ruler is unable to fulfill them is to injure one’s ruler. When we know how to enlarge and bring to fulfillment these four beginnings that are within us, it will be like a fire beginning to burn or a spring finding an outlet.” 有是知皆擴而充之矣若火之始然泉之始達 (Mencius, “Gongsunchou” 2A.6)¹⁸

The fulfillment of the four beginnings led to humaneness, rightness, propriety, and wisdom (ibid.). In this essay about water, Yi Ch’ŏm expresses the hope of helping the ruler to fulfill his capacity for good government, and “protect ‘all within the four seas.’”¹⁹

Yi Ch’ŏm’s essay “Inquiry on Water” presents a Koryŏ writer’s interpretation of the genre of the *yuan*—an essay that investigates beginnings and searches out origins. Han Yu (had created this genre, with essays on various subjects such as human nature, the Way, and ghosts.²⁰ Yi Ch’ŏm read the *yuan* as an allusion to Mencius’ description of moral cultivation as a spring finding an

18. This is translated by Irene Bloom, in deBary and Bloom 1999, 129.

19. “If one is able to bring them (the four beginnings of humanity) to fulfillment, they will be sufficient to enable him to protect ‘all within the four seas.’” 苟能充之足以保四海 (deBary and Bloom 1999, 129).

20. Han Yu’s “An Inquiry on Human Nature” and “An Inquiry on the Way” (Tao) are translated by Wing-tsit Chan (1963, 451-54). His “An Inquiry on Ghosts” (*Yuan gui*) is compiled on page 13 and 14 in juan 11 of *Wubai jia zhu Changli wen ji* and included in Siku quanshu, Wenyuange edition.

outlet; evaluating human character for office was like tracing a spring to its origins. Moral cultivation was a way of fulfilling the beginnings of humanity, and evaluating talent was therefore a matter of recognizing cultivation that had enabled one to fulfill one's humaneness.

Yi Ch'ŏm's essay "Inquiry on Water" suggests, moreover, the significance of the pseudo-biography for Yi Ch'ŏm. Han Yu had created both the genre of the "inquiry" (*yuan*) and the pseudo-biography. The pseudo-biography traced representations of subjects such as "paper" and "bamboo" in literary texts. The organization of narrative representations of a subject such as "mulberry" or "ferment" through time, in the form of a "biography," suggests that the theme of "things of the same kind" in pseudo-biographies conveyed Mencius' view of human nature: that is, human beings' minds have in common "principle and rightness" (deBary and Bloom 1999, 150).²¹

“...What is it that our minds have in common?²² It is principle and rightness. The sage is just the first to apprehend what our minds have in common.” 心之所同然者何也 謂理也義也 聖人先得我心之所同然耳
“Things of the same kind” are “like to one another.” 凡同類者舉相似也
(Chan 1963, 56)

Mencius believed that developing these capacities was a matter of cultivating them, just as one cultivates a field of barley: “[w]e definitely possess them. It is just that we do not think about it, that is all” (Chan 1963, 149).

The pseudo-biographies thus express the wish to help the ruler in the evaluation of talent for government. Moreover, the pseudo-biographies embody a belief described in the *Mencius*, about human nature as possessing principle and rightness. The Koryŏ pseudo-biography quoted and alluded to representations of “wine” and “turtle” in various literary texts, yet arranged this material in the form of a biography of a personified subject, to constitute an allegorical allusion to a passage in the *Mencius* about human

21. The original text is as follows: 孟子 告者上 (*Mencius* 6A.7).

22. Wing-tsit Chan (1963, 56) translates the sentence as “[w]hat is it that we have in common in our minds?”

nature.²³

Lei shu and Koryŏ Pseudo-biographies

In “Biography of Master Mulberry,” by Yi Ch’ŏm, one of the characters is Ouyang Xun (557-641), who edited the “Compilation, in subject categories, of literary texts” (*Yi wen lei ju*). The *Yi wen lei ju* was a *lei shu*, or a collection of reprinted texts, arranged according to subject matter.²⁴ The editors of *lei shu* researched, compiled, and organized material from classics (*jing*), histories (*shi*), philosophy (*zi*), and collected works (*ji*), in categories such as “turtles” (*gui*), and according to rhyme (Kim 2007, 121). Kim Ch’ang-nyong (2007, 151) has compared Koryŏ pseudo-biographies with texts in *lei shu* such as the *Imperially Inspected Anthology of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping yulan*)²⁵ and the *Compilation, in Subject Categories, of Information and Literary Texts Old and New* (*Gujin shiwen lei ju*),²⁶ and concluded that it is very probable that Koryŏ writers consulted these *lei shu* when writing pseudo-biographies.

The *lei shu*, too, traced representations of subjects in literary texts. Koryŏ writers took the tracing of origins and representations that they found in *lei shu* and in other texts, and wove some of this information into the pseudo-biographies that they wrote.²⁷ The inquiry into the nature of a subject, expressed in Han Yu’s genre of “inquiry” (*yuan*) and in the *lei shu* was, in the pseudo-biography, embodied in the form of a biography of a personified subject such as Master Ferment, as an allegorical depiction of the view of human nature described in

23. This was a narrative composition, not diagrammatic. However, there is a similarity in the way that the *Kajŏn* and the diagrams use some form of metaphoric representation to help the student of Neo-Confucianism to understand texts. *Kajŏn* represent the meaning of a passage in the *Mencius*, through the metaphor of a biography of a subject. Diagrams rely on visual metaphor, or mapping and image. For a discussion of Neo-Confucian diagrams, please see Lackner 2012, Kalton 1988. Liu Zongyuan thought that MYZ was a demonstration of extended simile, a practice essential to writing poetry (Nienhauser 1976, 167).

24. For a description of the *Yi wen lei ju*, please see McCullough 1985, 56–57.

25. This work was compiled by Li Fang et al., during the Taiping xingguo reign era (976-984) of Emperor Taizong (r. 976-997/8) (Kim 2007, 124).

26. This is compiled by Zhu Mu 祝穆 of the Southern Song (1127-1279).

27. Cho Su-hak thought that *Kajŏn* were more like a mosaic or patchwork, put together of allusions to various texts—pieces “sewn together seamlessly” (Kim 2007, 120).

the *Mencius*.

Kim Ch'ang-nyong (2007, 151) has written that Yi Kyu-bo consulted the *Taiping yulan* when he wrote his pseudo-biographies. Yi would have had access to the *Taiping yulan* in the royal library either after he was appointed to office in 1199 (Shenzong 2), when he was 32 (Korean age), or after 1207 (Xizong 3) when he was 40 (Korean age) and had been appointed to the office of the Hallim 翰林.

For example, in “Biography of Turtle, Emissary from the Clear Yangzi River,” Turtle’s second son, Yuan Yu, “roamed around between the states of Wu and Yue, calling himself ‘Scholar Turtle of the Grotto: the Scholar Who Can See through Darkness.’”²⁸ Kim Ch'ang-nyong has traced allusions in this passage to a text reprinted in the *Shi wen lei ju*,²⁹ and a text reprinted in the *Taiping yulan*: “[t]he *Nanyue zhi* says: Turtle Armor (*Gui jia*), given name Divine Turtle (*Shen gui*) emerged from the South Sea. He lived in ponds and bogs. He was known in Wu and Yue as Yuan Zhu.”³⁰

Koryŏ writers with access to the royal library would have been able to consult the *Taiping yulan* beginning in 1100 or 1101. Sŏnjong requested a copy of the *Taiping yulan* in 1085 and 1093, but the Song emperor did not grant his request.³¹ Sukchong repeated the request in 1100-1101, and this time the request was granted.

“1101 (Sukchong 6). Wang Han, O Yŏn-ch'ong and others went to the Song court, and returned. The emperor gave them the *Taiping yulan*, consisting of one thousand *juan* (fascicles). He also gave them “Methods of Divine Medical Practices for Saving the Lives of People throughout the World” (*Shen i pu jiu fang*), saying, ‘[t]his book contains methods for saving lives throughout the world.’ That these envoys were able to obtain these

28. The original text is as follows: 次子曰元宁 浪遊吳越間自號洞玄先生 (Yi 1998, 15). *Tong hyŏn sŏnsaeng* 洞玄先生 can also be pronounced *Tong hyŏn sŏnsaeng*. *Tong hyŏn sŏnsaeng* means “Master Turtle of the Cave,” and *T'ong hyŏn sŏnsaeng* means “Master Who Can See through Darkness.”

29. The name *T'ong hyŏn sŏnsaeng* 洞玄先生 appears in *Xuan shi zhi* 宣室志 by Zhang Du 張譔, a text that was reprinted in the *Gujin shi wen lei ju* (Kim 2007, 144).

30. The original text is as follows: 南越志曰 龜甲名神龜出南海 生池澤中吳越謂之元宁 (qtd. in Kim 2007, 145).

31. An account of this request was recorded in volume 242 of *Chŏngbo munhŏn pigo*: “[i]n 1093 (Sŏnjong 10), the king sent an envoy to the Song court and requested a copy of the *Taiping yulan*. The Song emperor did not grant this request” (Kim 2007, 124).

books now speaks of these envoys' diplomatic abilities.”

“In 1100 (Sukchong 5), O Yŏn-ch'ong and Master of Writing³² Wang Ha went to the Song court and congratulated Emperor Hui-zong upon his accession to the throne. They submitted a court outline, seeking to purchase a copy of the *Taiping yulan*. However, the Song court was very secretive, and would not grant their request. Yŏn-ch'ong then wrote a memorial pleading their request. Only then was he able to obtain the *Taiping yulan*. When they returned to Koryŏ, the king said, ‘I tried to obtain this book before, but I was unable to. It is thanks to the ability of you, the envoys, that I have now obtained this book. I appoint you Assistant Secretary (*pu yojwa*), and I increase your rank and emolument.’” (Kim 2007, 124-25)

The *Chŏngbo munbŏn pigo* reports that the request was granted in the sixth year of the reign of Sukchong (1101); the *Koryŏsa* reports that this was in Sukchong 5 (1100).

Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng compiled the *Tongmunson*, and included the *jia zhuan* that are now the only extant Koryŏ *jia zhuan*. Sŏ alluded to the *jia zhuan* of Su Shi and Han Yu in two poems. Sŏ alluded to Han Yu's “Biography of Fur Tip” in his poem “Master of Tube City.”

The Officer Fit for Composition³³ is old.

He is losing his hair, and it is difficult to write with him.

However, when I wield the Officer Fit for Composition,

From time to time, he still shows that he has plenty of bristles left to write with.

“Biography of Fur Tip”³⁴ has been well known since antiquity.

Whose writing could ever compare with the exquisite writing in “Biography of Fur Tip”?³⁵

32. Hans Bielenstein (1980, 220) translates the official title *shang-shu* as “Master of Writing.”

33. William H. Nienhauser (1976, 160) translates Fur Tip's official title *zhongshu* as Officer Fit for Composition. Fur Tip's “ranks rose until he was made ‘Officer Fit for Composition.’ He became even more intimate with the emperor, so that the latter took to calling him ‘Lord Fit for Composition.’” The title “Fit for Composition” was “also that of the President of the Secretariat, an important post during the T'ang” (ibid., 161).

34. Han Yu wrote “Biography of Fur Tip” (*Mao ying zhuan*).

35. *Qiongju* means “beautiful jade,” “a fine gift,” or “valuable.” Here, it describes Han Yu's writing. It alludes to a song in the *Shi jing*: “[s]he threw a quince to me; / In requital, I gave a bright girdle-gem (*qiongju*)” (Waley 1996, 54).

In his breast are five carts of books.³⁶

An exuberance of pearls and jade beads issue from his breath.

Giving someone a poem is like Jizi and Zichan's giving one another gifts of undyed silk and ramie.³⁷

How could I hope to return your poem with writing that is as worthy as yours?

(Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng, "Master of Tube City")³⁸

In this poem, Han Yu's pseudo-biography of Fur Tip sets a standard of writing that has been unrivalled. Sŏ thus admired Han Yu's pseudo-biography of Fur Tip.

Sŏ had read Su Shi's "Biography of Tangerine and Loquat" (*Huang gan lu ji zhuan*)³⁹ too. In the poem, "Three Verses Written to Thank Minister Ko for Sending Tangerines," Sŏ alluded to Su Shi's biography of Tangerine and Loquat, and, moreover, to specific tangerine-themed texts that appear in the section "fruits" (*guoshi*), in the *Gujin shiwen leiju*.

A plate of tangerines, such a rare delicacy.

Each one looks like a golden ball rolling around on the plate.

For ten years, I had Sima Xiangru's thirst.⁴⁰

36. "Hui Shih had many formulae, his writings filled five carts, but his Way was eccentric, his words were off centre" (Graham 1986, 283).

37. "Jizi of Wu was invited to the state of Zheng. When he met Zichan, it was as though they were old friends. Jizi gave Zichan a belt made of undyed silk. Zichan gave Jizi clothing made of ramie. Commentary: the people of Wu valued undyed silk. The people of Zheng valued ramie. Thus, each gave the other what he valued." Im Chŏng-gi translates this quote from *Zuo Shi* in his annotated translation of Sŏ Kŏjŏng's "Kwansŏngja chŏng Yang pongsa." Im's translation has been reprinted in the online Database of Korean Classics. For the text of the poem, please see volume 7 of *Saga sijip*. I have consulted the edition published in the Database of Korean Classics.

38. Volume 7 of *Saga sijip*. Database of Korean Classics.

39. This work by Su Shu is in *Su Dongpo quanji*. Von Herbert Franke translates *huang gan* as "sweet and sour oranges," and *lu ji* as "loquat." For further details, please see Franke 1974, 26. Su Shi wrote biographies of an ink-slab (*Wan Shi jun Lo Wen zhuan* 萬石君羅文傳); dumplings (*Wen Tao jun zhuan* 溫陶君傳); tea (*Ye Jia zhuan* 葉嘉傳)—"Biography of Pleasure Derived From Leaves"; a scallop (*Jiang Yaozhu zhuan* 江瑤柱傳); sweet and sour oranges—Kim Ch'ang-nyong (2007, 46) translates this as *kamgyul* or tangerines; the loquat (*Huang gan lu ji zhuan* 黃甘陸吉傳); and the *duzhong* tree (*Du chushi zhuan* 杜處士傳), which An Pyŏng-sŏl (1974, 36) translates as *agawi* which means hawthorn or *sansaja*, the name used in Chinese medicine for the fruit of the *sansa* (*shancha* in Chinese) tree. Franke (1974, 25-26) describes the *duzhong* as a tree "whose bark is used as medicine."

40. Sima Xiangru (179–117 B.C.) had diabetes (Xiao 1982, 387). Sima Xiangru's biography is in *Shiji* 117.

After taking a few small bites, I was surprised,
And my tongue went into spasms.

The people of T'amna⁴¹ say that it is a renowned place.
I am aware that you have a thousand tangerine trees.⁴²
Every year you pluck the loquats, and give some of their unique flavor to
me.
They are sweeter than honey gathered by bees that dwell amongst rocks in
the mountains,
And more nectarous than milk.

My writing cannot compare with the letter that Wang Xizhi wrote to thank
someone for a gift of tangerines.⁴³
I remember the clear frost that fell from the fingertips of Du Fu in one of
his poems.⁴⁴
I sit and read "Biography of Tangerine and Loquat" by Su Dongpo.
These are life's simple pleasures.
(Sō Kō-jōng, "Three Verses Written to Thank Minister Ko for Sending Tangerines")⁴⁵

The "fruits" section of the *Gujin shiwen leiju* contained a reprint of Su Shi's

41. This refers to Cheju island. A Silla king named the island T'amna because Kohu and Koch'ōng landed at T'amjin in Silla, and visited the Silla court (Yi et al. 1996).

42. The local magistrate of Danyang, Li Heng, planted a thousand tangerine trees in Fanzhou, in Longyang, Wuling. He told his children, "your mother did not like me managing the household finances. That is why we are so poor. However, I have planted a thousand 'wooden servants' (*munu*) in Fanzhou, and you will not have to worry about food and clothing" Im Chōng-gi translates this story in his translation of Sō Kō-jōng's poem about tangerines. The story is included in the "Biography of San Sizhu" (*San Sizhu zhuan*), in the "History of Wu" (*Wu Shu*), in the Records of the Three Kingdoms (*San guo zhi*).

This story also appears in the Record of Xiangyang (*Xiangyangji* 襄陽記), which was reprinted on page 7 in juan 27 of *Gujin shiwen leiju houji*. I consulted the text in the Wenyuange edition of the *Sikuquanshu*.

43. "How have you been? I received the three hundred tangerines that you sent me. One cannot obtain many tangerines before the first frost" (qtd in. Sō 1998, 45n3).

44. Sō (1998 45n4) alludes to a poem by Du Fu: "[w]hen I open a tangerine, frost falls on my fingernails. Eating rice, snow flutters on my spoon."

45. This poem is on page 45 in volume 50 of *Saga sijip* and was translated into vernacular Korean by Im Chōng-gi (2007), in a text that has been published in the Database of Korean Classics. John Duncan (2000, 25) translates *chungch'u* as Royal Secretary.

“Biography of Tangerine and Loquat.” The *lei shu* were compilations that were organized in thematic categories such as “fruits”: chestnuts or tangerines.⁴⁶ Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng thus had read Su Shi’s *jia zhuàn* of tangerine and loquat in the *Gujin shiwen leiju*. Moreover, Sŏ alluded to a story about a thousand tangerine trees; this story was anthologized in the *Gujin shiwen leiju*, on the same page as Su Shi’s biography of tangerine and loquat.

Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng’s poem about tangerines was thus like the *jia zhuàn* in that it referred to the *Gujin shiwen leiju*. This suggests that Sŏ interpreted the *jia zhuàn* as a representation of the neo-Confucian view of human nature that was expressed in the *Mencius*: that things of the same kind are like to one another, and humankind shares in common “principle” and “rightness.”

Sŏ’s allusions to Su Shi’s “Biography of Tangerine and Loquat” in particular had historical significance, since Sŏ wrote that he had received a gift of tangerines from Cheju island. The Sambyŏlch’o had established a stronghold in Cheju island during their rebellion against Yuan domination of Koryŏ (Yi 1530, 1). The theme of Cheju island tangerines thus summoned the memory of invasion from the Yuan during the Koryŏ dynasty. Su Shi, moreover, had lived when the Khitan Liao and Tangut Xixia ruled to the north and northwest of Northern Song China. Yi Hye-sun has said that the popularity of Su Shi during the Koryŏ must be understood within the context of Koryŏ history, and invasions by the Liao and Jin (qtd. in K. Cho 2007, 348). Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng lived during the reign of King Sejong, when garrison forts were established in the northeast near the Tumen River and in the northwest on the Yalu River, to secure these areas from attack by the Jurchen people, the “Yain,” who lived there (Lee 1984, 190-91).

Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng’s admiration for Han Yu’s writing, the neo-Confucian allegory conveyed in the genre of the pseudo-biography, Sŏ Kŏ-jŏng’s fondness of Su Shi’s biography of tangerine and loquat, and, moreover, the historical significance of tangerines as an image associated with the Sambyŏlch’o resistance in Cheju island to Mongol invasion, influenced Sŏ’s decision to include Koryŏpseudo-biographies in the *Tongmunson*.

46. *Sil* can refer to fruit, nuts, berries, and seeds.

Yi Kyu-bo and the Pseudo-biography

Yi Kyu-bo took the *lei shu* theme of “things of the same kind” such as “turtles” and “wine,” and arranged this material in the form of biographies of a turtle and of ferment, to convey the *Mencius*’ depiction of human nature: that, just as things of the same kind are similar to one another,⁴⁷ human beings have in common principle and rightness.⁴⁸

Yi Kyu-bo alluded to this passage from the *Mencius*, in a poem where he expressed Daoist thought. Pak Hŭi-pyŏng (1998, 136-37) has observed that Yi Kyu-bo expressed a respect for the common people that was based on a synthesis of the *Qiwulun* of the *Zhuangzi*, the concept of “pity” in Neo-Confucianism, and the concept of “compassion” in Buddhism. In “Poem about North Mountain” (*Puksan chapche*), Yi wrote, “I see the myriad things as of a kind” (*manmul si illyu*) (ibid., 129). “Of a kind” (*yu*) refers to the passage in the “*Qiwulun*” (The sorting which evens things out) chapter of the *Zhuangzi* about “what is of a kind” (*lei*) (Graham 1991, 48).

If what is of a kind, and what is not are deemed of a kind with one another, there is no longer any difference from another. However, let’s try to say it. There is “beginning,” there is “not yet having begun having a beginning.” (Graham 1991, 55)

The *Zhuangzi* questions the intellect (Graham 1991, 48) and the mind that differentiates between “this and that,” “being and non-being” (Shin 2002, 252).

The phrase “myriad things” (*manmul*) appears in the “*Qiwulun*” chapter of the *Zhuangzi*, in the sentences, “[h]eaven and earth were born together with me, and the myriad things [are one with me] (*wanwu yu wo wei yi*)” (Graham 1986, 55).

Yi Kyu-bo thus refers to these passages of the “*Qiwulun*” chapter of the *Zhuangzi*. Yi Kyu-bo makes the subject of his sentence a first-person narrator, and the verb “to regard, to see.” In the *Zhuangzi*, “the myriad things” are the subject, and “are (one)” is the verb: “[t]he myriad things are one with me.” Yi

47. The original text is as follows: 孟子 告者上 (*Mencius* 6A.7).

48. Ibid.

Kyu-bo depicts a subject that “sees” or perceives the myriad things as of a kind: “I see the myriad things as of a kind.” This contrasts with the *Zhuangzi*, where the myriad things form oneness with the first person narrator.

In emphasizing awareness of a subject that is seeing the myriad things as one, Yi Kyu-bo alludes to the humanistic beliefs of Neo-Confucianism. The word “(of a) kind (*lei*)” appeared in the Neo-Confucian text, the *Mencius*. There, it was “our minds” that are “of a kind,” and the subject was a sage that perceives that “our minds” are of a kind in having “principle and rightness.” In saying that “I see the myriad things as of a kind,” Yi Kyu-bo refers to *Zhuangzi*’s ideas about the sorting that questions the differentiating mind and seeks oneness with the Way (*dao*), and, moreover, refers to Mencius’ belief that the “sage” (*shengren*) apprehends that our minds have in common natural capacities for goodness.⁴⁹

Although Yi Kyu-bo wrote in the neo-Confucian genre of the pseudo-biography, he also expressed Daoist views of human nature in his other writings, and his pseudo-biography of a turtle. In “Record of the Words of Scholar White Cloud” (*Paegun kŏsa ōrok*),⁵⁰ Yi said that he gave himself the literary name Scholar White Cloud because he sought to abide in what is “constant” (*sang* in Sino-Korean, *chang* in Chinese 常) for oneself. The word “constant” was an allusion to the *Zhuangzi*: “[t]he people have a nature which is constant” (*bi min you chang xing* 彼民有常性) (Graham 1991, 205). This sentence appeared in “Horses’ Hooves” (*Mati*), a passage in the Daoist text, the *Zhuangzi*, about governing the world by understanding the nature of the people: “[i]n the simple and unhewn the nature of the people is found” (Graham 1986, 204).

In “Biography of Turtle, Emissary from the Clear Yangzi River,” Turtle is portrayed as a Daoist. Turtle understands the transformations of the sun and moon, and *jin and yang*; such knowledge helped one to “unite with the Great Dao,” according to the *Wuzhen pian*.⁵¹ Turtle practices Daoist “guiding and pulling” exercises and breathing exercises.⁵² Yi Kyu-bo depicted Turtle, moreover, as an image of Daoist retirement from the world. Turtle refuses to be

49. Pak Hŭi-pyŏng (1998, 136-37) considers Yi Kyu-bo to have “created” (*ch’angjo*) a “new expression” (*sinŏ*) when Yi wrote that “I see the myriad things as of a kind.”

50. This is compiled in volume 20 of *Tongguk Yisanguk chip*.

51. For further details, please see note 81 below.

52. For further details, please see note 80 below.

appointed to court. This could represent Yi Kyu-bo in retirement.⁵³

The emperor heard of his reputation and sent a messenger to invite him to court. Turtle arrogantly refused to give the messenger a second glance, but sang in reply, “Why would I want the emperor’s favor, and confinement in a cloth-covered box / When there is no end to the fun of playing about in mud and muck?”⁵⁴ (Yi 1998a, 9)

In the *Zhuangzi*, a turtle symbolizes Zhuangzi’s wish for happiness and his reluctance to accept official appointment in the government of the King of Chu. Zhuangzi tells the story of the sacred tortoise of Chu, moreover, to teach the king’s messengers to use their mind: “‘Would this tortoise rather be dead and have its bones left behind and honored? Or would it rather be alive and dragging its tail in the mud?’ ‘It would rather be alive and dragging its tail in the mud,’ said the two officials. Zhuang Tzu said, ‘Go away! I’ll drag my tail in the mud!’” (Watson 1968, 186-87).

The turtle as an image of Daoist retirement appears, moreover, in the poem “A Poem Written in Reply to an Improvisation” (*Hwa chŏksa* 和卽事).⁵⁵ Yi expressed his feelings at parting from a friend, and wrote of a turtle sunning itself in the sand. The turtle is Yi Kyu-bo, and the heron is his friend.

I am at leisure, my chaste virtue like that of Tao Qian.
I am as mad as the sky is vast.

53. Kim Ch’angnyong (2007, 61) thinks that Yi wrote “Biography of Master Ferment” and “Biography of Turtle” in his later years.

54. This passage alludes to “Autumn Floods” in the *Zhuangzi*. “Once, when Chuang Tzu was fishing in the P’u River, the king of Ch’u sent two officials to go and announce to him: ‘I would like to trouble you with the administration of my realm.’ Chuang Tzu held on to the fishing pole and, without turning his head, said, ‘I have heard that there is a sacred tortoise in Ch’u that has been dead for three thousand years. The king keeps it wrapped in cloth and boxed, and stores it in the ancestral temple. Now would this tortoise rather be dead and have its bones left behind and honored? Or would it rather be alive and dragging its tail in the mud?’ ‘It would rather be alive and dragging its tail in the mud,’ said the two officials. Chuang Tzu said, ‘Go away! I’ll drag my tail in the mud!’” (Watson 1968, 186-87).

55. The original text is as follows: 閑於陶靖節 狂似蓋寬饒 旅夢穿層岫 詩眸截碧霄 輕颺牽別袖 殘月送歸燒 水壁波靈粉 巖碑辭蝕雕 江山同北固 風土似南譙 控險天爲府 連空鬼作橋 幽花迷小雨 臥柳困驚潮 沙日玄夫曝 湖煙雪客翹 遠聲聞欸露 深寶俯全寥 離別吾偏感 光陰孰共消 去如猿出檻 來忽鳳遊郊 何適未爲樂 休煩苦避囂 (Yi, n.d. 20).

I travel tiers of mountain peaks in my dreams.
 The eye of poetry cuts off a piece of blue sky.
 A breeze tugs at the sleeve of one who departs.
 The lingering moon at dawn sends off the oarsman's boat.
 Crystalline waves scatter muddy rain.
 Moss erodes the inscription on the stele upon a steep mountainside.
 The rivers and mountains are as forbidding as those in the north.
 The landscape is as desolate as that of the south.
 Pulling myself up the steep mountain, I cannot help but look down.
 Spirits form a bridge into the air.
 Flowers in the depths of the mountains elude the drizzle.
 Reclining willows are distressed by the startled lake.
 A turtle suns itself on the sand.
 A heron lifts its tail feathers in the mist on the lake.
 I hear the distant sound of the oarsman chanting as he rows.⁵⁶
 I seclude myself deep in my dwelling, pulling my head through the hole,⁵⁷
 and am lonely.
 Could the sorrow of parting be mine alone?
 With whom shall I pass the time?
 It passes like a monkey escaping from an enclosure,
 And arrives suddenly like a phoenix on an excursion in the countryside.
 I find no happiness wherever I go.
 I want to flee the cacophony of the world, and take rest from anxiety and
 suffering.

The turtle who suns itself on the sand resembles the turtle cavorting in the mud in the *Zhuangzi*, and Yi's biography of a turtle. Yi's poetry, essays, and pseudo-biography of a turtle expressed Daoist philosophy as well as that of Neo-Confucianism.⁵⁸

56. The translation in the Database of Korean Classics translates the words *aeae* 欸露 as onomatopocia—the sound of an oarsman vocalizing as he rows.

57. The hole in his dwelling is the head hole in a turtle's shell.

58. William Nienhauser (1976, 160) comments that Han Yu describes Fur Point as “an advisor who seems independent of ideological (he was familiar with Confucian, Daoist, and even Buddhist thought) or political (he was admired by courtiers of various factions) ties.”

Language and the Pseudo-biographies

Various levels of meaning in the pseudo-biography were conveyed through word play, particularly punning, or “paranomasia.” Linguistic parody investigated the origins of metaphor and language. Just as the “inquiry” (*yuan*) investigated origins and the pseudo-biography traced representations of a subject, linguistic parody, too, was a way of investigating origins and rephrased the theme of “inquiry” (*yuan*) in the pseudo-biography: that is, the investigation of human nature and its fundamental goodness.

The texts use paranomasia, or puns, with the effect of parody (Franke 1974, 23–31). In “Biography of Master Ferment” by Yi Kyu-bo, for example, Wine is from *Jiu quan jun*, or “Wine Springs Commandery.” Yi Kyu-bo uses actual place names that function as puns in the context of a biography of wine. The waters there were said to taste like wine.⁵⁹ The place names have an “identifiable meaning”⁶⁰ that is relevant to the theme of wine. A good source of water would provide one of the conditions necessary for brewing wine. The sentence “Wine was a native of Wine Springs Commandery” suggests the process of winebrewing. Master Wine’s name Kuk means ferment that is used to brew wine from grain or rice (Davis 1947). The place names reiterate the theme of wine and create comic contrast with the geography of traditional biographies.

Another type of word play in the pseudo-biographies is the use of metaphors for their original, literal meaning. Master Ferment’s personality is described as “mellow, gentle, easy-going, tolerant” (*onjök*). This adjective is a metaphor for personality that compares a mild, pleasant personality to a well fermented brew. The character *on* in the compound *onjök* can mean to brew alcohol. *Onjök* is a redundant metaphor, because it is being applied to the source of the metaphor (Lederer 2010, 10). The metaphor is referring back to its origin. The word play traces language to its origins, thus reiterating the pseudo-biography theme of inquiry. The use of the metaphor for its literal meaning of

59. In “Record of Geography and Customs” (*Dili fengsu ji* 地理風俗記), Ying Shao 應劭 wrote that “the waters of Wine Springs Commandery taste like wine. That is why the place is called Wine Springs.”

60. Von Herbert Franke (1974, 23–24) has noted that Chinese family and personal names have an identifiable meaning that contributes to word play: “[a]ll Chinese names are what German philologists call ‘redende Namen.’”

fragrance, moreover, has the effect of parody. The text parodies clichés.

The biographies use comic quotation. Aristophanes scholars have defined parody as including the practice of comic quotation.⁶¹ For example, quotations are taken from depictions of friendship, to describe human feelings towards wine.

When he grew up, he became friends with Liu Ling of Zhong Shan, and Tao Qian of Xunyang. The two men once said, “[i]f for one day we do not see this man, then a mean and stingy mind has already sprung up within us.”

(Yi Kyu-bo, “Biography of Master Ferment”)⁶²

The narrative depicts Liu Ling and the poet Tao Qian as friends of Master Ferment, and has them express their affection for him using words from the *Shishuo xinyu* and *Han shu*: “Chou Ch’eng frequently said, ‘If for two or three months I do not see Huang Xian, then a mean and stingy mind has already sprung up again within me’” (Liu 1976, 4). Here, however, quotation describes Master Ferment, resulting in comic contrast with the subject Huang Xian. Creating new meaning through comic quotation contributed to the *guwen* or “ancient prose” aesthetic of literary and ethical regeneration through revitalized style.⁶³ A parody of clichéd *guwen* writing would present a contrast with the ideal of Sima Qian’s writing in the *Shiji*. Han Yu, author of the “Biography of Fur Point,” had been a proponent of the return to *guwen*.

Word play created various levels of meaning in the pseudo-biography. Song Pyŏng-nyŏl (2004, 488; 490) sees various layers of plot lines in the pseudo-biography: a “surface plot line” about a personified character such as Wine—a sage who lives in seclusion, and later becomes an official, and an “inner plot line” about preparing ferment (*muruk*) and brewing wine. Song’s reading is similar to William Nienhauser’s observation that Mao Ying Zhuan had matrices of meaning: Fur Point is a Rabbit, a Rabbit Fur Brush, and a Minister

61. Margaret Rose (1993, 20) cites the research of Frederick W. Householder.

62. Yi 1998c, 13.

63. The *guwen* movement had an ethos of “literary reform and ethical regeneration by asserting the vague ideals of antiquity against a corrupt present” (Owen 1975, 8).

Gregory Nicholas Evon (2005, 138n27) writes that Yi Kyu-bo thought of regulated verse (*lu shi*) as limitation that “helped the poet to construct new meanings.” Please see also Chŏng 2000.

(Nienhauser 1976, 154).

Im Ch'un wrote "Biography of Wine" (*Kuksun ch'ŏn*) and "Biography of Cash." These works depicted wine and cash as though they were human beings.

Thereafter, Wine established friendships without regard to social status, like that between Wu You and Gong Shamu, who hulled rice for Wu You. 遂定交杵臼之間 (Im Ch'un, "Biography of Wine")⁶⁴

Ever since second century scholar-official Wu You 吳祐 conversed freely with Gong Shamu 公沙穆, whom he employed to hull rice, the expression "friendship with one who hulls" (*ch'ŏlgujigan* 杵臼之間) has taken on the meaning of friendships formed without regard to social status.⁶⁵ The expression may be taken in its literal sense here as well: the grinding of grain was an important step in the preparation of ferment for brewing wine.⁶⁶ According to one recipe, for example, "equal portions of three kinds of rye, the steamed, the roasted, and the raw, are mixed together... The mixture is hulled in a pestle, and winnowed thoroughly. The finer portion is then ground and sieved. The product is ground again; the finer the flour obtained, the better the result" (Davis 1947, 36).

The various levels of meaning in the pseudo-biography were expressed through word play that referred to the literal and metaphorical meaning of particular words and expressions.

Conclusion

Kajŏn traced literary representations of subjects such as "wine" in literary texts (Im 1999, 123). As Kim Ch'ang-nyong (2007, 102) has observed, Koryŏ writers often consulted collections that were known as *lei shu*, or compilations

64. Im 1998, 1; 13; 50.

65. This explanation of the expression "friendship with one who hulls" is found in Wu You's biography in *zhuan* 94 of the *Hou Han Shu*.

66. Song Pyŏng-nyŏl (2004, 490) has interpreted this passage as describing, at one level, the grinding of grain as a part of the process of brewing wine.

of texts organized in categories such as “wine” or “turtles” when researching material for pseudo-biographies. However, in the pseudo-biography, Koryŏ writers arranged this information in the form of a biography of a personified subject such as “Master Mulberry” (Kim 2007, 98; 105).

The organization of narrative representations of a subject such as “mulberry” or “ferment” in the form of a “biography” suggests that the theme of “things of the same kind” in pseudo-biographies conveyed a belief expressed in the *Mencius*, about human nature: that is, just as things of the same kind are like to one another, human beings’ minds have in common “principle and rightness” (deBary and Bloom 1999, 150).

The pseudo-biography was similar in philosophy to the *yuan*, in the inquiry into origins and the nature of a subject. Just as Yi Ch’ŏm considered moral cultivation a wellspring for the fulfillment of one’s humanity, the pseudo-biography that he wrote traced back representations of paper. The pseudo-biography embodied the view that human beings have in common principle and rightness, and that fulfilling one’s humanity is a matter of cultivation.

Yi Kyu-bo synthesized this belief in the common goodness of human nature, with Daoist skepticism of the mind that differentiates, seeing the myriad things as one with the sage, and all people as having the capacity for goodness.

Linguistic parody in the pseudo-biography questioned the origins of metaphor and language, and this, too, was a way of investigating origins, and alluded to the theme of investigating principle and rightness in human nature.

The writer of the pseudo-biography thus traced the representations of a subject in literary texts, with linguistic parody that investigated the origins of metaphor and language, in order to remonstrate with the ruler about moral cultivation.

Moreover, the image of the tangerine, the subject of Su Shi’s biography of tangerine and loquat, had historical significance for Koryŏ readers, bringing to mind the Sambyŏlch’o resistance on Cheju island against Mongol invasion. Writers could thus suggest their political views about Koryŏ in the pseudo-biography.

Appendix: The Author's Translation of "Biography of Turtle, Emissary from the Clear Yangzi River"⁶⁷

I do not know from whence Turtle⁶⁸ came. Some say his ancestors were heavenly beings.⁶⁹ He had fifteen brothers, all of whom had giant bodies and were very strong. These were the very ones whom the Heavenly Emperor ordered to hold up the Five Mountains in the sea.⁷⁰

As for his sons and grandsons, they were small, and none of them was known for strength. They made their only occupation divination by tortoise shell and milfoil stalks. They never lived anywhere for very long since they were always appraising the geomantic auspiciousness or inauspiciousness of different terrains; hence we cannot obtain detailed information about where they lived, or about their descendants through generations.

Scholar Turtle's distant ancestor was named Wenjia, or Patterned Tortoise Shell.⁷¹ At the time of Emperor Yao, he dwelt in seclusion on the banks of the Luo River. The emperor heard about his worthiness, and summoned him with the present of a white jade disc. Wenjia went to court bearing strange diagrams on his back, and offered them to the Emperor. The latter was delighted and enfeoffed Wenjia as the Marquis of Lo.⁷²

Turtle's great-grandfather called himself an Emissary from the Heavenly Emperor, and never told anyone his given name. He is the one who took the

67. Yi Kyu-bo's "Biography of Turtle, Emissary from the Clear Yangzi River" (*Ch'onggang saja hyönbu chön*) has not been translated into English. I have therefore included my own translation of the work in this article in order to help readers understand my article better.

68. Mr. Black (*hyönbu* 玄夫) is a metonymy for "turtle."

69. Wing-tsit Chan (1963, 790) translates *shen* as "heavenly beings."

70. The legendary Five Mountains (Daiyu 岱輿, Yuanjiao 員嶠, Fanghu 方壺, Yingzhou 瀛洲, and Penglai 蓬萊) supposedly existed in a large ocean to the east of Bohai 渤海, or Parhae. Since the bases of the mountains were unconnected to any land mass, the mountains drifted up and down with the tide and the waves. The Heavenly Emperor therefore ordered the god Yu Qiang to have fifteen huge turtles take up the mountains on their heads.

71. The name of Wenjia 文甲 is a reference to the early use of tortoise shells in divination.

72. Cf. Appendix to the I Ching 易經繫辭: "The He 河 gave forth the scheme, and the Lo 洛 gave forth the Book (or defined characters), which the sages took as their pattern" (Legge 1964, 38). The "scheme" was believed to have inspired Fu Xi in creating the eight trigrams, while the Book, supposedly conveyed to Yu on the back of a turtle, formed the basis of the "Great Plan" (*Hung fan* 洪範) and its nine divisions (*jiu shou* 九疇). For bibliographic information on other literary references to this version of the origins of the Great Plan and the Nine Divisions, see Liu 1975, 148.

Great Plan with its Nine Divisions to the earl, Yu.

Turtle's grandfather, Paek Yak,⁷³ cast tripods in Kunwu's land during the Xia dynasty,⁷⁴ and, together with Old Man "Unmalleable," exerted all his strength in performing meritorious deeds. "Turtle's father was born with patterns on his left shoulder which read: I am Redoubled Light,⁷⁵ the son of the moon. Whoever finds me will become a feudal prince if he is now a commoner, and Emperor if he is now a feudal prince."⁷⁶ He was therefore named after the words on his shoulder.

Turtle was very calm, and profound. His mother conceived after dreaming that the Yao Guang, or Jasper Luster star,⁷⁷ entered her breast. A phrenologist

73. The translators of the Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe's *Kugyŏk Tongmunsŏn* have identified Paek Yak 白若 as a species of turtle, but do not specify their source. The *Huai nan zi* mentions a spirit named Scholar Ro 若士, encountered by Lu Ao 盧敖 of the Qin dynasty during his travels in the North Sea in pursuit of immortals. The spirit lived curled up inside a tortoise shell and ate crabs and shellfish. After talking with Ao, the tortoise spirit rose up in the air and entered the clouds. The account is also included in the *Shen Xian Zhuan* 神仙傳, compiled by Ge Hong 葛洪 of Jin 晉.

The wording "Turtle's grandfather" and the mention of Kunwu allude, moreover, to a passage in the *Zo zhuan*, where Lingwang of Chu asks questions to his senior ministers. Lingwang asks them whether or not the Zhou king would give him the sacred tripods of Zhou and the land that his ancestor Kunwu inhabited: "[m]y ancestor's kinsman (my remote ancestral great-uncle) Kunwu dwelt in the ancient land of Xu ..." (Hawkes 1989, 219-20).

74. Yu 禹 of Xia 夏 cast tripods with ore from the nine domains of the Xia state. Kun Yu 昆吾 was a fiefdom under Xia. The Zhong Shan Jing 中山經 section of the Shan Hai Jing 山海經 describes it as a rich source of "a copper alloy, perhaps bronze" (*chi tong* 赤銅).

75. Yi Kyu-bo alludes to a passage in the *Shiji*: "on his left shoulder were letters that said, 'I am Redoubled Light, Son of a Shell' 左脅書文曰 甲子重光. Yi Kyu-bo changes this passage to "son of the moon" (*wŏlcha* 月子). The *Shiji* passage appears in chapter 129, "The Tortoise and Milfoil Diviners" (*Gui ci zhuan*), a chapter that Ban Gu said had a title but no text; the chapter was later forged, and placed back in the text (Durrant 1995, xx). The "Gui ci zhuan" chapter was reprinted on page 4 in juan 931 of the *Taiping yulan* (*Siku quanshu* Wenyuange edition) (Kim 2007, 146).

The name of the turtle, Redoubled Light, refers, moreover, to a passage in the "Classic of History" (*Shu jing*): "[o]n his deathbed, King Cheng of Zhou admonished his successors to uphold the tradition of Kings Wen and Wu, who 'displayed in succession their equal glory' 文王武王宣重光" (Waltham 1971, 211).

76. This, too, is an allusion to a passage in "The Tortoise and the Milfoil Diviners" chapter of the *Shi ji*, a chapter that was reprinted on page 4 in juan 931 of the *Taiping yulan*: "[w]hoever obtains me will become a gentleman if they are a commoner, and Emperor if he is now a feudal prince or an official in charge of tutelary spirits of state land" (Kim 2007, 146).

77. In the work "Circling the First Star of the Big Dipper: A Spring and Autumn Text" (*Chun qiu yun dou shu* 春秋運斗樞), "the Yao guang star scattered and became a turtle" 瑤光星散為龜. This work was reprinted on page 4 in juan 931 of the *Taiping yulan* (*Siku quanshu* Wenyuange edition) (Kim 2007, 147). The *Chunqiu yun dou shu* is considered to be an apocryphal text.

said, “Turtle’s back has protrusions that look like hills that form a circle, and the patterns on his back form an array of constellations. His appearance is surely that of a divine being or a sage.”⁷⁸ When he became a young adult, he researched astronomy and astrology in great depth. There was nothing he did not know comprehensively about the transformations of heaven and earth, sun and moon,⁷⁹ *yin* and *yang*, cold and hot, wind and rain, darkness and light, inauspicious and auspicious, and disaster and good fortune. He also learned heavenly beings’ and immortals’ ways of circulating breath and practicing guiding and pulling exercises⁸⁰ to attain everlasting life. He always went about dressed in armor.⁸¹

The emperor heard of his reputation and sent a messenger to invite him to court. Turtle arrogantly refused to give the messenger a second glance, but sang in reply, “Why would I want the emperor’s favor, and confinement in a cloth-covered box? When there is no end to the fun of playing about in mud and muck?”⁸² Then he laughed and would not answer the summons.

Since then, no one had been able to get him to court. Then, during the reign of King Yuan of the state of Song, Yu Ju overpowered Turtle and took him forcibly to the king. Before they arrived, the emperor dreamt that a man in black, riding a carriage, came to him and said, “I am an emissary from the Clear Yangzi River and will soon show up for an audience with your

78. This depiction of Turtle is similar to a description in “Regulations for Ritual” (*Li Tong* 禮統): “[t]he back of the divine turtle has protrusions that look like hills and mountains that form a circle. Black patterns are inter-mingled and form an array of constellations.” This passage in *Li Tong* was reprinted in the *Taiping yulan* (Kim 2007, 147).

79. Cf. Yang 2007, 106: “[t]he accomplished person knows the waxing and waning of the sun and moon, and understands the rising and falling of *yin* and *yang*.’ Such a person will ‘unite with the Great Dao and complete the Great Elixir.’” This passage in “The Story of Han Xiangzi” is an explication of passages from *Wuzhen pian* (Awakening to Reality), a Daoist text by Zhang Boduan, that describes *Neidan*, or “Internal Alchemy.” Cf. Zhang 2009. Turtle is thus depicted as a Daoist.

80. This is *xingqi daoyin* in Chinese. *Xingqi* is “circulating breath,” or breathing exercises (Despeux 2008, 1108). *Daoyin* is “guiding and pulling,” “a set of gymnastic exercises to let *qi* properly circulate, expel pathogenic *qi*’ heal certain diseases, keep old age away, and nourish life (*yangsheng*)” (Despeux 2008, 334). In this context, *qi* means energy, associated with blood and breath (Chan 1963, 784).

81. Cf. Yang 2007, 106: “[i]f month by month you continuously strengthen your armor, then hour by hour you see the army defeated.” This reference to armor alludes to the *Wuzhen pian*.

82. This passage alludes to the *Zhuangzi*, section seventeen, “Autumn Floods” (*Qiu shui pian*). This text was reprinted in the *Taiping yulan* (Kim 2007, 145; Watson 1968, 186-87).

Highness.” Sure enough, the next day, Yu Ju brought Turtle for an audience with the king.⁸³

The king was greatly pleased, and wanted to enfeoff Turtle. The latter refused, saying, “I have only come because I was forced to by Yu Ju, and because I have heard tell of your Highness’s virtue. Rank and emolument are not my ambition. Why does your Highness wish to detain me, instead of letting me go?”

The king wanted to release him, but did not because Wei Ping secretly admonished the king not to do so. Turtle was then appointed Assistant in charge of Waters and Parks. He was subsequently transferred to the post of Chief of Capital Water Works, and then suddenly promoted to the post of Prefect Grand Astrologer.⁸⁴ Turtle administered all programs implemented by the state. He was consulted before taking action in matters of whatever significance, to prognosticate success or failure.

The emperor once made fun of him, saying, “You are descended from heavenly beings, and know what is auspicious and inauspicious. How is it that you did not take precautions, but fell prey to Yu Ju’s schemes, and were caught by me?”

Turtle replied, “There are things that one cannot foresee, and things beyond the reach of wisdom. It is as simple as that.” The king laughed at his answer.

No one knows how he met his end afterwards. There are some officials who still admire his virtue and wear images of him, cast in yellow gold, on their belts.

Turtle’s eldest son was named Yuan Xu.⁸⁵ A human being cooked him. When he was about to die, he lamented, “I went walking without choosing an auspicious day for a walk, and now I’m being cooked! But you’ll never destroy

83. The events of this passage are similar to those described in the “External Things” (*Wai Wu* 外物) section of the *Zhuangzi* (section 26) and in *Shi Ji* 128. The *Zhuangzi* text was reprinted in the *Taiping yulan*, in the category “Tortoise” (Gui men 門) (Kim 2007, 149).

84. The duties of the *tai shi ling* 太史令 included drafting the annual calendar, determining auspicious and inauspicious dates, and recording portents and omens (Bielenstein 1980, 19).

85. The name Yuan Xu 元緒 for turtles appears in the text *Iyuan* 異苑, by Liu Shu-jing 劉叔敬 (Kim 2007, 144; Cho 1972, 11). This text was reprinted in the *Taiping yulan* and the *Gujin shiwen leiju* (Kim 2007, 144). In vol. 468 of the *Taiping guangji*, the story takes place in the Three Kingdoms Period under the reign of Son Quan 孫權, the founder of Wu (qtd. in Kim 1976, 196; Kim 2007, 148).

me even if you use all the wood on South Mountain as firewood.” Such was his righteousness.

Turtle’s second son was named Yuan Yu. He roamed around between the states of Wu and Yue,⁸⁶ calling himself “Scholar Turtle of the Grotto: the Scholar Who Can See Through Darkness.”⁸⁷

History has not preserved the name of Turtle’s other son. He was extremely small of frame, and was unable to prognosticate. All he did was climb trees and catch cicadas.⁸⁸ He too was cooked by a human being. One of Turtle’s relatives attained the Way, and lived to be a thousand years old. His surviving relations include one who dwells way up high, covered by blue clouds, and another who retired from office and whom the world refers to as “Turtle Dressed in Red and Black Clothing: Assistant to the Prefecture Chief.”⁸⁹

The Historian says, “[e]ven the sages allowed for some errors in their attempts to examine the subtle and to prevent misfortunes before they are manifest. Since Turtle was unable, with all his wisdom, to safeguard himself

86. The reference to Wu and Yue here may be an allusion to Wu Zixu. As David Johnson (1981, 2; 259) has pointed out, the *Wu-Yue Chun-Qiu* (ca.1 AD) portrays Wu Zixu as an accomplished astrologer and geomancer. The *Yue jue shu* recorded a cult of Wu Zixu as a “water immortal.” In the *Wu Yue Chunqiu* Wu Zixu is identified with the Hangchow tidal bore.

87. *Tong hyön sōnsaeng* 洞玄先生 can also be pronounced *T’ong hyön sōnsaeng*. *Tong hyön sōnsaeng* means “Teacher Turtle of the Cave,” and *Tong hyön sōnsaeng* means “Teacher Who Can See Through Darkness” 洞玄先生 (Kim 2007, 144). This name is found in *Xuan shi zhi* 宣室志 by Zhang Du 張讀, a text that was reprinted in the *Shi wen lei ju* (Kim 2007, 144).

88. This resonates with other depictions of turtles who climbed trees. The *Nan yue zhi* wrote of a turtle that “he could climb large trees and catch singing cicadas.” David Knechtges translates the title *Nan yue zhi* as “Southern Yue Gazetteer.” It was written by Shen Dewei (fl. A.D. 560) (Xiao 1982, 384). This text from the *Nan yue zhi* was reprinted in the *Taiping yulan* (Kim 2007, 147). In another work, the “Record of Forgotten Stories that Have Been Taken Up Again” (*Shi Yi Lu* 拾遺錄), “the divine tortoise...climbs trees and dwells there up in the tree. It can also speak.” The *Shi yi lu* was reprinted in the *Taiping yulan* (Kim 2007, 147).

89. The Assistant to the Prefecture Chief (*xuanyi duyu* 玄衣督郵) is identified as a nickname for turtles, in the *Ben cao* 本草 (translated as “Materia Medica” in *Han Ying cidian* 漢英辭典), under the section “Water Turtles” (*Shui gui* 水龜), and in the fish and insect category of the *Gu jin zhu* 古今注 (Tetsuji 1976, 29). *Xuanyi* can mean “red and black clothing.” The Ben Cao was attributed to the mythical emperor Shen Nong 神農. Yi Kyu-bo could be criticizing the use of animals for medicinal use.

This name for a turtle—Assistant to the Prefecture Chief (*xuanyi duyu*)—appears in *Gujin zhu* 古今注, a text that was reprinted in the *Taiping yulan*, under the category “Turtles” (*gui wen* 龜門), and in the *Gujin shi wen lei ju*, under the category “Essential words from various books” (*Qunshu yaoyu* 群書要語) (Kim 2007, 145).

from Yu Ju's scheme against him, or to save two of his sons from being cooked, how much less could he be expected to divine matters beyond these? Of old, "the Master was put in fear in Kuang,⁹⁰ and his disciple, Zilu, did not escape the sentence of pickling."⁹¹

Alas, how can one not be careful?

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90. Cf. *Lun yu* 論語: "[t]he Master was put in fear in Kuang. He said, 'After the death of King Wan, was not the cause of truth lodged here in me? If Heaven had wished to let this cause of truth perish, then I, a future mortal, should not have got such a relation to that cause. While Heaven does not let the cause of truth perish, what can the people of Kuang do to me?'" (Legge 1970, 217).

91. Zi lu was a disciple of Confucius. Yi Kyu-bo alludes to a passage in the "Record of Rites" (*Li ji*), a work attributed to Confucius: "[w]hen Confucius learned that Zilu had been pickled, he ordered the preserves in his house to be thrown out."

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Abstract

In this article, I examine Koryŏ pseudo-biographies as allegorical representation of the view of human nature depicted in the *Mencius*. Kim Ch'ang-nyong has revealed through comparative research that Koryŏ writers consulted anthologies known as *lei shu* when writing pseudo-biographies. The *lei shu* reprinted texts under subject categories such as “wine.” In this article, I will discuss the significance of the theme of “things of the same kind” in *lei shu* and pseudo-biographies, with reference to Neo-Confucianism, particularly the view of human nature expressed in the *Mencius*. Moreover, as Pak Hŭi-byŏng has observed, Yi Kyu-bo synthesized Zhuangzi's perception of oneness with the Way, with *Mencius*' belief that our minds are “of a kind” in having the capacity for goodness. The layers of plot were possible through word play such as paranomasia, in which metaphor was used for its literal and metaphorical meaning. This tracing of a metaphor to its source expressed the theme of “inquiry” (*guan*) that Han Yu and Yi Ch'ŏm emphasized in their writings in the genre of the “inquiry,” and in the pseudo-biography, with its tracing of representations of a subject in texts.

Keywords : allegory, Mencius, pseudo-biography, Koryŏ, Yi Ch'ŏm, Yi Kyu-bo