

The Record of the Citadel of Sorrows:

A case study in Joseon dynasty literature

Orion Lethbridge

This thesis was submitted for the degree of Master of
Philosophy of the Australian National University

November, 2016

© Copyright by Orion Lethbridge 2016

All Rights Reserved

This thesis is my own work. All sources have been acknowledged.

November 2016

Acknowledgements

This research was made possible by the generous support of the MA Transnational Humanities in Korean Studies Scholarship, funded by the Korean Government (MOE) (AKS-2011-BAA-2106).

I would like to extend my deepest thanks to my supervisors, Professor Hyaeweol Choi, Dr Mark Strange, and Dr Roald Maliangkay, for their patience, guidance, and unwavering support. Special thanks are due to Mark, whose painstaking attention to detail and generosity with time and effort were above and beyond the call of duty.

I was very fortunate to have been able to participate in the ANU-Hanyang University postgraduate exchange program in Fall Semester 2014, and received invaluable support and language training during my time there. I am also grateful for the feedback that I received when I presented part of this project at the Worldwide Consortium of Korean Studies in June 2016.

To Cathy Churchman, Nathan Woolley, Ruth Barraclough, Ksenia Chizhova, Dane Alston, and the many other academic mentors who responded with kindness and encouragement to my random questions, demands, and episodes of fear and doubt, and to countless friends and family members without whose support this would have been impossible: if I were to thank each of you individually, the content of the thesis itself would not fit between the covers, but my sincerest thanks to all of you. Very special thanks are due to Angela Junor, Jayse Hayes, and McCarthy, for all the right things at all the right times.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to my partner Elizabeth Huxley,
whose patience seems to know no bounds.

Abstract

The Record of the Citadel of Sorrows is attributed to the renowned literary figure Im Je (1549-87). Writing in the sixteenth century, against a bloody and dramatic backdrop of political turmoil, Im Je was a minor official of the Joseon government. He was well-known by contemporaries for his literary ability, but is widely regarded as a reclusive literary genius by modern scholars. The *Record of the Citadel of Sorrows* was the only work of prose fiction included in the first compilation of his collected works, and is often highlighted as one of the earliest examples of a Korean novel. This thesis considers the other side of that portrayal, examining the ways in which the text evolved from Literary Chinese precedents and Joseon literary culture, and providing the first fully annotated translation into English. The project is intended to serve as a framework for scholars wishing to engage more closely with Joseon literary heritage, and to provide specific insights into *The Citadel*, Im Je, and sixteenth-century literary culture.

Contents

Part One: Critical introduction to <i>The Record of the Citadel of Sorrows</i>	1
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: Socio-political and literary influences on Im Je's life and works	19
Chapter 2: A textual tapestry: disentangling the threads of <i>The Citadel</i>	61
Conclusion	105
Part Two: <i>The Record of the Citadel of Sorrows</i>	111
Bibliography	171
Appendix 1: <i>The Record of the Citadel of Sorrows</i> in Literary Chinese	189

Part One: Critical introduction to *The Record of the Citadel of Sorrows*

Introduction

The Record of the Citadel of Sorrows, *Suseongji* 愁城誌 (henceforth *The Citadel*), was composed by Im Je 林悌 (1549-87). As a Literary Chinese text from the Joseon dynasty, it is a strong example of how the Literary Chinese language community was not an essentially 'Chinese' entity. As a case study, *The Citadel* is a useful example of how the conventions of a wider community were adapted in local contexts. The text is commonly regarded as a stepping stone towards the modern Korean novel. The primary focus of this thesis is contesting that characterisation through critical analysis and thorough contextualisation, reframing the text as part of a literary culture that was already rich and complex.

The Citadel has been translated into Korean several times. It was identified as a key work for Korean literature studies in Kim Taejun's 金台俊 (1905-49) 1933 volume the *History of the Joseon Novel* (*Joseon soseolsa* 朝鮮小說史). Since Kim's volume, *The Citadel* has been considered one of the earliest novels (*soseol* 小說) in the history of Korean literature, along with texts such as *The Tale of Hong Gildong* (*Hong Gildong jeon* 洪吉童傳), frequently attributed to Heo Gyun 許筠 (1569-1618), *A Nine Cloud Dream* (*Guunmong* 九雲夢), by Kim Manjung 金萬重 (1637-1692), and the anonymous *Tale of Unyeong* (*Unyeong jeon* 雲英傳).

The description of *The Citadel* as an early novel requires closer consideration.

One criticism of twentieth-century Korean literature studies is the tendency to

overemphasise a sense of 'visible continuity' between premodern and modern literature.¹ This tendency is particularly evident in classifying texts as novels. *The Citadel* was selected for Im Je's collected works by his relatives and friends in the early seventeenth century, but it has not been studied in terms of contemporary aesthetic or intellectual values. Rather, in studies such as Kim Kwangsun's *Celestial Lord novels*,² Heo Won Gi's 'The significance of mind and nature theories in "Celestial lord novels"',³ Kim Hyeon Yang's 'Suseongji and its implications for transition in the history of novel in the late sixteenth century',⁴ and Lee Min Heui's "'Celestial Lord biographies': the standards and naming of the genre, centring on a comparison of *The Tale of Master Malt* and *The Record of the Citadel of Sorrows*', the most central concerns have been that of the novel and genre.⁵ Most English anthologies of Korean literature similarly note *The Citadel* as an early example of a Korean novel. The issue is that applying categories from modern literature studies on premodern works includes certain underlying assumptions about literature – for instance, the primacy of the novel as a literary form. In turn, this restricts what can be learned from the text.

In her argument that literature studies is culturally bound to its Western origins, Rey Chow highlighted the novel as a particular example of Western European models and concepts forming the basis of assumed knowledge in modern

¹ Hünggyu Kim and Robert Fouser, *Understanding Korean literature* (Armonk, N.Y: M.E. Sharpe, 1997). 196.

² Kim Kwang-sun, *Cheongun soseol* (Seoul: Goryeo Daehakgyo Minjok Munhwa Yeonguso, 1996).

³ Heo Won Gi, "Cheongun soseol-ui simseongronjeok uimi," *Gosomeol yeongu* 11 (2001).

⁴ Kim Hyeon Yang, "16-segi huban soseolsa jeonhwan ui jinghu wa Suseongji," *Gojeon munhak yeongu* 24 (2003).

⁵ Lee Min Heui, "Cheongunjeon jangreu gyujeong mit myeongmyeong-e gwanhan je-eon: Guksunjeon mit Suseongji wa ui bigyoreul jungsimeuro," *Munhak gyoyukhak* 42 (2013).

academia. To illustrate her point, she noted the nearly invariable use of 'a national or ethnic qualifier' to describe any novel produced outside of Western Europe.⁶ Similarly, Gregory Evon observed that 'Korean literature as it is now conceived was a twentieth-century creation,' emerging along with many other national literatures.⁷ Likewise, as noted by the Sinologist Glen Dudbridge, 'genre categories are overlaid on transmitted works, read into them after the event, by the editors, publishers and cultural arbiters of later times.'⁸

Fortunately, as noted by Bassnett and Lefevere, cultural equivalence has slowly given way to an acknowledgement that 'the textual and conceptual grids of other civilisations should not be reduced to those of the West' and that there is a need to refer to 'the cultural capital of other civilisations which preserves at least part of their own nature'.⁹ In this sense, *The Citadel* should not be reduced to a novel, but explored in relation to the literary culture that produced it.

In *From Historicity to Fictionality: The Chinese Poetics of Narrative*, contesting the generalised use of the term 'novel' across different periods of Chinese literary history, Hsiao-peng Lu pointed out the fairly organic transition from historiographical to fictional writing.¹⁰ Due to the similarities between the literary cultures of premodern China and Korea, this understanding of

⁶ Rey Chow, "The Old/New Question of Comparison in Literary Studies: A Post-European Perspective," *English Literary History* 72.2 (2004). 295.

⁷ Gregory N. Evon, "Chinese Contexts, Korean Realities: the Politics of Literary Genre in Late-Choson Korea (1725-1863)," *East Asian History* 32/33 (2008). 57.

⁸ Glen Dudbridge, *Books, tales and vernacular culture: selected papers on China* (Boston; Leiden: Brill, 2005). 10.

⁹ Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere, *Constructing cultures: essays on literary translation* (Clevedon, Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, 1998). 11.

¹⁰ Hsiao-peng Lu, *From historicity to fictionality: the Chinese poetics of narrative* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).

literature, and narrative prose in particular, is more relevant to the Joseon dynasty than the Eurocentric construction centring on the novel. For instance, *The Tale of Hong Gildong*, *A Nine Cloud Dream*, and *The Tale of Unyeong*, considered examples of early Korean novels, were composed as ‘dream’ and ‘biographical’ narratives, modelled on prose styles imported from the Ming dynasty and earlier.¹¹ Similarly, *The Citadel* is written in the style of a historical record (*ji* 誌): a Song China form of literary prose. Overall, it is important to recognise that the novel was not a literary category or consideration for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Joseon literati. The first critics of *The Citadel* considered it an important and meaningful work long before there was any notion of the Korean novel to evolve towards. A historically sensitive reading shows that the text resonated with contemporary discourse, and conformed to contemporary conventions of narrative structure and literary features.

Previous research into *The Citadel*, though limited by a text-as-container approach, has laid solid foundations for further contextualisation. Earlier research focused on establishing direct connections between the text and the author’s personal life, including developing hypotheses for why he wrote it. The basis for this approach can be found in the writings of Im Je’s younger contemporary, Yi Sik 李植 (1584-1647), *The Collected Works of Taekdang* (*Taekdang jip* 澤堂集). According to Yi Sik, Im Je was censured for offending another official, after which he wrote *The Citadel*. Yi Sik thus implies that Im Je may have written

¹¹ Im Je also wrote a ‘dream’ story; the *Record of Student Won’s Dream Adventure* (*Wonsaeng mongyurok* 元生夢遊錄). But initially, only *The Citadel* was included in his collected works.

The Citadel to express frustration at his circumstances.¹² Many have followed this interpretation, reading the text as the author's way of expressing dissatisfaction with contemporary society. For example, for Peter H. Lee, *The Citadel* expresses Im Je's desire to 'cleanse society of its evils, to reject treacherous retainers and to give opportunity to loyal subjects for a better government'.¹³ For Kim Dong-uk, Im Je was 'personifying human nature by resort to metaphysical abstraction...an attempt to voice his own dissatisfaction with the world and to curse a reality in which he is unable to give full scope to his strengths and talents'.¹⁴ For Zong Insob, Im Je is 'a young genius', paving the way for the development of modern literature.¹⁵ But Zong's assessment is a good example of how premodern texts can be subordinated to the outcome of modernity. This approach minimises the role of history in understanding texts and their contexts, overshadows the influence and characteristics of contemporary literary cultures, and is problematic for producing historically sensitive translations. Im Je was a member of the literati (or *yangban* 兩班)¹⁶ class: by his time, a well-developed social stratum with its own culture, in which composition played a central role. A text-as-container formulation of *The Citadel* does not facilitate analysis of the literary culture which informed Im Je's

¹² Yi Sik, *Taekdang jip* (17th century). Originally only 6 volumes, with extensive additions throughout the 18th century. The relevant anecdote is in the first volume of the extension of the collection. See Kim, "16-segi huban soseolsa jeonhwan ui jinghu wa Suseongji." 123.

¹³ Peter H. Lee, *Korean literature: topics and themes* (Tucson: Published for the Association for Asian Studies by the University of Arizona Press, 1965). 66-68.

¹⁴ Dong-uk Kim and Leon Hurvitz, *History of Korean literature* (Tokyo: Centre for East Asian cultural studies, 1980). 168.

¹⁵ In-sob Zong, *A guide to Korean literature* (Elizabeth, N.J.: Hollym International Corp., 1983). 175-6.

¹⁶ The term 'yangban' means 'two branches', and referred to the two branches of government office: the civil service officials (*munban* 文班) and the military officials (*muban* 武班).

writing. As a consequence, overshadowed by concerns about whether or not *The Citadel* meets criteria to be called a novel, striking features of the text, such as the extensive intertextual allusions throughout, are yet to be investigated in detail.

Im Je and The Record of the Citadel of Sorrows: a brief introduction

According to early sources, Im Je was a passionate and free-spirited individual. His life followed a common trajectory: he passed the civil service examinations and became a minor official in his late twenties. He died at the age of 38, in 1587. Despite his short life, he was a prolific poet, and wrote a small number of prose compositions. He will be referred to as Im Je throughout this thesis. However, of his multiple pennames, he was best known as 'White Lake' (*baekho* 白湖), and his collected works were published as *The Collected Works of White Lake* (*Baekho jip* 白湖集). His place in history was decided by literary critics of the early seventeenth century, many of whom had been his contemporaries, and lauded his skill in poetic composition, likening him to the Tang master poet Du Mu 杜牧 (803-852).¹⁷ *The Citadel* is exceptional as the only story included in the initial compilation of Im Je's collected works. Its inclusion indicates that it was regarded as a fine example of Im Je's literary abilities by the relatives and friends who compiled his work, in contrast with more vernacular works, such as his lyric poetry (*sijo* 時調), only transmitted in other collections.¹⁸

¹⁷ Yang Gyeong-u, *Jaeho jip* (1647). 9.

¹⁸ For a discussion of his lyric poetry, transmitted in *Cheongu yeongeon* 靑丘永言 and *Hwawon akbo* 花源樂譜, see Kim Kwang-sun, "Baekho Im Je ui saengae wa munhaksegye," *Eomun ronchong* 39 (2003). 53-54.

The Citadel is a relatively short narrative, with three stages of plot development. It takes place during the reign of the Celestial Lord (*cheongun* 天君), whose kingdom is governed perfectly until a major shift in his emotional state. After failing to comply with the remonstrations of an adviser, the Celestial Lord allows the construction of the so-called Citadel of Sorrows (*suseong* 愁城). He enters this Citadel, tasking one of his ministers, Brush Tip (*mo-ing* 毛穎), to note the grievances of its inhabitants, who are a wide range of historical figures. Despite his best efforts, Brush Tip is unsuccessful. The Celestial Lord then employs another of his subjects, Mister Coin (*gongbang* 孔方), to procure the services of General Malt (*gukjanggun* 麴將軍). General Malt conducts a military campaign against the Citadel of Sorrows, and saves the day.

The structure of *The Citadel* has received considerable attention from scholars, who commonly break the narrative down to a beginning, conflict, and resolution.¹⁹ This does not do justice to the depth and breadth of the content, or the ways in which the author is stylistically consistent with the expectations of Literary Chinese prose. In other words, Im Je's identity as a member of the literati, a group for whom literacy was at least partly a social tool, has not much informed previous studies of this text.²⁰ Yet in *The Citadel*, as in his Literary Chinese poetry, Im Je clearly marked his membership of the cultural elite. His writing is textured by his literary knowledge and devices such as allegory,

¹⁹ Yun Jupil, "Suseongji ui samdan ruseong gwa geu uimi," *Hanguk hanmunhak yeongu* 13 (1990), Mun Beomdu, "Suseongji ui guseong gwa jakga uisik " *Hanminjok eomunhak* 29 (1996), Kim You Me, "Suseongji ui gujojeok teukseong gwa geu uiui," *Hanguk gojeon yeongu* 10.0 (2004).

²⁰ Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian transformation of Korea: a study of society and ideology* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1992). 128.

poetry, and intertextual allusions. Moreover, *The Citadel*'s subject matter strongly reflects the general preoccupations of literati during his lifetime. Although the text is customarily compared to the modern novel, the main themes of the text – the nature of self-cultivation, the conceptualisation of emotion, the relationship between literati and literature, and the importance of history to the present – were common concerns for sixteenth-century literati, and the language used reflects Im Je's engagement with contemporary discourse.

Texts and contexts

The interplay between text and context has long been a topic of academic discussion. In this project, I follow the intellectual historian Dominick LaCapra's definition of a text as 'a situated use of language', and his argument that treating context as though it is singular or absolute drastically oversimplifies the relationship between texts and contexts.²¹ He argued for the need to investigate the 'set of interacting contexts' behind every text, and encouraged researchers to work towards an acceptance and understanding of the loose ends that interacting contexts can produce.²²

LaCapra described at least six possible interacting contexts which might influence a text. These were: authorial intent; the relationship between the author's life and the text; the relationship of society to texts; the relationship of texts to culture, or the 'circulation or noncirculation of texts among levels of

²¹ Dominick LaCapra, "Rethinking Intellectual History and Reading Texts," *History and Theory* 19.3 (1980). 247.

²² Ibid. 254.

culture'; the relationship of a text to the corpus of a writer; and the relationship between modes of discourse and texts.²³ I do not attempt to resolve the vagaries of the term "context" and I will use the word as a general descriptor throughout this thesis. However, I agree with LaCapra's argument that there are many possible types of context that may be discussed in relation to a text. If one particular aspect of context is considered to be of more importance than others, then the reasons that particular type of context is the most important should be clearly argued, rather than assumed.²⁴

Previous studies of *The Citadel* seem to have positioned authorial intent, and the relationship between the author's life and the text, as the primary context. They have closely examined possible influences of the author's personal experiences on the text, and emphasised the role of stories as conduits for an author's emotional expression. However, the relationship of society to texts has not received much consideration. This relationship is a particularly important consideration for texts composed in the Joseon dynasty, since texts were a form of cultural capital in that society. Not only did an individual's compositions stake out their space within wider intellectual networks, but texts could be the basis for the moral evaluation of the individual.

Literary Chinese and Joseon literary culture

In one of the most recent discussions of Literary Chinese as the dominant written language of premodern Korea, Ross King has noted the complexities of this 'ecology of spoken and written language', as well as exploring 'how to

²³ Ibid. 254-272.

²⁴ Ibid. 254.

refer to the broader East Asian cultural formation of which Korea was a part'.²⁵ King contests the common use of 'diglossia' to describe the linguistic situation of Joseon, since it falls short of describing the hybrid and cooperative way in which Literary Chinese, native script, and speech interacted.²⁶ While the Joseon linguistic situation was undoubtedly complex, for the better part of Joseon, Literary Chinese was the most important form of cultural capital. This was a by-product of the redistribution of power, weighted in favour of the bureaucracy by Joseon's institutional structures.²⁷ It is that elite literary culture which is the focus of this thesis.

Literary culture in premodern Korea was directly impacted by a political shift at the establishment of the Joseon dynasty. The syncretic literary culture of the Goryeo dynasty, in which Confucian and Buddhist beliefs were reasonably well integrated, was officially replaced by Song dynasty Confucianism as state ideology.²⁸ This ideology governed the attitude of the literati towards literature: as a group, they developed a highly moralistic attitude to composing and evaluating texts. In this literary culture, the most important factor in composition and evaluation was sincerity, which was in turn the foundation of self-cultivation.

²⁵ Ross King, "Ditching "Diglossia": Describing Ecologies of the Spoken and Inscribed in Pre-modern Korea," *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies* 15.1 (2015). 1.

²⁶ Ibid. 9.

²⁷ John B. Duncan, *The origins of the Choson dynasty* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000). 204.

²⁸ Ibid. 204; Deuchler, *The Confucian transformation of Korea: a study of society and ideology*. 27.

In addition to the distinctive attitude of Joseon literati, emphasising sincerity of mind in composition, the hierarchy of texts themselves was markedly different to that of modern literature studies. The language and apparatus used to evaluate Korean literature is part of a modern conceptualisation of the discipline. From the colonial period on, beginning with the *History of the Joseon Novel*, Korean scholars conceptualised literature as something encompassing all eras, scripts, and genres of text, in which the novel took primacy as a literary form. Gregory Evon notes the contrast of this politics of literature with the view presented by Jeong Yagyong 丁若鏞 (1762-1836) in an essay presented to the king: "On Literary Style" (*munche chaek* 文體策). Several centuries after Im Je's lifetime, Jeong still regarded Literary Chinese poetry as the highest form of composition, provided it contributed to the poet's self-cultivation. He distinguished between form and content, and expressed concern that the Literary Chinese poetry of Joseon literati was inferior to that of Chinese poets. In Jeong's view, Joseon literati emphasised form over emotional expression, which was a deficiency because 'poetry must embody a poet's intent, a core classical concept that justified his own focus on the local and the real as opposed to the abstract'.²⁹ So, although the novel that takes pride of place in modern literature studies as the conduit for expressing human internal and emotional experiences, for the Joseon literati, poetry occupied this role, with a full range of literary and political ramifications, since texts were seen as an embodiment of the moral and political ideals of the writer. From Jeong's essay,

²⁹ Evon, "Chinese Contexts, Korean Realities: the Politics of Literary Genre in Late-Choson Korea (1725-1863)." 58.

it can be seen that this emphasis on poetry continued until late in the Joseon dynasty. As such, it is necessary to bear in mind that the role of prose works such as *The Citadel*, composed at the end of the sixteenth century, was not the same as that of the novel, or of texts for commercial consumption. Rather, *The Citadel* is part of a literary tradition of composing to demonstrate sophistication and intellectualism. Its content and style strongly reflect that culture.

One advantage of Sinology as an established discipline is that Sinologists have developed certain techniques to deal specifically with the qualities of Literary Chinese texts. From James Legge's early work on Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130-1200) Neo-Confucian canon, the *Four Books* (*Sishu* 四書), there is a long tradition of investigating the intertextuality of Literary Chinese literature, though through footnoting rather than interlinear commentary, as was practiced by literati throughout the ages. Perhaps the best model for the analysis of Literary Chinese texts is the one put forward by Glen Dudbridge in his study of the *Tale of Li Wa* (*Li Wa zhuan* 李娃傳), which borrows Frank Kermode's approach to studying Shakespeare's *The Tempest*.³⁰ Following this precedent, Dudbridge attempted to recover the multiple dimensions of *Li Wa* in a critical analysis and translation. He focused on drawing out the threads of the tapestry of intertextual allusions that characterises *Li Wa*. As *The Citadel* shows, intertextuality is a common feature of Literary Chinese texts, and, in recent years, there have been two examples of scholars who have investigated this aspect of the text: '*The Doctrine*

³⁰ William Shakespeare and Frank Kermode, *The Arden edition of the works of William Shakespeare: The tempest* (London: Bloomsbury, 1954).

of the Mean in *The Citadel*'³¹ and 'Historical awareness in *The Citadel*'.³² Following their precedent, this project examines the ways in which *The Citadel* interacted with its own context, providing the modern reader with a greater sense of how it was read in its own time.

Text editions, problems of translation, and methodology

The Citadel has been digitised and is available online at the Korean classics database.³³ The digitisation of texts and online publication has been a tremendous development in the study of the classics, by making them readily accessible. Before the advent of digitisation, *The Citadel* had been available in manuscript format, and included in book anthologies such as *The Complete Collection of Korean Novels in Literary Chinese*, a joint Taiwanese-Korean publication.³⁴ In addition, the text has been translated into Korean several times. The most prominent examples are Kim Kwangsun's *Celestial Lord Novels*, and most recently *The Collected Works of White Lake*.³⁵

There are several points to be made about the differences in translating Literary Chinese into Korean and English. For instance, there are the obvious linguistic problems of the dissimilarity between Literary Chinese and English, and the differences in the way the world is conceptualised. Linguistically, the translation of Literary Chinese into Korean is simpler than translating into

³¹ Choi Cheon Jip, "Suseongji e natanan jungyongjeok segyegwan," *Eonmun ronchong* 51 (2009).

³² Um Ki-Young, "Yeoksa uisik bujae ui saseo ilkgiwa hoegojeok gamjeong ui sobi e daehan bipan," *Eomun yeongu* 38.2 (2010).

³³ Im Je, *Im Baekho jip*, Hangeuk munjip Chonggan 58 (1617).

³⁴ Lin Mingde, *Hanguo hanwen xiaoshuo quanji* (Taipei Shi; [Kyonggi-do Songnam-si]: Zhongguo wenhua xueyuan; Hanguo jingshen wenhua yanjiuyuan, 1900). Volume 6: 236-245.

³⁵ *Cheongun soseol*. 26-66; Im Je, Sin Ho-yol and Im Hyong-t'aek, *Sinpyeon Baekho jeonjip* (2014). 431-465.

English because, although they are fundamentally different languages, *hangeul* facilitates the direct transliteration of Literary Chinese characters, with the appearance of a Sino-Korean word. The same cannot be said of Literary Chinese characters only *transliterated* into English. That is to say, Literary Chinese texts of Joseon are, to some extent, subjected to double the language filter. Moreover, in terms of dealing with Literary Chinese texts, English translations are predominantly of texts from Chinese contexts. There is currently a much smaller body of English-language studies of Literary Chinese texts from the Joseon dynasty, although two notable exceptions, Richard Rutt's work on *A Nine Cloud Dream* and Michael Pettid's detailed translation and study of *The Tale of Unyeong*, strongly influenced this thesis.³⁶

To expand on the relationship between Literary Chinese and Korean readings of characters, Korean translations of *The Citadel* include Chinese characters from the original work, particularly for proper nouns, or where an explanation or expedient translation is unavailable. In the most recent publication of Im's *Collected Works*, there is an interesting approach to this issue: the Literary Chinese is translated entirely into Korean, except for proper nouns or unusual compounds, which are transliterated and included in-line as subscript. The retention of many Sino-Korean words in modern Korean is another advantage for Literary Chinese to Korean translations. Literary Chinese to English translation is not furnished with the same set of tools to smooth over

³⁶ Richard Rutt, ed. *A Nine Cloud Dream* (Hong Kong: Heinemann Asia, 1980); Michael Pettid, ed., *Unyŏng-jŏn: A Love Affair at the Royal Palace of Chosŏn Korea* (Berkeley: East Asian Institute, 2009).

complicated or difficult terms, which is to some degree at the cost of readability. But even in the Korean translations, the inclusion of original characters creates a slight dissonance, acting as a reminder that the Korean reading alone cannot convey the same amount of information as the Literary Chinese characters.

Finally, it should be noted that *The Citadel* assumes a great deal of intertextual knowledge on the part of the reader. In Literary Chinese composition, intertextual references demonstrated erudition. Literati were required to participate in this type of literary performance to earn the respect and admiration of their readers. As Pettid observed in the introduction to his translation work, 'Readers of the day [...] easily caught clues conveyed through the use of metaphoric words or phrases, allusions to ancient legends or personages, and references to poets or poetic styles. Yet this very same complexity and depth creates a formidable barrier for the reader of the twenty-first century.'³⁷ Like Pettid, in the following study I aim to equip the reader with the apparatus to access and understand Literary Chinese intertextuality.

Notes on Romanisation, referencing, and translation

In this thesis, I have used the Revised Romanisation of Korean developed by the National Academy of the Korean Language (*gungnip gugeowon* 國立國語院). Throughout this thesis, I have converted McCune-Reischauer Romanisation in cited works to Revised Romanisation for the sake of consistency. One exception is the names of the authors of secondary sources, if a preferred Romanisation has been provided in a published work. As is the convention, in the case of

³⁷ Ibid. 3.

Asian names, surnames appear first, followed by given names: for example, in the case of Im Je, the surname is Im and the first name is Je.³⁸

References to the *Four Books* are to the edition with Zhu Xi's commentaries (*Sishu zhangju jizhu* 四書章句集).³⁹ References to dynastic histories, such as *Records of the Grand Scribe* (*Shiji* 史記), are to the *Zhonghua shuju* 中華書局 editions of the texts. In references, the first number is to the chapter of the original work; the second is to the page number in the physical edition of the book. The same system is applied to informal histories, such as *A New Account of Tales of the World* (*Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語), attributed to Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403-444 C.E). References are to chapter, followed by entry (e.g: SSXY 6.12).

Translations of the *Four Books* are based on James Legge, the *Records of the Grand Scribe* on William Nienhauser, where available, and *New Tales* on Richard Mather.⁴⁰ The citations of *A classified collection of conversations of Master Zhu* (*Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類) are by page number only.⁴¹

Im Je makes many allusions to poetry throughout *The Citadel*. It appears that he had access to the major compilations of early poetry, such as the *Songs of Chu* (*Chuci* 楚辭) and *Selections of Refined Literature* (*Wenxuan* 文選). My translations of these are largely based on David Hawkes for the *Songs of Chu*, and David

³⁸ In the bibliography, which is divided into Literary Chinese and modern language sources, Literary Chinese sources are referenced in this way. However, in the case of modern language sources, citations are made following one set of bibliographic conventions: 'surname, given name'.

³⁹ Zhu Xi, *Sishu zhangju jizhu*, Guo xue ji ben cong shu. (Shanghai: Shang wu yin shu guan, 1935).

⁴⁰ Liu Yiqing and Richard B. Mather, *A new account of tales of the world: Shi shuo xin yu* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002).

⁴¹ Zhu Xi and Li Jingde, *Zhuzi yulei* (Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1962).

Knechtges for *Selections of Refined Literature*.⁴² A range of poets and poems from the Tang and Song dynasties are also referenced, but the specific collections Im Je used are unclear. Im Je's *Collected Works* and all other Joseon literary collections were accessed via the Korean classics database unless otherwise marked.⁴³

Regarding translation, it should be noted that the best English translation of various Literary Chinese terms continues to be enthusiastically debated.

Perhaps the most important example in this work is *sim* 心. I have translated *sim* as 'mind', though in philosophical texts this is usually translated as 'heart-mind'. In English, the heart and mind are separate concepts, respectively responsible for emotional and cognitive processes. In the Literary Chinese tradition, *sim* is responsible for both, and its place within the body was conceptualised differently. In the Western tradition, the mind is in the brain, whereas the heart is in the chest; for Joseon scholars, *sim* was situated in the centre of the body, ruling the body like a sovereign would a kingdom.⁴⁴ But because Im Je uses a range of terms for the various physical parts of the torso, including the chest, heart, and diaphragm, the term 'mind' is used to differentiate between body parts and the *sim*, which is a decision-making

⁴² Liu Xiang and David Hawkes, *Chu ci: the songs of the South, an ancient Chinese anthology* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), Tong Xiao and David R. Knechtges, *Wen xuan, or, Selections of refined literature Vol. 1* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), Tong Xiao and David R. Knechtges, *Wen xuan, or, Selections of refined literature Vol. 2* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987), Tong Xiao and David R. Knechtges, *Wen xuan, or, Selections of refined literature. Vol. 3* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996).

⁴³ *Database of Korean Classics* *한국고전종합DB*, <http://db.itkc.or.kr/>.

⁴⁴ Ning Yu, *The Chinese Heart in a Cognitive Perspective: Culture, Body, and Language*, vol. 12 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2009). 131-168.

faculty and has more agency. This is one example of key terms used throughout the thesis and translation which may need future modification as the field of Literary Chinese translation develops. The translation is not intended to be authoritative, but as accurate as possible.

In Part One, I have endeavoured to provide: a thorough contextualisation of *The Citadel*, particularly in terms of literary culture, and in Part Two, a first translation of *The Citadel* into English. There has not to date been a study focusing on *The Citadel* in Western scholarship. This is unfortunate, as on top of its unique qualities, the text demonstrates the conventions and interests of a well-established literary culture. As is true of many Literary Chinese texts, the original text is densely allusive, and even a basic translation cannot convey the depth or multiple dimensions of the original without extensive annotation. On the premise that a meaningful understanding of texts – especially highly allusive ones – is dependent on contextualisation, I have tried to bring together what is currently known about *The Citadel's* immediate context to make the interaction between text and context apparent. This contextualisation is intended to equip the reader to understand the translation of the text, while the text itself will be treated as a case study in mid-Joseon literary culture.

Chapter 1: Socio-political and literary influences on Im Je's life and works

In many important ways, Im Je conformed to the norms and expectations of his context. In his upbringing and career choices, he complied with the socio-political structures that shaped the lives of the Joseon literati class. Similarly, his literary compositions reflected a deep awareness of the subject matter, literary conventions, and aesthetic standards imposed by contemporary literary culture. Consequently, there is a need for a more thorough explanation of the forces at work on Im Je as a man and as a writer.

In this chapter, I will investigate the ways in which Im Je responded to and participated in different aspects of his context. I will address the social and intellectual influences on Im Je as a man and as a writer in two separate sections. I will first examine the frameworks governing the lives of the literati in the late sixteenth century, to clarify the institutional structures that Im Je operated within. His responses to these structures represent the real or material concerns that affected the lives of all literati at this time – but some more than others, since status and wealth were not equally distributed, even among the elite. Acknowledging Im Je's active engagement with contemporary society sheds some light on the ways in which his lived experience differs from the ways he is portrayed by himself, subsequent generations of Joseon literati, and modern scholars.

In the second part of this chapter, I address the question of contemporary literary culture, or intellectual as opposed to practical concerns that influenced

Im Je's life and works. Literary compositions such as *The Citadel* were both a response and a contribution to contemporary literary culture. Literacy itself was a status marker, and composition a central aspect of literati life. Through literary composition, one might successfully navigate the examination system, and gain office and rank. One might also demonstrate an all-important commitment to certain ideological imperatives, such as self-cultivation. The most influential members of that literary culture imposed the forms that self-cultivation should take. This was a society in which literary talent, if recognised by other literati, became a measure of personal worth and virtue.

In the final part of this chapter, I offer a biography of Im Je, intended to integrate available sources and research to provide as detailed an account as currently possible. In one sense, Im Je is a useful representative of the literati of his time because, like most of them, he never made it to the highest echelons of wealth, fame, and power. The difference, in Im Je's case, was that he only achieved a modicum of success, in spite of being highly regarded for his skill in Literary Chinese composition. For subsequent generations of relatives, friends, and literary critics, the result was often a compulsion to justify the misfortunes or political mediocrity of such figures, or to decry the shortcomings of the times. In this way, a compulsion to portray Im Je as a victim of circumstance has influenced sources since the early seventeenth century, feeding into modern portrayals of an unrecognised literary genius.

The socio-political frameworks of literati culture

Im Je belonged to the socio-political elite of Joseon society: the literati. Literacy was the fundamental tenet of membership to this group, and the life of a literatus was therefore shaped by three institutional frameworks: education, examination, and officialdom. In this respect, Joseon society was closely modelled on the Ming dynasty. Like Ming, one of the main policies of Joseon was continuity, although it was continuity through the restoration of an imagined ideal past: the founder of the Joseon dynasty, Yi Seonggye 李成桂 (1335-1408, r. 1392-1408 as Taejo 太祖), laid claim to legitimacy through Heaven's Mandate (*cheonmyeong* 天命).⁴⁵ The dynastic change from Goryeo to Joseon has been described as a 'remarkably uneventful' and non-violent transition, only opposed by 'a handful of die-hard [Goryeo] loyalists.'⁴⁶ Nonetheless, when setting up the Joseon state, Yi Seonggye and the government of the new regime had a pragmatic interest in recalibrating the scales of political power away from the aristocracy and in favour of a centralised state bureaucracy.⁴⁷ The landed gentry, associated with regional power bases, posed a threat to the security of the new regime, and a centralised state bureaucracy allowed greater control over them. With Neo-Confucian ideology as its foundation, the Joseon dynasty claimed legitimacy from the concept of Heaven's Mandate. The recalibration of power, including disbanding all but the

⁴⁵ Yŏng-ho Ch'oe, *The civil examinations and the social structure in early Yi dynasty Korea: 1392-1600* (Seoul: Korean Research Center, 1987). 9.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Duncan, *The origins of the Choson dynasty*. 204.

state militia, was justified by moralistic imperatives.⁴⁸ In addition, and in line with the attitudes of Confucian stalwarts since the Tang dynasty, the state decried and dismantled the majority of Buddhist practices and institutions previously associated with the state and the royal family, although members of the royal family and many literati continued to practice Buddhism as a private religion without much censure.⁴⁹ Xi-de Jin observed that there had been a movement in favour of replacing Buddhism with Confucianism since the late thirteenth century of the Goryeo dynasty.⁵⁰ With the establishment of the Joseon dynasty, the change to a Neo-Confucian state ideology was official.

In theory, the processes of education and examination made the Joseon state a meritocracy. In practice, it created a different type of oligarchy, replacing the lineage inheritance of landed gentry with a hierarchy in which power was attained through education, examination success, and bureaucratic appointment, with lesser but lingering benefits to be gained from family ties.⁵¹ As such, for the better part of the Joseon dynasty, the institutional pressures of a bureaucratic social structure on the literati were relatively consistent. The education and examination systems allowed for a degree of social mobility, and a small minority of commoners were successful examination candidates in early Joseon, with their 'merits' made visible by their intellectual and literary

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Xi-de Jin, "The "Four-Seven Debate" and the School of Principle in Korea," *Philosophy East and West* 37.4 (1987). 355.

⁵¹ The literati (*yangban*) could inherit *yangban* status, but only up to the third generation.

abilities.⁵² However, the vast majority of examinees were similar to Im Je: men from aristocratic clans who sought avenues for advancement. Education was an important step towards the examinations, and examinations were in turn an important part of maintaining the fortunes of one's family: posts were not hereditary, so a degree of academic achievement – enough at least to pass the lower civil service examinations – was essential to attaining and maintaining literati status.⁵³ Gregory Evon, with reference to James Palais, described the link between examination success and civil service office as notional but crucial, a scenario in which 'bureaucratic offices were dominated by those born into aristocratic families, but the vast majority of aristocrats never became working bureaucrats'.⁵⁴

Education

Because of the relationship between literacy and power, education was the most important institution in the fabric of Joseon society. Education was considered a 'moral endowment',⁵⁵ and was therefore a universal priority of young men aiming to join the literati elite. It began at the local level: the Joseon state was divided into eight administrative areas,⁵⁶ subdivided into counties (*gun* 郡), prefectures (*hyeon* 縣), districts (*myeon* 面), and villages (*ri* 里).⁵⁷ All villages had

⁵² Ch'oe, *The civil examinations and the social structure in early Yi dynasty Korea: 1392-1600*. 158, 217.

⁵³ Ibid. 218.

⁵⁴ Gregory N. Evon, "Korea's Aristocratic Moods: Re-examining Chosŏn Social and Political History," *Asian Studies Review* 35.2 (2011). 256; James B. Palais, "Confucianism and The Aristocratic/Bureaucratic Balance in Korea," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 44.2 (1984). 447.

⁵⁵ Deuchler, *The Confucian transformation of Korea: a study of society and ideology*. 297.

⁵⁶ The eight administrative areas were: Chungcheong 忠清, Gangwon 江原, Gyeonggi 京畿, Gyeongsang 慶尙, Hamgyeong 咸鏡, Hwanghae 黃海, Jeolla 全羅 and Pyeongan 平安.

⁵⁷ Nae-Hyun Kwon, "Rural Society and Zhu Xi's Community Compact," *Everyday Life in Joseon-Era Korea: Economy and Society*, ed. Shin Michael D. (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014). 147.

the equivalent of a primary school (*seodang* 書堂), which proliferated especially during the reign of Jungjong 中宗 (r. 1506-44) and taught basic Literary Chinese to students between the ages of seven or eight to fifteen or sixteen.⁵⁸ According to Jang Dong-pyo,

[the curriculum at primary schools] consisted of three subjects: reading, composition, and calligraphy. The main textbooks were the *Thousand-Character Classic*, *Zizhi Tongjian*, and the Four Books and the Three Classics of Confucianism, as well as a Korean text from the sixteenth century, the *Dongmong seonseub* (sic.). Sometimes, additional texts were used such as the *Records of the Grand Historian* and prose texts from the Tang and Song dynasties, but in most cases, *seodang* only covered up to the *Zizhi Tongjian*.⁵⁹

In other words, by the age of sixteen, young men with the resources to do so would be versed in the *Thousand-Character Classic* (*Qianzi wen* 千字文); the *Comprehensive Mirror in Aid of Governance* (*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑)—a full dynastic history completed in 1084, in the Song dynasty, by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086); and the Four Books and the Three Classics (*Sishu Sanjing* 四書三經). The Four Books were the *Analects* (*Lunyu* 論語), *Mencius* (*Mengzi* 孟子), the *Great Learning* (*Daxue* 大學), and the *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong* 中庸); the Three Classics were the *Classic of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經), *Classic of History* (*Shujing* 書經),

⁵⁸ Dong-pyo Jang, "The educational system," *ibid.* 198.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 199.

and the *Record of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記).⁶⁰ Two of the Four Books, the *Greater Learning* and the *Doctrine of the Mean*, were in fact chapters from the *Rites*, extracted by Zhu Xi in the Song dynasty for the special attention of students. These texts would have been Im Je's curriculum in his early years of schooling.

After attending primary school, students would progress to a provincial school (*hyanggyo* 鄉校). However, a major feature of the sixteenth-century Joseon was the rise of the private academy (*seowon* 書院) as an alternative to the government-run provincial schools. According to the regulations for Isan private academy (*Isan seowon* 伊山書院) in North Gyeongsang province, written by the prominent literary figure Yi Hwang, students learned the Confucian texts in the following order: starting from the *Thousand-Character Classic*, they read the *Greater Learning*, *Analects*, *Mencius*, *Doctrine of the Mean*, the *Classic of Poetry* (*Shijing* 詩經), *Classic of History*, *Classic of Changes*, and the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu* 春秋).⁶¹ This curriculum was very similar to the curriculum of provincial schools, and was adopted by many other private academies. From these sources, it is clear which texts formed the basis of Im Je's education, and that the towering figures among Joseon literati, such as Yi Hwang, adhered very closely to the learning process originally stipulated by the Song dynasty literatus Zhu Xi.⁶²

⁶⁰ For a full description of the *Four Books* and *Three Classics*, see Keith L. Pratt, Richard Rutt and James Hoare, *Korea: a historical and cultural dictionary* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1999). 89.

⁶¹ Jang, "The educational system." 203.

⁶² Daniel K. Gardner, *Chu Hsi and the Ta-hsueh: neo-Confucian reflection on the Confucian canon* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1986). 5-6.

Examinations

The second institutional framework that shaped the lives of the literati was the state examinations, of which there were three types. There was the civil service examination (*mun-gwa* 文科), the military examination (*mu-gwa* 武科), and the ‘miscellaneous’ (specialist or technical) examination (*japgwa* 雜科). The civil service examinations were the most prestigious, since they offered the highest entry point into government office. (Becoming a civil service official was more prestigious than being a military official, though the distinction was somewhat artificial.)

The civil service examination began with the lower level (*sogwa* 小科 or *sama* 司馬) examinations, which were split into two streams: the literary licentiate (*jinsa* 進士) or classics licentiate (*saengwon* 生員). These were examinations on poetry and prose, respectively. Literary licentiate candidates were examined on two poetry compositions, one “rhapsody” (*bu* 賦) and one “old-style” verse (*gosi* 古詩). Classics licentiate candidates had to compose one essay (*ui* 義) based on a passage from the *Classics*, and another essay (*ui* 疑) based on a passage from the *Four Books*. The literary licentiate was held first, followed by the classics licentiate two days later. It was possible to sit for both degrees in the same round of examinations, but Im Je was among the minority of candidates able to do so successfully.⁶³

Passing the minor examinations was not qualification for a government post. To receive a civil service appointment, candidates needed to sit the higher civil

⁶³ Ch'oe, *The civil examinations and the social structure in early Yi dynasty Korea: 1392-1600*. 39.

service examination (*daegwa* 大科), but they were not compelled to take this next step into official life. A more popular option among successful lower examination candidates was to return to their native provinces with their degrees, since this afforded them the highest possible social distinction on a local level. In many places, such literati formed groups of lower civil degree holders called *samaso* (司馬所).⁶⁴ These groups could easily manipulate the magistrates appointed by the central bureaucracy and were particularly powerful in Im's native province of Jeolla, as well as Gyeongsang.⁶⁵ Although literati in government offices such as the magistracy were technically of higher standing than those with lower civil degrees, they could not be appointed in their native regions, which enabled those with lower civil degrees to maintain considerable power as local elites.⁶⁶

Candidates wishing to pursue public office would progress from the lower examinations to the National Academy (*Seonggyungwan* 成均館) in the capital. The 'Great Codes for State Administration' (*Gyeongguk Daejeon* 經國大典), finalised in about the mid-fifteenth century, stipulated 300 days' attendance at the National Academy before students could undertake the higher civil service examination. On average, only a quarter of successful lower civil degree candidates took this final step towards public office.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Ibid. 46.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 48.

⁶⁶ Ibid. 40.

⁶⁷ Ibid. 42.

Like the lower examinations, there were three stages to the higher examinations. The first stage was held provincially, and tested candidates on the same essays on the *Classics* and the *Four Books*, as above, with an additional discourse (*non* 論). Candidates were also tested on their ability to compose a rhapsody (*bu* 賦), eulogy (*song* 頌), inscription (*myeong* 命), admonitions (*jam* 箴), or memorandum (*gi* 記), and a formal memorial (*pyo* 表) or report (*jeon* 箋). The final composition was a ‘dissertation’ (*chaek* 策).⁶⁸ In the second stage (*boksi* 覆試 or *hoesi* 會試), 240 successful candidates from the provinces would convene in the capital, and be tested on the ‘Great Codes for State Administration’ and *The Family Rituals of Zhu Xi* (*Zhuzi jiali* 朱子家禮). The first round of testing was then conducted orally, with students expected to recite passages from the *Four Books*, and the middle and final rounds structured in the same way as the provincial level examination.⁶⁹ In the third stage, 33 candidates were eligible to sit the final examination before the king, who would select the question: candidates were tested on either a dissertation, memorial, admonition, eulogy, edict (*je* 制), or proclamation (*jo* 詔).⁷⁰

A number of irregular examinations (*byeolsi* 別試) were held on special occasions, as needed or desired, to complement the regular exams. Access to irregular examinations was skewed in favour of students living at the National Academy, since often very little notice was given before they were held, and

⁶⁸ Ibid. 52.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 53. Due to the time-consuming nature of orally administering this round, by Im’s time it had been changed to a written question.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 53.

some were only offered to students of the Academy.⁷¹ One such special examination, less arduous, with two instead of three rounds, was the visitation examination (*alseongsi* 謁聖試) offered to students at the National Academy 'following the royal visit to the Confucian Temple'.⁷² It was in the visitation examination of 1577 that Im placed second,⁷³ after which he was granted office.

Officialdom

Literacy, education, and political success were inextricably intertwined in literati culture and despite new avenues of ideological exploration the civil service remained 'the chief avenue to economic well-being, social prestige, and self-fulfilment'.⁷⁴ As such, an official career was the ultimate objective of the literati who made it through the education and examination systems. In theory, candidates who made it to this stage were the truly meritorious ones, able to bring their intelligence and virtue to bear in government affairs and thereby prove that the Mandate of Heaven was in effect. Of course, intellectual and literary ability may not have been the best measure of virtue, but this was the belief underlying the meritocracy.

⁷¹ Ibid. 122.

⁷² Ibid. 58.

⁷³ Research Information Network of Korean Studies RINKS, *Im Je: Seonjo Year 10 Visitation Examination Placement*

http://people.aks.ac.kr/front/tabCon/exm/exmView.aks?exmId=EXM_MN_6JOb_1577_003954&category=dirSer&isEQ=true&kristalSearchArea=P, 12 February 2015.

⁷⁴ Edward W. Wagner, *The literati purges: political conflict in early Yi Korea* (Cambridge: East Asian Research Center: distributed by Harvard University Press, 1974). 22.

The formal structure of Joseon government was outlined in the 'Great Codes for State Administration'.⁷⁵ The Six Ministries (*yukjo* 六曹) were the core of the bureaucracy. One unusual feature of the Joseon government was the prominence and proactivity of censory bodies in checking and balancing political power. External to the Ministries, the Three Offices (*samsa* 三司) were designed to preserve a balance of political power, and to monitor the behaviour of invested individuals, up to and including the king, to prevent them from misconduct. There were the Office of the Inspector General (*saheonbu* 司憲府), Office of Censors (*saganwon* 司諫院), and the Office of Special Advisors (*hongmungwan* 弘文館). Given the duties of the officers, the family background and moral conduct of appointees were especially important for employees of the Three Offices.⁷⁶ The Office of Special Advisors was perhaps the most prestigious: these officials were overseers of the royal library, and engaged directly in discourse with the king, a dual role highlighting the relationship between literacy and power. According to the literary criticism (*sihwa* 詩話) in the *Collected Works of Jaeho*, a contemporary source, the influential literary figure and politician Seong Hon was so impressed by Im Je's moral calibre that he recorded his name in the *Recommendation Record for the Office of Special Advisors* (*Hongmunrok* 弘文錄), the file kept specifically for potential Special Advisors.

⁷⁵ This is available in Jongwoo Han, *Power, place, and state-society relations in Korea: neo-Confucian and geomantic reconstruction of developmental state and democratization* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014). 335-337. Han's outline is based on Yun Kug-il, Chong Song-ch'ol and Hwang Pyong-hon, *Gyeongguk daejeon yeongu* (Pyongyang: Gwahak baekgwa sajeon chulpansa, 1986). 552-56.

⁷⁶ Ki-baek Yi, *A new history of Korea* (Cambridge, Mass: Published for the Harvard-Yenching Institute by Harvard University Press, 1984). 176.

Unfortunately, Im Je fell ill and died shortly afterwards, never surpassing junior official rank.

Although the bureaucratic structure remained relatively consistent throughout the Joseon dynasty, there were dramatic ebbs and flows in terms of its actual operations and maintenance, especially during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Due to political tensions and recurring purges at court, there were considerable variations in the availability and willingness of candidates to take up political office. For instance, following the purge of 1545, only 20 or 30 of the 200 student positions available at the National Academy were occupied.⁷⁷ On the other hand, after the accession of Seonjo 宣祖 in 1567 (r. 1567-1608) the civil service examinations became competitive once more. Consequently, during the latter part of the sixteenth century, potential candidates far outnumbered the positions available in government, and, once again, family connections had an increasing effect on the success of candidates.⁷⁸ This is likely to have affected Im Je, who does not appear to have been well-connected.

These were the social environments and institutional frameworks in which Im Je and his contemporaries operated, and they provide some insight into the basic structures and expectations that influenced the course of Im Je's life. As a group, literati were a self-aware socio-political elite, with personal interests and material imperatives for attaining and maintaining literati status.⁷⁹ The existence and maintenance of the group was made possible by the institutional

⁷⁷ Ch'oe, *The civil examinations and the social structure in early Yi dynasty Korea: 1392-1600*. 74.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Deuchler, *The Confucian transformation of Korea: a study of society and ideology*. 296-8.

frameworks of education, examination, and officialdom, which directed the life courses of literati. Members of the literati elite received an education in Literary Chinese, sat the civil service examinations, and, if successful, entered the civil service to begin a political career. Overall, Im Je followed this conventional trajectory. However, his experience, replete with setbacks and complications, is perhaps more representative of the majority of the literati at this time than those who were catapulted to the top of political or intellectual life.

Literary culture

The institutional frameworks outlined above guided the ideal trajectory of literati life. In addition, dominated by Neo-Confucian ideology and entrenched in the education and examination systems, key concepts and literary forms of contemporary literary culture exerted a powerful influence on the literati. A basic understanding of this dynamic is essential to understanding *The Citadel*. A summary from Pauline Yu and Theodore Hutters works well to explain the basic principles underlying broader Chinese literary culture:

In contrast to the modern Western tradition, Chinese theories of the arts did not emphasize the notion of creation ex nihilo – Sidney’s “invention,” and its attendant values of originality and uniqueness – choosing instead to stress the importance of continuity and convention. It is important to keep in mind that these were emphases rather than exclusions: the culture was by no means a

static or unimaginative one, but the privileging of tradition and pattern shaped critical discourse in powerful ways.⁸⁰

Yu and Hutters are describing a Chinese context, but their observations are equally true of the literary culture of the Joseon, which similarly emphasised tradition in intellectual discourse and pattern in literary composition. Three aspects of this literary culture emerge as major focuses throughout *The Citadel*: self-cultivation, emotion, and the modes of expression used by the literati to examine these concepts. All three were deeply entangled with literati identity, and explored in increasingly diverse forms, of which *The Citadel* is an example.

The central theme of literati discourse during the sixteenth century was self-cultivation – a requirement of the literati to demonstrate a mentality of sincerity (*seong* 誠) and reverence (*gyeong* 敬), with the goal of becoming a sage. This ‘inward turn toward moral cultivation’⁸¹ was already a well-established feature of Neo-Confucian doctrine, but a range of associated ideas (such as the human mind, human nature, and emotions) emerged as major topics of discussion in sixteenth century Joseon. The influence of these central concerns can be seen throughout literary culture, from Literary Chinese poetry, the highest literary form to narrative prose, such as *The Citadel*.

Two older contemporaries of Im Je dominated self-cultivation discourse: Yi Hwang and Yi I. They are generally taken to represent two opposing

⁸⁰ Pauline Yu and Theodore Hutters, "The Imaginative Universe of Chinese Literature," *Chinese Aesthetics and Literature: A Reader*, ed. Dale Corinne H. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004). 3.

⁸¹ Gardner, *Chu Hsi and the Ta-hsueh: neo-Confucian reflection on the Confucian canon*. 46.

interpretations of self-cultivation, with opposing stances on the morality of public and political engagement. Yi Hwang had studied at the National Academy and passed the civil service examinations in 1534, but left government office in 1546, choosing instead to be an 'unemployed official' (*heosa* 虛士).⁸² In subsequent years,

[Yi Hwang] worked to distribute his philosophy through teaching, helping intellectuals check the central power from outside the system by establishing an ideological legitimacy and foundation for a politics of public opinion through a Confucian academy-building campaign, and developing a community compact to allow the doctrine of Confucianism to permeate the daily lives of ordinary people.⁸³

In the course of his academy-building campaign, following a 'practical' interpretation of the *Supplementary annotations of the Classic of the mind* (*Simgyeong buju* 心經附註), Yi Hwang argued that rural settings, free of distraction, were necessary to be able to concentrate on self-cultivation, and apply oneself as reverently and sincerely as Neo-Confucian doctrine prescribed.

At a distance from the direct supervision and control of the court, the type of regional lifestyle that Yi Hwang advocated had other practical benefits, including relative safety from the political machinations of the Joseon court. But

⁸² Hyoungchan Kim, "The Theory and Practice of Sage Politics: The Political Philosophies and Neo-Confucian Bases of Yi Hwang and Yi I," *Acta Koreana* 17.1 (2014). 259.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 260.

Yi Hwang justified his position in ideological terms, and after he completed his *Ten Diagrams on Sage Learning* (*Seonghaksipdo* 聖學十圖)⁸⁴ 'it was no longer possible to deny the legitimacy of intensive, almost monastic devotion to study and meditative self-cultivation...nor to ignore that the proper fruition of such formation should be the proper conduct of government and the ordering of society.'⁸⁵

After Yi Hwang formulated self-cultivation in this way, Joseon literary culture became one in which private academies were by far the preferred place for true self-cultivation. The rhetorical distinction between scholarship and officialdom may not have been absolute, but in the rules he wrote for the Isan and Seo-ak academies, Yi Hwang emphasised that self-cultivation, not the civil service examinations, should be the objective of studying. Others were more aggressive on this point. Yi I and Bak Sejae, for example, both stipulated in rulebooks for academies that those wishing to sit for the civil service examinations should study elsewhere.⁸⁶ By this logic, the literati who were truly dedicated to practising self-cultivation should seek out rural academies, conveniently removed from the dangers of the court and accountability to official duties, and devote their attention to their personal virtue, which would be naturally reflected in acquired literary skill.

⁸⁴ Presented to King Seonjo in 1568, along with *Memorandum on six points presented in 1568* (*Mujin yukchoso* 戊辰六條疏).

⁸⁵ Michael Kalton, *Yi Hwang* (*T'oegye*), 1994,

<http://faculty.washington.edu/mkalton/T'oegye.htm>, 23 October 2015.

⁸⁶ Yŏng-ho Ch'oe, "Private Academies and the State in Late Chōson Korea," *Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea*, ed. JaHyun Kim Haboush Martina Deuchler (Mass: Harvard University Press, 1999). 26.

This moralistic rhetoric about private academies did not necessarily hold in reality – the curriculum of private academies still provided students with the knowledge base necessary to sit the examinations – yet ‘academies thought of themselves not as playing a supporting role in the training of personnel for the state bureaucracy but as upholding Neo-Confucian orthodoxy and advancing scholarship’. This was a self-portrayal upheld by advocates of the private academy in later generations.⁸⁷

Yi Hwang’s strongly ideological explanation for the necessity of private academies is a good example of the ways in which the literati ‘wielded its Neo-Confucian learning as an ideological tool.’⁸⁸ In addition, it is an illustration of how some literati perceived – or wished to portray – themselves and their role in society. Yet politically engaged and politically reclusive literati still interacted, and the prestige of private academies was in some cases a direct result of the support of those in politically prominent positions. For instance, Sosu private academy was able to receive a royal charter at least partially due to the enduring friendship between the school’s original founder Ju Sebung 周世鵬 (1495–1554) and the Chief State Counselor Yi Gi 李芑 (1476–1552), though from a moral standpoint Yi Hwang strongly disapproved of this friendship.⁸⁹

There were many other literati who chose the life of an ‘unemployed official’ on ostensibly ideological grounds. Another prominent example was Jo Sik 曹植

⁸⁷ Ibid. 26.

⁸⁸ Deuchler, *The Confucian transformation of Korea: a study of society and ideology*. 128.

⁸⁹ Milan Hejtmanek, "The Elusive Path to Sagehood - Origins of the Confucian Academy System in Chosŏn Korea," *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 26.2 (2013). 266–68.

(1501-1572), who was recommended to public office by none other than Yi Hwang himself during the latter's political career. Jo Sik refused for similar reasons to those Yi Hwang would later espouse. He chose instead to live in 'seclusion' at Mt Jiri 智異山. Jo Sik's friend and Im Je's teacher, Seong Un 成運 (1497-1579), chose a similar lifestyle at Mt Songri 俗離山. Yi I, a younger contemporary, initially held similar views to Yi Hwang as well. In the mid-sixteenth century, facing the question of whether or not to pursue a political career, he faced a quandary: 'already renowned for his brilliance, the question was not one of whether he would be able to pass the...exam, but whether it would be the right thing to do to assume public office during such turbulent times.'⁹⁰ Despite his early hesitation over engaging in political matters, Yi I ended up occupying various high offices in government until his death. Yi Hwang and Yi I came to represent a distinct polarity in the interpretation of self-cultivation-related concepts in Neo-Confucian ideology: Yi Hwang, out of office, emphasised mindfulness; Yi I, in office, emphasised the outward manifestation of sincere will (*seongui* 誠意).⁹¹

Derived from self-cultivation discourse, which centred on the mind (*sim* 心), were two related discussions about human nature and emotions. Led by Yi Hwang and Yi I, discourse on self-cultivation (*suyangnon* 修養論) turned to an examination of human intellectual anatomy, and specifically the relationship between the mind and human nature (*simseongnon* 心性論). In turn, this was

⁹⁰ Kim, "The Theory and Practice of Sage Politics: The Political Philosophies and Neo-Confucian Bases of Yi Hwang and Yi I." 260.

⁹¹ Ibid. 278.

closely connected with the general discourse on the relationship between 'principle and material force' (*igiron* 理氣論), and generated a debate about the Neo-Confucian concepts of the 'Four Beginnings' and the 'Seven Emotions' (*sadan chiljeongnon* 四端七情論). There were four leading participants in this debate, with exchanges between Yi Hwang and Gi Daeseung 奇大升 (1527-72), and later between Yi I and Seong Hon.

The discourse on human nature and emotions was not a purely literary concern. At this time, as Hwisang Cho has observed, the 'cultivation and control of emotions became central in both academic and political contexts'.⁹² There was a moral and practical imperative for literati to engage in this discourse: debates about Neo-Confucian metaphysics were debates about selfhood, and had at least pseudo-practical relevance for understanding of how people worked, how they currently interacted with the world around them, and how they *should* do so. This theoretical discourse had tangible repercussions, influencing expectations of how the literati should conduct themselves, for example facilitating the widespread 'retreat' of literati as both students *and* teachers to private academies. In the political sphere, Cho argues that it gave literati the moral authority to 'teach the king to cultivate his emotions, thereby reinforcing their own political power. Their political standing, based upon rational decision-making and moral cultivation, distinguished them from the emotionally vulnerable monarch'.⁹³ Cho is referring to King Seonjo, who

⁹² Hwisang Cho, "Feeling Power in Early Chosŏn Korea: Popular Grievances, Royal Rage, and the Problem of Human Sentiments," *Journal of Korean Studies* 20.1 (2015). 8.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 18.

reigned during Im Je's lifetime. Seonjo came to the throne at a young age, and literati, irrespective of their rhetorical stance on political engagement, vied to teach him their own interpretations of Neo-Confucian doctrine. Texts such as *The Citadel* reveal that these complex concepts were a matter for consideration on an individual level, providing a new avenue for exploring and describing emotional experience in relation to texts and the literati identity, but occupied a prominent place in intellectual and political arenas.

Mencius and the *Doctrine of the Mean* played a central role in developing the concept of emotions. The literati took the Four Beginnings (*dan* 端) of *Mencius* and the Seven Emotions (*jeong* 情) of the *Doctrine of the Mean* to be two different sets of human feelings. Both tied into the discourse on the mind and nature because, following the discourse of Zhu Xi, Yi Hwang wrote that 'the mind is that which governs and unites the nature and the feelings.'⁹⁴ The point of contention was in deciding how the beginnings (as the composite parts of human nature) and the emotions related to each other.

Yi Hwang believed that the Mencian beginnings were an absolute moral standard, expressed by principle (*i* 理), and the emotions, an inferior type of feeling, were expressed in the form of material force (*gi* 氣). His theoretical approach to the matter was called (*igi iron* 理氣論). However, Gi Daeseung criticised the splitting of feelings between principle and material force. Similarly, in line with the *Doctrine of the Mean*, Yi I attacked the division on the basis that

⁹⁴ Michael C. Kalton and Oaksook Chun Kim, *The four-seven debate: an annotated translation of the most famous controversy in Korean neo-Confucian thought*, 1994, State University of New York Press. 19.

principles and material forces 'constitute a single consistent discourse establishing the ultimate place of humans within the cosmos'.⁹⁵

Despite a Neo-Confucian focus on self-cultivation, the literati involved drew on 'the richness of the Buddhist and Taoist traditions as well as the Confucian values at its core'.⁹⁶ Moreover, Jang Bongsun argues that the intellectual division followed regional lines, with Yeongnam 嶺南 literati privileging principle and the Four Beginnings, while Honam 湖南 literati – including Im Je – placed greater emphasis on material force, and the manifestation of the emotions.⁹⁷ In any case, Im Je explicitly engaged with these conceptual frameworks in *The Citadel*, producing a work of considerable relevance to his contemporaries.

Yi Hwang and Yi I were extremely influential at this time, but the intellectual giants did not represent the whole of sixteenth-century literary culture. Their discussions confirmed that education and learning should be personal priorities of the literati, and in practice this saw an increasing number of students pursuing private educations that appeared more refined and virtuous than those in provincial government schools. But increasing discourse on self-cultivation certainly did not diminish the importance of an individual's literary abilities and textual production as forms of cultural capital because most young literati still aimed for political office and still had their literary skills formally

⁹⁵ Ibid. xxxiii.

⁹⁶ Ibid. xxxii.

⁹⁷ Jang Bong Su, "Cheongunjeon gwa Suseongji bigyo yeongu," *Gukhak yeongu ronchong* 15 (2015). 145, 150.

tested as a result. Moreover, even in the formal examination system, composition, rather than textual knowledge, was taken as a measure of a man's intelligence and ability. As Wagner notes, 'Greater stress was placed on literary skill – on the ability to compose Chinese prose and poetry in a variety of stylized formats – in the higher examination course than on erudition in the Chinese Classics and other standard Chinese texts.'⁹⁸

This highlights a basic distinction between passive and active engagement with literary culture. On the one hand, memorising the canon was integral to self-cultivation.⁹⁹ On the other, composition was more valuable since it produced works that generated cultural capital. Composition was a social activity: for example, the composition of 'occasional' poetry, marking certain events, was a fundamental component of public life. But the act of composition was also fundamentally connected to the discourse on self-cultivation and emotions: according to the *Great Preface of the Classic of Poetry*, poetry was 'where the intent of the heart goes'.¹⁰⁰ Emotional expression was a serious matter when considering the value of compositions: in literary criticism published in the early seventeenth century, Im Je's contemporaries considered a poet's appropriate expression of his emotions as a major criterion for assessing the quality of Tang, Song, and Joseon poetry.¹⁰¹ Composition – mostly, but not exclusively, of poetry – combined literacy, textual knowledge, and calligraphic

⁹⁸ Wagner, *The literati purges: political conflict in early Yi Korea*. 19.

⁹⁹ W. L. Idema and Lloyd Haft, *A guide to Chinese literature* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1997). 41.

¹⁰⁰ Pauline Yu and Hutters, "The Imaginative Universe of Chinese Literature." 4.

¹⁰¹ Yoong-hee Jo, "Poetic criticism in the mid-Joseon period: focusing on arguments about the Tang and Song styles in the early 17th century," *Korea journal* 45.2 (2005). 272.

ability with the 'essence' or mind of the composer, thereby demonstrating the degree of his self-cultivation.¹⁰² In these ways, poetry in particular and composition in general had an important function in connecting a literatus to preceding and contemporary literary culture. Composition was an extension of the self, and therefore of virtue; and virtue, both in a literatus and his literary art, was 'measured in a public sphere'.¹⁰³

Poetry remained the dominant form of literary composition, but by the sixteenth century prose was also gaining recognition as a means of conveying Neo-Confucian morals. The standards against which such prose was measured were 'stylistic formalism in parallel sentence structure, formal diction, imagery, and allusions', and content.¹⁰⁴ As far as a structural precedent was concerned, prose narratives borrowed particularly from historiographical writing.¹⁰⁵ It can therefore be seen that while emotions were already a primary concern in poetry, the increasing prominence of self-cultivation seems to have provoked a new exploration of the subject in prose.

Against this background, *The Citadel* is better understood as an intellectual exercise exploring literary concerns – self-cultivation, literature, and emotions – in the style of the time. It is a powerful example of the unique developments of Joseon literary culture, and an important reminder that Joseon literary culture itself was neither static nor unimaginative, but cumulative and adaptive. In the

¹⁰² Corinne H. Dale, *Chinese aesthetics and literature: a reader* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004). XII.

¹⁰³ Pauline Yu and Hutters, "The Imaginative Universe of Chinese Literature." 8.

¹⁰⁴ Dale, *Chinese aesthetics and literature: a reader*. XII.

¹⁰⁵ Lu, *From historicity to fictionality: the Chinese poetics of narrative*. 96.

literary culture of the Joseon, principles of continuity and convention were taken seriously, especially when it came to the subject of sincerity, and the manifestation of emotions. It was this literary culture in which Im Je was raised and educated, and to which he was contributing his own literary compositions. As such, when modern literature studies emphasise *The Citadel* as an early example of the 'novel', the text becomes divorced from the literary culture that produced it. Without recognising the particular literary techniques and concepts that Im Je uses, the original significance of the text is lost.

A biography of Im Je

Having discussed socio-political and literary influences of the sixteenth century, I turn to Im Je himself, and how he related to this broader setting. The broader contextualisation is necessary to complement the limited information available about him. Im Je died three years before the beginning of the Japanese invasions (*Imjin waeran* 壬辰倭亂) in 1592. Although he was discussed by his contemporaries, the works that mention him, as well as his own collected works, were not widely circulated until the early seventeenth century.¹⁰⁶ According to these fragments, appearing a little after Im Je's lifetime, while some of his contemporaries considered him unorthodox, he seems to have had a wide circle of associates, and, though apparently not influential, his literary talent was already highly regarded in his own time. As outlined in the introduction, for these reasons I do not support the common twentieth-century characterisation

¹⁰⁶ It is easy to imagine that publication of literary texts was a low priority for a state in crisis, as Joseon was during the Imjin wars.

of Im Je by twentieth-century scholars as a man 'before his time', whose talents were unrecognised.

There are four scholars who have produced studies of Im Je's life. Articles by Mun Seon-gyu, So Jaeyeong, Ju Gilsun, and Kim Kwangsun provide modern scholarship with a fuller portrait of Im Je, including detailed information about his family line, personal relationships, descendants, attitude towards women, and literary works. With the exception of Mun Seon-gyu, whose article is a biographical timeline rather than a narrative, there is a tendency to offer a generalised conclusion that Im Je was a transformative force in literary history, whose legacy changed the intellectual landscape of Korean literature by opening up the human mind as a subject of narrative prose.¹⁰⁷ What follows is an attempt to synthesise the information available about Im Je into a biography complete with the inconsistencies and problematic elements included and, in some cases, omitted by the sources.

Im Je's family line can be traced back to the founder of the Naju Im clan 羅州林氏, Im Bi 林庇.¹⁰⁸ Im Bi does not receive an individual biography in the *History of Goryeo* (*Goryeosa* 高麗史), but he is noted as a Lieutenant General (*jihwisa* 指揮使) of Chungcheong in the reign of King Chungyeol 忠烈王 (1275-1308).¹⁰⁹ The

¹⁰⁷ Kim, "Baekho Im Je ui saengae wa munhaksegye." 64. So Jaeyeong, "Baekho Im Je ron," *Minjok munhwa yeongu* 8 (1974). 108. So Jaeyeong, "Im Je soseol ui manhakjeok wisang," *Gukhak yeonguronchong* 2 (2008). 11. Ju Gilsun, "Im Baekho ui saengae wa soseol," *Munhak chunchu* (1997). 74.

¹⁰⁸ Im Byeongsul, *Naju Im Ssi sebo* 羅州林氏世譜 (1935).

¹⁰⁹ *Goryeosa jeolyo* 高麗史節要 20. Accessed at the *Korean classics database*, 14 January 2016. The post of Lieutenant General was gotten rid of in 1280. Chungcheong was one of only five administrative areas in the Goryeo, which were divided into eight areas in the Joseon.

Im family continued to serve the Goryeo administration until the dynasty fell in 1392, at which time Im Tak 林卓, ninth generation of the clan, had moved from the office of *bongsundaebu* 奉順大夫 to Magistrate of Haenam Prefecture 海南縣.¹¹⁰ Im Tak retired from official life when Goryeo was overthrown by the new regime, and lived out his days in his native Naju.

From the family stronghold of Naju, subsequent generations of the Im clan passed the state examinations to serve the Joseon government, maintaining literati status right up to Im Je's grandfather, Im Bung 林鵬 (1486-1553). Im Bung passed the classics licentiate in 1510, and was a student at the National Academy in the heyday of the famous literati figure and political reformer Jo Gwangjo 趙光祖 (1482-1519). When Jo Gwangjo was imprisoned by King Jungjong 中宗 (r. 1506-1544) Im Bung was among the Academy students who petitioned for his release. Jo was executed in 1519, and his death made him 'a martyr to the cause of ethically pure Confucian government'.¹¹¹

Jo Gwangjo and his supporters are a good example of the use of moralistic imperatives for political advantage, and he was an important figure to an elite group known as the *sarim* 士林. Han Jongwoo has provided an apt characterisation of the *sarim* as a group who were 'simultaneously inside and out of the regime...though they were inside the government, they maintained

¹¹⁰ The magistrates of the *gammu* 監務 system were put in place during Goryeo in the 12th century to control local uprisings: magistrates were dispatched from the capital, and sent to small counties which had not previously been governed by officials from central government. Yi, *A new history of Korea*. 144.

¹¹¹ Patricia Buckley Ebrey, Anne Walthall and James B. Palais, *Pre-modern East Asia to 1800: a cultural, social, and political history* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006). 251.

their power basis in the countryside'.¹¹² Im Bung's participation in defence of Jo Gwangjo is the clearest surviving indication of his political sympathies. He passed an irregular higher civil service examination in 1521, and held the offices of Royal Secretary (*seungji* 承旨) and provincial Military Commander (*byeongsa* 兵使).

Im Bung's second son, Im Bok 林復, was involved in political intrigues that may have caused complications for the rest of the family. Im Bok passed the lower civil service examinations in 1540, the 35th year of the reign of Jungjong, and the higher civil service examinations in a special examination in 1546, during the first year of the reign of King Myeongjong 明宗 (1534-1567, r. 1545-1567). He was appointed to the Office of Diplomatic Correspondence (*seungmunwon* 承文院) as a Second Copyist (*jeongja* 正字), but was exiled to Sakju 朔州 in 1548, implicated in the Yangjae Station Defamation Incident (*yangjaeyeok byeokseo sageon* 良才驛壁書事件).¹¹³ He was officially pardoned in 1551, after the birth of the first son of Myeongjong, the crown prince Yi Bu 李暉 (*sunhoi saeja* 順懷世子). In the following year, he was invited to take the office of Reference Consultant (*baksa* 博士) at the National Academy but instead returned to Naju.¹¹⁴ Kim Kwangsun and Ju Gilsun maintained that Im Bok was a strong influence on Im

¹¹² Han, *Power, place, and state-society relations in Korea: neo-Confucian and geomantic reconstruction of developmental state and democratization*. 181.

¹¹³ This was an extension of the *Eulsa* purge (*Eulsa sahwu* 乙巳士禍) in the second year of the reign of Myeongjong (1547); a continuation of the political tensions between the Greater Yun and Lesser Yun families.

¹¹⁴ A title held at the National Academy (*Seonggyungwan*); it was not high-ranking, but prestigious.

Je, supporting this claim with the similarities in their choices of penname.¹¹⁵ Im Bok features in Im Je's poetry, but their relationship is not discussed in the works of contemporary and later literati – unsurprising, given Im Bok's involvement in political controversy.

Im Je's father was the third son of Im Bung, Im Jin 林晉 (died 1587). Im Jin passed the military official examinations at the age of 21, and served as an Army Commander (*byeongma jeoldosa* 兵馬節度使). His first wife died childless, and his children were all born of his second wife of the Namwon Yun clan 南原尹 (name unknown, 1529-1571). As such, Im Je's mother was the daughter of Yun Gae 尹塏, and granddaughter of Sixth State Councillor (*chwachamchan* 左參贊) Yun Hyoson 尹孝孫 (1431-1503). Before becoming Sixth State Councillor, Yun Hyoson had been Seventh State Councillor (*uchamchan* 右參贊) during the reign of Yeonsangun 燕山君 (r. 1494-1506). He was accused of the treasonous act of upholding the Six Martyrs as worthy ministers in 1498.¹¹⁶ Later, the Six Martyrs were regarded as heroes, and those who defended them were honoured by affiliation, so although the Im clan did not have a close connection with the Yuns, the affiliation may have had some impact on their social standing (and the appearance of the Six Martyrs in one of Im Je's other prose texts, not included in the original version of his collected works).

¹¹⁵ Im Bok went by the penname Maple Crag (*pungam* 楓巖), and Im Je by Maple River (*punggang* 楓江). Kim, "Baekho Im Je ui saengae wa munhaksegye." 49-50. Ju, "Im Baekho ui saengae wa soseol." 66.

¹¹⁶ The Six Martyred Ministers (*sayuksin* 死六臣) were killed when they attempted to restore Danjong 端宗 (1441-1457, r. 1452-1455) to the throne after a coup by his uncle, Sejo 世祖 (1417-1468, r. 1455-1468). Wagner, *The literati purges: political conflict in early Yi Korea*. 43.

Im Je was born in 1549. He was the first of Im Jin's four sons, followed by Seon 愼, Jun 恂, and Hwan 權, born in 1552, 1553, and 1561.¹¹⁷ He received military training from his father,¹¹⁸ and in the foreword to his prose poem 'Horse of Will' (*Uimabu* 意馬賦) claims that although he 'lost his way in his studies', by twenty years of age he regretted his penchant for wine and sing-song girls, and wished to turn his mind to greater things. Though a noble sentiment, this claim should be taken with a grain of salt, since such assertions were a common feature of prefaces, in which the writer was expected to describe the state of mind that inspired his composition. Im Je went to Mt Songri to study under the tutelage of Seong Un. Early in life, Seong Un had been close to literati such as Jo Sik (1501-1572). He lost his brother, Seong U 成遇, in the literati purge of 1545 (*Eulsa Sahwa* 乙巳士禍). Seong Un is said to have retired from public life after that, disillusioned, to live in 'seclusion' at Boeun 報恩, near Mt Songri, in northern Chungcheong province. As with many such 'recluses', although Seong Un moved to a rural area, he certainly did not live in isolation.¹¹⁹ Though no longer a government official, he remained an active participant in literary culture and continued close friendships with *sarim* literati such as Jo Sik. He also passed on his legacy by becoming the teacher of Im Je and others.¹²⁰ Like Yi Hwang and Jo Sik, Seong Un identified himself as an 'unemployed official', devoted to self-

¹¹⁷ Mun Seon-gyu, "Im Je ui gagye wa saengpyeong," *Hanguk eoneo munhak* 22 (1983). 113.

¹¹⁸ Kim, "Baekho Im Je ui saengae wa munhaksegye." 51.

¹¹⁹ Sin Byeongju, "Daegok seong un ui hakpung gwa cheose " *Nammyeonghak* 7 (1999). 363.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* 363.

cultivation rather than official life.¹²¹ There can be no doubt that Im Je came into direct contact with this particular formulation of literati identity and ideals as his student.

The matter of retreating from public life was a complex blend of idealism and pragmatism. By the sixteenth century, it already had heavy ideological connotations, practical benefits, and a longstanding lineage of commentary and evaluation in relation to propriety. A contemporary example can be found in a discussion between Yi Hwang and Yi I, referring to historical instances of refusing office.¹²² Holding or refusing political office was a major concern of many literati during the sixteenth century, since each individual was forced to navigate a convoluted political situation in a way that best suited their particular circumstances. At this time, in the wake of violent court purges, occupying political office had the real possibility of becoming life-threatening for the literati. 'Retiring' and living outside of the capital was the best way of protecting the interests of themselves and their families. Conveniently, it could be justified on ideological grounds, using self-cultivation rhetoric.

In this sense, 'retirement' or 'seclusion' was an important lifestyle for the literati, but to an extent it was an affectation: a kind of elitist posturing with the potential for personal and practical benefits, particularly for those who used it to build up regional strongholds. Im Je's situation was slightly different, since

¹²¹ The depth of their relationship is explored through Seong Un's dedication to Jo Sik in Kang Jeong Hwa, "Daegok Seong Un ui Nammyeong seonsaeng myogal e daehan sogo," *Nammyeonghak yeongu* 45. Journal Article (2015).

¹²² Kim, "The Theory and Practice of Sage Politics: The Political Philosophies and Neo-Confucian Bases of Yi Hwang and Yi I." 258-262.

he was young and not *retiring*. Rather, Im Je lived in seclusion specifically for the purpose of education, which demonstrated his commitment to self-cultivation. This choice was not, therefore, necessarily one of defiance, political dissent, or idealism. More likely, it was a response to the prescriptive expectations of contemporary literary culture. Moreover, Im Je's time in seclusion coincides with the years following the death of his mother, during which time, according to Confucian practices, he would have been ineligible for public office.

Im Je first went to Mt Songri at around twenty years of age, in 1569. According to the *Collected Works of Jaeho* (*Jaeho jip* 霽湖集) by Yang Gyeong-u 梁慶遇 (born 1568), Seong Un was already aware of Im Je, whose poetic compositions had gained him a reputation as a literary talent.¹²³ According to the *Topical Discourses of Jibong* (*Jibong yuseol* 芝峯類說), during his time at Mt Songri Im Je read the *Doctrine of the Mean* eight hundred times.¹²⁴ The *Doctrine of the Mean* was perhaps the most highly esteemed of the *Four Books* at this time. This anecdote has become popular evidence to support the notion that Im tried to transition from a hedonistic youth to more intellectual pursuits.

In *Topical Discourses of Jibong*, Yi constructed a parallel in which he associated Im Je with the *Doctrine of the Mean*, and another literatus, No Susin 盧守愼, (1515-1590, penname Sojae 蘇齋), with the *Analects*. This description of Im's affinity for the *Doctrine of the Mean* is supported by a quotation from Im's

¹²³ *Jaeho jip*. 9.

¹²⁴ Yi Sugwang, *Jibong yuseol* (1614). 8.

poetry: 'The Way is not far away from men; it is men who are far from the Way. The mountain does not separate me from the ordinary world; it is the ordinary world that separates me from the mountain.' In the same passage, Yi provides a final assessment of Im Je as a representative of Honam region literati, a characterisation that has endured to the present day.¹²⁵

According to Mun Seon-gyu's detailed biography of Im's life, in 1571 Im Je left Seong Un and Mt Songri to mourn his mother. In 1573, he forged a relationship with Bak Gyehyeon 朴啓賢 (1524-1580), a military official and friend of his father,¹²⁶ and in 1575 he fought under Bak Gyehyeon's command against Wa (Japanese) raiding parties.¹²⁷ Im Je's poetry demonstrates an enduring regard for Bak Gyehyeon,¹²⁸ yet he is not mentioned in connection with Im Je by contemporary or later literati. It is possible that this is because the early sources for Im Je, being literary criticism, were interested in Im Je's compositions rather than his relationships; similarly, it is possible that literary critics would have wished to downplay Im Je's involvement with military affairs, either deeming it irrelevant or damaging to the literati persona they wished to portray.

Im Je's official career began with his success in the lower civil service examinations of 1576. Though examination candidates were generally only required to sit one or the other, Im placed highly in both the literary licentiate

¹²⁵ Ibid. 8; Jang, "Cheongunjeon gwa Suseongji bigyo yeongu."

¹²⁶ Mun, "Im Je ui gagye wa saengpyeong." 117.

¹²⁷ Ibid. 117.

¹²⁸ Im wrote the 5 syllable regulated verse *In Memory of Gwanwon* (*do gwanwon* 悼灌園) in honour of Bak Gyehyeon after his death in 1580. Kim, "Baekho Im Je ui saengae wa munhaksegye." 60.

and classics licentiate examinations that year. He went on to place overall second in a visitation examination supervised by the king for students of the National Academy in 1577.¹²⁹ After these successes, Im Je travelled to Jeju Island, where his father was serving as a prefectural official. Passing the examinations was itself an elaborate ceremony, and legitimate cause for celebration.¹³⁰ Special examinations in particular were highly competitive, so it is unsurprising that Im Je would visit his father to celebrate his success.¹³¹

From then on, Im Je was eligible for political office. He held the post of Section Chief (*jeongrang* 正郎) with the Board of Rites (*yejo* 禮曹), and in 1582 was appointed Military Aide (*byeongma pyeongsa* 兵馬評事) in Pyeongan 平安 for 720 days, before being made small county Magistrate (*hyeongam* 縣監) of Heungyang 興陽. Then, in 1585 or 1586, he returned to the capital to hold the offices of *jijegyo* 知製教 and *sachogwan* 史草官 in the Veritable Record Office (*saguk* 史局 or *sillokcheong* 實錄廳).¹³²

In *The Collected Works of Jaeho*, there is an interesting anecdote about an interaction between Im Je and his older contemporary, Seong Hon 成渾 (1535-1598). Aside from being an active participant in the Four-Seven debate, Seong Hon was a close friend of Yi I and a son of Seong Un's cousin, Seong Suchim 成守琛. The anecdote reads as follows:

¹²⁹ Mun, "Im Je ui gage wa saengpyeong." 118.

¹³⁰ Ch'oe, *The civil examinations and the social structure in early Yi dynasty Korea: 1392-1600*. 68.

¹³¹ *Ibid.* 111.

¹³² Mun, "Im Je ui gage wa saengpyeong." 123.

In the Gyemi 癸未 and Gapsin 甲申 years [1583-84], Master Seong Ugye [Seong Hon] was evaluating candidates for the Boards of War and Personnel. He hated to see the talent with which Im was endowed go to waste. He wished to recommend him to office. They met and, when they conversed, [Seong Hon] asked [Im Je] which clan he was from. Again and again, he said: 'Surely, you must be descended from successive generations of a resplendent and powerful group.' The reply came: 'For some generations, we disgracefully obtained wealth and fame, and so people have considered us to be a noble family. In reality, we rose from humble origins, and have not been established in the world for very long.' Ugye was greatly impressed and sighed with admiration, saying that Im Je was a symbol of uprooting vulgar energies. In the future, he wanted to install him to purify the officials. Therewith, he noted him in the *Hongmunrok* [the recommendation file of the Office of Special Advisors (*Hongmungwan* 弘文館)]. But after a while [Im Je] fell ill and died. In the poetry he wrote, he had not exhausted his talent. How was it he never became well-known?¹³³

It is difficult to ascertain the historicity of this tale, but its interest lies in its representation of Im Je, since it reads as an attempt to justify his low political and social profile. He is evaluated as a worthy man by Seong Hon, but his

¹³³ Kim Kwangsun provides an oversimplified Korean translation of this, noting only that Ugye asked which family Im was from, and that Im Je replied: 'I am the son of unknown commoners'. Kim, "Baekho Im Je ui saengae wa munhaksegye." 57.

talents – as Seong Hon fears – go unrecognised, since he dies before he can bring his morality and worth to a suitable official position.

The memorial to Im Je by his grandson, Heo Mok 許穆 (1595-1682), is similar in tone.¹³⁴ Heo Mok himself became a prominent political and literary figure: at the height of his career in the late seventeenth century, he was appointed Prime Minister of the Left (*hwaijeong* 左議政). There was no doubt an element of self-glorification in this act of filial piety. In commemorating his maternal grandfather, Heo's dedication complements the anecdotal sources with an account that illustrates how Im Je's descendants wanted him to be remembered. This included enough family background to fulfil the four-ancestor background check (*sajo* 四祖) required by the *Great Codes for State Administration* to register for the examinations,¹³⁵ and the mention of several well-respected literati purported to have admired Im Je's "unusual spirit". Of these, the best-known to modern scholars is Yi I; the others are Academician Heo Bong 許筭 (1551-1588), an elder brother of Heo Gyun, and Commissioner Yang Saeon 楊士彦 (1517-1584).

This dedication notes that Im Je collaborated in poetic exchanges with Yang Saeon and Heo Bong, as well as with the Grand Master of Ceremonies Cha Cheonro 車天輅 (1556-1615). It claims that Im Je gained renown among his peers as a talented poet during his lifetime, collaborated in literary activities

¹³⁴ One of Im Je's daughters was married to Heo Gyo 許喬. Her son, Heo Mok, wrote funerary dedications to the members of his mother's family. These dedications can be found in his own collected works, available on the *Korean Classics Database*: Heo Mok, *Misu gieon* (1689).

¹³⁵ Ch'oe, *The civil examinations and the social structure in early Yi dynasty Korea: 1392-1600*. 15.

with his contemporaries, and was acknowledged by notable and respected figures such as Yi I. Im Je's attitude to politics is also described: Heo Mok specifically states that Im Je avoided political factionalism, and that he had considerable insight into other men and great prescience. The implication, overall, is similar to that made by Yang Gyeongu: Im Je was not politically unsuccessful because he was unworthy, but because of his worthiness, for example refusing to participate in political factionalism.

Im Je married a daughter (name unknown, lived 1548-1591) of Inspector-General (*daesaheon* 大司憲) Kim Man-gyun 金萬鈞 (died 1549). They had seven children: four sons and three daughters (though as was customary, only the names of his sons are recorded in the family register). His youngest son, Ge 埴, born in 1580 and only 7 years old when Im Je died of illness, was adopted by Im Je's youngest brother, Im Hwan (1561-1608).

It was also Im Hwan who collated Im's collected works after his death. The collection was proofread by Li Hangbok 李恒福 (1556-1618) and published in 1617. The majority of the collected works are poetry: of the four volumes, one is five-character regulated verse, two are seven-character regulated verse, and the fourth is a combination of prose text types: rhapsody (*bu* 賦), memorial (*pyo* 表), report (*jeon* 箋), literary prose (*mun* 文), and *The Citadel*, the lone 'record' (*ji* 誌, also written 志), thereby marking the narrative as part of Im Je's legacy.¹³⁶

¹³⁶ The *Record of Student Won's Dream Adventure* was added later by Im Je's descendant Im Sangwon 林象元.

A discussion of the sources

Im Je was first described by his contemporaries in their texts on literary criticism of Literary Chinese texts, primarily poetry. A number of texts on literary criticism emerged in the early seventeenth century, after poetry itself reached new heights of popularity in the sixteenth century.¹³⁷ Among Im Je's contemporaries, literati such as Heo Gyun, Yi Sugwang, and Yang Gyeong-u included Im in their discourse on poetry, while major literary figure and poetic critic Sin Heum 申欽 (1566-1628) wrote the introduction to Im's collected works at the request of his cousin, Im Bok's son, Im Seo 林僣 (1570-1624). Yi Hangbok 李恒福 (1556-1618), a friend to Im, was the first of two literati asked to write the foreword to Im Je's collected works after his death; Sin Heum was asked to write a second. These records confirm that Im Je was well-known by contemporary literati for his poetry. Whatever their variations of opinion on the relative merits of Tang and Song styles – the major concern of poetic criticism at this time – all provide positive appraisals of Im Je, either in evaluating his poetry or, in Sin's case, by contributing to the collation of his work.

First, Heo Gyun compared Im Je's poetry to that of the Tang masters, a positive evaluation given his preference for the style of the High Tang poets. He wrote that he and his brothers, including Heo Bong, shared this high evaluation of the quality of Im Je's poetry. Heo Gyun was responsible for one of the earliest comments on *The Citadel*, considering it a unique text. Second, in *Topical*

Discourses of Jibong (*Jibong saseol* 芝峯類說), Yi Sugwang wrote that Im Je entered

¹³⁷ Jo, "Poetic criticism in the mid-Joseon period: focusing on arguments about the Tang and Song styles in the early 17th century." 52.

Mt Songri and read the *Doctrine of the Mean* eight hundred times. Like Heo Gyun, Yi Sugwang extends his critique to a brief note on *The Citadel* in his literary criticism (*munpyeong* 文評), complimenting a particularly 'beautiful' (*ga* 佳) passage.¹³⁸ Finally, Yang Gyeong-u gave a positive comparison of Im Je's style to that of the Tang poet Du Mu. . The positive evaluation is actually cited from Yang Gyeong-u's teacher, Yi Dal 李達 (1539-1612). Yang Gyeong-u proceeds to describe Im Je's first encounter with Seong Un, noting that it was due to Im Je's poetic talent that Seong Un already knew of Im and wanted to meet him. The encounter with Seong Hon is also noted here.

In the eighteenth century work, the *Trivial Discourses of Seongho* (*Seongho saseol* 星湖僿說), Yi Ik 李穡 (1681-1763) provided a rather different portrayal of Im Jen. The *Trivial Discourse* was a text in the style of the famous medieval Chinese text, *A New Account of Tales of the World* (*Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語). In this anecdote, Im Je is described as the best kind of humourist: one able to use humour without causing harm or offense to others, a label which the influential Tang literatus Han Yu raised in his own defence when accused of excessive levity in his prose.¹³⁹ The passage additionally hints that Im Je was disillusioned with contemporary politics.¹⁴⁰ However, this anecdote postdates Im Je by a considerable span of time, and he is deliberately portrayed in a similar way to

¹³⁸ 'Im Je wrote *The Record of the Citadel of Sorrows*. In this, he says of separation: "Wishing to flee to the heavens/celestial realm, encountering [the constellation called] the cowherd and the weaving maid and returning. This is beautiful.'

林悌爲愁城志。其言別離曰。欲避之於天上。遇牽牛織女而返。佳矣。

¹³⁹ James R. Hightower, "Han Yü as Humorist," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 44.1 (1984). 9.

¹⁴⁰ Yi Ik, *Seongho saseol* (n.d.). 9.

other refined literary figures of history who had been disenchanted with their circumstances.

All in all, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century sources present Im Je in a sympathetic light, but there is a particular ideology working in the background. Given his literary talent, Im's lack of political ascension needed explanation in the minds of the literati. As early as the start of the seventeenth century, the explanation was the political factionalism during his lifetime, and Im Je was considered a man of talent whose true worth went unrecognised. For the authors of these accounts, his lack of political prominence was an example of the failures of society and politics. This portrayal of Im Je has been consistent throughout the development of Korean literature studies in the twentieth century.

There are good reasons for the stereotype of Im as a frustrated literary talent: in a competitive and hierarchical society, he was of the lower echelon of the elite. His political career was mediocre, and, according to the typical portrayal, he channelled his frustration into literature. Moreover, there was brief but contemporary commentary on *The Citadel*, which is central to modern scholars' portrayal of Im as a literary pioneer. In this sense, *The Citadel* is contextualised as the vehicle for Im Je's dissatisfaction with his context. However, as we have seen, Im Je was active in contemporary literary culture, and acknowledged by contemporary and later critics. I suggest that twentieth century representations, although based on secondary sources, do not consider the literary sensibilities and subjectivity at work in the portrayals of Im Je in those sources.

With closer consideration of available information, and sensitivity to factors influencing secondary sources, it can be seen that Im Je conformed to contemporary prescriptions and expectations as he navigated his particular set of historical circumstances. He followed the institutional frameworks of the 'real world' that shaped the life course of the literati as a group as well as dominant discourse in contemporary literary culture. Overall, from studying in seclusion to pursuing office, Im Je's life followed a conventional trajectory. Similarly, through *The Citadel* Im Je can be seen to explore contextually relevant ideas in a way that demonstrated his intellectualism and literary sophistication to a contemporary audience. However, for critics of later generations, Im Je was a useful example of failure on the part of certain factions of late sixteenth-century Joseon government to elevate a worthy candidate into the bureaucracy. Moreover, as will be shown in the following chapter, his respected literary composition, *The Citadel*, contained satirical and allegorical elements that both confirmed certain literary biases and left the text open to interpretation.

Chapter 2: A textual tapestry: disentangling the threads of *The Citadel*

As early as the Goryeo dynasty, allegorical biographies, or pseudo-biographies, had become the standard format for ‘learned finger exercises’ in which composers could demonstrate literary prowess by showcasing their knowledge of a given topic.¹⁴¹ These narratives would focus on objects and themes closely related to the rarefied lifestyles of the literati, such as alcohol in Im Chun’s *Tale of Sir Malt* (*Gukseon jeon* 麴醇傳) and Yi Gyubo’s *Tale of Master Malt* (*Gukseonsaeng jeon* 麴先生傳); or money, as in Im Chun’s *Tale of Mister Coin* (*Gongbang jeon* 孔方傳). Pseudo-biographies were ‘written to dazzle’ contemporary readers.¹⁴² Modern scholars have noted their limited popularity, and attribute it to their emphasis of esoteric themes.¹⁴³ In this way, they were an inherently elitist type of composition, in which the literary device for constructing the narrative and supporting layers of allegory was allusion, or intertextual referencing. Goryeo and Joseon literati inherited a massive corpus of Literary Chinese texts, which they adopted and adapted to their own settings. This is clearly apparent in the development of narrative prose in Literary Chinese. Following the literary precedent of the Tang and Song dynasties in particular, Goryeo and Joseon literati took historiographical formats as the model for narrative prose more generally. Pseudo-biographies were based on standard biographical conventions, while there was strong precedent for what

¹⁴¹ Peter H. Lee, *A history of Korean literature* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003). 137.

¹⁴² Ibid. 138.

¹⁴³ Kim and Fouser, *Understanding Korean literature*. 151.

might be considered 'fictionalised' history in works such as the well-known *Record of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguozhi* 三國志).

The style and function of *The Citadel* appears to be a variation on pseudo-biography. However, Im Je's vision is more grandiose than a biographical format, which automatically limited the scale of the narrative. Instead, Im Je used the more flexible format of the 'record'. Using the Citadel of Sorrows as his focal point, he was able to connect a range of ideas: the effect of sorrow on self-cultivation; the forms of sorrow throughout history; the relationship of sorrow and the self; and how sorrow might be eliminated. The use of allusion is fundamental to his exploration of these ideas, and although there is no grand moral to the story, the text is evidence for increasing diversity in the literary forms available to explore emotions in early Joseon.

Allusion was an important device in Literary Chinese poetry and prose, and it is an undervalued feature in studies of *The Citadel*. As Dudbridge observed in the preface to his annotated translation of *The Tale of Li Wa*, 'readers of classical Chinese *poetry* take allusion for granted: they develop skills to deal with its richness and subtlety...But prose, and particularly fictional prose, enjoys much less of this attention.'¹⁴⁴ The lack of attention to Im Je's use of allusion affirms this statement, with the result that the modern reader does not recover a sense of the richness and resonance of the text. Yet, as Dudbridge argued,

¹⁴⁴ Glen Dudbridge and Xingjian Bai, *The tale of Li Wa: study and critical edition of a Chinese story from the ninth century* (London: Ithaca Press, 1983). 100. Emphasis added.

There is a sense in which to write at all in classical Chinese is to write allusively. The use of this language was acquired by absorbing a core of standard texts from the Confucian scriptures, the early historical canon and a large surrounding body of other received literature, early and late. Consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, this huge literary legacy made itself felt in any classical style.¹⁴⁵

The Citadel is a perfect candidate for the commentator. Like *The Tale of Li Wa*, it was written by a young literatus whose reading experience can be identified with relative ease thanks to his engagement with the civil examinations. Its allusions, 'even if they carry no special weight in the new context, still bring with them the reflected colouring of the old. To some indefinable extent they work in the prepared reader's mind and add value to meaning'.¹⁴⁶ Returning to the topic in 'A Second Look at *Li Wa zhuan*', some years later, Dudbridge again discussed allusions, this time in relation to translation and the 'risk of over-annotating'.¹⁴⁷ Ultimately, he emphasised that Literary Chinese has a tradition of interpretation via commentary that is almost as old as the literature itself, and therefore encouraged marking allusion for a foreign audience as 'a reading of the story in which depth of literary culture has a full part to play'.¹⁴⁸ This was just as important for the literati of the Joseon dynasty as it was to the literati of

¹⁴⁵ Ibid. 100.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid. 102.

¹⁴⁷ Dudbridge, *Books, tales and vernacular culture: selected papers on China*. 181.

¹⁴⁸ Dudbridge and Bai, *The tale of Li Wa: study and critical edition of a Chinese story from the ninth century*. 102.

Chinese dynasties. Investigating the style and features of *The Citadel* shows a full engagement with literary precedent, and cleverness in demonstrating that knowledge.

As outlined previously, after the creation of 'Celestial Lord novels' in 1980,¹⁴⁹ scholars examined *The Citadel's* internal narrative structure,¹⁵⁰ and offered allegorical and satirical interpretations of the text as a vehicle for Im Je's personal frustrations.¹⁵¹ More recently, working more closely with the content, scholars have begun to examine the themes of the work, such as sorrow, self-cultivation through compliance with the *Doctrine of the Mean*, and Im Je's critical attitude towards history and his assertion of the need for mindfulness in the study of history, or indeed any literary endeavour.¹⁵² Despite a gradual movement towards closer textual analysis, comparative studies remain the dominant type of research, with persistent efforts to classify pseudo-biographies as a genre of the Korean novel, and include *The Citadel* under that umbrella.

But one of the unique features of *The Citadel* is that although there is a connection, it is categorically not a pseudo-biography. Instead, Im Je makes use of the record format to create a literary world on a much larger scale. *The Citadel* is still an intellectual exercise through which Im Je demonstrates his knowledge

¹⁴⁹ *Cheongun soseol*.

¹⁵⁰ Yun, "Suseongji ui samdan ruseong gwa geu uimi."; Kim, "Suseongji ui gujojeok teukseong gwa geu uiui."

¹⁵¹ Gwon Sungeung, "Suseongji-ui allegori wa pungja," *Gojeonmunhak yeongu* 13.0 (1998).

¹⁵² Chun Sung-woon, "Suseongji e natanan sireum ui jeongche," *Eomun yeongu* 54 (2007), Choi, "Suseongji e natanan jungyongjeok segyegwan.", Um, "Yeoksa uisik bujae ui saseo ilkgiwa hoegojeok gamjeong ui sobi e daehan bipan."

of a series of topics and refined literary ability, an important act in a literary culture where breadth and depth of knowledge were among the criteria that decided one's worth. He therefore does not break with the stylistic conventions associated with allegory. In what follows, I have followed Yun Jupil's standard, three-part division of the text to highlight ways in which Im Je's use of allusion contributed to the different tones or moods of each section and sustained the overarching allegory. By conforming to literary standards in this way, Im Je exhibited a high degree of skill in composition and laid claim to his place among the literary elite. In *The Citadel*, he showcased his conceptualisation of sorrow, and his knowledge of associated imagery and historical episodes. This was brought to bear on key concepts of self-cultivation and personal engagement with history and literature. Combined with contextually relevant themes, it was Im Je's proficiency in using techniques like allusion and allegory that made *The Citadel* worthwhile in the eyes of contemporary and later Joseon literati.

The Record of the Citadel of Sorrows – an emphasis on 'record'

Many scholars since Kim Kwangsun have used the category 'Celestial Lord novel' to frame their studies of *The Citadel*. Kim created this 'genre' to describe Joseon dynasty narratives that centre on the Celestial Lord, beginning with the mid-sixteenth-century work by Kim U-ong 金宇顥 (1540-1603), *The Tale of the Celestial Lord* (*Cheongunjeon* 天君傳), and *The Citadel*. The label was then extended to works featuring the Celestial Lord in the following centuries. As the founding texts of this genre, *The Tale of the Celestial Lord*, which closely

follows the format of pseudo-biography, and *The Citadel*, which does not, are often the subject of comparative analyses, so *The Citadel* has been closely associated with the genre of pseudo-biography.¹⁵³

The Citadel is certainly similar to pseudo-biography in that it imitates a historical genre, so comparative studies are useful in exploring content and stylistic features. Some examples are the visible influence of Neo-Confucian discourses on self-cultivation and emotions, and similar uses of allegory and wordplay.¹⁵⁴ However, the term is not without its critics, such as Min Heui Lee, who notes confusion, conflation, and inconsistency in labelling texts that are included in this category. Most problematic for Lee is the interchangeable use of the terms 'pseudo-biography' and 'novel'.¹⁵⁵ For those who interpret *The Citadel* as an offshoot of pseudo-biographies, the answer to this problem was the creation of an additional term, 'pseudo-biographies of the mind and nature' (*simseong gajeon* 心性暇傳),¹⁵⁶ but Lee and others strongly prefer to interpret *The Citadel* as a novel.¹⁵⁷ As a result, the inconsistent or interchangeable use of terms persists.

¹⁵³ Comparative studies include: Jo Gu Ho, "Cheongunjeon gwa Suseongji bigyo yeongu," *Nammyeonghak* 12 (2003), Lee, "Cheongunjeon jangreu gyujeong mit myeongmyeong-e gwanhan je-eon: Guksunjeon mit Suseongji wa ui bigyoreul jungsimeuro.", Jang, "Cheongunjeon gwa Suseongji bigyo yeongu."

¹⁵⁴ For the influence of self-cultivation discourse, see particularly Jang, "Cheongunjeon gwa Suseongji bigyo yeongu."

¹⁵⁵ Lee, "Cheongunjeon jangreu gyujeong mit myeongmyeong-e gwanhan je-eon: Guksunjeon mit Suseongji wa ui bigyoreul jungsimeuro."

¹⁵⁶ Hünggyu Kim, *Understanding Korean literature* (Armonk: Sharpe, 1997). 151.

¹⁵⁷ Lee, "Cheongunjeon jangreu gyujeong mit myeongmyeong-e gwanhan je-eon: Guksunjeon mit Suseongji wa ui bigyoreul jungsimeuro.", Kim, "16-segi huban soseolsa jeonhwan ui jinghu wa Suseongji."

The Citadel is inconvenient for bibliographical purposes. As it borrows from various styles of historiographical prose, perhaps describes itself best, as a 'record'.¹⁵⁸ The Citadel of Sorrows may be a metaphorical place, but overall *The Citadel* is very similar in style to Song dynasty geographical records, or gazetteers. Originally for administrative purposes, during the Song dynasty these records became geographical and historical texts, demonstrating 'the Song intellectual penchant for details, comprehensiveness, and information, and the encyclopedic impulse to gather and present what could be known' about particular locales.¹⁵⁹ By the late Song dynasty, the record had:

...assumed the form of a scholarly historical monograph, with citations of all sorts of sources...read as edifying and informative histories with both moral and administrative import. By the twelfth century most...no longer emphasized geographic and bureaucratic information but human affairs, *with ample references to and detailed information on virtuous behaviour and ethical norms.*¹⁶⁰

On the one hand, Im Je's use of the 'record' as a narrative format distinguishes *The Citadel* from its pseudo-biographical counterparts and other literary works of his time. On the other, according to the poetics of the Literary Chinese tradition, adopting the format of the 'record' was perfectly acceptable.¹⁶¹

Moreover, the format of pseudo-biographies required an evaluative conclusion,

¹⁵⁸ Kang Hye Kyu, "Suseongji ui juje uisik " *Daedong munhwa yeongu* 62 (2008). 249.

¹⁵⁹ On Cho Ng and Q. Edward Wang, *Mirroring the past: the writing and use of history in imperial China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005). 164.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. 165. Emphasis added.

¹⁶¹ Pauline Yu and Hutters, "The Imaginative Universe of Chinese Literature." 3.

but because *The Citadel* was in the format of a record, Im Je technically absolved himself of the need to provide a historian's analysis, or a moral to the story.

After presenting the "facts" of the events in the history of the Citadel of Sorrows, he was able to leave all matters of judgement up to the reader. All in all, the objective of the text was synthesising as many sources on the subject of the Citadel of Sorrows as possible, and Im Je did this very well indeed. There is hardly a passage in the text that does not contain an allusion contributing to the layers of his allegorical world.

The issue of categorising *The Citadel* is yet to be resolved, and a solution is beyond the scope of this project. However, I argue that although they share stylistic features, such as extensive allusion, and although *The Citadel* and *The Tale of the Celestial Lord* share a central character, *The Citadel* is not a pseudo-biography. Nor, as Insob Zong has noted, is it a novel in any modern sense of the word.¹⁶² Rather, by adapting the historiographical format of the 'record', Im incorporated a number of characters from pre-existing pseudo-biographies to create an allegory of a larger scale. As such, he effectively imported several ready-made allegories into a ready-made literary format, to address a range of themes of his own choosing, without the limitations in scale imposed by examining *one* life, as would have been required by biography.

Setting up the allegory: A sage within and a king without

Im Je establishes a tension between a minimum of two layers of meaning from the opening of the text. Joseon literati sought to follow exemplars of history to

¹⁶² Zong, *A guide to Korean literature*. 176.

become a 'sage within, king without' (*naeseong oewang* 内聖外王), a key concept in Neo-Confucian ideology.¹⁶³ This conceptualisation of the self exemplifies the way in which self-cultivation and kingly virtue or good governance were already traditionally conflated. In the first of *The Citadel's* three main narrative stages, the Celestial Lord is a perfect ruler. The hierarchies of Neo-Confucian Virtues, Emotions, and Behaviours are all ordered correctly in his court, and the state is at peace, so that all accept him as their ruler (line 22). In this way, although Im Je did not directly refer to the notion of the 'sage within, king without', it manifested in the form of the Celestial Lord.

The Celestial Lord is himself an allusion. The most commonly cited contemporary usage is *The Tale of the Celestial Lord*, where he is used to describe the interactions between good and bad in the "court" of the mind. However, it is important not to place too much weight on comparison with this text, since the term was in widespread use. From its *locus classicus* in the third-century BC text *Xunzi* 荀子, the Celestial Lord was a long-standing metaphor for the human mind being "enthroned" to rule the body, "governing" the faculties, and controlling responses to sensory input.¹⁶⁴ Another prominent contemporary example is the *Six points* of Yi Hwang, submitted to Seonjo in 1568 to educate the young king about self-cultivation: 'The mind is the heavenly ruler, and the will comes forth from it. If one first makes sincere what comes forth, this sincerity will be sufficient to stop the ten thousand errors. If one rectifies the

¹⁶³ Kim, "The Theory and Practice of Sage Politics: The Political Philosophies and Neo-Confucian Bases of Yi Hwang and Yi I." 265.

¹⁶⁴ Xunzi and John Knoblock, *Xunzi: a translation and study of the complete works* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1988). 3:16.

heavenly ruler, that is, the mind, the whole body will follow its orders and its movements will all have reality'.¹⁶⁵ As shown here, the term was a key concept in contemporary texts, appearing educational texts, such as the explanations of diagrammatic reproductions of Neo-Confucian texts, such as the *Doctrine of the Mean*, as well as in literary prose. The Celestial Lord was an important conceptualisation of the human mind, increasingly emphasised in intellectual discourse as part of more concrete explanations for how to practice self-cultivation. This is itself a major theme throughout *The Citadel's* narrative, as Im Je consistently engages with ideas from the *Doctrine of the Mean*.¹⁶⁶

As well as *Doctrine of the Mean*, Im Je refers consistently to the *Classic of History* in *The Citadel*; discussed in detail by Yun Jupil in relation to the Celestial Lord's reign names.¹⁶⁷ Reign names were 'political slogans that reflected the rhetorical style that the ruler and his ministers wished to project'.¹⁶⁸ The first of these in *The Citadel*, 'Conferring Morality' (*gangchung* 降衷), was a citation from the *Classic of History*:

The great God has conferred [even] on the inferior people a moral sense, compliance with which would show their nature invariably

¹⁶⁵ Toegye cheonseo 6:42a-46b, Yulgok cheonseo 5:13b-15b; 24b-25b; Peter H. Lee and William Theodore De Bary, *Sources of Korean tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).286-292 (partial translation of 6 points: 288-90; Yi I's *Memorial in ten thousand words*: 290-2).

¹⁶⁶ Discussed in detail in Choi, "Suseongji e natanan jungyongjeok segyegwan."

¹⁶⁷ Yun, "Suseongji ui samdan ruseong gwa geu uimi." 52-55.

¹⁶⁸ Jonathan Porter, *Imperial China, 1350-1900* (2016). 48. As Porter notes, a single emperor might change his reign name multiple times to reflect changing circumstances.

right. To make them tranquilly pursue the course which it would indicate is the work of the sovereign.¹⁶⁹

In early Joseon, 'Conferring Morality' was linked to "the sovereign's way" (*huyu* 后猷) and studied in *Collected Commentaries of the Classic of History* (*seogyongjipjeon* 書經集傳) by the Song dynasty literatus Cai Shen 蔡沈 (1167-1230). The second of the Celestial Lord's reign names expanded on the notion of "the sovereign's way" alluded to by the first: 'Returning to the Start' (*bokcho* 復初) referred to a principle of the same name from the *Greater Learning* and the *Analects*.¹⁷⁰

In their allusive properties, Celestial Lord and the reign name 'Conferring Morality' from the *History* are the first steps in building Im Je's allegory. From the outset, there are two possible readings of the Celestial Lord: he may be interpreted literally as a ruler, or figuratively as a personification of the self. Because this narrative takes the form of a historical record, reading the Celestial Lord literally as the ruler of a state is the most natural interpretation. However, given the literary precedent for the Celestial Lord as the seat of human consciousness, the educated reader could easily recognise this symbol of the human mind, and 'Conferring Morality' symbolises a state of perfect virtue, which will then extend to everything over which a sovereign reigns.

To compound this notion, the Celestial Lord is accompanied by allusions to the full complement of Neo-Confucian ideals: the Virtues from the *Mencius*;

¹⁶⁹ *History* 12.1.

¹⁷⁰ Yun, "Suseongji ui samdan ruseong gwa geu uimi." 52-55.

Emotions from the *Doctrine of the Mean*; and Behaviours from the *Analects* (lines 3-8). Again, in the format of a historical record, it is natural to interpret these terms as the courtiers of the Celestial Lord, but they are instantly recognisable as the fundamental components of a person's mental anatomy.

By referencing the two canonical categories of Virtues and Emotions, Im Je describes the Celestial Lord's court, or the anatomy of the human mind, based on the key Neo-Confucian concepts. But after the Celestial Lord is visited by Grief (*ae* 哀), Emotions take on a more prominent role.

As well as being part of the standard education of the literati, in the sixteenth century the Virtues and Emotions inspired a debate about the nature of human feelings. Bongsun Jang observed that, because Im Je based himself on this lexicon and engaged with the Neo-Confucian topic of the 'heart/mind controlling nature and emotions' (*xintong xingqing* 心統性情),¹⁷¹ *The Citadel* could avoid being dismissed as an idle or worthless composition.¹⁷²

Im Je continues to allude to canonical texts to build up a world with two possible interpretations. He describes the Celestial Lord ascending the 'Spirit Tower' (*yeongdae* 靈臺), and describes a perfect world in which 'kites soar' and 'fish dance' (lines 11-15). The Spirit Tower marks several things here: it appears to be a place name, but symbolises the perfect reign of the Zhou dynasty King Wen (*Mun wang* 文王) and was the title of one of the odes in the canonical

¹⁷¹ Zhu Xi borrowed this phrase from Zhang Zai. See Chenyang Li, Franklin Perkins and Robin Wang, *Chinese metaphysics and its problems* (2015). 199.

¹⁷² Jang, "Cheongunjeon gwa Suseongji bigyo yeongu." 10. Jang is referring more broadly to 'Celestial Lord novels', but the point is fundamentally the same.

Classic of Poetry. The reference to the Spirit Tower therefore implies that the protagonist may have taken up the *Classic of Poetry*, to read, and as such the Celestial Lord has ‘ascended’ it. After this, the Celestial Lord is described as though he might surpass even the great sage kings Shun and Yao, since he has no need of the tools that the sage kings used to govern well (lines 17-19).

This is immediately followed by an allusion to a poem by the Song dynasty poet Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 (1045-1105). The Celestial Lord is said to be effortlessly able to ‘tie up a tiger’ (line 20). In the original poem, this is an expression for the difficulty of controlling the mind, and it carries the same meaning in *The Citadel*. The same passage is cited in ‘The study of the mind’ (*simhak* 心學) in the collected works of Yi Sugwang, one of Im Je’s contemporaries and critics: ‘[Huang Tingjian] says that controlling the mind is like tying up a tiger...It seems [he] did not know about the study of the [mind]’.¹⁷³ Aside from critiquing Huang Tingjian, Yi Sugwang’s note serves as a reminder of the emphasis that Joseon literati placed on the study of the mind, and the moral prestige afforded by being conversant on the topic. This intellectual superiority translated into literary prestige. According to the foreword of the *Classic of Poetry*, poetry was the true channel of human emotions.¹⁷⁴ As such, the ability to express emotions reflected the personal qualities of literati: the degree to which one could demonstrate emotion

¹⁷³ *Jibong yuseol*. 5: 黃山谷云守心如縛虎。世多誦之。余謂操存之要。自有其則。何可束縛為哉。山谷似不識心學者。

¹⁷⁴ Ouyang Xiu of the Song dynasty and his successors upheld this view, and moreover that “Human emotions are the same today as they were in antiquity”, similar to a comment by the Celestial Lord in *The Citadel*. See Steven Jay Van Zoeren, *Poetry and personality: reading, exegesis, and hermeneutics in traditional China* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1991). 182.

appropriately through his writing reflected his success in self-cultivation. In volumes of literary criticism in the early seventeenth century published by his contemporaries, the appropriate expression of emotions was a key criterion for criticism.¹⁷⁵ In this way, the literati's ideas about self-cultivation and emotional expression were not simply philosophical concerns, but affected all aspects of personal performance, and exerted a strong influence on literary composition and evaluation.

Because of his emotional equilibrium, from the beginning of the record, the Celestial Lord is described as being in a harmonious state, and therefore *ruling* a harmonious state, consistent with the prescriptions of the Neo-Confucian canon. In the second year, however, a character called the Venerable Master (*juin-ong* 主人翁) visits the Celestial Lord to submit a memorial. The Venerable Master cites the *Classic of Changes*, a text used for divination, to warn the Celestial Lord about several concerns. The first is that small things can cause great calamity (lines 24-38). The second is that it is risky to 'roam through the realm of brush and ink, and the domain of letters and history' (lines 41-42). Finally, the Venerable Master is concerned that the Celestial Lord is too intimate with those he keeps as 'constant companions': Brush Tip, the calligraphy brush, and his three friends representing paper, ink stick, and ink stone (lines 43-44). Brush Tip, and this passage in particular, are an allusion to *The Tale of Brush Tip*, by the Tang dynasty literatus Han Yu. Im Je's use of the allusion carries a similar weight and meaning as in the original text: there is a tension between literal and

¹⁷⁵ Jo, "Poetic criticism in the mid-Joseon period: focusing on arguments about the Tang and Song styles in the early 17th century." 270.

figurative readings, since no one should simply come and go as they please in the presence of the ruler, yet all of the implements of writing (brush, paper, ink stone, ink stick) should appear together.¹⁷⁶

The Venerable Master adds that the Celestial Lord is so permissive that he allows the heroes of past and present to come and go as they please within him: if he does not stop this, there will be 'disorder' (lines 45-46). Literally, this refers to impropriety on the part of the Celestial Lord's subjects, but as Han Yu's *Brush Tip* noted, a ruler should reprimand this type of behaviour.¹⁷⁷ This also describes the Celestial Lord's lack of discipline when engaging with literature: he is too fond of writing, and too interested in history.

When the Venerable Master submits this memorial, the Celestial Lord takes it seriously, yet fails to act on the advice. He cannot control his Will (*ui* 意), and continues to read (lines 53-56). Chun Sung-woon identifies this as mental imbalance which will lead to emotional imbalance, specifically in the form of sorrow. Because the Celestial Lord does not give up literary appreciation and historical retrospection, he is engulfed by resentment (*bun* 憤).¹⁷⁸ Choi Cheon Jip explains this in terms of a correlation with the general worldview expressed in the *Doctrine of the Mean*.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ William H. Nienhauser, "An Allegorical Reading of Han Yu's "Mao-Ying Chuan" (Biography of Fur Point)," *Oriens Extremus* 23.2 (1976). 161.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 161.

¹⁷⁸ Chun, "Suseongji e natanan sireum ui jeongche." 4.

¹⁷⁹ Choi, "Suseongji e natanan jungyongjeok segyegwan." 330-331.

The Venerable Master tries once more to explain (in a 'very logical and detailed' way,¹⁸⁰ by which Chun is referring to the use of foundational Neo-Confucian concepts and cosmology in lines 58-80) that the Celestial Lord is still at risk, and Im Je uses the concept of the Heavenly Mandate to sustain the tone of a historical record (line 80). The Celestial Lord summons his ministers to court and it is at this time that he changes his reign name to *Returning to the Start*. However: 'After the Celestial Lord heard [the memorial], he was despondent' (line 85). Importantly, this is an emotional response to the counsel of his adviser, rather than a result of self-examination.

After becoming despondent, the Celestial Lord does not recalibrate his emotional state, so although he has resolved to mend the error of his ways, at the beginning of autumn he is still visited by autumn's metaphorical accompaniment, the Duke of Grief (line 109). Grief's personification is effective because there was indeed a figure of this name that appears in canonical texts. But Grief is also an Emotion. With two important officials, the Officials of Inspection and Harkening (lines 112-113), Grief submits a memorial that becomes a report on the subject of sorrow – or Grief, manifested. Like the memorial submitted by the Venerable Master, it is another patchwork of allusions, this time to a specific range of poets and poetry (lines 112-142). Most of the allusions are strongly associated with autumn, or with loneliness and loss. This 'autumnal' mood becomes the foundation of Im Je's definition of sorrow. The metaphor ties in with the earlier memorials, in which the Celestial Lord

¹⁸⁰ Chun, "Suseongji e natanan sireum ui jeongche." 5.

was advised to concentrate on becoming one who can 'see things in that which lacks form and hear things in that which lacks sound' (lines 48-49). Yet in this latest memorial, the Officials of Inspection and Harkening only report on the things they have seen and heard – and the memorial was supervised by Grief. In Chun's reading, the connection between autumn and sorrow is established to communicate that the potential causes of sorrow are not only internal: sorrow may also be caused by external events, which even the Celestial Lord's advisers do not understand (lines 143-149).¹⁸¹

The Celestial Lord is described as 'becoming morose' in response to this memorial. He is seen to lose the Boundless Master, who had symbolised his newfound commitment to studying the principles of Neo-Confucianism (lines 150-151). He orders his Horse of Will to be bridled, intending to imitate King Mu of Zhou (lines 152-154). The Horse of Will tips the tone of the text slightly in favour of a figurative interpretation. The Horse of Will was an important concept in Seon 禪 Buddhism and of particular interest to Im Je, who interpreted it in relation to the *Doctrine of the Mean*.¹⁸² It is not coincidental that the Horse of Will appears in conjunction with King Mu of Zhou: the 'unruly Will' (*uimuryo* 意無聊) and a yoked carriage are associated with wandering to all eight points of the compass (*jupalgeuk* 周八極) in 'Meeting with reproach' (*Feng you* 逢尤) in the *Songs of Chu*. On the other hand, the allusion to emulating King Mu of Zhou pushes the narrative back towards discourse on rulership,

¹⁸¹ Ibid. 6.

¹⁸² Choi, "Suseongji e natanan jungyongjeok segyegwan." 309.

and so back to a literal reading, as a model for kings who wish to prove that they are worthy. King Mu travelled throughout the realm to prove that he had received the Mandate of Heaven and was therefore a worthy ruler. In this passage, the Celestial Lord wishes to do the same, but the allegorical message is that he has fallen into self-doubt once more: taking a revered historical figure as his model, rather than naturally surpassing historical models, as was the case when he accessed the *Poetry*, or 'ascended the Spirit Tower', and surpassed the sage kings.

Shortly afterwards (lines 178-183), Qu Yuan and Song Yu request permission to construct a citadel on the Celestial Lord's 'mind-ground' (*simji* 心地). The Celestial Lord, being benevolent, grants permission – in other words, he does as the Venerable Master has advised him not to, and allows two historical figures an inappropriate degree of intimacy when he should demand their respect.

After this, the effects of his permissiveness are immediately apparent: he recites the *Songs of Chu*, the songs which Qu Yuan wrote to express his sorrow. He is thus portrayed as being "possessed" by the spirit, or perhaps mentality, of Qu Yuan, who should be nothing more to him than a loyal subject. Consequently, he 'no longer tends to other matters' – the things that he *should* be doing.

This is not appropriate behaviour for a ruler, who must be mindful at all times, or there will be negative consequences for him and his kingdom. The Venerable Master has already advised that an 'enlightened ruler' (*myeonggun* 明君) is one able to anticipate the ways in which seemingly minor things can escalate. In terms of self-cultivation, this refers to the belief that a man must be cautious of

what might grow in his 'mind-ground' at all times. The 'mind-ground' was 'the central metaphor relating Buddhism to the cultivation of growing things', ultimately leading to enlightenment.¹⁸³ It appears in the poetry of Jiaoran (in his 'Sending off Monk Weiliang on his Return to Dongting Lake', for example) and was closely associated with the development of Seon Buddhism.¹⁸⁴ This is not the only term that Im Je uses that has Buddhist resonance: there is also the Horse of Will (*uima* 意馬), in this same section, and the concept of 'original mind' (*bonsim* 本心) in section 3.

The Horse of Will was a subject in which Im Je showed considerable interest, composing a prose poem of the same name. Glen Dudbridge discussed some uses of the Horse of Will metaphor in his coverage of allegorical devices in the *Journey to the West*.¹⁸⁵ The concept is usually associated with the Monkey of the Mind, as in the proverb 'the will is a horse and the mind is a monkey', both difficult to control (*uima simwon* 意馬心猿). Im Je uses the Horse metaphor independently of its counterpart. Overall, in this opening section Im Je engages with the contemporary discourse on the human mind. He insists on self-cultivation as the highest priority of the individual, takes emotional equilibrium as the ideal mental state, and by introducing sorrow as a manifestation of Emotion approaches the question of how to recalibrate if one should lose one's way.

¹⁸³ Charles Egan and Charles Chu, *Clouds thick, whereabouts unknown: poems by Zen monks of China*, 2010, Columbia University Press. 182.

¹⁸⁴ Bernard Faure, *Chan insights and oversights: an epistemological critique of the Chan tradition* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993). 185.

¹⁸⁵ Glen Dudbridge, *The Hsi-yu chi; a study of antecedents to the sixteenth-century Chinese novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970). 167-176.

Paolo Santangelo writes that the character and concept of sorrow includes aspects of ‘the “unsatisfactory affects (sadness-regret-shame) complex”, the “negative projections (fear-fright-suspicion-worry) complex”, as well as the “positive expectations and interactions (love-desire-hope) complex” for its strong “worry-like” and “love-like” cognitive characters’.¹⁸⁶ He argues that because the term implies the loss of something *good*, it signifies a bittersweet emotion, more consistent with the English term sorrow than with other possible translations, such as grief.¹⁸⁷ As a part of the ‘family’ of terms describing negative emotions, the concept of sorrow had long held great poetic importance. It came to prominence in the *Songs of Chu*, a compilation of poetry attributed to the tragic figure of Qu Yuan. Qu Yuan was positively evaluated by the great historian Sima Qian,¹⁸⁸ but negatively evaluated by Ban Gu, who wrote that he ‘suffered from sorrow in his spirit and bitterness in his thought’ (愁神苦思), became isolated, and eventually – abhorrently, according to Ban Gu – committed suicide.¹⁸⁹ Sorrow plays a key role in ‘Crossing the River’, in which Qu Yuan, being exiled by the King of Chu, turns away from the world. It was also the term used most often to express negative mood by the Tang poet Du

¹⁸⁶ Paolo Santangelo, *Sentimental education in Chinese history: an interdisciplinary textual research on Ming and Qing sources* (Boston; Leiden; Brill, 2003). 212.

¹⁸⁷ Zong translated the title as *The Diary of Sorrowful Castle* (Zong, *A guide to Korean literature*. 175.) Peter H. Lee translated it as ‘Story of Grievance Castle’ (Lee, *Korean literature: topics and themes*. 68). Kim Donguk translated it as *Record of Grief* (Kim and Hurvitz, *History of Korean literature*. 168).

¹⁸⁸ Laurence A. Schneider, *A madman of Ch’u: the Chinese myth of loyalty and dissent* (Berkeley: University Of California Press, 1980). 19-37.

¹⁸⁹ Timothy Wai Keung Chan, *Considering the end: mortality in early medieval Chinese poetic representation* (Boston: Brill, 2012). 26-27.

Mu,¹⁹⁰ whose style Im Je studied.¹⁹¹ This is not the only character that represents sorrow: for lyric reasons, Im Je uses a wide range of terms from the same emotional family. Collectively, these terms illustrate the many different sentiments housed in the Citadel of Sorrows. In addition, it is important to note that this section emphasises the influence of external stimuli on the mind. The Citadel is not an invention or proposal of the Celestial Lord, but conceived of by Qu Yuan and Song Yu.

Im Je's selection of these figures from the *Songs of Chu* as harbingers and symbols of negative emotions is no accident. It closely follows Zhu Xi's evaluation of this poetry as a potentially negative influence on the mind. As noted above, Zhu Xi was one of the great heroes and literary role models of Neo-Confucian thought, and his works occupied a prominent place in Joseon discourse. The *Songs of Chu* were among the many texts that he wrote commentary on, and his evaluation was not exactly positive:

In the old days I used to love the works of Qu [and] Song...But after thinking about it, I realized that though they say much, their content is nothing more than sadness and depression...Chanting these words every day would cause one to change in accordance with them;

¹⁹⁰ Santangelo, *Sentimental education in Chinese history: an interdisciplinary textual research on Ming and Qing sources*. 395.

¹⁹¹ *Jaeho jip*. 9.

would that not cause great harm to the mind? After realizing that, I abandoned them and dared not contemplate them again.¹⁹²

Given the pre-eminence of Zhu Xi's works in Joseon literary culture, it is likely that Im Je encountered the *Songs of Chu* and read them through the filter of Zhu Xi's commentary. Additionally, there is a strong parallel between the overall content of *The Citadel's* narrative and the above passage from Zhu Xi. Coming into contact with Qu Yuan and Song Yu and chanting the *Songs of Chu* is a key point in Im Je's narrative, harming the mind by facilitating emotional imbalance.

The "Citadel" of Sorrows: reviewing history, in emotional terms

After the Citadel of Sorrows is constructed, the Celestial Lord commands Brush Tip to make a record of it (line 225). Brush Tip's name is changed to Master of Tube City to mark the fact that he is enfeoffed, and formally employed in the Celestial Lord's service. This is in line with Brush Tip's biography, in which his role as Master of Tube City is to record all of the knowledge in the world. Brush Tip's background is carried over from his biography, in which he was both loyal minister and calligraphy brush.¹⁹³ In the source text, he was a sincere and devoted servant of the First Emperor of Qin, with an extensive knowledge of all

¹⁹² Gopal Sukhu and Yuan Qu, *The shaman and the heresiarch: a new interpretation of the Li sao* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012). 17, citing *Da Lu bogong* in Yi Chonglian, *Zhongguo Chuci xueshi* (Changsha Shi: Hunan chu ban she, 1991). 311.

¹⁹³ For full translations and treatments of this work, see Nienhauser, "An Allegorical Reading of Han Yu's "Mao-Ying Chuan" (Biography of Fur Point).", Elling O. Eide, "Another Go at the Mao Ying chuan," *T'ang Studies* 1990.8-9 (1990), Hightower, "Han Yü as Humorist."

things.¹⁹⁴ Although he is entirely devoted to the service of his lord, eventually Brush Tip's 'head went bald' from the work. This is not simply a man losing his hair as a result of age and stress: when a brush loses its hair, it loses its utility. When the Emperor realises Brush Tip is bald and no longer useful, he discards him. In that scene, Brush Tip protests his fate to the Emperor by saying 'I am one who has "worn out his heart" for you' – an allusion to *Mencius* – and the reader is suddenly given to empathise with the unfortunate plight of a loyal minister.¹⁹⁵ This background becomes significant when, in *The Citadel*, Brush Tip is tasked with recording 'a percentage' of the complaints of the inhabitants of the Citadel of Sorrows. There is a parallel between the fate of the unfortunate Brush Tip, in the *Tale of Brush Tip*, and the majority of the Citadel's inhabitants, whose misfortunes are a result of their efforts to serve their rulers.

Brush Tip's role in *The Citadel* is overall consistent with the events in his 'biography'. His inclusion as a character in *The Citadel* makes it possible for the Celestial Lord to be read as the First Emperor of the Qin dynasty. Brush Tip plays an important role in *The Citadel*, symbolising the dual role of brush/minister as a counterpart to the Celestial Lord (self/ruler). Although Brush Tip begins the story in the direct service of the Celestial Lord, he is ultimately replaced with the third 'protagonist' of the story: General Malt. Reading allegorically, Brush Tip is only a brush. He may be the most important tool of the literati, but regardless of how hard he works, he can only mediate the

¹⁹⁴ Nienhauser, "An Allegorical Reading of Han Yu's "Mao-Ying Chuan" (Biography of Fur Point)." 160.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. 162.

Celestial Lord's relationship with the textual realms. He can, therefore, describe the Citadel of Sorrows in tremendous detail and can even convey literary messages to the Celestial Lord. But after he has completed these acts he is worn out and no longer fit for duty. For the task of actually engaging the Citadel, the Venerable Master recommends the services of the General Malt.

The Citadel of Sorrows is both a place name and a figurative expression for a negative emotional state. In the narrative, Im Je's description of the Citadel as a place is consistent with historiographical convention. He outlines the events that lead to its construction and describes the place itself in detail. In a literal reading, the figures from history in this section of the text are portrayed as the inhabitants of the place. Read figuratively, the Citadel of Sorrows becomes a structural metaphor for sorrow experienced by the Celestial Lord, who, influenced by a mood drawn from poetry, an external force, turns his attention to history books. The term itself is another allusion: the Citadel of Sorrows appeared in several Song dynasty poetry and prose texts. It is possible that one of these was Im Je's source, but more likely that he borrowed it from the Goryeo dynasty pseudo-biography by Yi Gyubo, *The Tale of Sir Malt*, from which he draws for his final central character, General Malt.¹⁹⁶ The Citadel is only mentioned in passing in *Sir Malt*: there too it is a pun, used as though it is an actual place name, site of one of the career successes of Malt. Im Je may have extracted his premise from this work.

The construction of the Citadel is described as follows:

¹⁹⁶ The Citadel of Sorrows is mentioned in passing in the *Tale of Sir Malt* by Yi Gyubo.

In autumn, in the ninth month, the lord personally drew near the sea to observe the construction of the citadel. All he could see was ten thousand threads of vapours of injustice and a thousand layers of clouds of sorrow. He saw loyal ministers and righteous scholars of the past, through to men who were innocent but met with misfortune; having come to ruin, in dribs and drabs, these men went back and forth within. (Lines 196-201)

Im Je clarifies that the Citadel is immaterial, made not of clay and stone, but of clouds of sorrow and vapours. He also describes it as neither big nor small; an allusion to a passage in *Mencius* that addresses the problematic nature of perception. In *Mencius*, a ruler is troubled that his subjects consider his royal park large, though it is technically smaller than those of other rulers. He voices his concerns to Mencius, who explains that the people consider his park large because they are not allowed to share in it, while a larger park ends up being regarded as small if it is shared with the ruler's subjects. As Bloom and Ivanhoe have noted, this idea, featured in major Confucian texts, such as *Mencius* and *Xunzi*, was that a ruler's ability to share his space and resources appropriately was correlated with the success of his reign.¹⁹⁷ Im Je draws on the notion of perception and relative size here to illustrate the Celestial Lord's inability to fathom or control the Citadel of Sorrows, but maintains the theme of imperial propriety through the allusion.

¹⁹⁷ P. J. Ivanhoe, Irene Bloom and Mencius, *Mencius* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009). 2.

Throughout this passage, immaterial things are contrasted with allusions to believable, material things. The Citadel is built in the space between Mount Tai, an important site of imperial ritual, and Mount Emei, which was associated with ley lines: the 'veins' of the earth, or conduits of material force (*gi* 氣), both key features of the Chinese landscape. The actual geographical space between Mounts Tai and Emei encompassed the vast majority of the empire, a description carefully and cleverly articulated, since Im Je will avail himself of the full span of imperial history in the passages to come.

The description of the Citadel's interior, on the other hand, is similar to the prose explanations that frequently accompanied diagrams: diagrams being a particularly popular method of exploring and explaining complex concepts in the sixteenth century. Some prominent examples have already been discussed, such as Yi Hwang's *Six points*, which conceptualised the process of self-cultivation, and Jo Sik's *Diagram of the Dwelling of the Spiritual and Enlightened One* (*sinmyeongsado* 神明舍圖), which depicted the human interior. Through Kim U-ong's *Tale of the Celestial Lord*, based on the *Diagram of the Dwelling of the Spiritual and Enlightened One*, it is clear that there was at least one contemporary instance in which a diagram inspired a more detailed elaboration in prose.¹⁹⁸ Im Je was familiar with this diagram: he referred to it in his poem 'Horse of Will', which is a very structural description of four types of wilfulness. Again, Im Je was clearly engaged in and influenced by the prominent discourses of his

¹⁹⁸ Jang, "Cheongunjeon gwa Suseongji bigyo yeongu." 25-6.

context, and seems to have had an interest in diagrammatic explanations of self-cultivation, the human mind, and emotions, as in his description of the Citadel.

For his own conceptualisation of sorrow, Im Je devised four categories, depicted as the gates of the Citadel of Sorrows: the Gates of Loyalty and Righteousness; Bravery and Heroism; Innocence; and Separation. These gates can be surveyed from the centre of the Citadel, atop a structure called the Pavilion of Mourning the Past. The Celestial Lord ascends this platform, and Im Je's exploration of sorrow turns to historical figures. The full complement of his allusions is shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Historical Figures of the Four Gates of *The Citadel of Sorrows*

Gate	Historical figure	Dynasty/dates
Loyalty and	Guan Longfeng 關龍逢	Xia dynasty
Righteousness	Bi Gan 比干	Shang dynasty
	Ji Xin 紀信	Died 204 B.C.E
	Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮	181-234 C.E
	Yong Chi 雍齒	2 nd century B.C.E
	Cao Pi 曹丕	187-226 C.E
	Fan Zeng 范增	277-204 B.C.E
	Guan Yu 關羽	Died 220 C.E
	Liu Kun 劉琨	270-318 C.E

	Zu Ti 祖逖	266-321 C.E
	Zhang Xun 張巡	709-757 C.E
	Xu Yuan 許遠	709-757 C.E
	Lei Wanchun 雷萬春	Died 757 C.E
	Nan Jiyun 南霽雲	Died 757 C.E
	Yue Fei 岳飛	1103-41 C.E
	Zong Ze 宗澤	1060-1128 C.E
	Wen Tianxiang 文天祥	1236-1283 C.E
	Lu Xiufu 陸秀夫	1236-1279 C.E
	Scholars of Luan Ban 鸞坡學士	No dates
	Tiger Head General 虎頭將軍	No dates
Heroism and	Wu Zixu 伍子胥	Died 484 B.C.E
Bravery	Jing Qing 荊軻	Died 227 B.C.E
	Xiang Yu 項羽	232-202 B.C.E
	Han Xin 韓信	Died 196 B.C.E
	Sun Ce 孫策	175-200 C.E
	Fu Jian 符堅	337-385 C.E
	Li Mi 李密	582-619 C.E
	Li Keyong 李克用	856-908 C.E
	Li Ling 李陵	Died 74 B.C.E
	Huan Wen 桓溫	312-373 C.E
Innocence	400,000 Zhao soldiers (the Battle of	260 B.C.E

	Changping)	
	300,000 Qin soldiers (the Battle of Xinan)	207 B.C.E
	Li Yiji 酈食其	268-204 B.C.E
	Liu Ju 劉據	128-91 B.C.E
	Yang Yun 楊惲	Died 54 B.C.E
	Fan Pang 范滂	137-169 C.E
	Li Jingye 李敬業	Died 684 C.E
	Luo Binwang 駱賓王	640-684 C.E
	King Jian of Qi 齊王建	Died 221 B.C.E
	Xiang Yu 項羽	232-202 B.C.E
Separation	Emperor Yuan of the Han 漢元帝	75-33 B.C.E
	Princess Zhaojun 王昭君	Born c. 50 B.C.E
	Su Wu 蘇武	140-60 B.C.E
	Ding Lingwei 丁令威	No dates
	Yang Guifei 楊貴妃	719-756 C.E
	Empress Chen 陳皇后	Died c. 110 B.C.E
	Consort Yu 虞美人	Died 202 B.C.E
	Green Pearl 綠珠	3 rd century C.E

As can be seen in Table 1, the middle of the narrative is comprised of an extensive list of historical figures. All Gates except the Gate of Separation are

thematic chronologies of the dynastic histories used in Joseon education. The descriptions of the third gate, the Gate of Innocence, and the final gate, the Gate of Separation, are shorter and, particularly at the Gate of Separation, the allusions become more ambiguous: explicit references to historical figures become a string of poetic allusions, without specific names attached (lines 388-411; 416-422; only some, such as Consort Yu and Green Pearl, are still mentioned explicitly (lines 412-415). The references still carry their intertextual weight: the reader is simply expected to recognise the allusions.

In terms of aesthetic, Im Je appears to place considerable emphasis on creating suitable parallels in each of the four subsections. In terms of content, Im Je describes the historical incidents that caused the sorrow of each figure. For the Loyal and Righteous and the Heroic and Brave, sorrow is a direct consequence of their efforts to embody their eponymous virtues (lines 228-275; 276-326). For the Innocents, he bemoans the injustice of their circumstances: 'What guilt did these men have? Ah! It is beyond tragic! If a scholar or man of quality spent his whole life simply fulfilling his duty and no more, then what regret should he feel when he dies?' (lines 356-358). Finally, there are those whose sorrow is caused by separation from a beloved, applying equally to separations of rulers and ministers (Zilu), friends (clouds and trees), family members (a filial son), and lovers (Yang Guifei, Empress Chen, Consort Yu, and Green Pearl) (lines 368-422).

Because Im Je presents a wide range of situations that may cause sorrow, Chun has objected to the tendency among scholars to focus on the tension and

contradictions of moral expectation and historical reality as the cause of sorrow. In Chun's view, Im Je regards sorrow more broadly, as an emotional response to a variety of situations in which they might find themselves.¹⁹⁹ Yet, as Um Ki-young has noted, the sheer quantity of historical references in this section means that the importance of history in the text should not be understated.²⁰⁰ To illustrate the nature of sorrow, there is no real need for Im Je to provide such an extensive range of examples: one or two for each Gate would have been sufficient. Yet in each case the list is extremely detailed, and the Gate of Loyalty and Righteousness and the Gate of Heroism and Bravery are particularly well-populated. Furthermore, Im Je reiterates that the lists are not exhaustive several times. At the Gate of Loyalty and Righteousness, he concludes: 'other than these men, there were many from past and present who had disregarded their own lives in order to protect the state, and died for the virtues of righteousness and compassion. It was difficult to record them all' (lines 273-275). At the Gate of Heroism and Bravery, he notes: 'And moreover, the men who could not be evaluated according to success and failure were too many to record in full.' (lines 311-312). At the Gate of Innocence, he writes that 'Master Tube City [Brush Tip]'s mind was in turmoil, and he was unable to write out the list one by one' (lines 366-367). Finally, at the Gate of Separation, he gives up entirely on his task: 'Master Tube City's tears were all dried up, and his head was bald; his distress made it difficult for him to complete the document' (lines 422-424). In

¹⁹⁹ Chun, "Suseongji e natanan sireum ui jeongche." 446.

²⁰⁰ Um, "Yeoksa uisik bujae ui saseo ilkgiwa hoegojeok gamjeong ui sobi e daehan bipan." 273-4.

all cases, Im Je makes the effort to specify that he has not *defined* sorrows; he has only illustrated them.

There are several possible interpretations of Im Je's extensive lists of historical figures in the Citadel of Sorrows. One is dramatic effect. Im Je demonstrates that he perceives sorrow as something experienced throughout all stages of human history. Another interpretation is that, as a student of the classics and the histories himself, Im Je was keen to demonstrate the extent of his knowledge. He appears to offer a comment on a recurring theme that he has noticed in his own readings, leading him to conclude that sorrow begets sorrow. Because of this, the Celestial Lord, who is already in a state of sorrow, is only able to notice others' sorrow. The historical references are all from historical times of unrest and strife, and all of the individuals mentioned came to a tragic end. These are the exemplary men and women of history, recorded for posterity, and yet not one among them was rewarded for their virtuous conduct with happiness.

As Chun has asserted, Im Je does not conceive of sorrow solely as a product of the contradictions between moral expectations, historical ideals, and reality. It does not lie entirely in the domain of men, either: it is a sentiment experienced by both men and women – parted lovers in particular. However, lovers were a common metaphor for the relationship between ruler and state, or ruler and minister. Self-sacrifice for someone or something other than oneself remains a consistent theme. As such, the extensive parade of historical figures, as was typical of the literary culture of the time, provided the models, people, and

events that acted as a lens through which to explore the larger concept of sorrows. This is clearly marked for the reader, who is explicitly told how to respond to these figures and events: the narrative is punctuated by emotive exclamations of how tragic, sad, painful, or pitiful the figure in question is gauged to be (lines 257; 262; 266; 291; 345; 349; 374; 411). Above all, the objective of the lists seems twofold: it demonstrates Im Je's knowledge, and overwhelms the reader with a litany of past woes.

Im Je concludes this section of *The Citadel*, his take on history, with an original poem. In the text, the poem is attributed to 'the man outside the Citadel' (*seongoeilin* 城外一人). Chun suggests that this is intended to be a more intimate and personal description of how sorrow is experienced in human life.²⁰¹ More importantly, appearing as the centrepiece of the text, it is a useful reminder that poetry was the most highly regarded form of composition at this time, and seems to be intended to communicate Im Je's mindset with greater emotional impact than the surrounding prose. Rather than the subtle nuances of the string of historical allusions, the poem weaves together the major threads of the narrative so far.

For a person to be deemed a remarkable man,

Before the age of fifteen, he can comprehend all of the *Secret Strategic Teachings*.

Dust forms on the ancient casket; his sword is left unused,

²⁰¹ Chun, "Suseongji e natanan sireum ui jeongche." 436.

And as far as the eye can see, across the rivers and the passes,
autumnal airs rise high.

In middle age, he enjoys reading the works of Confucius;

All along, that which brought him shame was not that he should
wear a tattered gown.

But the song of the cowherd did not enter the ears of the King of Qi;

The hair above one's temples begins to shine bright, as dusk turns to
dawn. (Lines 435-443)

The poem begins with a definition: how to be a "remarkable man". Its major topic, though, is the dynamic between a ruler and an elderly minister who has never had the chance to use his talents. To demonstrate the depth of sorrow association with this, the protagonist is juxtaposed with the historical figure Ning Qi. Ning Qi sought to be employed by Duke Huan, of the state of Qi, and waited outside of the gates in a place Duke Huan might overhear him singing a song to his oxen. Fortune favoured him: Duke Huan, hearing him sing, knew him to be a man of worth and took him into his service.²⁰² The figure in this poem has not been so fortunate and is growing old without a ruler to serve.

The poem is open to interpretation. Many scholars, such as Chun, interpret the 'man outside the Citadel' to be Im Je himself, and the poem as the story of his life.²⁰³ Gwon Sungeung made a case for the sheathed sword representing Im

²⁰² *Huainanzi* 12; *Chuci*.

²⁰³ Chun, "Suseongji e natanan sireum ui jeongche." 436.

Je's unrecognised abilities.²⁰⁴ Um interprets the poem to mean that the song of the cowherd going unheard is not because the cowherd does not sing, but because the ruler is unwilling to listen: in other words, he interprets the poem as a criticism of the Celestial Lord for being unable to comprehend that history is not simply a record of the things of the past, and Qu Yuan and the other inhabitants of the Citadel of Sorrows are not simply part of historical texts.²⁰⁵ However, the key allusion in this poem, of Ning Qi and Duke Huan, means that there is another possibility. The man outside of the Citadel may represent Ning Qi, waiting for a ruler who will recognise him. This resonates with Qu Yuan's *Songs of Chu*, in which he bemoans the fact that, unlike Ning Qi, he is not valued by his ruler. In any event, the poem deliberately refers to a well-known case of Duke Huan, a ruler who has the discernment and intelligence to recognise the worth of others, and Ning Qi, who, unlike all of the other historical figures Im Je has just mentioned, was actually rewarded for his virtue and intelligence despite his background of poverty and obscurity. By extension, the current situation in the story is what happens when a ruler – the Celestial Lord – is unable to employ the appropriate subject for a given task. This point is developed in the following section of the narrative, in which Mister Coin acts as a go-between for the Celestial Lord to employ General Malt.

The assistance of alcohol: General Malt serves the Celestial Lord

There is a distinct change in the tone of *The Citadel's* third and final section: the quest to find General Malt and the General's military campaign against the

²⁰⁴ Gwon, "Suseongji-ui allegori wa pungja." 332.

²⁰⁵ Um, "Yeoksa uisik bujae ui saseo ilkgiwa hoegojeok gamjeong ui sobi e daehan bipan." 284.

Citadel of Sorrows. This section has attracted considerable attention in Korean research.²⁰⁶ The interest in the 'novel' properties of this section is not unfounded: the narrative flows more easily than in the first two sections and contains a coherent story. However, previous scholars have neglected to explore the calculated use of allusions that transform the tone and implications of the story. In this section, Im Je turns away from the *Four Books*, the *Classics*, and the histories, and begins to draw on informal histories and poetry. The shift from predominantly canonical texts to poetry would have had a significant impact on contemporary readers. Poetry featured in Im Je's narrative in the form of the opening references to the *Songs of Chu*, and citations to describe historical figures, as well as his original composition in the preceding section. But the subject matter of the poetic citations changes at this point. All of Im Je's citations, canonical and poetic, relate to broader discourse on emotions, but by borrowing from poetry on the topic of alcohol, Im Je now advances that poetry itself provided guidance on how to relieve, if not resolve, emotional distress. Along with the consumption of fermented grain, he provides examples of the utility of poetry for emotional recalibration.

The narrative follows Mister Coin and General Malt, both borrowed from the pseudo-biographies of the Goryeo dynasty. As their names indicate, in their original biographies Mister Coin is a metaphor for money, while General Malt is a metaphor for alcohol. In *The Citadel*, the former is a minister or subject of the Celestial Lord.

²⁰⁶ Chun, "Suseongji e natanan sireum ui jeongche." 442-443. Yun, "Suseongji ui samdan ruseong gwa geu uimi." 66.

Im Je's General Malt appears to have been influenced by two separate works, as identified by Kim Kwangsun: *The Tale of Master Malt*, by Im Chun, which offered a negative analysis of Malt, and *The Tale of Sir Malt*, by Yi Gyubo, which offered a positive assessment. General Malt is a hero in *The Citadel*, brought into service at the recommendation of the Venerable Master (lines 458-461), bringing Im Je's use of the character closer in line with Yi Gyubo's evaluation.²⁰⁷

Nonetheless, Im Je acknowledges the General's complicated reputation, noting that he has 'from the start' had his differences with Qu Yuan, but positive relationships with great literati poets (lines 465-469). Im Je's overall message is that moderation is key, such as deliberating when to pour and when not to pour (lines 529-531); or making sure that there are neither drunk and rowdy soldiers, nor those who refuse to drink at all (lines 571-573).

Revisiting the style of the opening section, dialogue between the Celestial Lord and the Venerable Master is resumed. This time, the Venerable Master's memorial is in fact a biographical introduction of the General. Im Je correspondingly increases his use of wordplay, whose courtesy name, a clear indication of his role in the story, is Great Harmony (*taehwa* 太和). The "provinces" placed under General Malt's charge are homophonous with various drinking vessels (line 528; 536-537). The puns are marked by the editor

²⁰⁷ *Cheongun soseol*. 5.

in the original text, which implies that the jokes may have already been slightly obscure or difficult to understand by the early seventeenth century.²⁰⁸

Further contributing to the 'brightening' of tone, as Chun calls it,²⁰⁹ is the employment of a range of allusions, some explicitly describing General Malt's relationships with certain key poets, others to poems that describe men seeking out alcohol to rid themselves of their sorrows. For example, referring explicitly to poets, the Venerable Master says:

From the beginning, there was already a division between him and Qu Yuan. There was a time when he was with the two Ruans [Ji and Xian], Ji [Kang], and Liu [Ling] while they indulged themselves in the Bamboo Grove, and, dressed in white, he called upon Yuanliang in Xunyang. Li Bai was once treated with a golden turtle, for a friendship in the end transcending life and death (lines 465-470).

The historical figures, listed chronologically, are famous literati associated with wine through their poetry on the subject. Ruan Ji and Ruan Xian, Ji Kang, and Liu Ling were four of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove, famous for drinking and writing poetry together. Although historically anachronistic, the Seven Sages had been an important model for the literati since the Goryeo dynasty, and by Im Je's time were an entrenched symbol of a cultivated literary lifestyle above and beyond mundane concerns like contemporary politics and

²⁰⁸ The editor marked the puns by providing the character's intended homophone as subscript. See Appendix.

²⁰⁹ Chun, "Suseongji e natanan sireum ui jeongche." 443.

power struggles.²¹⁰ Tao Qian, whose style name was Yuanliang, is another example of a cultivated recluse. He lived a 'rustic' lifestyle in Xunyang and cultivated the practice of drinking, although his drinking style was more moderate than that of the Seven Sages.²¹¹ Finally, Li Bai was celebrated as perhaps the greatest of Tang dynasty poets. The "golden turtle" refers to an incident in which He Zhizhang was reportedly so amazed by Li Bai's poetic talent that he exchanged his golden turtle (a token of public office) in order to treat him to wine.²¹² By alluding to these figures, Im Je both demonstrates his familiarity with the poets as historical persons, and presents them to the reader as alternative role models to the Citadel's inhabitants.

General Malt is intentionally described in the same way as the famous leader of the Seven Sages, Ruan Ji. In *A New Account of Tales of the World*, Ruan Ji was said to spend much of his time in a wineshop, in the company of the pretty proprietress, and when Mister Coin arrives, it is to see an identical tableau. Ruan Ji was also said to show the whites of his eyes to those who displeased him.²¹³ True to form, General Malt does exactly this when Mister Coin calls on him. Im Je uses allusions to Ruan Ji to tease out General Malt's problematic reputation and to suggest that, like Ruan Ji, the General deserves a measure of respect.

²¹⁰ Yi, *A new history of Korea*. 153.

²¹¹ Charles Yim Tze Kwong, "Making poetry with alcohol: wine consumption in Tao Qian, Li Bai and Su Shi," *Scribes of gastronomy: representations of food and drink in Imperial Chinese literature* (Hong Kong University Press, 2013). 49-50.

²¹² This incident is recorded in Li Bai's poem *In memory of sharing wine with Supervisor He [Zhizhang]* (*Dui jiu yi He jian* 對酒憶賀監); translation by Sam Hamill, in *Tony Barnstone and Ping Chou, The Anchor book of Chinese poetry* (New York: Anchor Books, 2005). 122-3.

²¹³ *Shishuo Xinyu* 24.4, Liu Qun's commentary; Mather, 425.

Allusions to specific poems about alcohol likewise come to the fore in this section of *The Citadel*. General Malt is said to live in a place called Apricot Flower Village, an allusion to a poem by Du Mu (line 458). As one of the Tang masters, popular among sixteenth-century Joseon literati, contemporary readers would have quickly recognised the reference to this short poem:

At the time of the Qingming festival, rain falls like tears;

The traveller's spirit is breaking;

Where can a wineshop be found to drown his sadness?

A cowherd points to Apricot Flower Village in the distance.²¹⁴

Only the final line of the poem actually appears in *The Citadel*: shortly after Apricot Flower Village is mentioned, the cowherd makes an appearance (lines 494-495). Nonetheless, the allusion to Apricot Flower Village would have increased the tension between reality and allegory in the mind of the contemporary reader, who would have known that this poem was on the subject of ridding oneself of sorrow. By the same token, identifying with the weary traveller, the reader could interpret the term as a literal place name, since Du Mu's poem also describes an actual journey.

General Malt's departure from the wineshop in Apricot Flower Village is similarly described with lines from Li Bai's *Invitation to wine* (*Jiang jin jiu* 將進酒) (lines 519-520): another well-known Tang dynasty poem in which wine was used to overcome sorrow.

²¹⁴ Du Mu's poem *Qingming* 清明.

Take my flower-dappled horse,
My thousands worth of furs...

The two lines *not* cited, but called to mind for Im Je's intended readers, are:

Give them to the boy to exchange for good wine,
We'll sweep away the woes of ten thousand years!²¹⁵

Again, Im Je uses allusion to support both levels of his allegory: a literal reading makes more sense in the record format, but the significance of the allusions in their original contexts is such that the reader must integrate the two.

The final example included in this discussion is General Malt's proclamation before he launches his attack on the Citadel of Sorrows (lines 589-609). It offers an example of Im Je's wordplay and intelligent and selective use of allusion to create atmosphere, communicate his message, and above all to impress his reader with his knowledge of canon, history, and poetry. With its prominent placement of a reference to *Zhuangzi* in relation to emotion, it is also a good example of the intellectual syncretism apparent throughout the work. In this passage, Im Je literally describes the military campaign of General Malt, and figuratively describes the best way to confront and overcome sorrow:

'On this day, I, General Superior of Expelling Sorrows, and
Grand Preceptor of Flagon, Bottle, and Urn, issue a
proclamation to the Citadel of Sorrows.

²¹⁵ *Quan Tang shi* 17.169-70.

'In the wayfarer's inn between heaven and earth, we pass by as guests of time. Whether long-lived like Peng or dying young, the living all have the same dream and all mortal lives follow the same track. While living [they feel] sorrow and regret. This does not compare with the happiness of an empty skull; how is it that [the skull] is not [mired in] grief?

'It is only you of the Citadel of Sorrows who have been troubled for a long time. [You have] only sought banished ministers, wistful wives, martyrs, and dejected poets. All too easily, the face you see reflected in the mirror will become one that is withered, and prematurely whitens the hair on your temples. One cannot allow this to continue to spread and become difficult to deal with.

'Now, I have received the order of the Celestial Lord to assemble the troops of Xinfeng. The vanguard will be the strongman of Seoju. The supporting troops will be Clam and Pincer.

'None would fight more fiercely, in wind and cloud formation, than Zhuge [Liang]'s army, and none would be more daring in the present or the past than the Hegemon King Xiang [Yu]. [But ones such as those] are nothing more than child's play [to me]. How would you be able to withstand [me]?

'Moreover, in the marshes of Chu, only one is sober; how could he be enough to get the others to heed him?' (Lines 588-609)

Almost every sentence in this passage features an allusion. The first is to a work by Li Bai, *Preface to a banquet in Peach Blossom Garden* (*Chun ye yan tao li yuan xu* 春夜宴桃李園序), which describes the pleasures of drinking in good company. Um extends this allusion to interpret the entire segment as a metaphor for a banquet.²¹⁶ This is followed by an allusion to a well-known parable from the Daoist text *Zhuangzi*, which Im Je borrows to juxtapose happiness and grief. He then summarises the preceding events of the narrative – which can be interpreted either as a general description of the effects of sorrows on men, or specifically, as the effect of sorrows on the Celestial Lord – and concludes with a barb, directed at Qu Yuan. On one level, General Malt's sharp remark about Qu Yuan makes sense: the reader knows that there is enmity between the two, from ancient times, as in the *Songs of Chu*. However, the sympathies of the reader are tested here. Generally, the martyred minister Qu Yuan should be the more sympathetic character: devoted subjects all sympathise with his plight. Yet here General Malt demonstrates loyalty by acting in the service of the Celestial Lord, to help rid him of the sorrow that has beset him ever since he allowed Qu Yuan into his kingdom/mind.

Once again, Zhu Xi's overall ambivalence towards the *Songs of Chu* is brought to mind. Scholars such as Chun have emphasised that Im Je does not provide a

²¹⁶ Um, "Yeoksa uisik bujae ui saseo ilkgiwa hoegojeok gamjeong ui sobi e daehan bipan." 287-288.

full resolution to the Celestial Lord's attempts to protect himself from Qu Yuan and sorrow. The majority of the Citadel's inhabitants succumb without a fight to General Malt: it is only Qu Yuan who refuses, 'let his hair loose, and departed' (lines 613-615). Um regards this as a deliberate choice by the author to leave the reader with a sense of uncertainty about when sorrow may strike, and to suggest that history is not in the past, but exists alongside the present.²¹⁷ Most recently, Jang regards this event as an indication that Im Je believed alcohol was a partial, not total, solution to achieving a state of harmony.²¹⁸ However, if the text is understood as a reflection on literati identity and the relationship between living men and texts, then Qu Yuan was transported into the human mind via the *Songs of Chu*, and though he may be cast out of the mind of an individual, he lives on in the pages of that work: he cannot be said to have disappeared entirely. But the advice found in the poetry of the Tang masters accorded General Malt an accepted role in literary culture as an assistant in ridding oneself of sorrow. In Im Je's conclusion, the Celestial Lord finds solace in the company of General Malt and the master poets (lines 625-641), asserting the utility of poetry and alcohol in relation to emotional and mental imbalances.

²¹⁷ Ibid. 288.

²¹⁸ Jang, "Cheongunjeon gwa Suseongji bigyo yeongu." 25.

Conclusion

A contextualised reading of *The Citadel* is fundamental to a fuller appreciation of the complexity and contextual significance of the text. Initially, studies of *The Citadel* presented it simply as a conduit for Im Je's emotions, particularly his frustration with socio-political circumstances. Although that may have been part of the author's intent, it is not the whole picture. This study has extended contextualisation of *The Citadel* to the literary culture of the time, since it exerted a powerful influence over individual intellectual and aesthetic concerns, and specific literary styles and conventions. Such influences are clearly apparent in *The Citadel*, making the text an important example of how individual literati might personally navigate the complex ideas and aesthetic and literary expectations of their times. *The Citadel* is a fascinating allegorical investigation of the self, but drew heavily on literary precedent and engaged with contemporary discourse. The themes discussed – human emotions (especially sorrows), the meaning and significance of history in relation to the present, and mental discipline – are explored in relation to the categorically refined and literary pursuits of study, composition, and drinking. In this sense, Im Je's subject matter would have resonated with his peers. Stylistically, too, Im Je was consistent with the literary culture of sixteenth-century Joseon, incorporating allusions to a vast corpus of Literary Chinese texts to link and explore specific ideas. Perhaps most striking is his compliance with Zhu Xi's commentary in describing the interactions of literati and literature, the emotional force of the *Songs of Chu* as a potential force of sorrow, and what that might mean for mental anatomy and the process of self-cultivation.

The use of sorrow as a principal subject of *The Citadel* was consistent with the expectations of contemporary literary culture in three ways. First, it echoed the poetic aesthetic of the literati. Im Je alluded to a wide range of poetry that specifically used this term, as well as a building it over a range of other associated emotions, making it a blanket term for negative experiences. Second, Im Je created a conceptual correlation between sorrow and virtue, exploring the experience of sorrow in paragons of virtue throughout history. Third, Im Je affirmed the notion that sorrow could be overcome with alcohol. To that end, he offered a positive assessment of General Malt, consistent with the evaluation of alcohol by the great poets in the Literary Chinese tradition. In this way, Im Je built on an old and accepted metaphor to engage with contemporary discourse on emotions.

The concept of “antiquity” is broader and more fundamental to the literati ethic and aesthetic than that of sorrow. Im Je’s use of antiquity in *The Citadel* is closely tied to the nature of textuality itself: antiquity, the words of the sages, and the exemplars of history were conveyed via texts. In *The Citadel*, Im Je questions the usefulness of antiquity. He questions the privilege accorded to the past in favour of the present, and suggests that this has ill effects for the mind. His narrative presents a case in which responding to antiquity with an inappropriate mentality – that of sorrowfulness – prevents an appropriate engagement with and understanding of antiquity. In this theme, therefore, Im Je engages the past-present dichotomy and opens up an avenue for discourse on how the literati should study and interact with the past. The narrative is thus

in line with the contemporary expectation that the literati should respect antiquity, but it problematises personal emotional responses to texts and antiquity.

Finally, Im Je uses allusions and allegorical characters from other texts to appeal to and meet the literary expectations of his contemporaries. By the sixteenth century, the Celestial Lord, Brush Tip/Master Tube City, and General Malt were already familiar examples of literary personification. As the main characters of *The Citadel*, each is presented in a way that is consistent with earlier portrayals. The Celestial Lord reigns; Brush Tip serves till he can serve no more; and General Malt defeats the Citadel of Sorrows. For each of these three strands of the narrative, Im Je availed himself of extensive allusions to historical figures and poetry to showcase a wide range of literary knowledge.

On the whole, *The Citadel* is not a 'serious' work, but it is not frivolous, either. Like pseudo-biographies, but on a grander scale, it is a striking example of literary showmanship. Im Je essentially tracks the chronological literary history of sorrow, emerging at the end with Tang dynasty poetry and practices associated with poetic composition as a counterweight. His use of allegory and allusion is a deliberate and sophisticated exhibition of literary proficiency in a culture where such exercises affected one's reputation, and therefore potentially their opportunities. Verging on critique, the dynamic between rulers and ministers emerges as a prominent theme throughout the text. But without further specific information, it is difficult to offer a precise interpretation of the 'real world' significance of the potentially satirical elements of the text.

Although the craftsmanship and wordplay in *The Citadel*, particularly in the final section, give it a playful tone, this should not be interpreted as Im Je's rejection of literary convention. His proficient use of allusion – canonical, historical, and poetic – clearly indicates that he was interested in and influenced by a variety of literary precedents. Moreover, his choice of sorrow as the primary theme of *The Citadel* and his use of a structural metaphor to explore emotional experience indicates an intellectual engagement with contemporary discourse on the nature and significance of emotions. Likewise, in the first and second sections of his narrative, Im Je develops a portrayal of the Celestial Lord as falling into error as a result of his excessive engagement with this emotion. Ultimately, in the third section, he recovers from these mistakes. This arc is closely concerned with self-cultivation discourse. Finally, by following the advice of the Venerable Master and employing the right person (General Malt) for the right job (Expelling Sorrow), Im Je addresses the virtue of the Celestial Lord and the value of General Malt (alcohol). General Malt may not have a flawless reputation, but his skill is in getting rid of sorrow and he should be employed for this task. By having the intelligence to do so, the Celestial Lord exhibits sageliness.

Given their importance in the Literary Chinese tradition, it is crucial for modern scholars to recognise the weight and meaningfulness of these classical tropes and allusions. Kim Hŭnggyu has suggested that Literary Chinese texts like *The Citadel* required such a high level of literacy that it made them impenetrable, and, as a result, they lost popularity. Yet in Joseon literary culture, composition

was itself a fundamental part of self-cultivation. Compositions were therefore a key form of cultural capital. Their value as cultural capital was not decided by the size of the readership, but by readers' evaluation of the work. Modern scholars' interest in the connection between *The Citadel* and modern literature is another perspective entirely. It is imperative to try to understand the original resonance and significance of texts for contemporary literati, since texts may be drastically transformed by reinterpretation at different times. For these reasons, *The Citadel* is an important example of the need for historical sensitivity in working with premodern texts. A study of its features and close reading of the text illustrates the complexity and richness of sixteenth-century Joseon literary culture.

Part Two: *The Record of the Citadel of Sorrows*

- 5 When the Celestial Lord first acceded to the throne,²¹⁹ his reign name was *Conferring Morality*.²²⁰

Humanity, Righteousness, Ritual Propriety, and Wisdom were each fulfilled to their utmost,²²¹ and undertook their duties only with diligence.

Pleasure, Anger, Grief and Joy all converged on the Mean, and when they

- 10 issued forth it was in each case to an appropriate degree.²²²

²¹⁹ The 'Celestial Lord' (*cheongun* 天君) was a standard metaphor for the mind, in the context of a broader philosophical interest in the nature of the mind and personhood in the sixteenth century. However, it can be literally read to mean a ruler, and thus contributes to the appearance of a historical narrative. Its *locus classicus* is in *Xunzi* 17 (Knoblock 3:16): 'The heart/mind that dwells within the central cavity is used to control the five faculties - it is called "the lord provided by nature".' It was a common enough term in the sixteenth century that it was used in Yi Hwang's *Memorandum on Six Points*, an educational text about personhood and learning.

²²⁰ 'Conferring Morality' (*ganchung* 降衷) was a standard allusion to the way in which a virtuous ruler's personal qualities were believed to extend to his subjects. Its *locus classicus* is the *Classic of History* 12.1: 'The emperor conferred a moral sense on the common people.' Zhu Xi incorporated this line in his commentary on *Mencius* 7A 10, to mark a similar distinction between common people and 'distinguished scholars' (*Zhuzi yulei*. 71). He argued that common people depended on the guidance of a wise and virtuous king (specifically, King Wen), while distinguished scholars did not. As a reign name, 'Conferring Morality' implies the king's intention to be a paragon of virtue, which will be extended to his subjects.

²²¹ 'Humanity, Righteousness, Ritual Propriety and Wisdom' (*in eui ye ji* 仁義禮智) were the four parts of the mind (*sim* 心) and inborn nature (*seong* 性). I have translated Rites as 'Ritual Propriety' so that it, like the others, is an abstract noun. The *locus classicus* of these is *Mencius* 2A06:04; tr. D. C. Lau 1.67: 'The heart of compassion is the germ of benevolence; the heart of shame, of dutifulness; the heart of courtesy and modesty, of observance of the rites; the heart of right and wrong, of wisdom.' This passage was emphasised by Zhu Xi in the Song dynasty, and drove the 'Four-Seven Debate' in the sixteenth century of the Joseon. Im Je's contemporaries, such as Yi Hwang (Toegye, 1501-70) and Gi Daeseung (Gobong 1527-72), in 1562, and Yi I (Yulgok, 1536-84) and Seong Hon, a decade later, disputed the relationship between the Four Beginnings (of Virtue, in *Mencius*) and the Seven Emotions (from the *Classic of Rites*: see below). Some of this discourse has survived in letters between the listed literati, but the discussion itself was more widespread. Im Je taps into that contemporary concern here.

Observation, Listening, Word and Deed were entirely systematised by rites, and regulated by the *Four Things That Must Not Be Done*.²²³

At this time, the Celestial Lord folded his arms over his chest [and reposed in the] Spirit Pavilion.²²⁴ All limbs of the state followed his orders.²²⁵

²²² These four, 'Pleasure, Anger, Grief and Joy' (*hui ro ae rak* 喜怒哀樂), are common shorthand for the Seven Emotions, and used to parallel the Four Beginnings. They are from the *Doctrine of the Mean* (Rites 31.1). According to Zhu Xi's commentary, 'Pleasure, Anger, Sorrow and Joy are names for the emotions. When emotions are not yet manifested they are [human] nature, and this state is called the Middle [because it is balanced]. When they are manifested each to an appropriate degree, then the emotions are Right (*jeong* 正). They are without intemperance, so they are called Harmonious...' (*Sishu zhangju jizhu. Zhongyong zhangju* 2). This description of how emotions manifest applies to governance of the self, but is immediately extended to governance of the state. Im Je capitalises on both implications in his historiographical framework.

²²³ This means that the Celestial Lord's (ministers of) human actions are in accord with the 'Four Things That Must Not Be Done' (*samul* 四勿). These were the rules, according to Confucius, for how to attain 'perfect virtue' (*in* 仁). The *locus classicus* is the *Analects* 12.1; D.C. Lau 109: 'Look not at what is contrary to propriety; listen not to what is contrary to propriety; speak not what is contrary to propriety; make no movement which is contrary to propriety.'

²²⁴ The 'Spirit Pavilion' (*yeongdae* 靈臺) serves a dual purpose. Its *locus classicus* is in *Poetry* 242, but it was cited in the *Mencius* 1A02:05; D. C. Lau 1.3: "[King Wen] began by measuring the spirit tower, he measured it and planned it" ...The ancients shared their joy (*rak* 樂) with the people and it was this that enabled them to feel joy.' In *Mencius*, it is literally a building, planned by a wise king, and shared with his people; consequently, there is mutual benefit and shared joy. The corresponding idea, 'that a ruler who does not share his joy with his people cannot remain secure', is common to *Xunzi* and *Mencius* (see Ivanhoe, Bloom and *Mencius*, *Mencius*. 2). For Im Je, too, the Spirit Pavilion is a symbol of the equilibrium between a ruler and his subjects. However, he appears to be availing himself of a double entendre in literary precedent: the Spirit Pavilion is also a metaphor for the core of the mind in *Zhuangzi* 19.12.1, and associated with the two most important Neo-Confucian qualities of sincerity (*seong* 誠) and reverence (*gyeong* 敬) in *Zhuangzi* 23.5.1.

²²⁵ Im Je uses the phrase 'all limbs of the state followed his orders' to illustrate the authority afforded by virtuous rule. This works whether interpreted as statecraft or self-cultivation-speak. It was commonly used in conjunction with the Celestial Lord. Its use by Joseon literati was inspired by Zhu Xi's commentary on *Mencius* 6A15; D. C. Lau 2.23, quoting the *Heart proverbs* (*simjam* 心箴) of Fan Jun 范浚 (1102-1150): 'The cultivated person (*gunja* 君子) preserves sincerity, and remains attentive and reverent. The Celestial Lord is unperturbed, and the body follows its commands.' This appeared in Yi Hwang's *Six Points*: 'The mind is the Celestial Lord, and the will comes forth from it. If one first makes sincere what comes forth, this sincerity will be sufficient to stop the ten thousand errors. If one rectifies the heavenly ruler, that is, the mind,

15 All was in his possession, from the skies where the kites soared to the depths
where the fish danced.²²⁶

All was under his control, from the moonlight shining on the paulownias, to the
breezes blowing through the willows.²²⁷

He did not exert himself playing the five strings of the zither as Shun had done,
20 and what use did he have even for government halls three feet high, such as
those of Yao?²²⁸

Without any sense of desire, he could tie up a tiger.²²⁹ Without any sense of
anger, he could destroy a mountain.

the whole body will follow its orders, and its movements will all have reality' (*Toegye cheonseo* 6:42a-46b; *Sources of Korean Tradition*, 286-288).

²²⁶ The soaring kites and dancing fish represent outward manifestations of the internal virtue and balance of the Celestial Lord, as well as the general magnitude of his virtue. The *locus classicus* is *Poetry* 239, cited in the *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Rites* 31.1) to describe the 'height and depth' of the 'way of exemplary persons', which 'at its furthest limits sheds light upon the entire world.' (Roger T. Ames and David L. Hall, *Focusing the familiar: a translation and philosophical interpretation of the Zhongyong* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001). 93.)

²²⁷ The paulownias in the moonlight and willows in the wind are provided as a parallel to the birds and fish above, but also serve as stock poetic imagery of loneliness and restlessness. Paulownias, related to maples, are deciduous and closely associated with autumn and loneliness. See David R. McCraw, "Along the Wutong Trail: The Paulownia in Chinese Poetry," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (CLEAR)* 10.1/2 (1988). (See especially 89-91.) Willows are associated with 'parting and also a restless state of mind' (James J. Y. Liu, *The art of Chinese poetry* (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1966). 128).

²²⁸ Im Je uses this allusion to Shun 舜 and Yao 堯, two key examples of sage kingship, as a point of comparison for the Celestial Lord's reign. The Celestial Lord is better than even these sage rulers, since he has no need of any material object to assist him as a tool of government. According to the *Classic of Rites* 19.2, Emperor Shun made a zither with five strings and sang 'the songs of the south' (*nampung* 南風): this was his tool to keep the realm in order. Likewise, according to the *Shiji* 87.2553, Emperor Yao's government halls were only three feet off the ground: this modest structure was his tool for governing well, symbolising his humility and frugality as a ruler.

²²⁹ There is a minor character variant in this passage, and punctuation differences: the edition of the *Korean Classics Database* reads '無欲虎而可縛', while Lin Mingde's edition reads '無欲虎焉。可縛無念山...' (*Hanguo hanwen xiaoshuo quanji*. 236). I follow the *Korean Classics* version. The

Who of all the people in the realm would not call him their lord?

25 In the second year of his reign, there was a man, pure of spirit and antiquated in appearance, styling himself the Venerable Master,²³⁰ who presented a memorial to the Celestial Lord:

‘I humbly believe that danger is borne of security, and disorder is an extension of order.²³¹ Thus, unforeseen changes and unexpected disasters are what the

30 enlightened ruler is cautious of.

‘The *Classic of Changes* tells us, “When you tread on frost, hard ice is soon to follow”,²³² for one must guard against even the minutiae, and stop up even the smallest leaks.

allusion to ‘tying up a tiger without effort’ is to Huang Tingjian 黃庭堅 of the Song dynasty (1045-1105, penname Shangu 山谷). Both in the original poem and here, this refers to the difficulty of controlling the mind. The poetry of Huang Tingjian and Su Shi was favoured in the Joseon dynasty, although Tang poetry superceded that of the Song in popularity during Im Je’s lifetime.

²³⁰ The ‘Venerable Master’ (*juinong* 主人翁) was a common honorific term referring to someone who had mastered his mind. Kim Kwangsun reads the term in line with Zhu Xi’s commentary on ‘reverence’, but it was frequently used to refer to someone who was skilled in controlling their mind in by contemporaries such as Yi Hwang, in his *Diagrams*, and the poetry of Seong Un 成運 (1497-1579, penname Daegok 大谷), Jo Sik 曹植 (1501-1572, penname Nammyeong 南冥), and Shin Heum 申欽 (1566-1628, penname Sangchon 象村).

²³¹ This paradoxical description is to emphasise that for the Celestial Lord to diverge even slightly from the Mean will have serious consequences. The allusion is to the chapter ‘On excessive luxury’ (*Fu Chi* 浮侈) of Wang Fu’s 王符 (c.78-163 C.E.) *Comments of a Recluse* (*Qian Fu Lun* 潛夫論), preserved in the *Hou Han shu* and including the passage ‘Chaos is born of change and danger issues from security’. The commentator observes: ‘If one resides in principle but does not cultivate virtue, there will be disorder; and if one maintains peace but is inattentive to detail, there will be danger’. The original text continues ‘Therefore, in nurturing the people, the enlightened ruler worries and concerns himself about them, “teaches and instructs them,” [from *Poetry*] and is careful with minute details and prevents sprouts [of dissension], so as to cut short evil’ (passage preserved in *Hou Han shu* 49.1633, trans. Margaret Pearson, *Wang Fu and the Comments of a recluse* (Tempe, Ariz: Center for Asian Studies, Arizona State University, 1989). 157).

‘That he is able to illuminate that which has not yet happened; this is the great
35 perspective of a wise man. That he can only grapple with what has already
happened; this is the narrow viewpoint of a foolish man. Surely it would be
dangerous to ignore the wise man’s perspective and uphold the inferior man’s
viewpoint!’²³³

‘Now, my lord, you think of yourself that you have achieved orderly rule and
40 peace. Yet you do not understand in the slightest that a sprout a mere inch high
might grow to a thousand feet, or that filling a goblet might surge up to the
heavens’²³⁴.

‘Moreover, with a foundation that is not yet stable, you are quick to go roaming
through the realm of brush and ink,²³⁵ and the domain of letters and history.
45 You keep as your constant companions Ink Stone and Brush Tip – only those
four.’²³⁶ Moreover, ruminating on the heroes of past and present, you allow

²³² Im Je uses this allusion to literally convey a sense of changing seasons and figuratively a sign of a despondent emotional state (*Poetry* 203). This is a reference to the hexagram *kun* 坤 from the *Classic of Changes*: ‘He is treading on hoarfrost; - the strong ice will come by and by’ 履霜堅冰，陰始凝也。

²³³ The ‘danger’ is that the Celestial Lord will not adhere to the practices of the ‘wise man’, equivalent to the ‘superior man’ in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, in adhering to Instruction (the path of duty, which guides them along the way of their inborn natures).

²³⁴ The *locus classicus* of ‘filling a goblet’ (*lan shang* 濫觴) is the *Classic of History*, but here, it is a reference to *Xunzi* (Knoblock 3:254): ‘Where it begins, the [Yellow River] issues from the Min mountains, and its initial flow at the source can barely fill a goblet.’ This quote is attributed to Confucius himself, and warns the individual to be aware of the exponential possibilities of change: the Yellow River is one of the greatest rivers in the Confucian sphere, yet its source is small.

²³⁵ The phrase ‘realms of brush and ink’ (*hanmo chang* 翰墨場) refers to the ‘world of the *Xin Tang shu*’. It first appears in Cao Pi 曹丕’s *Discourse on Writing* (*Lunwen* 論文): ‘Writers of the past live on through brush and ink, and convey their thoughts through writings (*pian* 篇) and documents (*ji* 籍)’ 是以古之作者、寄身于翰墨、見意于篇籍。

²³⁶ Only two of the four writing tools of the literati are explicitly mentioned here, but two would have been sufficient to bring to mind all four: Ink Stone (Tao Hong 陶泓), Brush Tip (Mao Ying

them such intimacy that they may come and go as they please.²³⁷ For types such as these, creating disorder comes easily.

50 'I hope that, if your lordship strives to follow your guileless heart,²³⁸ and governs using harmony and peace, then, because you might be said to see things in that which lacks form and hear things in that which lacks sound,²³⁹ I will most likely avoid censure [if I am showing an attitude of] "you will think on me when you have been toppled"²⁴⁰ or showing an extreme case of being insubordinate yet sincere.'

毛穎), Ink Stick (Chen Xuan), and Paper (Mr Chu). In Han Yu's *Mao Ying* these four personified items are the favoured subjects of the emperor. Nienhauser notes that there is a tension between the allegorical and superficial layers of *Mao Ying* here: on the one hand, turning up as a group of four, three of whom were not summoned, is exceedingly inappropriate; on the other, reading their names literally, it is right that the brush, ink stick, ink stone and paper are always together. (Nienhauser, "An Allegorical Reading of Han Yu's "Mao-Ying Chuan" (Biography of Fur Point)." 161.)

²³⁷ Literally, 'you allow them to come and go through your lungs and intestines'. The 'lungs and intestines' (*feifu* 肺腑) refers to those most intimate with the emperor in historical texts. Here, it is a double entendre: the literal meaning of lungs and intestines fits with the physical body of a person, while the literary meaning of intimacy, or in this case excessive intimacy, fits the second level of meaning of the relationship between the ruler and his subjects.

²³⁸ Im Je reads the 'guileless heart' (*danzhong* 丹衷) consistent with its gloss by Zhu Xi: 'Liu Yong said, the character for *zhong* is a description of the heart(-and-mind), and it is what it is called to be sincere from the bottom of one's heart.' 劉用之曰：「『衷』字是兼心說，如云衷誠，丹衷是也，言天與我以是心也」 (*Zhuzi yulei* 720).

²³⁹ There are several possible allusions for this passage, which identifies a sage: one able to detect and perceive the mysterious and elusive 'Way' (*dao* 道). For example, 'We look for it, and there is no form; we hearken for it, and there is no sound' (*Zhuangzi*, 22.7); '...the superior man does not wait till he sees things, to be cautious, nor till he hears things, to be apprehensive.' (*Doctrine of the Mean*); '[A son should be as if he were] hearing when there is no voice, and seeing when there is nothing there' (*Rites*); 'One who is enlightened can see that which is without form, and one who is intelligent can hear that which has no sound, and [this is what happens] after sincerity [is attained]' (*Han shu* 94.3816).

²⁴⁰ This allusion is used in order for the speaker to show perfunctory deference. This allusion to *Poetry* 141 refers to someone failing to listen to the warnings of another: 'after his fall, he will think of me' (*jeondosayeo* 顛倒思予), in which the speaker is pessimistic but honest in their assessment of another person. Trans. Ha Poong Kim, *Joy and sorrow: Songs of ancient China* (2016). 141.

55 When the Celestial Lord had finished reading the memorial, he had a humble heart, and was receptive [to frank advice]; yet in the end he could not stop his Will from roaming at leisure through [texts written on] bamboo and silk, or singing and chanting about past and present.

The Venerable Master came once again to remonstrate with him.

60 'My feelings for you exceed those of your flesh and blood,²⁴¹ and my righteousness is unchanging through thick and thin. For me to sit by and watch this imperilment and disorder would be truly negligent. To discourse on the present and bemoan the loss of the past is of no assistance to preserving [benevolence and propriety in] one's mind. And of what benefit might grinding
65 a lead and wielding a brush be to cultivating one's nature?²⁴²

'For within the scope of the Four Beginnings, you conduct affairs on the basis of shame and dislike, and uphold arguments based on right and wrong.²⁴³ But on

²⁴¹ Literally, the text says 'my emotions exceed bones and meat' (*golyuk* 骨肉). This is a very physical image but also means 'kindred'. I have translated it as 'flesh and blood', as a more natural equivalent expression in English.

²⁴² These two sentences use Mencian logic to challenge the usefulness of history and the practice of writing in achieving the ultimate Mencian objective of the literati: 'to preserve their heart and nourish their nature' (*chonsim yangseong* 存心養性) (*Mencius* 7A01:01; D. C. Lau 2.26). Zhu Xi's commentary on *Mencius* highlights the correlation between these self-focussed practices and statecraft: 'The scholar Yang says: "The great object of Mencius in his writings is to rectify men's hearts, teaching them to preserve their heart and nourish their nature, and to recover their lost heart. When he discourses of benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and wisdom, he refers to the principles of these in the heart commiserating, feeling shame and dislike, affected with modesty and complaisance, approving and disapproving." When he speaks of the evils springing from perverted speakings, he says – "Growing first in the mind, they prove injurious to government." When he shows how a prince should be served, he says – "Correct what is wrong in his mind. Once rectify the prince, and the kingdom will be settled".' (*Sishu zhangju jizhu. Mencius* 4)

²⁴³ Im Je is affirming the Celestial Lord's proper conduct in two particular departments: a sense of 'shame and dislike' (*su'o* 羞惡) is fundamental to righteousness (*yi* 義), and right and wrong

the outside, when you communicate with the Inspection Official,²⁴⁴ you show strong emotions that overstep the bounds of propriety, and you are haughty
70 and unyielding. This is very far from the means to the way of peacefulness and harmony. Yet it is indeed something that is essential, and should not be marginalised.

‘It is like, for example, the alternations of *yin* and *yang* energies,²⁴⁵ or the wind and rain:²⁴⁶ they are all the vital force of Heaven and Earth.²⁴⁷ If one runs
75 counter to their natural sequence, then there will be upheavals. And *yang* bringing a sense of peacefulness and *yin* a sense of melancholy,²⁴⁸ or to have the winds blow favourably and the rains conform, lies precisely in how one harmonises and regulates things, and no more.²⁴⁹

(*sibi* 是非) to wisdom (*ji* 智) (*Mencius* 6A06:04; D. C. Lau 2.227). So the Celestial Lord is righteous and wise, but not yet conforming to benevolence and ritual propriety.

²⁴⁴ The ‘Inspection Official’ (*gamchalguan* 監察官) was an actual political office in 15th century Joseon; its figurative meaning is the sense of sight. The double entendre intentionally preserves the literal and figurative layers of allegory.

²⁴⁵ These two energies, *yin* and *yang* (*eum* and *yang* in Korean), were the basis of cosmology.

²⁴⁶ This is a reference to the various verifications and timeliness of cosmological features in the *History* 24.26: [The various verifications are] called rain (*u* 雨), sunshine (*yang* 暘), heat (*uk* 燠), cold (*han* 寒), wind (*pung* 風), and [altogether these are] called timeliness. When these five things come ‘in a complete way’, and each in its order, all the plants are rich and luxuriant.’

²⁴⁷ ‘Vital force’ or ‘material force’ (*gi* 氣) was the foundation of all material things, living or not.

²⁴⁸ This is a reference to Zhang Heng’s 張衡 (78-139 C.E.) description of the relationship between Heaven, Earth, and rulers in his ‘Western Metropolis Rhapsody’ (*Xi du fu* 西京賦) in *Wen xuan*: ‘Speaking to Master Where-live, [Sir Based-on-nothing] said: “If a person is in a *yang* season, he feels at ease (*seo* 舒). If he is in a *yin* season, he is miserable (*cham* 慘). This is something bound up with Heaven [and Earth]...Therefore, emperors rely on Heaven and Earth to extend their moral influence’. Xue Zong’s commentary on this rhapsody notes that the *yang* seasons are spring and summer, and the *yin* seasons are autumn and winter. Xiao and Knechtges, *Wen xuan, or, Selections of refined literature* Vol. 1. 180-181.

²⁴⁹ This refers again to the ‘triad’ of Heaven, Earth, and a ruler’s responsibility to complete it: ‘Harmonising and regulating the operations of heaven and earth’ was the responsibility of the Three Dukes—the three highest ranks of the bureaucracy in the service of the king.’ *History* 40.3.

‘I entreat your lordship to think of joining with the Three Great Posts,²⁵⁰ and to
80 think of [the *Mencius*, which says] “the ten thousand things are complete within
me”.²⁵¹ This is how one might attain equilibrium and harmony,²⁵² and form a
triad with heaven and earth.²⁵³ Is this not great? Is this not exquisite?

‘The *Classic of History* says: “Be neither biased nor wicked: The sovereign way is
even and smooth”. I entreat you to “think of this and dwell on this” and to “be
85 neither indolent nor neglectful”.²⁵⁴ That would be truly something most
fortunate.’

²⁵⁰ It was a ruler’s duty – in this case, the duty of the Celestial Lord – to unify the Three Great Posts: Heaven (*cheon* 天), earth (*ji* 地), and the human world (*in* 人). This formulation is derived from *Cantong qi* 參同契, or Zhu Xi’s ‘Investigation of Discrepancies in the *Cantong qi*’, *Zhouyi cantong qi kaoyi* 周易參同契考, dated 1197. Zhu Xi’s commentary to *Mencius*, in which the offices of ears, eyes and heart, responsible for the duties (*jik* 職) of sound, sight, and concentration (*sa* 思), also cites Fan Chun’s 范浚 (1102-1150 C.E.) *To Admonish the Mind* (*simjam* 心箴) to profess that the only thing that can ‘join together Heaven, Earth, and human beings’ is the mind (*Sishu zhangju jizhu*. *Mencius* 161).

²⁵¹ This passage is related to ‘sincerity on self-examination’ (*bangeoniseong* 反身而誠): sincerity being the foremost thing that the Celestial Lord should aspire to. The quotation is of *Mencius*, 7A04:01; D. C. Lau 2.265: ‘All things are already complete within us.’ Im Je makes the allusion in line with Zhu Xi’s commentary: ‘This refers to the foundation of principle (*i* 理). On a large [scale] it refers to the lord and his minister and father and son, and on a small [scale] affairs the details and minutiae of affairs and things; each thing is inherently governed by principle, there is nothing that does not use that within its allotment of nature’ (*Sishu Zhangju Mencius* 180).

²⁵² This allusion to the *Doctrine of the Mean*’s ideal states of equilibrium and harmony reinforces them as ultimate objectives for the Celestial Lord to aspire to, for the sake of self and state: ‘Let the states of equilibrium and harmony exist in perfection, and heaven and earth will be in their right places [and do their proper work], and all things will be nourished’.

²⁵³ ‘Forming a triad with Heaven and Earth’ refers to the Celestial Lord, as a man, completing the triad of the Three Great Posts of Heaven, Earth, and Man. In doing so, he will become a sage-king like Yao or Yu. Man, specifically the king, should be the conduit between Heaven and Earth: ‘There are things like this... They can be round enough to correspond to the compass, Or square enough to fit the T-square. Their greatness forms a Triad with Heaven and Earth And their Power [virtue, *de*] thickened becomes a Yao or Yu’ (Knoblock 197).

²⁵⁴ This is a string of direct allusions to *History* 32.34, signifying once again the ideal of sage kingship that the Celestial Lord should aspire to.

After the Celestial Lord heard this, he was despondent. He led the Venerable Master to sit by the banks of the Half-Acre Pool,²⁵⁵ and issued a proclamation:

‘Come Benevolence, Office of Spring! Come Ritual Propriety, Office of Summer!

90 Come Righteousness, Office of Autumn! Come Wisdom, Office of Winter!²⁵⁶

And come you who occupy the Five Offices,²⁵⁷ and the Seven Principal Officials!²⁵⁸ Listen to my words, all of you.

‘I have received the enlightened Mandate of Heaven, but I have been unable to attend to its requirements. So, in conveying my orders to you, I have long

95 neglected my duties.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁵ The ‘Half-Acre Pool’ (*banmudang* 半畝塘) is a variation on the Half-Acre Pool (*banmubangdang* 半畝方塘) in Zhu Xi’s *ci* poem *Reflections While Reading* (*gwanseo yugam* 觀書有感), where it is a metaphor for the ‘square inch of’ the mind (*chonsim* 寸心). As a geographical term, this pool becomes a part of Im Je’s ‘geography’ of the human mind, while the allusion itself is a strong indication that Im Je was familiar with Zhu Xi’s various works raising the question of how literati engage with literature, which Im Je himself also wished to discuss.

²⁵⁶ In this passage, Im Je is invoking the model of ideal bureaucracy in an ideal state, except that the four most eminent state officials are the Four Beginnings, inherent parts of human nature (*seong* 性).

²⁵⁷ Kim Kwangsun does not offer comment on the Five Officials (*ogwan* 五官). This is a recurring term in the *Rites*, and in one case it does appear as the ‘five senses’, discussed in terms of their relationship to learning (*hak* 學) (*Rites* 18.1): ‘Learning has no particular relation to any of the five senses; but without it they cannot be regulated’ 學無當於五官。五官弗得不治。 Shin and Im note the five ‘senses’ as the ears, eyes, mouth, nose and heart, but do not offer further explanation or a source. Their ‘five senses’ do not match with the Five Offices of the face, in which the eyes are the ‘Inspection Official’ (*gamchalghan* 監察官), ears are the ‘Hearkening Official’ (*chaechongghan* 採聽官), the brow is the ‘insurance officer’ (*bosugwan* 保壽官), the nose is the ‘judgement officer’ (*bannyeongwan* 審辨官), and the mouth is the ‘Promulgation Official’ (*chulnabghan* 出納官). Of these five, moreover, only the Officials of Inspection, Hearkening, and Promulgation appear in *The Citadel*.

²⁵⁸ The ‘Seven Offices’ (*chiljeong* 七政) is a homophone for the ‘Seven Emotions’ (*chiljeong* 七情) (*Cheongun soseol*. 34; Im, Sin, and Im, *Sinp’yon Paekho chonjip*. 435). I have translated this as the Seven Offices rather than the Seven Emotions to preserve Im Je’s effort to present the emotions as part of the Celestial Lord’s government.

²⁵⁹ This echoes *Mencius*, where the offices of ears, eyes and mind are responsible for the duties (*jik* 職) of sound, sight, and concentration. ‘Neglecting the duties of office’ is from *History* 9.1.1.

'It may well be that I've failed to meet ethical standards while considering myself to be right. I have roused my ambitions to lofty and far-reaching objectives and have extended my emotions to a wild and unrestrained degree. But if I were going to leap over the sacrificial wine cask and platters,²⁶⁰ surely
100 there would be criticism of a spike at my girdle?²⁶¹

'Ah! I alone am at fault. It is not attributable to any of you. If you have committed any offence, then responsibility for it lies with me alone. But the principles of Heaven have not yet been destroyed and we are not far off
105 the orderly rule of my first years [in power]. Do not dishonour the burden that I have been given to bear.'

[His subjects] all answered: 'Of course, Your Majesty.'

Thereupon he changed the reign period to *Returning to the Start*.

In the eighth month of the first year, during autumn, the Lord and the
110 Boundless Master²⁶² sat in the Hall of Single-Mindedness.²⁶³

²⁶⁰ Im Je is describing the improper act of moving beyond the confines of one's office when he uses this allusion to *Zhuangzi* 1.2.4: 'Though the cook were not attending to his kitchen, the representative of the dead and the officer of prayer should not jump over their stands and cups to take his place.' This reflects the belief that everyone and everything has a discrete role or function, and should dedicate themselves only to those tasks which fall within their appointment.

²⁶¹ An ornament made of ivory, the 'spike at one's girdle' (*paehyu* 佩觿) was a mark of office and a figurative expression for talent or capability, but in *Poetry* 60 refers instead to arrogance and impropriety. It is used in the latter sense here.

²⁶² The 'boundless master' (*mugeuk'ong* 無極) is an honorific name, similar to the Venerable Master. It appeared in translations of the Buddhist *Lotus Sutra*, but is more likely a reference to

They were engaged in studying what remained of the refined and the subtle,²⁶⁴
when suddenly, from among the Seven Officials, one Sir Grief²⁶⁵ came to
present a memorial.

115 The Inspection Official and the Harkening Official submitted a joint
memorial.²⁶⁶

‘We humbly submit that:

The Jade Palace²⁶⁷ is vast and empty;²⁶⁸

Song scholar Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073 C.E.), to whom it referred on account of the first line of his *Explanation of the Great Ultimate* (*Taijitu shuo* 太極圖說).

²⁶³ The ‘Hall of Single-mindedness’ (*juildang* 主一堂) is a place name. ‘Single-mindedness’ refers to sincere self-cultivation. This continues to support both layers of the allegory, because it is implicit that self-cultivation will manifest in matters of state. ‘Single-mindedness’ (*juyi* 主一) is from Zhu Xi’s commentary on the *Analects* 1.5: ‘The Master said, “To rule a country of a thousand chariots, there must be reverent attention to business, and sincerity; economy in expenditure, and love for men; and the employment of the people at the proper times”.’ Zhu Xi comments: ‘...reverent attention is the name for [the state of being] single-minded and unswerving. If [one gives] reverent attention to matters and is faithful, then the common folk [will also be thus]... [If one is able to] grasp the boundaries of these three things, the governance of a Yao or a Shun could not surpass it.’ 此三言者，若推其極，堯舜之治亦不過此。若常人之言近，則淺近而已矣 (*Sishu Zhangju Confucius* 1.3).

²⁶⁴ The ‘refined and subtle’ (*jeongmi* 精微) is an allusion to the *History* 3.13: ‘The mind of man is in peril; the Way of the mind is only [in attention to] **small**, but by [being] **diligent and uniform one can** sincerely hold fast to the Mean.’ 人心惟危，道心惟微，惟精惟一，允執厥中。

²⁶⁵ Sir Grief (*aegong* 哀公) is an honorific way of referring to the emotion of grief, one of the Seven Emotions, and one of the Four to which they are often abbreviated. This is a poetic way of referring to the onset of negative emotions traditionally associated with autumn. Shin and Im note the further significance of ‘the eight month, being the start of autumn’ (436).

²⁶⁶ What is ‘seen’ and ‘heard’ are of particular interest to Im Je in terms of sage practice. This is consistent with most classical thought, which emphasised the senses of sight and sound (Jane Geaney, *On the epistemology of the senses in early Chinese thought* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002). 50).

²⁶⁷ The Jade Palace (*ok’u* 玉宇) literally refers to an emperor’s palace, decorated with jade (Kim 35), but it is usually used as an alternative term for the sky (Shin and Im, 436).

²⁶⁸ ‘Vast and empty’ (*yo’gwak* 寥廓) echoes the description of the sky in *Chuci* 5.11: ‘In the sheer depths below, the earth was invisible; in the vastness above, the sky could not be seen. When I looked, my startled eyes saw nothing; when I listened, no sound met my amazed ear.’

The golden wind brings an icy chill.²⁶⁹

In the cold grows a well-side paulownia,²⁷⁰

120 And dew drips from the dense groves of bamboo.

When crickets chirp, the grass withers;

When wild geese cry, the clouds turn icy.

There is a sound as leaves fall from the trees;

No favour shown, a fan is cast aside.²⁷¹

125 [Such things] silvered Pan Yue's sideburns, and stirred Song Yu's sorrows,²⁷²

just as:

²⁶⁹ The 'golden wind' (*geumpung* 金風) is a standard symbol for the coming of autumn. It appears in *Miscellaneous Poems* (*jap'si* 雜誌) by Zhang Xie 張協: 'The golden wind ushers in the white season; cinnabar mists herald the time of *yin*.' *Wen xuan* 29:414; translation adapted from Helen Craig McCullough, *Brocade by night: "Kokin wakashu" and the court style in Japanese classical poetry* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985). 42.

²⁷⁰ 'Well-side paulownias' (*jeong'eo* 井梧) were a long-standing poetic trope symbolising loneliness and sadness. See McCraw, "Along the Wutong Trail: The Paulownia in Chinese Poetry."

²⁷¹ With this allusion, Im Je describes the fear of being discarded or cast aside. In the 'Song of Resentment' (*Yuan ge xing* 怨歌行), attributed to Han poetess Ban Jieyu 班婕妤 (fl. 48-6 B.C.E), a white silk fan is a metaphor for a favoured court lady sensing that she will lose favour: 'I always fear autumn's coming, When chilling winds dispel blazing heat. Then [the fan] will be thrown into a box, And his love will be cut off midcourse' (*Wen xuan* 27). Here, the image is to represent the change of season, but the allusion represents the human fears of the passage of time and losing favour.

²⁷² Im Je refers directly to Pan Yue and Song Yu as symbols of an 'autumnal' and melancholy mood. These two poets were famous for their depiction of the melancholy of the autumn season, a mood 'tightly knitted with the sense of failure of the poetic persona, usually a frustrated scholar with whom the poet identifies.' Ping Wang, *The age of courtly writing: Wen xuan compiler Xiao Tong (501-531) and his circle*, 2012, Brill. 114-5. Pan Yue 潘岳 (247-300 C.E.) famously wrote about the silvering of his temples in the preface to his poem 'Rhapsody on Autumn Inspirations' (*Qiu xing fu* 秋興賦), concerned about the passage of time. *Wen xuan*; the complete annotated translation can be found in Xiao and Knechtges, *Wen xuan, or, Selections of*

The sliver of a moon over Changan hastened the sound of pounding
clothes in ten thousand homes,

130 And she who dreamt, alone, of the Jade Pass had one less gown belt [to
wash].²⁷³

‘Or:

In Xunyang, among the maple leaves and reed flowers,

The minister’s blue robes were completely soaked in tears.²⁷⁴

‘Or:

135 On a small skiff among the clusters of chrysanthemums at Mount Wu,

The Minister of Works pulled at his greying hair.²⁷⁵

*refined literature. Vol. 3. 13-20. The second poet, Song Yu 宋玉 (290-223 B.C.E.), supposedly wrote the ‘Nine Debates’ (Jiu bian) after his predecessor Qu Yuan was banished from Chu. The first of these (‘Sad Autumn Lament’ Bei qiu fu 悲秋賦) is ‘the earliest literary piece to significantly “define” autumn’ (Chiu-Mi Lai, "Reinvention of the 'Late Season' Motif in the Wen xuan," *Early Medieval China* 10-11.1 (2004). 132).*

²⁷³ In Tang poetry, fulling-stones were ‘characteristic of autumn...especially so in the case of women lamenting the absence of their husbands on military service. The occasion leads them to think of sending new clothes to their menfolk or to worry about their not having adequate clothing...’ (Daniel Bryant, *The great recreation: Ho Ching-ming (1483-1521) and his world* (Boston; Leiden: Brill, 2008). 267.) One famous example, and the most likely source here, is the lonely woman whose lover is at war at the edges of empire in Li Bai’s *Lonely Autumn Night* (jyachuga 子夜秋歌): ‘A slip of the moon hangs over the capital; Ten thousand washing-mallets are pounding; And the autumn wind is blowing my heart For ever and ever toward the Jade Pass...’ (*Quan Tang shi* 21.264).

²⁷⁴ This is an allusion to Tang poet Bai Juyi’s 白居易 (772-846) *Song of the Pipa Player* (bipahaeng 琵琶行), in which Bai expresses his sorrow at parting with his friends while he occupied the office of Assistant Administrator in Jiujiang: ‘Seeing off my guests one night at the head of the Yang River, the (slowly dying) maple leaves and reed flowers of autumn rustled softly...Tear-soaked, sorrow-laden, all sobbed out at once. And who was weeping the bitterest tears of all? The Deputy Chief of Jiujiang Prefecture, whose blue gown was soaked in tears’ (*Quan Tang shi* 436.4821-2).

'And:

Night rain fell aslant onto a solitary pillow in Long Gate Palace;²⁷⁶

The frost-bright moon shone only for a lone person at Swallow Tower.²⁷⁷

140 'So too,

The fragrance of the Chu orchid has dissipated;²⁷⁸

The leaves of the maples rustle.

The tears of the concubines by the Xiang [River] have dried;

The mottled bamboo sighs and sighs.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁵ This is an illustrative allusion to Tang poet Du Fu, who was also referred to as the 'Minister of Works' (*gongbu* 工部). The references are to two of his poems: being at Mount Wu in a skiff is from *Eight Verses on Autumn Meditations* (*Qiu xing ba shou* 秋興八首) (*Quan Tang shi* 230.2509-10); 'white hairs growing thinner, And barely able now to hold a hairpin' is from *Spring View* (*Chun wang* 春望) (*Quan Tang shi* 224.2404).

²⁷⁶ This allusion is to lines from the Western Han scholar Sima Xiangru's *fu* poem *Lament of the Long Gate* (*jangmunbu* 長門賦), which he composed for the Empress Chen, who lost favour with Emperor Wu and was demoted to Long Gate Palace, the palace of disfavour. She paid Sima Xiangru to compose this lament on her behalf, and it restored her favour with the emperor (Geng Song, *The fragile scholar: power and masculinity in Chinese culture*, 2004, Hong Kong University Press. 59).

²⁷⁷ This allusion is to the sad and lonely protagonist of Bai Juyi's *Swallow Tower* (*yeonjaru* 燕子樓): 'In Swallow Tower, on this frosty moonlit night, As autumn arrives, one grows older alone.' This is one of six 'Swallow Tower' poems that were written in an exchange between Bai and, supposedly, Guan Panpan, who was a lover of Zhang Yin and never remarried after his death, preferring to live alone in Swallow Tower, a small building on the grounds of the Minister's former home. (*Quan Tang shi* 438.4869-70. See also Geoffrey R. Waters, "Bo Juyi and Guan Panpan: The Swallow Tower Poems," *Translation Review* 70.1 (2005). 19.)

²⁷⁸ As well as being natural imagery, the "orchid of Chu" (*cho'ran* 楚蘭) is commonly used to symbolise the martyr Qu Yuan himself: in *Encountering Sorrow* (*Lisao* 離騷) (CCBZ 1-45) most frequently attributed to Qu, the poet 'continuously compares himself to the orchid...in order to convey...his purity, moral integrity, and his concern for his mortality' (Schneider, *A madman of Ch'u: the Chinese myth of loyalty and dissent*. 52).

²⁷⁹ The 'concubines by the Xiang River' (*xiang fei* 湘妃) and 'mottled bamboo' (*banzhu* 斑竹) are very common and connected images in Tang dynasty poetry, derived from the tale of the

145 'With these people, who knows if they were sorrowful because sorrow
responds to things or because things respond to sorrow? They grew sorrowful
without knowing how they came to be sorrowful. So, further to this, how were
they to know how not to be sorrowful? Moreover, who knows if it is seeing that
begets sorrow or hearing that does so? Who really knows the cause of it? We
150 both bring dishonour to our official duties and dare not conceal our failings. We
trouble you now with all due respect.'

When the Celestial Lord had finished reading, he grew morose. The Boundless
Master then departed without so much as a farewell.

The Lord ordered his Horse of Will be bridled.²⁸⁰ [He planned to] travel to all of
155 the eight points of the compass, intending to emulate the precedent of King Mu
of Zhou.²⁸¹

emperor Shun's sudden death. Grieving, his concubines, the goddesses of the Xiang River, stained the bamboo on the banks of the river with their teardrops. Because of this legend, mottled bamboo is called 'Concubines by the Xiang bamboo' (*xiangfeizhu* 湘妃竹) in Chinese.

²⁸⁰ This is the title of a rhapsody by Im Je, and used here to illustrate the unruliness of the human mind. It refers to the four-character proverb 'horse of the will and monkey of the heart' (*uima simwon* 意馬心猿). Zhu Xi's 'Investigation of Discrepancies in the *Cantong qi*' included the passage 'A monkey's mind makes no distinctions; a horse's will [races in] four directions [at once]' (心猿不定、意馬四馳) (see also Kim, 37). The 'Horse of Will' (*uima* 意馬) is another metaphor which allows Im Je to imply both literal and figurative meanings.

²⁸¹ This describes the Celestial Lord trying to leave court. *The Tale of Mu, Son of Heaven* 穆天子傳 relates that, with 'seven worthies' as his companions, King Mu of the Zhou dynasty travelled to visit the 'Queen Mother of the West' (*Xi Wangmu* 西王母) and by doing so aimed to prove that he had received the Mandate of Heaven and was a worthy ruler. This passage also contains echoes to the *Songs of Chu*: 'With heart in a turmoil and joyless mind. Heavily I yoked my car and went forth to wander, to all eight points of the compass, and all the Nine Lands...' in 'Meeting with reproach' 17.1 (Liu and Hawkes, *Chu ci: the songs of the South, an ancient Chinese anthology*. 308, modified).

But his horse was held back by the Venerable Ancient and he received strenuous admonition;²⁸² they stayed by the banks of the Half-Acre Pool. A man of Diaphragm County²⁸³ came and announced:

160 'In recent days, in Chest Ocean, the waves have been roiling,²⁸⁴ and Mounts Tai and Hua have moved into the centre of the ocean.²⁸⁵ When we gazed among the mountains, there were huge numbers of people, thousands and thousands of them. Such changes and anomalies are utterly extraordinary.

'Just as we were sighing and exclaiming, from far away we saw several people
165 came towards us, chanting as they walked.²⁸⁶ As we watched, they gradually drew near, but there were only two people.

²⁸² This is a phrase to describe frank remonstrance by a loyal minister, such as in the biography of Boyi, *Shiji* 61.2123.

²⁸³ Character variant: *ge* is written 隔, 隔, and 膈(縣). It is a reference to *Shishuo Xinyu* 20.9: 'Huan Wen had a superintendent of records who was skilled at discriminating between drinks. Whenever Huan had alcohol he would always have him taste it first. The good he would call the "Administrator of Qing Province" ...the bad he would call 'Inspector General of Pingyuan commandery". This was because in Qing province there was a Qi commandery, and in Pingyuan Commandery there was a Ge prefecture. 膈縣. By the "Administrator" he meant alcohol that went all the way to the navel, and by "Inspector general" he meant alcohol that stayed above the diaphragm.' Kim says the term simply means diaphragm and refers to personification of the lord into a territory (page 37); Shin and Im also say 膈縣 and that it should be interpreted as 胸膈, and is the same as Chest Ocean (*hyunghae* 胸海) (page 438). The joke on a place name is deliberate, so I have chosen a literal translation.

²⁸⁴ 'Chest Ocean' (*hyunghae* 胸海) is treated literally as a physical place in the text, but is considered a metaphor for the emotional self in Korean translations.

²⁸⁵ Mounts Tai and Hua are two among the Five Sacred Peaks (*wuyue* 五嶽). They are sacred to both Buddhist and Daoist traditions.

²⁸⁶ Qu Yuan is known throughout the art world for walking and chanting; paintings frequently depict a scene of him walking and chanting in the wilderness after he has been exiled by the King of Chu. See Schneider, *A madman of Ch'u: the Chinese myth of loyalty and dissent*, Ralph Crozier, "Qu Yuan and the Artists: Ancient Symbols and Modern Politics in the Post- Mao Era," *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*.24 (1990).

‘The person walking in front was of a wan and sallow countenance, and a haggard, emaciated physique.²⁸⁷ He wore a hat so high that it parted the clouds, and carried a long sword at his waist. He wore a coat made of lotus and water-
170 chestnut leaves, and a belt of pepper-flowers and orchids.²⁸⁸ His brows were knit with sorrow for his troubled kingdom, and his eyes were filled with tears of longing for his lord. Is this not he who suffered for King Huai, and hated the Lord of Shang-guan?²⁸⁹

‘The person who came on his heels had a spirit as concentrated as an autumn
175 flood,²⁹⁰ and his face was as handsome as the jade in one’s cap.²⁹¹ He wore Chu-style clothing and a Chu-style hat; he spoke the speech of Chu and sang Chu

²⁸⁷ This is a description of Qu Yuan 屈原 (343-278 B.C.E) lifted directly from *The Fisherman* (*yu fu* 魚父): ‘After Qu Yuan was banished, he wandered, sometimes along the river's banks, sometimes along the marsh's edge, singing as he went. His expression was dejected and his features emaciated.’ (CCBZ 8; Hawkes 206.)

²⁸⁸ Im Je borrows this second description of Qu Yuan to elaborate his textual knowledge. This time, the allusion is to *Encountering Sorrow* (CCBZ): ‘...When stepping forward I did not go in, because I felt I would meet criticism. And so, retired, I would once more fashion my former raiment. I made a coat of lotus and water-chestnut leave, and gathered lotus petals to make myself a skirt. I will not longer care that no one understands me, as long as I can keep the sweet fragrance of my mind. Higher still was my hat, towering as it was. Long was the girdle, dangling from my waist. Fragrant and foul mingle in confusion. But my inner brightness has remained undimmed.’ There is similar imagery in *Crossing the River* (CCBZ): ‘At my belt a long sword swinging, On my head a “cleave-cloud” hat up-towering, Round my neck moon-bright jewels, and a precious jade at my girdle.’

²⁸⁹ King Huai of Chu 楚懷王 (r. 328-299 B.C.E) banished Qu Yuan after the Lord of Shanguan 上官大夫 slandered him. Qu Yuan supposedly wrote *Encountering Sorrow* after this, to express his grief at being cast aside (*Shiji* 84.2481-2492).

²⁹⁰ ‘His spirit is concentrated [like] autumn waters’ (*sin’eung chusu* 神凝秋水). ‘Concentrated spirit’ (*sin’eung* 神凝) appears in *Zhuangzi* 1.2.7. In *Zhuangzi*, this passage describes a sage.

²⁹¹ ‘A face like the jade in a cap’ (*myeonyeo gwan’ok* 面如冠玉) is a literary description of male beauty (*Shiji* 56.2054).

songs. Could he be any other than he who served only King Xiang of Chu for his whole life?²⁹²

Together, they came to pay their respects to the Lord.

180 'We have heard of your lordship's great moral rectitude, and have come specially to seek audience with you. It is only Heaven and Earth that are said to be expansive, yet we ourselves cannot be contained by them, and now, we can see that your lordship's mind-ground²⁹³ is tremendous. Please, lend us one corner of Rock-pile:²⁹⁴ we would build a citadel and then stop there. However,
185 we do not know if your lordship is willing to take us in or not.'

The Lord straightened his gown, and said gravely:

²⁹² This is a description of Song Yu 宋玉 (319-298 BCE), who lived during the reign of King Huai's son, King Xiang of Chu 楚襄王 (r. 298-263 BCE). With regard to his dedication to King Xiang, see his works *Responding to the question of the King of Chu* (*dui chu wang wen* 對楚王問) and *Rhapsody on the Gaotang Shrine* (*gaotang fu* 高唐賦) (*Cheongun soseol*. 38). See also David R. Knechtges and Taiping Chang, *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature: A Reference Guide, Part Two*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2013). 1008.

²⁹³ The 'territory of the mind' (*simji* 心地) is often translated as 'mind-ground' in Buddhist texts *Xin Tang shu*. It was used by Zhu Xi in his *Reading Method* (*dushu fa* 讀書法) (*Zhuzi yulei*. 371) in reference to reading the official histories. Im Je is following Zhu Xi's use of the term as a literary expression for the mind.

²⁹⁴ 'Rock pile' (*leiwei* 磊砢) is roughly equivalent to the expression 'a heavy heart'. One of its most prominent uses is to describe the 'rough and rugged' terrain of Ruan Ji's heart: "Wang Laobo asked Wang Dai: 'How was Ruan Ji like Sima Xiangru?' Wang Dai answered: 'Ruan Ji's breast was rough and rugged terrain, and that is why he needed wine to irrigate it'" (*Shishuo Xinyu* 23.51).

'What men have harboured, in the past and in the present, is one and the same.²⁹⁵ How could I begrudge you a small measure of territory when it is not being used?'

190 Thereupon he issued an edict:

'I give permission for these men to come to seek refuge with me: notify the Inspection Officer. Allow them to build a citadel: notify Sir Rock-pile.²⁹⁶'

The two men bowed and took their leave, departing for the edge of Chest Ocean.

195 After this, the lord thought about the two men, and could not put them out of his mind. For a long time, he made the Promulgation Official²⁹⁷ loudly intone *The Songs of Chu*. Moreover, he no longer attended to other matters.²⁹⁸

In autumn, in the ninth month, the lord personally drew near the sea to observe the construction of the citadel. All he could see was ten thousand threads of

200 vapours of injustice and a thousand layers of clouds of sorrow.²⁹⁹ He saw loyal

²⁹⁵ From this comparison, the reader sees that the Celestial Lord believes himself to be able to empathise with Qu Yuan and Song Yu.

²⁹⁶ Character variant: Database of Korean Classics: 山嶽磊落. Kim has 山嶽磊磈 (*Cheongun soseol*. 39).

²⁹⁷ The Promulgation Official is *chulnabgwan* 出納官, another play on words. Kim notes *jangsa chulnabgwan* 長使出納官 as a full title (ibid. 39), however, I have not been able to find any official title of this name. Shin and Im note it simply as 'mouth' (Im, Sin, and Im, *Sinp'yon Paekho chonjip*. 440).

²⁹⁸ The *Songs of Chu* is the collection of poetry attributed to Qu Yuan and Song Yu, whom the Celestial Lord has just taken in. As such, the implication is that rather than attending to the things that he ought to, the Celestial Lord has been 'possessed' by the authors of the *Songs of Chu*, in much the same way as described by Zhu Xi's commentary on the text.

²⁹⁹ The phrase 'clouds of sorrow' (*su'un* 愁雲) is strong imagery for heavy clouds and a gloomy outlook. It appears in 'Song of White Snow Sending Off Magistrate Wu, Returning to the Capital' (白雪歌送武判官歸京) by Tang poet Cen Shen 岑參 (*Quan Tang shi* 199.2050).

ministers and righteous scholars of the past, through to men who were innocent but met with misfortune; having come to ruin, in dribs and drabs, these men went back and forth within.³⁰⁰

Among them was the Qin crown prince Fu Su. He had supervised the
205 construction of the Great Wall, and, in the past, he was set to this task with
Meng Tian.³⁰¹ The buried scholars numbering in excess of four hundred [were
also there].³⁰²

“Without haste, they planned and started work, and before a day had passed,
they had finished.”³⁰³ When they built the citadel, what accumulated were not
210 burdens of clay and stone; subsequently, what toil could there be in shifting and
hauling? It was considered large for the narrowness of the area it occupied; and

³⁰⁰ The phrasing in the original passage is ambiguous as to what these figures are ‘within’. The most likely option is the vapours and clouds of sorrows.

³⁰¹ Fu Su (扶蘇, d. 210 B.C.E), eldest son and heir to the first emperor of the Qin dynasty, was exiled to the frontier after remonstrating with his father against upsetting the disciples of Confucius to join Meng Tian (蒙恬, d. 210 B.C.E) in the north, strengthening the frontier (*Shiji* 6.258, 6.264). Together, Fu Su and Meng Tian were tasked with the construction of the Great Wall in the north, and accused of various crimes and ordered to commit suicide as part of political machinations by would-be successors after the death of the First Emperor. Meng Tian’s biography records his attempts to remonstrate with the king’s messengers, but they refused to convey his messages to the court, and Meng ultimately committed suicide, citing his role in the construction of the Great Wall as his greatest sin. The Grand Historian concludes that though Meng’s achievements were great, they ‘pandered to imperial ambition’, and the deaths of himself and his brother, however unfortunate, were therefore reasonable (*Shiji* 88.2565-2570).

³⁰² The *Shiji* says that over 460 scholars were killed (*gaeng* 坑) by the First Emperor of Qin (*Shiji* 6.258). Im Je says over 400, and instead uses the character for buried (*gaeng* 坑). He may have misremembered the exact details, but this is not significant.

³⁰³ With this allusion to *Poetry* 242, in which ‘Zhou King Wen’s virtue of sharing his park and pond with the people is confirmed’ (Wang, “The age of courtly writing: Wen xuan compiler Xiao Tong (501-531) and his circle”. 116), the Celestial Lord is compared to King Wen, but Im has already described the utopian peacefulness of the realm using similar language to this ode: the Citadel is now contrasted with the Spirit Tower.

it was considered small, despite the great size of the area it encompassed.³⁰⁴ It existed, without seeming to exist; it had form, while seeming formless.³⁰⁵

To the north, it leaned on Mount Tai.³⁰⁶ To the south, it bordered Changhae
215 [Commandery].³⁰⁷ The veins of the earth³⁰⁸ that came to it issued straight from Mount Emei.³⁰⁹ The haphazardly piled rocks there were big and stout.

It was a place that brought sorrows and regrets together, and was therefore called the Citadel of Sorrows.

³⁰⁴ In *Mencius*, there is a conversation between Mencius and King Xuan of Qi 齊宣王 in which the king asks Mencius why the people consider his royal park large, when it is technically smaller than that of King Wen (the same King Wen as was master of the Spirit Pavilion). Mencius replies that because King Wen shared his park generously with the people, they considered it small, whereas King Xuan controls his park so restrictively and allows so few people inside it that it seems vast (*Mencius* 1B02:04 tr. D. C. Lau 1. 27). This allusion raises the question of scale and the appropriate use of space: King Wen was a benevolent ruler, who shared his royal park with the people, but as a result they thought it small; King Xuan does not share enough, so his park is too big. The paradox is important, as Im Je is raising questions about perception.

³⁰⁵ As above, this is a deliberate paradox. See *Huainanzi* 12.1.

³⁰⁶ As previously noted, Mt Tai was one of the most sacred mountains of China, located in modern Shandong 山東.

³⁰⁷ Changhae commandery (*changhaegun* 滄海郡) was established by Han Emperor Wu on the Korean peninsula in 128 B.C.E and abolished in 126 B.C.E (*Shiji* 30.1421).

³⁰⁸ The 'veins of the earth' (*jimaek* 地脈) were the conduits that transported vital force (*gi* 氣). They were an important consideration in construction projects: disrupting the flow of material force was a serious problem, since it was believed to disrupt the natural order of the world. Meng Tian ultimately accepted capital punishment, deciding that his crime in life had been to 'cut through earth's arteries' (*jeoljimaek* 絕地脈) in the process of building the Great Wall (*Shiji* 88.2570).

³⁰⁹ Mt Emei (*amisan* 峨眉山) is a mountain in modern Sichuan province. It was sacred to the Buddhist tradition and the site of many Buddhist temples. The space between mounts Tai and Emei is the better part of the empire. The veins of the Earth (*jimaek* 地脉) were a part of geomancy, and came into consideration whenever a major building project was planned. Shin and Im write that Emei should be read as the homophone *ami* 蛾眉 (Im, Sin, and Im, *Sinp'yon Paekho chonjip*. 441), which means 'moth brows', a symbol of beauty in the *Songs of Chu*.

At the centre of the citadel was the Pavilion of Mourning the Past.³¹⁰ The citadel
220 had four gates: the Gate of Loyalty and Righteousness; the Gate of Heroism and
Bravery; the Gate of Guiltlessness; and the Gate of Separation.

At this time, the Celestial Lord crossed the ocean from the Cinnabar Field³¹¹ and
threw open the Four Gates. He governed from atop the Pavilion of Mourning
the Past. A mournful wind then sighed, and the bitter moon was cold and
225 dismal. The people at each gate bore grudges and harboured anguish. They
entered the Citadel in a single surge. The Celestial Lord sadly took his seat, and
commanded Master Tube City³¹² to record a small percentage [of them].

Master Tube City received the order and retired. Holding his tears back, he rose
to his feet.

230 First, he saw that in the Gate of Loyalty and Righteousness the autumn frost
was icy cold, though the fierce sun shone down. At the head [of the procession]
there were two men. One had been beheaded by [the last Xia emperor, Lu]

³¹⁰ Textual variant: *jojeomdae* 吊占墓 here should be read *jogodae* 吊古臺, as it appears later in the passage.

³¹¹ The Cinnabar Field (*danjeon* 丹田) is a Daoist concept for the origin of a person's essence (*jeong* 精) (Kim, *Cheongun sosol*. 41).

³¹² Master Tube City is the same character as Brush Tip (Mao Ying) from earlier in the text. Referring to him as Master Tube City marks that he has now been enfeoffed, and granted the title of Master of a place called Tube City (Guancheng 管城). Guancheng is translated as Tube City Nienhauser, "An Allegorical Reading of Han Yu's "Mao-Ying Chuan" (Biography of Fur Point)." 159) and Ferule City (Eide, "Another Go at the Mao Ying chuan." 109), and transliterated by Hightower, who notes the two meanings of Guancheng: one, that it is 'a Han dynasty place name', and two, that 'A brush is made by inserting a clip of [washed] rabbit hair into a bamboo tube' (Hightower, "Han Yü as Humorist." 12).

Gui³¹³ of the Jade Palace,³¹⁴ and one had suffered the unbearable pain of having his heart roasted. Who could they be but Long Feng and Bi Gan?³¹⁵

235 Also among them was a man similar in appearance to Han Emperor Gaozu, riding in a yellow-canopied carriage with its plume to the left; it must have been General Ji.³¹⁶ There was also a man who wore a silken kerchief and a crane-white gown, carrying a white plume in his hands; it was surely none other than Lord Zhuge.³¹⁷

240 When Yong Chi was enfeoffed as a marquis³¹⁸ and Cao Pi proclaimed himself emperor,³¹⁹ what more could be done about the distress of righteous scholars or the indignation of courageous heroes?

³¹³ This refers to the infamous Emperor Jie 桀 (1728–1675 BCE), the last emperor of the Xia dynasty, whose given name was Lü Gui 履癸 and who was much maligned for his cruel government (*Shiji* 2.88).

³¹⁴ There is a historical inconsistency – it seems Im Je has made a mistake here. The Jade Palace 瓊宮 was built by the last king of the Shang 商 dynasty, Zhou 紂 (r. 1075–1046 BCE).

³¹⁵ Guan Longfeng 關龍逢 and Bi Gan 比干 often appear in conjunction: they are examples of virtuous ministers who were executed for trying to remonstrate with their lords (Meng Tian refers to them, *Shiji* 88.2570). Guan Longfeng was executed by Emperor Jie, and Bi Gan by the last king of the Shang dynasty, King Zhou 紂王. Im Je says that Bi Gan's heart was roasted, which is erroneous: the emperor had Bi Gan's heart cut out so that he could test the hypothesis that the heart of a sage had seven apertures (*Shiji* 3.107-8). Im Je may be misremembering a passage from *Xunzi*, there is a passage where Bi Gan and the punishment of roasting alive appear in close conjunction (*Xunzi* 15.4.4).

³¹⁶ The 'yellow-canopied carriage with its plume to the left' (*hwang'ok jwadok* 黃屋左纛) was the carriage of Liu Bang 劉邦 (256-195 B.C.E) in the Siege of Xingyang in 204 B.C.E. When Xiang Yu besieged Liu and his forces as part of the Chu-Han contention, Liu's general Ji Xin 紀信 (d. 204 B.C.E) successfully used the yellow carriage as a decoy. Liu escaped to found the Han dynasty and become emperor two years later. General Ji was burned to death by Xiang Yu (*Shiji* 7.159-161, 8.205).

³¹⁷ Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181-234 C.E) was a popular historical figure of the warring states as a strategist with style (*Sanguo zhi* 35.911-37).

³¹⁸ Yong Chi 雍齒 (2nd century B.C.E.) rebelled against Han emperor Gaozu, but surrendered. The emperor continued to distrust him, but ennobled him with the rank of Marquis. This was suggested by Zhang Liang 張良 (3rd century - 186 BCE, granted the title Marquis Wenchang of

After the Hong Gate Feast had finished, it was Second Father Fan who “[sliced up] the jade measuring cups like they were nothing but snow”, whose loyalty
245 and indignation were ardent, and who remained constant till the day he died.³²⁰
It was Guan Yunchang who rode the horse Red Hare, brandished the Blue
Dragon sword,³²¹ wore green robes and had long whiskers, was gallant and
heroic, yet once was overcome at the hands of Ah Meng, and was pained by his
inability to annex Jiangdong.³²²

Liu 留文成侯 for his contributions to the establishment of the Han dynasty) to quell rumblings of unrest amongst the aristocracy: if one who was hated by Gaozu as a rebellious subject could be forgiven, then it would set the others at ease (*Shiji* 55.2043).

³¹⁹ At the other end of Han dynasty, Cao Pi 曹丕 (187-226 C.E) forced the last emperor of the Han, Emperor Xian 獻帝 (189 -220 C.E), to abdicate, then set up the state of Cao Wei 曹魏 and so began the Three Kingdoms.

³²⁰ ‘Second father’ (*yafu* 亞父) was an honorific used by Xiang Yu for Fan Zeng 范增 (277-204 B.C.E). The Feast at Hong Gate (*hongmen* 鴻門) in 206 B.C.E was a major event of the Chu-Han contention. Xiang Yu and Fan Zeng, employed by Emperor Huai of Chu, planned to use the Feast of Hong Gate to kill Liu Bang. They were not successful: Liu bang would live to become the Han emperor Gaozu. At the Feast at Hongmen Gate, Liu Bang gifted Xiang Yu with jade tablets and Fan Zeng with measuring cups. Fan Zeng rejected the gift, destroying them with the prediction that Liu would take over the empire (*Shiji* 7.314-15). This passage about Fan Zeng is a direct quotation from ‘The Beauty Yu’ (*Yu meiren* 虞美人) by the Song dynasty poet Lady Wei 魏夫人 (1040-1103). For a partial translation, see Xiaohong Lily Li, *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women: Tang Through Ming, 618-644* (Armonk, NY: Sharpe, 2014). 440-442.

³²¹ Red Hare (*jeokto* 赤兔) was the name of the warlord Lü Bu’s 呂布 horse, given to Guan Yu by Cao Cao after Lü’s death. The Green Dragon Blade is common shorthand for the Green Dragon Crescent Moon Blade 青龍偃月刀, Guan Yunchang’s personally designed weapon. *Sanguo yanyi* 25.151.

³²² Guan Yunchang 關雲長 is Guan Yu 關羽 (died 219 C.E). After losing much of the territory he controlled for Liu Bei, he was captured and executed by Ah Meng. Also known as Lü Meng 呂蒙 (178-220 C.E), Ah Meng served Sun Quan 孫權 (182-252 C.E), and led a strategic and victorious invasion of the former state of Chu, by then known under Qin administration as Jingzhou 荊州. Guan Yu’s defeat in 219 C.E precipitated numerous losses by Liu Bei’s forces (*Sanguo zhi* 54).

250 The howling Yueshi; the supplicating Shiya: they had great intentions, but died
without fulfilling them.³²³ Heaven and Earth were indifferent.

After them came Zhang Xun, Xu Yuan, Lei Wanchun, and Nan Jiyun.³²⁴ All of
these men were loyal and vigorous; each of them was righteous and ardent. But
the thick clouds of dust thrown up by the barbarian armies covered the sun,
255 and the wind swept away every commandery. How many young men there
were in the citadel of Suiyang!³²⁵ The blood from [Nan Jiyun's] fingers was
unable to move Helan [Jiming], yet a fletched arrow could be embedded in an
image of the Buddha!³²⁶ How can it be that his sincerity could penetrate stone,

³²³ Yueshi 越石 is Liu Kun 劉琨 (270-318 C.E.) (*JS* 62.1679-93). Shiya 士雅 is Zu Ti 祖逖 (266-321 C.E.) (*Jin shu* 62.1693-1702). Im Je uses their honorific names, hence they are written as one word. Both were officials of the Western Jin dynasty. Yueshi wished to attack the Han Zhao capital Pingyang 平陽 but his propositions were refused by Jin Emperor Huai 晉懷帝, Sima Yue 司馬越 (died 311 C.E.). Shiya served as a general of Sima Rui 司馬睿 (276-323 C.E.) and requested a military force to take back cities in the Yellow River region, but was not granted any troops. Their friendship is mentioned in David R. Knechtges, "Liu Kun, Lu Chen, and Their Writings in the Transition to the Eastern Jin," *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (CLEAR)* 28. Journal Article (2006). 4-5. Both of them 'held ambition but died [without succeeding]' (*jaejjiseo* 齋志而逝), a phrase identical in meaning to 'to hold ambition but come to naught (drown)' (*qizhiermo* 齋志而沒 / 齋志而歿). This particular phrase comes from the poem *On Regret* 恨賦 by Southern Liang 南朝梁 poet Jiang Yun (江淹, 444-505 C.E.) (*Wen xuan* 16.24a-27a).

³²⁴ Zhang Xun 張巡 (709-757 C.E.), Xu Yuan 許遠 (709-757 C.E.), Lei Wanchun 雷萬春, and Nan Jiyun 南霽雲 were Tang officials during the An Lushan rebellion. Zhang Xun was a general; Lei Wanchun and Nan Jiyun were his subordinates; Xu Yuan was the governor of Suiyang Citadel 睢陽城 (755-757) whom Zhang Xun went to assist (*Xin Tang shu* 192.5534-5541; 5541-5542; 5542; 5543; the *Jiu Tang shu* includes Xu Yuan and Zhng Xun only: 187.4899-4902; 4902-4903). Lei Wanchun 雷萬春 was stationed at the city walls when Yong Hill 雍丘 was besieged by Linghu Chao 令狐潮 in 755. Lei showed great courage, remaining motionless in spite of the fact that he was struck by six arrows. He died in the fall of Suiyang and is considered a martyr. Zhang Xun sent Nan Jiyun, with a small force, to try and convince Helan Jinming 賀蘭進明, governor of Linhuai 臨淮, to come to the aid of the besieged force at Suiyang (Han Yu, *Changli xiansheng ji* (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, n.d.). 13.148-150).

³²⁵ The Battle of Suiyang 睢陽之戰 was a siege that took place during the An Shi Rebellion 安史之亂 in the Tang dynasty.

³²⁶ This is an allusion to *Changli xiansheng ji*. 13.148-150, especially 149. When Nan Jiyun escaped Suiyang to seek help, Helan received him well, as he wished to employ him himself. Nan was

when it could not move a man? How unjust! How painful!³²⁷ That there are
260 people more stupid than stones!

Then there was Yue Wumu, whose banner of loyalty collapsed, and in vain he
bore the letters on his back.³²⁸

Regent Zong's cry of "let's cross the Yellow River" was broken off; he sent out a
force but never prevailed.³²⁹ How silent Heaven was!

265 Writing a eulogy on a belt sash and calmly going to his death – how pitiful was
Wen Tianxiang.³³⁰

Bearing the young orphan prince on his back and perishing along with the
dynasty – how tragic was Lu Xiufu!³³¹

dedicated to his cause, refused with disgust, cut off his own finger(s). 'Yun knew that Helan, in the end, would not act, and...he took a horse and left, when he was about to leave the citadel, he pulled out an arrow and shot it, and the arrow was [buried] halfway to the fletching in the top of the image of the Buddha in the temple. [Jiyun] said: "I will return to destroy the enemy, and must kill Helan: that is what this arrow is a record of!"' 雲知賀蘭終無為雲出師意，即馳去，將出城，抽矢射佛寺浮圖，矢著其上磚半箭，曰：『吾歸破賊，必滅賀蘭，此矢所以誌也！』

³²⁷ Textual variant: 通 is a mistake for 痛.

³²⁸ Yue Fei 岳飛 (1103–41 C.E), posthumously Yue Wumu, 'became the first warrior to have his mythologized life exhaustively and exclusively treated in a Chinese novel' (Hellmut Wilhelm, "From Myth to Myth: The Case of Yueh Fei's Biography," *Confucianism and Chinese Civilization*, ed. Wright Arthur F. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975). 211). Yue was dedicated to the recovery of the northern territories of the former empire. False accusations led to Yue Fei's imprisonment, torture and eventual execution as the result of a plot, about which there is extensive mythology. Yue is said to have had a tattoo on his back that read 'serve the state with utmost loyalty' (*jinchungboguk* 盡忠報國) (*Song shu* 365.11393).

³²⁹ Zong Ze 宗澤 (1060–1128 C.E) served as Regent of the Eastern Capital (*dongjing liushou* 東京留守) and was Yue Wumu's commanding officer (*Song shu* 360.11275–11285).

³³⁰ Wen Tianxiang 文天祥 (1236–1283 C.E) was a national hero of the Song dynasty who refused to accept Yuan rule. He wrote a eulogy on his belt sash (*Yidaizan* 衣帶贊) before he was executed by the Yuan: 'Confucius said to preserve virtue, and Mencius said to choose righteousness. Only when righteousness is exhausted is virtue perfect. If one reads the works of the sages, what has one learned [from them]? From now onward, perhaps, I shall have no shame' (*Song shu* 418.12540, translated in William A. Brown, *Wen T'ien-hsiang: a biographical study of a Sung patriot* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1986). 168–9).

At the very end, there were men who had clothes and hats that seemed
270 different from those of Chinese prescriptions. It was as though they had, with
their very lives, served for five hundred years the [Three] Mainstays and the
[Five] Constant [Virtues]³³² – Nanpa Academy Scholars,³³³ and the Tiger Head
General;³³⁴ a group of five or six of them, imposing in their appearance, came
forth.

³³¹ Lu Xiufu 陸秀夫 (1236-1279 C.E) was also valorised for defying the Yuan. He was the last Prime Minister of the Song, and leapt from a cliff with the child emperor Bing 帝昺 in his arms rather than submitting to the invading Mongol forces (*Song shu* 451.13276). Im Je refers to the ill-fated emperor Bing is referred with the *Analects* expression meaning ‘young orphan of middling stature’ (*liuchizhigu* 六尺之孤). This passage (*Analects* 8.6) notes the criteria of the superior man (*junzi* 君子). Liu Xiufu is thus ‘a minister entrusted by a dying ruler with the care of his minor heir and lands’ (Robert Eno, *The Analects of Confucius: An Online Teaching Translation*, (2015), 13 November 2015 <http://www.indiana.edu/~p374/Analects_of_Confucius_%28Eno-2015%29.pdf>.).

³³² The Three Mainstays are the bonds between ruler and minister, parent and child, and husband and wife. The Five Constant Virtues are Humanity, Righteousness, Rites, Wisdom, and Loyalty (*xin*). Maintaining this for five hundred years is a reference to the *Mencius* (2B13:02; tr. D. C. Lau 1.91), where Mencius explains that there is one true sovereign every five hundred years, and in that time ‘men illustrious in their generation’: in the original passage, Mencius says that the realm is overdue for a king.

³³³ *Nanpa* 鑾坡 is another name for the Forest of Scholars Academy (*Hanlinyuan* 翰林院): an equivalent to the Tang dynasty institution was established under the Goryeo king Taejo, first called the Hall of Literature (*yemungwan* 藝文館) and renamed by King Hyeonjong (James Huntley Grayson, *Korea: a religious history* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1989). 91). The Academicians of the Academy were ostensibly the highest calibre of scholars in the state.

³³⁴ There are several possible interpretations of the ‘Tiger Head General’ (*hutou jiangjun* 虎頭將軍). Kim takes this as a reference to the Jin general Gu Kaizhi (顧愷之, c.344-406). However, given that these men have been described as dressing differently from the Chinese, it is more likely to be a reference to a Goryeo or Joseon dynasty figure. To this end, Shin and Im interpret him as Yu Eungbu 俞應孚 (d. 1456), appearing along with the other five martyrs put to death for conspiring to restore the young king Danjong 端宗 after his uncle usurped the throne as Sejo 世祖. ‘Tiger Head General’ was also a name for the Goryeo dynasty general Choi Yeong 崔瑩 (1316-1388). All are valorous heroes.

275 Other than these men, there were many from past and present who had disregarded their own lives in order to protect the state, died for the virtues of righteousness and compassion.³³⁵ It was difficult to record them all.

Next, at the Gate of Heroism and Bravery, Master Tube City saw that there was a sudden crash of thunder, and a cold wind blew, bitter and unforgiving.

280 At the front was one man, riding a white horse with [the sword] Shulou slung across his body. His anguished spirit surged like the tide of the Crooked River. This was Wu Zixu, who had, while living, maintained absolute loyalty and filial piety.³³⁶

There was another, whose spirit made a great rainbow.³³⁷ He had died to repay
285 the one who understood him best, taking up an eight inch dagger and singing a ballad of heroes. This was Jing Qing.³³⁸

The Hegemon King of Western Chu crossed the realm on his piebald horse. For eight years, he bore arms, but his dream came to an end in the waves of the Wu River.³³⁹

³³⁵ The references to righteousness and benevolence are originally from the *Analecets* and *Mencius*, but Im is paraphrasing Wen Tianxiang's eulogy to describe the moral nature of the people of this gate as being like that of Wen Tianxiang himself.

³³⁶ Wu Zixu 伍子胥 (d. 484 B.C.E) escaped his native state of Chu after his father, a Chu minister, was unjustly killed. He sought employment in the state of Wu. He was forced to commit suicide with the sword Shulou after advising Wu King Fuchai to take over the state of Yue (*Shiji* 31.1472). Ironically, his counsel later proved correct.

³³⁷ A 'great rainbow' is a figurative expression for a heroic and noble reputation.

³³⁸ Jing Ke 荊軻 (died 227 B.C.E) was born in the state of Wei 衛 but served Crown Prince Dan of the state of Yan 燕丹 and came to be called 'Minister Jing' (*Jing qing* 荊卿). In an effort to protect his kingdom, Dan sent Jing Ke to assassinate the Qin king Zheng. Jing Ke was supposed to present a map to King Zheng, and kill him with a knife concealed within; when he set off on this task, he sang a song about heroism foreshadowing his failure and death (*Shiji* 86.2534).

290 The man of Huaiyin was moved by the favour of his lord, who gave him the clothes off his own back. He gathered a force of a million, triumphed in battle, and seized the territory that he attacked. Yet the bow is stowed away once the birds have been killed, and in the end he died at the hands of a woman. How piteous!³⁴⁰

295 Sun Bofu, whom people called the Little Hegemon, forcefully occupied the region east of the Yellow River. As rapacious as a tiger, he looked over the empire.³⁴¹ Yet he found himself in desperate straits as a target for the arrows of lesser men, full of lasting regret over Dongliu.

With a formidable army of a million men, Fu Jian was utterly determined and
300 had [his soldiers] cast their horsewhips [into the Yellow River]. Yet in his heart

³³⁹ Xiang Yu 項羽 (232-202 B.C.E) was known as the Hegemon King (*bawang* 霸王). Refusing to return east due to his shame over the loss of life suffered by forces in his command, he committed suicide on the banks of Wu River (烏江) (*Shiji* 7.336).

³⁴⁰ Marquis of Huaiyin 淮陰侯 Han Xin 韓信 (died 196 B.C.E) began his career under Xiang Yu but changed his allegiance to Liu Bang, who would become Gaozu of Han. Refusing to return to Xiang Yu, Han Xin said: '[Liu] took off his clothes to clothe me. He gave up his food to feed me. He listened to my words and used my plans. Hence I was able to reach to this' (*Shiji* 92.2622). The expression 'to cast the bow aside once the birds are killed' refers to Han Xin's services no longer being needed, and the death of him and his family at the hands of Empress Dowager Lu Zhi 呂雉 (Gaozu's empress consort), who was fearful of the potential military threat that he represented (*Shiji* 92.2627).

³⁴¹ Sun Ce 孫策 (175-200 C.E) was an Eastern Han general who laid the foundations for the state of Wu 吳 and was succeeded and honoured by his younger brother Sun Quan 孫權 (182-252 C.E). Sun Ce was likened to Hegemon King Xiang Yu by Xu Gong 許貢 (died 197 C.E) in a letter to the Emperor Xian of Han. Sun Ce's biography (*Sanguo zhi* 46.1113), says 'he occupied Jiangdong' 割據江東, but the phrase 'like a tiger looking over the empire' is part of the following text on Sun Quan.

he feared the vegetation of Mount Bagong.³⁴² In the end, he left himself with the trouble of having nursed a tiger.³⁴³

Alas! In an autumn when heroes swarm up,³⁴⁴ those who succeed become emperors and kings, and those who fail are known as bandits and rebels.

305 The man who studied the *Book of the Han* while tending cattle was indeed the most outstanding man of his time.³⁴⁵ But by the time that the Li dynasty reached its end, all those outside of the imperial family were men as predatory as long snakes or huge swine.³⁴⁶

Li Keyong, of Shatuo descent, was minded to preserve the imperial house, and
310 fixed his will sharply on eliminating villainy. Yet Zhu Wen controlled the

³⁴² Fu Jian 符堅 (337–385 C.E) called himself the Heavenly King (*cheonwang* 天王). He described the numbers of his army by observing if they ‘cast their horsewhips [into the river] it would stop its flow’ (*tu’pyeon danryu* 投鞭斷流), while ‘vegetation of Bagong’ refers to his anxiety and paranoia that the forested landscape of Mount Bagong was an encroaching military force (*Jin shu* 114.2917-2918; Michael C. Rogers, *The Chronicle of Fu Chien: A Case of Exemplar History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968). 111-185).

³⁴³ ‘Raising a tiger is to court calamity’ (*yang ho yu hwan* 養虎遺患) refers to the danger of not eradicating potential threats; originally used in reference to Xiang Yu and the forces of Chu (*Shiji* 7.331).

³⁴⁴ For ‘local heroes and leaders’ to ‘arise like bees’ (*hogeol bonggi* 豪傑蜂起) is a phrase borrowed from *Shiji* 7.338.

³⁴⁵ In the Sui dynasty, Li Mi 李密 (582–619 C.E) was demoted to a humble position by the emperor, but was said to study the *Book of Han* even when serving menial tasks (*gi u dok hanseo* 騎牛讀漢書), which became an expression for studiousness in spite of circumstances. Like Sun Ce and Fu Jian, above, Li Mi was favourably compared to Xiang Yu (*Jiu Tang shu* 53.2207-2224).

³⁴⁶ The ‘Xian Li’ (*seonri* 仙李) were the ruling Li clan of the Tang dynasty. ‘Snakes and swine’ (*bongsijangsa* 封豕長蛇) are from Li Mi’s biography in the *Jiu Tang shu*, explaining the fall of the Sui dynasty, against which Li Mi rebelled.

empire, and [Li] died despondent. The plans of those heroic men who survived him were never accomplished, and his achievements came to nothing.³⁴⁷

And moreover, the men who could not be evaluated according to success and failure were too many to record in full.

315 Outside of the gates, there were only two others. They hesitated and did not dare to enter. [Instead] they stood opposite each other, weeping.

One man was an Auxiliary Commander of the Han dynasty, General Li Ling.

With five thousand infantrymen, he had once routed forty thousand barbarian cavalry,³⁴⁸ but his power weakened and he fell to the enemy. When he acted

320 according to his own wishes, the Han annihilated his clan. Ling was never able to return.³⁴⁹

The other man was the Commander-in-chief of Jing and Liang, Huan Wen, who bemoaned [circumstances from] his boat's turret as he ventured north.³⁵⁰ It seemed that he had heroic ambitions, but his words brought him ill repute: it

³⁴⁷ Li Keyong 李克用 (856-908 C.E) hailed from the Turkic Shatuo 沙陀 clan but was granted the Li surname by the Tang court. His son Li Cunxu 李存勖 (885-926 C.E) would found the Later Tang dynasty as Emperor Zhuangzong of the Later Tang 後唐莊宗, and honour his father as the nominal founder (*Xin Tang shu* 218). He had an abiding enmity with Zhu Wen 朱溫 (852-912 C.E), a Tang general who usurped the throne and reigned as Emperor Taizu of the Later Liang 後梁太祖 (ruled between 907-912 C.E).

³⁴⁸ The barbarians, in this instance, are the Xiongnu.

³⁴⁹ Li Ling 李陵 (died 74 B.C.E) surrendered to the Xiongnu, and the Han Emperor Wu was angered, for it was customary for a general to die alongside his men. The historian Sima Qian defended Li Ling before the emperor, which ultimately led to his castration (*Han shu* 62.2729; Stephen W. Durrant, *The cloudy mirror: tension and conflict in the writings of Sima Qian* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995). 9). Im Je is here confirming the reading of Li Ling as morally upright.

³⁵⁰ Huan Wen is described as bemoaning the state of the Central Plain from the turret of his boat (*pingcheng* [lou] 平乘[樓]) (*Shishuo Xinyu* 26.11).

325 was his request for the Nine Bestowments that did this. But how could he [be
said to] cultivate the mentality of a disloyal minister?³⁵¹

A fallen general and a rebel commander-in-chief: what were they doing here?

Was it not that they were noble-spirited, and subsequently felt remorse?

Next, Master Tube City saw, through the Gate of Innocence, that the clouds
330 were gloomy, the mist melancholy, the rain frigid, and the wind icy. Among the
countless cases of injustice, whether noble or poor, [their importance] much or
little, all came and assembled here.

There were four hundred thousand men who arrived, having formed a garrison:
they were the Zhao soldiers who fought in the Battle of Changping.³⁵² There
335 were three hundred thousand men who formed a garrison under the command
of General Sharp-minded: they were Qin soldiers at Xinan.³⁵³ Because Bai Qi
had originally been a Qin general, he led [them] as he had done in the past.³⁵⁴

³⁵¹ Huan Wen 桓温 (312-373 C.E) was a Jin dynasty general who effectively became a military dictator, 'on the point of establishing his own dynasty' (*Shishuo Xinyu* 1.101; *Jin shu* 98.2577; Mark Edward Lewis, *China between empires: the northern and southern dynasties* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2011). 66). The Nine Bestowments 九錫 were outlined in the *Classic of Rites*, but there is no record of anyone receiving them until the usurpation of Wang Mang 王莽 (45 B.C.E-23 C.E), for which reason the Nine Bestowments became a symbol for intent to usurp the throne.

³⁵² The Qin general Bai Qi 白起 (died 257 B.C.E), nicknamed the 'Sharp-minded General' 銳頭將軍, commanded the Qin army in the Battle of Changping against the state of Zhao, and executed some four hundred thousand enemy soldiers (*Shiji* 5.213).

³⁵³ At Xinan, the general Xiang Yu tricked over two hundred thousand soldiers of the Qin army into surrendering, and butchered them (*Shiji* 7.310).

³⁵⁴ Bai Qi had been responsible for the massacre of the Zhao troops, but confessed deepest regret before committing suicide (*Shiji* 73.2337). The Zhao troops were killed by Bai Qi, and the Qin troops killed by Xiang Yu, but in both cases the troops themselves were victims of the deceptions of military leaders.

The drinker from Gaoyang made seventy cities surrender, thanks to his silver tongue.³⁵⁵ [However] he slipped up in his exercise of power and, though he had
340 committed no offence, he was boiled alive.³⁵⁶

Crown Prince Li [Liu Ju] resented the treachery of the Zhao minion [Jiang Chong] and committed a crime for which he met with lashes of the bamboo cane. [So,] above the lake, [Han Emperor Wu built] a lofty pavilion, [a place] washed in vain by the tears of yearning.³⁵⁷
345 [There was one who,] after drinking, got hot ears; he sang, beating time on the ceramic drums. How could he bear so much for his generation, yet meet his death by being cut in half? How tragic! That was Yang Yun, Marquis of Pingtong!³⁵⁸

Moreover, rinsing away muddy water and bringing forth pure water; [under
350 him,] the many officials were magnificent; what harm did he do to his age that

³⁵⁵ Literally, 'three inch tongue' 三寸之舌.

³⁵⁶ Li Yiji 酈食其 (268-204 B.C.E) was an advisor of Liu Bang during the latter's campaign to become Emperor Gaozu of Han. He is called 'a drinker from Gaoyang' (*gaoyangtu* 高陽徒) because he demanded to be introduced as such when Liu Bang refused to meet with scholars. After gaining employ with Liu Bang, Li Yiji visited the state of Qi and convinced the king Tian Guang 田廣 to break off allegiance to the state of Chu and align with the Han instead. However, Han Xin attacked Qi anyway, and Tian Guang had Li Yiji boiled alive, believing him a traitor (*Shiji* 8.113, 92.82).

³⁵⁷ Crown Prince Li's Park is a reference to Liu Ju 劉據 (128-91 B.C.E), son of the Han emperor Wu. He was killed as a consequence of a plot hatched between Lady Zhao 趙婕妤 and Jiang Chong 江充. Emperor Wu was plagued with guilt after realising Liu Ju had been innocent of the charges against him, and had the Palace of the Beloved Son 思子宮 and the 'Return' 歸來 and 'Gazing and Longing' 望思 pavilions erected in his honour (*Han shu* 45.2178-79, 63.2742-48; Knechtges, *Wen xuan* 2. 200).

³⁵⁸ Yang Yun 楊惲 (died 54 B.C.E) was a grandson of Sima Qian (biography in HS 66.2889-98). He was executed by being cut in half at the waist (*yao zhan* 腰斬) for his remarks that it was not worth giving up one's whole life in the service of the Son of Heaven. The phrase 'to get red ears after drinking' is taken directly from his 'Letter in Answer to Sun Huizong', in *Wen xuan*.

he should be abandoned to his death? How sad! That was Fan Mengbo and his followers!³⁵⁹

Then there were Li Jingye and Luo Binwang. They were so courageous that they had no care for their own lives, and they planned to restore their former
355 lord. They had a sense of righteousness that reached to the very Heavens, and loyalty that connected them to antiquity, and when their business failed, they
360 laid down their own lives.³⁶⁰

Were they spirits? Or ghosts? What guilt did these men have? Ah! It is beyond tragic! If a scholar or man of quality spent his whole life simply fulfilling his
360 duty and no more, then what regret should he feel when he dies?

Among these, those with the most grievances were the same in the past and in the present. They felt sharp resentment at both the seen and the unseen

³⁵⁹ Fan Pang 范滂 (137–169 C.E, courtesy name Mengbo 范孟博) was one of the Eight Paragons of Jiangxia (*Hou Han shu* 67.2203-8). He was incredibly moral, to the extent that he retired several times when his advice or reports were ignored. He was arrested in the First Faction Incident in 166, and again in the second Incident in 169, after which he was executed. Rafe De Crespigny, *A biographical dictionary of later Han to the Three kingdoms (23-220 AD)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007). 201. 'Draining away the mud and bringing forth pure water' is a figurative expression for eliminating vice and exalting virtue. 'Bringing officials into line' is a citation from the *Classic of Poetry* 266 and 299, 'stately were the many officials' (*jejedasa* 濟濟多士); cited in *Xunzi* 12.10, Knoblock 2:190.

³⁶⁰ When Emperor Zhongzong of the Tang 唐中宗 was deposed by his mother, the Empress Zetian 則天皇后 (624-705 C.E), Li Jingye 李敬業 (died 684 C.E), the grandson of Tang General Li Shiji 李世勣 (594-669 C.E), made himself the 'Great General for Restoration' (*kuangfu fu shangjiang* 匡復府上將) and attempted to restore Zhongzong (*Zizhi tongjian* 23). Luo Binwang 駱賓王 (640-684 C.E) was a poet who was demoted from his government post; highly critical of the Empress before and during her regency, he supported Li Jingye's uprising. Although he was killed after Li's defeat, Empress Wu had his works collected and published in testament to his literary talent.

worlds.³⁶¹ Wracked with bitterness and grief, they could not bear to speak. The
King of Qi was made a guest of the forest of cypress and pine.³⁶² The emperor of
365 Chu died in the River Jiang.³⁶³ Their efforts to change the state took them to
their deaths. The tears of the loyal ministers were unendurable, and the grief of
the fervent officials was inexhaustible.

Master Tube City's mind was in turmoil, and he was unable to write out the list
one by one.

370 Next, through the Gate of Separation, the setting sun was sinking into the grass,
and people were coming and going.

There are those who are separated in life, and those parted by death,³⁶⁴ which
gloomily obliterates the soul.³⁶⁵ These were the ones with deepest regret.

The Son of Heaven from the House of the Han drove his chariot without a whip.

375 Princess Zhaojun was sent far away as a bride, and so the finest ornament of the
Han palace became a concubine of the Hu.³⁶⁶ How could they be so unlucky?

³⁶¹ 'The seen and unseen worlds' (*yu myeong* 幽明) can have a number of meanings, but the most likely interpretation here is that the term is acting in parallel with the 'past and present' (*Shiji* 46.1903).

³⁶² 'A guest of the forest of cypress and pine' describes a ruler banished from his own state: specifically, Tian Jingzhong Wan 田敬仲完 or King Jian of Qi 齊王建, the last bastion of resistance to the Qin unification (*Shiji* 46.1903, see also *Zhanguo ce* 13.9.4, which relates that King Jian of Qi was starved to death).

³⁶³ This reference to Xiang Yu's death (*Shiji* 7.336) is placed in parallel with King Jian: both were exemplary figures beloved by their people who resisted takeover by other states.

³⁶⁴ Translated as 'estranged' by Hawkes, in *Chuci* being 'separated in life' refers specifically to the anguish of a minister in exile.

³⁶⁵ This describes parting as the most damaging type of sorrow. In Jiang Yan, *Rhapsody on Separation* (*bie fu* 別賦): 'Of things that bring gloom and dissolve the soul, none can match separation!' Following Knechtges, *Wen xuan* 3: 201.

The strings of the pipa and the Song of Swans transmitted their regret down through the ages to the present; over the passes, the moon is still a mirror of the Green Mound.³⁶⁷ [Beyond] the border, the goose is cut off from her home

380 country.

Ziqing tended sheep in Haishang:³⁶⁸ for ten years he upheld his standards,³⁶⁹ but only when his hair had gone white did he manage to return [to the Han], and attend Mao Mausoleum [of his lord, the Han Emperor Wu] in the autumn rains.³⁷⁰

385 Lingwei transformed into a crane and flew into the clouds. After a thousand years he returned home. When he returned, things were the same, but the people had changed. A bitter moon hung above the grave mounds.³⁷¹

³⁶⁶ The Celestial Prince of the House of Han was Emperor Yuan of the Han dynasty 漢元帝 (75-33 B.C.E). He sent Wang Zhaojun (王昭君, born fl. 50 B.C.E), considered one of the most virtuous and tragic female figures in history (*Han shu* 94.3803-7, *Hou Han shu* 89.2941), to the Hu 胡 (Xiongnu 匈奴) for an alliance marriage. Her departure from her homeland became a popular subject for poets, especially in the Tang. Here, Im's phrasing is close to that in Li Bai's *Wang Zhaojun* (*Quan Tang shi* 19.213).

³⁶⁷ The pipa, the Song of Swans, and Wang Zhaojun's tomb the Green Mound became three important images associated with her in Tang dynasty poetry.

³⁶⁸ Haishang 海上 was a part of Xiongnu territory.

³⁶⁹ Zilu is Su Wu 蘇武, a minister of the Han emperor Wu, sent as a diplomatic envoy to the Xiongnu; the term used here (*zhi jie* 持節) refers specifically to Han emissaries to the Xiongnu (*Han shu* 8.2466). Su Wu was 'transported to an uninhabited part of the Northern Sea...and was forced to herd rams' (*Han shu* 54.2463).

³⁷⁰ Mao Mausoleum 茂陵 is the tomb of Han Emperor Wu, who died while Su Wu was imprisoned by the Xiongnu. Su Wu's visit to the mausoleum was one of mourning.

³⁷¹ Ding Lingwei 丁令威 is the name of an immortal in *Sequel to Seeking the Supernatural* (*Soushen houji* 搜神後記), generally attributed to Tao Yuanming, and translated in Tao Qian and Richard VanNess Simmons, "The *Soushen houji*," 1986. 61-2. There is no mention of a bitter moon in the original, but Lingwei, who has transformed into a bird, takes flight to escape the arrows of a youth who tries to shoot him, bemoaning that 'the grave mounds are piled high'.

Although there may be differences between immortal and mortal beings, the significance of parting is the same.

390 In the dust of the Bamboo Palace, there was neither speech nor laughter, just the broken-hearted guest of the autumn wind.³⁷²

Beneath Mawei Slope was broken jade and scattered flowers, and the broken-hearted minister of the roving moon.³⁷³

And there was one who was born and came to adulthood in the inner
395 chambers,³⁷⁴ and was given as a bride to a son of Yan.³⁷⁵

How could anyone place such importance on achievement, and take parting so lightly; shouldering white-fledged arrows,³⁷⁶ and leaving for Qinghai?³⁷⁷

With the passing of sweltering summer days and cold winter nights, my beauty is lost, and who can I spend my time with? Sorrows melt the brightest jade

³⁷² Kim and Shin and Im both note the 'guest of the autumn wind' as a reference to the *Lament of the Autumn Wind* (*qiufengci* 秋風辭), attributed to the Han Emperor Wu and written after the death of his concubine Lady Li 李夫人 (Kim, *Cheongun sosol*. 52, Im, Sin, and Im, *Sinp'yon Paekho chonjip*. 452). The *Lament* can be found in *Han shu* 51.2346.

³⁷³ Mawei Slope was the execution ground of Imperial Consort Yang (*Yang Guifei* 楊貴妃), consort of the Tang dynasty emperor Xuanzong 玄宗. To be 'broken like jade' is to die with glory. There are many poetic accounts of Yang Guifei's death, the preeminent example being Bai Juyi's *Song of Everlasting Regret* (*changhen ge* 長恨歌) (*Quan Tang shi* 435.4816-20). The 'minister of the roving moon' refers to the emperor, brokenhearted after she was killed by his own men.

³⁷⁴ Bai Juyi's *Song of Everlasting Regret*: 'raised in the inner chambers, no one knew of her beauty' (*Quan Tang shi* 435.4816).

³⁷⁵ The Yan here refers to the Murong 慕容. There are two possible alliance marriages that may be being referenced here: one was of the marriage 弘化公主 to Murong Nuohebo 慕容諾曷鉢 (died 688) in 640 C.E; the second was when Emperor Xuanzong of Tang married Princess Yanjun 燕郡公主, whose own surname was Murong, to Khitan prince Li Yuyu 李郁於.

³⁷⁶ This mimics Jiang's *Rhapsody on Separation*: 'And then, bordering commanderies are not yet pacified, And a man, bearing plumed arrows, marches with the army.' Knechtges, *WX* 3, 205.

³⁷⁷ Qinghai 青海, modern Guangzhou 廣州.

400 cheeks, and regrets cause flower-like beauty to wither away. Plum blossoms
simply break, and it is hard to find a mounted messenger [to carry them];
though I wrote a brocade letter, I have no way to send it.

But it was nothing more than rolling up the hanging screen at the Blue Mansion,
and striking the golden oriole.³⁷⁸

405 Moreover, there was one whose lord's favour cooled, and for a long while she
retired to [the Hall of] Abiding Faith.³⁷⁹

If the separation is one of great distance, then there is no alternative. But if the
separation is not so great a distance, then how can one bear it?

On the empty stairs, the moss grows long, and the emperor's Jade Carriage
410 does not come. Only fireflies flit past the half-shuttered door.

There is no one in the emperor's Golden Palace. She would rather not offer
money to buy a rhapsodic poem,³⁸⁰ and can only envy the "brightness of cold
crows".³⁸¹ How miserable!

³⁷⁸ There are two possible allusions to Tang dynasty poets here. The first is Jin Changxu's 金昌緒 *Spring Lament* (*chun yuan* 春怨): 'Hit the yellow oriole, Don't let it sing on the branches, When it sings, it breaks into my dreams, And keeps me from Liaoxi!' (*Quan Tang shi* 768.8724; translation follows *How to Read Chinese Poetry: A Guided Anthology* ed. Zong-qi Cai page 204); another possibility is Wang Chanling's 王昌齡 *Lament of the Blue Mansion* (*qing lou yuan* 青樓怨) (*QuanTang shi* 143.1445-6).

³⁷⁹ The passage 'my lord's favour will cool' is associated with discarded lovers. It appears in Cui Hao's 崔顥 (died 450 C.E) *Lament of Long Gate* (*changmen yuan* 長門怨): 'The lord's favour [then] began to cool, and he cast his concubine aside to Long Gate Palace.' The Hall of Abiding Faith (*changxin* 長信) was where Ban Jieyu 班婕妤 retired after losing her youth and beauty, and composed her *Song of resentment* (translation follows Zong-qi Cai, *How to read Chinese: poetry a guided anthology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).)

“Her soul’s flight trails the flashing sword at night”;³⁸² that was Consort Yu in
415 the tents of Chu.

“Her sweet heart willing to part in death, so that they need not be parted while
living”:³⁸³ that was Green Pearl in the Golden Valley.³⁸⁴

As the fragrant grasses grow lush and verdant, one regrets that the prince does
not return.³⁸⁵

420 As the flying clouds darken, it gives rise to the yearning for a filial son.

³⁸⁰ This refers to the story behind *The Lament of Long Gate Palace* 長門賦 in *Wen xuan*; Sima Xiangru composed this poem for the Empress Chen, thereby restoring her to favour with the Emperor.

³⁸¹ ‘The brightness of cold crows’ is a quotation of Tang poet Wang Changling’s 王昌齡 (698-756) ‘Autumn Songs of the Hall of Abiding Faith’ (*changxin qiuci* 長信秋詞), describing Ban Jieyu increasing distress and misery over losing the favour of her lord (*Quan Tang shi* 143.1445; for translation see Cai, *How to read Chinese: poetry a guided anthology*. 214-15). The poem includes a range of motifs that turn up throughout *The Citadel*, such as the pawlonias by the well. In the end, Ban is so worn out with her misery and distress that she does not even measure up to the ‘brightness of cold crows’: not a very attractive point of comparison to begin with. Im Je draws on this allusion to portray a palace lady in a piteous state, in which her grief affecting her physical appearance.

³⁸² This passage is a direct quotation from ‘The Beauty Yu’ (*Yu meiren* 虞美人) by the Song dynasty poet Lady Wei 魏夫人 (1040-1103). This quotation describes the tragic death of Xiang Yu’s consort: the two killed themselves in quick succession when Xiang Yu faced defeat in the Chu-Han contention. For a partial translation, see Li, *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women: Tang Through Ming, 618-644*. 440-442.

³⁸³ This is a quotation from Song dynasty poet Du Dong’s 杜東 original poem *Green Pearl* 綠珠.

³⁸⁴ The Golden Valley (*Jingyu* 金谷) was a part of the country estate of Shi Chong 石崇 (249-300 C.E), and Green Pearl (*Lu Zhu* 綠珠) was his favourite concubine. Once, while he was at Golden Valley enjoying the company of ‘his women’, Sun Xiu sent a messenger to take Green Pearl from him, but he would not give her up. The political intrigues that were to follow culminated in his arrest, at which time his remarks were to the effect that this was the punishment for his refusal to give her up. Green Pearl committed suicide by jumping ‘from the upper story’ and Shi Chong was executed. (*Shishuo Xinyu* 36.1, Mather 526-7; *Jin shu* 33.1000). Du Mu’s 杜牧 *Jingyu yuan* 金谷園 (*Qing Tang shi* 525.6013) also refers to these events.

³⁸⁵ Reference to *Chuci* 12.2, *Summons for a gentleman who became a recluse* (*zhao yin shi* 招隱士): ‘One has climbed up by the cassia boughs, Who wishes to tarry there. A prince went wandering and did not return. In spring the grass grows lush and green. At the year’s evening, Comfortless, The cicada sings with a mournful chirp [...] O Prince, return!’

Friends have fervent and true bonds; though they may be cut off from each other, like clouds and trees, they think of each other.³⁸⁶

The wagtails are filled with feelings of bitterness; from Qiong and Lei [provinces], they gaze at each other.³⁸⁷

- 425 Master Tube City's tears were all dried up, and his head was bald; his distress made it difficult for him to complete the document.³⁸⁸ He then recited the verse "human life is but separations!"³⁸⁹

He wished to withdraw to the celestial realms, but when he encountered the Cowherd and the Weaving Maid,³⁹⁰ he turned back.

- 430 Outside the walls of the Citadel, there was a man, who took hold of Master Tube City, and said:

³⁸⁶ The image of clouds and trees is an image for parted friends, thinking of each other. One prominent example is Du Fu's *Remembering Li Bai on a Spring Day* (*chunri yi Li Bai* 春日憶李白), in which he writes: 'North of the river Wei, I look at the trees under spring skies; East of the river Jiang [Yangtze], he sees the clouds swallowing the sun. When will we share a pot of wine, and argue about [composition again]?' (*Quan Tang shi* 224.2395).

³⁸⁷ In parallel with male friendships, wagtails symbolise the bond between brothers (*Poetry* 164). Qiong and Lei are names of provinces during the Tang dynasty: Qiongzhou 瓊州 was in present-day Hainan, while Leizhou 雷州 was established as an administrative unit in the sixth century in the far south-west of modern Guangdong. As such, Qiongzhou and Leizhou were in sight of each other. Su Shi 蘇軾 (1037-1101 C.E) was exiled from court to Qiongzhou, and his younger brother Su Zhe 蘇轍 (1039-1112 C.E) took up in Leizhou. Su Shi wrote a poem for Su Zhe after seven years of separation (*shuidiao getou bingchen zhongqiu* 水調歌頭 丙辰中秋).

³⁸⁸ This is a parallel with the *Tale of Brush Tip*. The brush, when overused, becomes ragged and bald, and is no longer useful to its master.

³⁸⁹ Kim notes this as a reference to Tang dynasty Yu Wuling's (于武陵, b. 810 C.E.) short poem *Critiquing Wine* (*quan jiu* 勸酒) (*Quang Tang shi* 595.6895): 'As flowers are scattered by wind and rain, so human lives end in parting.

³⁹⁰ Even celestial bodies are separated—the cowherd and the weaving maid is a folktale of separated lovers, able to meet once a year on the seventh day of the seventh moon, as the celestial bodies come together.

‘Why do you recall the past, yet forget the present, and make notes on the records of the dead,³⁹¹ yet disdain the living? I have a poem, regarding distinguished men of the present generation.. Let me trouble you to copy it
435 down.’

Then, in a loud voice, he broke into recital:

For a person to be deemed a remarkable man,

Before the age of fifteen, he can comprehend all *Six Secret Strategic Teachings*.³⁹²

Dust forms on the ancient casket; his sword is left unused,³⁹³

440 And as far as the eye can see, across the rivers and the passes, autumnal airs
rise high.

In middle age, he enjoys reading the works of Confucius.

All along, that which brought him shame was not wearing a tattered gown.³⁹⁴

But the song of the cowherd does not enter the ears of the King of Qi;³⁹⁵

445 The hair above one’s temples begins to shine bright, as dusk turns to dawn.

³⁹¹ ‘Augmenting the records of the dead’ (*dian gui bu* 點鬼簿, also written 点鬼簿) is a derogatory term for someone who misuses references to the dead. First used by Tang literatus Zhang Zhuo (張鷟, 658? – 730), author of *You xian ku* 游仙窟 (translation in Paul F. Rouzer, *Articulated ladies: gender and the male community in early Chinese texts* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2001)).

³⁹² The *Six Teachings* were attributed to Jiang Ziya 姜子牙 (11th century B.C.E). See Mei-chün Sawyer and Ralph D. Sawyer, *The Seven military classics of ancient China: Wu jing qi shu* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993).

³⁹³ A sheathed sword (lit. boxed; *xiajian* 匣劍) is a euphemism for someone with hidden talents.

³⁹⁴ Not minding tattered or simple clothing is a way of expressing indifference to poverty. Contrasted with the luxuriance of furs in the *Analects*.

³⁹⁵ A reference to the career of Ning Qi 甯戚, a cowherd, whom Duke Huan of Qi employed after hearing him sing as he tended his oxen. *Huainanzi* 12; *Chuci*.

Master Tube City listened to this poem. He copied it down, his emotions running deep. He combined it with placards of the four gates, and displayed it before the Celestial Lord. But the Lord had no sooner given it a single glance than sorrow overcame him. He hid his hands in his sleeves and fell silent. In a
450 state of melancholy, the year came to an end.

In spring of the second year, in the second lunar month, the Venerable Master sent [the Lord] a memorial:

‘Spring marks the change of year; the myriad things are all rejuvenated. All things living among the grasses and trees are flourishing!

455 ‘Now, your lordship has been endowed with a nature most efficacious, and you possess a vital force of the ultimate greatness. Yet you are oppressed by the Citadel of Sorrows, which has troubled you for such a long time. How could this be called anything but anguish?³⁹⁶ It is only that the Citadel of Sorrows has a strong foundation, which is difficult to completely uproot.

460 ‘I have heard that, on the outskirts of Apricot Flower Village,³⁹⁷ there is a general: he has the reputation of ‘a saint and a sage’,³⁹⁸ and the vital force of one

³⁹⁶ Anguish, literally ‘overflowing tears’ (*liu ti* 流涕) is a common term, used frequently in the *Songs of Chu* to describe the misery of longing for recognition.

³⁹⁷ ‘Apricot Flower Village’ (*xinghuacun* 杏花村) refers to *Qingming*, a couplet by Du Mu, which reads: “At the time of the Qingming festival, rain falls like tears; the traveller’s spirit is breaking; where can a wine house be found to drown his sadness? A cowherd points to Apricot Flower Village in the distance.”

³⁹⁸ These are two classifications of wine.

who is bold and ardent; broad and deep, like a thousand-cubit wave, he is unfathomable.³⁹⁹

‘He is of the Han line, hailing from Malt Citadel,⁴⁰⁰ and the son of Mister Malt.⁴⁰¹ His personal name is Yang,⁴⁰² and his courtesy name is Great Harmony.⁴⁰³ He is very much like his father in manner and style.

‘From the beginning, there was already a division between him and Qu Yuan.⁴⁰⁴ There was a time when he was with the two Ruans [Ji and Xian], Ji [Kang], and Liu [Ling] while they indulged themselves in the Bamboo Grove,⁴⁰⁵ and, dressed in white,⁴⁰⁶ he called upon Yuanliang in Xunyang.⁴⁰⁷ Li Bai once traded a golden turtle, for a friendship in the end transcending life and death.⁴⁰⁸

³⁹⁹ This imitates the description of Huang Xian (*Shishuo Xinyu* 1.3, Mather 2). The continuation of the description, brought to mind for a contemporary reader, concerns purity: ‘clarify him and he grows no purer, stir him and he grows no muddier’, before concluding, like Im Je, that the person in question is unfathomable.

⁴⁰⁰ Gucheng 穀城 was in the duchy of Lu, and was where Xiang Yu was originally enfeoffed by King Huai of Chu. The King of Han gained an alliance with Peng Yue by promising him the lands between Suiyang and Gucheng, and also buried Xiang Yu there with appropriate honours after defeating him (*Shiji* 7.220; 8.134). The implication is that the general is a direct descendant of the victor of the Chu-Han contention, the king of Han, foreshadowing the general’s own victory against Qu Yuan, former minister of Chu.

⁴⁰¹ Mister Malt (*Guksaeng* 麴生).

⁴⁰² The Chinese reading of Yang is *xiang*; the character means ‘assistance’. The editor marked the homophone.

⁴⁰³ The Chinese reading of Taehwa is *taihe* 太和, meaning ‘great harmony’. This is used in reference to the peace brought on by drinking in Du Mu’s *Drinking Alone* (*du zhuo* 獨酌) (*Quan Tang shi* 521.5960).

⁴⁰⁴ Qu Yuan bemoans that he alone among the ministers of the King of Chu is sober and aware (*Chuci* 7.2).

⁴⁰⁵ The description of Ruan Ji 阮籍, Ruan Xian 阮咸, Ji Kang 嵇康, and Liu Ling 劉伶 ‘taking their leisure in the bamboo grove’ is a delicate reference to the alcoholic proclivities of the ‘seven sages’, who have a somewhat ahistorical reputation for their reclusion from affairs of state.

⁴⁰⁶ “Dressed in white” means as a commoner, or while unemployed.

'Afterwards, this was considered an incident of purchasing honorary rank; but he was able to clear his reputation of this small offence, since, after all, it was not his original mind.⁴⁰⁹

475 'Now, Yang only admires [things that are] pure and clear, and only likes the
profoundly righteous.⁴¹⁰ But whether pure or impure, he has never thrown
[anything] away. He is intimate with many women,⁴¹¹ and he possesses the
vital force [of one who can make] a battering ram of wine cups and spiced
meat.⁴¹² I humbly put forward that adopting⁴¹³ their strengths is the way in
480 which the enlightened lord can make use of others.

⁴⁰⁷ Yuanliang 元亮 was the courtesy name of Tao Yuanming 陶淵明, scholar and 'recluse'; Xunyang 潯陽 is the province in which he was born. *Xu jinyang qiu* 續晉陽秋 relates that a man in white was sent by Wang Rong to supply Tao Yuanming with alcohol when he ran out.

⁴⁰⁸ This is a reference to Li Bai. He Zhizhang was reportedly so amazed by Li Bai's poetic talent that he exchanged a golden turtle (an ornament marking public office) in order to be able to treat Li to wine. (See Li Bai's poem *In memory of sharing wine with Supervisor He [Zhizhang]*).

⁴⁰⁹ Original mind is a term with Buddhist connotations.

⁴¹⁰ This should be read 'wine dregs' (*bu eui* 浮蟻), as in the wine offered in Tao Yuanming's *In Imitation of Coffin Puller's Songs* (*Ni wan ge ci* 擬挽歌辭): 'In the past I had no wine to drink; Only now do they fill cups for me in vain. In spring, wine dregs form; When may I taste it again?' (Chan, *Considering the end: mortality in early medieval Chinese poetic representation*. 101).

⁴¹¹ This is an allusion to the biography of the Duke of Wei 魏公子 (*Shiji* 77.2384), describing a decadent lifestyle.

⁴¹² 'To break through while at cups and dishes' (*zhe chong zun zu* 折衝樽俎) refers to one of superior martial ability, able to attain victory with minimal conflict: 'The enlightened ruler will do battle by not bringing out a single soldier yet the enemy will be overcome. No assault towers will be used but cities will surrender. [...] This is what I meant by defeat achieved at a banquet, generals captures while sitting in a room, cities razed between the wine and the spiced meat, and a battering ram broken by a sleeping mat.' 此臣之所謂比之堂上，禽將戶內，拔城於尊俎之間，折衝席上者也。 This refers to the successes of Wei Yang on behalf of the king of Qin: because of his strategic skill he was able to assist the king in taking over other states and overcoming enemies with very little difficulty (*Zhanguo ce* 12).

⁴¹³ The characters 取 meaning *take* and 醉 meaning *drunk* are homophonous in Korean (*chwi*).

'I ask your Lordship to use humble words and generous gifts.⁴¹⁴ If he comes and takes a seat, and you honour him and offer him titles, then he will pacify the Citadel of Sorrows. Then, everything will go back to being pure, as it was of old. Truly, it is not difficult. Respectfully, I submit this memorial.'

485 The Celestial Lord replied: 'I am simply lacking in virtue and I can only follow your reproof, as though submitting to the current of the river. I entrust the affair of welcoming General Malt to the Venerable Master. Devote yourself to this task.'

The Master said: 'Square Coin⁴¹⁵ is an old friend of his, and would be able to
490 bring him here.'

The lord thereupon summoned Square Coin: 'Go [to General Malt]. Speak on my behalf,⁴¹⁶ so as to reflect my thirst to see him.'

Square Coin accepted the command. With his follower Baekmun,⁴¹⁷ he set out with a staff to support himself. They visited all of the riverside villages and
495 mountain forts, but the general was nowhere to be seen.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁴ Being 'humble with words and generous with gifts' (*beicihoubi* 卑辭重幣) refers to the strategy of flattery and material incentives to convince others to serve; usually a diplomatic strategy used to recalibrate the power balance between states, as in *locus classicus Zhanguo ce* 5.9.18-19, and then in *Shiji* 79.2410.

⁴¹⁵ Square Coin is the hole in the middle of coins; here, the personification of money (Kim, *Ch'ongun sosol*. 58), and an allusion to *The Tale of Square Coin* by Im Chun.

⁴¹⁶ In the *Analects* 6.6, this phrase is translated as 'Be so good as to decline on my behalf' (*shan wei wo ci yan* 善為我辭焉), referring to the fact that the speaker has no interest in a job offer he has received. This would not make sense here, as the Celestial Lord is discussing the prospect of employing someone else. Rather than 'decline', *sa* 辭 is taken to have the meaning of 'speak'.

⁴¹⁷ K: *baekmun* C: *baiwen* 百文.

They only came across a shepherd boy who came on an ox, wearing a raincoat
of woven rushes.⁴¹⁹

Square Coin asked him, 'Do you know where the General Malt Yang lives?'

The shepherd boy smiled. 'It's not far from here. It's just out of sight.'

500 He pointed to Evergreen Village, encircled by a wall of apricot trees.⁴²⁰

Square Coin then set off along a narrow road that ran beside a brook, fringed by
fragrant grasses. Arriving at the wall, he indeed found, beneath the shadow of a
blue [wineshop] flag,⁴²¹ Yang, seated, with a wine-shop beauty.⁴²²

Seeing Square Coin coming, he showed the whites of his eyes,⁴²³ and said:

505 'Brother, you look exhausted: you have come such a long way to call on me.

How can I repay you?'

⁴¹⁸ This is an allusion to Du Mu's poem *Spring Comes to Jiangnan* (*Jiangnan chun* 江南春): 'For a thousand miles the oriole sings, crimson against the green, Riverside villages, mountain rampart, wineshop streamers in the wind. Of the 480 monasteries of the Southern Dynasties How many towers and terraces loom in the misty rain?' (*Quan Tang shi* 522.5964; A. C. Graham, *Poems of the late T'ang* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965). 125). This is to emphasise that Square Coin has traversed great distances, and yet not come across the wineshop flags which will mark the location of the general.

⁴¹⁹ The shepherd boy's appearance resumes the allusion to Du Mu's poem *Qingming*; the 'coat of woven rushes' (*hesuo* 荷蓑) appears to have been an embellishment of the shepherd boy's image in the Tang poet Li She's 李涉 *The Cowherd* (*mutong ci* 牧童詞): 'In the morning he drives the cattle, drives them down to the river's edge; in the evening he drives the cattle, drives them back to the village in the valley. He wears a coat of woven rushes when he goes out into the woods in the fine spring rain' (*Quan Tang shi* 477.5426).

⁴²⁰ Allusion to Wu Rong 吴融, *On the way to Apricot Flower [Village]* (*tuzhong jian xinghua* 途中見杏花) (*Quan Tang shi* 687.7891).

⁴²¹ This is another reference to Du Mu's *Spring Comes to Jiangnan*: the flags of wineshops streaming in the wind.

⁴²² Im and Shim regard 'the beauty' as a reference to Zhuo Wenjun, the wife of Sima Xiangru, the two of whom eloped and opened a wineshop together. However, in the context of what follows it is more likely to be a reference to Ruan Ji. Ruan Ji would often drink at the tavern of his neighbor, whose pretty wife worked as a barmaid (*Shishuo xinyu* 22.8).

Square Coin berated him. '[If you] wish to come in exchange for gold pendants and cap,⁴²⁴ [or] wish for an invitation to Western Liang,⁴²⁵ how can you treat me so disrespectfully?

510 'The Lord of Returning to the Start is imperilled by the Citadel of Sorrows. He has heard of your virtuous conduct, and so he wishes you to take on the responsibility of the matter of cleansing the world of injustice.

'Morning and night, he is expecting you, and wishes you would accept the order to open [your mind] to him, and thereby enrich his.⁴²⁶

515 'Because our two families have a long history of friendship, General, I have been sent specially to make this request. How can you act with such impropriety?'

Yang then put away the whites of his eyes, and showed his pupils.

Thereafter, while playing Cai Zun's game of pitch-pot,⁴²⁷ he said, 'Whether or
520 not there are sorrows depends on my presence alone.'

⁴²³ Ruan Ji's 'white and black eyes' are one of his most distinctive features. This is a reference to the commentary on *Shishuo xinyu* 24.4: Xi Xi attempts to visit Ruan Ji while the latter is in mourning, and Ruan Ji is unimpressed, showing only 'the whites of his eyes'. Xi Xi's younger brother Xi Kang, on the other hand, visits with a gift of wine, and he and Ruan Ji are able to become good friends, reflecting Ruan Ji's predilection for drinking over conventional etiquette, for which he was renowned in later ages. See also *Jin shu* 49.1361.

⁴²⁴ 'Exchanging a gold cap for alcohol' (*jin diao huan jiu* 金貂换酒) refers to unruly behaviour of officials.

⁴²⁵ Western Liang (K: *seoryang* C: *xiliang* 西凉) was a state at the fall of the Western Jin 西晋 established by Li Gao 李暠 (351-417 C.E). It would become the Tang dynasty.

⁴²⁶ This refers to a profound bond of understanding between a ruler and his subject. From *History* 17.3: '[The king to his prime minister, Yue:] "Morning and evening present your instructions to aid my virtue...Open your mind [to me], and enrich my mind."'

He thereupon dressed himself in his furs, worth a thousand pieces of gold, saddled up his dappled horse,⁴²⁸ raised his troops, and came forth. He then arrived at Lei Province.⁴²⁹ At that time, it was the fifteenth day of the third month.

525 The Celestial Lord then made Brush Tip go to work, saying to the General:

‘You have not forsaken your lonely sovereign⁴³⁰ but have come here with your troops.⁴³¹ I am truly delighted! How could one possibly measure such a great vessel [as you]? I depend on men of such outstanding talents as you as my mouthpiece.⁴³² For the time being I will appoint you Commander-in-chief of the

530 three provinces of Flagon,⁴³³ Bottle,⁴³⁴ and Urn,⁴³⁵ and General Superior of Expelling Sorrows. Within the palace threshold, I am in control; outside the

⁴²⁷ ‘Pitch-pot’ (*touhu* 投壺) is a drinking game in which players compete as to who can throw the most arrows into a distant pot. It is associated with Cai Zun 蔡遵 (*Hou Han shu* 20.738-44).

⁴²⁸ Representing the use of alcohol in overcoming negative emotions, this is a reference to Li Bai’s poem *Invitation to wine* (*jiang jin jiu* 將進酒): ‘Take my flower-dappled horse, My thousands worth of furs, Give them to the boy to exchange for good wine, We’ll sweep away the woes of ten thousand years!’ (*Quan Tang shi* 17.169-70).

⁴²⁹ Im Je seems to intend this to be read literally as a place name here. Lei province 雷州 was in the extreme south-west of modern Guangdong 廣東.

⁴³⁰ ‘The orphaned ruler’ (*goju* 孤主) and ‘purchasing alcohol’ (*goju* 沽酒) are homophones, so this is both ‘do not forsake your lonely sovereign’ and ‘do not omit to buy wine’.

⁴³¹ ‘Troops’ (*byeong* 兵) and ‘wine jug’ (*byeong* 瓶) are homophonous, meaning that this can also be read as ‘hold the wine jugs’.

⁴³² ‘Mouthpiece’ (*huseol* 喉舌) literally means ‘throat and tongue’, but can refer to either a spokesperson of the king or to the lip of a bottle. The former use can be found in discourse on statecraft in *Poetry* 260: ‘Give out the royal decrees, and report on them. Be the king’s throat and tongue; Spread his government abroad, So that in all quarters it shall be responded to.’

⁴³³ The name of this “province”, ‘harmony’ (K: *ong* C: *yong* 雍), is marked to be read as ‘pottery wine cask’ (K: *ong* C: *weng* 瓮).

⁴³⁴ The name of this “province”, ‘well’ (K: *byeong* C: *jing* 井), is marked to be read as ‘bottle’ (K: *byeong* C: *ping* 瓶).

⁴³⁵ The name of this “province”, ‘thunder’ (K: *noi* C: *lei* 雷), is marked to be read as a type of earthenware wine jar (K: *noi* C: *lei* 甕).

threshold, you will be in charge.⁴³⁶ In considering advancing and retreating,⁴³⁷
have the troops attack in force.⁴³⁸

535 ‘Now, I send you Secretary Brush Tip. Sometimes, he will convey my wishes,
but he is to remain with you to use as Chief Secretary. Let it be known.’

Great Harmony then ordered Brush Tip to compose a letter of thanks.

‘In the third month of the second year of Returning to the Start, I, Malt Assistant,
General Superior of Expelling Sorrows and Grand Preceptor of Flagon, Bottle,
and Urn, send my most respectful regards.⁴³⁹

540 ‘I have abstained from cereals to refine my essence,⁴⁴⁰ and for a long time I have
preserved the sun and moon within a bottle.⁴⁴¹ To order disorder depends on a
sage; at last, I have the honour of rank and investiture, but to look upon myself,
I am distressed. This apportionment is truly excessive.

⁴³⁶ An expression used when employing a general, this from Han Xin’s biography (*Shiji* 102.2758-9).

⁴³⁷ The term *jintui zhenzhuo* 進退斟酌 means deliberation, but also the pouring of wine: i.e. the drinking etiquette of knowing when to pour and when not to pour.

⁴³⁸ Or ‘tip the *bottle* over’.

⁴³⁹ Literally, ‘cower fearfully (*hwanggong* 惶恐) and bow a hundred times (*baekbae* 百拜)’.

⁴⁴⁰ This is a reference to the Daoist practice of abstaining from cereals (*bigu* 辟穀), a prerequisite for ‘nourishing inner nature’ (*yangxing* 養性) and attaining immortality. For details on abstaining from cereals see Henri Maspero, *Taoism and Chinese religion* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981). 255. Because Great Harmony represents alcohol, which is a by-product of grains, ‘abstaining from cereals’ appears deliberately comical.

⁴⁴¹ Keeping the sun and moon in a bottle was another Daoist practice. Broadly, the expressions both refer to living in retirement and saving up one’s energies. For one prominent example, see Li Bai’s ‘On ending my voyage and returning to my old home in Shimen’ (下途歸石門舊居) (*Quan Tang shi* 181.1841-2).

‘Your humble servant Yang is of the family clan of Malt Citadel, and the lineage
545 of Dregs Creek.⁴⁴² The Wang and Xie families⁴⁴³ both followed [the Yangs], and
controlled cultivated urbanity⁴⁴⁴ south of the lower reaches of the Yellow River.
Xi [Kang] and Liu [Ling] did as they pleased, living in seclusion in the bamboo
grove. For half my life moving between public office and retirement,⁴⁴⁵ I’ve only
got these ceramic-glazed bell-glasses and parrot-shaped cups.⁴⁴⁶ For a hundred
550 years, in terms of friendly relations, I’ve only got the Gaoyang drunk of the Xi
family [Shan Jian].⁴⁴⁷ I’ve contradicted the rites and laws, and been wild and
unrestrained. How could I expect that you would not cast me aside?⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴² This term (K: *Jogye* C: *Caoxi* 曹溪) is a pun suggestive of a *Seon* Buddhist lineage: ‘曹溪’ and ‘漕溪’ are homophones, and ‘流’ can refer to a sect. In China, this was the site of a temple in Guangdong associated with the Tang Buddhist monk Huineng 惠能; in the Joseon, *Jogye* Buddhism drew on the Huineng association. Further, in terms of wordplay, Shin and Im note that *jo* 曹 should be read as the homophonous *jo* 糟 meaning ‘dregs’ (Im, Sin, and Im, *Sinp’yon Paekho chonjip*. 460).

⁴⁴³ The Wangs and Ans were the two leading court families in the south during the fourth century.

⁴⁴⁴ ‘Cultivated urbanity’ (K: *pungryu* C: *fengliu* 風流) was a personal ideal of the literati of the Wei-Jin period: to use ‘their words and deeds, poetry and prose to make their life one that was infused with art’ (‘Tao Yuanming’, Knechtges and Chang, *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature: A Reference Guide, Part Two*. 1097).

⁴⁴⁵ Character variant: *Korean classics database*: 半歲行藏; Kim: 半世行藏. The compound ‘acting and retiring’ (*xing cang* 行藏) is about knowing when to act, and when not to act. The *locus classicus* is the *Analects*, 15.6: ‘When called to office, to undertake its duties; when not so called, to lie retired’; in praise of Qu. Pan Yue uses this allusion in *Rhapsody on a Westward Journey* (*xizheng fu* 西征賦): ‘Confucius, following the times, would come into service and retire; Qu would, for the state, unfurl and curl himself away [as needed]’ (Xiao and Knechtges, *Wen xuan, or, Selections of refined literature Vol. 2*. 182-84).

⁴⁴⁶ These are terms for ornate cups or glasses, from Tang dynasty poetry. The most likely allusion is to the ‘cormorant ladle and the parrot cup’ (鸕鷀杓, 鸚鵡杯) in Li Bai’s ‘Song of Xiangyang’ (*xiangyang ge* 襄陽歌) (translated by Joseph Lee in Wuji Liu and Irving Yucheng Lo, *Sunflower splendor: three thousand years of Chinese poetry* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975). 102-3). This type of image was common in Tang poetry.

⁴⁴⁷ Im Je has General Malt describe his truculent conduct with this allusion to the Gaoyang drunk of the Xi family 習家, who often drank by this pond in Xiangyang. The Xi family pond was a general “symbol of freedom and abandonment in Tang poetry”; members of the Xi family

'But then, you task me to command your campaign. Looking at my unrestrained behaviour, how can you think I am fit for such great rank?⁴⁴⁹

555 'This is to say that I have encountered one who is unrivalled in his employment of the worthy,⁴⁵⁰ for this is the method for attacking sorrows: to permit me, at this time, to restore the Mean, and have no doubt in using me! Though I have been much-criticised, you alone have made the judgement in your mind.

'So you assigned me, even one of inferior talent, in your great generosity.

560 Would I dare not strive to increase noble deeds, and spread your good name?⁴⁵¹

'Through a cup of wine, I will unleash military force. Even though this may be inferior to the schemes of Zhao Pu,⁴⁵² you will, within yourself, have an army at

and Shan Jian 山簡, youngest son of Shan Tao 山濤 of the Seven Sages, would drink together there (Xiaoshan Yang, *Metamorphosis of the private sphere: gardens and objects in Tang-Song poetry*, vol. 225. (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003). 25). Shan Jian "blissfully neglected his official duties", preferring to drink himself silly (Ping Wang and Nicholas M. Williams, *Southern identity and southern estrangement in Medieval Chinese Poetry* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015). 168).

⁴⁴⁸ This phrase is from *Poetry* 10. The narrator of this poem has, in the first stanza, been parted from their lord; in the second, the lord has returned, and the narrator is relieved that 'he didn't desert me after all'. Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Before Confucius: studies in the creation of the Chinese classics* (Albany, N.Y: State University of New York Press, 1997). 226.

⁴⁴⁹ A *jak* 爵 was a type of ceremonial cup in ancient times, as well as referring to rank or office.

⁴⁵⁰ See Yi Hwang, Diagram 9, *Admonition of Mindfulness Studio*.

⁴⁵¹ These terms describe both types of virtuous conduct and flavours of alcohol.

⁴⁵² This is a reference to an incident in which the founding emperor of the Song dynasty Taizu 太祖 held a banquet; ostensibly to thank his military leaders for their assistance in placing him on the throne, but in fact planned to flatter them gently into retirement. This was at the recommendation of his minister Zhao Pu 趙普. See the *Book of Song* 256.8932. In the story, Brush Tip currently holds the same rank as Zhao Pu.

your disposal; in this way you will probably be able to imitate the might of Zhongyan.⁴⁵³

565 When the Celestial Lord read the letter, he was greatly pleased.

He immediately appointed a strongman of Seiju⁴⁵⁴ as General of Engaging the Enemy, and made him Commissioner-in-chief.

At that time, the sun set, and the evening mists arose; a wind blew gently, and the swallows sang. Winged dispatches flew back and forth. The sound of drums
570 and pipes was rousing.

The general then climbed the mound of dregs. He sent a command to the Marquis of Zhuxu, Liu Zhang:⁴⁵⁵

'Military command must be of utmost rigour. You must take charge of it. Do not allow there to be arrogant generals who strike at the pillars [of the
575 palace].⁴⁵⁶ Do not allow there to be old soldiers who get drunk and desert.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵³ Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989-1052) served as Vice Chancellor of the Song dynasty from 1043-45 under Emperor Renzong, a position of tremendous political power and was skilled and circumspect in military affairs (*Song shu* 314.10276-10281).

⁴⁵⁴ A strongman of Seiju (*seiju yeoksa* 西州力士) appears to be a pun for alcohol.

⁴⁵⁵ Liu Zhang 劉章, Marquis of Zhuxu 朱虛侯 (died 177 BC), was a grandson of Liu Bang, founder of the Han dynasty. There is a famous instance in which he imposed martial law on a banquet: appointed by Empress Dowager Lu Zhi to supervise the drinking party, and make sure no one became unruly, he asked for permission to use martial law in this task. This was granted by the Empress Dowager, and Liu Zhang killed a drunkard. After this, the Lu family feared him (*Shiji*, 52.2000-2001). Im Je is drawing on the allusion to indicate the conflation of martial law and a banquet setting.

⁴⁵⁶ Soldiers who 'hack at the pillars of the palace' (*jizhu* 擊柱) refers to those who become belligerent when drunk. This originally described the followers and ministers of Liu Bang after he became Emperor Gaozu. Gaozu was worried about their conduct. His advisor, Shusun Tong 叔孫通 (d. 188 B.C.E), assisted him in devising rituals *appropriate to the people and the times* (*Shiji* 99.2721-2722). Then, even after ritual wine was distributed, everyone followed the rites.

Thereafter, the military troops were solemn and did not dare to make a commotion. In advancing and retreating, they exhibited order; when attacking in battle they followed configuration.

580 The troops took up a formation following the Six Flower Method, which resembled a sunflower. This was because it was used back when Li Jing attacked Goryeo.⁴⁵⁸ Due to the rugged and craggy mountains and valleys, they were unable to spread into eight battalions and so they attacked in the Six Flower formation. This was their system.

585 The General got into a jade boat and sailed across a pool of wine. He struck the oars [against the surface of the pool] and made a vow:⁴⁵⁹

‘That which recrosses the river and is not up to cleansing the Citadel of Sorrows is just water.’⁴⁶⁰

590 He thereupon anchored at the mouth of the sea. Soon after, he summoned Prefectural Secretary⁴⁶¹ Brush Tip, and immediately wrote the following dispatch:

⁴⁵⁷ An incident between Huan Wen and Xie Yi 谢奕 (Xie An’s elder brother) in which Xie Yi says he has ‘lost one old soldier and gained another’ (in reference to the bottle) when Huan Wen refuses to drink with him (*Jin shu* 79.2080).

⁴⁵⁸ The Six Flower formation is from *Tang Taizong Li Weigong wendui* 唐太宗李衛公問對, a question-and-answer dialogue between Emperor Tang Taizong 唐太宗 (r. 626-649) and Li Jing 李靖 (570-649 AD), Duke of Wei: it is one of the *Seven Military Classics* (*Wujing qishu* 武經七書).

⁴⁵⁹ There is a strong verbal parallel here with Zu Ti’s vow en route to attack his enemies (*Jin shu* 62.1693-1702).

⁴⁶⁰ Punctuation variation: Kim has 所不如盪愁城而復濟者,有如此水.

⁴⁶¹ The Chief Secretary of the Tang and Song dynasties: the full title was *jiedu zhangshuji* 節度掌書記.

'On this day, I, General Superior of Expelling Sorrows, and Grand Preceptor of Flagon, Bottle, and Urn, issue a proclamation to the Citadel of Sorrows.

'In the wayfarer's inn between heaven and earth, we pass by as guests of time.⁴⁶² Whether long-lived like Peng or dying young, the living all have the
595 same dream⁴⁶³ and all mortal lives follow the same track. While living [they feel] sorrow and regret. This does not compare with the happiness of an empty skull;⁴⁶⁴ how is it that [the skull] is not [mired in] grief?

'It is only you of the Citadel of Sorrows who have been troubled for a long time. [You have] only sought banished ministers, wistful wives, martyrs, and
600 dejected poets. All too easily, the face you see reflected in the mirror will become one that is withered, and prematurely whitens the hair on your temples. One cannot allow this to continue to spread and become difficult to deal with.

'Now, I have received the order of the Celestial Lord to assemble the troops of Xinfeng.⁴⁶⁵ The vanguard will be the strongman of Seoju. The supporting troops
605 will be Clam and Pincer.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶² Li Bai, *Preface to a banquet in Peach Blossom Garden* (春夜宴桃李園序).

⁴⁶³ Im Je is referring to those whose lives are extremely long, and those whose lives are extremely short with this compound (*pengshang* 彭殤) (*Zhuangzi* 2.5.3).

⁴⁶⁴ The 'empty skull' (*dulou* 髑髏) is another allusion to *Zhuangzi*, in which Master Zhuang, visiting the state of Chu, comes across a skull, and does not believe it when it tells him in a dream that it is 'happier than a king' (*Zhuangzi* 18.4).

⁴⁶⁵ Xinfeng 新豐 became known for producing high quality liquor. Xinfeng is popular in Tang poetry when discussing alcohol, such as in the works of Li Bai.

⁴⁶⁶ This is an allusion to the words of Bi Zhuo 畢卓, who said, 'Holding a crab's claw in one hand and a cup of wine in the other, paddling and swimming about in a pool of wine — ah! With that I'd be content to spend my whole life' (*Shishuo Xinyu* 23.21, Mather 407; *Jin shu* 49.1381). The foods are described in such a way that they sound like military manouvres.

'None would fight more fiercely, in wind and cloud formation, than Zhuge [Liang]'s army, and none would be more daring in the present or the past than the Hegemon King Xiang [Yu]. [But ones such as those] are nothing more than child's play [to me]. How would you be able to withstand [me]?

610 'Moreover, in the marshes of Chu, only one is sober;⁴⁶⁷ how could he be enough to get the others to heed him?'

On the day when the dispatch arrived, the flags for surrender were planted early and the Promulgation Official was sent to read out the dispatch in a solemn voice. It was heard throughout the Citadel.

615 All the people who filled the Citadel were minded to surrender. Only Qu Ping [Qu Yuan] did not succumb: he let his hair loose, and departed. No one knew where he went.

The General descended from the mouth of the sea, with all the speed of water pouring from a jug,⁴⁶⁸ and a force that could have split bamboo. The Citadel's gates opened of their own accord before an attack had even been launched.

620 Those within the Citadel surrendered before battle had even been joined. The General thereupon made a show of his martial power and authority. In some

⁴⁶⁷ Qu Yuan's solitary sobriety originally compares his relative moral superiority to those who are 'muddy' or 'impure' (*du* 濁) (*Chuci* 7.1; *Shiji* 84.2482, 2486); here, however, Qu Yuan's isolation is the reason it will be easy for General Malt to retake the Citadel.

⁴⁶⁸ The compound *jianling* 建瓴 first appears in *Shiji* 8.382: "Qin is a land of superlative configuration, surrounded by natural barriers of rivers and mountains, and stretching a thousand miles. He who commands an army of a million lances commands a hundred times that number if he holds the land of Qin. From such an advantageous stronghold, *sending forth troops to subdue the feudal lords is as easy as standing on a roof and pouring down water from a jug.*" (Emphasis added.)

cases, he [commanded the troops] to scatter, and they surrounded [the Citadel] from the outside; in other cases, he had them amass, and they camped within.

625 Their force was like a rising ocean tide around the kingdom, or a rain-swollen river flooding the Citadel.

The Celestial Lord ascended the Spirit Pavilion. He saw from a distance that the clouds were already vanishing, and the mists rolling away. A gentle breeze stirred and the spring sun emerged. Those who had felt sadness in former times
630 were delighted, and those who had suffered distress felt pleasure. Grudges were forgotten, and regrets disappeared. Those who had been resentful grew joyful, and those who had been full of ire were happy. Melancholy became sanguine. Gloominess became contentment. Moans and sighs became songs of praise. The wringing of hands became stamping and dancing.

635 Bolun [Liu Ling] praised his virtue.⁴⁶⁹ Sizong [Ruan Ji] irrigated his heart [with him].⁴⁷⁰ Yuanming [Tao Qian], in robes of hemp cloth and with his unadorned zither, gazed upon the trees in the courtyard with a peaceful countenance.⁴⁷¹ Taibai [Li Bai] received him in his brocade gown, “held aloft his winged cup, and got drunk with the moon”.⁴⁷² They drank until the jade mountains were

⁴⁶⁹ *Hymn to the virtue of alcohol* (*jiu de song* 酒德頌) was a poem by Liu Ling, one of the Seven Sages of the Jin (*Shishuo Xinyu* 4.69).

⁴⁷⁰ Ruan Ji irrigated his heart with alcohol (*Shishuo Xinyu* 23.51).

⁴⁷¹ Tao Qian, *Returning to my old home* (歸去來兮辭): ‘I casually look at the tree in the courtyard with a smile. Leaning against the southern window, I feel a sense of pride; I am content with this cozy place that will bring peace to my mind.’

⁴⁷² Li Bai’s *Preface to the banquet*: ‘In the midst of blooming flowers, we hold our elegant feast. In the moonlight, we pass our wine cups swiftly, from seat to seat, until we all feel tipsy.’

640 about to collapse;⁴⁷³ in the candlelight,⁴⁷⁴ flower petals flew before their eyes,
and moonbeams shone into the tent. The General ordered beauties to perform
the dance, 'The king of Qin breaks Jin'.⁴⁷⁵ The troops rejoiced and the army
returned victorious.

The Celestial Lord was greatly pleased. Shortly afterwards, he summoned
645 Master Tube City, and wrote to inform [the General]:

'I have shown you no kindness, yet you treat me with sincerity, and
[understand me so well that] you have entered my very heart. How can I
possibly reward you for the virtue that you have shown me? Once, twice, and
again, I bow to you!⁴⁷⁶ I have accomplished nothing, and I am ashamed. Now,
650 then, build a wall around where the Citadel of Sorrows used to be: it shall be
your bath-town.⁴⁷⁷ May you hold supreme command over the business of the
Three Provinces, as before; further to that, I enfeoff you in Happiness, and grant
you the third-rank title of Earl of Happiness.⁴⁷⁸ I also grant you one vessel of

⁴⁷³ 'The jade mountain about to collapse' is an allusion to a drunk Xi Kang from *Shishuo Xinyu* 14.5; Kim cites it as a second-hand allusion from Li Bai's *Song of Xiangyang*: 'Pure breeze and bright moon cost not a single coin, The jade mountain crumbles by itself, with no one pushing.' (Trans. Joseph Lee in Liu and Lo, *Sunflower splendor: three thousand years of Chinese poetry*. 102-3.)

⁴⁷⁴ Li Bai, *Preface to the Banquet*: 'Ancient people, with candlelight in hand, would roam at night, and this was quite appropriate.'

⁴⁷⁵ Im Je uses the *King of Qin Breaking the Enemy's Front* (*Qin wang po chen le* 秦王破陳樂) as a double entendre. The historical allusion is to a victorious military campaign, but the music was a Tang court dance, usually performed as entertainment at banquets.

⁴⁷⁶ This is written 'one bow' (*ilbae* 一拜) but is marked as *bae* 盃 — 'drink up, drink up, drink up!'

⁴⁷⁷ The Celestial Lord is gifting the General with the territory that he has conquered in battle. A 'bath-town' (*tangmuyi* 湯沐邑) was originally a place for a minister or official's ritual purification before he appeared at court before the emperor (*Rites* 5, as *tangmuzhiyi* 湯沐之邑), but later came to be territories bestowed by a ruler onto his subjects, associated with revenue or dowries (*Shiji* 8.389, 9.398).

⁴⁷⁸ Im Je is making another play on words by using the 'Earl of Happiness' (*huanbo* 懽伯). It originally appeared in Jiao Gan's 焦贛 *Forest of Changes* (*Yilin* 易林): 'Alcohol is the Earl of

black millet herb-flavoured liquor⁴⁷⁹. I proclaim my favour for you, and you
655 shall be celebrated. Let it be known.'

Happiness; removing sadness 憂 and bringing joy 樂, good fortune and delight enter the gates, making me virtuous.' 酒為歡伯, 除憂來樂, 福喜入門, 與君相索, 使我有德. It appears to have become quite a popular term in sixteenth century Joseon poetry.

⁴⁷⁹ Sacrificial wine (*juchang yiyou* 秬鬯一卣) was bestowed in ancient times as a token of the king's favour (*Poetry* 262; *History* 48.4; *Zuozhuan* 5.28).

Bibliography

Sources in Literary Chinese

Ban Gu 班固. *Han shu* 漢書 [The Book of the Han]. Xianggang: Zhonghua shuju, 1970.

Fan Ye 范曄. *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 [The Book of the Later Han]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965.

Chen Shou 陳壽. *Sanguozhi* 三國志 [Records of the Three Kingdoms]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959.

Chuci buzhu 楚辭補註 [Supplemental Commentaries on the *Songs of Chu*]. Taipei: Zhonghua shuju, 1966.

"Database of Korean Classics 한국고전종합." <http://db.itkc.or.kr/>.

Han Yu 韓愈. *Changli xiansheng ji* 昌黎先生集 [The Collected Works of Master Changli]. Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1925.

Heo Mok 許穆. *Misu gieon* 眉叟記言 [Misu's Recorded Words]. 1689.

Im Byeongsul 林炳述. *Naju Im-ssi sebo* 羅州林氏世譜 [Naju Im family register]. 1935.

Im Je 林悌. *Im Baekho jip* 林白湖集 [The Collected Works of Im Baekho]. Hanguk munjip chonggan 58. 1617.

———. *Sinpyeon Baekho jeonjip* 新編白湖集 [New Edition of Baekho's Collected Works]. Edited by Ho-yol Sin, and Hyong-t'aek Im. Changbi, 2014.

Liu Xiang 劉向. *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 [Stratagems of the Warring States]. Vol. 1075-1080., Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1936.

Luo Guanzhong 羅貫中. *Sanguo yanyi* 三國演義 [The Romance of the Three Kingdoms]. Shanghai: Wenyi chubanshe, 1947.

Jin shu 晉書 [The Book of Jin]. Vol. 475-494., Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1927.

Quan Tang shi 全唐詩 [The Collected Poems of the Tang]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979.

Sima Qian. *Shiji* 史記 [Records of the Grand Scribe]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977.

Xiao Tong 蕭統. *Wen xuan* 文選 [Selections of refined literature]. Jiulong: Zhonghua shuju, 1974.

Xin Tang shu 新唐書 [The New Book of Tang]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975.

Jiu Tang shu 舊唐書 [The Old Book of Tang]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975.

Yang Gyeong-u 梁慶遇. *Jaeho jip* 霽湖集 [The Collected Works of Jaeho]. 1647.

Yi Ik 李瀼. *Seongho jeonjip* 星湖全書 [The Complete Works of Seongho]. n.d.

Yi Sik 李植. *Taekdang jip* 澤堂集 [The Collected Works of Taekdang]. 17th century.

Yi Sugwang 李睟光. *Jibong yuseol* 芝峯類說 [Topical Discourses of Jibong]. 1614.

Song shu 宋書 [The Book of Song]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974.

Shijing 詩經 [Classic of Poetry]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983.

Zhu Xi. *Sishu zhangju jizhu* 四書章句集注 [Interlinear Analysis of and Collected Commentaries to the Four Books]. Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935.

Zhu Xi, and Jingde Li. *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 [Thematic Discourses of Master Zhu]. Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, 1962.

Zhuangzi 莊子 [Master Zhuang]. Taipei: Jinfeng chubanshe, 1986.

Sources in modern languages

Ames, Roger T., and David L. Hall. *Focusing on the Familiar: A Translation and Philosophical Interpretation of the Zhongyong*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001.

Barnstone, Tony, and Ping Chou. *The Anchor Book of Chinese Poetry*. New York: Anchor Books, 2005.

Bassnett, Susan, and Andre Lefevere. *Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation*. Clevedon, Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters, 1998.

Brown, William A. *Wen T'ien-Hsiang: A Biographical Study of a Sung Patriot*. San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1986.

Bryant, Daniel. *The Great Recreation: Ho Ching-Ming (1483-1521) and His World*. Boston; Leiden: Brill, 2008.

- Cai, Zong-qi. *How to Read Chinese: Poetry a Guided Anthology*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2008.
- Ch'oe, Yŏng-ho. *The Civil Examinations and the Social Structure in Early Yi Dynasty Korea: 1392-1600*. Seoul: Korean Research Center, 1987.
- . "Private Academies and the State in Late Chōson Korea." In *Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea*, edited by Martina Deuchler JaHyun Kim Haboush. 15-45. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999.
- Chan, Timothy Wai Keung. *Considering the End: Mortality in Early Medieval Chinese Poetic Representation*. Boston: Brill, 2012.
- Cho, Hwisang. "Feeling Power in Early Chosŏn Korea: Popular Grievances, Royal Rage, and the Problem of Human Sentiments." *Journal of Korean Studies* 20 (2015): 7-32.
- Choi, Cheon Jip. "Suseongji-e natanan Jungyongjeok segyegwan [The Doctrine of the Mean in 「Suseongji」 (sic).]" *Eonmun ronchong* 51 (2009): 301-36.
- Chow, Rey. "The Old/New Question of Comparison in Literary Studies: A Post-European Perspective." *English Literary History* 72 (2004): 289-311.
- Chun, Sung-woon. "Suseongji-e natanan sireum ui jeongche [A study on the true colors of sorrows [愁] in *Suseongji* (sic).]" *Eomun yeongu* 54 (2007): 423-51.

- Croizier, Ralph. "Qu Yuan and the Artists: Ancient Symbols and Modern Politics in the Post- Mao Era." *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* (1990): 25-50.
- Dale, Corinne H. *Chinese Aesthetics and Literature: A Reader*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004.
- De Crespigny, Rafe. *A Biographical Dictionary of Later Han to the Three Kingdoms (23-220 AD)*. Leiden: Brill, 2007.
- Deuchler, Martina. *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1992.
- Dudbridge, Glen. *Books, Tales and Vernacular Culture: Selected Papers on China*. Boston; Leiden: Brill, 2005.
- . *The Hsi-Yu Chi; a Study of Antecedents to the Sixteenth-Century Chinese Novel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Dudbridge, Glen, and Xingjian Bai. *The Tale of Li Wa: Study and Critical Edition of a Chinese Story from the Ninth Century*. London: Ithaca Press, 1983.
- Duncan, John B. *The Origins of the Choson Dynasty*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000.
- Durrant, Stephen W. *The Cloudy Mirror: Tension and Conflict in the Writings of Sima Qian*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995.

Ebrey, Patricia Buckley, Anne Walthall, and James B. Palais. *Pre-Modern East Asia to 1800: A Cultural, Social, and Political History*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006.

Egan, Charles, and Charles Chu. *Clouds Thick, Whereabouts Unknown: Poems by Zen Monks of China*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.

Eide, Elling O. "Another Go at the Mao Ying Chuan." *T'ang Studies* (1990): 107-11.

Eno, Robert. *The Analects of Confucius: An Online Teaching Translation*. 2015.
http://www.indiana.edu/~p374/Analects_of_Confucius_%28Eno-2015%29.pdf.

Evon, Gregory N. "Chinese Contexts, Korean Realities: The Politics of Literary Genre in Late-Choson Korea (1725-1863)." *East Asian History* 32/33 (2008): 57-82.

———. "Korea's Aristocratic Moods: Re-Examining Chosŏn Social and Political History." *Asian Studies Review* 35 (2011): 253-62.

Faure, Bernard. *Chan Insights and Oversights: An Epistemological Critique of the Chan Tradition*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Gardner, Daniel K. *Chu Hsi and the Ta-Hsueh: Neo-Confucian Reflection on the Confucian Canon*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1986.

- Geaney, Jane. *On the Epistemology of the Senses in Early Chinese Thought*.
Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002.
- Gilsun, Ju. "Im Baekho ui saengae wa soseol [The life and novels of Im Baekho]." *Munhak chunchu* (1997): 66-76.
- Graham, A. C. *Poems of the Late T'ang*. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1965.
- Grayson, James Huntley. *Korea: A Religious History*. Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Gwon, Sungeung. "Suseongji-ui allegori wa pungja [Allegory and satire in *The Record of the Citadel of Sorrows*]." *Gojeonmunhak yeongu* 13 (1998): 311-32.
- Han, Jongwoo. *Power, Place, and State-Society Relations in Korea: Neo-Confucian and Geomantic Reconstruction of Developmental State and Democratization*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014.
- Hejtmanek, Milan. "The Elusive Path to Sagehood - Origins of the Confucian Academy System in Chosŏn Korea." *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 26 (2013): 233-68.
- Heo, Won Gi. "Cheongun soseol-ui simseongronjeok uimi [Heart-mind theory in Celestial Lord novels]." *Gososeol yeongu* 11 (2001): 115-44.
- Hightower, James R. "Han Yü as Humorist." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 44 (1984): 5-27.

Idema, W. L., and Lloyd Haft. *A Guide to Chinese Literature*. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1997.

Ivanhoe, P. J., Irene Bloom, and Mencius. *Mencius*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

Jang, Bong Su. "Cheongunjeon gwa Suseongji bigyo yeongu [A comparative study of the Tale of the Celestial Lord and the Record of the Citadel of Sorrows]." *Gukhak yeongu ronchong* 15 (2015): 129-62.

Jang, Dong-pyo. "The Educational System." In *Everyday Life in Joseon-Era Korea: Economy and Society*, edited by Michael D. Shin. 197-206. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014.

Jin, Xi-de. "The "Four-Seven Debate" and the School of Principle in Korea." *Philosophy East and West* 37 (1987): 347-60.

Jo, Gu Ho. "Cheongunjeon gwa Suseongji bigyo yeongu [A comparative study of the Tale of the Celestial Lord and the Record of the Citadel of Sorrows]." *Nammyeonghak* 12 (2003): 185-212.

Jo, Yoong-hee. "Poetic Criticism in the Mid-Joseon Period: Focusing on Arguments About the Tang and Song Styles in the Early 17th Century." *Korea Journal* 45 (2005): 265-87.

Kalton, Michael. "Yi Hwang (T'oegye)."
<http://faculty.washington.edu/mkalton/T'oegye.htm>.

- Kalton, Michael C., and Oaksook Chun Kim. *The Four-Seven Debate: An Annotated Translation of the Most Famous Controversy in Korean Neo-Confucian Thought*. State University of New York Press, 1994.
- Kang, Hye Kyu. "Suseongji ui juje uisik [The theme of Suseongji (sic.)]". *Daedong munhwa yeongu* 62 (2008): 243-61.
- Kang, Jeong Hwa. " Daegok Seong Un ui Nammyeong seonsaeng myogal e daehan sogo [A Study of Daegok Seong Un's Tombstone Inscription for Nammyeong]". *Nammyeonghak yeongu* 45 (2015): 1-25.
- Kim, Dong-uk, and Leon Hurvitz. *History of Korean Literature*. Tokyo: Centre for East Asian cultural studies, 1980.
- Kim, Ha Poong. *Joy and Sorrow: Songs of Ancient China*. Eastbourne; Chicago: Sussex Academic Press, 2016.
- Kim, Hŭnggyu, and Robert Fouser. *Understanding Korean Literature [in English]*. Armonk: Sharpe, 1997.
- Kim, Hyeon Yang. "16-segi huban soseolsa jeonhwan ui jinghu wa Suseongji [Suseongji and the indications of transition in the history of novel in the late 16th century (sic.)]". *Gojeon munhak yeongu* 24 (2003): 121-43.
- Kim, Hyoungchan. "The Theory and Practice of Sage Politics: The Political Philosophies and Neo-Confucian Bases of Yi Hwang and Yi I." *Acta Koreana* 17 (2014): 255-84.

- Kim, Kwang-sun. "Baekho Im Je ui saeng-ae wa munhak segye [The Life and Literary World of Baekho Im Je]." *Eomun ronchong* 39 (2003): 47-68.
- . *Cheongun soseol* [Celestial Lord Novels]. Seoul: Goryeo daehakgyo minjok munhwa yeonguso, 1996.
- Kim, You Me. "Suseongji ui gujojeok teukseong gwa geu uiui [The structural features of The Record of the Citadel of Sorrows and their meaning]." *Hanguk gojeon yeongu* 10 (2004): 123-56.
- King, Ross. "Ditching "Diglossia": Describing Ecologies of the Spoken and Inscribed in Pre-Modern Korea." *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies* 15 (2015): 1-19.
- Knechtges, David R. "Liu Kun, Lu Chen, and Their Writings in the Transition to the Eastern Jin." *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (CLEAR)* 28 (2006): 1-66.
- Knechtges, David R., and Taiping Chang. *Ancient and Early Medieval Chinese Literature: A Reference Guide, Part Two*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.
- Kwon, Nae-Hyun. "Rural Society and Zhu Xi's Community Compact." In *Everyday Life in Joseon-Era Korea: Economy and Society*, edited by Michael D. Shin. 147-54. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014.
- Kwong, Charles Yim Tze. "Making Poetry with Alcohol: Wine Consumption in Tao Qian, Li Bai and Su Shi." In *Scribes of Gastronomy: Representations*

of Food and Drink in Imperial Chinese Literature. 45-67: Hong Kong University Press, 2013.

Lacapra, Dominick. "Rethinking Intellectual History and Reading Texts." *History and Theory* 19 (1980): 245-76.

Lai, Chiu-Mi. "Reinvention of the 'Late Season' Motif in the Wen Xuan." *Early Medieval China* 10-11 (2004): 131-50.

Lee, Min Heui. "Cheongunjeon jangreu gyujeong mit myeongmyeong-e gwanhan je-eon: Guksunjeon mit Suseongji wa ui bigyoreul jungsimeuro [A Study on Genre Regulatory issues of *Cheongun-Jeon* (天君傳): Focused on the Comparison with *Guksun-Jeon* (龜醇傳) and *Suseong-Ji* (愁城誌) (sic).]" *Munhak gyoyukhak* 42 (2013): 363-95.

Lee, Peter H. *A History of Korean Literature*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

———. *Korean Literature: Topics and Themes*. Tucson: Published for the Association for Asian Studies by the University of Arizona Press, 1965.

Lee, Peter H., and William Theodore De Bary. *Sources of Korean Tradition*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

Lewis, Mark Edward. *China between Empires: The Northern and Southern Dynasties*. Cambridge, Massachusetts; London: Harvard University Press, 2011.

- Li, Chenyang, Franklin Perkins, and Robin Wang. *Chinese Metaphysics and Its Problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Li, Xiaohong Lily. *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women: Tang through Ming, 618-644*. Armonk, NY: Sharpe, 2014.
- Lin, Mingde. *Hanguo hanwen xiaoshuo quanji* [The complete collection of Korean novels in Literary Chinese]. Zhongguo wenhua xueyuan; Hanguo jingshen wenhua yanjiuyuan, 1980.
- Liu, An, and John S. Major. *The Huainanzi: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Government in Early Han China*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.
- Liu, James J. Y. *The Art of Chinese Poetry*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.
- Liu, Wuji, and Irving Yucheng Lo. *Sunflower Splendor: Three Thousand Years of Chinese Poetry*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975.
- Liu, Xiang, and David Hawkes. *Chu Ci: The Songs of the South, an Ancient Chinese Anthology*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959.
- Liu, Yiqing, and Richard B. Mather. *A New Account of Tales of the World: Shi Shuo Xin Yu*. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002.
- Lu, Hsiao-peng. *From Historicity to Fictionality: The Chinese Poetics of Narrative*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994.

- Maspero, Henri. *Taoism and Chinese Religion*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1981.
- McCraw, David R. "Along the Wutong Trail: The Paulownia in Chinese Poetry." *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews (CLEAR)* 10 (1988): 81-107.
- McCullough, Helen Craig. *Brocade by Night: "Kokin Wakashu" and the Court Style in Japanese Classical Poetry*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985.
- Mun, Beomdu. "Suseongji ui guseong gwa jakga uisik" [Structural features and Authorial Consciousness in *The Record of the Citadel of Sorrows*]. *Hanminjok eomunhak* 29 (1996): 89-112.
- Mun, Seon-gyu. "Im Je ui gagye wa saengpyeong [Im Je's family background and lifetime]." *Hanguk eoneo munhak* 22 (1983): 111-24.
- Ng, On Cho, and Q. Edward Wang. *Mirroring the Past: The Writing and Use of History in Imperial China*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005.
- Nienhauser, William H. "An Allegorical Reading of Han Yu's "Mao-Ying Chuan" (Biography of Fur Point)." *Oriens Extremus* 23 (1976): 153-74.
- Palais, James B. "Confucianism and the Aristocratic/Bureaucratic Balance in Korea." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 44 (1984): 427-68.
- Pearson, Margaret. *Wang Fu and the Comments of a Recluse*. Tempe: Center for Asian Studies, Arizona State University, 1989.

- Pettid, Michael, ed. *Unyöng-Jön: A Love Affair at the Royal Palace of Chosön Korea*. Berkeley: East Asian Institute, 2009.
- Porter, Jonathan. *Imperial China, 1350-1900*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016.
- Pratt, Keith L., Richard Rutt, and James Hoare. *Korea: A Historical and Cultural Dictionary*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1999.
- Research Information Network of Korean Studies (RINKS). "Im Je: Seonjo Year 10 Visitation Examination Placement."
http://people.aks.ac.kr/front/tabCon/exm/exmView.aks?exmId=EXM_MN_6Job_1577_003954&category=dirSer&isEQ=true&kristalSearchArea=P.
- Rogers, Michael C. *The Chronicle of Fu Chien: A Case of Exemplar History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.
- Rouzer, Paul F. *Articulated Ladies: Gender and the Male Community in Early Chinese Texts*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard-Yenching Institute, 2001.
- Rutt, Richard, ed. *A Nine Cloud Dream*. Hong Kong: Heinemann Asia, 1980.
- Santangelo, Paolo. *Sentimental Education in Chinese History: An Interdisciplinary Textual Research on Ming and Qing Sources*. Boston; Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Sawyer, Mei-chün, and Ralph D. Sawyer. *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China: Wu Jing Qi Shu*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1993.

- Schneider, Laurence A. *A Madman of Ch'u: The Chinese Myth of Loyalty and Dissent*. Berkeley: University Of California Press, 1980.
- Shakespeare, William, and Frank Kermode. *The Arden Edition of the Works of William Shakespeare: The Tempest*. London: Bloomsbury, 1954.
- Shaughnessy, Edward L. *Before Confucius: Studies in the Creation of the Chinese Classics*. Albany, N.Y: State University of New York Press, 1997.
- Sin, Byeongju. "Daegok Seong Un ui hakpung gwa cheose [Daegok Seong Un's Academic Works and Conduct]." *Nammyeonghak* 7 (1999): 339-64.
- So, Jaeyeong. "Baekho Im Je ron [An essay on Baekho Im Je]." *Minjok munhwa yeongu* 8 (1974): 81-108.
- . "Im Je soseol ui munhakjeok wisang [The status of Im Je's novels in literary history]." *Gukhak yeongu ronchong* 2 (2008): 196-209.
- Song, Geng. *The Fragile Scholar: Power and Masculinity in Chinese Culture*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004.
- Sukhu, Gopal, and Yuan Qu. *The Shaman and the Heresiarch: A New Interpretation of the Li Sao*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012.
- Tao Qian, and Richard VanNess Simmons. *The Soushen Houji*. 1986.
- Um, Ki-Young. "Yeoksa uisik bujae ui saseo ilkgiwa hoegojeok gamjeong ui sobi e daehan bipan [The Reading of History and the Spending of

Retrospective Sentiment – the way of reading on Suseongji – (sic.)]."

Eomun yeongu 38 (2010): 271-92.

Van Zoeren, Steven Jay. *Poetry and Personality: Reading, Exegesis, and Hermeneutics in Traditional China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.

Wagner, Edward W. *The Literati Purges: Political Conflict in Early Yi Korea*. Cambridge, East Asian Research Center: distributed by Harvard University Press, 1974.

Wang, Ping. *The Age of Courtly Writing: Wen Xuan Compiler Xiao Tong (501-531) and His Circle*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Wang, Ping, and Nicholas M. Williams. *Southern Identity and Southern Estrangement in Medieval Chinese Poetry*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2015.

Waters, Geoffrey R. "Bo Juyi and Guan Panpan: The Swallow Tower Poems." *Translation Review* 70 (2005): 19-21.

Wilhelm, Hellmut. "From Myth to Myth: The Case of Yueh Fei's Biography." In *Confucianism and Chinese Civilization*, edited by Arthur F. Wright. 211-26. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975.

Xiao, Tong, and David R. Knechtges. *Wen Xuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature Volume 1*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982.

- . *Wen Xuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature Volume 2*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- . *Wen Xuan, or, Selections of Refined Literature Volume 3*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Xunzi, and John Knoblock. *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988.
- Yang, Xiaoshan. *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere: Gardens and Objects in Tang-Song Poetry*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003.
- Yi, Chonglian. *Zhongguo Chuci xueshi* 中國楚辭學史 [The History of Chinese Studies of *Chuci*]. Changsha: Hunan chubanshe, 1991.
- Yi, Ki-baek. *A New History of Korea*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard-Yenching Institute, Harvard University Press, 1984.
- Yu, Ning. *The Chinese Heart in a Cognitive Perspective: Culture, Body, and Language*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2009.
- Yu, Pauline, and Theodore Hutters. "The Imaginative Universe of Chinese Literature." In *Chinese Aesthetics and Literature: A Reader*, edited by Corinne H. Dale. 1-14. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004.
- Yun, Jupil. "Suseongji ui samdan guseong gwa geu uimi [The 3-tier structure of The Record of the Citadel of Sorrows and its meaning]." *Hanguk hanmunhak yeongu* 13 (1990): 45-79.

Yun, Kug-il, Song-ch'ol Chong, and Pyong-hon Hwang. *Gyeongguk daejeon yeongu* [Studies of the Great Codes for State Administration].

Pyongyang: Gwahak baekgwaja sajeon chulpansa, 1986.

Zong, In-sob. *A Guide to Korean Literature*. Elizabeth, New Jersey: Hollym

International, 1983.

Appendix 1: *The Record of the Citadel of Sorrows* in

Literary Chinese

Below is the original text of *The Record of the Citadel of Sorrows*, from the *Korean Classics Database*.

天君即位之初。乃降衷之元年也。曰仁曰義曰禮曰智各充其端。率職惟勤。曰喜曰怒曰哀曰樂。咸總於中。發皆中節。曰視曰聽曰言曰動。俱統於禮。制以四勿。維時天君。高拱靈臺。百體從令。鳶飛之天。漁躍之淵。莫非其有。梧桐之月。楊柳之風。莫非其勝。不勞舜琴五絃。何須堯階三尺。無欲虎而可縛。無忿山而可摧。四海之內。孰不曰其君也哉。越二年。有一翁神清貌古。自號主人翁。乃上疏曰。竊以危生於安。亂仍於治。故不虞之變。無妄之災。明君所慎也。易曰。履霜堅冰至。蓋微不可不防。漸不可不杜。燭於未然者。哲人之大觀也。狃於已然者。庸人之陋見也。夫昧哲人之觀。而守庸人之見。豈不危哉。今君自謂已治已平矣。而殊不知寸萌之千尋。濫觴之滔天。且根本未固。而遽遊於翰墨之場。文史之域。日夜所親近者。陶泓毛穎輩四人而已。又慨想今古英雄。使其憧憧來往於肺腑之間。如此等輩。作亂不難也。願君上勉從丹衷。御以和平。則可謂視於無形。聽於無聲。而庶免顛倒思余之刺矣。無任懇惻之至。天君將疏覽訖。虛懷容受。而終不能已意於優游竹帛。嘯詠今古。主人翁又來諫曰。臣情踰骨肉。義同休戚。坐視危亂。其可愬然。夫論今吊古。無補於存心。磨鉛揮翰。何益於養性。蓋四端之中。羞惡用事。是非持論。外與監察官交通。越分慷慨。矯矯亢亢。甚非所以安靜之道也。然此固不可無而所不可偏者也。譬若一陰一陽。曰風曰雨。無非天地之氣。乖序則爲變。失時則爲災。可使陽舒陰慘。風調雨若。正在燮理之如何耳。願君上念參三之大位。想萬物之備我。致中和而參天地。豈不

大哉。豈不美哉。書曰。無偏無頗。王道平平。願念茲在茲。無怠無荒。幸甚幸甚。天君聽罷惻然。引主人翁坐於半畝塘邊下詔曰。來汝春官仁。夏官禮。秋官義。冬官智。暨五官七正音情。咸聽予言。予受天明命。不能顧諟。致令爾等久曠厥職。或有不中規矩。自以爲是。激志高遠。牽情浩蕩。將有尊俎之越。豈無佩觿之刺乎。噫。予一人有過。無以汝等。汝等有過。在予一人。天理未泯。不遠而復。宜與黽勉更始。以續初載之治。無忝予畀負之重。僉曰俞。乃遂改元曰復初。元年秋八月。君與無極翁。坐主一堂。參究精微之餘。忽七正中有哀公者來奏。監察官與探聽官合疏曰。伏以玉宇寥廓。金風淒冷。涼生井梧。露滴叢篁。蛩吟而草衰。鴈叫而雲寒。葉落而有聲。扇棄而無恩。華潘岳之鬢。撩宋玉之愁。正是長安片月催萬戶之砧聲。玉關孤夢減一圍之裳腰。潯陽楓葉荻花。濕盡司馬之青衫。巫山叢菊扁舟。搔短工部之白髮。況夜雨偏入長門宮孤枕。霜月只爲燕子樓一人。楚蘭香盡。青楓瑟瑟。湘妃淚乾。斑竹蕭蕭。是不知愁因物愁。物因愁愁。愁而不知所以愁。又焉知所以不愁也。且不知見而愁耶。聽而愁耶。實不知其故。臣等俱忝職司。不敢隱諱。謹以煩瀆。天君覽了。便悠然不樂。無極翁乃不辭而去。君命駕意馬。周流八極。欲效周穆王故事。被主人翁叩馬苦諫。而駐於半畝塘邊。有隔縣人來報曰。近日胸海波動。泰華山移來海中。望見山中。隱隱有人。無慮千萬。此等變怪。甚是非常。正嗟訝之間。遙望數人行吟而來。看看漸近。只是兩箇人。那先行的人。顏色憔悴。形容枯槁。冠切雲帶長劍。芰荷衣椒蘭佩。眉攢憂國之愁。眼滿思君之淚。無乃痛懷王而恨上官者耶。尾來的人。神凝秋水。面如冠玉。楚衣楚冠。楚聲楚吟。莫是一生唯事楚襄王者耶。俱來拜於君曰。聞君高義。特來相訪。但天地雖寬。而吾輩自不能容焉。今見君心地頗寬。願借磊砢一隅。築城爰處。不知君肯容接否。君乃斂衽愀然曰。男兒襟

袍。古今一也。吾何惜尺寸之地。而不爲之所乎。遂下詔曰。任他來投。監察官知道。任他築城。磊砢公知道。二人拜謝。向胸海邊去了。自是之後。君思想二人。不能忘懷。長使出納官高詠楚辭。更不管攝他事。秋九月。君親臨海上。觀望築城。只見萬縷冤氣。千疊愁雲。前古忠臣義士及無辜逢殘之人。零零落落。往來於其間。中有秦太子扶蘇。曾監築長城。故與蒙恬役斫谷。坑儒四百餘人。勿亟經始。不日有成。其爲城也積不煩於土石。後何勞於轉輸。以爲大也則所寄之窄。以爲小也則所包之多。若無而有。不形而形。北據泰山。南連滄海。地脉正自峨眉山來。礧礧磊落。愁恨所聚。故名之曰愁城。城中有吊古臺。城有四門。一曰忠義門。一曰壯烈門。一曰無辜門。一曰別離門。於是天君自丹田渡海。洞開四門。御于吊古臺上。于時悲風颯颯。苦月淒淒。各門之人。含怨抱憤。一擁而入。天君慘然而坐。命管城子記其萬一。管城子受命而退。含淚而立。先見忠義門中。秋霜凜凜。烈日下臨。爲首兩人。一則殞首於瓊宮之癸。一則剖心於炮烙之受。非龍逢。比干而誰。中有黃屋左纛。貌類漢高者。應是紀將軍。綸巾鶴氅。手持白羽者。豈非諸葛武侯。雍齒封侯。曹丕稱帝。義士之憤。英雄之恨。當復如何。鴻門宴罷。玉斗如雪。忠憤激烈。至死不二者。范亞父也。騎赤兔馬。提青龍刀。綠袍長髯。矯矯雄風。一陷阿蒙之手。恨不得吞江東者。關雲長也。長嘯越石。擊楫士雅。齋志而逝。天地無情。其後有張巡。許遠。雷萬春。南霽雲。人人忠壯。箇箇義烈。胡塵蔽日。列郡風靡。睢陽城中。一何多男子也。指血不能動賀蘭。而箭羽能沒於浮屠。是何誠貫於石。而不感於人也。冤哉通哉。人又有頑甚於石者乎。岳武穆精忠旗偃。空負背字。宗留守過河聲殘。出師未捷。天何默默。衣帶有贊。從容就死。可憐。文天祥背負六尺。與國偕亡。哀哉。陸秀夫最後有衣冠似異於華制者。或以一身任五百年綱常。鸞坡學士。虎頭將軍。

五六爲群。昂昂而來。此外悠悠今古。忘身循國。就義成仁者。難以悉記。次見壯烈門中。疾雷一聲。陰風慘慘。當先一人。乘白馬橫屬鏤。怒氣如浙江潮急。乃是生全忠孝伍子胥也。更有氣作長虹。死酬知己。撫尺八匕首。吟壯士之歌者。荊卿也。西楚霸王以烏騅一騎。橫行天下。八年干戈。夢斷烏江之波。淮陰男子。感解衣之恩。連百萬之衆。戰勝攻取。烏盡弓藏。竟死兒女之手。可惜。孫伯符人稱小霸王。雄據江東。虎視天下。而落魄庸人之殼。遺恨東流。符堅以雄師百萬。銳意投鞭。而心驚八公之草木。卒遺養虎之患。嗚呼。當群雄蠡起之秋。成則帝王。敗則盜賊。若騎牛讀漢書者。亦一時豪傑也。仙李春暮。一榻之外。都是長蛇封豕。李克用以沙陀之種。心存王室。志切除殘。而朱溫御宇。悒悒而卒。其餘雄圖未遂。功業墜虛。而亦不可以成敗論者。不可盡錄。但門外有兩人。趙趙不敢入。相對泣下。一人乃漢別將李陵也。曾以半萬步卒。摧四十萬虜騎。勢窮降虜。將欲有爲而漢滅其族。陵不得歸。一人乃荊梁都督桓溫也。平乘北望之嘆。似若有英雄之志。而遺臭之言。九錫之請。何其畜不臣之心也。降將軍反都督。何爲於此也。無乃英靈之追悔乎。次見無辜門中。雲愁霧慘。雨冷風淒。無數冤精。或貴或賤。或多或小。相聚而來。有四十萬爲屯而至者。長平趙卒也。有三十萬爲屯而銳頭將軍爲首者。新安秦卒也。蓋白起元來秦將。故依舊爲帥。高陽酒徒。憑三寸之舌。下七十之城。事勢蹉跎。無罪鼎鑊。戾園前星。憤趙虜之奸。犯當笞之罪。湖上高臺。空灑望思之淚而已。酒後耳熱。拊缶而歌。何預於世而至於腰斬。慘哉。平通侯楊惲。況激濁揚清。多士濟濟。何害於時而置於廢死。怨哉。范孟博諸人。且李敬業。駱賓王。憤不顧身。謀復故主。通天之義。貫古之忠。而事誤捐軀。神乎鬼乎。此人何辜。噫噫悲哉。士君子一身盡職而已。死何憾焉。此中最有恨同古今。憤切幽明。苦苦哀哀。不忍言不忍言者。齊王客

於松柏。楚帝死於江中。移國亦足。置死那忍。忠臣之淚不盡。烈士之恨有既。管城子到此心亂。不能一一條列。次見別離門中。斜陽暮草。去去來來。生離死別。黯然銷魂。最可恨者。漢家天子。禦戎無策。公主昭君。相繼遠嫁。漢宮粧胡地妾。薄命幾何。琵琶絃鴻鵠歌。遺恨到今。關月留青塚之鏡。邊鴻斷故國之信。子卿看羊海上。十年持節。白首言旋。茂陵秋雨。令威化鶴雲中。千載歸家。物是人非。塚上苦月。雖仙凡有殊而別意一也。竹宮煙中。不言不笑。腸斷秋風之客。馬嵬坡下。玉碎花飛。傷心遊月之郎。乃有生長深閨。嫁與燕兒。豈料重功名輕離別。負白羽征青海。夏之日冬之夜。余美亡誰與處。愁銷玉頰。恨悴花容。寒梅雖折。驛使難逢。錦字已成。琴高無便。青樓捲簾。打起黃鸞而已。又有君王寵歇。久閉長信。遠別離無奈何。近別離當若爲。空階苔長。玉輦不來。半窓螢度。金殿無人。寧乏買賦之金。徒羨寒鴉之色而已。悶悶哉。香魂夜逐劍光飛。楚帳之虞姬也。甘心死別不生離。金谷之綠珠也。萋萋芳草。恨王孫之不歸。杳杳飛雲。起孝子之遐思。朋友義切。雲樹相思。鵲鴿情苦。瓊雷相望。管城子淚乾頭禿。勢難備書。乃吟人間足別離之句。欲避之於天上。遇牽牛織女而返。城外一人執管城子曰。子何追古而遺今。點鬼簿而蔑陽人也。我乃當世之人豪。有詩一章。煩君寫之。乃高聲浪吟曰。若人足稱奇男子。十五年前通六韜。塵生古匣劍未試。目極關河秋氣高。中年好讀孔氏書。向來所恥非緼袍。牛歌不入齊王耳。鬢上光陰昏又朝。管城子聞這詩。慨然而寫。并將四門標榜陳於天君前。君纔一覽。愁不自勝。袖手悶默。鬱鬱終歲。二年春二月。主人翁啓曰。青陽換歲。萬物咸新。凡在草木。尚自忻忻。今君稟最靈之性。有至大之氣。而迫於愁城。久不安處。豈非可謂流涕者乎。但愁城植根之固。難以卒拔。竊聞杏花村邊。有一將軍。得聖賢之名。兼猛烈之氣。汪汪若干頃波。未可量也。其漢係

出穀城。麴生之子。名襄音曠。字太和。深有乃父風味。其先曾與屈原有隙。或有與兩阮，嵇，劉爲竹林之遊者。或有以白衣訪元亮於潯陽者。李白以金龜爲質。卒與爲死生之交。其後卽以買爵事小累清名。而亦非其本心也。今襄但尙清虛。好浮義音蟻。於清濁無所失。多近婦人。然有折衝尊俎之氣。伏念取其所長。明君用人之方。願君卑辭厚幣。致之座上。尊之爵之。則平愁城而回淳古。實不難也。謹以聞。書上。天君答曰。予雖否德。只能從諫如流。麴將軍迎接之事。悉委主人翁。勉哉。翁曰。孔方與彼有素。可以致之。君乃招孔方曰。汝往哉。善爲我辭焉。以副如渴之望。孔方領命。與其徒百文。扶杖而往。遍訪於水村山郭。都不見了。但有牧童騎牛荷蓑而來。孔方問曰。將軍麴襄。見居何處。牧童笑曰。此去不遠。只在望中。卽指綠楊村裏紅杏牆頭。孔方乃緣芳草溪邊一條細路而去。行到牆頭。果然青旗影下。携當壚美人而坐。見孔方來。以白眼待之曰。勞兄遠訪。何以相酬。孔方責之曰。欲使金貂來換耶。欲以西涼相要耶。何輕視我也。復初之君。逼於愁城。聞將軍之義。以除世上不平之事爲己任。朝夕望將軍。而欲授啓沃之命。以方與將軍世世通家。故特使相邀。何無禮若是乎。襄乃藏白開青。遂作蔡邕投壺之戲曰。有愁無愁。唯我在。乃著千金裘。騎五花馬。起兵而來。爰到雷川。時三月十五日也。天君乃遣毛穎往勞曰。不遺孤音沽主音酒。持兵音瓶來到。喜倒之心。那可斗哉。如卿大器。方托喉舌。姑拜卿爲雍音瓮并音瓶雷音壘三州大都督驅愁大將軍。闔以內。寡人制之。闔以外。將軍主之。進退斟酌。傾兵而討之。今遣中書郎毛穎。一以諭予意。一以留與將軍作掌書記。知悉。太和卽使毛穎。修謝表以上曰。復初二年三月日。雍并雷大都督驅愁大將軍麴襄。惶恐百拜。竊以辟穀鍊精。長保壺中之日月。治亂待聖。遂有爵命之沾濡。撫躬自傷。量分實濫。伏念襄。穀城之種。曹溪之流。王，謝相隨。擅風流於江左。

嵇，劉得趣。寄閑情於竹林。半歲行藏。唯是琉璃鐘鸚鵡盞。百歲交契。只有習家池高陽徒。只緣禮法之矛盾。久作江湖之漫浪。何圖不我遐棄。迺曰命爾專征。顧此狂生。何堪大爵。茲蓋伏遇用賢無敵。攻愁有方。許臣時一中之。不疑於用。謂臣招衆口。爾獨斷於心。遂令薄才。得容海量。敢不勉增清烈。益播芳芬。杯酒釋兵權。縱不及趙普之策。胸中藏萬甲。庶可效仲淹之威。天君覽表大悅。卽拜西州力士爲迎敵將軍。受都督節制使。是時也日暮煙生。風輕燕語。羽檄交飛。鼓笛催興。將軍遂登糟丘。命朱虛侯劉章曰。軍令至嚴。爾其掌之。毋使有擊柱之驕將。毋使有逃酒之老兵。於是軍中肅肅。無敢喧嘩。進退有序。攻戰有法。陣形效六花法。而此則像葵花。蓋昔李靖伐高麗。以山峽崎嶇不得布八陣。故代六花陣。此其制也。將軍乘玉舟濟酒池。擊楫而誓曰。所不如盪愁城而復濟者。有如水。乃泊於海口。卽喚掌書記毛穎。立成檄文曰。月日。雍并雷大都督驅愁大將軍。移檄于愁城。夫以逆旅天地之間。過客光陰之中。彭殤同夢。凡楚一轍。生而愁恨。尙不及髑髏之樂。豈不哀哉。唯爾愁城爲患久矣。偏尋放臣思婦烈士騷人。易凋鏡中之顏。先霜鬢邊之髮。不可使蔓蔓難圖也。今我受天君之命。統新豐之兵。先鋒則西州力士。佐幕則合利蟹螯。雖諸葛公陣烈風雲。項霸王勇冠今古。如兒戲耳。安能當乎。況楚澤獨醒。寧足介意。檄文到日。早豎降旗。使出納官厲聲讀檄。聞於城中。滿城之人。皆有降心。而獨屈平不屈。披髮而走。不知其處。將軍自海口。如建瓴而下。勢若破竹。不攻而城門自開。不戰而城中已降。將軍乃耀武揚威。或散而圍於外。或聚而陣於內。勢如潮生海國。雨漲江城。天君登靈臺。望見雲消霧卷。惠風遲日。向之悲者懽。苦者樂。怨者忘。恨者消。憤者洩。怒者喜。悒悒者怡怡。鬱鬱者忻忻。呻吟者謳歌。扼腕者蹈舞。伯倫頌其德。嗣宗澆其胸。淵明葛巾素琴。眄庭柯而怡顏。太白接羅錦袍。飛羽

觴而醉月。玉山將倒。時已秉燭。花飛眼前。月入帳中。將軍使佳人奏罷。陣樂而班師。天君大悅。即招管城子下教曰。予無恩於卿。而卿推心。置予之腹中。卿有德於予。而予將何報。卿之功。一拜音盃一拜復一拜。徒增赧顏。今乃築城於愁城舊址。爲卿湯沐邑。其都督三州事如故。又封於權。錫以三等之爵。爲權伯。賜以秬鬯一卣。寵以前後鼓吹。知悉。