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**Literary Genre and Philosophical Discourse in the Buddhist
Poetics of Han Yongun (1879-1944)**

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October 1999

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
of The Australian National University.

Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or equivalent institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Gregory Nicholas Evon". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Gregory Nicholas Evon

October 1999

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Abstract

The Buddhist Han Yongun (1879-1944) is an important figure within the history of modern Korean literature, and his literary fame rests primarily upon his 1926 collection of vernacular free verse poetry, *Your Silence* (Nimui ch'immuk). Despite the quality of the poems contained in this collection, a crucial element in securing Han's literary reputation has been his participation in the March First Independence Movement of 1919. The poetry of *Your Silence* has thus largely been interpreted through this political activity against Japanese colonial rule.

In spite of--or perhaps because of--Han's other Buddhist activities and writings, little attention has been given to the larger historical, philosophical, or literary contexts of his thought or literature, or the way in which *Your Silence* might be seen from this larger context. As a consequence, this thesis represents an attempt to expand the points of view applicable to Han, both as a Buddhist poet and as a Buddhist thinker.

The form which this thesis takes reflects those areas which I believe have been neglected: his Zen Buddhist views on the written word and his actual use of words. In particular, I will examine in detail those genres of classical Chinese poetry in which he wrote and thereby provide a detailed discussion of the importance of his enlightenment verse within the larger context of East Asian Buddhism and poetry. I will also give a representative selection of his classical Chinese poems in translation, and these poems too will be placed within the larger context of classical Chinese poetry.

This thesis will finally turn to a discussion of the main interpretive frameworks which have been applied to *Your Silence*. I will attempt to demonstrate that this collection stands as a unified body of work whose unity is to be found in Han's Buddhist perspective on desire. Further, I will attempt to show

that this perspective is coherent within his own life and Buddhist thought and that the structure and meaning of those poems were most conducive to vernacular free verse Korean.

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General Introduction¹

Han Yongun occupies an awkward position within the history of modern Korean literature, and this awkwardness can be attributed partly to his activities in the politically and socially complex time in which he lived. Equally important are the tensions Korean intellectuals faced following liberation from 35 years of Japanese colonial rule in 1945, and in particular, the pressing need to find a patriotic writer from that painful historical period.

Han was particularly well suited to this need in several regards. He had played an important role in countering the attempts by the Japanese Sōtō Zen sect to take political control of the Korean Buddhist church in 1910, and in the March First Movement of 1919, he was one of the two Buddhist representatives to sign the *Korean Declaration of Independence* (Chosŏn tongnip sŏnŏnso). During his prison term he broke ranks with the other 31 non-Buddhist religious leaders in the movement and published an individual thesis on the rationale for Korean independence.² Then, after serving 3 years in prison, he began a busy life as a public intellectual. Until his death he was an ardent and eloquent advocate on behalf of Korean Buddhism, and he endeavoured to help it steer a course free of interference by the Japanese colonial government. The primary task to which Han

¹In this thesis I use the McCune-Reischauer system for the transliteration of Korean, the Wade-Giles for Chinese, and the revised Hepburn for Japanese. In regard to Korean, I follow what has become the common practice of using "sh" instead of "s." Thus, I write Shilla instead of Silla, etc. In instances where Korean titles are divided, I have generally followed the author's division: thus, *Hyōndaeshiwa hanshi* (modern poetry and classical Chinese poetry). For the sake of clarity, however, I have divided long Sino-Korean titles--or long Sino-Korean portions of titles--into units of meaning: thus *Kosa sŏngŏ taesajŏn* instead of *Kosa sŏngŏ taesajŏn* (encyclopaedia of ancient phrases). Further, I have included Chinese and / or Japanese pronunciations of terms where appropriate, and in a few instances, I have also given the Sanskrit. In these instances, K will stand for Korean, C for Chinese, J for Japanese, and Skt for Sanskrit. In the appendix I have included a select glossary of important names, titles, and terms, and in order to avoid confusion, I have also included transliterations of Korean which might be a source of confusion due to sound changes: ie. yushin-ron = yushillon (treatise on reformation) or Kwŏn Sang-ro = Kwŏn Sangno (a personal name).

²See Kenneth M. Wells, *New God, New Nation: Protestants and Self-Reconstruction Nationalism in Korea 1896-1937* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), pp. 100-101.

was devoted was the strengthening of the Korean Buddhism which had suffered systematic suppression during the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910). This was the sphere in which he worked and through which he hoped to help the society in which he lived.

Upon Korea's formal annexation by Japan in 1910, the Korean Buddhist institution was forced to deal with the pressing matter of how best to forge an identity in a new political and social atmosphere. Some Korean Buddhist leaders such as Yi Hoegwang (1862-1933) were convinced of the need to effect a formal merger between Korean Buddhism and one or another powerful Japanese Buddhist sect. Other Korean Buddhists, such as Han Yongun and Pak Hanyŏng (1870-1948), were convinced of the need to maintain the independence of Korean Buddhism. These opposing views notwithstanding, there was within the ranks of Korean Buddhism recognition that Korean Buddhism was ill suited to contemporary exigencies. Further, Korean Buddhism was under threat from the steadily rising popularity of Protestant Christianity and a syncretist religion called Ch'ŏndogyo that arose in Korea during the late 19th century. Korean Buddhism's relative weakness and lack of social participation were exemplified by the fact that of the 33 signatories to the *Korean Declaration of Independence*, only two were Buddhists.

Korean Buddhists were thus faced with two related problems: the question of how to modernise and the issue of how to compete against other religions. Between 1910 and 1913 Han and two other Korean Buddhist priests published treatises which dealt with one or both of these problems. Kwŏn Sangno (1879-1965) was the first, and his *Treatise on the Improvement of Korean Buddhism* (Chosŏn Pulgyo kaehyŏngnon) was published serially between 1912 and 1913.³

³For an overview of this text, see pp. 160-165 of Yang Unyong, "Kŏndae Pulgyo kaehyŏk undong," in Ch'ŏlhak Chonggyo Yŏn'gushil, ed., *Han'guk sasangsa taegyŏ* [in 6 vols.] (Sŏngnam: Han'guk Chŏngshin Munhwa Yŏn'guwŏn, 1993): vol. 6, pp. 159-175. The text is reprinted in full in T'oegyŏngdang Kwŏn Sangno Paksa Chŏnsŏ Kanhaeng Wiwŏnhoe, ed., *T'oegyŏngdang chŏnsŏ* [in 9 vols.] (Seoul: Yihwa Munhwasa, 1990), vol. 8, pp. 49-84.

Paek Yongsŏng (1864-1940) published his *Returning to the Source of the True Teachings* (Kwiwŏn chŏngjong) in 1913, and that same year Han finally published his *Reformation of Korean Buddhism* (Chosŏn Pulgyo yushillon) which he seems to have started 3 years earlier. Kwŏn emphasised the need for Buddhist clergy to undertake educational reform, to become acquainted with modern social and political conditions, and to take a greater role within society. Notwithstanding these points, his program for reform was conservative, and he counselled against sudden, drastic changes of the sort Han proposed. On the other hand, Paek's treatise was fundamentally an analysis of the superiority of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and Zen in particular, over Christianity.⁴

Han's *Reformation* bore similarities to the texts written by Kwŏn and Paek. Han stressed the need for education among Buddhists, their acceptance and understanding of modern social and political conditions, and their participation in society. During the 500 years of suppression during the Chosŏn dynasty, Korean Buddhism had been legally restricted to the mountains, and as a consequence, it had lost its larger social relevance. To respond to this problem, Han urged Korean Buddhists to proselytise, and he noted that such missionary work--inroads into society--could be carried out through speeches, writing in newspapers or magazines, or through the translation of Buddhist texts from Chinese into Korean: precisely those activities with which he was involved throughout his life.⁵

Throughout the reprinted edition, the editors have changed all occurrences of "improvement" (kaehyŏk) to "revolution" (hyŏngmyŏng). The title of the reprinted text is *Treatise on the Revolution of Korean Buddhism* (Chosŏn Pulgyo hyŏngmyŏngnon).

⁴Paek's treatise is contained in a collection of reprints of his writings; see Pulshim Tomun, ed., *Yongsŏng taejongsa chŏnjip* [in 18 vols.] (Seoul: Yongsŏng Taejongsa Ch'anggŏn Toryang, 1991), vol. 8, pp. 751-956. For a discussion of Paek's views on Buddhist reform, see Han Chongman, "Pulgyo yushin sasang," pp. 1121 (1)-1158 (38) in Sungsan Pak Kilchin Pakse Hwagap Kinyŏm Saŏphoe, ed., *Han'guk Pulgyo sasangsa* (Iri, Chŏlla Pukto: Wŏn Pulgyo Sasang Yŏn'guwŏn, 1975), pp. 1123 (3)-1131 (11). See also Han Chongman, "Yongsŏng munjongui k'un sanmaek," in Pulgyo Chŏn'gi Munhwa Yŏn'guso, ed., *Hyŏndae kosŭng inmul p'yŏngŏn* [in 2 vols.] (Seoul: Pulgyo Yŏngsang Hoebosa, 1994), vol. 1, pp. 248-263.

⁵See Han Yongun (Yi Wŏnsŏp, trans.) *Chosŏn Pulgyo yushillon* (Seoul: Unjusa, 1992), p. 73; for the corresponding portion in the original Sino-Korean text, see the reprint in *ibid.*, p. 35. Hereafter, noted by *Reformation* and page numbers.

Like Paek, Han argued for the superiority of Buddhism over other religions, and the style of Han's apologetics was influenced by the pre-1911 thought of the Chinese intellectual Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (1873-1929).⁶ Of particular importance was Liang's emphasis on the socio-political ramifications of the Bodhisattva ideal: that to attain salvation for oneself meant that one had the duty to work for the salvation of others. In Liang and Han's thought, the political survival of their nations was linked to the survival and dissemination of Buddhism.⁷

Chinese, Japanese, and Korean intellectuals were responding to fundamentally similar problems: imperialism and Christianity. In the case of Buddhist apologists, the tools of response were chiefly the same: Buddhist metaphysics and texts, and varying degrees of knowledge of Western intellectual traditions.⁸ East Asian Buddhists often used Kant in the cause of furthering the interests of their religion, and it was also commonly claimed that in distinction to Christianity, Buddhism emphasised the intellect over superstitious faith. But in spite of differences between individual Buddhist apologists, there was a general uniformity in the spectrum and specific types of Buddhist apologetics which arose in China and Japan in the late 19th century. Korean Buddhists encountered relatively late those specific problems, but when they did, they responded in predictable ways.

One of the central issues these apologists faced was the practical issue of the Buddhist monastic tradition. Due to monasticism's ethic of remaining separate from the world, reformers were forced to question its role in societies under threat from foreign nations with greater economic and technological power. Aside from

⁶For instance, see *Reformation*, op. cit., pp. 15-29 and in the original Sino-Korean text, pp. 3-12. In this portion, "On the Nature of Buddhism," Han mentions Liang by name and draws explicitly on his arguments.

⁷See Chan Sin-wai, *Buddhism in Late Ch'ing Political Thought* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1985), pp. 40-43. For a slightly different study of Buddhism in the late Ch'ing, see Holmes Welch, *The Buddhist Revival in China* (Cambridge [Massachusetts]: Harvard University Press, 1968).

⁸For a critical overview of Buddhist movements in Japan in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, see Winston Davis, *Japanese Religion and Society: Paradigms of Structure and Change* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), pp. 153-187; see especially pp. 163-172.

this practical question, however, was the problem of Buddhism's basically negative view of women. This was based on a negative view of human sexuality and the association of women with three evils: sexual intercourse, gluttony, and avarice. In theory

Buddhism works against the grain of devolution by reversing the process of sexuality, acquisition of property, and all other forms of sensuality and desire.⁹

These desires were precisely what the ideal of celibate monasticism countered. Some Buddhist reformers, such as Kwōn and Paek in Korea, argued for various degrees of change to the traditional monastic system, but they did so without questioning the primacy of celibacy.

Han, however, questioned both the importance of the celibate monastic tradition for Korean Buddhism itself and the historical, philosophical, and practical grounds upon which that tradition was justified. He envisioned a socially active Korean Buddhism which might compete with other religions, and in order to effect this goal, he called for an end to the requirement of celibacy for monks and nuns.¹⁰ He did so twice in 1910 through petitions to government authorities, and then in 1913 he included in *Reformation* a single chapter devoted to this question.

⁹See Diana Y. Paul, *Women in Buddhism: Images of the Feminine in Mahāyāna Tradition* (London: University of California Press, Ltd., 1985), pp. xxvii-xxviii.

¹⁰The late Ming dynasty (1368-1662) Buddhist reformer Yün-ch'i Chu-hung (1535-1615) provides a useful contrast. In his ten rules for the "cultivation of the self," rule seven reads: "Do not go near women: If one enters into friendship with young nuns, adopts a woman from the outside world as a godmother, goes frequently to relatives' homes to visit relatives and dependents, or even if one lives with his mother who is not yet seventy, oblivious of ridicule and suspicion; all these are regarded as being near women." He also noted that "we do not have to worry about not preaching to women, but should worry about being contaminated by desire through preaching to women." (See Chün-fang Yü, *The Renewal of Buddhism in China: Chu-hung and the Late Ming Synthesis* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), p. 205 and pp. 209-210, respectively; for additional comments on sexual offences, including incest, see *ibid.*, pp. 252-253.) Significantly, Chu-hung was concerned with regulating monastic purity in order to abolish the secular characteristics of Buddhism; Han, on the other hand, wanted Korean Buddhism to become secular. Their distinct views on women encapsulate their differing views on Buddhism and its relationship to society.

In Han's view, the tradition of celibate monasticism was the chief impediment to Korean Buddhism's ability to become part of society, and since Buddhist social interaction and relevance were to be an antidote to the weakness of Korean Buddhism, it is understandable that he attacked the very foundations of the ideal of celibacy.¹¹ Han's public position on this point was unique in Korea.

Yet Han spent roughly 6 months in Japan in 1908, and much of the argumentation he employed in *Reformation* reflected positions which already had been clearly articulated by Japanese Buddhist apologists and reformers. As early as 1890, Inoue Enryō (1858-1919) and Shimaji Mokurai (1838-1911)¹² offered harsh critiques on the Japanese celibate monastic tradition and argued on behalf of clerical marriage.¹³ They founded their positions on the "authority of 'science' in the form

¹¹I base this statement on the overall structure of *Reformation* and his reasoning therein. There have been few detailed treatments of *Reformation* and none, to my knowledge, have stressed the fact that his argumentation on behalf of clerical marriage encapsulates the major points contained in the document as a whole. For an overview of *Reformation*, see An Pyōngjik, "Chosōn Pulgyo yushillonū punsok: kŭi sahoe sasangsajok ch'ūngmyōnū chungshimūro," in *Ch'angjak kwa pip'yōng*, vol. 14, no. 2 (June 1979): 219-227; in English, see An Pyōng-jik, "Han Yong-un's Liberalism--An Analysis of the 'Reformation of Korean Buddhism,'" in *Korea Journal*, vol. 19, no. 12 (December 1979): 13-18. See also Han Chongman, "Pulgyo yushin sasang," op. cit., pp. 1140 (20)-1154 (34). Han Chongman is more favourable than An in treating Han's attitude towards clerical marriage, though he gives little space to the matter and essentially repeats Han's own arguments; see *ibid.*, pp. 1153 (33)-1154 (34).

¹²For a detailed study on Inoue, see Kathleen M. Staggs, "'Defend the Nation and Love the Truth': Inoue Enryō and the Revival of Meiji Buddhism," in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 38, no. 3 (1983): 251-281. Inoue's principal concept was *gokoku airi* (defend the nation and love the truth), and this was first set forth in his 1887 treatise *Bukkyō katsuron joron* (on the revitalisation of Buddhism, an introduction). Like Inoue, Shimaji was an advocate of Buddhist educational reform, and he played an important role in laying the theoretical groundwork for using modern educational methods to defend Buddhism against its critics. For an overview of the historical background of "the defence of Buddhism through education" (*gohō kyoiku*), see Kawamura Kakushō, "Meiji Ishin-ki ni okeru Bukkyō-ha no gohō kyōiku-ron: Nihon kindai kyōiku-shi de wasurerareta kyōiku-ron," parts I, II, and III in *Kyōtō Sangyō Daigaku Nihon bunka kenkyūsho kiyō*, nos. 2-4 (March 1997, 1998, and 1999): part I, pp. 179-196 in March 1997 issue; part II, pp. 181-216 in March 1998 issue; and part III, pp. 274-311 in March 1999 issue. In part III, pp. 295-304 are devoted solely to Shimaji.

¹³For a study on Japanese Buddhism in the Meiji era, see James Edward Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and Its Persecution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992). It is interesting to note that Han's arguments in *Reformation* can be read as a systematic synopsis of the debates among Japanese Buddhists between 1872 and 1910: Han first presents the case against marriage and then refutes it using arguments such as those found in Inoue and Shimaji. Further, Han called for the annulment of the requirement of celibacy for both monks and nuns; in Japan, nuns' permission to marry was granted several months after monks were given

of evolutionism...[and] defined the advocates of celibacy as antimodern, antiscience, and unpatriotic."¹⁴ By 1901 Inoue began calling for abolition of the requirement of celibacy itself. He thought that its proponents were concerned only with the "narrow religious world" and were championing a form of Buddhism "which could not contribute enough to a nation locked in an international struggle."

Ultimately the very survival of Japanese Buddhism depended on the country's success in the international arena; if Japan could not achieve parity with other great powers, then Japanese Buddhism would disappear along with the nation.¹⁵

Han argued the very same thing, but on behalf of Korean Buddhism and the Korean nation.

permission. (For this, see Jaffe, op. cit., p. 54.) Unlike the case in Japan, however, two things stand out in Han's arguments. First, Han used a Buddhist philosophical concept to justify his position on behalf of marriage; this will be discussed below. Second, Han did not request in his petitions or argue in *Reformation* that Korean clerics be allowed to eat meat (J. nikujiki; K. sigyuk). In Japan, Buddhist clerics were given permission to marry along with permission to eat meat, and this is expressed in the general term used in Japan when speaking of the debate over monastic purity: *nikujiki saitai* (meat-eating and getting married); in Korean, *sigyuk taech'o* (eating meat and taking a "wife").

¹⁴See Richard Jaffe, "Meiji Religious Policy, Sōtō Zen, and the Clerical Marriage Problem," pp. 45-85 in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 25, nos. 1-2 (Spring 1998): 54. For examples of conservative reform in Japanese Buddhism in the same political context, see Janine Anderson Sawada, "Political Waves in the Zen Sea: The Engaku-ji Circle in Early Meiji Japan," in *ibid.*, pp. 117-150; see especially pp. 127-129.

¹⁵See Richard Jaffe, op. cit., p. 71. The emphasis on racial and national / political survival was a commonplace in the thought of East Asian Buddhist reformers, and this emphasis is understandable. In 1939, H.L. Mencken noted of the Japanese: "'They are a people of very considerable talents, and will have to be reckoned with in the future history of the human race. They have long since got past the stage of sitting respectfully at the feet of the West...In all fields of human endeavor save theology, politics, and swine justice they are showing the way to their ofay mentors. They have made important durable contributions to knowledge in each and every one of the exact sciences, and they have taken such a lead in trade and industry that the only way left to beat them is to murder them.' But even this solution, particularly favoured by England, won't be easy because they have 'a considerable knack for war...' 'The Japs, in truth, had as sound a mandate to clean up China as the United States have had to clean up Cuba.'" (Quoted in Gore Vidal, "H.L. Mencken the Journalist," pp. 750-767 in *United States: Essays 1952-1992* (London: Abacus, 1995), pp. 765-766.) For the role of Japanese Buddhists in Japanese nationalism, see James W. Heisig and John C. Maraldo, eds., *Rude Awakenings: Zen, the Kyoto School, and the Question of Nationalism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994). See also Christopher Ives, "The Mobilization of Doctrine: Buddhist Contributions to Imperial Ideology in Modern Japan," in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 26, nos. 1-2 (Spring 1999): 83-106.

In spite of Han's various patriotic activities and efforts on behalf of Korean Buddhism, he is nonetheless a troubling figure for Korean Buddhists. As Yu Pyŏngdŏk has noted, "even today Han Yongun is regarded as undesirable by the celibate clergy,"¹⁶ and Han's questioning of celibacy has come to be associated with collaboration with the Japanese.¹⁷ As a consequence, this has posed difficulties for Korean literary scholars: their interest in Han began after the post-liberation upheavals in Korean Buddhism, and it was during these years that celibacy came to be seen as the defining feature of patriotism for Korean Buddhists.¹⁸ Apart from

¹⁶See Yu Pyŏngdŏk, "Ilche-shidaewŏ Pulgyo," pp. 141-181 in Pulgyosa Hakhoe, ed., *Kŭndae Han'guk Pulgyosa-ron* (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1992), pp. 166-167.

¹⁷As Sørensen notes, "[Han] has a very mixed reputation among Korean monks for his pro-Japanese views and his rather unusual ideas concerning the modernization of Korean Buddhism." (See Henrik Hjørn Sørensen, "The Life and Thought of the Korean Sŏn Master Kyŏnghŏ," pp. 9-33 in *Korean Studies* 7 (1983): p. 27, note 5.) Ironically, Han's "pro-Japanese views" and "unusual ideas"—that is, his petitions requesting the freedom of monks and nuns to marry—imitated precisely the way in which the Japanese ex-Sŏtō sect cleric Ōtori Sessō (1814-1904) had effected the separation of the spheres of the Imperial Law (ōbō) and the Buddhist Law (buppō); it was Ōtori who recommended to the Meiji reformer Etō Shinpei (1834-1874) that clerics ought to be given the right to marry as a crucial step in securing for Buddhism a useful role in the new polity. (See Jaffe, op. cit., p. 52 and p. 54.) For a study on the historical background of the distinction between ōbō and buppō, see Kuroda Toshio (Jacqueline I. Stone, trans.), "The Imperial Law and the Buddhist Law," in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 23, nos. 3-4 (Fall 1996): 271-285.

¹⁸For a brief account of the post-liberation purification movement (chŏnghwa undong), see Im Hyebong, *Pulgyosa 100 changmyŏn* (Seoul: Karam Kihoe, 1994), pp. 397-402. For an account of Korean Buddhist collaboration with the Japanese, see Im Hyebong, *Ch'inil Pulgyo-ron* [in 2 vols.] (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1993). Im's *Ch'inil* indirectly supports my view that the association of celibacy with patriotism was a post-liberation phenomena. That is, throughout his detailed book, there is very little mention of arguments about celibacy among Korean Buddhists, and this absence of debate is reflected throughout Korean scholarship. This is in sharp contrast to the heated debates found within Japanese Buddhism; see Richard Jaffe, op. cit., especially pp. 72-80. One notable exception in Korea is an article written by Kwŏn Sangno, and this piece is interesting since Kwŏn is generally regarded as a Japanese collaborator. Kwŏn's article was published in 1936 and was entitled "'Chosŏn munhage nat'an an sŭngnyŏi sŏngsaenghwal' pagui" (a refutation of [Kim T'aejun's] 'the sexual life of priests as found in Korean literature'); for a reprint of Kwŏn's article, see T'oegyŏngdang Kwŏn Sangno Paksa Chŏnsŏ Kanhaeng Wiwŏnhoe, ed., *T'oegyŏngdang chŏnsŏ* [in 9 vols.] (Seoul: Yihwa Munhwasa, 1990), vol. 8, pp. 152-161. In this piece Kwŏn attacked an article by the scholar of Korean literary history, Kim T'aejun (1905-1950); for a brief biography of Kim, see Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaek kwa Sajŏn P'yŏnjippu, ed., *Han'guk minjok munhwa taebaek kwa sajŏn* [in 27 vols.] (Seoul: Shinmunsa, 1994), vol. 5, p. 23. Kwŏn's attitude towards Kim is summarised in: "[You] could not tell the difference between a rat turd and a mashed red-bean" (p. 154), and part of what so angered Kwŏn was Kim's comment that during the Chosŏn dynasty priests were one of the lowest social groups. For a critical reaction to the points raised by Kwŏn, see Chŏng Kwangho, "Ilbon ch'imryak

Han's position on the question of celibacy, however, he was well suited to become a nationalist literary hero.

His literary reputation is founded on a collection of 88 love poems published in 1926 and entitled *Your Silence* or *The Silence of the Beloved* (Nimui ch'immuk). The bulk of scholarship on Han has focussed on these poems, and the central question has been who or what was the beloved, or *nim*, to which the poems were addressed? The literary commentary which has grown around this collection has differed primarily in terms of the degrees of emphasis placed on either its religious or patriotic significance. Thus the beloved has been seen as either an appeal to the Buddhist ideal of compassion or as a statement of his love for Korea, though these two viewpoints are not mutually exclusive. One is often used to support the other, and this is understandable insofar as the poems were written by a Korean Buddhist under Japanese colonial rule.

Yet the attention paid to *Silence* has meant that Han's other literary works largely have been ignored. This is partly due to the strength of *Silence*; it has overshadowed his other work. Yet it is also due to the fact that the range of poems in the collection and the ambiguity of the beloved have easily allowed for nationalist readings. However, another important factor has been linguistic nationalism: *Silence* was written in the Korean vernacular instead of classical Chinese and thus represents for commentators a modern Korean consciousness.¹⁹

Nonetheless, the failure to consider *Silence* within the broader scope of Han's literary works and thought has resulted in critical weaknesses. These are exemplified in Yom Muung's article, "Manhae Han Yongun-non" (Treatise on Manhae Han Yongun), which was revised and republished at least 3 times between

ch'ogiui Han'guk Pulgyo," in vol. 2, pp. 48-63 of Kasan Yi Chigwan-sunim Hwagap Kinyom Nonjip Kanhaeng Wiwonhoe, ed., (*Kasan Yi Chigwan-sunim hwagap kinyom nonjip*) Han'guk Pulgyo munhwa sasangsa [in 2 vols.] (Seoul: Sadan-pobin Kugil-popchang Kasan Pulgyo Munhwa Yon'guwon, 1992), p. 62, note 65.

¹⁹See Kim Yong-jik, "Manhae Han Yong-un in Modern Korean History: A Determined Pioneer," pp. 47-68 in *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* (vol. 8, 1995): 63.

1972 and 1984.²⁰ Though it was not devoted solely to *Your Silence*, it represented a general trend: shrinking the context of Han's life and works to include little more than his independence activities and *Silence*. Although all these versions were good, the first was the best. In the course of revision, the more complicated features of Han's thought and reputation were excised from discussion. Whereas Yōm had grappled, for instance, with the issue of Han's position on celibacy in 1972, in the later revisions this contentious point was dropped. As will be discussed later, it was this type of delimitation of context—in regard to both Han and *Silence*—which so infuriated the Korean Buddhist poet Ko Ŭn. He saw that in the context of political / linguistic nationalism, focus on *Silence* required that Han's other intellectual and literary endeavours had to be ignored.

Two points which Yōm emphasised were Han's views on egalitarianism and freedom which were framed within the larger context of Mahāyāna Buddhism:

[Han] speaks of the thoroughgoing characteristic of the egalitarian spirit of the Buddha, and this spirit does not extend only to relations between individuals, peoples, and nations, but rather extends even to fauna and flora and all inanimate things.²¹

What must be noted, however, is that Han's views on equality and freedom were atypical within the Korean Buddhist world because of his interest in women. This interest was the defining feature of his several novels,²² and it was an issue which he explicitly raised in essays at several points throughout his career.²³ If *Silence* is

²⁰See Yōm Muung, (1) "Manhae Han Yongun-non," in *Ch'angjakkwa pip'yōng*, vol. 7, no. 4 (Winter 1972): 710-734; (2) "Manhae Han Yongun-non," in Chun Shin-Yong, ed., *Buddhist Culture in Korea* (Seoul: International Culture Foundation, 1974): 249-273; (3) "The Life and Thought of Han Yong-Woon," in *ibid.*, pp. 97-117; and (4) "Manhae Han Yongun-non," in Yōm Muung, (Changbi shinsō 23) *Minjung shidacui munhak* (Seoul: Changjakkwa Pip'yōngsa, 1984 [reprint of 1979 edition]): 138-161.

²¹This quote is taken from Yōm Muung, (4) "Manhae Han Yongun-non," *op. cit.*, p. 145. In his first article, he offered a similar interpretation, though the point was articulated somewhat differently. For this, see Yōm Muung, (1) "Manhae Han Yongun-non," *op. cit.*, p. 719.

²²For a general discussion of Han's novels and the role of women therein, see Beongcheon Yu, *Han Yong-un and Yi Kwang-su: Two Pioneers of Modern Korean Literature* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), pp. 72-83.

²³One of these essays, "The Self-awakening of Women is Requisite for the Liberation of Humankind" (yōsōngui chagagi illyu-haebang yoso), is contained in Cho Myōnggi, et. al., eds.,

placed within this larger context, his focus on the feminine in *Silence* is shown to be consonant with his non-traditional attitude towards women, and this attitude was first manifested in *Reformation*.

In *Reformation*, he adduced practical arguments for clerical marriage: the renewal of the church through the procreation of its members and the resultant moral benefits for a society influenced by Buddhism.²⁴ These practical arguments had earlier been used by Japanese Buddhists, but Han's argumentation seems to have been unique in adducing a Buddhist philosophical basis for his view: that from the point of view of the Mahāyāna notion of "the perfect interfusion of all phenomena" (K. *sasa muae*), sexual intercourse between men and women--and thus marriage--was neither impure nor immoral.²⁵ The apparent conflation of erotic desire with marriage in his thinking was, in fact, a result of the traditional Buddhist

Han Yongun chŏnjip [in 6 vols.] (Seoul: Shin'gu Munhwasa, 1980), vol. 1, p. 284; hereafter, cited as *Collected Works*, volume, and page number. In the *Collected Works* it is simply called "The Self-awakening of Women" (yŏsŏngui chagak). Unfortunately, several other interesting pieces are not contained in the *Collected Works*. For "Self-awakening" and "Stand up! Go out!" (ilŏsŏra naagara), see An Pyŏngjik, ed., *Han Yongun* (Seoul: Han'gilsa, 1988), pp. 203-206. "Music and Women" (umakkwa yŏsŏng) and "Why Can't Korean Women Produce Literature and Art?" (Chosŏn-yŏsŏngi ŏchihayŏ munyerul nach'i mothanin'ga) are both reprinted in *Munhak sasang*, no. 80 (July 1979): 191-194. To my knowledge, neither of these two essays have been reprinted anywhere else. In all these essays, his basic point of view is that very little has changed in regard to women's passive role in society, and in "Music and Women," op. cit., p. 91, he decries the fact that women are still encouraged to succeed "on the strength of their beauty."²⁴ See *Reformation*, op. cit., pp. 117-131; in the original Sino-Korean text, see pp. 58-68. For an overview of Han's argumentation, see Robert E. Buswell, Jr., *The Zen Monastic Experience: Buddhist Practice in Contemporary Korea* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 27-30.

²⁵ See *Reformation*, op. cit., p. 118 and in the original text, p. 58. As will be discussed below, the use of this idea to justify sexual intercourse can be found in the biography of the priest Wŏnhyo (617-686) by Iryŏn (1206-1289) in the *Samguk yusa* (memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms). Nonetheless, Han's application of this idea to the Buddhist institution as a whole is remarkable. This represents a thorough break with a fundamental Buddhist philosophical position which itself was revolutionary in the history of world religions: a view of religion as "unconnected to fecundity and reproductivity [emphasis in original]." (For this, see William R. LaFleur, *Liquid Life: Abortion and Buddhism in Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 18.) The apparent absence in Japan of Buddhist philosophical arguments on behalf of reproduction and marriage seems to reflect a tacit acceptance that Buddhism was "unconnected to fecundity and reproductivity," thus enabling in a Buddhist context practical arguments only. Han's use of this concept in this context was perhaps his sole contribution to the debate.

attitudes against which he was reacting: the association of women with lewdness and immorality.²⁶

Ko Ūn has noted that Han reacted against the "tribal instinct"²⁷ of his traditional family and the village of his youth, but this aptly summarises a more basic aspect of his character: namely, his willingness to go against tradition. As a Buddhist, the tradition against which he reacted was that which stressed purity, and within his intellectual and historical context, his advocacy for clerical marriage was an attack on the very notion of purity. He did not see women as defiling, nor did he see that human love was to be cast aside as delusion. Rather, that desire associated by Buddhism with women was seen by him to be fundamental to the human condition and, in fact, fundamental to religious feeling. In Han, desire was seen as something to be celebrated.

²⁶This association is made explicit at the very beginning of this section in *Reformation* (p. 117 and p. 58, second and third lines of the section). As Han argues against the requirement of celibacy, he must first note the Buddhist doctrinal position that women pose a threat to purity; ultimately, he ends up arguing on behalf of sexual desire. If all this seems confused, I would emphasise that it is only so from a non-Buddhist point of view. In presenting Han's case, Buswell reflects this problem when in one instance he places in opposition "celibacy" and "sexual intercourse," and in the next, "celibacy" and "marriage." (See Buswell, *The Zen Monastic Tradition*, op. cit., p. 27.) From a Buddhist point of view, this is an entirely natural mixing of terms. The point is that Han is not arguing so much on behalf of marriage, or the sanctity of marriage, or marriage as an acceptable sphere for sexual activity. Han is not a Christian. For him, the central issue is sexual intercourse between men and women, and as a Buddhist, one of the fundamental problems is the impurity of women, hence the way in which he begins this section. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's friend, T'an Ssu-t'ung (1865-1898) provides an excellent, concrete example of the tensions found in Han's argument. T'an too argued against traditional Buddhist views on sex and women and sought to affirm the fundamental equality between men and women. But within a Buddhist conceptual framework, T'an too had to affirm the importance of desire and sexual lust between the sexes; in doing so, he attacked Chinese cultural emphasis on male superiority, and in turn argued that through social equality, men and women "'will not be conscious of the sex difference, let alone lust.'" (For this, see Chan Sin-wai, op. cit., pp. 108-110; quote taken from p. 110.) Although Han's and Tan's views in regard to sex are set forth in Buddhist and East Asian contexts, it is nonetheless useful to consider the variety of attitudes found among early Christians in America, and in particular, the way in which social contexts and needs affected the attitudes of these settlers. A useful overview of this may be found in John D'Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1989), see especially pp. 3-52.

²⁷See Ko Ūn, [*Ko Ūn chŏnjip* 3] *Han Yongunŭ sasanggwa saengae: nimman nimi anida* (Seoul: Tonggwang Ch'ulp'anbu, 1985), p. 120.

Han's last novel, *Misery* (Pangmyōng), ended with a lecture by a Buddhist priest whose praise for the female protagonist merely reiterated and clarified that basic idea which Han had emphasised throughout his public career as a writer:

There is no difference between the sacrifice we make for our country or society and the sacrifice we make for individual human beings. No matter how different in result, what motivates this spirit of sacrifice is one and the same.²⁸

In offering this praise, the Buddhist priest, or Han the writer, took note of a problem inherent in Buddhist philosophy: namely, if compassion and sacrifice are lauded as religious goals, upon what basis can heterosexual love be denied since all these impulses are based on desire? This question cuts to the very centre of those philosophical and practical issues which Han had first raised in *Reformation*. Further, it was the explicit literary framework within which he set the poetry of *Silence* twelve years earlier. This issue and the critical responses to it will be dealt with fully in the final section of this thesis.

While Han held views of women, earthly love, and desire atypical among Korean Buddhists, it must be emphasised that these views were made public through his published writings. In this regard, *Silence* may be considered part of his public artistic and intellectual voice. However, common to his class and era, Han had been trained in the classical Korean literary arts, and in the Korean context, this meant training in the composition of classical Chinese poetry. The use of the vernacular Korean script *han'gŭl* was traditionally associated with women and the poorly educated, and for a man of his background and age, the use of free verse vernacular poetry in *Silence* can be seen as a break with tradition.²⁹

Nevertheless, Han did write classical Chinese poetry, and these poems comprise the greater portion of his poetic oeuvre. Up to this point, little critical

²⁸Quoted in Beongcheon Yu, op. cit., p. 81; for the original passage, see the *Collected Works*, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 288. Although Yu's translation is slightly free, it captures perfectly the meaning and clarity of the original.

²⁹For general comments on this point, see Beongcheon Yu, op. cit., p. 56.

attention has been given to these by Korean literary scholars, and even less by foreign scholars of Korean literature. Yet Han's literary reputation is founded on the poetry of *Silence*, and since he is regarded as a nationalist poet on that basis, it would seem useful to have an understanding of the genre in which he had first been trained: in essence, the genre against which *Silence* is to be distinguished.

Unlike the poetry of *Silence*, however, Han's classical Chinese verse was not written for publication. These two bodies of poetry represent what I will call his public and private poetic voices, respectively. This distinction may be clarified further on two bases: the strict rules which defined classical Chinese verse as a specific poetic form and the vast body of classical Chinese poems--by Chinese, Korean, and in Han's case, Japanese poets, also--upon which a poet might construct his own work or in relation to which a poet might respond. Han's private poetic voice is masculine in that it belongs to a context in which women were insignificant. With few exceptions, it was men who wrote classical Chinese verse, and the poems they wrote often alluded to earlier poems by male poets, the Chinese classics, and other textual sources which were the domain of educated men.³⁰

The complexity of reading classical Chinese poetry by a late 19th to early 20th century Korean is brought into relief by the case of the great Sung dynasty (960-1279) poet Su Tung-p'o (1037-1101): "One of the two surviving [Sung] dynasty collections of his poems is a popular edition that boasts of being 'annotated by one hundred scholars.'" ³¹ Seen in this light, the absence of critical attention paid to Han's Chinese verse poses at least two significant problems for any modern reader: first, since Han was a Korean living 800 years after Su Tung-p'o, the range of poetry from which he could draw was much larger; second, the boast "of being 'annotated by one hundred scholars'" points to the way in which classical Chinese poetry was read. That is, it was meant to be reread, and through the process of

³⁰Men did sometimes adopt a stylised female point of view, and examples of this will be seen later.

³¹See Michael A. Fuller, *The Road to East Slope: The Development of Su Shi's Poetic Voice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), p. 6.

rereading within this massive literary context, its meaning was to be discerned. In Han's case, the literary context may be further extended to include Buddhist literature, both prose and verse forms.

Although the task of exploring Han's Chinese poetry is daunting, it is nevertheless necessary. This claim can be justified on two grounds: first, it should allow us another critical perspective for judging the vernacular *Silence*; second, it should allow us to understand the poetic constraints imposed by the tradition of classical Chinese verse and the constraints from which he was freed by writing in the vernacular. Most importantly, however, these two bodies of poetic work will allow us to observe to what degree his private and public poetic voices were similar.

Since this thesis is primarily concerned with Han's Buddhist poetics, it must be noted at the outset that the vernacular poetry in *Silence* represents vividly Han's public voice which can be seen elsewhere: namely, his affirmation that the full-range of human feelings is not to be denied. The 88 poems which comprise the collection are linked by this common theme, and while a poem such as "The Ferryboat and the Traveller" is explicitly marked by the Buddhist ideal of compassion,³² the collection as a whole places this ideal as one of many desires in the realm of human emotion.

On the other hand, Han's classical Chinese verse is not marked by any sharp Buddhist perspective. The exception to this is his enlightenment poem. Accordingly, this piece will be treated in detail since it provides insight into Han's experience of spiritual enlightenment. Yet it also serves as a concrete example of the complexity with which even a seemingly simple poem might be imbued. To this extent, this piece is an exemplar of the vastness of literary resources available to

³²William R. LaFleur praises this poem and notes that it "vividly presents the bodhisattva as involved in carrying others from the shore of samsara to that of nirvana...It crystalizes [sic] the necessity of a communal, shared salvation expressed in the bodhisattva concept." See William R. LaFleur, *Buddhism: A Cultural Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs [New Jersey]: Prentice Hall, 1988), pp. 124-125.

a poet in the Chinese literary tradition and the consequent fact that the reader of such poetry is faced with a serious challenge. As Fuller succinctly states,

In the Chinese tradition, poetry is to be reread, and immediacy of response is gained only gradually through breadth of reading or access to copious footnotes.³³

In view of this difficulty in relation to Han's Chinese poetry and the larger question of his philosophical thought and Buddhist poetics, I will take two different approaches for his Chinese and vernacular poetry.

For the former, I will focus on two points: the question of how he fits into the larger tradition of Chinese poetry and the question of the quality of his poems in relation to their formal characteristics. The first question will be dealt with implicitly through placing his poems beside other pieces with which his poems show similarities in theme or mode of expression. For the most part, these other pieces will be drawn from the work of famous Chinese poets: poems with which Han should have been acquainted. In certain instances, poems by Korean writers will be used, either because Han refers to them or because they can provide insight into Han's poems as well as a piece by a Chinese poet. Since Han was a Korean, I think it best to make an effort to refer to the Korean tradition even though it, in turn, was part of the larger Chinese tradition.

Furthermore, I will provide literary, historical, and cultural explanations where necessary, and due to the nature of his Chinese poems, these explanations in some cases include sketches of contemporary events and people relevant to the poems. Context is crucial in Chinese poetry, and on this point, I can only build upon the limited work already done by Korean scholars. I hope my efforts might make at least some small contribution to the process of putting Han's poems in a larger literary context.

The question of the quality of his Chinese poems is a thorny issue which is beyond the scope of this thesis since this issue can only be considered adequately

³³Michael A. Fuller, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

within the twin historical contexts of Korean and Chinese literary tastes, neither of which were static.³⁴ Here, my primary purpose is to present a large selection of Han's poems, and where possible, place them in relation to other poems. At the very least, this wider context should serve as an initial step toward further work on the broader and more complex issue of the literary quality of Han's Chinese poems.

Nevertheless, in light of the fact that this thesis aims to examine Han's Chinese poems in detail, I think that it is important to clarify what constitutes a Chinese poem. An explication of these fundamental formal requirements provides at least a rudimentary basis upon which to judge Han's work. Accordingly, I have classified all his poems on the basis of their formal characteristics and noted, where applicable, his mistakes. Mastery of these formal requirements was the starting point for anyone writing a Chinese poem, and as will be seen in the instance of Han's enlightenment verse, an understanding of these formal requirements is the starting point for literary criticism.

Unlike Han's classical Chinese poetry, the vernacular poetry of *Silence* has been the topic of many scholarly and literary studies. As noted above, however, such studies have primarily focused upon the identity of the beloved, and while other treatments have focused on individual poems and Han's use of paradox, irony, or Buddhist notions, none have focused on the eroticism of the poems. Han's subtle use of eroticism in *Silence* demonstrates his skill as a poet, and to ignore this aspect of the poetry is to miss what is most philosophically and artistically interesting in the collection.

³⁴See Min Pyŏngsu, *Han'guk hanshi-sa* (Seoul: T'aehaksa, 1997). This book provides an overview of the long history of Chinese poetry in Korea and Koreans' critical attitudes towards it, and Min's treatment concludes with the late 19th century. For a critical overview of literary thought in China, see James J.Y. Liu, *Chinese Theories of Literature* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1975). See also Wai-leung Wong, "Chinese Impressionistic Criticism: A Study of the Poetry-Talk (*Shih-Hua*, *Tz'u-Hua*) Tradition," Ph.D. diss., The Ohio State University, 1976. Wong offers a useful guide to Chinese poetic criticism (*shih-hua*), an evaluation of it as a literary genre in and of itself, and a discussion of the expressions employed therein.

Thus, in distinction to the broad context in which I will place his Chinese poems, I will approach *Silence* with a narrow focus. In spite of this approach, however, I think that it will cast light on the collection as whole and paradoxically offer a broader range of points from which to view Han as both a Buddhist and nationalist poet.

Structure of the Thesis

Because this thesis seeks to clarify portions of Han's poetic oeuvre and thematic aspects of his poetry which have hitherto been neglected, I have divided this work into four sections. These sections are each intended to complement the other and thus bring order to a variety of complex problems in his work and judgements of him as a poet.

Section 1

In the first section I will focus on two pieces of his prose writing. The first is a short essay written in Korean and published in a Buddhist journal. It offers the clearest example of how Han viewed language and writing in general as a Zen Buddhist, and it also indicates how he might use language in a Buddhist context. It thus provides a useful basis upon which to consider his attitudes to his own poetry, and particularly the published poetry of *Silence*.

The second piece is a short Chinese prose introduction to the collected works of the controversial Buddhist priest, Kyōnghō (1849-1912). This piece was written two years before Han's death, and though this introduction has received no treatment by literary scholars, what he wrote and the religious and political circumstances in which it was written are crucial to critical judgements on his own poetry. This introduction provides a concrete example of how Han himself regarded poetry both as a medium of aesthetic expression and as the embodiment of the poet himself. His view herein reflects a traditional Chinese and Korean attitude

of seeing, or seeking, the man in the work, and it stands in contrast to another attitude Han put forth in relation to his novels:

[W]hile it is perfectly natural for a writer to depict his own time, his own world, he can go beyond, handling heaven and hell...[T]here is no work of pure realism, pure romanticism, or pure naturalism; rather every work has a mixture of all three.³⁵

The difference between these two views reflects a traditional Confucian conception of fiction as distinct from poetry: while the expression of oneself through poetry could be justified on moral grounds, fiction was primarily regarded as a frivolous activity. Even though Han consistently manifested in his fiction similar preoccupations—women, social and political change, and Buddhism—and treated these as moral issues, the distinction between poetry and fiction was further strengthened since he wrote fiction to earn a living. His fiction aimed at satisfying popular tastes.

In writing poetry, on the other hand, he sought to satisfy himself, and as clarified in his introduction to Kyōnghō's collected writings, he did seek in poetry traces of the poet himself. He differed from the Confucian and Korean Buddhist traditions, however, on one crucial point: the question of what constituted a morally acceptable trace. In that introduction, he displays a subversive attitude towards the Korean Confucian and Buddhist traditions. This attitude is based, paradoxically, on a strict adherence to traditional Confucian literary norms and on an appeal to a Shilla kingdom priest, Wōnhyo (617-686). Crucially, Wōnhyo represents an older and more powerful era of Korean Buddhism than that cherished by the publishers of Kyōnghō's collected works. In placing Kyōnghō in this context, Han draws a parallel between the late master's freedom as a poet and as a Zen master, and in doing so, he offers a clue to his own life as a Buddhist and poet.

Section 2

³⁵This sketch of Han's views is found in Beongcheon Yu, *op. cit.*, p. 78. For the full discussion from which this summary is drawn, see the *Collected Works*, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, pp. 385-387.

In this section, I will begin with a general survey of the different types of poetry which Han wrote. This will clarify the verse forms which were available to him and the ones with which he was most comfortable. It will also show that with the exception of the Korean vernacular free verse poetry of *Silence*, Han wrote poetry primarily for himself and that he wrote this poetry in Chinese.

This in turn raises three related questions. First, what constitutes a poem in the classical Chinese tradition? Second, how does the tradition of classical Chinese verse in Korea compare with the Chinese tradition itself? Third, how does Buddhist verse fit into the Chinese poetic tradition? For ease of explanation, the final question will be treated first, and I will show that what constituted Buddhist verse was its function and that poetry by Buddhists might overlap with both Buddhist verse and classical Chinese poetry. The central question relates to the formal, stylistic requirements that defined a classical Chinese poem.

In addressing the first and second questions, I will proceed by clarifying first the concept of poetry, or *shih*, in the Chinese tradition and then the structural foundations for each of the three *shih* forms Han used: the Ancient Style, the Modern Style, or Regulated Verse, and the quatrain which might be written according to either to the Ancient or Modern Styles.

The discussion of the formal characteristics of these types of classical Chinese verse will be detailed, and it is through attention to these details that I will point out something which seems significant in the general study of Chinese poetry by Koreans: namely, that Koreans used certain Modern Style verse forms not used in China.³⁶ The questions of how these verse forms came to be used in Korea and

³⁶In the following section, I will rely on those sources which are the easiest to use for the purposes of my discussion on the principles of poetic structures. However, I would also suggest François Cheng (Donald A. Riggs and Jerome P. Seaton, trans.), *Chinese Poetic Writing, With an Anthology of T'ang Poetry* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982). Cheng discusses the same points of versification and structure as those scholars whose work I will rely on below, and the substance of what he says is the same. However, the manner in which he discusses these principles and the abstract schemata he derives from them are both interesting and useful; for this, see especially pp. 43-68. To my knowledge, the most detailed treatment of the Modern Style in English is James Kuo-chiang Lin, "The Versification of *Chin T'i Shih*," Ph.D. diss., Georgetown

why they were used until the 20th century are beyond the scope of this thesis. I will, however, offer as a tentative suggestion that these anomalous verse forms derived from the Six Dynasties (222-589) style of poetry in China. My suggestion is indirectly supported by Jin'ichi Konishi's research in Japanese literary history and the importance of Koreans in transmitting the Six Dynasties style to Japan. Unfortunately, as Konishi notes, the "quality and quantity [of the Korean sources] are limited in scope and...are considered useless."³⁷ Konishi's frustrations are my own, and they also explain my inability to offer a satisfying answer to this question.

After treating the formal characteristics of the classical Chinese modes used by Han, I will turn to a detailed analysis of his enlightenment poem. In tracing the various literary influences found in his piece, I will start with a discussion of the formal inadequacy of the piece as it was first written. It thus directly brings into relief the limitations imposed by even the simplest of the classical Chinese verse forms and the importance of understanding the stylistic foundations upon which classical Chinese verse was written. This short piece will thus serve as a bridge between the preceding discussion of formal poetic styles and the following section composed of a large selection of his classical Chinese verse.

Most importantly, Han's enlightenment verse encapsulates a variety of issues related to the writing, the reading, and the interpretation of classical Chinese verse. In attempting to interpret this piece, I will draw upon historical, Buddhist, philosophical, and literary issues within the Korean, Chinese, and Japanese

University, Graduate School, 1980. Lin's work on the Modern Style (chin-t'i shih) in China leaves no doubt that Koreans used patterns for the Modern Style which were not used in China.

³⁷See Jin'ichi Konishi (Aileen Gatten, trans. and Earl Miner, ed.), *A History of Japanese Literature, Volume Two: The Early Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 29; see also p. 31 for Konishi's comments on the importance of Koreans in transmitting the Six Dynasties style to Japan. It must be emphasised that when Konishi speaks of the Six Dynasties style, he is not referring to formal requirements of versification, but rather the use of oblique conceptual focus; for this, see especially pp. 10-11. However, in order to fully understand the difficult topic which Konishi is discussing and its relevance to Korean literary history, it is best to read pp. 5-34. In light of Konishi's overall analysis, it seems that these variant Korean forms most likely can be traced to principles of versification used during the Six Dynasties, though ultimately this might be impossible to prove. This issue will be treated in detail later.

contexts. Due to the era in which Han lived, he stood within all these contexts, and I hope that my analysis might demonstrate a rather uncommon point of view contained within Han's depiction of his enlightenment. Moreover, it is hoped that this analysis might underline the importance of Fuller's judgement quoted above: that Chinese poetry is meant to be reread, and "immediacy of response is gained only gradually through breadth of reading or access to copious footnotes."³⁸

Section 3

This section will be devoted to presenting through translation a large selection of Han's classical Chinese verse.³⁹ My choices reflect both the quality and the quantity of the types of poetry found in the collection as a whole. Thus, the relative scarcity of Buddhist inspired poetry in the translations reflects the limited degree to which such features may be found in the collection in general. Moreover, these translations and the appended comments on their respective styles will offer a general guide to the proportion of the various styles as found generally in the collection.

The vast majority of his Chinese verse is without dates, thus effectively barring any discussion of poetic development on his part. As a consequence, I have organised the poems according to theme. In spite of this general guideline, I have suggested dates where applicable and have attempted to place those poems with dates in a chronological order in relation to each other. Thus, a dated poem, written shortly before his death, is placed at the end of the collection while those poems he wrote in Japan in 1908 come at the beginning. These, in turn, are organised according the landmarks found on the route he would have travelled,

³⁸See Michael A. Fuller, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

³⁹I have included in the appendix the original Chinese versions of Han's poems. For the sake of space, however, I have not included the other Chinese poems translated herein: these are readily available elsewhere and my focus here is upon Han and his work. The exceptions to this are those other important poems and lines which I have used in discussing Han's enlightenment verse in the previous section; those poems and lines also will be given in the appendix. The order of the Chinese originals will follow the order of their appearance in translation within the main body of the text.

though we cannot know for certain whether the poems were composed in that order.

I also have analysed each of his poems according to the formal principles discussed in the second section. In view of the fact that these poems are organised by theme, however, comments on their formal characteristics--and at times deficiencies--will be restricted to footnotes. Further, I will limit discussions of the poems to relevant historical, literary, and philosophical issues. Due to space restrictions, not every single poem can be discussed.

For the most part, these discussions will be contained within the body of the text, and I will include poems by other writers within the classical Chinese tradition. These will implicitly or explicitly help serve as a framework for discussion, and this approach seems reasonable insofar as I am seeking to discuss the nature of Han's Chinese verse and the tradition to which this verse belongs. The standard Korean literary practice of noting that a phrase or line can be found in this or that poem is thus insufficient for my purposes, and the occurrence of borrowed expressions does not always seem to be crucial. Here, I have arrived at these judgements through reading those famous poems which Han is likely to have known, and I have made my decisions accordingly. The difficulties facing a contemporary reader are substantial, but insofar as this represents the initial work in English on his Chinese verse, I think that this approach will at least lay a solid foundation for further research.

As a consequence, my choices of what extra poems to include has also been based partly on the issue of thematic similarity. In organising Han's poems thematically, I can at times focus on a single poem or aspect of it in order to explicate, if only indirectly, either its uniqueness within his collection or its points of commonality with other pieces in his collection or the tradition as a whole. In all these instances, I will include in the footnotes other important information which resists easy inclusion into critical discussions within the text.

This section will conclude with two love poems and a discussion of the literary issues that they raise. These two pieces are unique within Han's classical Chinese verse, and they thus serve as a reasonable point from which to begin moving towards a discussion of *Silence*. As noted above, *Silence* is interpreted as a whole as a collection of love songs; the central question is who or what is the beloved? The two classical Chinese love poems by Han point to three issues directly related to *Silence* as a work of art and its interpretation.

The first issue is simply that the distinguishing feature of *Silence*—namely, its use of conversation and male and female voices—is rare in Han's classical Chinese verse; this difference suggests at least one restriction Han faced when writing in classical Chinese. This raises the second issue: what other classical Chinese verse forms were available to him? As I will show, the three Chinese verse styles Han used were, in fact, all that he had at his disposal, and moreover, his use of these three modes reflected a general trend in the Chinese literary tradition in Korea, a trend which can be perhaps traced back to Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn (b. 857).⁴⁰

The third issue directly related to *Silence* is what place did love poetry have in the Chinese tradition and how was such poetry interpreted? These two questions bring into relief the importance of context and the way in which it might guide the reading of a poem. A political context might suggest that a love poem was allegorical: love for the ruler or the country. But as I will suggest, the employment of allegory has its own dangers, for both the writer and the reader / interpreter. More important, however, is the fact that allegorical interpretation is only meaningful insofar as the manner of expression is first taken at face value. If the construction of an extra-literary context—political or religious—might allow for, or justify, an allegorical interpretation, this context must somehow fit with the content of the poem or work of art itself. In the case of *Silence*, the emphasising of the

⁴⁰See Jin'ichi Konishi, *A History of Japanese Literature, Volume Two: The Early Middle Ages*, op. cit., p. 31.

patriotic / religious aspects of Han's life and thought has created a reasonable yet, nonetheless, extra-literary context for the discussion of the poetry. At the same time, the conclusions drawn therefrom have been strengthened paradoxically through exclusion of those poems which speak most poignantly about the poet's beloved.

The issue of exclusion is exemplified in the criticism offered by the Ch'ing scholar Yüan Mei (1716-1798) to Shen Te-ch'ien (1673-1769). On moral grounds, Shen had excluded love poetry from his anthology of the Ch'ing dynasty (1616-1911). In turn, Yüan responded by noting that the first poem of the *Book of Poetry* was a love poem about "the sage King Wen's longing for a virtuous lady to be his queen."

For the sake of a 'virtuous lady,' [King Wen] went so far as to 'toss and turn' without sleep: if King Wen were alive today and should meet you, sir, he would be in danger!⁴¹

The moral problems raised by love poetry in the Chinese tradition could thus be addressed on the basis of the same tradition. Yet, as in Yüan's case, the foundations for arguing on behalf of love poetry seem to have required the disclaimer that "there is nothing immoral about sexual love."⁴² Though this might have been a minority opinion within the larger history of Chinese poetry, this was certainly Han's position. He clearly articulated it in his introduction to *Silence* and then throughout many of the finest poems in the collection. The legitimate question

⁴¹Quoted in James J.Y. Liu, *Chinese Theories of Literature*, op. cit., p. 138.

⁴²See James J.Y. Liu, *Chinese Theories of Literature*, op. cit., p. 139. As Liu remarks, Yüan "appears to want to eat his cake and have it [too]." (See *ibid.*, p. 139). However, I think that this disclaimer points to the degree to which Confucian pragmatic / moral theories of literature were embedded within literary discourse. Like the positions on women and sex put forth by Han and T'an Ssu-t'ung, the apparent illogicality of Yüan's position seems to me to reflect the problems that anyone might have when arguing against the fundamental assumptions of a tradition of which one is a part. Illogicality seems almost inevitable, and it seems that the illogical aspects are the most revealing of more deeply embedded conflicts. Since Liu's approach relies greatly on M.H. Abrams' *The Mirror and the Lamp*, it is also useful to consider Abrams' discussion in the "Style and the Man." For this, see M.H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 229-235.

is whether or not his view thus requires that we regard these secular, earthly love poems as being without particular religious or patriotic significance?

Section 4

This section begins with a general introduction to the origins of Korean literary commentary on *Silence*. Herein I will focus on those commentarial developments which are indicative of the way in which the collection as a whole has been interpreted, and I will again raise the issue of allegory. This time, however, the question of allegory will be placed directly within the framework of *Silence*, and in particular, that distinctive feature of *Silence* in relation to Han's Chinese verse: namely, the use of male and female voices and conversation.

This element was noticed at the inception of Korean literary criticism on the work, and yet it has not attracted significant attention despite the fact that it raises important questions which are Buddhist in nature. But such changes between male and female voices also raise the question of sexual union which in turn is relevant to mystical literature in general.

In light of this issue, I will focus on Kang Younghill's non-Buddhist treatment in English of Han's use of these male and female voices and the role Kang played in helping popularise *Silence* in Korea. Though Kang's mystical interpretation has not been an explicit issue in Korean language scholarship, it nevertheless brings to light the basic suppositions contained therein: that erotic poetry is necessarily without any religious or political significance or that the erotic elements must be vehicles for expressing a religious union with God.⁴³

⁴³See David R. McCann, "Hearing the Silence of Love" and Ivana Marie Gruberova, "How Are Manhae Poems Interpreted and Evaluated From the Viewpoint of Middle-Europeans?" pp. 227-242 and pp. 243-261, respectively, in Shiwa Shihaksa, ed., *Manhae ch'ukch'on* ([Kangwŏndo Injeun Pungmyŏn Yongdaeri] Paektamsa: Manhae Sasang Shilch'ŏn Sŏnyanghoe, 1999). These two recent works are each marked by a desire to look at *Silence* from a broader literary perspective, and both scholars' approaches are interesting. However, while McCann and Gruberova both seem to recognise this same problem, neither treats it in any detail, or in the fashion in which I will. McCann concludes with an interesting point in regard to the identity of the beloved: "To the list of so many other possibilities, from Korean nation to Kant's philosophy, from Buddhist precept to Mazzini's Italy, from *I love* to *I am loved*, add poetry itself! Nothing less (*sic, passim*)."

Gruberova, on the other hand, notes that the poetry includes the "whole spectrum of emotion,

However, I believe that this framework is fundamentally misguided in relation to Han: he was not a Christian. This is not to deny the usefulness of comparison between cultures or religions, but to emphasise the fact that even in the Christian or Islamic traditions there existed nothing so simple as mysticism, or mysterious, direct contact with the divine. There were different types of mysticism in which experience and the expression of that experience were mediated by complex intellectual constructs. Appeals to non-Buddhist mysticism are dangerous when applied to a 20th century Korean Buddhist poet.⁴⁴

In responding to this point of view, I will use the Buddhist poet Ko Ŭn's terse, vituperative critique of what were, and are still, the dominant assumptions regarding *Silence*. Ko Ŭn emphasises Han's introduction to *Silence* and on that basis stresses the importance of seeing the beloved through its general characteristics. The general characteristic which has not been discussed is the erotic, and it is through a detailed discussion of the eroticism of *Silence* that I will point out what is perhaps the single most important feature of *Silence*: that Han's use of the erotic is in fact based on his conscious opposition to the fundamental Buddhist assumption that desire is to be avoided.

In *Silence*, Han brings to light through erotic, passionate love his idea that desire and love--be it love of knowledge, political freedom, or the love of another person--are to be affirmed; from a rigorously applied Buddhist point of view, intellectual, religious, and political pursuits have no stronger a claim to importance

from the unworldly devotion to the erotic passion," but then immediately concludes by calling this "poetry of mystical experience." (For these quotes, see p. 242 and p. 254, respectively.)

⁴⁴In the context of Japanese Buddhist literature, Jin'ichi Konishi notes that "difficulty of comprehension" may be used as a synonym for "mystical profundity." I think that this evaluation is correct. In criticising the emphasis on the mystical by both Japanese and non-Japanese, Konishi also points out that much of what seems mystical in Zen is, in fact, a "functional" aspect within what is "a much more rational system of thought." (For this, see the monograph by Jinichi [sic] Konishi, "Image and Ambiguity: The Impact of Zen Buddhism on Japanese Literature," Program for Comparative Study on Japanese and Chinese Literatures, Tokyo University of Education, March 1973: 1-2.) At the same time, Konishi's discussion of the literary / philosophical importance of "vagueness" (J. yūgen; K. yuhyōn) resembles Ko Ŭn's emphasis on the "general characteristics" of *Silence* as mentioned below; for the discussion on yūgen, see Konishi, *ibid.*, pp. 17-26.

than erotic love. Rather, each of these pursuits has a significance on an even plane with human desire. There is no hierarchy of importance. Each of these desires is significant in and of itself, and this point of view is fundamentally consistent with that found in his enlightenment poem.

In *Silence*, Han is a poet of desire, and his acute self-consciousness of this fact is found with the greatest clarity in his erotic poems. Like Ko Ŭn, I think that these poems were inspired by Han's love for a woman, and I think that the fragments of conversation and Han's use of the female voice do suggest feminine influence. Such influence helps explain Han's use of the vernacular instead of the Chinese poetic forms which he had been trained to use. It also helps explain the apparent naturalness with which these poems were written.

However, his use of the feminine as an artistic device has implications in relation to his own Buddhist thought and the larger tradition of Mahāyāna Buddhism. As I will suggest, these implications are manifested as traces which are fundamentally congruent within the framework of his nonconformist views on Buddhism and within the framework of *Silence* as work of art. These traces centre upon women and other things usually deemed impure within Buddhism.

As will be discussed, Han affirmed the fundamental importance of desire in all spheres of human life through an explicit rejection of the ideal of exclusionist purity;⁴⁵ in so doing, he accorded meaning to the full range of human experiences.⁴⁶ This does not easily fit with the Korean Buddhist tradition, but neither did Han. If

⁴⁵It is worth recalling Paul's statement in his letter to Titus (Titus, 1:15): "To the pure all things are pure, but to the corrupt and unbelieving nothing is pure..." (See Herbert G. May and Bruce M. Metzger, eds., *The Holy Bible, Revised Standard Version Containing the Old and New Testaments* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), Titus 2, 3; for this statement, the editors attempt no explanation: perhaps wisely.

⁴⁶For the sake of comparison, it is worth considering the two short journal entries recorded by the non-conformist scholar Kim Manjung (1637-1692). See Kim Manjung (Hong Inp'yo, ed. and trans.), *Sōp'o manp'il* (Seoul: Ilchisa, 1990), entries 162 and 163, pp. 392-395; original Chinese text included below Hong's excellent translations. For a discussion of this text, see Daniel Bouchez, "Buddhism and Neo-Confucianism in Kim Manjung's Random Essays (*Sōp'o manp'il*)," in William Theodore de Bary and JaHyun Kim Haboush, eds., *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985): 445-472.

Silence and its author thus stand apart from the Korean Buddhist tradition, they are no less a product of the larger Buddhist tradition. The uniqueness and the importance of both the work and its author are founded on a dissenting point of view on what might constitute a worthwhile human life within the framework of tradition. This was a Korean's point of view, and fittingly, it was expressed in his own language.

Section 1

The Problem of Words: The Necessity of Words

(I) Written Words: Han's Abstract View on the Principle and Function of Reading and Writing in a Buddhist Context

In an essay simply titled "Written Words Are Not Written Words" (*Munja pimunja*), Han Yongun (1879-1944) gave a short, biting critique of the anti-intellectual attitude of Sŏn (Zen) Buddhism. This piece was published in 1935, and it echoed a similar essay written by his friend, Pak Hanyŏng (1870-1948), some forty years earlier.¹ Both men were Zen masters, and yet in their attacks on the very foundations of Zen, we detect slightly different motivations.

Pak had been interested primarily in the historical origins of Zen's self-definition as a teaching which "does not rely on written words" (*pullip munja*). While he pointed out that such a method of religious cultivation had inherent limitations, he also clearly emphasised the importance of Zen; neither scriptural study nor Zen alone were sufficient for enlightenment. Nevertheless, the very title of the essay, "The Merit of 'Non-reliance on Written Words' Is Insufficient Compensation for its Error," indicated that the main targets of this piece were those who advocated only the anti-intellectual, quietistic approach.

Han, however, was more concerned with the inherent contradiction of the phrase "non-reliance on written words." In this he recognised that the epitome of Zen was itself an intellectual construct expressed in words and letters. Punning on the phrase *pullip munja*, he proposed instead *pulli munja* (not casting off written words):²

¹"*Munja pimunja*," in *Han Yongun chŏnjip* [6 vols.] (Collected Works of Han Yongun) (Seoul: Shin'gu Munhwasa, 1980), vol. 2, pp. 304-305; hereafter, *Collected Works*. Pak's essay is "Sŏnji pullip munja kong pulbo kwa," in Pae Sŏngwŏn, ed., *Sŏkchŏn munch'o* (Seoul: Pŏppowŏn, 1962), section 19, pp. 33 (b)-35 (b). Hereafter, all translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

²This pun is taken from the introduction to the Zen classic, *The Blue Cliff Record* (C. Pi-yen lu). See vol. 48 of Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kaigyoku, ed., *Taishō shinshū daizokyo* (Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924-1932), no. 2003, pp. 140a-225c. [Hereafter, abbreviated as *T* and

Although "non-reliance on written words" is one way to "see into one's nature and become Buddha" (*kyōnsōng sōngbul*), "not casting off written words" [perfects] one's natural faculties, and at the same time [has] the great capability of bringing to salvation all beings. In this way, though we speak of Shakyamuni Buddha's transmission of his teachings [through his mind and without words], if there is any trace [ie. of the teachings], it is constituted of nothing other than written words. Even *kyōgoe sōnjōn* (Zen transcending the spoken and written word) is itself, in a sense, written words. Although we call the eighty-thousand wood-blocks of the Tripitaka Korean written words, if we were to take, for example, *mijūng sōi ilcha* (the hitherto unspoken single word of the Buddha), even a forty-nine year [long] Buddhist sermon would be getting rid of words and letters prematurely. Looking at it this way, I properly have no difficulties seeing emptiness in form and form in emptiness. In other words, I properly see words and letters from Zen and grasp Zen from words and letters. It is expected that one who writes in the service of Zen will write in this fashion, and it is expected that one who reads words in the service of Zen will read properly in this fashion.

This essay, as short as it is, offers a clear example of Han's literary skill and his attitude towards writing in general. His continual reiteration of "written words" (or: "words and letters") draws attention to both his writing and that of the Zen Buddhist tradition itself, and in doing so he exposes the intellectual aspect of a supposedly anti-ratiocinative tradition. This point is clarified through the "forty-nine year Buddhist sermon."

This is a reference to the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (C. *Leng-chia ching*; K. *Nūngga kyōng*) and is drawn from the saying that: "For forty-nine years, one syllable [he] spoke not."³ This phrase refers to a story that the Buddha uttered not a

followed by index number, volume, page number, horizontal column (a, b, or c top to bottom), and where applicable, line number. Thus, recession no. 2003: T 2003. 48. pp. 140a-225c.] The introduction to the *Pi-yen lu* is *ibid.*, pp. 139a-140a, and the pun on the phrase is on p. 139b. l. 25.

³For the three Chinese recensions of this sūtra, see T 670. 16. pp. 479a-514c; T 671. 16. pp. 514c-586b; and T 672. 16. pp. 587a-640c. It is unclear, however, where this phrase actually originated. All three recensions have portions emphasising the Buddha's "not speaking a single word," yet none mention "forty-nine years" which corresponds, presumably, to the span of his teaching career. (For the portions pertaining to "not speaking a single word," see especially no. 670, pp. 506b-507a; no. 671, p. 560b; and no. 672, pp. 608b-609b.) Nonetheless, linkage of the

single word about the ultimate truth during the forty-nine years between his enlightenment and death, and his silence on this matter is conventionally interpreted as: "The recondite truth of Buddhism is something which cannot be spoken, but rather must be grasped [as an outcome] of the practical application [of its principles]."⁴

The Zen tradition recognised that verbal descriptions of the truth were neither truth itself nor any guaranteed aid in attaining salvation, and the tradition saw itself as a path which severed the cycles of conceptual thought and instead directly pointed at enlightenment. However, if the Buddha did not say even one word on Buddhist truth after his enlightenment, our understanding of the significance of this event is, paradoxically, transmitted through the words and phrases of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*. Despite claims to the contrary, Zen is a tradition very much founded on the written word, and through this essay, Han says that the Buddha's "not speaking a word for forty-nine years" was a meaningful absence of words: an act of not speaking which nonetheless can only be conveyed through writing. And as Han notes, the full significance of the Buddha's forty-nine years' silence could not be exhausted by a sermon lasting the same duration.

Like Pak Hanyōng, Han was clearly aware that anti-rationalism is not the same as anti-intellectualism, and even the proponents of anti-rationalism required intellectual foundations which rationally delineated the history of and justification for their anti-rationalism.⁵ Han's and Pak's status as Zen masters lent force to their explications on this crucial distinction, but whereas Pak decried the dangers of

phrase "not speaking a single word" with the span of the Buddha's career is directly associated with this sūtra as apparent in the *Han'guk Pulgyo taesajōn*; see the following footnote. Interestingly, in discussing the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*'s emphasis on the "inexpressibility of truth," Bernard Faure notes that this sūtra "claims that, during his fifty years of teaching, the Buddha 'never spoke a single word.'" See Bernard Faure, *Chan Insights and Oversights: an Epistemological Critique of the Chan Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 200.

⁴See Han'guk Pulgyo Taesajōn P'yōnch'an Wiwōnhoe, ed., *Han'guk Pulgyo taesajōn* [7 vols.] (Seoul: Myōngmundan, 1993), vol. 3, p. 117.

⁵See Bernard Faure, *Chan Insights and Oversights*, op. cit., pp. 88-125, for a discussion of this problem in relation to Chan / Zen historiography.

ignorance and questioned the historical validity of the distinguishing concept of Zen, Han invoked the most elemental concept of the Mahāyāna Buddhist tradition: the ideal of the salvation of all beings: "Although 'non-reliance on written words' is one way to 'see into one's nature and become Buddha,' 'not casting off written words' *perfects one's natural faculties and at the same time [has] the great capability of bringing to salvation all beings* [emphasis added]."

For Han, writing and words were important, and in 1935, the written word was no longer in the sole possession of the privileged few. Unlike Pak's essay in classical Chinese, Han's piece was written in the Korean native script, *han'gŭl*, and more Koreans had the ability to read what he had written. The well-educated could have recognised the latent allusions while the keener-eyed among them might have seen the apposite, deep, but unobtrusive subtext. Yet, in spite of these differing degrees of understanding, none but the most obtuse could have missed the point of his greatest concern: the relationship between Korean Zen and the beings whom it ought, as part of the larger Mahāyāna tradition, to help save. Such a concern was at once as political as it was Buddhist, and for Han the ineluctable subsumption of Zen under the Mahāyāna ideal led to the view that Zen priests had a duty too for taking part in society.

In closing this essay Han points out that the act of reading and the practice of Zen need not be seen as antithetical, and he makes the point by taking himself as an example. In doing so he suggests that reaching an audience through the printed word is itself an attempt at bringing to salvation suffering beings. The text is but another "skilful method" (K. *pangp'yŏn*; Sanskrit, *upāya*), and those who would deride writing are, at the very least, forsaking an excellent opportunity to save other beings. At the most they are turning their backs on what is their priestly vow.

It was this sense of commitment to his role as a Buddhist and an intellectual which seems to have made the strongest impression on those who respected him. His critiques of Korean Buddhism were, to a large extent, criticisms of Korean

society, and in most of his non-scholastic writings one will find a fair mix of Buddhist thought and trenchant social commentary. He did not view Buddhism as a discrete entity which could be set apart from its larger social setting, and whereas his progressive outlook was apt to offend politically apathetic Korean Buddhists,⁶ he was also respected in other corners of the monastic community.⁷

While drawing on the sūtras and the previous works of Korean and Chinese masters, he envisioned Buddhism within a modern context and sought to apply the principles of Mahāyāna Buddhism to this new setting. In doing so he was willing to contravene those traditions of Korean Buddhism which were, to him, nothing more than historically determined manifestations of praxis. For him, the core of Buddhism was the Mahāyāna ideal of salvation for all beings. This is what he emphasised, and in his political activities, he advocated non-violent resolution to conflict.⁸

⁶In the early 1930s Han was the president of the journal *Pulgyo* (Buddhism), and representative articles are his "On the General Alliance of Buddhist Youth" (*Pulgyo ch'ōngnyōn ch'ong tongmaenge taehayō*) and "Let There Be Separation Between the Government and Religion" (*Chōnggyorūl pulliphara*); for these, see the *Collected Works*, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 200-205 and pp. 134-145, respectively. In these articles he criticized the passivity of Korean Buddhist leaders towards the Japanese colonial government and in effect, he urged Buddhist priests to oust lazy, ineffectual abbots. This fell within the formal rights granted to priests, and precedent for the removal of an abbot can be found in the 1923 ousting of Sasōn Yi Hoegwang from his abbacy at Haein temple; for this, see Sambo Hakhoe, ed., *Han'guk Pulgyo kūnse paengnyōnsa* [in 2 vols.] (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1994), vol. 1, section 2, p. 18. Due to articles such as these, the journal was suspended in 1933. For an overview of this journal and Han's role in it, see Kim Kwangshik and Yi Ch'ōlhak, *Han'guk kūn-hyōndae Pulgyo charyo chōnjip [haeje]* (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1996), pp. 15-17; see also Henrik H. Sørensen, "Korean Buddhist Journals during Early Japanese Colonial Rule," in *Korea Journal*, vol. 30, no. 1 (January 1990), pp. 17-27. For an outline of the relationship between the Japanese colonial government and the Korean Buddhist institution, see Kang Wi Jo, *Religion and Politics in Korea Under the Japanese Rule* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1987), pp. 45-59.

⁷In 1932 a poll was taken in which respondents were asked whom they would like to see represent Korean Buddhism. Han was awarded 422 votes while the second-best, Chungwōn Pang Hanam (1876-1951), was awarded 18 votes. For the results of the poll, see the chronology in *Pulgyosa* Hakhoe, ed., *Kūndae Han'guk Pulgyosa-ron* (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1992), p. 324 and the *Collected Works*, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 388.

⁸He did celebrate in a poem, however, An Chunggūn's assassination of Itō Hirobumi in 1909. This poem is translated in the third section of this thesis; see "(13) An Haeju." For Han's views on independence and the issue of non-violence, see the two articles by Kim Sanghyōn: "Han Yongunūi tongnip sasang," in Manhae Sasang Yōn'guhoe, ed., *Han Yongun sasang yōn'gu*, vol. 2 (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1981), pp. 99-123 and "Han Yongun'gwa kongyak samjang," in *Tongguk*

Apart from these two points, however, he showed little reluctance to question views or practices which were based on tradition alone, and this characteristic was typified in his reaction to the 1912 controversy over women cutting their hair and thus discontinuing the use of the traditional Korean hairpin (*pinyo*). He joined the debate with an essay pointing out the futility of worrying about hairpins or hairstyles, and is even said to have rudely remarked to some lady wearing a gold hairpin, "in the future, that thing is going to be useless."⁹

Yet this iconoclastic attitude was directed at the traditions of Korean Buddhism also, and it is thus not surprising that he ran afoul of many of the arch-conservative Korean Buddhist leaders. What is surprising, however, is that he seems to have maintained life-long friendships with some of these men among whom Pak Hanyōng (1870-1948) and Song Man'gong (1871-1946) are the chief examples. Both these priests figure prominently in Han's private poetry written in Chinese, and it was upon Song's request that Han wrote the introduction to the collected works of Kyōnghō Sōngu (1849-1912) in 1942.

sahak, vols. 19 / 20 [combined issue], (December 1986), pp. 325-347. Many of the points discussed in the articles by Kim should be placed, however, within the larger historical context of Korean nationalism; for this, see Kenneth M. Wells, *New God, New Nation*, op. cit.: especially pp. 148-151 and p. 201, note 57. In addition, it is useful to compare Han's rationalism as discussed in Kim's articles with the rationalism of the Confucian tradition and the distinction between rationalism and irrationalism as discussed by Karl Popper. For the former, see Wing Tsit-Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 78-79 and p. 119; also see Chu Hsi (Kim Yōngsu, trans. and annotated), (*Tongyang kojōn paeksōn* 3) *Taehak-Chungyong* [*Ta-hsiieh / Chung-yung*] (Seoul: Ilshin Sōjōk Ch'ulp'ansa, 1998), section 14, part 3, p. 232 and Kim Munhae, trans. and annotated, (*Tongyang kojōn paeksōn* 4) *Maengja* [*Meng-tzu*] (Seoul: Ilshin Sōjōk Ch'ulp'ansa, 1994), section 7, parts 1 and 2, pp. 342-343. For Popper's distinction between rationalism and irrationalism, see Karl Popper, *The Open Society and Its Enemies: Volume II, The High Tide of Prophecy: Hegel, Marx, and the Aftermath* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), especially p. 393 for his comments on violence and intellectuals. For his comments on the "pragmatist theory of truth," see *The Open Society and Its Enemies, Volume I: The Spell of Plato* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), especially p. 274. Also see Karl R. Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism* (London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976); much that has been written about Han's religious, political, and social thought can be seen in light of the ideas set forth by Popper in this book.

⁹See An Pyōngjik, ed., *Han Yongun* (Seoul: Han'gilsa, 1988), p. 259.

(II) *An Application of the Principle of Reading and Writing: Han's Introduction to the Kyōnghōjip*

The publication of the *Collected Works of Kyōnghō* (Kyōnghōjip)¹⁰ was a project undertaken by forty-five Buddhist priests, and most of these men seem to have been drawn from the ranks of the Sōnhagwōn, or Temple of Zen Study.¹¹ This temple had been founded in 1921 in order to transmit traditional Korean Zen practice, and from the beginning it served as a centre for celibate monasticism.

Song Man'gong played an important role in the founding of this temple, and his insistence on the principles of monastic purity was underscored by his censure of the Japanese Governor-General Minami Jirō in 1937. As Minami delivered an oration on the virtues of the former Governor-General Terauchi Masatake, Man'gong grew furious and shouted that Terauchi had allowed priests to take wives, eat meat, and drink liquor and for this would burn in hell.¹² By 1940

¹⁰The original text has been reprinted with annotations and translations; see Sōk Myōngjōng, *Kyōnghōjip* (T'ongdosa [temple]: Kuṅnak Sōnwōn, 1991). See also Chinsōng Wōndam (annotations and translation), *Kyōnghō Sōnsa pobo: chinhulgsuui urum* (Seoul: Hongbōwōn, 1993); this is a slightly rearranged version of the *Kyōnghōjip* and contains materials found after 1942. For a brief sketch of this text's importance in Korean Buddhist history, see Sōngt'a, "Kyōnghō-ūi Sōnsasang," in Sungsan Pak Kilchin Paksa Kinyōm Saōphoe, ed., *Han'guk Pulgyo sasangsa: Sungsan Pak Kilchin paksa hwagap kinyōm* (Iri: Wōn Pulgyo-sasang Yōn'guwōn, 1975), pp. 1103 (1)-1120 (18). Sōngt'a brings into focus Kyōnghō's non-conformity, and by virtue of his involvement with older priests, he is able to shed light upon attitudes towards Kyōnghō and important issues surrounding the publication of the *Kyōnghōjip*.

¹¹For the history of the Sōnhagwōn, see Chōng Kwangho, *Kūndae Han-II Pulgyo kwan'gyesa-ron* (Inch'ōn: Inha Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1994), pp. 114, pp. 186-207, and p. 264.

¹²For this incident, see Man'gong Mundohoe, ed., *Man'gong pobo: poryōgo hanūn chaga nugunya* (Seoul: Myogwang, 1983), pp. 84-87; also see Chōng Sōngbon, "Man'gong-Sōnsaui saengaewa Sōnsasang yōn'gu," pp. 114-200 in *Han'guk Pulgyohak*, vol. 22 (Spring 1997), pp. 126-127. In fact, it was under the relatively less oppressive rule of Governor-General Saitō Makoto (1919-1927) that the legal requirement of celibacy was annulled. In November 1919 the Korean Buddhist priest Kang Taeryōn (1875-1942) sent a petition to Saitō urging that the government should have Korean priests marry "women of Korea's royal and aristocratic families, and also women from the common class;" he also urged that the Japanese should "have Korean males from the royal and aristocratic lineages become priests and marry with women of the Japanese royal family, as well as women of the aristocracy." (For Kang's petition, see Im Hyebong, *Ch'inil Pulgyo-ron* [in 2 vols.], (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1993), vol. 1, pp. 100-101.) This petition, however, was ignored, and Saitō's repeal of the requirement of celibacy came in December 1926, nine months after Paek Yongsōng had twice petitioned him to enforce the rules "against taking wives and eating meat." For these two petitions, see Tongsan and Tonghōng, eds.,

Man'gong had become so frustrated with colonial policies that he began carrying a knife in preparation for assassinating Minami,¹³ and it is said that he was dissuaded by Han, who advised: "What do you accomplish by killing someone who is almost dead already? You're just going to pile up bad karma, so forget it."¹⁴

Due to the Sŏnhagwŏn's identity as a centre for monastic purity, the publication of the *Kyŏnghŏjip* posed difficulties for the priests involved. Kyŏnghŏ had been the teacher of Song Man'gong and Chungwŏn Pang Hanam (1876-1851), who was also an important figure in the Sŏnhagwŏn, and both Man'gong and Hanam were convinced of the authenticity of Kyŏnghŏ's austere Zen practice. Yet both these Zen masters were nonplussed by Kyŏnghŏ's licentious behaviour.

One story told by Man'gong tells of Kyŏnghŏ's spending the night in bed with a crazy woman who reeked of urine, and it is hard to tell whether the young Man'gong's sense of horror at this spectacle was lessened or aggravated upon discovering that she was also a leper. In other stories we find Kyŏnghŏ drinking wine, engaged in risqué play with women, and otherwise displaying provocative behaviour. One of the more poignant anecdotes relates the teacher's thrill upon receiving a much-needed gift offered by his young disciple, Man'gong: a new pipe and tobacco pouch.¹⁵

Yongsŏng k'ŭnsŭnim ōrok: pyŏngsangshimi tora irŭji malla (Seoul: Pulgwang Ch'ulp'anbu, 1993), pp. 469-474.

¹³When the ban on marriage was lifted in 1926, each of the 31 main Korean temples was given the choice whether to enforce celibacy or not. By 1929, approximately 80% of the main temples had formally annulled the requirement of celibacy; for this, see Pak Kyŏnghun, "Kŭnse Pulgyou'i yŏn'gu," pp. 15-68 in Pulgyosa Hakhoe, ed., *Kŭndae Han'guk Pulgyosa-ron* (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1992), p. 50. The results of the repeal of the ban on marriage were disastrous for temple finances, and the temples seem to have fallen into a state of squalor. For a description of such temples, see Takahashi Tōru, *Richō Bukkyō* (Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai, 1973 [reprint of 1929 edition]), pp. 953-954.

¹⁴See An Pyŏngjik, ed., *Han Yongun* (Seoul: Han'gilsa, 1988), p. 290.

¹⁵Man'gong is Kyŏnghŏ's counterpart in many of these stories; he spent more time with Kyŏnghŏ than Hanam and thus had more stories to recount. See *Kyŏnghŏ Sŏn'a pŏbŏ: chin'ulgsou'i urum*, op. cit., p. 33; here it notes that: "This is one of the episodes which Man'gong recollected [from direct experience] during his life." These stories may be found, in order, in *ibid.*, pp. 33, 65-66, 73-75, and 85-86.

In spite of Kyōnghō's efforts to renew rigorous Zen practice,¹⁶ his refusal to follow *au pied de la lettre* the vows against sex, alcohol, meat, and presumably, smoking was a sticking-point in the publication of the *Kyōnghōjip*. Both Man'gong and Hanam were uncomfortable with their late master's actions. Kyōnghō did, nonetheless, pursue meditation rigorously, and it seems that this--and Man'gong's and Hanam's perception of the authenticity of his enlightenment and teaching--was what kept their reproach at a single remove from outright denunciation.

Both of the poems Man'gong wrote about Kyōnghō prominently featured alcohol and women. One of these was written upon hearing of the master's death in 1912:

With goodness greater than the Buddha,
 more evil than a tiger,
 Such was Zen master Kyōnghō.
 Wherever death takes him,
 Intoxicated, reclining with beautiful faces.¹⁷

This poem and the other on Kyōnghō are marked by a sensuality unique among Man'gong's poems, and it is striking that Man'gong would commemorate his master's death with this qualified, gentle reproach.¹⁸

Hanam, on the other hand, was more to the point and his censure more firm. In his "A Record of the Deceased Master, Reverend Kyōnghō" (Sōnsa Kyōnghō-

¹⁶For an overview of Kyōnghō's life and teachings, see Henrik Hjort Sørensen, "The Life and Thought of the Korean Sōn Master Kyōnghō," in *Korean Studies* 7 (1983): 9-33.

¹⁷See Man'gong Mundohoe, ed., *Man'gong pōbō*, op. cit. pp. 162 and 164. "Beautiful faces" is literally *hwamyōn*, or "flower faces." Although the annotator has given accurate and beautiful translations of these poems, the notes manifest the obvious discomfort of the annotator. In both cases, the references to sex and alcohol are tortuously read as metaphors and then credited with Buddhist profundities which wholly contradict not only what is known of Kyōnghō, but more importantly, what the poems themselves say. Appropriately, the final line echoes a portion of a poem by Li Po, "Pouring Drinks For Myself, Alone Beneath the Moon;" this poem will be given in the later section on Han's Chinese poetry.

¹⁸Another way of reading the final line would be: "Intoxicated, his beautiful [flower] face in repose." Thus, Kyōnghō's face at death is described as beautiful. This reading competes for primacy with the plainer translation given above. However, it does not limit the very sensual nature of the poem.

hwasang haengjang), he made it clear that Kyōnghō's actions must not be confused with his lectures and writings: "For those disciples coming after the master [Kyōnghō] (*huji hakcha*), to study his teachings is legitimate; to study his actions is not legitimate."¹⁹

Such a cautionary note seems to have been apposite to the general atmosphere of the Sōnhagwōn, and though Hanam's "Record" was not published in the 1942 version of the text, neither were any of the thirty-eight biographical anecdotes which recounted Kyōnghō's "actions."²⁰ These stories were later published in the *Kyōnghō-sōnsa pōbō* (Zen Master Kyōnghō's dharma talks),²¹ but in 1942 Kyōnghō's reputation was known well enough that these stories need not have been included.²² Although Kyōnghō was to be honored by the publication of the *Kyōnghōjip*, his reputation was in conflict with the ideals of the Sōnhagwōn.

Pang Hanam's first draft of the *Kyōnghōjip* was dated 1931, and although it is impossible to tell exactly to what degree the final version corresponded to this draft, Hanam's "Record" was replaced by Han's biographical section in the 1942 publication.²³ Han's biography of Kyōnghō was roughly one-quarter the length of Hanam's piece, and this short section gave a rough outline of the late master's life.²⁴ However, Han's introduction to the collection was the more interesting

¹⁹For the Chinese original and Korean translation of Hanam's "Record," see the *Kyōnghōjip*, op. cit., pp. 399-405 and pp. 406-421, respectively; see p. 404 and p. 419 for this portion.

²⁰See Henrik Hjort Sørensen, "The Life and Thought of the Korean Sōn Master Kyōnghō," op. cit., pp. 10 and 12. He stresses Kyōnghō's personality and "unconventional nature" in his success at sparking an interest in Zen meditation among the priesthood and laity alike.

²¹The *Kyōnghō Sōnsa pōbō: chinhūgsou ūm*, op. cit., is derived from, but not the same as, the *Kyōnghō Sōnsa pōbō* which was published in 1981. The latter appears to be a more extensive, scholarly text, but the translator is the same for both.

²²Stories about Kyōnghō seem to have circulated widely throughout Korean temples. The writer and independent scholar Yi Hūngu has travelled to various temples and collected materials on Kyōnghō who was remembered as late as 1972. These researches were first published between 1972 and 1974; for this, and Sōngt'a's praise, see Sōngt'a, op. cit., p. 2. This research was then published in 1980 as a biography, and has recently been republished. See Yi Hūngu, *Kyōnghō Sōnsa: kongsongui p'ian'gil* (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1996).

²³For information on Hanam's first draft, see the *Kyōnghōjip*, op. cit., p. 421.

²⁴For Han's biography of Kyōnghō, see the *Kyōnghōjip*, op. cit., pp. 422-423 for the original Chinese and pp. 423-426 for the Korean translation.

contribution. In it we find an explicit reaction to Hanam's "Record" and also are offered a concrete example of how Han approached the "written words" of a controversial priest.

Han began his introduction by noting that he had first become involved in the project at the urging of his "friend Man'gong...seven years earlier."²⁵ In distinction to Hanam, however, Han openly celebrated Kyōnghō as a guide for later students (*huhakcha*), and he immediately alluded to Kyōnghō's controversial reputation. Yet in a single stroke, he dispelled any opportunity for scandal for he found in Kyōnghō's Zen writings and teachings "a deep meaning (*hyōndam*) and exquisite passages (*myogu*) not vulgar [ie. not entering the mundane world (*segan*)], even when recited in a high voice (*koum*), at times, in wine shops and on city streets."²⁶

Han's choice of "wine shops" and "city streets" immediately brings to mind the Shilla priest Wōnhyo (617-686) for whom the secular and sacred were interfused, and in doing so, Han implicitly put Kyōnghō on a par with this other, more famous master. It seems that Han was echoing Iryōn's (1206-1289) treatment of Wōnhyo (617-686) in the *Samguk yusa* where we read of Wōnhyo dancing as he recited his own songs on the streets, spreading the truth of Buddhism among the common people. Han assumes Iryōn's position, thus casting Kyōnghō in the role of Wōnhyo, and this is effected by Han's continual use of words meaning or connoting freedom and the absence of hindrance.²⁷

In the introduction, Han's prose is poetic and allusive, and it is through this quality that its own vigour is derived. In drawing an implicit comparison between the famed Wōnhyo and Kyōnghō, Han established the durability of the Korean

²⁵See the *Kyōnghōjip*, op. cit., p. 9 for original Chinese language text of the introduction and pp. 10-11 for the Korean translation.

²⁶See the *Kyōnghōjip*, op. cit., p. 9 for Chinese original and p. 10 for Korean translation.

²⁷This section of the *Samguk yusa* is entitled "Wōnhyo Could Not Be Fettered" (Wōnhyo pulgi). See Iryōn (Yi Chae-ho, trans. and ed.), *Samguk yusa* [in 2 vols.], (Seoul: Sol Ch'ulp'ansa, 1997), vol. 2, pp. 251-253.

Buddhist tradition through implying that even during the final stages of the anti-Buddhist Chosŏn dynasty, a master of importance such as Kyŏnghŏ could be found. However, Han made it clear that there was no reason to draw a distinction between Kyŏnghŏ's teachings and actions when he qualified his statement that the master did not enter the mundane world: "[nor did he] cast off the mundane world when, at times, randomly (*chong*) picking up his writing brush (*p'il*) amidst the rain and snow in the empty mountains."²⁸

In this context, *chongp'il* becomes highly suggestive of freedom and a refusal to acquiesce to the demands of institutions and rules. This sense of personal, unbridled energy which Han finds in Kyŏnghŏ's occasional writings and no less in the man himself is manifested by the use of "rain and snow" (*usŏl*) as a setting in which to visualise Kyŏnghŏ reaching for his brush and paper: after all, what kind of man engages in the activity most emblematic of civilisation "amidst the

²⁸ Kyŏnghŏjip, op. cit., p. 9 for Chinese original and p. 10 for Korean translation; Kyŏnghŏ-sŏnso pŏbo: *chinhŭlksou ulŭm*, op. cit., p. 3. The Korean translations in both texts render *chong p'il* simply as "take up, or grab, his writing brush," thus omitting the troubling *chong*. Although I have followed the Korean in part, I have used "randomly" to give some sense of the original Chinese version, and this sense is lost in both Korean translations. Han's writing here is poetic, and *chong* has a variety of meanings including: 1) *pangjong*: dissolute, licentious, self-indulgent, or to depart from the rules; 2) *naebŏnda*: throw away, or waste; 3) *naebŏryŏuda*: neglect, leave as is, or set aside; and 4) *mŏstaero*: waywardly, selfishly, or as one pleases. These are only some of the meanings which could be judged as possible in this context. Especially, the idea of "setting aside" seems an obvious possibility: that is, Kyŏnghŏ creates songs in the city without entering the mundane, and *sets aside* his brush in the wilderness without abandoning the mundane. This would contrast the civilising, secular world of the written word against the formless, natural world which is without the written word, and while this idea is present, it is ultimately overcome by another idea later clarified in the passage. *Chong* can also mean "length and/or breadth," and it is the first syllable of the expression *chonghoeng* meaning literally "vertical and/or horizontal," thereby figuratively connoting a sense of vigour and freedom. *Chonghoeng* is found immediately after Han writes that Kyŏnghŏ did not abandon the mundane world; for this section, see below. He uses this expression to modify the master's teachings and writings, and along with *chonghoeng*, he also uses the expression *imni* which denotes dribbling raindrops; this is a nice touch since he is speaking of Kyŏnghŏ "writing, at times, in the empty mountains amidst the rain." This notion of strength and vitality connotes a sense of freedom insofar as we imagine Kyŏnghŏ walking in the wilds and then pausing to jot down poem or an idea. This sense is then heightened by Han's use of "unrestricted freedom" (*chajae*): the very notion celebrated by Iryŏn when he titled his biography "Wŏnhyo Could Not Be Fettered" (Wŏnhyo pulgi). Han uses this idea of freedom to an interesting effect following the complementary ideas that Kyŏnghŏ neither entered nor left the mundane. Kyŏnghŏ is free and unrestricted in and of himself (*chajae*), and this very freedom implodes the dichotomy of secular and divine; he is the mediator between the transcendent, on the one hand, and the secular world of limitations, on the other, and as a mediator must embody both.

rain and snow in the empty mountains"? Han reiterates this sense of power and absolute freedom when he shortly thereafter uses the term *imni* which may be used to describe the appearance of falling rain, powerful calligraphic brush-strokes (*p'ilse*), or convey a sense of resplendent vigour (*kise*).

Here, *imni* bears all these meanings since the very structure of Han's writing blurs the distinction between the man, his writing, and his teachings. In a sense, they are one and the same, and *imni* is a crucial device in the narrative flow of Han's literary *qua* philosophical / religious *qua* biographical critique: we see the rain-soaked (*imni*) Kyōnghō writing with powerful strokes (*imni*) his thoughts--his teachings--which are themselves characterised by great strength (*imni*).

Han's use of meteorological imagery and the connotation of moisture *cum* vigour further serves to invest the "rain and snow" with a degree of sensuality in this context. While snow (*sōl*) itself connotes whiteness, cleanliness, and purity, the classical allusion for sexual intercourse is meteorological and founded partly on the idea of moisture: the clouds and rain (*unu*). In the context of Kyōnghō, a priest equally at home in the city streets and wineshops as in the empty mountains, "rain and snow" becomes suggestive of sensuality, and while Han focuses on wetness to convey sensuality and vigour, these two ideas are themselves delimited by his use of "snow" as a qualification. That is, Kyōnghō's actions, though at times contrary to the regulations of the Buddhist institution, are nonetheless not impure; but nor are they pure. Rather, they are of some third category.

In this fashion, the sensuality suggested by "rain" parallels the idea of the master's "not entering the world" while the notion of purity suggested by "snow" parallels his "not leaving the world." Han thus depicts Kyōnghō as an avatar of the dharma, or Buddhist truth (*K. poḥ; C. fa; J. hō*) which itself defies any static formulation: hence the major antithesis between "not entering the world" and "not leaving the world" and the embedded, partial antithesis between rain and snow. In

short, Kyōnghō's sensuality (rain) is not of this world, and likewise, his purity (snow) is not otherworldly.

Through this antithesis we recognise that, like the dharma, Kyōnghō also cannot be characterised by any single statement, but merely through paradox. Although his many and varied actions are spread along the continuum between the sensuality of the mundane world (rain) and the spiritual purity (snow), the actions themselves are representations of the dharma. If rain and snow are but different manifestations of the same thing, Kyōnghō's varied actions are likewise only contradictory in appearance. In this manner we clearly perceive that the apparent whiteness and purity of the snow itself are but a transmutation of a sensual wetness which too, in turn, again can become the crystalline purity of white snow--a process repeatable *ad infinitum*. This ineffable quality of Buddhist truth itself requires paradox and metaphor for any attempt at explication and is accordingly well-suited to poetry.

Thus we find in Han's prose introduction a suggestive, poetic quality by which he seeks to illuminate, not define, Kyōnghō. Before noting the "deep meaning (*hyōndam*) and exquisite lines (*myogu*)" of Kyōnghō's writings, Han pointedly states that he had read these "again and again" (*chaesam*), indicating obliquely that these writings demand repeated reading both for the quality of their poetry and their conveyance of abstruse Buddhist truth:

In all directions (*chonghoeng*) vigorous (*imni*)--and [whether] inexperienced or masterful (*saengsuk*)--unrestricted and free (*chajae*), none of his writings are without Zen; which of his phrases is not the dharma? Regardless of principles and rules (*kwech'ik*), these extraordinary writings and extraordinary poems are indeed very important.²⁹

Han's forthright admission of the unevenness in Kyōnghō's writings enhances his evaluation. He says, in effect, that even the worst of Kyōnghō's writings is nonetheless worthy of esteem: they too embody Zen; they too are the

²⁹ Kyōnghōjip, op. cit., p. 9 for Chinese original; p. 10 for Korean translation.

dharma. However, it is the nuance contained in the introductory phrase of the final sentence which seems to be the most important aspect of Han's critique.

"Regardless of principles and rules" is conceptually linked to the master's writings and is built upon the contrast between "inexperienced and masterful." This is, on one level, a purely formal, aesthetic qualification; he says implicitly that Kyōnghō's writings do not always conform to the highest standards in terms of prose style or of the formal requirements of Chinese poetry.

This qualification, however, has significance on another level when we recognise that the very structure of Han's evaluation blurs the distinction between the master, his writings, and his teachings. The point of view represents a contrast to the evaluation by Hanam which expressly cautioned students not to confuse Kyōnghō's actions and teachings. Seen from this perspective, "the principles and rules" (*kwech'ik*) excluded from consideration by Han are the very same as those "principles and rules" which Hanam championed. Han is effectively saying that although Kyōnghō disregarded "principles and rules," one frets over this at the expense of missing Kyōnghō's true importance: that his embodiment of Zen and the dharma exists neither apart from, nor in spite of, his controversial actions, but rather that this embodiment is inextricable from these actions. To the extent that Han thus invests in his brief depiction of Kyōnghō a sense of overarching unity among all facets of his character, teaching, and writing, he likewise divests Hanam of the power of his cautionary criticism:

I know that master Kyōnghō did not originally specialise in writing, and so at times there are vast differences in the standards and precise constructions of the passages in his poems and writings: therefore, inadequate. Single flaws amid perfection: the thin wisp of cloud dotting the corner of heaven's blue canvas. Yet the content of his Zen is sublime with resonant echoes, as if there is sound in his commonplace brush and ink, and there is great merit for those students following him (*huhakcha*). How could there be any doubt about this? When master Kyōnghō was still in this world, I always thought of seeing him one time to drink hard and heavy (*t'ongūm*) from one giant wine cup (*il taebaek*), hurling condemnations and curses (*maedo*)

against all the Buddhas of the Triple World (*samse-chebul*), and making merry. How is it that worldly affairs and one's intentions are traitors to one another? Perplexing and embarrassing (*chol-chol*): I was unable [to meet him], for before I knew it, he had died. Several decades later, I touch his lustrous relics. Truly, such is the sorrow of this ephemeral world (*puse*).³⁰

Accordingly, we recognise in Han's introduction a subversive attitude which comes at the expense of the principles espoused by the Sŏnhagwŏn. Although Han could have avoided any mention of these contentious issues, Kyŏnghŏ's reputation itself was in conflict with the principles espoused by the Sŏnhagwŏn. Yet the same was true of Han's reputation, and Man'gong's choice of Han to write the introduction was thus logical, if ironic. Man'gong recognised that Han could accurately write about Kyŏnghŏ without becoming mired in criticism on his laxity in regard to the Buddhist vows, and were Kyŏnghŏ alive, he too, like Han, would have had to occupy an ambiguous position within the Sŏnhagwŏn.³¹

³⁰See the *Kyŏnghŏjip*, op. cit., p. 9 for the Chinese original and p. 11 for the Korean vernacular translation; also, see *Kyŏnghŏ Sŏnso pobo: chinhulgsou ulim*, op. cit., p. 4 for the other Korean vernacular translation. Although both Korean translations are substantially the same, there are fine points of difference between the two, and my translation is different from both of these. I have followed Han's original and given a strict translation except for *chŏnsong* which is given in the text as "the entire expanse within the city walls." It seems that "walled-city" (*sŏng*) has been mistakenly printed for "fullness, plenitude, and prosperity" (*sŏng*).

³¹It is extremely difficult to judge what relationship Han actually had with the Sŏnhagwŏn. During an assembly in 1941, an official photo was taken of the thirty-eight participants. Though Man'gong is present, Han is not. I have been told in Korea by those with knowledge of the Sŏnhagwŏn that Han could not have been an official member: His reputation was too controversial and the Sŏnhagwŏn wanted as its members priests who had unblemished records of personal conduct. Within the colonial context, this meant a commitment to celibacy, and the priest Kang Sŏkchu told me essentially the same thing. (For the photograph, see *Sŏnudoryang*, vol. 11 (May 1997), p. 250, and for an interview with Kang Sŏkchu, see *ibid.*, pp. 216-250.) On the contrary, Kim Kwangshik notes that Han did partake in a formal activity in 1922, was elected Provisional Chairman (*imshi-ujjang*) in 1924, and acted as a lecturer in 1931; see Kim Kwangshik, *Han'guk kundae Pulgyosa yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1996), pp. 108, 111, 113, 119, and 136. Yet these activities seem to suggest a tenuous relationship, and the absence of any mention of Han between 1931 and the publication of the *Kyŏnghŏjip* in 1942 suggests that his remarriage in 1933 made him unfit for formal activities. For instance, on p. 96 Kim emphasises the anti-Japanese character of the Sŏnhagwŏn and the roles played by Han, Man'gong, and Paek Yongsŏng therein. However, he then notes that the founding of the Sŏnhagwŏn was aimed at safeguarding traditional Korean Buddhism through its opposition to the "taking of wives and eating meat" (*taech'ŏ shigyuk*), thus bringing into relief the ambiguous position which Han performed had to occupy.

However, the most important point in Han's introduction is his view that words and letters do embody their author. In his reading of Kyōnghō, Han shows a rigorous classical Confucian approach: the man is the work, and the work is the man. In this regard, Han shows a greater degree of deference to traditional ways of reading than Pang Hanam, and through this conventional approach, Han paradoxically displays himself as an unconventional character within the *Sōhagwŏn*.

What sets Han apart from Man'gong and Hanam is his view that there are things more important than Buddhist purity. Whereas Hanam had to separate Kyōnghō from his teachings and writings, Han found it necessary to read Kyōnghō's writings as embodiments of the writer. For Han, the contradiction between the ideal of Buddhist purity and Kyōnghō's actions was, perhaps, the most important aspect about Kyōnghō. Like Wŏnhyo, Kyōnghō participated in the world, and though neither master was pure, each demonstrated an adherence to that principle which Han emphasised: the spread of Buddhism and the salvation of all beings.

Han's brief introduction to the *Kyōnghōjip* provides a concrete example of his application of the abstract principles of reading and writing set forth in "Written Words Are Not Written Words." His application of these principles is found throughout his essays and novels, and in these writings we find his commitment to social change through Buddhism. As a consequence, this introduction represents Han's public voice. Yet one significant portion of Han's writings has received little attention, and like this introduction, these too were written in Chinese. These neglected writings are his classical Chinese poems, and it is to these that we will now turn.

Section 2

Han Yongun's Private Voice: Classical Chinese Verse

(I) Introduction

Unlike Han's numerous essays, novels, and *Your Silence*, his poems in the traditional *shih* genre (K., *hanshi*; classical Chinese poetry) display neither aspiration to public relevance nor to entertainment, nor any desire for public readership. None were published during his lifetime, and although some important essays were published only after his death, these were not dissimilar in spirit to his many published writings on society, politics, and religion.¹ Critical and instructive, these unpublished essays reflect his keen engagement with the problems of the day, and though unpolished at times, the best bring into sharper relief views found throughout his many published writings and thus serve as a supplement to his well-developed public persona.

In distinction to those unpublished writings, his Chinese poetry seems to have been intended solely for private purposes. Herein we find Han recording moments of solitude, the commemoration of important occasions, feelings about friends, and in some few instances, poetic statements on public figures or events. These poems are marked by an overwhelming sense of solitude, and one feels at times as if one is peeping at someone's diary, hard to decipher though it might be.

Whether or not he saw his Chinese verse as a diary of sorts, there can be no question that these writings were for his own private enjoyment and in a few cases, that of close companions. It is indeed remarkable that apart from *Silence*, Han wrote at least eighty-one poems in the free verse and traditional vernacular *shijo* forms, and of these, more than half were published between 1918 and 1937.²

¹These essays are contained in "Shimujang manp'il" (random jottings at Shimujang), in the *Collected Works*, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 192-344.

²I base these tentative figures on Shin Tonguk, ed., *Han Yongun* (Seoul: Munhak Segyesa, 1993), pp. 73-108. Shin's text is invaluable: it contains many poems found after the publication of the *Collected Works*, and it also contains the poems' original publication information. See also Han Kyejŏn, ed., *Han Yongunŭi "Nimui ch'immuk"* (Seoul: Sŏul Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1996) and

Between 1931 and 1933 he also published in various Buddhist journals four short pieces written in Chinese. These four, nonetheless, are simply unremarkable mottoes or aphorisms conveying a Buddhist message. The longest consists of twenty-one syllables divided evenly into three lines, and the shortest is composed of two lines with four syllables each.³ Shin Tonguk classifies these pieces as poetry, and yet as will be discussed below, none of these are *shih*.

None of Han Yongun's *shih*, or classical Chinese poems, were published, and yet this body of work is important because it represents a considerable addition to his free verse poems and the other pieces he wrote in the vernacular *shijo* form. Apart from these classical Chinese poems, his other unpublished poems were all in the *shijo* form which, in spite of the general rules regarding the structure and syllable count, is written in the vernacular and thus can be read as easily as free verse poetry. His unpublished *shijo*, however, were few and do not seem particularly important either on literary grounds or in relation to the larger body of his poetry.

the more recent Manhae Sasang Shilch'ŏn Sŏnyanghoe, ed., *Han Yongun shijŏnjip* (Seoul: Tosŏ Ch'ulp'an [Changsung], 1998). Of these two latter texts, Han Kyejŏn's is the best since it contains both a modern edition of *Silence* as well as a copy of the first edition. In addition, it includes a reprint of all the original publication information for *Silence* and unlike the most recent text, Han Kyejŏn gives the publication information for the other free verse poems and *shijo* which he includes. Both these latter texts, however, add the title "muje," or "untitled," to those poems which originally had no title whatsoever, thus creating confusion in regard to which poems Han had chosen to call "untitled:" in the tradition of classical Chinese poetry this term often suggests some underlying meaning on the poet's part, and it seems reasonable to assume that Han employed the same principle when using "muje" for some of his *shijo*. Shin's text also includes more poems and preserves the fragmented structure of the unpublished drafts (pp. 97-108) which both the 1996 (pp. 258-261) and 1998 (pp. 162-165) editions give as a single long, thirteen part poem under the title "muje." An issue mentioned in none of these texts is the fact that Han seems to have adopted the pseudonym Mokbu, or ranchman, after moving into his home *Shimujang* in 1933, and all the texts include, for instance, the *shijo* "Shimujang" which was published under the name Mokbu in December 1937 in the Buddhist journal *Shinbulgyo*: the editors of all three texts are obviously aware of this. In a series of three written exchanges between Han and the priest Kyŏngbong (1892-1982) sometime after 1933, we find the two men playing games with Han's new pseudonym derived from the Zen-inspired name he gave his house: literally, "searching-for-the-ox-cottage." For these letters, see pp. 16-18 in Sŏk Myŏngjŏng, *Kŭnse Han'guk kosŭng sŏganjip* (Seoul: Kŭngnak Sŏnwŏn, 1997). (I am grateful to Dr. Kim Sanghyŏn of Tongguk University for bringing this to my attention.)

³See Shin Tonguk, op. cit., pp. 81, 82, 85, and 86.

In addition to the poems published in *Silence*, all his other free verse poems were published, and this suggests that he was more interested in the free verse than the *shijo* form. More importantly, it is apparent that he was interested in reaching the widest possible audience: far fewer people could read classical Chinese. On this point alone, his use of the vernacular becomes synonymous with commercialism.

By contrast, his Chinese poetry stands apart as a non-commercial, non-public activity, and although he saw "[Korea's] fragrant life pulsating"⁴ in its spoken language, when he wrote for himself he wrote in Chinese.

(II) An Outline of the Collection

The fullest collection of Han's Chinese poetry is found in the text edited by Ch'oe Tongho.⁵ Ch'oe's edition contains one-hundred and thirty-nine separate headings with one-hundred and thirty different titles. A few titles are used more than once, and so to refer to a title is, in some cases, not the same as to refer to a heading. This distinction is further complicated by the fact that any given heading may contain more than one poem, or *su* (C., *shou*). Thus two or more individual poems may share the same heading, and a number of individual poems may share the same title. In the latter case, however, they do not necessarily share the same heading.

For example, "Chuksa" (impromptu), "Ch'a Yŏngho hwasang" (matching rhymes with Reverend Yŏngho), and "Sahyang" (thinking of home) are each used more than once: hence the discrepancy between the number of headings and the number of titles. Yet in all five instances in which "Impromptu" is used, for instance, it refers to a discrete piece of work: five headings and five discrete pieces of work all sharing one title. By contrast, "Hojŏp" (butterfly) is used once, and in

⁴See Beongcheon Yu, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

⁵Ch'oe Tongho, ed., *Han Yongun shijŏnnjip* (Seoul: Munhak Sasangsa, 1989).

this instance, unlike that of "Impromptu," to speak of a title and a heading is the same thing.

Each heading contains at least one individual poem, or *su*, that is considered a separate unit whether or not it shares the same title with another poem or poems in the collection. Put simply, there is no reason to think that all five of the poems called "Impromptu" were written at the same time, in response to the same occasion, or to express the same emotion.

Yet in many instances, a discrete body of work can be further subdivided. Quite often there are two *su*, and in one instance eight, under the same heading. In the case of a heading under which there are two or more *su*, each *su* is an autonomous poem. There is at times a loose connection among the *su* under a given heading, but most often it is difficult to perceive any connection apart from the fact that the poems might share a very rudimentary thematic similarity.

To clarify this point, we may take "Muje" (untitled) as an example. This is a title in and of itself, and it occurs three times in the text. Thus, the single title "Muje" refers to three different headings in the collection. For the sake of clarity, Ch'oe's text numbers each occurrence of the title as "Muje I," "Muje II," and "Muje III," although these numbers were not contained in the original manuscripts.

Han's *shih* all have titles, and in the tradition of classical Chinese poetry, the title of a poem was expected to suggest the theme, as in "Butterfly," or at least give some indication of the occasion of composition: even a title so simple as "Impromptu" would be sufficient. On the other hand, "Untitled" suggested that the poet was writing about something private, and the implication was often political or erotic.⁶ We will later see a clear example of the latter implication in two of Han's "Untitled" poems.

Each heading is the title for a discrete poem or unit of poems. In one instance, there are eight *su* contained under "Muje," and these eight *su* form one

⁶See pp. 510-511 in Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911* (New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996).

discrete piece of work insofar as they fall under the same heading. In another instance, there are two *su*; and in yet another, there are two more *su*. Each of these two units with two *su* apiece also forms a discrete piece of work.

Even though "Muje" is used three times for three discrete pieces of work, these three separate pieces of work may be further subdivided by the number of *su* contained therein. Thus "Muje" is three headings and one title. Under this single title and three headings there are twelve separate poems, or *su*, unevenly distributed: eight in one instance, two in another, and two in another.

Tabulated in this fashion, Han's extant poems in the *shih* genre amount to one-hundred and sixty-five pieces, or *su*. Thus just slightly less than one half of all his extant poetry was written in classical Chinese, and in order to understand his *shih* poems, it is requisite to understand the distinctions in the genre itself. Through this discussion, we will also have the opportunity to briefly discuss a uniqueness in the way Koreans employed one of the *shih* forms.

(III) *Shih: Genres and Techniques*

In Korean, *shih* is invariably referred to as *Hanshi*: literally, "Han [Chinese] *shih* [poetry]." This term at once denotes the foreign origins of this literary form and the period in which it first arose: the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-219 A.D.). Even though the poems or odes of the *Shih-ching*, or *The Book of Poetry*, pre-date the Han dynasty and are also considered *shih*, the term is typically used to refer to a specific poetic form which was developed during the Han dynasty and later gave rise to other forms.

Shih ought not be confused with poetry in its more general sense or with poetic pieces written in Chinese characters, such as those aphoristic Buddhist phrases mentioned briefly above. In Buddhist writing there is, for instance, a specific type of writing called *song* (C., *sung*; Sanskrit, *gāthā*) which in its most general sense designates a kind of metrical writing resembling a free verse poem.

Such writing is characterised by an explicit Buddhist theme, and *song* are used to offer praises to the Buddha, express some explicit Buddhist emotion, or to offer a Buddhist prayer for the dead. These *song*, or hymns, are defined by their function, and while some *song* are written according to the formal conventions of *shih*, this is not requisite.⁷

The fact that *song* are written in Chinese does not qualify them as *shih*, nor should *kê* (songs), *tzü* (lyrics), or any of the other genre in Chinese literature be confused with *shih*. Some *shih* do contain the word "singing / song" (*kê*) in their titles, and some *shih* such as the *yüeh-fu* were in fact related to music.

The term *shih*, nonetheless, was limited to three styles and one collection of poetry: 1) a specific style of poetry known as *ku-t'i shih*, *ku-t'i*, or *ku-shih* (K. *koch'eshi*, *koch'e*, or *koshi*; Ancient Style Poetry, the Ancient Style, or Ancient Poetry); 2) another style of poetry known as *chin-t'i shih*, *chin-t'i*, or *chin-shih* (K. *kunch'eshi*, *kunch'e*, or *kunshi*; modern style poetry or the modern style; known also as Regulated Verse [C. *lü-shih*; K. *yulshi*]); and 3) the poems in the *Book of Poetry*. The third style is called *yüeh-fu* or *yüeh-fu shih* (K. *akpu* or *akpushi*; music office or poems of the music office) and refers to a type of *shih*

⁷ For examples of this type of Buddhist writing see pp. 162-204 in Man'gong Mundohoe, ed., *Man'gong pobô: Poryôgo hanün chaga nugunya* (Seoul: Myogwang, 1983). Although Man'gong (1872-1946) studied under the able poet and priest Kyŏnghô (1849-1912), many of his poems do not fall into the *shih* category. The compilers of his extant writings have simply classified all his poems as *song*, including those which do fit the requirements of *shih*. The excellent editor and translator Kim Talchin, however, has included at least two of Man'gong's non-*shih* poems in his *Hyŏndae Han'guk sŏnshi* (modern Korean Zen poetry) (Seoul: Yŏlhwadang, 1987); see pp. 133 and 135. The confusion of the terms "poetry" and "*shih*" is thus not limited to translating between Chinese / Korean and English, and this confusion is further exacerbated in the Buddhist literary tradition. For an invaluable account of the traditional Korean methods of learning *shih*, see Father Richard Rutt, "The Chinese Learning and Pleasures of a Country Scholar: An account of traditional Chinese studies in rural Korea," pp. 1-100 in *Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XXXVI (Seoul: April 1960). (See especially p. 44 for the Korean interpretation of the term *shih*).

which was identical to the Ancient Style in terms of prosody and also originated in the Han dynasty.⁸

While the *Shih-ching* was regarded as the basis of Chinese verse, the odes were written primarily with lines of four syllables, and there are no examples of such archaic writing within Han's corpus of classical Chinese poetry.⁹ However,

⁸For these historical usages, see Richard Bodman and Shirleen S. Wong's "Shih," pp. 682-688 in William H. Nienhauser, Jr., ed., *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).

⁹Apart from Buddhists, the four syllable line seems to have been used rarely in Korea. Kim Talchin's three volume *Korean Classical Chinese Poetry* contains only two such examples: an undated love song, "Melody of a Harp" (konghuin), attributed to a woman, Yöok, dating from the Ancient Chosön period (roughly, 194 to 108 B.C.) and the "Oriole's Song" (hwangjo ga) by Yuri (?-18 A.D.), the second king of the Koguryö kingdom (37 B.C.-668 A.D.). (See Kim Talchin, *Han'guk hanshi* [in 3 vols.] (Seoul: Minumsa, 1989), volume 1, p. 25 and p. 26, respectively). Unlike some examples of Korean Buddhist poems with four syllable lines, however, both these early Korean poems follow the basic prosodic form of the odes in the *Shih-ching*, and as such these may be called *shih* in the strict sense of the term. The only other archaic verse form contained in *Han'guk hanshi* (volume 1, p. 30) is by Söryo (?-693), a daughter of a Shilla kingdom (57 B.C.-935 A.D.) native who served as a general in the T'ang China (618-907) army. At the age of fifteen, Söryo's father died, and she became a Buddhist nun. Six years later she returned to the secular world where she became a concubine of a T'ang government official and poet. Her poem "Pansogyo" (returning to the world) was written in the *sao*, or elegiac, style of the *Ch'u Tz'u* (Lyrics of Ch'u). The *sao* style is characterised by the use of a meaningless syllable *hsi* (k. *hye*; often called a "sound carrier") inserted into a line thus allowing the lyric to keep time to the musical accompaniment. (See David Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u: The Songs of the South* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959); for examples of this verse form, see especially pp. 4-7.) Two central and related themes of the *Ch'u Tz'u* are the return of the soul to the world of the living and the man of virtue's return from seclusion to the secular world. Söryo's poem, in both title and form, thus recalls the *Ch'u Tz'u*. It is contained in the *Ch'üan T'ang shih* (complete poetry of the T'ang) compiled under imperial edict by Ts'ao Yin (1658-1712) in the early eighteenth century. (For this text, see Nienhauser, op. cit., pp. 364-365.) After the Shilla scholar Ch'oe Ch'iwön (857-?), however, virtually every poem in *Han'guk hanshi* is in regulated verse, or the Modern Style (*lü-shih*): either the full-length, eight line form, or the four line quatrain form, both of which are discussed below. The Buddhist tradition, however, offers something quite different. Kyöngghö wrote at least four poems in this archaic style, and all except one conform to the prosodic rules of the *Shih-Ching*. The mistake arises over confusion in regard to Chinese syllables which rhyme in Korean pronunciation but do not belong to the same rhyme category in Chinese; Han Yongun makes the same mistake in a few instances. (For these archaic poems by Kyöngghö, see pp. 332-338 in Sök Myöngjōng, ed., *Kyöngghöjip* (Seoul: Kungnak Sönwön, 1991).) In contrast, Man'gong's "Sung Upon Ascending the Summit of Mt. Pirobong" (t'ung Pirobong üm), though written in four syllable lines, makes no apparent effort to conform to the rule of rhyme which is requisite in *shih*. (See Kim Talchin, *Hyöndae Han'guk Sönsi*, op. cit., p. 135.) In this regard, it is interesting to note that the Korean Buddhist literary scholar Yi Chongch'an has recently proposed that the "Taesüng yukchöng ch'amhoe" (penitence of the six emotions in Mahāyāna) by the Shilla priest Wönhyo (617-686) be read not as prose (*mun*), but rather as a long poem (*changshi*). He contends that this piece consists of seventy-one stanzas (C. *liem*; K. *ryön*) comprised of two hundred and seventy lines and that the dominant structure is four

he did use each of the other three forms, and it is necessary to understand these categories and their technical requirements if we are to interpret his Chinese verse and evaluate his skill as a poet in the *shih* genre.

(1) *Yüeh-fu*

Yüeh-fu were originally related to music, and though they and the Ancient Style share the same prosodic characteristics, *yüeh-fu* cannot be defined solely on the basis of prosody. (For these prosodic characteristics, see the discussion on the Ancient Style below.) The term came to encompass a broad variety of *shih* and is best understood as a loose appellation for a vast array of poems linked historically, thematically, or by title.¹⁰

Yüeh-fu originally referred to an imperial office in the Han bureaucracy which in 120 B.C. was charged with writing music and lyrics for use in ceremonies and as entertainment by the court. In addition, the office was responsible for collecting popular songs, which was a political function since it was believed that these folk songs revealed the general attitude of the people towards the government. These anonymous folk songs and the lyrics written by the imperial bureaucrats were all called *yüeh-fu shih*, or simply *yüeh-fu*.

By the second century A.D., however, *yüeh-fu* was used to designate both popular folk songs as well as imitative poems composed by the literate elite. One of the distinctive features of the genre was a focus on fundamental human concerns: love, heartbreak, and the tensions of war were all common themes. As we will see later, Han Yongun adopts this form in "The Lament of the Expedition Soldier's

syllables to a line and four lines to a stanza. His argument seems reasonable, and the structure he proposes is strikingly similar to the basic syllabic and rhyme structure of the *Shih-Ching*. (See pp. 38-43 in Yi Chongch'an, *Han'guk pulga shimunhak saron* (Seoul: Pulgwang Ch'ulp'anbu, 1993.) Although the vast majority of the poems in Yi's massive book fall into both the *shih* and *gāthā* categories, there are some which do not, and on p. 26 he draws a distinction between the function of the *kyesong* [*gāthā*] poetic genre and the prosodic requirements of classical Chinese poetry.

¹⁰The following is based on: Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911*, op. cit., pp. 227-248, especially p. 227 and p. 237; pp. 33-34 in James J. Y. Liu, *The Art of Chinese Poetry* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962); and Nienhauser, op. cit., pp. 961-964.

Wife" (chōng pu wōn) where he assumes the voice of a woman whose husband has been conscripted into the army. This poem recalls the *yüeh-fu* of the T'ang dynasty (618-907) which in turn recalled the *yüeh-fu* of the Han dynasty. The geographical symbolism is also Chinese: the husband has been sent to "Jade Gate Pass" to serve as a guard at China's northern border.

The *yüeh-fu* form allowed a poet to speak through established narrative personae and was thus a genre at once impersonal and universal.

(2) Ancient Style Poetry

Unlike the genre of *yüeh-fu*, poems in the Ancient Style served primarily as vehicles for poets to speak in the present in their individual, personal voice. This general distinction became sharper as the Ancient Style was transformed into the prosodically rigorous Modern Style.

The fundamental difference between the poems in the *Shih Ching* on the one hand and the *yüeh-fu* and the Ancient Style on the other was one of line length. The poems in the former primarily used four syllable, or character, lines, and the latter generally used lines of either five or seven syllables. Both *yüeh-fu* and Ancient Style poems are categorised by the number of syllables per line, and poets continued to use both forms after the acceptance of the strict prosodic and structural rules which are the hallmarks of the Modern Style. By contrast, the Ancient Style was a looser form which allowed greater freedom for narration.

As a consequence, there are many lengthy *shih* in the Ancient Style, and whereas these seldom exceeded thirty lines, there was no proscription against greater length. Likewise, in spite of the classification of Ancient Style poems according to line length, here too one finds a degree of freedom among famous examples of seven syllable Ancient Style Poetry.

"Han Yu's Epitaph" (Han pei) by Li Shang-yin (813?-858?) has a total of fifty-two lines; the first fifty-one lines each have seven syllables, and the final line has nine. "The Song of Lasting Grief" (chang han kê) by Po Chü-i (772-846) is

made up of one-hundred and twenty lines each with seven syllables. "Dreaming, I Make Merry On T'ien-mu Mountain: Written Upon Taking My Leave" (mêng-yu T'ien-mu yin liu-pieh) by Li Po (701-762) is yet another example: this poem consists of forty-five lines of which only twenty-five are composed of seven syllables. The remaining twenty lines have four, five, six, or nine syllables. In the case of Ch'ên Tzū-ang (661-702) we find that his "Song of Ascending the Yu-chou Eminence" (têng Yu-chou t'ai kê) has four lines with the first two having five syllables apiece and the final two each having six syllables, and in the "Recollections on Antiquity" (ku-i) by Li Ch'i (late seventh to the mid-eighth century) we find twelve lines in which the first six each have five syllables while the remaining six each have seven. In spite of this, all these pieces are classified as seven syllable Ancient Style Poetry.¹¹

In this regard, there is a similarity among the poems traditionally classified as seven syllable *yüeh-fu* and seven syllable Ancient Style for in each one finds a degree of syllabic irregularity. Nonetheless the *yüeh-fu* and both the Ancient and Modern Styles, like the poems in *The Book of Poetry*, are characterised by the use of rhymes. The rhymes in the *Book of Poetry* reflect Archaic Chinese: the pronunciation of the twelfth to the seventh centuries B.C. Those of the *yüeh-fu*, the Ancient Poetry, and the Modern Poetry all reflect the pronunciation of Ancient Chinese: that is, the pronunciation of the T'ang dynasty (618-907). When a Chinese, Korean, or Japanese poet composed *shih*, they wrote according to the pronunciation of Ancient Chinese.¹²

¹¹For these see in order pp. 287-288, pp. 250-253, pp. 175-176, p. 154, and p. 155 in Kim T'aek and Yi Pyŏngha, eds., *Tangshi shinp'yŏng* (Seoul: Tosŏ Ch'ulp'an, 1996).

¹²These pronunciations may be found in Bernhard Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa* (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 1964). When writing poetry, poets could use rhyme charts, and T'ang rhymes are given in Korean and Japanese dictionaries of Chinese; for this, see below. For a brief explanation of Chinese rhyme dictionaries in Korea, see Kim Tai-Jin, *A Bibliographical Guide to Traditional Korean Sources* (Seoul: Asiatic Research Center, Korea University, 1976), pp. 84-88.

In the whole of the *shih* genre, rhyme was the fundamental formal requirement: regardless of the precise type of *shih* or when or where or by whom it was written. In the *yüeh-fu* and the Ancient Style, these rhymes are generally found at the ends of the even numbered lines, and as long as the final syllable of every line rhymed with the final syllable of the second line, the piece would meet the minimum prosodic qualifications for a *yüeh-fu* or Ancient Style Poem. The poet could also employ the rhyme at the end of the first line. (The method of establishing this will be discussed below.)

Using an "O" to designate those final syllables which do not rhyme, the rhyme scheme can be represented as: O or A, A, O, A. In a poem of ten lines, for instance, a poet could simply use the same rhyme: O or A, A, O, A, O, A, O, A, O, A, O. Theoretically this rule could be applied to a poem of any length.

In these forms there is, nonetheless, a degree of freedom since the poet can use either one rhyme or as many as the length of the poem can support. As an example, we can take Li Po's "Alone, Filling My Cup Beneath the Moon" (*yüeh-hsia tu-chuo*).¹³ This Ancient Style Poem consists of fourteen lines each with five syllables, and in this poem Li Po introduces a new rhyme at the tenth line. The rhyme scheme of this poem can be represented thus: O, A, O, A, O, A, O, A, O, B, O, E, O, B.

To give a concrete and slightly more complex example which, nonetheless, illustrates the general rule, we can take another poem by Li Po: "Dreaming, I Make Merry On T'ien-mu Mountain: Written Upon Taking My Leave." Apart from his use of lines of irregular length, as mentioned above, he also transgresses, or complicates, within the first four lines the general rule regarding rhyme for *yüeh-fu* and the Ancient Style. Unlike the restrained "Drinking Alone Beneath the Moon," "Dreaming" makes use of the following rhyme pattern in the first sixteen lines: A, A, B, B, C, C, O, O, D, D, O, E, O, E, O, E.

¹³See Kim T'aek and Yi Pyŏngnan, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

Even though the *yüeh-fu* and the Ancient Style are categorised according to either five or seven syllable line lengths, no single rule can encompass all the irregularities. In the case of Li Ch'i's poem, there seems to be little reason to consider it a seven rather than five syllable Ancient Style Poem, and in the case of Ch'ên Tzu-ang's poem, the classification is even odder: not one of the stanzas has seven syllables while two do consist of five syllables. Nonetheless, such irregularities are excluded from the classification system which reflects a posterior normative approach to anterior organic developments, and Li Po's "Dreaming" gives a clear example of this tension between prescriptive standards and creative license. What can be said with certainty is that rhyme was the minimum requirement for the *yüeh-fu* and the Ancient Style and that these must be used at the end of every other line starting from the second.

In addition to the arrangement of the syllables, or characters, each of which in the *shih* form is usually an autonomous semantic unit, or word, the placement of rhyme allows one to discern the syntactical arrangement of the poem: in essence, to begin to make sense of it and thereby judge not only its quality, but the sub-genre to which it belongs.

When we look at Han's manuscripts, for instance, we encounter an unpunctuated string of syllables written top to bottom, right to left. Although a modern text breaks any given piece into lines, or discrete syntactic units, this ordering is accomplished partly through the recognition of the placement of rhymes. In the case of Han's *shih*, the compilers have done this and thereby save the reader much trouble. Yet they have not classified the poetry.

Each of Han Yongun's Ancient Style poems have regular line lengths of either five or seven syllables, and the longer poems can be identified as the Ancient Style on the basis of changes in rhyme, none of which are as complex as Li Po's "Dreaming." However, this syllabic regularity makes it impossible to distinguish

between quatrains in the Ancient Style (C. *ku chüeh-chü*; K. *kochoŭgu*) and those in the Modern Style (C. *chüeh-chü*; K. *choŭgu*).

As a consequence, the curious reader must understand the formal principles of the Modern Style. One can thus appreciate not only the skill required for composing in this form, but just as importantly, the attractions inherent in vernacular Korean for that first generation of modern poets of which Han Yongun was a leading figure.

(3) Modern Style Poetry

In distinction to the Ancient Style, much stricter prosodic rules govern composition in the Modern Style, and due in part to these strict regulations and the consequent ambiguity, the Modern Style is characterised by its ability to suggest "a meaning beyond words" (C. *yen-wai chih-i*; K. *önwoejüi*). The Ancient Style, on the other hand, was better suited to lengthier narration, and even after the emergence of the Modern Style, poets typically turned to the Ancient Style when composing longer poems.¹⁴

Also known as *lü-shih* (K. *yulshi*; regulated verse), the Modern Style was thus designated in relation to the earlier styles associated with the Han dynasty. This form came into maturity during the T'ang dynasty (618-907) and was regarded as the zenith of Chinese poetic achievement. For the next millennium in China, Korea, and Japan, the *lü-shih* represented one of the essential manifestations of learning and culture, and the ability to compose a proper *lü-shih* was itself a crucial requirement for official advancement and social interaction among the political and intellectual elite.

Unlike the Ancient Style or *yüeh-fu*, we can speak of the *lü-shih* in very specific terms. First, it is composed of either four or eight lines, and a four line *lü-shih* is called a *chüeh-chü* (K. *choŭgu*; quatrain). The only exception is the *p'ai-lü* (K. *paeryul*; extended regulated verse) of which there are no examples in Han's

¹⁴See Nienhauser, *op. cit.*, pp. 682-683.

corpus of classical Chinese poetry. The *p'ai-lü* places additional parallel couplets from the sixth line down; the final two lines, or the final couplet, are not parallel in construction; parallelism will be later. Otherwise, it conforms to all the prosodic rules discussed below.

Whether four or eight lines, a poem in regulated verse must employ throughout lines of uniform length: either five or seven syllables each.¹⁵ Formal rigour is found also in the prescription regarding rhyme. Unlike the *yüeh-fu* or the Ancient Style, the Modern Style allows only one rhyme to be used at the final syllables throughout the poem. The issue of the rhymes themselves will be addressed below, but for now it is sufficient to note that the only freedom allowed in a *lü-shih* is whether the rhyme occurs at the final syllable in the first line. If the poem consists of only four lines—that is, the minimum number of lines—then there are only two possible rhyme schemes: (1) A, A, O, A or (2) O, A, O, A. In a full-length *lü-shih* of eight lines, the two acceptable rhyme schemes are exactly the same except that the rhyme pattern is continued until the eighth line: (1) A, A, O, A, O, A, O, A or (2) O, A, O, A, O, A, O, A.

¹⁵See p. 26, James J.Y. Liu, *The Art of Chinese Poetry* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962). He notes: "The lines must be either all five-syllabic or all seven-syllabic." In the *Bunkyō Hifuron*, however, Kūkai (774-835) does offer examples of tonal variation for three, four, and six syllable lines, but these seem to be taken from pre-T'ang examples and relate solely to tonal prosody within a line. [See pp. 209-221 in Richard W. Bodman, "Poetics and Prosody in Early Medieval China: A Study and Translation of Kūkai's *Bunkyō hifuron*," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1978.] An interesting exception to this within the T'ang corpus is the love poem "The Flowers Aren't Flowers" (*hua fei hua*) by Po Chü-i (772-846): This piece follows those requirements of rhyme and tonal variation which will be discussed below; however, the first and second lines each have six syllables, and the final two lines each have seven syllables. In spite of this, it is classified as a seven syllable Modern Style quatrain. This points to the fact that the Modern Style developed organically; the rules by which the Modern Style was later defined were formally developed by theoreticians on the basis of the common points among a large selection of poems. Although men such as Han Yongun wrote their poems based on these rules and conceived of these rules as rules, the T'ang poets, such as Po Chü-i, did not conceive of the prosody they employed as strict rules. It was their experimentation that led to the formulation of those rules. (For Po Chü-i's "Hua fei hua" and a discussion of its structure, see Kim T'aek and Yi Pyōnghwan, *Tangshi shinp'yōng* (Seoul: Tosō Ch'ulp'an [Sōn], 1996), pp. 721-723; for a general discussion on the seven syllable Modern Style quatrain, see p. 685.)

It is, however, the rules regarding tonal prosody, or tonal variation, on the one hand, and parallelism, or antithesis (Chinese, *tui-ou* or *tui-chang*; Korean, *taeu* or *taechang*), on the other, that are the most demanding. These two characteristics are the hallmarks of regulated verse.

Parallelism is a formal technique required only in an eight line *lü-shih*. Here it must be employed at the two middle couplets: that is, lines three and four which must form the first parallel couplet, and lines five and six which must form the second; an example with a more detailed discussion will be given below.

In classical Chinese prosody couplets are counted from the first and second lines, and continue in odd / even pattern; the second and third lines do not form a couplet, nor do the fourth and fifth or the sixth and seventh. In an eight line *lü-shih*, parallelism can also be used at the first two lines--that is, the first couplet; this is optional, however. In a quatrain in regulated verse, the use of parallelism is left entirely to the poet's discretion. It may be employed at the first couplet (i.e., the first two lines), the second couplet (i.e., the third and fourth lines), both the first and second couplets, or none.

In either a four or eight line *lü-shih*, the distribution of tones within the line and throughout the poem is crucial. The four tones are those of Ancient Chinese: (1) the level tone divided into: (a) the rising level tone (C. *shang p'ing-shêng*, K. *sangp'yōngsōng*) and (b) the falling level tone (C., *hsia p'ing-shêng*, K. *hap'yōngsōng*); (2) the rising tone (C. *shang-shêng*, K. *sangsōng*); (3) the departing tone (C. *ch'ü-shêng*, K. *kōsōng*); and (4) the entering tone (C. *ju-shêng*, K. *ipsōng*).

For the purposes of tonal prosody, the two level tones are simply considered together as the level tone (*p'ing-shêng*) and the remaining three are all considered the oblique, or deflected tone (C. *tsê-shêng*, K. *ch'ũksōng*). Although there are additional tonal requirements, which will be discussed below, these two major categories are the starting point for tonal variation.

The pronunciation and tones of modern Chinese, nonetheless, cannot be used to determine either the tone of a syllable or whether two or more syllables rhyme in Ancient Chinese. One must therefore consult a dictionary of Ancient Chinese or Chinese-Korean or Chinese-Japanese dictionaries which usually contain this information. Beside the character in question there is a smaller character enclosed in a box: this smaller character designates to which of the one hundred and six rhyming categories (C. *yün*; K. *un*) the character belongs. The box also has a marking on one of its four corners. This designates the tone of the character in question: on the bottom left for the even tone; top left for the rising tone; top right for the departing tone; and bottom right for the entering tone.

For a poem in regulated verse, there is a general pattern of tone distribution within any given line and between the lines themselves, and this variation can be derived from the second syllable in the first line. The pattern we find is that two consecutive syllables occupying key positions within a line ought to have a different tonal value, thus resulting in the oblique and even tones being evenly placed within a line.¹⁶

In a five syllable line the most important positions are at the second and fourth syllables; in a seven syllable line, it is the second, fourth, and sixth syllables which are the most important. Thus:

(i.a) In a *lü-shih* having lines of five syllables, the second and fourth syllables must have different tonal values. Since there are two tones--the even and the oblique--this single formal principle yields two actual possibilities for any line:

<u>2nd Syllable</u>	<u>4th Syllable</u>	OR	<u>2nd Syllable</u>	<u>4th Syllable</u>
Level	Oblique		Oblique	Level

¹⁶The following discussion on tonal prosody is based on: pp. 26-27 in Liu, *The Art of Chinese Poetry*, op. cit.; pp. 684-686 in Nienhauser, op. cit.; and Rutt, op. cit., pp. 44-64.

(i.b) In a *lü-shih* with seven syllables per line, the second and sixth syllables have the same tonal value and the fourth has the other:

<u>2nd Syl.</u>	<u>4th Syl.</u>	<u>6th Syl.</u>	OR	<u>2nd Syl.</u>	<u>4th Syl.</u>	<u>6th Syl.</u>
Level	Oblique	Level		Oblique	Level	Oblique

While this principle applies to any single line in a *lü-shih*, tonal variation must also occur between the lines themselves, and for the purposes of explanation we will consider an eight line *lü-shih*: lines one and two form the first couplet; lines three and four, the second; lines five and six, the third; and lines seven and eight, the fourth.

(ii.a) In an eight line poem in regulated verse with five syllables per line, the tonal values of the second and fourth syllables in one line of a couplet should have a different tonal value than the corresponding syllables in the other line of a couplet. Hence:

	<u>2nd Syllable</u>	<u>4th Syllable</u>
<u>Line 1 of a Couplet</u>	Level	Oblique
<u>Line 2 of a Couplet</u>	Oblique	Level

OR

	<u>2nd Syllable</u>	<u>4th Syllable</u>
<u>Line 1 of a Couplet</u>	Oblique	Level
<u>Line 2 of a Couplet</u>	Level	Oblique

(ii.b) In regulated verse with seven syllables per line, there are likewise two possible combinations:

	<u>2nd Syllable</u>	<u>4th Syllable</u>	<u>6th Syllable</u>
<u>Line 1 of a Couplet</u>	Level	Oblique	Level
<u>Line 2 of a Couplet</u>	Oblique	Level	Oblique

OR

	<u>2nd Syllable</u>	<u>4th Syllable</u>	<u>6th Syllable</u>
<u>Line 1 of a Couplet</u>	Oblique	Level	Oblique
<u>Line 2 of a Couplet</u>	Level	Oblique	Level

In constructing an eight line *lü-shih*, however, a poet is faced with the additional problem of balancing the couplets themselves, and this rule of opposition alone is not sufficient to describe what became the standard forms for the eight line five and seven syllable regulated verse forms. While the principle of opposition within and between each line of a couplet is the starting point of a *lü-shih*, this opposition came to be tempered by another rule: two consecutive lines which do not form a couplet should have the same distribution of tones.¹⁷

(iii.a) In a *lü-shih* with five syllable lines, we find that the consecutive lines which do not form a couplet—that is, lines two and three, four and five, and six and seven—can have the following two patterns:

	<u>2nd Syllable</u>	<u>4th Syllable</u>
<u>Second Line of</u> <u>a Couplet (at line 2,</u> <u>4, or 6)</u>	Level	Oblique
<u>First Line of the</u> <u>Following Couplet (at line 3,</u> <u>5, or 7)</u>	Level	Oblique

OR

	<u>2nd Syllable</u>	<u>4th Syllable</u>
<u>Second Line of</u> <u>a Couplet (at line</u>		

¹⁷This specific description is my own. For an invaluable discussion of this historical process, see pp. 99-159 in Richard W. Bodman, "Poetics," op. cit. For Bodman's conceptual / schematic formulation based partly on Downer and Graham's work on tone patterns, see especially p. 156 in "Poetics" and p. 685 in Nienhauser, op. cit.

<u>2, 4, or 6)</u>	Oblique	Level
<u>First Line of</u> <u>the Following Couplet (at line</u> <u>3, 5, or 7)</u>	Oblique	Level

(iii.b) For a seven syllable *lū-shih* with eight lines, the two possible patterns likewise are:

	<u>2nd Syllable</u>	<u>4th Syllable</u>	<u>6th Syllable</u>
<u>Second Line of</u> <u>a Couplet (at line 2,</u> <u>4, or 6)</u>	Level	Oblique	Level
<u>First Line of</u> <u>the Following Couplet</u> <u>(at line 3, 5, or 7)</u>	Level	Oblique	Level

OR

	<u>2nd Syllable</u>	<u>4th Syllable</u>	<u>6th Syllable</u>
<u>Second Line of</u> <u>a Couplet (at line 2,</u> <u>4, or 6)</u>	Oblique	Level	Oblique
<u>First Line of</u> <u>the Following Couplet</u> <u>(at line 3, 5, or 7)</u>	Oblique	Level	Oblique

If we take these principles and those regarding rhyme at the final syllable of the even lines, we can derive the two possible patterns for regulated verse having either five or seven syllable lines.

(iii.a) For a *lū-shih* with five syllable lines, the two possibilities are:

	<u>2nd Syllable</u>	<u>4th Syllable</u>	<u>5th [FINAL]</u>
<u>Syllable</u> Line 1	Level	Oblique	[Rhyme Optional]
-----FIRST COUPLET			
Line 2	Oblique	Level	Rhyme
Line 3	Oblique	Level	

-----SECOND COUPLET

Line 4	Level	Oblique	Rhyme
--------	-------	---------	-------

Line 5	Level	Oblique	
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-----THIRD COUPLET

Line 6	Oblique	Level	Rhyme
--------	---------	-------	-------

Line 7	Oblique	Level	
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-----FOURTH COUPLET

Line 8	Level	Oblique	Rhyme
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OR

<u>Syllable</u>	<u>2nd Syllable</u>	<u>4th Syllable</u>	<u>5th [Final]</u>
Line 1	Oblique	Level	[Rhyme Optional]
-----FIRST COUPLET			
Line 2	Level	Oblique	Rhyme
Line 3	Level	Oblique	
-----SECOND COUPLET			
Line 4	Oblique	Level	Rhyme
Line 5	Oblique	Level	
-----THIRD COUPLET			
Line 6	Level	Oblique	Rhyme
Line 7	Level	Oblique	
-----FOURTH COUPLET			
Line 8	Oblique	Level	Rhyme

(iii.b) And for a *lü-shih* with seven syllable lines, the two possibilities are either:

	<u>2nd Syllable</u>	<u>4th Syllable</u>	<u>6th Syllable</u>	<u>7th [Final]</u>
<u>Syllable</u>				
Line 1	Level	Oblique	Level	[Rhyme Optional]
-----FIRST COUPLET				
Line 2	Oblique	Level	Oblique	Rhyme

Line 3	Oblique	Level	Oblique	
-----SECOND COUPLET				
Line 4	Level	Oblique	Level	Rhyme
Line 5	Level	Oblique	Level	
-----THIRD COUPLET				
Line 6	Oblique	Level	Oblique	Rhyme
Line 7	Oblique	Level	Oblique	
-----FOURTH COUPLET				
Line 8	Level	Oblique	Level	Rhyme

OR

<u>Syllable</u>	<u>2nd Syllable</u>	<u>4th Syllable</u>	<u>6th Syllable</u>	<u>7th [Final]</u>
Line 1	Oblique	Level	Oblique	[Rhyme Optional]
-----FIRST COUPLET				
Line 2	Level	Oblique	Level	Rhyme
Line 3	Level	Oblique	Level	
-----SECOND COUPLET				
Line 4	Oblique	Level	Oblique	Rhyme
Line 5	Oblique	Level	Oblique	
-----THIRD COUPLET				
Line 6	Level	Oblique	Level	Rhyme
Line 7	Level	Oblique	Level	
-----FOURTH COUPLET				
Line 8	Oblique	Level	Oblique	Rhyme

Additional details of prosody in regulated verse:

(a) In regulated verse with five syllables per line, the third and fifth syllables of a line ideally should have different tonal values. Similarly, in a poem with seven syllables to a line, the fifth and seventh syllables ideally have different tonal values, although this not an absolute rule.

(b) As shown in the charts above, a poet had the option of introducing the rhyme at the end of the first line. The majority of *lü-shih*, however, do introduce the rhyme at the end of the first line, and moreover, the vast majority of eight line *lü-shih* use rhymes in the level tone. This is logical since roughly one half of all syllables in Ancient Chinese were in the level tone, and the level tone thus provided the largest source of rhymes.

(c) In an eight line poem in regulated verse, the final syllables of those lines without rhyme are considered *not* according to the general division between level and oblique tones, but *rather* according to the actual tone to which they belong. In this case a distinction is made between the rising, departing, and entering tones (ie., the oblique tones), and the principle is simply that no two consecutive non-rhyming lines can end with a syllable having the same tone. In a *lü-shih* in which the first line ends in a rhyme, the final syllable in line three must have a different tone than line five; likewise, the final syllable in line five must have a different rhyme than the final syllable in line seven. In a *lü-shih* which does not have a rhyme at the final syllable of the first line, line one is also included in this rule, and so its final syllable must not have the same tone as that of line three.¹⁸

(d) A quatrain (C. *chüeh-chü*; K. *chōlgu*) in regulated verse, though a poem in and of itself, has the same prosodic characteristics as the first half of an eight line *lü-shih* and can be distinguished from a quatrain in the Ancient Style by its pattern of tonal distribution. Unlike an eight line *lü-shih*, it is not uncommon for a quatrain in regulated verse to use a rhyme in the deflected tone category.

¹⁸In the rare case that a *lü-shih* rhymes in one of the three oblique tones, precisely the same rule should apply, and thus the third, fifth, or seventh line--and possibly the first, depending on whether the final syllable rhymes--might have a final syllable with a level tone. This is the only instance in which a line without a rhyme ends on a syllable with a level tone, and such instances are rare.

(4) Distinguishing the Ancient and Modern Styles

If a poem has four or eight lines with five or seven syllables apiece, the only way to discern its style for certain is to check the rhymes and the tones.¹⁹

For a quatrain one checks the syllables at the end of the first, second, and fourth lines. Since a quatrain has only four lines, in both the Ancient and Modern Styles the same rhyme must be used at the final syllable of the second and fourth lines: Through this process one can see only whether the poet has made a mistake in regard to rhyme.

In the case of an eight line poem, however, this process yields more information because the rhyme must be consistent throughout a *lü-shih* whereas it can be altered in the Ancient Style. If, for instance, the poem uses one rhyme at the end of the first, second, and fourth lines and another at the sixth and eighth lines, one knows immediately that the poem is in the Ancient Style. In the case that one rhyme is used throughout, however, the only certain method to distinguish a *lü-shih* is to determine the rhyme scheme. This same method is used to determine the style of a quatrain.

The previously given patterns for tonal variation within a line represent an ideal derived through the comparison of a great number of poems traditionally considered regulated verse. Checking all the tones of a poem will, of course, clarify its degree of technical perfection, but there are poems regarded as *lü-shih* which do deviate from the ideal.

¹⁹If a poem has eight lines of five or seven syllables each, one can also check for parallelism in the second and third couplets. This feature, which will be discussed below, is a prosodic requirement of the Modern Style and is easily discerned. Yet its use can be misleading. Hence in an eight line poem the most certain method is to first check the rhymes and tones and then check for parallelism. An example of this is Tu Fu's "Wang yue" (on a prospect of T'ai-shan) which has eight lines with five syllables each and parallel couplets at lines 3-4 and 5-6. It thus appears to be a Modern Style poem, but according to Hawkes, an analysis of its tone patterns reveals that it is actually in the Ancient Style. (See pp. 1-4 in David Hawkes, *A Little Primer of Tu Fu* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967).) As will be discussed below, this poem by Tu Fu nevertheless observes the requirement of tonal variation between the second syllables of each line of a couplet, and we find the same pattern in the pre-T'ang era. We also find the same pattern used in Korea.

Yet in spite these deviations, there is a fundamental criterion which cannot be violated: The second syllables in each line of a couplet cannot both be oblique or even. Since tonal variation at the second syllables of a couplet is the absolute tonal requirement for a *li-shih*, one thus can quickly check the tone of the second syllable in each line.²⁰

The ideal patterns above, however, all employ the additional rule that two consecutive lines which do not form a couplet must have the same tonal pattern, and consequently, these patterns represent the culmination of the fundamental rule governing tone distribution within a couplet.²¹ That is, in all these forms there is an alternation of the couplets themselves: the pattern of the first couplet is reversed in the second couplet, then repeated in the third couplet, and finally reversed in the fourth couplet. Hence tonal variation is executed at the level of the line, couplet, and ultimately, from one couplet to the next.

This patterning of the couplets is known in Korean as the "X" or "scissors pattern" (*kasae* or *kawi yŏm*) and is the one most often used.²² Consequently, an

²⁰If this were taken as the primary rule, a total of sixteen tonal patterns would be possible in an eight line poem: four couplets each with two possible tone patterns for the second syllables of each line of the couplet (ie., line 1 of the couplet, 2nd syllable: Even; line 2 of the couplet, 2nd syllable: Oblique OR line 1 of the couplet, 2nd syllable: Oblique; line 2 of the couplet, 2nd syllable, Even). Thus: 2 possible patterns for the first couplet x 2 for the second x 2 for the third x 2 for the fourth = sixteen possible patterns.

²¹Otherwise, as noted above, sixteen patterns would be possible. The rule regarding tonal alternation at the second syllable of each line of a couplet seems to have developed by the middle of the sixth century. Poems conforming to this rule alone are considered to be in the Ch'i-Liang Style which was the precursor of the Modern Style. The additional rule--that the second syllable in two consecutive which do not form a couplet must have the same tonal value--seems to have become the organising principle during the course of the next one hundred years. It was explicitly recognised roughly one century later by the poet Yüan Ching, and these two rules taken together define the Modern Style. (See Bodman, "Poetics," op. cit., pp. 128-138 and pp. 151-153.) The charts given above are based on these two principles and are the only possible patternings if these two principles are used together. As will be noted below, this presents a problem in regard to the teaching of regulated verse in Korea.

²²See Rutt, op. cit., p. 45. Though Rutt does not say so, I expect that it is thus called in Korean because the pattern of tones at the level of the couplet is in opposition, and this tension is subsequently released where the consecutive lines not forming a couplet repeat the same tonal pattern: much like the opening and shutting of a pair of scissors.

eight line *lü-shih* (five or seven syllables per line) in the "scissors pattern" yields two possible tonal variations for the second syllables of each line.

(A) The pattern of tones of the second syllables in the two lines of the first couplet is reversed in the second couplet; the pattern in the second couplet is reversed in the third; and finally, the pattern in the third couplet is reversed in the fourth. The first and third couplets thus have one pattern, and the second and fourth couplets have the reverse (// will be used throughout to mark the reversal of the previous pattern):

I: First Couplet: (line 1) Level, (line 2) Oblique // Second Couplet: (line 3) Oblique, (line 4) Level // Third Couplet: (line 5) Level, (line 6) Oblique // Fourth Couplet: (line 7) Oblique, (line 8) Level.

OR

II: First Couplet: (line 1) Oblique, (line 2) Level // Second Couplet: (line 3) Level, (line 4) Oblique // Third Couplet: (line 5) Oblique, (line 6) Level // Fourth Couplet: (line 7) Level, (line 8) Oblique.

Underlying these two actual combinations is the single principle of reversal: the reversal of the tonal pattern of each couplet in the following couplet. This is what is used by scholars of Chinese in discussing *lü-shih*, and although this principle was the one most commonly used in Korea, an additional two principles (or four actual combinations) were also taught.

Koreans spoke of the twelve patterns (*yōm*), but these twelve *yōm* were actually six different charts listing possible tonal patterns for *lü-shih* having seven syllables per line. By omitting the first two syllables of each line, one would derive the six patterns for a *lü-shih* with five syllables per line: thus the twelve *yōm*. Of these six combinations, the first two conform to the single principle underlying the combinations discussed above.²³ That is, the first two *yōm* are the "scissors

²³See Rutt, op. cit., p. 64. While Rutt notes that the "scissors pattern" is what Koreans usually employed, it is clear that these other patterns were considered by Koreans to be perfectly acceptable regulated verse. This is interesting. Both he and Bodman are excellent scholars, and yet in discussing regulated verse in its final form, Bodman makes no allowance for these other patterns. Even more interesting are the patterns Bodman gives in "Poetics," op. cit., p. 152 and p. 237. With reference to Takagi Masakazu's research on prosodic experimentation at the end of the Six Dynasties, Bodman gives three variant types of tonal patterns for an eight line poem. He

pattern" and are identical to those patterns used by Chinese scholars. These have been discussed above.

The remaining four combinations, however, are founded on two symmetrical principles: (1) the distribution of tones in the first couplet is reversed in the remaining couplets and (2) the distribution of tones is repeated in the first three couplets and then reversed in the fourth. Since there is a choice between the oblique and even tone, each of these two principles yields two actual tonal combinations. Aside from the pattern of the couplets themselves, all the other formal requirements are the same as described above: the second syllables of each line of a couplet must have a different tone, and the two middle couplets must each employ parallelism.

How these additional patterns came to be used in Korea is a question to which it is difficult to offer any conclusive answer, but it seems most likely to

considers these to be in the Ch'i-Liang style [i.e., Southern Ch'i (479-502) and Liang (502-557): both at the end of the Six Dynasties period]. According to him, these forms represent the prosodic experiments which culminated in the regulated verse of the T'ang. In the first (p. 152), the tonal pattern of the first couplet is reversed in the second couplet; the third couplet repeats the pattern of the second couplet; and the fourth couplet reverses the pattern of the third. Thus the first and fourth couplets have one pattern, and the second and third have the opposite. If A and B represent opposite tonal values (i.e., either oblique or even), the pattern of tones for the second syllables of each couplet are: AB / BA / BA / AB. In the second (p. 237), the pattern of the first couplet is reversed in the second, but repeated in the third and the fourth. Thus the first, third, and fourth couplets have the same pattern, while the second couplet has the reverse: AB / BA / AB / AB. On p. 138, he offers another pattern in which each couplet repeats the same pattern: AB / AB / AB / AB. Although none of these match with the variations for eight line *lu-shih* used in Korea, the final form does contain the variation for the quatrain used in Korea: the pattern of the first couplet is repeated in the second. Thus: AB / AB. On p. 152 Bodman gives this pattern as one of the two quatrain forms used in the Six Dynasties' prosodic experiments. The other is AB / BA: the form by which he defines a quatrain in regulated verse. In each of these experiments, however, the basic rule is observed: the second syllables in each line of a couplet cannot both be even or oblique. As a consequence of this fundamental prosodic rule, AB / BA and AB / AB are the only two possible patterns for a quatrain [each formal pattern, of course, yields two actual combinations]. However, as noted above, if this is taken as the fundamental rule, a total of eight patterns, or sixteen actual combinations, of tone would be possible for an eight line *lu-shih*. In the Korean variations, this fundamental rule is also observed. Yet the fact that none of these variations match Ch'i-Liang / Six Dynasties' prosodic experimentations given by Bodman suggests: (1) that the Koreans were using *lu-shih* collections which preserved prosodic experimentations of which neither he nor Takagi was aware; or (2) that he and Takagi took random samples and simply missed these other forms; or (3) that the Koreans invented these other forms. I find the third suggestion highly improbable. See below for what I think to be the most reasonable explanation.

involve historical accident. As noted above, the Modern Style evolved through experiments which all required tonal variation at the second syllables in each line of a couplet. The total of six actual combinations allowed for an eight line *lü-shih* in Korea, however, comes nowhere close to the possible sixteen mentioned above. In short, the symmetry between these two additional principles suggests that their recognition in Korea perhaps arose from the use of *shih* collections containing poems in which Chinese still had been experimenting with tonal prosody: what Richard Bodman calls the Ch'i-Liang, or Six Dynasties, Style.²⁴

Kim Talchin's three volume anthology, *Chinese Poetry by Koreans* (Han'guk hanshi), offers some evidence to support this contention. Yet other, equally vexing questions are also raised.

Through analysing a representative sample of the poems written prior to the Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), we see that by the time of the Shilla scholar Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn (857-?), the *lü-shih* pattern described above was a commonplace in Korea: When Koreans composed an eight line poem in the Modern Style, they did so according to the precise principles recognised by the seventh century Chinese poet Yüan Ching.²⁵ Moreover, we find no more examples of poems written in imitation of the *Shih Ching* or the *sao* style of the *Ch'u Tz'u*.²⁶ There are examples of Ancient Style poems--both quatrains and longer narrative *yüeh-fu*--but the overwhelming majority of poems are either eight line verse or quatrains in the Modern Style.

However, by comparing various poems of roughly contemporary writers from later periods, we discover something quite remarkable: around the twelfth century it would appear that in addition to writing in the Modern Style as defined by Yüan Ching, Koreans were also writing verse which closely approximate Tu Fu's "On a Prospect of T'ai Shan."

²⁴See Bodman, "Poetics," op. cit., pp. 128-160; especially, pp. 151-152. See previous footnote.

²⁵See footnote no. 21 above.

²⁶See footnote no. 9 above.

We see two examples of this by the famous Koryŏ poet Chŏng Chisang (?-1135): "Kaesŏng Temple: My Eight Foot Long Room" (Kaesŏngsa p'alch'ŏk pang) and "Sŏrae Temple on Pyŏn Mountain" (Pyŏnsan Sŏraesa). "Tŭngmyŏng Temple" (Tŭngmyŏngsa) by another Koryŏ statesman, Kim Tonshi (?-1170), is another example.²⁷ Like Tu Fu's "On a Prospect of T'ai Shan," these poems at first glance appear to be eight line, regulated verse: they employ the same rhyme throughout, are written in lines of uniform length, and employ parallelism in the two middle couplets. Nonetheless, these Korean poems do not observe the requirement regarding tonal variation at the second syllable of each line of a couplet. As a consequence, these poems are in the Ancient style. Yet alongside these Ancient Style poems we also find perfect *lü-shih* by Chŏng, and it is hard to imagine that a man of Kim's stature was unable to write regulated verse also.

By the ninth century at the latest Koreans were composing regulated verse according to the conventions noted by Yüan Ching: the conventions, enumerated above, which are used by scholars of Chinese to define the Modern Style. Yet after the ninth century we find even so capable a Korean poet as Chŏng writing in a kind of hybrid style closely approximating regulated verse. It beggars belief to suppose that in the three centuries after Ch'oe Ch'iwŏn Koreans were losing the ability to write regulated verse. Rather than a process of decay, it would seem that such approximations of regulated verse were, in part, imitations of poems written earlier by Chinese such as Tu Fu.

An analysis of the tonal variation of the second syllables in each line of Tu Fu's "On a prospect of T'ai Shan" supports this. We find, for instance, at least one Koryŏ dynasty poem imitating exactly the model of couplets as found in Tu Fu's "T'ai Shan:" the eight line "On a Gathering of Priests" (che sŭngga gul) by the

²⁷See footnote no. 19 above. For these poems see pp. 57-58 and p. 65 in Kim Talcin, *Han'guk Hanshi*, vol. 1, op. cit.

Koryŏ statesman Chŏng Hang (1080-1136).²⁸ Nevertheless the famed Chinese poet Ts'ao Chih (192-232) provides an earlier model.²⁹

Just like these poems by Ts'ao and Tu Fu, Chŏng's "Gathering" follows the principle regarding tonal variation between the second syllables of each line of a couplet. It also uses a single rhyme throughout and employs parallelism at the second and third couplets. Yet all three poems differ from Yŭan Ching's prescription in that the tonal pattern of the second syllables of the first couplet is reversed in the second couplet, but then repeated in the third and fourth couplets.

The Koryŏ poet Yi Kyubo (1168-1241) provides another interesting example. A writer of great variety, Yi wrote long, narrative Ancient Style poems with uneven line lengths as well as technically perfect Modern Style poems. Yet we find in his work "Smartweed Flowers and a White Heron" (yohwa paengno),³⁰ an eight line poem with five syllables per line that uses the same rhyme throughout, and each of the couplets observes the requirement of tonal variation at the second syllable of each line. However, the same pattern is repeated in each couplet. The prosody thus appears virtually identical to that of a poem by the Chinese poet Shen Yüeh (441-513) which represents the experiments in tonal contrast which ultimately led to the regulated verse of the T'ang recognised by Yŭan Ching.³¹

It seems that during the Koryŏ dynasty Koreans began employing prosodic patterns which reflected the pre-T'ang experiments. Yet this does not appear to have been common, and the overwhelming majority of poems of the Koryŏ dynasty were regulated verse following precisely the T'ang model of the mid-seventh century.

²⁸See Kim Talchin, *Han'guk hanshi*, vol. 1, op. cit., p. 70.

²⁹For this pattern, see Bodman, "Poetics," op. cit., p. 237.

³⁰See Kim Talchin, *Han'guk hanshi*, vol. 1, op. cit., p. 100. For a larger selection of Yi's poetry including his long narrative poems, see Hŏ Kyŏngjin, ed., *Han'gukui hanshi*, 2: *Paegun Yi Kyubo shison* (Seoul: P'yŏngminsa, 1993).

³¹See Bodman, "Poetics," op. cit., pp. 137-138; see also note no. 23 above.

This same trend seems to have continued throughout the Chosŏn dynasty, and the sole exceptions I have found in my rough sampling are "The Rain Stopped This Morning" by Cho Sŏgyun (1605-1654)³² and "Matching Rhymes with Hwang Chŏngyu: During the Day, at his New Home in Dragon Grotto, 1898" by the noted poet Maech'ŏn Hwang Hyŏn (1855-1910).³³ Maech'ŏn's poem consists of eight lines with five syllables each and follows the model of the poem by Chŏng Hang which, in turn, seems to reflect the prosody found in Ts'ao Chih's poem and Tu Fu's "T'ai Shan."

Cho's poem, on the other hand, is troublesome. It uses the same rhyme throughout, employs parallelism in the middle couplets, and observes the requirement of tonal variation at the second syllables of each line of a couplet. However, the tone distribution of the first couplet is repeated in the second and fourth, but reversed in the third. Such a pattern is predicted by the single requirement of tonal variation at the second syllables in a couplet and is one of the sixteen patterns theoretically possible on the basis of that requirement. Yet in my rough sample, virtually all the poems written in the Koryŏ and Chosŏn dynasties were based on the form for the Modern Style recognised in seventh century China, and with the exception of Cho's poem, all the others have readily identifiable T'ang or pre-T'ang antecedents.

None of these, however, corresponds to the other two principles of couplet arrangement which Koreans did recognise to be acceptable forms of the Modern Style. Since we are told that these two other principles were not often used, the

³²"chejo" in Kim Talchin, *Han'guk hanshi*, vol. 2, op. cit., p. 773. My sample consisted of approximately 40 poems from the Koryŏ and Chosŏn dynasties, and these were chosen at random from: (1) Kim Talchin's *Han'guk hanshi*, op. cit., vols. 1 and 2; (2) Hŏ Kyŏngjin, ed. and trans., *Han'guk hanshi 2: Paegun Yi Kyubo [1168-1241] shison* (Seoul: P'yŏngminsa, 1993); (3) Hŏ Kyŏngjin, ed. and trans., *Han'guk hanshi 4: Maewŏltang Kim Shisŭp [1435-1493] shison* (Seoul: P'yŏngminsa, 1996); (4) Hŏ Kyŏngjin, ed. and trans., *Han'guk hanshi 17: Tasan Chŏng Yagyong [1752-1836] shison* (Seoul: P'yŏngminsa, 1992); (5) Hŏ Kyŏngjin, ed. and trans., *Han'guk hanshi 19: Maech'ŏn Hwang Hyŏn [1855-1910] shison* (Seoul: P'yŏngminsa, 1995).

³³"Ch'a Hwang Chŏngyu byŏngjun: yongdong shin'gŏ un," p. 75 in Hŏ Kyŏngjin, ed., *Han'guk hanshi, 19: Maech'ŏn Hwang Hyŏn shison* (Seoul: P'yŏngminsa, 1995).

limited size of my sample would easily explain the reason I have not encountered either of these.³⁴

Yet we encounter these two other patterns in Han Yongun's classical Chinese verse, and while there is no question that these patterns are anomalies in regard to the Chinese conception of regulated verse,³⁵ there is also no question that these patterns were recognised in Korea. Han uses each anomalous pattern once, and it is significant that the two poems are found under the same heading: "Two Poems Written Upon Meeting Reverends Yŏngho and Yuun at Sŏgwang Temple."

The pairing of each anomalous pattern under the same title seems to rule out accident and moreover suggests that Han used these patterns self-consciously. Of greater significance is the fact that the renowned master of classical Chinese verse, Yŏngho Pak Hanyŏng (1870-1948), is explicitly mentioned: It is said that Yŏngho critiqued Han's poem written in 1917 on the occasion of his enlightenment, thus turning the piece from a *kesong*, or *gāthā*, into an acceptable quatrain in the Ancient Style. As will be discussed later, Han held Yŏngho in great esteem and seems to have incorporated Yŏngho's critique into his enlightenment poem in subsequent years.³⁶

In short, Han should have been particularly careful in his prosody in a poem written for the older Yŏngho, and as suggested above, I think that the use of these two patterns in Korea probably can be traced to some collection of pre-T'ang verse esteemed in Korea. In writing in this fashion, Han could have displayed his erudition to Yŏngho while implicitly showing respect for the older priest's knowledge of poetry. Han would have had to count on Yŏngho recognising the origins of these anomalous patterns.

³⁴See Rutt, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

³⁵I am indebted to Dr. Yin-Wei Wong, of the Australian National University, for clarifying that the patterns given both by Liu in the *Art of Chinese Poetry*, *op. cit.*, and Bodman in "Poetics," *op. cit.*, are alone what Chinese scholars regard as the Modern Style: that these two other patterns used for regulated verse in Korea are anomalies.

³⁶See p. 170 in Ch'oe T'aeho, *Manhae Chihunui hanshi* (Seoul: Ŭnha Ch'ulp'ansa, 1992).

(5) The Two Anomalous Korean Patterns for the Modern Style

In these two additional patterns, the rules regarding line length, the number of lines, final syllable rhyme, parallelism at the second and third couplets, and tonal distribution within the line and hence the couplet are all the same as in the patterns described above. The difference is found in the alternation of the couplets, and for the sake of space, I will only give the patterns for the second syllables of each line. Knowing the tone of second syllable, of course, charts such as those above can be easily made:³⁷

(B) The tonal pattern of the first couplet is reversed in the remaining three couplets. The two possible patterns of tones for the **second syllables** of each line are thus:

I: First Couplet: (line 1) Level, (line 2) Oblique // Second Couplet: (line 3) Oblique, (line 4) Level; Third Couplet: (line 5) Oblique; (line 6) Level; Fourth Couplet: (line 7) Oblique; (line 8) Level.

OR

II: First Couplet: (line 1) Oblique, (line 2) Level // Second Couplet: (line 3) Level, (line 4) Oblique; Third Couplet: (line 5) Level, (line 6) Oblique; Fourth Couplet: (line 7) Level, (line 8) Oblique.

(C) The first three couplets follow the same pattern, and this pattern is reversed in the fourth couplet. The two possible patterns of tones for the **second syllables** are thus:

I: First Couplet: (line 1) Level, (line 2) Oblique; Second Couplet: (line 3) Level, (line 4) Oblique; Third Couplet: (line 5) Level, (line 6) Oblique // Fourth Couplet: (line 7) Oblique, (line 8) Level.

OR

³⁷For these complete tables, written in Chinese, see Rutt, *op. cit.*, p. 64. His tables C and D correspond respectively to my (B) I and II below; his tables E and F, respectively to my (C) I and II below.

II: First Couplet: (line 1) Oblique, (line 2) Level; Second Couplet (line 3) Oblique, (line 4) Level; Third Couplet: (line 5) Oblique, (line 6) Level // Fourth Couplet: (line 7) Level, (line 8) Oblique.

Likewise, the tones of the second syllables of the four lines of a quatrain in the Modern Style can conform to the two possibilities created by the "scissors' pattern" under (A) above. In both, the pattern of the second couplet reverses that of the first, and these are the two possibilities recognised by Chinese for a quatrain in the Modern Style:

I: First Couplet: (line 1) level, (line 2) oblique // Second Couplet: (line 3) oblique, (line 4) level

OR

II: First Couplet: (line 1) Oblique, (line 2) Even // Second Couplet: (line 3) Even, (line 4) Oblique

These are the same two possibilities as those under (B) above since the pattern reversal in (B) also comes after the first couplet.

Yet due to the two anomalous patterns for an eight line *lü-shih* recognised in Korea, there is an additional principle upon which a quatrain can be constructed. This principle, of course, yields two actual possibilities. Consequently, unlike the three principles, or six tonal combinations, allowed for in an eight line *lü-shih* in Korea, there are only four possible patterns allowed for a quatrain in the Modern Style. These are the two given above which correspond to both (A) and (B) and the two additional combinations which correspond to (C). In these two, the second couplet merely repeats the first:

I: First Couplet: (line 1) Level, (line 2) Oblique; Second Couplet: (line 3) Level, (line 4) Oblique

OR

II: First Couplet: (line 1) Oblique, (line 2) Level; Second Couplet: (line 3) Oblique, (line 4) Level

The repetition of the tonal pattern in each couplet of the quatrain has antecedents in the late Six Dynasties period (roughly, 479-589) in China.³⁸ This further supports the likelihood that the two anomalous patterns in Korea for eight line regulated verse and the single anomalous pattern for the regulated verse quatrain were derived from pre-T'ang experiments in tonal prosody. Although most quatrains in Korea can easily be classified as either Ancient Style quatrains or quatrains employing the "scissors' pattern"--thus, Modern Style quatrains according to the Chinese prescription--there are examples of quatrains in which the couplets repeat the same pattern.

Many such quatrains in this Six Dynasties style are found in Han's classical Chinese poetry. I consider these to be regulated verse because the primary principle of tonal alternation within the couplet is observed, and moreover, because this pattern can be derived from the anomalous *lü-shih* patterns recognised in Korea.

That these patterns are not accepted by Chinese scholars as the proper form of the Modern Style is of great historical interest, but since Han was writing according to what Koreans recognised as acceptable, it seems only fair to judge him on that basis. These are the only concessions one is obliged to make for a Korean writing Chinese *shih*, and scholars of Korea need to be aware of these anomalies. Otherwise, Han's classical Chinese poetry, or *shih*, must be judged by the principles outlined above. These principles reflect the tones and rhymes of the Chinese language during the T'ang dynasty (618-907) and are valid for any Ancient or Modern Style *shih* written in China, Korea or Japan.

The remaining principle, parallelism, is a complex technique solely required in an eight line *lü-shih*. It governs grammatical construction and is one of the structural hallmarks of the Modern Style.

³⁸See Bodman, "Poetics," op. cit., p. 151-152.

(6) Parallelism, or Antithesis

Parallelism, or antithesis, is a common device in much of Chinese writing, but it is mandatory in an eight line *jū-shih*. Although lines one and two (the first couplet) can form an antithetical, or parallel, couplet, lines three and four (the second couplet) and lines five and six (the third couplet) must employ this technique.

The terms antithesis and parallelism are both needed to explicate this poetic device: On the one hand, the two lines of a parallel couplet follow each other syntagmatically, and the syllables in each line thus mirror--or run parallel to--each other on the grammatical level; on the other hand, the individual syllables are often marked by a degree of opposition on the semantic level, thus creating poetic tension--or antithesis--within the couplet. In a form as terse as regulated verse, this technique allows the poet to say the most with a minimum of words.³⁹

To encapsulate a "meaning beyond words" (C. *yen-wai chih-i*; K. *ōnwoeji ũi*) is an essential feature of regulated verse in general and of the quatrain in particular.⁴⁰ This feature is well-represented by parallelism which, used properly, allows the incorporation of layers of meaning into a poem. Yet this need not be seen as a lack of clarity, but rather multiple, clear meanings. In a Sung dynasty (960-1279) anthology, *Crane Forest, Jade Dew* (ho-lin yü-lu), the critic Lo Ta-

³⁹Critical distinctions of types of parallelism are too complicated to address here. For brief descriptions of these, see Rutt, op. cit., p. 49-50 and Liu, *The Art of Chinese Poetry*, op. cit., pp. 146-150. For the metaphysical justification of the technique itself, see chapter 35 of the *Wen-hsin tiao-lung* by Liu Hsieh (465-522): translated on pp. 255-256 in Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought* (Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, 30) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992). I have thus far focussed on describing the minimum technical requirements of *shih*. Additional aesthetic considerations--as well as the large vocabulary associated with the massive tradition of classical Chinese poetic theory--are important, but beyond the scope of this thesis. For treatments of these considerations in English, see Owen, *ibid.*, especially pp. 421-449; see *ibid.*, pp. 583-595, for a brief list of terms associated with classical Chinese literary criticism. See also Karl S. Y. Kao, "Rhetoric," pp. 121-137, in Nienhauser, *The Indiana Companion to Traditional Chinese Literature* op. cit. On pp. 130-136 he provides an extremely useful glossary of Chinese literary terms, their English equivalents, and examples from Chinese literature to which these terms apply.

⁴⁰See Nienhauser, op. cit., pp. 683 and 688.

ching admired precisely this when noting of the third couplet of Tu Fu's "Climbing High" (tên kao): "Within the space of fourteen syllables, his poetic expression incorporates eight meanings."³¹

In order to bring this principle into sharper focus we can take as an example Han Yongun's "Staying at Sŏnam Temple, Matching Maech'ŏn's Rhymes."⁴²

This piece, a full-length *lǚ-shih* with seven syllable lines, will be given in full later, but for now we can focus on the second and third couplets to explicate parallelism / antithesis. The symbols / and // respectively refer to the minor and major pauses within the line, and as with this example, in a seven syllable line there is usually a minor pause after the second syllable and a major pause after the fourth; in a five syllable line, there is usually a single pause after the second syllable.

In a seven syllable line, such as those given below, we see that the first and second two syllable units each form one semantic unit, or phrase. These two phrases complement each other and are in turn complemented--indeed, completed--by the final three syllable phrase. In turn this larger unit is complemented by the following line, and the two lines taken together form a larger unit of meaning which at once extends and is constrained by the poem as a whole. For the purposes of syntagmatic, syntactic, and semantic comparison, let us first look at the lines in a word for word translation:

Line 3: Sickness Remainder / White Hair // Autumn Will Thin
(End)

-----FIRST PARALLEL COUPLET

Line 4: Commotion After / Yellow Flower // Grass Again Deep (or Lush)
(Chrysanthemum)

Line 5: Lecture Kalpa / Cloud Empty // Hear Go (or Leave) Water
(or Be Heard)

-----SECOND PARALLEL COUPLET

⁴¹See Kim T'aek and Yi Pyōngha, *op. cit.*, p. 558.

42. Ryu Sōnamsa ch'a Maech'on un" on p. 246 in Ch'oe Tongho, *Han Yongun shijōnjip*, op. cit. This poem will be given in full in section 3, and a reprint of the original Chinese is given in the appendix.

Line 6: Listen Sūtra / People Go // [Make] Descend Immortal Bird
(Realm)

For our present purpose we can translate these lines as:

FIRST PARALLEL COUPLET:

As a remainder of illness, my hair is white, and in autumn it will grow thin;
After the commotion, the chrysanthemums and grass again grow lush.

SECOND PARALLEL COUPLET:

Lecturing on eternity, the clouds are empty, and I listen to the flowing water;
People listen to the sūtras and leave, calling down the birds from the sorcerers'
world.

These translations are, of course, not wholly natural since the larger context of the poem necessarily affects translation and we are, for the moment, considering neither the first nor final two lines of the poem; nor are these translations meant to be particularly felicitous. Rather, the specific aim is to show that the underlying principle is apparent in translation, and even a looser, more natural translation still conveys, if less markedly, much of the syntagmatic likeness and semantical contrast bonding the lines within a couplet.

If we consider these two couplets first separately and then together, we begin to see the inherent power of this technique, and to a remarkable degree we are faced with many of the primary characteristics of the genre as a whole: in particular, terseness, obliqueness, and as a corollary, multiple shades of implied meaning. The sum of meaning in each couplet derives just as much from what is not explicitly said as what is. Indeed, it is the implicitly suggested possible meaning—or range of possibilities—in each couplet that enables the poet to cover in the space of twenty-eight syllables substantial, immediate, and personal concerns as well as more abstract notions. In the case of line six, we are even treated to a fantastic vision.

We know that an illness has taken its toll on the aged poet, and whether his hair was whitened by illness or age itself is inconsequential. Both stand as poignant, tangible symbols of his immanent death: whether today, tomorrow, or

twenty years from now too is unimportant. What is significant, however, is his recognition that in spite of his recovered good health, things will grow worse for him at least on a physical, systemic level: in addition to having turned white, his hair will eventually fall out. This poetic conception of his physical entropy, however, is shown to be a wholly private concern for unlike his illness which truly intimates his inescapable demise, the world itself persists despite its own periodic illnesses: its commotions and disorders.

On a deeper level demonstrating the strength of parallelism as a technique, we find that these two lines suggest that it is either winter or summer. Neither line alone is sufficient to see these contrary alternatives, but taken together, this implication is clear: The poet is looking forward towards autumn, and in the second line spring is implicit. The antithesis of these two seasons is satisfying since their degree of climatic similarity is undercut by their biological opposition: neither is too hot nor too cold, and yet spring marks the beginning of new growth and autumn, its decline. There is a sense of dynamic tension in this pairing wholly absent from the more blunt opposition of winter and summer which is at once too obvious and static since both winter and summer individually are marked by a sense of culmination.

Yet it is ultimately this lack of opposition between winter and summer which is so significant within the couplet. Through implying that it is either winter or summer, the poet declines to make a distinction between the two and thereby diminishes the importance of both. This is interesting on both the symbolic and temporal levels.

On the one hand, we are faced with the possibility that the poet is, in fact, in his prime and that his white hair simply may be symbolic of his perception of permanent old age and more to the point, the infirmity which is its consequence. On this point, we see that illness and old age are mutually symbolic. Furthermore, one can suffer illness whether young or old; likewise, regardless of age, people die.

Subtly suggested is the possibility that infirm old age and youthful vigour are not as contrary as we are inclined to think.

On the other hand, notions of age, vigour and the poet's sense of the natural progression of his life are shown to be fundamentally different from the passage of time as found in nature. The start of each line marks the cessation of one undesirable state--sickness and commotion--yet in the first line the poet recognises that things will get no better, while in the second we find vegetation re-growing and thus erasing the traces of human problems.

This image of renewal, nonetheless, does not seem particularly comforting--nor do I think it is meant to be. Underlying the poet's sense of forward-moving time is his recognition that he is trapped within time itself: just as winter comes after autumn and before spring, and summer after spring and before autumn, his youth and old age are simply finite spans of time in his life which itself is no more than a larger yet finite span of time.

This contrast between the period of human life and the seemingly endless future is realised by the poet situating himself as either a young or old man: in either summer or winter. His implicit disregard for drawing any distinction between the two does not mean that youth and old age are, in any sense, the same. Rather, the pairing of these two lines brings into relief a less obvious and finer similarity between the two: that in spite of their many vast and obvious differences, each state is final.

Unlike the flowers and grass, there is no regeneration for the poet, and on this point the parallel between his white hair and the yellow flowers is all the more precise for the transition from thick black hair to white and finally to baldness admits of reversal.⁴³ To the contrary, the change of seasons is cyclical, and as the poet speaks from an isolated point in time, he perceives clearly that the periodic

⁴³At least in his time: prior to hair dye, plugs, etc.

renewal of the flowers and lush grass is, ultimately, a visible marker of his own decay. This vegetation will sooner or later grow over him.

In the following parallel couplet we encounter a furthering of this sense of time marching forward in calendrical terms even as it repeated in seasonal terms. Here Han makes one of the few explicit Buddhist references within his classical Chinese poetry, and the first line of the couplet is interesting on several levels.

The coupling of "lecture" and "*kalpa*" means that "*kalpa*" is the topic of the lecture--"lecturing on eternity [*kalpa*]"--and in Buddhist cosmology "*kalpa*" denotes some several hundred millions of years, and by extension, it connotes eternity: never ending time.

When he states that the "clouds are empty," he is saying not only that the clouds are insubstantial and mutable in a physical sense, but that these characteristics are, in fact, the defining features of clouds. Even in English this notion inheres since it would be odd to speak of any single cloud in the way that one might speak of a person or a dog or even a plant. A cloud, even in the singular, represents a general set of characteristics among which whiteness is perhaps the most obvious and constant. Apart from this, the only other consistent feature is, paradoxically, the lack of other constant features. It is the lack of constancy that is so significant and symbolic.

This is a typically Buddhist sentiment and mode of expression bordering on cliché. The word cloud occurs in a variety of compounds where it represents priests, and to a lesser degree, it can also refer to adherents of Buddhism in general. This cliché, nonetheless, is effective in this context for emptiness is implicitly likened to his own life by virtue of the whiteness of his hair and of the clouds. While it would be hard to find anything optimistic in this notion, there also seems to be no cause to find it pessimistic. Instead, it seems to be a simple recognition, and in the final three syllables of this line, the poet clarifies this.

Hearing the flowing water, the passage of time becomes audible. The duration of his lectures on the abstract notion of eternity make the eternal immediately present despite the limitations of words. This is accomplished, moreover, within the finitude of historical time. Yet these accomplishments ultimately are a fiction, and he says as much when he takes note of the flowing water.

This is a conventional expression with the metaphoric implication that what has gone will never return, and we see that "lecturing on eternity" is an impossibility. While the clouds break apart and return on different days in different shapes, they appear to go on forever like the turn of the seasons. Amidst this acknowledgment of the appearance of renewal is the poet's perception that renewal itself is a fiction: the product of a mistaken perception. Each of the newly formed clouds and fresh yellow flowers are themselves specific, individual representations of a larger yet specific class of things.

Likewise, a *kalpa* itself is an eternity only in conventional usage: a long, long time is not, strictly speaking, infinitude. It appears so from our point in time because of the sheer disparity in scale: for a human, hundreds of millions of years is tantamount to infinity. Yet one *kalpa* will give way to another, and like the seasons themselves time will still creep forward.

This telescoping of time, however, runs the risk of becoming too abstract, and in the second line of the couplet the poet returns to human experience. Here it is the experience of people coming to the temple to listen to lectures and then leaving. Even though these people may return to the temple many times during their lives, each time is different: a different day, a different lecturer, and a different topic. The implication is that even this apparent repetition is a trick of perception: a human desire to see continuity where, in fact, none really exists. It is significant that "the clouds are empty" and "the people leave" are parallel for not only are people implicitly compared to clouds, but leaving is compared to the continual

formation and re-formation of these atmospheric phenomena. What is once gone truly never returns.

The concluding three syllables of the second parallel couplet--"calling down the birds from the scrcerers' world"--do not seem at first glance to perfectly match those in the previous line: "flowing" and "immortal or sorcerer" bear neither any striking similarity nor contrast. Yet both are used as adjectives, and if we look to the metaphorical implication of the "flowing water," we then recognise that these fabulous birds are used neither as an exaggerated symbol of the poet's devotional sensibility nor as a trope for the greatness of Buddhism itself. While such symbolism is found in Buddhist writings, this would be out of character for Han, and is in fact out of character in the context of this poem.

Rather it is that these birds are residents of the realm of the sorcerers (Chinese, *hsien*; Korean, *son*)--beings whose thaumaturgical skills render them immortal. These birds are representatives of the unreal, and their unreality--and hence, permanence--is contrasted with the reality--and hence, impermanence--of human life in general, and that of the poet in particular. The flow of the stream and the descent of the birds each marks a different aspect of time: the human experience of finite time and the equally human perception of eternity: time as an abstraction, as always moving forward.

As can be readily intuited and will be understood in greater detail later, this poem is a meditation on time and more particularly, time within time. Han looks at his personal crisis in light of some larger social or historical upheaval and in turn places this within an even larger scope of historical time. Yet neither this nor the concern with evanescence need to be seen as particularly Buddhist or representative of some East Asian worldview.

Shakespeare's *Richard II* says much the same and moreover, in a similar fashion:

But for the concord of my state and time

Had not an ear to hear my true time broke.
I wasted time, and now doth time waste me...⁴⁴

So too Andrew Marvell (1621-1678) saw that:

yonder all before us lie
Desarts of vast Eternity⁴⁵

Perhaps what is distinctive in the Chinese case, however, is the extent to which these topics recur. Regulated verse and the Modern Style quatrain, in particular, are structurally well-suited to such expression, and it is thus not

⁴⁴Quoted on p. 279 in L.C. Knights, "Shakespeare's Sonnets," pp. 274-298 in Paul J. Alpers, ed., *Elizabethan Poetry: Modern Essays in Criticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).

⁴⁵Quoted on p. 88 in J.M. Cohen, *The Baroque Lyric* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1963). Despite the pessimism of this statement, Cohen notes that unlike the Spaniard Luis de Góngora y Argote (1561-1627), Marvell allows "some room for pleasure in the world of Time; Góngora, on the other hand, rejects it. *Even as he erects his cunning backcloth of illusion, in an endeavour to make out of art a substitute for life, he admits to the vanity of his endeavour. His pessimism is absolute* [emphasis added]." Cohen then concludes with: "Góngora and his followers...extended the 'radiation' of their poetry to the widest area of allusion, [yet] they inevitably returned to a single point, man's certain end. Their refusal 'to look...to one side only' [i.e. time and life in the world] is explained by their haunting consciousness of what they would see if once they fixed their eyes [i.e. transitoriness]." These evaluations are reminiscent of the Japanese Zen master Dōgen (1200-1253), who will be discussed below: in particular, Dōgen's self-conscious, artful reliance on language and ultimately, his apparent admission of the vanity of this endeavour upon his death. An excellent example of Dōgen's artfulness was that philosophical word-game by which he reversed an ancient proverb representative of the Zen tradition's attitude toward language: Instead of "'the painting of a rice-cake (*gabyō*) does not satisfy hunger,'" Dōgen, "in one of his hermeneutical sleight-of-hands...inverted the hierarchy between reality and representation and concluded that 'only the painting of a rice-cake can satisfy hunger.'" (For this, see Bernard Faure, *Chan Insights and Oversights: An Epistemological Critique of the Chan Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 202-203.) Cohen's judgements are thus useful for considering that relationship between the respective "gazes" of Han and Dōgen, which will be discussed below, and in particular, that profound unease with impermanence which characterises Dōgen and partially explains, I think, why he would grant ontological and practical primacy to a painted rice-cake. That is, what wholly exists in abstraction is not subject to the vicissitude of time: real rice-cakes turn to faeces if eaten, or otherwise they rot; on the other hand, the ideal of the painted rice-cake is permanent because it exists outside of time: it is eternal. Human beings, however, have little in common with painted rice-cakes, though they can create them; Dōgen's death poem reflects what seems to be a realisation quite similar to this. (Since first writing this, I have found that James J.Y. Liu has used this fragment of Marvell's "To His Coy Mistress" as a contrast to "the vision of eternity" found in Su Tung-p'o [Su Shih] (1037-1101): see James J.Y. Liu, *The Interlingual Critic: Interpreting Chinese Poetry* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), p. 86; originally, I had incorrectly attributed the fragment to Góngora. In the next section I have discussed Su Shih, and what I have said echoes Liu's brief comment on the distinction between Marvell's and Su Shih's "vision[s] of eternity." See below.)

surprising to find their recurrence in the Chinese poems of a Korean educated in the late nineteenth century.

Much of the poetry which he had read dealt with these human concerns and undoubtedly shaped the way that he experienced his illnesses, historical circumstances, and personal mortality. In turn these themes were expressed anew in his own poetry in light of his own experiences, and though this poem adopts a form which had been used for over a millennium, the poem itself is a unique instance of the form.

More importantly, it is an instance of a unique experience—either personal or artistic, or both—which derives its meaningfulness from its generality. Life and death are common and yet for each person, each is necessarily unique. This humane view is the underlying sentiment of this and many of his other classical Chinese poems.

(IV) Preface to the Translations

Apart from the text edited by Ch'oe Tongho, I have used two other editions of Han's classical Chinese poetry: the collection of this verse with Korean translations by Yi Wŏnsŏp contained in volume 1 of *The Collected Works of Han Yongun* (Han Yongun chŏnjip) and Ch'oe T'aeho's *Manhae Chihunui hanshi*.⁴⁶

Yi's translations were originally published in 1973 and represent the first critical work done on the poems themselves. This critical work, however, was limited to explanatory notes. Ch'oe Tongho's edition gives the poems in the same order, but contains at the very end two poems under the same heading, "Untitled" (muje), which were not included in the *Collected Works*. In addition, the explanatory footnotes in Ch'oe Tongho's edition also follow closely those in the *Collected Works*.

⁴⁶See pp. 133-307 in Ch'oe Tongho, op. cit.; pp. 102-187 in *Collected Works*, op. cit.; and pp. 35-185 in Ch'oe T'aeho, *Manhae Chihunui hanshi* (The classical Chinese verse of Manhae [Han Yongun] and [Cho] Jihun) (Seoul: Ŭnha Ch'ulp'ansa, 1992).

As noted above, Ch'oe Tongho's edition is the most complete with one hundred and sixty-five poems under one hundred and thirty-nine titles. By contrast, Ch'oe T'aeho's text contains one hundred and fifty poems under one hundred and thirty-three titles. His text is, nevertheless, important because it contains reprints of the original handwritten poems.

Due to occasional misprints in both the *Collected Works* and Ch'oe Tongho's edition, the originals are a valuable resource for the translator. In particular, we see where Han had rewritten sections of poems or in one instance of a poem in regulated verse, simply left blank spaces: he obviously could find no Chinese syllables appropriate within the prosodic constraints of the medium in which he was working.⁴⁷

Ch'oe T'aeho's annotations are far fewer than those included by either Yi Wŏnsŏp or Ch'oe Tongho, and yet these are valuable as well for he occasionally includes information contained in neither of the other two texts. The fundamental problem among all the texts is that none separate obscure meanings and literary or historical references from individual interpretations, and at times one finds a degree of disagreement among the various editions.

The greatest difference among the three editions, however, is the manner of translation itself. Yi's translations are, for the most part, virtual cribs for reading the originals. Ch'oe Tongho's translations, by contrast, read as vernacular Korean poetry. Ch'oe T'aeho's are somewhere in between and are arguably the best.

All three styles are found in the translation of classical Chinese into Korean, and each has its own strengths and weaknesses. None too surprisingly, however, one finds that Yi's literal translations seem to have the most inaccuracies, or at least are open to the most inaccurate readings: classical Chinese and vernacular Korean are simply two different languages.

⁴⁷This poem is "Ose Hermitage" (O:eam), p. 275 in Ch'oe Tongho, op. cit., and p. 171 in Ch'oe T'aeho, *ibid.*

Yi's translations also show the least degree of similarity between the translations and the information contained in the annotations. Ch'oe Tongho's translations, by contrast, are marked by a greater inclusion of this information in his more interpretative approach. This trend towards synthesis is clearest in Ch'oe T'aeho's edition: he probably had the benefit of reading each of these earlier translations.

Likewise, I have had the benefit of using all three editions, and while I have found the annotations and translations useful, it is the subtle discrepancies among these editions which have been the most useful. Although I have appealed to these translations out of interest, I have done so only after working through the originals. In virtually all instances, the information contained in the annotations of the three editions reflects what is found in Chinese-Korean dictionaries, and many of the discrepancies between the editions simply reflect the choices made by the different translators. The research I have done for these translations perforce has meant that I have retraced the steps of these Korean translators. Yet this is inevitable since, as noted above, my translations are made from the originals.

Due to this process, I have at times arrived at interpretations and translations which differ markedly from those of the Korean translators. This too is inevitable since my translations are in English, made from the Chinese. The consideration of three different translations--four, including my own--dealing with two foreign languages, classical Chinese and Korean, which are very different from each other and in turn both different from English is an issue too complicated to be dealt with here. While I have tried to produce valid translations, the use of ambiguity permits, in some cases, more than one way of understanding. As a consequence, no translation is final, and in the most crucial instances, I have tried to point out such ambiguities.

However, I will limit any discussion regarding points of translation to brief footnotes, and these will only touch upon those issues directly related to the larger

purpose of this dissertation: the ideas or points of view expressed by Han and his mode of expression. I will likewise designate in the footnotes the poems' locations in Ch'oe Tongho's text since it is the most widely available of the three. In addition, I will include in the footnotes the style of each poem in order to give the reader some sense of the proportions in which Han used the various styles discussed above. Here too I will be brief and will only mention prosodic defects in those few instances where they are so serious as to warrant comment or are germane to the discussion.

The twin issues of poetic and historical allusions are, however, a more complicated matter. These weigh heavily upon any critical consideration of these poems within the classical Chinese poetic tradition or in relation to the poems in *Silence*. Ch'oe T'aeho's *Modern Poetry and Classical Chinese Poetry* represents the most detailed treatment of Han's classical Chinese poetry and draws together those few articles in which Korean scholars have addressed these poems.⁴⁸ In it he adds to Kim Chaehong's list of seventeen poetic / historical allusions another seventeen.⁴⁹ Though useful, this list is neither comprehensive nor wholly suitable to my purpose.

In particular, it seems necessary to provide as best as possible an understanding of the literary tradition in which he was working. As a consequence, I do not think it sufficient simply to note those words or phrases that he can be said to have borrowed from earlier sources. In some instances these words simply became part of classical Chinese poetic diction through widespread use, and there thus seems no compelling reason to see Han's use of them as indicative of any specific literary debt, conscious or otherwise.

⁴⁸Ch'oe T'aeho, *Hyōndaeshiwa hanshi* (Seoul: Ŭnha Ch'ulp'ansa, 1994). This is a continuation of the work begun in his first book, cited above.

⁴⁹See *ibid.*, pp. 32-34 and Kim Chaehong, *Han Yongun munhak yōn'gu* (Seoul: Ilchisa, 1992), p. 51.

Yet in some instances it would seem that he was self-consciously reacting to poems by other writers: in order to fully understand or appreciate his poem, one would have to be aware of these. The question of self-conscious borrowing, adaptation, or reaction is obviously a complicated issue. The Chinese poetic tradition was massive, and famous expressions or topics were recycled. He may have been aware of these either through direct knowledge or through other intermediary poems which used the same or similar topics or expressions. Consequently, while it may be impossible to say with absolute precision to which poem or poems Han refers, it is possible nonetheless to draw on earlier exemplars of the tradition: poems which help elucidate Han's poetry.

In order to provide a broader context for Han's poems, I have decided to borrow Stephen Owen's approach of including in the body of the text what seem to be related poems. However, instead of Owen's "Other Voices in the Tradition,"⁵⁰ I will use "Voices in the Background." Owen is concerned with showing connections between various eras and genres within Chinese literature as a whole; here, I am primarily concerned with bringing to light those poems which either add to our understanding of what Han wrote or shed light on the literary form which he was using. This seems to me the most economical way of suggesting the complex web of inter-relationships between Han's poetry and what seem to be relevant poems in the larger Chinese and Korean traditions. Thus, what is most important will be contained in the text itself; other relevant information will be placed in the footnotes, and in the instances where certain poems require comment, but share no great similarity with other poems in the collection, I will provide some analysis in the notes. For the sake of continuity, in nearly all instances I have provided my own translations based on the original poems in Chinese; for Han's poems, all translations are mine from the original Chinese.

⁵⁰See Stephen Owen, *Anthology*, op. cit., *passim*.

Finally, there is the issue of sequence. Unlike *Silence*, these poems have no coherent order according to topic or sequence of composition. Apart from a few notable exceptions, the poems are undated. Based on internal evidence and a comparison of the three texts, it seems possible that either Han or his editors / translators might have attempted to order the poems according to two principles: sequence and similarities of topic. Yet ultimately it is impossible to view these poems in terms of development or changes in interest or style. Only tentative guesses are possible.

On the basis of Han's manuscripts reprinted in Ch'oe T'aeho's edition, it can be surmised that in a few instances Han might have kept in his records a poem which he later revised.⁵¹ Moreover, in keeping with tradition, it seems likely that Han gave friends poems which were discovered only later: thus the discrepancy between the number of poems in his manuscripts on the one hand and the Ch'oe Tongho and *Collected Works* editions on the other.

For the sake of clarity, I have decided to arrange the following translations according to the broad thematic similarities which became evident during the process of translation. I believe that this selection reflects the collection both in terms of quality and theme and that the reader will thus be able to gain an accurate sense of the collection as a whole. Moreover, this approach will later allow us to juxtapose his classical Chinese poems in relation to the more thematically consistent poetry of *Silence*.

Han's enlightenment verse, however, stands apart from the other poems in the collection: It is the single piece which can be properly described as Buddhist in both inspiration and content. Since it was written to record a religious experience that can be assumed to have been pivotal in his life, it would seem worth analysing in terms of content and form. Moreover, it brings into sharp relief a variety of complex issues central to Chinese poetry, and two of these have been mentioned

⁵¹For example, "Okchungūm" (written in prison); see Ch'oe T'aeho, *Manhae Chihunūi hanshi*, op. cit., p. 183.

already: technical requirements of the form and the use of other poems. Yet it also raises fundamental philosophical and religious issues.

For these reasons, his enlightenment verse warrants individual treatment, and as a consequence, I will conclude this section with a detailed discussion of its complexities. In this way, we can see concrete examples of what has been discussed only in general terms thus far. Due to the complex nature of this discussion, it is appropriate that it precede the other translations and their discussions which are less complicated. This analysis thus serves both as a conclusion to the previous theoretical abstractions on form and as an introduction to the other poems.

(V) The Central Piece: Han's Enlightenment Verse

"How many sons are real men?"

--*The Blue Cliff Record*⁵²

Introduction

Han's enlightenment verse, or song of enlightenment (K., *odosong*), is significant for several reasons. First, it is one of only two bearing a date.⁵³ Second, it may have been known within Buddhist circles during his lifetime.⁵⁴ More important, it is a clearly articulated expression of his vision of Buddhist truth. Through a mere twenty-eight syllables, Han gives his view of the world and his place within it.

Yet the verse also embodies a complex and fascinating story relating to poetry, Buddhism, and to a lesser degree, politics both within Korea and between Korea, China, and Japan spanning the twelfth through the nineteenth centuries.

⁵²See the *Pi-yen lu* (*The Blue Cliff Record*), T2003.48.211a.

⁵³The other is the excellent poem he wrote in 1939 at the celebration of his sixtieth birthday. See Ch'oe Tongho, op. cit., pp. 302-303. This will be given later.

⁵⁴See Manhae Sasang Shilch'on Sōnyanghoe, ed., *Han Yongun shijōnjip* (Seoul: Tosŏ Ch'ulp'an [Changŭng], 1998), p. 242. Also see Man'gong Mundohoe, ed., *Man'gong pobō: Poryōgo hanŭn chaga nugunya* (Seoul: Myogwang, 1983), pp. 315-316.

This story is neither self-evident, nor essential for understanding the verse. But if we accept this piece as his authentic statement of enlightenment, it is helpful to understand something of this story. It is a frame of reference which deepens and expands our understanding of the essential point of Han's vision, and through this we see that what at first merely seems to be a short, lacklustre piece of poetic writing is, in fact, a complex text with profound resonances in the larger context of East Asian Buddhist literature.

The purpose of this section is to provide this frame of reference: Han's verse is thus placed in the foreground, and as a consequence, the many relevant historical and philosophical issues are discussed for the purpose of explaining the implications of the manner in which Han depicted his enlightenment. Accordingly, none of these issues can be treated as fully as they deserve, and this is especially true of the matter raised toward the end: the relationship between Han's enlightenment verse and the death verses of T'ien-t'ung Ju-ching (1163-1228) and his student, Dōgen (1200-1253). The relationship between these three verses and in turn, their collective relationship to *The Blue Cliff Record*⁵⁵ raise a variety of other interesting questions to which an entire dissertation might be devoted, and these questions are obviously beyond the scope of this thesis. Here, I am immediately concerned with discussing the Buddhist philosophical and poetic implications of Han's enlightenment verse.

From a Gāthā to a Poem: Pak Hanyōng's Suggestion

In its earliest form, as found in his manuscripts, this piece was not a poem (C. *shih*; 詩. *shi*), but rather a *gāthā*: a Buddhist hymn. This is the only Buddhist hymn in the collection, and like many classical Chinese poems, its introduction sets the circumstance of composition:⁵⁶

⁵⁵For an English translation of the *Pi-yen lu*, see Thomas Cleary and J.D. Cleary, trans., *The Blue Cliff Record* [in 3 vols.] (Boulder and London: Shambhala, 1977).

⁵⁶See the Appendix for copies of the original Chinese poems and lines used in this section.

(1: 1) 1917, twelfth month, third day. Around ten o'clock at night, as I sat in Zen meditation, I suddenly heard the wind knock something over. My doubts were instantly resolved.⁵⁷ Also, I obtained this poem (C. shih).

Anyplace a manly man (K. *nama*; J. *danji*) goes is home,
Yet some people spend so long longing for home.⁵⁸

A single noise [shouts and] shatters the universe;
Peach blossoms fly amid the snow.⁵⁹

The problem with this piece was that it did not rhyme, and Han seems later to have followed the advice of his friend and fellow priest Pak Hanyōng (1870-1948) and changed the final syllable from "afloat / fly" (*pi*) to "red" (*hong*): (1: 2) "Peach blossoms: red flecks in the snow."⁶⁰ With this simple alteration, the quatrain (*chōjū*) became an Ancient Style Poem: a *koch'eshi*.

Yet there can be little doubt that Han was aware of his prosodic fault. It is immediately apparent,⁶¹ and in spite of the subsequent change, it seems likely that he preferred the original.⁶² That he intended to write a poem (*shih*) and instead wrote a *gāthā* by default underscores the immediacy of his experience. In this instance, his prosodic mistake implicitly conveys the sense that he is writing artlessly, and thus truthfully conveying his experience.

The subsequent change was made on the basis of aesthetic requirements, and Ch'oe T'aeho proposes that Pak's suggestion was based on a line of poetry by the Koryō statesman Kim Pushik (1075-1151): "peach blossoms: spot upon spot of

⁵⁷This might also be translated as "I was suddenly enlightened." However, regardless of how this line is translated, it is difficult to see in this poem any cessation of doubt. Paradoxically, instead of his resolution of doubt, we seem to find an affirmation of doubt itself. For an explanation of this, see below.

⁵⁸This line might also be read as: "How many people permanently suffer from homesickness?"

⁵⁹For the original, see Ch'oe T'aeho, *Manhac Chihunui hanshi*, op. cit., p. 170.

⁶⁰For the altered version, see Ch'oe Tongho, op. cit., p. 274.

⁶¹The reason the fault is immediately apparent is that the final syllable of the second line, *chung* (centre), is obviously not in the same rhyme category as *pi* (afloat / fly).

⁶²This can be inferred from the appearance of this piece, in its original form, on pp. 315-316 in *Man'gong pōbō*, op. cit. It seems to have been sent perhaps as late as the end of the 1930s.

red."⁶³ On the face of it, the basis for Ch'oe's proposition seems flimsy insofar as the correction itself was obvious: Peach blossoms are red, and *hong* (red) is in the same rhyme category as *chung* (centre), the final syllable of the second line. This is an obvious choice which is also tautological since red is implicit in "peach blossoms." However, the obviousness of the correction sheds light on Han's initial vision since we can infer that he chose "fly / float" (*pi*) because he wanted to emphasise movement.

Yet it would seem that movement *per se* was not what Han wanted to emphasise. Were this the case, he could have used *p'ung* (wind or blown by the wind) which is not only in the same rhyme category as *chung* (centre), but moreover, rhymes in Korean pronunciation and so is strikingly obvious.⁶⁴ "Peach blossoms: flecks blowing in the wind" would have from the start made this piece a poem (*shih*) and would seem at first glance a close approximation of his vision. On a deeper level, however, this line seems incorrect because it was rather unforced movement--the flowers floating among the snowflakes--that was integral to his vision. With or without the change, movement is the central motif, but this is more easily seen in the original in which the last line, despite its prosodic fault, provides a clear conceptual link to the first two lines. Like the redness of the peach blossoms, the blowing wind too is implicit in the poem, but Han de-emphasises this. He simply takes it for granted.

Instead, he allows the blossoms a degree of autonomy. In this regard, the use of *hong* (red) is better than *p'ung* since colour, at least, emphasises the blossoms as entities in themselves. His vision is not one of aimlessness; he does not see the blossoms as merely acted upon--blown--by the wind. This is a subtle and important distinction which is related to a striking oddity in the verse: How can

⁶³ See Ch'oe T'aeho, *Manhae Chihunui hanshi*, op. cit., p. 9 and p. 170.

⁶⁴ *P'ung* (wind, blow), *chung* (centre), and *hong* (red) belong to the same rhyme category, and one can easily find poems in which they are all used together. See, for instance, Kim Talchin, ed., *Han'guk hanshi*, vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 1106-1107, p. 1128, p. 1143.

the poet see "peach blossoms fly amid the snow" on the third day of the twelfth month? In 1917, this date in the lunar calendar fell on December 27 in the solar calendar. There could not have been any peach blossoms. The issue of autonomy and the question of what he saw are central to the verse and will be discussed later.

A Ghost Lends a Hand: Yi Kyubo's Tale of Poetic Conflict, and Justice

If the similarity between the altered line of Han's poem and Kim's line seems unremarkable, the putative origin of the line itself does suggest that Ch'oe's proposal has merit. For this we must turn to the *Stories from the White Cloud* (*Paegun sosŏl*) a thirteenth century collection of essays on poetry (K. *shihwa*; C. *shih-hua*) by the Koryŏ statesman, poet, and all-round bon vivant, Paegun (white cloud) Yi Kyubo (1168-1241).⁶⁵

Scattered among Yi's critical opinions and accounts of poetry is a story of personal conflict in which this line attributed to Kim Pushik is itself a point of contention. Yi says that it was actually a correction offered to Kim by the vengeful ghost of Chŏng Chisang (?-1135). Although Kim had had Chŏng assassinated out of political rivalry, Yi suggests that an additional motive for this murder was Kim's envy of Chŏng's poetic skill, and in particular, the couplet: "in the temple: the recitation of the sūtras ceases / the sky's radiance: bright as glass." Kim so admired the couplet that he asked to use it in one of his own poems. Chŏng refused.

After Chŏng's murder, Kim one evening decided to compose a poem on spring. He had just finished the parallel couplet:

(2: 1) The colour of the willows: one thousand strands of green;
Peach blossoms: ten thousand spots of red.

⁶⁵See Minjok Munhwa Ch'ujinhoe, ed., *Yi Kyubo shimunsŏn* (Seoul: Sol Ch'ulp'ansa, 1997), pp. 79-81.

when the ghost of Chōng smacked his cheeks and mischievously inquired "who counted to see whether it was 'one thousand strands' and 'ten thousand spots'?"

The ghost then suggested an improvement:

(2: 2) The colour of the willows: strand after strand of green.

The peach blossoms: spot upon spot of red.

Chōng's ghost later exacted a humiliating revenge: While Kim was squatting in an outhouse at a Buddhist temple, Chōng's ghost grabbed Kim's testicles and mockingly asked, "Why is this leather-sack so flaccid?" Kim retorted, "Did your father have iron balls?" And Chōng responded with a lethal tug.

The association of this line by Kim—or Chōng, if Yi's account is followed—with such a story makes this at first glance an unlikely source for Pak's correction. Yet the recurrence of Buddhism in Yi's tale is significant: The poem over which Kim and Chōng come into conflict deals with Buddhism; Kim ultimately dies at a Buddhist temple, and moreover, by having his testicles crushed by a ghost while in the toilet. This death is at once ignominious and comical.

Moreover, it is appropriate to the overall situation in which Buddhism's claim to truth—both religious and political—was hotly contested. Chōng's execution was largely due to his political alliance with the Buddhist priest Myoch'ōng (?-1135) whose role at the court of King Injong (r. 1122-1146) represented a serious threat to Kim's political ambitions. During a time of great political instability, and in particular, weakness of the throne, Myoch'ōng and his coterie of supporters insisted that the Koryō king refuse recognition of the Jurchen-Chin rulers in China. Kim, on the other hand, stood at the forefront of those counselling acquiescence. Myoch'ōng's attempts at maintaining the sovereignty of the Koryō court entailed a variety of complex plans which all, in one way or another, relied on Injong's faith in Buddhism and especially geomantic theories and prognostication.

Kim on the other hand represented the interests of the Confucian bureaucrats, and their legitimacy was undercut by Buddhists such as Myoch'ōng.

To no small degree, these Confucian court officials defined themselves in opposition to their Buddhist counterparts whom they painted as, above all, superstitious and thus dangerous. Kim's eventual defeat of Myoch'ōng and Chōng Chisang ultimately was less a political or military than an intellectual victory whereby Buddhism was shown to have no legitimate claim to political or social authority.⁶⁶

This marked a fundamental intellectual shift with far-reaching consequences for Korean Buddhism. During the following seven centuries Buddhism was both physically and intellectually removed from the centre of political power in Korea, and one of the running themes of Confucian attacks on Buddhism centred on superstition. It is thus significant that just before quoting the couplet so admired by Kim, Yi Kyubo noted that the story of the conflict between Kim and Chōng was widely known. Considering that these events occurred little more than a quarter century before Yi was born, it is possible that he heard this tale from those who had firsthand knowledge of the actual events.

But what is most interesting is that this tale does not merely focus on personal vengeance. We sense that in the background, religious truth is also at stake, and through the hand of an otherworldly assassin, Buddhism's claim to truth is reasserted. Seen from this angle, it seems possible that Pak Hanyōng had in mind the line by Kim (or Chōng) when he made his suggestion to Han, and considering the source, we can be quite sure that he did know the story associated with it.⁶⁷ This allusion was at once a profound, subtle joke and nonetheless, fully apposite the purpose of Han's verse: a tangible expression of Buddhist truth.

⁶⁶These tensions are vividly described in Kim Chaeman, "Kim Pushik," and Sō Kyōngbo, "Myoch'ōng," pp. 179-192 and pp. 193-202, respectively, in Han'guk Inmul Taegye P'yōnch'an Wiwōnhoe, ed., *Han'guk inmul taegye*, vol. 2. (Seoul: Pagusa, 1972).

⁶⁷The genre in which this story occurs--poetry talks, or *shihwa* (C. *shih-hua*)--was of interest to Pak. See especially sections ten and eleven in his *Songim sup'il* reprinted in Pae Sōngwōn, ed., *Sokchōn munch'o* (Seoul: Pōppowōn, 1962).

Yet Ch'oe's other suggestion regarding the literary source of Han's poem / *gāthā* is more significant. He gives a poem which bears a striking resemblance to Han's verse in both meaning and structure, and he notes that it was "written by a Japanese."⁶⁸

A Self-Portrait of a Priest as a Young Man: Gesshō's Poem and Han's Response

The Japanese in question was, in fact, a Jōdo Shin Sect priest named Gesshō (1817-1858). He was born in Yamaguchi prefecture at Myōen temple which was a branch of the Nishi [West] Hongan Temple Sect located in Kyoto.⁶⁹ From the beginning, his (3: 1) "Poem Written on the Wall" (*taiheki-shi* or *kabe ni daisu*) served as the foundation for Han's enlightenment verse (in italics, the portions borrowed by Han):

A manly man (*danji*) resolves to leave home,
And if his studies don't succeed, he will never return,
even in death.

For burying bones,
how can it only be in the [ancestral] graveyard?
Anyplace he goes [everywhere in the human world]
green mountains are found.⁷⁰

The quatrain itself was magnificent and a perfectly acceptable Modern Style Poem (J. *kintaishi*; K. *kunch'eshi*), most likely written when Gesshō left home at the age of fifteen, or sometime later when he recounted the event. Different sources give different information on this point, and it seems that part of the problem is that

⁶⁸See Ch'oe T'aeho, *Manhae Chihunui hanshi*, op. cit., p. 9. Though Ch'oe does not mention the Japanese person in question, I am indebted to him for drawing this poem to my attention. The following points on the author's significance--and the significance of Han's quoting this poem--would not have been possible otherwise.

⁶⁹For an excellent summary of Gesshō, see Nakao Takashi and Imai Masaharu, eds., *Nihon meisō jiten* (Tokyo: Tokyodō Shuppan, 1976), pp. 68-69. This Gesshō should not be confused with another priest also named Gesshō who also died in 1858. The other Gesshō (1813-1858) is famous for his decision to drown himself in a suicide pact with Saigō Takamori (1827-1877), who was resuscitated. For this, see *ibid.*, pp. 69-71, and in English, Yusen Kashiwahara, "Gesshō (1813-1858)," in Yusen Kashiwahara and Koyu Sonoda, *Shapers of Japanese Buddhism [Nihon meisō retsuden]*, translated by Gaynor Sekimori (Tokyo: Kōsei Publishing Co., 1994), pp. 194-206.

⁷⁰See Arihara Suekichi, *Kanshi kanshō nihyaku-sen* (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1974), p. 133.

Gesshō rewrote the poem at least twice. The one quoted above appears to have been the original version.

He seems to have amended it at the age of twenty-seven and sent it to his friend Yoshida Shōin (1830-1859) with a slightly different title, (3: 2) "Written on the Wall, As I Head East" (*masani tōyū sen to shite kabe ni daisu*).⁷¹

A manly man resolves to leave home,
And if he doesn't succeed in his studies,
 he will not return [home] again.
For burying bones, why long for the [ancestral] graveyard?
Anyplace he goes [everywhere in the human world],
 green mountains are found.

This version differs little from the first in terms of meaning, but it is nearly perfect in terms of tonal variation.⁷² In the first version, the first and last lines were perfect while the second line had a minor flaw at the third syllable, and the third line had minor flaws at the first and third syllables. As previously discussed, such variations from the ideal are acceptable; but in the second version, Gesshō's poem has but a single, unavoidable imperfection: The first syllable of the third line, "bury," is an even instead of oblique tone.

Gesshō's rewriting of a perfectly acceptable poem suggests that it was for him an important statement of purpose. One also senses a degree of obstinacy and perfectionism, and at the risk of simplification, one can say that this poem, and no less his rewriting of it, stands as a potent symbol of a man who should have had great appeal for Han Yongun.

⁷¹For this version, see Misaka Keiji, ed., *Ishin no senkaku Gesshō no kenkyū* (Yamaguchi: Gesshō Kenshō-kai, 1979), p. 396; for the manuscript at the Yoshida Shōin memorial, see the second page of photographs at the front; for the statement that the poem was written when he was twenty-seven, see p. 9. For a brief description of the various versions, see Haruo Kondo, ed., *Nihon kanbun-gaku daijiten* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 1985), pp. 617-618. Yet another version, not contained in Haruo, is given in Mochizuki Shinkō, *Mochizuki bukkyō daijiten* [in 10 volumes] (Kyoto: Seikai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai, 1957-1963), vol. 1, p. 904. The fundamental meaning of all these versions, however, is the same with only slight changes in nuance. He seems to have kept rewriting the poem desiring a perfect pattern of tonal variation. See below.

⁷²See the critical comment regarding tonal prosody in Misaka, op. cit., p. 396. For the photo mentioned below, see the inner cover.

Gesshō was born into the priesthood of the Nishi Hongan Temple which itself had a long history of political and military might in Japan. Indeed, a painting of Gesshō shows a sturdy man with close-cropped hair and a beard wielding a sword. With an outstretched finger, he points somewhere—or to something—out of our view, but the point is clear: this is a man not to be taken lightly. He was an excellent student who grew into a fine scholar and poet, and these skills served him well as he forged alliances with the likes of Yoshida Shōin and Rai Mikisaburō (1825-1859), the son of the great Japanese scholar and classical Chinese poet, Rai San'yō (1781-1832). These men all shared an interest in the West whose power was dramatically highlighted by the arrival of the American Black Ships led by Commodore Matthew Perry in 1853. They were concerned with Japan's national strength, and to this end they rallied around the imperial cause seeking to bring an end to the political hegemony of the Shogunate system. The means by which they sought these aims were what is now called modernisation: reforms in the educational and political systems, technological innovation, and just as important, military reforms. Gesshō's particular concern—Japan's maritime defence—was no doubt sparked by the dangers signalled by Perry's arrival. He counselled an increase in fortifications along the coast for which he was appropriately known as the Priest of Coastal Defence (*kaibōsō*).

He also wrote under the name Seikyō, literally "pure crazy," and this appellation fit his charismatic nature. His eccentricity was demonstrated in 1856 when he wrote his *Treatise on the Buddha Dharma and Protection of the Nation* (*Buppō gokoku ron*), and began travelling and delivering lectures on his ideas set forth therein.⁷³ Though the document itself was short, it was a fascinating polemic on the history of Asia's colonisation by the Western powers. He took note of the dangers posed by England, France, Portugal, Russia, and America and saw that the

⁷³See Yasamura Yoshio and Miyachi Masato, eds., *Shōkyō to kokka: nihon kindai shisō taikēi 5* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1988), pp. 215-222. I am indebted to Steve Bullard at the Australian National University for sharing with me his time and expertise on this matter, and his excellent translation of the text.

two primary weapons employed in colonisation were the spread of Christianity and the gun. His antidote was simple: the strengthening of Buddhism and the adoption of the modern methods of war of the West for protection against the West.

He was particularly worried about the people living near Japan's coastline lest through daily contact with the foreign barbarians, they become "slaves," and he cautioned against powerful members of Shogunate who, proving incapable of meeting the challenges they faced, were ready to submit to the demands of the barbarians. In his view, this would lead to contact between the barbarians and the coastal people whose simplicity would thus enable the spread of Christianity which would, in turn, weaken spiritually, politically, and militarily the very foundations of Japan. The coastline was a site of especial danger, and his vision of coastal defence was military and no less, intellectual / religious in nature.

Kōnyo, the Great Abbot of the Nishi Hongan Temple Sect, was duly impressed and summoned him to Kyoto for consultation.⁷⁴ The meeting resulted in an invitation to stay in the comfort of Kōnyo's private residence, and then in 1858 Gesshō received orders by the Nishi Hongan Temple officials to begin missionary work in the far north in Hokkaido: the *Ezo chi*, or Barbarian Lands, as it was then known.⁷⁵ These plans, however, were aborted as he suddenly took ill and died, and not long thereafter Yoshida Shōin, Rai Mikisaburō and many of his closest colleagues were killed in the bloody Ansei Purge in which those Shogunate officials, challenged by Gesshō in 1856, asserted their power.

In 1868, the Shogunate was overthrown, but over the next twenty years Japanese Buddhism, and in particular, the Pure Land sect to which Gesshō belonged, fell prey to attacks by the Meiji government as the emphasis on the native Shintō as the national ideology made heretical both Buddhism and Christianity. In

⁷⁴Kōnyo was the twentieth abbot of the Nishi Honganji whose poem was quoted by Gesshō in *Buppō gokoku ron*: "Return now barbarians! / Don't you know? / This country you menace / Is favoured by the Gods." (translated by Steve Bullard.) For this poem and the information on Kōnyo, see Yasamura and Miyachi, op. cit., pp. 221 and 222, respectively.

⁷⁵See Mochizuki, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 904.

a particularly ironic twist, Japanese Buddhism seeking its own survival became, like the Christianity which he had criticised, a tool of colonial expansion. In 1869, eleven years after Gesshō was ordered to go to Hokkaido, both the Nishi and Higashi [East] Hongan Temples would lend vigorous support for the colonisation of Hokkaido in order to "prevent European and Christian expansion into an area so close to the Japanese homeland" and "to prove the worth of Buddhism to the nation."⁷⁶ The government saw these priests as expendable, yet useful in placating the "anger of the 'aborigines' [of Hokkaido]."⁷⁷

Despite the vicissitudes Japanese Buddhism faced in the decades after Gesshō's death, the essential point of his plan prefigured the means by which Japanese Buddhism renewed itself in the Meiji period: an alliance between the state and Buddhism. In 1877 Okumura Enshin, a priest of the Higashi Hongan Temple, began missionary work in Korea where his efforts were divided between humanitarian good works and aid for fledgling Korean political reformers. Among these the Korean priest Yi Tongin (?-1881, presumed dead) played a significant role, and though to a lesser degree, so did the priest Mubul (?-1884) who came from Paektam Temple with which Han Yongun was associated throughout his life.⁷⁸ When Han visited Japan some thirty years later, he had much to reflect on as he regarded the Buddhist tradition of Korea, its relationship with Japan, and his own ambivalent feelings towards Japanese Buddhism both as a Buddhist priest and as a Korean.

Gesshō's poem foreshadowed his life of activism on behalf of Buddhism and Japan, and in a sense, Han Yongun had assumed a similar position within Korea by the time of his enlightenment in 1917. The hurried fashion in which he

⁷⁶See James Edward Ketelaar, *Of Heretics and Martyrs in Meiji Japan: Buddhism and Its Persecution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), p. 73 and p. 69, respectively.

⁷⁷*ibid.*, p. 69.

⁷⁸Mubul, whose secular name was T'ak Chōngsik, was also known as Kakchi. For the best discussion of the Higashi Hongan Temple's missionary work and political influence in Korea, see Han Sokki, *Nihon no Chōsen shihai to shūkyō seisaku* (Tokyo: Miraisha, 1988), pp. 13-53.

seems to have written his enlightenment verse suggests that he had thought long and hard on this poem and the man who had written it. Moreover, he wanted to respond to it directly, without fretting over the prosodic rules with which Gesshō himself had been so concerned.

Underlying Han's response was a deep reading of Gesshō's poem in terms of its religious significance in which home is not a physical place, but a state of mind, or more accurately, the mind's intrinsic luminousness: its inherent enlightenment.⁷⁹ This theme is a commonplace in Zen, and the Koryō priest Hyegūn (1320-1376) expressed this well in his (4) "Radiant Zen, Seeking a *Gāthā*:"

The brilliant mind jewels appear,⁸⁰
At the six windows, produced without any difference.
Suddenly where they appear is boundless,
The mountains and rivers of the great earth
are all one home.⁸¹

Although the first line of Han's verse echoes the final line of Hyegūn's *gāthā*, the difference is, in fact, significant. There are similar assumptions to be sure, but in spite of these, Hyegūn's verse is a literary representation of what might be called the traditional conception of inherent enlightenment or the Buddha-nature. Han's

⁷⁹For a brief discussion of this in the context of Gesshō's poem, see Nakao and Imai, op. cit., p. 68. For a brief discussion of this aspect of Han's verse and its similarity with Gesshō's poem, see Ch'oe T'aeho, *Hyōndaeshiwa hanshi*, op. cit., pp. 109-110.

⁸⁰According to Dr. Bill Jenner, it seems that the final 2 syllables of this line (Ch. *yeh-ma*; K. *ya-ma*) are most likely a Sung dynasty colloquial expression that has no meaning and is simply stuck on to the phrase. Something like "you know" in English. According to Dr. Jenner, the "boundless" (*tan-jōk*) in the 3rd line might also be taken to mean "pointless," as in "for no good reason," or "without a point of origin."

⁸¹The word used by Gesshō is *kyōkan* (K. *hyangwan*) which means one's place of birth as well as the realm of the Buddha's and the patriarch's: the realm of enlightenment. Han's verse uses the synonym *kohyang*. This complex poem by Hyegūn uses the word *ka*, or home, which refers to a physical structure, and here the consciousness of human beings is implicitly likened to a physical structure. The underlying meaning, nevertheless, bears comparison with Han's verse, and in both cases, home or hometown can be taken to mean the original luminousness of the mind which spiritual enlightenment reveals. For this poem by Hyegūn and critical comments on it, see Yi Chongch'an, *Han'guk Pulga shimunhak saron* (Seoul: Pulgwang Ch'ulp'anbu, 1993), pp. 214-215.

verse, on the other hand, contains a fundamentally different depiction. In order to understand this, we must first address Han's responses to the two literary allusions embedded within Gesshō's poem.

The first was Gesshō's allusion to his age and purpose through his reference to the *Analects of Confucius* (Lun-yü). When he states his "resolve" to leave home in order to "study," he immediately recalls Confucius' statement: "At the age of fifteen, I resolved to study."⁸² Han responds to Gesshō's resolution with "anyplace a manly man goes is home." This is a Zen Buddhist response through which Han says that to consider enlightenment as something to be found beyond one's own mind, or home, is to fundamentally misconstrue the meaning of enlightenment: the awakening to the original purity of the mind which is innate.⁸³ Han thus focuses on the notions of departure and return which Gesshō takes for granted, and he instead presents the Buddhist notion of non-duality—neither leaving nor returning—emphasised in Hyegūn's verse. Yet Gesshō's poem seems to have been less a religious statement than a secular poem, and to a degree the explicitly religious aspect of Han's verse unduly emphasises the Zen Buddhist implications of Gesshō's poem.

Apart from this religious response, there is yet a mundane response which is more interesting insofar as it centres on masculinity—the "manly man"—and thus strictly deals with Gesshō on his own terms. This ideal of masculinity is contained in the expression "manly man" (K. *nama*; J. *danji*) which bears a connotation in Japanese and Korean secular usage different than what is found in Chinese. As in

⁸²Confucius' statement is found in the fourth section of the second chapter of the *Analects*. I have used Pak Ilbong, *Nonō* (Seoul: Yungmunsa, 1996). It includes original text, translations, and commentary; for this quote, see pp. 60-61. To my knowledge, no Japanese commentator has explicitly remarked on this reference which indeed may be one of the reasons why some critics say that Gesshō wrote the poem when he was fifteen. If it was in fact first written when he was twenty-seven (as noted in Misaka Keiji, op. cit., p. 396), then it is simply retrospective: a twenty-seven year old man envisioning himself as he was when he was fifteen. Whatever the case, the poet wants to present himself as a robust fifteen year old.

⁸³For a brief, but critical reading of the religious implications of Han's verse, see Ch'oe T'achō, *Hyōndaeshiwa hanshi*, op. cit., pp. 108-109.

Chinese, this expression can mean simply a male child or a son; but in Japanese and Korean, it can also be used to epitomise those qualities which make a man a man: resolution, strength, and above all, courage. In Japanese, this is *jōfu*; and in Korean, *changbu*. This term also has a Buddhist resonance insofar as it may refer to a student of Buddhism who continually strives in his or her practice despite any and all obstacles, and in a Buddhist context, the term *jōfu* or *changbu* (C. *chang-fu*) thus can be used for either male or female disciples.⁸⁴

Both Gesshō and Han are men, and as a consequence, it is fitting that their poems are written from a male point of view. In each there is the recognition that it takes courage to leave one's home, and like Gesshō, as a young man Han too was eager to leave his hometown and see the world. Han should have had great sympathy for this aspect of Gesshō's poem.⁸⁵ Both are sons who see themselves as real men: courageous and resolute.

Yet Gesshō's poem holds out hope for success and then return, even as he notes the uncertainty of it all. On this point, the first two lines of Han's verse can be read as a direct response to Gesshō whose mention of leaving in the first line and return in the second line exposes his homesickness, and the second line of Han's verse seems to be a direct response to the second line of Gesshō's poem. For Han, there is no homesickness for a real man and thus no need even to consider whether one will return home. A true hero's home is anywhere he is, and unlike Gesshō, Han is completely certain about one thing: You die whether at home or in some distant place. This response has the gravity of a thirty-nine year-old man responding to a callow fifteen-year-old.

⁸⁴See William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing Company, 1975 [reprint]), p. 54; also see Han'guk Pulgyo Taesajon P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, ed., *Han'guk Pulgyo taesajon* [in 6 vols.] (Seoul: Myŏngmundang, 1993), vol. 5, p. 750.

⁸⁵It is interesting to note that Han's burning desire to see the world is a common theme in some of his biographical essays. Moreover, he suggests very strongly that a life of religious cultivation could not settle for him the basic philosophical and religious questions which troubled him as a young man. See "Nanūn wae chungi toēōnna," pp. 410-412 in *Collected Works*, vol. 1, op. cit.; see especially p. 411. See also "Siberia kōch'yo sŏullo," *ibid.*, pp. 254-255.

The second allusion in Gesshō's poem was the pairing of failure and death, and this was taken from a poem by the Sung dynasty poet Su Shih, or Su Tung-p'o (1037-1101). This poem was meant to serve as a farewell to his beloved brother Tzu-yu, and in this poem the green mountains take on a sinister air as they become graves. Su Shih's verse plainly recognises a duality between home and the world beyond one's home, and he laments his death away from his home and family.

(5) *I was apprehended by the Censorate. The prison official slightly ill-uses me, and I know I cannot endure; I shall die in prison and not be able to bid farewell to Tzu-yu. Therefore I write these two poems and give them to the jailer...to leave for Tzu-yu.*

Our Sage Ruler is like the Heavens, [creating]
springtime for all things.
This insignificant servant is doltish and benighted, and
has brought about his own death.
I pay my debt before I have completed the full span of years.
Ten mouths will have no home--they will burden you
yet more.
You can bury my bones anywhere there are green
mountains.
In later times you will grieve alone on rainy nights.
We shall be brothers throughout many lives:
In the life to come, we shall again be bound by this
uncompleted karma.⁸⁶

While Gesshō accepts that one might certainly die in a distant land, his very notion of success presumes that one must return home. To return home is to be successful, and to succeed, or die trying, is to be a true man. In the final couplet of Gesshō's poem, the parallel between "the green mountains" and "the ancestral graveyard" at once makes plain his acceptance of death as the cost for trying to succeed even as he asserts his preference for being buried at home, among the

⁸⁶For this poem and its translation, see Michael A. Fuller, *The Road to East Slope: The Development of Su Shi's Poetic Voice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), pp. 246-247.

graves of his ancestors, to where he hopes to have returned as a success. In this respect, he borrows not only Su Shih's expression, but moreover uses this expression for the same purpose, and both poems betray the same frame of mind. The nuances derive from the slightly different contexts: Su Shih writes from the point of view that his failure will shortly result in his death and Gesshō, from the point of view that failure axiomatically results in death. But unlike Su Shih, Gesshō is optimistic, and as a vigorous youth, there is an element of bravado in his seemingly austere acceptance of death. It is not convincing, but rather seems to be a mask beneath which we sense his confidence. Indeed, the final line of his poem in and of itself is not particularly gloomy in spite of the fact that the expression "green mountains" is a metaphor for "tombs."⁸⁷ Moreover, it is ironic that in Korea this final line itself has become a proverb which preserves the intended meaning that one can die anywhere and conversely, the more optimistic interpretation that one make a life for oneself anywhere.⁸⁸ It can be taken both ways.

Contrary to both Su Shih and Gesshō, Han's verse admits no such dichotomy between death at home or in some distant land. His very definition of the true man abolishes this distinction by focussing to the exclusion of all else on the idea of home which, for him, is an endless variety of places transmuted into home by the presence of the heroic "manly man." By virtue of the true man's very existence, anyplace is home for him. This has an air of optimism which paradoxically occludes what he is actually saying, and his meaning is unmistakable when placed beside the poems of Gesshō and Su Shih.

In Han's verse, one's home or hometown is not the site of birth, but rather the site of death: One's native place is where one dies, whether one was born there or not. There is no room for metaphor of the sort implicit in Su Shih's poem or

⁸⁷See Abe Yoshio and Akatsuka Tajiashi, eds., *Obunsha kanwa jiten* (Tokyo: Obunsha, 1984), p. 146 and p. 1,118.

⁸⁸See Han'gul Hakhoe, ed., *Urima! k'ŭnsajŏn* [in 2 volumes] (Seoul: Ōmun'guk, 1994), vol. 2, p. 3361.

made explicit in Gesshō's subsequent slight modification of it. Through the medium of Gesshō's "A Poem Written on a Wall," Han paints his own experience of enlightenment as the recognition of death as a fact without cause or consequence of the type clearly recognised by the two other poets: In Gesshō, failure causes death, and in Su Shih, the consequence of death, or at least the anticipation of it, is lamentation. Han's statement is sturdy and compact by comparison: partly by virtue of the absence of any metaphor whatsoever. It is a conception worthy of the man about whom both he and Gesshō speak, but whereas Gesshō's acceptance of death strikes a note of machismo, and is thus somewhat hollow and incredible, Han's definition of manhood is stark.

The fact that the final line of Gesshō's poem allows for an optimistic interpretation is especially significant insofar as there is a neat reversal in Han's verse. Gesshō's surface-level pessimism masks his hidden optimism; Han's surface-level optimism masks an attitude which most would describe as pessimism. This can be best brought into relief by placing the final couplet by Gesshō before the first couplet by Han. This suggests a conversation, which is, indeed, the way in which it seems Han himself thought of his verse:

For burying bones,
 how can it only be in the [ancestral] cemetery?
Anyplace the manly man goes, green mountains are found.

and Han's rejoinder:

Anyplace the manly man goes is home,
Yet some spend so long longing for home.

But this is not, strictly speaking, pessimistic since pessimism implies an alternative, and such division seems to be precisely the manner of thinking which Han's expression obviates.

Seeing Things: Sitting Atop a Tiger's Head

In an essay on the poet-translator Kim Talchin, Kim Inhwon refers to the first couplet of Han's verse to make an interesting point. He notes that it is a commonplace for Zen monks to compare the erasure of their spiritual doubt,⁸⁹ of which Han spoke in his introduction, to returning home, and he further notes the utmost importance of this spiritual doubt (*uijōng* or *uišim*)⁹⁰ for enlightenment: "[One] must first deeply doubt. Did not men of old say that doubt was like riding atop a tiger's head?"

As Robert Buswell notes, this spiritual doubt is the "spirit of inquiry" "through which the original unity of the mind [is] restored,"⁹¹ and Kim Inhwon's emphasis on Han's doubt is thus well-founded. What he goes on to say is, however, the crux of his comparison with Kim Talchin, whose "ascetic egalitarianism, instead of casting off doubt, took doubt [itself] as one of the essential characteristics of life [whereby he] attempted to bring under control his doubts and passions." In contrast, he says of Han that:

It is certainly impossible to perfectly untangle the meanings of "'production and annihilation (*saengmyōl*) is not production and annihilation (*pulsaengmyōl*)' and the 'passions are enlightenment [K. *pōnnōe chūk pon*; J. *bonnō soku bodai*],' and yet it is not difficult to grasp that escaping the darkness and searching for the light is not the way which exposes the thingness of things (*samulū sanultaum*)"⁹² [emphasis added].

This strikes me as an astute evaluation, and we hear in it a faint echo of the famous statement by Ch'ing-yūan (1067-1121), a Sung dynasty Zen master:

⁸⁹Kim Inhwon interprets Han's introduction as a statement marking his erasure of spiritual doubt; see Kim Inhwon, "Ch'ōnggyōhago malgūn kos-- 'ch'ōngch'un'-ron," pp. 499-510 in *Kim Talchin shijōnjip* (Seoul: Tosō Ch'ulp'an [Munhak Tongne], 1997). My interpretation is slightly different. For this, see below.

⁹⁰In Japanese, these two terms are *gijō* and *gishin*, respectively. Another similar term is *ūidan* (J. *gidan*). For a description of the minor nuances in these terms, see Nakamura Hajime, *Bukkyō-go daijiten* [in 3 vols.] (Tokyo: Tōkyō Shōseki Kabushiki Kaisha, 1975), vol. 1, p. 221.

⁹¹See Robert Buswell, *The Korean Approach to Zen: The Collected Works of Chinul* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), p. 68 and p. 394.

⁹²See Kim Inhwon, op. cit., p. 508.

Before I had studied Zen for thirty years, I saw mountains as mountains and waters as waters. When I arrived at a more intimate knowledge, I came to the point where I saw that mountains are not mountains and waters are not waters. But now that I have got the very substance I am at rest. For it is just that I see mountains once again as mountains, and waters once again as waters.⁹³

But the underlying problem is what precisely distinguishes Han from Kim Talchin? Kim Inhwon seems to see this distinction in terms of Han's cessation of doubt versus Kim Talchin's conscious living within doubt, and this distinction seems reasonable. Nevertheless, it still leaves the question of which way "exposes the thing-ness of things," thus cutting off doubt?

Both Kim Inhwon's evaluation of Han's erasure of doubt and Ch'ing-yüan's statement imply that it is the recognition of the "thing-ness of things"--things in and of themselves--that is the defining feature of enlightenment. Although Kim's formulation is negative--"not the way"--and Ch'ing-yüan's is ultimately positive, both agree on this point, and moreover imply that to see the "thing-ness of things" is to lose one's doubt and attain enlightenment. Yet this is not exactly what Han is saying.

To speak of the "thing-ness of things" or "to see the mountains as mountains" implies that there is some other way to speak "of things" or "see the mountains," and we find this implication in both Ch'ing-yüan and Kim Inhwon, whose expression is but a generalisation of the principle stated by Ch'ing-yüan. But this very principle seems to affirm that individual things possess each an essence by which they are defined, and Ch'ing-yüan's use of mountains and waters as metaphors for mountains and waters and similarly, Kim Inhwon's "thing-ness of

⁹³Quoted in William R. LaFleur, *The Karma of Words: Buddhism and the Literary Arts in Medieval Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p. 23. A similar statement may be found in *The Blue Cliff Record*: "It is all judgements of intellectual consciousness; when the feelings of judgements of intellectual consciousness are ended, only then can you see through. And when you see through, then as of old sky is sky, earth is earth, mountains are mountains, rivers are rivers" [emphasis added]. For the original, see *Pi-yen lu*, op. cit., p. 149 b. line 29-p. 149 c. line 2; for the translation, see Cleary and Cleary, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 62.

things" do seem to suggest this sort of dualism between outward appearances and hidden realities.

Han, however, seems to be saying something simpler and perhaps, more profound. To express Ch'ing-yüan and Kim Inhwan's principle from Han's point of view, one might simply say that Han saw mountains and waters: that he saw things. And that he also recognised the erosion of the mountains, the flowing of the waters, and the disappearance or transmutation of those things not as something beneath which an abiding truth was to be found, but rather truth itself.

This break between the notion of things and their essences is implicit in key points in Han's philosophical statements where he suggests that the absence of essential qualities is the only credible source for enlightenment. Though never explicitly stated, this idea seems to rest on his view of the relationship between the mind and its perception of the illusory nature of phenomena.⁹⁴ Like the Japanese Sōtō Zen thinker Dōgen (1200-1253), Han suggests a conception of enlightenment contrary to the common interpretation that the Buddha-nature is hidden behind the labile realm of phenomena and that to achieve enlightenment is to see beyond the phenomenal realm.⁹⁵

Instead, in both Han and Dōgen we find a philosophical conception of the mind which is wholly trans-anthropocentric and thus denies the primacy of sentience for enlightenment. Moreover, we encounter an absolute emphasis on impermanence itself as the very foundation for enlightenment. Impermanence, or illusion, is not a shield--or even a simulacra--of truth through which proper seeing can separate underlying truth from manifest illusion. Rather, the Buddha-nature is

⁹⁴This is quite clear in "Insaengün sahue ōttok'e toena," pp. 289-285 in *Collected Works*, op. cit., vol. 2. This idea and the following discussion are a slightly rearticulated and condensed version of issues discussed on pp. 42-71 in Gregory Nicholas Evon, "Insurrections of the Mind: The Buddhist 'Silence' of Han Yongun," M.A. thesis, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1995.

⁹⁵For Dōgen, see: Masao Aizawa, *A Study of Dōgen* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992); Kim Hee-Jin, *Dōgen Kigen--Mystical Realist* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1975); William R. LaFleur, ed., *Dōgen Studies* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985); and Joan Stambaugh, *Impermanence Is Buddha-nature* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990).

impermanence itself, and impermanence is Buddha-nature.⁹⁶ It thus seems to be the mind's perception of the mutability of itself and things which is the key to enlightenment, and both the introduction to Han's enlightenment verse and the poem itself do suggest such a conception.

The crucial portion of Han's introduction, which I have translated above as "my doubts were instantly resolved," brings into relief this issue between the common interpretation of enlightenment and what both Dōgen and Han seem to say. Han literally says: "[My] doubting perceptions (sensations, feelings, emotions, etc.), suddenly [instantly] undone [resolved] (*ũjōng tonsōk*)."⁹⁷ Yet in light of the poem itself, it does not seem that he is saying that he was released from his doubt.⁹⁸

Instead, Han's enlightenment points to an acceptance of doubt itself. This absence of certainty is in harmony with the first line of his verse in which home itself not a specific place, but rather all places which possess at once the possibility of becoming graves or sites of enlightenment. To this extent, Han does recognise the immanence of enlightenment—the Buddha-nature and the intrinsically pure, clean mind—and this is given greater force when he draws a comparison between himself, or the "manly man," and those who long for home: those who are deluded and thus unenlightened. If enlightenment is literally within ourselves, then surely it follows that wherever we are, so too is our enlightenment. Although Han takes this for granted, his primary focus is on the multiplicity of places, and multiplicity itself suggests both physical movement and literally, changes of scenery within which our relationship to things is altered even if we ourselves do not move.

⁹⁶See especially Stambaugh, op. cit., pp. 5-8 and pp. 41-42.

⁹⁷For the nuances of *ũjōng* [*J. gijō*], the translation used by Ch'oe Tongho, *ũsim* [*J. gishin*], and the term used below in relation to Dōgen, *gidan* (*K. ūidan*), see vol. 1 of Nakamura Hajime, ed., *Bukkyō-go daijiten* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Shōseki Kabushiki Gaisha, 1975), p. 221.

⁹⁸Ch'oe Tongho, op. cit., p. 274, translates this into Korean as "my doubting mind [*ũsim*] was pacified as if washed clean."

It is this idea of multiplicity which so clearly resonates in this poem. In the third line he notes that the "single noise [shouts and] shatters the universe." This is his enlightenment, and in his clarity he sees "peach blossoms fly amid the snow." One is first tempted to draw a connection between the shout and the falling of the blossoms, as if the sound itself has dislodged them from their moorings. The true connection, however, seems to be more obvious, and paradoxically, harder to see.

Instead, it is the shattering of the universe itself which allows him to see clearly. It is, of course, a primary concept of Zen that enlightenment cuts through habitual patterns of thought or ratiocination itself, but even then one is looking for the innate pure mind which is defiled by outward phenomena. For Han, the underlying source is taken for granted, but in and of itself, it is not enough. Temporal conditions are necessary; phenomena itself is requisite. Without these, enlightenment is neither needed nor possible even.⁹⁹

As noted previously, it seems that Han's initial use of "fly / afloat" was truer to his vision than the subsequent substitute of "red" and that he wanted to emphasise unforced movement. Kim Inhwan's comment on the "thing-ness of things" seems to err slightly on this point for at least in the original verse, it was not stasis or even continuity which Han saw, but the discontinuity derived from the shattering of the universe. The "thing-ness" which though based on "things" stands apart from them, is the lesser portion of what Han saw. For this, "red" would have been the most suitable way to describe the "thing-ness" of the peach blossoms. Yet like Buddha-nature itself, redness is assumed and in need of no further elaboration.

What does require elaboration is the apparent absence of continuity: the question whether there is some underlying order or pattern which can be recovered

⁹⁹This is also suggested in section 3 of his 1932 essay "Sŏn'gwa insaeng" [Zen and human life], pp. 310-318 in *Collected Works*, op. cit., vol. 2; see especially p. 313. Especially telling are his remarks, on p. 316, dealing with the omnipresence of Buddha-nature, its relationship to *ūijōng*, and most important, the importance of seeing traces and appearances (*hyōngsaek*) which are, he suggests, nothing other than Buddha-nature itself.

through the corrected gaze of enlightenment. In Hyegūn's poem "Radiant Zen, Seeking a *Gāthā*," the notion of unity is unequivocal, and we see that the underlying idea of Hyegūn's poem is fundamentally different from Han's. Unlike Hyegūn who sees a lack of differentiation and an absence of traces, Han sees traces and differentiation; where Hyegūn perceives an underlying unity binding all phenomena, Han sees discrete phenomena. The "one home" of Hyegūn unifies all things and provides order by depriving them of their difference. For Han, it is difference itself that matters.

If Han's manner of writing obviates the duality between things and their essential qualities, it does so by giving to each thing full existential weight. In this regard, Han is closer to Gesshō than either Su Shih or Hyegūn, both of whom presume continuity. For Su Shih this continuity is found in the next life; for Hyegūn this can be found in the present, if only one has an enlightened point of view. In Han, and to a lesser degree in Gesshō, the search for continuity is rejected for it assumes an inability to see things as they are. Where Han parts company with Gesshō is on the question of return. While Gesshō accepts the possibility of death, he also assumes that one can return to a place from which one came. By stating that anyplace is home, Han effectively denies the notion of home itself which is predicated on the belief of continuity and permanency.

Thus, the floating peach blossoms draw out the central vision of Han's enlightenment. He does not see peach blossoms in terms of their most conventional and easily visible attribute: their colour. On the contrary, he sees each of them in flight, scattering against the white backdrop of the snow. Paradoxically, this is the common point among the flowers, and moreover, between the flowers and the hero himself who, like these falling petals, is moving. As previously noted, it would seem that Han chose "floating" as opposed to "blown by the wind" because he seeks to give autonomy to the blossoms themselves.

Blossoms cannot have autonomy, but people can, and the seeking of this autonomy among those things beyond our control--the blowing wind-- is the very definition of manhood. In spite of Han's introduction to his poem, it seems impossible to find in it any cessation of doubt. He is thoroughly ambivalent save his assertion that anywhere is home for a man worthy of the name, and this apparent certainty utterly smashes the very idea of home embodied in the poems by Gesshō, Su Shih, and Hyegūn. It undoes itself.

While the blossom-ness of the blossoms is important, it is the movement of the blossoms in space and time which draws Han's gaze. He sees the thing-ness of things, but the primary constituent of things is their differences. These things are not static, and dissimilitude and change alone constitute likeness. In Han's verse, enlightenment and death are put on a par precisely because though they are so different, each can take place anywhere. Yet he does not suggest that they are alike in some fundamental sense. He does not seem to admit any underlying unity between the two states, but the respective uniqueness of each is undercut by something else so obvious that it escapes notice. That is, to say anywhere or anyplace is to admit to uncertainty itself, and it is the full recognition of this obvious fact alone which differentiates the "manly man" from the unenlightened.

Han's emphasis on movement, change, and discrete phenomena comes at the expense of a vision of unity. He sees diversity and multiplicity, and as in this poem, these characteristics are placed in the foreground. In this respect, the similarity between his and Dōgen's conceptions of enlightenment is even more compelling: in distinction to the common depiction typified in Hyegūn, the Buddha-nature is neither hidden beneath varied things, nor even the varied things themselves. It is rather the wholly indefinable and unquantifiable fact of variation itself.

There is in this vision a terrifying sense of uncertainty: that we are utterly without moorings. There is no glimmer of the hope found in Gesshō, and as such,

there is no need for lamentation as in Su Shih, who at least could take solace in the hope of future births and the completion of his karma; nor is there any sense of Hyegūn's calming vision that underlying the fractured appearances of reality is tranquillity and harmony. This would at least make endurable the world in which we are forced to live.

Instead Han's vision tosses us into mid-air, and to admit to this horrific fact--to see it clearly--is what it takes to be a man of daring and strength. In Han's vision of the shattered universe, the man floats among uncertainty, and the man of courage must do so, moreover, with his eyes wide open. Like the peach blossoms, such a man can appeal neither to fate nor natural circumstance: thus Han's use of "fly / float" which perfectly captures this lack of certainty. Were the blossoms "blown in the wind," then we too could take some degree of comfort in the certainty that what is has to be. Yet he denies even this.

Shattering the Universe, Falling through Space

The very same tension is found in Dōgen as well.¹⁰⁰ He was born into a life of privilege in politically volatile times, and by virtue of birth, he was made a pawn in family struggles. His grandfather and uncle wanted to adopt him with a view towards political advancement, and as an unusually bright child, he seems to have intuited from an early age the precariousness of his own existence. The point of stability in his early life was his mother for whom he felt great affection, and she protected him from the designs of her father and brother. When he was eight, she died.

¹⁰⁰The following biographical details of Dōgen are drawn from the study by Takashi James Kōdera, *Dōgen's Formative Years in China: An Historical Study and Annotated Translation of the "Hōkyō-ki"* (London and Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980). See pp. 16-35 for his early life and his "great doubt" which I assume to be *gidan* in Japanese: see p. 154, note 50, and p. 222 for the 1956 article by Seiryū Sōji on Dōgen's *gidan*. Although what follows is based on Kōdera, many of the points to which I attribute great significance reflect my own interpretation: in particular, the passage from the *Kenzei-ki*. For this, see below.

It was for him a crushing blow through which he came face to face with the existential problem of impermanence, and it is significant that the *Kenzei-ki*, a fifteenth century biography of Dōgen, notes of his mother's death: "[he thus] intimately realised the impermanence of the world of sentient beings."¹⁰¹ In light of his later philosophical question and moreover, the answer he ultimately gave to that question, it seems reasonable to see in his mother's death his foundation as an innovative thinker.

At the age of thirteen he fled to the Tendai Buddhist stronghold on Mt. Hiei where two years later he had a pivotal experience. While reading the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* he was struck by an apparent absurdity which was the source of his "great doubt" (*gidan*): If the sūtra is correct in asserting that "all sentient beings everywhere possess the Buddha-nature; the Tathāgata exists eternally and is without change,"¹⁰² then what need is there for practice? Nine years later, he went to Sung China to look for the answer.

His solution eventually came in 1225 and centred on an exhortation by his master T'ien-t'ung Ju-ching (1163-1228) to "drop the body and mind" (*shinjin datsuraku*).¹⁰³ This letting-go by which he was released from his "great doubt" later

¹⁰¹This biography was probably written by Kenzei during his abbacy at Eihei Temple, between 1468 and 1474. (For this and the quote, see Kōdera, op. cit., pp. 8-9 and p. 23, respectively.) It is difficult to ignore the likelihood that the biographer wrote this passage consciously alluding to Dōgen's innovative reading of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra*.

¹⁰²Kōdera, op. cit., p. 93.

¹⁰³Ju-ching most likely exhorted him to "drop the dust from the mind." This phrase is homophonous in Japanese; in Chinese, it sounds similar to what Dōgen is said to have heard. Thus, there is the possibility that Dōgen misunderstood Ju-ching. However, it is more likely that Dōgen altered his teacher's saying to accord with his individual experience of enlightenment. This question of individual experience is significant in relation to the similarities between Han and Dōgen. Kōdera notes: "The implication of this difference is of enormous consequence. If indeed it is true that the 'dropping the body and mind' is original to Dōgen, it describes his moment of enlightenment very differently from Ju-ching's 'dropping the dust from the mind.' While Ju-ching's expression aims at the restoration of the original state of the mind by removing defilement from it, Dōgen's expression assumes nothing to which an original state of purity needs to be restored. Ju-ching's 'mind' from which the dust is to be dropped may be analogous to the [way in which Buddha-nature was conventionally interpreted]. Dōgen's phrase, on the other hand, leaves nothing from which the body and mind are to be dropped" [emphasis added]. See Kōdera, op. cit., pp. 106-107.

led him to re-read the passage in which his "great doubt" had originated. In the single, great anarchical act of Dōgen's life, he defied the grammar of classical Chinese to interpret the passage as: "All are sentient beings, all things are the Buddha-nature; the Tathāgata exists eternally and is non-existent yet existent, and changing."¹⁰⁴ Thus Dōgen gave both the Buddha-nature and enlightenment itself an interpretation which fundamentally re-structured the conventional interpretation of the relationship between the two: "the Buddha-nature is not some kind of changeless entity [intrinsic to constantly changing sentient beings], but is none other than the eternally rising and perishing reality of the world."¹⁰⁵ In equating the *absence* of permanency and continuity with the Buddha-nature, or source of enlightenment, Dōgen managed to wrest from conventional metaphysics a philosophical understanding of the world which fit with his own experience that there is no permanency. As discussed above in relation to Han, the essence of Dōgen's quest for unity and certainty could only be satisfied by an acceptance that these do not exist, and also like Han, Dōgen looks "to the most ordinary, plain and obvious experience."¹⁰⁶

More than anything else, Dōgen wanted to get at the very root of all things, and to do so, he had to focus on impermanence itself: the single likeness common to all things. In making this the ontological basis for enlightenment, he made it necessary and thus acceptable, and as in Han, in Dōgen we find emphasis on multiplicity and discrete phenomena. Furthermore, his austere prescription of Zen practice made enlightenment and practice one and the same: to do is to be; to be is to do.¹⁰⁷ This mirrored the ontological equivalence he drew between the Buddha-

¹⁰⁴See Kōdera, op. cit., p. 62.

¹⁰⁵See Kōdera, op. cit., p. 62.

¹⁰⁶See Kōdera, op. cit., p. 78.

¹⁰⁷For this, see Masao Abe, "The Oneness of Practice and Attainment: Implications for the Relation between Means and Ends," in William R. LaFleur, ed., *Dōgen Studies* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), pp. 99-112.

nature and impermanence, and in both, there is no room for the past or future.¹⁰⁸ The present is everything, and while this emphasis was in accord with his intense concern over "propriety," this concern itself would seem to come into inevitable conflict with his belief that impermanence is the Buddha-nature.¹⁰⁹

During his early years as a priest, Dōgen was disillusioned by the worldliness of much of the Buddhism he encountered: On Mt. Hiei there were monk-soldiers; elsewhere, teachers were willing to grant him recognition easily. As noted above, he seems to have been sensitive from an early age, and one senses that due to his intelligence, he could not accept either easy answers or easy recognition. He questioned everything, and it is significant that he would only accept Ju-ching's seal of recognition after questioning the master's motives. Even being told explicitly, "No, I am not setting my seal on you so easily," was not sufficient for Dōgen who was forced to query, in turn, "What do you mean by not setting your seal so easily?"

"I mean that you really have dropped both body and mind," reaffirmed Ju-ching. At this Dōgen finally bowed in homage, acknowledging Ju-ching's acceptance of him. "That's dropping off the dropping," Ju-ching said.¹¹⁰

Dōgen's quest for certainty and his intellectual acuity were fundamentally incompatible. He fully believed in the impermanence that he saw, and yet what he saw deprived him of the very certainty he sought. Even the mediation of his novel reading of the relationship between the Buddha-nature and impermanence could not fully erase this tension.

¹⁰⁸It is interesting to note that although the distinction between Rinzai Zen and Sōtō Zen is often placed in terms of the sudden approach of the former and the gradualist approach of the latter, Dōgen's conception is, if anything, more "immediate" from this point of view.

¹⁰⁹In this regard, Faure's comments on Dōgen in his appropriately titled "Ritual Antiritualism" seem especially relevant: "Dōgen may be a good example of the seeming discrepancy between theory and practice—or between various theories and various practices." See Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan / Zen Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 289-290.

¹¹⁰See William Theodore de Bary, ed., *The Buddhist Tradition in India, China, and Japan* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), pp. 358-359.

In 1228 Ju-ching wrote a verse (6) in commemoration of his impending death:

For sixty-six years, my sins have filled heaven.
I take a cleansing leap,
And drop alive into the Yellow Springs.¹¹¹
Ah!
Birth and death have never mattered.¹¹²

As Dōgen prepared to die twenty-five years later, he too wrote a poem into which he incorporated the second and third lines of Ju-ching's verse. Both these verses, moreover, recalled the impetus for Dōgen's attainment and the subsequent conversation in which Ju-ching confirmed it: "dropping" is essential to both.

Yet in Dōgen's death verse (7), an overwhelming sense of uncertainty is brought into sharp relief. Here, the inherent tension within his interpretation of the Buddha-nature dramatically rises to the surface, and the lines borrowed from Ju-ching are cast in a different light:

For fifty-four years
I shone upon the highest heaven.¹¹³
I take a cleansing leap,
And shatter the universe.

¹¹¹"Yellow Springs" is not a pleasant image. It refers to the realm of the dead, or hell. For the original poem, see Yanagida Seizan, *Zen no yuige* (Tokyo: Chōbunsha, 1973), p. 189. For a slightly different translation, see Bernard Faure, *The Phetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan / Zen Buddhism*, op. cit., pp. 188-189. Faure quotes Paul Demiéville's translation which gives "making a cleansing leap" as "suddenly."

¹¹²The final line can also be interpreted as: "Birth and death have nothing to do with each other."

¹¹³These first two lines might also be read as: "Fifty-four years (have been) in accordance with [or, like] the first day." Also, it is worth noting that the "highest heaven, or the first heaven" (*daijiten*) might refer to the various heavens associated with Zen practice. (For these, see *Han'guk Pulgyo taesajōn*, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 45 and vol. 3, pp. 102-103.) If this is the case, then the highest heaven, or state, of Zen practice is, in fact, the fourth heaven; the problem rests on whether to interpret "number one, or first" (*dai ichi*) as a modifier which means "the highest" [*ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 44], or a reference to the first of the four levels. Although this point of interpretation is unresolvable within the limits of this discussion, I think that "highest heaven" is the safest translation. The possibility that he is referring to first of the four heavens, however, cannot be summarily dismissed, and this interpretation might slightly alter our reading of the poem. But as far as I can tell, I do not think that this problem greatly affects our understanding of the line. More importantly, were he in fact referring to the lowest level of Zen practice, the points made in the following discussion would not be contradicted, but actually would be given greater support.

Ah!

My entire body with nowhere to dwell:

I drop alive into the Yellow Springs.¹¹⁴

The phrase "shatters the universe" in Han's enlightenment verse and the phrase in Dōgen's death verse are virtually the same. In both, the word used for shattering or smashing is the same, and for the "universe," or the "billion worlds," Han merely wrote a synonymous three syllable expression where Dōgen had used a two syllable expression.¹¹⁵ As will be remembered, Han was originally intending to write a classical Chinese poem; he needed three syllables.

In the background of this expression in both Han and Dōgen is *The Blue Cliff Record*: a text brought to Japan by Dōgen who is said to have been "so impressed that he spent his entire last night in China sitting up and hand-copying it."¹¹⁶ Yet this line itself is not found in the text, in spite of the presence of somewhat similar ideas and expressions.¹¹⁷ It thus seems possible that Han was quoting Dōgen's verse: He studied in Japan in 1908 at the Sōtō Sect University

¹¹⁴For the original, see Yanagida, op. cit., p. 187. As Faure notes, this "seems to reflect an understanding radically different from [Ju-ching's];" for Faure's English translation and comments, see pp. 188-189 in Bernard Faure, *Rhetoric*, op. cit. As noted above, this radically different understanding is what Han and Dōgen seem to share; see below.

¹¹⁵The word for "shattering" or "smashing" is *p'a* in Korean and *yaburu* in Japanese. For the "universe," Han uses the three syllable expression *samch'ōn'gye* while Dōgen uses the two syllable *daisen*. These are synonymous expressions which are both contractions for a longer word meaning the great tri-chiliocosm, the billion worlds, or simply, the universe: in Sanskrit, the *Tri-sahasra-mahā-sahasra-loka-dhatu*. For this, see Soothill and Hodous, op. cit., p. 61.

¹¹⁶See Cleary and Cleary, op. cit., vol. 1, p. vii.

¹¹⁷Two good examples are found in the ninety-fourth and ninety-sixth cases of the *Pi-yen lu*, op. cit.: p. 215 a. lines 15-17 and p. 222 c. lines 17-18. These correspond to Cleary and Cleary, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 599-600 and p. 631, respectively; however, to appreciate the similarity with Han's and Dōgen's verses, the original text should be consulted. It is also interesting to note the use of "smashing" in a poem by the Korean Zen master Soyo (1562-1649) who wrote a piece in which the third line reads: "[I] smash the mirror giving forth shadowless traces." This line owes much to the statement by the Sixth Patriarch, Hui-neng who is quoted in the ninety-fourth case of *The Blue Cliff Record*: "Enlightenment basically has no tree; the clear mirror also has no stand. Fundamentally there is not a single thing; how is it possible to be defiled by any dust?" (For the original, see the *Pi-yen lu*, op. cit., p. 217 c. line 28-p. 218 a. line 1; for this translation, see Cleary and Cleary, op. cit., p. 599.) But while Han's and Dōgen's lines both recall this statement by the Sixth Patriarch, their "smashing" is more radical: the universe instead of the mirror. (For a discussion on Soyo, his poem and its influences, and its relationship to the Sixth Patriarch, see Kim Unhak, *Pulgyo munhakui iron* (Seoul: Ilchisa, 1990), pp. 195-197.)

(Sōtō-shū daigaku) and so might have had the opportunity to have read it. Yet, such a connection seems impossible to prove, and so one might focus instead on the similarity in their poetic expressions and their distinction in relation to Ju-ching.

Ju-ching's drop into hell at least finds a cause in his sins. Dōgen, on the other hand, not only gives no cause, but instead is fully cognisant that death comes despite the fact that he "shone upon the highest heaven." Facing the inevitable, both Ju-ching and Dōgen "drop alive into the Yellow Springs," but in Dōgen there is a rupture of the pattern of cause and effect. In a sense, there are only effects. If a strict interpretation of the idea that impermanence is Buddha-nature does tend to move in this direction, then this verse takes it to its inevitable conclusion: there is "nowhere to dwell!"¹¹⁸

Significantly, this rupture is mirrored by Dōgen's "shattering the universe." In a philosophical sense, at least, this is precisely what he had done, and it is telling that he explicitly records this fact in a "departing verse" which "was not simply intended to testify to the master's enlightenment; it was producing it and contained, in the literal sense, its 'essence.'"¹¹⁹

In a book devoted to the death verses of Zen masters (J. *yuige*; K. *yugye*), Yanagida Seizan places the poems by Ju-ching and Dōgen into a separate section appropriately titled "Alive, Falling into Hell" (*ikinagara kōsen ni otsu*). He remarks that in Dōgen's poem the line borrowed from Ju-ching strikes the reader as being "extremely out of place" (*hanahadashii iwakan*). Moreover, he suggests that this line is terrifying: that the very act of reading it invokes a physical response.¹²⁰

According to Yanagida, Dōgen used this line not simply in homage to his teacher, but because the two shared a similar conception of their lives and deaths,

¹¹⁸This aspect of Dōgen's poem provides good evidence, I think, that he in fact took Ju-ching's phrase "drop the dust from the mind" and altered it to "drop the body and mind." Kodera's comments on the implications of this alteration and how the two phrases seem to reflect the thought of each are supported by the striking differences of their death poems. For Kodera's comments on this point, see note 103 above.

¹¹⁹See Faure, *Rhetoric*, op. cit., p. 189.

¹²⁰Yanagida, op. cit., p. 187.

and for Yanagida, this line is not meant to be interpreted as an oblique reference to Buddhist ideals: Dōgen and Ju-ching are not writing metaphorically, nor suggesting that they are going to hell for the salvation of other beings.¹²¹ According to him, they literally thought that they were going to hell. He notes that both men were aware of an idea now largely forgotten and that our ignorance of this idea impedes our correct understanding of the message they were conveying. If I understand him correctly, he assumes that in their religious and philosophical context, they would have thought that their roles as teachers might have resulted in them dropping into hell.¹²² Thus, what seems "out of place" in Dōgen's poem is instead fully appropriate according to Yanagida.

This supposition seems fully consonant with Ju-ching's poem, and in fact, explains the sins to which he refers in the first line. More important, however, is the fact that in following the line of thought proposed by Yanagida, Dōgen's "shining upon the highest heaven"—his teaching—becomes itself a sin which leads to his fall into hell. In this fashion, Dōgen's poem complements Ju-ching's to the extent that it explains, if only implicitly, that to "shine upon heaven" is to commit a sin: something done by both masters. Yet Yanagida is concerned not with the

¹²¹ Yanagida, op. cit., p. 187.

¹²² Yanagida, op. cit., p. 191. Yanagida refers to the priest Zensei, or Zenshō (J. Zensei [Zenshō] *biku*; C. Shan-hsing *pi-ch'iu*; K. Sōnsōng *pigu*) about whom much is written in the thirty-third chapter of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra*. Yanagida notes that although Zensei became adept in the study of the twelve divisions of the Buddhist canon, he nonetheless ended up dropping alive into hell. Yanagida's comments on this point deserve amplification: Zensei ended up falling into endless hell because he lost all his spiritual attainments after having first mastered the canon and moreover, having attained the fourth, or highest, level of Zen discussed above; his name is synonymous with a lack of faith and the impossibility of achieving Buddha-hood. The central episode in Zensei's downfall was that after breaking his ties to the realm of desire, he went back to the scriptures and attempted to untangle their meanings "gāthā by gāthā, phrase by phrase, and word by word." He could not do so, and as a consequence became close with "evil friends." The result was that his attainment of the highest Zen was ruined, and he began saying that neither the Buddha, nor the law, nor nirvāṇa existed. (For a synopsis of this story, see *Han'guk Pulgyo taesajon*, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 578.) Precisely how this might fit with Ju-ching's verse, I am not sure, and Yanagida does not offer much clarification. However, Zensei's attachment to words seems perfectly apposite Dōgen: his re-reading of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* and even his linguistic formulation mentioned earlier: that "only the painting of a rice-cake can satisfy hunger." Seen from this angle, the "highest heaven" of which Dōgen spoke was most likely that fourth level of Zen which Zensei also reached.

poems individually as much as the single line "I drop alive into Hell." By virtue of this focus, one is liable to overlook the overwhelming dissimilarity between the two poems.

Ju-ching's poem is fundamentally philosophical, and his fall into the Yellow Springs is given simply as a fact which is a logical consequence of his life. It is from the first comprehensible insofar as he supplies the cause and the effect and places them next to each other: his sins lead to his fall into hell. In light of Yanagida's explanation, the nature of these sins themselves become comprehensible. Dōgen's poem, on the other hand, is fundamentally physical. From the smashing of the universe, to the absence of any place to dwell, and finally to his conscious fall into hell, one is made to feel keenly in Dōgen's poem the terror of the fall precisely due to the physical manner in which it is described.

Han's poem, like Dōgen's, suggests that one can only see in the present, and that to see in the present is to see impermanence. In Han, it is the absence of a home which characterises this view, and similarly, in Dōgen, it is the absence of a place to dwell. In distinction to both Han and Dōgen, Ju-ching regards his drop into hell as "cleansing" and suggests that he not only willingly drops, but rather that he leaps alive into hell. He also comments on this by saying that "birth and death have never mattered." This allows a philosophical perspective from which we are able to view his "drop into hell." In short, Ju-ching seems to see in his sins and his hell-bound descent the sort of underlying unity already discussed in relation to Hyegūn, and as a consequence, these things truly do not matter.

The same cannot be said so easily for Dōgen who simply ends his poem as he drops alive into hell, and in its new context, the line takes on a new significance. Since Dōgen was most concerned with the present, it is appropriate that he end his poem by focussing on the immediacy of his experience, and as a consequence, we are left with little to say. Dōgen offers no larger perspective, no comment; but merely records his descent simply as a matter of fact.

Han's enlightenment verse likewise records a moment of descent, but this time it is blossoms which are falling. Though Han makes no mention of hell, his verse too deals with death which, like Dōgen, he views from no privileged philosophical vantage point: to see is to accept the absence of underlying unity, and to see in this way is to shatter the universe. Ultimately, this depiction offers no neat answers; it merely suggests that an attitude and perspective that takes the present seriously as the principle starting-point is essential.

Conclusion

When Han recorded "peach blossoms fly[ing] amid the snow," he recorded a vision of that which could not have existed in the real world, and that was, I think, the point: to make clear the nature of his un-ordinary experience of enlightenment. For peach blossoms to bloom on the third day of the twelfth month is singularly odd both biologically and more importantly in this context, textually. The *Blue Cliff Record* is clear on this point: Peach blossoms bloom on the third day of the third month, and it is on this day that a man who is ready can experience enlightenment. He is compared to a fish which turns into a dragon: "horns sprout on his head, he raises his bristling tail, catches hold of a cloud, and flies away."¹²³

To see peach blossoms in December is nearly as odd as a fish becoming a dragon; yet within Han's verse, his clear vision of these non-existent blossoms has a greater significance. That is, by placing peach blossoms and snow within the same context, each negates the other; and all that is left is unforced movement: that floating downward which alone is what snowflakes and peach blossoms have in common.

Han's description of his enlightenment presented a counter-position to the Buddhist notions found in Gesshō's poem and implicitly, those in the poem by Su

¹²³See the *Pi-yen lu*, op. cit., p. 148 a. lines 10-12; for the translation, see Cleary and Cleary, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 51.

Shih. These two were foils by which Han painted his own depiction of manliness which was at once secular and religious. Yet, Han's enlightenment verse bears the greatest similarity with Dōgen's death verse which records death as a moment frozen in time. Neither Han's nor Dōgen's verse was concerned with the causes of the fall so much as the need to record the act of seeing the fall itself.

Whereas Han's enlightenment verse raises a host of complex philosophical issues, the majority of his classical Chinese poems merely demonstrate an attitude towards the world. Yet despite the paucity of explicit Buddhist themes in these Chinese poems, these serve to represent, nonetheless, a way--or ways--of seeing in a more general sense. As will be discussed in the conclusion to the next section, a reading of these poems will allow us to appreciate both the motivation Han had for turning to free verse for *Silence* and the degree to which that vernacular collection appealed to Buddhist ideas.

Section 3

A Representative Selection of Han's Classical Chinese Poems

(I) *Poems of Friendship*

Although Han mentions a number of people in his Chinese poetry, it is his elder Pak Hanyōng (1870-1948) who figures most prominently. Han often calls him by his Buddhist name, Yōngho, to which he often adds the respectful title *hwasang*, or reverend, which denotes a master-teacher of Buddhist doctrine.

These poems are marked by a sense of deep respect and affection, and one senses that each saw in the other admirable qualities, though in different proportions: Yōngho, the traditionalist scholar with an active interest in modern education; Han, a Sōn Buddhist practitioner who was also a writer and activist, and the more modern of the two. It would appear that the nine years' difference in age between the two was significant due to the rapid changes occurring in Korea at that time, and this view is supported by a statement attributed to Man'gong: "If Pak Hanyōng is the grandfather, [Han] is the father."¹

As with Song Man'gong (1871-1946), Han's friendship with Yōngho seems to have been a complex affair which probably resulted, at times, in more than a little annoyance on both their parts. Yet, as with Man'gong, this friendship endured in spite of the many difficulties during the tense years of the Japanese colonial period. The 1913 publication of Han's *Treatise on the Reformation of Korean Buddhism* was made possible through Yōngho's intercession. At the publication company there had been intense concern over the content, and the cover page of *Reformation* bore the mark of Yōngho's participation: It read "written by Mr. Han Yongun" (Han Yongun-kun *chō*). The use of "Mr." to designate the

¹See Ko Ūn, [Ko Ūn *chōnjip* 3] *Han Yongunŭi sasanggwa saengae: nūnman nimi anida* (Seoul: Tonggwang Ch'ulp'anbu, 1985), p. 308.

author made plain the fact that someone else had prepared this line, and the opposite side of the page carried one of Yōngho's many names and credited him with preparing the division of the text and the table of contents. Through Yōngho's imprimatur, Han's ideas were made available to a larger Buddhist audience, and the two men were, in Han Chongman's succinct evaluation, "men each with a deep affinity for the other."²

(1) *Presented to Reverend Yōngho: Recording I Was Unable to Meet Him*³

The jade lady plays her zither
in a house among the willows;
The phoenix soars high and dances,
causing immortals to descend.
At the low wall beyond the bamboo,
the person is not seen;
Separated by this window,
sadness goes on forever.

(2) *Presented to Pak Hanyōng: On My Return to Ose Hermitage
From the Capital*⁴

The whole sky with a shining moon--
where are you?
Through ground covered with red maple leaves,
I came alone.
The bright moon and crimson maples
will forget each other;
Yet there is only my heart,

²ibid., p. 198 and p. 189.

³Ch'oe Tongho, *Han Yongun shijōnjip* (Seoul: Munhak Sasangsa, 1989), p. 133; hereafter, CTH followed by page number. This poem is a seven syllable quatrain in the Modern Style; however, it employs the variant Korean pattern discussed above: the tonal pattern at the second syllables of the first couplet are repeated at the second syllables of the second couplet.

⁴CTH, p. 272. This text has a misprint at the fifth syllable of the third line: *su* (*pirok*; even though, granting that) should be *kong* (together). For the correct version, see Ch'oe T'achō, *Manhae Chihunui hanshi*, op. cit., p. 168. Although the final line has two major tonal flaws at the second and fourth syllables, it is technically excellent in other regards: thus, a seven syllable quatrain in the Modern Style.

strolling with you.⁵

(3: 1-2) *Two Poems Written Upon Meeting Reverends Yŏngho and Yuun at
Sŏgwang Temple*⁶

(first)

Half a year of confusion--
our forces about to be split;
Pitying my uselessness,
we gather like the clouds.

In one night's lamplight,
we enjoy seeing each other;
Where I have no desire
to hear of all the vicissitudes of history.

Inside the hall at night, meditation has ended--
gathering human strength;
When a poem comes from a strange land,
give it to the geese.

The careless and lazy only know that
the comfortable life is good;
Bowing to the Golden Buddha,
and praying to the wise king.⁷

⁵This final line can also be taken as: "Yet there is only my heart wandering with the leaves and moon, etc." However, in the overall context of the poem, "you" seems to be the best choice.

⁶CTH, pp. 139-140. Both of the following two poems are seven syllable, full-length Regulated Verse (or Modern Style) poems which correspond perfectly to the two alternate forms of Regulated Verse recognised in Korea: In the first poem, the tonal pattern of the first couplet is reversed in the following three couplets, and in the second poem, the tonal pattern of the first three couplets is reversed in the final couplet.

⁷Although the name Yuun is not recorded in any of the relevant historical materials, it seems reasonable to assume that he is actually Chin Chinŏng (Buddhist name, Hyech'an; 1873-1941); from late in 1910 through 1911 these three men worked together to block the proposed merger between the Korean Buddhist institution and the Japanese [Zen] Sōtō Sect. (For Hyech'an, see Yi Chōng, *Han'guk Pulgyo inmyōng sajōn*, op. cit., p. 350.) The reference to the "splitting of our forces" seems to refer to the Korean Buddhist institution, and the "flock of geese" seems to mean either the pro-merger Korean faction or the representatives of the Sōtō Sect. The official documents for the merger probably included a poem--thus, "when a poem comes"--and following this line of thought, the final couplet would seem to refer to the pro-merger Korean faction which, according to Han, does not see the implications of its actions and instead is willing, for benefit, to proclaim obedience to the Japanese. All in all, this is precisely what happened.

(second)

"A true friend makes merit in this world"--
A few words go straight
to the centre of my heart.

We use up the night talking about heroes;
Change the topic to literature--
arriving at elegance.⁸

Migrating geese at the Maple Bridge,
like a distant dream;
Under a single lamp in this water-house,
I feel this poem is red.

Hopefully we'll make the misty moon
fine from time to time.
Chatting and laughing, we will return
together as white haired old men.⁹

The Maple Bridge: Quatrains by Chang Chi (8th Century) and Pak Hanyōng

Very little is known about Chang Chi who is nevertheless an interesting figure in the history of T'ang poetry. No more than forty of his poems have survived, and neither traditional nor modern critics have judged this body of work to be particularly important. Yet his quatrain on the Maple Bridge secured for him lasting fame.

Traditional critics were curious about the geographical setting of the poem and the question of whether temples during the T'ang did, in fact, ring their bells at midnight. On the contrary, modern scholarship has instead viewed the poem as an

⁸"Arriving at elegance" might also be taken as "until the clear breeze."

⁹Unlike the previous poem, this poem deals solely with friendship. The "water-house" (*su-ok*) seems to describe the appearance of the room in which the shadows cast by the lamp look like waves, and the redness of the poem-- on the surface level, at least--describes the red glow of the lamp on the white paper. In this context, the "water-house" seems also to refer to change, or labile phenomena, and this idea is amplified in the final couplet with "from time to time," and in particular, "return" (*kwi*) which also means "to die:" thus, the pleasant idea that we will die after having had a lifetime of good friendship.

"artistic organism" and focussed on its mix of the real and the imaginary, its use of language, and its formal, structural features.¹⁰

Apart from the enduring popularity of Chang Chi's poem, the Maple Bridge is also associated with Han-shan, or Cold Mountain. This was the location of the Chinese Ch'an (Zen) Cold Mountain Temple mentioned in the poem, and it was also the name of that shadowy T'ang Buddhist poet who, according to tradition, lived there in the seventh century.

Chang Chi, *Moored at Night by Maple Bridge* ¹¹

The moon sets and birds cry
through the frost-filled heavens;
The fishermen's fires by the riverside maples,
facing my fitful sleep.
Outside the walls of Ku-su,
Cold Mountain Temple--
Deep in the night, the sound of the ringing bell
reaches this traveller's boat.

Twelve centuries later Pak Hanyŏng visited Cold Mountain Temple where he took the opportunity to wittily remark that the fame (*sŏng*; literally, sound) of Chang Chi's poem far outweighed the achievements of Han-shan in spreading the teachings (*sŏng*; literally, sound) of the Way, or Zen, itself. Apposite the spirit of Pak's poem, he writes from the vantage of Cold Mountain Temple and mentions the nearby Maple Bridge, thus reversing the perspective of Chang Chi's poem.

Pak Hanyŏng, *Cold Mountain Temple* ¹²

¹⁰For these points, see Nienhauser, op. cit., pp. 203-204.

¹¹This piece is a quatrain in the Modern Style with seven syllables per line. For this poem and a discussion of the place names, see Kim T'aek and Yi Pyŏngha, op. cit., pp. 714-715; Ku-su is another name for the city of Su-chou which is located approximately one-hundred kilometres to the east of Shanghai.

¹²This is a Modern Style quatrain with seven syllables per line. For this poem, see Sŏkchŏn [Pak Hanyŏng], *Sŏkchŏn shich'o* (Kyŏngsŏng [Seoul]: Tongmyŏngsa, 1940), part two (*ha*), p. 7, b, lines 2-4. The poem on p. 7, a, lines 8-10 explicitly refers to Su-chou, mentioned above, and it seems that he was in China, near Shanghai, around 1919; for this, see Yi Yŏngil, "Hyŏndae Pulgyokyoyugui kŏin," pp. 143-156 in vol. 2 of *Pulgyo Chŏn'gi Munhwa Yŏn'guso*, ed.,

Palms, rain, and a misty bamboo grove
 in the darkness before the sky is clear;
 The midday bell still stirs
 my traveller's feelings.
 Maple Bridge, those magnificent lines,
 are worth a thousand gold coins;
 So much the more I realise the sound of the poem
 overwhelms the sound of the Way.

(4) *Matching Rhymes with Professor Asada* ¹³

(I offered this response to a poem on Zen meditation given to me by Asada Fuzan.)

Your natural disposition resembles mine--
 no hair between us.
 I laugh at my life,
 unable to carry through with my investigations.
 And instead I enter into
 so many entanglements.
 In the springtime mountains--
 when will I reach clarity?

Although Pak Hanyōng is a conspicuous presence in these poems, it is the mysterious Song Ch'ōngam, mentioned in the following poems, who is by far the most intriguing. If one knows much about Han's Buddhist friends and acquaintances, it is difficult to miss the likelihood that Song Ch'ōngam was actually Song Man'gong (1871-1946). Ko Ūn also assumes that the two were, in fact, one and the same.¹⁴

Hyōndae kosūng inmul p'yōngjōn [in 2 vols.] (Seoul: Pulgyo Yōngsang Hoebosa, 1994), p. 147. This poem is also given in Hyōnsōng, ed., *Yōngho taejongsa ōrok* (Seoul: Tongguk Ch'ulp'ansa, 1988), p. 258; although the note to the poem is useful, the Chinese contains two misprints in the first line, and the Korean translation has little similarity to the original.

¹³CTH, p. 212. This is a seven syllable quatrain in the Modern Style. (Han wrote the next line on the origin of the poem in small characters in his manuscript; for this, see Ch'oe T'achō, *Manhae Chihunui hanshi*, op. cit., p. 112. Throughout the rest of the translations, I will include in small type the notes he himself wrote in small print.) Professor Asada Fuzan was a teacher with whom Han became friends when he studied at the Sōtō Shū Daigaku, in Tokyo, during his half-year stay in Japan in 1908.

¹⁴See Kouin, *Kouin chōnjip-3: Han Yongunui sasanggwa saerjŭewa: nimnan nimi anida* (Seoul: Tonggwang Ch'ulp'anbu, 1985), p. 328.

Ch'ōngam is not recorded among those names Man'gong formally used during his life, but Toam (rocks [am] on the road, or Way of Buddhism [to]) was the name Man'gong used as a youngster,¹⁵ and the use of Ch'ōngam (rocks [am] of purity, or the Taoist Heavens [ch'ōng]) perhaps derived from a private joke between Han and him. Significantly, an implicit comparison between Buddhism and Taoism is the foundation for "Presented to Song Ch'ōngam" given below.

These poems which mention Song Ch'ōngam are unique within the collection for two reasons. First, two of them include notes which Han inserted into the poems themselves; they look much like journal entries. Yet, considering the titles and content of the poems, Han should have easily remembered what inspired these poems. As a consequence, these notes appear to have been written in the expectation that someone else might eventually read the poems to which they are attached. Second, the poems themselves are distinguished by a lightheartedness not readily seen in those poems about Pak Hanyōng. Han often seems to see Pak at a distance, and it is remarkable that in the first poem above, "Sent to Pak Hanyōng," Han describes Pak as a beautiful woman: "the jade lady." The symbolism manifests admiration and perhaps, even affection; but overall, Han seems conscious of both what he says and how he says it when dealing with Pak.

On the other hand, there is no such wariness when Han writes about Man'gong. Han takes him as a friend on an equal footing, despite the difference in their ages, and as discussed previously, a hint of this attitude can be seen in Han's introduction to the *Kyōnghōjip* where he referred to Man'gong simply as a "friend." Although I would not propose as a normative rule that Zen provides a basis for equality between two people, I do think that it did in this case. One of the foundations for their relationship seems to have been the recognition that each was a Zen master.

¹⁵For information about Man'gong's names, see Yi Chōng, *Han'guk Pulgyo inmyōng sajōn*, op. cit., pp. 210-211.

The most interesting aspect of the following poems, however, is that the depiction of Han's "comrade," Song Ch'ōngam / Song Man'gong, is fully apposite to those events mentioned earlier: Man'gong's vociferous censure of the Japanese Governor-General Minami Jirō in 1937, and then, three years later, his plan to stab Minami to death. Yet if the idea of Man'gong at seventy walking around with a knife seems to stretch credibility, the following depictions also provide some balance.

What emerges is a picture of a man who, unlike Han or Pak, was ill-suited to the time in which he lived. Han wrote for newspapers; Pak lectured at the Buddhist university. In contrast, Man'gong had only his lineage as a Zen master through which he had few options apart from the one he took: to serve as an abbot under the Japanese administration. In doing so, he was forced to deal with complex political problems for which he had little patience, and the solutions of which he could conceive were dramatic and simplistic. They were also passionate, and just like his assassination plan, there is nothing silly about his desire, in the following poem, to become a Taoist immortal (K. *shin-sōn*; C. *hsien*).¹⁶

In practical terms, this meant nothing more than becoming a recluse: disappearing into the mountains where he could be left alone to practice Zen, which is precisely what he seems always to have wanted. This desire was fully in character for Man'gong, just as that gentle reminder that "this world is the single paradise" was fully in character for Han.

(5) *At Kuam Temple, Reciting a Poem Together With My Comrade,*
Song Ch'ōngam ¹⁷

Distant travellers among the empty mountains--

¹⁶In Korea one can still encounter in the mountains those who have abandoned the world and call themselves *shin-sōn*.

¹⁷CTH, pp. 267-268. This poem has eight lines with seven syllables per line. It is in the Modern Style. The term for "comrade" is literally "brother" (K. *hyōngje*), and used in a Zen context, it has the general meaning of a fellow student of Buddhism. For this, see *Han'guk Pulgyo taesajōn*, op. cit., vol. 7, p. 195.

the autumn sun slants;
In this tranquil glow, our thinning hair--¹⁸
separated like silken strands.

Before illness, the green lichen moon
had already appeared;
After meditation, the yellow chrysanthemums
have not yet bloomed.

The evening willows,
whom do they prefer?
The leisurely flowing clouds are like us:
all without a home.

Of the 'bronze camel and thorn bush'--¹⁹
which is not a dream?
As it has always been,
heroes idly boast.

(6) *Presented to Song Ch'ōngam*²⁰

What a happy surprise
that we meet,
And together we take a trip
in the autumn mountains.

¹⁸I use "our" here since the title of the poem makes the first person plural explicit.

¹⁹This is a portmanteau quote drawn from a passage in the biography of the Western Chin (265-311 / 316) thaumaturge, Su Ching, contained in the *History [Documents] of the Chin* (Chin shu), and it refers to glory and destruction: A bronze statue of a camel stood beside a road near the royal palace in the capital, Luo-yang. One day Su Ching predicted calamity, and he pointed at the statue and sighed, "You [camel], who now stand in front of the palace, will soon be seen from the ruins of a castle overgrown by brambles." Then, in 311 the Hsiung-nu attacked the capital and killed the emperor, before finally gaining full victory, in 316, when they took the city of Ch'ang-an, to where the Western Chin government had fled. (For the source and meaning of the quote, see CTH, p. 267, note 3 and Ch'oe T'achō, *Manhae Chihunŭi hanshi*, op. cit., p. 164; for the dates and circumstances of the Western Chin's destruction, see Charles O. Hucker, *China's Imperial Past: An Introduction to Chinese History and Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), pp. 133-135.

²⁰CTH, p. 271. This poem consists of eight lines with five syllables each. Although there are several major technical flaws in terms of tonal variation, the general distribution of tones and the strict parallelism at the second and third couplets show that he was trying to write regulated verse: There was an obvious conflict between what he wanted to say and the technical requirements of the form he chose.

At sunrise, we look
at the whiteness of the clouds;
When night comes, we walk
under the moonlight.

Little stones
are silent by nature;
Old paulownias
naturally have their own voice.

This world is
the single paradise:
There is no need to look
for the Heaven of Immortals.²¹
(at this time Song wanted [to become] an immortal)

(7) *Twin Creeks Tower*²²

A tower cut off from the mundane world--
just like some eminent priest;
And despite our desire to get up there,
we definitely don't have the strength.

The cranes (there is a Crane Bluffs) have not returned
to heaven, and their fragrance yet hangs down;
I am now a wanderer
as autumn already swells.

²¹The "Heaven of Immortals" is literally the "triple purity" (*sam-ch'ōng*), or the "triple heavens," in which the Taoist immortals (K. *sōn*; C. *hsien*) live. Here it may simply be interpreted as an ideal world, or paradise, in juxtaposition to the real world in which we live.

²²CTH, pp. 269-270. This poem is in the Modern Style with eight lines having seven syllables each. The portions in small type are what he himself wrote in small print in his manuscript; see Ch'oe T'achō. *Manhae Chihunui Hanshi*, op. cit., p. 165. Judging by the various references in the poem itself, it would seem that Twin Creeks Tower refers to the Blue Crane Tower at Ssanggye, or Twin Creeks, Temple on Mt. Chiri in 'outh Kyōngsan province. This temple has a long and illustrious history: It was built by Sambōp (?-739) who was a student of the great priest Ŭisang (625-702). Sambōp went to T'ang China where he is believed to have obtained the head of Hui-neng (638-713), the sixth patriarch of Chinese Ch'an; upon his return to the Korean kingdom of Shilla (B.C. 57-935 A.D.), he eventually buried Hui-neng's head "in an unmarked grave" on Mt. Chiri and then constructed Ssanggye Temple. Roughly a century later, Chin'gam Hyeso (774-850) also travelled to T'ang China and brought back to Korea the art of Sanskrit chanting (*pōmp'ae*) and tea seeds which he planted around the temple grounds. For the history of Ssanggye Temple, see Yi Chōng, *Han'guk Pulgyo sach'al sajōn* (Seoul: Pulgyo Shidaesa, 1996), p. 401 and Ch'oe Wansu, *Myōngch'al sullye*, [in 3 vols.] (Seoul: Taewōnsa, 1996), vol. 2, pp. 98-101.

These cliffs hang down like a rainstorm,
alarming the maples;
The creek water that flows through
the cloudless trees is clear.

In this world, I too
have a brother [i.e., comrade]-- (at that time my comrade, Song Ch'ŏngam, and I
were climbing up to this tower)
I hope that on another day
we'll climb happily to the top!

(8: 1-2) *Offered to Zen Master Hangmyōng Upon My Departure*
From Yangjin Hermitage: Two Poems. ²³

(first)

Beyond this world
heavens are scarce;
And among mankind
hells are numerous.
Standing at the top of
the bamboo pole--
Why not take
one more step?²⁴

(second)

In confronting affairs,

²³CTH, pp. 241-241. Both poems are quatrains with five syllables per line; the first is in the Ancient Style, and the second follows the Korean variation of the Modern Style: the tonal pattern of the first couplet is repeated in the second. (Hangmyōng [ie. Hak-myōng; Buddhist name, Kyejong; 1867-1929] was a noted Zen master and enthusiastic proponent of the dictum by the T'ang Ch'an master Pai-chang Huai-hai (720-814): "If you don't work, you don't eat." Hangmyōng thus encouraged Zen temples to operate on the principle that monks should spend "half the day farming and half the day in meditation." From 1923 until his death he devoted himself to Zen meditation and the rebuilding of Naejang Temple in North Chōlla province. Since neither of the two hermitages named Yangjin are found at Naejang Temple, we can thus be fairly sure that this poem was written before 1923. For Hangmyōng, see Yi Chōng, *Han'guk Pulgyo iumyōng sajōn*, op. cit., pp. 24-25.)

²⁴Embedded in the final couplet is the Zen saying "[standing] at the top of a hundred foot bamboo pole, [why not] advance one more step" (*paekch'ōk kandu chin ilbo*). This is a conventional statement which means that one adds to one's investigations or exerts oneself even harder. For a brief discussion of this phrase, see *Han'guk Pulgyo taesajōn*, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 449; for a slightly different explanation, see CTH, p. 241, note 3.

agonies are many;
 In meeting people,
 there are enough separations.
 The way of the world
 was ever thus;
 And a real man
 accepts it [i.e., his direction].²⁵

(9: 1-2) *Two Poems Recited Together When I Met the Two Masters, Yōngho and
 Kūmbong, 26 in Seoul.*²⁷

(first)
 With our sparse, short hair
 we enter the red dusts [i.e., the worldly bustle],
 Sensing that this floating world
 is daily renewed.
 After the snow, the endless
 mountains all enter a dream;
 We turn to chatting leisurely
 about the men of the Six Dynasties.²⁸

²⁵This term "real man" (*nama*) was also used by Han in his enlightenment poem which was discussed previously. The similarity between this depiction of the "real man" and the depiction in his enlightenment poem is striking: especially so since "accepts his direction" (*im soji*) also means "confronts" or "endures" (*im*) the "place where [he is] going" (*soji*).

²⁶Kūmbong (1869-1916), known also as Pyōngyōn, was a man whose interests bore a remarkable similarity to Han's. He travelled to Seoul in 1895, when priests were finally allowed to enter the capital, in order to study Western Learning (*sōhak*) and develop his knowledge of practical studies (*shilsa kushi*; seeking truth in reality). He was also an able lecturer of the Buddhist sūtras. For this, see Yi Chōng, *Han'guk Pulgyo inmyōng sajōn*, op. cit., pp. 110-111.

²⁷CTH, pp. 233-234. Both poems are quatrains with seven syllables per line. The first is in the Modern Style, and the second follows the variant Korean form: the tonal pattern is repeated in the second couplet.

²⁸This poem is rich with Buddhist and literary allusions: "Short hair" undoubtedly refers to the fact that all three are Buddhist priests; "red dusts" is a Buddhist reference to the vexations of the secular world and also refers to that dust which is kicked up in a lively, bustling place. The implication is that these priests are meeting in the very centre of secular activity--the capital--where they see the epitome of the transient, floating world (*pusaeng*). The reference to the "Six Dynasties" highlights the joyousness of their chatting with one another and is, properly speaking, an historical / Taoist reference to a group of men in third century China known collectively as the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove (*Chu-lin ch'i-tzu*). These men turned drinking and talking for the sake of talking into an art, and their talking (C. *ch'ing-t'an*; K. *ch'ōngdam*: "clear talking") aimed at attaining the ideal of Taoist transcendence through talk which ignored the circumstances of this world. An example of this is found in a story about Liu Ling, one of the Seven: Criticised for walking around his house with no clothes, he shot back, "I regard heaven and earth as my shelter and my house as my clothing. So why do you gentlemen barge into my trousers?"

(second)

In poetry, I want sparseness and coldness [or, clarity].
and in wine, I want arrogance.
Heroes in one night
are all firewood gatherers.
I only fear the moon and lake
are nowhere to be found.
Once they dream of green hills,
they enter stillness.²⁹

(10) *Reciting a Poem at Night With Master Kumbong*³⁰

Wine and poetry meet together
in one corner of the heavens;
Why do thoughts last so long
in the still nighttime light?
Yellow chrysanthemums in bright moonlight
are like no dream;
And this ancient temple in desolate autumn
too is our home.

(11) *Written With the Two Masters Yōngho and Kumbong*
(at the Office for Religious Affairs)³¹

(For this, see Nienhauser, op. cit., p. 483.) Thus, in this poem, the priests' chatting leisurely about--and like--these Seven Sages allows them to leave behind the "red dusts." Also, see below.
²⁹In a sense, this poem builds on the idea of "talking" raised in the previous poem. "Arrogance" (*kyō*)-- the final syllable of the first line-- refers to that type of behaviour which might alternately be viewed by others as haughtiness, pride, rudeness, or more simply, the breaking of custom or good manners. In other words, that behaviour associated with men such as Liu Ling, mentioned above. As in the poem above, Han again refers to Taoism: here, it is the utopia spoken of by Ch'uang Tzu, and similar to "utopia"--literally, not (*ou*) a place (*topos*)-- Chuang Tzu's idealised paradise is that place "nowhere to be found." (For a brief explanation of Han's abbreviated expression, see CTH, op. cit., p. 234, note 6. The fuller expression from which Han's expression is derived is the title of the final section in the first chapter of the *Ch'uang-tzu*; see Sōk Inhae, *Changja*, op. cit., pp. 35-37.) However, Han's use of "peaceful" or "still" (*chōk*) in the final line introduces a Buddhist twist: "Peaceful" also means *nirvāṇa*. This is an ambiguous ending and can be interpreted many ways; however, I think that one reasonable and interesting interpretation is that to live apart from the world in rustic bliss is no different than being dead.

³⁰CTH, p. 244. This is a Modern Style quatrain with seven syllables per line.

³¹CTH, p. 232. (Ch'oe Tongho's edition misprints *sōng* (city, castle wall) and *tong* (east) as the first two syllables of the final line; the proper order is the reverse: *tong*, followed by *sōng*. If Ch'oe Tongho's version is followed, then the minimum requirements of tonal variation for a

In past years every thing was
 was unbearably remote;
 The countless aeons of desolation
 are all that remains of the dream.
 Spring does not appear early
 south of the river;
 Amid a blizzard in the eastern part of the city--
 reclining and reading a book.³²

(E) *Poems on People and One Historical Type*

Han's two most political poems were written in Chinese and dealt with the two great patriots of modern Korean history: An Haeju [An Chunggūn (1879-1910)] and Hwang Hyōn [Maech'ōn (1855-1910)]. In 1909 An assassinated the Japanese statesman Itō Hirobumi who had four years earlier played a crucial role in securing Japan's protectorate over Korea. The next step in this process came at the end of August 1910, when Japan formally annexed Korea.

Upon hearing news of the annexation, Maech'ōn grew so distressed he no longer was able to eat. So he bequeathed to his son four poems titled "Ending My Life" (*chōlmyōng-shi*), and then poisoned himself.

In addition to securing fame through this noble act of protest, Maech'ōn was also a renowned classical Chinese poet, and he had the unusual honour of being well known as a poet during his own lifetime.³³ Apart from Pak Hanyōng,

Modern Style quatrain are violated. For the original manuscript, see Ch'oe T'aeho, *Manhae Chihunui hanshi*, op. cit., p. 132.) This is a Modern Style quatrain with seven syllables per line.

³²This poem is rare in that we can discuss the setting with some degree of confidence, and we can do so thanks to the note Han wrote in fine print. As noted above, Kūmbong died in 1916; so we know the poem was written prior to that. In 1911, Han, Yōngho, and Kūmbong were all involved in the establishment of the *Chosōn Imjechong chongmuwōn* (Office for Religious Affairs of the Korean Lin-chi Sect) at Pōmō Temple in the far south near Pusan; then, in 1913, all three were involved in the establishment of the *Pulgyo chongmuwōn* (Buddhist Office for Religious Affairs). Korean Buddhist politics from 1910 through 1912 were particularly volatile, and the poem might refer to this period. "South of the river" (*kangnam*) probably refers to an area in Seoul, known as Kangnam, which is south of the Han River.

³³For the previous quote, see Chōng Min, "Maech'ōn Hwang Hyōnui in'gan' gwa munhak," pp. 152-156, in Hō Kyōngjin, *Maech'ōn Hwang Hyōn shisōn* (Secul: P'yōngminsa, 1995), p. 154; for his literary reputation, see Kim T'aegyōng, "Hwang Hyōn chōngi," pp. 146-151, in *ibid.*, p. 146.

Maech'ŏn was the only Korean poet to whom Han referred, and one also finds in Pak's classical Chinese poetry that Maech'ŏn's poems were held in the highest esteem.

(12) *Hwang Maech'ŏn* ³⁴

You went to your death with perfect equanimity,
paying your debt to your country forever.
Sleep for ten thousand ages,
and the flowers of the aeons will always be in bloom.
Don't hold on forever to your bitterness
in the next world;
There will be people to console you
for your painful loyalty.

Han's praise for Maech'ŏn's integrity acknowledges that Confucian patriot's sense of Confucian righteousness, and the poem thus somehow seems a timeless piece in the classical Chinese poetic tradition. On the other hand, his praise for An Haeju acknowledges that patriot's courage and sheer audacity-- his "hundred pounds of gall"--but does so with a satisfying mix of classical metaphor and factual accuracy.

The "frost" (*sang*) is a conventional metaphor for pure integrity, sternness, the sharpness of a blade, or the related meaning of destruction or ruin, and An Haeju's "frost with a scabbard" is, of course, all these things which are marked by his "perfectly tempered" intent. Yet "that single blade" is but a metaphor. The actual weapon was a gun, and in the final couplet Han describes the actual assassination with reference to both the report of the gun and the muzzle flash: the "clap of thunder" and the "iron flowers."

(13) *An Haeju* ³⁵

A thousand gallons of fiery blood,

³⁴CTH, p. 258. This is, in all respects, a well-constructed seven syllable quatrain in the Modern Style.

³⁵CTH, p. 257. The third syllable of the third line is a misprint; see Ch'oe T'aeho, op. cit., p. 154. This poem is a seven syllable quatrain in the Ancient Style.

and a hundred pounds of gall.
You perfectly tempered that single blade--
frost with a scabbard.
A clap of thunder suddenly smashes
apart the night's loneliness;
As iron flowers are in dizzying flight,
and the autumn beauty is high.

The following poem is unique within Han's corpus of classical Chinese poetry. It is a *yüeh-fu* ballad (K. *akpu*), and without knowing that he wrote it, one could easily mistake it for countless other ballads written one thousand and more years earlier in China. Unlike the previous two poems on actual historical events, however, this poem deals with an imagined past in which we find an eternal problem: worry over those whom we love. It is thus a poem not on any single historical event, but rather those types of events which plague humankind.

The poem is set in China as made clear by the reference to Jade Pass, or the Jade Gate Pass, which stood at the northwest frontier of the T'ang empire.³⁶ The unnamed enemy is the Hsiung-nu tribes with which China fought from early in the third century A.D., and here he speaks as a woman--or more accurately, as a stereotype of a woman--missing her husband or lover who has been conscripted and sent to the borderlands. If this is typical of the *yüeh-fu* genre, it is unique within Han's Chinese poetry. Moreover, the final line concludes in an ambiguous fashion. On the one hand, he seems to add a Buddhist devotional touch which seems fitting for the fixed poetic persona which he has adopted. Here, the lady vows "to study [the doctrine of] no-mind" (K. *mushim*; C. *wu-hsin*) in order, perhaps, to be free of her worries; yet with all she has said before this seems hardly credible, and thus, paradoxically, this final line perfectly conveys her sense of hopelessness. On the other hand, she speaks of "selling flowers" which is an

³⁶For the Jade Gate Pass and the Hsiung-nu, see Kim T'aek and Yi Pyŏngha, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-141, notes 1-3; the Jade Gate Pass will also be discussed below in connection with the T'ang poet Ts'en Shen.

expression equivalent to "selling smiles" which is, in turn, a euphemism for prostitution. This too might seem to underscore her hopelessness and the severity of her situation.

(14) *The Lament of the Expedition Soldier's Wife* ³⁷

I did not used to have grief,
but I worry about you;
Every year, there is no day
that is not autumn.

My pink cheeks have grown gaunt,
but what is there to worry about?
All I fear is
your white hair.

Last night I went south of the river
to pick lotus berries,
And those tears in a single night
increased the river's flow.

Among the clouds there are no geese,
and no fish in the water;
The clouds and the river, the river and the clouds:
I couldn't bear to look at either.

My heart is like a fallen petal,
withering in the spring breeze.
In a dream, I follow the soaring moon
and am ferried to Jade Pass.

With hands clasped,

³⁷CTH, pp. 198-199. Due to the subject matter, this poem fits into the *yüeh-fu* tradition, and in terms of technique, it is in the Ancient Style. It consists of eighteen lines with seven syllables each, and Han uses one rhyme in the first, second, fourth, and sixth lines; he then switches and uses another rhyme at the tenth and twelfth lines, and then switches again and uses another rhyme at the fourteenth, sixteenth, and eighteenth lines. There is a problem, however, at the final syllable of the eighth line: It is clear that he intends the eighth line to rhyme with lines ten and twelve, and in Korean pronunciation it does. But the syllable he uses, *kan* (to see), is not in the same rhyme category as *kwan* (pass, barrier) and *hwan* (to return). This mistake suggests the difficulties in prosody which Korean and Japanese poets faced when composing classical Chinese poetry.

I earnestly prayed to heaven:
That you would return, upon a horse,
with the colours of spring.
But you've not returned,
and spring has nearly passed.

The wind and the rain ceaselessly batter
the blossoming trees.
And of my worries, there's no need
to ask how they measure:
Springtime rivers and nighttime lakes
don't tell their depths.

With every thought,
there is worry;
So I sell the flowers and moon,
and learn to be without worldly thoughts.

Voices From the Past: Two *Yüeh-fu* by Li Po (701-762) and a Quatrain
by Liu Chung-yung (late 8th century).

Li Po, *The Moon Above Garrison Mountain* ³⁸

The bright moon rises over Heaven Mountain,
vaguely [seen] among a sea of clouds.
From ten-thousand miles and more, far-off winds
blow across Jade Gate Pass.

As the Han [forces] went down Po-têng Road,
the barbarians spied on Ch'ing-hai Harbour.³⁹
A land of constant conflict:
you don't see anyone return.

Sentinels watch over borderland villages,
thinking of home-- so many anxious faces.
This night in the grand houses,

³⁸Kim T'aek and Yi Pyŏngghan, *Tangshi shinp'yŏng* (Seoul: Tosŏ Ch'ulp'an, 1996), pp. 140-142.

This *yüeh-fu* is evenly divided into twelve lines with five syllables each.

³⁹"Po-têng Road" refers to the site of a famous battle between the Han and the Hsiung-nu in 200 B.C., and the area around Ch'ing-hai, the largest freshwater lake in China, was the site of many fierce engagements between the T'ang armies and those of the Tibetans who are, in fact, the "barbarians," or "Turks" (*hu*), to whom Li Po refers. For these and other points, see *ibid.*, p. 141, notes 4-5.

there should be no end to sighing.

Li Po, *Midnight (Melody From the Wu Dynasty)*⁴⁰

Under Ch'ang-an's moon,
The sound of fulling cloth in every home.
The autumn wind blows on and on;
Always feelings of the Jade Gate.

When will the barbarian foes be beat,
And my husband return from distant campaigns?

Liu Chung-yung, *The Lament of the Expedition Soldier*⁴¹

Year after year, Gold River
and Jade Pass again;
Morning after morning, my horsewhip
and dagger's [jade] ring.
In the third spring month, white snow
has returned to the Green Tomb,
The endless Yellow River
winds around Black Mountain.

(III) *Poems of His Travels in Japan*

⁴⁰ibid., pp. 142-143. This *yüeh-fu* has six lines with five syllables each. Wu (222-280) was one of the Six Dynasties (222-589), and it is said that "Midnight" was the name of a woman. "Midnight" was found in many titles of Six Dynasties *yüeh-fu*, and in this case, Li Po designates that the accompanying tune comes from the Wu dynasty.

⁴¹In terms of technique, this a Modern Style quatrain, even though it deals with a *yüeh-fu* topic. For this poem and the following explanation, see Kim T'aek and Yi Pyŏngha, op. cit., pp. 718-719: Gold River, or Chin-hê, was the name of a county located to the south of what is now Inner Mongolia, and Jade Pass was the name of a place in the far northwest of T'ang China; it will be discussed below. The "dagger's [jade] ring" was fastened to the end of a soldier's dagger, and is rich with poetic implication since "ring" (*huan*) and "return [home]" (*huan*) are homophones. "Green Tomb" is the name of the grave of Wang Chao-chün who was a lady in waiting at the court of Emperor Yüan-ti (r. 48 B.C.-33 B.C.) of the Former Han dynasty (206 B.C.-24 A.D.). She was an exceptional beauty, and shortly after being sent as a wife to the Hsiung-nu king, she died; it is said that although all the other grass withers in the harsh climate, the grass on her tomb always stays green. "Black Mountain" was located to the southeast of what is now Huhehot, a city in Inner Mongolia.

In 1908, at the age of thirty, Han went to Japan under circumstances which at best can be described as vague. He had earlier made an ill-fated attempt to travel to America through Siberia and Europe, and after his failure in this adventure, he returned to Korea where:⁴²

I found a hermitage secluded deep in the mountains of Sōgwang Temple, and began a life of Zen meditation....As I was doing this, for some reason or another, it seemed that hiding away in Korea was not the true spirit of a real man, and so I dashed off to Japan. Since that was a time in which the new culture of Korea was largely coming through Japan, I wanted to see not only its Buddhist culture, but the appearance of Japan in which the vitality of this new epoch was flourishing and thence reaching Korea. So after disembarking at Umanoseki [Shimonoseki], I went to Tokyo and looked for the religious office which served as the central governing body of the [Zen Buddhist] Sōtō-shū [sect]; there, I was given a loan by an eminent Japanese priest named Kōshin Setsuzan. Thus, through his warm friendship, I, who although had not one penny for tuition, enrolled into the Sōtō Sect University (*Sōtō-shū daigaku*) and studied the Japanese language and Buddhism.⁴³

(15) *Umanonoseki: Aboard a Boat* ⁴⁴

A stiff wind has blown itself out
as we invade the sunset.
All the water fights to rise,
and the setting sun is round.
A traveller from afar, on a solitary boat,
in the mist and rain--
With a jug of spring wine,
reaching the edge of heaven.

⁴²See his 1935 reminiscence "Puktaeryukūi haruspam," pp. 243-250, in *Collected Works*, vol. 1, op. cit.

⁴³This quote taken from p. 411 in his 1930 essay "Nanūn wae chungi toecōnna?", pp. 410-412, in *Collected Works*, vol. 1, op. cit.

⁴⁴CTH, p. 210. This quatrain is in the Modern Style with seven syllables per line. In terms of technique, it is excellent. (Umanoseki is another name for Shimonoseki, and I have arranged the following poems to roughly correspond to his travels: from the southern port of Umanoseki, up north along the western coast of Japan past Miyajima to Tokyo, and finally, to Nikkō.)

(16) *Miyajima: Aboard a Boat*⁴⁵

At the furthest reaches of the sky,
solitary joy turns to worry;
Feelings of spring fill this little boat,
and I can't get a hold of myself.
Just like the Peach Spring⁴⁶
in the mist and rain;
In what remains of the dream of falling blossoms,
I pass the Isle of Immortals.⁴⁷

(17) *Recited Alone, in the Falling Rain*⁴⁸

In this country in the sea,
there is much wind and rain;
A fine home too
is cold even in May.
This preoccupied
traveller from afar--
Wordlessly faces
the low green hills.

(18) *At an Inn in Tokyo: Listening to the Cicadas*⁴⁹

Fine trees are
purer than water.
The sounds of the cicadas

⁴⁵CTH, p. 211. This is a quatrain in the Modern Style with seven syllables per line. Like the quatrain above, this one too is technically excellent. (Miyajima is the name of a famous Shintō shrine which looks like two great pillars. It stands in the ocean, and this is what Han sees as he passes by on the boat.)

⁴⁶This is a reference to the *Record of Peach Blossom Spring* (T'ao-hua yüan chi), a prose work by the great pre-T'ang poet, T'ao Ch'ien (365-427). (For a translation of this, see Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996), pp. 309-310.) In it, T'ao Ch'ien described a paradise, and here Han is simply using the reference to describe his own carefree happiness.

⁴⁷The "Isle of Immortals" is Ying-chou, an imaginary island in the Eastern Sea where Taoist Immortals (*hsien*) are supposed to live.

⁴⁸CTH, p. 214. This quatrain is in the Modern Style with five syllables per line, and is also excellent in terms of technique.

⁴⁹CTH, p. 215. This is a Modern Style quatrain with five syllables per line. The technical quality is good.

are like the Songs of Ch'u.⁵⁰
Don't say this is
an external matter;
Perversely it enters
my many sorrows of exile.

(19: 1-2) *At a Branch Temple of the Sōtō-shū University: Two Poems*

(One)⁵¹
The whole building
seems so ancient--
Cut off from
the mundane world.

The trees grow still,
after the bell sounds;

⁵⁰The "Songs of Ch'u" refers to a passage in the seventh chapter of the *Shih-chi* (Records of History) in which Ssu-ma Ch'ien (c. 145 B.C.-c. 85 B.C.) recounts the events leading up to the suicide of the failed commander Hsiang Yü in 202 B.C. Hsiang, a man of great martial ability, initially roused support for his attempts at unifying China under the aegis of the state of Ch'u; but eventually his cruel disposition resulted in a waning of his support, and ultimately, he lost to the Han king, Liu Pang, who through victory would become known as Han Kao-tsu, the first emperor of the Han dynasty (202 B.C.-220 A.D.). After making an agreement with Hsiang, Liu was advised to seize the opportunity to crush the Ch'u army once and for all. Thus he promised territorial rights to a number of feudal chieftains, and through these alliances raised a massive army which marched to Hsiang's stronghold at Kai-hsia where: "In the night Hsiang Yü heard the Han armies all about him singing the songs of Ch'u [ie. The Han had conquered his own territory, and the citizens of Ch'u had now joined with the Han forces.]. 'Has Han already conquered Ch'u?' he exclaimed in astonishment. 'How many men of Ch'u they have with them!'" (For this passage, see p. 100 in "Shih chi 7: The Basic Annals of Hsiang Yü," pp. 68-104 in Burton Watson (translated), *Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Grand Historian of China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958). Through this compact phrase, Han notes his profound sense of unease.

⁵¹CTH, pp. 219-220. This poem has eight lines with five syllables each. Consequently, it appears to be in the Modern Style, and the excellent parallelism in the second and third couplets suggests that Han was trying to write in regulated verse. However, the final syllable of the second line is not in the same rhyme category as the final syllables in the fourth, sixth, and eighth lines, though in Korean pronunciation it rhymes with these. This problem is compounded by the fact that final syllable of the fourth line falls into two rhyme categories: One of these corresponds to the final syllable of the second line, and the other corresponds to final syllables of the sixth and eighth lines. In addition, there is an interesting problem in tonal variation. Although no second syllable in any line has the same tone as the second syllable in the line with which it forms a couplet--thus following a central rule of the Modern Style--the arrangement of the couplets themselves is odd: The first, third, and fourth couplets follow the same tonal pattern at the second syllable position, and the second couplet has the reverse. In view of the technical requirements previously given, this poem must be classified in the Ancient Style, although it bears many characteristic traits of the Modern Style.

Tranquil flowers,
among the thick scent of tea.

The meditating mind
is like white jade;
A strange dream
carries me to the blue hills.

Again I've gone searching
for some other place,
So that perchance I may
return with a new poem.

(Two)⁵²
Within these temple grounds
are many splendid trees;
In daytime shadows,
they drip onto azure waves.
When people in seclusion
are first woken up,
Flowers fall,
and the sound of the chime is high.

(20) *Thinking at Night, Listening to the Rain* ⁵³

Tokyo in September,
and I'm still waiting for a letter.
These autumnal sentiments, dark and indistinct--
I'm not expected anywhere.
The light rain sounds cold
by my lonely lamp;
So reminiscent of the years past
when I was in my sickbed.

(21: 1-2) *A Country Walk: Two Poems* ⁵⁴

⁵²CTH, p. 220. This is a technically excellent Modern Style quatrain with five syllables per line.

⁵³CTH, p. 223. This is a quatrain with seven syllables per line. It follows the alternate Korean form for the Modern Style: The tonal pattern of the first couplet is repeated in the second.

⁵⁴CTH, p. 228-229. Both of these poems are quatrains with seven syllables per line. Each is a technically excellent example of the Modern Style.

(One)

The horse is whinnying
and crossing the setting sun;
The willows on the riverbank
have turned a fresh yellow.
I turn my head, but cannot see,
the road back to the mountains of my birth;⁵⁵
In the autumn breeze from far away,
I remember home.

(Two)

Searching for amusement, I happen to pass
an ancient ferry crossing;
In the clear water,
the little fish frolic.
The clouds above the bank have already
pursued the west wind;
I stand alone beneath the sinking sun,
watching white autumn.⁵⁶

(22) *On the Way to Nikkō* ⁵⁷

I try listening to children
struggling to tell me that
There is another
heaven here.
Along the river, little by little I pass
viewing the bluffs on both sides--
Mysterically just like
the mountains and streams where I was born.

⁵⁵"Mountains of my birth" is *kwansan* (C. *kuan-shan*), and in Korean (and Japanese) this may refer to the mountains surrounding the place where one was born. By extension, it may also be interpreted as one's birthplace or native town (K. *kohyang*; C. *ku-hsiang*), although it does not seem to have this sense in Chinese. This Korean (and Japanese) sense of the word, however, is made clear by the poet's reference to "home" in the next line.

⁵⁶"White autumn" (K. *soch'u*; C. *su-ch'iu*) is simply another name for autumn which, according to the Five Elements, is designated as "white."

⁵⁷CTH, p. 225. This is a Modern Style quatrain with seven syllables per line. (Nikkō is a famous place and noted tourist spot not far to the north of Tokyo; it is the site of the Tōshōgū shrine which is dedicated to the spirit of Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616). Judging by the place names in these poems, this is as far north as Han travelled in Japan.)

(23) *South Lake at Nikkō*⁵⁸

In Mt. Kamida
the lake water opens;
The colours of the mountain and shine of the water
wander along together.
Ten or so little boats
and one or two bamboo flutes;
In the setting sun, singing until
the fishermen's songs arrive.

(24) *Recollecting Antiquity*⁵⁹

Loss and victory and all things
fall onto an empty chessboard;
Futilely throwing down a fortune,
for seeking after old promises.

The lakes and seas and the vast soul--
all a single strand of hair;
In the wind and dust linger dreams
of how many triple existences?⁶⁰

⁵⁸CTH, pp. 226. This is a Modern Style quatrain with seven syllables per line.

⁵⁹CTH, p. 221. This poem has eight lines with seven syllables each. In all respects it follows the requirements of the Modern Style except that the final couplet (ie. the fourth) repeats the tonal pattern of the third couplet. (The title "Recollecting Antiquity," or "Ancient Memories," (K. *kouï*; C. *ku-i*) became a stock title during the Six Dynasties era (222-589). It suggests retrospection not on something necessarily related to the poet's own life, but rather some *thing*--usually a place--which sparks thoughts on an historical event or site. Although this type of poetry existed prior to the T'ang, it was during that era that it fully developed into a subgenre in its own right. Such pieces are commonly found in travel poetry, and as a subgenre, this type of poetry is designated as the *huai-ku* (K. *hoego*) mode: "meditation on things past." [For these points, see Nienhauser, op. cit., p. 934 and Kim T'aek and Yi Pyŏngha, op. cit., pp. 155-156.] As we will see in a later section, Han twice uses this title for meditations marked by images of violence and death.)

⁶⁰These are the former, present, and future existences taught in the Buddhist theory of metempsychosis. Through this he seems to refer to the vanished dreams of the countless people who have lived and died, and here, "triple existences" would seem to refer to "human lives." This is clarified in the following couplet where the idea of impermanence is amplified first through the image of decomposing bones and, finally, through the image of weeds floating atop the water.

The green hills⁶¹ and the yellow earth
are half human bones;
The white water and the green weeds
share the feelings of the world.

Though facing a book, I don't read
of the ups and downs of destiny,
But silently by the east window
lie down beneath the moon's brightness.

(25) *Matching a Poem by Master Chigwang* ⁶²
(A reply to some poems and prose writings he gave me)

Your writings so fine and calligraphy so exquisite
give rise to fragrance;
It is [like] a painting portraying
the innermost feelings.
Alone beyond the endless mountains and waters,
An old friend only hopes
the feelings will continue.

(IV) *Poems Written in Prison*

Following the March First Independence Movement of 1919, Han was placed in police custody, and throughout the subsequent trials and court appearances, he was recalcitrant. He offered intelligent responses to the court's questions and, at times, drew on the tribulations of Japan during the Meiji Restoration. He thus made clear his position that it was unreasonable for the

⁶¹Here, I follow Han's manuscript which says "green hills" (*ch'ōngsan*). This agrees with CTH, p. 221. Ch'oe T'aeho's printed text, however, gives "squaring the accounts" (*ch'ōngsan*); see the appendix. If one were to follow Ch'oe T'aeho's printed text, the line would read: "If you work it out, the yellow earth is half human bones."

⁶²For this poem, see Ch'oe T'aeho, *Manhae Chihunui hanshi*, op. cit., p. 124. (The CTH text, p. 224, has several confusing misprints.) This poem is a quatrain in the Modern Style with seven syllables per line. According to the division of the manuscript as reprinted in Ch'oe T'aeho, this poem was written while Han was in Japan, and if so, it would seem possible that Chigwang was, in fact, a Japanese. Whatever the case, he is not necessarily a Buddhist priest; master (*paek*), in this case, might refer to his mastery of the literary and painting arts (*K. hwaback*), and this is suggested by the poem itself.

Japanese to consider criminal the March First Movement's peaceful attempts to secure Korean independence.⁶³

It is said that in 1920 he declined an offer of pardon in exchange for a recantation; it is unclear whether this is true. The date of his release from prison is also unclear. Standard chronologies note that he was released from prison in March 1922 after having served a sentence of three years.⁶⁴ Yet on 22 November 1920 he was visited by a reporter from the *East Asia Daily News* (Tonga Ilbo), and the following day it ran a brief article titled "Seeking Paradise in Hell: Mr. Han Yongun's Thoughts of Prison" in which Han briefly spoke of prison "from a sort of a philosophical perspective [and in a] human voice." He noted that he felt that prison offered him the chance to understand the words "finding pleasure in pain, seeking heaven within hell," and next to the article was a grainy photo in which Han looked remarkably older and thinner than he had several years earlier. The caption read: "Mr. Han Yongun discharged from prison."⁶⁵

It seems likely that he was discharged only in order to make a court appearance, and that in December 1921 he was released from prison and placed on parole which, nonetheless, severely limited his movements. Whatever the case, he was involved in no formal activities until his participation in a Dharma Assembly on 24 March 1922, just weeks after the completion of his three year sentence.⁶⁶

(26: 1-2) *Wild Geese: Two Poems*⁶⁷

⁶³For transcripts of Han's court appearances, see *Collected Works*, vol. 1, op. cit., pp. 361-373.

⁶⁴For instance, see Ch'oe Tongho, op. cit., p. 369.

⁶⁵See Ch'ŏn Posam, *Manhae Han Yongun sanmunjip: p'urŭn sanpich'ul kkaech'igo* (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1996). A photograph of this article and photo is found on the third unnumbered page of inset material at the beginning; I have not seen this photo or mention of this article anywhere else. The other photo, which seems to be the earliest known photo of Han, appears to have been taken in the 1910s. This photo too seems rare. See the first unnumbered page at the beginning of Im Chungbin, *Widaehan Han'gugin 8: Manhae Han Yongun* (Seoul: T'aeguk Ch'ulp'ansa, 1973).

⁶⁶I base this on Im Hyeobong's chronology which seems to be the most accurate among the many different sources. See his *Pulgyosa 100 changmyŏn* (Seoul: Karamgihoek, 1994), p. 322.

⁶⁷The title literally says "singing (K. *yŏng*; C. *yung*) of wild geese" and as is made clear in the poem itself, "singing" denotes a genre of poetry which describes objects: usually natural objects.

(One)⁶⁸

A lone goose--
a distant autumn sound.
Some stars--
night's many colours.
As the lantern flame sinks,
I've not yet gone to bed;
And the prison guard asks
about going home.⁶⁹

(Two)⁷⁰

At the ends of the heavens
a lone goose calls,
Filling the jail with
prolonged autumn sounds.
If the way is smashed
beyond the reeds and moon,
What [kind of] round or tongue image
can there be?

(27) *The Sound of Fulling Cloth* ⁷¹

From where does
the sound of fulling cloth come?
The whole jail fills
with a spontaneous chill.
Don't say
"the clothes of heaven are warm"—⁷²

These poems are known as *yōngmul shi* (C. *yung-wu shih*) which can be translated as "poems describing objects" or "still life poems." See Nienhauser, op. cit., p. 1050.

⁶⁸CTH, pp. 283. This is a quatrain with five syllables per line. The distribution of tones conforms almost perfectly to the Modern Style; however, the final syllables of the second and fourth lines are not in the same rhyme category. Again, this mistake arises because the two final syllables do rhyme in Korean pronunciation.

⁶⁹This final line is ambiguous: It is not clear whether the guard is asking about when he can go home or whether he is asking the poet "when will you go home?"

⁷⁰CTH, p. 284. This is an Ancient Style quatrain with five syllables per line. The final two lines are complicated, and I have given a fairly literal translation. For alternative viewpoints on how to interpret the final two lines, compare Ch'oe Tongho (CTH), p. 284 and Ch'oe T'aeho, *Manhae Chihunui hanshi*, op. cit., p. 176.

⁷¹CTH, p. 287. This is an Ancient Style quatrain with five syllables per line.

⁷²The "clothes of heaven" are the clothes worn by heavenly beings. These seem to be a metaphor for the honour or fame he now wears due to his participation in the March First Movement and

How can they be like
this bone piercing cold?

(28) *Lamp!ight and Reflection* ⁷³

The night is cold,
and the window is like water.
I lie down and look at
the second lamp.
Where the twin lights
do not reach--
The Zen priest
is still put to shame.

(29) *Offering Kou Some Pointers on Zen* ⁷⁴

Having seen all the flowers,
they are all lovely, indeed;
Far and wide among the fragrant flowers,
treading through the setting sun's glow.
A single tree of early blooming plum
cannot be grasped;
What does it have to do with
the wind and snow covering the land?⁷⁵

subsequent imprisonment. The sounds of women fulling cloth--to pound clothes with mallets to stretch the fibres and increase warmth-- thus make him feel all the more cold since he has not enough clothes, and fame does not keep one warm.

⁷³CTH, p. 288. This too is a "poem on an object" or a "still life poem" (*yōngmul shi*). See note above for "Singing of Geese." This piece is an excellent example of a Modern Style quatrain with five syllables per line.

⁷⁴CTH, p. 286. This is a quatrain with seven syllables per line. Although the distribution of tones suggests that he was trying to write in the Modern Style, here again he is confused due to Korean pronunciation: The final syllable of the second line, *ha* (glow, haze), and the final syllable of the final line, *ha* (what? / how?), belong to different rhyme categories, though they rhyme in Korean pronunciation.

⁷⁵Kou was the pen-name of Ch'oe Rin (also called Ch'oe In, 1878-?), one of the thirty-three participants in the March First Independence Movement. Like Han, he too was sentenced to three years in jail, but by the mid 1930's he began participating in various Japanese-sponsored organisations for which he is now regarded as having become a traitor. (For a brief biography, see Yi Hongjik, *Kuksa sajōn* (Seoul: Samyōng Ch'ulp'anbu, 1934), p. 1559.) If a poem such as this represents a private conversation between two people--and is thus difficult for us to understand--the problem is compounded by the fact that this is a Zen poem: a genre riddled with paradox and oblique language. However, as CTH reasonably suggests (p. 286, note 5), "the early blooming

- (30) *One day the man in the adjoining jail cell and I were talking back and forth,
and the prison guard overheard us. Thus I suffered having both my hands
lightly bound together. Then and there, I recited this poem in the space of two
minutes.* ⁷⁶

The parrots at Lung Mountain
are well-versed in speech;
Such shame--
I'm inferior to those birds by far!
Eloquence is silver,
but it is silence that is golden.
This gold pays in full
the price of freedom's flower.

plum" (literally, "the cold plum," *hanmae*) seems to be a metaphor for "truth itself, beyond theory," and if we follow this line of thought, I suspect that we can find the origin of the poem in a famous incident which is supposed to have occurred when the two were in prison. The thrust of the story is that Ch'oe criticised the Japanese colonial government to the effect that "Koreans are not only treated unfairly but are also oppressed." Han was furious upon hearing this for he regarded this point of view as tantamount to saying that if Koreans were treated nicely, then there would be no cause for complaint. (For this story, see An P'yongjik, *Han Yongun* (Seoul: Han'gilsa, 1988), p. 266-267.) The point of the story is that Ch'oe was distracted by questions of fairness and the quality of treatment, and thus did not see the fundamental injustice of Korea's colonial status; in other words, he did not see the truth. This poem seems to make a similar point since it would seem that the reason the "cold plum" cannot be grasped is that it is simply too late in the season: The flowers are already in bloom, and there is a warm sun. Thus, the person to whom the poem is addressed would seem to be looking for truth in the wrong place and at the wrong time, thus missing the most important thing *because he is distracted by unimportant things* ("the hundred flowers").

⁷⁶CTH, p. 276. This poem is a quatrain with seven syllables per line, and the distribution of tones is correct for the Modern Style. As in previous examples, however, here too he makes a major error in regard to rhyme. The second line ends with *ta* (many, much; here, "by far") and the fourth line ends with *hwa* (flower). Though these rhyme in Korean pronunciation, they do not belong to the same rhyme category, and we see a pattern: that it is syllables which end in a vowel in Korean pronunciation that often cause problems. Also, it must be noted that there are two different titles for this poem. The manuscript in Ch'oe T'aeho, *Manhae Chihunui hanshi*, op. cit., p. 183, does not contain this explanatory preface, and instead bears the brief title "Composed in Prison." I have used the title, or preface, contained in CTH and *Collected Works*, vol. 1, op. cit., p. 174. I suppose that he gave this poem to a friend, but when he recorded it in his notebook, he simply gave it an abbreviated title. Whatever the case, the preface and poem complement each other, and it is hard to imagine that anyone other than he wrote the long preface since the similar Korean translations in both CTH and the *Collected Works* are strange: "...I had both my hands lightly bound for two minutes...." It is thus unlikely that anyone working on the *Collected Works*, where this was first published, could have created both the Chinese and the Korean translation. The vernacular translation does not convey what is in the original, and moreover, who would want to say that he had "both [his] hands lightly bound for two minutes"?

A Voice in the Background: A Quatrain by Ts'en Shen (715-770)

Ts'en Shen, was a great poet in that period of Chinese history seen as the zenith of literary refinement and military might: the High T'ang (712-755). Unlike his close friend Tu Fu (712-770), however, Ts'en Shen is now primarily regarded as a poet of the frontier and battle, in spite of the fact that only a small number of his many poems are based on those themes.

If this contemporary critical bias is perhaps unfair, Ts'en Shen's contributions to this genre of masculine poetry are unquestioned. These themes had already been explored by other great poets, but Ts'en Shen himself was able to expand the tradition: He travelled twice to Central Asia and thus had firsthand knowledge of those places which other poets had only imagined.

In the history of literary criticism, he holds an awkward position. While traditional critics praised his masterful technique and regarded some of his couplets as the finest in T'ang poetry, they also lamented that he was fundamentally a craftsman "whose poetic art is not matched by the strength of his emotion...In them, technical cunning and brilliant ornamentation mask and relieve basically pedestrian sentiments."⁷⁷

Regardless of how Ts'en Shen is evaluated, it would seem that Han enjoyed his frontier poetry. To the extent that one can speak with any certainty about direct literary borrowings, it seems safe to say that Han borrowed as much from Ts'en Shen's frontier poetry as he borrowed from any other T'ang poet; possibly more.

In the following poem, Ts'en Shen's technical mastery is evident in the title alone. The destination is Pei-ting, an administrative district located in the far northwest. On T'ang maps, this was the terminus of a major overland route originating thousands of kilometres away near what is now Shanghai, on the East China Sea. This route cut a diagonal swath across the T'ang empire from the

⁷⁷See Nienhauser, *op. cit.*, pp. 798-799.

southeast to the northwest, and Pei-ting was synonymous with the western borderlands where the Chinese had for centuries battled Central Asian tribes.

Lung Mountain was roughly one thousand five hundred kilometres northwest from the capital, and the Jade Gate Pass was another four hundred or so kilometres northwest of Lung Mountain. On that same route, another six hundred kilometres beyond the Jade Gate Pass, stood the district of Pei-ting. In turn, Lun-t'ai was a name associated with the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-219 A.D.) and its wars with the Hsiung-nu tribes, known in the West as the Huns or the Turks. During the T'ang, Lun-t'ai was a city brought under the administrative control of Pei-ting.⁷⁸

Through this poem's short title, Ts'en Shen thus offers a vast geography rich in historical and poetic associations. Though the dangers of battle are never mentioned, the place names he mentions serve as markers which unfold, one after another, into greater and greater danger. Simultaneously, the safety of his home recedes into the background, and he knows not when, or if, his letters will reach home.

*Heading Towards the Borderlands to the West, I think of Home As We Cross Lung Mountain.*⁷⁹

To the west, Lun-t'ai:
thousands and thousands of miles away.
So I know news from home
will surely grow sparser day by day.
The parrots at Lung Mountain
are well-versed in speech:
I'll have them tell my family
of the several letters I have sent.

⁷⁸In Ts'en Shen's poems, one finds that he often refers to the same geographical locations and places. For a discussion of those which are relevant to this poem, see Kim T'ack and Yi Pyŏngghan, op. cit., pp. 191, 193-194, and 197.

⁷⁹See poem no. 353 in Shimmen Keiko, *Shin Shin kashi sakuin* (Kyoto: Hōyū Shōen, 1987), section 103, on p. 239. This is a Modern Style quatrain with seven syllables per line.

(31) *Sentiments on Being in Prison* ⁸⁰

In full concentration, I'm only
aware of dustless purity.
Beyond the iron bars,
the bright moon renews itself.
Distress and delight at base are empty:
only the mind exists.
After all, Shakyamuni Buddha too
was but an ordinary man.

(32) *Feelings on Seeing the Cherry Blossoms* ⁸¹

In the past winter
the snow was like blossoms;
Yet this spring,
the blossoms are like snow.
Snow and blossoms alike
are both unreal:
So why is my heart about to break?

(33) *Autumn Reflections* ⁸²

In ten years of trying to serve my nation,
my sword has achieved nothing;
It has only permitted
me to get into jail.
Messages of victory don't come,
and the insects are shrieking;
Several [more] white hairs:
the autumn wind again.

(34) *A Snowy Night* ⁸³

⁸⁰CTH, p. 277. This is a quatrain with seven syllables per line, and it follows the variant Korean form for the Modern Style: The tonal pattern of the first couplet is repeated in the second.

⁸¹CTH, p. 282. This is an Ancient Style quatrain with five syllables per line.

⁸²CTH, p. 280. This is a quatrain with seven syllables per line. It is an excellent example of the Modern Style.

⁸³CTH, p. 281. (This poem and the one above were written tightly on the same page; it would seem that he had run out of paper. See his original manuscript: Ch'oe T'aeho, *Manhae Chihumui hanshi*, op. cit., p. 174.) This is an Ancient Style quatrain with seven syllables per line.

The snow is like an ocean on
the hills surrounding this prison.
My quilt is cold as iron;
this dream is like cold ash.
Of the iron windows,
some cannot be fastened.⁸⁴
From where comes this sound
of a bell heard at night?

(35) *In the Garden Behind the Prison Infirmary*⁸⁵

People who talk about Zen
are also yobs.
Weaving nets:
what kind of priest am I?
I most love [or, regret]
the falling yellow leaves;
To bind autumn,
there is, after all, no rope.

(V) *Poems on Illness*

In 1911 Han wandered through Manchuria where he was mistaken for a Japanese collaborator by a group of Korean Independence Soldiers (*tongnipkun*). They shot him, and until the end of his life, he endured chronic pain resulting from nerve damage suffered during the attack and probably, his subsequent surgery at the hands of a country doctor.⁸⁶ His condition was exacerbated by the cold, and those who knew him often comment on his visible discomfort and the physical trembling which increased with age.⁸⁷ Considering that he is also said to have been

⁸⁴The implication of "cannot be fastened" seems ironic: Although he is locked in prison, the window of iron bars in his prison cell is not shut. It is open to the cold outside air and consequently is the source of much discomfort; it is the single thing he does want shut.

⁸⁵CTH, p. 285. This is an Ancient Style quatrain with five syllables per line.

⁸⁶This is a well-known story. See, for instance, An Pyŏngjik, *Han Yongun* (Seoul: Han'gilsa, 1938), pp. 261-262.

⁸⁷The priest Kang Sŏkchu's description of this to me was quite poignant. Also, I suspect that this nerve damage is the reason he often looks so uncomfortable in photographs: as if he were trying to not tremble and hold still.

a keen drinker, it is thus not surprising to find within his Chinese verse quite a few poems on illness, the infirmities of old age, and drinking in general.

Yet these topics were conventional grist for poetry and carried a host of mutual associations: An extreme fondness for writing poetry was likened to illness, and both poetry and drinking were felt to be especially enjoyable when ill; perhaps because illness offered leisure for indulgence.

Yi Kyubo (1168-1241) himself left a moving account beautifully describing his tangled emotions on this phenomena which is called *shibyōk* (C., *shih-p'i*): literally, the "indigestion" or "habit" of poetry. It carries both meanings and is best translated as "an addiction to poetry," which captures both compulsiveness and pleasure without relief.

Yi's meditation was written in his twilight years when he learnt that he too shared common experiences with the great T'ang poet Po Chū-i (772-846):

I am by nature fond of poetry, but although I enjoy it at all times, I am especially addicted to it when I am ill. I cannot understand why I should be twice as keen on verse then as I am at ordinary times, but whenever I am moved by a subject I compose compulsively, and cannot stop even if I try to, so I say that poetry is a sickness in itself. I have even written poems saying what I think about this disease of versifying--making myself worse, as it were. I cannot eat more than two or three spoonfuls of rice at a time. Otherwise I merely drink wine. This distresses me, but when I read the poems Po Chū-i wrote in his old age I find that many of them were written during illnesses, and he drank as I do.

While Yi modestly affirmed his inferiority to the great master, he also rejoiced that the great leveler, time, ultimately made them near equals: "Indeed!...I am the same as him in most respects of sickness and old age."⁸⁸

In the following short poem, Han touches on these ideas and seems to implicitly draw a comparison between himself and his friend Pak Hanyōng.

⁸⁸See *Paegun sosŏl*, op. cit., pp. 90-93. Here I have used Richard Rutt's excellent translation of *Paegun sosŏl*, of which I was unaware when writing the previous section on Kim Pushik and Chōng Chisang. See Richard Rutt, "Paegun Sosŏl, The White Cloud Essays of Yi Kyubo," pp. 1-37 in *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch*, vol. 52 (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 1977), pp. 16-17.

Through the title, we can guess that the "person" in the first line is Han and that the "stranger" is Pak, and it is not unreasonable to assume that Pak, unlike Han, was a teetotalist. At the very least, this poem suggests that he was. As noted above, these two men were close friends, and while this poem clearly shows Han's affections for Pak, it also seems to hint at the complexities of their relationship.

(36) *Matching Rhymes With Reverend Yŏngho* ⁸⁹

Amid poetry and booze
 a person has many illnesses;
 In literature, the stranger
 too grows old.
 In the wind and snow,
 your letter came--
 Quite a lot of chaos
 in the feelings of the two of us.

Although Han expresses in the following piece sentiments very similar to those of Yi Kyubo, he also recognises the religious implications of his pleasure: The "our lot / we" in the third line seems to refer to Buddhist priests-- and more specifically, Zen priests-- who are supposed to renounce worldly attractions such as poetry. This idea is then strengthened in the final line where he notes that his love for poetry robbed him of his vigorous youth. Strictly speaking, the "sickness for sounds" (*sŏngbyŏng*) is a literary expression which means the "vice of being bound only by the rules of prosody:" that is, paying greater attention to form than content. Here, it can be taken merely to mean an affliction of sounds, or the love of writing poetry.

Yet Ch'oe T'aeho interprets this in an interesting fashion for he sees it as a self-criticism: that Han's "sounds" (*sŏng*) themselves were "ill" (*pyŏng*).

⁸⁹CTH, p. 146. This quatrain has five syllables per line and was obviously intended to be in the Korean variant of the Modern Style: that is, with the tonal scheme of the first couplet repeated in the second. However, here too Han makes a mistake regarding rhyme: *Ro* (old) and *so* (few) are not in the same rhyme category. Yet it is not necessary to attribute this mistake to Pak: "Matching rhymes" does not mean that one must use the exact same syllables, but rather conform to the same rhyme category to which those syllables belong.

Consequently, he interprets the final line to mean: "How pitiful! I lost my youth [writing] bad poetry."⁹⁰ Although this interpretation too seems fully valid, this double meaning is impossible to capture in translation.

(37) *Self-mockery over this Addiction to Poetry*⁹¹

If you take too much pleasure wearing
yourself out in poetry, it will rob you;
A once ruddy face loses flesh,
and the mouth tastes no delicacies.
I say that our lot have for generations
transcended the vulgar world;
How pitiful that in the sickness for sounds
I lost my youth!

(38) *Illness and Anxiety*⁹²

In the green mountains--
one simple house.
With so few people,
why this much sickness?
Vast worries
cannot be exhausted;
In broad daylight
autumn flowers bloom.

While the previous poem treats illness impersonally--as an observed fact--the following two poems seem to speak of a single bout of illness experienced by Han himself. Although the precise nature of this illness is not given, Han's choice of words is intriguing insofar as we find in both poems hints of non-Buddhist conduct: In the first poem, he notes his "extravagant thoughts and lewd feelings"

⁹⁰See Ch'oe T'aeho, *Manhæ Chihunŭi hanshi*, op. cit., p. 69.

⁹¹CTH, p. 171, reverses the order of the fifth and sixth syllables of the fourth line; see Ch'oe T'aeho, op. cit., p. 69, for the original. This poem is a quatrain with seven syllables per line; it corresponds to the Korean variant of the Modern Style: the tone pattern of the first couplet is repeated in the second.

⁹²CTH, p. 185. Here again Han makes a mistake in rhyme: the final syllable of the second line (*ta*: many, much) is not in the same rhyme category as the final syllable of the final line (*hwa*: flower).

and implicitly compares these to the wildly blowing wind and snow which seem, in turn, to reflect his own state of mind. Then, in the first line of the second poem, the word willow (*ryu*) precedes sickness (*pyōng*). Within the context that he has constructed, it is difficult not to see the possibility that he is using ellipsis to refer either literally or metaphorically to venereal disease: literally, "flower / willow / sickness" (*hwaryubpyōng*).⁹³

Although this apparent reference may be sheer coincidence, these two poems taken together do suggest that he sees his illness as deriving from some sort of misconduct. This seems especially pertinent when we consider that notwithstanding Han's eccentric views regarding sexual matters and the love poetry of *Your Silence*, he was nonetheless a Buddhist priest and so had been trained to believe that breaking the monastic code would result in karmic retribution.

In this vein, the great Japanese Zen priest and poet Ikkyū Sōjun (1394-1481) provides a useful point of comparison. He also was known for his unorthodox conduct, and he too dealt with love and sex in his poetry. These ranged from the explicit "A Beautiful Woman's Dark Place Has the Fragrance of a Narcissus" to his moving portrait of his lover, the blind singer Lady Mori:

Lady Mori Rides in a Cart ⁹⁴

In the phoenix cart, the blind girl
often goes on spring outings.
When my heart is oppressed,
she is good to comfort my melancholy.
Even so most people
make fun of us.
I love to see Mori,

⁹³In traditional Chinese literary criticism, three types of ellipsis (*ts'ang-ts'u*) are recognised. The type which would conform to the use of "willow sickness" for "flower / willow sickness" is called *ts'ang-t'ou-yü*: hiding the first portion. See Karl S. Y. Kao, "Rhetoric," pp. 121-137 in Nienhauser, op. cit., p. 131

⁹⁴See Sonja Arntzen, *Ikkyū and the Crazy Cloud Anthology: A Zen Poet of Medieval Japan* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1986), p. 157.

so fair a beauty is she.

Yet Ikkyū too experienced moments of intense apprehensiveness regarding his conduct, "notably when he was ill:"

*Composed When Ill*⁹⁵

A monk who has broken the precepts
for eighty years,
Repenting a Zen that has ignored
cause and effect.
When ill, one suffers the effects
of past deeds;
Now how to act in order to atone
for the eons of bad karma.

Whether Han regarded his experience of illness in the same way as Ikkyū did, these two poems written when he was ill do stand apart from others in the collection. They are at once extremely personal and, in some sense, frightening since his unease is never explicitly stated and nonetheless so palpable.

(39: 1-2) *Composed When Ill: Two Poems*

(One)⁹⁶

This persistent sickness comes to seize me,
and suddenly things are a mess.
Outside the window,
the blizzard is raging wild.
My extravagant thoughts and lewd feelings—⁹⁷
how clear they are.
I can't bear this greying hair

⁹⁵See Arntzen, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

⁹⁶CIH, pp. 187-188. This piece has seven syllables per line, and despite a few infelicities regarding tonal variation, it is reasonable to consider it as a Modern Style quatrain.

⁹⁷"Extravagant thoughts and lewd feelings" might also be interpreted as "vast / extravagant thoughts and feelings:" that is, unrealistic thoughts. I favour the sexual connotation of "lewd feelings" due to the content of the following poem.

in the mirror.

(Two)⁹⁸

This body is like a weak willow;
this sickness, like a horse.
High and low tethered together:
truly, what can be done?
Even if my heart had
no further suffering,
Would I be able to pass the time in vain,
by this solitary lamp, in the wind and rain?⁹⁹

A Voice in the Background: Another Poem by Ts'en Shen (715-770)

In the first poem above, Han's complex emotions resolve on the simple and elegant final line: "I can't bear this greying hair in the mirror." While this might seem slightly inappropriate in the immediate context, we have also seen that illness, age, drinking, and writing poetry could serve as mutually related topics. This final line thus is not particularly awkward when viewed within the larger context of classical Chinese poetry. Moreover, it lends the poem a sense of the passage of time, and one thus can guess that this is not the first time the poet has had this illness or these emotions.

Ts'en Shen himself used mirrors and greying or thinning hair in his poetry, and one finds in his work several lines similar to the one used by Han. Although this mode of expression can be seen as something of a cliché even within the work of Ts'en Shen alone, it nonetheless possesses a definite power: it draws our attention to the fact that in describing other things, the poet is also describing himself. Since the language of classical Chinese poetry is for the most part without

⁹⁸CTH, pp. 187-188. This is an excellent example of a Modern Style quatrain with seven syllables per line.

⁹⁹Although there is no explicit question word in the final line, the previous line suggests a question, and that is how I have translated it. An alternate translation might be: "If I were to cause my heart to suffer no more / I would be able to pass the time empty, by this solitary lamp, in the wind and rain."

tense markers, this sort of line makes explicit the poet's sense of the passage of time.

The following poem by Ts'en Shen is a good example of how this common expression can insinuate a longer sense of time into a poem and in this case, make even sharper the sense of separation and longing. As with previous examples of Ts'en Shen's poetry, geographical names are important: Pa Mountain is located in Szechwan province in southern China, and the Lu River flows north into Szechwan and feeds into the Yangtze River. The basic implication is that the speaker misses home, and the penultimate line--where the "dreaming soul remembers"--is particularly effective in underscoring this sense of separation which, in turn, is given a slightly surreal touch by Ts'en Shen: The speaker changes into his marching clothes in order to travel, in his dreams, to where he would rather be.

*Aboard a Boat in the South of Szechwan,
Thinking of My Country Estate at Lu-hun*¹⁰⁰

The Lu River and
Nan-chou are distant;
In the Pa Mountains,
travellers from the north are few.

Above the mountaintops,
clouds rise in swirls;
At the streamlet, a flock of white herons
waits for a chance to fly up.

I grieve over my thinning hair
in the mirror;
And aboard this boat,
I change into my travelling clothes.

To the spot that my dreaming
soul remembers,

¹⁰⁰See Shimmen Keiko, op. cit., poem no. 207, section 69, p. 256. This is an eight line Modern Style poem with five syllables per line. For some other instances in which he uses a mirror or remarks on his hair, see *ibid.*: poem no. 75, section 30, p. 276; poem no. 93, section 36, p. 273; poem no. 37, section 19, p. 281.

On no night
does it not get there first.

(40: 1-2) *Two Poems Written at Sōnam Temple After an Illness* ¹⁰¹

(One)

I have travelled throughout
the southern lands;
When I arise after illness,
autumn winds appear.
Endless miles--
always travelling alone:
When I've got to the end of the road,
I still have feelings.

(Two)

At the start of autumn,
people plead illness.
At my greying burnsides,
time has made wrinkles.¹⁰²
Dreams are bitterness,
and everyone is so far away;
I cannot bear
all this cold and rain.

(VI) *Poems on Poetry*

¹⁰¹CTH, pp. 242-243. Both poems are Modern Style quatrains with five syllables per line. We can be quite certain that the Sōnam Temple of which he speaks is the one located near Pusan: at the southern end of the Korean peninsula. For this, see Yi Chōng, *Han'guk Pulgyo sach'al sajōn*, op. cit., pp. 335-336.

¹⁰²This is a beautiful phrase. The "wrinkles" (*p'a*) are literally "waves," and as a consequence, this line can be interpreted in a variety of complementary and mutually reinforcing ways. Ch'oe T'aeho's excellent translation captures one of these possibilities: "My white hair / lengthened by the storms of life [*sep'a*]." (See Ch'oe T'aeho, *Manhae Chihunui hanshi*, op. cit., p. 142.) Ch'oe Tongho offers a different, yet equally satisfying translation: "On my white hair, time rolls in waves." (CTH, p. 242.) "Waves" (*p'a*), however, can also be used for wrinkles or creases (*churūm*) such as those on an old face. Thus, in the three syllables "time (*se*) / bring forth or appears (*saeng*) / waves (*p'a*)" we read that: 1) "time creates waves, or difficulties;" 2) "the passage of time creates waves of white hair;" 3) "time makes wrinkles appear on my face;" and 4) "time appears in waves" (ie. the rolling of the tides). In this context, all these meanings seem readily apparent, and equally important.

Although we have seen previous examples of poems relating to Yǒngho Pak Hanyǒng, the following is marked by an exceptional sharpness of feeling. Much of this feeling rests on Han's use of Buddhist language, and as a consequence, this poem deserves specific comment.

The basic point of the poem is to record an occasion of loneliness and affection for a friend which has inspired the poem. These are common sentiments in classical Chinese poetry, but the way in which Han draws these emotions is interesting. The first seven syllables are all nouns and prepositions describing a winter scene at a temple. Yet in this dense description we see the passage of several hours: from the first wake-up bell in the dark, early morning hours until he sees the clear sky after the snow has stopped falling.

The beauty of the scene instigates his loneliness for he wants someone with whom to share it, and his "affection for home" need not be taken literally. It seems merely to refer to a general topic for poetry, and here, it is not home that concerns the poet. Instead it is his friend Yǒngho who is the real source of his affection, and in the third and fourth lines--the first parallel couplet--Yǒngho is presented as the "old friend" whose "calligraphy is my Zen." The implication is that the words written by Yǒngho are in fact the poem whose rhymes Han is matching. The parallelism of the lines draws a comparison between the plum blossoms and Yǒngho's calligraphy, on the one hand, and Zen and dreams, on the other. Strictly speaking, Zen cannot be conveyed through words, but Yǒngho, nevertheless, has managed to do so by virtue of his excellent literary skills, and underlying Han's praise is that slight distinction between the two men: Han the dilettante poet and Zen master on the one hand and Yǒngho the Buddhist scholar and classical Chinese poet on the other.

In the following couplet, Han's praise of his friend's poem turns to a recognition of the depth of their friendship. In the fifth line, the perfumed Buddha realm seems to be a metaphor for the room at a temple in which he is sitting, and the

past lives seem to be a metaphor for the deep, long lasting ties he and Yŏngho share. The suggestion is that they are bound by a fate which has brought them together through many existences. In the sixth line, Han again turns to Yŏngho's poem or letter which sits before him on his writing table. That writing table is literally a desk upon which one places sūtras during study (*kyōngan*), and the comparison of Yŏngho's "calligraphy" to the sūtras is made clearer in the final three syllables where he notes again the excellence of that "calligraphy [which] is my Zen." From these words, a lotus--a symbol of paradise-- "is about to sprout."

In the final couplet, Han concludes with an expression of longing for his friend and thus clarifies all that came before. Although the directness of the seventh line underscores both his loneliness and the beauty of the scene which inspired the poem, it is the final line which is the most striking. In paraphrase, the line can be accurately rendered as "I lament this fate that we cannot meet with one another." This is what the line means, but the manner of expression is quite complex. Literally, he says "I respectfully mourn (*kyōngjo*) / you, master (*sōnsaeng*) / not reaching (unequal, too short) (*pulgūp*) connection (*yōn*)." Connection refers to fate or destiny--the connecting threads--by which his and Yŏngho's lives are bound together.

This line makes excellent use of the semantic resources of the Chinese language and thereby gives rich shades of meaning to an otherwise commonplace sentiment. Moreover, it is interesting to note that this line is one of the few instances where we find any similarity between the poems of *Your Silence* and his classical Chinese verse. In "A Zen Master's Talk on the Great Way," Han ends the poem with a like sentiment similarly expressed, but in Korean: "Troubled that the threads of your love tangling me had grown weak, I doubled mine about you."¹⁰³

¹⁰³CTH, p. 71.

(41) *Matching Rhymes With Reverend Yŏngho* ¹⁰⁴

After the bell, the endless trees;
and after the snowfall, the sky.
My affection for home and thoughts for poetry
precede each other.

As the plum blossoms invade the new year,
I first enter a dream;
And an old friend's calligraphy
is my Zen.

In the Buddha realm, incense is thick
like past lives;
While at this sūtra table, on a still day,
a lotus is about to sprout.

In this is a charming sight
in which we ought to delight together;
I respectfully regret, sir,
that we cannot reach our destiny.

(42) *On the Way to Yaksa Hermitage* ¹⁰⁵

Ten miles still can be done
in half a day's journey;
In the white clouds, there is a path
so secluded and long.
Following the brook,
I turn to where the water reaches its end.
Deep in the forests where there are no flowers,
the mountain is fragrant of itself.

Yŏngho 'Pak Hanyŏng's Companion Piece

¹⁰⁴CTH, pp. 148-149. This is a full-length Modern Style poem with seven syllables per line, and it follows one of the variant Korean patterns: The pattern of tones at the second syllable position is the same in the first three couplets and is then reversed in the final couplet. The poem is technically good with the exception of one major error regarding tones: The second syllable of the sixth line (*an*) is an oblique instead of an even tone, but this is unavoidable since it is part of the two syllable word for "sūtra desk" (*kyōngan*).

¹⁰⁵CTH, p. 263. This is a Modern Style quatrain with seven syllables per line. In terms of technique, it is excellent.

In a collection of Yŏngho's classical Chinese poetry, there is a poem with a strong resemblance to Han's verse above. Both have nearly the same title and use two of the same rhyme syllables. Through the sequence of dates in Yŏngho's poems, we can be quite sure that his was written between 1914 and 1918.

Between 1915 and 1916 Han travelled intensively throughout southern and southeastern Korea inspecting temples and collecting historical materials, and if these poems date from that time, it is likely that the hermitage to which they both refer is located in the south near Kwangju. The other possibility is a Yaksa Hermitage located near Seoul in Kyŏnggi Province. This site is known also as Ch'ilbo Temple, and in 1906 two Buddhas carved out of stone were uncovered near the temple precincts.¹⁰⁶ Considering the dates and Han's keen interest in visiting famous Buddhist sites and recording their historical memorabilia, we cannot be certain to which Yaksa Hermitage these poems refer.

Whatever the case, this is the only instance in which we can identify, with any certainty, a pair of related contemporaneous poems. Apart from the similar title, both poems seem to describe the same scene with roughly the same progression in description. The perspectives, however, are slightly different, and the final line of Yŏngho's poem is particularly nuanced.

Whereas Han noted that the fragrance arose from the mountains, in spite of the absence of flowers, Yŏngho says that there are, at least, flowers on the water. Although the fragrance of the lotuses is implicit, the emphasis is on the fragrance of the human words: *paek yŏn* [white lotus] / *in ō hyang* [person speech fragrant]. This suggests that his poem was written in response to Han's and that the person in question is Han himself.

Yŏngho exploits the multiple meanings of *hyang* which literally means scented or fragrant, but may be used metaphorically to describe anything beautiful. He thus expresses his enjoyment of being in another's company: the beauty of

¹⁰⁶For brief histories of these hermitages, see Yi Chŏng, ed., *Han'guk Pulgyo sach'al sajŏn* (Seoul: Pulgyo Sidaesa, 1996) p. 418 and p. 602, respectively.

another's words. However, it is the first two syllables of the final line that are the most splendid: *kyōk su*. The phrase *kyōk su* literally means "across, separating, blocking, in intervals, or beyond" (*kyōk*) "water" (*su*), and through this well-placed phrase Yōngho elegantly describes at once the visual and the auditory: the white lotuses which break up the clear surface of the flowing water and his friend's words which intermittently break up the constant sound of that flowing water.

*On the Road to Yaksa Hermitage*¹⁰⁷

In the shade of ancient pines and nutmeg,
 June is cool;
 Through dense mist, a brook doubles back,
 and the narrow path so long.
 Distant bells and the sound of flowing water
 across a thousand moss covered rocks;
 Across the water, white lotuses--
 a person's talk is fragrant.

(43) *The Double Ninth* (Chungyang)¹⁰⁸

On the ninth month and ninth day
 at Paektam Temple,
 As the countless trees return to their source,

¹⁰⁷This poem is contained in the collection of Yōngho's poetry: Ch'oe Namsōn, ed., *Sokchōn shich'o* (Kyōngsōng: Tongmyōngsa, 1940), p. 5. b, lines 3-5. Like Han's verse, it too is a Modern Style quatrain with seven syllables per line, and the same rhyming syllables are used in both poems at the second and fourth lines: each has *chang* (long) at the end of the second line and *hyang* (fragrant) at the end of the fourth line. Ch'oe T'aeho [*Hyōndaeshiwa hanshi*, op. cit., p. 77] reprints the poem with two errors: "On the road" (*to chung*) is changed to the homophonous and nearly synonymous "on the way" (*to chung*), and in the final line he replaces *kyōk* with *man* [full, fill, filled with]. As a consequence, the final line is altered to read "filling (*man*) the water / white lotuses // a person's talk is fragrant," and while this is more easily read, the rich ambiguity of the original is lost.

¹⁰⁸CTH, p. 273. This Ancient Style poem has eight lines with seven syllables per line. Several points should be noted: first, the "Double Ninth" (*chungyang*) is roughly mid-October in the solar calendar, and "trees return to their source" refers to the autumn leaves falling from the trees: the leaves falling to the ground where they will decompose and go back to the "source" (*kūn*) or "roots" (*kūn*) of the trees; second, "jade" seems to be those rocks which have been polished by the stream and now can be seen since there is less water in the ravines; finally, the "cattail cushion" (*p'odan*) is a round cushion made from reeds which is used by Zen monks when they meditate.

sickness leaves my body.

Those lazy floating clouds have no fixity:
who is not a stranger?
The chrysanthemums already in bloom:
who might I be?

As the water level drops in the cascade,
in the clearness there is jade;
And a swan high in the autumn sky
soars beyond the dust.

At noon again I get up on
this cattail cushion;
Countless mountain peaks come into the house--
spires of towering green.

(44) *Staying at Sōnam Temple, Matching Maech'ōn's Rhymes* ¹⁰⁹

Half this year, lonely and barren;
my heart is dissatisfied.
At the sky's edge, scattered,
alone each searching for the other.

White hair, a remainder of illness that
will thin in the fall;
And following upheavals,
chrysanthemums and grass again grow lush.

Lecturing on eternity, as empty as a cloud,
I listen to the sound of flowing water;
People who listen to the sūtras
leave to call down the birds of the sorcerer's realm.

Whenever heaven and earth are

¹⁰⁹CTH, p. 246-247. (CTH incorrectly gives "Sanam Temple;" for the original, see Ch'oe T'aeho, *Manhe Cihunui hanshi*, op. cit., p. 145. However, in the printed text, Ch'oe T'aeho, ibid., incorrectly gives "first" (ch'o) instead of "grass" (ch'o).) This is a full-length Modern Style poem with seven syllables per line. In technical terms, it is one of the best in the collection. (Note: There are four different temples named Sōnam spread throughout Korea and it is impossible to tell to which he refers. Whichever one it is, it is the same temple where Maech'ōn wrote the following poem.)

fraught with turmoil,
I am willing to count Tu Fu in Szechwan,
reciting his poems.

Voices in the Background: T'ao Ch'ien [Yüan-ming] (365-427), Wang Wei (701-761), Tu Fu (712-770), and Maech'ön Hwang Hyön (1855-1910).

The first of the two poems above explicitly deals with the "double ninth," or the "ninth day of the ninth month." (This is also known as the "double yang" (*chungyang*) since according to Chinese numerology, nine belongs to the active, male principle (*yang*).) The word for "nine" (C. *chiu*; K. *ku*), however, is also homophonous with "long lasting" (C. *chiu*; K. *ku*) and was thus associated with longevity.

This was an important occasion in the lunar calendar, and on this day it was customary for people to place in their hair the purplish-red berries of the fragrant dogwood, drink wine in which chrysanthemum petals had been soaked, and climb to "high places" to ward off calamities and expel evil spirits.¹¹⁰ The "double ninth" also provided writers with an occasion or topic for poetry.

In "The Double Ninth" above, Han recalls T'ao Ch'ien's famous poem not so much through what he says as what he does not say. Both men are without drink, and just as T'ao Ch'ien benefits from the restorative powers of chrysanthemum petals, so too does Han: "sickness leaves my body." And like Han, T'ao Ch'ien composes his poem within a small room, watching the changing landscape, and pondering his own existence:

T'ao Ch'ien, *Dwelling in Peace on the Double Ninth*¹¹¹

I was dwelling in peace and loved the name "double ninth." Fall's
chrysanthemums filled the garden, yet I had no means to take strong brew in
hand. So I swallowed the flowers of the ninth by themselves, and expressed
what I felt in words.

¹¹⁰For a brief discussion of this event, see Kim T'aek and Yi Pyöngghan, *op. cit.*, p. 688, note 3.

¹¹¹For this translation, see Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911*, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

Cur span is short, desires are many,
so mankind delights in living long.

With star signs the day and month arrive,
and all, by custom, love today's name.

The dews are cool, sultry winds cease,
the air is crisp, the heavens' bodies bright.

No shadows remain from departed swallows,
but sounds aplenty from wild geese coming.

Wine has the power to drive off cares,
chrysanthemums curb declining years.

How can a man in a cottage thatch
do nothing but watch seasons sink toward an end?

My dusty cup shames the empty jar,
these cold-weather flowers blossom in vain.

I pull my gown close, sing calmly alone,
then, lost in my musings, deep feelings rise.

The quiet life has indeed many joys,
there is something achieved in just lingering on.

In "Matching Maech'ōn's Rhymes," however, this occasion is not mentioned, nor is the title of Maech'ōn's poem which Han's rhymes match; yet there can be no doubt regarding the poem to which Han is referring, nor the significance of that poem in relation to Han's own verse. Maech'ōn's verse is a springboard by which the "double ninth" becomes less an actual occasion than a poetic topic through which Han addresses the lives of poets who have come before him and who are, in a sense, brought to life through Maech'ōn's poem.

Maech'ōn's piece was written when he himself spent the "double ninth" at or near Sōnam Temple in 1895, and Han's poem not only uses the same rhyme category, but also the same end-rhyme syllables in virtually the same order. More

importantly, Han implicitly draws into his own poem those other poets to whom Maech'ŏn's verse is indebted. But Maech'ŏn ends his poem on a sombre note while Han suggests that neither Maech'ŏn's poem nor those of any of the other poets were written in vain.

Han does so by concluding his poem with a recollection of "Tu Fu in Szechwan, reciting his poems." This is a reference to the final eleven years of Tu Fu's life when the great man suffered from malaria, arthritis, headaches, breathing difficulties, the loss of hearing in one ear, as well as other difficulties relating to problems of rebellion and war.¹¹²

More important, however, are the final three syllables of the second line of Han's poem: "alone each searching for the other" (*tok sang shim*). Ch'oe Tongho simply ignores the problem in translation and adds a note: "does it mean that [Han] is looking for something?" Similarly, Ch'oe T'aeho simply translates it as "[I] searched alone."¹¹³

Without having read Maech'ŏn's poem, this phrase does seem hard to understand. But in light of Maech'ŏn's verse, we see that Han is referring to Maech'ŏn, the two poets whom Maech'ŏn mentions— Fan Ch'uan (Tu Mu, 803-852) and Chia Tao (779-843)¹¹⁴—and finally, Tu Fu. These are the men who are "alone each searching for the other."

The underlying theme in Maech'ŏn is one of frustrated ambition and sorrow keenly felt in autumn, and this is made clear by his reference to "the man from Ch'u." Using the "sorrowful autumn" (K. *pi-ch'u*; C. *pei-ch'iu*), the line explicitly draws from the "Chiu Pien" (The Nine Arguments) chapter of the *Ch'u Tzu*, attributed to Sung Yu (c. 290 B.C.-c. 223 B.C.).¹¹⁵ It is he who is the "man

¹¹²For this, see Nienhauser, op. cit., pp. 816-817.

¹¹³See CTH, p. 246, note 2, and Ch'oe T'aeho, *Manhae Chihunui hanshi*, op. cit., p. 145.

¹¹⁴For these two poets, see Nienhauser, op. cit., pp. 824-826 and pp. 257-259, respectively.

¹¹⁵For the origin of *pei-ch'iu* and its use in Tu Fu's poem given below, see Kim T'aek and Yi Pyŏngha, op. cit., p. 558, note 5; for "The Nine Arguments," see David Hawkes, *Ch'u Tzu: The Songs of the South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 92-100.

from Ch'u," and Maech'ŏn thereby makes clear the twin ideas of political misfortune and loneliness in autumn.

Han's focus, however, is not political misfortune in particular, but rather melancholy in general. The sheer fact that these men lived and died, and experienced unhappiness. Thus, whereas Maech'ŏn's use of "brothers scattered about" suggests that loneliness spoken of by Wang Wei, who missed his own flesh and blood siblings, his explicit reference to Tu Mu and Chia Tao also insinuates that those two poets were siblings in spirit, if not by blood, and were, as a consequence, related to Sung Yü.

Due to the theme and language of Maech'ŏn's poem, which bears certain similarities to Tu Fu's "Climbing High," Han invokes the image of Tu Fu whose myriad physical ailments found the poet at the height of his creative powers. In doing so, Han amplifies Maech'ŏn's suggestion of kinship through shared experience and thus envisions all these men in autumn, at the edge of the heavens, "alone each searching for the other:" searching for those who are brothers through like experience.

*Maech'ŏn, Spending the Double Ninth at a Hermitage on the West Side of
Sŏnam Temple*¹¹⁶

Grieving over autumn, I too
have the heart of a man from Ch'u,
At this ancient temple, chrysanthemums
cannot be found.

The world-despising white clouds
put to sleep the deer in the snow;
The red trees that shine on the sky
bring down the frosty birds.

Fan Ch'uan carried wine

¹¹⁶See Hŏ Kyŏngjin, ed., *Maech'ŏn Hwang Hyŏn shison* (Seoul: P'yŏngminsa, 1995), p. 55. This is a full-length Modern Style poem with seven syllables per line. The technical quality is excellent.

when the sun would first set;
And Chia Tao knocked on the gate
as the mountains became deeper.

In this whole world, it is lonely and barren
with brothers scattered about;
I climb high atop many places,
and softly recite poems in vain.

Tu Fu, *Climbing High* ¹¹⁷

A fierce wind and towering sky--
apes wail sadly;
At the clear river's edge, the sand is white,
and birds fly back.

Boundless autumn trees dropping leaves,
rustle as they fall;
While without pause the long river
rolls in a torrent.

For ten thousand miles of desolate autumn,
I'm forever a stranger;
Through all the illnesses of a lifetime,
I have climbed alone high plateaus.

Hardship and sorrow have increased
my frosted temples;
In my weakened state,
I newly refuse a cup of cloudy beer.

Wang Wei, *Ninth Month, Ninth Day: Remembering My*

¹¹⁷See Kim T'aek and Yi Pyŏngghan, ed., *Tangshi shinp'yŏng* (Seoul: Tosŏ Ch'ulp'an Sŏn, 1996), pp. 557-558. This is a full-length Modern Style poem with seven syllables per line. "Climbing High" is a famous poem and is the one given as an exemplar of the Modern Style, or Regulated Verse, in Nienhauser, op. cit., p. 683. Another translation may be found in David Hawkes, *A Little Primer of Tu Fu* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 203-205. It is interesting to note that while this excellent example of Regulated Verse follows all the central rules discussed above, it nevertheless deviates from the ideal: Six of the syllables at non-central positions deviate from the ideal pattern of tones. This appears to be about as well as one can do in actual practice, and Maech'ŏn's poem, given above, has only one more instance of such deviation.

Being alone in another place
as a stranger--
Whenever a festival occasion comes along,
I miss my family all the more.
I know from afar that
where my brothers climb high,
They will be missing one person
when putting on the dogwood.

(45) *As I Was Reading "The Elegance," I Found That Chu Hsi Took a Rhyme by
Tung-p'o to Write on Plum Blossoms, and I'm too Using That Rhyme to
Compose a Poem on Plum Blossoms.* ¹¹⁹

South of the river, in the evening snow,
there is a solitary hamlet;
Jade trees, layer upon layer,
call down the soul of poetry.

The flute from beyond the passes
is scattered amidst the branches;
The tapered moon is cold,

¹¹⁸See Kim T'aek and Kim Pyŏnghan, op. cit., p. 687-688. (This reference to his age was appended to the original poem by Wang Wei himself, and I have thus included it; see *ibid.*, p. 688.) This poem is a quatrain in the Modern Style, with seven syllables per line. Here too it is interesting to note the difference between the ideal distribution of tones and what we see in practice. Although this piece merely consists of twenty-eight syllables and follows the pattern of tones for the second and last syllables of each line, there are a total of six tonal deviations in the poem. In the first four lines, there are four deviations at syllables in non-central positions: the first and third syllable positions. In the final line, however, there are tonal deviations at the fourth and sixth positions, which are of greater importance. In spite of this, this beautiful poem is justly famous, and this shows the tension between the quality of what the poet says and the technical requirements of how he says it. In strictly technical terms, Han's poems overall do not compare badly with this.

¹¹⁹CTH, pp. 150-151. CTH, *ibid.*, notes that "The Elegance" (*fēng-ya*) is a contraction of *Lien-luo fēng-ya chi*, an anthology of poems by famous Sung dynasty (960-1279) Neo-Confucian philosophers. This poem appears at first glance to be a *p'ai-lü*, or extended regulated verse, and this is apparently the poem to which Sŏng Kŏk refers when noting that Han wrote one *p'ai-lü*; see "Manhaeshiui unyulchŏk ūmi," pp. (I) 33-45 in Kim Yŏlgyu and Shin Tonguk, ed., *Han Yongun yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Saemunsa, 1991), 2. (I) 37. However, it is actually a long poem in the Ancient Style consisting of sixteen lines with seven syllables each. Because he is rhyming with Su Tung-p'o's poem, he uses the same rhyme throughout. Also, see the note for the following poem.

and does not stain the dusk.

The night's fragrance is lingering,
and I'm lonely in my dream of return;
Ten years of futile vows,
I turned my back on home.

Such shame! In the spring wind
is much glory, and disgrace;
In all this cold, you don't
concern yourself with warmth.

Delicacy could not stand the rain
that brings the night;
A new intention-- how can
it face the morning light?

To the left there is a supporting pine,
and to the right, there is a bamboo;
For a lifetime guarding each other,
never shutting the door.

Though prizing fame,
easily accomplishing verse;
If you look deeply in fine places,
it is still wordless.

You and I are both
people who despise the world;
The bloom of youth has not yet faded--
together facing a liquor jug.¹²⁰

(46) *Another One: The Men of Old Did Not Compose Any Five Syllable Ancient Style Poems on the Topic of Plum Blossoms. Out of Curiosity, I Will Try to Compose One.*¹²¹

¹²⁰In the context of the poem, the "you" might just refer to the plum blossoms. However, considering the introductory explanation of the poem, it seems that this final line might also refer to Su Tung-p'o. He too enjoyed drinking, and through writing this poem, it might be that Su and his enjoyments come to life for Han; it is as if they were drinking together.

¹²¹CTH, pp. 152-153. This too is an Ancient Style poem, and it consists of eighteen lines with five syllables each. He employs the same rhyme throughout. Like the poem above, a cursory glance at the distribution of tones might at first suggest that this is in the Modern Style, and

Where are
the plum blossoms?
There are many river villages
in the snow.

In this life,
cold frozen bones;
In a previous life,
a white jade soul.

The appearance is remarkable
in the daylight;
The spirit is not
confused at night.

The hard-blowing winds
scatter the sounds of an iron flute,
As the warm sun
enters the meditation garden.

The poetry of spring
is cold;¹²²
In the long night,
the wine cup is warm.

Whiteness, how does it
bring the moon at night?
Redness is worthy

unlike the poem above, strong examples of parallelism are to be found in this poem. In spite of this, this piece and the one above do not fully meet the requirements of the Modern Style. It would seem as if Han were adding elements of the Modern Style to what were, essentially, Ancient Style poems. This does not seem to have been uncommon, judging by the advice of the Ming dynasty critic Li Tung-yang (1447-1516): "Ancient Verse and Regulated Verse [i.e. the Modern Style] are different forms; each must be written according to its own form before it can be considered proper. Occasionally one might use a touch of Ancient Verse in Regulated Verse, but on no account should one introduce a note of Regulated Verse into Ancient Verse." For this quote, see James J.Y. Liu, *The Art of Chinese Poetry*, op. cit., p. 79.

¹²²Ch'oe Tongho (CTH, p. 153, note 1) provides for this line the explanation that Han feels cold because he is thinking about a cold, early spring scene when, in fact, it is the height of spring. I think that the following line--and the poem itself--thus playfully offers a pretext for drink: on those long nights when it is truly cold, and on warmer nights, such as these, when I feel cold merely thinking about the cold.

to face the morning sun.

The recluse, guarding his solitude,
appreciates it;
Enduring the cold,
never shutting his door.

Although south of the river
all is in chaos,
Don't talk about it
to the plum friends.

True friends in this world
are few;
Facing each other,
we knock back deep goblets.

Voices in the Background: Li Po (701-762) and Lu K'ai (c. 5th century)

Li Po, Beneath the Moon, Filling My Cup Alone ¹²³

Among the flowers with a liquor jug,
Filling my own cup, without a companion.
I lift my cup to summon the shiny moon;
And with my shadow, that makes three of us.

The moon cannot figure out how to drink,
While that shadow mimics me to no avail.
Still, for now, with the moon and shadow in tow--
We must make our pleasure last until spring.

When I sing, the moon saunters about;
And as I dance, the shadow breaks up.
When we're awake, we are happy together;
After drunkenness, each goes his own way.

An eternal bond without any feelings:
We make a date, looking at the Milky Way.

¹²³See Kim T'aek and Yi Pyŏngha, op. cit., pp. 69-72. As seen in my translation, I have followed their division of the poem into four sub-sections. This is an Ancient Style poem in fourteen lines with five syllables each.

Lu K'ai, *A Poem Sent to Fan Yeh* ¹²⁴

I clipped a plum branch and
met the government courier,
To have it taken to a person in Lung-t'ou.¹²⁵
South of the river, there is nothing to be had:
So I offer nothing more
than this single branch of spring.

(VII) *Poems of Solitude*

Unlike the previous poems, the following do not share any particular unity in terms of theme or time of composition. These appear to have been written simply for his own enjoyment, and within the corpus of Han's Chinese poetry, such poems are the most numerous.

(47: 1-2) *Preparing for a Snow Storm, I Sealed off the Black Warts [ie. every crevice] of the Inner and Outer Windows of the House. I Looked at Some Books, and for Pleasure, Composed Two Poems.* ¹²⁶

(One)

As the blowing snow flies against
these doubly sealed windows,¹²⁷
In the daytime study all you can see
is a few gleams of light like at night.
Looking at a book, I can't even

¹²⁴For this poem, see: T'eng K'ui-ying and Han Chao-ch'i, eds., (*Chung-kuo ku-tien wén-hsüeh p'u-chi tu-wu*) *Han-Wei nan-pei-chao shih-hsüan chu* (Pei-ching: Pei-ching Ch'u-pan-she, 1982), pp. 369-370; Pao K'ê-i, ed., *Chung-kuo ku-tai mei-chü tz'u-tien* (Shanghai: Shanghai Tzu-shu Ch'u-pan-she, 1986), p. 683; and, Im Chonguk, *Kosa sŏngŏ t'aeajŏn* (Seoul: Koryŏwŏn, 1997), p. 42. This is an Ancient Style quatrain with five syllables per line.

¹²⁵The person is Lung-t'ou is the poet's friend, Fan Yeh.

¹²⁶CTH, pp. 173-174. (For the title, I have followed the explanation on the "black warts" given in CTH, *ibid.*) Each of the two poems has seven syllables per line. The first poem is a quatrain in the Modern Style, and the second is a Korean variation of the Modern Style: the tone pattern of the first couplet is repeated in the second.

¹²⁷This is an excellent line. As I have tried to convey in the translation, this line reads quickly and is rich in implications: The windows are "doubly sealed" because he has sealed off all the cracks, and now the snow is collecting, in layers, on the windows and blocking out all the light. Thus, even in the daytime, the room is as dark as night, and he cannot tell whether he is looking at the Chinese character for "two" (two horizontal strokes) or "three" (three horizontal strokes).

tell a 2 from a 3.
So I just close my eyes
and try to think of north and south.

(Two)
In this mountain hut, gates and doors
are the master of all creation:
Open or shut, again you can see
day or night anew.
Oneself does not comprehend
the principles of light and dark;
How can one mock
calendar sellers in the world?

(48) *Rain on an Autumn Night* ¹²⁸

At the edge of the seat,
the taste of Zen is plain as water;
The wind stirs the ashes of incense,
and the night is nearly done.
Among the countless leaves of the paulownia trees,
the autumn rain falls hard;
Amid the tatters of the dream by the empty window,
I cannot overcome the cold.

(49) *The Butterfly* ¹²⁹

In the east wind, it is busy
at the tips of all the flowers;
I fear it is the profligate
wanderer of the world.
How lovely, giving another
dream of the ephemeral life,
And eliminating the umpteenth

¹²⁸CTH, p. 137. (See also Ch'oe T'aeho, *Manhae Chihunui hanshi*, op. cit., p. 39. Both texts translate "the wind stirs the ashes of incense" as "I re-light the incense" and give the "empty window" as "empty room." I can find no justification for these translations, and my own translation thus significantly differs from these Korean versions.) This is a Modern Style quatrain with seven syllables per line. In terms of technique, it is excellent.

¹²⁹CTH, p. 216. This is a quatrain with seven syllables per line. It follows the Korean variant of the Modern Style: The tonal pattern of the first couplet is repeated in the second.

sorrow of past years.

(50) *Looking at the Moon* ¹³⁰

People living in seclusion
watch moonbeams;
A whole night
is one beautiful occasion.
Wandering to silent places,
I also look for
meaningful poetry.

(51) *The Moon Is About to Appear* ¹³¹

Those many stars
have just now seized their light;
All the goblins far and wide
put a stop to their revelries.¹³²
The colour of night
inches down to the ground--
And the countless trees
put themselves in good order.

(52) *When the Moon First Appears* ¹³³

Above the green mountain ridge
white jade emerges;
In the blue stream,

¹³⁰CTH, p. 162. This is a Modern Style quatrain with five syllables per line.

¹³¹CTH, p. 163. This is a technically excellent Modern Style quatrain with five syllables per line. The following three poems on the moon all use the same rhyme.

¹³²"Put a stop to their revelries" can also be taken to mean "stop wandering." Here, I have followed the meaning of *yu* (play or travel) emphasised in Korean (and Japanese) usage. From a Korean point of view, "put a stop to their revelries" seems to be the most natural way of reading the phrase; for comparison, see CTH, p. 163 and Ch'oe T'aeho, *Manhae Chihunui hanshi*, p. 62. The alternate meaning of *yu* as wander / travel comes out in the following poems on the moon, and like my translations, the Korean translations also use wander / travel in these instances; for this, see CTH, pp. 164-166 and Ch'oe T'aeho, *ibid.*, pp. 63-65.

¹³³CTH, p. 164. This is a quatrain with five syllables per line, and it follows the Korean variation of the Modern Style: The tonal pattern of the first couplet is repeated in the second.

yellow gold wanders.
With a cottage in the mountains,
poverty is not to be regretted:
That treasure of the heavens
cannot all be gathered in.

(53) *The Moon in Mid-Sky* ¹³⁴

The entire world together
has the same view,
By which each and every
person makes his own journey.
Its magnificence
cannot be plundered:
So distant,
how could it be gathered in?

(54) *The Moon Is About to Set* ¹³⁵

Beneath the pines
the blue mist fades;
Beside a crane,
wandering in a clear dream.
The drum and horn-flute fail silent¹³⁶
across the mountains,
And the cold light
is completely gathered in.

In the following poem, Han first adopts the stylised posture of masculinity associated with the *ylieh-fu* of the Northern Dynasties.¹³⁷ The "frost and snow" (K. *sangsŏl* ; C. *shuang-hsueh*) symbolise at once the sharpness of the blade (K.

¹³⁴CTH, p. 165. This is an Ancient Style quatrain with five syllables per line.

¹³⁵CTH, p. 166 gives the second syllable of the first line incorrectly as "not / no" (*pul*; *pu*); it should be "below" (*ha*). See Ch'oe T'aeho, *Manhae Chihunui hanshi*, op. cit., p. 65. This poem is an Ancient Style quatrain with five syllables per line.

¹³⁶The "drum and horn-flute" (K. *kogak* ; C. *ku-chiao*) were instruments traditionally used in the military to give commands.

¹³⁷See Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911*, op. cit., p. 240.

sang ; C. *shuang*) and his heart of austere integrity (K. *sangsŏl* ; C. *shuang-hsüeh*). Yet this initial hint of violence becomes comical--and all the more moving--in the final couplet where he frets over wounding the "[red] flowers and [green] willows" (K. *hwaryu* ; C. *hua-liu*). Like the "frost and snow," the "red flowers and green willows" represent themselves, but they also serve as a conventional metaphor for beauty. The sense is that this is an old warrior recalling an image of himself in his younger, hardier years, and just as he gets ready to start hacking the flowers and willows in imaginary battle, he catches himself and instead recognises the ephemeral beauty of the moment and his surroundings.

(55) *Ancient Thoughts* ¹³⁸

On a clear night,
I stand leaning on my sword by my side;
In the frost and snow,
a thousand autumns mean nothing.
For fear of wounding the
"red flowers and green willows" mood,
I turn around to watch
and welcome the spring winds.

The following three poems are all written as if he were at a hermitage enjoying relative seclusion from the hustle and bustle of the main temple: except for the interruptions of the temple bell. While the first and third poems touch on themes common in his Chinese verse (and common to Chinese poetry in general), the second poem is distinguished by a sense of playfulness unusual in his Chinese poetry, yet rather common in much of the poetry in *Your Silence*.

Here he decides not to rise from bed, despite the fact that the morning light is coming into the hermitage. Instead, he recites a poem in the first rays of the morning light and evokes the famous passage from the *Chuang-tzu* in which Chuang Chou (369-286 B.C.) dreamt he was a "butterfly filled with delight" (C.

¹³⁸CTH, p. 179. This is a quatrain with five syllables per line, and it follows the Korean variation of the Modern Style: The tonal pattern of the first couplet is repeated in the second.

hsü-hsü-jan hu-tieh; K. huhuyōn hojōp) only to awaken and wonder if he was not a butterfly dreaming he was a man?¹³⁹ Although Han compresses the phrase from the *Chuang-tzu* into the two syllable "delighted" (*huyōn*), the use of "dream" makes any mention of the butterfly superfluous, and in the final line we know clearly that he has become a butterfly: that is, gone back to sleep!

That he drifts off to sleep and dreams just as he finishes the poem represents a reversal of the process found in the *Chuang-tzu*, and Han, moreover, is conscious of this reversal: Unlike Chuang Chou's butterfly which "did not know it was [Chuang] Chou," Han willfully conjures the butterfly-dream as a pre-meditated escape into happiness. In so doing, he uses this classic Taoist passage as a justification for sleep, and in distinction to "The Butterfly" and other similar poems given above, here he celebrates his idleness and dreams.

(56: 1-3) *The Prospect at Daybreak: Three Poems* ¹⁴⁰

(One)

The moon fades and
the clouds rise from the trees;
Above the towering forest,
grey dawn hangs down.
The bell's clamour dizzily falls,
then ends;
And the loneliness I'd cut loose
clings to me again.

(Two)

At the window of this mountain hut,

¹³⁹I have used a Korean edition of the *Chuang-tzu* with original text, and translation, commentary, and notes by Sōk Inhae: (*Tongyang kojōn paeksōn-6*) *Changja* (Seoul: I shin Sōjōk Ch'ulp'ansa, 1991). "Delighted" is a more conservative translation of the original which Sōk beautifully translates as "a butterfly flapping its wings and dancing about" (*hwōlhwōl ch'umch'unūn...nabi*). See pp. 72-73 for this section.

¹⁴⁰CTH, pp. 191-193. All three poems are quatrains with five syllables per line. The first two follow the Korean variation of the Modern Style: The tonal pattern of the first couplet is repeated in the second. In the third poem, Han perfectly follows the strict Chinese regulations for the Modern Style quatrain: The tonal pattern of the first couplet is reversed in the second.

night is already ending;
I still lay in bed
and clearly recite a poem.
In a state of delight,
again I make a dream,
And go back
to the branch of plum blossoms.

(Three)

Over the endless mountains,
the shadow of a single goose;
Through innumerable trees,
the sound of several bells.
At this ancient abode
a lone monk lives;
In the prime of youth,
with the feelings of an old man.

In the following two poems, the language is particularly dense and requires some explanation. In the first poem, "a single / lonesome pillow" is an allusion to the longer phrase "a single / lonesome pillow and a coverlet" (*koch'im tan'gūm*) which is a metaphor for the loneliness of a young lady sleeping by herself. The "pine zithers" (*song-gūm*) may be taken as a metaphor for the sound of the wind blowing through the pine trees. As is often the case in Chinese poetry, it is not clear whether Han is writing in the first or second person.

Whatever the case, he is writing imaginatively, and the loneliness of the lady and the constancy attributed to her are reminiscent of the romantic *yüeh-fu* in which we find vows of constancy (and their counterpart: charges of infidelity), and none too ambiguous admissions of sexual success. The following two poems illustrate these aspects of the romantic *yüeh-fu* and suggest the possible significance of "the gate" in Han's poem:

(From one collection of *Midnight Songs*)¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹For these two poems and related comments, see Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1996), p. 238 and p. 240, respectively.

At dawn I long to go out the gates,
 at dusk I long to go back to the isles.
 I'll laugh and chat with anyone,
 but my heart in secret thinks of you.

Solo Song

I happened to go out before the White Gate
 where the willows can hide the crows.
 My love is the aloeswood incense,
 and I am the brazier where it burns.

(57: 1-2) Han Yongun, *Alone at Night: Two Poems* ¹⁴²

(One)

At the edge of the sky, without a mote,
 the bright moon passes by.
 With "a single pillow" on this long night,
 listening to the pine zithers.
 A single thought does not go
 beyond the village gate.¹⁴³
 I have only thoughts of the countless hills
 and endless waters.

In the second poem he uses the term *chōngsūng* which seems to be a contraction of *sōnjōng sūng*, or a monk in perfectly concentrated meditation.¹⁴⁴ The "return" (*hwan*) seems to refer to a return from--or breaking of--his concentrated meditative state that is instigated by his desire to see the plum trees in fresh bloom.

¹⁴²CTH, p. 194. Both poems are quatrains with seven syllables per line. The first is written in the Ancient Style, and while the second follows the tonal prosody required in a Modern Style quatrain, he makes a grave error: The final syllable of the second line, cold or shivering (*han*), is not in the same rhyme category as the final syllable of the fourth line, return (*hwan*).

¹⁴³The "single thought" (*illyōm*) can also mean a "never-changing heart" (*han'gyōgat'un mām*).

¹⁴⁴See Han'guk Pulgyo taesajōn p'yōnch'an wiwōnhoe, ed., *Han'guk Pulgyo taesajōn* [in 6 volumes] (Seoul: Myōngmundang, 1993), vol. 3, pp. 592-593.

(Two)

Above the jade grove dribbled with dew,
the moon is like ice.
From across the water, the sound of fulling cloth,
as a girl shivers by the river.
The blue hills on both banks
are all ancient.
When the plum blossoms first open,
the meditating monk returns.

The following poem, "The Fisherman's Flute," is marked by an excellence which transcends questions of formal rigour. I have followed Han's original manuscript: this is reflected in the third line: "a fading melody." The Ch'oe Tongho (CTH) edition of his poems changes *nak* (fading, falling) *cho* (tune, melody) to *nakcho* (rays of the setting sun). Unlike Ch'oe Tongho, Ch'oe T'aeho prints the poem as originally written, though he adds the footnote: "Isn't 'fading / falling melody' (*nakcho*) 'rays of the setting sun' (*nakcho*)?"¹⁴⁵

Despite their agreement on this point, I do not think that Han wrote the wrong syllable. Rather, I think that Ch'oe T'aeho's footnote paradoxically illustrates the economy and beauty of this line, and the poem in general. That is, the context *makes* one consider the possibility that he unintentionally wrote "tune" instead of "[sun]light," but on closer inspection, this seems improbable. This poem is filled with words having contradictory and / or complementary meanings, and most of these relate to music, the wind, sounds, and falling leaves: in other words, expressions which harmonise with the theme of the poem which is found in the fourth line.

The one "who knew my tune," or "the one who knows the tone" (*C. chih-yin*; *K. chiũm*), refers to the ancient story of Po-ya, who was a master of the zither,

¹⁴⁵CTH, p. 254; see also Ch'oe T'aeho, *Manhæ Chihunŭi hanshi*, op. cit., p. 152. This poem consists of eight lines with seven syllables each. Although it possesses many of the formal characteristics of the Modern Style, it has a number of stylistic flaws (in terms of the Modern Style) and should be considered an Ancient Style poem. Having said that, this is an excellent poem which, unfortunately, is excellent precisely due to those qualities which cannot be translated fully.

and Chung Tzu-ch'i, who was able to understand intuitively whatever Po-ya was imagining as he played. Though this term came to be used for discriminative taste in the evaluation of poetry, it originally meant true friendship: an unforced state of mutual appreciation and perfect understanding between two people.¹⁴⁶ Here, Han uses the expression in the latter sense to speak of his sharp loneliness and envy for that fisherman whose flute reminds him of his lost friend.

The syntax of the poem is relatively straightforward, and it reads quickly. The various nuances of the words, however, require one to re-read it, and with each re-reading, a different layer of meaning can be discerned. Yet this is not to say that there is something ambiguous about the poem, or that it can be interpreted in greatly different ways. Instead, the words he uses convey multiple clear meanings which all serve to reinforce the fundamental sense of someone companionless, cold, and in despair amid an autumn scene. In this vein, it seems appropriate to recall the statement by the Sung dynasty commentator Luo Ta-ching in his *Crane Forest of Jade Dew* (Hê-lin yü-lou). Praising Tu Fu's *Climbing High*, Luo noted that in the third couplet "there are eight types of meaning put into the poetic language of fourteen syllables."¹⁴⁷

The final line brings this issue into relief insofar as "desolation" (*K. soso*; *C. hsiao-hsiao*) describes not only the loneliness inspiring sound of the fisherman's flute, but both the sound of the falling autumn leaves and the general *visually* gloomy scene as well. Likewise, "scattered" describes the sound of the flute and the rustling of leaves endlessly falling from the trees. That is, the "stealthy," "roaming" sound of the flute, which permeates the landscape like the scattering leaves, "cannot all be gathered in" just as the countless falling leaves themselves cannot all be gathered up.

¹⁴⁶For a broad discussion of the term *chih-yin*, see Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 286-292. For a fuller account of the stories surrounding Po-ya and Chung Tzu-ch'i, see Im Chonguk, *Kosa sŏngŏ taesajŏn*, op. cit., pp. 726-727.

¹⁴⁷See Kim T'aek and Yi Pyŏngghan, op. cit., p. 558.

Much of what is most effective in this poem cannot be translated into another tongue since the words in the original have meanings which overlap in certain ways, and the words available in English do not overlap in those same ways. Yet the previous explanation, while not exhaustive, does at least offer some idea of the subtlety of Han's poem. More importantly, this demonstrates to some degree the linguistic resources available to Han in the medium in which he was working. Thus, while he cannot be given sole credit for what are, in part, intrinsically subtle qualities of the Chinese language, he deserves praise for his deft arrangement of those qualities.

(58) *The Fisherman's Flute*

A solitary boat in the wind and fog--
a bamboo flute in autumn;
Its several sounds quietly
pursue the flowing reed-blossoms;
On the nighttime river-- a fading melody
beyond the red trees.

For half a lifetime, he 'knew my tune,'
so I ask the gull,
"With the music severed, how can I endure
this dream of seclusion from the world?"
When the music ends,
in vain you suffer gut-shredding grief.

Roaming stealthily, that sound
strikes a person cold;
The whole earth is covered with desolation, scattered,
that cannot all be gathered in.

(59) *Aboard a Boat at Yōngsan Estuary*¹⁴⁸

The fisherman's flute,

¹⁴⁸CTH, p. 249. This is a quatrain with five syllables per line. It is in the Modern Style, and it is technically excellent in terms of tonal variation.

a river and the moon:
Liquor and lamplight
on both banks in autumn.
From the solitary boat
the sky resembles water,
As people trail behind
the flowing reed-blossoms.

Voices in the Background: "The Fisherman" and Liu Tsung-yüan (773-819)

"The Fisherman" (Yü fu) chapter of the *Songs of Ch'u* (Ch'u-tz'u; approximately mid- 3rd century B.C.-2nd century A.D.) tells the story of Ch'ü Yüan (340 ?-278 B.C.) who was banished from the kingdom Ch'u. As he wandered in distress, he encountered a fisherman to whom he lamented:

"Because all the world is muddy and I alone am clear...And because all men are drunk and I alone am sober, I have been sent into exile."

The fisherman then offered him sound advice:

"The Wise Man is not chained to material circumstances...but can move as the world moves. If all the world is muddy, why not help them to stir up the mud and beat the waves? And if all men are drunk, why not sup their dregs and swill their lees? Why get yourself exiled because of your deep thoughts and your fine aspirations?"...The fisherman, with a faint smile, struck his paddle in the water and made off.¹⁴⁹

The fisherman thus represents a life of simplicity and freedom, and as in this case, he is often depicted as having more good sense and clarity of vision "than some well-known paragon of conventional wisdom and virtue."¹⁵⁰ He is one of the paradigmatic figures of wisdom in classical Chinese literature, and while Han's mention of the "fisherman's flute" recalls this common figure, the language of his poem itself recalls that of a famous poem by Liu Tsung-yüan.

¹⁴⁹For this dialogue, see David Hawkes, "Ch'u Tz'u," *The Songs of the South: An Ancient Chinese Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 90-91.

¹⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 88. See also the "Old Fisherman" section in the miscellany of the *Chuang-tzu*. Here, Confucius and his students are confronted by an old fisherman who indirectly offers advice on proper conduct for following the Way: Sōk Inhae, *op. cit.*, pp. 359-361.

Although Liu is honoured as one of the "Eight Great Prose Masters of the T'ang and Sung," his status as a poet is somewhat less enviable: He is regarded as only a minor poet, and he left behind a modest number of poems: approximately one hundred and eighty. Among these, however, are some which are well-known, and his *Old Fisherman* was evaluated particularly highly by Su T'ung-p'o (1037-1101) who noted that:

[The *Old Fisherman*] takes a mood of mystery as its outline and arouses our interest through weaving together in one place poetic language which is infused with mutually contradictory meanings. Yet the more this poem is savoured, the more mysterious its mood and the fresher its taste.¹⁵¹

Liu Tsung-yüan, *The Old Fisherman*

The old fisherman spends the night
beside West Rock.¹⁵²

In the morning, he scoops water from the clear Hsiang,
and at night he makes a fire with Ch'u bamboo.

When the fog lifts at daybreak,
he is nowhere to be seen;

With the sounds of his rowing,
the mountains and waters are green.

I turn to see the edge of the sky
where he flows down the mid-stream [literally, "middle"],
And the mind-free clouds above the Rock
trail behind him.

¹⁵¹For this quote and the following poem, see Kim T'aek and Yi Pyŏngghan, op. cit., pp. 249-250. This is an Ancient Style poem consisting of six lines with seven syllables per line. My spacing of the lines follows Kim's and Yi's division of the poem into two related couplets followed by a third couplet whose significance is unclear. According to Kim and Yi, "down the middle" [i.e., mid-stream] refers to the poet's view of the boat seen from a distance as it floats down the middle of the river. Also, see ibid. p. 250 for excerpts from various commentaries which disputed the artistic merit of the final couplet.

¹⁵²West Rock is the name of a mountain and the Hsiang is the name of a river which flows into Lake Tung-t'ing from the south. These are located in what is now Hunan province, and this area was under the control of the kingdom of Ch'u during the Spring and Autumn (722-481 B.C.) and Warring States (403 B.C.-221 B.C.) eras; for these geographical references, see Kim T'aek and Yi Pyŏngghan, op. cit., p. 249. The mention of these geographical names, the "old fisherman," and the "Ch'u bamboo" clearly recall "The Fisherman" section in the *Ch'u Tz'u*.

(60) *The Clear Sky After the Rain* ¹⁵³

The sounds of the birds
separated from the dream are cold;
The scent of flowers
enters my Zen to vanish.
Zen and dreams again
forget each other:
In front of my window--
one green Parasol tree.¹⁵⁴

(61) *Daytime in the Mountains* ¹⁵⁵

The mountain peaks crowd like
hedgehog spines in my window;
The blowing snow is so cold and dreary
just like last year.
In the emptiness of the human world,
the daytime atmosphere is cold;
Where the plum blossoms fall,
the three existences are void.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³CTH, p. 252. This is a technically good Modern Style quatrain with five syllables per line. It is interesting to note that Han here again compares the experience of Zen with dreams. Dreams are symbols of the impermanence of the phenomenal world, and the purpose of Zen is to realise that impermanence. Although references to dreams are found in Zen literature, Han's frequent comparisons of Zen and dreams are striking. (For the issue of dreams in Buddhism, see Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan / Zen Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 209-230.)

¹⁵⁴This is the [blue/green] Chinese Parasol tree and is supposed to be where the phoenix lives (*K. pyōgodong*; *C. pi-wu-t'ung*). It is also known as the Phoenix Tree. As stated in CTH, p. 253, note 3, this final line bears a strong resemblance to the famous response attributed to the Chinese Zen master Chao-chou Ts'ung-shen (778-397 [dates as accepted by tradition]): When he was asked "what is the meaning of the patriarch's coming from the West?", he replied "the Big Cone Pine tree in front of the garden!" For this, see *Han'guk Pulgyo taesajōn*, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 102.

¹⁵⁵CTH, p. 200. This is a quatrain with seven syllables per line. It is in the Modern Style, and in terms of tonal prosody, it is excellent.

¹⁵⁶The "three existences" refer to the past, present, and future lives discussed in Buddhist metaphysics, and Han's final line seems to say that such metaphysical questions pale into insignificance in comparison to the falling of the blossoms: that the plum blossoms transcend such distinctions or that upon death--falling--the plum blossoms fully cease to exist. The second choice seems to me to be more likely and more interesting, and bears comparison with his "enlightenment poem" previously discussed in detail.

While it is not easy to determine exactly the importance of the Buddhist references in the previous two poems, the following playful poem presents no such difficulties. In Buddhist cosmology, Mt. Sumeru is envisaged as a great mountain at the very centre of the world, and the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* uses the metaphor of "Mt. Sumeru put inside a mustard seed" to illustrate the concept of the "complete Mahāyāna in which one is all and all are one, [with] each being a universal cause" (*K. pōpkye yōn'gi*; *C. fa-chieh yüan-ch'i*; *J. hokkai engi*; *Skt. pratītya-samutpāda*). That is, the large contains the small, and the small contains the large, neither existing independently of the other.¹⁵⁷

Yet Han employs this metaphor for a more lighthearted end. His misfortunes are countless, and spring dreams are short by definition and serve as a common metaphor for the evanescence of human life. In the context of this poem, Mt. Sumeru is paired with his countless worries, and the tiny mustard seed is paired with his dream. Thus, his fantastic vision of the huge contained in the small implicitly laments the many worries which afflict our short lives. On the other hand, his vision also points to the power of alcohol to induce somnolence and a dream which, though short, is temporarily greater than all his worries: there is "room to spare!"

(62) *Casting off My Dark Mood*¹⁵⁸

Between these spring worries and spring rains,
I can't endure the cold.
But a single jug of spring beer¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷The reference to the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* is given in CTH, p. 235, note 2. The quoted definition is taken from Soothill and Hodous, op. cit., p. 441.

¹⁵⁸CTH, p. 235. This is a Modern Style quatrain with seven syllables per line.

¹⁵⁹As seen in previous translations of poems mentioning alcohol, I sometimes use "wine," but not always: My choice depends on what I like best in any given context. Setting aside questions of poetic convention, the different types of Chinese *chiu* and Korean *chu* were more like beer since they were made from grain, not fruit. As a consequence, poets often describe the clearness or consistency of alcohol: clear or strained alcohol as opposed to a simpler unstrained or murky brew. (See Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature*, op. cit., p. xlv.) In this case, "spring alcohol" (*ch'un chu*) probably refers to a specific type of alcohol, also known as *samhaeju*, which

banishes countless misfortunes.
Once drunk on spring beer,
it makes spring dreams:
Where Mt. Sumeru is contained
in a mustard seed-- with room to spare!

(63) *At Naewŏn Hermitage There Is an Old Tree Peony whose Snow Covered
Branches Look as if They Are in Bloom. For that Reason, I Write this
Poem.* ¹⁶⁰

The beauty of the snow, when there is no moon,
mixes with the mountain scene;
That withered tree with cold blossoms
collects nighttime's scents.
Vivid atop the branches,
the spirit of the cold,
Which does not enter into
the infinity of human grief.

(64) *Climbing High* ¹⁶¹

Happening to want to know
how far I might see,
I went up to the east
of the steep peak.

People were going
beyond the green hills;
A boat was travelling
through the misty rain.

On a long river,
chances for wine are few;
In the heavy snow,
one gets into poetry in vain.

is made from a mixture of wheat flour, malt, and rice. It thus resembles that unstrained, rice-based alcoholic beverage that Koreans call *makkŏlli*.

¹⁶⁰CTH, p. 206. This is an Ancient Style quatrain with seven syllables per line.

¹⁶¹CTH, p. 197. This is a Modern Style poem of eight lines with five syllables each.

As the wind falls,
the paulownia is anxious;
My hair shines red
in the setting sunlight.

(65) *The Season Is Cold, and My Clothes Have Not Arrived --*
Written for the Fun of It. ¹⁶²

A new year
without my old clothes--
I realise how much
there is to this single body.
Few people
know this feeling:
How is Fan Sui
doing these days?¹⁶³

(66) *Feelings in the Cold Rain at the End of the Year* ¹⁶⁴

This cold rain passes
the ends of the heavens;
And about my hair,

¹⁶²CTH, p. 182. This is a Modern Style quatrain with five syllables per line. It follows the Korean variation: the tonal pattern of the first couplet is repeated in the second.

¹⁶³This reference to Fan Sui comes from the *Historical Records* (Shih-chi) and deals with a complex story of political intrigue during the Warring States period. Although there are slightly different versions of the story, the primary relevance to this poem centres on clothing. The story, as found in Fan Sui's biography in the *Shih-chi*, can be summarised as follows: Fan Sui was slandered and then ordered by his master, Hsü Chia, to be executed. He feigned death and thus managed to escape to another kingdom where he eventually became a minister of state. Later, when Hsü Chia visited as an envoy, Fan Sui dressed in shabby clothes and went to see his old master. Hsü Chia was shocked to see Fan Sui alive, and was moved to sympathy by his impoverished appearance; thus he gave Fan Sui a silk overcoat. Due to this act of kindness, Fan Sui later decided to let Hsü Chia live, though, as minister of state, he had the power to have him killed. (For this, see Im Chongok, *Kosa sŏngŏ taesajŏn*, op. cit., pp. 647-648.) Through this seemingly simple reference, Han seems to say that although Fan Sui's clothes were shabby, at least he had clothes; yet, unlike Han, Fan Sui ultimately received a silk overcoat. Moreover, "these days" seems to refer to the fact that Fan Sui is dead, and this final line thus can be interpreted to mean either that the poet is so cold he feels as if he is going to die or on the contrary, that he should not fret over his physical discomfort.

¹⁶⁴CTH, pp. 159-160. This is an Ancient Style poem having ten lines with five syllables each. It employs two different rhymes: the second, fourth, and eighth lines have one rhyme, and the sixth and tenth lines have another.

the year's [my years'] end is seen.¹⁶⁵

My sorrows tower over
all my humble bones;
My whole body
thinks only of wine.

Though the season is cold,
wine has not come,
So I return to reading
On Encountering Sorrow.¹⁶⁶

Why do people around me
blame me?
Censuring my deviation
from purity of action.

Far and wide
I look over the lower [mortal] world,
And all the land
is once again a blue ocean.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵In the second line, "the year's end" seems to represent Han's clever play on the double meaning of "the end of the year" (*mose*) which can also mean "old age." The expression is the same as that used in the title; but here it seems to be used with the second meaning in order to suggest that his hair is turning white.

¹⁶⁶*On Encountering Sorrow* is the *Li Sao*: a long narrative poem which is one of the seventeen texts contained in the *Ch'u-tz'u* (Songs of Ch'u). The remainder of Han's poem recalls the essence of this classical text: The next couplet refers to the magician-narrator of the *Li Sao* who is unjustly vilified by his sovereign and goes off on a mystical journey in search of the "beautiful one," generally interpreted as a metaphor for a just ruler. In the next to the last line, Han recalls the next to the last couplet of the *Li Sao*: "But when I had ascended the splendour of the heavens / I suddenly caught a glimpse below of my old home." (For this, see David Hawkes, *Ch'u Tz'u: The Songs of the South*, op. cit., p. 34.)

¹⁶⁷Both Ch'oe Tongho and Ch'oe T'aeho note that this line refers to an ancient saying on the ephemeral nature of the human world: "the fields of mulberry trees [turn into] the blue sea." (See CTH, p. 160, note 7 and Ch'oe T'aeho, *Manhae Chihunui hanshi*, op. cit., p. 39; see also the notes to this poem in the *Collected Works*, op. cit., p. 115, note 7.) As noted by Ch'oe T'aeho, the last couplet originally was arranged differently, and when Han realised that the piece did not end with a proper rhyming syllable, he then put marks in the margin so that the line would end with a rhyme and thus read as translated above. This line is suggestive of the line in the *Li Sao* which was quoted in the note above: That is, whereas the *Li Sao* narrator looks down and sees his home, Han sees the earth as a vast "blue ocean." Thus, Han's poem seems to mirror the ending of the *Li Sao*, and like this classic text, Han's poem also ends ambiguously.

(67) *Feelings on Being Held up by the Rain as I Was Escaping Troubles* 168

The towering beauty of the year
is shorter than this man;¹⁶⁹
The noise of the island nation's army
connects to the precipitous crag.
Lakes and mountains are turned upside down--
I want to fly away!
At the sky's edge, the wind and rain,
feel akin to me.

(68) *Enjoying Myself* 170

On good days
I knock back some beer;
And during those fine nights,
I recite new poems.
This body and the world--
both forgotten;
Among mankind, following
the four seasons.

(69) *The Winter Solstice* 171

¹⁶⁸CTH, p. 138. This is a Modern Style quatrain with seven syllables per line. The very topic of the poem is mysterious: The island nation is certainly Japan; yet I know of no historical incident in his life by which the title can be explained.

¹⁶⁹The dominant feeling of the poem is one of dread and fear. The two initial syllables of the first line, "precipitous" (*chaengyōng*), can be used to describe tall, steep mountains, severe cold, or the "climb of time" (ie. that a year is close to ending), and the sense of height comes out again in the next line. However, in the first line, *chaengyōng* is followed by "time" (*se*) and then "appearance, figure, or shape" (*saek*); the line then ends with the straightforward "shorter than a man" (*wae ō in*). Since a year comes to an end in winter, the idea of cold thus makes sense, and "shorter than a man" might imply that year's end is very close. Yet cold and steepness also suggest fearfulness and danger which are the very topic of the poem, and one senses that as the number of days which make up a year reach their highest point, so too the cold and danger are growing extreme.

¹⁷⁰CTH, p. 157. This is a Modern Style quatrain with five syllables per line.

¹⁷¹CTH, p. 177. This poem has eight lines with five syllables per line; it is an excellent example of the Modern Style. (As Ch'oe Tongho explains, the winter solstice, which falls towards the end of December in the solar calendar, is regarded as the real start of the new year since it marks the point from which the days start growing longer; it is also believed that thunder can again be heard at this time. These ideas are the foundation of the poem, and thus the "new fortune" in the fifth line is that of the new year, or the good fortune for the new year. Likewise, the letter which was written prior to the winter solstice now becomes "an old letter:" a letter from

Last night the claps
of thunder arrived,
And this morning my
thoughts are many.

In the ends of the mountains
after the passing of the year,
In the land of my birth,
spring starts to appear.

I open the gates
to greet new fortune,
And send to a friend
an old letter.

All living things
are stirred to action;
In serene contemplation--
I love my little house.

(70) *Feelings When Looking at a Painting on a Snowy Night* 172

The wind and snow in the dead of night
blow without pause;
All my feelings and the time of the year¹⁷³
make a bad match.

Since birth I've become used to being
let down by money;

last year. (For these points of explanation, see CTH, p. 177, notes 1 and 3.) However, Ch'oe Tongho's explanation of "all living things" (*kun'gi*) as "all activities or functions" (*hwaltong*) seems to be not quite right (see note 4, *ibid.*). *Kun'gi* is a Buddhist term used to mean all the varieties of living creatures, and particularly, sentient beings. Thus, rather than Ch'oe's vague translation as "all the transformations (*pyŏnhwa*) are in motion (*paltong*)," Han seems to say that all the creatures are stirred to life at this symbolic mark of impending spring, and that although he too is one of those creatures, he instead takes pleasure in his modest house.)

¹⁷²CTH, pp. 291-292. (Note: this poem is not contained in Ch'oe T'aeho, *Manhae Chihunui Hanshi*, op. cit.) This piece has eight lines with seven syllables each and is written in the Modern Style.

¹⁷³The "time of the year" (*se saek*) seems to refer to the snowy night which does not match his desire for that spring scene which he sees in the painting.

In my old age,
I let the cheap brew cheat me.¹⁷⁴

When the cold pierces the remaining plum blossoms,
the fragrance is easily lost;
For this white haired man, in the dying lamplight,
dreams are hard to come by.

That hoary old man in the painting
truly is to be envied--
Sitting as he gazes upon a stream in spring,
rising with little blue waves.

(71) *Leisure in the Mountain Huts* 175

Whose few houses are these
beside the river?
In broad daylight their plank doors shut,
blocking the dawn glow.

Surrounded by stones, playing chess--
all around the sound of bamboo.
When drinking with the clouds,
you always pour a drink for the flowers.

Ten years with a single pair of shoes, if high,
what problem is there?
In all things, a half gourd is fine
even when empty.

¹⁷⁴Here, "cheap brew" is, literally, white liquor (*paekchu*) and refers to the fact that the alcohol is unstrained; it thus has a white murky colour due to the sediment. The implication is that the poet is too poor to afford anything but the cheapest alcohol, and this idea runs parallel to his reference to poverty in the previous line (of this parallel couplet): "money has let me down" and "cheap brew has cheated me."

¹⁷⁵CTH, p. 262. (In the title, CTH misprints "one" (*il*) for "fly away / escape / happy" (*il*). The syllable given in note 1, however, is correct; for the original manuscript, see Ch'oe T'ach'o, *Manhae Chihunui hanshi*, op. cit., p. 159.) This poem has eight lines with seven syllables per line and was obviously meant to be in the Modern Style: The alteration of tones is excellent, and the parallelism in the middle couplets is also excellent. As in some previous instances, however, he makes a mistake regarding rhyme. Here, the final syllable of the sixth line, *ka* (fire, good, or beautiful), does not belong to the same rhyme category as the other rhyming syllables, although it rhymes with them in Korean pronunciation.

A spring wood beneath the sinking sun
is a fine place to sit—
In the dripping green of endless mountains,
listening to the woodcutter's flute.

(VIII) *Poems of Himself*

In 1936 Son Kijōng, a Korean member of the Japanese Olympic team, won the marathon at the Berlin Olympics. The editors of the *East Asia Daily News* (Tonga ilbo) were justifiably proud and printed a photograph of him without the Japanese flag on his shirt. The newspaper thus ran afoul of the authorities and was forced to suspend publication, and as a sign of solidarity, the *Chosōn Central Daily* (Chosōn chungang ilbo) also decided to suspend publication.

At that time, the *Chosōn Central Daily* had begun publishing in serial form Han's novel *Remorse* (Huhoe) through which he had "hoped to portray a true conjugal love found at the lowest level of human life:" an idea inspired by a middle-aged, blind opium addict and his devoted beggar-wife who lived in a park near his home.¹⁷⁶ The decision to suspend publication meant that this promising novel came to an end after only six instalments, and the following poem seems to have been written on this occasion.

In this emotional poem, his frustration is clear within the first line where he notes with great irony that the days are now filled with leisure, and in the second line, this irony is compounded by the excellent word *san* which I have imperfectly translated as "scattered." It has various meanings such as scatter about, relax or have nothing to do, or to stagger or limp. In this poem, *all* these meanings are readily apparent, and we see these people, deprived of their means of public speech ("gagged") as punishment for their joy, hobbling about Seoul-- "the ancient city"-- under the weight of their enforced vacation from work.

¹⁷⁶See Beongcheon Yu, *Han Yong-un and Yi Kwang-su: Two Pioneers of Modern Korean Literature*, op. cit., pp. 76-77 and p. 186. This quote is taken from an interview with Han; see *ibid.*, p. 77. For a brief survey of newspaper and journal publications during the Japanese occupation, see Carter J. Eckert, et. al., *Korea Old and New: A History* (Seoul: Ilchokak, 1990), pp. 288-289 and pp. 313-314.

The last couplet builds on the initial use of writing implements. The personification of the great Han River is hyperbolic insofar as its sobbing represents that of the gagged Koreans. Further, its water, or tears, is what does not enter the "inkstone pool" (*yŏn chi*) in the following line, and this pool (*chi*) is the deep portion of the inkstone (*yŏn*) where the ink is ground and mixed with water. Since the writing brush has been broken, the tears of frustration no longer have any outlet, and like the water of the Han, they too simply flow into the ocean, thus leaving the unmoistened ink powder to be blown away.

(72) *The Suspension of the Newspaper*¹⁷⁷

The brush is broken and the ink has blown away--
 there is time to relax during the day.
 Gagged people, scattered,
 and the ancient city is in autumn.
 The Han River, too, sobs.
 Unable to enter the inkstone pool--
 instead, flowing into the sea.

Like the previous poem, the following piece also deals with a special occasion; but here, Han is commemorating his own life (and death) on his sixtieth birthday. A photograph taken at this party shows him smiling, sharply dressed in a business suit with a white shirt and tie.¹⁷⁸ In spite of his appearance, the poem he wrote was conventional only to the degree that it bore the mark of that verbal eccentricity associated with Zen masters. Yet, this is not to say that the poem is in any sense hard to understand. Rather, there are at least two similar, easily identifiable poems within the guise of a single poem.

One senses that this poem represents a performance which had been rehearsed, despite the claim of "extempore" in the title. A reprint of the original

¹⁷⁷CTH, p. 301. This poem is a quatrain, with seven syllables per line, written in the Modern Style. (It is not contained in Ch'oe T'aeko, *Manhae Chihunŭi hanshi*, op. cit.)

¹⁷⁸An excellent reproduction of this photo is contained in the inside cover of Im Chungbin, *Manhae Han Yŏngun: kŭ saengae wa chŏngshin* (Seoul: Myŏngjisa, 1997), p. i.

poem written at the party shows that it was painted quickly in flowing strokes: what is typically called calligraphy.¹⁷⁹

The gist of the piece is simply that "these sixty years of life have passed quickly, and though I'll soon be dead, I'm enjoying myself." However, the excellence of the poem is to be found in the richly nuanced language with which he says this. Due to the arrangement of the words, there is more than one poem contained in the original, and yet a conventional, scholarly translation would create still another poem bearing no likeness to anything in the original. My purpose here is to impart the original as well as possible through translation, and as a consequence, I will try to catch not only that poem most visible in the original, but also catch, where English permits, those other nuances. For this, some explanation is first required.

The poem itself reads quickly, and there are no particular grammatical difficulties. As will be seen, those difficulties that do arise are related primarily to syntactics and semantics, and yet it seems reasonable to assume that these aspects, which we might call difficulties, would have been seen as the true poetry by the Buddhist audience for which this poem was written. They should have quickly seen the multi-layered meanings of the poem for these meanings would be transparent to those with the necessary cultural and religious knowledge.

The first thing to be noted is that the age given in the poem is based on the Chinese sixty year cycle. The completion of one's sixtieth year (*hoegap*) literally means that one returns to the beginning, and the cycle then begins anew: a "return" (*hoe*) to the "one" (*gap*). Thus, on one's sixtieth birthday, one becomes a (sixty) one year old, and this literal meaning of the expression underlies the first line of the poem.

The line begins with the two syllable reduplicative expression *ch'ong-ch'ong* (*C. ts'ung-ts'ung*) which means hastily, or pressed by matters, but may also

¹⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. iii.

mean bright or even sagacious. Through those two syllables, Han presents the fundamental thrust of the poem which is then completed, or clarified, by the remaining five syllables of the line: six - ten [= sixty] // one - year - light (or shine). Yet these final five syllables have a host of related implications depending on how they are read.

The basic issue rests on the question of whether we are to follow the scheme of pauses normal to a seven syllable line of poetry. If we do so, then the line will be read as given above. However, considering that he has entered his sixty-first year of life (that is, the first year of life according to the sixty year cycle), it would seem that the normal pattern of pauses is broken, and thus we are to read "six-ten // one" as "sixty one." As a consequence, the first line might be translated as: "So quickly: sixty-one years old," or even "so quickly: sixty years [passed like] one year."¹⁸⁰

Yet the rich ambiguity is then beautifully complicated by the final two syllables: year (*yŏn*) - light (*kwang*). *Yŏn-kwang* can mean the passage of time, and that does make perfect sense in the poem thus far. However, it has another distinct meaning: youth. Considering that to turn sixty-one is to begin the cycle again (and, in a sense, become a one year old), it is hard to miss the implication that *yŏn-kwang* refers to youth while *ch'ong-ch'ong* refers at once to the flight of time and the accumulation of wisdom through age. This first line thus says many things in a mere seven syllables, and these multiple implications are developed throughout the rest of the poem.

The second matter to be mentioned is the second line which ends with the mulberry tree, or the *sang*. Ch'oe Tongho finds this line to be "troublesome to

¹⁸⁰Ch'oe Tongho's (CTH, p. 302) vernacular Korean translation (*yesune han hae*) can be said to follow the latter interpretation. Conversely, it might also be interpreted as a vernacular Korean poetic expression for sixty-one years. It is more than likely that he himself wanted this ambiguity which arises from the poetic possibilities of the Korean particle *e*: on, at, in. Ch'oe T'ach'o, on the other hand, takes it as: "sixty-one years quickly passed." See his *Manhae Chihunui hanshi*, op. cit., p. 184.

interpret" due to the "mulberry tree" (*sang*) which comes after the "minor kalpa" (*sogōp*): *sogōp sang*. Ch'oe T'aeho simply ignores the problem altogether.

The fundamental problem is that the two final Chinese syllables (*gōp* and *sang*) are used in the transliteration of Sanskrit. Although Ch'oe Tongho's notes on this point are interesting for their recognition that Han may have substituted "mulberry tree" for "tree" (*su*), he finally decides that the main idea is the "minor kalpa."¹⁸¹ I think that this is correct for the most part; however, I think the "mulberry tree" is also important, but not as a reference to vegetation. Rather, it can be used as the first syllable of the Sino-Korean term *sangmun*, which is the transliteration of the Sanskrit term *śramaṇa*: monk, priest, or student of Buddhism. Thus, the "mulberry tree" is an oblique reference to himself: He is the mulberry tree, and I think that we can be certain that his Buddhist friends and colleagues would have caught this reference.

In the following couplet, he develops simultaneously the ideas of wisdom and experience, on the one hand, and his feeling of youth, on the other; and he does this in an excellent fashion. In the third line, the final two syllables are "hair-short or thin" (*pal-tan*), and the parallel syllables in the fourth line are "heart-long" (*sim-chang*). "Hair-short/ thin, heart-long" (*pal-tan sim-chang*) is a conventional expression meaning that as you get old and lose your hair, you nonetheless develop sharper wits: sagacity comes through age. The importance of time is further intensified by the parallelism of the first two syllables of each line. In the third line, the first two syllables (*sewōl*) simply mean the passage of time, but the counterpart

¹⁸¹Ch'oe Tongho (CTH, p. 302) suggests that the final three syllables might refer to the *Kalpataru*: "A tree in Indra's garden bearing fruit according to the seasons." (For this and other related terms, see Scothill and Hodous, op. cit., pp. 232-233.) This is an interesting suggestion, which he ultimately discards in favour of ignoring the "mulberry tree" and translating the line as: "among men, this is called a minor *kalpa*." (See CTH, p. 302; Ch'oe T'aeho, *ibid.*, p. 184, gives a similar translation.) Yet, if one wanted to follow Ch'oe Tongho's initial suggestion, the best argument for Han's substituting "mulberry tree" for "tree" is simply that he needed the syllable *sang* (mulberry tree) since it, not *su* (tree) belongs to the rhyme category he is using in the poem.

syllables in the fourth line, "wind and frost" (*p'ungsang*) mean the passage of time, and more importantly, vicissitude, in its fullest sense.

Metaphorically, "wind and frost" refers to an austere fearlessness in the face of adversity, while the passage of time is that "minor *kalpa*" which consists of 16, 800, 000 years. The "minor *kalpa*," represents his life, and the implication is that the passage of sixty years is an extremely long time which is, nonetheless, insignificant when compared to a "great *kalpa*" (K. *taegōp*, Skt. *mahākalpa*) which lasts 1, 334, 000, 000 years.¹⁸² For a human being, sixty years is at once a long time and is also too short, and as the poet has grown older, his "red heart" (*tanshim*)--his sincerity-- has increased along with the development of his resourcefulness. In turn, both of these have grown the closer he draws to death.

In the following couplet, he suggests the idea of death and tells us that through his life as a Buddhist priest, he has already become something other than an ordinary person; moreover, because of his change into that non-ordinary person through Buddhism, he can "allow sickness" and presumably, death, too. This would seem to be his mark of wisdom and experience.

The final couplet elegantly resolves onto the image of the fading sunlight, and his calm enjoyment of it: "I enjoy the setting sun." In the context of the poem, it is clear that he is the setting sun, but this metaphorical implication is made even more obvious by virtue of the fact that the syllable for sun or sunlight (*yang*) may also be read as the pronoun I or me (*chang*). While this might seem somewhat far-fetched at first, the poetic world created thus far guides our reading and ultimately makes it impossible to ignore this. Moreover, we cannot appeal to the rhyme category to decide how to read it since this syllable falls into the same rhyme / tonal category regardless of how it is read. The "sunlight / I" is thus a perfect ending in terms of *meanings* and the technical requirements of versification:

(73) *On the Day of Completing My Sixty Year Cycle,*

¹⁸²For the various *kalpas*, see Soothill and Hodous, op. cit., pp. 232-233.

Entering My Sixty First Year: Composed Extempore

---1939, seventh month, twelfth day, at Ch'ongnyang Temple---183

In a hurried flash, sixty--
and one year young:
Among mankind this is called
a minor *kāpa* for the mulberry tree.

Although time causes
my white hair to shorten,
The wind and frost are helpless
to stop my red heart from growing.

In accepting poverty, I've already realised
I have transformed these mortal bones;
In allowing sickness, who would have guessed
I have found a miraculous cure?

Don't ask about
the rest of my life as it flows away;
As the cicadas sing in the countless trees,
I enjoy the setting sun.¹⁸⁴

(IX) Two Anomalies: Love Poems

(74: 1-2) *Untitled: Two Poems* ¹⁸⁵

(One)
The day feels too cold,
and so I won't leave the house.
You said "among the stones in the mountain streams,
the jade is fat."

¹⁸³CTH, pp. 302-303. (The portion in small print was not contained in the poem as first written at the party. I have used the manuscript copy he made for himself in which he recorded this information in fine print; see Ch'oe T'aeho, *Manhae Chihunui hanshi*, op. cit., p. 184.) This poem has eight lines with seven syllables each. It is an excellent example of the Modern Style.

¹⁸⁴What I have rendered as "enjoy the setting sun" might be taken more literally as "take advantage of," "seize," or "follow" "the setting sun." The beautiful ambiguity of the phrase cannot be captured in translation.

¹⁸⁵CTH, pp. 299-300. The first poem has eight lines with seven syllables per line, and it uses the same rhyme as Li Shang-yin's "Spring Rain" given below; the second poem is a quatrain with five syllables per line. Both are good examples of the Modern Style. (This poem is not contained in Ch'oe T'aeho, *Manhae Chihunui hanshi*, op. cit.)

In the sky with no roads,
where do the birds go?
Within the mountains, there is a home,
to which the cloud has not yet returned.

As I make myself drink to erase worries,
my designs are already a muddle,
And when I force myself to sleep and have a dream,
that plan too works out wrong.

All the sky a blizzard,
and that beautiful one so distant;
White hair covers my head
as I turn my back on the evening glow.

(Two)

A fine blade is sharp
before it is ground;
Lovely flowers are fragrant
after they fall.
How lovely! that moon
in the sky--
Alone shining
on my endless thoughts.

These two pieces are unique among Han's classical Chinese poems. The first is clearly a love poem, and although the second is ambiguous, it too can be read as one: especially when it is paired with the first. The first speaks of despondency, and the second is suggestive of a vow of constancy. Taken together, each of these poems articulates a different aspect, or emotion, associated with being in love, and consequently, one encounters here two complementary motifs. These two motifs are ubiquitous in the poetry of *Silence* where they serve, I think, to bring into relief the multi-dimensional human experience of love. As will be discussed in the next chapter, this is what I take the central theme of those eighty-

eight poems to be. Yet for the time being let us set aside the question of who or what is the beloved in both *Silence* or these two poems.

What is the more interesting--and indeed, an easily answerable--question is how is the beloved represented in *Silence*? The answer, in part, is that the beloved is represented primarily through remembered speech, and the first of these two poems is thus especially interesting in relation to *Silence*. As in *Silence*, Han here integrates quoted speech to show the concern of the lover as well as her gift for poetic speech. For his part, the speaker worries over his inability to go to the loved one, and this worry leads to compulsive drinking which ultimately accomplishes nothing. As in *Silence*, here too we encounter the problem of memory--remembered words--which is at once a source of comfort and pain.

Like the first, the second poem too seems to deal with a lover, if less explicitly. Here he appears to profess the constancy of his love, and he does so by likening his "endless thoughts" to the moon which in spite of apparent change, endures nonetheless. This poem is not marked by the melancholy of the first, and the two taken together present two different aspects of love and separation. They are thus complementary, and taken together, these two poems are reminiscent of the great T'ang poet Li Shang-yin.

A Voice in the Background: Two Poems by Li Shang-yin (813?-858)

Li expanded the range of Chinese poetry through his choice of topics and his use of language, imagery, and allusion. In addition, he wrote poems which encompassed the full range of love experiences, and these features distinguish him from the other poets of his era. Such poems were typically and ambiguously left "untitled," and through his masterful use of nuance, Li captured the complicated and intense emotions associated with love: from desire to jealousy to despondency.¹⁸⁶

Li's "untitled" poems thus bear a striking resemblance to *Silence*, and in the following two poems by Li, we see similarities with the first of Han's two poems

¹⁸⁶For a brief biography of Li Shang-yin, see Nienhauser, op. cit., pp. 551-553.

above. Just as interestingly, we also hear faint echoes of the poetry of *Silence*, however, this should not be surprising since those two poems by Han are similar to much of the poetry found in *Silence*.

Spring Rain ¹⁸⁷

I lie down despondently, in early spring
white quilted clothes.
The White Gate has collapsed--
my thoughts are awry.

The fine homes through the rain
look at me [or, each other] coldly;
Past a screen of jewels, with a covered lantern,
I return alone.

As I respond to grief on this long journey,
the springtime sun goes down;
In the remains of the night,
I still get a few dim dreams.

This sealed letter and jade earrings--
how can I get them delivered?
Through the endless miles of silky clouds
a lone goose flies.

Untitled ¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁷This is an eight line Modern Style poem with seven syllables per line. The "White Gate" probably refers to one of the gates at the southern capital, Chien-k'ang; the "fine homes" probably refer to where the poet's lover once lived; the "screen of jewels" refers to the falling rain; and "jade earrings" were traditionally a token of love exchanged between young men and women. The final line is particularly pained since geese are associated with the carrying of letters. Here, the lone goose seen in the distance highlights the poet's desire to send to his beloved the letter and the jade earrings. (For this poem, a fuller discussion of its language, and an excellent exposition, see Kim T'aek and Yi Pyŏngghan, op. cit., pp. 617-619.)

¹⁸⁸See Kim T'aek and Yi Pyŏngghan, op. cit., p. 616. This is a Modern Style poem with seven syllables per line and eight lines. The richness of language is emblematic of the critical points on Li noted above: The first line says not only that the lovers have difficulty in meeting one another and then are pained at parting, but also suggests that one is leaving and they are unable to bid each other farewell; "thread" in the third line is associated with both "thinking" and "death" since they are all homophonous, and thus we see the poet dying, like the silkworm, because he cannot stop "thinking" about his lover: because he cannot break their connection, or "thread." In the following

Meeting is hard,
and hard too to say goodbye;
The east wind is weak,
and all the flowers die.

Only when the spring silkworms die
do they stop making thread;
Only when the candles turn to ash
do the tears dry.

In the morning mirror, she worries
that her luxuriant hair has changed;
As she recites poems at night,
she realises in response that the moonlight is cold.

From here, it is not very far
to P'eng Mountain;
So please let the blue bird
diligently go to pay a visit.

(X) Conclusion

What these last two poems by Han suggest is that in a love poem in the classical Chinese *shih* form, the possibility of using dialogue was limited due to the very requirements of the form itself. If this seems to be an unreasonably broad or odd statement, one need only consider the other poems translated in this section. Conversation—either real or remembered—is as conspicuous for its infrequency as it is conspicuous for its prevalence in *Your Silence*. Yet neither Han's classical Chinese poems, nor those of the other poets translated above are unusual in the *shih* tradition as a whole. Conversation was used, but it was not common.

line, the "tears" refer to the dripping wax of the candle, and as James J.Y. Liu suggests, "ash" suggests despair since it is used in the compound *huei-hsin*: literally, "ash hearted;" P'eng Mountain is an island where Taoist immortals are supposed to live, and the "blue bird," which is supposed to have an extra foot so that it can carry letters, is said to be a messenger for the Taoist goddess, the Queen Mother of the West. (For these and other critical points, see Kim T'aek and Yi Pyŏngha, *op. cit.*, pp. 616-617, and James J.Y. Liu, *The Art of Chinese Poetry*, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-138.)

The degree to which Han used dialogue in *Silence* thus forces us to consider how might those eighty-eight poems have been written in classical Chinese? Although this question is speculative, in light of the earlier discussion of the requirements of the *shih* form, we do have a foundation for saying with some assurance that were one to attempt a faithful translation between the vernacular Korean of *Silence* and the rigorous Modern Style form, one would be forced to paraphrase and ultimately re-write those Korean poems. At the very least, such translation would be extremely difficult.

Of course, the poet himself need not translate, but whatever the inspiration or whatever the poet might want to say, the medium of expression itself affects the final product. And in Modern Style verse, the strict requirements would of necessity affect what was written. On the other hand, Ancient Style verse would have the benefit of allowing for uneven lines and thus allowing for those long and short quotations so important to both the content and style of *Silence*.¹⁸⁹

But this in turn raises two fundamental issues. First, Han was wholly conventional in his use of the Ancient Style. Although he could have used lines of uneven length when writing in this style, he only wrote lines of five or seven syllable lengths, and in view of the larger Korean tradition of *shih* composition, he was thus typical. Moreover, even in the less rigorous verse form of the Ancient Style, one would be constrained by the necessity of rhyme, and as we have seen, Han himself made more than a few mistakes in conforming to this most fundamental requirement. Nonetheless, such mistakes should not blind us to the fact that he did know the rules; he could write faultless Ancient and Modern Style verse. In other words, he understood the limitations and strengths of the *shih* form

¹⁸⁹Compare, for instance, the lines of dialogue in "A Sleepless Dream" (Cham ōmnūn kkum) and "Are You Telling the Truth? (Ch'ammalin'gayo): CTH, pp. 42-43 and p. 78, respectively. Two other excellent examples are "The Zen Master's Sermon" (Sonsaui sōlbop) and "Love's Last Round" (Sarangui kkūtp'an): CTH, p. 71 and p. 129, respectively. Both of these will be translated and discussed in the following section.

itself, and perhaps more important, one suspects that he also knew his own limitations within that form.

The other Chinese literary modes available to him were the *fu* (prose-poetry), *tz'u* (song lyrics), and *ch'u* (lyric verse, or aria) forms, each of which had a long and complex history in Chinese literature. Yet each of these forms possessed its own structural limitations and was, in fact, remarkably more complex compared to even the Modern Style.

The *fu* mode, which dates back to the fourth century B.C., went through a complex process of change through which it broke into various subgenres marked by differences in theme and formal style. During the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-219 A.D.) poets used *fu* for expositions on "things"—animals, scenery, artefacts, etc.—as well as to describe their own personal views or emotions, and as written during the Han dynasty, dialogue was often a central structural feature of *fu*. However, *fu* subsequently became subject to an extremely strict set of rules which, in turn, were largely ignored by Sung dynasty (960-1279) luminaries such as Su Tung-p'o (1037-1101) and Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-1072) who forged the *wen-fu* (prose / prose-poem) style marked by a "loose structure, unpredictable rhyme, and a judicious use of parallelism."¹⁹⁰ There is, however, no indication that Han himself ever attempted to write anything which might be construed as belonging to any of the various *fu* styles, and by the nineteenth century in Korea, the virtually all non-prose literature was written in the *shih* form.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰See Nienhauser, op. cit., p. 390.

¹⁹¹In this regard, it is interesting to note that Yi Kyubo (1168-1241) took an active interest in the *fu* mode, no doubt due to his admiration for Su Tung-p'o. (See, for instance, the five long *fu* collected in Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, ed., *Yi Kyubo shimunson* (Seoul: Sol Ch'ulp'ansa, 1997), pp. 11-28.) Yet as far as I can tell, even the renowned calligraphist and man of letters, Kim Ch'onghui (1786-1856), wrote all his non-prose pieces exclusively in the *shih* mode: even when writing "The Fly," a subject perfectly fitting for *fu*. (For "The Fly," see Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, ed., *Wandang ch'ongjip*, [in 4 vols.], (Seoul: Sol Ch'ulp'ansa, 1996), vol. 3, p. 279.) The only examples of *fu* in nineteenth century Korea, of which I am aware, are found in the writings of the unique and prolific Tasan Ch'ong Yagyong (1762-1836) who wrote but two *fu*: one composed of two-hundred and forty-seven syllables, in thirty-eight lines, with nineteen different rhymes and another composed of four-hundred and seventy-three syllables, in ninety-four lines, with forty-seven different rhymes. (For a discussion of these, see the excellent study on Ch'ong

Likewise, the *tz'u* form and its offspring, the *ch'ü* form, might seem at first glance to have been styles acceptable for the poetry of *Silence* since both used uneven lines. Yet here too there are problems. The *tz'u* form emerged during the T'ang dynasty (618-936) and was initially set to music. The form reached maturity in Sung dynasty during which Su Tung-p'o managed to turn it into essentially a mode of written, literary expression able to express anything. Yet the use of set rhyme and tonal patterns remained integral to the form itself, and by the eighteenth century, there were more than two thousand different fixed patterns for *t'zu*.¹⁹² Thus, while Su is regarded as the founder of the School of Heroic Abandon (*hao-fang*) in the *tz'u* form, his pieces in this form are extremely complex: due precisely to the fact that in order to say what he wanted within the set patterns prescribed by the form itself, he ignored the conventions of line division and syntax. The result has been countless headaches for later scholars.¹⁹³

The *ch'ü* form came into maturity during the Yüan dynasty (1206-1368), and like the *tz'u* in the early stages, it too was set to music. It was written to fixed metrical patterns, and these were used even when writers used the form for lyrical verse, or *san-ch'ü* (literally, "loose songs"). Compared to the *t'zu* form, however, the number of these set patterns seems paltry: roughly three-hundred and fifty.¹⁹⁴

Given the overwhelming complexity of these other verse forms, it is not surprising that just as Han seems never to have attempted to write a *fu*, he likewise

Yagyong by Kim Sanghong: *Tasan Ch'ong Yagyong munhak yongu* (Seoul: Tan'guk Tachakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1991); pp. 322-344 are devoted to these two *fu*.) Also, see below.

¹⁹²See James J.Y. Liu, *The Art of Chinese Poetry*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), p. 30.

¹⁹³See Nienhauser, op. cit., pp. 846-849. For this comment on Su Tung-p'o, see James J.Y. Liu, *Major Lyricists of the Northern Sung* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), p. 144.

¹⁹⁴See Nienhauser, op. cit., pp. 349-352; also see Liu, *The Art of Chinese Poetry*, op. cit., pp. 32-34. In order to better understand the complexity of the *tz'u* form, it is helpful to consult punctuated texts: editorial marks for tones, pauses, and breaks between lines. For examples of such texts see: Lin Ta-ch'un, ed., *T'ang Wu-tai tz'u* (Hong Kong: Shang-Wu Yin Shu-kuan, 1964); Feng P'ing, ed., *Sung-tz'u hsu* (Hong Kong: T'ü-p'ing Shu-chü, 1968); Shu Meng-lan and Hsieh Chao-ch'eng, eds., *Pai-hsiang tz'u p'u-chien* (Hong Kong: Shang-wu Yin Shu-kuan, 1959). Each of these modern editions contains famous *tz'u* with punctuation marks and other helpful commentary.

showed no sign of ever having attempted to write in either the *tz'u* or *ch'u* forms. Nonetheless, here too he seems to have been perfectly regular insofar as eighteenth century Korea appears to have produced no more than eighteen lyrics in the *tz'u* form and even less in the *ch'u* form. Even more telling is the fact that no more than four-hundred and thirty-nine *tz'u* were written between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries: from the time Yi Kyubo (1168-1241) made the initial attempts with six pieces until Chōng Yagyong (1762-1836) wrote, over the course of a long life, a total of nine: exactly one half of all *tz'u* written during one and a half centuries in Korea.¹⁹⁵

This is all the more interesting when one considers the massive corpus of Chinese writings Chōng produced during his life: socio-political treatises on current issues, historical essays, literary commentary, travel accounts, biographies, and moving letters for his sons on how to read, drink, and even raise chickens in a manner befitting a scholar.¹⁹⁶ He also left what is one of the most remarkable collections of *shih* poetry in Korean history: roughly two and a half thousand poems under just less than two-thousand titles.¹⁹⁷

It is thus appropriate to recall that couplet written by Chōng, in 1832, at the age of seventy-one: "I am a man from Korea / Delightedly, I write Korean poetry

¹⁹⁵As noted above in relation to the *fu*, Chōng Yagyong was uncommon in the history of Korean literature written in Chinese, and he seems to have been the last person to have ever written in the *tz'u* form; he wrote a total of nine *tz'u* under eight different titles. In addition, he wrote three *ch'u*, and he is the only Korean known to have ever written in the *ch'u* form. Even taking into consideration the Confucian / Neo-Confucian bias against such writing in Korea, these numbers are shockingly low, and as Kim Sanghong points out, the twin problems of music, or not knowing the music, and the overall metrical and rhyme complexities of the forms must have been one of the major factors limiting Korean writers from employing these forms. In contrast, the *fu* form was relatively easier and also had the prestige of being associated with the Confucian tradition, and it is not surprising to find that this style was comparatively popular among Korean writers until the sixteenth century. (For these points, in order, see Kim Sanghong, *op. cit.*, pp. 351-352, pp. 372-376, and p. 344.)

¹⁹⁶For an excellent collection of these writings, see Pak Sōngmu and Chōng Hæryōm, eds., *Tasan munhak sōnjip* (Seoul: Hyōndae Shilhaksa, 1996) and Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, ed., *Tasan munsōn* (Seoul: Sol Ch'ulp'ansa, 1997).

¹⁹⁷For this, see Kim Sanghong, *op. cit.*, pp. 351-352 and Kim Yōng, "Tasan shisegye taehayō," pp. 153-158, in Hō Kyōngjin, ed., *Tasan (Chōng Yagyong shison)* (Seoul: P'yōngminsa, 1992), p. 153.

(*shih*).¹⁹⁸ This might be the strongest statement of individual and national identity within the history of Korean poetry, and the statement was true. Chōng wrote about himself and the time in which he lived; his poems were Korean poems. Yet in that form he wrote so well, he could not write what he actually said or heard. He could paraphrase such things; he could translate them into Chinese. But he could do no more than that; he was "a man from Korea," and he spoke Korean.

Han Yongun's *shih* poetry thus represented one poetic voice, and like Chōng, this voice was a purely literary creation. In contrast, the poetry of *Your Silence* was a literary creation of another sort. All of these poems could have been spoken, and indeed most read as if they were spoken, but by someone who spoke beautifully.

Han's first known attempt in writing a vernacular free-verse poem provides a useful point of comparison in this regard. This piece, simply entitled "Mind," was published in 1918: one year prior to Chu Yohan's "Fire Festival" (1919) which is generally named as the first free-verse poem in Korean literary history.¹⁹⁹ In it Han tackles a broad, Zen Buddhist subject, and due to the poem's awkwardness, it provides the critical benchmark for clarifying that poetic achievement of *Your Silence* which seems to have emerged with virtually no forewarning.²⁰⁰

Mind is mind.

Mind alone is not mind, and no-mind too is mind,

¹⁹⁸The poem from which this is taken is printed in full in Kim Sanghong, op. cit., p. 57.

¹⁹⁹See An P'yōngjik, *Han Yongun* (Seoul: Han'gilsa, 1988), p. 301.

²⁰⁰Compare, for instance, "Ilgyōngch'oui saengmyōng," which was published one month after "Mind," and "Kakyanare tachayō," which was published several months after *Your Silence* appeared; for these, see CTH, pp. 313-314 and pp. 315-316, respectively. The former owes much more to vernacular Korean than does "Mind," but apart from this, I am aware of nothing else even closely resembling what is found in *Silence*. On the other hand, the style of writing found in "Kakyanal" is extremely close to what is found in *Silence*. Also, considering that "Kakyanal" (Han'gūl day) was published in a newspaper as formal praise for the Korean alphabet, Han'gūl, the appearance of a pair of nipples in the ninth line comes as a surprise: "Even a beautiful baby can be taught (Han'gūl) / as it suckles on a nipple with its mouth, rubbing the other nipple with its hands."

and so there is nothing existing outside of mind.
 Life is mind, and death too is mind.
 A mallow is mind, and a rose too is mind.
 A chivalrous gentleman is mind, and a contemptible
 scoundrel also is mind.
 Idle fantasy and baseless speculation are mind,
 and the emptiness of phenomena is mind too.
 The physical world is mind, and the shapeless,
 formless world too is mind.
 Space is mind, and time is also mind.
 When mind is born everything in the universe arises,
 and when mind dies, the emptiness of all phenomenal
 forms ceases to exist.
 Mind is the actuality of non-being and
 the impermanence of being.
 Mind raises tears in people and brings laughter as well.
 The columns of support for the Palace of Heaven
 and so too the foundations for endless hells exist at
 the borders of mind.
 In the fields of mind stand monuments of success,
 and in those fields too are scattered remembrances
 of withdrawal in defeat.
 Just as mind is naturally the supreme commander of war,
 it is also the envoy for reconciliation.
 There are fish fossils on the peaks of the Diamond
 Mountains [in Korea] and volcanic craters on the
 floor of the Atlantic Ocean.
 Mind, at all times and in all happenings and things--
 mind is only mind itself.
 Mind, absolute and free, is omnipotent.²⁰¹

There are two noteworthy aspects of this poem in relation to the poetry of *Silence*. First, it is fundamentally a Chinese poem. Apart from Korean particles (of [ũ], on [e], if [myo], etc.), topic and subject markers (*ka*, *i*; *nũn*, *ũn*) the substantiative verb be (*ida*), the active verb do (*hada*), and a verbal suffix (*nira*), which allows all the lines to rhyme, all the vocabulary of the poem is Chinese. Second, if "Mind" is read in the original, it seems to be a strict translation into Korean of an Ancient Style *shih* poem: that type of cryptic translation commented

²⁰¹CTH, pp. 331-332.

upon previously. Read aloud, only portions of the poem would be understandable. In effect, it is a poem which can only exist printed on a page. In distinction, the poems in *Silence* can be read aloud and understood; they are poems which are written as if they were being spoken, although this is somewhat difficult to grasp in translation.

Yet this sense that the poems are being spoken is apprehensible, even in translation, through his use of conversation, quotation, and fragments of dialogue. And his use of these elements in those eighty-eight poems is quite striking when we consider that even in the *Shih Ching* conversation between a man and woman could play a vital role in limiting the possibility of metaphorical interpretation. By contrast, descriptions of states of mind or observations are open to a virtually endless array of metaphorical or allegorical interpretations, and the "line of eternal fame" from Li Shang-yin's "Untitled" given above is a case in point.

Chou En-lai (1898-1976) was able to turn "during spring, silkworms perish strenuously making thread" into a patriotic rallying cry not simply by quoting it out of context,²⁰² but because the looseness of the context itself allowed for this. This was, as discussed previously, the poetic strength of the *shih* form itself: its allusiveness and thus, suggestiveness which allowed great breadth in interpretation. But perhaps more important is the simple fact that the fundamental conception of poetry, based on the *Shih Ching* and concretized later in the *Mao Commentary* [on the *Shih Ching*] in the *Edition of Cheng Hsüan* (Mao Shih Cheng chien), advocated the search for political implications. This was the theoretical basis for reading poetry.²⁰³ As a consequence, a writer could use poetry as a vehicle for political

²⁰²See Kim T'aek and Yi Pyŏnghan, *op. cit.*, p. 616, note 2.

²⁰³I am not attempting to offer a negative criticism of this, nor am I attempting to oversimplify what was in fact a tremendously complex process: in relation to the *Shih Ching* itself, the *Mao Commentary*, and thus Chinese poetry in general. Charles Hartman's comments on this point seem to me insightful and are, in fact, fully relevant to Han Yongun's writings in general and *Your Silence*, and the commentary on it, in particular. (See Charles Hartman, "Poetry," pp. 59-74, in Nienhauser, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61). Yet the evolution of interpretation on the *Shih Ching* was itself marked by severe difficulties due to the variety of poems contained in it: a process which "finally collapsed in Chu Hsi's [1130-1200] attempt to reconcile the dubious morality of certain of

allegory; on the other hand, as Stephen Owen points out, "[r]eaders might often discover such political messages, even when they were not intended."²⁰⁴

Allusiveness cuts both ways.

Significantly, this statement by Owen is made in relation to the infamous "Poetry Trial on Wu Terrace" (Wu-t'ai shih an) of 1079 in which Su Tung-p'o was tried for writing poems slandering the new, reformist government led by the chief councillor Wang An-shih (1021-1086), and the example given by Owen is the first of Su Tung-p'o's companion pieces to Ch'ên Hsiang's "Peonies on a Winter Day:"

A single bloom of beguiling red,
an azure almost dissolving,
shining back the glory of spring,
shaming the frost and snow.
The Artist of Change wants only to show
a novelty of craft
and will not allow these idle flowers
even the briefest respite.²⁰⁵

Although Owen himself sees this poem as "an apparently harmless and witty comment on the unseasonable blooming of some peonies," and thus misinterpreted by those prosecutors searching for "slandorous intent," Su himself seems to have later confessed that this poem, in fact, had been "intended as a criticism of the reform leaders who harassed the common people mercilessly."²⁰⁶ Without Su's confession, however, it would be impossible, in good faith, to side with either the prosecution or Owen's defence.

the *Songs* with Confucius' dictum that the *Songs* have 'no warped thoughts.'" (For an interesting overview of this issue, see Stephen Owen, *Readings in Chinese Literary Thought*, op. cit., pp. 452-456; this quote is taken from p. 455.)

²⁰⁴See Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911*, op. cit., pp. 673-674.

²⁰⁵Ibid., p. 673.

²⁰⁶See Ronald C. Egan, *Word, Image, and Deed in the Life of Su Shi* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994): for this quote, p. 46; see also p. 391, note 59, and p. 449 for relevant information regarding "The Poetry Trial on Wu Terrace." For yet another, interesting evaluation of this period and the events surrounding Su's trial, see Michael A. Fuller, *The Road to East Slope: The Development of Su Shi's Poetic Voice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), pp. 245-250.

The *Shih Ching*, however, provides clear examples of how ambiguity, nuance, context, and hence, interpretation, might all be constrained through topic, modes of description, and most importantly, dialogue. We may take "We Had Our Delight" and the "Rooster Crows" as illustrations of these points:

We Had Our Delight

In the valley we had our delight,
a big man free and easy.
I sleep alone and waking speak,
vow never to forget him.

Upon the slopes we had our delight,
a big man winning and merry.
I sleep alone and waking sing,
vow never to betray him.

On the highlands we had our delight,
a big man and a shrewd one.
I sleep alone, then wake all night,
vow never to make it known.²⁰⁷

Modern commentators generally take this as a poem dealing with sexual love, as fairly clearly suggested by the poem itself. Nonetheless, the context of the poem does permit with little difficulty the ancient interpretation that the speaker is one who has fled the rule of a tyrant and found joy living alone in the mountains. The similar interpretation given by Chu Hsi (1130-1200)—that it describes the unfettered life of a hermit living in seclusion—also seems perfectly acceptable.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷See Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Poetry: Beginnings to 1911*, op. cit., pp. 50-51 for this poem and his comments, upon which the following points are partly based.

²⁰⁸See also Cho Tuhyŏn, ed., *Shigyŏng [Shih Ching]* (Seoul: Hyewŏn Ch'ulp'ansa, 1995), p. 82. Cho's brief introductory explanations of the poems, upon which my statement is based, are themselves based on the traditional interpretations: those of the *Mao Commentary in the Edition of Cheng Hsüan* (Mao Shih Cheng chien) and the interpretations subsequently given by Chu Hsi; see p. ii. Thus, Cho's commentaries and notes reflect "orthodox interpretations." Although Cho does not specifically distinguish between the *Mao Commentary* and Chu Hsi's judgements, it is sufficient for our purposes here to call the interpretations given by Cho as orthodox, or traditional. For Chu Hsi's complete commentary on this poem, see Chu Hsi, *Shih chi-chuan* [reprint] (Taipei: T'ai-wan Hsüeh-shêng Shu-chü, 1970), pp. 142-144.

Put simply, it is not very difficult to create for this poem a political context on the basis of what the poem says; the very idea of seclusion away from the vexations of the world easily makes room for this. At the same time, the final two lines of each stanza fully allow for that interpretive freedom exercised by modern commentators.

In other words, if the one who originally wrote the poem actually did intend some sort of political allegory, the mode of description he or she employed has enabled commentators to see it as a romantic / sexual poem; thus, the political might be taken erroneously as the sexual / romantic, instead of the other way around. The pitfalls of the enterprise of allegorical interpretation are no greater than those found in the use of allegory itself.

On the other hand, the dialogue in the "Rooster Crows" makes it difficult to interpret this poem as anything other than a "depiction of a happy home of a loving husband and wife."²⁰⁹

The woman said, "The rooster crows."
The man said, "Still the dark before the dawn."
"Get you up, man--look at the night!--
the morning star is sparkling;
go roving and go roaming,
shoot the wild goose and the teal.

When your arrows hit them,
I will dress them just for you;
when they're dressed, we'll drink the wine,
and I will grow old with you.
There will be harps to attend us,
and all will be easy and good.

If I know that you will come,
I'll make a gift of many jewels;
if I know you will accept,
I'll show my care with many jewels;
if I know you will love me,

²⁰⁹See Cho Tuhyŏn, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

I'll answer you with many jewels."²¹⁰

Much of the poetry in *Your Silence* resembles in structure and content these two ancient odes, and it is significant that the last of the eighty-eight poems is "Love's Last Round." Here too we find an early morning scene bearing a marked similarity to the "Rooster Crows:" from the hesitation of an early morning departure, to the playful love banter which serves as a genuine description of affection between a man and a woman.

In the next and final section, I will address this issue specifically in relation to the poetry of *Your Silence*. I will begin with an evaluation of the major trends of criticism on the collection before turning to a detailed discussion of those poems which are most important in the collection as a whole. My criteria for selection are threefold: representativeness, excellence of technique, and most important, a desire to highlight those recurrent aspects of the poems which have been largely ignored by other scholars.

As will be seen, the poems in *Silence* connect with one another largely through what he chooses to write about and the details which he focuses upon: or, how he writes about it. In *Silence*, Han at times writes self-consciously, and if the collection as a whole deals with various aspects of love, it does not treat love

²¹⁰See Stephen Owen, *An Anthology of Chinese Literature: Beginnings to 1911*, op. cit., p. 51. Chu Hsi's commentary on this poem is relatively long, but it is accurately conveyed by Cho Tuhyōn in the quote given above. For Chu Hsi's complete commentary, see Chu Hsi, *Shih chi-chuan*, op. cit., pp. 205-208. On the other hand, the *Mao Commentary* does manage to arrive at a political interpretation: that the wife is also encouraging her husband to "cultivate virtuous friendships" and that the pleasant domestic scene in the ode is "a contrast to the lascivious indulgences [characteristic of] domestic life" at the time the ode was written. (For this, see James Legge, *The Chinese Classics, In Five Volumes: IV, The She King or The Book of Poetry* (Taipei: Wen Shih-chê Ch'u Pan-shê, 1971 [reprint]), pp. 134-135; see also *ibid.*, p. 50 for the general comments on the ode given in "The Little Preface" of the *Mao Commentary*.) However, this interpretation does not come at the cost of what the poem says. Rather, it is built upon poem itself, and thus despite the overlay of interpretation, the *Mao Commentary* accepts at least that the ode speaks of love between a man and a woman. In short, in order to expand the context of a poem or create a metaphorical interpretation for it, you must first take the poem at face-value. As will be discussed in the next chapter, this is the specific issue at stake in regard to the interpretation of *Silence*.

merely as some intellectual abstraction. To the contrary, the wealth of eroticism in the collection makes it very hard to see these poems as simple allegory, and in crucial places within the text, Han makes it clear that he sees Buddhist implications in the passionate love he describes.

SECTION 4

Eroticism and Buddhism in Han Yongun's *Your Silence*

(I) Introduction: By Way of an Outline of the General Issues

On May 20, 1926 Han Yongun published his *Nimui ch'immuk* (Your Silence). One week later Yu Kwangnyŏl published an appreciative essay entitled "Impressions on 'Your Silence'--A Prayer Offered to the Spirit of the Fatherland," and the following month the poet Chu Yohan published "Prayers of Love, Love of Prayers--Impressions on Mr. Han Yongun's Latest Work, 'Your Silence.'"¹ Although Yu's essay seems to be extant no longer, we can guess from the title that he saw in those eighty-eight poems the conscience of a patriot and that the beloved (*nim*) serving as the central motif of the poems was Korea itself.

Chu likewise noted the "feeling of patriotism" (*aegukchŏk kibun*), but also found the poems to be "filled with spiritual colourings" (*shinangjŏk saekch'ae*) and marked by a sense of "separation" (*ibyŏl*). Moreover, he emphasised the debt Han owed the Indian poet Tagore and judged these poems to be "Oriental (*tongyangjŏk*), meditative (*myŏngsangjŏk*), and spiritual (*shinangjŏk*)." Such a criticism highlighting the supposed dichotomy between East and West was, of course, very much in the spirit of the times, and owed much to Tagore's fame. Yet, Han had also mentioned in his introduction the Buddha, Kant, and the Italian patriot Mazzini as he offered his own ambiguous definition for the protean beloved (*nim*). Han was, in short, eclectic, and Chu's emphasis on the Oriental is the single point of his essay which seems dated.

The most interesting portion of Chu's critique, however, came at the end. Here he raised aesthetic concerns when he praised Han's "manifest skill of rhythm"

¹The first article, "'Nimui ch'immuk' tokhugam--chogukui chŏngryŏnge tulin kido," was published on May 31, 1926. It seems to be available no longer. For a synopsis, see Manhae Sasang Yŏn'guhoe, ed., *Han Yongun sasang yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1980), p. 378. Chu Yohan's "Aeui kido, kidoui ae--Han Yongunsshi, kŭnjak 'Nimui ch'immuk' tokhugam," appeared in two instalments on June 23 and 26, 1926. This article has been reprinted. See *ibid.*, pp. 11-15.

(*unyulchoŭk kigyo-p'yohyōn*) and took note of the "abundance of the imaginative power [and] creative faculty" needed for Han's switching between male and female perspectives. Even now the rhythm of the poems captures the reader's ear as the continual movement of perspective captures the mind. These two elements are immediately apparent to even a contemporary non-native reader and so seem to be beyond time and culture. Thus, it is interesting that Chu, a poet and Han's contemporary, noticed the very same things, and his suggestion of their importance is of enduring worth.

Although Chu's essay was short, it outlined, with the notable exception of the biographical approach, most of the critical options available to one interpreting the poetry of *Your Silence*. Indeed, anyone acquainted with studies on Han, and *Silence* in particular, will recognise that Chu's conspectus has undergone very little revision. Yet with the exception of his two aesthetic points, his critique had already been prefigured by Han himself in his own introduction (*kunmal*; "Gratuitous Words") to the collection.

In approaching *Silence*, scholars and writers have continually appealed to Han's introduction, in which he offered the critic nearly unlimited possibilities for interpretation. The beloved might be, according to Han, philosophical inquiry for Kant, Italy for Mazzini, or all sentient beings for the Buddha, and the major portion of subsequent scholarship has mainly followed this division between philosophy, patriotism, and Buddhism. In Han's case, such interpretations have proven durable because they are so reasonable. He was a Buddhist philosopher and a patriot, and Chu's connection between patriotism and spirituality merely crystallised one way of reading Han's introduction. Yet, this link between Han's role as a patriot and his status as a Buddhist priest has persisted also because it is a safe approach which at the same time grants one the freedom to look at Han's other writings in discussing these eighty-eight poems.

In short, the seeming obscurity of the introduction combined with the multifarious poems comprising the collection have meant that literary scholars and critics have been able, if they so wished, to interpret these poems in a variety of ways. Yet they have primarily stuck to the modes of criticism suggested first by Yi Kwangnyŏl and Chu Yohan.²

This is not to say that such criticism is somehow insufficient. Many interesting views have been put forward, and in this way scholars have been able to suggest certain continuities throughout Han's writings. However, it is striking that in spite of the importance placed on Han's introduction, no one to my knowledge has emphasised the intense eroticism of the poems. Like philosophy, Buddhism, and patriotism, eroticism too has a justifiable place in the panoply of critical perspectives from which one might usefully approach *Silence*.³

Apart from these two pieces, the man of letters Yi Kwangsu noted in 1929 the beauty of the poems, and five years later, in an essay devoted to the collection itself, asserted that one could read *Silence* as a collection of love poems rather than an expression of Buddhist or religious thought.⁴ Although Chu had also mentioned some eight years earlier the presence of "passionate love" (*yŏnae*) to which Han

²There are two noteworthy exceptions. See Yi Sangsŏp, *Nimui ch'immuk'ui ŏhwi-wa kŭ hwalyong kujo: yongrye-saegin* (Seoul: T'amgudang, 1984); this is a philological study which lists key words repeated throughout the collection. See also Yun Chaegŭn, *Manhae shi: "Nimui ch'immuk" yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Minjok Munhwasa, 1985). Although Yun refers to Buddhist philosophy, he primarily employs Western literary theory and philosophy to discuss the aesthetic components of the collection. See especially pp. 389-493. See the following note.

³A very useful overview of the general trends in critical studies on *Silence* may be found in English. See Myung-Ho Sym, *The Making of Modern Korean Poetry: Foreign Influences and Native Creativity* (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 1982 [reprint 1985]). Although this book was based on his 1980 Ph.D. dissertation, his evaluation of the types of literary interpretations is still accurate; to my knowledge, nothing has been written which would render his overview obsolete, and it is as good as anything in Korean. (See especially pp. 248-270.) Sym, however, focuses upon textual rather than biographical interpretation of the collection and makes no mention of what the Buddhist poet Ko Ŭn had published in 1975: Ko Ŭn, *Han Yongun p'yŏngjŏn* (Seoul: Minŭmsa, 1975). The text I have is vol. 3 of *The Collected Works of Ko Ŭn*; see Ko Ŭn *chŏnjip-3: Nimman nimi anida* (Seoul: Tonggwang Ch'ulp'ansa, 1985). Despite the change of title, it appears to be identical to the one published earlier and thus the page number references are applicable to both versions. See below.

⁴Beongcheon Yu, *Han Yong-un and Yi Kwang-su: Two Pioneers of Modern Korean Literature* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), p. 184, note 7.

himself had referred in his own "Gratuitous Words," this had been but a small part of his short essay. Yi's view on this point seems to have been unique and also suggests that by 1934 the Buddhist / spiritual perspective was pervasive enough that he thus felt compelled to respond to it directly.

However, one important fact remains: *Silence* was not seen as an especially important literary accomplishment at the time, or at the very least, it elicited very little comment. After the appearance of Yi Kwangnyŏl's and Chu Yohan's two articles, nothing was written until Yi Kwangsu mentioned the poems in 1929 and then wrote in 1934 an article attempting to stir interest in these poems which, apparently, few people were reading.⁵

By the 1970s this trend had changed, and during that decade one hundred and fifty items, including a few books, were published about Han: roughly two and a half times the number of titles published during the preceding forty-four years.⁶ This interest in Han was not limited simply to *Silence*, and many articles addressed his Buddhist philosophy, political thought, and patriotic activities. Yet these seem to have typically mentioned *Silence* and taken for granted the greatness of the poetry and the general reasonableness of seeing in this collection some mix of Buddhist and patriotic inspiration. Without knowing otherwise, one would assume that these poems had always been popular and that Han had enjoyed from the start a status as a national poet.

The Korean Buddhist priest Kang Sŏkchu was with Han at the time of publication and has said that: "When *Silence* came out, there was really no reaction. After liberation [in 1945] it became really famous, but at the time it was

⁵See Beongcheon Yu, op. cit., p. 184: "Yi called the volume a long buried treasure...."

⁶See Beongcheon Yu, op. cit., p. 193. I include in this figure the two articles by Yi Kwangsu, though they are not mentioned in the catalogue used by Yu, nor in any other, as far as I know. See Shin Tonguk, ed., *Han Yongun yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Saemunsa, 1991), V., pp. 43-52. This is the text Yu uses, and although one can find some slight discrepancies between the various catalogues of articles, these are of little importance.

unknown."⁷ Indeed, interest in Han did increase steadily after liberation, but the 1970s were the real turning-point. This can be attributed partly to the 1973 publication of the six volume *Han Yongun chŏnjip* (Complete Works of Han Yongun), a culmination of the efforts begun twenty-five years earlier by some of Han's closest colleagues,⁸ which made his writings more accessible. Nonetheless, an equally, if not more, important factor was the beginning of writings about Han in English.

In 1971 Sammy Edward Solberg submitted a Ph.D. dissertation which included a complete set of translations and a commentary on the poems.⁹ However, the previous year Younghill Kang and Frances Keely had published the first complete translation, *Meditations of the Lover*.¹⁰ Although Solberg's translations were more natural than the mannered translations by Kang and Keely, it was their *Meditations of the Lover* which seems to have had a profound effect within Korea. *Meditations* suggested the possibility that Korean literature might gain world-wide interest, that *Silence* might have a broad appeal; and this was the claim put forward in Kang's "Introduction."

In the Autumn of 1997 I had just gotten a copy of *Meditations* and recognised much of the "Introduction" from a volume of abstracts of papers delivered at a literature conference. I had earlier dismissed this *précis* because it was essentially a panegyric and also because I recognised what seemed to be one inaccuracy and one dubious claim: that it "was published in Seoul in 1925" and that "it was forced underground by the Japanese Military Government."¹¹ Considering

⁷See the interview entitled "Ch'ilbosa choshil Sŏkchu-sŏnim," pp. 216-250 in *Sŏnu doryang*, no. 11 (Seoul: Sŏnu Doryang Ch'ulp'anbu, June 1997), p. 229.

⁸See *Han Yongun chŏnjip*, op. cit., see vol. 6, p. 391, for details on the formation of the publication committee in 1948.

⁹See Sammy Edward Solberg, "The Nim-ŭi Ch'imnuk (Your Silence) of Han Yong-un, A Korean Poet," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1971.

¹⁰Han Yong-woon (translated by Younghill Kang and Frances Keely), *Meditations of the Lover* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1970 [1980 reprint]).

¹¹See *Meditations of the Lover*, op. cit., p. 6. It was precisely these two points which I remembered. I do not have the citation of the original conference abstract though as I remember it was delivered around 1970, most likely to coincide with the publication of *Meditations. Silence*

the importance of nationalism in Han Yongun scholarship, it seemed impossible that other scholars would have not mentioned its suppression.

When I met with the priest Kang Sŏkchu in the Autumn of 1997 we spoke about Han, and during the course of our conversation a friend mentioned that I had translated a portion of *Silence* into English. Kang Sŏkchu asked whether I had ever read the translations of Kang Yonghŭl (Younghill Kang), and I had in fact just obtained a copy of the book. Interestingly, Kang Sŏkchu said that Kang Yonghŭl played an important role in making *Silence* popular within Korea.¹² I queried whether the Japanese Colonial Government had actually suppressed *Silence*, and Sŏkchu reiterated what he had told me a few moments earlier:¹³ there was no reaction when it was published; thus there was no reason to suppress it.¹⁴

Whatever the basis for Kang's assertion, such an assertion has a powerful appeal, and his "Introduction" used this to full effect:

Meditations of the Lover was published in Seoul in 1925 [sic], and I got a copy of it before it was forced underground by the Japanese Military Government. I was even then greatly impressed by this revolutionary but highly eastern work. It was couched in the form of love poems, a bold stroke in a country at this time still ruled by families and clans and family-arranged marriages.¹⁵

Significantly, Kang mentioned no other eastern poets and his sole appeal to the "eastern" was that Han was a Buddhist. In spite of this, he made no mention of the seeming incongruity of a Buddhist priest writing love poems and instead

was published on May 20, 1926; however, the final line of the collection says "1925/ eighth month/ twenty-ninth day/ night The End."

¹²Younghill Kang's importance is supported by the fact that his "Introduction" from *Meditations* was translated into Korean and published in the *Han Yongun chŏnjip*, op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 416-418.

¹³At the time I met with priest Kang Sŏkchu I was unaware of the aforementioned published interview. Ironically, I ended up asking many of the same questions as his interlocutor in *Sŏnu doryang*; however, we did speak in depth about other topics, and Younghill Kang was among them.

¹⁴It was, in fact, reprinted in 1934. See Kim Yongdŏk, "'Nimŭ ch'immuk' ibon'go," pp. 124-147 in Manhae Sasang Yŏn'guhoe, ed., *Han Yongun sasang yŏn'gu*, vol. 2 (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1981), p. 130.

¹⁵*Meditations*, op. cit., p. 6.

emphasised the "Emptiness, Infinity, eternity, and highest of all, THE LOVER [sic]."¹⁶ In other words, he raised the notion of mystical union, and by placing Han on a par with "Rilke, T.S. Eliot, and...St. Teresa of [Avila],"¹⁷ he attempted to highlight at once the universality of the poems while de-emphasising their "eastern" origins.

Yet his translation of *Nimui ch'immuk* as *Meditations of the Lover* was an interesting choice. Kang seems to have recognised the erotic nature of many of the poems whose eroticism, taken either metaphorically or realistically, was perhaps their most important feature not because Korea was a "country...still ruled by families and clans and family-arranged marriages," but because Han seems to have had no literary precedent to which he could appeal. The very nature of the poems must have been at least one of the factors for his decision to write in free verse rather than in classical Chinese or the indigenous Korean *shijo*. It seems reasonable that his thematic innovation was attended by a structural innovation: that of the conversation.¹⁸ His shifts between the male and female perspectives are largely apprehensible as changes in voice and many of the best poems rely on fragments of conversation, or strike the reader as overheard conversation.

We can be almost certain that Kang Yŏnghil had read Chu Yohan's review for he seemed to paraphrase Chu's comments in regard to the preponderance of the female voice in *Silence*. In spite of his echoing Chu's earlier statement, however, Kang noted something of great importance when he recalled Max Müller's dictum in regard to "Sufi mystical writing: experiencing God in the soul being inexpressible, only the language describing the union of earthly lovers can be analogous."¹⁹ Here it seems that Kang did indeed fully recognise the eroticism of

¹⁶Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁸Similarly, the consistent use of dialogue--and remembered dialogue--as a crucial feature of the poems would have made the use of free verse in Han'gŭl a more reasonable choice than the rhythmically defined *shijo*.

¹⁹See *Meditations*, op. cit., p. 7.

the poems, though he was forced to consider them from what might loosely be called a monotheistic perspective. Whereas he had mentioned the absence of God in these poems, he himself was forced to invoke the idea of God to justify the "union of earthly lovers."

In this vein, it is remarkable that Kang did not mention the 16th century Spanish mystic poet San Juan de la Cruz (or, Saint John of the Cross) who, like Han, wrote much of his poetry from the perspective of woman and lover. The parallels are indeed striking, and even more striking was Kang's persistent comparison of Han with T.S. Eliot. This emphasis on his part cast Han in a light of borrowed fame and probably would have appealed to the international aspirations of the Korean literary establishment in 1970. It also appeared to offer foreign readers some contemporary gauge of Han's influence. Of course, this gauge was misleading.

Nonetheless, the title under which Kang and Keely chose to publish *Silence* evoked an implicit comparison which was accurate and seems much more meaningful than that with T.S. Eliot. *Meditations of the Lover* appears to be a reference to the 13th century Catalan poet Ramon Llull, the Illuminated Doctor and the Fool of Love, and the author of the *Book of Contemplation of God* (*Libre de contemplació en Déu*; 1271-1276) and the *Book of the Friend and the Beloved* (*Libre d'amic e Amat*; 1282-1287). Llull's devotion to Christianity was no impediment to his obsession with Jewish and Islamic thought, and in particular, the Sufi poets whom he openly credited as influence for the *Book of the Friend and the Beloved*.²⁰ The mention of Sufi mysticism in Kang and Keely's "Introduction" together with the title they used suggests that they knew of Llull and merged the titles of these two *Books* to create their own beautiful and inaccurate title.

²⁰For Ramon Llull and Saint John of the Cross, see Willis Barnstone, *The Poetics of Ecstasy: Varieties of Ekstasis from Sappho to Borges* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1983), pp. 111-129 and pp. 153-204.

Writing of Llull in 1946, Gerald Brenan emphasised his identity as a Spanish Catalan as the basis for his "plasticity of mind" and "the adventurousness of spirit to absorb the mysticism of the East" and "combine it with a reckless rationalism."²¹ This *aperçu* might elicit a snigger or protest these days, but it would be hard to deny it some core of truth. More importantly, it seems apposite to Han Yongun not in terms of his being Korean, but in terms of his being unique within the Korean Buddhism of his time: precisely because of his own plasticity of mind and adventurous spirit whereby he absorbed the rationalism of the West and, in a sense, recklessly combined it with Buddhism.

For Han Yongun, a crucial aspect of the rationalism of the West was the conviction that sex, women, and a life devoted to religion need not be antagonistic. In this fashion, Han fused the fate of the nation with that of Korean Buddhism, and his vision owed as much to spiritual as practical ideals. More significantly, however, Han's thinking marked a watershed in the conception of the feminine within the contemporary atmosphere of Korean Buddhism. Even though such thought had existed, if only rarely, within the longer tradition of Korean Buddhism, Han was unique for his time and place. Neither sex nor women necessarily needed to be seen as impediments to the spiritual path, and his explicit championing of women as independent spiritual beings who ought to be educated and work for their own liberation was a logical and revolutionary outcome of his thoughts on the nation and Buddhism.²²

Ramon Llull's youthful erotic excesses came to an abrupt finish when a lady he desired exposed to him a breast ravaged by cancer.

²¹Quoted in Barnstone, op. cit., p. 112.

²²See his 1927 essay published in a daily newspaper: "The Self-awakening of Women" (Yōsōngūi chagak) in *Han Yongun chōnjip*, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 284. See also the prospectus he wrote for the Female Students Friendship Society (Yōhaksaeng ch'inmokhoe): "Stand up! Go out!" (Ilōsōra naagara) in An Pyōngjik, ed., *Han Yongun* (Seoul: Han'gilsa, 1988), pp. 203-204. Although this piece is undated, I suspect that it was related to the "The Self-awakening of Women" and was delivered around the same time.

Soon after, while trying to compose a love poem to a lady, there appeared to him, suspended in midair, a vision of Christ on the cross. The vision was repeated four nights in a row, and now, as Lull himself writes, his life was changed.²³

Thenceforth his energies turned to God, a wish for martyrdom, and an expression of transcendent, spiritual love for God described through his many well-remembered earthly love acts.

Han, on the other hand, seems to have gone in the opposite direction. Although his Buddhist background expected him to regard women and sex as anathema to Buddhist purity, in Buddhism itself he could find philosophical arguments that shattered the very notion of purity. From the point of view of emptiness and the equality of phenomena, the love act itself could be seen as an instantiation of labile phenomena whose very transience possessed an essential, if ineffable, Buddhist truth.²⁴

While Han could use Buddhist philosophical concepts to justify his argument that celibacy, purity, and authentic Buddhist practice were not one and the same, his thoughts on these matters were, nevertheless, contentious, and purity itself came to be identified with patriotism in the post-liberation years. This accounts, to at least some degree, for the apparent lack of interest literary scholars have shown towards Han's delicate evocation of sense and sensuality in *Silence*. Yi Kwangsu's opinion that these poems could be read as love lyrics demonstrated this possibility, and yet it was not until four decades later that this matter would be raised again.

²³Barnstone, op. cit., p. 113.

²⁴This is exemplified in the pun on the phrase "form is emptiness, emptiness is form" (K. *saek chuk shi kong, kong chuk shi saek*; J. *shiki soku ze kū, kū soku ze shiki*) in which "form" (*saek* or *shiki*) may be also read as "sex." For this in a Japanese context, see Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan / Zen Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 254.

(II) Ko Ŭn's Radical Approach of Extreme Objectivism in the Service of Extreme Subjectivism: The Counter to Vague Spirituality and Explicit Nationalism

In 1975 the Buddhist priest and man of letters, Ko Ŭn, published *Han Yongun: A Critical Biography*. In a section devoted entirely to *Silence*, Ko Ŭn argued that although it is impossible to say that *Silence* is without a certain amount of Buddhist symbolism, there is nevertheless absolutely no reasonable basis for calling it a Buddhist work. This argument was explicitly aimed at the literary scholar Song Uk who had the previous year published a book setting forth the strongest, most detailed Buddhist interpretation of *Silence* to date. In a masterful stroke, Ko Ŭn pointed out that the arguments employed by Song Uk might just as well be used for all poets, whose work would then also necessarily have to be seen as having Buddhist implications.²⁵

More significant, however, was Ko Ŭn's devastating critique of the then pervasive strict nationalist interpretation which proposed that Han's beloved (*nim*) was nothing other than the Korean nation (*minjok*) itself. This had been expounded most famously by the poet Cho Chihun, and accordingly it was he that Ko Ŭn met head-on.²⁶ Ko Ŭn's thinking on this point was subtle and complicated and owed much to his own close reading of Han's writings. Above all else, he detested the attempts to define the beloved of the poems to the exclusion of other possibilities when Han himself had denied any fixed meaning, and partly for this reason he queried: "Even if we were to say that Han Yongun's love poetry had

²⁵See Ko Ŭn, op. cit., pp. 302-303. The text to which Ko Ŭn is responding is Song Uk's *A Complete Commentary on Your Silence*. See Song Uk, *Han Yongun shijip "Nimui ch'immuk" chŏnp'yŏn haesŏl* (Seoul: Kwahaksa, 1974).

²⁶See Cho Chihun's "Minjok-chuuija Han Yongun" (Han Yongun: the nationalist) and also Hong Yisŏp's "Han Yongunui minjok-chŏngshin" (Han Yongun's national spirit), both in *Han Yongun chŏnjip*, op. cit., vol. 4, pp. 362-366 and pp. 367-373, respectively. Hong's article also appeared in English; see Hong I-sŏp, "Han Yong-un and Nationalism," pp. 23-27, and p. 40 in *Korean Journal*, vol. 13, no. 4 (Seoul: Korean National Commission for Unesco, April 1973). For Ko Ŭn's critique, see Ko Ŭn, op. cit., pp. 304-307.

nothing whatsoever to do with the Korean nation, what would be bad about this?

There is nothing wrong with this."²⁷

Just as importantly, Ko Ŭn also objected to the nationalist interpretation because in a sense, it represented a complete loss of proportion whereby both Han's poetry and the Korean nation itself were trivialised:

If we say that the beloved of which Han Yongun spoke was the Korean nation, then the traces which the beloved displays are a nation which turns out to be nothing more than an absurd episode of love. The nation would seem to be not only the world and the universe, but love as well. This contemptible practice of plunging into love from some moral sense of extreme ultranationalism is not only a perspective on understanding Han Yongun, but is a bad sign apparent everywhere. Of course, I assent to the sincerity of intention which holds that one cannot speak of a chrysanthemum or a lover separate from the country and the nation when the country and the nation have been plundered. However, the exclusivism and isolationism of this narrow meaning derived [from this sincere intention] is a denial of the [very] end of the culture itself [ie. the transition from the isolationist Chosŏn dynasty to the modern era which Han had championed]. Herein, the beloved of Han Yongun's *Your Silence* merely goes away as the beloved itself, and from there the definition of the beloved hopes to issue forth from the source [ie. the reader]. This means that according to the person who receives the beloved, it may indeed be the nation, the beloved itself, and in some cases, a non-concept with no meaning whatsoever. Such freedom explains Han Yongun's beloved and is indispensable. If one does not recognise this fact, what then are his other writings? Are they decadent writings against the nation? Where shall we place the perspective of his essays, his Chinese verse, his *shijo* [traditional Korean poems], and his [other] poetry? If we say that Han Yongun's beloved was the blighted love of some imaginary world of a Buddhist leader who was also an independence fighter and a patriot, this gives rise to thoughts which are, above all else, stupendous myths. As far as concerns the lattice-work of this insipid, dry-as-dust national ideology (*minjok-ism*) which says that the beloved is the nation, he would have been the first to demolish it were he alive...The saying "the beloved alone is not the beloved; all that is missed and wished for is the beloved" is [drawn

²⁷This statement is directed at those who are uncomfortable with--or even deny--that Han was having an affair with a beautiful lay Buddhist lady at the time he wrote *Silence*. Ko Ŭn has no doubts about this, nor is he bothered by it. See, for instance, Ko Ŭn, op. cit., p. 154 and especially pp. 299-300 and p. 306.

from] an established mode of expression in Buddhism. To say Han Yongun's beloved is this or that, or the unity of this and that, and so on and so forth, is to be in discord with his very first Buddhist mode of expression. If we speak of such facts, then we are not viewing the beloved through the [generalities (*yun'gwak*)] of the nation or the sentient beings (*chungsaeng*) spoken of in Buddhism, and thus do not reach the nothingness (*mu*) of the unifying suchness inherent in both the transcendent other and our limited personal selves (*pōma iryō*).²⁸

This was the core of Ko Ŭn's critique, and true to his own caveat, he simply went on to discuss Han's many other activities while paying particular attention to his commentary on an abstruse Sōn (Zen) Buddhist text: the *Shiphyōdam* (discourse on the ten mysteries). Han's *Shiphyōdam chuhae* (commentary on the discourse on the ten mysteries) was published just five days prior to *Silence* and had been written at the same time and place.²⁹ As such, both *Silence* and *Discourse* were written while Han had been involved with a beautiful widow, and Ko Ŭn thus implicitly affirmed that *Silence* was inspired not by either an earthly, physical romance or Buddhist thought, but rather that, at least for Han, the experience of an earthly romance could be seen as an illuminating instantiation of Sōn Buddhist thought: earthly love and spiritual practice do not deny each other.³⁰

In rhetorically asking where to place the perspective of Han's other writings, Ko Ŭn was attacking the nationalist interpretation which had made a fetish of Han's patriotism at the expense of both his poetic and many other intellectual achievements. With stunning prescience Ko Ŭn recognised that the nationalist interpretation of *Silence* would necessarily, of its own logic, lead to a need to denigrate Han's other writings: "his essays, his Chinese verse, his *shijo*, and his

²⁸See Ko Ŭn, op. cit., pp. 306-307.

²⁹For the information on the completion and publication of these two texts, see Han Yongun *chōnjip*, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 387. Han's *Commentary on the Discourse on the Ten Mysteries* is contained in Han Yongun *chōnjip*, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 335-364.

³⁰Beongcheon Yu, op. cit., p. 185, note 21, writes that: "Stressing that these lyrics grew out of the poet's love affair, Ko Ŭn flatly rejects a Buddhist reading of *The Silence of My Beloved*." Yu's evaluation of this point does not seem completely accurate and derives from Ko Ŭn's manner of writing. As seen above, Ko Ŭn rejects Song Uk's Buddhist reading as well as the nationalist reading precisely because they both dogmatically present the poetry as having a single motive which Han shielded through his enigmatic "Gratuitous Words" (*kunmal*).

other poetry."³¹ More importantly, he argued that such dogmatic interpretations effectively kill the work by turning Han into a myth, and he emphasised this point at the very end when he noted that Han had cast off the shackles of the Buddhist precepts (*kyeyul-ũ sokpak*).³² This statement was implicitly directed in particular at those contemporary Korean Buddhists who regarded celibacy as the essential quality of patriotic Buddhists during the Japanese occupation: a quality which Han did not possess.

For Ko Ŭn there was thus no reason to deny Han's earthly love affair, and hereby he elegantly affirmed that Han's struggles, bravery, and his poetry too have a resonance and poignancy completely lost when he is turned into plaster saint. In the 1970's this position was a shocking singularity for, as Ko Ŭn himself wrote, "extreme ultranationalism...is a bad sign apparent everywhere." Not surprisingly, his views have been simply ignored, and yet ironically, his radical position derived from his having conservatively read Han Yongun's "Gratuitous Words" simply for what it said. He looked for no key to unlock some hidden meaning, and through this thoroughly objective reading, he paradoxically found there, unadorned, that extreme subjectivism which Han had carefully woven into *Silence*. Ko Ŭn's recognition of this underscored a deep respect for Han's aesthetic and Buddhist sensibilities. In this, he was unique.

(III) *Eroticism in the Absence of God*

Han Yongun began his collection of eighty-eight poems with a brief introduction entitled "Gratuitous Words," and the title itself suggests that he was merely underscoring that polymorphism of the beloved which was so apparent in

³¹For an example of this, see Kim Yong-jik, "Manhae Han Yong-un in Modern Korean History: A Determined Pioneer," pp. 47-68 in the *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies*, vol. 8 (December 1995), pp. 62-63.

³²See Ko Ŭn, op. cit., p. 316.

the collection itself. Yet the title itself belies the fact that this section would become the single most important tool used by scholars in interpreting the collection.

Herein Han offers not a definition of *nim*, or the beloved, but definitions. The beloved is polysemic, and as Ko Ŭn noted, it is this plurality that is most crucial. Consequently, critics seldom quote it in full for doing so would simply undermine their attempts at a coherent interpretation.³³ In full it reads:

"*Nim*" alone is not *nim*; all that is missed and wished for is *nim*. Just as all creatures are the *nim* of Buddha, so too philosophy is *nim* for Kant. As the spring rains are the *nim* of rose blossoms, Italy is *nim* for Mazzini. *Nim* is not merely a thing which I love; it too loves me.

If passionate love is freedom, *nim* is also freedom. But aren't all of you under the earnest constraints of the good name of freedom? Do you too have *nim*? If you say you do, it is not *nim*; it is your shadow, your reflection.

I write these poems with my mind towards the lambs straying among the fields in the setting sun, having lost their way back.³⁴

In spite of the many complexities of these "Gratuitous Words," two aspects are pertinent to our present discussion. First, he stressed that there can be no permanent definition of the beloved and that, moreover, any definition relies upon the person who offers it. As such, the beloved is given meaning only insofar as it is animated by the one who thinks of it, and this is the importance of the seemingly odd assertion that "*nim* is not merely a thing which I love; it too loves me." The notion of reciprocity, however, is not essential; it is but an adjunct to the radically

³³See, for instance, the articles by Cho Chihun and Hong Yisŏp, both cited above. Also see Young Ho Kim, "Philosophies, Themes, and Symbols in the Poetry of Walt Whitman and Han Yong-un," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1985. Kim emphasises the supposed "nationalist concept" of the introduction and concludes: "All aspects [emphasis mine] reinforce the image of his function as the national saviour of his lost people (lambs) who wander across the fields seeking their country (home)." However, it does not seem that all aspects reinforce this image, and Kim does not provide the second paragraph of the "Gratuitous Words." (See translation below in main text).

³⁴See Ch'oe Tongho, ed., *Han Yongun shi chŏnjip* (Seoul: Munhak Sasangsa, 1989), p. 19.

subjective idea contained in the two linked sentences which begin the passage. Like the relationship between rose blossoms and the spring rains or Italy and Mazzini, the final two linked sentences of the first paragraph are simply another partial explanation of what the beloved may be.

Yet the belief that the thing I love does love me contains the humanising aspect of his introduction, and it is for this reason that he slyly notes "it is not *nim*; it is your shadow, your reflection." That is, the beloved articulated by us is thus inextricably tied to our limited selves no matter how strenuously we would protest its transcendence. In consequence, the only viable approach for understanding the beloved is to see it through its polymorphous identities; it was this approach about which Ko Ŭn spoke when noting that one must look at the beloved through its outlines, contours, or generalities (*yun'gwak*). His introduction thus foreshadows the protean nature of the beloved of the poems by underscoring its absolute polysemy.

This leads us to the second and simpler aspect of concern to us at present: the idea that "passionate love" (*yōnae*) has a status no more limited than anything else. Although *yōnae* denotes erotic love, it connotes in this context the ambiguous idea of freedom. Such ambiguity is underlined by Han's statement that "if passionate love (*yōnae*) is freedom, *nim* is also freedom." The beloved thus may also be "passionate love." Hence the ontological status of "passionate love" is just as strong and just as precarious as the seemingly more imposing relationships between the Buddha and all sentient beings, Kant and philosophy, Italy and Mazzini, and freedom itself.

Either through excluding this passage or subjecting it to tortured readings, most scholars have managed to hide the unavoidable reality that these eighty-eight poems also celebrate earthly love and do so, moreover, self-consciously.³⁵ To

³⁵Though too complicated to treat in detail here, it must be noted that this evasion requires efforts as prodigious as those needed to insist that the freedom about which Han speaks is that of Korea. Such evasion, on the one hand, and insistence, on the other, are, in fact, interwoven, and it is in this connection that, as noted above, Ko Ŭn wrote that to see the nation as the beloved is to

ignore Han himself would be understandable, albeit unacceptable, if this section alone contained any hint of "passionate love," yet the refusal to accept the importance of this component is all the more odd when one encounters the sheer abundance of sensual imagery pervading the poems. If "passionate love" is just one among many ideas in his "Gratuitous Words," it is also the most common feature of the eighty-eight poems as a whole.

Throughout the poems, the poet continually reinforces the idea of physical love through a variety of sensory images: touch, scent, sound, but most of all, memory. The consequent eroticism, however, need not be seen allegorically. Han was not a Christian poet, and in the absence of God--and more importantly, by virtue of his own introduction--we are fully afforded the right to take this eroticism as eroticism: as an unabashed evocation and celebration of human love.

Heedful of Ko Ūn, we ought to realise that this cannot, of course, be the only interpretation; to so insist would be as unacceptable as insisting exclusively on a nationalist interpretation. Heedful of Ko Ūn again, however, we can insist that this is, indeed, one possibility among the nearly endless critical perspectives, and in the end, the motif of earthly love can be seen not only as having an important aesthetic function, but also as having both political and religious implications. These issues will be discussed later, but first we shall look at a representative selection of the poems.

(IV) *The Poetry*

The eighty-eight poems are placed between the poet's "Gratuitous Words" and the concluding section, "To the Readers." The first is written at sunset, the last

effectively see the nation as no more substantial than an "absurd episode of love." In this fashion Ko Ūn implicitly suggests that not only does Han's introduction not easily support the nationalist interpretation, but rather that his introduction wholly denies the nationalist interpretation *when one adheres to the nationalist interpretive line of thought*. The reason for this is contained in Han's nearly disparaging reference to both freedom itself and those who would say that freedom is their beloved. In effect, the interpretation which insists exclusively on nationalism collapses at this point.

at sunrise. Thus, the poet suggests the passage of a single night which in turn suggests sleep, dreams, and the many other activities which human beings find suitable to the nighttime hours.

The first poem is the eponymous "Your Silence," and this piece sets the tone for much that follows. The poets' beloved has left, and his barely controlled grief is both assuaged and aggravated by memory:

(1) *Your Silence*³⁶

You have gone, O my love you are gone.
Realising the mountain's green light, you broke
a path along a narrow, difficult road off towards
the stand of maples, patiently casting me off.
That old pact bright and solid as gold flowers
has turned to cold dust and flown off in a
breath's gentle wind.
Remembrances of that sharp first kiss
reversed my fate's compass needle
and then took a step back, and faded away.
I was deafened by your voice's sweet scent
and blinded by your flowery face.
Love too is a human matter...
when we meet, we dread the parting to come
and it's not like I wasn't warned of this,
but I didn't expect this separation and my
startled breast is shattered by fresh sadness.
Yet, it is that I know to make parting a fountainhead
of useless tears wrecks love for both,
and so I turned the power of persistent sadness and
placed it against the fontanelle of new hope.
When we meet we dread approaching separation,
and so too when we part we trust in meeting again.
O, you went away but I did not see you off.
My love song, an unconquerable melody,
twines around your silence.

³⁶See Ch'oe Tongho, op. cit., pp. 20-21. The translation of this poem, and all others, is mine. The number refers to the poem's order within the collection of eighty-eight poems, excluding "Gratuitous Words" and the postscript, "To the Readers." This method will be followed for all the following translations.

While this poem possesses force through its use of concrete images, it resists, nonetheless, any concrete interpretation. As such, it builds on the poet's "Gratuitous Words" and foreshadows the generally ambiguous relationship between the remaining poems.

More importantly, however, there is little sense of allegory, and the metaphors and similes merely seem to be attempts to illuminate almost ineffable human feelings. The immediacy of the poem is derived from its sense of human scale insinuated through the memory of physical attributes: the lover's lips, breath, and face. This closeness is erotic and the paralysis of the poet's senses is underscored by the particularly arresting union of sound and smell in the compact "your voice's sweet scent."

On one level we know that he simultaneously hears and smells the lover's words and breath for the two were face to face, and yet the conflation of sound and scent shows the poet's near loss of mental function: deafened by scent. This sense of disorientation and sensory confusion grants the lover great power, for a single kiss was able to throw the poet off course, and as in the appropriately titled (26) *Confusion*, Han uses confusion of the senses to great effect throughout the poems.³⁷

The poet was deafened and blinded by the lover, but then regains his composure when he notes, almost flippantly, that "love too is a human matter." This momentary flippancy, or courage, belies the very real pain of separation, and his composure is costly for we are led to believe that he was not simply struck deaf and blind at one moment in the past; rather, his deafness and blindness are current states of being wrought by that "sharp first kiss." In the absence of the lover, all the poet's senses are somehow dulled, and his life can never go back to what it once was. This damage is irrevocable.

³⁷See Ch'oe Tongho, op. cit., p. 52.

In spite of this, the poet neither falls into philosophical abstraction, nor offers a cadastral description of the lover's many powers or attributes. The lover is human and fallible: capable, even, of deception. Her promise, once "as solid as gold flowers," turns out to be no such thing, and we sense that this promise was offered in a moment of unguarded passion for "cold," in turn, implies heat. The "breath's gentle wind" has dashed the poet's seemingly solid hopes and cast him into darkness, and the capricious lover has gone.

It is here that the implications of night, physical proximity, passion and broken promises are the most interesting, and virtually untranslatable into English. All these ideas are contained in the second through fourth lines, but it is, in particular, the word *kkaech'ida* which is so important.³⁸ The translation "realising the mountain's green light, you broke/ a path" contains both the idea of "recognition" or "coming to know" and "destruction." As such, it is true to the original, yet it fails to capture the immediacy of the Korean because it is the single verb *kkaech'ida* which has the dual meanings of to break, shatter, destroy, mar, or thwart, on the one hand, and to perceive, comprehend, understand, or become conscious of something, on the other. The phrase in Korean reads: *p'urūn* (green) *sanbich'ul* (mountain-light) *kkaech'igo* ([you] break; or, [you] realise). Thus, the lover *breaks and realises* the mountain's green light, and this polysemy is crucial.

The meanings of "breaking" and "realisation" are intertwined for the lover leaves upon realising that daybreak is drawing near. We see, in this line, the lush greenery of the mountains illuminated by the first hints of sunrise. The lover must leave hurriedly, and as he watches, her line of passage across the landscape suggests a crack on a piece of glass or a rip on a painting. We also sense through this spatial arrangement the passage of time: the duration for which he watches her leaving. The eccentric "patiently casting me off" suggests a dogged persistence to

³⁸Ch'oe Tongho's notes discuss the various meanings and ambiguities resulting from Han's choice of words, and this edition is thus indispensable. See Ch'oe Tongho, op. cit., p. 20, note 2, for *kkaech'ida*.

leave on her part, but although the poet tells us that she has broken a promise, it is hard to think that she really wants to leave. Rather, it seems that he conflates her patience, or state of mind, for the image of her inexorably receding into the background beyond his line of sight.

The poet's refusal to let her go, however, is affirmed in the final three lines, and here he suggests the power of memory through which he will re-visit her and their time spent together. The following poem, "Parting Is Beauty's Creation" (*ibyoŭl-ŭn mi-ŭi ch'angjo*), builds upon this suggestion in an interesting fashion.³⁹ The essence of the poem is contained in its title which is also the first line of the poem. Though seemingly a straightforward statement, the line has another implication suggested by the possessive "of" (*ŭi*), and this can be seen by re-translating the line as "parting is the creation of beauty." We thus sense the ambiguous relationship between parting and beauty, and they seem to be, from the poet's point of view, synonymous. The uncertainty over whether parting creates beauty or parting is created by beauty is resolved in the final line. Here, the poet manifests his awareness of the ambiguity and its implication by simply flipping "parting" and "beauty" within the phrase: now he writes "beauty is parting's creation" (*mi-nŭn ibyoŭl-ŭi ch'angjo*).

Memory is thus both a palliative for and a source of his pain, and this idea, so pervasive throughout the poems, shows them to be conscious acts of memory. That is, we sense that he writes to re-live something lost, and in the process of re-living the past, he becomes all the more aware of his anguish. Yet he seems to recognise that his poems are some compensation and that through words, he can make tangible the fleetingness of beauty. As seen above, he notes that the very nature of beauty implies inevitable loss and that loss, in turn, leads to creation. Here it is poetry *qua* memory which serves as simulacra for the actual presence of the lover.

³⁹See Ch'oe Tongho, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

The poet tells us this in (9) "The Artist" which is one of the finest poems of the collection.⁴⁰ It is also highly erotic:

I'm an awkward painter.
Lying in my sleepless bed, I put my finger to my chest
and drew your nose and lips, even the dimples
creasing both your cheeks.
But the outline of your eyes, always with their faint
smile, how many times I started to paint it only to
erase it away.

I'm a nervous singer.
After the neighbours had gone home, and the crickets'
chattering had stopped, I was about to sing that song
you'd taught me, but shy of the dozing cat,
I couldn't sing.
So, as the wind brushed
against the paper screen,
I quietly sang along.

It seems to me I don't have the talent to be a lyric poet.
Joy, sorrow, love...I hate writing about these things.
I want to write about your face and your voice and the
way you walk, these things as they truly are.
And, I'll write about your home and your bed, and even
the little stones in your flower garden.

The atmosphere of this poem is a hot, muggy summer night. This is insinuated in the first two sections wherein we find "crickets' chattering" and the poet touching his chest in his sleepless bed. He cannot sleep because of the heat, and we sense that he is caressing his bare chest, thinking of his lover. As in many of Han's other poems, sleeping dreams are less important than reminiscence: a kind of wakeful dream.

The initial sentences of the first two sections are simple declarative statements which, nonetheless, tell us much about the poet. He paints, so to speak, against his flesh with his fingertips, but in spite of the invisibility of his painting, he

⁴⁰See Ch'oe Tongho, op. cit., p. 30.

can still judge his attempts as failures by comparing them to his memory. Thus, even this less than impermanent painting cannot satisfy him, and the problem, again, is one of memory which both soothes and torments the poet. This is elegantly presented in the final two lines of the first section when the poet erases away his failed paintings against his flesh.

His increasing sense of dissatisfaction with his creation effectively heightens the implicit eroticism as the slight perception of the thin tracings made by his fingertips is replaced by a more vigorous rubbing. His frustration continues throughout the second section which, like the first, resolves into the idea of touch. Here, however, it is the wind which touches the light-coloured paper screen, and it is hard not to see the faintly drawn parallel between the wind and the outline of her eyes, on the one hand, and the paper screen and his bare chest, on the other.

The final section is the most important because it is here that the poetic persona shows his true character. He is neither painter nor singer, and his self-revelation is made clear by the greater amount of information he offers: "It seems to me I don't have the talent to be a lyric poet." This statement, also simple and declarative, reveals paradoxically his confidence as a kind of poet by the use of the qualifying "seems," "talent," and "lyric." We trust that he is an able creator of such poetry that he deems valuable, and such poetry is not that which deals with intellectually mediated topics. Joy, sorrow and love are abstractions which are of no interest to this poet, and in the final four lines his true poetic aspirations are revealed through poetry.

As such, this piece is metapoetry, and it is not only self-reflective, but also acutely self-conscious. The poet's audacious declaration of his desire "to write about your face and your voice and the/ way you walk, these things as they truly are" first suggests this self-consciousness, and his acute honesty makes it plain that he is not a lyric poet. Although this admission is almost embarrassing to read, we sense that the poet himself is not embarrassed. He is, after all, a different kind of

poet, and he implicitly tells us what kind when he adds: "And, I'll write about your home and your bed, and even/ the little stones in your flower garden."

On the surface level we see that "your face," "your voice," and "the way you walk" are simply synecdochical expressions for the lover which are, in turn, reinforced by the metonymical "your home," "your bed," and "the little stones." While the independent ordering of the ephemeral attributes and tangible objects is pleasant to read, it has a deeper implication.

It marks an explicit parallelism between face, voice, and walk, on the one hand, and home, bed, and stones, on the other, and it is significant that the poet adds "as they truly are" not in relation to the lover, but rather the attributes of the lover. This idea that the attributes are, in some sense, the lover is thus slightly different from the conventional use of synecdoche because the poet indicates that there is nothing of substance beyond these attributes.

This idea is built upon in the final two lines, and the poet herein achieves an arresting symmetry between his stated goals and his accomplishment in this metapoem: he says nothing about her face, her voice, or the way she walks. This seems at first to be a paradox in light of the fact that he says he wants to write about these things. It is not, however, anything of the sort. Instead, he begins the final two lines with "and" (*kuŕigo*), a word with a poetic potential as great in Korean as in English, and thus indicates that to write about the lover is to write about such mundane things as homes, beds, and little stones.

Again, this listing is somehow personal and completely devoid of any abstraction. The lover is human--it is, after all, people who need homes and beds--and the gradual diminution in size of the tangible objects mirrors the previous diminution of the expressability of the lover's traits: from face, to voice, and finally, to gait. The resolution on "even the little stones in your flower garden" is an embodiment of the poet's own personality and uniqueness, and yet there seems

nothing forced in the manner of expression. It is a subtle self-revelation and is thus compellingly believable.

Above all, it is poignant reminder that the flesh and blood poet Han Yongun is most likely none too different from the fictional poet-narrator whose persona he has assumed. To write about little stones would be fitting for the narrator of this poem, and yet it seems somehow pleasantly surprising that Han, the actual poet, does not conclude with a resolution to write about flowers, which are the seemingly more poetic topic in both general and Buddhist terms. Rather, he invests "little stones" with a meaning which indicates an almost begrudging respect for their durability in spite of their lack of apparent beauty. Whatever beauty they possess, they do so by virtue of some intimation of permanence and moreover, their close proximity to the lover.

Such investment of emotion in objects near the lover is poignantly expressed in (72) "The Embroidery's Secret," one of the poems in which Han explicitly adopts a female poetic voice and perspective.⁴¹

Again I've finished making your clothes.
I've prepared a long-sleeved silk coat and a long robe,
and some sleeping clothes too.
All that remains is to put embroidery on the little purse.

That purse has become stained with dirt from my hands,
since I work on it and set it aside,
and then work some more, and set it aside once again.
Though other people know I've no skill for sewing,
only I know this secret.
At times when my heart is pained and burning
I set to stitching the embroidery on that purse,
and when I do, my mind enters the needle's eye
following the embroidering gold thread,
and from within the purse a clear song comes,
then becomes my heart.
And still, in this world, there is no treasure worth putting

⁴¹See Ch'oe Tongho, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

in that purse.

It's not that I hate the task and so am unable to bring
myself to work on it, but rather I want to work on it,
and so this little purse goes unfinished.

This single poem seems to be composed of two autonomous sections, and the poet's clear division between the first short and the second, longer section indicates an awareness of this. Because of the lack of context in this poem, all we see is a woman of some indeterminate age endlessly working on a small money purse for some unspecified man: is it her husband? an illicit lover? As in most of Han's poems, there is also no sense of historical time, and this serves to give the poem a certain immediacy which, in turn, intensifies the relationship between the poet-narrator and the lover. Whoever the man is, the closeness of the relationship cannot be doubted since she has made his "sleeping clothes too." We expect, at the final line of the first section, that soon all her work will be finished, but then she offers her longish explanation for her deliberate failure.

Upon reading the second section, we see that the essence of the poem is, in fact, contained in the first section. Presumably, the female narrator says "again I've finished making your clothes" because, as with the purse itself, she continues to go back and re-do the work already done. We sense interminable cycles of willed failure, but then the poet develops the essential theme in the second section by focusing upon the little purse. This is the quintessential symbol of the poem: "stained with dirt from my hands" thus encapsulates the larger cycle of continual working and re-working.

Like the "little stones" in the previous poem, the littleness of the purse belies its great importance. Part of this is physical: we can guess that it is hard to put the fine stitching on a tiny purse. But as the poet herself suggests, she is not lacking in skill: this is simply what other people mistakenly think. Her seeming lack of skill is merely a ruse and an outward justification for her refusal to finish this "little purse."

Significantly, we find that this poem's essential idea of passionate clinging--an idea generally anathema to Buddhism--is not only celebrated, but underscored by a lack of cleanliness: "That purse has become stained with dirt from my hands." These impurities, paradoxically, seem to invest the purse with even greater worth, and the poet says as much when noting that "still, in this world, there is no treasure worth putting in that purse." It is as if there is an exactly proportional relationship between the dirty finger markings on the purse and its worth, and that, in turn, this relationship is inversely proportional to all worldly treasures. That is, the more she fingers the purse the less chance that she will ever find a "treasure worth putting in it," and we thus sense a kind of neurotic compulsion redeemed only by the ecstatic moment when the lady pierces the purse with--*and as*--a needle.

Han's depictions of sexual longing are not always so subtle, and in (78) "Your Heart" he plainly takes note of his female lover's body in the first two lines of each of the three sections which constitute the poem: "I saw your black eyebrows, / and long slender ears too," "I saw your round belly, / and the pressed breadth of your waist," and "I saw your white toenails, / and round heels too."⁴² The eroticism of this poem derives from its subtle delivery as he moves down her body and from her easily visible "eyebrows and long slender ears" to her "white toenails and round heels": those portions of her body visible only to one who has seen her nude.

This poem's central line, repeated in a central position in each of the three sections of the poem, is: "And yet I couldn't see your heart." The poet thus suggests a gulf between her visible, physical attributes and her inscrutable, varied feelings. Paradoxically, the poet then thrice tells us that "I clearly saw your heart," but his clarity of vision only comes from watching her various actions. There is no essential, abstract heart, and this seems to be the central idea of this ambiguous poem.

⁴²See Ch'oe Tongho, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

The final section resolves on a thinly veiled image of coitus:

I saw your white toenails,
and round heels too.
And yet I couldn't see your heart.
When you put my large jewelled ring in your pocket,
as you were about to leave,
I clearly saw beyond the ring your heart
shielding its face, taking cover.

The poet does not clearly see her heart, but rather clearly sees her heart shielding itself. As a consequence, the object of his clear vision is something which cannot be seen, and he seems aware of that fact and resigned to it.

This conflict between wanting to know one's lover and realising his or her ultimate inscrutability seems, in some sense, to be an essential tension in the act of love-making, as distinct from rutting. It serves as a foundation for great excitement, and Han seems to have been well aware of this very earthly and earthy phenomenon.

In (65) "Wherever" the poet-narrator is plagued by the lover whose ubiquity in his mind is expressed anthropomorphically as an omnipresence in nature.⁴³ She is in the water and the wind, and tellingly, this sense of frustrating excitement becomes clearest in bed when she visits the naked poet.

Unable to wait for you, I lay in my bed...
and you become a quiet dark glint,
fondly but sparingly spreading over my bashfulness.

The poet's physical nakedness is mirrored by his mental nakedness: she sees him; she is inside of him. He, however, cannot see her, and his sense of unease is conveyed in the final three lines.

You become a smile, and having taken cover in my heart
you press a kiss to my closed eyes,
taunting... "can you see me?"

⁴³See Ch'oe Tongho, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

We cannot tell whether the poet is comforted or bothered by this kiss, and his own expression suggests that he himself is not so sure. There is something profoundly disturbing in this ambiguity which suggests an unremitting state of excitement, and this ambiguity arises again and again throughout these poems.

In one of Han's finest creations, (84) "FlowerFight," he depicts the reminiscence of a frustrated lover and momentarily suggests the fulfilment of physical union. This comes after a mock battle of warring flowers, but then, abruptly, we realise that the union is only imagined. We see the poet-narrator standing alone in a field after having taken both his and the lover's role in this pretext for physical union.⁴⁴

As you planted the azaleas, you said to me
"when they bloom let's have a flowerfight!"
The flowers have bloomed and are fading away, and you...
aren't you going to come,
have you forgotten that oath made so long ago?

In one hand I carry the red whiskers of a flower,
in the other I hold the white,
the flowers battle, and then
I say you've won,
and I become the defeated.
But when the flowers begin to battle,
after I really meet you,
I will hold the red and make you take the white
whiskers of a flower.
And then you will lose to me time and time again.
Not because I like winning, but you like so much
to lose to me.
Winning time after time, I'll keep begging you for my
triumph's reward.
And then you will kiss my cheek with a sudden soft smile
spread across your face.
The flowers have bloomed and are fading away, and you...
aren't you going to come,
have you forgotten that oath made so long ago?

⁴⁴See Ch'oe Tongho, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

The poet-narrator seems almost silly, and the repetition of the final two lines in the first and second sections seems, at first glance, to verge on the sentimental.

Somehow, however, neither the lines themselves nor their repetition mars the poem.

On the one hand, the repetition is needed structurally for it makes clear the fact that they have not met and that these lines have been fantastic imaginings. On the other, the clarity and inventiveness of the poet's imagination, in turn, bring into greater relief his sheer confusion over the oath she has forgotten.

While we sense that her initial comment, the starting point for this poem, may have been said flippantly, we cannot be sure. Maybe she has not forgotten. Maybe she simply does not care. Or, maybe something has happened to her. Whatever the case, the poet-narrator took her suggestion to heart, and yet he does not know where she is. His ignorance, manifested in the repetition of the two lines, makes him appear all the more frail and thus, human.

In the end, it is these human qualities which are so important in the poem. The flowerfight as suggested by the female lover seems merely playful, but as it is acted out by the poet-narrator, her simple suggestion is slightly transmuted. This love-play takes on shades of violence, anger, tenderness, and most clearly, lust which pervade his imagining of claiming his "triumph's reward."

The mix of human emotions found here would seem most suitable as grist for a Buddhist affirmation that this world of passions is suffering and hence, these passions must be transcended. Nonetheless, Han does not fall into orthodox cliché, and in (43) "A Zen Master's Talk on the Great Way," the poet challenges his own tradition by affirming the tangled web of earthly passions.⁴⁵

I listened to the Zen Master's lecture
in loud rolling words.

"Don't suffer in love's cold cuffs...

Break its tether and in this your heart will celebrate!"

⁴⁵See Ch'oe Tongho, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

What dull folly not to know
wrapped in the coils of love is an ache,
but cutting those strands is an agony
even greater than death.
In love's shackles
chains tighter wound come loose.
Escape is there.
Troubled that the threads of your love
tangling me had grown weak
I doubled mine about you.

It is not that the poet-narrator is unconvinced about the Zen master's promise of escape, or great emancipation (*tae haet'al*), from the suffering and passions of this world; rather, it seems that he simply does not care. Implicit in this is a hint that the joy promised by the Zen Master is itself a different sort of "suffering in cold cuffs," and yet the poet does not develop this idea at all. Instead, he focuses on his lover, and in doing so, he grants the suffering human heart more power than the abstract promises made in the sermon he is hearing. In a sense, the lack of development of the implicit philosophical paradox underscores the poet's complete inversion of the normal Buddhist ordering of this world.

The final six lines, in particular, represent this inversion when the poet-narrator tells us that escape, at least for him, is to be found in the phenomenal passions of the phenomenal world: in his suffering for love. To underscore his conviction on this point, he then tells us, unambiguously, that he will cling even tighter to his lover. His avowed predilection for his earthly lover is thus a matter of choice, and his decision, as a consequence, is self-conscious. It is here that we encounter the idea that there may not be so great a difference between the transcendence of passions and the clinging to passions, as long as one's decision is made self-consciously. In this fashion the poet suggests an equality between transcendence and clinging insofar as they are both paths which one can decide to follow.

It is, of course, difficult to read this poem simply as a poem: that is, to ignore the fact that its real author is a Buddhist priest who has assumed the poetic voice of a Buddhist priest. Although the fictional priest chooses earthly attachment, we also see that this instance of choice is, in fact, emblematic of the poems in the collection as a whole. The narrative personae continually cling to love, and tension between earthly attachment and Buddhist transcendence perforce underlies a book of love poetry by a Buddhist priest. It thus seems significant that Han's many other poetic voices are clearly mirrored in the choice made by the priest as poet-narrator in "A Zen Master's Talk." This ultimately blurs the distinction between Han and his multiple fictive personae, and we suspect that it is Han himself speaking in this poem and all the others: that here he dons a mask in order to show that in this poem, and elsewhere, his masks are, in fact, not masks at all. Our suspicions are further strengthened when we realise that the emblematic nature of this poem is underscored by Han's placement of it in the collection. It is the forty-third poem of eighty-eight, and its physical centrality reinforces its conceptual centrality.

In the last poem of the collection, (88) "Love's Last Round," the centrality of "A Zen Master's Talk" is made explicit when the poet-narrator again inverts the conventional Buddhist distinction between worldly passions and transcendence.⁴⁶ Here, he literally turns upside-down a conventional Buddhist symbol of enlightenment: a candle. As before, the poet-narrator is self-conscious of this inversion, and yet again, he does not care.

Yes, yes...I'm leaving, I'll be gone in just a moment.
 Oh, damnit! Here I am trying to light this lamp, and I've
 stuck the candle in upside-down...what's my problem!
 They'd surely have a laugh at this.
 My love, I'm so busy, and you fault me for being lazy.
 But hey, then again, you say being busy is being lazy.
 What is there for me to find unpleasant in your reproaches?
 That the strings of your *kōmun'go* should lose their

⁴⁶See Ch'oe Tongho, op. cit., p. 129.

tempo is all I fear.

My love, it is the day becoming light across the skyless
sea erasing the shadow of the elm, not the moonlight.
The cock perched on the roost is flapping its wings.
The horse tethered in the barn is clacking its hooves.
Yes, yes...I'm leaving right now, I'll be gone in a moment.

This is a poem of minutely observed details: the sounds of the cock and the horse, the change in light, and the distinction between what the poet thinks of himself and what he thinks others might think. These details--and indeed, the poem itself--suggest an acute self-awareness which is heightened by the poet-narrator's self-justifications to his lover. The first section in particular has a jocular air that comes through its vernacular delivery. This is, for the most part, overheard speech, though it seems equally possible that portions of the speech are actually an internal monologue: that is, we are overhearing thoughts.

The playful musings of the poet nonetheless belie the fact that he has to leave his lover's side before daybreak. This is, of course, a mark of illicitness, and this is explicitly conveyed in his worrisome attention to the sounds of the waking animals. At the same time, however, it is also possible that he really is busy as he says. We cannot tell, but whatever the case, these are all human concerns. The poet-narrator's passionate, earthly, and human nature is underscored by his bungling: in the dark, he "sticks the candle in upside-down."

Like the narrator-priest in "A Zen Master's Sermon," the poetic persona in this poem seems little concerned with abstractions, and we can assume that, for him, the lamp and the candle are nothing more than a lamp and a candle. Yet the very fact that he pushes aside the more abstract symbolism of the lamp and the candle requires that he see the Buddhist implications in these images of light. His awareness of these implications is expressed through his recognition that "they'd surely have a laugh at this." The word used by Han is *sungboda*, a dialectical

variant of *hyungboda*, and it does not suggest funny or playful laughter, but rather a sense of teasing.

The "they" to whom he refers would seem to be those people who would find a fault worthy of ridicule in his seemingly mundane mistake of turning a candle upside-down: in other words, Buddhist priests who would see his mistake as deeply symbolic and spiritually significant. By referring to those other people's ridicule, the narrator shows his momentary prehension that his error might have deeper implications, but this is quickly overturned by a more important concern: the sound of his lover's zither (*kōmun'go*). The physical inversion of the candle thus marks his self-conscious inversion of Buddhist goals, and through this, we realise that he sees the lamp as a lamp and the candle as a candle.

We find in this poem another inversion as well. In "Your Silence," the first poem of the collection, the speaker has been left behind, longing for his lover. Now, it is the speaker who is leaving, albeit reluctantly. We sense that his lover is playfully begging him to stay just a bit longer, though they both know full well that he had better leave before the full light of day. He is trying to light the lamp so he can get dressed and get his things together.

In "Your Silence" the narrator watched his lover make her way across the landscape, "patiently casting" him off. Now it is his turn to leave, and we sense that "patience" in the first poem referred to the patience, or endurance, needed to wake-up early and leave before light. Seen this way, the title of this poem does not seem to refer to the end of love in some final sense. Rather, it is the morning and it is simply the last round of love for that night. Still, we cannot know for sure that we will ever meet again, and to be self-conscious of our unknowing is to be anxious. Although the poet told us this in the first poem, he then seemed to be referring to a final parting. By this final poem, however, we sense that his anxiety derives from his recognition that all partings have the potential to become permanent.

When the poet-narrator concluded "Your Silence" with:

O, you went away but I did not see you off.
My love song, an unconquerable melody,
twines around your silence.

we expected that he did not see the lover off because he did not want her to leave. Now, however, we perceive another layer of meaning. We detect that while he did not want her to leave, his sorrow comes from the specific fact that he did not say good-bye: that she awoke at daybreak and left, just as he is doing in the final poem. By the time he realised she was gone, he could only faintly see her breaking "a path along a narrow, difficult road off towards / the stand of maples," and we are led to believe that the "old pact bright and solid as gold flowers" had been a promise to wake him before she left. She broke that promise, and instead gave him a faint kiss. In between sleep and wakefulness, he had mistaken her "breath" for a "gentle wind." He truly did not see her off, and this is the specific source of his "persistent sadness" which in turn becomes the source of his "love song, an unconquerable melody."

Although we expect that the speaker will see his lover again, under the cloak of darkness, we sense an eternal anxiety over their continual partings at sunrise. We also can guess that each moment of the day is spent in a keen anticipation in which each moment of separation seems to last forever. Such an aesthetic and emotional sensibility is well-suited to one capable of imbuing "even little stones" with such poignancy, and it is this sensibility which rings throughout *Your Silence*.

(V) *Buddhist Implications in Your Silence*

Through ignoring the specific details of the poems, scholars have been able to avoid the fact that Han Yongun, Buddhist and patriot, understood well the many emotions associated with being in love. To say that the lover about whom Han

wrote was a woman would of course be tantamount to denying that he was writing allegorically of his patriotic fervour.

Having said this, there is another more interesting issue: must the eroticism of the poems be seen either as allegory or as a simple depiction of human love? is there, as both the Buddhist and nationalist dragomen implicitly suggest, an unbridgeable chasm between Han's creation of earthly, erotic love poetry and his role as a Buddhist patriot? I would suggest that we can interpret these poems as both Buddhist and patriotic, but only if we accept the integrity of their eroticism and thereby refuse to rely on seeing the eroticism as a vague allegory for either some abstract love of truth, Buddhist or otherwise, or his love of country. This idea would seem objectionable to most who would interpret the poems from either a Buddhist or nationalist perspective. Yet the very structure of the collection as a whole bears obviously Buddhist traits.

The first and most obvious is that the collection, which speaks of various forms of love, many of them pointedly erotic, is composed of eighty-eight poems. The number eighty-eight has three distinct Buddhist implications: first, the eighty-eight Buddhas (*p'alsipp'albul*); second, the eighty-eight divisions of worldly suffering (*pōnne*): *p'alsipp'alsa*,⁴⁷ and finally, the eighty-eight apprehensions (*kyōnhok*) of those eighty-eight sufferings: *p'alsipp'alsa kyōnhok*. The latter term suggests, of course, release from suffering through the realisation of one's delusions, and erotic love would be one such delusion.

Nonetheless, as we have seen above, the poetic voices of this collection continually cling to the lover. More importantly, this is made most explicit by the Buddhist priest in "A Zen Master's Sermon." Consequently, it seems hard to reconcile that fact with the idea that these poems represent suffering which the poet

⁴⁷It seems that Song Chaegap has made some mention of the eighty-eight sufferings. I, however, have not seen this article. The reference is in Kim Chaehong, *Han Yongun munhak yōn'gu* (Seoul: Ilchisa, 1992), p. 16. For these definitions, see Han'guk Pulgyo Taesajōn P'yōnch'an Wiwōnhoe, ed., *Han'guk Pulgyo taesajōn* [in 7 vols.] (Seoul: Myōngmundang, 1993), vol. 6, p. 80x.

seeks to transcend. Rather, it seems that the poet, or at least the mask he assumes in "A Zen Master's Sermon," affirms this suffering and brings into question the logic upon which transcendence rests. Ultimately, this idea is both political and Buddhist, and the unifying element centres upon women and impurity. This was suggested by Han in the very structure of *Your Silence*.

Buddhism started as male-oriented religion and had traditionally viewed women with a mixture of scorn and fear, both of which were products of an unease over women's sexual powers. In a word, spiritual practice required purity, and women were a threat to that purity.⁴⁸ Although this misogynistic tendency in Buddhism is found in many of the early texts, it is best exemplified in the story which recounts the Śākyamuni Buddha's refusal to allow his aunt into his religious community. She had raised him after the death of his mother, but in spite of that, it was only at the intercession of his student, Ānanda, that the Buddha conceded to open Buddhism to women. For his role in bringing women into the community, Ānanda was censured by Mahākāśyapa, the first patriarch of Ch'an (Zen), because the Buddha himself had foretold that women would cause the decay of the religion.⁴⁹

The fundamental misogyny of this tale is further underscored by the standard Buddhist definition for woman, as found in the ninth and fourteenth chapters of the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* (K. *Yōiban kyōng*). It is noted not only that she is "the abode of all evil," but also that: "Fierce fire that would burn men may yet be approached, clear breezes without form may yet be grasped, cobras that harbour poison may yet be touched, but a woman's heart is never to be relied upon."

⁴⁸For an excellent treatment of these issues see Diana Y. Paul, *Women in Buddhism: Images of the Feminine in Mahāyāna Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985). For another good, but slightly different treatment see Rita M. Gross, *Buddhism After Patriarchy: A Feminist History, Analysis, and Reconstruction of Buddhism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993).

⁴⁹See Bernard Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan / Zen Buddhism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 239-240. I am indebted to this excellent book which raises a variety of fascinating issues related to women, sex, and Buddhism.

Women also have the eight attractions: appearance, talk, voice, colour, carriage, style, looks, and refinement.⁵⁰

This attitude persisted as Buddhism entered into East Asia, but new ideas arose as Indian Buddhism was absorbed into a different cultural sphere, and one of these ideas is especially significant in relation to Han's thought in general and *Your Silence* in particular.

This was the investment of the feminine with the spiritual quality of compassion, as typified in the Bodhisattva Kuan-yin, or Kuan-shih-yin: the one who hears the world's sounds and promises to deliver all sentient beings from suffering. Kuan-yin had started out as the male Avalokiteśvara who, on his journey from India, gradually took on the female form most common in East Asia. The translation of this male figure as a female was a transformation based, in part, on a simple grammatical mistake. This deity, though male, was an abstract noun, and in Sanskrit most abstract nouns are feminine.⁵¹ Thus, Avalokiteśvara became the willowy Kuan-yin.

This transformation was attended by others as Buddhism developed in its new cultural environment. New texts and currents of thought raised new issues. One of these critical issues was how to reconcile the notion of purity with that of non-duality. While this tension had long-been implicit in Buddhist thought, it was given a radical articulation in the *Adhyardhaśatīk-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (C. *Li-ch'ü ching*, K. *Yich'wi kyōng*). This text took these tensions to their radical

⁵⁰See William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing Company, 1975 [reprint]), p. 97. Tantric Buddhism, however, offers a slightly more favorable definition; the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (K. *Taeil kyōng*) says that "woman is the appearance of mental concentration (*samādhi*), and man is the appearance of wisdom (*prajñā*)," but adds that "as man is wisdom, he is the first, and since woman is concentration, she is the second." For this, see Han'guk Pulgyo Taesajōn P'yōnch'an Wiwōnhoe, ed., *Han'guk Pulgyo taesajōn* [in 7 vols.] (Seoul: Myōngmundang, 1993), vol. 4, pp. 533-534.

⁵¹See Paul, op. cit., p. 249-250.

conclusion and explicitly stated that neither sex, nor love, nor any of the full-range of human passions were defiling.⁵²

Whether Han knew of this text is uncertain, but his own ideas revealed a similar pattern of thought precisely because such radical conclusions could be founded on Buddhist thought itself. In terms of philosophy, these conclusions seem rather obvious, but in spite of such obviousness, the notion that priests could engage in sex was heretical, if not on philosophical grounds, then at least on historical grounds. Han, however, was concerned with Buddhism not as but within history, and he accorded no primacy to past practice. New historical epochs, he thought, required the development of a new Buddhism. He was able to find more than enough support for this idea in Buddhist philosophy, and it was Buddhism as a philosophy to which he accorded primacy.

One of the texts which most intrigued Han was the well-known Mahāyāna text, the *Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa sūtra* (C. *Wei-mo-chieh so-shuo ching*, K. *Yumahl sosŏ kyōng*). The text relates a story about a layman, Vimalakīrti, who is famous for his great wisdom. The most famous episode of this text occurs in chapter nine when the sagacious Mañjuśrī asks the layman about the non-dual Dharma. Vimalakīrti, however, "kept silent without saying a word." Mañjuśrī recognises the brilliance of this silent answer and responds: "Excellent, excellent; can there be true initiation into the non-dual Dharma until words and speech are no longer written or spoken?"⁵³

⁵²See Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kaigyoku, ed., *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924-1932), fascicle no. 243, pp. 784-786, in vol. 8, section 4. This text was translated between 763 and 771 by Amoghavajra (704-774). As Bernard Faure, op. cit., p. 232, notes, "this is precisely the type of interpretation condemned as 'heretical teachings.'"

⁵³See Lu K'uan Yü (Charles Luk), *The Vimalakīrti Nirdeśa Sūtra (Wei Mo Chieh So Shuo Ching)* (Berkeley: Shambala, 1972), p. 100. Luk's translation is based on the original Chinese translation by Kumārajīva (344-413). For this, see *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, op. cit., fascicle no. 475, pp. 537-557, in vol. 14, section 3. Although I will use Luk's excellent and well-known translation, I will also provide cross-references indicating the locations of the most important of these passages in Kumārajīva's translation. Hereafter designated as: T. 475; followed by page number; a, b, or c for the horizontal division; and line number. This passage is found in chapter 9: T. 475, p. 551, c, l. 22-l. 24. Although Luk translates Mañjuśrī's three simple statements as a long rhetorical question, this does not seem to impinge on the validity of his translation.

In spite of Han's great interest in this text, very little attention has been paid to its importance in his thought, and this omission is particularly odd when we consider the importance of *Vimalakīrti's* silence in Zen. *Your Silence* would seem to be a possible reference to this text, and the structure of *Your Silence* suggests that Han might have been using this text as a foundation for his own poetry.⁵⁴

In Mahāyāna Buddhist literature there had developed a trend in which Bodhisattva's underwent transformations in sexual identity,⁵⁵ and at first glance, it would seem that this sexual transformation might share some similarities with Han's shifts between male and female voices in *Your Silence*. Nonetheless, this apparent similarity seems to be rather misleading insofar as such transformation presumes that to be male is preferable.

By contrast, the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* overturns the assumption of this preference in the seventh chapter. A goddess is asked by the otherwise wise Śāriputra: "Why do not you change your female bodily form?" She ultimately responds: "All phenomena (including forms) are...unreal. So why have you asked me to change my unreal female body?"⁵⁶ And she thus effectively denies that it is a spiritual hindrance to be a female.

⁵⁴A few scholars have written about the relationship between this sūtra and Han's thought, and some have even written of its possible importance in relation to *Your Silence*. To my knowledge, however, none have emphasised either the structural / aesthetic similarities between the two or the many implications--both political and philosophical--arising from such a similarity. These seem to be many, but due to the constraint of space and considering that this is a conclusion, I will briefly mention only a few such possibilities; see below in the main body of the text. For scholarly treatments that do address this sūtra, see the following: Yi Myōngjae, "Han Yongun munhak yōn'gu," pp. 148-194 in *Han Yongun sasang yōn'gu*, vol. 1, op. cit., p. 176; Cho Myōnggi, "Manhae Han Yongun chosōwa Pulgyo sasang," pp. 10-18 in *Han Yongun chōnjip*, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 16-18; Song Hyōk, "Manhae Pulgyo sasanggwa shi se'gye," pp. 179-217 in *Han Yongun sasang yōn'gu*, vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 182-185 and pp. 194-203; and Kim Hūnggyu, "Nimui sojaewa chinjōghan yōksa," pp. 236-264 in *ibid.*, pp. 251-262. Yi's comments about the feminine on p. 174 are especially interesting, but unfortunately, he neither develops these ideas nor shows any connection between them and the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*.

⁵⁵See Diana Paul, op. cit., pp. 166-216. I am also indebted to her suggestions regarding the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra* in the section "Bodhisattvas Without Sexual Transformation." For this, see pp. 221-223.

⁵⁶See Luk, op. cit., p. 78, (chapter 7); see T. 475, p. 548, b, l. 22-l. 27. These lines comprise the pivotal passage; the translated portions above correspond to l. 22 and l. 26-l. 27, respectively.

Yet more intriguing is the passage which comes prior to this in the same chapter, and at this point we find a complete inversion of Vimalakīrti's silence. Here the goddess is speaking with Śāriputra who asks her how long she has stayed in her room? She tells him that her "stay in this room is just like...liberation," and what follows is fascinating.

She asks him a question, and he "kept silent and did not reply," before saying that: "He who wins liberation does not express it in words; hence I do not know what to say." Her retort seems crucial to the sūtra as a whole for she replies: "Spoken and written words reveal liberation. Why? For liberation is neither within nor without nor in between, and words also are neither inside nor outside nor in between. Therefore, Śāriputra, liberation cannot be preached without using words. Why? Because all things point to liberation."⁵⁷

This counter to Vimalakīrti's silence is then followed by the goddess's discourse on the wonders of her room. These number eight, and after expounding these "eight unusual manifestations" which are always present in her room, she then tells Śāriputra that she has no need to take a male form.⁵⁸

The structure of Han's *Silence* suggested that he wrote those poems during the passage of a single night, and in a single room. This alone would not be very compelling were it not for the title he chose or the seeming significance he gave to the number eight. In light of the *Vimalakīrti sūtra*, I think that Han's choice of eighty-eight poems was a deliberate, if loose allusion to this text, and perhaps the number of poems represented a symmetrical doubling of the "eight:" eight unusual manifestations for the male and the female poetic voices which filled his poems. Similarly, given the nature of the poems and the physical, sensual modes of expression he used in describing the beloved from both the male and female perspectives, one sees that he also attributed the eight attractions to both the male

⁵⁷Ibid., pp. 74-75, (chapter 7); see T. 475, p. 548, a, l. 7-l. 15.

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 77-78, (chapter 7); see T. 475, p. 548, b, l. 3-l. 20 for the enumeration of the "eight unusual manifestations." Her denial that it is preferable to be male occurs in l. 26-l. 27.

and the female: an idea apposite to his thought in general, and moreover, apposite to the *Vimalakīrti sūtra* itself.

This, of course, leaves the question of the eighty-eight sufferings, and as we have seen there is much suffering in the poems. Yet there is no less a strong and continually reiterated idea that suffering simply can be accepted as the price for happiness. This idea might not be easily in accord with Buddhism in general, but it is nonetheless in accord with the poetic voices Han adopts in *Silence* and moreover, with Han's thought in general. In (32) "Backbiting Derision"⁵⁹ we find this eccentricity of thought forcefully described in precise detail, and there can be little doubt that the poet did see suffering as a something which can be avoided, but at the cost of life and happiness itself:

In this world there is much scorn,
and much envy-driven hate, too.
And should this scorn and hatred grown of envy find you,
don't be concerned.
Those who enjoy abusing others with curses and backbiting
words find it fortunate that the sun too has its black patches.
Maybe it's the absence of anything about you to malign
that they mock; I really don't know.

A slumbering lion may be called a dead sheep,
but still, you cannot be called a coward for having become
a captive of thieves in your bid to be tested by hardship.
A wild goose, having confused the moon's shine for reeds,
may be called a lecher for sleeping on white sands beside a seagull;
but even so, you, honest and straight, you cannot be called
unprincipled for having entered a whorehouse, tricked by
wily dizzying seduction.
So should this scorn and hatred grown of envy find you,
don't be concerned.

⁵⁹See Ch'oe Tongho, op. cit., p. 58. It is worth comparing "The Lament for Gentlemen Born out of their Time," by T'ao Ch'ien [Yüan-ming] (365-427), in which we find at lines 30-34: "The world abhors anything superior / The man of vision they call deluded / The one whose conduct is upright they say is perverse / He who is absolutely righteous and above suspicion / In the end is put to shame with slanderous charges." (See James Robert Hightower, *The Poetry of T'ao Ch'ien* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), pp. 259-263.)

Likewise, Han's *Commentary on the Discourse on Ten Mysteries* also suggests structural similarities with *Silence* which, counting the introduction and conclusion, was composed of ninety separate, but interrelated units. His *Commentary* was also composed of ninety units: ten chapters each with an introduction followed by eight sub-sections.

This commentary was written solely in Chinese, and the basis for it was a text of religious poetry supposedly written by the shadowy figure T'ung-an Ch'ang-ch'a (dates unknown).⁶⁰ This collection of poems was later commented upon by the fourth patriarch of the Hua-yen school, Ch'eng-kuan (738-840), and this text was in turn commented upon by the noted Korean scholar, Buddhist, and writer Kim Shisūp (1435-1493) when he took refuge at Ose Hermitage.⁶¹ When Han found this "profound" text at Ose Hermitage, he felt compelled to respond to it from his point of view.⁶² Thus, Han's commentary represented a fourth

⁶⁰The *Discourse on the Ten Mysteries* (C. Shih-hsüan t'an) is contained in the 29th chapter of the *Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu* (transmission of the lamp): T, fascicle no. 2076, in vol. 51, pp. 204 a-467 a. The *Shih-hsüan t'an* is contained on p. 455, a, l. 19-p. 455, c, l. 18.

⁶¹For a general overview of the *Shih-hsüan t'an*, see pp. 190-200 in Yi Wönsöp, *Sönsi* (Seoul: Minjoksa, 1994); pp. 201-263 includes original text, translations, and Yi's useful explanations; also see below. Although Yi places T'ung-an Ch'ang-ch'a in the Sung dynasty, this is obviously a misprint: T'ung-an Ch'ang-ch'a lived before Fa-yen Wen-i (885-958) who lived at the end of the T'ang dynasty. Apart from the *Discourse*, there is virtually no available information on T'ung-an Ch'ang-ch'a who is also called An-ch'a in some sources and placed in the T'ang dynasty: see Ting Fu-pao, *Fo-hsüeh ta tz'u-tien* (Beijing: Wên-wu Ch'u Pan-shê, 1984), p. 111. For other descriptions of the text and limited, but relevant information, see: Han'guk Pulgyo Taesajön P'yönch'an Wiwönhoe, ed., *Han'guk Pulgyo taesajön* [in 7 vols] (Seoul: Myöngmundang, 1993), vol. 1, p. 814 and vol. 4, p. 268.

⁶²See Han's introduction to his *Shiphyöndam chuhae*, in *Han Yongun chönjip*, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 335. Interestingly, Han notes that "there is no way of knowing who wrote the original commentary." Yi Wönsöp, op. cit., p. 200, says that the first commentator was Fa-yen Wen-i (885-958), and so does Han Chongman. However, this seems to be a mistake and probably resulted from the translated portion of Kim Shisūp's commentary which notes that Ch'ing-liang was Fa-yen Wen-i; Ch'ing-liang was in fact another name of Ch'eng-kuan (738-840) who was the fourth patriarch of the Hua-yen school. This is confusing, and too complicated to be addressed here. For Kim Shisūp's commentary (*Shiphyöndam yohae so*), see Sejong-taewang Kinyörm Saöphoe, ed., *Maewöltang chip* [in 5 vols.] (Seoul: Sejong-taewang Kinyörm Saöphoe, 1980), vol. 5, pp. 94-159; for the possible source of Yi Wönsöp and Han Chongman's errors, see *ibid.*, p. 100. As far as I can tell, Kim Shisūp's original text does not mention Fa-yen Wen-i and instead merely marks portions of the text as "comment by Ch'ing-liang." For the portion of the original Chinese text which corresponds to the translator's identification of Fa-yen Wen-i with Ch'ing-liang, see *ibid.*, p. 22, d, l. 9-p. 23, a, l. 1 [in the section of reprints of original Chinese texts in

generation palimpsest in which many of his points were implicit responses to Ch'eng-kuan and Kim Shisūp.

Despite the complexity of the text and its history, at least one point can be clearly made: Very little of Han's commentary strikes one as unexpected. His response to the text--his explication--is interesting in many regards; yet it is in fundamental agreement with his ideas expressed in his other writings, and this is nowhere more apparent than in the seventh section. Here Han uses the title "Destroying the Return Home" (p'a hwan-hyang) instead of Kim Shisūp's "Returning to the Source" (hwan wŏn), and this conscious decision on both their parts reflected two fundamentally different points of view.⁶³

Even more significant is the difference between Han's and Kim's approaches to this section of the text. After using the title "Destroying the Return Home," which Kim had discarded in favour of "Returning to the Source," Han appends a simple comment: "What place is not home?"⁶⁴ This is, of course, virtually identical to the first line of his enlightenment poem.

In contrast, Kim Shisūp provides the explanatory couplet:

The water flows, returning to the great ocean;
The moon sets without ever parting from the sky.⁶⁵

the back of the book]. For Han Chongman's statement that Fa-yen Wen-i wrote the first commentary, see p. 114 in his "Sŏlch'am Shiphyŏndam yohae wa Chodong Sŏn," pp. 113-130 in Kangwŏn Tachakkyo Inmun'gwahak-yŏn'guso, ed., *Maewŏltang-kū munhakkwa sasang* (Ch'unch'ŏn: Kangwŏn Tachakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 1991).

⁶³"Returning to the Source" is the original title as given in the *Shih-hsuan t'an*, op. cit., p. 455, b, l. 28; footnote 15, in *ibid.*, notes that "The Song of Destroying the Return Home" is an alternate title. In the text used by Kim, however, "The Song of Destroying the Return Home" is given as the title, and Kim instead used "Returning to the Source" and wrote in fine lettering a note which reads: "In one text 'Returning to Source' is written as 'The Song of Destroying the Return Home.'" For the title as first given in Kim Shisūp's text, see *Maewŏltang chip*, op. cit., vol. 5, [section with reprint of original text in the back], p. 23, a, l. 3; for the title he uses and his note, see *ibid.*, p. 33, b, l. 2-l. 5.

⁶⁴See Han's *Shiphyŏndam chuhae*, op. cit., p. 354.

⁶⁵See *Maewŏltang chip*, op. cit., vol. 5, p. 135 for the original in Chinese and the Korean translation; for this section in the original manuscript, see the back portion with the original text in *ibid.*, p. 33, b, l. 2.

And here again we hear echoes of that unity which Han had so firmly denied upon his enlightenment. In Han, there is nothing to return to.

Han did not view the world from that perspective found in Kim Shisup, and this perspective distinguishing Han from Kim is a perspective which is clearly seen throughout *Silence*. Further, if one attempts to view the world through Han's eyes, it becomes easier to appreciate in *Silence* those two odes to Kyewolhyang and Non'gae which are, in fact, the only pieces which might reasonably be called patriotic. Both women were *kisaeng*, or female entertainers, who sacrificed themselves in order to kill Japanese generals during the Japanese invasions in the 1590s; notwithstanding, Han views these women not as representatives of any ideal, but rather as real individuals. For him, they are not simply symbols, and the emotions he grants Kyewolhyang animate her as a person, and in doing so, he deflates what symbolic aspects she has:

(61) *To Kyewolhyang*⁶⁶

Kyewolhyang, you fell asleep in a bed of earth
without losing your beautiful and savage final smile.
I grieve your humanity, and I love your cruelty.

People fishing on the Taedong River hear your song,
and those taking night's pleasures atop
Peony Mountain see your face.
Children chant your living name, and poets put
to verse you dead silhouette.

We all surely end up vanishing, leaving to the future
our dissatisfactions impossible to exhaust.
And you, as you still have dissatisfaction;
if so, what is it?
Yet you don't say what you want.

Your scarlet regret turns to a brilliant evening glow,
then intercepts the sky's passage with thoughts

⁶⁶See Ch'oe Tongho, op. cit., pp. 94-95; for the poem "Becoming Non'gae's Lover: At Her Grave," see *ibid.*, pp. 81-84.

of restoring the ruined, deteriorating day.
Your green worry turns to wrought willow threads,
so to tether fading spring as it departs along its
fated path, leaving behind the flowery throng.

I'll buttress a gold tray with sunlight, fasten fresh
spring to the limbs of an apricot tree,
then gently lay them by your sleeping side.
And so, at the earliest overnight, midwinter at the latest,
my darling Kyewŏlhyang.

In this one-sided conversation, or monologue, Han covers a variety of human emotions among which patriotism is but one small part deep in the background. Significantly, she and Non'gae are the only two Koreans mentioned by name in *Silence*, and though both were patriotic, both were women of low status, and each is remembered only for her sacrifice. Han, on the other hand, remembers that the cost of their acts of courage was their annihilation. There was for him no heaven, no other world but this one:

I do not believe [in the transmigration of the soul]. As far as I can tell, this seems to be a theory which probably came about in order to use Buddhism, like other religions, as an expedience of utilitarianism: that is, the rewarding of good and the punishing of evil.⁶⁷

It is from this point of view that their courage is meaningful, and Han seems to see both these women as women, not as abstract symbols of patriotism. It is through concrete, human terms that his ode to Kyewŏlhyang is animated: her savage final smile which gave way to everlasting silence. The dissatisfaction and regret which he attributes to her are one aspect of human emotion, and this attribution points to his own understanding of the complexity of human motives: she sacrificed herself, and she probably was not happy about having to do so; poets may recite her name, but such glory does not compensate her sacrifice. Just as humans need courage, humans too feel dissatisfaction.

⁶⁷See p. 290 in "Insaengŭn sahue ōttŏk'e toena?", *Han Yongun chŏnjip*, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 290.

Non'gae's sacrifice is also described in human terms: "Non'gae, my darling Non'gae who gives me all at once tears and laughter!"⁶⁸ Yet here, laughter and tears point to the poet's own emotions, and his realisation of their complexity, and to a degree, their absurdity. The complexity of human emotions in *Silence* is found to greater degree in (61) "Sleep-talking" than anywhere else.⁶⁹ This piece is primarily composed of an internal dialogue in which we here at least two competing voices, the first of which sounds much like the priest in "The Zen Master's Sermon":

"What really is this thing called love? A pure person has neither tears nor laughter.
Crush this empty gourd of love with a kick, then bury in the dust tears and laughter together!
Pummel intellect and emotion till they've been crushed into powder!"

This speaker then continues with three confused, contradictory statements which unwittingly betray both the silliness of what he has already said, and the poet's own perspective. The repetition of "and" sets up the following statements to parallel, in order, what has come before. The initial exhortations are taken to their final conclusion, and here the Buddhist element becomes pronounced; moreover, the poet's critique of these Buddhist ideas begins to appear when the conventional descriptions of transcendence in the first line shift in the second line to a dichotomy between a lover and a demon. The refusal to distinguish between these two--and instead see them as one and the same from a Buddhist point of view--is objectionable, and is just like burying "in the dust tears and laughter together." This is tantamount to death. Moreover, it raises a good question: if the attainment of nothingness is described as something happy, then why should emotion be pummelled? why exclude the lover? :

⁶⁸See Ch'oe Tongho, op. cit., pp. 81-84.

⁶⁹See Ch'oe Tongho, op. cit., pp. 92-93.

"And climb to the summit of nothingness (*hōmu*), then dance in a giddy whirl,
sing madly!
And serve wine to a lover and a demon alike!
And become an idiot, go insane, or turn into a living corpse!"

Then comes a response which we do not hear, but from what the speaker says next,
we can intuit that this confusing advice was not persuasive: after all, who would
want to be a living corpse on the summit of nothingness?

"So, are you saying that even dead, you cannot give up this thing called love?
If that's the case, then fasten a wheel to love's ass!
Then at your whim pull it along as you ramble about: when you want to rest,
rest; when you want to sleep, sleep; when you want to live, live; when you want
to die, die!
It is ridiculous to drive a stake through love's foot, and then stand there stuck
bawling your eyes out."

The speaker thus slowly comes around to another point of view: that of the
dissenting presence who "cannot give up this thing called love." His conversion to
this other point of view begins as he first offers some alternate advice on discretion;
then in a single, short statement the inversion of Buddhism (and Confucianism: "*a
woman's chastity (chōngjo) is flux (yudong)*") is made complete; in turn, we are
told that this has all been a dream with possibly dangerous consequences, since this
entire conversation was spoken aloud by the poet:

"In this world, there is nobody who goes around with 'lover' engraved into
his forehead.
Erotic love is absolute freedom; a woman's chastity is flux; the wedding hall
is in the woods."
In my sleep I screamed this out so loud.
O, your smile bright like some planet still hasn't disappeared from the
beams of light in this pitch black of ignorance (*nūgam*).
Before I knew it, tears of that love kicking and screaming in the land of sleep
soaked my pillow.
My love, please forgive me; however much the mistake is sleep's doing,
if you will inflict punishment, I'd hate for you to inflict it on sleep.

The choice of "planet" instead of "star" and the light in the darkness all again suggest an inversion of what is generally considered proper, and this sense of darkness also fits the advice to keep quiet: advice which, unfortunately, the narrator yelled out in his sleep.

The pervasive feeling of illicitness is in fact made explicit in the original through his use of *hūgam* which is a Buddhist word for the mental darkness ignorance. The choice of this word to describe the darkness of his room makes it fairly clear that this dream has occurred at a Buddhist temple where "pure, authentic people (*chinjōrghan saram*) have neither tears, nor laughter," yet trade on promises of bliss: giddy dancing and wild singing. Their point of view really makes no sense at all, and the "pitch black of ignorance" belongs to them.

If this poem questions and ultimately overturns basic Buddhist assumptions, it is no less Buddhist for doing so. The very foundations upon which the poem is built are Buddhist, and the poet does not question the existence of ignorance, but rather what it is that Buddhists call ignorance. It is a critique of the tradition from within the tradition; more to the point, it is a critique of the Buddhist tradition from a Buddhist philosophical point of view, and the fact that it comes to a head at the basic Buddhist description of emancipation turns the whole piece into a burlesque of serious consequence.

Yet his parody is no less funny for its serious consequence, and it is no less serious for its humour. He was interested in ideas and how they fit together, and this required imagination. It also required literary creativity, and "Sleep-talking" serves as an exemplar of the poetry in *Your Silence*. These were not only different in spirit to what he had written in Chinese, but moreover, could not have been written in that classical mode in which he had been trained.

A poem such as (55) "Your Letter" bears certain resemblances to the *yūeh-fu* tradition in general terms; yet whereas Han's *yūeh-fu* in Chinese were firmly within that tradition through content, mode of expression, and most important,

geography, "Your Letter" invokes a comparison so general as to be nearly meaningless.⁷⁰

I was weeding the garden when I heard your letter had come;
I dropped the hoe, ripped it open, and read it.
Although there were many lines, all beautifully written,
it really didn't say much.
Had you written the letter, no matter how few the words,
it's message would have been long.

When they said a letter from you had come,
I put aside my sewing basket and tore it open, read it.
The letter only asked if I was well, it made no mention
of when you'd return.
Had you written the letter, you would have first told
me when you'd be coming home instead of asking about me.

When I heard your letter had arrived, I stopped brewing
the herbs and ripped it open, and read it.
On that letter, your address is another country's warsnip.
But were it a letter written by you, that letter would have said
that you'd already left their battleship, even if you're still really there.

Here we find an imagined world made tangible through detail and sharp psychological insight. The lady does not hear, or read, what she wants and so asks to be comforted; in effect, she wants to be lied to. There is no geographical or historical information in the poem, and as a consequence, all that is left is the fine description of her state of mind.

Han's motivation for writing this poem, or *Silence* as a whole, cannot be known, and like Ko Ūn, I do not find this question itself to be particularly interesting. On the other hand, the fact that he could write an imaginary poem such as "Your Letter" is interesting. In this poem he depicts someone other than himself; in "Sleep-talking" or a "A Zen Master's Sermon" he seems to be depicting himself, or at the very least, he is writing about something he knows intimately.

⁷⁰See Ch'oe Tongho, op. cit., p. 87.

Yet one finds in these poems such a range of vividly described human emotions that it is difficult to regard the collection as an allegory for anything. He is concerned with specific instances of psychological states and specific examples of general human emotions, and as he suggests in "Sleep-talking," a denial of these emotions makes one "a living corpse." For someone who thought that there was no world other than this, such an observation is wholly appropriate.

He obviously understood the erotic aspect of love, but he also could describe self-recrimination with pin-point accuracy:

(53) *Contrition*⁷¹

When you were here,
I didn't love you fully.
More faith than love,
more caution than delight.
And I have a cold personality;
but even worse, I treated you like some
some stranger as you lay sick, chased by want.
So now that you're gone, there are more tears of remorse
than sorrow about your having left.

This is a perfect depiction of a complex human feeling, and a denial of human feelings and desire excludes what is best in the poetry of *Your Silence*.

As Han saw in the examples of Kyewŏlhyang and Non'gae, and as Ko Ūn saw in Han, it is humans--men and women alike--that need courage. Han's intellectual conviction of the worth of women as individuals was an idea which seems to have distinguished him from his Korean Buddhist peers. How or why he arrived at this point of view is not as important as the fact that this is what he thought. Likewise, how or why he might have felt "Contrition" is not as important as the fact that he could write about it so convincingly. If this was written for a certain reason or in response to an actual event, then it required a degree of courage to see himself critically, and note his own failings; if it was written simply as an act

⁷¹See Ch'oe Tongho, op. cit., p. 85.

of imagination, then it was nothing more than an example of creativity controlled by shrewd psychological insight and intelligence.

Whatever the case, nothing of worth remains or can be known but the poem. This one, like *Your Silence* as a whole, justifies itself, and I agree with Ko Ŭn's point that there is no need to look for outside explication or justification: that the poetic world created by Han is convincing in and of itself, and that the poems are worthy of being discussed solely in terms of the autonomous poetic world which Han had created. Yet another relevant point may be added to this.

To look for the man in the work of art is an idea important within the Confucian, or Korean, literary traditions. And since Han was part of those traditions, it is not unreasonable that many commentators have looked for him in *Silence*. In fact, I do think that this approach is applicable in this case, but such commentators have looked for Han the patriot in the work. Their definition of patriotism was not his, and they were thus looking for a man that did not exist in the work. In a sense, they were looking for the wrong man, and with the exception of Ko Ŭn, these endeavours have been marked by a certain irony of the type that the author of "Sleep-talking" would have appreciated and ridiculed.

On the other hand, if we are willing to accept Han on his own terms and to take him seriously as a Buddhist thinker, patriot, and a poet, then we can find the man in the work. In the introductory "Gratuitous Words," Han made his point of view explicit, and that man is to be found throughout the poetry. Ko Ŭn's contribution was that he took this introduction at face value, unlike the nationalist commentators who tortuously read this passage in order to justify an allegorical reading of the beloved as Korea. Yet I think that Ko Ŭn overlooked one thing in his dismissal of the nationalist and Buddhist interpretations.

In "Gratuitous Words," Han referred to "the lambs straying among the fields...having lost their way," and as far as I know, neither Ko Ŭn nor anyone else has remarked on the resonance this has within the traditions in which Han stood:

the classical Chinese poetic tradition and the Buddhist tradition itself. Song Uk noted of these lambs that:

This is a metaphor which means that people cannot obtain salvation through faith in Christianity, and Manhae [Han Yongun] is selecting this [mode of expression] without hesitation. [Thus] we can know that the salvation of suffering beings trapped in agony and anxiety is one of the several purposes of the collection of poetry.⁷²

In a similar vein, another commentator saw these lambs as "the masses" for whom Han was "singing the divine ritual of protection" for the fulfilment of his personal divine duty.⁷³ This messianic interpretation is but an elaboration of those which Ko Ūn was criticising, and except for Song Uk, no one questioned the oddity of a Buddhist using what appeared to be Christian symbolism. Instead, it is mysteriously assumed that "these lambs" have the same symbolic significance as they would in the work of a Christian writer, and this confusion of symbolic categories has played no small role in the interpretation of *Silence*.

However, the section of odes (*ta-ya*) in the *Book of Poetry* (Shih-ching) provides a more reasonable explanation for this symbol. In "The Birth of the People" (*shēng-min*) we find:

The months were completed,
and she gave birth to the first, [gentle] like a lamb (K. *tal*; C. *ta*);
not tearing, not cutting,
with neither woe, nor injury.⁷⁴

Equally important is the fact that the Buddhist tradition itself has expressions relating to sheep and likens crowds of sheep with the "multitude."⁷⁵

⁷²See Song Uk, *Han Yongun shijip 'Nimui ch'immuk' chōnp'yōn harsō* (Seoul: Yohaksa, 1974), pp. 19-20.

⁷³See p. 80 in Young Ho Kim, "Philosophies, Themes and Symbols in the Poetry of Walt Whitman and Han Yong-un," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1985.

⁷⁴See Cho Tuhyōn, ed., *Shigyōng* [Shih-ching] (Seoul: Hyewōn Ch'ulp'ansa, 1995), p. 349.

⁷⁵See William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms* (Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing Company, 1975 [reprint]), p. 410 and p. 484.

As a consequence, it seems most sensible to interpret Han's usage of "lambs" from the literary and religious traditions of which he was a part, and seen from these angles, this reference is absolutely consonant with his views on women and Buddhism, and in turn, their relationship to the nation. Since these three points of concern were constant throughout his public career as a Buddhist reformer and writer, it would be odd for *Silence* to be devoid of them.

Although Ko Ŭn accepted the extreme subjectivism of Han's "Gratuitous Words," he nonetheless believed that the inspiration for these poems was "an absurd episode of love." As a consequence, he felt it necessary separate the man from the work in order to counter the "insipid national ideology" and the "stupendous myths" that ideology had created. But I do not think that this separation is necessary. There is nothing in Han's writings in general, or in *Silence*, in particular, to suggest that Han would have regarded "an episode of love" as any more "absurd" than anything else. As we have seen, he suggests precisely the opposite throughout the poems.

If we take the "Gratuitous Words" seriously, then we find Han's clear statement that for him, love for a woman would be no more a delusion than one's love for Buddhism, the truth, or even one's country. This is a radical Buddhist philosophical point of view, yet it is contradicted by nothing else he ever wrote. Instead, it is supported very well.

The eroticism in the poems thus takes on a new importance, and we see that the Buddhist patriot who wrote those "Gratuitous Words" understood perfectly the irony of his own position and that of Korean Buddhism in general. And from this point of clarity, he noted quite simply that one's love for country, the truth, or Buddhism could all be seen as allegories for the passionate love that men and women, at times, feel for each other. He seems to have understood all those feelings, and we do know that he saw nothing wrong with that.

CONCLUSION

The most interesting aspect of Han Yongun's life as a writer was the degree to which his public voice was marked by common concerns that contradicted traditional Buddhist notions of transcendence and purity. Instead, Han's public writings were regularly concerned with the necessity of engagement with the world, and he saw this engagement from a Buddhist philosophical point of view. Central to this point of view was the idea that the written word offered a means of salvation, and in the context of his life this meant, in part, political salvation.

Korean Buddhist historians and literary scholars tend to view Han's Buddhist thought within the twin frameworks of national independence from the Japanese on the one hand and Buddhist nationalism on the other. The latter framework is particularly problematic insofar as it is anachronistic. Within Han's lifetime, the primary tension within Buddhism was the question of Buddhist purity, and his conception of Buddhism's role in society precluded that emphasis placed on purity by men such as Song Man'gong and Pang Hanam. Furthermore, the very use of these frameworks assumes that Han can be explained solely in political terms.

If Han's introduction to the *Collected Works of Kyōnghō* represented a point of view subversive of conventional Buddhist notions of purity, it represented also an adherence to the Buddhist ideal that one's actions on behalf of other beings were more important than purity. To transcend the world for the sake purity was not a goal he found worthwhile. Otherwise, he would have had little reason to have worked on behalf other Koreans: through either political action or the written word. Paradoxically, whatever claim modern Korean Buddhism might have as a nationalist force is due chiefly to Han and is in turn due to the fact he did not take purity as his chief concern. This issue has been ignored because it is inconvenient for both Buddhists and nationalists alike, and I think that Ko Ūn saw this problem

for what it is: a post-liberation Buddhist / political problem with virtually no relevance to what Han actually expressed in his writings.

Despite the wealth of studies on Han, very few have actually grappled with him on his own terms, either philosophical, political, or literary. The enduring points of interest have been Han the independence fighter and Han the author of *Your Silence*. The connections drawn between these two representations have largely been fictional or in Ko Ūn's apt phrase, "stupendous myths," and these representations owe much to the fact that the major portion of what Han wrote has been ignored.

In this thesis I have attempted to expand the framework upon which to judge Han as a poet, and this thesis has focussed primarily on Han's Zen Buddhist views on language and, in turn, his private poetry which was written in classical Chinese. Both points have been neglected within scholarship, but they nonetheless bear heavily upon our judgements of *Your Silence*. One point of relevance is that through my examination of the structures of classical Chinese verse, I think that we can better understand his motivations for employing vernacular free verse in *Your Silence*. Likewise, we can also appreciate the fundamental dissimilarity between his classical Chinese verse and the vernacular poems upon which his fame as a poet rests. In a sense, the former serve to highlight the thematic unity of the latter.

This does not mean, however, that his classical Chinese poetry is useful only insofar as it helps one to judge *Your Silence*. Rather, it seems useful to see another side of someone about whom so much has been written. The private poetic voice of Han's classical Chinese poetry is one which we hear without much interpretive intervention. But if these poems are by and large without any Buddhist philosophical or political underpinning, his enlightenment verse serves as a powerful counterpoint. In it we find an encapsulation of both classical Chinese verse as an art form and a compact representation of how he looked at the world.

Despite the similarity I drew between Han's and Dōgen's respective poetic gazes, the similarity of their representations of what they saw was undercut by their differing responses. This difference, however, is best seen in light of the poetry of *Your Silence*. Kim Uchang has commented that in *Your Silence* Han "was not a poet of existential anxiety. The terrifying silence of space was not for him."¹ I believe that this evaluation is essentially correct insofar as Han does not seem to have found either silence or empty space terrifying. Instead he saw these as unavoidable conditions to be faced with open eyes, and the practical choices open to him were, again in Kim Uchang's evaluation, none "that could not lead sooner or later to...impossible contradictions."²

What was unique in *Your Silence* was Han's recognition and affirmation of those contradictions. On this point, he echoed Kim Manjung (1637-1692) who noted that:

If a man does not turn his back on something as trivial as a woman, then that man's relationship towards his ruler and his father can be known. If the extreme love between a man and a woman can so easily be set aside, then all the more how can one feel compassion for those from whom we are estranged?³

Like Kim, Han saw the question of passionate earthly love in a larger context and in *Your Silence*, he pointed to the fact that the denial of desires for the sake of purity would deny those very things important to human life.

¹See Kim Uchang, "Han Yong-un: The Poet in Time of Need," pp. 4-12 in *Korea Journal*, vol. 19, no. 12 (December 1979), p. 12. For the earlier Korean article upon which the English version is based, see Kim Uchang, "Kungp'iphan shidaeu shiin," in *Munhak sasang*, no. 4 (January 1973): 46-58.

²Ibid., p. 5.

³See Kim Manjung (Hong Inp'yo, ed. and trans.), *Sōp'o manp'il* (Seoul: Ilchisa, 1990), pp. 392-393.

*Select Glossary
of Korean, Chinese and Japanese names and terms*

chae sam	再三
chajae	自在
ch'ing-t'an	清談
chin-t'i Shih	近體詩
chol-chol	卒卒
ch'öndogyo	天道教
chonghoeng	縱橫
chongp'il	縱筭
Chosön Puigyo yushillon	朝鮮佛教維新論
chüeh-chü	絕句
Chungwön Pan, Hanam (1876-1951)	重遠 方漢岩
fu	賦
Gesshō (1817-1858)	月性
Gesshō (1813-1858)	月照
gidan	疑團
Han Yongun (1879-1944)	韓龍雲
hanshi	漢詩
hao-fang	豪放
huhakcha	後學者
hwasang	和尚

hyōndam	玄談
il taebaek	一大白
imni	淋漓
jōfu	丈夫
kise	氣勢
koŭm	高 口金
ku-t'i shih	古體詩
kwech'ik	軌則
Kwōn Sangno (1879-1965)	權相老
kyōgoe sōnjōn	格外禪傳
kyōnsōng sōngbul	見性成佛
Kyōnghō Sōngu (1849-1912)	鏡虛 惺牛
lŭ-shih	律詩
maedo	罵倒
mījūng sōlilcha	未曾說一字
[sasa] muae	[事事] 無礙
myogu	妙句
nikujiku saikai	肉食妻帶
Paegun Yi Kyubo (1168-1241)	白雲 李奎報
p'ai-lŭ	排律
p'ilse	筆勢
pōma iryō	梵我一如

pōnnoe ch'ik pori	煩惱即菩提
pōpkye yōn'gi	法界緣起
pulli munja	不離文字
pullip munja	不立文字
puse	浮世
[pu] saengmyō	[不] 生滅
saengsuk	生熟
samse chebul	三世諸佛
san-ch'ū	散曲
segan	世間
shih-hua	詩話
sigyuk taech'ō	食肉帶妻
sōlbōp	說法
[shin] sōn	神仙
[ke] song	[偈] 頌
Song Man'gong (1871-1946)	宋滿空
sōnsa	先師
su	首
t'ongŭm	痛飲
ts'ang-t'ou-yŭ	藏頭語
ts'ang-tz'u	藏詞
tui-ou	對偶

tz'u	詞
wen-fu	文賦
yen-wai chih-i	言外之意
Yōngho Pak Hanyōng (1870-1948)	映湖 朴漢永
yüeh-fu	樂府
yūgen	幽玄
yūn	韻

Appendix

The following poems are given in the order in which they are found in the main body of the text, and for ease of consultation, this appendix is divided into 2 sections: (A) the poems relating to the discussion in **Section 2 / Han Yongun's Private Voice: Classical Chinese Verse**, (V) *The Central Piece: Han's Enlightenment Verse* and (B) Han's poems given in **Section 3 / A Representative Selection of Han's Classical Chinese Poems**.

For the first section of this appendix, the poems are marked by numbers and these designations match those with the translations in the corresponding portion of the main body of the text. In this section, I include both Han's poems and those other poems which served as the basis for discussion. These poems--Han's and those written by others--are numbered sequentially.

For the second section of this appendix, I have numbered Han's poems sequentially. As noted previously, my main focus in that portion of the thesis was Han's Chinese poetry, and as a consequence, I have not reproduced the originals of the other Chinese poems translated therein. The numbers match those with Han's poems in the main body of the text, and in order to avoid confusion, I mark Han's poems sequentially starting from 1 ("Presented to Reverend Yōngho: Recording I Was Unable to Meet Him," in (I) *Poems of Friendship*) and ending with 74 ("Untitled: Two Poems," in (IX) *Two Anomalies: Love Poems*).

In all cases, I use a numeral and where necessary, a colon followed by another numeral to designate those poems for which there are alternate versions (i.e. Han's enlightenment verse or Gesshō's verse) or poems which have two or more sections. Thus, the two versions of Han's enlightenment verse are marked 1: 1 and 1: 2; a poem such as "Two Poems Written upon Meeting Reverends Yōngho and Yuun at Sōgwang Temple," in **Section 3 / (I) Poems of Friendship**, is the third poem by Han in that section, and this poem is thus marked as 3: 1-2.

In order to provide clean copies and save space, I have simply cut out and pasted the Chinese poems onto clean pages. As noted previously, there are occasional printing mistakes in the CTH (Ch'oe Tongho, op. cit.) edition of Han's poetry; due to this and the fact that I have referred to Han's original manuscripts, I have made the majority of copies of Han's poems from Ch'oe T'aeho's *Manhae Chihunui hanshi*, op. cit. The poems taken from this edition are easily identifiable since these have a typeset reproduction of the poem beside a reprint of Han's original handwritten copy. For those few poems not contained in Ch'oe T'aeho's text, I have used Ch'oe Tongho's edition. This has only typeset reproductions of Han's poems and is the edition cited throughout the main body of the text. All other poems are taken from those sources cited in the notes.

APPENDIX, A

Section 2 /

(V) The Central Piece: Han's Enlightenment Verse

1: 1

男兒到處是故鄉
 幾人長在客愁中
 一聲喝破三千界
 雪裡桃花片片飛
 丁巳十二月三日夜十時頃坐禪
 中忽聞風打壁物聲疑情頓釋仍得
 一詩

丁巳十二月三日夜十時頃坐禪
 中忽聞風打壁物聲疑情頓釋仍得
 一詩

男兒到處是故鄉
 幾人長在客愁中
 一聲喝破三千界
 雪裡桃花片片飛

丁巳十二月三日 夜十時頃坐禪中 忽聞風打壁物聲 疑情
頓釋仍得一詩

男兒到處是故鄉
殺人長在客愁中
一聲喝破三千界
雪裡桃花片片紅

2: 1

柳色千絲綠 桃花萬點紅

2: 2

柳色絲絲綠 桃花點點紅

3: 1

題壁

男兒立志出鄉關
學若不成就死還
埋骨豈惟墳墓地
人間到處有青山

將東游題壁

男兒立志出鄉關，
學若無成不復還。
埋骨何須墳墓地，
人間到處有青山。

聚聚心珠見也麼
六窓俱產更無差
忽然現處無端的
大地山河總一家
（聚釋者求偶）

予以事蒙獨史台賦。
 以史析見便自度不
 能堪死獄中不得一
 別于山故作二詩投
 獄卒梁成以遺于山
 二首

聖主如天萬物春

小臣愚暗自亡身

百年未滿先償債

十口無歸更累人

是處青山可埋骨

他時夜雨獨傷神

與君世世爲兄弟

又結來生未了因

六十六年 罪犯弥天
 打箇私跳 活陷寶泉
 嘆
 從來生死不相干

五十四年、照第一天。

打箇弘跳 触破大千

映

渾身無著處 活陷黃泉

APPENDIX, B

Section 3 /

(I) Poems of Friendship through (IX) Two Anomalies: Love Poems
(Poem numbers 1 to 74)

1

玉女彈琴楊柳屋
 鳳凰起舞下神仙
 竹外短牆人不見
 蕭瑟秋思杳如年

贈映湖和尚述未嘗見

三女彈琴楊柳屋
 鳳凰起舞下神仙
 竹外短牆人不見
 蕭瑟秋思杳如年

自京歸五歲庵贈朴漢永
 一天明月君何在滿地丹楓我獨來
 明月丹楓共相忘
 唯有我心共徘徊

自京歸五歲庵贈朴漢永

一天明月君何在
 滿地丹楓我獨來
 明月丹楓共相忘
 唯有我心共徘徊

釋王寺逢映湖乳雲雨和尚作二首

(1)

半歲蒼黃勢欲分
憐吾無用絮如雲
一宵灯火喜相見
千古興亡不願聞
夜樓禪盡收人氣
異域詩來送雁群
疎慵惟識昇平好
禮拜金仙祝聖君

(2)

知己世爲天下功
片言直至肝膽中
漫說英雄消永夜
更論文句到清風
征雁橫橋如夢遠
孤灯水屋感詩紅
幸教烟月時時好
談笑同歸白髮翁

知己世爲天下功
片言直至肝膽中
漫說英雄消永夜
更論文句到清風
征雁橫橋如夢遠
孤灯水屋感詩紅
幸教烟月時時好
談笑同歸白髮翁

釋王寺逢映湖乳雲雨和尚作二首
半歲蒼黃勢欲分
憐吾無用絮如雲
一宵灯火喜相見
千古興亡不願聞
夜樓禪盡收人氣
異域詩來送雁群
疎慵惟識昇平好
禮拜金仙祝聖君

和淺田教授 淺田斧山遺以參禪詩故以此答
 天真與我間無髮自笑吾生不耐採反入許多葛藤裡
 春山何日到晴嵐

和淺田教授

淺田斧山遺以參禪詩故以此答

天真與我間無髮¹¹

自笑吾生不耐採

反入許多葛藤裡¹²

春山何日到晴嵐

龜巖寺與宋清巖兄弟共吟

龜巖寺與宋清巖兄弟共吟

遠客空山秋日斜
澹霞殘髮隔如紗
病前已見碧蘿月
禪後未開黃菊花
晚柳爲誰偏有緒
閒雲與我共無家
銅駝荒棘孰非夢
終古英雄漫自誇

遠客空山秋日斜
澹霞殘髮隔如紗
病前已見碧蘿月
禪後未開黃菊花
晚柳爲誰偏有緒
閒雲與我共無家
銅駝荒棘孰非夢
終古英雄漫自誇

贈宋清老
相逢輒驚喜
共作秋山行
日出看雲白
夜來步月明
小石本無語
古桐自有聲
大塊一樂土
不必求三清
時宋求仙

贈宋清老

相逢輒驚喜
共作秋山行
日出看雲白
夜來步月明
小石本無語
古桐自有聲
大塊一樂土
不必求三清 (時宋求仙)

雙溪樓
 一樓絕俗似高僧
 欲致定非力以能
 鶴（有鶴巖）未歸天香已下
 人今爲客秋先增
 惡望如雨風林急
 穿樹無雲澗水澄
 海內弟兄吾亦有（時宋濟巖兄弟共登此樓）
 大期他日盡歡登
 已下人今爲客秋先增
 惡望如雨風林急
 穿樹無雲澗水澄
 海內弟兄吾亦有（時宋濟巖兄弟共登此樓）
 大期他日盡歡登

雙溪樓

一樓絕俗似高僧
 欲致定非力以能
 鶴（有鶴巖）未歸天香已下
 人今爲客秋先增
 惡望如雨風林急
 穿樹無雲澗水澄
 海內弟兄吾亦有（時宋濟巖兄弟共登此樓）
 大期他日盡歡登

養風庵臨設贈鶴鳴禪伯二首

其一

世外天堂少
人間地獄多
佇立竿頭勢
不進一步何

其二

臨事多艱劇
逢人足別離
世道固如此
男兒任所之

養真菴臨設贈
鶴鳴禪伯二首
世外天堂少
人間地獄多
佇立竿頭勢
不進一步何
臨事多艱劇
逢人足別離
世道固如此
男兒任所之

京城逢映湖錦峯兩伯同吟二首

其一

蕭蕭短髮入紅塵
感覺浮生日日新
雪後千山皆入夢
回頭漫說六朝人¹⁾

其二

詩欲疏涼酒欲驕
英雄一夜盡拋棄
只空湖月無何處
一夢青山入寂寥

京城逢映湖錦峯兩伯同吟二首
蕭蕭短髮入紅塵
感覺浮生日日新
雪後千山皆入夢
回頭漫說六朝人
詩欲疏涼酒欲驕
英雄一夜盡拋棄
只空湖月無何處
一夢青山入寂寥

與錦峯伯夜吟
 詩酒相逢天一方
 蕭蕭夜色思何長
 黃花明月若無夢
 古寺荒秋亦故鄉

與錦峯伯夜吟

詩酒相逢天一方
 蕭蕭夜色思何長
 黃花明月若無夢
 古寺荒秋亦故鄉

昔年事事不勝疎
萬劫寥寥一夢餘
不見江南春色早
東城風雪臥看書

與映湖錦峯兩伯作
在宗務院

與映湖錦峯兩伯作

一在宗務院一

昔年事事不勝疎
萬劫寥寥一夢餘
不見江南春色早
東城風雪臥看書

黃梅泉
就義從容永報國
一瞬萬古劫花新
莫留不盡泉臺恨
大慰苦忠自有人

黃梅泉

就義從容永報國
一瞬萬古劫花新
莫留不盡泉臺恨
大慰苦忠自有人

安海州
 萬斛熱血十斗膽
 碎盡一劍霜有韜
 霹靂忽破夜寂寞
 鐵花亂飛秋色高

安海州

萬斛熱血十斗膽
 碎盡一劍霜有韜
 霹靂忽破夜寂寞
 鐵花亂飛秋色高

征婦怨

妾本無愁郎有愁
年年無日不三秋
紅顏憔悴亦何傷
只恐阿郎又白頭
昨夜江南採蓮去
淚水一夜添江流
雲乎無雁水無魚
雲水雲共不寄
心如落花謝春風
夢隨飛月渡玉關
雙手慇懃敬天祝
郎與春色一馬還
阿郎不到春已暮
風雨無數打花林
妾愁不必問少少
春江夜潮不言深
一層有心一層愁
買花買月學無心

征婦怨

妾本無愁郎有愁
年年無日不三秋
紅顏憔悴亦何傷
只恐阿郎又白頭
昨夜江南採蓮去
淚水一夜添江流
雲乎無雁水無魚
雲水雲共不寄
心如落花謝春風
夢隨飛月渡玉關
雙手慇懃敬天祝
郎與春色一馬還
阿郎不到春已暮
風雨無數打花林
妾愁不必問少少
春江夜潮不言深
一層有心一層愁
買花買月學無心

馬關舟中
 長風吹盡侵輕夕
 萬水爭飛落日圓
 遠客孤舟烟雨裡
 一盞春酒到天邊

馬關舟中

長風吹盡侵輕夕¹¹
 萬水爭飛落日圓
 遠客孤舟烟雨裡¹²
 一盞春酒到天邊¹³

宮島舟中
天涯孤興化為愁
滿艇春心自不收
恰似桃源烟雨裡
落花餘夢過瀛洲

宮島舟中

天涯孤興化為愁
滿艇春心自不收
恰似桃源烟雨裡
落花餘夢過瀛洲

海國多風雨
高堂五月寒
有心萬里客
無語對青巒

雨中獨吟

雨中獨吟

海國多風雨
高堂五月寒
有心萬里客
無語對青巒

東京旅館聽蟬
佳木清於水
蟬聲似楚歌
莫論此外事
偏入客愁多

東京旅館聽蟬

佳木清於水
蟬聲似楚歌¹¹
莫論此外事
偏入客愁多

曹洞宗大學校別院 二首

其 一

一室似太古
與世不相干
幽樹鐘聲後
閑花茶蘂間
禪心如白玉
奇夢到青山
更尋別處去
偶得新詩還

其 二

院裡多佳木
蒼陰滴翠澗
幽人初破睡
花落磬聲高

曹洞宗大學校別院 二首

一室似太古
與世不相干
幽樹鐘聲後
閑花茶蘂間
禪心如白玉
奇夢到青山
更尋別處去
偶得新詩還
院裡多佳木
蒼陰滴翠澗
幽人初破睡
花落磬聲高

思夜聽雨
東京八月雁書遲
秋思杳茫無處期
孤燈小雨雨聲冷
太似往年臥病時

思夜聽雨

東京八月雁書遲
秋思杳茫無處期
孤燈小雨雨聲冷
太似往年臥病時

21: 1-2

野行二首
匹馬蕭蕭渡夕陽
江堤楊柳變新黃
回頭不見關山路
萬里秋風憶故鄉

野行二首

其一

匹馬蕭蕭渡夕陽
江堤楊柳變新黃
回頭不見關山路
萬里秋風憶故鄉

其二

尋趣偶過古渡頭¹¹
盈盈一水小魚游
汀雲已逐西風去
獨立斜陽見素秋¹²

尋趣偶過古渡頭
盈盈一水小魚游
汀雲已逐西風去
獨立斜陽見素秋

日光道中
試聞兒女爭相傳
報道此中別有天
逐水漸看兩岸去
杳然恰似舊山川

日光道中

試聞兒女爭相傳
報道此中別有天
逐水漸看兩岸去
杳然恰似舊山川

神陀山日光南湖
 夕陽唱倒漁歌來
 山光水色共徘徊
 十數小船一兩笛

日光南湖

神陀山中湖水開
 山光水色共徘徊
 十數小船一兩笛
 夕陽唱到漁歌來

古意

輸贏萬事落空枰
 虛擲千金尋舊盟
 湖海萬魂都一髮
 風塵餘夢幾三生
 青山黃土半人骨
 白水蒼萍共世情
 對書不讀興亡句
 無語東窗臥月明

古意

輸贏萬事落空枰
 虛擲千金尋舊盟
 湖海萬魂都一髮
 風塵餘夢幾三生
 青山黃土半人骨
 白水蒼萍共世情
 對書不讀興亡句
 無語東窗臥月明

和智光伯遺以詩文故答
 文佳筆絕即生香
 一幅畫寫九曲腸
 獨在千山萬水外
 故人只許寸心長

和智光伯
遺以詩文故答

文佳筆絕即生香
 一幅畫寫九曲腸
 獨在千山萬水外
 故人只許寸心長

一雁
 秋聲
 數星
 夜色
 多
 燈深
 猶未
 宿
 樹
 更
 何
 國
 在
 相
 天涯
 一雁
 叫
 滿
 樹
 秋
 聲
 長
 道
 破
 蓬
 月
 外
 有
 何
 國
 在
 相

咏雁 二首

其 一

一雁秋聲遠
 數星夜色多
 燈深猶未宿
 欲更問歸家

其 二

天涯一雁叫
 滿樹秋聲長
 道破蓬月外
 有何國在相

何處砧聲至
滿獄自生寒
莫道天衣緩
孰如徹骨寒

砧聲

何處砧聲至

滿獄自生寒

莫道天衣緩

孰如徹骨寒

夜冷窓如水
臥看第二燈
雙光不到處
依舊愧禪僧

咏燈影

夜冷窓如水
臥看第二燈
雙光不到處
依舊愧禪僧

贈古友禪話
 着盡百花正可愛
 共如滿地風雪何
 縱橫芳草路烟霞
 一樹寒梅將不得

贈古友禪話

着盡百花正可愛
 縱橫芳草路烟霞
 一樹寒梅將不得
 共如滿地風雪何

一日與隣房通話爲看守竊聽雙手被縛二分間即咭

魔山⁹鸚鵡能言語
愧我不及彼鳥多
雄辯銀兮沈默金
此金買盡自由花

獄中感懷

一念但覺淨無塵
鐵窓明月自生新
夏樂本空唯心在
釋迦原來尋常人

獄中感懷

一念但覺淨無塵
鐵窓明月自生新
夏樂本空唯心在
釋迦原來尋常人

見櫻花有感
 昨冬雪如花
 花今春花如雪
 花共非真如何心欲裂

見櫻花有感

昨冬雪如花
 今春花如雪
 雪花共非真
 如何心欲裂

十年報國劬全空
 只許一身在獄中
 捷使不來虫語急
 數莖白髮又秋風

雪夜
 四山圍獄雪如海
 衾寒如鐵受如灰
 鐵窗猶有鎖不開
 夜同鐘聲何處來

秋懷

十年報國劬全空
 只許一身在獄中
 捷使不來虫語急
 數莖白髮又秋風

雪 夜

四山圍歎雪如海
衾寒如鐵夢如灰
鐵窓猶有鎖不得
夜聞鍾聲何處來

病監後園
談禪人亦俗
結網我何僧
最憐黃葉落
驚秋原無繩

病監後園

談禪人亦俗
結網我何僧
最憐黃葉落
驚秋原無繩

次映湖和尚
詩酒人多病
文章客亦老
風雪來雲字
兩情亂不少

次映湖和尚

詩酒人多病
文章客亦老
風雪來雲字
兩情亂不少

自笑詩癖
詩瘦太甜反奪人
紅顏減肉口無珍
自說吾輩世出俗
可憐穀病失青春

自笑詩癖¹⁾

詩瘦太甜反奪人
紅顏減肉口無珍
自說吾輩世出俗
可憐穀病失青春

病愁
青山一白屋
人少病何多
浩愁不可極
白日生秋花

病愁

青山一白屋¹¹
人少病何多
浩愁不可極¹¹
白日生秋花¹¹

病吟 二首

其一

頑病侵尋即事黃
窓前風雪太顛狂
浩思蕩情何歷歷
不耐鏡中鬢髮蒼

其二

身如弱柳病如馬
上下相繫正爾何
縱使我心無復苦
孤燈風雨忍虛過

病吟 二首

頑病侵尋即事黃
窓前風雪太顛狂
浩思蕩情何歷歷
不耐鏡中鬢髮蒼

身如弱柳病如馬
上下相繫正爾何
縱使我心無復苦
孤燈風雨忍虛過

仙巖寺病後作二首
客遊南地盡病起秋風生千里每孤往窮途還有情
初秋人謝病蒼鬢歲生沒夢苦人相遠不堪寒雨多

仙巖寺病後作二首

其一

客遊南地盡
病起秋風生
千里每孤往
窮途還有情

其二

初秋人謝病
蒼鬢歲生波
夢苦人相遠
不堪寒雨多

次映湖和尚

鐘後千林雪後天
 鄉情詩思自相先
 侵歲梅花初入夢
 故人書字即為禪
 佛界香深如宿世
 經案盡靜欲生煙
 此中有景可同賞
 敬弔先生不及緣

次映湖和尚

鐘後千林雪後天
 鄉情詩思自相先
 侵歲梅花初入夢
 故人書字即為禪
 佛界香深如宿世
 經案盡靜欲生煙
 此中有景可同賞
 敬弔先生不及緣

藥師庵途中
 十里猶堪半日行
 白雲有路何幽長
 綠溪轉入水窮處
 深樹無花山自香

藥師庵途中

十里猶堪半日行
 白雲有路何幽長
 綠溪轉入水窮處
 深樹無花山自香



重陽

九月九日百潭寺寫樹似根病誰身閒雲不定孰非客
 黃花已發我何人溪澗水落晴有玉鴻雁秋高迥無塵
 千來更起蒲團上
 千峯入戶碧嶙峋

重陽

九月九日百潭寺
 萬樹歸根病離身
 閒雲不定孰非客
 黃花已發我何人
 溪澗水落晴有玉
 鴻雁秋高迥無塵
 千來更起蒲團上
 千峯入戶碧嶙峋

留仙巖寺次梅泉韻

半歲蕭蕭不滿心
天涯零落獨相尋
病餘華髮秋將薄
亂後黃花初復深
露劫雲空閑逝水
聽經人去下仙禽
乾坤正當風塵節
肯數西川杜甫吟

留仙巖寺次梅泉韻

半歲蕭蕭不滿心
天涯零落獨相尋
病餘華髮秋將薄
亂後黃花初復深
露劫雲空閑逝水
聽經人去下仙禽
乾坤正當風塵節
肯數西川杜甫吟

讀雅頌朱子用
東坡韻賦梅花
用其韻賦梅花

江南暮雪有孤村
玉樹層層綠詩魂
枝枝散入塞外笛
纖月蒼涼不染昏
夜香連娟歸夢寂
十年虛盟負故園
却恥春風多榮辱
千寒萬寒不事溫
嬌態不勝帶晚雨
新意那堪向朝暉
左有左松右有竹
一世相守不掩門
雖愛高名易成句
深看佳處還無言
君我俱是厭世者
芳年未闌共對尊

讀雅頌朱子用東坡韻賦梅花用艾韻賦梅花
江南暮雪有孤村
玉樹層層綠詩魂
枝枝散入塞外笛
纖月蒼涼不染昏
夜香連娟歸夢寂
十年虛盟負故園
却恥春風多榮辱
千寒萬寒不事溫
嬌態不勝帶晚雨
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一世相守不掩門
雖愛高名易成句
深看佳處還無言
君我俱是厭世者
芳年未闌共對尊

又古人梅題下不作
五古余有好奇心試吟

梅花何處在
雪裡多江村
今生寒水骨
前身白玉魂
形客靈亦奇
精神夜不昏
長風散鐵笛
暖日入禪園
三春詩句冷
遙夜酒盃溫
白何帶夜月
紅堪對朝暾
幽人抱孤賞
耐寒不掩門
江南事蒼黃
莫向梅友言
人間知己少
相對倒深尊

又 古人梅題下不作五古余有好奇心試吟

梅花何處在雪裡多江村
今生寒水骨前身白玉魂
形客靈亦奇精神夜不昏
長風散鐵笛暖日入禪園
三春詩句冷遙夜酒盃溫
白何帶夜月紅堪對朝暾
幽人抱孤賞耐寒不掩門
江南事蒼黃莫向梅友言
人間知己少相對倒深尊

備風雪閉內外戶窓黑夜看書戲

作二首

其一

風雪撲飛重閉戶
齋齋歷歷見宵光¹¹
對書不辨二三字
闔眼試思南北方

其二

山堂門戶化翁作¹¹
開闔便看晝夜新
自家不解明暗理
還笑人間賣曆人

山堂門戶化翁作
開闔便看晝夜新
自家不解明暗理
還笑人間賣曆人

備風雪閉內外戶窓黑夜看書戲作二首
風雪撲飛重閉戶
齋齋歷歷見宵光¹¹
對書不辨二三字
闔眼試思南北方

秋夜雨
 床頭禪味澹如水
 吹起香灰夜欲闌
 萬葉梧桐秋雨急
 虛窓殘夢不勝寒

秋夜雨

床頭禪味澹如水
 吹起香灰夜欲闌
 萬葉梧桐秋雨急
 虛窓殘夢不勝寒

東風事在百花頭
 恐是人間燕子流
 可憐添做浮生夢
 消了當年第幾愁

蝴蝶

東風事在百花頭
 恐是人間燕子流
 可憐添做浮生夢
 消了當年第幾愁

幽人見月色
見月
一夜抵佳期
聊到無憂處
也尋有意詩

見月

幽人見月色
一夜總佳期
聊到無憂處
也尋有意詩

月欲生
衆星方奪照
百鬼皆停遊
夜色漸墜地
千林各自收

月欲生

衆星方奪照
百鬼皆停遊
夜色漸墜地
千林各自收

月初生
 紫岡白玉出
 碧澗黃金遊
 山家貧莫恨
 天寶本勝收

月初生

紫岡白玉出

碧澗黃金遊

山家貧莫恨

天寶本勝收

萬國皆同親
千人各自遊
皇々不可取
匿々那地收

月方中

月方中

萬國皆同觀
千人各自遊
皇皇不可取
遼遼那塔收

松下蒼烟歇
 窗過暉夢遊
 山橫鼓角罷
 寒色盡情收

月欲落

月欲落

松下蒼烟歇
 窗過清夢遊
 山橫鼓角罷
 寒色盡情收

清宵依劍立
霜雪千秋空
恐傷花柳意
回看迎春風

古意

古意

清宵依劍立
霜雪千秋空
恐傷花柳意
回看迎春風

曉景三首
月迥雲生木
高林殘夜懸
掩落鍾聲盡
孤情斷復連

曉景 三首

其一

月迥雲生木
高林殘夜懸
掩落鍾聲盡
孤情斷復連

山窓夜已盡
猶臥朗吟詩
惘然更做夢
復上梅花枝

其二

山窓夜已盡
猶臥朗吟詩
惘然更做夢
復上梅花枝

千山一雁影
萬樹幾鍾聲
古屋獨僧在
芳年白首情

其三

千山一雁影
萬樹幾鍾聲
古屋獨僧在
芳年白首情

獨夜 二首

其一

天末無塵明月去
孤枕長夜聽松翠
一念不出洞門外
惟有千山萬水心

天末無塵明月去
孤枕長夜聽松翠
一念不出洞門外
惟有千山萬水心

玉林垂露月如霰
隔水砧聲江女寒
兩岸青山皆萬古
梅花初發定僧還

其二

玉林垂露月如霰
隔水砧聲江女寒
兩岸青山皆萬古
梅花初發定僧還

漁笛

孤帆風烟一竹秋
 數聲暗逐荻花流
 晚江落調隔紅樹
 半世知音問白鷗
 顏絕何堪逐世夢
 曲終虛負斷腸愁
 飄掩律呂撲人冷
 滿地蕭蕭散不收

漁笛

孤帆風烟一竹秋
 數聲暗逐荻花流
 晚江落調隔紅樹
 半世知音問白鷗
 顏絕何堪逐世夢
 曲終虛負斷腸愁
 飄掩律呂撲人冷
 滿地蕭蕭散不收

漁笛一江月
酒燈兩岸秋
孤帆天似水
人逐荻花流

榮山浦舟中

漁笛一江月
酒燈兩岸秋
孤帆天似水
人逐荻花流

禽祥
 隔夢冷
 花氣入
 禪無
 禪夢復
 相忘
 窓前一
 碧梧

新晴

禽聲隔夢冷
 花氣入禪無
 禪夢復相忘
 窓前一碧梧

山畫

羣峰峭集到窓中
風雪凄然去歲同
人境寥寥畫氣冷
梅花落處三生空

山畫

羣峰峭集到窓中
風雪凄然去歲同
人境寥寥畫氣冷
梅花落處三生空

遣悶
 春愁春雨不勝寒
 春酒一盞排萬難
 一酣春酒作春夢
 須彌納芥亦復寬

遣悶

春愁春雨不勝寒
 春酒一盞排萬難
 一酣春酒作春夢
 須彌納芥亦復寬

雪艷無月雜山光
 枯樹寒花收夜香
 分明枝上冷精魄
 不入人愁萬里長

內院庵有牧丹樹古枝受雪如
 花因喤

雪艷無月雜山光
 枯樹寒花收夜香
 分明枝上冷精魄
 不入人愁萬里長

登高
 偶思一極目
 躋彼危岑東
 人去青山外
 舟行白雨中
 長河遇酒少
 大雪入詩空
 風落枯桐急
 殘陽映髮紅

登高

偶思一極目
 躋彼危岑東
 人去青山外
 舟行白雨中
 長河遇酒少
 大雪入詩空
 風落枯桐急
 殘陽映髮紅

歲寒衣不到戲作
 歲寒衣不到戲作
 自覺一身多
 少人知此意
 范叔近如何

歲寒衣不到戲作

歲新無舊着
 自覺一身多
 少人知此意
 范叔近如何

暮歲寒雨有感

寒雨過天末，緣過暮歲生。
愁高百骸低，全身但酒情。
寒酒不到飯，讀難經。
傍人亦何怪，罪我遠淨行。
縱目視下界，又滄溟地盡。

暮歲寒雨有感

寒雨過天末
愁高百骸低
寒酒不到
傍人亦何怪
縱目觀下界

憂過暮歲生
全身但酒情
歸讀難經
罪我遠淨行
盡地又滄溟

崢嶸巖色接於人海國兵聲接絕嶠顛倒湖山飛欲去
天涯風雨亦相親

佳辰傾白酒
良夜賦新詩
訪身世兩忘去
人間自四時

自樂

自樂

佳辰傾白酒
良夜賦新詩
身世兩忘去
人間自四時

冬至

昨夜雷聲至今朝意有餘
窮山感云後古國春生初
開戶近新福向人送舊書
群機皆鼓動靜觀愛吾廬

冬至

昨夜雷聲至
今朝意有餘
窮山感云後
故國春生初
開戶近新福
向人送舊書
群機皆鼓動
靜觀愛吾廬

雪夜看露有感

風雪中宵不盡吹
 人情成色共參差
 生來"慣被黃金買"
 老主忍從白酒欺
 寒透殘梅香易失
 燈深"惹髮"夢難期

窗裡換爲風可羨
 坐看春水綠生祠

山家逸興

西三倚水足供家
畫掩板扉隔彩霞
園石有苔皆響竹
酌雲無酒不傾花
十年一履高何妨
萬事半瓢空亦佳
春樹斜陽堪可坐
萬山滴翠聽樵茄

山家逸興

西三倚水足誰家
畫掩板扉隔彩霞
園石有苔皆響竹
酌雲無酒不傾花
十年一履高何妨
萬事半瓢空亦佳
春樹斜陽堪可坐
萬山滴翠聽樵茄

新聞廢刊

筆絕墨飛”白日休
街收”人散古城秋
漢江之水亦嗚咽
不入視治”向海流

周甲日即興
 一九三九.七.十二日
 忽忽六十一
 年光云是人間小劫
 桑
 歲月縱令白髮短
 風霜無奈丹心長
 聽貧已覺換凡骨
 任病誰知得妙方
 流水餘生君莫問
 蟬聲萬樹趁斜陽

周甲日即興

一一九三九.七.十二日 於清涼寺

忽忽六十一
 年光云是人間小劫
 桑
 歲月縱令白髮短
 風霜無奈丹心長
 聽貧已覺換凡骨
 任病誰知得妙方
 流水餘生君莫問
 蟬聲萬樹趁斜陽

無題 二首

其一

日覺蒼寒不出扉
報言“獨石三為肥”

空中無路鳥何去
山裡有家雲未歸
勸酒“消愁計已拙
強眠“做夢術且違
一天風雪與人“遠
羣髮滿頭負夕輝”

其二

名劍磨前快
好花落後香
可憐天上月
獨照片心長

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