

Special Feature

About the Tradition of Writing the
“*Fu* on the Terrace for Viewing Fish”
in the Early Joseon Period

Wook-Jin JEONG

Introduction

In this paper,¹ I examine how Joseon literati understood *wen* 文. In Korea, from the fifteenth century onward, the elite class was divided into two groups, according to their attitudes toward *wen*—the Hungu 勳舊 faction focused on the craft of literature, whereas the Sarim 士林 faction focused on incorporating Confucian ideas into their literary works. By the end of the sixteenth century, the Sarim faction had come to dominate the entire court, while the Hungu faction had been absorbed into the Sarim. However, political conflicts continued among sub-factions within the Sarim, and there were occasional disputes between capital-area scholars and their provincial counterparts. I argue that factional differences in terms of understanding *wen* reflected the different social statuses of Joseon intellectuals. Scholars from the Hungu faction and capital-based candidates became highly confident in their literary skills, especially by involving themselves in state affairs and compiling royal publications or composing *shi* poetry together with Chinese envoys. In contrast, Sarim scholars and provincial scholars chose neo-Confucianism as the central ideology of their literary works.² To prove my argument, I discuss the three “Gwaneodae bu” (*Fu* on the Terrace for Viewing Fish 觀魚臺賦), written by Korean *fu* writers of late Goryeo to early Joseon, comparing their adoption of the features of *dafu*, or grand *fu*, and forms, and analyzing how their different views of literature influenced them in writing their *fu* works in different styles.

The Evolution of *Fu* Compositions in Korea before Joseon

The *fu* 賦³ is a literary genre originally developed in China. People generally

regarded it as verse because it contains rhymed lines based on certain prosodic rules. However, it often includes prose lines. The *fu* was first created during the late Warring States period, and it developed into a mature form, or *dafu* (grand *fu* 大賦), during the Former Han period (202 BCE–8 ADE), when Sima Xiangru 司馬相如 (179–117 BCE) and Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BCE–18 ADE) wrote their *fu* works. After the Han period, the *fu* developed into different forms. During the Tang dynasty the *lüfu* (regulated *fu* 律賦), a form of rhyme-prose became popular since it was required in the *jinsshi* examinations. In contrast, Song dynasty writers, such as Ouyang Xiu 歐陽脩 (1007–1072) and Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036–1101), preferred the *wen fu* 文賦 or prose *fu* (Knechtges 1997, 1).

Although *fu* was one of the major literary genres of China, many writers were not in favor of it. They criticized the genre for “its excessive ornateness and difficult languages, its use of hyperbole and exaggeration, its lack of genuine emotion and realism, and the ambiguity of its moral messages.”⁴ Several important studies of the Han *fu* were published in the 1930s, but *fu* studies remained relatively neglected, especially in mainland China after 1949. Only an occasional article dealt with it, and from the general histories of Chinese literature we can only read “brief and derogatory accounts of the *fu*” (Knechtges 1997, 5).

In Korea, the situation was not different in that very little scholarly work addressed the *fu* seriously. Only occasional articles or general histories of Korean literature included accounts of the *fu* works in Korea. It was only after Gim Seong-su and Gim Jin-gyeong wrote their dissertations (and other publications) that Koreans gained access to monographs that gave general guidelines on the history of the Korean *fu*.⁵ Korean *fu* attracts attention because it has historically not been studied in depth, and because *fu* and the *shi* 詩 poetry were the two most popular literary genres that Korean literati enjoyed in Goryeo and Joseon.

I shall briefly analyze *fu* composition in Korea from its beginnings to the early Joseon period. Koreans first went to China to study classical Chinese literature during the Tang era, and *lüfu* (regulated *fu*) was the first *fu* style that they learned. Consequently, most of the early *fu* works composed by Koreans

1. The controversial thoughts of Joseon literati on *wen* and the comparison of the three “Gwaneodae bu” are from chapters 2, 3, and 5 of my dissertation. See Jeong 2019.

2. The Sarim scholars of early Joseon were intellectuals whose social status was not established, in contrast to that of the Hungu scholars. I believe that the Sarim scholars concentrated on neo-Confucianism in their literary works as a matter of strategy, in order not to be criticized by the Hungu scholars in relation to their literary activities. For more details, see chapter 3 of my dissertation.

3. It can variously be translated into rhapsody, rhyme-prose, prose poetry, verse essay, exposition, or poetical description. However, since *haiku* 俳句 stands for a Japanese literary genre, we can use *fu* instead of using English translations of it. See Knechtges 1997, 2. One should also note that the Korean transcription for this character is *bu* (or *pu* according to the McCune-Reischauer Romanization system).

4. According to David R. Knechtges, one of the earliest writer who criticized *fu* severely was Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BCE–18 ADE), who himself was an eminent *fu* writer. See Knechtges 1997, 5.

5. See Gim 1994, 1996, 2007; Gim 2004.

were inevitably in the *lüfu* style.⁶ As time passed, *dafu* (grand epideictic *fu*) works were also composed. Starting from the late Goryeo period, *wenfu* (prose *fu*) and *pianfu* (parallel-style *fu* 駢賦) also became popular among Korean literati. In Joseon Korea, various *fu* styles were enjoyed by Korean intellectuals and scholars. Compared to Chinese *fu*, the history of Korean *fu* is relatively short, and it is noticeable that *fu* styles in Korea did not follow the same chronological order as in China, because Koreans learned the *fu* according to the styles that were prevalent in China at the time. For example, in China, regulated *fu* appeared hundreds of years after grand epideictic *fu*, whereas the opposite was the case in Korea.

The earliest extant *fu* composition in the literary history of Korea is the “Yeong hyo” (Celebrating the Dawn 詠曉), written by Choe Chi-won 崔致遠 (857-?). Choe Chi-won was an eminent scholar of Silla (57 BCE-935 ADE).⁷ In its style, this *fu* resembles a regulated *fu*. The lines of a couplet are arranged in parallel. Every other line rhymes regularly through to the end of the work. In addition, it rhymes alternately with level tone and oblique tone. It is significant that the first *fu* work ever written by a Korean was a regulated *fu*. Regulated *fu* appeared in China as late as the second half of the seventh century (Zhan 2004, 10-11; Owen 2010, 289). Choe Chi-won passed the Tang civil service examinations in 874, and he must have practiced writing regulated *fu* in order to prepare for the examinations. It is likely that this experience accustomed him to writing *fu* in this style, rather than in earlier styles. There is no evidence to suggest that Koreans wrote *fu* before Choe Chi-won, even though many earlier Koreans had passed the Tang civil service examinations. Earlier and later *fu* works may have been written by Koreans during this period, but the “Yeong

hyo” is the only composition that is extant.

The second earliest extant *fu* written by a Korean is “Jungni bong bu” (*Fu* on Confucius who was like a Phoenix 仲尼鳳賦). This *fu* work was written by Gim Bu-sik 金富軾 (1075-1151), and appears as the first *fu* in the *Dongmunseon* (*Korean Selections of Literary Works* 東文選).⁸ We do not have any evidence on the date of this *fu*. Gim was active in the court from 1099 onward, and he died in 1151, so we can only assume that it was written sometime between those years, which means that this *fu* was written more than two hundred years after the “Yeong hyo.”

The “Jungni bong bu” is essentially a eulogy, and describes in intricate detail Confucius’ various virtues, alluding to his charitable and benevolent deeds using sources such as the *Lun yu*. Most of the lines rhyme regularly, but some lines do not make a parallel structure although they do rhyme at the end. A comparison of the prosodic and rhyming patterns of this *fu* with those of previous *fu* shows that it was a deviation from the regulated *fu*.

Around the middle of the Goryeo era, Koreans began writing grand epideictic *fu*, for which they had a command of various writing skills developed in China. The most important and longest grand epideictic *fu* of this period was the “Samdobu” (*Fu* on the Three Capitals 三都賦), which was written by Choe Ja. Choe took the name from the title of Zuo Si’s 左思 (250-305) “Sandu fu” (*Fu* on the Three Capitals 三都賦). Choe’s *fu* has four features of grand epideictic *fu*: extended descriptions, intermingling of prose and verse, long lines, and hyperbole.⁹ In addition, he adopts dialogues to show the process of the main character’s moral enlightenment, which is also a common feature of the Chinese grand epideictic *fu*, like Zuo Si’s “Sandu fu.”

Beginning from late Goryeo to early Joseon, Korean literati showed interest in writing *wenfu* or prose *fu*. The following conversation includes a line that shows that the “Gwaneodae bu” became a popular topic for their *fu* works:

Dun said, “Please bring this student’s writings for the daily course work.”

They brought one each of the “Gwaneodae bu” (*Fu* on the Terrace for

6. We do not have enough evidence of early *fu* compositions in Korea. The earliest extant Korean *fu* is the “Yeong hyo” 詠曉 (Celebrating the Dawn), and the second earliest extant Korean *fu* is the “Jungni bong bu” 仲尼鳳賦 (*Fu* on Confucius who was like a phoenix). The first *fu* was written in the early 880s, while the second was written in the twelfth century. Both *fu* works are either *lüfu* or slight variants of it, and we can only assume that early *fu* works by Koreans were all *lüfu*. For more details, see Gim 1996, 147-57.

7. Choe Chi-won was born in 857, about two hundred years after Silla had destroyed the Goguryeo 高句麗 (37 BCE-668 ADE) and the Baekje 百濟 (18 BCE-660 ADE) kingdoms, which had existed in the Korean peninsula. People refer to this period as Unified Silla 統一新羅 or Later Silla 後新羅 (668-935). During this period, it was easier for Silla people to go to Tang to study than previously, when the route to Tang was blocked by the Goguryeo and/or Baekje. We have records that many Silla intellectuals, including Buddhist monks, studied in China. Choe Chi-won was one of the most successful Silla scholars active in Tang.

8. Gim Bu-sik’s collection of writings has not survived. His literary works are scattered across various sources, the most important of which is the *Dongmunseon*, which is the most important Korean anthologies in Joseon. It was published in 1478 under the royal order. Seo Geo-jeong was the main compiler of this anthology. For more details, see Jeong 2019, Ch 2.

9. For more information about these features of grand epideictic *fu*, see Gong 1990, 62-67.

Viewing Fish 觀魚臺賦), the “Jin *Samgang haengsil jeon*” (Presenting the *Commentary to the Virtues of the Three Bonds* 進三綱行實箋), the “*Liji yi*” (Meaning of Phrases in the *Li ji* 禮記義), and the civil service examination question 策問, and showed them to Dun. Dun read the *fu* and said, “This style and structure is similar to the practice of Yuan dynasty scholars.” Byeon said, “Confucian scholars of our state take the *Sanchang wenxuan* 三場文選 as literary models for composition, so they resemble each other.”

鈍曰: “將此生日課文章來。”以觀魚臺賦、進三綱行實箋、禮記義及策問各一道示之, 鈍見賦曰: “此體制, 似有元朝士習。”邊曰: “我國儒生, 看元朝 三場文選文範製述, 故相似也。”¹⁰

According to this conversation between the Chinese envoys and Royal Confucian Academy students, candidates of that period (mid-fifteenth century) regarded the *Sanchang wenxuan* (*Selected Writings from the Three-Round Examinations* [of the Yuan dynasty] 三場文選) as the literary model for compositions, and wrote *fu* in a style that imitated the “Gwaneodaebu” written by Yi Saek 李穡 (1328-1396), who was well-versed in ancient Chinese literary styles as well as contemporary Chinese literary styles, such as those in the *Sanchang wenxuan*.

About the Authors and their Perspectives on Literature

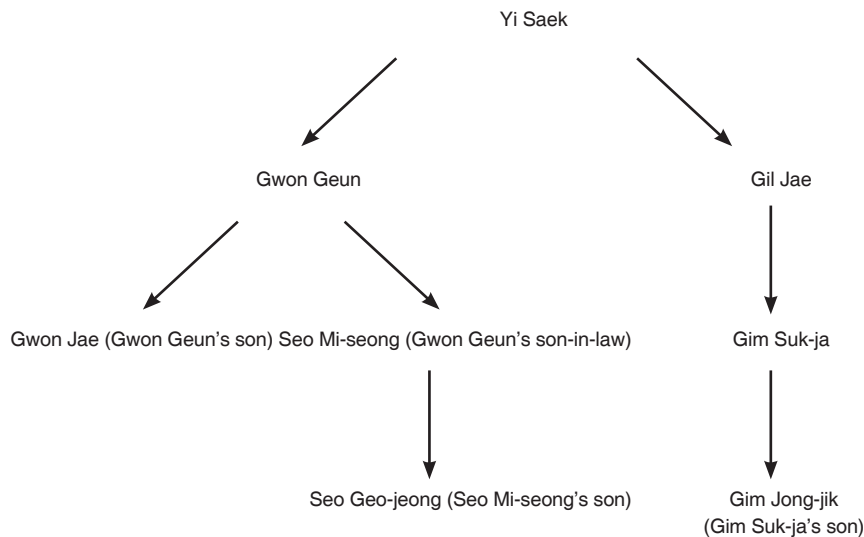
The Korean tradition of writing “Gwaneodaebu” began with Yi Saek and his “Gwaneodaebu” (A Short *Fu* on the Terrace for Viewing Fish 觀漁臺小賦). Yi Saek was one of the greatest neo-Confucian scholars of the late Goryeo/early Joseon period. He was known by his artistic name of Mogeun 牧隱.

His father was Yi Gok 李穀 (1298-1351), who was also a great neo-Confucian scholar. Yi Gok passed the Goryeo civil service examinations in 1317, but he went to the Yuan 元 court, and in the palace examinations 庭試 came second. He held several positions, including that of editorial examiner at the Hallim and Historiography Academy 翰林國史院檢閱官 in the Yuan court. Later, he returned to Goryeo and held positions

such as assistant royal secretary 密直副使, assistant executive of letters 政堂文學, and first-grade chancellor 都僉議贊成事. Yi Saek studied neo-Confucianism under Yi Je-hyeon 李齊賢 (1287-1367). Yi Je-hyeon was dispatched to work in the Hall of Ten Thousand Books 萬卷堂, which a Goryeo king had established in the capital of Yuan in 1314. It became a place where Korean scholars enjoyed scholarly exchanges with their Chinese counterparts, which facilitated Yi Je-hyeon’s greater understanding of neo-Confucian learning. Like his father and his teacher, Yi Saek started his career in the Yuan court. In 1354, he won first place in the second 會試 of Yuan’s civil service examinations and, like his father, came in second in the palace examinations. He served as junior compiler in the Historiography Academy 國史院編修官 in the Yuan court. After returning to Goryeo, he held positions including junior policy critic 右諫議大夫, intendant of education of the Bureau of Arts and Letters 藝文館大提學, chancellor of the Royal Confucian Academy 成均館大司成, assistant executive of letters, and superintendent of the Finance Commission 判三司事. While holding these positions, Yi Saek dedicated himself to disseminating and teaching neo-Confucianism in Goryeo. He was also a prolific writer. His collection of writings is preserved in the Gyujanggak Library under the title *Mogeun jip* (*Literary Collection of Mogeun* 牧隱集). The Gyujanggak *Mogeun jip* edition contains more than 8,000 verses (*shi* and *yuefu* poems as well as *fu*) and 197 prose works in 55 chapters of 24 fascicles.

It is noteworthy that almost all early Joseon intellectuals were either his disciples or descendants of his disciples. His students included Jeong Mong-ju 鄭夢周 (1338-1392), Gil Jae 吉再 (1353-1419), Yi Sung-in 李崇仁 (1347-1392), Jeong Do-jeon 鄭道傳 (1342-1398), Ha Ryun 河崙 (1348-1416), and Gwon Geun 權近 (1352-1409). Some of his disciples remained loyal to the Goryeo court, while others collaborated with Yi Seong-gye and joined the new regime. Gil Jae belonged to the first group. He was the teacher of Gim Suk-ja, who was the father of Gim Jong-jik. Gwon Geun served the Joseon court from its inception. He was Seo Geo-jeong’s maternal grandfather. Such an academic lineage suggests that there was no difference between the two groups of scholars in terms of their learning, merely in terms of political persuasion. As a result, the first group (essentially the Sarim scholars) joined the Joseon court later than the others (the Hungu scholars), who were already occupying high positions in the court.

10. *Joseon wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄, “Danjong sillok” 端宗實錄, the record of the twenty-third day, the eighth month, 1452.

Chart 1. The Genealogy of Yi Saek's Students

Seo Geo-jeong 徐居正 (1420-1488), who wrote another “Gwaneodae bu,” belonged to the Daegu 大邱 (current city of Daegu in North Gyeongsang province) Seo 徐 clan. His great grandfather was Seo Ik-jin 徐益進 (?-?), who held the position of second minister in the Office of Catering 判典客寺事. Geo-jeong’s grandfather was Seo Ui 徐義 (?-?), who held the position of assistant clerk in the Ministry of Taxation 戶曹典書. Holding important positions in the court, Seo Geo-jeong’s ancestors resided in the capital area during the late Goryeo period. In his latter years, Seo Ui moved to a rural region close to present-day Daegu city to avoid the chaos of the Goryeo-Joseon transition. Geo-jeong’s father was Seo Mi-seong 徐彌性 (1383-1429), who was magistrate in Anju 安州 (current Anju county close to Pyeongyang 平壤—the current capital city of North Korea). When Mi-seong was preparing for his civil service examinations, he was close to Gwon Je 權蹏 (1387-1445), and later married Gwon Je’s sister. Gwon Je’s father was Gwon Geun (1352-1409), who was one of the most influential vassals in the court (Yi 1996, 4).¹¹ Gwon Geun was famous for

his scholarship, as well as for his skills as a writer. Seo Mi-seong studied under Gwon Geun’s guidance along with some other students. Gwon Geun was allegedly very fond of Seo Mi-seong and appreciated his personality and talent, even arranging his marriage with his daughter. Through this marital connection it is likely that Seo Mi-seong and his descendants had better chances to be successful in the court. Seo Geo-jeong was Seo Mi-seong’s second son. He was a renowned prodigy with impressive literary talents. He passed the higher civil service examination in 1444, and was later promoted to various offices in the court, including all six of the Ministries of Offices, as well as to state councilor 右參贊, sixth state councilor 左參贊, fifth state councilor 左贊成, and fourth state councilor 左贊成. He also held the position of supervisor of writings 文衡 for twenty-two years. He was the most prolific writer in Joseon and wrote more than 10,000 poems, but only half of them appear in his 30-chapter collection in the *Saga jip* 四佳集, which originally consisted of more than 70 chapters 卷. He was involved in the making of various royal compilations, including the *Dongguk tonggam* (*Comprehensive Mirror of the Eastern State* 東國通鑑), the *Dongguk yeoji seungnam* (*Complete Survey of the Scenic Sights of the Eastern State* 東國輿地勝覽), the *Dongmunseon* 東文選, and the *Gyeongguk daejeon* (*Great Code for the Administration of a State* 經國大典). He also compiled his poetic theories in the *Dongin sihwa* (*Poetry Talks of a Korean* 東人詩話). In addition, he wrote many prose pieces in the *Saga jip* and the *Pirwon japgi* (*Miscellaneous Notes from Writing Brush Park* 筆苑雜記).

Gim Jong-jik also wrote a “Gwaneodae bu.” He has long been regarded as the head of the Sarim faction, which pursued the principle of realizing the neo-Confucian Way in writings. However, recent scholars have suggested that he in fact belonged to the School of “Verse and Prose” 詞章派, but this opinion does not accord with the general belief that the Hungu faction was the School of “Verse and Prose” and that the Sarim faction was the “Dao Learning” school 道學派. To resolve this contradiction, we need to intimately understand Gim Jong-jik’s life.

Gim Jong-jik was born in Miryang 密陽 in 1431. His ancestral hometown was Seonsan 仙山 (present-day Gumi 龜尾 in North Gyeongsang province). His great grandfather was Gim Eun-yu 金恩宥 (?-?), who held several high governmental positions in Goryeo. His grandfather, Gim Gwan 金琯 (?-?), did not take up a government position in Joseon. His father was Gim Suk-ja 金叔滋 (1389-1456), who served in various provincial posts and a few minor posts in

11. According to Yi Jong-muk, Seo Geo-jeong referred to himself as a Daegu man, even though he grew up in various places, since his father occupied different positions and offices in and around the capital when he was young.

the Royal Court, including as instructor for the Crown Prince 世子右正字, but was not assigned to particularly high positions. Gim Suk-ja studied Confucian Classics with Gil Jae 吉再 (1353-1419), a renowned Confucian scholar at the beginning of the Joseon era.

According to Gim Jong-jik, Gim Suk-ja suggested the following steps for his students to read Confucian Classics, which were derived from Gil Jae’s teachings:

In the beginning, they learned *Tongmeng xuzhi* (*What Children Should Know* 童蒙須知). Young children studied *Zi shuo* (*Explanation of Characters* 字說) and *Zhengsu pian* (*Chapters of Proper Custom* 正俗篇), and they were supposed to memorize all of these. Then they were allowed to enter into the *Xiao xue*, the *Xiao jing*, the *Da xue*, the *Lun yu*, the *Meng zi*, the *Zhongyong*, the *Shi jing*, the *Shu jing*, the *Chunqiu*, the *Yi jing* and the *Li ji* in order. 初授童蒙須知。幼學字說，正俗篇，皆背誦。然後令入小學，次孝經，次大學，次論孟，次中庸，次詩，次書，次春秋，次易，次禮記。¹²

Gim Jong-jik also studied the Confucian Classics under his father’s strict guidance, as we can see from his essays. However, there is no evidence to indicate that he put as much effort into practicing writing. This lack of evidence reinforces previous scholars’ opinion that he belonged to the “Dao Learning” school. These scholars also cite a poem included in his collection of writings, in which he reveals his desire to stay out of the court and live a hermit-like existence (Yi 1979; Bak 1988).

The author of the postface to the *Dongmunsu* 東文粹, a collection of prose writings compiled by Gim Jong-jik, was Sin Jong-ho 申從濩 (1456-97). Sin was also a Sarim faction scholar, whose views on literature were similar to those of Gim Jong-jik,¹³ and it was he who expanded Gim’s *Dongmunsu*. In the middle of the postface, he includes a paragraph in which he reveals his opinions about the richness of Korean literature:

Our country’s writings began in Silla, flourished in Goryeo, and reached their peak in our dynasty. In the past, several dignitaries of the Jiphyeon

Hall compiled the *Dongbang munsu* in a certain number of chapters and had long kept them in the Royal Library. Jeompiljae (Gim Jong-jik’s art name 號) obtained them and regarded them as acceptable. However, among them there were those that were not without defects. Therefore, he made a few additions and pared it down, and also continued to include recent works.

吾東方文詞，始於新羅，盛於高麗，至我朝而極矣。往時，集賢諸公，編東方文粹若干卷，藏在秘閣者久矣。佔畢齋得而可之。然於其中，不無病焉。故稍加增削之，又續以近時之作。

When he wrote this postface, it had only been about ninety years since the founding of Joseon, and naturally the number of works written by Joseon writers was much less than that written by Goryeo writers, but the author still opined that Joseon literary works were superior to those of Goryeo. This opinion was similar to the Sarim scholars’ views on Korean literature, namely that the quality of literature is determined by whether a work accurately portrays Confucian ideology.

The author goes on to mention the selection criteria for the *Dongmunsu*:

In any particular case of writings, we regard what are well organized with “inherent patterns” as mainstream. If a work does not accord with “inherent patterns” but is merely bound up with non-essential words, and if it regards embellishing structures as crafty or regards “the perverse, oddity, deviousness, and coarseness” as remarkable, then these are not what was selected by him. Only if a work is necessary to be used in the world, and if it manifests the right principle, did he select it. This book, in its standards of selection, accords with a sense of fairness, and between complexity and simplicity it obtains the right balance; it is certain that this book will be transmitted to future generations.

夫文以理勝爲主，不于其理而徒屑屑于文字之末，以雕績組織爲巧，以詭怪險澀爲奇，則皆公所不取。惟切世用，明義理，然後取之。是書也，取舍合其公，繁簡得其中，其永傳於後世也，決矣。

According to this passage, a literary work included in the *Dongmunsu* takes the neo-Confucian concept of “inherent patterns” 理 as the main method of organizing the content, rather than making use of fancy embellishments through expressions. This view is related to the discussion over the definition

12. Gim Jong-jik, “Yeonbo” 年譜, *Jeompiljae jip* 佔畢齋集.

13. According to Sin’s epitaph, he was greatly revered by Sarim scholars for his determination to maintain the Way, as well as for his literary talents.

of literature that existed between Sarim faction scholars and Hungu faction scholars.

Gim Jong-jik's following remark extends Sin Jong-ho's views on literature in his “*Yun seonsaeng Sang sijip seo*” (Preface to *Poetry Collection of Mr. Yun Sang* [1373-1455] 尹先生詳詩集序):

“Scholars well versed in classical learning are weak in composition; Scholars skilled in writing are ignorant of the Classics.” These are words that people of our era say. From my perspective, it's not like that. Writing comes from classical learning; classical learning is the root of writing. Let me liken it to grasses or trees. If there is no base, how can branches and leaves become lengthy and thick; how can flowers and fruit become dense and be in full bloom?

As for the *Classic of Poetry*, the *Classic of Documents*, and the *Six Arts*, all of them are Classics; as for the texts of the *Classic of Poetry*, the *Classic of History*, and the *Six Classic*, they are all writings...People merely regard what is considered classical learning today as simply involving parsing the text and glossing the meaning of words. What is called writing nowadays is nothing but a skill, like carving or weaving. How can anyone discuss writings of “elegant embroidery” and “warp or weft threads” in the same breath with parsing text and glossing the meaning of words! And how can one place carving or weaving on the same level with the learning of inborn nature and pattern, or the Way and its Power. Thus, they finally divided classical learning and writing as two different pursuits, and suspect that they can have a functional effect on each other. Alas, how shallow this opinion is!

經術之士，劣於文章，文章之士，闇於經術，世之人有是言也。以余觀之，不然。文章者，出於經術，經術乃文章之根柢也。譬之草木焉，安有無根柢，而柯葉之條鬱，華實之穠秀乎。詩書六藝，皆經術也。詩書六藝之文，即其文章也...人徒見夫今之所謂經術者，不過句讀訓詁之習耳，今之所謂文章者，不過雕篆組織之巧耳，句讀訓詁，奚以議夫黼黻經緯之文，雕篆組織，豈能與乎性理道德之學。於是乎遂歧經術文章為二致，而疑其不相為用，嗚呼，其見亦淺矣！¹⁴

Gim firstly criticizes people who think that writing and classical learning are separate pursuits. According to Gim, classical learning is like the roots

of a tree, while writing is the leaves. In this analogy, even though he ends his remark by stressing the inextricable links between classical learning and writing, his theory reveals a hierarchy of values according to which Classics are the essence and writing is supplementary. It was due to this approach that he was able to say, “If there is no base, how can branches and leaves become lengthy and thick; how can flowers and fruits become dense and be in full bloom?”

In contrast, the Hungu faction scholars had different views on literature. Seong Hyeon 成俔 (1439-1504) was regarded as a scholar who represented the School of “Verse and Prose” (or the Hungu faction scholars) after Seo Geo-jeong's generation. Seong Hyeon criticized the Sarim faction scholars' opinions on literature, as we can see in the following comment, where he describes desirable literary styles in the “Mun byeon” (Change of Writings 文變):

Sao (elegy) and *fu* should principally be “luxurious and elegant,” but ignorant people think that they should be “flat and insipid.” *Lun* (disquisition) and *ce* (examination questions) should principally be “grand and sublime,” but ignorant people think that they should be “upright and correct.” *Ji* (record) and *shi* (report) should principally be “authoritative and solid,” but ignorant people think that they should be “conjoining and paring.” “Flat and insipid” is not a defect of writings, but its maladies reach “decline and collapse.” “Upright and correct” is not a defect of writings, but its maladies reach “loose and diffuse.” “Conjoining and paring” is not a defect of writings, but its maladies reach “vulgar and uncouth.” If I draw an analogy, it is as if a tree in the garden, after its branches, stalks, flowers, and leaves have become profuse and thick, then they cover its original root; it is as if a person who blends food, after examining the proper way of achieving the five tastes or cleaning rice, then obtains a harmony of food. Now you remove branches and leaves, and then expect the tree to grow thick; you reject the five tastes and then want the food to be palatable. How could there be this kind of principle!

騷賦當主華瞻，而不知者以為當平淡也。論策當主雄渾，而不知者以為當端正也。記事者當典實，而不知者以為當併儷也。平淡非文病也，其弊至於萎靡。端正非文病也，其弊至於疏散，併儷非文病也，其弊至於鄙俚，譬如庭樹枝柯花葉紛鬱，然後得庇本根。而樹必碩茂，調飲食者當審五味滫瀡之宜，然後乃得其和。今者削枝葉，而望樹之茂，損五味而得食之和，寧有是理！ (Seong 1988, 13.57a)

14. Gim Jong-jik, “*Yun seonsaeng Sang sijip seo*” 尹先生詳詩集序, *Jeompiljae jip*.

In Seong Hyeon’s view, literary styles have their own unique features, and it is important for a writer to keep these features within a specific style. What is notable is that he also draws an analogy with the roots and leaves of a tree, just like Gim Jong-jik. However, in Seong’s analogy, what is most valued is not the roots but the leaves. In conclusion, both the Hungu faction scholars and the Sarim faction scholars believed that there was an inextricable link between writing and classical learning, but the former believed that writing was more important because it could make Classics more conspicuous, whereas the latter placed a higher value on classical learning because they thought that writing could not exist without having its contents organized in a way that reflected Confucian Classics.

It is worth exploring Gim Jong-jik’s contradictory views of *wen* 文. He was clearly closer to the Hungu faction scholars (or the School of “Verse and Prose” scholars), in that he concentrated all his efforts on developing his writing skills, rather than on cultivating himself in pursuit of the Way. However, according to the Sarim scholars’ view on the relationship between the Way and *wen* in the aforementioned discussion with the Hungu faction scholars, it can be surmised that Gim would not exert himself excessively to develop exceptional writing skills. How can we understand such a contradiction? I think that the contradiction comes from his dissatisfaction with his political status. As mentioned earlier in this paper, his desire to be successful as a scholar-official was intense. Compared with most Hungu faction scholars, however, Gim was in a politically unfavorable position in that he was not able to inherit political privileges from his father or grandfather. In these circumstances, it was natural that he decided to compete with the Hungu faction scholars by engaging in the very exercise through which the Hungu faction scholars gained political credit—writings.

The “Gwaneodae bu” (*Fu* on the Terrace for Viewing Fish 觀魚臺賦) in Korea

The “Gwaneodae bu” became a popular style and topic for *fu* writers, beginning from the late Goryeo era into early Joseon, as can be seen from the conversation between the Chinese envoys and Korean students at the Royal Confucian Academy. By comparing three representative “Gwaneodae bu” works, I intend to explore the tradition of writing “Gwaneodae bu” in Korea, especially by

focusing on the different *fu* styles used by scholars of the “Dao Learning” school and scholars of the School of “Verse and Prose.”

Geographical Features of Gwaneodae

Gwaneodae is in Yeongdeok 盈德 county in North Gyeongsang province 慶尙北道. The picture below offers a glimpse of its geographical features.



Figure 1. An Airview of Mount Sangdae in Yeongdeok County

According to Gim Jeong-ho’s 金正浩 (?-1864) maps, Gwaneodae is located on Mount Sangdae 上臺山 (altitude 183m), which is shown in the center of the picture. To the north of the mountain, the Songcheon 松川 River flows into the East Sea 東海. In 2013, Yeongdeok county built a pavilion on the top of Mount Sangdae and named it “Gwaneodae” to commemorate Yi Saek and his “Gwaneodae so bu” (*Yeonhap News*, May 8, 2015).

However, if we look closely at the three pictures, we can see that it is unlikely that the top of the mountain is where Gwaneodae was. According to the three *fu* works, people could observe fish moving, but as we can see from Figures 2 and 3, that is not possible from the peak because the shoreline is

too far. According to a newspaper article, local villagers refer to a cliff on the northwest side of Mount Sangdae (close to Songcheon River) as Gwaneodae (*Kyongbuk ilbo*, April 22, 2016). The same article includes Figure 4, which shows the spectacular view that can be seen from this cliff. The article's author does not conclude that the place in the picture is Gwaneodae. However, based on the descriptions of Gwaneodae in three *fu* works, I believe that this is the actual Gwaneodae.



Figure 2. The Newly Built Gwaneodae Pavilion



Figure 3. A View from the Newly Built Gwaneodae Pavilion



Figure 4. A View from the Site where the Gwaneodae Pavilion was

From this picture, we can surmise that Gwaneodae is a cliff that commands a view of the Songcheon River flowing into the East Sea. From this cliff, one can enjoy the scenic views of the sea and the distant mountains. One can also observe fish in the river.

Background to the “Gwaneodae bu”

Yi Saek wrote his “Gwaneodae bu” in the late fourteenth century. It comprises 224 characters over 42 lines. The following is the preface to it:

The Gwaneodae (Tower of Watching Fish 觀魚臺) is in Yeonghae prefecture. It looks down on the East Sea underneath a stone cliff, where swimming fish could be counted. Therefore, it was so named. The prefecture is where my maternal parent's home is. Because of this, I wrote a short *fu*. It is my hope that this *fu* will be transmitted to the Central Plain.

觀魚臺在寧海府。臨東海石崖下，游魚可數，故以名之。府吾外家也。爲作小賦，庶幾傳之中原耳。

In the preface to this *fu*, he reveals the reason for writing it, and in the last sentence, he declares his wish that it becomes known in China.

Gim Jong-jik's *fu* was written in 1466. It comprises 289 characters over 42 lines. It also includes a preface:

On the *bingxu* day of the seventh month, Yi Si-ae 李施愛 (?-1467) revolted. Receiving a command from the army commander, I went to Yeonghae prefecture to enlist soldiers. Soldiers had not yet been mustered, but along with instructor Im Yu-seong 林惟性 (?-?) and palace graduate Bak Chi-gang 朴致康 (?-?). I visited Yi Gok's 李穀 (1293-1351)¹⁵ old house. At the same time we made a visit to the Terrace for Viewing Fish. On that day, the wind was still, and the waves were calm. I looked below and saw a school of fish swimming under the cliff. I subsequently responded to Yi Saek's short *fu* and present it to the two of them.

丙戌七月, 李施愛反. 予以節度使之命, 簽兵到寧海府. 兵未集, 與教授林惟性, 進士朴致康, 訪稼亭舊家. 仍遊觀魚臺. 是日, 風恬浪靜, 俯見羣魚游泳于崖下. 遂和牧隱小賦, 以貽二子云.

According to this preface, Gim received a command from his superior and went to Yeonghae prefecture to draft soldiers to suppress a revolt. Coincidentally, it was the place where Yi Saek was born. Yi Saek had been the teacher of his father's teacher. Yi Saek's “Gwaneodae bu” had become an influential *fu* work by Gim's time, and Gim decided to visit Gwaneodae. Eventually, he composed his *fu*, in which he referred to the rhyming pattern and content of Yi Saek's “Gwaneodae bu.”

Seo Geo-jeong's *fu* was written in 1478. It comprises 596 characters over more than 100 lines, more than twice as long as the previous two. Seo's *fu* does not follow the rhyming patterns of the previous two *fu*s, but it is somewhat similar to them in terms of structure—in the beginning, the narrator describes the surroundings of the Gwaneodae; he then depicts the movements of swimming fish; and finally, by closely observing the swimming fish, he realizes the Way.

The following is his preface to this *fu*.

Early on, I read Yi Saek's “*Fu* on the Terrace for Viewing Fish,” and knew that the terrace is one of the most spectacular viewing spots in the world.

Since then it has been my life long regret that I have not been able to see it. Now, fortunately, with my fellow literati Yi Se-u 李世祐 (?-?) of Gwangreung 廣陵 (current Yangju 楊州 of Gyeonggi province), Yu Gye-bun 柳桂芬 (?-?) of Munseong 文城 (current Sincheon 信川 of Hwanghae province), Yi In-seok 李仁錫 (?-?) of Cheonseong 全城 (current Cheonui 全義 of South Chungcheong province), Gim Gyeong-son 金慶孫 (?-?) of Sangsan 商山 (current Sangju 尙州 of North Gyeongsang province), and Jeong Seok-gyeon 鄭錫堅 (?-?) of Gojuk 孤竹 (current Haeju 海州 of Hwanghae province), I have climbed the terrace and gazed afar. It was rare, precious, outstanding, and excellent. It must be of the first-rank in Korea. After intoning and chanting it, I tentatively completed a single short *fu*. I did not dare to presumptuously compare myself with the venerable Yi Saek. It is just for the purpose of carrying forward and enhancing the intentions that he left to us.

予嘗讀牧隱觀魚臺賦, 知臺爲天下之勝觀. 以不得見, 爲平生之恨. 今幸與諸斯文李廣陵世祐, 柳文城桂芬, 李全城仁錫, 金商山慶孫, 鄭孤竹錫堅, 偕來登眺, 瑰奇特絕. 宜甲於東韓. 諷詠之餘, 聊成小賦一章. 非敢僭擬牧老, 蓋發揚先生之遺意云爾.

In his preface, Seo Geo-jeong states the reason for writing this *fu*—Gwaneodae had long been famous for its viewing spot, and it had been his lifetime wish to visit the wondrous place; he finally had the chance to go there. According to the last three sentences in the preface, Seo Geo-jeong's purpose in writing this *fu* was to promote Yi Saek's intentions, which suggests that Seo wrote his *fu* to honor Yi Saek and his *fu* work.

However, Seo's real reason may have been quite different. In one of his entries in the *Dongin sihwa*, he indirectly evaluates Yi Saek's *fu*.

Those who have discussed the matter have said that Yi Saek is exactly like Su Shi, and that there are places where he is outstanding, even sometimes surpassing him. Someone asked venerable Gwon Geun¹⁶ about this. Laughing, Gwon replied: “You should go home and read Su Shi's ‘Qian hou Chibi fu’ (Former and Latter ‘*Fu* on the Red Cliff’ 前後赤壁賦) and Yi Saek's ‘*Fu* on the Terrace for Viewing Fish’; then you would of course understand this.” I said: “Ancient people maintained that the ‘Qian hou

15. Yi Gok was Yi Saek's father. His art name was Gajeong 稼亭.

16. Seo Geo-jeong's maternal grandfather

Chibi fu' have eclipsed all works from time immemorial, and which later people cannot speak of in the same breath with anything else."

論者，謂牧隱酷似東坡，間有發越處或過之。有問陽村權先生者。先生笑曰，子歸讀東坡前後赤壁賦，牧隱觀魚臺賦，自當知之矣。予謂古人以蘇老前後赤壁賦，爲一洗萬古，則非後人所可議擬也。¹⁷

According to this entry in the last volume of his *Dongin sihwa*, people were arguing whether Yi Saek was a better writer than Su Shi, the great writer of Song China. When some of them enquired about this with Gwon Geun, Gwon Geun answered that if one compares Su Shi's "Qian hou Cibi fu" with Yi Saek's "Gwaneodae bu," then the answer would emerge naturally.¹⁸ In the end, Seo adds his opinion that no other work is comparable to Su Shi's "Qian hou Cibi fu." From this statement, we can see that Seo Geo-jeong may have been conscious of Su Shi's "Qian hou Chibi fu" as well when he wrote his "Gwaneodae bu."

Structure and Language of the "Gwaneodae bu"

The three representative pieces of the "Gwaneodae bu" are similar in structure. Firstly, they all have prefaces in which author's purpose in writing the *fu* is revealed, as shown earlier. Secondly, in the beginning of the main body, they all describe in detail the geographical features of Gwaneodae, according to which it is a cliff that stands high close to the seashore. The following is the beginning of Yi Saek's *fu* and Seo Geo-jeong's *fu*, respectively.

By the banks east of Danyang,	丹陽東岸，
By the shores west of Japan,	日本西涯，

17. See *Dongin sihwa*, lower volume, entry 19.

18. For hundreds of years, many Koreans misunderstood Gwon Geun's intentions in comparing Yi Saek's and Su Shi's *fu* works. They thought that in Gwon Geun's mind Yi Saek's *fu* was as good as or even superior to Su Shi's *fu*. Thus, when they evaluated Yi Saek's *fu*, citing Gwon Geun's remark, they often spoke highly of "Gwaneodae bu." Some Korean scholars still repeat this today. In fact, when we compare Yi Saek's and Su Shi's *fu* works, we can easily see that the former lacks historical consciousness, which proves that it is not comparable to the latter *fu*. Yi Saek was Gwon Geun's teacher, and I believe that Gwon Geun did not reveal this fact in his remark because he did not want to devalue his teacher's composition.

19. Dalseong, which currently refers to Daegu 大邱, was the name of Seo Geo-jeong's clan.

Giant waves vastly spread,	洪濤淼淼，
There is nothing else to be seen.	莫知其他。
Their movements are like the collapsing of mountains,	其動也如山之頹，
Their stillness is like the rubbing of a mirror,	其靜也如鏡之磨。
At the place where the Wind God blows with a bellows,	風伯之所橐籥，
And where the Sea God makes its home,	海若之所室家
Pods of long whales play with their power shaking the vast sky	長鯨群戲而勢搖大空
A raptorial bird flies alone with its shadow touching the colorful sunset clouds.	鷺鳥孤飛而影接落霞

On a certain day in early winter, 1478	戊戌孟冬有日
I, son of Dalseong, ¹⁹ with other travelers, made a visit to the top of the Terrace for Viewing Fish.	達城子與客遊於觀魚之臺之上
The terrace is by the sea coast of Danyang;	臺在丹陽海岸
Its contours are precipitous and steep.	勢甚斗絕
It is only a hand's breadth from the sky;	去天一握
Looking downward, there is no land to be seen.	俯臨無地
Sky and water are joined together;	天水相連
Above and below all is of one hue.	上下一色
It is so vast, one does not know how many myriads of leagues it stretches	渺不知其幾千萬里
Its limits cannot be discerned.	而非涯涘之可 覲也
Just as I reached its boundless expanse:	予方凌汗漫
And traversed its massive murkiness:	超鴻濛
I emitted a powerful whistle,	發豪嘯
And spit out irises and rainbows.	吐霓虹
By comparing a cup with the Eastern Sea,	杯視東溟
The world already became small in my eyes.	而天下已小於目中矣
Admirable guests filled all the seats;	嘉賓滿坐
Our lofty conversations roared like thunder.	高談轉雷
They also could lift up the universe and shake the sea and mountains.	亦可以掀宇宙而撼海岳者矣

The flood dragon concealed itself because of this; 蛟龍爲之遁藏
Male and female whales thus trembled with 鯨鯢遂焉震懼
fright.

As described by these two *fu*, from the top of Gwaneodae the horizon can be observed for miles in both directions. And when they describe still or stormy waves, they all conjure up imaginary beings or deities, such as the Wind God, the Sea God, and flood dragons. What is noticeable is that Seo’s description of the scenery is considerably longer than that of Yi Saek’s, which is one of the features of the grand epideictic *fu*.

Compared to other *fu* works, Gim Jong-jik’s *fu* differs somewhat in its description of the surroundings.

Solemnly I received a tally from the commander’s tent; 肅承符于玉帳兮
To the east, I intended to go all the way to the seashore. 東將窮乎海涯
Flurrying, winged calls-to-arms went back and forth; 紛羽檄之交午兮
How could I care for other matters? 余安能以恤他
Having trepidations about daring deeds and 懼壯事與老謀兮
matured plans,
For days and months I idled away my time. 泊日月以消磨
Resting in a village of Ye county; 呬禮州之闌閤兮
Temporarily I extended my stay at an old house 聊延佇於前修之故家
of an eminent man of the past.
A terrace stands high next to it, 有臺巉岬于厥傍兮
Enhancing the dawn-flush of Mount 襯赤城之晨霞
Jeokseong.²⁰

As stated in the preface, he came to Yeonghae—the site of Gwaneodae—in order to enlist soldiers to deal with a revolt. Given the real reason for his being in that place, his composition inevitably begins with expressions of unease and anxiety, which are apparent throughout most of the beginning of his *fu*. One distinct feature that it shares with Yi Saek’s *fu* is the pattern of rhymes. In both, every other line rhymes. Moreover, Gim chose the same words for the rhymes

in the beginning part of his *fu* as in Yi’s *fu*. As a result, in the beginning of both poems, odd number lines end in the same characters of *ae* 涯, *ta* 他, *ma* 磨, *ga* 家, and *ha* 霞. It is also noticeable that he added *hye* 兮 at the end of the first line of a couplet and linked the two parts of the line with key words, such as *u* 于, *ji* 之, and *yeo* 與. This is a typical prosodic pattern that one can find in the *sao* style of *Chu ci* work. In this way, Gim may have provided some variety to his *fu*.

In fact, Seo Geo-jeong’s *fu* also differs from Yi Saek’s and Gim Jong-jik’s *fu* in its beginning. In my opinion, he was more conscious of Su Shi’s “Qian hou Cibi fu” when he wrote the opening of his *fu*. The following are the opening lines of Seo Geo-jeong’s *fu* and Su Shi’s “Qian hou Cibi fu,” respectively.

On a certain day in early winter, 1478	戊戌孟冬有日
I, son of Dalseong, with other travelers, made a visit to the top of the Terrace for Viewing Fish.	達城子與客遊於觀魚之臺之上
The terrace is by the sea coast of Danyang;	臺在丹陽海岸
Its contours are precipitous and steep.	勢甚斗絕
It is only a hand’s breadth from the sky;	去天一握
Looking downward, there is no land to be seen.	俯臨無地
On the full moon day of the seventh month in autumn, 1082	壬戌之秋七月既望
I, with some friends, went floating on a boat, and made a visit beneath the Red Cliff.	蘇子與客泛舟遊於赤壁之下
A fresh wind slowly comes,	清風徐來
And the water waves remain smooth.	水波不興
I raise my wine bottle and pour it for my guests,	舉酒屬客
And chant a poem about the bright moon.	誦明月之詩

Comparing these two *fu*, we can see that they share two distinct features. Firstly, they share identical prosodic patterns and manners of description. In the first lines, the authors reveal the timeframe of their visit to the place. In the next lines, they state their destination and the people who are accompanying them. From the third line onward, they begin to describe the scenic views.

After the initial section, the three Korean *fu* writers describe swimming fish. Yi Saek’s description of swimming fish is simple and rhythmical, and uses tetra-syllabic lines to describe their movements:

20. Mount Jeokseong is one of the peaks of Deogyu Mountain 德裕山 in Muju 茂朱 county of North Jeolla province.

Lowering myself I can see a school of fish.	俯見群魚
Some are the same and some are different,	有同有異
In pain and suffering, or in ease and enjoyment	圉圉洋洋
Each moves as it pleases.	各得其志

In contrast, Gim Jong-jik's and Seo Geo-jeong's descriptions are longer, and include features of grand epideictic *fu*, especially Seo's *fu*. In Gim Jong-jik's case, he makes use of rare characters to describe the motion of the fish.

A school of fish flapped their fins with joyful intent.	群魚撥刺以悅志
How they sported in clusters and swam in groups!	蹇族戲而隊游兮
The splashing and splashing of tiny minnows	匪膚寸瀾澗之可擬
cannot compare with this!	

In contrast, Seo Geo-jeong adopts two epideictic *fu* features to enumerate the various motions of the fish—extended description and long lines.

One could count swimming fish.	而可數游魚
In pain and suffering, or in ease and enjoyment,	圉圉洋洋
They forgot each other in rivers and lakes.	相忘江湖
Having indeed found their proper place,	夫既得其所哉
Why need they worry about scented bait?	復何芳餌之足虞也哉
Near us was a young boy,	傍有童子
Who pointed at the fish with his hand.	以手指魚
Looking at me, he said:	目予而言曰鱗之族非一
“Scaled creatures are not the same:	
Those small ones and big ones,	彼小者大者
Those flaunting their dorsal fins;	揚鬣者
Those shaking their caudal fins,	掉尾者
Those that swallow boats,	吞舟者
Those released in river valleys;	縱壑者
Those gaping and gawping;	有喁噲者
Those blowing out bubbles;	有煦沫者
Those splashing and splashing;	有潑刺者

Their features are numerous and each also has its	其爲狀千百而亦各有名
own name	
I can count them on my fingers and give a	吾可屈指以數而告之歷歷也
detailed report about them.”	

Seo also creates an imaginary young boy for his *fu*, and mentions Jeong, a fellow scholar. In this manner, by inserting a dialogue in the middle of his *fu*, he makes his narrative livelier and more persuasive. This resembles another element of the Chinese grand epideictic *fu* tradition, as can be seen in the *fu* works of Sima Xianru, Yang Xiong, and Zuo Si.

Protagonists' Enlightenment

After describing the fish, the three protagonists undergo a profound conversion. While observing the motion of the fish, they are suddenly enlightened with the learning of countless sages. In Yi Saek's *fu*, the protagonist is reminded of analogies related to fish from the *Zhuang zi*, and eventually realizes that “Things and I are one of mind.”

Lord Ren's bait was excessive. ²¹	任公之餌夸矣
That is something that I don't dare to imitate,	非吾之所敢擬
Taigong of Qi's fish-hook was straight,	太公之釣直矣
That is something that I don't dare to wish for.	非吾之所敢冀
Alas! We human beings are the most sentient of	嗟夫我人萬物之靈
the ten thousand creatures;	
Forgetting about my physical form,	忘吾形以樂其樂
I enjoy my pleasure;	
Enjoying my pleasure I die and become peaceful;	樂其樂以歿吾寧
Things and I are one of mind,	物我一心,
Antiquity and the present are one inherent	古今一理,
pattern,	
Whose mouths and stomachs are moving	孰口腹之營營
anxiously,	

21. This line alludes to Lord Ren, who used fifty oxen as bait and caught a tremendously large fish. This story is from the *Zhuangzi* 莊子. See Chen 1983, 706-07.

And are willing to be discarded by a man of virtue? 而甘君子之所棄

After this, the author alludes to the wisdom of Confucian sages, and reveals his determination to dedicate himself to Confucianism.

The attitude of the protagonist in Gim Jong-jik's *fu* is similar. By observing the swimming fish, he begins to realize that the motions of the fish are not just spontaneous actions but the result of a communication with nature.

Even though we have fish-nets or harpoons,	縱網擱兮奚冀
how can we count on them?	
Some flap their fins and beat their scales;	或掉鬣而奮鱗兮
I think that changes of wind and thunder can	吾恐風雷變化以通靈
enable them to communicate with spiritual	
powers.	
Hanging onto a twisted branch,	攀虯枝而太息兮
I heaved a deep sigh;	
I felt that all of the species were at peace.	感物類之咸寧

In these lines, he begins to relate this realization through the prism of Confucian principles. After this enlightenment, the author starts alluding to expressions from Yi Saek's *fu*, and expresses his determination to devote himself to Confucian learning.

[With Yi Saek's "fish leaping"] I took "kites flying"	竝鳶飛以取譬兮
as an analogy; ²²	
How can one be bewildered by the ultimate truth?	孰聽瑩於至理
This means that the Supreme Ultimate presents itself	斯太極之參于前兮
before you;	
I vowed to admire this and not discard it.	矢佩服而勿棄

22. This line alludes to Yi Saek's usage of "fish leaping" 魚躍 in Yi's "*Fu* on Terrace for Viewing Fish." To make a parallel with this phrase, Gim adopts "kites flying" 鳶飛. These two expressions are originally from the *Shi jing*, and they are also included in the *Zhong yong* as follows: "It is said in the *Shi jing*, 'The hawk flies up to heaven; the fish leap in the deep.' This expresses how this way is seen above and below" 詩云: "鳶飛戾天, 魚躍于淵." 言其上下察也. See Hu Guang 胡廣, *Zhongyong zhangju daquan* 中庸章句大全, 1.37b.

Finally, the protagonist celebrates his sudden enlightenment with two other visitors by drinking wine, and the anxiety that he had felt disappears naturally.

The attitude of the protagonist in Seo Geo-jeong's *fu* and the process of his enlightenment are not exceptional either. The only difference is that the young boy and Jeong help him in this process by reminding him of the analogies from the *Zhuang zi*.

I said, "My!	予曰唉
ou observe fish in the sea and count them on	童子觀魚於海而屈指以數
your fingers, ²³	
Is there this kind of a principle?	有是理也哉
There is no such a principle, but you pursue	無是理而求是道
this Way;	
Young boy, you should find me in a stall of	童子汝當索我於枯魚之肆矣
dried fish."	
Before I had finished speaking,	言未既
There was a person, whose surname was Jeong,	有鄭子者崇酒于觴
who filled my goblet with wine.	
He made a long bow and said,	長揖而言曰江山如此
"Rivers and mountains are like this;	
Your joy will also know no end;	樂亦無窮矣
But you don't drink, what is that?"	而於不飲何以哉
I said, "In the past, Huizi was on a dam over	予曰昔惠子觀魚濠上
the Hao viewing fish;	
The old transcendent of Nanhua also followed	而南華老仙亦隨之
him.	
Of the joys of fish,	魚之樂
Two masters did not know.	二子不知
And of the two masters' joys;	而二子之樂
The two masters did not know.	二子亦不相知

23. This line refers to a conversation between Zhuang Zhou and a golden carp: "The golden carp was stranded in a carriage rut. He asked Zhuang Zhou for a gallon or a pint of water, but Zhuang Zhou informed him he was on his way to meet the kings of Wu and Yue and he would divert the waters of the Western River and send it to him. The golden carp angrily denounced Zhuang Zhou's farfetched idea, adding that he would better look for the golden carp in a stall of dried fish" 且南遊吳、越之王激西江之水 君乃言此, 曾不如早索我於枯魚之肆. See Chen 1983, 705.

Now you are not I;
How do you know my joys?”

今子非我
焉知我之樂乎

By engaging in a dialogue with them, the protagonist eventually becomes enlightened about Confucian principles. We can find such a process in many Chinese grand *fu* works.

Conclusion

This paper has showed how a “Gwaneodae bu” poem was written in a different style, reflecting the poet’s scholarly tendency toward the *wen*. It first delved into the history of *fu* in Korea, focusing on the evolution of the grand epideictic *fu*, which is a style in which one can demonstrate one’s literary craft. The first and most significant grand epideictic *fu* in Korea was Choe Ja’s “Samdobu,” which was an imitation of Zuo Si’s “Sandu fu.” Beginning from the late Goryeo era into early Joseon, the “Gwaneodae bu” written in *wenfu* form became a popular style and topic for *fu* writers. Representative “Gwaneodae bu” works were written by Yi Saek, Gim Jong-jik, and Seo Geo-jeong. These three “Gwaneodae bu” poems are similar in terms of structure and the flow of the narrative. The protagonists in all three *fu* firstly describe the scenic view from the Gwaneodae, as well as the swimming fish. Then, by observing the motion of the fish, the protagonists become enlightened and start comprehending phrases in the *Zhuang zi* and the Confucian Classics. Gim Jong-jik’s *fu* is different from the other works in that it rarely includes features of grand epideictic *fu*. This is proof that we can view him as a scholar of the “Dao Learning” school, who pursued the Way rather than the art of rhetoric. In contrast, Seo Geo-jeong’s *fu* has many features of grand epideictic *fu*, including extended descriptions, long lines, and the insertion of dialogue narratives. This is clear evidence that Seo Geo-jeong was a scholar of the School of “Verse and Prose.”

References

- Bak, Seon-jeong. 1988. *Jeompiljae Gim Jong-jik munhak yeongu* 佔畢齋 金宗直文學研究 [A Study on Gim Jong-jik’s Literature]. Seoul: Iu chulpansa.
- Chen, Guying 陳鼓應, trans. 1983. *Zhuangzi jinzhu jinyi* 莊子今注今譯 [The Contemporary Interpretation with Annotation of the *Zhuang zi*]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju.
- Gim, Jin-gyeong. 2004. “Hanguk sabu ui sajeok jeongae e gwanhan yeonggu” 韓國 辭賦의 史的 展開에 關한 研究 [A Study on the History of Korean *Fu*]. PhD diss., Korea University.
- Gim, Jong-jik 金宗直. 1996. (Gugyeok) *Jeompiljaejip* (國譯) 佔畢齋集 [(Korean translation) The Literary Collection of Gim Jong-jik]. Seoul: Minjok munhwa chujinhoe.
- _____, comp. 1996. *Dongmunsu* 東文粹. [Korean Selections of Pure Essence] Reprinted edition. Seoul: Minchang munhwasa.
- Gim, Seong-su. 1994. “Hanguk bu ui yeonggu” 韓國 賦의 研究 [A Study on Korean *Fu*]. PhD diss., Sungshin Women’s University.
- _____. 1996. *Hanguk sabu ui ihae* 韓國 辭賦의 理解 [The Understanding of Korean *Fu*]. Seoul: Gukhak jaryowon.
- _____. 2007. *Sabu munhak yeonggu* 辭賦文學研究 [A Study on Korean *Fu*]. Gongju: Kongju National University Press.
- Gong, Kechang 龔克昌. 1990. *Han fu yanjiu* 漢賦研究 [A Study on Han *Fu*]. Jinan: Shandong wenyi chubanshe.
- Jeong, Wook-Jin. 2019. “The Influence of the *Wen xuan* on the Sino-Korean Literature of Early Chosŏn.” PhD diss., University of Washington.
- Jo, Dong-il. 2005. *Je 4-pan Hanguk munhak tongsa* 제4권 韓國文學通史 [The Overall History of Korean Literature]. Seoul: Jisik saneopsa.
- Knechtges, David R. 1997. Introduction to *Studies on the Han Fu*, written by Kechang Gong, 1-51. New Haven: American Oriental Society.
- Owen, Stephen. 2010. “The Cultural Tang (650-1020).” In vol. 1 of the *Cambridge History of Chinese Literature*, edited by Kang-i Sun Chang and Stephen Owen, 286-380. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Seo, Geo-jeong 徐居正. 2009. (Gugyeok) *Sagajip munjip* (國譯) 四佳集 [(Korean translation) The Literary Collection of Seo Geo-jeong]. Seoul: Hanguk gojeon beonyeogwon.
- _____. 1980. *Dongin sihua* 東人詩話 [Poetry Talks of a Korean]. Reprinted edition. Seoul: Gyeongmunsa.
- _____, et al., comp. 1914. *Dongmunseon* 東文選 [Korean Selections of Literary Works]. Reprinted edition. Gyeongseong: Joseon goseo ganhaenghoe.
- Seong, Hyeon 成俔. 1988. “Mun byeon” 文變 [Change of Writings]. In

Heobaekdang jip 虛白堂集 [The Literary Collection of Seong Hyeon], vol 14 of *Hanguk munjip chonggan* 韓國文集叢刊, edited by Minjok munhwa chujinhoe. Seoul: Hanguk gojeon beonyeogwon.

Yi, Jong-muk. 1996. *Seo Geo-jeong munhak ui jonghapjeok geomto* 徐居正文學의 綜合的 檢討 [A Comprehensive Examination on Seo Geo-jeong's Literature]. Seoul: Hanguk jeongsin munhwa yeonguwon.

Yi, Won-ju. 1979. “Jeompljae yeongu” 佔畢齋 研究 [A Study on Gim Jong-jik]. *Hangukhak nonjip* 6: 1-51.

Zhan, Hanglun 詹杭倫. 2004. *Tang Song fuxue yanjiu* 唐宋賦學研究 [A Study on *Fu* of Tang and Song]. Beijing: Shehui kexueyuan chubanshe.

Wook-Jin JEONG (xuzhen73@hanmail.net) obtained his PhD degree from the University of Washington, Seattle in 2019. He specializes in the study of Korean literature and culture of the early modern (Joseon) period, with an emphasis on poetry and prose in Sino-Korean literature. He is particularly interested in the ways premodern Korean literature interacted in East Asian contexts.

Abstract

This paper examines how Joseon literati understood *wen* 文 and how different perspectives on the *wen* were reflected in their literary writings especially in *fu* 賦 works. In Korea, from the fifteenth century onward, the elite class was divided into two groups: the Hungu 勳舊 faction and the Sarim 士林 faction. The former focused on literary craft while the latter focused on incorporating Confucian thoughts in their literary works. I argue that factional differences in terms of understanding the *wen* reflected the different social statuses of Joseon intellectuals. Scholars from the Hungu faction and capital-based candidates became highly confident in their literary skills. In contrast, Sarim scholars and provincial scholars strategically chose neo-Confucianism as the central ideology of their literary works. To prove this, I compare the three “Gwaneodae bu” 觀魚臺賦 written by Korean *fu* writers of late Goryeo to early Joseon. The focus is on their adoption of the features of *dafu* 大賦, or grand *fu* forms. I analyze how their different views of literature influenced them in writing their *fu* works in different styles.

Keywords: Sino-Korean literature, Korean *fu*, early Joseon literature, Hungu scholars, Sarim scholars, Seo Geo-jeong, Gim Jong-jik

