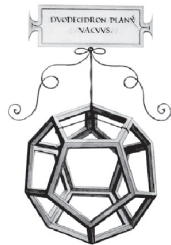


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FORME  
E INTERPRETAZIONI  
RECIPROCHE  
DELLE DIVERSITÀ IN ASIA

a cura di

Maria Angelillo – Clara Bulfoni – Filippo Fasulo

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## SOMMARIO

PIER FRANCESCO FUMAGALLI		
<i>Prefazione</i> .....	pag.	V

### I – LE FORME DELLA DIVERSITÀ NELLE DIMENSIONI DEL TEMPO E DELLO SPAZIO

DONATELLA DOLCINI		
<i>Spigolature di tradizione odeporica indiana tra miti, simboli, realtà</i> .....	pag.	3
PAOLO MAGNONE		
<i>La “Renaissance Orientale” e l’immaginazione dell’India nella letteratura del Romanticismo europeo</i> .....	»	15
LORENZA ACQUARONE		
<i>Leggi, discriminazioni e privilegi - da Mowgli a Samar ...</i>	»	35
GIAMPIERO BELLINGERI		
<i>Mutazioni e intrecci dei motivi turco-persiani in laguna, secoli XIV-XVIII</i> .....	»	53
VINCENZA D’URSO		
<i>Chukhyang – ‘Bamboo Fragrance’ – kisaeng Poet and Painter of Nineteenth Century Korea</i> .....	»	73

### II – INTERPRETAZIONI RECIPROCHE DELLE DIVERSITÀ IN AMBITO ETICO E GIURIDICO

GIORGIO FABIO COLOMBO		
<i>Storie di fantasmi, storie di guerrieri: Diritto e giustizia nell’immaginario popolare del Giappone pre-moderno</i> .....	pag.	95
横溝 大 DAI YOKOMIZO		
<i>Law, Justice and Ethics on Nationality in Japan</i> .....	»	123

CORRADO MOLteni

*La variazione della piramide giapponese delle età:  
specchio dei problemi del Giappone contemporaneo* ..... pag. 131

한홍순 THOMAS HONG-SOON HAN

*Il discorso sui diritti umani in Corea del Sud* ..... » 141

GIULIA CAVOLI – NATALIA RIVA – DANIELA SUARDI

*L'interpretariato giuridico italiano-cinese:  
raccolta terminologica, traduzione e glossario* ..... » 159

### III – RICERCHE E APPROFONDIMENTI

MARIA ANGELILLO

*Beyond Dance: The Nath Connection* ..... pag. 177

CLARA BULFONI

*Emergence and Evolution of Chinese Lexicography* ..... » 193

冯莉丝 FENG LISI

*Ricezione e traduzione delle Vite di Giorgio Vasari  
in Cina* ..... » 205

PIER FRANCESCO FUMAGALLI

*Cina, cartografia e prospettiva antropocentrica* ..... » 217

### INFORMAZIONI ACCADEMICHE

*Accademici in Classe Asiatica e Organi direttivi* ..... pag. 229

*Abstracts* ..... » 239

### INDICI

*Indice dei nomi di persona* ..... pag. 249

*Indice delle Tavole fuori testo: Tavole I-VI* ..... » 257

VINCENZA D'URSO

CHUKHYANG – ‘BAMBOO FRAGRANCE’ – *KISAENG* POET  
AND PAINTER OF NINETEENTH CENTURY KOREA



From Chukhyang's (竹香-죽향) album: 'According to the style of Old Paegyang', colour on silk, 24.9×25.5 cm, National Museum of Korea.

1. INTRODUCTION

This article tries to shed some light on the life, literary, and artistic contribution of a famous *kisaeng* (妓生-기생) of the nineteenth century, known under the name of Chukhyang (竹香-죽향 Bamboo Fragrance), who lived in Pyongyang during the first half of the century and, in spite of her humble origins, accompanied herself to some of the most influential cultural and intellectual figures of the times, such as the scholar poet and calligrapher Sin Wi (申緯-신위, 1769-1847) and the scholar

and philosopher Kim Chŏnghŭi (金正喜-김정희, 1786-1856). Research on *kisaeng*, their social status, literary, and musical contribution is quite voluminous in Korean scholarship. On Chukhyang, however, research material is quite scanty. Only one article appeared on her artistic contribution both in the bamboo and in the flower-and-birds style painting, but no one has ever attempted yet a reconstruction of the painter-poet life through the accounts of people who met her in person.

## 2. THE WORLD OF *KISAENG*: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION

The *kisaeng* (or *kinyŏ* 기녀) were women of lowborn origins (*ch'ŏnmin* 賤民-천민) recruited every three years by the central government and educated to the complex arts of entertainment, which included singing, dancing, playing musical instruments, and poetry composition. During the Chosŏn dynasty (朝鮮-조선, 1392-1910) all these functions and abilities were thought of as instrumental to the amusement and entertainment of literati at the highest level, during royal banquets, official, and private gatherings.

The *kisaeng* were already existing during the Koryŏ dynasty (高麗-고려, 918-1392) and were active around the Royal Court buildings known under the name of *kyobang* (教坊-교방), but it can be affirmed that the *kisaeng* system underwent a «restructuring» phase with the coming to power of a new dynastic family and the adoption of a new ideology supporting the newly-born bureaucratic state. This restructuring was part of the overall reorganization scheme brought forward by the new Chosŏn legislators, which aimed at reforming the entire societal and administrative structures according to Neo-Confucian principles. The reforms resulted in a strict separation of the sexes in everyday life, even though restrictions interested mainly the higher levels of society, at least in the initial phase. High class women saw themselves confined almost exclusively to the boundaries of their homes, thus creating a void in the public life of the Neo-Confucian male administrators. The new situation, and new societal needs, eventually resulted in the construction of a more organized system of recruitment and training of the young *kisaeng*, which were periodically selected nationwide, to be absorbed within the ranks of the performers working for the Ministry of Rites.

The young *kisaeng* were selected every three years in groups of 150 persons among the ranks of *ch'ŏnmin* children, and they were selected for their beauty and their musical, and artistic talent.

Once the selection had taken place in the provinces, the children were brought and educated in the capital, under the auspices and the guidance of an ad hoc office of the powerful Ministry of Rites. At the

end of the training period, most of the *kisaeng* were sent back to the provinces, but some of the best *kisaeng* remained in the capital and were allowed to perform at the Royal Court or for important and high ranking foreign and national dignitaries.

Some of the *kisaeng* even excelled in poetry composition. Korean literary canons usually quote the *kisaeng* poet Hwang Chini<sup>1</sup> as one of the highest and most appreciated woman poet ever existed in the country, but certainly other names such as Yi Maech’ang (李梅窓-이매창, 1529-1592), Maehwa (梅花-매화, ?-?), Unch’o Kim Puyong (雲楚金芙蓉-운초김용, 1829-1969?), Pak Chuksō (朴竹西-박축서, 1817-1851), and others, immediately come to mind when dealing with *kisaeng* literary production.

One major restraint met in the study of *kisaeng*-related subjects is that information on their lives is only rarely attested in primary sources, thus making it very difficult to present authors in strict chronological order. Another major research restraint lies in the fact that, with the exception of few cases, most of the literary production of *kisaeng* authorship is generally attributed rather than soundly attested in contemporary written sources, and it can also be very scanty. Sadly, this problem of conferment is also true in the case of Chukhyang; three of her poems, the ones provided in this article, are the only three poems extant today, even though we know from indirect sources, quoted later on in this article, that Chukhyang authored her own poetry collection. Women’s contribution to Korean traditional literature has been heavily limited by social constraints imposed by strict Confucian rules, unlike *kisaeng*’s literary presence, which is undoubtedly significant, if one considers their humble social origins and the rigidness of Korea’s social structure during the entire Chosŏn dynasty.

<sup>1</sup> HWANG CHINI (黃眞伊-황진이, 1511-1541) is one of the few *kisaeng* poets whose dates of birth and death are known. She is also one of the most well-known and, probably most beloved *kisaeng* of Korea. Her figure was so well known at her times and also later, that an aura of mystery and legend has been built by local history compilations on the circumstances of her birth and on her entire life. The most reliable information on her comes, as in most of the cases, from the men who met and/or loved her. We know that she was born in Songdo (松都-송도, modern Kaesŏng 개성, currently in the DPRK), as daughter of a literate and a *kisaeng*, and that she lived during the reign of Chungjong (中宗-중종, 1506-1544). Under the guidance of her mother, already at a very young age Chini demonstrated to be well versed in music, writing, and poetry composition. It is said that at the age of 15, after a boy died of love for her, she decided to become a *kisaeng*, following her mother’s path. Probably this story belongs to the legend. However, in a very short period of time she became famous not only for her beauty but also for her talent, and her outstanding literary capabilities. These qualities paved the way for her to meet some among the greatest intellectual figures of her time, such as the famous literate and neo-Confucian philosopher Sō Kyōngdōk (徐敬德-서경덕, 1489-1546).

## 3. CHUKHYANG, HER LIFE AND SIN WI

Chukhyang, also known by her *nom de plume* Nanggan (琅玕 Engraved Jade), was a *kisaeng* poet and painter who lived in Pyongyang in the first half of the nineteenth century, during the latter part of the Chosŏn dynasty. No primary sources provide information on her date or place of birth, and most of the information known about her has been passed on to us by other *kisaeng* friends and poets, or by literati contemporaries, who had the occasion to meet her and get acquainted with her literary works and paintings. Probably the scantiness of information about her has been one of the reasons for the paucity of secondary studies on her literary and significant artistic contribution to the construction of Korean culture during the nineteenth century<sup>2</sup>.

Chukhyang lived in a culturally enriching and cultivating environment where she was in contact with intellectuals and members of some of the most prestigious cultural circles nationwide. In the nineteenth century many intellectuals had moved to Pyongyang from the north-

<sup>2</sup> As of today only few articles on her artistic contribution have been published, and all of them date a few decades back: HWANG CHŎNGYŎN 황정연, “19 segi kinyŏ Chukhyangŭi ‘Hwajo hwach’o ch’ungdoch’ŏp’ yŏn’gu” 19세기 기녀 죽향(竹香)의 《화조화첩초충도첩(花鳥花卉草蟲圖帖)》 연, *Asia yŏsŏng yŏn’gu* 아시아여성연구 46 (2007): 55-84; one article on the same subject by Yi WŎNBOK 李元馥, “Chukhyangjŏnch’ingŭi hwajohwahwech’och’ungch’ŏp” 죽향전첩의 화조화첩초충첩, *Pangmulgwan sinmun* 박물관신문 169 (1984): 682, and a M.A. thesis by SIN SUNHŪI 신순희, “Chosŏn sidae yŏryu hoehwae kwanhan yŏn’gu” 조선시대 여류회화에 관한 연구 (Master’s thesis, Sungmyŏng Yoja Taehakkyo 숙명여자대학교, 1984), which also mentions the contribution given by Chukhyang to the development of women’s paintings in the latter part of the Chosŏn dynasty. Of course, Yi Sŏngmi’s important contribution to research on Chosŏn dynasty paintings must also be remembered, especially a publication on women’s art: Yi SŎNGMI 이성미, *Uri yet yŏindurŭi mŏt kwa chihye* 우리 옛 여인들의 멋과 지혜 (Seoul: Taewŏnsa, 2002). However, as of today, no studies in foreign languages have ever been produced on Chukhyang’s artistic or literary contribution. Recently Korean academia has dedicated attention to the cultural circulation and production in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, focusing however on the entire cultural panorama in which Chukhyang and other women poets and artists lived, and not solely on Chukhyang. One recent study of particular note is by PAK YŎNGMIN 박영민, “19 segi munyesawa kisaengŭi hansŭi” 19세기 문예사와 기생의 한시, *Minjok Munhwa Yŏn’gu Ch’ongsŏ* 민족문화연구총서, 132 (2011), which includes some parts dedicated to Chukhyang and her interactions with other *kisaeng* poets and artists living in the same geographical area and sharing the same interests. Also, worthy of note is one special exhibition organized in 2012 at the Jeonju National Museum of Art, entitled *Ch’ŏnlliŭi woerŏn kkum: Chosŏnŭi yŏsŏng munhak 천리의 외로운 꿈: 조선의 여성문학* (Literature of Chosŏn: the Solitary Dream of a Thousand *li* where “solitary dream of a thousand *li*” is the concluding verse of a famous *sijo* by another *kisaeng* poet, Yi Maech’ang, who lived in Puan, Chŏlla province, in the sixteenth century). The exhibition was divided into three sections: the first dedicated to Yŏsŏng, *sesangŭi chŏlban* 여성, 세상의 절반 (Women, the world’s half), the second to Yŏsŏngŭi *to tarŭn irŭm* 여성의 또다른 이름 (Women’s Different Names), and the third to *Nim kŭrimyŏ* 님 그리며 (Missing the Beloved), with the last section including some of Chukhyang’s paintings. From JIN CHŎNGHWAN 진정환 and O SAEYUN 오세윤, *Ch’ŏnlliŭi woerŏn kkum: Chosŏnŭi yŏsŏng munhak* 천리의 외로운 꿈: 조선의 여성문학 (Jeonju: Jeonju National Museum of Art, 2012).



western region<sup>3</sup>, and the city had become almost as important as the capital city Hanyang. Being located on the so-called Northern Route (北路-북로 pungno), connecting the Chosŏn Royal Court to the Imperial Court in Beijing, all official delegations going to and coming from Beijing foresaw a long stopover in Pyongyang during which banquets and all other sorts of entertainments took place for the guests. Moreover, due to their closeness to China, trade was one of the main activities in the northern Korean provinces, especially in the Pyongyang province, where merchants from Kaesŏng, Uiju, and Pyongyang were famously successful.

The wealth circulating in the city led to extravagant banquets not only on official occasions but also for private entertainment. Needless to say, *kisaeng* played a very important cultural and entertaining role during these celebrations. Testimony of such richness in cultural activities can also be found in travel accounts of both Korean and foreign dignitaries, and in works by court painters of the late Chosŏn period.

The cultural importance of this northern city is also attested in another source I will be quoting later on for its testimony with reference to Chukhyang; the source is entitled *Nokp'a chapki* (綠波雜記 Miscellaneous Records of Nokp'a)<sup>4</sup> and the author is Han Chaerak (韓在洛-한재락, ?-?), who visited the city of Pyongyang and wrote a detailed account of what he saw and of the 67 *kisaeng*<sup>5</sup> he personally met there during his visit.

Pyongyang was also important for political and economic reasons, and appointment as Governor of P'yŏngan province (one of the eight administrative regions in which the Chosŏn territory was divided, with Pyongyang as its capital) was considered a very important step up in the bureaucratic ladder; indeed, many of the literati who held the position of Governor of P'yŏngan province were often nominated, upon their return to Hanyang, to leading roles at the powerful Ministry of Rites.

*Kisaeng* traditionally belonged to the lowest social status (*ch'ŏnmin*), the status of the 'lowborn', and in Korean society they received the same treatment reserved for slaves. However, *kisaeng* who excelled in

<sup>3</sup> O SUCH'ANG 오수창, *Chosŏn hugi P'yŏngando sahoe palchŏn yŏn'gu* 조선 후기 평안도 사회발전 연구, Ilchogak Publishers 일조각, 2002, pp. 331-341, quoted in SIM CH'ŬYŎL 심치열, "Puyongŭi sangsagok'e nat'an'an P'yŏngyangŭi munhwajŏk hyŏnsangwa kŭ ūimi" 「부용의 상사곡」 에 나타난 평양의 문화적 현상과 그 의미, *Inmun kwahak yŏn'gu* 인문과학연구, 30, 2007, pp. 105-133.

<sup>4</sup> The term 'Nokp'a' is a quotation from a poem by a Pyongyang poet of the Koryŏ period and symbolizes Pyongyang and its beauties. The source in *hanmun* by HAN CHAERAK 한재락 has been translated into contemporary Korean by Yi Kawŏn 이가원 and Hŏ Kyŏngjin 허경진, in the volume HAN CHAERAK, *Nokp'a chapki* 綠波雜記, Seoul, Kimyŏngsa, 2007.

<sup>5</sup> A different source lists 66 *kisaeng*.

one or more of the arts of entertainment, for example dancing, musical performance, and singing, were selected nationwide and trained centrally, under the supervision of the Ministry of Rites, where they received basic training in writing and poetry composition, necessary preparation for the entertainment of their highly educated counterparts, the literati. At the beginning of the twentieth century, a Korean scholar named Yi Nūnghwa (李能和-이능화, 1869-1943) invented the term *haeōhwa* (解語花, flowers/women understanding the classical Chinese language)<sup>6</sup> to underline the depth of knowledge reached by the *kisaeng* as well as their double status as *ch'ōnmin* but also as educated women.

Upon concluding their training period in the capital, *kisaeng* were normally assigned to provincial government offices and their names registered in *kisaeng* rosters (*kisaeng kwanan* 妓生官案), where their duties were defined according to the position they occupied in the *kisaeng* hierarchy<sup>7</sup>.

Belonging to a lowborn status meant they did not have the right to a family register nor, except for a few cases, did they have a family name. Indeed, Chukhyang herself is a clear example of the impossibility to trace her family of origin. Her name – ‘Bamboo Fragrance’ – is a clear reference to her ability to paint bamboo, yet it was most probably not her given name at birth, but rather chosen for her at a later stage, after she became famous for her bamboo paintings. Among all primary sources consulted, none mentions names other than Chukhyang or Nanggan.

As briefly stated above, information regarding *kisaeng* was most often provided by their *kisaeng* friends and by the men with whom they interacted. During the entire history of this particular group of women in the Chosŏn dynasty, sources refer to many love stories between famous literati and *kisaeng*, for example between one of the first authors of *sijo* and *kasa* in vernacular, the poet and philosopher Songgang Chōng Ch'ōl (松江 鄭澈-송강 정철, 1536-1593) and the *kisaeng* poet Chinok (眞玉-진옥, 16<sup>th</sup> century); between Im Che (林梯-임제, 1549-1587), and the *kisaeng* Hanu (寒雨-한우, ?-?)

<sup>6</sup> YI NŪNGHWA 李能和, *Chosŏn Haeōhwasa* 朝鮮解語花史, Seoul, Tongmunsŏn, 1992.

<sup>7</sup> For additional information regarding *kisaeng* during the Chosŏn period refer to V. D'URSO, “A Preliminary Study of the kinyō Institution in Chosŏn Korea and Beyond: from Professional Entertainers to Prostitutes?,” in *Pathways into Korean Language and Culture (Essays in Honor of Young-key Kim-Renaud)*, ed. Sang-Oak Lee, Gregory K. Iverson, Sang-Cheol Ahn, Young-Mee Yu Cho, Seoul, Pagijong Press, 2002. V. D'URSO, “*Identità e politica culturale della Corea del XV secolo verso la Cina: il caso delle musiciste di corte*,” *Annali di Ca' Foscari. Serie Orientale*, vol. XLI, 3, 2002, pp. 303-320. V. D'URSO, “The Public Discourse on Official Women Entertainers in Traditional Korea,” *Annali di Ca' Foscari. Serie Orientale*, vol. XXXVIII, 3, 1999, pp. 1-22.

from Pyongyang; between Pak Sin (朴信-박신, 1362-1444) and the *kisaeng* Hongjang (紅粧-홍장, ?-?) from Kangnung. Other intense love stories that lasted over years include the romance between the *kisaeng* Hongnang (紅欄-홍란, 1576-1600) and the famous scholar and poet of *hansi* (poetry in literary Sinitic), Ch’oe Kyōngch’ang (崔慶昌-최경창, 1539-1583), and between Yi Maech’ang from Puan and the great *hansi* poet Yu Huigyōm (柳撫謙-유회겸, 1545-1636), not to mention the long-lasting platonic relationship between a *kisaeng* who is generally considered the greatest woman poet of all times, Hwang Chini, and the philosopher Sō Kyōngdōk. Some of these women have only left us a few verses, while others have left poetry collections (mainly published posthumously, as in the case of Yi Maech’ang), yet none of them would be remembered today if the men they met or loved had not also left writings dedicated to the memory of these women. Even though scanty information may not allow us to faithfully reconstruct these women’s lives, it is certainly enough to imagine the depth of companionship and poetic closeness these women shared with the men they loved, in spite of all societal constraints and formalities, which kept them in a secondary position, with respect to the primary wife and family of the Chosŏn scholars and high ranking officials.

Chukhyang’s life is not at all different from that of her famous predecessors, and I will try to reconstruct part of her life through the accounts of the men who met her and had an opportunity to appreciate her artistic talent.

As stated above, no date or place of birth is known of Chukhyang, and primary sources only tell us that she was a famous *kisaeng* (*myōnggi* 名妓) active in the city of Pyongyang. But she interacted with men of very high cultural significance, which leads us to infer that her company must have been quite appreciated and sought after in the refined Pyongyang cultural circles of her time. Among the men she is known to have interacted with, two are particularly prestigious and important in the contemporary cultural panorama, and especially in the world of painters and calligraphers; Sin Wi<sup>8</sup> famous poet and painter/

<sup>8</sup> Sin Wi (申緯) was a quite popular and authoritative cultural figure of the Late Chosŏn period. He belonged to the Sin clan of P’yōngsan (平山). He was also known by the nome de plume Chaha (紫霞) or Kyōngsudang (警修堂). Gifted in poetry, calligraphy, and painting from a young age, sources say that at the age of fourteen Sin Wi was invited to court by King Chōngjo who praised him highly. In 1799 Sin Wi passed the highest (*mun’gwa* 文科) state examination and subsequently held the rank of Vice Minister (*ch’amp’an* 參判) at the powerful Ministry of Rites (Yijo). His renown as a poet became particularly strong in the following nineteenth century, when his poetic style was taken as a model. And beyond Korea, Sin Wi was also popular, and much appreciated in China. Sin Wi was an innovator of several poetry genres and styles, one of his works, entitled *Kyōngsudang chōn’go* (警修堂全藁) contains one of the few *soakpu* (小樂府) ever compiled in the history of Korean literature. The *soakpu* genre derives from the

calligrapher, and Kim Chŏnghŭi (金正喜-김정희, 1786-1856) painter, philosopher, and poet.

Their comments and praise of women have been collected in the *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwajŏng* (Biographical Dictionary of Korean Calligraphers and Painters 權域書畫徵-근역서화징), a highly referential dictionary compilation encompassing profiles of 1117 calligraphers and painters of traditional Korea, from Silla times to the end of the nineteenth century, compiled in 1928 by O Sech'ang (吳世昌-오세창, 1864-1953).

All references are gathered under the dictionary entry dedicated to Chukhyang<sup>9</sup>, one of only three *kisaeng* painters<sup>10</sup> included in the dictionary compilation.

According to the source, Sin Wi, in his *Kyŏngsudang* refers to the following:

Chukhyang is a *kisaeng* of Pyongyang. Earlier, she received the love of Yi Tup'o (李荳圃) and she followed him to Hanyang. She likes to paint bamboo and on several occasions she wished to study under my supervision, but I was living a secluded life in the mountains, therefore her wish could not be met. Now I hear that she has separated [from Yi Tup'o] and lives with someone else. [Yi] Tup'o asked me to write something, apparently treasuring these few lines of mine, asked me the following: 'In the book there is a poem written by a Chinese scholar, by only obtaining this [your writing], it will be enough to pass it on to the future generations<sup>11</sup>.

Sin Wi also refers that Hong Sŏkju (洪奭周-홍석주, 1774-1842) sent him a poem requesting, under the name of Unch'o Kim Puyong, a dedication for the painting album completed by Chukhyang. According to Hong's words, Unch'o and Chukhyang are so well versed in poem composition and in painting that "their names are very well-known all-over Pyongyang".

Chinese *yuefu* (樂府), a kind of lyric poetry, but in Korea it grows into a literary genre of its own. A *soakpu* is essentially a written codification of popular songs 'in vogue' at the time of compilation. In contrast to the Chinese genre, where the written version corresponds with the spoken form of each song, a *soakpu* involves the translation of the vernacular version of songs (*sijo*) into Literary Sinitic (*hanmun* 韓文). In the case of Sin Wi, he translated 45 of the most popular *sijo* of his time into *hanmun*. Sin Wi is also known for his contribution to literary criticism, especially for the work entitled *Tongin nonsi* (東人論詩), where he offers an exquisite example of poetic criticism of thirty-five Korean works and authors, from the Silla period to his contemporaries.

<sup>9</sup> O SECH'ANG 吳世昌, *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwajŏng* 權域書畫徵 (1928), entry no. 278, 954.

<sup>10</sup> The other two being Chinhong and Somi, as quoted in p. 92 in CH'OE YŎL 최열, "Manggak sogeui yŏsŏng: 1910 nyŏndae *kisaeng* ch'ulsin yŏsŏng hwaga" 망각 속의 여성: 1910년대 기생 출신 여성화가, *Han'guk keunhyŏndae misulsahak* 한국근현대미술사학 26, 2013, pp. 69-96.

<sup>11</sup> O SECH'ANG 吳世昌, *Kugyŏk Kŭnyŏk sŏhwajŏng* 權域書畫徵, vol. 2, pp. 954-955.

Hong also adds an important detail to our attempt at reconstructing Chukhyang’s profile, when he writes that Chukhyang’s bamboo painting has its origins in the tradition of ‘Sosan’ Song Sangnae (蘇山 宋祥來-소산 송상내, 1773-?)<sup>12</sup>, hence establishing a connection between Chukhyang and the followers of this painting school. Hong then concludes his writing to Sin Wi with an illuminating comment on Chukhyang’s work, when he affirms:

Do not waste time trying to establish whether or not her ability  
[to paint bamboo] is truly good, as I can tell you that every time  
I look at this woman’s poetry collection I am deeply moved<sup>13</sup>.

Further testimony reinforcing the possibility of the existence of a poem collection by Chukhyang is given to us by Na Ki (羅岐-나기, 1828-1874)<sup>14</sup>, who in a poem quoted in the *Kūnyōk sōhwajing* (權域書畫微-국역 근역서화징) reports writing verses in the “poetry collection by Nanggan”<sup>15</sup>.

Unfortunately, while neither Song nor Sin Wi or any other person who met Chukhyang mentioned the title of her poetry collection or any other information, which might help us identify its whereabouts, these written testimonies are undoubtedly confirming the existence of a poetry collection by Chukhyang. We can only imagine the quality of her poems, which must have indeed been outstanding since she is known to have kept company with such renowned authors as Unch’o (雲楚 金芙蓉-운초 김부용, 1829-1869), Sin Wi, and Kim Chōnghŭi.

#### 4. CH’USA<sup>16</sup> KIM CHŎNGHŪI’S *WANDANGJIP* (阮堂集) ON CHUKHYANG

Chukhyang’s relation with Ch’usa Kim Chōnghŭi is clearly complex, plus traditional, and popular stories refer of a possible love affair between the scholar and Chukhyang.

<sup>12</sup> Song Sangnae, calligrapher and painter of the Late Chosŏn period, famous for painting beautiful bamboo, so defined his paintings: “My bamboo style derives its tradition from P’aengsŏng [ancient name of modern P’yŏngt’aek, city located in the Kyŏnggi region, close to the capital city].”

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in *Kūnyōk sōhwajing*, p. 957.

<sup>14</sup> Na Ki was born in Naju, Chŏlla Province, in a family of *chungin*, but there is no other information regarding his formative years or his occupation. It is highly possible that, as a *chungin*, he participated in the large literary movement of *yōhang siin* (‘poets of the street’), where he most likely met Chukhyang or at least heard of her or read her verses. He left a work entitled *Pyōgodang yugo*.

<sup>15</sup> NA KI, *Pyōgodang yugo*, p. 958.

<sup>16</sup> Ch’usa is the *nom de plume* of the philosopher, painter, and calligrapher Kim Chōnghŭi. See footnote 9.

Love stories between a scholar official and a *kisaeng* were quite commonplace in traditional Korea, where marriages were more often political alliances between families and rarely the coronation of a love relationship, even though recent research on epistolaries and other documents in *han'gŭl* have shed new light on the private lives of Korean families during the Chosŏn dynasty.

Poetry and prose work as well as popular literature provide numerous examples of such stories, so the relationship between Chukhyang and Kim Chŏnghŭi is just one of many. According to the sources, Kim Chŏnghŭi's father, Kim Nogyŏng (金魯敬-김노경, 1766-1837), was appointed Governor of P'yŏngan Province on the seventh month of the year 1828 and Kim Chŏnghŭi often visited his father in Pyongyang. In addition to be an exceptional painter and calligrapher, Kim Chŏnghŭi is also famous for his rich epistolary, both in literary Sinitic and in vernacular. Noteworthy are the letters sent to his wives, especially to the second one. One letter in particular provides documentary evidence of his meeting with Chukhyang, although whether or not the two had a love affair is still open to interpretation:

In 1828, when I was 43, my father was appointed Governor of P'yŏngan Province and I too visited Pyongyang on several occasions afterwards. At that time Pyongyang was famous for its *kisaeng* and there I found myself naturally surrounded by many of them. Also, the rumors about me and the most famous *kisaeng* Chukhyang have their origin from this. Chukhyang was very talented in poetry composition, but everybody said how she was also well versed in orchid and bamboo painting, to the extent that many *yangban* men sent her letters of appreciation and I also fell for her and sent her a poem. Soon afterwards a problem arose, because a lady who married into the Yi clan<sup>17</sup> immediately informed my wife living in the capital city, and I had to write her a letter of explanation for what had happened, in order for her not to be disappointed<sup>18</sup>.

Chukhyang's fame as a painter of bamboo, flowers, and birds had probably reached Hanyang, and also Kim's wife. While Kim was in Pyongyang, his wife and family remained in Hanyang. His wife had ailing health and could not travel too easily.

Secondary literature also refers to a poetry exchange between the two. While primary sources do not attest to any direct connection between

<sup>17</sup> His wife's clan of origin.

<sup>18</sup> Reported in CHŌNG CH'ANGWŌN 정창권, *Chosŏnŭi pubuege sarang pobŭl mutta* 조선의 부부에게사랑법을 묻다, Seoul, P'ureun yŏksa, 2015, p. 262.



their poems, one letter written by Ch’usa to his wife appears to be indirect proof that something had happened between him and Chukhyang; perhaps not a love story, even though, reportedly, Chukhyang was not only gifted in poetry and painting, but also very beautiful. Notwithstanding, the contact between the two was enough to stir emotions within Ch’usa’s family.

In a letter written by Kim Chŏnghŭi on the 26<sup>th</sup> day of the 11<sup>th</sup> month of the year 1829 (Kim was 43 at that time) and addressed to his wife, we read the following:

I wonder if in the meanwhile you have been fine, and nothing special has happened to you. The thought of this worries me. Here my father is ill. I have been away for three days and he has worsened. Today he is forcing himself to wash his face, I am a thousand times thankful for this. I am so comfortable that I have been forgetting about my home. Perhaps you might be doubtful. Everything you read in the letter is just a lie, I kindly ask you not to believe a single word of it. Even if it were true, do you think at this old age I could still be interested in these things<sup>19</sup>?

The letter adds no more details, so it could be interpreted in many ways, yet there is certainly space to imagine an indirect reference to some kind of relationship between Ch’usa and Chukhyang.

During his life, Ch’usa was forced for political reasons to spend long years in exile, first on the southern island of Cheju and then, in his last years, on the northern island of Pukch’ŏng, where he passed away in complete solitude. Exile must have exorted a high emotional toll from the scholar, especially when Kim was informed that his wife had passed away, long after she died. Deeply moved and sorrowful over the passing of his beloved wife, Ch’usa wrote a poem dedicated to the memory of his wife, perhaps in the attempt to ask her for forgiveness for having left her alone for so many years to “live one thousand *li* faraway”<sup>20</sup>. After his first wife’s death, Ch’usa mourned her for three years and then remarried with Lady Yi of the clan Yi of Yean.

<sup>19</sup> Letter included in CHŎNG CH’ANGGŬN 정창권, *Chosŏnŭi pubuege sarang pobeul mutta* 조선의 부부에게 사랑법을 묻다, Seoul, P’urŭn yŏksa, 2015, p. 262.

<sup>20</sup> 那將月姥訟冥司來世夫妻易地爲 / 我死君生千里外 / 使君知我此心悲 “I will start a trial in the Other World so that / in the next life as a couple we will exchange places. / I will die, you will live one thousand li faraway. / I only wish you knew the pain I feel now.”

5. HAN CHAERAK'S AND HIS *NOKP'A CHAPKI* (綠波雜記 MISCELLANEOUS RECORDS OF NOKP'A) ON CHUKHYANG

Important information on Chukhyang, probably still unknown at the time of compiling the *Kŭnyŏk Sŏhwajing*, is contained in another nineteenth century source, the *Nokp'a chapki* (綠波雜記-녹파잡기 Miscellaneous Records of Nokp'a), written by a rich *ginsaeng* merchant from Kaesŏng, Han Chaerak, which includes 66 profiles of *kisaeng* active in Pyongyang during the first half of the nineteenth century, of which Chukhyang is one. A curious peculiarity of this book is that all the *kisaeng* described were met personally by the author, making him a direct witness of the existence of these women.

The *Nokp'a chapki*<sup>21</sup> is believed to have been compiled before 1830, therefore included in the timeframe of Kim Chŏnghŭi's presence in Pyongyang, and it consists of two sections: the first dedicated to the *kisaeng* profiles, the second to five profiles of *kibu* (妓夫), men who dealt with *kisaeng* and helped them in their cultural activities. The book also contains a dedication written, again, by the famous calligrapher and poet Sin Wi, a long-time friend of Han Chaerak.

Han Chaerak's description of Chukhyang contained in his *Nokp'a chapki* is as follows:

Chukhyang is Chugyŏp's younger sister. I have seen bamboos painted by her: they create atmosphere and because her sister Chugyŏp repeatedly told me that she was very talented, she felt sorry for me, as I had not been able to meet her yet in person. [One day], while I was on my way, by chance I met Chukhyang outside Gate Changgyŏngmun (長慶門)<sup>22</sup>. She was wearing a red skirt and a chŏgori of the colour of jade and her appearance was so soft that it looked like she was floating in the air. Her agile horse frowned, then whinnied with a high sound, and a cloud of dust raised unexpectedly. Upon seeing the guests, she quickly got off the saddle and stood there. Her pretty and young appearance moved everyone present<sup>23</sup>.

Chukhyang was particularly known for her ability in painting bamboo, and her bamboo painting style was so perfect that her name was famous nationwide. However, sadly, none of her bamboo paintings has survived the cruelty of time. Yet Chukhyang was also naturally gifted in other

<sup>21</sup> The *Nokp'a chapki* is not a self-standing title but rather part of a book under a different title: *Sŏgyŏng chapki*, by PAK SAHO.

<sup>22</sup> One of the gates of Pyongyang fortress. Together with Taedongmun, Changgyŏngmun was located to the east, and in front of the latter, outside the walls of the city, there was a Pavilion, the Pubwŏngnu.

<sup>23</sup> HAN CHAERAK 韓在洛, *Nokp'a chapki* 綠波雜記, Seoul, Kimyŏngsa, pp. 74-75.



painting subjects, such as orchids, flowers and birds, and some of these paintings have been saved in two albums, comprising a total of thirteen paintings that today are part of the collection of the National Museum of Art.

As regards her poetry compositions, which judging from the above-mentioned testimonies must have been noteworthy, almost all of her works have been lost, except for three poems included in one of the most famous *chungin* poetry anthologies of the XIX century, the *P’ungyo Samsŏn* (風謠三選)<sup>24</sup>. This source is also quoted in the *Kŭnyŏk Sŏhwajŏng*, although it only attributes two poems to Chukhyang<sup>25</sup>, whereas all *P’ungyo samsŏn* editions consulted for this article attribute three poems to Chukhyang.

#### 6. CHUKHYANG AND THE P’UNGYO SAMSŎN

The *P’ungyo samsŏn* (風謠三選) is one of the largest poetry anthologies of late nineteenth century Korea. It consists of seven volumes organized in three books printed from engraved woodblocks, in the year 1857 (Chŏlchong 8). The compilers are Yu Chaegŏn (劉在建-유재건, 1793-1880), Ch’oe Kyŏnghŭm (崔景欽-최경흠, ?-?) and other members of a very influential and large poetry group in the capital area, the *Chikha sisa* (稷下詩社)<sup>26</sup>. Yu Chaegŏn was a well-known intellectual in the second half of the nineteenth century, of middle-class origin (*chungin* 중인), who became famous for his noteworthy contribution to the development of a middle-class culture around the second half of the nineteenth century in the capital area. A descendant of a family of acting directors of the Kyujanggak (Royal Library), Yu Chaegŏn was a low-ranking official (*sŏri* 서리) of the Kyujanggak (Royal Library), where he held the position of acting Director. He was born in Kangnŭng, in Kangwŏn Province, to a family of *sŏri* who traditionally served at the Royal Library since its foundation. From a young age he showed great talent in poetry composition and writing, talents he maintained throughout his life. He also became a member of the *Chikha sisa* (稷下詩社), a very important *chungin* poetry circle in the capital area. Yu Chaegŏn

<sup>24</sup> *Third Selection of Poems of the People* - Anthology of Korean poetry in Literary Sinitic (*hansi*) published in 1857 by Yu Chaegŏn, Ch’oi Kyŏngheum and others. It is an additional compilation, similar to the anthology entitled *P’ungyo soksŏn* 風謠續選 and it contains works by *wihang* poets of the first half of the XIX century. Compilation in three books (책 ch’aek) and seven volumes (권 kwŏn).

<sup>25</sup> The first and second in the list of three poems included in the present article.

<sup>26</sup> Poetry circle founded in 1853 in the capital city by Yu Chaegŏn, Ch’oe Kyŏnghŭm and other poets of *chungin* origins.

is also the author of another important documentary source, the *Yihyang kyŏngmunnok* (*Stories seen and heard in the local villages* 里鄉見聞錄):

a collection of stories belonging to the unofficial ‘commoners’ tradition, recorded as ‘seen and heard’. For all these ‘editorial’ activities he is often referred to, by Korean scholars, as ‘the commoners’ editor of the nineteenth century’(里鄉見聞錄), a collection of stories belonging to the unofficial ‘commoners’ tradition, recorded as ‘seen and heard’. For all these ‘editorial’ activities he is often referred to, by Korean scholars, as ‘the commoners’ editor of the nineteenth century<sup>27</sup>.

*The P’ung’yo samsŏn* follows sixty years after a series of other similar compilations, such as the *Sodae p’ungyo*<sup>28</sup> (昭代風謠, 1737) and *P’ungyo sokŏn*<sup>29</sup> (風謠續選 1797), all poetry compilations that resulted from the large cultural popular movement during the latter part of the Chosŏn dynasty. Defined by scholars as the *wihang munhak* (委巷文學) or *yŏhang munhak* (閭巷文學) period, the movement was characterized by a wide diffusion of literature in *hanmun* (Literary Sinitic) among the middle and lower classes<sup>30</sup>.

The *P’ung’yo samsŏn* contains 870 poems written by 305 authors. Among the authors, four are anonymous, thirteen are Buddhist monks, four are women (including Chukhyang and Unch’o Kim Puyong), and the rest are all men. Some of the authors were very well known at that

<sup>27</sup> HAN YŎNGGYU 韓榮奎, “Kyujianggak sŏri Yu Chaegŏnŭi yŏhang munhwa chipsŏng pangsik” 규장각 서리 劉在建의 閭巷文化 집성 방식, *Han’guk inmulsa yŏn’gu* 한국인물사연구 22, 2014, pp. 261-293.

<sup>28</sup> *Sodae p’ungyo* (昭代風謠, 1737), a poetry anthology of the urban *chungin* class. Translated as ‘Folk Songs of a Glorious Age’: “The urban poets from outside the ranks of the *yangban* class increased their visibility in this poetic form through such collections as *Sodae p’ungyo* (Folk Songs of a Glorious Age), which features the writings of non-*yangban*, *chung-in* (middle people)” in V. MAIR, *The Columbia History of Chinese Literature*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2001, p. 1071. But also translated ‘Poems of a Peaceful People’: “Already in the time of Sukchong (1674-1720), Hong Se-t’ae had compiled Pearls from the Real Korean Poetry (*Haedong yuju*, 海東遺珠), and in 1737 Ko Si-ŏn supplemented this with his Poems of a Peaceful People (*Sodae p’ungyo*),” in LEE KIBAIK, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner, Seoul, Ilchokak Publishers, 1984, p. 244; or also P.H. Lee, “Poetry from the Bright Era,” in *A History of Korean Literature*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 522.

<sup>29</sup> *P’ungyo sokŏn* (風謠續選, 1797) a poetry compilation by Ch’ŏn Sugyŏng (千壽慶, ?-1818). Title translated as ‘Further Selection of Poems of the People’, in H. YOUNG, *A Review of Korean History: Joseon Era*, vol. 2, trans. Chaibong Hahm, Paju, Kyongsewon, 2010, p. 263; or as ‘The Anthology of Native Songs’, first published in 1797 and updated until the 1820s, quoted in O CHUSŎK, *The Art of Kim Hong-do*, trans. Lim Seon-young Lim and Yang Ji-hyun Yang, Chicago, Art Media Resources, Inc., 2005, p. 28.

<sup>30</sup> The umbrella of the *wihang* or *yŏhang* literary movement gathered ‘middle people’ (*chungin*), for example people of middle class, illegitimate sons, low and middle-ranking officials, artists and commoners learned in poetry using literary Sinitic. The concept of *wihang* or *yŏhang* emerged in contraposition to the elite literature of the literati belonging to the noble *yangban* class.

time, like Ch’ŏn Sugyŏng, Cho Susam, Kim Naksŏ, and Pak Yunmuk, all ‘street poets’ and important members of the famous poetry circle *Songsŏgwŏn sisa* (Poetry Society of the Pine and Rocks Garden 松石園詩社). The *P’ung’yo samsŏn* is the last compilation of the nineteenth century dedicated to ‘street poets’.

Sixty years later, with the compilation of another important poetry anthology entitled *Taedong sisŏn* (Poetry Anthology of the Great East 大東詩選), the anthological canon would again change to encompass poems from all social levels.

The high number of versions still available today suggests that the *P’ungyo samsŏn* must have been a very popular poetry anthology, and the reason for this popularity could well have been the social status of its authors; ordinary readers must have felt closer and more compelled to read poems composed by ‘people like them’, poems that dealt with problems and themes closer to their sensibilities. Hence, the demand for more editions was high, which may explain the high number of copies still in existence today. The Kyujanggak Library holds five different editions of the *P’ung’yo samsŏn*<sup>31</sup>, while other copies are kept at Yonsei University and Sunggyungwan University.

Chukhyang’s poems are contained in the third volume of the *P’ung’yo samsŏn*, in the last chapter, under the section *Yŏja* (Women 女子), 風謠三選, kwŏn 7 (권), 42: a. Only three other women poets were included in this important poetry collection: Lady Wŏn opens the section with two poems, followed by Puyong<sup>32</sup> with only one poem. While nothing is known of Lady Wŏn, other than that mentioned in the source<sup>33</sup>, or indeed T’aeil (another *kisaeng*)<sup>34</sup>, it is important to mention that Unch’o Kim Puyong is considered one of the greatest women poets of the first half of the nineteenth century in Korea and one of the three most gifted *kisaeng* poets of all time, together with Hwang Chini and Yi Maech’ang. Unch’o Kim Puyong was very active in several poetry

<sup>31</sup> The editions consulted for this article were: 1) Ko Karam 가담古 811.04-C453 p-v.1-3; 811.04-C453 p-v.1-3 劉在建·崔景欽 편, 1857년 (철종 8).7권 3책, 활자본, 31×19cm.; 2) Ilsŏk ko 811.06-Y92p-v.1-3 (一簣古 811.06-Y92p-v.1-3) 劉在建·崔景欽 편, 1857년 (철종 8).7권 3책, 활자본, 31×19cm.; 3) Sangbaek ko 811.55-J466 p-v.1 (想白古 811.55-J466p-v.1) 劉在建·崔景欽 편, 1857년 (철종 8).1책, 활자본, 31×19cm.; 4) Karam ko 811.06-Y92p-v.2-3 (가담古 811.06-Y92p-v.2-3) 劉在建·崔景欽 편, 1857년 (철종 8).2책, 활자본, 31×19cm.; 5) Sangbaek ko 811.5-Y92p-v.1-3 (想白古 811.5-Y92p-v.1-3) 劉在建·崔景欽 편, 1857년 (철종 8).7권 3책, 활자본, 31×19cm. These editions are all part of the Kyujanggak Collection. The copies kept at Yonsei and Sunggyungwan were not consulted.

<sup>32</sup> “Puyong, nom de plume Unch’o, *kisaeng* of Sŏngch’ŏn.” from *P’ungyo samsŏn*, p. 41: a.

<sup>33</sup> Lady Wŏn, introduced in the poetry collection as ‘Lady Wŏn, nom de plume Suhyanggak’, from *P’ungyo samsŏn*, p. 41: a.

<sup>34</sup> “Singing *kisaeng* of Koesan,” in North Ch’ungch’ŏng Province, from *P’ungyo samsŏn*, p. 41: b.

circles of her time and was highly appreciated by some of her most important contemporaries. She was the beloved concubine of the scholar Kim Yiyang (金履陽-김이양, 1755-1845) and left quite an impressive poetry collection entitled *Puyongjip* (부용집). Her fame was such that even today residents of Ch'ōnan, a relatively small-town south of Seoul, in the South Ch'ungch'ōng Province, gather every year in front of her grave to celebrate her memory and cultural contribution.

Therefore, the fact that three of Chukhyang's poems were included in the same anthology alongside Puyong's poems would seem to suggest that contemporaries must have considered Chukhyang at the same level as her fellow *kisaeng* poet, Puyong. It is truly regrettable that, as of now, only three of Chukhyang's poems have survived<sup>35</sup>, together with an album with thirteen of her paintings. Unfortunately, none of the bamboo paintings for which she was so deeply praised by Sin Wi and other contemporaries, have survived.

Accordingly, I would like to conclude this brief article on Chukhyang's life and literary achievements with a translation of her three surviving poems, as included and listed in the *P'ung'yo samsōn*<sup>36</sup>.

Her first poem, "The Orchid Painting," is preceded by a brief introduction about the author, which includes a strong autobiographical dimension and important reference to a poem from the Chu tradition.

### *The Orchid Painting*

The orchid fragrance of a beautiful woman, and the old promise is forgotten.

Instead I read the poem 'Li Sao'<sup>37</sup> by Qu Yuan.

In the splashed ink where is the South?

The west wind shatters Ma Sangnan's heart.

The biographical references refer to Ma Sangnan (Cin. Ma Xiang Lan 馬湘蘭, 1548-1604)<sup>38</sup>, a famous Chinese courtesan active in Nanjing during the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the west wind, a symbol of melancholy, a description of the author's psychological condition.

<sup>35</sup> The original version of the three poems is provided at the end of this article.

<sup>36</sup> *P'ung'yo samsōn*, vol. 7, p. 42: b. "竹香 號琅玕 平壤妓; poem nr. 1) 畫蘭-美人香草舊盟寒 / 還向離騷卷裏看 / 灑墨江南何處是 / 西風腸斷馬湘蘭; poem nr. 2) 暮春 呈 女兒鷗亭道人-鮒魚時節養鸞天 / 遠近春山摠似煙 / 病起不知春已暮 / 桃花落盡小窻前; poem nr. 3) 江村春景-千絲萬縷柳垂門 / 綠暗如煙不見邨 / 忽有牧童吹笛過 / 一江煙雨自黃昏."

<sup>37</sup> Li Sao, meaning 'Encountering Sorrow', a poem by Qu Yuan 屈原 in *Songs of Chu* 楚辭.

<sup>38</sup> Ma Sangnan (Chinese: Ma Xianglan, 1548-1604) was a famous courtesan who lived in Nanjing around the end of the Ming and beginning of the Qing dynasty. She was very popular, and many intellectuals wished to meet her, but her eyes and heart were only reserved for one person. Thus, the poem may have been autobiographical, and the reference to Ma Xianglan may have indicated Chukhyang herself.

The reference to the Chinese courtesan poet Ma Xiang Lan is indeed interesting: it points out not only the possible self-identification of the author with a famous Chinese courtesan, well known in Chosŏn Korea at least from mid sixteenth century<sup>39</sup>, but it also shows us the level of deep reception in the country, of Chinese poetry and also painting poetry (*chewwasi* 제화시) popular in China during the end of the Ming and the beginning of the Qing dynasty.

Moreover, the reference to the poem ‘Li Sao’ (Encountering Sorrow) indicates a link to the reading canon *en vogue* during Chukhyang’s time, and also confirms Chukhyang’s vast and sound knowledge of the traditions of Chinese poetry. “Li Sao” is indeed considered by many as the most famous example of poetry from the state of Chu, one of the many feudal states in ancient China during the Zhou dynasty.

The other two poems by Chukhyang were seemingly written in connection to her encounter with Kim Chŏnghŭi, although no primary textual evidence has been identified to support this hypothesis.

*Offering a poem in late spring to a female Taoist sage  
at the Seagull Pavilion*

The late spring, season of anchovies and silkworms  
Far and close spring mountains seem [to me] like fog  
Got up after an illness, didn’t know end of spring was here  
Peach flowers have all fallen in front of the small window.

*Spring at the river village*

Myriads of willow branches hang down in front of my door  
The green landscape is dark as if covered by fog, I cannot see the village  
Suddenly a shepherd playing a flute passes by  
Sunset silently falls on the river amidst the falling dew.

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

The present article sought to reconstruct Chukhyang’s life, particularly her artistic and literary accomplishments, via tracing written accounts by persons who met her or knew her works of art. While her contacts with important artists of the nineteenth century – like Sin Wi and Kim Chŏnghŭi – have been widely mentioned in secondary literature on

<sup>39</sup> PAK YŌNGMIN 박영민, Myŏngmal Ch’ŏngch’o myŏnggi ch’ulsin yesulgawa Chosŏnŭi suyong (1) – 明末清初 名妓 출신 예술가와 조선의 수용 (1), in *Hanja hanmun yŏn’gu*, 漢子漢文研究 第10號 10, 2015, pp. 63-106.

Chukhyang, and in the *Kŭnyŏk sŏhwajŏng* (Biographical Dictionary of Korean Calligraphers and Painters 槿域書畫徵), several new elements seem to be worth highlighting here.

First, the reference by Hong Sŏkju on the painting style of Chukhyang indicates that for at least one phase of her artistic life, she painted in the tradition of Sosan Song Sangnae. Hong's testimony is even more noteworthy when he states:

Do not waste time trying to establish whether or not her ability [to paint bamboo] is truly good, as I can tell you that every time I look at this woman's poetry collection I am deeply moved.

This quote clearly confirms the existence of a poetry collection by Chukhyang. Unfortunately, there is no surviving poetry collection by Chukhyang, yet her ability in poetry composition was such that she is one of only four women poets anthologized in the most important poetry collection of the nineteenth century, the *P'ungyo samsŏn*, which contains the three surviving poems written by Chukhyang.

Perhaps even more interesting, and to my knowledge not quoted in any of the secondary sources mentioned, is the firsthand account of Chukhyang written by Han Chaerak in his *Nokp'a Chapki*. Han Chaerak wrote about every *kisaeng* he met during his stay in the very lively Pyongyang at the end of the nineteenth century. His description of Chukhyang is astonishingly modern, and confirms that she was not only a gifted painter and poet, but also a very beautiful, admired and respected woman:

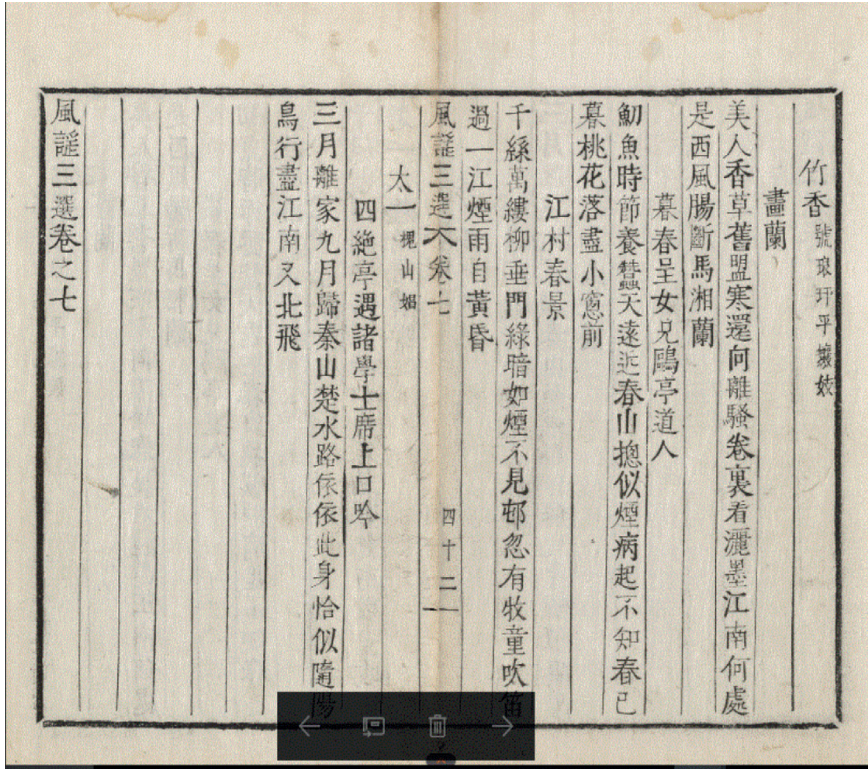
She was wearing a red skirt and a chŏgori of the colour of jade and her appearance was so soft that it looked like she was floating in the air. Her agile horse frowned, then whinnied with a high sound, and a cloud of dust raised unexpectedly. Upon seeing the guests, she quickly got off the saddle and stood there. Her pretty and young appearance moved everyone present<sup>40</sup>.

While historical records have not been generous to Chukhyang, it is my hope that these distinct accounts by people who met Chukhyang have been able to present an interesting and lively profile of a *kisaeng* of humble origins. With no family name or date of birth or death, she nevertheless managed to become a much admired and praised intellectual in nineteenth century Korea. Many more stories still remain to be told of other women intellectuals of the same period, and hopefully these stories – and these women – will soon be the subjects of future research.

<sup>40</sup> YI KAWŌN 이가원 and HŌ KYŌNGJIN 허경진, HAN CHAERAK, *Nokp'a chapki* (綠波雜記), Seoul, Kimyŏngsa, pp. 74-75.



APPENDIX



*P'ung'yo samsön*, Karam edition 古 811.04-C453p-v.1-3, 1857.  
Seven volumes, three books, movable type, 31×19 cm. (p. 42: a/b).  
Kyujanggak Library collection.

