Hansi and Diglossia in the Chosŏn Period: Focusing on the Translation of *Hansi* for Women and Children

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Chosŏn dynasty culture featured a period of diglossia when the upper class used the cosmopolitan language, *hanmun* (Chinese characters) and the lower class used the vernacular language, *han'gŭl*. The women from the court family and literati class used *han'gŭl* as the main means of written communication, even though they belong to the upper class. When the children of the *yangban* families grew up, they used *hanmun*, however, they utilized *han'gŭl* as a supplementary script for their Chinese education during childhood. In this respect, women and children were located between the male intellectual class and commoners. This article intends to clarify how women and children made use of the vernacular language, *han'gŭl*, to learn *hansi* (poetry in Chinese characters) produced in the cosmopolitan language, *hanmun*. Through this study, I expect to show the concrete aspects of diglossia in connection with *hansi* in the Chosŏn period.

Keywords: diglossia, vernacular, *han'gŭl*, *hanmun*, *hansi*

Introduction

During the Chosŏn Period, *hansi* (poems written in Chinese) were composed in *hanmun* (Chinese writing system), the cosmopolitan East-Asian script used by upper class intellectuals, while the vernacular script *han'gŭl* was used by women and commoners. It may appear at first glance that *han'gŭl* had nothing to do with *hansi*, but actually, it was used as a supplementary script to aid the upper class in understanding *hansi* and as a tool for the lower class to enjoy it. The *Pullyu Tu gongbu si ŏnhae* (分類杜工部詩諺解, known by its abbreviated title, the *Tu si ŏnhae*), a *han'gŭl* translation of Du Fu's *hansi*, is a representative

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example of *han'gŭl* used as an aid to understand *hanmun*, since even intellectuals found it difficult to understand his poems. Du Fu (712-770) has been appreciated as the sage of poets in East Asian civilization and his collection of poems has been adored as a veritable bible of poetry. However, the *Tu si ŏnhae*, a text compiled at the king's command, was not only a reference book to understand Du Fu's *hansi*, but also an exemplary case of how the vernacular could be used to understand the cosmopolitan language.

In addition to its use in understanding *hansi* in the *Tu si ŏnhae*, *han'gŭl* was useful in educating Koreans about many other materials written in Chinese. As a result, the *Sŏyŏn* (書筵) or *Kyŏngyŏn* (經筵, Royal Lectures) hired a government official to add oral particles of *han'gŭl* to Chinese texts, a system known as *kugyŏl* (口訣, oral particles added to text). According to an entry in the *Munjong sillok* (Veritable Records of King Munjong),[1] when Munjong (1414-1452) was crown prince, the king ordered the *Sŏyŏnkwan* (the teacher of the crown prince) to add *kugyŏl* to the *Taehak yŏnŭi* (大學衍義, Extended Meaning of the Great Learning) in order to teach those in the court family who had not mastered Chinese characters. In an entry from the *Sejong sillok* (Veritable Records of King Sejong),[2] there is a note about one of the ten *Sŏyŏnkwan* who was in charge of this *han'gŭl* annotation.

An example of this sort of annotation system is found in popular novels of the Chosŏn period. Just as *hanmun* novels featured *hansi*, so too did numerous *han'gŭl* novels. For example, in the climactic scene of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, the most well-known Korean novel produced in the Chosŏn period, the protagonist, future royal commissioner Yi Toryŏng, recites a famous *hansi* passage: "*kŭmjun miju nŭn ch'ŏninhyŏl iyo, okpan kahyo nŭn mansŏng kora. Ch'ongnu raksi mannurak iyo, kasŏng koch'ŏ wŏnsŏng kora.*"

The next line, its Korean interpretation, follows: "Good wine in luxurious glasses is the common people's blood / splendid side dishes on jade plates are the common people's flesh / when the candles are guttering down, tears are shed from the people's eyes / where the songs of the banquets builds higher, the people's voice of resentment grows stronger."[3]

Like most Korean novels, *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was written in *han'gŭl* and even the inserted *hansi* were transcribed into *han'gŭl*. The use of *han'gŭl* with *kugyŏl* particles and endings had spread not only through novels, but also

1. Month 12, Day 17, 1450 (19 January 1451). I used the CD-ROM of the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* (Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty) to quote the articles from the *Sillok*.

2. Month 11, Day 14 (21 December 1447).

3. 金樽美酒千人血, 玉盤佳肴萬姓膏. 燭淚落時民淚落, 歌聲高處怨聲高.

funeral orations and public documents inserted in novels. In such a situation, how did readers re-interpret the Chinese characters referenced in the *han'gŭl* versions of the *hansi* with *kugyŏl*? Probably simply by guessing the meaning of the characters of the poem based on the interpretation given in *han'gŭl*. As we know in the case of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, the public understood *hansi* by reading the *han'gŭl* version of the original text with *kugyŏl*. In this way, common people were able to enjoy the height of the cosmopolitan language through their vernacular.

Yet it is important to note that the use of *han'gŭl* was not simply a question of class. Within the diglossia of the Chosŏn period there were two intermediate groups that are important to consider. The women of the court family and the literati class used *han'gŭl* as their main means of communication, even though they belonged to the upper class. In addition, though the male children of the *yangban* used *hanmun* when they grew older, they utilized *han'gŭl* as a supplementary script to aid their Chinese education in their childhood. In this respect, women and children were located between the male intellectuals and common people. This article intends to clarify how women and children made use of the vernacular language written in *han'gŭl* to learn *hansi*, produced in the cosmopolitan language of *hanmun*. Through this study, I will illuminate the concrete aspects of diglossia in connection with *hansi* in the Chosŏn period.

The System of *Hansi* Translations for Children and its Meaning

Tu si ŏnhae was published in 1481. This book was a large-scale translation of all *hansi* written by Du Fu, consisting of 25 fascicles. Sŏngjong (1457-1494) ordered the translation of Du Fu's *hansi* to raise the level of *hansi* composition in the process of founding the state. Prior to the translation, under the reign of Sejong (1418-1450), *Ch'anju pullyu Tu si* (纂註分類杜詩, Du Fu's *hansi* collection with some annotations) had already been published, but it was not accessible enough for upper class intellectuals to understand its detailed meanings. The complete translation allowed for a larger readership to grasp entire phrases, as Kim Hŭn (1448-after 1490, 金訢) argued in the work's preface. Two years later, Sŏngjong ordered the translation of Huang Tingjian's (1045-1105, 黃庭堅) *hansi* collection and the *Yŏnju sigyŏk* (聯珠詩格) for the same reason, even though a translation of the *Yŏnju sigyŏk* with annotations had already been published previously.[4]

4. See Lee Jongmook, "Sip'ung ŭi pyŏnhwa wa chungguk sisŏnjip ŭi p'yŏnch'an yangsang,"

Even before the translation of the *Sasŏ ogyŏng* (四書五經),[5] a major project was attempted to translate *hansi*. It appears that *hansi* were translated to heighten the level of their production, owing to the fact that in those days, the skill of poetry composition was linked directly to foreign diplomacy, and thus, was an important matter linked directly to the power of the state. In an entry from the *Chungjong sillok* (Veritable Records of King Chungjong),[6] King Chungjong (1488-1544) remarked that if correspondence in *hansi* with Chinese envoys was successful, the Chinese would not pick at flaws, even if the political affairs went wrong. Moreover, the envoys dispatched from China were outstanding poets. In this situation, it was natural that the government tried to develop the level of *hansi* production.

However, beginners were not required to learn the entirety of Du Fu's difficult poetry. *Tu si ŏnhae* was especially helpful for intellectuals who preferred to learn short and easy phrases extracted from his works. The pronunciation of *han'gŭl* was not added in the original *hansi* text, because the majority of the readers of *Tu si ŏnhae* were intellectuals versed in Chinese.[7] Some documents report that Yi Chŏnin (n. d., 李全仁), the son of Yi Ŏnjŏk (1491-1553, 李彦迪) read *Tu si ŏnhae* because there was nobody able to teach Du Fu's *hansi*. During this same period, Chŏng Ch'ŏl (1536-1593, 鄭澈) told his son back in his hometown to bring the *Tu si ŏnhae* to him.[8] It was commonplace that scholars who could not obtain copies of *Tu si ŏnhae* would borrow and transcribe it, or that those who had the original Chinese texts by Du Fu wrote the translation on the upper margins in order to study his poems. An example of the latter is *Ch'anju pullyu Tu si*, currently in the possession of the *Kyujanggak* (the archives of the Royal Library at Seoul National University), where the translation of *Tu si ŏnhae* was copied on the upper

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(Changes in Poetic Styles and the aspects of compiling collections of Chinese Poetry) in *Han'guk hansi ŭi chŏnt'ong kwa munyemi* (The tradition of Korean poems in Chinese and literary aesthetics), (Seoul: T'aehaksa, 2002).

5. The "Four Books" are *Analects of Confucius* (論語), *Mencius* (孟子), *Great Learning* (大學), and *Doctrine of the Mean* (中庸) and "The Five Classics" are *Classic of Changes* (易經), *Classic of Poetry* (詩經), *Classic of Rites* (禮記), *Classic of History* (書經), and *Spring and Autumn Annals* (春秋).

6. Month 12, Day 8 (29 December 1519).

7. For the marking system of *han'gŭl* pronunciation on Chinese characters, see Kim Wanjin, "Sejongdae ŭi ŏmun yŏn'gu" (Study on the policies of language and literature under the reign of Sejong), *Sŏnggok nonch'ong*, vol. 3 (Seoul: Sŏnggok Foundation, 1972).

8. See Lee Jongmook, "Tu si ŭi pŏnyŏk yangsang" (Aspects of Translation of Du Fu's poems) in *Tu si wa Tu si ŏnhae yŏn'gu,* ed. Han'guk Chŏngsin Munhwa Yŏn'guwon (Study on Du Fu's poems and their *han'gŭl* translations), (Seoul: T'aehaksa, 1998).

margin. Another possession, the *Pullyu Tu kongbu si* (the transcribed version) in the *Changsŏgak* (Korean Royal Library at the Academy of Korean Studies), is the copied version of the second edition of *Tu si ŏnhae*.

Another book relating to the learning of Du Fu's poems is Yi Sik's (1584-1647, 李植) *Ch'anju Tu si t'aekp'ungdang pihae* (纂註杜詩澤風堂批解). This book, produced in the middle part of the seventeenth century, took the *Ch'anju pullyu Tusi* published under the reign of King Sejong and other versions from China as exemplars, adding *kugyŏl*, annotations, and Yi's personal interpretations. The reason Yi Sik made this book in 1623, when the second edition of the *Tu si ŏnhae* had been published and *Ch'anju pullyu Tu si* was reprinted, was because the translation of *Tu si ŏnhae* had come into question precisely at this time. For the literati, adding accurate *kugyŏl* to difficult phrases seemed to be better than giving a detailed translation in *han'gŭl*. For this reason, in *Ch'anju tusi t'aekp'ungdang pihae*, Yi Sik put *kugyŏl* on difficult phrases, adding annotations without translating into *han'gŭl*. On the other hand, *Tu si ŏnhae* was focused on translation into *han'gŭl* without *kugyŏl*.[9] Actually, the literati preferred *Ch'anju Tu si taekp'ungdang pihae* to *Tu si ŏnhae*, because *han'gŭl* was less functional for upper class men.

However, *han'gŭl* was very helpful for beginners learning *hansi*, such as women or children. Translations for beginners were produced in the middle part of the sixteenth century. The first introduction of *hansi* was *Taegu yŏnjujip* (對句連珠集) by Pak Hŭngsaeng (1374-1446, 朴興生) in 1431, a work that is no longer extant. It was authored before *han'gŭl* was created, so it seems to have been a collection of easy phrases in *hansi* without translations for beginners. After the creation of *han'gŭl*, translations were added in this form. *Paengnyŏn ch'ohae* (百聯抄解) is an example of this, produced in the middle part of the sixteenth century.

Paengnyŏn ch'ohae selected phrases from *hansi*, sampling the works of the poets of the Tang and Song dynasty, such as Bai Juyi (772-846), Du Fu, Du Mu (803-852), and Su Shi (1037-1101), and also such Koryŏ Poets as Pak Inbŏm (fl. ninth c., 朴仁範) and Kim Kŭkki (ca. 1150-1204, 金克己). The style of the works in *Paengyŏn ch'ohae* was simple and the themes were not serious. As a result, the reception of this book was not very positive. According to the preface of *Yŏn'gu soksŏn* (聯句續選) by Ha Hongdo (1593-1666, 河弘道) in 1640, the editor of *Paengnyŏn ch'ohae* was unknown, the works were not of a

9. It is clear that the literati read *hansi* by adding *kugyŏl*. Examples would be the Chinese version of *Yongbi ŏch'ŏnga* read by Yejong (1450-1469) in the fifteenth century when he was the prince and music texts read by the court family under the reign of Yŏnsan'gun (1476-1506).

very high caliber, and the scope of the poems was narrow. Due to these problems, it is said that Cho Sik (1501-1572, 曺植) produced *Yŏn'gu sŏn* (聯句選) and Ha Hongdo compiled *Yŏn'gu soksŏn*. *Yŏn'gu soksŏn* included the works of the great Chinese poets such as Li Bai (701-762), Du Fu, and Han Yu (768-824) as well as those of Koryŏ and Chosŏn poets. This book is no longer extant, so it is impossible to know whether or not it added *han'gŭl* translations.[10] *Ŏnhae chŏlgu* (諺解絶句), which is presumed to have been produced around the same time as *Paengnyŏn ch'ohae*, was another textbook of *hansi* for children. There is a record that King Sejo commissioned the text to correct proofs of *chŏlgu* (quatrains), and it was later translated and transmitted as *Ŏnhae chŏlgu*.[11]

However, there is a difference among the three translations in transcribing the original Chinese phrases. In *Tu si ŏnhae*, the original *hansi* text was presented in Chinese characters, and in *Ŏnhae chŏlgu*, the pronunciation of *han'gŭl* was added in the original text. The *Paengnyŏn ch'ohae* (currently in the possession of Tokyo University) consisted of *han'gŭl* pronunciation and interpretations.[12] *Paengnyŏn ch'ohae* was especially important because it functioned as a dictionary of Chinese characters by using *han'gŭl* to show both the pronunciation and meaning of each Chinese character. While certain sorts of dictionaries did exist during this period, such as *Ch'ŏnjamun* (千字文) and *Ryuhap* (類合), the *Paengnyŏn ch'ohae* seems to have attracted the interest of children by giving them a chance to learn easy *hansi* phrases as well as Chinese characters.[13]

As most of the *hansi* translations for the children show, the earlier translations done right after the invention of *han'gŭl* generally chose the mixed system using Chinese characters with *han'gŭl* pronunciations added.[14] Most

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10. See Lee Jongmook, "Chosŏn sidae *hansi* pŏnyŏk ŭi chŏnt'ong kwa yangsang" (The tradition of *hansi* translation and its aspects in the Chosŏn Period), in *Changsŏgak*, vol. 7 (Sŏngnam: The Academy of Korean Studies, 2002).

11. See Nam Kwŏnhŭi, "Ŏnhae chŏlgu ŭi kanhaeng e taehayŏ" (On the publication of *Ŏnhae chŏlgu*), in *Munhŏn kwa haesŏk* (Literature and Interpretation) 8 (1999): 204-209.

12. Most copies of *Paengnyŏn ch'ohae* consist of entirely *han'gŭl* transcriptions except for the version at Tokyo University.

13. Another children's textbook that served as a dictionary was *Chahun ŏnhae* (字訓諺解), a translation of a *Chahun* compiled by Cheng Duanmeng (程端蒙) in the Song dynasty and translated by No Susin (盧守愼) for his nephew in the middle part of the sixteenth century. For this, see Hwang Munhwan, "Chahun ŏnhae," *Munhŏn kwa haesŏk* 3 (1998): 191-222. The original text is introduced there.

14. According to the preface of *Ŏje Sŏkpo sangjŏl ŏnhae* (御製釋譜詳節諺解), King Sejo produced *Sŏkpo sangjŏl* to mourn his mother, Queen Chŏnghŭi, before he became king. *Kŏmganggyŏng*

translations of Buddhist classics in the fifteenth century and translations for women's education in the court,[15] such as *Naehun* (內訓), produced in 1475, and *Samgang haengsilto ŏnhae* (三綱行實圖諺解) in 1481, published for the women outside the court, utilized the same system. Before at least the fifteenth century, the cosmopolitan language, *hanmun*, was the main means for written communication, while the vernacular language, *han'gŭl* played a supplementary role.

By the late Chosŏn period, this textual ground had shifted. Translations for women were written completely in *han'gŭl* and *hanmun* took on a secondary status. At the same time, because children from *yangban* families were to become part of the intellectual class *hanmun* had to be instilled as their main linguistic means. However, in late Chosŏn, textbooks for children like *Ŏnhae chŏlgu* still used *han'gŭl* pronunciations and translations of the original Chinese text. *Tu yul pullyu* (杜律分類), a possession of the *Kyujanggak,* is an example of this.[16] It is similar to *Ŏnhae chŏlgu* in that the titles of the poems were translated into *han'gŭl*. The difference with the *Paengnyŏn ch'ohae* or *Ŏnhae chŏlgu* lies is the existence of *kugyŏl*. *Tu si ŏnhae* was a reference for the literati to understand the exact pronunciation and meaning of each Chinese character, so it did not need to add *kugyŏl*. *Ŏnhae chŏlgu* and *Paengnyŏn ch'ohae* contained only one responding phrase, so it also did not need *kugyŏl*. Rather, these books intended to make the reader learn how to interpret the structure of *hanmun* through *hansi*, clarifying the pronunciation and meaning of each Chinese character. *Tu yul pullyu*, on the other hand, had a complete translation entirely with *kugyŏl*.

The development of translation next moved towards the Confucian canon in the *Sasŏ ŏnhae* (四書諺解). In 1585, when the Kyojŏngch'ŏng (校正廳, Government Office for Proofreading) was installed, numerous critical *han'gŭl* translations were published, such as Sohak ŏnhae in 1585 and *Non'ŏ ŏnhae* (論語諺解), *Maengja ŏnhae* (孟子諺解), *Chungyong ŏnhae* (中庸諺解), and *Taehak*

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samgahae (金剛經三家解) and *Nammyŏngjip ŏnhae* (南明集諺解) were produced under the command of Queen Mother Chŏnghŭi. *Sisik kwŏngong ŏnhae* (施食勸功諺解) was also translated by the order of Queen Mother Insu. In this respect, it can be said that most of the translations of Buddhist texts were created for the women of the court family. The preface of *Naehun* (內訓) shows that the main readers were women in the court family.

15. According to an entry in *Sŏngjong sillok* (Veritable Records of King Sŏngjong) for Month 3, Day 23 (21 April 1481), *Samgang haengsil yŏllyŏdo* (三綱行實烈女圖) was published to teach the women living in the capital and the countryside. In the process of the translation, the original form of *hansi* was omitted.

16. See Yi Hyŏnhŭi, "Ŏnhae charyo *Tu yul pullyu* wa *Tu ch'odang si* e taehan koch'al" (Study on the *han'gŭl* translation of *Tu yul pullyu* and *Tu ch'odang si*), in *Tu si wa tu si ŏnhae yŏn'gu*.

ŏnhae (大學諺解) in 1590. The translation of *Samgyŏng ŏnhae* (三經諺解) was finished before the Japanese invasion of Korea in 1592 and published in the seventeenth century. Using *kugyŏl*, these books put *han'gŭl* pronunciations in the original text and translated the entire contents into *han'gŭl*. Other Confucian scriptures were also translated in the same way. This had significant consequences. As the civil service examination made the memorization of Confucian scriptures a principle aim, readers were required to know accurate pronunciation. This made *kugyŏl* a criterion in the evaluation of candidates and meant there were those who may have failed the examination because they mistook a single *kugyŏl*. Naturally, *Sohak ŏnhae* and *Samgyŏng ŏnhae* were requisite textbooks for the examination candidates and are particularly notable for becoming vernacular entries into the government's canon. Though translations of Confucian scriptures had been attempted, they were only published beginning in the late sixteenth century, when the government first officially approved interpretations in the vernacular *han'gŭl* instead of the cosmopolitan language, *hanmun*.

That *Tu yul pullyu* followed the format of *Sasŏ ŏnhae* tells us something even more. Like the *Tu si ŏnhae*, the *Tu yul pullyu* used a canon to classify the normative translations of *hansi* for children who were to be the future intelligentsia. As such, they could not simply ignore the original Chinese text. Yet there was another key fact these texts could not overlook. Before the invention of *han'gŭl*, remembering a teacher's oral statements was the primary method of education.[17] According to the sixteenth century *Miam ilgi* (眉巖日記), after the teacher Yu Hŭich'un (1513-1577, 柳希春) read a phrase aloud twice and interpreted it, King Sŏnjo (宣祖) then repeated and interpreted it.[18] Should the king have forgotten the oral statement, it was impossible for him to review it. However, *han'gŭl* translations with *kugyŏl* like *Sasŏ ŏnhae* turned the books themselves into teachers.[19] Dictation and memorization gave way to the

17. In the Koryŏ period, the oral tradition of *Sŏktok kugyŏl* (釋讀口訣) was established and sometimes free translation by means of *idu* (吏讀) was used as a communicative script as in *Taemyŏng yul chikhae* (大明律直解, 1395) and *Yangjam kyŏnghŏm ch'waryo* (養蠶經驗撮要, 1415). However, *han'gŭl* could represent the oral texts completely, while *Sŏktok kugyŏl* and *idu* were somewhat limited.

18. For *Miam ilgi* (1567) by Yu Hŭich'un, see An Pyŏnghŭi, "Kugyŏl kwa *hanmun* hundok" (*Kugyŏl* and the interpretation of *hanmun*), in *Kugŏsa yŏn'gu* (Study on Korean Language history), (Seoul: Munhak kwa chisŏngsa, 1992).

19. Self-study was for the recitation of the poems. Memorizing an entire text with *kugyŏl* and interpretation was a typical method of learning in the Chosŏn period. A comparison on the learning of *hanmun* in Chosŏn and Japan was recorded in *Kissō Bunshū* (橘窓文集) by Amenomori Hōshū (雨森芳洲).

personal study of texts, namely, *Sasŏ ŏnhae* and *Tu yul pullyu*.[20]

The Literary Lives of Court Women and Translations of Hansi in Late Chosŏn.

Of the translations of *hansi* made for women in the Chosŏn period, few remain extant. This speaks in many ways to a common antipathy towards women's literary life at this time. *Kyujung yoram* (閨中要覽), compiled by Yi Hwang (1501-1570, 李滉), remarked that the only things women should learn through books were the names of countries and ancestors.[21] It has long been said that composing beautiful Chinese poetry and practicing calligraphy were skills allowed only to the *kisaeng* class (female entertainers), not to common women. The message about women and writing in *Naehun* comes through the mother of Cheng Yichuan (程伊川), who liked writing, but did not dare leave any compositions, thinking that the transmission of her writings to other people was the worst thing she could do. Such negativity towards women's literary activities is revealed in women's epitaphs as well, where the abandonment of writing after marriage was notably recorded as a praiseworthy mark of a wise mother and good wife.[22] In such a cultural context, it was not easy to publish literary books for women.

Given this difficulty, in books related to women's literary activities, *han'gŭl* played a crucial role, while *hanmun* was a secondary language. Few translations aimed at the education of *hansi* for women have been found. *Komun chinbo ŏnhae* (古文眞寶諺解) from the eighteenth century leaves a small trace of evidence regarding women reading *hansi*. This work, a possession of the *Changsŏgak*, has a stamp sealed "*Ch'un'gung* (春宮)" indicating *Sado seja* (思悼世子, crown prince Sado, the son of King Yŏngjo) and "*Yŏngbin pang* (暎嬪房)" indicating the mother of Sado seja, implying that the book had

20. According to an entry from Month 6, Day 10 (25 June 1539), in the *Chungjong sillok* (Veritable Records of King Chungjong), the new way of self-studying was spreading, as opposed to the dependence on the master's teaching. This trend might have been stronger after the publication of *Sasŏ ŏnhae*.

21. Paek Tuhyŏn, "Chosŏn sidae yŏsŏng ŭi munja saenghwal yŏn'gu" (Study on the Literary Lives of the Women in *Chosŏn* Period), *Chindan hakpo* 96 (2004): 139-188.

22. For example, when Kim Ch'anghyŏp (金昌協) wrote the epitaph of his daughter, one praiseworthy anecdote he recorded was that she had learned the classics such as *Chuja kangmok* (朱子綱目), *Non'ŏ*, and *Sangsŏ*, but after marriage, she never read books. See Kang Hyesŏn, "Abŏji ŭi kŭllo namŭn ttal ŭi sam" (One daughter's life handed down in the writings of her father), *Munhŏn kwa haesŏk* (Literature and Interpretation) 19 (2002): 25-37.

something to do with her or her son. It is presumed that women of the court would learn *hansi* or *hanmun* through *Komun chinbo ŏnhae*, knowing as we do that Queen Sunwŏn (純元王后), the queen of King Sunjo, bestowed another *Komun chinbo ŏnhae* to princess Dŏg'on (德溫).

The format of this book is interesting in that it makes clear the priority *han'gŭl* takes over *hanmun* in books aimed at women. Take the first line of "Exhortation to learning from Emperor Zhenzong" (眞宗皇帝勸學文). The *han'gŭl* pronunciation, "*puga puryong mae yangjŏn*,"[23] is followed by the original Chinese and a *han'gŭl* translation. This format is also found in the version of *Paengnyŏn ch'ohae* produced in the eighteenth century. Putting *kugyŏl* in *han'gŭl* on the original Chinese text was different from the way *Paengnyŏn ch'ohae* was studied in early Chosŏn. For women, reading the original Chinese text with *kugyŏl* in *han'gŭl* and its *han'gŭl* translation was more preferential, while the Chinese text in the *Paengyŏn ch'ohae* or *Tu yul pullyu* was still important to boys from *yangban* families.

The custom of publishing *han'gŭl* translations for the public began to appear in the sixteenth century. This period saw the publishing of many translations, aimed towards enlightening common people: *Sok samgang haengsilto* (續三綱行實圖, 1514), *Yŏssi hyang ŏnhae* (呂氏鄕約諺解, 1518), *Chŏngsok ŏnhae* (正俗諺解, 1518), *Iryun haengsilto* (二倫行實圖, 1518), *Kyŏngminp'yŏn ŏnhae* (警民編諺解, 1519). Many of these books were published in local areas and were meant to be read by the general public. They were *han'gŭl* translations, sometimes containing the original Chinese text with *kugyŏl*. *Samgang haengsilto*, published during Sŏngjong's reign, was a translation in *han'gŭl* and *hanmun* with *han'gŭl* pronunciation, but the second edition in 1581 was written only in *han'gŭl*, without *hanmun*. For women at the time, the original Chinese text was of little importance. *Samgang haengsilto*, *Iryun haengsilto*, and *Oryun haengsilto* were published to deliver to women and children stories about how to be a filial child, a loyal subject, and a virtuous woman, not to facilitate any understanding of the original Chinese text. Also momentous in the development of *han'gŭl* culture was a message from King Sŏnjo (1552-1608) in 1593, written only in *han'gŭl* to persuade the refugees among the general public to return home after the war.[24]

In the eighteenth century, many translations for children were written only

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23. 富家不用買良田 – "Rich families have no need to buy good fields."

24. Buddhist scriptures were also translated in *han'gŭl* without *kugyŏl*, though the original Chinese text was added, such as in the *Pumo ŭnjung kyŏng* (父母恩重經) published in the middle part of the sixteenth century.

in *han'gŭl*, which, for the children in the court like a prince or a grandson of the king, was just a supplementary alphabet used to learn *hanmun*. Later, however, *han'gŭl* would become another official language. In fact, by the middle of the eighteenth century, *han'gŭl* translations for the children in the court were predominant. This court tradition was established by King Yŏngjo (1694-1776).

King Yŏngjo translated a series of Chinese texts in person for the prince. He wrote *Ŏje chasŏng p'yŏn* (御製自省篇) and translated it, leaving a dedication to his son.[25] The translation of *Ŏje chasŏng p'yŏn*, *Ŏje chasŏng p'yŏn ŏnhae*, was written only in *han'gŭl*, and was the first publication of a totally *han'gŭl* translation, in the mid-eighteenth century. His other writings, such as *Ŏje chohun* (御製祖訓), *Ŏje kyŏngse mundap* (御製警世問答), and *Ŏje sanghun ŏnhae* (御製常訓諺解) were also translated into only *han'gŭl* for his grandson. These books show the role of *han'gŭl* as a tool used in the introductory stages of education in the court.[26] By the nineteenth century, the court possessed numerous books in *han'gŭl*.

The use of *han'gŭl* is frequently found in translations for women as well. In the nineteenth century, the court's library, Taech'ukkwan (大畜觀) located in the south area of Chunghŭidang of Ch'angdŏk palace, had many of books written in *han'gŭl*. The library catalog contained many *han'gŭl* novels and the translated versions of Chinese novels, such as *Imjillok* (壬辰錄), *Sŭngsarok* (乘槎錄), *Ŭlbyŏng yŏnhaengnok* (乙丙燕行錄), *Iltong changyuga* (日東壯遊歌), and *Kajeyŏnhaengnok* (稼齋燕行錄). The books in this library moved into Yŏngyŏngdang (演慶堂) in the vicinity of Naksŏnjae (樂善齋) in the early twentieth century. According to *Ŏnmunch'aek mongnok* (諺文冊目錄 – catalog of books in *han'gŭl*), Yŏngyŏngdang had more books in *han'gŭl* than the Taech'ukkwan, some 3094 volumes.[27]

An example of one of these books written only in *han'gŭl* that ended up in the Yŏngyŏngdang collection is the translation of *Komun paeksŏn* (古文百選), a collection of prose masterpieces compiled by Kim Sŏkchu (1634-1684, 金錫胄) and translated in the eighteenth century. The first piece in this book, "A Letter to King Hui of Yan" (報燕惠王書) written by Yue Yi (樂毅), was translated into

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25. For the translations in the late Chosŏn, see Hong Yunp'yo, *Kugŏsa munhŏn charyo yŏn'gu – modern period* 1 (Study on the Written Materials in Korean Language History 1) (Seoul: T'aehaksa, 1993).

26. *Ŏje hunsŏ ŏnhae* was also translated in *han'gŭl* but it used a combination of Chinese characters and *han'gŭl*, so it should be discussed differently.

27. Lee Jongmook, "Chosŏn sidae wangsil tosŏ ŭi sujang e taehayŏ" (On the storage of the books possessed by the court in the Chosŏn period), *Sŏjihakpo* 26 (2002): 5-39.

only *han'gŭl* with *kugyŏl*, and it read, "*sini puryŏng haya*, *pullŭng pongsŏng wangmyŏng haya*, *i syun chwau chisim ŭn kong syang sŏnwang chi myŏng hamyŏ*."[28] This marked the curious emergence of a *hanmun* book without Chinese characters. How can we explain this?

We explain it by trying to understand the reality of women's literary lives at that time.[29] At first, *han'gŭl* was used only by the highest class, such as the king or the princes, and then quickly spread to women, of both the upper and lower classes. The *Sejo sillok* (Veritable Records of King Sejo) notes that Sejo's (1417-1468) wife, Queen Chŏnghŭi (1418-1483, 貞熹), presented a piece of writing in *han'gŭl* to him, implying that the women of the court freely used *han'gŭl* at least as early as 1458.[30] During the reigns of Tanjong and Sŏngjong, all court women, including even a court maid, nanny, and medical attendant, could compose letters in *han'gŭl*.[31]

Given this, the women of the court began to consider *han'gŭl* as another official language. When Queen Chŏnghŭi was administering state affairs from behind the scenes, she presented her writing to King Sejo and delivered decrees to King Sŏngjong in *han'gŭl*. In addition to such decrees, women of the court were using *han'gŭl* to make records of people's achievements. When Queen Mother Chasun (慈順), Queen Chŏnghyŏn (1461-1530, 貞顯), compiled a biography of her husband, King Sŏngjong (1457-1494), she wrote his achievements in *han'gŭl*. Furthermore, she recorded her own achievements so they could be used in her biography after her death.[32] Queen Munjŏng likewise also wrote about the achievements of King Injŏng (1515-1545) in *han'gŭl*.[33]

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28. 臣不佞, 不能奉承王命, 以順左右之心, 恐傷先王之明 – "I have no talent. I was unable to receive the command of the king so as to accord with the feelings of your advisors. I am afraid to harm the enlightenment of the former king."

29. According to an entry for Month 9, Day 13 (2 November 1691), in *Sukchong sillok*, King Sukchong ordered that the nurse of the prince teach the boy everyday with the translations of good and easy phrases from Confucian classics such as *Sohak or Hyogyŏng*. When the nurse in the court read the book to the prince, the original Chinese characters were meaningless. The only thing for her to do was to repeat the *han'gŭl* pronunciation and translation. *Komun paeksŏn* was a textbook for very young children. The beginners were to memorize the Chinese characters and to do so effectively, the *han'gŭl* transcription of Chinese book was helpful. By the way, the main readers of the *han'gŭl* version of *Komun paeksŏn* were women.

30. Month 8, Day 24 (1 October 1458).

31. For women's use of *han'gŭl*, see Yi Kyŏngha, "Sibo-simyuk segi wanghu ŭi kungmun kŭl ssŭgi e kwanhan munhŏnjŏk koch'al" (Research on the materials about the Queen's writings in the fifteenth and sixteenth century), *Kojŏn yŏsŏng munhak yŏn'gu* 7 (2003): 389-415; and Paek Tuhyŏn, "Chosŏn sidae yŏsŏng ŭi munja saenghwal."

32. Month 1, Day 2 (27 January 1495) *Yŏnsan'gun ilgi*; Month 8, Day 23 (14 September 1530) *Chungjong sillok*.

In the process of *han'gŭl* becoming an official language, it took on particular uses. For instance, when the addressee was a woman, the writing used was *han'gŭl*. For example, the *Myŏngjong sillok* (Veritable Records of King Myŏngjong) states that the ministers presented writing in *hanmun* to the king, but their submission to a queen mother was in *han'gŭl*.[34] Many letters written in *han'gŭl* were like this. In the court, or outside of it, when the addressee or the addresser was a woman, the official script was *han'gŭl*. Even when the addresser was a king, he used *han'gŭl*.[35] It is clear then that anytime women were related to an official letter, *han'gŭl* was to be used.[36]

Memorial orations for women and *ch'aengmun* (official announcements of appointment) were conventionally translated into *han'gŭl*. An entry in the *Yŏnsan'gun ilgi* (Diary of Yŏnsan'gun's reign) notes that a funeral address for a deceased lady of the court was translated in *han'gŭl* and recited by another court lady, a *ŭinyŏ* (醫女, female medical assistant).[37] Another record, this one from the *Chungjong sillok* (Veritable Records of King Chungjong),[38] notes that the books about marriages and appointments, *Seja ch'inyŏng ŭiju* (世子親迎儀註) and *Ch'aekpin ŭiju* (冊嬪儀註) were translated in *han'gŭl* and sent to the house of the prince's wife. A record from *Sukchong sillok* (Veritable Records of King Sukchong) notes that at the funeral of the queen mother, one female official recited the announcement for the bestowal of a posthumous name, as well as a funeral oration, in *han'gŭl*.[39]

During this period, even though women knew *hanmun*, they were supposed to write *han'gŭl* and read only books written in *han'gŭl*. A proclamation

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33. Month 7, Day 4 (10 August 1545) *Injong sillok*.

34. Month 7, Day 25 (31 August 1545).

35. The letter given to the princess by King Sŏnjo was also written in *han'gŭl*. This letter is introduced in *Kŭnjo naegansŏn* (A Collection of Letters in the Late Chosŏn) by Yi Pyŏnggi (Seoul: Kukche munhwagwan, 1948).

36. According and entry in the *Kwanghaegun ilgi* for Month 5, Day 5 (25 June 1610), outside the court, it was during the late Chosŏn period that *han'gŭl* was used by women in public documents. However, the circulation of *han'gŭl* documents was legally prohibited according to *Sugyo chimnyak* (受教輯略), published under the reign of Sukchong. For this, see Paek Tuhyŏn "Chosŏn sidae yŏsŏng ŭi munja saenghwal." The existing *han'gŭl* documents are presumed to have not been valid as public documents because of the absence of the official stamp.

37. Month 9, Day 15, (11 October 1505).

38. Month 2, Day 28, (1 April 1524).

39. Month 11, Day 11 (10 December 1701). Of course, *han'gŭl* was not used in public records. According to an entry from *Sŏngjong sillok* for Month 6, Day 10 (25 June 1482), the decree in *han'gŭl* by the Queen Mother was ordered to be translated in *hanmun* again. This tradition seems to have endured to the next generation. The biography of a deceased king and queen mother in *han'gŭl* was translated in *hanmun*.

written in *han'gŭl* by King Sunjo's wife, Queen Sunwŏn, helps explain the trepidations involved in allowing women too much literary freedom.[40] The decree was a *han'gŭl* transcription with *kugyŏl*, and read "*Chyonggo hubi chi nimt'yŏng tyodyŏng, nae yu kuk chi tae purhaeng yara*." (The participation of women in politics has caused national disasters from antiquity).[41] Proclamations in *han'gŭl* became conventional, but they took on a mixed style following the *hanmun* format. As the *Kyujung yoram* remarked, literary acts were not allowed for women, but the basic scriptures and history books, as well as works regarding enlightenment were indeed open to them. In the case of scriptures, women were allowed to read the original Chinese text with accurate *kugyŏl*, but officially they could only approach books on general history and culture written in *han'gŭl*. This was especially true of materials relating to the women in the court family. For this reason, many *han'gŭl* translations related to enlightenment and culture were produced for women, including the *Book of Odes* (詩經). The translation of the *Book of Odes* for women was different from that done for men. The translation for men consisted of the original Chinese text with *han'gŭl* pronunciation and *kugyŏl* verbatim translations, while the version for women was composed entirely in *han'gŭl*. *Guofeng* (國風), which is presumed to have been transcribed in the nineteenth century and is a part of the *Changsŏgak* archive, was a collection of sixteen chapters. They describe the duties of the women in the court, and were aimed at the female reader. Notably, the *Guofeng* lacks the original Chinese text, featuring only the *han'gŭl* pronunciation of it with *kugyŏl*, as such: "*kwangwan chyŏgu yŏ chaeha chi chyu roda, nyodyo sungne kunja hogu roda.*"[42] It was a translation of the basic parts from the annotations in *Shiji zhuan* (詩集傳) by Zhu Xi that were needed to understand the poem. This construction implies that the intention of the book was to teach feminine virtue to female readers through annotations after reciting the original text in *han'gŭl*. The overarching meaning of this and other books aimed at women, was not seen to be important.

Konbŏm (壺範), a work in the possession of *Changsŏgak*, contains translations of some parts of the *Book of Odes* and its format is similar to that of *Guofeng*, though the marking system is a little different. This book contains

40. For this material, see Kim Wanjin, "Kyŏngja nyŏn taewangtaebi ŏnmun chŏngyo e taehayŏ" (On the decree in *han'gŭl* by the Queen Mother in the *Kyŏngja* year), *Munhŏn kwa haesŏk* 27 (2004).

41. 從古后妃之臨聽朝政, 乃有國之大不幸也.

42. 關關雎鳩, 在河之洲, 窈窕淑女, 君子好逑. "The singing bird is on the edge of the water. The chaste woman is a good mate of a true gentleman."

the *han'gŭl* translations of pieces from *The Four Books* (四書) and the *Book of Changes* (周易) without the original Chinese text, though in the part from the *Book of Odes*, the *han'gŭl* pronunciation of the original text is exceptionally presented following the convention that the original text of the poem was usually given. The translation of *Book of Odes* was widespread for the sake of enlightening as many as possible. Books aimed towards educating about the achievements of the royal family were also frequently translated. *Yŏlsŏng chisang t'onggi* (列聖誌狀通紀), a collection of epigraphs and biographies of kings and queens was translated into *han'gŭl* in the early eighteenth century and thereafter, similar books like *Yŏlsŏng hubi chimun* (列聖后妃誌文) were continuously translated. In particular, *Yŏlsŏng chisang t'onggi* contained various works in Chinese, such as the biographies of kings and queens, epigraphs, funeral orations, and Chinese poems. Besides Chinese poems,[43] the works of other genres contained only translations without the original text. It is notable that while the translations of this book lacked much of the original text, they were still intended to give the women of the court a chance to enjoy Chinese literature, as well as to educate them on the achievements of previous kings and queens.

Like the *Yŏlsŏng chisang t'onggi* with its Chinese literature, several translations about culture done for the women of the court included *han'gŭl* transcriptions of Chinese poems. The *Changsŏgak* possesses a large number of *han'gŭl* translations of Korean and Chinese history. On the fifteenth day of the ninth month of the ninth year of his reign (27 October 1463), King Sejo ordered Kim Suon (1410-1481, 金守溫) to translate some of the one verse genre, *kasa*, in *Myŏnghwang kyegam* (明皇誡鑑). In addition to the books on culture and enlightenment, history books were among the most translated works in the nineteenth century. Representative among these were *Sipkusaryak ŏnhae* (十九史略諺解), which is presumed to have been published under the reign of King Yŏngjo, *Sŏnbo chimnyak ŏnhae* (璿譜輯略諺解), a collection of articles related to the royal family in late Chosŏn, *Choya haet'ong* (朝野會通), *Choya kimun* (朝野奇聞), and *Choya ch'ŏmjae* (朝野簽載), all of which are presumed to have been published in the nineteenth century.[44] Moreover, *Kukcho kosa* (國朝古事), *Chŏngsa kiram* (正史紀覽), *Manggam chŏngsa*

43. In *hansi*, the original Chinese text was transcribed in *han'gŭl* without *kugyŏl*. There were many poems transcribed in *han'gŭl* without *kugyŏl*.

44. These materials were reprinted with the unofficial history in *han'gŭl* by the Academy of Korean Studies. This paper consulted the interpretation of these materials done by Im Ch'igyun and Yi Kwangho.

yangnon (綱鑑正史略論), and *Yŏktae kinyŏn* (歷代紀年) were translated into *han'gŭl*, and were included in the *Yŏn'gyŏngdang* as books for the women of the court. According to the preface written by Yun Yonggu (尹用求), a translator of *Chŏngsa kiram*, King Kojong (1852-1919) emphasized history education for the women of the royal family. The enormous quantity of these translations shows that these women needed a vast range of reading materials as they became more frequently involved with political affairs.

Because these history books contained so many Chinese poems, female readers were able to learn of the great Chinese poems of the age as well as gain knowledge about history. *Choya haet'ong* in particular functioned as a great textbook for literature by gathering translations of the important poems in Chinese, as well as verses in *han'gŭl*, such as *sijo* and *cham'yo* (讖謠). For example, this book collected the achievements of the famous literati, Song Siyŏl (1607-1689, 宋時烈), together with *han'gŭl* transcriptions of his Chinese poems as well as the translation from his anthology, *Songja taejŏn* (宋子大全). However, there are altogether too many mistakes in this book, compared with the original text.[45] The Chinese poems in the *han'gŭl* text were just an embellishment, and were not regarded as being among his serious works. When female readers recited the poems, the original Chinese offered no special meaning, quite unlike the enjoyment felt by the general public when reading Chinese poems in *han'gŭl* novels.

Another genre of *han'gŭl* literature was travel sketches from China, *Yŏnhaengnok* (燕行錄), introduced into the court for the purpose of extending women's knowledge about the world. The representative *Yŏnhaengnok* were *Nogajae yŏnhaengnok* (老稼齋燕行錄) by Kim Ch'ang'ŏp (1658-1721, 金昌業), *Ŭlbyŏng yŏnhaengnok* (乙丙燕行錄) by Hong Taeyong (1731-1783, 洪大容), *Muo yŏnhaengnok* (戊午燕行錄) by Sŏ Yumun (1762-1822, 徐有聞), and *Yŏnhaengnok* by Hong Sunhak (1842-1892, 洪淳學) including *P'yohaerok* (漂海錄).[46] These books were all *han'gŭl* transcriptions and translations, lacking the original Chinese text except for *hansi*, which sometimes presented *han'gŭl* pronunciations of the original text. Especially in *Ŭlbyŏng yŏnhaengnok* by Hong Taeyong, there are many *han'gŭl* translations of the Chinese poems by Chosŏn and Chinese poets. It is said that Hong Taeyong produced this book for his mother in *han'gŭl*. Considering these materials, it can be said that in late Chosŏn when the reading tastes of female readers were taken into

45. For this material, see the interpretation of *Choya hoet'ong* (Sŏngnam: The Academy of Korean Studies, 1991) by Yi Kwangho, Chŏng Kubok, and Im Ch'igyun.

46. This book is no longer extant, so it is not certain if it was translated by Ch'oe Pu (崔溥).

consideration, Chinese poems were given a great deal of weight and *han'gŭl* transcriptions of the original Chinese poems were circulated together with their translations.

Chinese Poems Enjoyed by Women of the Yangban Class and the Tradition of *Han'gŭ l* Anthologies

Through the use of *han'gŭl* as an official script for women, the women in the court family read *hanmun* materials extensively. This trend took place in *yangban* families in the eighteenth century. This education was primarily accomplished through the use of the *Book of Odes* and was present in many common *yangban* families. In the eighteenth century, Ŏ Yubong (1672-1744, 魚有鳳) compiled the books called *Sip'yŏn* (詩篇), by collecting the sections about public morals from *Book of Odes*. According to the preface, *Zhounan* (周南) and *Zhaonan* (召南) were translated in their entirety together with the abstracts of 72 other pieces. The criterion for selection was whether the items were related to affairs between men and women or couples.

At some point, the title of this books seems to have been changed to *P'ung'a kyusong* (風雅闉誦). According to the chronological record of Ŏ Yubong, this book was produced as a collection gathering 73 pieces from the *Book of Odes* around October 1737. It was said that it was made following the request of a married daughter in the Yi family.[47] As it is no longer extant, it is hard to investigate its connection with *Guofeng* and *Konbŏm*. However, it is presumed that there were few differences between them.

During late Chosŏn, translations for the *yangban* women were produced in great numbers, and were written entirely in *han'gŭl*. In particular, the growth of lineage consciousness brought about the wide dissemination of translations of family records in order to teach women about the achievements of their ancestors. Representative of these were *silgi* (實記) "true records" written in *han'gŭl*, including *Sŏnbugun ŏnhaeng yusa* (先府君言行遺事), which was a translation of *Chung'ong silchŏk* (中翁實蹟) recording the achievements of Yi Kwangch'an (1702-after 1738, 李匡贊) in the eighteenth century,[48] and *Yŏngse*

47. See Lee Jongmook, "Chosŏn sidae wangsil tosŏ."

48. *Sŏnbugun ŏnhaeng yusa* contained *hansi*, which was an entirely *han'gŭl* interpretation with no *han'gŭl* pronunciations of the original Chinese text. The difficult phrases in the translation were supplemented with annotations. In this type of translation that was composed in the narrative style, the original text had no meaning.

pojang (永世寶藏), which was a translation of the family's funeral orations and biographies. These *han'gŭl* translations were arranged by Hwang Chongnim (b. 1796, 黃鍾林) who compiled *Yŏngse pojang* to teach his sister-in-law about their family history and moral culture.[49]

More remarkable is that the anthologies of female writers were translated and read. Extant *han'gŭl* translations of female anthologies include *Hoyŏnjae yugo* (浩然齋遺稿) by Hoyŏnjae, Lady Kim (1681-1723), and *Ŭiyudang yugo* (宜幽堂遺稿) by *Ŭiyudang*, Lady Nam (1727-1823). It is said that *Pinghŏgak chŏnsŏ* (憑虛閣全書) by Pinghŏgak, Lady Yi (1759-1824), contained more than 100 pieces of Chinese poems translated in *han'gŭl*.[50]

Hoyŏnjae yugo, containing 244 pieces of Chinese poetry, was transcribed in 1814 by Lady Sim, the mother of Song Kyuhiŭi (1769-after 1807, 宋奎熙). There are several mistakes in this book, such as incorrect pronunciations, wrong line markings, and misspellings.[51] This is thought to be due to the fact that the female readers were largely ignorant of Chinese characters and were thus unable to reconstruct the original Chinese text. It is presumed that Hoyŏnjae, Lady Kim, first wrote poems in Chinese. She might have participated in the translation of the Chinese version of *Hoyŏnjae yugo* herself. She left a Chinese version called *Chagyŏngp'yŏn* (自警篇) but according to the postscript, the *han'gŭl* version of this book seems to have been transcribed into a Chinese version by her grandson in 1796. The first version in Chinese must have been removed after it was translated into *han'gŭl*, because the official script for women was *han'gŭl*, not Chinese. *Chagyŏngp'yŏn* was written to record the events of her life as well as her behavior, therefore, a *han'gŭl* version would have been easier for her descendents to read. This was the reality of the literary lives of the women who sought to be "wise mothers and good wives."

Hoyŏnjae yugo was handed down to posterity after the *han'gŭl* version was produced. In this case, the *han'gŭl* anthology of the female writer appeared, following the form of the typical translations for the women of the late Chosŏn royal family. The basic characteristic of the *han'gŭl* anthology of the female writer in *Hoyŏnjae yugo* is also found in *Ŭiyudang yugo* by *Ŭiyudang*, Lady Nam.[52] The *han'gŭl* version of *Ŭiyudang yugo* was transcribed in 1843,

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49. For this material, see Chŏng Yanghwan, *Yŏngse pojang* (Seoul: T'aehaksa, 1998).

50. According to an article in the *Tong'a ilbo* on January 31, 1939, *Pinghŏgak chŏnsŏ* was in the possession of the Sŏ family in Chinsŏ-myŏn, Changdan-gun, Hwanghae province, but is no longer extant.

51. Pak Muyŏng, "Kim Hoyŏnjae ŭi saeng'ae wa hoyŏnjae yugo" (The life of Kim Hoyŏnjae and her posthumous work), *Kojŏn yŏsŏng munhak yŏn'gu* 3 (2001): 97-125.

52. See Yu T'agil, "Ŭiyudang yugo wa kŭ chakcha kojŭng" (Posthumous Work of Ŭiyudang and

containing three pieces of prose, seventeen Chinese poems, and three writings about her achievements. In the case of the prose sections, the original text was not generally added, but in this anthology, *han'gŭl* transcriptions of the prose and the interpretation in the lower line were carried without *kugyŏl*, as in *Komun paeksŏn*. The poems in Chinese also carried *han'gŭl* transcriptions of the original texts and interpretations on the lower line. This material also reveals the errors that occur in the process of transcription. A *han'gŭl* pronunciation marking mistake was found, which resulted in a mistaken interpretation. However, the errors were not significant given that when the female readers read the anthology in *han'gŭl* their focus was primarily on appreciating the lyrics of the poems.

Another *han'gŭl* translation of an anthology was *Haksŏkchip* (鶴石集). This was unusual in that it was an anthology by a male reader translated in *han'gŭl*. The *han'gŭl* version of *Haksŏkchip* was a translation of some parts of the anthology in Chinese, which collected the early poems of King Sunjo's son, Prince Hyomyŏng (1809-1830, 孝明). It was transcribed in a correct form, not in cursive style. It seems that the translator was Prince Hyomyŏng who had no brothers but three sisters. One of his sisters was Princess Myŏng'on (明溫) who was given the pen name Lady Maeran (梅蘭 meaning "apricot tree" and "orchid") by her brother and was possessed of considerable poetic talent, compared to the "little sister" of Su Shi. Prince Hyomyŏng wrote his sister many poems, expressing his longing for her. In this respect, it seems that he translated his Chinese poems and showed them to his sister, following the standard way in which the writings for women from the royal family or anthologies by female writers were translated.

Ikchong kanch'ŏp (翼宗簡帖), part of the *Kyujanggak* collection, contains *han'gŭl* letters and Chinese poems exchanged between Prince Hyomyŏng and his sister. In one letter, Princess Myŏng'on asked after her brother and requested him to read her writing first. Prince Hyomyŏng then answered. They wrote a *han'gŭl* pronunciation of the original Chinese text and then added the translation of the contents in *han'gŭl*. From this, we can ascertain that even men used *han'gŭl* to share Chinese poems with women.

Historical Investigation of the writer), in *Han'guk munhŏnhak yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1989).

Conclusion

This paper examined the literary context developed in the relationship between the cosmopolitan language, *hanmun*, and the vernacular language, *han'gŭl*, focusing on the translation of Chinese poems targeted to women and children. In the early period when *han'gŭl* was invented, these translations depended on *hanmun*, with *han'gŭl* used as a supplementary language. However, as in the case of *Sasŏ ŏnhae*, because the addition of *kugyŏl* and interpretations required *han'gŭl* in its translation, even though the *The Four Books* were treated as scriptures endowed with absolute authority, the *han'gŭl* version eventually became the text used for such official events as the civil service examination.

The system of translating the scriptures like *Sasŏ ŏnhae* continued until the end of the Chosŏn dynasty. While the translation of Chinese poetry did not require *kugyŏl*, because these works were not endowed with the status of scriptures, they still depended on *hanmun* as a primary language and *han'gŭl* as a secondary one, as was the case with *The Four Books*, *Sohak*, and *Naehun*. Therefore, *kugyŏl* was not essential for translation until late Chosŏn. However, in the case of translations made for the education of the future intelligentsia, the original Chinese text was included, together with added *han'gŭl* pronunciations.

After the sixteenth century, when books for public enlightenment were translated, the proportion of original Chinese text decreased and translations became more dependent on *han'gŭl*. Translations for the enlightenment and culture of women were produced on a large scale. In a society where a woman's literary life in *hanmun* was not allowed, women were ordered to use *han'gŭl* to read and write books. After *han'gŭl* became the official language for women, male intellectuals were also expected to use *han'gŭl* when they wrote to women. In this situation, women began to recite original Chinese poems using *han'gŭl* pronunciation, and performed their interpretations in *han'gŭl* as well. The women of the royal family in particular read *han'gŭl* versions of history and travel sketches in order to master a wide scope of culture and knowledge. They also enjoyed the Chinese poems embedded in these books. After the system of reading and interpreting Chinese poems in *han'gŭl* was established, the female readers were able to grasp the meaning of the poems through *han'gŭl* transcriptions, such that the original Chinese text became a mere embellishment.

This means of enjoying Chinese poetry was not different from the way the general public engaged with literature. As women encountered Chinese poems

through *han'gŭl* materials, the public came to know them through *han'gŭl* novels. The insertion of Chinese poems in these novels implied that Chinese poems were becoming a significant part of the literary life of the general public, even as the use of its original script, *hanmun*, was decreasing. There was no sense that the original Chinese poems had to be restored. The role they played in creating a dramatic effect was sufficient using the vernacular. In *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, for example, it was Yi Toryŏng's poetic recitation that set the picturesque scene of the climax. In its time, it was said that this poem was so popular that everyone could recite one or two phrases of it. Moreover, the ability to recite these Chinese poems was a way to establish oneself as an educated person, through the display of this use of Chinese characters. Indeed, it was easy to find a phrase of Chinese poetry in the novel or *kasa* that the general public enjoyed. Mask performers, actors and shamans would insert one or two phrases of Chinese poetry in their performance art like *p'ansori, t'alch'um* or *kutpan* as a means of embellishing their peripheral culture with the help of *hansi*. Such were the ways that the vernacular *han'gŭl* was utilized by the various strains of popular culture to forge a connection with the cosmopolitan language of *hanmun*.