

The *Kinyŏ* Institution in Chosŏn Dynasty Korea,
as seen in the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*
(朝鮮王朝實錄 Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty)

Dissertation
zur Erlangung der Würde des
Doktors der Philosophie
der Universität Hamburg

vorgelegt von

Vincenza D'Urso

aus: Formia (LT) – ITALIEN

Hamburg, Oktober 2001

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Datum der
Disputation

29 April 1997



Plate no. 1 - Sin Yun-bok "A Courtesan"
album leaf, ink and colour on silk, 28.4 x 19.0 cm,
National Museum of Korea



Plate no. 2 - Sin Yun-bok "Portrait of a Beautiful Woman"
ink and colour on silk, 113.9 x 45.6 cm
Kansong Art Museum, Seoul



Plate no. 3 - Sin Yun-bok "Portrait of a Beautiful Woman" (detail)
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To my three-year old son Matteo
whose wisdom and perseverance
during long months of separation
have been for me a source of
inspiration.

Acknowledgements

This work is more than one person's accomplishment. It is also the result of patient work, trust and scholarly inspiration by Martina Deuchler, Professor of Korean History at the School of Oriental and African Studies, in London and Gari Keith Ledyard, King Sejong Professor of Korean Studies at Columbia University, New York.

To Prof. Deuchler and Prof. Ledyard I owe great thanks and admiration for being exquisite scholars and for having been such a rich source of inspiration. To them I am particularly grateful, not only for their invaluable comments, but also for having coped with my delays and short notices. I will never forget that they sacrificed part of their well-earned Christmas vacations to make the final corrections in my work.

This dissertation was also made possible by a six-month research grant obtained by the Korea Foundation, - here I wish to thank them for their faith in my research subject - and for the kind support given by the Academy of Korean Studies, in Söngnam, for allowing me to use their facilities during my visit. The five months I spent there were a period of full-time study, reflection and intellectual discovery. I wish to thank Prof. Yi Söng-mu, Prof. Chöng Ku-bok and Prof. Ch'oe Chin-ok for their comments on historical matters, Prof. Kim Yong-un for his openness and clarity when explaining musical concepts not familiar to me, the late Prof. Chang Ch'öl-su, for his advice on "pinning down the institutions first". Special thanks go to Prof. Hō Hūng-sik. He first taught me Korean back in 1980-1981 while a visiting Professor at the Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples, Italy and I met him again at the Academy ten years later. His concern, deep knowledge and "strategic advice" will always follow me in my academic career. To his family go special thanks too, for having lightened up most of my solitary weekends at the Academy. And speaking of light, I wish to thank also Prof. Yi Söng-mi, of the Art History Department, who, with her refreshing smile, has lit up my way through the difficult search for visual evidence to support my research. Thanks go also to the wonderful staff at the Changsögak Library, especially Mr. Kim "kyejangnim", whose help with the primary sources proved invaluable. To the students of the Graduate School, with whom I shared conversation, food, laughs and stress, a special 'Thank You' and a sincere wish of success: bright minds deserve only the best!

I also wish to thank the National History Compilation Committee for allowing me to use the CD-ROM of the *Chosön wangjo sillok* (Veritable Records of the Yi dynasty) in their library. This happened before I myself received it as a "gift from Heaven" from Yi Söng-hön, a wonderful example of friendship beyond all cultural and national barriers. Perhaps unintentionally, he has charted my research path for years to come!

Here I also wish to express my deepest thankfulness, esteem and respect to

Prof. An Pyŏng-hŭi, an exquisite scholar and former academic advisor of my Seoul National University days, for the care and support shown over the years. Thank you also to my "eternal friend" Hong Ŭn-ju, who opened for me the doors of Korean traditional music and her home in Seoul, and to many other friends, too many to be singularly mentioned here but not less important.

In Hamburg, I am particularly indebted to Prof. Dr.Phil. Hans Stumpfheldt, to whom I would like to express my special thanks for his kind and important support during some of my worst days. Also, I would like to thank Herr Oh Myŏng-ho, Lecturer in the Korean Section, for all the times he - always with a smile on his face - agreed to help me decipher obscure passages in classical Chinese and Ms. Ch'a Sun-nyŏ, who has patiently shared with me part of her precious time, discussing with me the "tricks" of Korean music and rituals. My thanks also go to Frau Hannelore Windsor, who, with her sensitivity, always found the right words and ways to save me from bureaucratic dead ends and traps.... To the students of my courses, who shared with me their ideas and critiques, I also say "Thank You", for having helped me grow a step further in my academic life.

Last but not least, a "grazie di cuore" to my parents, for not keeping me from going to Korea the first time in 1981, for the support shown over the years and for agreeing to look after my 2-years old son, Matteo, during my eleven-month absence in 1996-1997.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Titles

AK -	Akhak kwebǔm
CK-	Ch'ǒngp'a kũktam
CWS -	Chosǒn wangjo sillok
KS -	Koryǒsa
KT -	Kyǒngguk taejǒn
RS -	Rijo sillok
SH -	Sǒngho sasǒl
YK -	Yǒllyǒsil kisul
YC -	Yongjae ch'onghwa

Kings' names

TAE	T'aejo	(太祖 1392-1398)
CJ	Chǒngjong	(定宗 1398-1400)
TJ	T'aejong	(太宗 1400-1418)
SEJ	Sejong	(世宗 1418-1450)
MU	Munjong	(文宗 1450-1452)
TAN	Tanjong	(端宗 1452-1455)
SO	Sejo	(世祖 1455-1468)
YE	Yejong	(睿宗 1468-1469)
SOJ	Sǒngjong	(成宗 1469-1494)
YON	Yǒnsan	(燕山 1494-1506)
CHU	Chungjong	(中宗 1506-1544)
INJ	Injong	(仁宗 1544-1545)
MJ	Myǒngjong	(明宗 1545-1567)
SON	Sǒnjo	(宣祖 1567-1608)
HAE	Kwanghae	(光海 1608-1623)
INO	Injo	(仁祖 1623-1649)
HYO	Hyojong	(孝宗 1649-1659)
HYN	Hyǒnjong	(顯宗 1659-1674)
SUK	Sukchong	(肅宗 1674-1720)
KNG	Kyǒngjong	(景宗 1720-1724)
YNG	Yǒngjo	(英祖 1724-1776)
CHO	Chǒngjo	(正祖 1776-1800)
SUN	Sunjo	(純祖 1800-1834)
HON	Hǒnjong	(憲宗 1834-1849)
CHL	Ch'ǒlchong	(哲宗 1849-1863)

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INTRODUCTION

Many years ago, when I first met Korea and 'things Korean', I was struck by the way Koreans talked about a certain category of women who lived during the last Korean dynasty, the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910). This category of women corresponded to the term '*kisaeng*' (妓生 'women talented in music'), and Koreans talked with great admiration of their literary and musical achievements. Names like Hwang Chin-i, Maehwa, Kuji¹⁾ and many, many others, were always present during such conversations. The lives of these women were surrounded by an aura of legend and mystery. They were described as creatures of incomparable beauty and talent and as women of irresistible charm, with whom most of the prominent Confucian scholars fell in love. Some of them were even recorded in history for their patriotism, like Non'gae, a *kisaeng* who, during the Japanese invasion of Korea (1592-1598), sacrificed her life for her country, jumping from a high cliff holding a Japanese general in her embrace.

Side by side with this 'legendary' background, I was then confronted with the reality of the '*kisaeng-chip*' (*kisaeng* houses) in modern Seoul, usually traditional Korean-style houses, the access to which, due to the prohibitive prices, was restricted to a selected list of wealthy guests. Moreover, the current connotation of the term *kisaeng*

1) Hwang Chin-i, Maehwa and Kuji are only few of the most famous *kinyŏ* poetess of the Chosŏn period. Although the name Hwang Chin-i seems to be her real name, such cases are rare. Most of these women are generally known only by their artistic name, as real names of *kisaeng* in the majority of cases has not been transmitted. As members of the lowborn, they did not have surnames and also biographical data on them is in general very scanty. A list of *ki* names has been included in Appendix A at p. 163 - the list includes all names of *ki* found in the main historical source consulted for this study, i.e. the Annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty. The list provides us with evidence that *ki* names were not structured like normal anthroponyms and certainly, in the majority of cases, they lacked surnames.

indicating the women working in such 'houses' seemed to contain negative elements, which had nothing to do with the positive messages contained in the above-mentioned stories regarding their Chosŏn dynasty predecessors.

In this very simple and quite superficial observation I detected a contradiction, and I could not explain the apparently negative connotation the term *kisaeng* had developed over the years.

Another reason, based on a more scholarly reflection, was originated by the need to fill a gap in scholarship on Korean studies which could shed light on the status of *kisaeng* - belonging to the class of lowborn women of the Chosŏn period - and at the same time addressing the problem of trying to identify an institution within whose category these women had been placed. The extant secondary literature on the subject '*kisaeng*' was - and still is - very fragmentary, imbued with 'legendary' elements which could hardly be explained scientifically. Most important, none of the studies had tackled the institutional issue itself. Research on *kisaeng* had been limited to two areas: analysing and evaluating their musical and literary contribution²⁾ or studying them as 'fashion' phenomenon and concentrating on the peculiarity of their attire. *Kisaeng* were recruited among female slaves, belonged to the lowest social status group in traditional Chosŏn Korea and, according to the prescriptions of their own social level, they were not supposed to wear other than simple hemp clothing, not to mention the limitations connected to the use of gold and silver jewelry, which was strictly limited to wives of officials of the highest rank. Their 'working environment', however, brought *kisaeng* in contact with national officials and foreign envoys,

2) A comprehensive bibliography in Pak Ŭl-su, *Han'guk sijo taesajŏn* (朴乙洙, 韓國時調大事典), Seoul: 1992, contains over 100 titles of articles and monographies on the literary contribution of *kisaeng* to the history of Korean literature.

whom they had to entertain with music and dance performances and also with declamation of poetry. Moreover, the doors of the royal palace would open to the most talented ones, for ritual music and dance performances in the presence of the King, on occasions of banquets for the royal family or in honour of very important official guests, mainly envoys from China or from other neighbouring countries. Their attire had to be adequate to the situation, hence the precious quality of the materials used for their clothing and for the head and clothing accessories³⁾. This combination of low social status with privileges usually limited to members of the highest social class, presented a very interesting and promising contradiction, which might open the doors to a better understanding of the mechanisms of social mobility during the Chosŏn period and shed light on the role and situation of this special category of women in Chosŏn society.

The choice of the primary source fell on the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* (Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty)⁴⁾ for one very important reason: even though *kisaeng* were mentioned in many other sources, such as the collected writings of Confucian scholars (*munjip*), non-official histories (*yasa*) and literary works, the Annals seemed to be the only official source which could provide a chronologically uninterrupted flow of information regarding the issue. Moreover, due to its 'official' nature, it was the only source which would probably have contained data leading – possibly – to the description of a hierarchical structure applicable to the Chosŏn period. Where appropriate, the National Code (*Kyŏngguk taejŏn*)⁵⁾

3) A few titles of studies undertaken in this regard are: Sŏk In-gyŏng, *Chosŏn-cho kinyŏ-poksik-ko* (석인경 朝鮮朝 妓女服飾考), Master Degree thesis, Yihwa [Ehwa] Women's University, Seoul: 1984; Yi Ok-yŏn, *Chosŏn-sidae kinyŏbok-ŭi chohyŏngjŏk punsŏk mit 'dijain' yŏn'gu* (李玉蓮, 朝鮮時代 妓女服의 造形的 分析 및 디자인 研究), Master Degree thesis, Yihwa [Ehwa] Women's University, Seoul: 1986. Other titles of literature on the same subject have been omitted, as not related to the historical period analysed in this work.

4) In this work translated as "Annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty". Hereafter Annals. See also to the section "The Source" in the Introduction, for more information on this primary source.

was also consulted. Following the completion of the modern Korean translation of the Annals in CD-ROM version (*Kugyŏk Chosŏn wangjo sillok* 국역조선왕조실록), the computer-guided search allowed a broad overview of the entries analysed and also relative reliability and precision of the study's results. The total number of occurrences found in the source is 1428.⁶⁾ The figure is very high because most of the entries are a repetition of concepts already mentioned earlier in the source, or because the term is simply mentioned, without any further delineation. For this reason, I have made a selection of the most significant and relevant entries which could lead to the identification of a hierarchical structure within the *ki* group and – possibly – to help clarify the different roles *ki* played in Chosŏn society. In this respect, I also resorted to pictorial evidence, by surveying paintings relevant to the historical period. Unfortunately the iconographical material collected corresponds to the latter half of the Chosŏn period and no pictorial images could be traced back to the first two hundred years of the dynasty. Only a few paintings have been included in this work, those which seemed to confirm the existence of functional differentiation among the *ki* category, as suggested in the written texts. The paintings have been selected according to a basic principle: the presence of *ki* in the picture. Recognizing *ki* was, consequently, necessary in selecting the desired material. During the Koryŏ dynasty (918–1392), the *ki* concept had been related to singing and dancing in the presence of the king or of high-ranking officials, and I also knew that *ki* had been described as:

5) Hereafter KT.

6) This figure indicates the total number of *ki*-related occurrences reported in the primary source. Refer to Tab. 1 for detailed information on the occurrence of each term.

"Patterned silk skirts, delicate and shimmering, line up in rows along the brightly coloured dance mat to show off their chaste and fragile figures and present a slow and graceful dance."⁷⁾

or, as in the following passage:

"Quickly, trinkets jingling at her waist, she mounts the glistening flowered dancing mat. As the beat quickens, her sleeves move higher into the air. Her waist is pliant as a willow in the wind. Her many-layered skirt is elegant, in the very latest fashion. When the music ends, she stands alone as the fragrant dust settles. Her arms and legs must be a wee bit tired; twin frowns settle on her mascaraed brows."⁸⁾

Kisaeng in the Koryŏ period were described in literature as having their "hair swept up into soft mounds that framed their faces like clouds", a "face smooth as jade", "rouged cheeks", "wore crimson sleeves, jade pendants and crimson skirts" and had "wrists as delicate as porcelain". They were also connected to music, being described as playing "their jeweled flutes and blow on their shiny panpipes."⁹⁾

The connection to music was confirmed in one of the first dictionaries of the Chosŏn dynasty as well, the *Hunmong chahoe* (Collection of Chinese Characters for Teaching Purposes), (1527) which described the *ki* as "female(s) who could play stringed instruments".¹⁰⁾

Thus, the basic criteria for identifying *ki* in the pictorial sources

7) These descriptions are quotations of English translations by McCarthy, K. L. *Kisaeng in the Koryŏ period*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1991. This work is the only comprehensive analysis of *kisaeng* during the Koryŏ dynasty available. It concentrated on records on *kisaeng* contained in the "History of Koryŏ" (*Koryŏsa* 高麗史), in the "Collection to Dispel Leisure" (*Pahan chip* 破閑集) by Yi In-ro (1152-1220), a poet of the Koryŏ period, in the "Collection to Relieve Idleness" (*Pohan chip* 補閑集) by Ch'oe Cha (1187-1260) and in "The Collected Writings of Minister Yi of Korea" (*Tongguk Yi Sangguk chip* 東國李相國集), by Yi Kyu-bo (1168-1241), one of the greatest poets of the Koryŏ period.

8) McCarthy, *ibid.*, p. 55.

9) McCarthy, *ibid.*, p. 192.

10) Hunmong chahoe, chung, 2a: 妓 녀계기 俗呼作樂之妓曰彈的, (Han'guk kojŏn ch'ongsŏ 1. [Ŏhangnyu] *Hunmong chahoe*. Seoul: 1972)

were beauty – in itself a very subjective aspect – dancing or singing, the playing of musical instruments, and, most important of all, visibility. As a matter of fact, in contrast with women of noble origin, *ki* had high visibility in the male-dominated Chosŏn society. Due to the strict separation of the sexes, which expected well-born women to be confined to the inner quarters of the household, Chosŏn society showed, in its "official version", a rather unbalanced situation where the presence of cultured female partners at official gatherings was evidently and strongly missed. Most probably one of the main reasons for the establishment of the *ki* system was the necessity to fill the wide gap caused by the almost total absence of females at social gatherings of various nature.

For all of the above-mentioned reasons, *ki* had to be educated not only in disciplines more strictly related to musical specialties, such as singing and dancing, but also in literary and poetic composition and in calligraphy. They had to be able to sustain a feasible conversation with their potential partners, high-ranking Confucian officials well-versed in the Chinese Classics. The most brilliant and talented *ki* were even able to challenge their male counterparts in poetic composition and improvisation at parties in the presence of "inebriating wine cups".

A list of the plates is given at the beginning of this work. The titles provided are not the original ones, as paintings were generally given no titles by the artists. The titles indicated here correspond to those generally adopted and reported in secondary sources.¹¹⁾

This work consists of five chapters. **Chapter one** contains a general overview of the position of women and *kinyŏ* in Chosŏn society, describing some of the most important changes which resulted from the

11) The titles have been taken from *Han'guk-ŭi Mi*, (The Beauty of Korea), 24 voll., 6th ed., Seoul: 1994

adoption of Neo-Confucianism as the state ideology by the new Chosŏn dynasty and evaluating some of the consequences this adoption had for the status of women in traditional Confucian society. This chapter aims at providing a description of the broad 'cultural background' against which the *kisaeng*'s role should be seen and considered. A brief introduction to slavery in Chosŏn Korea and to the concept of public property (*kongmul*) lays the basis for a better understanding of the position of the *kinyŏ* in traditional Korea.

Chapter two deals with the historical origins of the *kinyŏ* system. Due to the lack of historical materials for the pre-Koryŏ (918-1392) period, it is not only difficult to provide a chronological description of the system, but every attempt to identify at least the main moments of such a development is problematic. The chapter presents the three theories most often mentioned in Korean academic circles.

The opposite issues of 'official' - seen through the institutions - and 'private' life of *ki* are dealt with in **Chapter three**. The institutions related to *ki* activities are important in order to understand how the ritual and entertaining systems functioned, to which extent *kinyŏ* involvement was requested in the entertainment sector and what the role played by the *ki* within these institutions was. In contrast, the second part of this chapter attempts to provide a glimpse of the life these women might have led in society, based on the rare occurrences in the Annals about aspects of the *ki*'s private life and issues related to their survival in society.

Chapter four provides a tentative classification of *ki* types based on functional and spatial principles, attempting to establish a hierarchy of the various *ki* categories. Three case studies are also presented. Two

cases, the *yŏak* (female court musicians) and *ŭinyŏ* (medical women) have been chosen according to their functional differentiation, while the third case study on *kwan'gi* (officially registered *ki*), has been selected in function of its regional differentiation.

Finally, **Chapter five** is an attempt to identify the different social roles played by the *ki* in society by analysing paintings of the Chosŏn period. It provides the reader with a visual classification of *ki* roles and, hopefully, provides clarity there where words might have failed.

This study attempts to identify and describe the *ki* system during the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910), based on textual and iconographical evidence¹²⁾. A description of the various *ki* categories during the Chosŏn period has never been attempted in Korea or elsewhere, nor has any study ever been undertaken on the relevant material contained in the primary source considered here. The subject '*kisaeng*' has long been neglected and underestimated in the secondary literature, both in Korean and in foreign languages. Whereas the literary and artistic contributions of the *ki* have been researched well enough,¹³⁾ studies of the *ki* system from a historical point of view can be counted on one hand.

Yi Nŭng-hwa (1869–1943) was the first Korean scholar of the 20th century to dedicate a book to the subject of *kisaeng*. The book, *Chosŏn haeŏhwasa (History of Educated Korean Women*¹⁴⁾, Seoul: 1926), is a collection of quotes from primary sources, organized by themes in chronological sequence, and it was published during the Japanese colonial period (1910–1945). It represents the first collection of data on *kisaeng* based on historical evidence, a collection of data done "in the hope it

12) Even though the period under study is the entire Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910), the last occurrence regarding *ki* in the historical source is recorded during king Ch'ŏlchong's reign (1849–1863).

13) Refer to note no. 2 in the Introduction.

14) The English translation is my own, based on an interpretation explained in the following footnote.

would be useful to historical circles."¹⁵⁾ The work, however, does not contain any commentary or any attempt to identify connections between the quotes. Moreover, it perpetuates the aura of legend and myth surrounding these women. Historically, the book came out in a particular period of Korean history, and apparently, wanted to re-evaluate 'Korean cultural aspects' in a period of cultural repression. The book has been widely used and quoted by most contemporary authors who have written on *kisaeng*.

The second most important scholar to publish on the subject is **Kim Tong-uk**, who wrote an article on *kinyŏ* published in *Asea yŏsŏng yŏn'gu* in 1966.¹⁶⁾ In his article, he tries to describe the historical origins of the *kinyŏ* system and brings forth two of the main hypotheses which will be discussed in the second chapter of this work: the theories on the *yunyŏ* (playing girls) and the *munyŏ* (female *mudang*¹⁷⁾).¹⁸⁾ He is also the first to refer to *kisaeng* rosters (*kijŏk*, or *kian*), however, without providing the necessary bibliographical references. It has been possible to identify one of these rosters in the *Kisaeng kwanan* reported in Appendix B of the present work.

Chapters on *kinyŏ* are also contained in *Han'guk yŏsŏng-sa* (History of Korean Women)¹⁹⁾ by **Ch'oe Suk-kyŏng** and **Ha**

15) From the Preface by the author in Yi Chae-gon (transl.) Yi Nŭng-hwa *조선해어화사* (朝鮮妓生史) *Chosŏn haeŏhwasa* (*Chosŏn kinyŏsa*), Munye sinsŏ 29, Tongmunsŏn, Seoul: 1992. The original version of the book is in Sino-Korean (朝鮮解語花史) A word-by-word translation of the title is: "History of Flowers Who Could Understand Language". The term 'Flowers' is meant as a reference to *kisaeng*. *Kisaeng* are here described as educated women who could read and write (reference to their ability to "understand language").

16) Kim Tong-uk "Kinyŏsa-sŏsŏl", in *Asea yŏsŏng yŏn'gu*, vol. 5, Seoul: 1966.

17) The *mudang* (巫堂 shaman) is a male or female figure connected to Shamanism, believed to have the power to establish a connection between heavenly and earthly matters. According to Hultkrantz, A. *Ecological and Phenomenological Aspects of Shamanism*, quoted in Choi, Chungmoo, *The Competence of Korean Shamans as Performers of Folklore*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Indiana University, 1987, p. 26, the shaman is someone who 1) establishes contacts with the supernatural world, 2) is the intermediary between the human group and the supernaturals, 3) receives inspiration from guardians or helping spirits and 4) has ecstatic experience.

18) See section 2.1, for a further elaboration of these two theories.

19) Work in three volumes published for the first time in 1972. The fourth edition was published in

Hyŏn-kang, and in *Han'guk yŏsok-sa* (History of Korean Women's Traditions) by **Kim Yong-suk**.²⁰⁾ The former is the most comprehensive history of Korean women up to date. The latter is the result of long research by Kim Yong-suk on elite women,²¹⁾ but the part on *kinyŏ* does not provide new data not already included in Kim Tong-uk's and in Yi Nŭng-hwa's works.

In the light of the extant literature, the need for an approach to the subject '*kinyŏ*' was felt, which would take into consideration historical sources and report on the findings in such sources. The Annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty, for their completeness and vast amount of information contained, seemed to be the best reference point for starting my research. Without doubt, the CD-ROM version of the Annals in modern Korean has greatly facilitated my work, at least in the initial research phase. On the other hand, it also produced an overload of information (1428 entries) which needed to be read, sorted out and possibly organized into a feasible interpretation.

Some remarks on terminology

As suggested by Tab. 1 at p. 70 of the present work²²⁾, the terminology used in the source and believed to be referring to the *ki* category varied widely. It will be argued that some terms vary according to functional or geographical distribution, whereas some others seem to be rather related to the existence of a hierarchical structure within the *ki* system. The following terms are an attempt to identify such

1993.

20) Published in 1990 by Minŭmsa Publishers, Seoul.

21) The author has researched extensively on palace women and on the life of women members of the Yi royal family, of the Chosŏn period (1392-1910). Her most representative works are listed in the bibliography.

22) Please refer to the table presented in Chap. 4, p. 70 of the present work.

sub-categories of *ki*, as found in the source and proposed in this work:

***kisaeng* 妓生**

Today the most widely used of the terms, *kisaeng* appears to be used in the Annals with a very broad meaning. However, one of the first dictionaries of the Chosŏn dynasty, the *Hunmong chahoe* (Collection of Chinese Characters for Teaching Purposes, 1527), describes *ki* as "female(s) who can play stringed instruments."²³⁾ In this source the music performing function is the only one mentioned.

***yŏak* 女樂 - female court musicians**

In light of the information collected in the source, this term occupied the highest level within the *ki* hierarchy. These women were exclusively related to the performance of music of Korean origin (in no case are female musicians (*yŏak*) to be related to ceremonial music (*yeak*), at the Court), in the presence of the king and of high officials, or on occasion of banquets offered in the presence of the Queen. The term is used in opposition to *namak*, which refers to male children performing at court in substitution of *yŏak*.²⁴⁾

***kinyŏ* 妓女**

Just like *ki* or *kisaeng*, also this term seems not to have well defined semantic boundaries. It presents a broad connotation and seems to occur in connection with court banquets and receptions, together with the term *yŏak*. It may therefore be possible to say that *kinyŏ* perform their

23) *Hunmong chahoe* (訓蒙字會 Collection of Chinese Characters for Teaching Purposes). The quote with the original text has been given in note no. 10.

24) More on *namak* will be introduced in 4.2.1.

duties mainly at court and in the capital area (they might be similar to *kyǒnggi*, “*ki* registered in the capital”). The term appears also during performances in the presence of foreign envoys. In some occurrences it is described as a product of a “selection among *ch’anggi*”,²⁵⁾ suggesting that the latter could be a term with a lower hierarchical position.

***kwan’gi* 官妓**

Official *ki*, *kwan’gi* were registered in special rosters kept in government office. In the majority of occurrences in the Annals the term appears often in combination with provincial areas (*chibang*). Other terms close to the *kwan’gi* concept are *kyǒnggi* (*ki* registered in the capital), *yǒnggi* (*ki* registered in a military garrison) and *pugi* (*ki* registered in a *pu* district).²⁶⁾

***ch’anggi* 娼妓 倡妓**

This term seems to have the lowest status within the system. As recorded in the Annals, “*ch’anggi* were deployed to serve military people on duty in border areas”.²⁷⁾ The quote stresses the fact that the soldiers deployed at the northern borders were unmarried or unaccompanied by their wives. The *ch’anggi*’s lower status, compared with other categories, is indicated also by opposition to their access to the Royal Palace (i.e., the staunch opposition of King Sǒnjo to the admission of the medical woman (*ũinyǒ*) Aejong to the Queen’s presence, because she was of

25) In these cases both Sino-Korean versions of the term (娼妓 and 倡妓) appear.

26) The Chosŏn regional administration system was formally structured in: *Mok*, *tae tohubu*, *tohubu*, *kun*, *hyǒn* (two grades) and *pugok*, with the *mok* having the highest ranking magistrates and the *pugok* having none, they being subordinated to other districts. The titles of the magistrates for each administrative unit are: *moksa* (rank 3a), *tae toho pusa* (3a), *toho pusa* (3b), *kunsu* (4b), *hyǒllyǒng* (5b) and *hyǒn’gam* (6b). The *tae toho pusa* and the *toho pusa* were usually simply referred to as *pusa*. The *pugi* were thus *ki* registered at the highest administrative provincial structure.

27) Sejong sillok, kwŏn 75, p. 23; b: 14-15 (...) 咸吉道監司曰 古者邊鎮置娼妓以待軍士之無妻者(...).

ch'anggi origin.²⁸⁾

***ũinyŏ* 醫女**

Literally “medical woman”, the term identifies a special category of women educated in the medical discipline, who cured ill women who did not want to be treated by male doctors. During prince Yŏnsan’s period (r.1494–1506), the term assumes other connotations which go beyond the original purpose and cross the borderline with the term *kinyŏ*.²⁹⁾

Using the currently widely used term *kisaeng* has been deliberately avoided in this work, unless given in the primary or secondary sources quoted. This for two reasons: 1) it appears with a relatively low frequency in the primary source; 2) I wanted to avoid any preconceptions of the term based on its usage today.

However, it must be said that the above-mentioned definitions are only a proposal. Terms like *ki*, *kisaeng* and *kinyŏ* are too generic to allow more precision in the definitions. In the case of terms such as *yŏak*, *kwan’gi* and *ũinyŏ*, on the contrary, the functional diversification is clearer. For the two different graphic representations of the term *ch’anggi* (娼妓 倡妓 it has not been possible to identify distinctive semantic differences. They have nevertheless been kept separate in Table 1, because a definite answer to whether or not a difference between the two terms does exist requires further research.

In order to avoid confusion, the terms *kinyŏ* and its abbreviated form *ki* will be used hereafter as the most general terms, unless otherwise indicated in the original text. In translations, original

28) Please refer to section 4.2.2.2.b for more particulars on Aejong’s story.

29) For more information on this subject, refer to section 4.2.2. dedicated to the *ũinyŏ* development.

Sino-Korean terms will be retained in order to allow the readers to check my interpretations for themselves. Where applicable, an English translation has been provided as well. This rule has been applied not only to *ki*-related terminology, but to all Korean terms connected with official titles or with 'things' typical of the country's culture, which could not be translated into an English equivalent. Explanations of the concepts have been given in related footnotes.

In the text, solar dates have been indicated only by the year. Oriental dates, consisting of year, month and day, have been indicated only in the footnotes. All entries referring to Annals quotations include an additional date corresponding to the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* CD-ROM listing method, i.e., the first three-digit number following the king's name indicates the volume number during each king's reign, followed by the year of reign, month and day. The name of the day according to the oriental calendar is given in brackets. Original texts have been provided in footnotes in the most important and relevant citations.

The illustrations on the inside-cover pages³⁰⁾ have been provided in order to give an approximate idea of what *ki* looked like during the late part of the Chosŏn period. In the extant secondary literature these women have often been classified as "women with special knowledge" (*t'ŭksujik yŏsŏng* 特殊職 女性³¹⁾ or as "women of a special class" (*t'ŭksu kyegŭp-ŭi yŏsŏng* 特殊階級 女性³²⁾ Sometimes this study may give the impression of being an impersonal, arid account of historical changes that occurred during a certain historical period, but in reality it is an

30) Sin Yun-bok (1758-?) "A Courtesan", album leaf, ink and colour on silk, 28,4 x 19.0 cm, National Museum of Korea (Plate no. 1); "Portrait of a Beautiful Woman", ink and colour on silk, 113.9 x 45.6 cm, National Museum of Korea (Plate no. 2 and 3); Anonymous "Portrait of a Beauty", light colour on paper, 117 x 49 cm, Private collection, South Chŏlla province (Plate no. 4) and Yu Un-hong "Kinyŏ", colour on paper, 23.9 x 36.2 cm, Private collection, Seoul (Plate no. 5).

31) Ch'oe Suk-kyŏng and Ha Hyŏn-kang, *Han'guk yŏsŏng-sa*, p. 503.

32) Kim Yong-suk, *Han'guk yŏsoksa*, p. 211.

attempt to bring to light a class of women long neglected and too easily relegated to the function of 'high level prostitutes' or of 'light entertainers'. Such definitions do no justice to the level of preparation and professionalism these women had.

The function related to sexual entertainment, indirectly hinted but never overtly exposed or described in the primary source, has been intentionally neglected in this study. It is a subject too broad to be tackled within the boundaries set by this dissertation. I hope to take it up in the future as a separate subject of research.

Ki names appearing in the Annals have been listed in the Appendices for quick reference.

Korean names and terms have been romanized according to the prescriptions of the McCune-Reischauer system. For Chinese names and terms, the *pinyin* system has been adopted.

THE SOURCE

As reference to the sources used has been made in comprehensive footnotes each time one of the relevant titles appears for the first time, this section contains only information regarding the main source on which this research is based: the Annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty (*Chosŏn wangjo sillok*).

The Annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty (*Chosŏn wangjo sillok*)³³⁾

The compilation of official histories in the form of *sillok* (Chin. *shi-lu* "veritable records", "true records"), usually translated as "annals", has been known to Korea since the Koryŏ period (918–1392), when, beginning with the reign of King Hyŏnjong (r.1009–1031), official records were compiled for the first seven kings of the dynasty. Unfortunately, the annals of the Koryŏ dynasty are no longer extant. However, the complete *sillok* for the first 25 kings of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910), covering a period of 471 years from the annals of King T'aejo (r. 1392–1398) to the annals of King Ch'ŏlchong (r.1849–1863), still exist and are kept at the the *Kyujanggak*, at Seoul National University. The annals of the last two kings, Kojong (r. 1864–1907) and Sunjong (1907–1910) were compiled during the Japanese colonial period and are not recognized as official histories by historians in the Republic of Korea, who claim that in the very act of compiling them, the Japanese were asserting their legitimacy of succession to the Yi dynasty. Therefore, they are neither included in the modern photolithographic reproduction in 48 volumes of the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, reprinted between 1950 and 1955 by the National History

33) For the completion of this section I wish to thank Gary K. Ledyard, King Sejong Professor of Korean Studies at Columbia University, New York, for his highly stimulating and scholarly advice provided during an exchange of electronic mail messages in November 1996.

Compilation Committee (*Kuksa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe*), nor in the CD-ROM version of the Korean translation of the Annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty,³⁴⁾ released in October 1995.

Limited copies of the *sillok* of King Kojong and King Sunjong were printed by the Japanese during the occupation period, but they are mostly in Japan now. Another edition, also in limited number, was printed in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the late 1950's and early 1960's. The Department of Korean Studies at the University of Hamburg has a copy, printed as appendix in the North Korean translated version of the *Rijo sillok* (*Veritable Records of the Ri Dynasty*),³⁵⁾ a monumental work in 400 volumes printed in P'yŏngyang between 1975 and 1991 and compiled under the supervision of the *Sahoe Kwahagwŏn Minjok Kojŏn Yŏn'guso* (Institute for the Research of National Classics of the Academy of Social Sciences). In the short introduction to the *Rijo sillok*, the compilers of the modern Korean translation do not indicate the reasons why they have included the *sillok* of the last two kings. Their only statement in this regard is:

" The *Kojong sillok* [*Sunjong sillok*]³⁶⁾ was compiled during the darkest period of the Japanese rule, between April 1930 and March 1935. The *Kojong sillok* [*Sunjong sillok*] was compiled under the supervision of a committee composed of 22 Koreans and 11 Japanese. As in the case of previous *sillok*, the compilation of the *Kojong* and *Sunjong sillok* have been undertaken in diary form in accordance with the traditional practice and they were compiled using the *Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi* (承政院日記 Records of the Royal Secretariat) and the *Ilsŏngnok* (日省錄 Records of Daily Reflections)³⁷⁾(...) as basic materials".³⁸⁾

34) This is the English title given on the cover.

35) Hereafter referred to as RS.

36) The introduction to both *sillok* compilations is the same. Only the title of the *sillok* changes, as indicated in square brackets.

37) Royal diaries beginning with the first month of the 36th year (1760) of King Yŏngjo's reign until the 4th year of reign of King Sunjong (1910) which also was the closing year of the Chosŏn

An Index to the 48 volumes of the Annals was first published in South Korea in 1964 and, until the compilation of a CD-ROM version of the Annals, it has been the only way to approach the dynastic histories. In the CD-ROM entries are automatically dated, according to a king's name, number of the volume, year, month and day, followed by the name of the day according to the Chinese dating system of the Ten Celestial Stems and the Twelve Branches³⁹⁾ in brackets.

Although far from being perfect, the CD-ROM has obvious advantages. Without the computer-guided search, the results of this research would have been hampered by the incompleteness of the data included in the above-mentioned Annals Index. The counting resulted from the automatic computer search has been, in some cases, seven-fold, compared to the figures previously obtained after consulting the Index.⁴⁰⁾

Figure no. 1 contains information on the compilation periods, different versions, publication dates, number of *ch'aek* and *kwŏn*⁴¹⁾ of each single *sillok* compilation. The numbers of *ch'aek* and *kwŏn* correspond to those reported in the reprinted edition of the Annals.

dynasty.

38) From the Preface to the *RS*, vol. 377 and vol. 400.

39) The year calculation is made according to the system of the Ten Celestial Stems (*Sip-ch'ŏn'gan* 十天干) and the Twelve Earthly Branches (*Sipi-chiji* 十二地支), based on the principle of the cyclical repetition of events.

40) For a complete statistical overview of the computer-guided search, please Table no. 1.

41) *Kwŏn* (卷) (Chin. quan,) and *ch'aek* (冊) (Chin. ce). Peterson, M. refers to *kwŏn* as "internal" volumes and to *ch'aek* as "external" volumes in his article: "The Sejong *sillok*", in Kim-Renaud Y.K. (ed.) *King Sejong the Great, the Light of 15th Century Korea*, Washington DC: 1992, p. 16.

	TITLE	COMPILATION PERIOD	PUBLICATION DATE	CH'AEK	KWŎN
1	T'aejo sillok	T'aejong 10/01-13/03	T'aejong 13 (1413)	3	15
2	Chǒngjong sillok	Sejong 06/03-08/08	Sejong 8 (1426)	1	6
3	T'aejong sillok	Sejong 06/03-13/03	Sejong 13 (1431)	16	36
4	Sejong sillok	Munjong 02/03-Tanjong 02/03	Tanjong 2 (1454)	67	163
5	Munjong sillok	Tanjong 02/03-Sejo 01/11	Sejo 1 (1455)	6	13
6	Tanjong sillok	Sejo 10 - Yejong 01	Yejong 1 (1469)	6	14
7	Sejo sillok	Yejong 01/04-Sǒngjong 02/12	Sǒngjong 2 (1471)	18	49
8	Yejong sillok	Sǒngjong 02/12-03/05	Sǒngjong 3 (1472)	3	8
9	Sǒngjong sillok	Yǒnsan'gun 01/04-05/02	Yǒnsan'gun 5 (1499)	47	297
10	Yǒnsan'gun Ilgi	Chungjong 02/06-04/09	Chungjong 4 (1509)	17	63
11	Chungjong sillok	Myǒngjong 01/Fall-05/10	Myǒngjong 5 (1550)	53	105
12	Injong sillok	Myǒngjong 01/Fall-05/09	Myǒngjong 5 (1550)	2	2
13	Myǒngjong sillok	Sǒnjo 01/09-04/04	Sǒnjo 4 (1571)	21	34
14	Sǒnjo sillok	Kwanghaegun 01/07-08/11	Kwanghaegun 8 (1616)	116	221
	Sǒnjo sujǒng s.	Injo 21/07-Hyojong 08/09	Hyojong 8 (1657)	8	42
15	Kwanghaegun Ilgi	Injo 02/07-11/12	Injo 11 (1633)	64	187
	Kwanghaegun Ilgi	Chǒngjoksan copy		40	187
16	Injo sillok	Hyojong 01/08 - 04/06	Hyojong 4 (1653)	50	50
17	Hyojong sillok	Hyǒnjong 01/05-02/02	Hyǒnjong 2 (1661)	22	21
18	Hyǒnjong sillok	Sukjong 01/05-03/02	Sukjong 3 (1677)	23	22
	Hyǒnjong kaesu	Sukjong 06/07-09/03	Sukjong 9 (1683)	29	28
19	Sukjong sillok	Kyǒngjong 00/11-Yǒngjo 04/03	Yǒngjo 4 (1728)	73	65
20	Kyǒngjong sillok	Yǒngjo 02 - 08/02	Yǒngjo 8 (1732)	7	15
	Kyǒngjong sujǒng	Chǒngjo 02/02-05/07	Chǒngjo 5 (1781)	3	5
21	Yǒngjo sillok	Chǒngjo 01/05-05/07	Chǒngjo 5 (1781)	83	127
22	Chǒngjo sillok	Sunjo 00/12-05/08	Sunjo 5 (1805)	56	54
23	Sunjong sillok	Hǒnjong 01/05-04/04i	Hǒnjong 4 (1838)	36	34
24	Hǒnjong sillok	Ch'ǒlchong 00/11-02/08	Ch'ǒlchong 2 (1851)	9	16
25	Ch'ǒlchong sillok	Kojong 01/05-02/05i	Kojong 2 (1865)	9	15
TOT				888	1893

Fig. 1 - Chronological overview of *sillok* compilation, with no. of *ch'ae*k and *kwŏn* included (adapted from *Kugvŏk Chosŏn wangjo sillok, CD-ROM haesŏljip*, Seoul: 1995)

Sillok compilations: some remarks

The extant and officially recognized (in South Korea) 25 *sillok* compilations cover almost the entire Chosŏn period: 471 reign years (out of the total 518) from the founder of the dynasty, King T'aejo, (1392-1398) to King Ch'ǒlchong (1849-1863), excluding only the reign of the last two kings, King Kojong (r. 1864-1907) and King Sunjong (r. 1907-1910). Since the compilation of the *sillok* for any given king was begun only after his death, it could happen that, in the case a newly

enthroned king who reigned for a very short period, the annals of two different kings had to be written by the same historians. However, as was usually the case, each compilation was conceived as a separate historical work with particular features dictated by a combination of reasons which could be individual – cultural preparation and political ideas of the compilers – or external – the socio-political situation in the country, i.e., the political affiliation of the group in power – and the king's personality itself.

Side by side with the *sillok*, there are two cases in which the "true records" have the name of *ilgi*, or "diaries". This happened in the case of two deposed kings, prince Yönsan (r.1494–1506) and prince Kwanghae (r.1608–1623). They were posthumously delegitimized, they were not granted the posthumous title of *taewang*,⁴²⁾ and are known to posterity by their enfeoffment titles of prince. There is a third type of *ilgi* in the history of Chosŏn period annals' compilation, the *Nosangun ilgi* (Diaries of the Nosangun), referring to the period of King Tanjong's (r. 1452–1455) reign, who was enthroned at the very young age of twelve. After only three years, he was pushed off the throne in 1455 by his uncle, King Sejo (r. 1455–1468). Tanjong's "veritable records" were written during Sejo's reign and originally named *Nosangun ilgi*. The compilers of the *Sejo sillok*, who had also written the *Nosangun ilgi*, were the supporters of King Sejo's usurpation and thus heavily biased in favour of Sejo and against the boy-king Tanjong. Their *sillok* version set the standard historical interpretation for the generations of the next 200 years, until King Sukchong (r.1674–1720). As a matter of fact, only in 1704, the 30th year of King Sukchong's reign, was Nosangun granted the

42) Since there is no exact correspondence of the two titles in English, I have preferred not to translate titles like *taewang* and *kun*, leaving them in the original Korean form.

posthumous title of *Tanjong Taewang*, and the records of his period were corrected in *Tanjong sillok*. It is important to stress the fact that, in spite of title, these particular sets of annals can still be considered full-fledged *sillok*, and that the definition of *ilgi* attributed to them was a judgement made *a posteriori* by later generations of historiographers.

When, in the course of history, the delicate balance of power among political factions turned in favour of one faction, this unbalanced situation was of course reflected in the *sillok* compilation as well, being considered "the monarch's justification of his rule."⁴³) On such occasions, it was not rare to have a new *sillok* compilation, or revision, ordered when the opposite faction came to power again. This is the case with the *Sŏnjo*, *Hyŏnjong* and *Kyŏngjong sillok*. For each, a new "corrected and revised version" is listed in Fig. 1. In the case of the *Kwanghaegun ilgi*, however, the existence of two versions, the T'aebaeksan (Northern Kyŏngsang province) copy and the Chŏngjoksan (Kanghwa Island) copy can be ascribed to the Manchu Invasions of 1627 and 1636, and not to any factional strife. The T'aebaeksan copy is actually the second draft, which was to be destroyed after the completion of the third and final draft, as happened with all draft versions (*sach'o*) (see following section). Instead, it was deposited in the history repository at T'aebaeksan and it represents today a tool of great value for a historiographical study on how Chosŏn dynasty annals were compiled. Both versions of the *Kwanghaegun ilgi*, the T'aebaeksan copy and the Chŏngjoksan copy, are contained in the South Korean edition of the Annals.

The compilation of the *sillok*

43) Sohn Pow-key [Son Po-gi], "The Concept of History and Korean *Yangban*", in *International Journal of Korean Studies*, 1, Seoul: 1973, p. 91

The compilation of the "veritable records" for each king, undertaken by the *Sillokch'ŏng* (Office of the Annals)⁴⁴, was based on the daily records collected by "left" and "right" chroniclers (the *chwas*a and the *usa*, who had the task to record respectively the king's actions and words). They were present at all activities and ceremonies the king would attend. These records were called *sach'o* (drafts). A combination of the different *sach'o* covering the entire reign period was also prepared, the *sijŏnggi* (current political records), which, just like the *sach'o*, were protected by secrecy and kept at the *Ch'unch'ugwan* (Bureau of State Records). No one, not even the king, had access to these records. The *sach'o* and the *sijŏnggi* represented the basic, but not the only, material on which the annals of the deceased (or deposed or abdicated) king were to be prepared. Other sources of information for the preparation of annals were the records of the Royal Secretariat (*Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi*), of the Office of the Royal Lectures (*Kyŏngyŏn ilgi*), of the Border Defence Council (*Pibyŏnsa tŭngnok*), of the Office of Diplomatic Correspondence (*Sŭngmunwŏn*) and of the State Tribunal (*Ŭigŭmbu*).

Once the final draft was prepared, the *sach'o* and the *sijŏnggi* were washed in water in order to destroy the previous copy and keep only one version, so that there would be no contradiction in the official version. The washing was done at the Government Paper Mill located near Chahamun, in present day Seoul.⁴⁵ The final manuscript was then stored with one copy at the *Ch'unch'ugwan* and a second copy in the *sago* (History Archives) in Ch'ungju (Northern Ch'ungch'ŏng province). During the 27th year of King Sejong's reign (1445), two more

44) A temporary office within the *Ch'unch'ugwan* (春秋館 Bureau of State Records) was established for the purpose of compiling the records of the previous king.

45) Shin Sŏk-ho "Yijo sillok 李朝實錄 (Annals of the Yi Dynasty)" in *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 12. (May 1960), pp. 37-43.

repositories were established as history archives: one in Chŏnju (Northern Chŏlla province) and the other in Sŏngju (Northern Kyŏngsang province). The decision taken by King Sejong proved to be wise, because during the Japanese invasion of Korea (1592–1598) by Hideyoshi's troops, all but one of the *sillok* copies were destroyed – the Chŏnju copy of 1445. This exemplar was moved to Naejangsan (Northern Chŏlla province) in 1592, to Haeju (Hwanghae province) the following year, to Myohyangsan (Northern P'yŏngan province) in 1596 and to Kanghwa Island in 1603. After the war, in spite of the economic difficulties the country found itself in, King Sŏnjo (r.1567–1608) put much effort into the making of new copies of the *sillok* in movable type. The work, started in 1603, was completed in 1606, and three new copies, plus the original Chŏnju version and a galley proof, were again redistributed in far-away isolated locations, to protect them from possible damage. The original copy was brought back to Kanghwa Island, this time kept at the Manisan archive. The galley proof was stored at Odaesan, (Kangwŏn province), and the other three copies were stored, one at the archives in T'aebaeksan, the second one in Myohyangsan and the third copy, as customary, in the capital, at the *Ch'unch'ugwan* archives. The *Ch'unch'ugwan* copy was destroyed in 1624, during a rebellion in the capital and was never replaced. The four copies left were again moved to different repositories during the Manchu Invasions of 1627 and 1636: the Myohyangsan copy was moved to Chŏksangsan (Northern Chŏlla province), where it remained until the beginning of the Japanese colonial period (1910–1945). In 1911, it was moved to the Yi Family Royal Library, where, in 1946, parts of it were lost in a robbery. The remaining volumes were moved to Pusan during the Korean War, but no one knows what happened to them.

The Manisan copy was greatly damaged during the second Manchu invasion, recopied in 1666, and then moved to Chǒngjoksan where it remained until 1913, when, together with the T'aebaeksan copy it was moved to the *Kyujanggak* (the King's Library) and from there, in 1930, further to the then Kejo Imperial University (present-day Seoul National University). The Odaesan copy was moved to Tokyo in 1913, where it was destroyed during the earthquake of 1923. Today's extant copies, kept at the Kyujanggak Library, Seoul National University, correspond therefore to the T'aebaeksan copy of 1606, in other words the Chǒnju copy of 1445 ordered by King Sejong, and to the Chǒngjoksan copy.

CHAPTER ONE

The position of women in Chosŏn society

1.1 Women in Chosŏn dynasty Korea

When General Yi Sŏnggye founded the new dynasty in 1392, he was not only going to give Koreans a new political system and a new reigning family invested with the legitimacy to govern but, in order to be able to grasp and maintain power, the new group of military leaders needed also a new ideology which would be able to support them in their quest for power. They found it in Neo-Confucianism, which, with its set of particular values, provided a momentum for social change at all levels. Koryŏ society had not been based on patrilineal lineages and the principle of *namjon yŏbi* (men are honoured, but women are abased)¹⁾ did not apply; inheritance was held, bequeathed and inherited by both sons and daughters, women as well as men were responsible for conducting ancestral ceremonies, female lines in the kinship were as important as male lines and remarriage was generally not prohibited.²⁾ On the other hand, Chosŏn society underwent a slow, but radical change after the adoption, as state ideology, of Neo-Confucian doctrines. Within a time span of two centuries of the Chosŏn dynasty, Korea witnessed several changes which led to the emergence of a society that was strongly based on patrilineal descent groups; a society where male superiority over females became a natural assumption, daughters ended up being excluded from inheritance practices, the first son's line of descent (first son of the

1) Translation by M. Peterson, "Women without Sons: A Measure of Social Change in Yi Dynasty Korea", in Kendall, L. and Peterson, M. (eds.), *Korean Women: View from the Inner Room*, 1983, p. 33.

2) Peterson, M., *ibid.* p. 38.

primary wife) was considered most important and therefore received the largest inheritance share, adoption for the purpose of continuing the principal male line of descent became a widely adopted practice, and remarriage for widows was highly discouraged³⁾. Several studies⁴⁾ have confirmed that at the beginning of the Chosŏn Dynasty, women still enjoyed relative freedom of action and a more or less recognized right to participate in social activities and ritual ancestral ceremonies.

The gradual transformation of Korean society according to the Neo-Confucian principles had important consequences for women. The most authoritative source on the history of Korean women subdivides this transformation process into four phases:⁵⁾ the **first period**, from King T'aejo (1392-1398) to 1485, covers a span of about ninety years. It was a transitional period from the late Koryŏ dynasty to the Chosŏn dynasty. Even before the proclamation of the new dynasty, Yi Sŏnggye and his supporters, e.g., men like Chŏng To-jŏn⁶⁾ and Cho Chun⁷⁾, had already carried out land reform⁸⁾, redistributing land to the factions close to the

3) Peterson, *ibid.*, pp. 35-36

4) M. Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea*, M. Peterson, *ibid.*, et al.

5) Ch'oe Suk-kyŏng and Ha Hyŏn-kang, *Han'guk yŏsŏng-sa*, pp. 303-308. The book is actually the only comprehensive work today available on the history of Korean women. However, its subdivision in four periods delimited by exact dates seems to be arbitrary, as the source does not elaborate further on the reasons for such subdivision. Here the first three phases (from 1392 to 1889) will be referred upon. The last one, from 1889 to mid-20th century, has not been reported as it does not relate to the period under consideration.

6) Chŏng To-jŏn 鄭道傳 (? - 1398). Prominent official and scholar of the end Koryŏ-beginning Chosŏn period, Chŏng To-jŏn passed the *munkwa* examination in the 11th year of reign of King Kongmin of Koryŏ. After some years spent in exile towards the end of the Koryŏ period, upon his return back to freedom he became adviser of General Yi Sŏnggye while the latter was gathering forces in the Northeastern military district and was one of his closest collaborators. His contribution was significant in the moulding of a new dynastic power founded on the principles of Neo-Confucianism. (Yu H.N. *Han'guksa taesajŏn*, Seoul: 1992, p. 1195).

7) Cho Chun 趙浚 (1346-1405). Born in P'yŏngyang from a family of literati, Cho Chun (趙浚) passed the highest state examination (*munkwa*) in 1374. After having served in high positions in the Koryŏ government, he decided to give his support to the raising power of General Yi Sŏnggye and soon became one of his closest collaborators. One of the promoters of the new land reform, vital to the finances of the new dynasty, Cho Chun was nominated Founding Merit Subject (*kŏn'guk kongsin* 建國功臣) of first rank, together with Chŏng To-jŏn and others. (Yu H.N. *ibid.*).

8) It started with a nationwide cadastral survey of landholding followed by the destruction of all existing public and private land registers (*kongsa chŏnjŏk* 公私田籍) in 1390 and by the promulgation of the Rank Land Law (*kwajŏnpŏp* 科田法) the following year. (Yi Ki-baek, *A New History of Korea*, Seoul: 1993).

Yi family and, by so doing, laid the basis for a new source of government revenue. Moreover, shortly after the founding of the new monarchy, they proceeded to reorganize the country into eight provinces (*p'al-to*)⁹⁾, established a new military system,¹⁰⁾ and moved the capital city from Songdo (present-day Kaesŏng) to Hanyang¹¹⁾ (present-day Seoul). On the foreign relations front, the new ruling dynasty sought friendly ties with Ming China, according to the principle of *sadae* (serving the Great). Yi Sŏnggye was neither of royal descent nor a member of the literati class. Rather, he came from a family with a recent history of military commanders who grew up as local gentry in the northern Hamhŭng region after having migrated there from Chŏnju, in North Chŏlla province. General Yi was in desperate need of establishing his legitimacy if he were to succeed in his struggle against the still powerful old Koryŏ aristocratic families. Amicable relations with China and the coinage of the new dynastic name - *Chosŏn* - after the oldest Korean kingdom, represented some of Yi Sŏnggye's attempts to create around his name a new aura of legitimacy, in order to justify his overthrow of the Koryŏ dynasty.

With the adoption of Neo-Confucianism as state ideology, Buddhism started to decline, and its importance in the political, social and religious spheres was consequently reduced. Buddhism was considered a “practice of barbarians” identified as the main cause for the fall of the previous dynasty,¹²⁾ the new government adopted a policy of severe

9) The eight new administrative units (Kyŏnggi 京畿, Ch'ungch'ŏng 忠清, Kyŏngsang 慶尙, Chŏlla 全羅, Kangwŏn 江原, Hwanghae 黃海, Hamkyŏng 咸鏡 and P'yŏngan 平安 Provinces) were established in 1413, the 13th year of reign of King T'aejong (r. 1400-1418) (Yu H.N. *ibid.*, p. 1476).

10) Starting with the establishment of the Three Armies Headquarters (*Ŭihŭng Samgunbu* 義興三軍府) in 1393 and the abolishment of private armies in 1400, when all existing private armies were brought under the control of the Three Armies Headquarters. Under King Sejo (r. 1455-1468) the Three Armies Headquarters were reorganized in 1466 into the Five Military Command Headquarters (*Owi Toch'ongbu* 五衛都總府). (Yi Ki-baek, *ibid.*, p. 178).

11) The capital city was moved from Songdo to Hanyang in 1394. (Yu H.N. *ibid.*, p. 658).

persecution against it. Women's participation in Buddhist and other religious ceremonies was severely limited, and these restrictions were recorded in the *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* (National Code),¹³⁾ the legal code of the Chosŏn dynasty. To bring women back to "moral" conduct acceptable to Neo-Confucian eyes, criticisms of the practice of remarriage (*chaega*), already present during the Koryŏ dynasty, became more and more numerous and severe. However, evidence that the remarriage practice was still tolerated at the beginning of the new dynasty can be found in the *Yongjae ch'onghwa* (Assorted Writings of Yongjae),¹⁴⁾ by Sŏng Hyŏn (1439-1504),¹⁵⁾ who reports an episode that happened during King

12) The Inspector-General (*taesahŏn*) Nam Chae (1351-1419), in his memorial to King T'aejo of 1392, presented admonitions to the new king on how to avoid evil practices of the past and establish new procedures for the new administration. The ninth point of his memorial is dedicated to Buddhism, defined as a "practice of barbarians". "Originally the dharma taught ways to cleanse the heart and lessen men's desire; (...) Now, however, they (the followers) mingle with ordinary people using high-sounding words and professing high ideals, bedazzling even scholars and intimidating simple folk with talk of retribution for sin, fostering wasteful habits among the people and encouraging them to forsake their proper occupations.... Indeed, nothing is more likely to destroy the state and sicken the people than this". (P. H. Lee, ed. *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization* Vol. I, pp. 485-486).

13) The compilation of the National Code started under the reign of King Sejo (r.1455-1468). In the sixth year of his reign (1460), the sections on Taxation (*Hojŏn* 戶典) and on Punishments (*Hyŏngjŏn* 刑典) were promulgated, followed by the promulgation of four more sections - Personnel (*Yijŏn* 吏典), Rites (*Yejŏn* 禮典), Military Affairs (*Pyŏngjŏn* 兵典) and Public Works (*Kongjŏn* 工典) in 1466. The first complete version of the National Code, with slight changes, was promulgated two years later, in 1468, the last year of the reign of King Sejo. Three more versions, augmented and revised, followed: the 1471 version, known as the *Sinmyo Taejŏn* (辛卯大典, Code of the year *sinmyo*), the 1474 version, known as the *Kapo Taejŏn* (甲午大典 Code of the year *kapo*), and the last version, completed in 1485 during the 16th year of reign of King Sŏngjong (r.1469-1494) and also known as the *Ŭlsa Taejŏn* (乙巳大典 Code of the year *ŭlsa*). (*Han'guk minjok munhwa tae-paekkwa sajŏn*, vol. 1, pp. 839-840).

14) *Yongjae ch'onghwa* (慵齋叢話 Assorted Writings of Yongjae) (1525). Yongjae was the pseudonym of Sŏng Hyŏn. The book was published in 1525 (20th year of King Chungjong's reign) in Kyŏngju, in three *kwŏn* and three *ch'ae*k. A manuscript in 10 chapters, it became widely known when it was reprinted in 1909 as a part of the *Taedong yasŭng* (大東野乘 an anonymous collection of writings on Korean history by 53 authors). Sŏng Hyŏn (1439-1504), covered the highest positions at the Yemun-gwan 藝文館 (Office of Royal Decrees) and at the Sŏnggyun'gwan 成均館 (National Confucian Academy) is perhaps best known as author of the *Akhak kwebŏm* 樂學軌範 (Canon of Music), compiled in 1439. The *Yongjae ch'onghwa* is a collection of essays written without following any particular order, on very diverse subjects such as literature, music, geography, religion, music, popular customs and so on, on a period covering the end of Koryŏ until the death of the author. Of particular importance are his "portraits" of people, belonging both to the higher (royal family and *yangban*) as well as to the lower (*ch'ŏnmin*) classes, not to mention his innumerable observations and comments concerning Korean music. Different from the *Akhak kwebŏm*, the *Yongjae ch'onghwa* has a more colloquial style and represents one of the most important sources on Korean society, traditions and customs of the 15th and 16th century.

15) cf. also previous note. His pseudonym was Yongjae. Better known as the author of the *Akhak kwebŏm* (樂學軌範 "Canon of Music"), compiled in 1439, he passed the *munkwa* 文科 (Erudite Examination) under King Sejo, in 1462. He covered, among others, top positions in the Yemun'gwan (藝文館 Office of Royal Decrees) and in the *Sŏnggyun'gwan* (成均館 National Confucian Academy), followed by the position of *kamsa* (監司 Governor) in the P'yŏngan Province and of *p'ansŏ* (判書 Minister) at the Ministry of Rites. After the death of King Sŏngjong he was chosen to be one of the compilers of the *Sŏngjong sillok* (成宗實錄 Annals of King Sŏngjong).

T'aejong's reign (1400-1418):

Lady Nam, the mother of Yun Cha-dang, Ch'irwŏn¹⁶⁾ Puwŏn'gun,¹⁷⁾ remained a widow when she was very young. She lived in Hamyang.¹⁸⁾ When Yun [Cha-dang] was seven, he followed his mother, went to a *mudang*¹⁹⁾ house, to ask for a divination. The *mudang* said: "Woman, do not worry. This child will become a noble man. But he will necessarily need the help of a younger brother to do that". Lady Nam replied: "How can a son of a widow have a younger brother?" At a later time Lady Nam married [someone] from the house Yi and had a son. He was just the statesman Yi Suk-pŏn.²⁰⁾ Helped [King] T'aejong to stabilize the Altar [of the God of the Soil, seen as the physical locus of the spirit of the state] and became merit of first rank. His power spread all over the country and [also] Yun [Cha-dang], with the help of Yi [Suk-pŏn] was made a duke (*kong* 公 obtained to be included in the merit ranks and was granted the title of *kun* (君 ²¹⁾

Further evidence that the remarriage practice was still very widespread is found also in the 1476 *Andong Kwŏn-ssi sebo*, the oldest printed *chokpo* (genealogy) in existence in Korea. The "most revealing feature"²²⁾ of this document is that women remarried, and in the genealogy of the Kwŏn family ..."there are seventeen cases of women marrying twice".²³⁾ Also, "husbands, sons, sons-in-law of remarried

16) Now in South Kyŏngsang Province (south-eastern region of the Korean peninsula).

17) Honorary magistracies (Place name + *wŏn'gun* or *puwŏn'gun*) were not real titles. The place names simply indicate ancestral localities. The title of *kun* was conferred to the King's father-in-law or to a 'merit subject' (*kongsin*, see also note no. 273) of first rank. In the case of Yun Cha-dang, he was given this title because he was nominated merit subject of first rank, as stated few lines later in the text. He never held office in Ch'irwŏn.

18) Also in South Kyŏngsang Province.

19) Please refer to note no. 17.

20) Yi Suk-pŏn (1373-1440) passed the *munkwa* examination in 1393, reached high rank during King T'aejong's reign, died in exile in Hamyang.

21) *Yongjae Ch'onghwa*, Vol. 4, in *Taedong yasŭng*, vol. 1 p. 92, orig. text p. 594 lines 1-4 "漆原府院君尹子當，母南氏年小寡居咸陽，尹年七歲隨南氏，往巫家問卜，巫云夫人勿憂，此兒有貴相，然兒必因弟力得貴，南氏曰，寡婦之子安得有弟，後南氏適李家生子，是爲李相叔蕃，佐太宗定社，公爲第一，權振一國，而尹公亦因李力，得參勳別封君"

22) Peterson, M. *ibid.* p. 38.

23) Peterson, M. *ibid.* p. 38.

women held important government offices”, proof that Confucian ideals were for the time being limited to the ideological sphere, and had yet to reach that of private life. Moreover, children – daughters and sons – were listed in the genealogy according to their birth and not according to their sex, and women could receive property just as much as their brothers.

When King Sǒngjong (r.1469–1494) ascended the throne, the remarriage issue became a more sensitive subject of discussion. Until that time, access to the highest government positions had been prohibited to sons and grandsons of women who had remarried three times, while descendants of twice-married women were still allowed to take the national examinations. As stated in the Annals, the debate remained, at least in the first part of the new dynasty, limited to the question whether to prohibit the second or the third marriage.²⁴⁾ A court debate of the year 1477 reveals that the majority of officials were against restricting the practice to the second marriage, and in favour of keeping the limitations for first and second-generation descendants of thrice-married women²⁵⁾ as stated in the *Kyǒngguk taejǒn* of 1468. But King Sǒngjong ruled in favour of the more restrictive minority view, deciding that “from now on, in order to correct the customs, the sons and grandsons of twice-married women will no longer be listed as members of the upper class”.²⁶⁾ As a result of this decision, the revised version of the *Kyǒngguk taejǒn* of 1485 prohibited sons and grandsons of remarried women from taking lower and higher civil service examinations, even though it did not

24) Sǒngjong sillok, *kwǒn* 82, p. 9b–20a, translation in: Lee, P.H. (ed.) *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization*, vol. 1, pp. 563–565.

25) “(...) Now, according to the National Code (1469), thrice-married women are listed together with licentious women and their sons and grandsons are barred from the examinations and cannot receive posts in the censorial and administrative offices. Twice-married women are not mentioned. (...) We think that the law of the National Code (...) should be strictly enforced.” (Lee, P.H., *ibid.*, p. 564).

26) Lee, P.H., *ibid.*, p. 565.

openly set restrictions on the remarriage practices.

The **second period**, from 1485 to 1636, is considered as providing the momentum for the firm establishment in Korean society of the "virtuous woman's image" based upon Confucian principles. The modifications made to the *Kyōngguk taejōn* in regard to the remarriage practice²⁷⁾, were restrictions aimed solely at upper-class women, wives, mothers and daughters of the powerful *sadaebu*.²⁸⁾ Although in theory anyone (of commoner - or free - status) could participate in the examination sessions, in reality male members of all other social classes other than *yangban* ended up being excluded from participation in the examination system, which became an almost exclusive monopoly of the *yangban* for recruitment in the highest ranks of bureaucracy.

Another measure of the success of the "Confucianization process" is to be found in the number of women who protected their chastity at all costs. During the first hundred years of the dynasty, several of these women were mentioned as ideal examples of chastity, while such mentions gradually diminished during the second period. This may be a sign that the ideals of chastity and faithfulness had by then become widespread among women of *yangban* status. Thus, examples of virtuous women were mentioned in order to counteract the opposite tendency. Special mentioning of chaste women was felt "particularly necessary when the behavioral trend revealed very low percentages of such women and, on the contrary, mentioning was not considered necessary anymore if the practice had become of common use."²⁹⁾ An analogy can be found

27) Most probably these modifications were made during the revision ordered by King Sōngjong in 1469 and reported in the 1471 version of the National Code. (see note no. 70 on the previous page and also note no. 58 on the National Code.

28) *Sadaebu* (士大夫) "office holding officials" (Deuchler, M. *The Confucian Transformation of Korea* p. 134).

29) Ch'oe and Ha, *ibid.*, (cf. note 49), p. 308.

in the condemnation of the “use” for private purposes of a “public property” (*kongmul*), such as official *ki* were considered at that time.³⁰⁾ Countless court hearings contain such criticism of the “inappropriate” use of *kwan’gi* for private banquets, or criticism of their “accumulation” (*kich’uk*) as concubines by high-ranking officials. The public condemnation of such practices indicates that the trend was widespread in society.

In terms of inheritance practices, however, daughters continued to hold inheritance rights side by side with those of their brothers, and the wives’ property rights were held independently of those of their husbands, as demonstrated by a document dated 1694 on the donation of five slaves from a mother-in-law to her daughter-in-law:

Thirty-third year of the reign of Kanghsi, sixth month, third day (1694).

A special allocation to Mde. Hong, wife of my son, Ch’u. Fortune has been bad; I have lost my husband and have only one son. All my life I have wanted an illustrious daughter-in-law on whom I could rely to carry out the ancestor ceremonies. Now when I behold your visage and observe your deportment, I realize that you are all that I ever hoped for. I am overcome by joy. Therefore, I have set aside these five servants and all of their posterity for you. Ongnye, a female slave, age 37; Sang-ŏp, a male slave, age 9, first child of Ongnye; Mungsil, a male slave, age 4, second child of Ongnye; Mŏnsoe, a female slave, age 19, third child of Kyewŏl; Maksoe, a male slave, age 10, fourth child of Kyewŏl. They should “collect your edibles, fetch your water” and perform errands for you forever.

Seal affixed by the property owner, Mde. Pak, wife of Yi Sŏng-bu. Scribed and attested by Yi Il-bu, cousin (*sach’on*) of Yi Sŏng-bu.³¹⁾

30) The public property (*kongmul*) concept will be explained more in detail in the last section of this chapter.

31) Translation by Peterson M., “Women without Sons: A Measure of Social Change in Yi Dynasty Korea”, in Kendall, L. and Peterson, M. (eds.) *Korean Women: View from the Inner Room*, 1983, footnote 10) p. 44.

The seventeenth century is generally considered the turning point in terms of adopting inheritance practices favouring the principal male line of descent.³²⁾ But, as in all transitional periods, it was also a century in which both tendencies coexisted. On the one side, the above-mentioned document of 1694 is testimony that the wife's inheritance rights were totally independent from those of her husband's. On the other side, since the very beginning of the seventeenth century, daughters started to be denied equal inheritance rights with their brothers. In the testament of Kwŏn Nae,³³⁾ dated 1615, the author points out how inconvenient it was if the family properties were to be divided among daughters who, after all, married and moved to their husband's family household:

I have received the patrimony (*yuŏp*) of the previous generations. Land and slaves are more numerous than the family members, yet the daughters of the first and second wives are also very many. If each of them got an equal share, the extent [of the patrimony] would nevertheless not be sufficient, and I am concerned that the lineal grandsons [lit.: "the grandsons who continue the surname"] would not avoid poverty and thus would be unable to sustain the ancestral services. Moreover, since sons and daughters equally receive their physical appearance from their parents, human feelings are not lacking. Through the principle of inside and outside (*nae-woe chi ch'e*), however, there is a great difference between them. Therefore, even if the lineal grandchildren were extremely poor, they would not bear to discontinue the burning of incense at the ancestral graves. [In contrast,] even if among the grandsons with a different surname were learned men, few would turn their sincerity toward their maternal ancestors... If I come to think about all this, at the time of dividing up the property, I cannot but differentiate between sons and daughters.³⁴⁾

32) On this subject refer to Deuchler, M. *The Confucian Transformation of Korea*, 1992, pp. 227-230 and Peterson, M. "Women without Sons: A Measure of Social Change in Yi Dynasty Korea", in Kendall, L. and Peterson, M. (eds.) *Korean Women: View from the Inner Room*, 1983.

33) A translation of the document is given on p. 227 of Deuchler, M. *The Confucian Transformation of Korea*, 1992.

34) Yi Su-gŏn 李樹健 (comp.), *Kyŏngbuk chibang komunsŏchipsŏng* 慶北地方古文書集成, p. 795, transl. by Deuchler, M. in *The Confucian Transformation of Korea*, p. 227.

Kwŏn Nae's testament did not totally exclude daughters from inheritance, but rather diminished their shares. In another document, dating back to the second half of the seventeenth century (1669),³⁵⁾ daughters still continued to receive a share of inheritance, but to a lesser extent compared to their brothers, and especially to the first born.

Women living in Korea during the **third period**,³⁶⁾ found themselves more and more excluded from the performance of ancestral ceremonies (*chesa*), which had slowly become the "monopoly of the oldest son of the legitimate wife."³⁷⁾ It is also in this third period that Yi Chae (1680-1746) compiled the *Sarye p'yŏllam* (Manual of the Four Rites). Once the Neo-Confucian ideology had set the rationale for the performance of ancestral ceremonies, not only limiting it to male members of the family but also attributing most of the responsibilities to the ritual heir, the first son of the first wife, there was no more reason for giving part of the father's property to daughters. In the majority of cases, the women's shares of the family inheritance dropped by two-thirds in comparison to the shares inherited by their brothers, and even the way women were registered in family genealogies started to change. Whereas at the beginning of the dynasty all children had been listed according to the order of birth, in the second half of the dynasty daughters were listed after their brothers' names.

The family records of 1669 of the Puan Kim's family is one of the first examples of this new tendency, a clear example of the depth Neo-Confucian principles had reached in the almost three hundred years

35) For a translation of this document see next page.

36) This period covers a time span of over 240 years, from the 14th year of reign of King Injo (1636) to 1884 (Ch'oe and Ha, *Han'guk yŏsŏngsa*, p. 306-307).

37) Lee, P.H. (ed.), *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization*, 2nd vol. p. 207.

since their adoption by the then new government. The following text is an excerpt from the instructions given by Kim Myōngyŏl³⁸⁾ and his two brothers Yongyŏl and Yuyŏl as to who should be responsible for performing the family ancestral ceremonies and about the effect of such divided responsibilities on the inheritance practices among all siblings.

In our country the rule of the lineage heir's household has been corrupted for a long time. All aristocratic families have allowed the ceremonies to be performed by all siblings on a rotational basis for so long that it is difficult to correct the situation. In the case of daughters, after they leave the household to marry, they become members of the other household. The principle of following the husband is important. That is why the standard of etiquette established by the sages stipulates that daughters wear mourning clothes for a shorter term after they have married. (.....)

In our family we once brought up this matter with our now-deceased father, and we brothers discussed the issue fully and have decided as a point of principle that the household of the son-in-law or the children of that household shall in no wise be allowed to perform the ceremonies in rotation. This is a rule set for all succeeding generations.

There is no difference in the degree of affection between parent and child whether son or daughter, but daughters are different from sons in that there is no way for them to nurture their parents when the parents are alive, since they leave the household when they marry, and they do not perform the ceremonies for their parents after they die. This being so, how can a daughter possibly expect a share of property equal to that of a son? Therefore, on the basis of both emotion and propriety, there is nothing unfair or wrong about giving a daughter a one-third share. How could a daughter or a child of a daughter possibly dare to challenge this principle? Read this document and understand its intent, and then you will know this is a fair way to handle this matter. Who can ever say this differs from the commonly accepted rule and is therefore wrong?

If the primary line descendant is at any time too poor that he cannot, then he can be forgiven, but if he disobeys and allows the ceremony to be carried out on rotational basis, then how

38) "Kim Myōng-yŏl was the son of Kim Hong-wŏn (1571-1645). who gained fame during the Japanese Wars, Hong-wŏn corresponded with many outstanding personalities of his time, and it is therefore not surprising that he and his descendants were well aware of the latest ritual developments". (Deuchler, M. *The Confucian Transformation of Korea*, note no. 60, p. 361).

dare we call him a descendant of ours?

Signed: the former magistrate of P'yöngsan, Myöngyöl and brothers Yongyöl and Yuyöl.³⁹⁾

This document and others from later generations of the same Puan Kim clan indicates that they faithfully observed the rules set by Kim Myöngyöl in 1669, continuing to discriminate against daughters in inheritance matters. However, this did not mean that daughters were abandoned to their own destiny or that they were not to receive help in time of need. They received shares from the family property not allocated through inheritance, but rather acquired by the parents and therefore not subject to strict patrilineal inheritance laws. Examples of such practices can be found in the Puan Kim's family records.

Thus, through several phases, Neo-Confucianism succeeded in reducing the role and limiting the view of women's position in society. And it did this not only by excluding women from ancestral ceremonies, but also by diminishing their share of the family inheritance. Confucian reformers confined women to the inner quarters of the house, and even set out new, more severe, dressing codes and restricted the choice of materials and colours "to provide visual aids in differentiating social classes."⁴⁰⁾ Women had thus become confined to the inner quarters of the house and were allowed to leave its protective walls only after dark. Moreover, they had to cover their faces in public. The main tasks of Korean women, then, were the administration of household affairs, to bear sons for the continuity of the male descent line, and to be "strong and responsible"⁴¹⁾ for the sake of the family's good name. The image of a "virtuous woman" (*yölyö*) was promoted as the only satisfactory model

39) Transl. by Peterson, M. in: Lee, P.H. *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization*, 2nd vol. pp. 208-209.

40) Deuchler, M. *ibid.* p. 261.

41) Deuchler, M. "The Tradition: Women during the Yi Dynasty", in *Virtues in Conflict*, p. 4.

of behaviour for respectable women. Virtuous women's names were even to be registered in the local administrative records, while sons of women whose immoral behaviour had offended the good reputation of the family – thereby damaging not only present generations but also the glory of past ancestors and of future descendants – were precluded from participating in the examination system and consequently from obtaining highly coveted positions in the public administration.

1.2 Traditional education and indoctrination⁴²⁾ of women

The wife is the mate of the master of the house and has the domestic management in her hands. The rise and fall of a house depends on her. Usually people know how to instruct their sons, but do not know how to instruct their daughters. This is misguided. A wife is loyal and pure, self-controlled, flexible and obedient, and serves others. She minds exclusively the domestic realm and does not concern herself with public affairs.

Above, she serves her parents-in-law; if she is not sincere and respectful, she cannot fulfill her filial loyalty. Below, she treats the slave servants well; if she is not kind and benevolent, she is not able to win their hearts. Only if she is sincere and respectful in serving her superiors and kind and benevolent in treating her subordinates is there complete affection between husband and wife.

Generally, she should also be accomplished in female tasks. If she herself is not diligent, she lacks the capacity to lead her subordinates.⁴³⁾

This passage quoted from the “House Rules” (*kahun* 家訓) of Sin Sukju⁴⁴⁾ describes very vividly the image of the ‘ideal woman’ according

42) Term adopted from Deuchler, M., *ibid.*, p. 6.

43) Sin Sukju (1417–1475) (see next note for biographical data) “House Rules” (*kahun*), from *Pohanjaejip* 13:1a–4b, transl. by Deuchler, M. in Lee, P.H. (ed.), *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization*, pp. 571–574.

44) Sin Sukju, 申叔舟 (1417–1475) politician and scholar of great talent of the early Chosŏn period. His pseudonym was Pohanjae (保開齋). He passed the highest civil service examination (*munkwa*) in 1439 and joined the *Chiphyŏnjŏn* (集賢殿 Hall of Worthies). Thanks to his studies on phonology, he was one of the greatest contributors to the invention of the *Hunmin chŏngŭm* (訓民正音 “The Right Sounds to Educate the People”), the Korean alphabet invented during King Sejong’s reign (1418–1450). He also contributed to the compilation of the *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* (經國大典 “National

to Neo-Confucian principles. Being in charge of the domestic realm, she had to take care of the *nae* (inside), while the husband's exclusive responsibility was the *oe* (outside). The education she was supposed to receive had to be conducive to the creation of such a woman.

When talking about education, one basic principle must be taken into account: traditional education, the mastering of the Chinese Classics was considered unnecessary for women. In Chosŏn dynasty Korea, women did not need to be trained in the reading and understanding of the Classics, nor would they be requested to express themselves in any other written language than *ŏnmun*⁴⁵). The few women who could obtain a high degree of knowledge of the Chinese Classics were fortunate enough to have brothers who studied at home to prepare themselves for the civil service examinations. All they learned was, so to speak, 'stolen' from peeking over their brothers' shoulders. Illustrative examples of such women were Shin Saimdang⁴⁶) (1504-1551), daughter of a literatus, famous calligrapher and painter, and mother of one of the most important figures in Korean Neo-Confucianism, the philosopher Yi I (Yulgok) (1536-1584), and Hŏ Nansorhŏn⁴⁷) (1563-1589), poetess and elder sister of the well-known novelist Hŏ Kyun (1569-1618), author of the *Hong Kiltong-chŏn* (Story of Hong Kiltong), the first novel in the vernacular, and a work of social criticism against the inequalities of Chosŏn society towards illegitimate children.

According to the traditional Confucian view, there was no need to educate women, but rather only to "indoctrinate"⁴⁸) them in the difficult

Code"), of the *Sejo* and *Yejong sillok*, the *Kukjo oryeŭi* (國朝五禮儀 "Five Rites of State") and the *Tongguk t'onggam* (東國通鑑 "Comprehensive Mirror of the Eastern Kingdom").

45) The *Hunmin chŏngŭm* (訓民正音 The Right Sounds to Educate the People), the Korean alphabet, promulgated in 1446 during the 28th year of reign of King Sejong (r.1418-1450).

46) Saimdang (written 師任堂, 思任堂 or 師姪堂) was her pseudonym.

47) Nansorhŏn 許蘭雪軒 was her pseudonym.

art of "virtuous conduct". The basic introduction to Chinese was offered to girls as well as to boys through the *Ch'ŏnjamun* (Classic of One Thousand Characters), where characters were arranged in groups of four for easy reading and memorization. Other important texts necessary in the education of women for virtuous conduct were the *Samgang haengsilto* (Illustrated Conduct of the Three Bonds), compiled in 1431 during the reign of King Sejong (r. 1418-1450) as an illustrated canon of behaviour according to the three basic Confucian social principles of faithful minister, filial son and chaste woman; and the *Naehun* (Instructions for Women), compiled in 1475 by the mother of King Sŏngjong (r. 1469-1494), known by her posthumous name as Queen Consort Sohye. The *Naehun* is a collection of quotations from works such as the *Sohak* (Minor Teaching), Chu Hsi's introductory work to Confucian principles primarily aimed at the very young children of *yangban*⁴⁹⁾ families. It teaches young girls the four basic ways of proper behaviour for women: the possession of high moral conduct, proper speech, proper appearance and application to womanly tasks such as weaving and entertaining guests. Other texts directed to the "proper education" of women (although these texts were adopted for the education of children as well), were the *Tongmong sŏnsŭp* (First Training for the Young and Ignorant), compiled during the reign of King Chungjong (r. 1506-1544) as a collection of quotations from Chinese classics, and the *Yŏsasŏ* (Four Books for Women), compiled during Yŏnsan's time. The printed edition of the book, a vernacular translation

48) See above, note no. 87.

49) *Yangban* (兩班), or "officials of the Two Orders", occupied the highest ranks in Koryŏ (918-1392) as well as in Chosŏn (1392-1910) societies. As their main occupation was the study of the Confucian classics, they were also defined 'literati' and had the privilege to serve in the highest civil and military posts in the bureaucracy.

of four major Chinese books for women, the *Yŏgye* (Things Women Should Avoid), the *Yŏnonŏ* (Analects for Women), the *Naehun* (Instructions for Women) and the *Yŏbŏm* (Models for Women), contains a preface written by King Yŏngjo himself in 1736.

In addition to these texts, young girls were also confronted with biographies of "virtuous women" of the past, which would serve as inspirational models so that they would become good wives and mothers and, eventually, exemplary models for the generations to come.

1.3 The position of the *ki* in Chosŏn society

The previous two paragraphs provide a general introduction to the position of women in Chosŏn society and to their education and indoctrination in Confucian principles, referring generally to the situation of upper-class women. The purpose of this section, in contrast, is to clarify some of the major characteristics of being a *kinyŏ* in Chosŏn society and to analyse some of the social implications intrinsic to the reality of becoming a *kinyŏ*.

During the Chosŏn period (1392–1910), *kinyŏ* were considered of lowborn (*ch'ŏnmin*) status and, in theory, they were supposed to receive the same treatment reserved to slaves. Slavery⁵⁰, introduced in Korea during the Koryŏ period (918–1392), became hereditary with the adoption, in 1039, of the matrilineal law (*Chongmo-pŏp*), which imposed slave status of the mothers on all children born from mixed slave–commoner marriages. This law dictated that the status of the offspring would be

50) Regarding this concept, some scholars in Korean history disagree with the fact that Korea was a slave society and prefer to use terms such as *servant* or *serf*. An overall description of the different approaches to this issue is contained in Palais, James B. *Views on Korean Social History*, Institute for Modern Korean Studies, Yonsei University, Seoul: 1998, in the chapter on "Slave Society", where the author argues that it is possible to speak about slavery in the case of Korea, because slaves (*nobi*) in Chosŏn society were considered "chattel property": they could be bought, sold and inherited (*ibid.* p. 46).

determined by their mothers' status. Consequently, *kinyŏ* status could also be inherited: if talented and beautiful, daughters would have followed the footsteps of their *kinyŏ* mothers. Keeping with the lowborn status, *kinyŏ* were subject to all kinds of impositions and restrictions, but once selected to become *ki*, they had to be properly "educated" in the performance of music, singing and dancing, in literary composition and to be able to sustain conversations with educated male members of the ruling class. However, in contrast with the medical women (*ũinyŏ*),⁵¹⁾ no clear reference to a process of formal education for *ki* has been found in the Annals. Hypotheses on the content of the education have been made based on indirect information but it seems that, apart from the role played by institutions such as the Royal Music Institute (*Changagwŏn*),⁵²⁾ most of the education of a *ki* in the arts of entertainment and musical performances was done at a private level. This is true at least in the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty, when the Annals of King T'aejong refer of the case of an old *ki* (*nogi*), whose name was Samwŏl.⁵³⁾ She was put in charge of the education of six newly recruited singing children.⁵⁴⁾

Slaves represented the main supporting pillar for the economy

51) Pls. refer to Chapter four for specific information on the education of *ũinyŏ*.

52) During the Chosŏn dynasty several institutions were responsible for the administration of "music affairs": the *Aaksŏ*, the *Chŏnaksŏ*, the *Kwansŭp Togam* and the *Akhak*. During King Sejo's reign the *Aaksŏ* and the *Chŏnaksŏ* were fused under the name of *Changaksŏ* while the *Kwansŭp Togam* and the *Akhak* were combined under a new institution renamed *Akhak Togam*. In 1470, during the reign of King Sŏngjong, the *Changaksŏ* was renamed *Changagwŏn* and, from then on, it was considered the only Royal Music Institute in the country (Song, Pang-song, *Han'guk ūmaksŏ yŏn'gu*, pp. 238-239). Education at the Royal Music Institute corresponded however to a later stage in the preparation of *kinyŏ*, who seem to have been initially trained privately, by other musicians or older *kinyŏ*.

53) The retiring age for slaves was fixed at 60 years but in the Annals reference is made to cases of *nogi* (老妓 old *ki*) who were declared as such for having reached the age of 50. It is not clear whether the *nogi*, upon reaching the age of 50, were exempted from all duties or if the exemption affected only their duties as *ki*. They may have been requested to perform other corvee labor normally demanded for people of *ch'ŏnmin* status. One of their duties may well have been to supervise the musical education of younger generations of *ki*. However, I have not found any textual evidence in this regard. Samwŏl's name is included in the *ch'anggi* name list in Appendix A.

54) T'aejong 024 12/11/30 (sinhae), *kwŏn* 24, p. 27; b:5-6

during the Koryŏ (918–1392) as well as during the Chosŏn periods. It is estimated that between the tenth and the eighteenth centuries almost 30 percent of the population consisted of slaves.⁵⁵⁾ They were employed mainly in agricultural production and in a variety of other humble occupations. Until at least the seventeenth century slaves were even precluded from joining the military service, considered to be a duty of freeborn commoners. Even though government slavery was officially abolished in 1801 during the reign of King Sunjo (r. 1800–1834), when all government slaves' rosters were burned, the final abolition of slavery occurred in Korea in 1894 during the Reforms of the year *kapo*.

Slaves in Chosŏn Korea could be of two kinds: public slaves (*kong nobi*), owned by the government, and private slaves (*sa nobi*), owned by individuals. In the case of *ki* they were considered public slaves and the Annals often refer to *kinyŏ* as public property (*kongmul*). The concept of "public property" is fundamental in order to appreciate the peculiarities of *kinyŏ*'s position in Chosŏn society.⁵⁶⁾

1.4 The *kongmul* concept during Prince Yŏnsan's reign (r.1494–1506)

During Prince Yŏnsan's reign,⁵⁷⁾ the term *kongmul* is used solely in relation to the *kinyŏ*. This is not surprising if one considers the king's capricious desires and "addiction to a life of luxury and pleasure."⁵⁸⁾ It

55) Lee, P.H. (ed.) *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization*, vol. 2, pp. 178–180.

56) The term *kongmul* (public property) has been used in the Annals in reference to furs to be used for official trade with Ming China, when assigning land for sericulture to provincial families – here the silkworm is designated as "public property," or when referring to merchandise used as tribute with Ming China. In short, the concept of public property (*kongmul*) is put in relation with things whose societal value did not allow them to be used for individual purposes. Here the meaning of property is not meant as state property but rather as indicating the preeminent importance to the state of things like silkworms, furs, and slaves. An indication that property was not meant in the strict sense of the term is given by the existence of public and private slaves.

57) Even though, chronologically, this period is in the early sixteenth century I have kept it separated from the chronological description of the term's evolution because the findings regarding prince Yŏnsan's reign are of particular importance for my research and worth separate treatment.

was during his reign that the position of *Ch'aehongjunsā*⁵⁹⁾ was created with the result that at one time more than 3,000 women were living at the Palace. During one reception for Chinese envoys more than 700 *kinyō* were used.⁶⁰⁾ The king complained that although *ki* were public entities their *kibu* (lit. *ki*'s husbands)⁶¹⁾ did not allow them to participate at court banquets,⁶²⁾ or that high-rank officials took them as concubines prohibiting them from being present at official receptions, a very "inappropriate practice, indeed"⁶³⁾. The king condemned such "inappropriate" practices and denied high officials the use of *kiak* (music performed by *ki*) at their private banquets with the sole exception of *hōnsu* (offerings/wishes of long life).⁶⁴⁾ Prince Yōnsan's obsession for women pushed him to the point where he decreed the maximum penalty for one of his officials who was found guilty of having written a secret message in vernacular to one of the Palace women, his concubine. In this message he advised her "not to be too cute and not to be too kind, in

58) Lee, K.B. *A New History of Korea*, Seoul: 1984, p. 205

59) *Ch'aehongjunsā* (採紅駿使 Royal envoy to select beautiful women and horses) were officials sent nationwide to look for horses and for beautiful girls, chosen not only among slaves but also among young unmarried daughters of *yangban* families, to be brought at Court and live in the Royal Palace. The position of *Ch'aehongjunsā* was abolished on the first year of reign of King Chungjong (r. 1506-1544), when all *Ch'aehongjunsā* deployed in the eight provinces were recalled to the capital.

60) In order to understand the relevance of such figures, it is enough to refer to the figures given by the KT for a normal, periodical selection, every three years, of "150 female *ki*, ten persons for the *Yōnhwadae* and 70 female medical practitioners (*ūinyō*)".

61) *Kibu* (妓夫), literally "*ki*'s husband". The *kibu* seems to have played, rather than the role of a real husband, that of a 'protector-manager' for the *ki*. A *kibu* was very important for the newly recruited *ki* from the provinces. These women were provided with subsistence and housing, but had to give, in exchange for it, the exclusivity of their artistic talent to the *kibu* who had decided to protect them. The *kibu* was more common in the capital and in big cities than in the provinces. (Yi Nūng-hwa, *Chosōn Haeōhwasa*, p. 438). However, a love relationship between the *kibu* and his *ki* was not to be ruled out. Judging from one occurrence in the Annals (see following note), *kibu* also tried to prevent *ki* from attending rehearsals, thus causing the *ki*'s suspension from her duties.

62) Yōnsan'gun 054 10/06/24 (kyemi), kwōn 54, p. 17; b:3-4.

63) Yōnsan'gun 058 11/05/29 (kyech'uk), kwōn 58, p. 7; a:10.

64) Referred to the *hwan'gap* (還甲) celebration, called also *hoegap* (回甲), *hwagap* (華甲), *hwagap* (花甲) or *chugap* (周甲). It is the celebration of the 60th birthday, the "returning of the first of the Ten Stems (*kap* 甲)", indicating the end of one cycle of sixty years and the beginning of a second one. (*Han'guk Minsok Taesajōn*, Seoul: 1991) The completion of the first cycle is one of the biggest happenings in human life, being the completion of the first 60-year cycle the only possible one. The calculation is based on the system of the Ten Celestial Stems (*Sip-ch'ōn'gan* 十天干) and the Twelve Earthly Branches (*Sipi-chiji* 十二地支).

order not to be chosen". The king, outraged by the fact that the official wanted to keep "public property for himself", condemned him to the maximum penalty.⁶⁵⁾

The purpose of quoting such excerpts from the Annals is not to attempt a moral judgment or evaluation of Prince Yönsan's deeds during his reign. It is true that, because of Prince Yönsan's traditional image of a "wicked tyrant", a new and more objective re-interpretation and re-evaluation of his person and his reign may be needed. But the sole purpose for mentioning the concept of *kongmul* during his reign is to demonstrate how these women were perceived in the eyes of the ruling class. Prince Yönsan's attitude towards them perhaps was beyond the normal limits of decency but one thing is certain: the entire *ki* category was always strictly considered an "official/public category". It was an organized group which became, during the Chosŏn dynasty, an institution with rules and duties of its own. Their official range of duties gravitated not only around official banquets for foreign and national dignitaries but also included private banquets of the royal family, both *woeyŏn* (outside banquets) for high officials (all males) and *naeyŏn* (inside banquets), for the Queen and her entourage of court ladies. Access to female quarters in a private *yangban* house as well as at court was strictly prohibited to males except the king or very close relatives. The division in *woeyŏn* and *naeyŏn* is a consequence of the strict policy of segregation of sexes advocated by the Neo-Confucian state ideology. When *kinyŏ* performed in the presence of the queen the musicians accompanying them were either blind,⁶⁶⁾ and therefore admitted "within the walls" of female quarters or they were left outside to perform "beyond the curtains" the musical

65) Yönsan'gun 058 11/05/24 (musin), kwŏn 58, p. 6 a:5-7

66) On blind musicians (*kwanhyŏn maengin* 管絃盲人) please see p. 60.

accompaniment for singing and dancing *ki*.⁶⁷⁾

As mentioned above, the only "officially tolerated" utilization of *kinyŏ* expertise for private purposes was the celebration of the sixtieth birthday, or *hwan'gap*. It was absolutely against the customary rules for government officials and functionaries to privately accompany themselves to *kinyŏ*.⁶⁸⁾ To take them as concubines was even worse, since it would have taken the women away from their official duties, in open disobedience of the official property (*kongmul*) concept. But full obedience to this last restriction was never obtained. During the entire period, protests and remonstrances were voiced against the repeated absence of *kinyŏ* from rehearsals. The lack of practice caused the quality of musical performances to deteriorate.

From the point of view of the ruling class becoming a *kinyŏ* did not imply a change of status and a *ki* always remained 'official property'. However, the situation was very different from the perspective of the women who became *ki* and their families. Besides the fact that these young girls were required to wear silk dresses and adorn themselves with precious gold and silver accessories they were also requested to study music, singing and dancing and to learn how to read and write. Many of them did so well that they became famous poetesses and left behind exquisite examples of high literary achievement. But, most of all, becoming a *ki* meant a better life not only for the girl but for her entire family. Just to mention a few examples quoted in the Annals, the *T'aejong sillok* refers to the case of Oktongsŏn, an old *ki* (*nogi*) from Kimhae who, apparently, was one of the favourites of King T'aejong.

67) For a visual clarification of such divisions please refer to Plates no. 8 and 9. Especially in Plate no. 8, the curtain separating musicians from dancing *ki* is evident.

68) An attempt to identify such divisions of roles in the extant iconography has been made in Chapter five, where examples of official and "unofficial" performances by *kinyŏ* are illustrated and commented. Plates no. 15 and 16 illustrate a case of "unofficial" utilization of the *ki* expertise.

Her parents were called to the capital where the king ordered that their living should be provided for.⁶⁹⁾ Not all *ki* were so fortunate to receive protection from the king himself but many are the cases of *ki* who became concubines of high-ranking officials. The concubine-*ki* (*kich'öp*) phenomenon is a good example of how *ki* could obtain better living conditions: supposedly, when a man had (a) concubine(s), he also had to provide a household for her/them, for the general rule was that concubines are not brought into the same house of the main wife (*ch'ö*). Thus on the one side we have the official "what should be" dictating that, *ki* being official property, any 'individual use' is an open violation of the restrictions. On the other side, however, the Annals, through cases such as Oktongsön's example, provide us with evidence of "what it was."⁷⁰⁾

69) T'aejong 024 12/10/28, kwön 24, p. 22, a:8-11 Other examples citing *ki* who eventually became royal wives are reported in par. 4.3.4 of the present work. Chapter 4 deals in particular with the officially registered *ki* (*kwan'gi*).

70) On the issue of a distinction between "what should be" and "what is" I refer to Ko Dorothy, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers, Women and Culture in seventeenth century China*, Stanford, CA: 1994, pp. 9-10. In the Introduction Ko describes the duality and discrepancies existing between the official prescriptions for women and what happened in reality in 17th century China.

CHAPTER TWO

Historical origins of the *kinyō* system

2.1 The beginnings: from Koguryō to Unified Silla

Not much has been written about the subject and among the published studies only a few have tackled the issue of the origin of the *ki* system. Kim Tong-uk, in his article⁷¹⁾, refers to the possibility that predecessors of the later *kinyō* might have already existed, in the form of *yunyō* (lit. playing girls), during Koguryō times.⁷²⁾ However, due to the absence of Korean sources on the period, the sources quoted by Kim Tong-uk are of Chinese authorship.⁷³⁾

Mural paintings in various tombs of the Koguryō period are a powerful visual proof of the existence of a strong music and dance tradition in this ancient society. We also know that men and women performed together. The scenes depicted in the murals offer more than one example of free association between the opposite sexes. Hints that Koguryō society was very open and permissive are found also in written Chinese sources. Starting from the *Hou Hanshu*⁷⁴⁾ and the *Sanguozhi*,⁷⁵⁾ we are informed that “their customs are licentious, (...) at night men and women naturally gather together and make music,”⁷⁶⁾ or that “these

71) Kim Tong-uk, "Yijo Kinyōsa sōsōl", *Asea yōsōng yōn'gu* vol. V, Seoul: 1966

72) Kim Tong-uk, *ibid.*, p. 2

73) Chinese sources on Koguryō's playing girls (*yunyō*) are the only sources available, and have been widely acknowledged within the Korean historiographical tradition.

74) Compiled during the Liu Sung dynasty (420-479), it affirms on Koguryō: “其俗淫,(...), 暮夜輒男女羣聚爲倡樂”, *Hou Hanshu* vol. 85, zhuan 75, Chapter on Koguryō (*Kugyōk Chungguk-chōngsa Chosōnjōn*, Seoul: Kuksa-p'yōnch'an- wiwōnhoe 1986, p. 515).

75) Compiled between 232 and 297 A.D. by 陳壽 (Chen Shou) of the 晉 Jin Dynasty “其民喜歌舞, 國中邑落, 暮夜男女羣聚, 相就歌戲 (.....) 其俗淫”, *Sanguozhi* vol. 30, chapter on Koguryō. (*ibid.*, p. 522).

76) Refer to note no. 119 for the Chinese text.

people like singing and dancing. In every village in the country, at night men and women gather together to sing and have fun (...) their customs are lascivious.”⁷⁷⁾

Also the *Liangshu*,⁷⁸⁾ the *Weishu*⁷⁹⁾ and the *Nanshi*⁸⁰⁾ refer to the lascivious habits and to the promiscuity between men and women of the Koguryŏ period. But the only three texts which explicitly mention the term playing girls (*yunyŏ*) cited by Kim Tong-uk are the *Zhoushu*,⁸¹⁾ the *Beishi*⁸²⁾ and the *Suishu*.⁸³⁾

Speaking about Koguryŏ people, the *Zhoushu* states that “they do not distinguish between close and far (relatives). They bathe together in the river and share the same rooms to sleep. People like lasciviousness and by doing so they do not feel ashamed.” “There are *yunyŏ* and they have no ordinary husbands.”⁸⁴⁾ The *Beishi* also mentions *yunyŏ* when referring to Koguryŏ:

Their habits are lascivious and they are not ashamed about it. Among the common populace there are many *yunyŏ*, and they have no ordinary husband. At night, then, men and women gather together and have fun. There is no distinction between

77) Refer to note no. 120 for the Chinese text.

78) “俗好淫，男女多相奔誘”，*Liangshu*, chap. on Koguryŏ. The *Liangshu* is the first Chinese official history to include a chapter on Silla. It was compiled during the reign of King Taizong (太宗) of the Tang Dynasty. (*ibid.*, p. 539).

79) “其俗淫，好歌舞，夜則男女羣聚而戲，無貴賤之節”，*Weishu*, chap. on Koguryŏ. It was compiled between 551 and 554 by Wei Shou 魏收 (506-572) as a work in 130 volumes and covers a period of 165 years. Chapters on Koguryŏ, Paekche and Malgal are contained in vol. 100. (*ibid.*, p. 543).

80) “俗喜歌舞，國中邑落，男女每夜羣聚歌戲。(....) 其俗好淫，男女多相奔誘” *Nanshi*, chapter on Koguryŏ. The *Nanshi* was also compiled during the Tang dynasty period. It consists of 80 volumes and covers a period of 170 years. Chapters on Koguryŏ, Silla and Paekche are to be found in vol. 79, but they do not contain any relevant new element compared to the previous sources. (*ibid.*, p. 558).

81) “不簡親疎，乃至同川而浴，共室而寢。風俗好淫，不以爲愧，有遊女者，夫無常人” *Zhoushu*, chap. on Ko(gu)ryŏ. Work in 50 volumes, the 49th contains chapters on Ko(gu)ryŏ and Paekche. (*ibid.*, p. 548).

82) Compiled during the Tang dynasty as a work in 100 volumes. The 94th contains chapters on Koguryŏ, Paekche, Silla and Malgal, but does not provide new elements in regard.

83) Official history in 85 volumes compiled during the Tang dynasty by Wei Wei (魏徵).

84) Here the expression “ordinary husbands (*sangin* 常人) might refer to the fact that a man's presence at these women's side was not constant and that they could also be changing partners.

noble and humble.⁸⁵⁾

The term *yunyǒ*, which is related to Koguryǒ customs, is found also in the *Suishu*, where the source noted that “women secretly commit lascivious acts, and among the common people there are many *yunyǒ*. If there is someone who wants to get married, when a man and a woman like each other, then they can simply do it.”⁸⁶⁾ All these sources have in common the “lasciviousness” of the Koguryǒ people and all of them refer to the high level of promiscuity existing between men and women. Seen from Confucian Chinese eyes, such freedom enjoyed by the Koguryǒ people in establishing contacts at all levels with the opposite sex must have been a “barbarian custom”, but the Chinese sources report that promiscuity was not considered shameful by the local population, and almost all the sources cited also mention the fact that Koguryǒ people “did not feel ashamed” of choosing the so-called ‘lascivious behaviour’. Moreover, the Chinese sources also confirm another aspect of Koguryǒ society: the presence of a highly developed musical tradition, represented by wall paintings in tombs, such as the famous Dance Tomb,⁸⁷⁾ the scenes of music and acrobatics depicted in the P’alch’ǒngni Mural Tomb⁸⁸⁾ and those in the picnic scene of the Changch’ǒn Tomb No. 1.⁸⁹⁾ By looking at these images, the words written by the Chinese historians come to mind. Singing, dancing, having fun without any restrictions imposed by social laws dictating segregation of the sexes, seem to have

85) *Beishi*, Yezhuan, chap. on Koguryǒ: “風俗尚淫，不以爲愧，俗多遊女，夫無常人，夜則男女羣聚而戲，無有貴賤之節” (*ibid.*, p. 565).

86) “婦人淫奔，俗多遊女，有婚嫁者，取男女相悅，然卽爲之” *Suishu*, chap. on Ko(gu)ryǒ. (*ibid.* p. 552).

87) In Kor.: Muyongch’ong (舞踊塚). The tomb is located in the present-day Jian County, Jilin Province, People’s Republic of China.

88) P’alch’ǒngni-pyǒkhwa 八清里壁畫, located in P’alch’ǒngni, Taedong-gun, South P’yǒngan Province, Democratic People’s Republic of Korea.

89) Located in the present-day Jian County, Jilin Province, People’s Republic of China.

been important aspects of Koguryŏ's society, and the few particulars on *yunyŏ* added by the Chinese sources may be interpreted as reinforcing the hypothesis of the existence of quite a liberal Koguryŏ society. However, we are still far from having a complete picture of this ancient people. The lack of Korean sources does not allow us to formulate a more precise description of Koguryŏ's customs, and of the role women played in society in general and *yunyŏ* in particular. It is not possible, in the light of the scarce evidence, to bridge the distance between the two concepts: that of *yunyŏ* reported in the Chinese sources and that of *ki* (*kinyŏ*), found in most later texts, starting from the Koryŏ period (918-1392) into the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910). Even though a relationship might be established between the two concepts, it seems too far to allow an immediate connection, and additional evidence concerning the intermediate stages of development from the *yunyŏ* to the *kinyŏ* system still remains to be found.

Another hypothesis formulated by Kim Tong-uk suggests that the *kinyŏ* originated from the *munyŏ* 巫女, or *mudang* figure, a female shaman figure believed to have the power to establish a connection between heavenly and earthly matters. According to Prof. Kim, such a figure, originally born in a society founded on the principles of matriarchy, with the growing influence of Chinese culture over Korean society, slowly started to lose its influence and became a powerless tool in the hands of strong landlords who demanded from her submission at all levels, including the obligation to provide sexual services to the lord.⁹⁰⁾ This particular moment, according to Prof. Kim, might represent the significant element which leads a shaman to become a *kinyŏ*.

As for the Silla period (57 B.C.-935), Yi Nŭng-hwa refers to the

90) Kim Tong-uk, *ibid.*, p. 7.

creation of the *wŏnhwa* (original flowers) system in King Chinhŭng's (r. 540–576) 24th year of reign (563), through which around “three to four hundred women” were selected for their beauty and educated in the respect of “孝悌忠信 (filial piety, respect for older brothers (sisters), loyalty to the ruler and sincerity).⁹¹⁾ Later, the *wŏnhwa* system was abolished and substituted by the *hwarang* system (flower of youth), made up of young men educated in the “five secular injunctions” of the Buddhist monk Wŏn'gwang⁹²⁾: 1) serve the king with loyalty; 2) serve one's parents with filiality; 3) practice fidelity in friendship; 4) never retreat in battle and 5) refrain from wanton killing.

The main role played by the *hwarang* youth was military and many of them gained a place in history for their legendary performances in battle and in life. The story of one of them, Kim Yu-sin (595–673), is particularly famous and pivotal to our theme, as it deals with his love for a young *kinyŏ* named Ch'ŏn'gwan. The legend is reported in the *P'ahanjip* (破閑集 Jottings to break up Idleness)⁹³⁾ and in the *Tongguk Yŏji Sŭngnam* (東國輿地勝覽 Survey of the Geography of Korea).⁹⁴⁾ The story itself is widely known in Korea. It tells of how Kim Yu-sin decided to kill his beloved horse because it led him – out of habit – to the home of Ch'ŏn'gwan, with whom he was in love and whom he had decided not to see anymore. According to the source, a Buddhist temple was later built in the place where the woman was living. The reason for citing this episode is not to interpret Kim Yu-sin's story, but simply to underline the existence, during the Silla period, of women like

91) Yi Nŭng-hwa, in his *Chosŏn Haeŏhwasa*, quotes a passage in the *Samguk Yusa* (三國遺事 Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), vol. 3, Miruk Sorhwa-未尸郎. “擇人家娘美艷者”.

92) Buddhist monk who lived under the reign of king Chinp'yŏng of Silla (r. 579–632).

93) Written in 1254 by Yi In-no 李仁老 and published in 1260 by his son.

94) Compiled during the Chosŏn period, in 1531. The story is reported in vol. 21/29b, Kyŏngju chapter, section on Ancient Remains (卷 21, 慶州, 古蹟條).

Ch'ŏn'gwan.

2.2 The Koryŏ period (918–1392)

A third hypothesis, very often used for explaining the origin of *kinyŏ*,⁹⁵⁾ traces it back to the defeat of Later Paekche by the founder of the new Koryŏ dynasty, Wang Kŏn (r. 918–943). According to this hypothesis, *kinyŏ* might have originated from the *yangsuch'ŏk*.⁹⁶⁾ This theory is mentioned, among others, by Yi Ik 李漬 (星湖 1681–1763) in his *Sŏngho sasŏl* (星湖僊設 Insignificant Explanations of Sŏngho)⁹⁷⁾ and it is also to be found in the *Yŏllyŏsil kisul* (燃藜室記述 Narratives of the Yŏllyŏsil) by Yi Kŭng-ik 李肯翊 (1736–1806). In both cases, we deal with relatively recent sources. The *Yŏllyŏsil kisul* is one example of the encyclopedic compilations popular among *sirhak*⁹⁸⁾ scholars of the time, and it is basically a compilation of quotations from other earlier sources to which the author added his own comments. For the case in question, Yi Kŭng-ik quotes a source, the *Suri* (述而 which unfortunately has not been transmitted to us. The translation of the text goes as follows:

Later addition to the *Yŏllyŏsil kisul*.

95) Kim Yong-suk, *Han'guk yŏsok-sa* (History of Korean Female Customs and Traditions), 2nd reprint, Seoul: 1989, p. 242.

96) The *yangsuch'ŏk* (楊水尺) were outcasts who lived on the Korean peninsula around the 9th–10th century. They are mentioned in the *History of Koryŏ* (129/22b), where it is made clear that the *yangsuch'ŏk* were the descendants of the uncontrolled Paekche remnants of Wang Kŏn's time. For an explanation of their connection to the *kinyŏ*, see the translation of the passage from the *Yŏllyŏsil kisul*, given on this page.

97) *Sŏngho sasŏl* (星湖僊設 Insignificant Explanations of Sŏngho), encyclopedic work compiled by Yi Ik (pseudonym Sŏngho). It covers subjects as government, economy, family and society and contains Yi Ik's proposals for bringing order back to the Korean society of the period.

98) The major concerns of *Sirhak* (實學) (Practical Learning) scholars of the 17th and 18th centuries was to influence government policies in order to bring about changes leading to the creation of a more just society. Although the subjects of their studies were very diverse, a common element to all *Sirhak* scholarship was the pragmatic approach to the study of society. Major figures in this very important movement of thought were Yu Hyŏng-wŏn (1622–1673), Yi Ik (1681–1763), Chŏng Yak-yong (1762–1836), Yu Su-wŏn (1695–1755) and Pak Chi-wŏn (1737–1805).

The origin of our country's *ki* must be found in the *yangsuch'ök*. The *yangsuch'ök* is the same as *yugijang*. [The *yugijang*] are the descendants of the last opponents [lit. the ones difficult to control] when the founder of the Koryŏ dynasty attacked Paekche. Originally, they were not registered and had no fixed assignment to perform. They occasionally moved and had no fixed place where to live. They practised hunting, weaved baskets out of willow branches and trade was their main occupation. The son of Yi Ŭi-min, Chi-yŏng, wrote their names in the register of his concubine Chaunsŏn. He exploited them endlessly. Chi-yŏng died, and Ch'oi Ch'ung-hŏn took Chaunsŏn as his concubine. He ordered a census of the population and applied severe taxation. So they [the exploited *yugijang*] joined the Khitan against Koryŏ forces. So the Khitan came to know everything about our land [mountains and rivers] and about our military installations [because of their involvement the damage suffered from the Khitan was very high], and after the Khitan were defeated they [the *yugijang*] were recorded in the village households registers, the men as *no* 奴 (male slaves) and the women as *pi* 婢 (female slaves). Many female slaves became favourites of district magistrates (*suryŏng*) and therefore adorned themselves, wore make-up on their faces and learned how to sing and dance. So they were named *ki* and our dynasty has inherited them.⁹⁹⁾

Whatever the origin and development of the *yunyŏ* figure might have been, undeniable is the fact that during the Koryŏ period the *kinyŏ* system had already been established in an institutionalized form.

Judging from information contained in the *Koryŏ-sa* (History of Koryŏ), in the *Akji* (Records on Music) section, the *kinyŏ* system had already reached a highly developed stage as a system of music performance. Undoubtedly, the Chinese influence played a fundamental role in this respect - well-known is the donation of a complete set of musical instruments for performing *aak*,¹⁰⁰⁾ Song monarchs made to the Koryŏ court in the 12th century. Following the donation, musicians were

99) Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe *Yŏllyŏsil kisul*, vol. 10, rev. repr. Seoul: 1976, p. 602.

100) *Aak* music (Chinese: *yayue* "elegant music") is intended as court ritual music of Chinese origin.

educated both in musical theory and in performance techniques, which favoured the development of Chinese court music in Korea as well. But the existence of such a highly developed music structure also presupposed the training of professional performers, among whom were the *yŏak* (female court musicians), selected from among *kinyŏ* to perform in the presence of the king. They were trained in the arts of musical entertainment in the *Kyobang* (Court Entertainment Bureau)¹⁰¹⁾ and their contribution to the *Kyobang kayo* (Songs from the Court Entertainment Bureau) in the literary world has been widely acknowledged.¹⁰²⁾

Yŏak and *kinyŏ*, however, represent only the tip of the iceberg, because during the Koryŏ period the entire *ki* system seems to have reached a high degree of specialization. Yi Kyŏng-bok,¹⁰³⁾ basing his research on reports from the *Koryŏsa* (History of Koryŏ), refers to the existence of 'official *ki*', or *kwan'gi*, subdivided into *kyobang ki*, deployed in the capital, and *chibang ki*, deployed in the provinces, and of 'private *ki*', or *sagi*, which were present and active in private houses and, in contrast to the official *ki*, were not registered in any official roster.¹⁰⁴⁾ Among the official *ki*, *chanyŏ* ('free' women) and *yunyŏ* ('playing' women) were also listed, not necessarily connected to musical

101) The term *kyobang* (教坊) is used in this work in two different ways: written with the capital initial letter (*Kyobang*), it refers to the Court Entertainment Bureau of the Koryŏ period (918-1392), when the *Kyobang* was an institution responsible for the training of *yŏak* (女樂), female performers at the royal court. During the reign of King Munjong (r.1046-1083) of Koryŏ, the *Kyobang* students participated in the *Yŏndŭnghoe* one of the most important Buddhist rituals of the Koryŏ period. On the contrary, when written with the small initial letter (*kyobang*) it refers to the term appearing in the P'yŏngyang local history (see please 4.3.2) and indicates the section of the main government office in charge of the training of *kinyŏ* in the arts of entertainment. According to Prof. Song, during the Chosŏn dynasty the term *kyobang* could also indicate a section of the Office of Occasional Music (*Kwansŭp togam*) or the *kinyŏ* musicians directly (Song Pang-song, *Han'guk ūmak t'ongsa*, p. 153).

102) One of the most important works on the subject is an unpublished doctoral dissertation by McCarthy, K. *Kisaeng in the Koryŏ period*, Harvard University: 1991, but also Korean scholars have researched widely on the subject. A rich bibliography on the *ki*'s literary achievements is included in the previously mentioned Pak Ūl-su, *Han'guk sijo taesajŏn* (朴乙洙, 韓國時調大事典), Seoul: 1992 (please refer to note 2 at p. 2 of the Introduction).

103) Yi Kyŏng-bok, "Koryŏ-sidae kinyŏ-ŭi yuhyŏng-go", *Minsokhak* 18. Seoul: 1985, pp. 83-97.

104) Yi Kyŏng-bok, *ibid.*, p. 84-85. The existence of official and private *ki* is reported also in Kim Yong-suk, *Han'guk yŏsok-sa*, Seoul: 1971, p. 274, and in Ch'oe Suk-kyŏng and Ha Hyŏn-kang, *Han'guk Yŏsŏng-sa* I, Seoul: 1972, p. 563-564.

performance, but chosen for offering "sexual services" to men.¹⁰⁵⁾

Prof. Yi proposes also other terms for *ki*, among them *kagi* (家妓 house *ki*), active in private houses, where they were hired for singing and dancing and had to 'work' for their masters on occasions of private banquets. Still another term is *namgi*¹⁰⁶⁾ (male *ki*), young boys allowed to sleep at court and chosen for their beauty, sex appeal and artistic skills. According to Yi, the *namgi* had the function "to satisfy the king's desire to admire male beauty and to satisfy the sexual desires of queens and princesses."¹⁰⁷⁾

Whatever the role of private *ki* (*sagi*), house *ki* (*kagi*), or male *ki* (*namgi*) might have been, the most important message contained in Prof. Yi's article is the variety and complexity of the terminology used and of the complexity the entire musical entertainment sector had reached in the period. Indeed, it is the system the Chosŏn dynasty inherited, and upon which it developed its own *ki* system.

105) Yi Kyŏng-bok, *ibid.*, p. 89.

106) According to the author of the article, this term is not found in the source, but it is rather a creation of his own. Yi Kyŏng-bok, *ibid.*, p. 94.

107) Yi Kyŏng-bok, *ibid.*, pp. 94-96.

CHAPTER THREE

Ki: Institutions and the private life of *ki*

3.1 The institutions

Before I start describing the institutions responsible for the administration of “musical affairs” during the Chosŏn dynasty, it may be useful to clarify briefly the meaning – and importance – of music for the Neo-Confucian scholars of the period. The preponderant influence of Chinese music in Korea is widely recognized. As in China, Korean music had a two-fold importance, both for its universal aspect – as a way to bring peace and harmony to heaven and earth – and for its more specialized political and human aspects. The Korean idea of music derives its origins from the Chinese tradition, whose ideas are canonized in the *Yueji* (Annotations on Music), a part of the *Liji* (Book of Rites), one of the most important Confucian classics. In this text, music is considered inseparable from rites, but more than one passage in the text points out music’s superiority over rites:

”Music is the harmony of heaven and earth, rites constitute the graduation of heaven and earth. Through harmony all things are brought forth, through graduation all things are properly classified. Music comes from Heaven, rites are modelled after earthly designs. Music aims at harmony, it belongs to the higher spiritual agencies, and it follows heaven. Rites aim at the distinction of differences, they belong to the lower spiritual agencies, and follow earth. Therefore the Holy Sages composed music, in order that it might correspond to Heaven, and they instituted rites, so that they might correspond to Earth. When rites and music are manifest and perfect, Heaven and Earth will be regulated“.¹⁰⁸⁾

But music is also connected with humankind through single individuals as well as members of society. Music corresponds to what is Heavenly in human beings:

When man is born he is serene: this is the nature of Heaven. (...) If man cannot regulate his likes and dislikes, (...) he will grow incapable of introspection, and the Heavenly nature in him disappears." "For this reason the Kings of olden times instituted rites and music, in order to regulate human emotions". "Music points to what all beings have in common; rites point to that in which all beings differ. What is common leads to mutual love, what is different leads to mutual respect.¹⁰⁹⁾

In this way music becomes a tool for the ruler to govern his people wisely, and a way for human beings not to separate themselves from the Right Way (*Dao*)¹¹⁰⁾. The ideal Confucian gentleman (*junzi*)¹¹¹⁾

(...) distinguishes between good and bad, and in accordance therewith regulates his conduct. He does not perceive lewd sounds or indecent spectacles, he keeps his heart undefiled by lascivious music or unbecoming rites. His body is free from laziness and negligence, falsehood and depravity. He makes his ears and eyes, nose and mouth, all the functions of perception of his entire body conform to what is right, and so achieves righteous conduct.¹¹²⁾

It is clear from these excerpts that the music referred to here is ceremonial music, and that in a well-governed Confucian state there was no room for music played for pleasure, the music supposedly played by

108) This and the following excerpts are translations given in R.H. van Gulik, *The Lore of the Chinese Lute*, Tokyo, Sophia University Press: 1969, pp. 23-27.

109) R.H. van Gulik, *ibid.* pp. 25-26.

110) *To* in Korean.

111) *Kunja* in Korean.

112) R.H. van Gulik, *ibid.* p. 27.

kinyō and by musicians of *ch'ōnmin* origin. Only in the case of decaying governments, when the ruler was about to lose the Mandate of Heaven (*Tianming*)¹¹³⁾ can there be tones not conforming to the principles, but such tones are defined as “lewd tones”, “vulgar sounds”¹¹⁴⁾ which have absolutely nothing to do with music based on Confucian principles.

Music and musical instruments were known to Koreans since time immemorial. From the tomb murals of the Koguryō period to the numerous testimonies in the “History of Koryō” (*Koryōsa*), we are provided with ample information about the practice of music in Korea. With the coming to power of a new dynastic family in 1392, the music performed in the Royal Court continued for a while to be the same as performed during the Koryō period. But during the first half of the 15th century, the institutional and theoretical bases were laid for the adoption of Chinese music to be performed side by side with “Koreanized” Chinese music and with music of pure local origin. These three major currents in Korean court music tradition are labeled :

- 1) *aak*,¹¹⁵⁾ ritual music of Chinese origin performed in the Chinese style;
- 2) *tangak*,¹¹⁶⁾ entertainment music of Chinese origin performed in a Koreanized style;
- 3) *hyangak*, indigenous music.¹¹⁷⁾ Sometimes the term *hyangak* was substituted by the term *sogak* with the same meaning. *Hyangak* was the only music performed by *ki*. The institutional structure of the

113) *Ch'ōnmyōng* in Korean.

114) R.H. van Gulik, *ibid.* p. 27.

115) Chin.: *yayue*, Jap. *gagaku*, meaning “elegant, refined music”, intended solely for Confucian rituals.

116) Lit. “music from Tang” (Chinese dynasty, 618-907). Actually in Korean the term refers not only to Tang music but also to Song music introduced later, during the Koryō period. The same term in Japanese, *tōgaku*, on the contrary, refers solely to music imported entirely from the Tang dynasty. (Song, B.S. *Source Readings in Korean Music*, Korean National Commission for UNESCO, Seoul: 1980, footnote p. 151).

117) R.C. Provine Jr. “Who is in charge here?: the musical bureaucracy in the early Yi dynasty court (1392-1466)”, in *Asian Music*, IX-2, 1978, p. 49.

music-related offices during the Chosŏn dynasty reflected this subdivision. At the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty several government offices dealt with music affairs and all of them were grouped under the supervision of the *Yejo* (Ministry of Rites), including the *Akhak* (School of Music), one of the Ten Schools established in 1406.¹¹⁸⁾ The Ministry of Rites was, in principle, responsible for the supervision of sacrificial rites, of receptions for foreign dignitaries and national guests, of royal banquets and ceremonies, of government examinations, of Buddhism and Taoism and of the distribution of gifts. The Office of Court Ceremonies (*Hammun*), the Office of Sacrificial Rites (*Pongsangsi*) and the Office of Reception Ceremonies (*Yebinsi*) were primarily responsible for the organizational aspects related to ceremonies held, periodically and occasionally, at Court. The **Office of Court Ceremonies** (*Hammun*) was in charge of various court ceremonies, such as banquets, royal audiences, processions and other celebrations. In 1405 it was renamed *T'ongnyemun* and in 1466, during the 12th year of King Sejo's reign, it was again renamed *T'ongnyewŏn*.¹¹⁹⁾ The **Office of Sacrificial Rites** (*Pongsangsi*) was in charge of the actual performance of sacrificial rites, with tasks ranging from the storage of the required musical instruments to the supervision of singers needed for the complicated ceremonial rites. The organization of receptions for visiting foreign envoys was considered a very important task and was assigned to a separate office, the **Office of Reception Ceremonies** (*Yebinsi*), inherited from the previous Koryŏ dynasty (918-1932).

118) The Ten Schools were established in 1406 during King T'aejong's reign. They were: Confucian School (*Yuhak* 儒學), School of Martial Arts (*Muhak* 武學), School of Lower Bureaucrats (*Yihak* 吏學), School of Interpreters (*Yŏkhak* 譯學), School of the Yin and Yang and of Geomancy (*Ŭmyang p'ungsuhak* 陰陽風水學), School of Medicine (*Ŭihak* 醫學), School of Writing (*Chahak* 字學), School of Punishments (*Yulhak* 律學), School of Computing (*Sanhak* 算學) and School of Music (*Akhak* 樂學). (T'aejong 012 06/11/15 (*sinm*), kwŏn 12: 34b).

119) Sejo 038 12/01/15 (muo), kwŏn 38, p. 5 a:6.

Whereas the three offices mentioned above were more related to the ceremonial aspect of music affairs, three other institutions under the supervision of the Ministry of Rites, the Office of Ritual Music (*Aaksǒ*), the Office for Entertainment Music (*Chǒnaksǒ*) and the Office for Occasional Music (*Kwansǔp togam*) together with the School of Music (*Akhak*), were directly related to musical matters. The **Office of Ritual Music** (*Aaksǒ*) was in charge of *aak*, while the **Office of Entertainment Music** (*Chǒnaksǒ*) was in charge of both *tangak* and *hyangak*. This resulted in the specialization of musicians in one or the other style of music. But when, in 1457, the two Offices were merged in the *Changaksǒ*, the musicians were required to learn all three styles of music, *aak*, *tangak* and *hyangak*. The **School of Music** (*Akhak*), established in 1406, was mainly in charge of administering periodical examinations and the training of musicians in the *aak* music style. The **Office of Occasional Music** (*Kwansǔp togam*) was responsible for training in *hyangak* and *tangak* to be performed at private banquets. Among its musicians we find blind instrumentalists (*kwanhyǒn maengin*), *kyobang*¹²⁰⁾ musicians, and *kinyǒ*.

Blind musicians were used to accompany *kinyǒ* who sang at “inside” banquets,¹²¹⁾ while *kyobang* musicians accompanied them at “outside” banquets.¹²²⁾ At the *Kwansǔp togam*, *kinyǒ* received their education initially only in singing and dancing at “inside” as well as “outside” banquets. Following the replacement, in 1447, of blind musicians with female musicians, *kinyǒ* were also taught instrumental wind and string music to be performed at “inside” banquets. Their performances,

120) Refer to section 2.2, dedicated to *kinyǒ* during the Koryǒ period.

121) Banquets for the female members of the royal family.

122) Formal state occasions with assembled ministers. Lee Hye-ku, *Essays on Korean Music*, (*Han'guk ūmak nonch'ong*), transl. by R. Provine Jr. Seoul: 1976.

however, never included *aak* compositions, solely performed by musicians

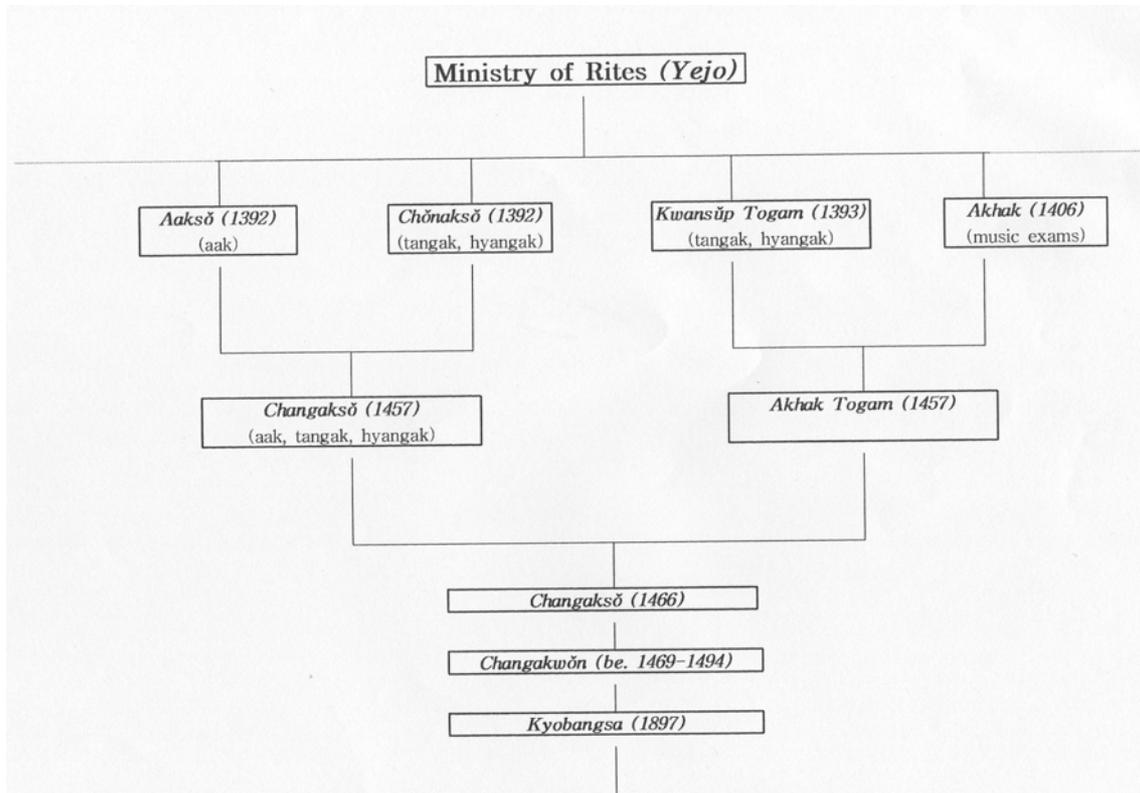


Fig. 2 - Music-related institutions during the Chosŏn period - (Adapted from Provine: 1978 and Song: 1985).

of commoner origins (*aksaeng*). *Kinyŏ* performed mainly indigenous music (*hyangak*). In 1457, the *Kwansŭp togam* and the *Akhak* were merged in the *Akhak togam* (Office for the Study of Music).

Fig. no. 2¹²³⁾ indicates the hierarchical structure of the above-mentioned institutions and their historical evolution. It must be noted here that the musical activities were a relatively limited area of responsibilities for the Ministry of Rites.

The selection of women to be educated and trained in music, singing and dancing, was regulated according to procedures indicated in the main legal code, the *Kyŏngguk taejŏn*:

Every three years, 150 female musicians, 10 [dancing] persons for the *Yŏnhwadae*¹²⁴⁾ and 70 medical women are to be selected (*sŏn*) from among the younger female slaves of the various districts and sent to the capital (*sang*). The medical women (*ŭinyŏ*), after the completion of their training, will be sent back to their original district. [Candidates for musical dancing and medical training] can also be selected or designated among female slaves belonging to various government agencies.¹²⁵⁾

These were the rules in the National Code regarding the recruitment of *kinyŏ* all over the country. The above mentioned rules are included in the *Yejŏn*, i.e. the section regulating the activities of the *Yejo*, the Ministry of Rites. But the same selection process (*sŏnsang*) was adopted also by other ministries and indicated the nationwide selection of slaves for employment in the central offices of the capital, as

123) Adapted from Song Pang-song, *Han'guk ūmak t'ongsa*, p. 238 and from R.C. Provine Jr. "Who is in charge here?: the musical bureaucracy in the early Yi dynasty court (1392-1466)", in *Asian Music*, IX-2, 1978.

124) A kind of court dance withing the *tangak* repertoire, danced by about 30 dancers, between *ki* and dancing/singing children.

125) *Chosŏn Wangjo pŏpchŏn ch'ongsŏ - Kyŏngguk Taejŏn*, 朝鮮王朝法典叢書 - 經國大典, Asea Munhwasa, Seoul: 1983, p. 295 女妓一百五十人,蓮花臺十人,女醫七十人,每三年並以諸邑婢年少者選上,醫女則成才後還本邑,京中各司婢亦擇定.

reinforcement in case the personnel available in the capital was not sufficient. The selection procedure was first established during the Koryŏ period, but reached its peak during the reign of King Sejong. In 1423, the number of slaves chosen to work in the capital reached the total figure of 7,823, which included the slaves employed at Court and those assigned to the central government offices.¹²⁶⁾

3.2 *Ki* and their private life

In the historical sources consulted here there seem to be no mention of *kinyŏ* receiving any form of compensation comparable to a salary. Their services were considered to be part of their duties as members of the lowest social class. But from the sources we also know that when they were not concubines of *yangban* and even then in some cases, they lived most of the time in their own houses together with some other *kinyŏ*. Originally of *ch'ŏnmin*,¹²⁷⁾ or lowborn status, they were supposed, like all slaves, to perform all kinds of assigned tasks. But what happened to the women who were chosen for their beauty and talents, once they were educated in the arts of literary and musical entertainment? It is known that the expenditures of *aksaeng*¹²⁸⁾ and *akkong*¹²⁹⁾, who belonged to the *Changagwŏn* (Royal Music Institute),¹³⁰⁾

126) *Yŏkchu Kyŏngguk Taejŏn*, p. 297, note no. 350.

127) The *ch'ŏnmin* (賤民 lowborn) status was the lowest in the social structure during both the Koryŏ (918-1392) and the Chosŏn (1392-1910) periods. The status was strictly hereditary, according to a law which accorded to the child the status of the mother. The majority of *ch'ŏnmin* were slaves and were ineligible to qualify for examinations. However, starting from the late 16th century, they could be recruited in the army. The use of slaves as "soldiers" represented a "promotion" to commoner status and became therefore an important avenue of social mobility. But in general it became a diffused practice in the 18th and 19th centuries.

128) *Aksaeng* 樂生, male musicians of *yangin* (良人 commoner) origin, dependents of the *Chwabang* (左坊 Left Quarter) section of the *Changaksŏ*. They were in charge of performing *a'ak* (雅樂 elegant music), the ritual music of Chinese (Tang and Song) origin. - *Sejo sillok* 010 03/11/27 (chŏnghae), kwŏn 10, p. 18, a:13-b:9.

129) *Akkong* 樂工, male musicians of *ch'ŏnmin* (賤民 lowborn) status, dependents of the *Ubang* (右坊, Right Quarter) section of the *Changaksŏ*. They were to perform *sogak* (俗樂), or *hyangak* (鄉樂), i.e. traditional Korean music. - *Sejo sillok* 010 03/11/27 (chŏnghae) kwŏn 10, p. 18, a:13-b:9.

130) Cf. note no. 97 at p. 41.

where paid by two provisioners (*pojin*),¹³¹⁾ designated from among the local population. They were required to pay the music service tax (*kap'ŏ*) in cloth. The tax amounted to 12 bolts of cloth until 1631, to be reduced to 6 bolts of cloth after 1652, and underwent various changes in the years inbetween.¹³²⁾ In case a court musician was appointed to serve in the capital, he had to leave his native home at the age of 12 and move to the capital, where he had to live on 12 bolts of cloth. He was provided no lodging, but had to live in ordinary houses. According to the ethnomusicologist Song Pang-song,¹³³⁾ around the mid 17th century, a bolt of cloth was just enough to pay lodging expenses in the capital for one month. The musicians must thus have had a hard time trying to make a living away from home. Consequently, musicians had often to rely on special donations or rewards for an exceptionally good performance, or for having performed in the house of a particularly generous host. This was true also in the case of *kinyŏ*, and the Annals occasionally refer to such cases. Evidence of similar cases are also reported in the *Yongjae ch'onghwa* (Assorted Writings of Yongjae),¹³⁴⁾ where it is said: "...it was impossible to count the money given to *kwangdae*¹³⁵⁾ and *ki* for their performance..."¹³⁶⁾

131) Later in the dynasty called *pongjok* 奉足. See also note no. 256 at p. 96 on *pongjok*.

132) Song Pang-song, *Han'guk ūmaksā yŏn'gu*, pp. 811-812.

133) Song Pang-song, *ibid.*, p. 378.

134) Please also refer to notes no. 59 and 60 at p. 28. Written by Sŏng Hyŏn, author, among others of the *Akhak Kwebŏm*. The oldest copy of the *Yongjae ch'onghwa* available corresponds to the version included in the *Taedong Yasŭng* and seems to have been printed in 1525 in Kyŏngju - (Yongjae ch'onghwa haeje, *Taedong yasŭng* vol. 1).

135) The *Kwangdae* (廣大) were entertainers usually organized in travelling troupes for the performance of mask dance, acrobatics and street theatre. Due to their occupation, they were considered lowborn and treated like slaves. During the Chosŏn dynasty the lower classes were divided into *Ch'il Chŏn* (七賤 Seven Lowest Official Occupations), i.e., *chorye* (official messengers), *najang* (guards), *ilsu* (watchmen), *chogun* (oarsmen), *sugun* (sailors), *ponggun* (torch guards) and *yŏkbo* (post curiers) and *P'al Ban* (八般 Eight Socially Degraded Groups), i.e. *kongno* (official slaves), *sano* (private slaves), *ch'anggi* (professional entertainers), *chŏmbok* (fortune tellers), *mugyŏk* (sorcerers and sorceresses), *paekjŏng* (butchers, blacksmiths and skilled craftsmen), *sŭngi* (Buddhist priests and nuns) and *kwangdae* (artists and acrobats).

136) Yongjae ch'onghwa, in *Taedong yasŭng* vol. 1. p. 61.

Ki who resided in the capital seem to have lived in separate houses, but it is not clear who provided the living space. It may have been provided by the government or by the men who took the *ki* as their concubines. It may also have been the responsibility of the *ki*'s husband (*kibu*), not necessarily intended in the modern meaning of the term.¹³⁷⁾ The Annals sometimes mention *ki* living in the palace, but these were mainly *ki* who became concubines of royal family members. On one occasion, King T'aejong tried to build *ki* quarters within the Palace walls, but he provoked strong protests from his officials and counsellors. He then decided to have the quarters built outside the East Gate.¹³⁸⁾ Thus, it is possible to assume that *ki* employed at court had their living quarters in the area around the royal palace(s). This hypothesis is supported also by a quote from the *Yöllyösil kisul*:

From the beginning of the [Chosŏn] dynasty, the Six Ministries had night shift officials. In the evening, accompanied by *ch'ang(gi)* they gathered outside *Kwanghwamun*, on the street, and drank and talked all night.¹³⁹⁾

Sŏng Hyŏn,¹⁴⁰⁾ in his *Yongjae ch'onghwa* again recalls:

When I was nominated to the position of minister of rites, I also was Supervisor (*chejo*) of the *Changagwŏn*. On occasion of parties for visitors and of official receptions for visiting foreign envoys, or for the purpose of selecting new talented musicians, there was no day I would spend without listening to music. On my way back and forth from the Hall of the Great Peace I passed through an area completely surrounded by the homes of

137) On the *kibu* functions refer to note no. 106 at p. 43.

138) T'aejong 024 12/11/30 (sinhae).

139) Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe *Yöllyösil kisul*, vol. 10, rev. repr. Seoul: 1976, p. 600.

140) For Sŏng Hyŏn's biographical data refer to notes no. 59 and 60 at p. 28.

*kwangdae*¹⁴¹⁾ and *kinyŏ*. Outside *Sungnyemun*¹⁴²⁾, the female slaves from the homes of *Minbo* and *Yŏhŭi*,¹⁴³⁾ were all very good at performing *p'ungak* [traditional Korean music]. Always, by passing by, I would enter and listen to them.¹⁴⁴⁾

The importance of *kinyŏ* has been primarily related to their roles as entertainers and transmitters of cultural knowledge,¹⁴⁵⁾ but we must not forget that they were also considered official property (*kongmul*).¹⁴⁶⁾ Like all slaves, they were assigned to duty at specific government offices, where they were registered in special rosters.¹⁴⁷⁾ Apart from the obligations deriving from their *ki* status, such as attending music and dance rehearsals or banquets in honour of national or foreign visiting government officials, *ki* were also in charge of executing several humble duties within the government offices, such as carrying water, helping in the kitchen area and so on. During the entire duration of the dynasty, the Annals report several cases of runaway *ki*, or of *ki* not attending performances or rehearsals. But by the second half of the Chosŏn dynasty, cases of slaves – and *kinyŏ* as well – who managed to buy their freedom became more frequent. In this way it became easier to cancel their names from the official slave/*kisaeng* rosters.

The following document, an official *kisaeng* roster (*Kisaeng*

141) For more detailed information on *kwangdae*, refer to note no. 180 at p. 64.

142) Other name for Namdaemun, the South Gate, still existing in present-day Seoul.

143) Apparently they seem to be the names of two musicians, but the text does not elaborate further on this regard.

144) YC in *Taedong yasŭng* vol. 1. pp. 59–60.

145) The importance of *kinyŏ* as transmitters of cultural elements has been stressed by various scholars, such as McCann, D. R. "Traditional World of *Kisaeng*", *Korea Journal*, Vol. 14:2, pp. 40–43, Seoul: Korean National Commission for UNESCO, 1974, Cho Tong-il, *Han'guk Munhak Tongsa*, Seoul: 3rd ed. 5th repr. 1995.

146) For a further elaboration of the *kongmul* concept in the CWS, the reader may refer to Chapter one, in the section dedicated to the position of *kinyŏ* in Chosŏn society.

147) These rosters were called *kijŏk* (妓籍) or *kian* (妓案), abbreviation of *Kisaeng kwanan*. For an example of such a roster, refer to Appendix B. Translation and comments to the *kisaeng* roster are given in the last section of this chapter.

kwanan) dated “ 503rd year, ninth month, from the national foundation (1894)”¹⁴⁸⁾ is a testimony of such practice, a common phenomenon towards the end of the Chosŏn dynasty. It demonstrates that the cases of *kinyŏ* who were exempted – or bought their freedom – from official duties, became frequent. The document was compiled most probably in the Hansŏng (present-day Seoul) area and lists a total of 66 *ki* names.

- 1) Officially justified *ki*: 20¹⁴⁹⁾
- 2) Old *ki*: 2
- 3) Runaway *ki*: 12
- 4) Exempted (total): 31
 - a) Permanently at the cost of 30 *liang*: 13
 - b) Permanently at the cost of 50 *liang*: 1
 - c) Permanently at the cost of 100 *liang*: 4
 - d) Substituted by another slave: 13

The document does not include biographical data regarding the women, so it is not possible to reconstruct their life and career developments, but it provides us with important information regarding their attendance at government offices to which they had been assigned. It should be kept in mind that they were first of all considered public assets and, as such, once recorded in the roster, only very special reasons allowed them to obtain exemption from their duties.

The document lists several reasons why these women were

148) The original document, entitled “*Kisaeng kwanan* 妓生官案” is a manuscript copy in eight pages kept at the Central Library of Yonsei University, in Seoul. The text is reported in Appendix B. Due to internal university regulations, it was not possible to photocopy or photograph the document, therefore the transcription of the text, limited to the first five pages of the document, as they are the pages directly related to the *ki*, is my own.

149) The character for "justified" is *t'al* (頓), explained as "justification, reason for excuse" in: Kim Chae-dŭk, *Komunhŏn yong'ŏ haerye* (古文獻用語解例 Explanation of Terminology in Ancient Texts), Seoul: 1983, p. 603.

absent: twenty *ki*¹⁵⁰⁾ were registered as temporarily absent for officially approved reasons (Section *chǒngt'alchil*). Plausible reasons for long absences from the workplace were: home-leave, giving birth to a baby, finding themselves in mourning and so on. This does not indicate a permanent absence, but rather, a justified limited period of exemption from duty. The list continues with two names of *ki* who had become too old¹⁵¹⁾ (Section *nojejil*), followed by twelve names of *ki* who ran away (Section *tomang-jil*). The most interesting information is to be found in the "Exemption from duty" section (*myǒnyǒkchil*), which lists 31 names of *ki* who were exempted from their original duties. Among them, several *ki* (13) - Ch'unhyang, Kǔmhong, Ch'irwǒl, Sǒr'ok, Sǒrwǒl, Kukhyang, Nong'ok, Tohong, Kǔmnang, Yunwǒl, Ch'unhung, Ch'unhong and Kuksǒn - sent other slaves (public male slaves, *kwanno*) to work in their place. Other *ki* bought their freedom by paying a certain amount of money to the authorities. The sums recorded ranged from 30 to 100 *liang*, presumably calculated in relation to the ability, beauty or age of each single woman. Thirteen *ki*, among whom Yǒngsǒm, Yewǒl, Wǒlmae and Yech'un, paid 30 *liang* for their exemption from duty, the *ki* Okhyang paid 50 *liang* and also offered a wash basin to the office, while four other *ki* - Yǒnhyang, Yǒnp'a, Tongwǒl and Ssangok - were asked to pay the sum of 100 *liang* each in order to obtain permanent exemption from duty.

If we consider that in the same period the price of 20 *ch'ǒk* of hemp cloth¹⁵²⁾ was fixed at one *liang*,¹⁵³⁾ we have a basis for calculating

150) This is the term used in the document to indicate the *kisaeng*.

151) The retiring age for slaves was fixed at 60 years, but in the CWS reference is made to cases of *nogi* (老妓 old *ki*) who were declared as such for having reached the age of 50. It is not clear whether the *no'gi*, upon reaching the age of 50, were exempted from all duties or if the exemption affected only their duties as *ki*. They may have been requested to perform other corvee labor normally demanded for people of *ch'ǒnmin* status.

152) One *ch'ǒk* corresponds to 30.3 cm.

the “market value” of these women. Of course, it is possible to think that women financed their ‘freedom’ independently, maybe with the money saved over years of performances at private banquets. But it would probably be much more likely that these women had become concubines of some wealthy or powerful men who preferred to pay and obtain their freedom, rather than see them participate in daily rehearsals at the local government offices.

If we include the *ki* on justified temporary leave (category 1) in the list of absentees, in that particular period only one *ki* – Kukhyang – seems to have been on duty in the government office, while those working as substitutes, as indicated in category 4.d), were public male slaves (*kwanno*), paid by the *ki* who had “officially hired” them. Supposing our hypothesis is true, namely that the document concerns a government office in the capital area, and considering the capital as the geographical location most likely to be under the most strict control of the central authorities, the *Kisaeng kwanan* of 1894 can be considered a reliable evidence of the decaying *kinyŏ* system in the late Chosŏn period.

153) Paek Sŭng-jong, "1893-nyŏn Chŏllado T'aeinhyŏn yangin nongmin-dŭrŭi chose pudam 1893년 全羅道 泰仁縣 良人 農民들의 租稅 부담", in *Chindan Hakpo* 75, Seoul: 1993.

CHAPTER FOUR

Hierarchical structure: types of *ki* by function and geographical distribution

4.1 Types of *ki*

Kings	years of reign	<i>kisaeng</i>	<i>kwan'gi</i>	<i>kinyŏ</i>	<i>ch'angg</i> 娼妓	<i>ch'anggi</i> 倡妓	<i>yŏak</i>	<i>yŏgi</i>	<i>yŏryŏng</i>	<i>ŭinyŏ</i>	<i>ch'imsŏnbi</i>	<i>kyŏnggi</i>	TOTAL
TAE	6	1	1			2	4						8
CJ	2					1							1
TJ	18	2	8	3	10	8	15	2		2		1	51
SEJ	32	3	31	10	17	32	13	28		13	1		148
MU	2	1	1	1	4	8	8	6		3			32
TAN	3	1	2	5	1	3	2	4					18
SO	13	14	5	13	7	5	10	20	2	4			80
YE	1	3	1	3		1	1						9
SOJ	25	34	18	37	8	56	45	48	3	18		1	268
YON	12	1	9	12	1	31	11	27		23	6		121
CHU	38	6	12	40	4	31	85	35	1	57	1	6	278
INJ	1												
MJ	22		9	3	1	12	9	6		8		3	51
SON	41	1	9	3	1	29	15	1		13	1		73
HAE	15	5	2	7	1	13	36	6	2	10			82
INO	26		2	1	1	3	5			2		2	16
HYO	10			1		2							3
HYN	15		2	4		8	5	2		2			23
SUK	46	9	21	13	1	14	7			6	1		72
KNG	4		1							1			2
YNG	52	10	6	15		6	2	1	1	8			49
CHO	24			6			10		1	2	2		21
SUN	34			2		3	3		10	1			19
HON	15	1					1						2
CHL	14								1				1
KO													
SUNJ													
Total	471	92	140	179	57	268	287	186	21	173	12	13	1428

Tab. 1. Frequency distribution of each term by reign.¹⁾

1) For a list of abbreviations of kings' names refer to list given at the beginning of this work, at p. xiii.

The data shown in Tab. 1 represent a statistical overview of the total number of occurrences (1428) identified after a search for the keywords used to access the primary source. Whereas for the majority of the terms it has been possible to identify approximate semantic boundaries, for some others this has not been possible.²⁾

The first contact with the source was made by checking the appearance frequency of the term *kisaeng*, today the most widely used when referring to the category of the women in question. The search, however, turned out to be quite discouraging, if one looks at the low figure shown at the bottom of the second column (92). Considering the long period of time under study - 471 years calculated from the reign of King T'aejo (r. 1392-1398) until the end of King Ch'ölchong's reign (r.1849-1863), when the last occurrence of any of the *ki*-related terms is recorded in the Annals - and encouraged by the fact that these women, connected to musical performances at Court, were recorded in the source, I started to look for other terms which could possibly provide better access to the five-century long dynastic history. In doing so, I set basic requirements for the choice of *ad hoc* terminology: the terms had to satisfy:

- 1) The gender requirement, i.e., all terms had to refer to women professionally active in Chosŏn society.
- 2) Number 1) had to be satisfied through a process of more or less formal education in the relevant discipline.
- 3) The occurrence rate in the source had to be considered

2) It should be stressed here that the semantic boundaries between terms such as *kisaeng*, *ki* and *kinyŏ* are not clearly defined. Moreover, all terms included in Tab. 1 with the exception of *ũinyŏ* (medical women) and *ch'imsŏnbi* (female needleworkers) deal with women professionally active in the entertaining sector. Starting with the sixteenth century medical women became involved as well in entertaining activities, causing a functional overlapping of categories.

significant in order for the term to be chosen for further analysis.

Further selection of the terminology gave the results shown in the foregoing Tab. 1.

The terms for singing *ki* (*ch'anggi* 娼妓 倡妓) have both been retained, since they are written in two different Sino-Korean characters and have therefore been considered as two separate concepts.³⁾

Some readers may object that the terms *ũinyõ* and *ch'imsõnbi* should not have been included in the selection, since they are not directly connected to musical performances and cannot, therefore, be directly related to the *ki* category. But my decision to include this group was motivated by very specific reasons: first of all, both the medical and the needle-working activities satisfied point 1) and 2) of the above-mentioned prerequisites. In addition, the medical women (*ũinyõ*) category became, with the coming to power of Prince Yõnsan,⁴⁾ deeply involved in *kinyõ* activities. The second term, *ch'imsõnbi*, refers to female needle-workers. Embroidery was - and still is in Korea - a gender-related activity, solely undertaken by women, and it was often enumerated among *kinyõ* activities. However, since it scored very low in the Annals, it was excluded from further analysis. The low score of this term may be due to the peculiar nature of these women's work. Embroidery was indeed an activity limited to the "inner quarters" of the house (or of the Royal Palace), excluding these women from the bright lights of court

3) However, in the course of this research, I have not been able to identify specific elements which might indicate the existence of a semantic difference between the two graphically different terms. Tentatively, both terms seem to refer to singing *ki* of the lowest hierarchical level. Further intertextual research will be needed in order to provide better evidence of the existence, or not, of semantic difference(s) between the two terms. In absence of confirming evidence of the one or the other hypothesis, the two terms have been separately maintained in the proposed Table 1.

4) Refer to section 4.2.2.1.b, which explains the "medical *kinyõ*" phenomenon.

performances. Consequently, these women were rarely mentioned in connection with court happenings.⁵⁾ The two other terms, *yŏryŏng* and *kyŏnggi*, which scored figures too low to be taken into consideration, have been excluded from the second phase of my research: analysis of the contents of each relevant occurrence.

The purpose of the second phase was to verify the hypothesis of an existence of hierarchical relationships between the various terminologies or, at least, of a difference in terminology corresponding to functional and geographical differentiation.

Figure no. 3 provides a graphic representation of the connections established between function, space (intended as geographical distribution) and the terms indicated in Tab. 1.

Fig. 3 has been developed taking as a starting point the terms contained in Tab. 1: terms like *yŏak*, *kinyŏ*, *kwan'gi* and *ch'anggi* are strictly related to musical activities, and it has been possible to identify also a particular connotation with their spatial distribution. However, in the case of the terms *kisaeng* and *yŏryŏng*, in spite of their undeniable connection with entertainment, it has not been possible to establish a spatial relationship, due to their highly generic connotation. Both terms were used over the entire duration of the Chosŏn dynasty, connected to the broad category of "female entertainers". The former seems to be emphasizing the training aspect, the status of being a student of the female entertainment arts, while the latter means literally "female performer" and could apply to actresses and dancers as well as to singers and instrumentalists. Both terms however, in spite of being generic, have revealed no negative connotations.⁶⁾ Moreover, the generic

⁵⁾ A much better source of information in this regard are the so-called *ŭigwe* (儀軌, Records of Court Ceremonials), which contain specific information on the activities of the female needle-workers.

connotation of the term *kisaeng* might have been the main reason for its widespread use in modern times. Today it is the most frequently used word to indicate the entertaining women category with a rather negative connotation.

6) In its current use, however, the term *kisaeng* contains a negative connotation which was originally not included in the term. In this regard the reader is referred to the quotation from the *Hunmong chahoe* cited in the Introduction, in footnote 10 at p. 5.

Fig. 3. *Ki* types by functional and spatial distribution

FUNCTION	SPACE	<i>KI</i> TYPE
	COURT	<i>YŎAK</i>
		<i>KINYŎ</i>
ENTERTAINMENT	CAPITAL	<i>KYŎNGGI</i>
		GOV'T. OFFICE - <i>KWAN'GI</i>
	PROVINCE	
		MILIT. DISTRICT <i>CH'ANGGI</i>
		<i>YŎGI</i>
	(UNCLEAR) ⁷⁾	<i>KISAENG</i>
		<i>YŎRYŎNG</i>
MEDICAL PRACTICE	ALL AREAS	<i>ŬINYŎ</i>
NEEDLEWORK	COURT	<i>CH'IMSŎNBI</i>

7) Unclear means here "no evident geographical or regional reference".

The other two functions indicated in Fig. 3 are medical practice and needlework. They represent the other two categories related to the "education" of women in female "occupations" in Chosŏn society. Medical practitioners, initially conceived for serving women of the upper class and of the royal family, with their services sometimes extended to the king as well, were, for the most part, probably initially trained only in the capital, and only later were they assigned to provincial government offices. Their spatial distribution, however, did not lead to terminological variations. As explained in a later section dedicated to the medical women (*ũinyŏ*), (see section 4.2.2), the term is the only one used to indicate the category, but within the same category, it is possible to identify three different hierarchical levels: the *naeũi* (king's personal *ũinyŏ*), the *kanbyŏngũi* (nurse *ũinyŏ*) and the *ch'ohagũi* (beginner medical students). At the time of its establishment, in 1406, during the reign of King T'aejong, the term *ũinyŏ* was not connected with an entertainment function. According to evidence provided by the Annals, it started as a category strictly related to the medical profession and it developed into that of "medical *kinyŏ*" only during the reign of Prince Yŏnsan (r. 1494-1506).⁸⁾

As for the term *ch'imsŏnbi* (female needleworker), it has been included in Fig. 3, in spite of its exclusion from this study, for the sole purpose of clarifying its functional relationship with the *kinyŏ* category.

The terminology provides us with an ample variety of concepts used most of the time as synonyms in the secondary literature. If it is

8) See section 4.2.2.1.b below, for a more detailed explanation of the transformation process into "medical *kinyŏ*".

true that, in a broad sense, the different terms refer to the same category of people, i.e., women of lowborn status chosen for their beauty and then educated in the complex arts of entertainment, it is also possible to assume the existence of a strict hierarchy within the system. Such a hypothesis is even more plausible if we consider the fact that the system represented a sub-group within a larger group, Chosŏn dynasty society, based on a strictly pyramidal hierarchical structure. Based on analogies with the structure of Chosŏn society, it is possible to believe that the highly varied terminology contained in the Annals could well be a mirror image of the vertical structure of Chosŏn society, starting with generic terms such as *ch'anggi*, *yŏgi* or *ki(nyŏ)* at the bottom of the pyramid, while terms such as *yŏak* (female court musicians) occupied one of the top positions, if not the most important.

Variations in the terminology, other than indicating an existing hierarchical structure, could also be interpreted on the basis of functional diversification, corresponding to the various tasks assigned to each group, or on the basis of geographical distribution, varying according to the different assignment locations decided for each group of *ki* within the geographical borders of Korea.

The terms for medical women (*ŭinyŏ*) and female court musicians (*yŏak*) are cases of functional diversification, while the terms for (official *ki*) *kwan'gi*, *ki* residing in the capital (*kyŏnggi*), *ki* residing in military garrisons (*yŏnggi*) and *ki* registered in a *pu* district (*pugi*) are examples of lexical variations based on different geographical distribution. The term *kwan'gi* is used in this study, reflecting evidence provided in the source, as referring to "official *ki*" selected in, or assigned to provincial government offices. "Official *ki*" selected in, or assigned to government

offices in the capital area were called *kyŏnggi*. However, the latter appears in the Annals only for a very limited period of time, from the reign of King Chungjong (r.1506-1544) to the reign of King Injo (r.1623-1649). Other cases of "official *ki*" were the cases of *yŏnggi* ("*ki* registered in military garrisons") and of *pugi* ("*ki* registered in *pu* districts"). These two terms are also in use - at least in the relevant source - for limited periods of time. The former appears in the Annals between the reigns of King Injo (r.1623-1649) and King Yŏngjo (r.1724-1776), while the latter appears for a relatively longer period of time: the first time during the reign of King Sŏngjong (r.1469-1494) and the last time in 1784, during the reign of King Chŏngjo (r. 1776-1800).

4.2 Functional differentiation: the *yŏak* and the *ŭinyŏ*

4.2.1 *Yŏak*: the Court entertainers

In contrast to the medical women's system (*ŭinyŏ*), which is an institution typical of the Chosŏn dynasty (see 4.2.2 for the related section), the Yi kings inherited *yŏak* (female court musicians) from the Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392). From a record in the Annals, the first in chronological order regarding *yŏak*, during a gathering of military officers in the presence of King Kongmin of Koryŏ in 1356, "(...) a banquet was offered and *yŏak* were also used."⁹⁾ According to Yi Kyŏng-bok,¹⁰⁾ *yŏak* not only existed during Koryŏ, but were also connected with the *Kyobang*¹¹⁾ and formed by *kinyŏ* of the royal entourage. However, no information is provided as to the origin of female court musicians (*yŏak*) during this period.

With the coming to power of the new dynastic family, this system was inherited from Koryŏ, but soon opinions against its continuation – opinions which continued for almost the entire duration of the dynasty – started to be voiced. The first Memorandum from the Taesahŏn Pak Kyŏng to King T'aejo (r. 1392-1398), founder of the dynasty, also contained a recommendation to prohibit the female court musicians (*yŏak*) from walking in front of the royal carriage during the king's outings.

The opposition to female court musicians (*yŏak*) could be ascribed mainly to two reasons. The first is related to the gender concept¹²⁾ and

9) T'aejo ch'ongsŏ, kwŏn 1; p. 12 b:5-8.

10) Yi Kyŏng-bok (李慶馥) "Koryŏ sidae kinyŏi yuhyŏnggo (高麗時代 妓女의 類型考 A Study of *kinyŏ* types during the Koryŏ period)", in *Han'guk Minsokhak* 18. Seoul: Minsokhakhoe, 1985 pp. 83-97.

11) Refer also to note no. 146 at p. 54 on the different use of the terms *Kyobang/kyobang*.

12) In the first chapter, mention has been made of the gradual exclusion of women from ceremonials and rituals, due to the process of "Confucianization" of Korean society. In the case of women of

the second to the desire to please Ming China, with which the Chosŏn kings established ties based on the principle of "sadae", or "serving the Great". Korea was very eager to satisfy Chinese expectations, especially when Ming envoys came to Hansŏng on an official mission. In China female court musicians (*yŏak*) were not used at official banquets¹³⁾. The first official report of a Ming envoy speaking against the use of *yŏak* was recorded during the visit of two envoys, Jin Wenyuan and Duan Muli, sent by the Ming Emperor Yongle (r.1403-1424) to the newly invested Korean king, T'aejong (r. 1400-1418). After the ceremonies, a banquet was offered and female court musicians (*yŏak*) were called in to perform. But this elicited protests from the Chinese envoys, who requested that the women be sent away immediately. The king replied that the performance was part of the country's traditions, thus convincing the Ming envoys to let the female court musicians (*yŏak*) perform. In conclusion, however, the historians pointed out that "Jin and the others did not enjoy it at all."¹⁴⁾ The experience must have been quite unpleasant, because on the next day the Ming envoys refused to listen to female court musicians (*yŏak*) and listened only to *tangak*.¹⁵⁾

This debacle did not, however, discourage King T'aejong, who continued to employ - and like - female court musicians (*yŏak*) for all his outings and hunting sessions, and "enjoyed listening to *yŏak* very much."¹⁶⁾

The debate about whether or not to keep the *yŏak* system took a

lowborn origin, the opposition to their presence at court was even more staunch.

13) This concept was reiterated several times by officials of the Chosŏn court trying to convince the king to abolish the *yŏak* system.

14) T'aejong 001 01/06/12 (kisa), kwŏn 1, p. 32, b:4-5.

15) For a more detailed explanation on the various types of music existing in Chosŏn dynasty Korea the reader may refer to Chapter three, to the section on music and institutions.

16) T'aejong 027 14/03/28 (sinch'uk), kwŏn 27, p. 18 b:7-8.

serious direction during the reign of King Sejong (1418–1450), one of the most enlightened kings of the Chosŏn dynasty, and during whose reign cultural life registered lively development. The debate was initiated by Kim Chong-sŏ (1390–1453),¹⁷⁾ who, in 1429, intervened in favour of dismantling the the female court musicians' system (*yŏak*) in conjunction with official banquets at Court, as: "How can street performers (*ch'angu*) play music at ceremonial banquets?"¹⁸⁾ Judging from the answer King Sejong reportedly gave, Kim Chong-sŏ probably proposed to substitute *yŏak* with *namak* (lit: male musicians), i.e., children before the age of puberty. King Sejong, however, does not seem to have liked the proposal, because he replied:

The use of female court musicians (*yŏak*) is very ancient. To abolish it all of a sudden and to make *akkong* sing songs will probably cause dissonances in the tonality (*ŭmnyul*). For this reason it cannot be decided to abolish it so quickly.¹⁹⁾

One year later, however, the king was still under pressure from his officials who were pushing for a complete assimilation of Chinese culture:

Yŏak should not be used for ceremonials in honour of [Ming] envoys. If female court musicians (*yŏak*) do not perform, then male musicians (*namak*) must perform, but what happens if the tonality is not right? In order to adopt the music of China, we cannot disregard completely our native music (*hyangak*).²⁰⁾

17) Kim Chong-sŏ 金宗瑞 passed his *munkwa* examination in 1405 and spent several years in the northern Hamgyŏng Province, where he played an important role in adopting a Korean "Nordpolitik" to counteract Jurchen invasions. In 1433 he was able to establish in Hamgyŏng Province the Six garrisons and fix the borders along the banks of the Tumen river. Upon his return to the capital, he was nominated Minister of Punishments and consequently Minister of Rites. He supervised the compilation of the *Sejong sillok* and of the *Koryŏsa chŏryŏ* (高麗史節要 Essentials of Koryŏ History).

18) Sejong 049 12/07/28 (pyŏngin), kwŏn 49, p. 8, b:5–16.

19) *ibid.*, (kwŏn 049, p. 9 a:1–8).

20) Sejong sillok 053 13/08/02 (kabo), kwŏn 53, p. 10 a/b.

At this point, the *yŏak* problem had already developed into a question related to aspects of national culture and it was believed that these aspects of national identity should be retained in order to create a certain amount of independence from the "Great Ming". *Yŏak* were retained on occasions of banquets offered for Chinese envoys. From a report of the *Kwansŭp Togam* dated 1435²¹⁾ we are informed that female court musicians (*yŏak*) had already been abolished in favour of male musicians (*namak*), during banquets offered for neighbouring countries (*in'guk*), but that it was still in use in case the envoys come from China. This was no longer true seven years later, during King Sejong's reign (1442):

In our country, said the king, female court musicians (*yŏak*) have been used from the period of the Three Han until T'aejo and T'aejong of our dynasty. Starting with me, we have begun using male musicians (*namak*)(...).²²⁾

Thus, King Sejong capitulated to his Neo-Confucian advisors, prohibiting *yŏak* performances at all official banquets. If this decision, taken after many years of hesitation, meant the victory of Confucian ideals over the participation of women in official ceremonies and rituals, it did not last long. Only five years later, the Annals referred to a report of the State Council (*Ŭijŏngbu*) to the Ministry of Rites on the performance of female court musicians (*yŏak*) at receptions in honour of foreign envoys, evidence that female entertainment at official banquets had been reintroduced.²³⁾ One of the reasons for its re-establishment

21) Sejong sillok 067 17/03/07 (kimyo), kwŏn 67; p. 22, a:1-3.

22) Sejong 095 24/03/10 (sinmi), kwŏn 95; p. 30, a:2-3.

23) Sejong 115 29/03/18 (kyŏngjin), kwŏn 115; p. 19, a:1-4.

could be ascribed to problems related to the recruitment of young male children for *namak*: their training in singing and dancing took much care and a longer period of time than in the case of female trainees, and the children could be used only until puberty, when their voices would change so that they could no longer sing with 'female-like voices'. New children had to be recruited and trained in singing and dancing, with the result that the burden on the official authorities became much higher than in the case of training and maintaining women. Thus, in the long run, training women in the arts of musical entertainment represented a better training and time investment, and King Sejong's decision to reinstate the female court musicians' system (*yŏak*) was certainly justified. Opposition to the system, however, never ceased. To keep women out of the official ceremonies, several attempts were made to remedy the shortcomings of the male musicians' (*namak*) system. To regulate the lack of singing and dancing children for court banquets, a system of rotational recruitment of children from all provinces was organized: a memorandum to the throne presented by Pak Yŏn²⁴⁾ to King Munjong in 1450 proposed a very logical solution to the recruitment problem, by setting a system of periodical selection from the provinces, organized as follows:

If we can add [to the selection] the children born from unions of residents outside the capital together with *yangin* (commoners), then our choice of children suitable to be used as singing children will become easier. (...) There are 66 districts in Kyŏngsang province, 56 in Chŏlla province and 53 in Ch'ungch'ŏng province, for a total of 175 districts. If we set the rule that from every third village one child must be sent [for

24) Pak Yŏn 朴堧 (1378-1458), musician of the early Chosŏn period. He passed his *munkwa* examination in 1405 and, after serving for a brief period in the *Chiph'yŏnjŏn* (集賢殿 Hall of Worthies), he was placed in charge of music at the Korean court. Himself a talented musician, able to play several string and wind instruments, Pak Yŏn was one of the main figures responsible for major changes in the musical performance programmes at the court. He decided to adopt *aak* instead of *hyangak* for national banquets and gatherings, and he also was one of the main supporters of the reform favouring the employment at court of children's music (*namak*) instead of music performed by *ki* (*yŏak*).

training in the capital], by doing so, we would have 58 children. As for the 41 districts in Kyŏnggi province, the 23 in Hwanghae province and the 23 in Kangwŏn, for a total of 87 districts, we would set the rule of [selecting] one child every five districts, obtaining 17 children. Added to the other 58 children, we would have at our disposal 75 children at each selection session. Applying the 'recruitment on rotation' process to all districts would solve all our problems of 'supply'. Given the need to substitute children every 7-8 years, in the districts based on a once-every-three-times rotation, this would happen every 21-22 years. For the districts based on a once-every-five-times rotation, the selection would happen [in the same district] every 38-39 years. In this way, we would have no problems with the children, and their number would always be assured. (...) I hope your Majesty will allow us to try this out.²⁵⁾

However, the 'recruitment on rotation' proposed by Pak Yŏn was never adopted and, in spite of the strong Neo-Confucian opposition to the use of women entertainers at court, the advantages brought by the female court musicians's (*yŏak*) system proved to be an irresistible rationale for its own survival, so much so that the system remained in use. During the reign of King Sŏngjong (r. 1469-1494), the *namak* system was abolished, and the singing and dancing male children were absorbed into the *akkong* ranks. Moreover, the meaning of female court musicians (*yŏak*) became charged with connotations expressing the peculiarities of Korean culture, which led the Korean court to assume a firmer position regarding the use of female court musicians (*yŏak*) at banquets for Chinese envoys. If, during the reigns of King T'aejong and King Sejong, it was agreed to exclude female court musicians (*yŏak*) from all ceremonials and from the entertainment programme of official receptions due to protests from the Ming envoys, during the reign of King Sŏngjong *yŏak* continued to be excluded from ceremonies - in line with the more general Neo-Confucian tendency to exclude *a priori* women

25) Munjong 004 00/11/22 (imsul), kwŏn 4; p. 55, a:1-12.

from ceremonials and rituals. But female court musicians (*yŏak*) were still chosen as part of the performances' programme for banquets in honour of Chinese envoys. Succumbing to the protests of the Ming envoys against the presence of *yŏak* at court was rare during King Sŏngjong's reign. In the majority of cases, the Korean court succeeded in 'imposing' *yŏak* music during banquets for visiting Ming envoys. In this period Sŏngjong often defined female court musicians (*yŏak*) as "a typical Korean tradition"²⁶⁾ and declared that it was absurd to think that China would consider Chosŏn as a country 'without etiquette' only because it let women perform traditional Korean music during receptions for foreign envoys.²⁷⁾

During the reign of Prince Yŏnsan the musical situation remained basically the same,²⁸⁾ but the number of *kinyŏ* and *yŏak* recruited and employed for banquets at Court grew. Traditional historiography reports that during his reign, Prince Yŏnsan moved the Royal Music Institute – in charge, among others, of *kinyŏ*'s musical education – to the site of a Buddhist temple and even in the National Confucian Academy (*Sŏnggyun'gwan*).

At the time of King Chungjong's reign (r. 1506–1544), Chosŏn Korea tended to return to austerity, under the strict discipline of the moral restoration pushed by the king and his counsellors. Men like Chŏng Kwang-p'il²⁹⁾ and So Se-yang³⁰⁾ requested on several occasions that

26) On the occasion of visits by Ming envoys in the 7th and 8th year of his reign, King Sŏngjong intervened several times in defence of the music played by *yŏak*: Sŏngjong 064 07/02/20 (kabo), kwŏn 64; p. 16, b:7–10 and 075 08/01/13 (imja), kwŏn 75; p. 14, a:4.

27) Sŏngjong 260 22/12/29 (sinmi), kwŏn 260; p. 11, b:2–15.

28) Kwŏn Min-jŏng, "Yŏnsan'gun-ŭi yŏak-e taehan koch'al", in *Han'guk ūmak nonjip*, 1. Kyŏngbuk University: 1990, p. 546–547.

29) Chŏng Kwang-p'il 鄭光弼 (1462–1538) passed his *munkwa* examination in 1492 and held important positions in the Sŏngjong and Chungjong administrations, reaching in 1516 the highest position of Minister of State (*yŏngŭijŏng*).

30) So Se-yang 蘇世讓 (1486–1562), passed his *munkwa* examination in 1509.

female court musicians (*yŏak*) be eliminated from the performance programmes at Court.³¹⁾ However, the king replied that *yŏak* could not be eliminated, it being the only way to offer a banquet in honour of the female members of the royal family, but that it could be abolished in the provinces, where male children's music (*namak*) was to be reintroduced.³²⁾ However, the same experience which had been tried - without success - during King Sejong's reign, turned out to be a failure. Again, barely three years later, a letter from the governor of P'yŏngyang bemoaned the severe scarcity of male children to be recruited and trained³³⁾ and the government, together with the Ministry of Rites, again started discussing the possibility of re-establishing the female court musicians' (*yŏak*) system nationwide. The decision was evidently taken not too long thereafter, because the Annals reports the employment of female court musicians (*yŏak*) two months later,³⁴⁾ and their presence at court is also confirmed by the king himself who ordered that *yŏak* be used for a reception in honour of high-ranking officials from senior rank 2 and above.³⁵⁾

The Japanese invasions of 1592-1598 and the Manchu invasions of 1627 and 1636 caused great disorder all over the country and a dispersion of court musicians, including female court musicians (*yŏak*). The system was again abolished with the coming to power of King Injo (r.1623-1649) and was not again used at court until the reign of King Yŏngjo (r.1724-1776), when *yŏak* were recorded again as being used for 'inside'

31) Chungjong 029 12/08/29 (imsin), kwŏn 29; p. 50 b:14-p. 51 a:11 and kwŏn 29; p. 52, a:11.

32) Chungjong 035 14/02/06 (kyŏngo), kwŏn 35; p. 24, a:4-6 and 035 14/02/08 (imsin), kwŏn 35; p. 24 a:15-p. 25 a:7.

33) Chungjong 040 15/07/26 (imja), kwŏn 40; p. 8, b:10-16.

34) Chungjong 040 15/09/10 (kapja), kwŏn 40; p. 33, b:5-7.

35) Chungjong 041 15/12/14 (musul), kwŏn 41; p. 11, b:1-4.

banquets but not for official 'outside' banquets.³⁶⁾

In conclusion, it can be said that the existence of the *yŏak* selection and education system was more than once jeopardized during the Chosŏn dynasty by the strenuous opposition of Neo-Confucian officials. Despite this, it survived, and I think this was due to several reasons: the first, not in order of importance, might be connected with the economic advantage the 'use' of women had to offer, if compared with the use of *namak* (male children music). The training of male children in the art of musical entertainment turned out to be very counterproductive, compared to the training of women in the same field. Whereas male children could be employed for only a very short period of time, until they reached puberty, women offered the enormous advantage of 'lasting' for a longer period of time, considered not only as 'active duty' time, but also after their retirement, when the so-called *nogi* (old *ki*) came to play a very important role in the education of new *ki* generations. Thus, the investment on the part of the central authorities turned out to be advantageous in the case of women and much less profitable in the case of male children. Second, the necessity of providing musical entertainment to female members of the royal family left no other choice but selecting and educating other women for this purpose.

4.2.2 *Ŭinyŏ*: institution typical of the Chosŏn dynasty

When the Hansŏng Governor and *Chesaengwŏn*³⁷⁾ Supervisor Hŏ To wrote a memorandum to King T'aejong asking him to allow the establishment of a female medical practitioners' system, he was doing it

36) Yŏngjo 064 22/12/16 (chŏngch'uk), kwŏn 64; p. 29, a:10-14.

37) The *Chesaengwŏn* (濟生院), founded in 1406 by King T'aejong, was in charge of procuring medicinal ingredients and of preparing medicines. In 1460, it was absorbed into the *Hyemin'guk* (惠民局 Public Dispensary).

"to save the lives of many women who would otherwise die rather than being visited by male doctors." Hŏ proposed to the king the selection of ten young girls around 10 years of age from the palace offices (*kungsa*). They would be taught the *Maekkyŏng* (Classic of the Circulation) and the art of acupuncture and moxibustion. Doing this, said Hŏ, would certainly bring more fortune to his majesty.³⁸⁾

King T'aejong, moved by the sad destiny of numerous women of the period, agreed to the proposal, defining it the right thing to do. Thus he ordered that the *Chesaengwŏn* be in charge of the training and education of the first officially recognized ten female apprentices in the history of medical discipline in the Chosŏn dynasty. Traditionally, medical practices had been greatly influenced by Chinese experience and teachings, but, since the Koryŏ period, medical science in Korea had been striving for independence and reliance on indigenous medicaments. Works such as the *Hyangyak kugŭppang* (Emergency Remedies of Native Medicine), first published in 1236 as the oldest Korean medical treatise handed down to us, is only one example of such efforts. Seeking a certain independence from Chinese medical tradition originated perhaps also due to the difficulty in obtaining all of the ingredients mentioned by Chinese texts, which created the practical necessity of relying on native botanical resources. The same tradition of seeking to establish an independent medical science based on Korean tradition and experience was continued during the following Chosŏn period. The *Hyangyak chipsŏngpang* (Compilation of Native Korean Prescriptions) is the first systematic and comprehensive work of Korean medical science, compiled between 1431 and 1433 by No Chung-nye³⁹⁾ and Pak Yun-dŏk, two of

38) T'aejong 011 06/03/16 pyŏngo, kwŏn 11, p. 11, a: 6-9 丙午.命濟生院.教童女醫藥.檢校漢城尹知濟生院事許衛上言.竊謂婦人有病.使男醫診治.或?着愧.不肯出示其病.以致死亡.願擇倉庫宮司童女數十人.教以脈經針灸之法.使之救治.則庶益 殿下好生之德矣. 上從之.使濟生院掌其事.

the most authoritative figures at the *Chŏnŭigam* (Palace Medical Office). The *Hyangyak chipsŏngpang*, a major work in 85 volumes, lists around one thousand illnesses and over 10,000 remedies, includes chapters on indigenous medicinal herbs, and comprehensive instructions on the practice of acupuncture and moxibustion. The *Hyangyak chipsŏngpang* represented an enormous achievement and a milestone in the progress of Korean medical science. In recognition of its importance, the text was translated into *han'gul* in 1488, about fifty years after its first appearance. Other major works include titles such as the *Ŭibang yuch'wi* (Classified Collection of Medical Prescriptions), compiled in 1445 and similar in structure to the above-mentioned *Hyangyak chipsŏngpang*, and a much later work, the famous *Tongŭi pogam* (Precious Mirror of Korean Medicine), completed in 1613 by Hŏ Chun, one of the most authoritative figures in the history of Korean medical science and also the personal physician of King Sŏnjo (1567-1608).

Medical personnel were recruited through the miscellaneous examinations system (*chapkwa*), the examination sessions to select technical specialists and experts in foreign languages, astronomy (geomancers and meteorologists included), law and medicine. Compared to the *kwagŏ*, the civil service examination reserved for aspiring high-ranking government officials of *yangban* origin, the *chapkwa* was second in importance. During the Chosŏn dynasty, the *chapkwa* examinations became a tool for members of the *chungin*⁴⁰⁾ class to reach positions in the administration. These examinations offered men of

39) Expert in the medical science, No Chung-nye (盧仲禮) was active during King Sejong's reign (r.1418-1450) and specialized mainly in the treatment of women's illnesses.

40) *Chungin* 中人. The term has also been translated "middle people" (Yi Ki-baek, *A New History of Korea*, Seoul: 1991) and it referred mainly to members of the illegitimate line of descent, men who found themselves excluded from the civil examination system (*kwagŏ*) and devoted themselves to the study of technical specialties such as medicine, astronomy, geomancy and foreign languages. They were called "middle people" because most of them lived in the middle part of Seoul. (Yu H.N. *Han'guksa Taesajŏn*, p. 1351).

illegitimate birth an opportunity to cope with the system's prejudice and discriminatory practices, aimed at keeping them out of the high echelons of official life. For women entering the world of medical discipline, it must not have been easy to make their way up the professional ladder. Medical women (*ũinyõ*) found themselves introduced into a system which advocated a policy of strict segregation of the sexes, with women occupying the lowest position.

4.2.2.1 Recruitment and education of medical women (*ũinyõ*)

Three main periods can be identified for the recruitment and education process of *ũinyõ*: the first phase (see 4.2.2.1.a) covers the period from the official establishment of the system in 1406 until the end of King Sǒngjong's reign. This phase is characterized by efforts to establish and strengthen the system, by providing the human resources and by giving the educational curriculum a definite structure. Section 4.2.2.1.a describes how often matters such as the question of textbooks, the necessity to study the Classics and similar problems were to be raised during discussions at court.

The second phase (see 4.2.2.1.b) starts with the coming to power of Prince Yǒnsan (1494-1506) and represents not only a decline of social recognition of these women, but also a diversification in their duties, which some authors referred to as *ũigihwa*,⁴¹⁾ i.e., transformation into "medical *kinyõ*". The function and duties of medical women were clearly stated as being limited to the medical profession, while in the case of *kinyõ*, their primary function was to entertain guests after an apprenticeship in singing, dancing, playing musical instruments and also

41) Kim Tu-chong, "Künse-chosǒn-ũi ũinyõ-chedo-e kwanhan yǒn'gu 近世朝鮮의 醫女制度에 關한 研究", *Asea yǒsǒng yǒn'gu*, vol. 1, Seoul: 1962, p. 3.

in literary composition. But when, in 1500, the State Council (*Ŭijŏngbu*) said for the first time that medical women (*ũinyŏ*) "have become an extravagance and a waste (*sach'i*)," or when Prince Yŏnsan himself ordered *ũinyŏ*'s participation as performers at banquets, specifying that it would become common practice in the future, we can observe a functional change for female medical practitioners. Moreover, during this period medical women were also invested with a certain authority during the performance of ceremonies connected to the queen, or to important female figures at the Royal Court. The necessity of their presence at the *Ch'injam* (Silkworm Rearing Ceremony)⁴²⁾ presided over by the queen in person, is often recorded in the Annals.⁴³⁾ They are also recorded as reading memorial addresses on the death of a palace woman⁴⁴⁾ or as female escorts for the removal of Queen Yun's tomb from Ansan to the Royal Mausoleum,⁴⁵⁾ or as "messengers of death" with the order to deliver the poison to a woman who had been condemned to death.

With the fall of Yonsan'gun and the rise to power of King Chungjong (1506–1544) the third phase began (see 4.2.2.1.c), a period of moral restoration which included also the medical women category. Restrictions on movement and dressing codes were imposed on them, perhaps to exert a more effective control over their movement⁴⁶⁾ and not

42) The Silkworm Rearing Ceremony, presided over by the Queen in person, was held for the first time in 1476, the sixth year of King Sŏngjong's reign. It was held irregularly between the second and the third month of the lunar calendar, based on the blossoming state of the mulberry-tree. The tradition was started in order to inculcate in the populace the importance of rearing silkworms.

43) Sŏngjong 077 08/02/25 kyehae, kwŏn 77, p. 19; b:8, p. 20; a:3,4, "王妃親蠶時 (.....) 請並以女妓充定不足則以醫女充差權着女妓衣服何如一各位位牌今通禮院繕工監造作用之何如 從之" Kwanghae 150 12/03/12 kyŏngin, kwŏn 150, p. 5; b:2-6, "庚寅(.....)傳曰 親蠶時儀仗差備醫女應入之數多至一百三十名" and Kwanghae 150 12/03/16 kapo, kwŏn 150, p. 6; b:8, 14-15 "傳曰親蠶禮節目甚多着今醫女十分詳細講習儀" .

44) Yŏnsan 059 11/09/15 pyŏngsin, kwŏn 59, p.15; a:15,16, "傳曰今卒宮人祭文以諺文翻譯令醫女讀之".

45) Chungjong 018 08/04/03 sinch'uk, kwŏn 18, p. 15; a:8... (...) 前日陵自安山赴山陵時內人侍衛事臣等啓之而上教曰不須以內人侍衛然臣等更計之此 王妃之喪似可以內人侍衛而亦非如他王后之例不當別出宮人矣使今去醫女四人(開陵時不可使男人以醫女四人往侍故云)侍衛何如從之.

46) Not so far away in their memory was the *ũinyŏ* involvement in 1504 in a plot against Prince Yŏnsan.

only to bring back morality in all state affairs. The king himself intervened against their low preparation level, condemning it and asking for the restoration of their original duties, which, he pointed out, concentrated on the priority “to cure illnesses”. *Ŭinyŏ* work with law enforcement authorities, however, never ceased.

4.2.2.1.a The first phase: education, absolute priority

As already stated above, the first medical women were selected in 1406 during the reign of King T'aejong (1400–1418), third monarch of the new dynasty. They were put under the supervision of the *Chesaengwŏn*,⁴⁷⁾ but the source does not provide further information regarding the education these women were to receive. Twelve years later, in 1418, we read in the Annals that “there are altogether only seven medical women (*ŭinyŏ*).”⁴⁸⁾ Furthermore, according to the *Chesaengwŏn*'s report to the Ministry of Rites, only five of these women reached the maximum preparation level (*chaeye*).

We dispatch them everywhere, continues the report, but they are never enough of them. It is therefore requested that ten daughters of female slaves (*pi*) from each office (*sa* 司) under the age of thirteen be added to the original number. This was agreed to.⁴⁹⁾

The medical women's preparation was set as a priority also by King Sejong himself, who, in 1422, ordered that the Ministry of Rites (*Yejo*) and the Royal Secretariat (*Sŭngjŏngwŏn*) directly check the job done by the *ŭinyŏ* instructors at the *Chesaengwŏn*.⁵⁰⁾

47) For an explanation of this institution, see note no. 235.

48) T'aejong 035 18/06/21 kyŏngja, kwŏn 35; p. 75; b:12,13,14 庚子(.....)加置醫女.禮曹.據濟生院呈上言.醫女共七名.成才者五名.諸分遣每不足焉.乞以各司婢子內年十三歲以下者十名加定何如.從之."

49) *ibid.*

The Annals does not indicate with precision whether the medical women were active also in the provinces. At least, until the first years of reign of King Sejong, there is no mention of provincial government offices or of cases of female medical practitioners active outside the capital. However, this does not allow us to suppose a total absence of medical care personnel in the countryside. Perhaps it would rather be possible to speak of an apparent scarcity of medical women, confirmed, among others, by a set of instructions given by the Ministry of Rites in 1423, the first official reference to the need for female medical services outside the capital area.

Two people to be chosen from among the government slaves of each provincial government office (*kyesugwan*) at *chu*, *pu*, *kun* and *hyŏn* levels in Ch'ungch'ŏng (central-west), Kyŏngsang (South-east) and Cholla (south-west) provinces, between the ages of ten and fifteen years (.....) and be sent to the *Chesaengwŏn*. (.....) They will receive their education together with the medical women (*ŭinyŏ*) and will be sent back after they have mastered the medical arts (*ŭisul*). This was agreed to.⁵¹⁾

A few days later, the Ministry of Rites provided more specific instructions regarding the education these young girls were to receive. Even before they reached the capital,

(....) Those who are selected from the provinces must first study the *Ch'ŏnjamun* [Classic of One Thousand Characters], *Hyokyŏng* [Classic of Filial Piety] and *Chŏngsokp'yŏn* [Compilation of Proper Customs], before they can be sent to the capital to learn medicine and pharmacy (*ŭiyak*).⁵²⁾

50) Sejong 018 04/11/14 chŏngmyo, kwŏn 18, p. 14; b: 9,10, 傳旨.濟生院醫女訓導官勤慢與醫女習業能否.禮曹及承政院常加考察.

51) Sejong 019 05/12/04 sinhae, kwŏn 22, p. 18; a: 10,11,12,13, 辛亥.(...) 禮曹啓.參輦致仕許衛所啓外方醫女.先將忠清慶尙全羅道界首官官婢內.擇年十五歲以下.十歲以上.頻悟童女各二名.依選上女妓例.給奉足送于濟生院.與本院醫女.一處教訓.待其成材還送.從之.

52) Sejong 022 05/12/27 kapsul, kwŏn 22, p. 25; a: 11,12,13, 禮曹啓.濟生院醫女必先讀書識字後習讀醫方.請外方選上醫女.亦今所居各官.先教千字孝經正俗篇等書.粗解文字後.選上."

The young girls selected for instruction in the medical field had to master in relative short periods of time – three years was the usual period granted to them – difficult textbooks in classical Chinese. For the first texts in *ŏnmun* (i.e., written in the vernacular language), they had to wait for the invention of the Korean alphabet, *han'gŭl*, some twenty years later. One of the first medical texts to be translated into the vernacular was *Kugŭp yihabang* (Easy Explained Emergency Remedies).

Contents of the medical women's educational curriculum continued to be the subject of discussion during the reigns of King Sejo (r. 1455–1468) and King Sŏngjong (r. 1469–1494). In two instances, the Annals contains very precise indications regarding the proper education for female medical professionals. The first one is dated 1463 and it prescribed that:

The *Hyemin'guk* supervisor keep a count every month of the medical women (*ũinyŏ*) who passed or did not pass the examinations on the lectures given the previous month. The names of those who passed with the best scores will be written down, reported to the king, and they will receive a salary. Those among the medical women who have not passed for three times in a row will be sent as *tamo*⁵³⁾ to the *Hyemin'guk*. If three *ya k*⁵⁴⁾ are filled, they will be made return to their original duty (*ponim*).⁵⁵⁾

The second instance, dated 1471, reported on a set of dispositions given by the Ministry of Rites, among which there was one concerning

53) The *tamo* 茶母 was one kind of position assigned to government slaves in service at the Public Dispensary. It was to be filled by *ũinyŏ* who had scored poorly in their examinations. After a period of service as *tamo*, however, the *ũinyŏ* were given again the chance to take the same examination. Better results would bring them back to the position of *ũinyŏ* and to the exercise of their profession. (韓祐勛, 李成茂 et. al. 譯註 經國大典, 註釋篇, 韓國精神文化研究院, (Han U-kŭn, Yi Sŏng-mu et al. *Yŏkju Kyŏngguk Taejŏn, Chusŏk-p'yŏn*, Han'guk Chŏngsin Munhwa Yŏnguwŏn), Sŏngnam: 1995, p. 491 note 784).

54) The *yak* (略) corresponded to a middle grade point in the five-point scale grading system applied during government examinations. (Yi Ŭng-baek *Kugŏ taesajŏn*, p. 1365).

55) Sejo sillok, 09/05/22 (kŏngsul), kwŏn 30; p. 28, a:1-9.

female medical practitioners:

The three best qualified medical women at the periodical examination (*kogang*) must be given a prize in money, while those who are not able to pass within three examination terms will be sent to the *Hyeminsǒ* and serve there as *tamo*.⁵⁶⁾

In the same Annals entry, we also find indications regarding the study materials of *ũiwǒn*, the *ũinyǒ* male counterparts, for whom a spring (*ch'undǔng*) and a fall semester (*ch'udǔng*) programme is indicated.

The dispositions regarding the education and advancement of medical women recalled those included in the *Kyǝngguk taejǝn* (The National Code), the main legal code of the Chosǝn dynasty. Its Code on Rites (*Yejǝn*) and Code on Military Affairs (*Pyǝngjǝn*) had already come into enforcement one year before the above-mentioned Annals entry, in 1470. In the section *Changnyǝ* (Incentives) of the Code on Rites, it is stated that:

Medical apprentices (*ũihaksaengdo*) and medical women (*ũinyǝ*) are examined every month by their supervisors (*chejo*). The three medical women with the best results get a prize of a three-month salary, while those with the worst scores, in the case of male medical apprentices, they are assigned to the local offices (*kwansa*) as low-level officials (*sǝri*). In the case of medical women, they are assigned the position of *tamo* in the same *kwansa*. Both groups are given the opportunity to get over their punishment and return to their original occupation (.....).⁵⁷⁾

The Annals provide us with more detailed information regarding the study curriculum and the work organization of these young girls in

56) Sǝngjong 010 02/05/25 chǝngyu, kwǝn 10, p. 21; a: 14,15, “醫女考講.畫多三人給料.三朔內三不通者.惠民署茶母定體.”

57) *Kyǝngguk Taejǝn*, Book on Rites (*Yejǝn*), Section Incentives (*Changnyǝ*): 醫學生徒醫女提調每月考講女醫分數多者三人給料三朔不通多者生徒則定其司書吏醫女則其司茶母以罰之能通然後許還本業 (朝鮮王朝法典叢書, 經國大典, 韓國學文獻研究所編, 亞細亞文化社, 서울: 1983, p. 291).

1478, by reporting on a set of recommendations from the Ministry of Rites (*Yejo*) to King Sǒngjong, indicating that one person from the Office of Royal Decrees (*Yemunghan*) and two chosen from among the most brilliant literati (*munsin*) should be at the same time assigned as teachers for the medical women. The recommendations of the Office of Royal Decrees provided also the titles of the textbooks to be studied and added that:

Three levels of *ũinyǒ* are set: those belonging to the first level, called *naeũi* (king's personal *ũinyǒ*), are paid a salary once a month; those belonging to the second level are represented by the *kanbyǒngũi* (nurse *ũinyǒ*). There are 20 of them and the four who scored the best results during the previous month's examination will be paid a salary. Those belonging to the third level are called *ch'ohagũi* (beginner medical students).

Every month the supervisor (*chejo*) lectures the first decade on *pangsǒ* (books on remedies composition), the second decade on *chinmaek* (pulse examination) and *myǒnggyak* (prescription of remedies), the third decade on *chǒmhyǒl* (localization of vital points). At the end of the year the supervisor examines on *pangsǒ*, *chinmaek*, *myǒnggyak* and *chǒmhyǒl*, calculates the total scores reported by everyone and reports (to the king). Those among the list who have not passed many exams will have their provisioners (*pongjok*)⁵⁸⁾ taken away. The first year one, the second year the other one. The third year they are to be sent back to their original original assignment (*ponyǒk*).

The *ch'ohagũi* are not to be assigned to the nursing practice (*kanbyǒng*, observing the ill), but must limit themselves to studying activities (*hagǒp*).

If, at the age of forty, someone has not passed any exam or has not shown any particular ability, she must be sent back to the original assignment (*ponyǒk*).

Every year a female slave will be selected from each presidium in order to fill the number.⁵⁹⁾

58) Also *ũinyǒ* were organized according to a paired provisioner system (*poin* 保人 at the beginning of the dynasty, *pongjok* 奉足 around the mid-Yi period). The two *pongjok* assigned to each *ũinyǒ* were responsible for the standard corvee labor each adult unit (between 16 and 60 years of age) was required to serve.

59) Sǒngjong 089 09/02/16 kiyu, kwǒn 89, p. 14, a:11,-15, b: 1,-4 醫女分三等. 一曰內醫, 二人, 每朔給料, 二曰看病醫, 二十人, 以前月講, 畫多者四人給料, 三曰初學醫, 一, 提調每月上旬, 講書, 中旬, 診脈, 命藥, 下旬, 點穴, 歲抄醫司提調, 今講方書, 診脈, 命藥, 點穴, 通考一年講畫, 升降其中不通多者, 奪奉足, 初年奪一名, 次年奪二名, 三年還本役, 初學醫, 勿正看病, 俾專學業, 一, 年滿四十不通一方, 無他技者, 還本役, 一, 每年各司婢子一名, 揀擇數, 從之.

King Sŏngjong's government invested particular attention and energy into the fostering of medical science. It is during this period that one of the major texts, the *Hyangyak chipsŏngpang*,⁶⁰⁾ was printed, "in many copies to be widely distributed".⁶¹⁾ Its importance was deemed so high that "the populace must be treated according to the way prescribed in it," and its first version in the vernacular, accessible to a wider portion of the population, was completed ten years later, in 1488.

From a record dated 1478, concerning a report to the king by the Ministry of Rites, we read:

(.....) 1. The *Chŏnŭigam* was responsible for the medicines to be used by the King, the *Hyeminsŏ* had the task to procure the ingredients, while the distribution of medicines to high and low level functionaries (taeso) had been responsibility of the *Chesaengwŏn*. But after the disappearance of the *Chesaengwŏn*, local medicines (*hyangyak*) were not produced and distributed anymore. Nowadays the *Naeŭwŏn* was created and made responsible for the King alone, while the *Chŏnŭigam* has now become responsible for the administration of medicines to be given as gifts, so the entire situation is neglected. It is therefore asked that all responsibilities once belonging to the *Hyeminsŏ* be now transferred to the *Chŏnŭigam*, that the *Hyeminsŏ* be renamed *Chesaengwŏn* and that it become solely responsible for the procurement of native medicines (*hyangyak*).

That the *Hyangyak chipsŏngpang* be printed in many copies and be used for the development of native medicine and that this become an examination subject during the regular examination sessions for the medical personnel (*ŭiwŏn*).

(.....) The *ŭinyŏ* will be assigned to the *Chesaengsŏ*.⁶²⁾

The Ministry of Rites went on to explain how the use of native

60) This text is described at p. 88-89 of the present work.

61) Sŏngjong 098 09/11/25 imo, kwŏn 98; p.18, b: 8,-14, see following note for text.

62) Sŏngjong 098 09/11/25 imo, kwŏn 98, p.18; b: 8,-14, "禮曹啓.(.....)內用藥材則典醫監.典賣藥材則惠民署.大小朝官施與藥材則濟生院.各有所掌.自罷濟生院.鄉藥不與用.近者內醫院.專掌內用諸藥..典醫監.只劑賜給藥.事甚輕歇.請將惠民署所掌諸事.移屬典醫監惠民署.稱爲濟生院.依前例.專主鄉藥施與.一.鄉藥集成方多數印出廣布.使之興用.四孟朔醫員試才時.試此方.(.....)醫女依舊屬濟生署."

medicinal herbs must be fostered and proposed a programme of collection of these medicinal herbs from each province, stressing the necessity to teach people how to handle such herbs, by proposing to teach them how to properly conserve them.

4.2.2.1.b The second phase: Prince Yŏnsan and the “medical *kinyŏ*”

With the coming to power of Prince Yŏnsan (r.1494-1506), the primary social function of the *ŭinyŏ* seemed to assume secondary importance in the glittering society created by the new ruler’s capricious desires and “addiction to a life of luxury and pleasure”.⁶³⁾ In this period the so-called *ŭigihwa* (transformation into medical *kinyŏ*)⁶⁴⁾ process takes place. During this phase, to the original task of curing ill upper-class women, were also added other tasks previously not foreseen. The first real cut with tradition is represented by an intervention of the State Council (*Ŭijŏngbu*) in 1500, when the medical women (*ŭinyŏ*) are defined for the first time as “extravagant and wasteful elements of society (*sach’i*)”.⁶⁵⁾ *Ŭinyŏ*’s participation at banquets is recorded several times during the reign of Prince Yŏnsan, as integral parts of the entertaining entourage, often accompanying the *yŏgi* female entertainers.⁶⁶⁾ In 1504, the king himself ordered on two different occasions that *ŭinyŏ* participate in official ceremonies. The first time in the sixth month, 13th day (*imsin*), letting them just sit on a stone stairway at the Royal Palace:

When organizing a reception (*chinyŏn*) choose carefully 80 *ŭinyŏ*,

63) Lee Ki-baik, *A New History of Korea*, p. 205.

64) Reference to medical *kinyŏ* has been made by Kim Tu-chong (1962), quoted in note no. 239 at p. 90.

65) Yŏnsan 038 06/08/29 sinhae, (kwŏn 38, p. 21; b:1,2) “娼妓醫女無處不到由是醫不?讀書妓不習樂.”

66) Yŏnsan 042 08/01/28 sinch’uk, kwŏn 42, p. 20; a:11, “京中各司公備宴飲或於本司或於京邸醫女女妓.”

teach them proper manners (*yeŭi*) and let the best of them wear clean clothes and sit on the palace stone stairways.⁶⁷⁾

The second time, a few months later, Prince Yŏnsan ordered “the selection of 50 *ŭinyŏ* to participate in banquets held at the Queen’s Palace (*taebijŏn*)”. On this occasion the king specified that “this procedure [selecting *ŭinyŏ* for banquets at the Queen’s Palace] would become common practice in the future.”⁶⁸⁾

Moreover, in a Annals entry of the same year (1504), the king gave further indications regarding the future of the young medical practitioners. He said that “those among the selected *ŭinyŏ* who can write but do not know music, can resign.”⁶⁹⁾ It is clear that at this point, entertaining abilities had become a much more important selection criterion than knowing how to read and write. *Ŭinyŏ*’s daily contact with members of the upper class led to their participation at banquets held in private houses as well. Moreover, having free access to women’s quarters, it did not take too long before they were invested also with the function of “security officers” with the purpose of reporting on the luxury level reached at wedding banquets, as the government policy against all kinds of waste and luxury was particularly strict. According to a report of the Office of the Inspector-General (*Sahŏnbu*):

Families where a wedding ceremony was going to be performed had the obligation to inform the local government office in advance, so that a functionary of that office could attend the ceremony and report on its luxury level. In case an officer was not available, a *ŭinyŏ* was asked to go and report on the matte

67) Yŏnsan 054 10/06/13 *imsin*, kwŏn 54, p. 10; a:1,2, “傳曰進宴時醫女八十人精擇習儀女妓有才者紮衣服坐御前階上.”

68) Yŏnsan 056 10/11/04 *kyŏngin*, kwŏn 56, p. 14; b:11,12, “傳曰大妃殿進宴時擇年少醫女五十人靚粧以供執御自今以爲常.”

69) Yŏnsan 056 10/12/22 *muin*, kwŏn 56, p. 30; a:2,3, “傳曰揀擇醫女雖學字而不學樂 棄之可也.”

r.⁷⁰⁾

Ŭinyŏ were also to be employed as contributors to the maintenance of law and order, by helping capture women fugitives, or generally, any person wanted by the law enforcement authorities and who were hiding in the inner quarters of the house. As dictated by Confucian ideals, access to the inner rooms was severely forbidden to any external person of the male sex. On several occasions, *ŭinyŏ* were asked to help to capture female fugitives.

4.2.2.1.c Post-Prince Yŏnsan: apparent return to tradition

The situation King Chungjong (1506-1544) inherited after Prince Yŏnsan's turbulent time was not easy to control. The memories of two bloody literati purges (the *muo sahwa* of 1498 and the *kapcha sahwa* of 1504) were still alive in the hearts of the survivors, and the new king had chosen a policy of "refrain from arbitrary exercise of royal authority" in "respect of the views of the Confucian literati".⁷¹⁾

A young Neo-Confucian scholar, Cho Kwang-jo,⁷²⁾ supporter of the so-called village code (*hyangyak*),⁷³⁾ received full trust and support from the new monarch and proposed a government based on moderation

70) Yŏnsan 044 08/06/08 (musin), kwŏn 44; p. 15, a:15-b:10.

71) Lee, Ki-baik, *A New History of Korea*, p. 205.

72) Cho Kwang-jo 趙光祖 (1482-1519), Neo-Confucian scholar supporter of a government based on moral principles and of the so-called 'village code' (see following footnote), a system of local government based on principles of mutual help and equal justice. Favoured by King Chungjong, Cho Kwang-jo and his Neo-Confucian supporters reached in a short time very influential positions, attracting the jealousy of the meritorious elite and of those who had helped King Chungjong come to power. Judging their rewards excessive, Cho Kwang-jo had convinced the King to cancel most of their names from the merit roster. Needless to say, they revolted against such a measure, convincing the King that his own life was in danger and that Cho Kwang-jo had to be put to death. Thus the same King Chungjong, who had given full trust to the Neo-Confucian scholar, decreed his death sentence and that of many of his followers, in what was called the *kimyo sahwa* 己卯士禍, the literati purge of 1519. For more information on Cho Kwang-jo and on the literati purges, see Wagner, E.W. *The Literati Purges, Political Conflict in Early Yi Korea*, Cambridge, Mass.: 1974.

73) "a mode of self-government infused with a spirit of of basic justice for all and of mutual assistance in time of need", Lee, K.B. *ibid.*, p. 205.

and moral values. Eventually, Chungjong's policy proved itself not enough to avoid the outbreak of two more purges,⁷⁴⁾ both of them, again, planned against the Neo-Confucian literati, in competition for power with the meritorious elite (*kongsin*).⁷⁵⁾

The coming to power of King Chungjong started a period of restoration of pre-Prince Yönsan values, and the *üinyö* system was put under strict scrutiny. The first calls for a return to the old order were made in 1510, when “restrictions are imposed on the ‘use’ of both *ch’anggi* and *üinyö* at big and small scale banquets,”⁷⁶⁾ or when a different dressing code was requested for *üinyö* participating at banquets. The necessity to control their presence at banquets required a different dressing style, or at least the modification of some elements of their attire, in order to facilitate their identity without too many problems.⁷⁷⁾ Of course, given the particular date – the year *kimyo* was the year of the third purge which, among others, cost the life of Cho Kwang-jo – I believe such dispositions were given in order to control their movements not so much for moral reasons, but security reasons. The involvement of *üinyö* in a plot against Prince Yönsan in 1504⁷⁸⁾ was still recent memory and this restrictive measure was probably aimed at preventing similar events. Thanks to their constant presence at court and to their contacts with powerful political figures, *üinyö* could easily serve in a

74) One in 1519, known as *kimyo sahwa* 己卯士禍 and the second one in 1545, known as the *ülsa sahwa* 乙巳士禍, soon after the death of both King Chungjong and his eldest son, King Injong.

75) *Kongsin* 功臣 or merit subjects. Were so called for the first time, the *yangban* literati who had helped General Yi Sönggye found the new state, but the term was used also, more generally, for literati who stood by each new king during his quest for power. They were particularly well rewarded for their services and a special list, the Merit Subject roster, was created to protect their privileges. In spite of the numerous challenges represented by all factions excluded from power, the meritorious elite continued, almost undisturbed, to hold political control over a great part of the Chosön dynasty.

76) Chungjong 010 05/02/01 *chönghae*, kwön 42, p. 43; a:8... “傳曰今後小大人員宴會招致醫女及娼妓者痛禁令憲府磨鍊節目以啓憲府請以制書有違論斷醫女娼妓并重論 上曰可。”

77) Chungjong 026 11/11/02 (*kimyo*), kwön 26; p.55 b:13-16.

78) Yönsan 054 10/07/19 (*chöngmi*), kwön 54; p.30 a/b and 10/07/20 (*musin*), kwön 54; p. 31, a/b.

communication network in case of a plot against the central authorities. Moreover, their comparatively easy access to medicinal ingredients meant also easy access to poison, whose terrible efficacy in eliminating political adversaries was demonstrated more than once.

Be it for political interests, or because the medical preparation of the *ũinyǒ* had worsened, the King himself intervened once in favour of a restoration of *ũinyǒ*'s original duties, i.e., “to cure illnesses”, by saying:

(.....) Furthermore, when I think about the fact that now the homes of noble families are searched with the help of *ũinyǒ*, (I cannot help but thinking that) originally the reason for their establishment was to cure illnesses. Now, letting them follow police chiefs (.....) is not their duty. Let the Three Councillors of the State Council (*Samgong*)⁷⁹⁾ discuss this.⁸⁰⁾

Three days later, the Three Ministers answered the king's request by saying:

When the homes of noble families were being searched, the women would flee. (...) Now, if the medical women's participation is judged inconvenient, how about going back to the old habit? The King replied: Ask the Ministry of Punishments.⁸¹⁾

The follow-up was not recorded by the Annals, but there were no more occurrences during King Chungjong's reign in which it was reported that medical women's help was needed in the capture of female fugitives. We know, however, that *ũinyǒ* never stopped to cooperate with the law and order reinforcement sector, because around the end of King

79) The *yǒngũijǒng* 領議政, *chwaũijǒng* 左議政 and *uũijǒng* 右議政, the three Prime Ministers in the State Council (*Uijǒngbu* 議政府). The State Council was the highest deliberative organ in Chosŏn dynasty Korea. The three Ministers discussed important state matters and, upon approval from the king, they transmitted orders to the Six Ministries (*Yukcho* 六曹).

80) Chungjong 056 21/02/15 mujin, kwŏn 056, p.50; a:8,9,10, “傳旨士族家時令醫女看審事更思之說立醫女爲救病也今者從捕益將而探士族之家非設立本意也新立之事不可不議爲也其招政府郎官收議于三公。”

81) Chungjong 056 21/02/18 sinmi, kwŏn 56, p. 50; b:6,7, “三公議啓曰士族家時婦女移避例也今令醫女并爲探未便請依前例爲之何如傳曰言于刑曹。”

Chungjong's reign they were still employed to inspect the luxury of weddings.⁸²⁾ Years later, during the reign of Prince Kwanghae (1608–1623) *ũinyǒ*'s help in capturing fugitives in women's quarters was requested again by the Chief State Counsellor (*yǒngũijǒng*)⁸³⁾ Yi Tǒk-hyǒng:

As in the past medical women (*ũinyǒ*) were employed to capture fugitives in *sadaebu*'s households⁸⁴⁾, why don't we use them again to capture a (fugitive) palace woman in the Queen's palace? It was allowed.⁸⁵⁾

4.2.2.2 *Ūinyǒ*: not only an anonymous category

At the end of the present work a name list of the medical women (*ũinyǒ*) mentioned in the Annals has been provided.⁸⁶⁾ Giving these women a face is not possible, unless we look at some rare appearances in paintings of the late Chosŏn dynasty from artists like Kim Hong-do (1745–?)⁸⁷⁾ or Sin Yun-bok (1758–?),⁸⁸⁾ or in the complicated court ceremonials complete with illustrations such as the *Karye togam ūigwe*,

82) Chungjong 097 36/12/29 kyǒngjin, kwǒn 97, p.17; b:11,.... “一.婚姻之家每爲某月某日某家納采某月某日成婚事告于所居部部前期牒憲府則書吏送搞奸如書吏不得搞奸則醫女送搞奸.”

83) The Chief State Counsellor (*yǒngũijǒng*) was the highest position (senior first rank) in the State Council (*Ūjǒngbu*).

84) For an explanation of the *sadaebu* concept, please refer to note no. 73.

85) Kwanghae 067 05/06/13 (kyǒngja), kwǒn 67; p. 19 b:11–15.

86) The list includes only names appeared in concomitance with the term *ũinyǒ*.

87) Court painter during the reign of King Chǒngjo (1776–1800). Famous for his genre paintings depicting life-scenes of common people. Being a professional painter, he had to paint everything that was ordered by the King, but his favourite subjects were common people. His *Pungsok hwach'ŏp*, where he depicts workers in all kinds of activities, is probably one of the most famous among his works and, according to many art connoisseurs, his masterpiece.

88) Contemporary of Kim Hong-do, Sin Yun-bok was also court painter under the reign of King Chǒngjo. Himself a member of the new school of genre painting embraced by Kim Hong-do and Kim Tuk-sin, he is famous for his portraits of women involved in all kinds of activities. Among his subjects we can find *kisaeng* playing musical instruments in the company of young literati, women bathing or washing clothes in streams, girls playing on swings or women selling wine. Painting subjects of non-noble origin was a kind of artistic protest against the rigidity and classism of the yangban society. It aimed at celebrating the worth of all humankind.

89) which indicate the *ũinyõ*'s position in royal processions and provides us with an approximate idea about what their dress looked like, which position they occupied in the procession, whether or not they were riding horses or whether they were carrying banners.

The tradition of keeping family genealogies was, at least at the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty, considered an exclusive privilege of the *yangban* class. People born as commoners or slaves had no right whatsoever to keep a family genealogy, even though commoners had surnames, while slaves did not start to have surnames until around the 18th century, and even then most still lacked one. With this in mind, one would expect to encounter enormous difficulties in tracing women of lowborn status. But, since slave labour represented one of the main pillars of economic support for the ruling class, the government had strong interest in keeping as precise records of its slave labour force. All public slaves, male and female, were registered in special rosters kept at each local office. Such documents represent an enormous source of information, which not only facilitates the reconstruction of slave families in a certain area of the country, but provides us with precious information on local history as well. Another important source of information for research in slave genealogies can be found in documents such as slave transactions or inheritance documents, just to mention a few. In these documents, each slave, male or female, was identified as the son or daughter (in order of birth) of some other slave, whose name was also given⁹⁰). By searching and cross-checking slave documents of

89) An annotated and commented version of the *Karye togam ũigwe* 嘉禮都監儀軌 has appeared in 1994 co-authored by Yi Sŏng-mi, Kang Sin-hang and Yu Song-ok: 李成美, 姜信沆, 劉頌玉 藏書閣所藏 嘉禮都監儀軌, 韓國精神文化研究院, Sŏngnam: 1994.

90) In a document on a slave transaction dated year Imjin, third month, 13th day, included in Hong Ki-mun, *Ridu Yŏn'gu*, P'yŏngyang 1957, p. 403 the following example is recorded: “婢梅介四所生婢士禮己巳生, the female slave Sarye, fourth born of the female slave Maegae.” In the same document, Sarye's child is also recorded. Slave descendants were always recorded indicating the order of birth, thus making a family reconstruction easier.

the same area in different periods of time it could, in theory, be possible to reconstruct the slave family origins.

Unfortunately, such reconstruction becomes almost an impossible undertaking when we come to consider the women subjects of our research.

In the case of *kinyŏ*, they are separated from their families at a very young age and their names might have been changed more than once during their lifetimes. Under these circumstances, it is not an exaggeration to affirm that to attempt a reconstruction of their family origins is rarely possible. The names of these women were recorded in special rosters, generally called *kian*,⁹¹⁾ or *kijŏk*,⁹²⁾ or *naeũinyŏjŏk* in the case of medical women assigned to the Royal Palace. But all the name lists do not provide us with more than their artistic names, followed (not necessarily) by the place of origin and by their qualifications. Sometimes, their age was also added.

The records contained in the Annals provide us with fragmentary information about the life of these women. In addition, the scarce information is filtered through the lenses of “history-writing for governmental purposes.”⁹³⁾ However, even though for a short time-span, by mentioning their names, the compilers of the Annals have put these women in the spot-light and brought them to the surface of historical evidence. The few stories introduced here are an attempt at presenting some of these bright moments, flashbacks in what might have been part of these women’s daily lives, a brief glimpse in what might have been

91) Abbreviated form of *kisaeng kwanan* 妓生官案. A translation of one such a document is provided in the section 4.2 of the present work.

92) Mentioned by Prof. Kim Tong-uk in his article "Yijo kinyŏsa sŏsŏl", *Asea yŏsŏng yŏn'gu* vol. 5, Seoul: 1966, but unfortunately not identified during the course of my documentary research.

93) This is one of the limits posed by the historical source chosen for this study. I have written more extensively on it in the Introduction.

their joys and sorrows, their abilities, victories and failures.

4.2.2.2.a Changdök, the gifted “dentist” from Cheju Island

In the year 1488, an official communication was sent to Hǒ Hǔi, *moksa*⁹⁴⁾ of Cheju Island:

The medical woman (*ũinyǒ*) Changdök,⁹⁵⁾ who was able to cure dental problems, has died and we have nobody who can take her place. If there is anybody who can find the parasites in teeth, eyes and ears, man or woman, choose her/him and send her/him to us.⁹⁶⁾

Four years later, in 1492, Changdök’s name was still fresh in the memory of court chroniclers, for we read the following:

The Cheju medical woman (*ũinyǒ*) Changdök was good at curing toothaches and all problems concerning nose and eyes, and around the time of her death she passed her knowledge to the private female slave Kwigŭm. The state redeemed [purchased] her [from her owner] and made her a medical woman (*yǒŭi*).⁹⁷⁾ In order to spread her knowledge, two other medical women had to be always with her, but Kwigŭm hid herself and did not teach them anything.....) It is therefore asked that Kwigŭm be summoned and questioned”. (The Cheju authorities) called Kwigŭm (and said):

“We have put two medical women (*yǒŭi*) by your side so that they can learn your medical arts, but you hide and refuse to teach them. Do you want to keep all your knowledge to yourself? If you continue like that, we will put you on trial for a felony. So, what do you have to say?”

Kwigŭm answered: “I started learning what I know when I was seven and I completed my study at the age of sixteen. It is not me who does not want to teach, but rather they, who do not

94) Provincial administrative position subordinate to the Governor (*kwanch'alsa*), of senior (*chǒng*) rank 3 (*p'um*).

95) The CWS reports the name once as 長德 -Sǒngjong 220 19/09/28 (muja) and once as 張德 - Sǒngjong 266 23/06/14, but I believe they refer to the same person.

96) Sǒngjong 220 19/09/28 muja, kwǒn 220, p. 13; b:3,4, “馳書濟州牧使許熙曰治齒醫女長德已死無傳業者齒曰鼻痛能令人勿論男女抄送.”

97) The term *yǒŭi* (female medical practitioner) is the same as *ũinyǒ*.

learn properly.⁹⁸⁾

Changdök's name is mentioned twice in the Annals, but we find her story, with more or less particulars, also in two non-official documents of the period, two collections of anecdotes and curious facts seen and heard by the authors themselves. That the story of a low-born woman like Changdök impressed popular fantasy so deeply as to become a subject mentioned in personal accounts of literati becomes clear when we read the following passages, authored by two of the most authoritative literati figures during King Söngjong's reign.

The first author is Yi Yuk (1438-1498)⁹⁹⁾ who referred to Changdök's story in his *Ch'öngp'a küktam* (Pleasant Chats of Ch'öngp'a).¹⁰⁰⁾ The second is Söng Hyön (1439-1504),¹⁰¹⁾ a contemporary of Yi Yuk and a famous 'man of letters', who reported Changdök's story in his *Yongjae ch'onghwa* (Assorted Writings of Yongjae).¹⁰²⁾

Yi Yuk wrote in his *Ch'öngp'a küktam*:

When I was young, I remember seeing in Cheju Island a woman called Ka. She went in and out of noble families' homes and was very good in eliminating the parasite of teeth. After her, a woman from the same island, the slave Changdök learned her

98) Söngjong 266 23/06/14 kyeche'uk, kwön 266, p. 9; b:8,..... “癸丑右承旨權景禧啓曰濟州醫女張德能法齒虫如鼻眼凡病瘡處皆去之將死傳其術於私婢貴今國家贖爲女醫欲廣傳其術使二女醫從行貴今秘不傳 (.....) 請拷貴今問之 命貴今問曰使女醫二人從行汝秘不傳必欲獨其利也汝固諱當拷問其悉言之貴今日我自七歲始學此街至十六歲乃成今我非不盡心教彼不能習耳。”

99) His pseudonym was Ch'öngp'a, A literati (*munsin* 文臣) of King Söngjong's period, Yi Yuk held, among others, the position of Governor (*kwanch'alsa* 觀察使) in the provinces of Ch'ungch'öng and Kangwön. He travelled also to Ming China, as official envoy of the Chosön dynasty, in 1490 and 1494. He authored *Ch'öngp'a küktam* (靑坡劇談 Pleasant Chats of Ch'öngp'a), and *Ch'öngp'a'jip* (靑坡集 Collected Works of Ch'öngp'a).

100) A collection of reminiscences and stories compiled and published by his son after Yi Yuk's death.

101) His pseudonym was Yongjae. Better known as the author of the *Akhak kweböm* (樂學軌範 Canon of Music), compiled in 1439, he passed the *munkwa* 文科 (Erudite Examination) under King Sejo, in 1462. He covered, among others, top positions in the *Yemun'gwan* 藝文館 (Office of Royal Decrees) and in the *Sönggyun'gwan* 成均館 (National Confucian Academy), followed by the title of *kamsa* 監司 (Governor) in the P'yöngan Province and of *p'ansö* 判書 (Minister) at the Ministry of Rites. After the death of King Söngjong he was chosen to be one of the compilers of the *Söngjong Sillok*.

102) The oldest copy available corresponding to the version presented in the *Taedong Yasüng*, seems to have been printed in 1525 in Kyöngju - (Yongjae ch'onghwa haeje, *Taedong yasüng* vol. 1., p. 8).

skills from Madame Ka. One cannot count how many times she eliminated parasites which caused toothache, (cured) sick noses and ears, and the ill got few and better. In full daylight with a needle she would receive/make (the blood) come out, with a needle she would hook and catch the worm. The parasite would suddenly move and would not die even for several days. People stood around her watching, but no one could figure out how she did it. Soon she entered the Royal Palace (went to work at the Royal Palace) for her being very good at curing toothaches. It was ordered that she be assigned to the *Hyeminsŏ* and become a female medical practitioner (*yŏŭi*). Several young medical women (*ŭinyŏ*) were ordered to learn her abilities, but in the end there was nobody to whom she could transfer her knowledge. There was only a private slave, Ongmae, who had been engaged for her home. After Changdŏk's death, Ongmae had completely learned her (Changdŏk's) abilities, so she was assigned to the *Hyeminsŏ*. Our home and hers were neighbours, so by seeing how she worked (I can say) it was a real supernatural ability. Once I was sent as envoy to China, (I saw) someone who would swallow a needle and let it come out from the nostrils, someone who would make big and small children jump at his command, someone (else) who would breed pigeons, set a fire and make them fly out of a burning circle, all things which would astonish and startle the eyes and ears (of people). Maybe she is simply one of that kind !” 103)

In comparison with the *Yongjae ch'onghwa*, the *Ch'ŏngp'a kūktam* seems to be more detailed. Yi Yuk provides us in Pleasant Chats of Ch'ŏngp'a, with particulars not mentioned in other sources, such as the name of Madam Ka, who supposedly taught Changdŏk her medical abilities, the way Changdŏk treated her patients, and the name of Changdŏk's successor (Ongmae). On the contrary, the *Yongjae ch'onghwa* is less rich in particulars and it gives no names. The only reference which hints at the possibility that the medical woman in question might be Changdŏk is the mention of Cheju province, as we read in the

103) Ch'ŏngp'a kūktam, in *Taedong yasŭng* vol. II, p. 133 - orig. text p. 550-551. 予少時，見有濟州加氏者，出入士族第，出齒虫有效，其後同州婢張德，學術於加氏，凡齒痛及眼鼻有患，出虫無數，病亦少愈，白日以針接以筋鉤取虫，虫輒搖，數日不死，人環立而視之，皆莫知其所以，嘗立大內，治齒有驗，命屬於惠民署爲女醫，使年少女醫數人學其術，竟無傳者，獨有私婢玉梅者，嘗雇於其家，張德死而玉梅盡得其術，亦屬惠民署，家與予比隣，觀其所爲，眞幻術也。予嘗奉使上國，有吞針而出於鼻孔，有木大小童應叱而自躍者，其他養鳩燃火飛出孔等事，皆驚駭耳目，蓋其流耳。

following passage written by Sŏng Hyŏn in his *Assorted Writings of Yongjae*:

During the (Chosŏn) dynasty young female slaves were selected in each government office, assigned to the *Hyeminsŏ* and taught medical books. These women were called *yŏŭi* (medical women) and they cured women's diseases. One of them was from Cheju, she had no knowledge of medical arts (*ŭisul*), but she could extirpate the parasite of teeth and the *sadaebu* fought with each other for her to be sent (to them). That woman died, but there was another woman who received her knowledge. I also called upon her to come and cure my teeth. She made me open my mouth, with a silver spoon she took out a very small white parasite. The spoon did not enter my tooth, nor did my tooth bleed. That really seemed an easy task. But she too did not pass her ability to anybody else. In spite of the government's threat of punishment, she did not reveal anything. This was certainly a magic trick, not proper professional practice.¹⁰⁴⁾

By comparing the texts, we can observe some discrepancies, such as the different names given for Changdŏk's successor, Kwigŭm for the Annals and Ongmae for the CK, but this might also be due to the fact that Changdŏk, in the end, did succeed in having more than one successor to learn her medical abilities. Or we also have some new pieces of information, like the origin of Changdŏk's art – the Madam Ka from Cheju mentioned only in the CK – or the very good and realistic description of how these women operated. However, if the texts present certain differences in terms of quantitative information, they do seem to hint at a common element: the education received by these women (Madam Ka, Changdŏk, Ongmae and so on), was not acquired as a result of their apprenticeship in the *Hyeminsŏ*, but was rather the *conditio sine qua non*, suggesting that they had obtained their high level of knowledge

104) Yongjae ch'onghwa kwŏn 10, in *Taedong yasŭng* vol. I, p. 247 – orig. vers. p. 659: "朝廷揀各司各官年小婢子，屬惠民署，教醫書，名曰女醫，以治婦人之疾，有一女，來自濟州，不知醫術，惟去齒虫，士大夫爭相邀致，其女死，又有一女，傳其業，余亦招來治齒，令人仰面開口，以銀匕物出小白虫，匕不入齒，齒不出血，其容易如此，又不傳其術於他人，雖朝廷治罪，而猶不告，此必幻術，而非正業也。"

through non-official channels. Moreover, the women themselves seemed to be quite reluctant to transfer their knowledge to colleagues (the Annals in both records refers to the lack of successors and the second time the *yŏŭi* Kwigŭm affirms that she had to be an apprentice for almost ten years before being able to reach the level she had reached). If an official medical woman was asked to study at least one year before being assigned to the *Hyeminsŏ*, this period of time might seem quite short and almost an offence for women like Changdŏk, who had made their way up through a long apprenticeship. Most probably, Changdŏk was a private slave who, by having access to the house of Madam Ka, could learn daily from her, as happened in Okmae's case as reported by Yi Yuk. To women like Kwigŭm, it must have been clear that the results of long and patient attendance could never have been obtained in such short periods of time, as required by the authorities. No matter how many medical women were assigned to Kwigŭm to follow her in her daily duties, the result would always be, as Kwigŭm put it, that "they would not learn well".¹⁰⁵⁾

4.2.2.2.b Aejong, a good *ŭinyŏ* of "wrong" origins

Aejong's story begins in 1600, with an intervention of the Royal Dispensary supervisor on the choice of the *ŭinyŏ* responsible for the Queen's health. The Queen was very ill and died two days after his intervention.

For the Queen (naejŏn)¹⁰⁶⁾'s medical care the *ŭinyŏ* Suryŏn has been chosen. But the *ŭinyŏ* Aejong not only knows how to read and write well. Her medical abilities are much better than those of her colleagues. If we let her work together (with Suryŏn)

105) Sŏngjong 266 23/06/14 (kyech'uk), kwŏn 266; p. 9 b:8-15.

106) Honorific term used to indicate the queen.

during the visits, it will be a good thing. The King answered: "I have heard elsewhere that Aejong seems to be a *ch'anggi*.¹⁰⁷⁾ She could master the medical arts like Xuan and Qi,¹⁰⁸⁾ but (being a *ch'anggi*) she is not allowed to enter the Palace.¹⁰⁹⁾

In evident disobedience to the King's orders, and maybe as a last resort for trying to save the Queen's life, Aejong is nevertheless sent to visit her, as we read few days later:

I have heard elsewhere that the *ũinyŏ* Aejong is indeed an extreme case of a song girl (*ch'angnyŏ*) and was absolutely forbidden to come close to the Queen, but several times she has been sent by the Yakpang to visit her. (.....) If we let her [Aejong] enter the Palace as a *ũinyŏ*, there is no guarantee that our successors will not consider it a mistake. (...) Let's cancel Aejong's name from the roster of the *Naeũinyŏ*.¹¹⁰⁾

On the same subject again a few days later:

"(.....) The *ũinyŏ* of the *Siyakch'ŏng*¹¹¹⁾ allowed do enter the Queen's quarters and visit her must necessarily be prepared according to the tradition. They must be deliberate and very cautious, in order to receive such permission [to be admitted to the queen's presence]. The *Siyakch'ŏng* had already been informed of Aejong's case but nevertheless the supervisor has persisted in requesting that she be admitted to the Palace, and in the end she could not even be of help [to the queen]. That a song girl (*ch'anggi*) with no understanding of her own profession has been allowed to enter the Palace is really shocking. I humbly request that the Supervisor of the Royal Dispensary be interrogated, the Medical Vice-Supervisor be

107) See the Introduction for an explanation of the terminology.

108) Two ancient legendary Chinese figures, thought of having invented medical arts.

109) Sŏnjo 126 33/06/25 pyŏngsin, kwŏn 126, p.192; b:13-16 "診候醫女秀蓮妃爲之.而醫女愛種稍解文字.其術業似優於同類.自今同參入診.宜當.敢啓.答曰.側問愛種.似是倡女.雖有軒岐之術.不可出入於闕庭."

110) Sŏnjo 126 33/06/30 sinch'uk, kwŏn 126, p.206; b:5..... "曰.側問內醫女愛種.乃 () 娼之甚者.本不可近於內殿之側.藥房累度啓請入診.予明知其不可.而若強爲不聽.恐或藥房.反爲致疑.遂許其請.及其診候.(.....) 此人若爲內醫女.出入闕中.則他日未必不誤人矣.(.....) 愛種削去內醫女之籍."

111) The *Siyakch'ŏng* (侍藥廳) was a temporary institution established when the king's health was in critical conditions. It was composed of the best specialists and acted under the direct supervision of the *Naeũiwŏn* (內醫院, Royal Medical Office).

suspended and that Aejong be arrested and questioned.“ The King replied: ”I agree. I do not like Aejong as a person. I only ordered that she be cancelled from the register of medical women. It is going too far to indict her for a crime.(....) Let a past thing belong to the past.“¹¹²⁾

As is clear from the quoted passage, the main reason for prohibiting Aejong from entering the palace was that she was a *ch'anggi*, i.e., the lowest category in the *ki* hierarchical structure. *Ch'anggi* were deployed mostly in provincial and military areas and their status was considered too low in order to allow them to the presence of royal family members. As the king's advisors pointed out, Aejong, who had "no understanding of her own profession," should have not been admitted to the queen's presence.

However, the Annals passage is important also because it demonstrates that during King Sŏnjo's reign, recruitment of new female medical practitioners (*ŭinyŏ*) was made not only among public female slaves, as the National Code (*Kyŏngguk taejon*) prescribed,¹¹³⁾ but also among *ch'anggi*. This element might indicate that the borderline between the 'careers' of female entertainer and female medical practitioners was not as sharp as originally intended. This was probably a consequence of the "contamination" of the *kinyŏ* profession during Prince Yŏnsan's reign.

112) Sŏnjo 126 33/06/30 *sinch'uk*, kwŏn 126, p.207; a:10-15 "侍藥廳醫女等入診者,必以本業精通,用心謹慎之人,方許入侍.醫女愛種,自上已知其爲不可,而爲藥房之任者,強請入診.(...)終不能有補於玉體,其使 () 娼不曉本業者,至近內庭之失,極爲駭愕,請藥房提調推考,次知醫官罷.醫女愛種拿鞠,答曰(),愛種事,予()其爲人,命去女醫之籍(而)已.若至於治罪,則過矣."

113) See section on: *Ki* and their private life, at p. 63.

4.3 Geographical distribution: the *kwan'gi* case

4.3.1 The *kwan'gi* distribution according to the Annals

After an analysis of the 140 occurrences recorded in the Annals related to the term *kwan'gi*, it has become possible to draw the following conclusions:

- a) a majority of records refers to a province or town,
- b) the northern provinces registered the highest occurrence ratio of the term *kwan'gi*,
- c) only 31 occurrences do not contain geographical information,

woebang	Yanggye	P'yŏngan	Hamkyŏng/ Hamkil	Chŏlla	Kyŏngsang	Kyŏnggi	Ch'ungch'ŏng	Kangwŏn	Hwanghae	Cheju	TOTAL
25	8	23	7	15	12	3	8	3	3	3	110
22.73	7.27	20.91	6.36	13.64	10.91	2.73	7.27	2.73	2.73	2.73	%

Tab. 2 - Geographical distribution of *kwan'gi* (官妓) occurrences in the Annals (excluding the capital area)

Total percentage recorded in the northern provinces¹¹⁴⁾ : 34.54%

Total percentage recorded in the southern provinces¹¹⁵⁾ : 24.55%

Total percentage recorded in the central provinces¹¹⁶⁾ : 15.46%

114) The northern provinces in the figure include all entries recorded as the Yanggye region, P'yŏngan or Hamgil (Hamgyŏng) regions.

115) The southern provinces include the Kyŏngsang (southeast) and Chŏlla (southwest) regions.

The figures in Tab. 2 do not indicate the actual *ki* presence in the region, but rather the number of times that the province's name came up during discussions at Court. The results are only an indication regarding the actual official *ki* presence in the area, based on the assumption that the higher the number of *ki* in a region, the more often that province's name was mentioned in the Annals. A certain number of occurrences (22.73 percent) do not indicate any particular province or town, but rather an unspecified countryside (*chibang* or *woebang*). This information has nevertheless been included in Tab. 2, since it does provide important data concerning the "provincial" characteristic of the term. As a matter of fact, the purpose of the table is not only to provide figures regarding the possible regional distribution of the term *kwan'gi*, but also to demonstrate its regional character. As for what concerns the cases which do not indicate any regional provenience, or when the term is mentioned in connection with the capital, the text contains almost always a short reference to the past of that *kwan'gi* in a certain region or town where she was on active duty. Another characteristic of Tab. 2 is that, in addition to the traditional eight provinces (*p'alto*) in which Korea had been administratively divided during the Chosŏn dynasty, two more entrances have been added: the *Yanggye*¹¹⁷⁾ and *Cheju* regions, because they so appear in the text. The *Yanggye* region indicates both P'yŏngan and Hamgyŏng (Hamgil) provinces. The percentages have then been calculated based on the total number of regional occurrences, not on the

116) The central provinces include the Kyŏnggi, Ch'ungch'ŏng, Kangwŏn and Hwanghae regions.

117) The *Yanggye* (兩界 Two Regions) area (corresponding to the present-day Northern P'yŏngan and North Hamgyŏng provinces, in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea), was a region with special administrative status during the Koryŏ (918-1392) and the Chosŏn (1392-1910) periods. Since the beginning of the Koryŏ period the P'yŏngan region was called *Pukkye* (北界 Northern Region) or *Sŏgye* (西界 Western Region), while the Hamgyŏng province was called *Tonggye* (東界 Eastern Region). (Yu Hong-nyŏl, *Han'guksa taesajŏn* 柳洪烈, 韓國史大事典 *The Encyclopedia of Korean History*, Seoul: 1992, p. 830).

absolute total figure provided by the Annals on the complete *kwan'gi* entries. Moreover, in those cases where in the same entry more than one town is mentioned, all have been included in the calculation, resulting in a slight discrepancy in the total figures. As previously stated, the frequency reported in the Annals does not refer to the actual *ki* presence in the region, but represents only the number of times the subject has been brought up during discussions at Court.

4.3.2 The *kwan'gi* distribution according to local histories (*ŭpji*)

In order to verify the plausibility of the above-mentioned relationship between Annals records and the actual *kwan'gi* presence in each region, parallel textual evidence has been examined in local history compilations (*ŭpji*).¹¹⁸⁾ With regard to the P'yŏngan region, the Asea Munhwasa compilation contains two local history versions, the first compiled in 1590 and the second in 1730.¹¹⁹⁾ In both compilations, the most striking observation is the high presence of *ki* reported in the region, even though, as it will be explained later, the figures recorded in the 1730 local history have appreciably decreased, in comparison with records made 140 years earlier.¹²⁰⁾ In both local history compilations, the number of *ki* is reported in the Entertainment Bureau section (*kyobang*),¹²¹⁾ and are found only in the local history of the P'yŏngyang area, probably a remnant of the rich Court Entertainment Bureau (*Kyobang*) tradition of the Koryŏ period.¹²²⁾

118) As reference, I have consulted the collection of local histories published in 1986 in Seoul by Asea Munhwasa, under the title 韓國地理志叢書, 邑誌 *Han'guk-chiriji-ch'ongsŏ, Ŭpji*.

119) 韓國地理志叢書, 邑誌, 十四, 平安道 ①, 關西邑誌, 平壤一, p. 252/關西邑誌, 平壤續一, p. 360, (*Han'guk-chiriji-ch'ongsŏ, Ŭpji* 14, P'yŏngando ①, Kwansŏ-ŭpji, P'yŏngyang-il, p. 252/Kwansŏ-ŭpji, P'yŏngyang-sok-il, p. 360), Asea Munhwa-sa, Seoul: 1986.

120) More detailed reasons explaining such decrement will be given at pp. 118-120 of the present work.

121) For a thorough explanation on the function of *kyobang* the reader may refer to note no. 146 at p. 54.

The *Kwansŏ ŭpji*, *P'yŏngyang (1)*, *kyobang* section, reveals interesting information regarding the origin and function of the category in general and also adds important data on the number and repertoire of the *kinyŏ* deployed in the P'yŏngyang area. The following is a partial translation of the text :

Kim Pusik¹²³⁾ of Koryŏ said: the Song envoys Luo Kui and Wu Shi came with an invitation and, at a party, when they escorted them to the top of the stairs, they saw beautiful local *ch'angnyŏ* with their long-sleeved clothing adorned by belts of colourful threads (worn) over long pants [the lower part of a dress]. They admiringly said: "This all is like the dresses of ancient China (*Sam Dae*),¹²⁴⁾ we would have never imagined to see [this tradition] so well respected and conserved here! This must be the institution as it was inherited from Tang! Very old indeed! This was the explanation regarding the *Kyobang*, indeed. That is, the [*ch'angnyŏ*'s] function of consoling the travellers for their arduous trip through plain and marsh, entertaining them in their lodging places with witty talk and beautiful ornaments. This was indeed one element of the Great Peace. I could not help mentioning this.¹²⁵⁾

The text continues by giving the number of *kisaeng* (180) and of the *akkong* (28) in the *kyobang*, and it also provides – quite unusually since it has not been observed in any other local history compilation consulted – a list of dances, songs and instrumental pieces, without doubt a direct reference to the *ki* repertoire.

The above translation corresponds to the earlier local history

122) During the Koryŏ period the *Kyobang* (教坊 Court Entertainment Bureau) was, among others, in charge of the musical education of *kinyŏ*. During the Chosŏn dynasty it was substituted by the *Kwansŭp Togam* (慣習都鑑 Office of Occasional Music).

123) Kim Pu-sik (金富軾) (1075-1151), Confucian scholar of the Koryŏ period (918-1392), author, among others, of the *Samguk Sagi* (三國史記 History of the Three Kingdoms).

124) *Sam Dae* (Chin.: San Dai, 三代), reference to ancient China, to the period of Xia (夏), Yin (殷) and Zhou (周).

125) *Kwansŏ ŭpji*, *P'yŏngyang (1)*, *kyobang* section, (關西邑誌, 平壤一, 教坊): "麗臣金富軾曰宋使臣劉達吳拭來聘在館宴次見鄉粧倡女召來上階指闊袖衣色綵帶大裙歎曰皆三代之脈不擬尚行於此蓋唐之遺制歟久矣教坊之設也師以慰原濕之行役摠逆旅之笑語亦責歸太平之一事也茲亦不可不記。妓生一百八十, 樂工二十八, 拋毬樂, 鼓舞, 扇容, 響撥, 撥棹歌, 牙拍, 舞童, 蓮花臺, 鶴舞, 與民樂, 瀉殿春, 感君恩, 步虛子, 雙花店, 翰林別曲, 西京別曲, 鳳凰吟, 關西別曲。

compilation of 1590, by Yun Tu-su¹²⁶⁾ (1533-1601), who in that year was serving as governor (*kwanch'alsa*) in the P'yŏngan region. A later version of the P'yŏngyang *ŭpji*, the P'yŏngyang revised version No.1 (*P'yŏngyang sok Il*), compiled by Song In-myŏng¹²⁷⁾ (1689- 1746) and contained in the Local History of the *Kwansŏ* region (*Kwansŏ ŭpji*) of 1730, was also available for comparison, allowing important observations regarding the same area in two different periods. The first compilation was completed just two years before the Japanese invasion of Korea in 1592, the second document was one hundred and forty years later. As expected, the second compilation reveals enormous differences both in the figures given and in the terminology used. The section where *ki* are recorded remained unchanged, i.e., the *kyobang*, in charge of administering *kinyŏ*'s affairs, but the *kisaeng* are now divided into two categories: *yŏnggi* (*ki* registered in a military district), who barely reach the total number of 45, accompanied by only nine *akkong*, and *pugi* (*ki* registered in a *pu* district), 39 all together, to whom only three *akkong* are assigned. The bare figures are followed by a list of songs and dances, exactly in the same order as in the 1590 *ŭpji*, specifying that "...they have not been handed down."¹²⁸⁾ A brief reference to a few of the titles mentioned in the second list is provided here in order to demonstrate that the report of their loss might have been solely a regional phenomenon. The musical piece entitled "*Kamgunŭn*"¹²⁹⁾, for example, is listed as "not

126) Yun Tu-su (尹斗壽), passed the *munkwa* (文科) examination in 1558. He was nominated Governor (*kwanch'alsa* 觀察使) of the P'yŏngan Province in 1590, date of the *ŭpji* compilation consulted.

127) Song In-myŏng (宋寅明), passed the highest civil examination (*munkwa* 文科) in 1719 and during the reign of King Yŏngjo (1724-1776) held very high positions, such as that of Minister of Personnel (*Yijo p'ansŏ* 吏曹判書), Minister of State of the Right (*Uijŏng* 右議政) and Minister of State of the Left (*Chwajŏng* 左議政).

128) *Kwansŏ ŭpji, P'yŏngyang, Sokji* 1 (關西邑誌, 平壤 續一, 教坊): "營妓四十五名, 樂工九名, 府妓三十九名, 樂工三名, 溝殿春, 感君恩, 步虛子, 雙花店, 翰林別曲, 西京別曲等曲今不傳".

129) *Kamgunŭn* (感君恩 Moved by my lord's (king's) grace) is a musical composition to praise the king's holy virtue (*sŏngdŏk* 聖德). (Chang Sa-hun 張師勛, *Kugak taesajŏn* 國樂大事典, *Dictionary of Korean Music*, Seoul: 1991, p. 76).

handed down" in the 1730 local history compilation of the P'yŏngyang area, but it is still found in the *Yanggŭm Sinbo* of 1610 and in other later collections of musical scores, such as the *Kyŏngbuk Taehakkyo Sojang Kŭmbo* (late Chosŏn period), the *Songssi Yisusamsan Chaebon Kŭmbo* (Kojong's reign) and the *Kŭmbogo* (probably Kojong's period), containing a manuscript copy of the *Yanggŭm Sinbo* of 1610. The presence of that particular musical piece in all these collections seems to hint at the possibility that the reported absence of the musical piece "*Kamgunŭn*" from the P'yŏngyang region might well have been a temporary phenomenon of a regional character. On the contrary, the statement made by the compiler of the later *ŭpji* seems to correspond to the truth in the case of the "*Hallim pyŏlgok*"¹³⁰), which appears for the last time in the *Kŭmhap chabo* collection of written musical scores of 1572.¹³¹)

The most important information provided by the 1730 *ŭpji* is the significant difference in the figures reported. The number of *kisaeng* and *akkong* registered 140 years later was reduced to less than half of those in 1590. The significant decrease in number of musicians in the P'yŏngan area *ŭpji* is not limited to this region, but represents a nationwide tendency typical of that historical period. The chaos caused by the Japanese invasions of 1592-98 resulted in the central government losing control of provincial areas. Disorder continued during the following two Manchu invasions of 1627 and 1636, even though this time damage was

130) *Hallim pyŏlgok* (翰林別曲 Song (*pyŏlgok*) of the Confucian Literati) is a composition originated during King Kojong's reign (r. 1213-1259) of the Koryŏ period (918-1392). The text of this song is contained in the *Koryŏsa* (高麗史 History of Koryŏ) and in the *Akchang kasa* (樂章歌詞 Music Texts and Songs), an anthology of music texts of the 16th century). (Chang Sa-hun 張師勛, *Kugak taesajŏn* 國樂大事典, *Dictionary of Korean Music*, Seoul: 1991, p. 809).

131) The above-mentioned collections of musical scores were pointed out to me by Prof. Kim Yŏng-un of the Academy of Korean Studies (*Han'guk Chŏngsin Munhwa Yŏnguwŏn*) in Sŏngnam, Kyŏnggi Province, while I was visiting the Academy on a research-fellowship granted by the Korea Foundation in 1996.

mostly suffered by the northwestern region of Korea, plundered and savaged by thousands of Manchu soldiers. Most of the musical and personnel records were lost, destroyed by intentional or accidental fires; the court musicians ran away, leaving behind only memories of a glamorous artistic past. This dealt a significant blow to the entire national musical and ritual system. Although a tradition of written music (*akpo*) existed, it was usually applied only to court music. For the perpetuation of every other musical tradition outside the Palace walls, oral transmission was the only known channel of musical education. Hence the importance of musicians, and consequently of *kinyŏ*, for the transmission of musical traditions.

Prof. Song Pang-song, quoting the *Akchang tŭngnok* (Records of Daily Events at the Royal Music Institute (*Changagwŏn*)¹³²), reports that the number of court musicians (both *aksaeng* and *akkong*) during the reign of King Sŏngjong (r.1469-1494) reached a total of 971. After the Japanese and the Manchu invasions, the number was reduced to 619 during King Hyojong's reign (r.1649-1659), to increase slightly again during the reign of King Yŏngjo (r.1724-1776), when it reached its lowest figures with 641 court musicians¹³³.

Even though Prof. Song's data refer in particular to court musicians, the two local history compilations reveal that a similar trend was also registered in the case of *kinyŏ*. The decrease may also have been due to the fact that many of them, in the hope of escaping their destiny or to improve their lives, ran away or became concubines of government officials.

132) Refer to Fig. 2 at p. 61 for an overview of the historical development of the music-related institutions during the Chosŏn dynasty.

133) Song, Pang-song *Han'guk ūmak t'ongsa* pp. 372-378.

Most likely, as in the case of court musicians like the *aksaeng* and *akkong*, *ki* must have been supported by *poin*¹³⁴⁾ or by equivalent persons. In order for the government authorities to trace the provisioners (*poin*) assigned to each *ki*, one would expect to find some mention of names or some kind of textual evidence in this regard, which is not the case. Even in the registration of official *ki* (*kwan'gi*), the consulted primary sources do not show particular accuracy, but they reveal a rather irregular pattern. In contrast to what happened in the case of other public slaves or commoners (*yangmin*), whose number was recorded with the highest precision possible, registration of *ki* in local histories appears to be scanty and done on an irregular basis. Moreover, even when reported, the relevant figures do not always appear in the same section. In the case of the P'yŏngan region, both *ŭpji* of 1590 and of 1730 include the figures in the Entertainment Bureau (*kyobang*) section. In the case of Naju and Chŏnju, in the Chŏlla region (*Honam ŭpji*), the number of *ki* registered in the government office is reported as a separate figure in the official positions (*kwanjik*) section,¹³⁵⁾ which usually follows immediately after the historical introduction to the region. In the case of Muju, Chŏlla province, *ki* are registered as being assigned to the *hojang* section, a regional branch of the *Hojo*, the central Ministry of Taxation.¹³⁶⁾ Another observation made was the absence of *ki*-related figures in local history compilations relevant to areas where a significant presence would have been expected. This might be due to the following reasons:

- a) no official *ki* had been assigned to the area,

134) The meaning of the term *poin* (保人 provisioner), later in the dynasty called also *pongjok* (奉足) has already been explained in note no. 256 at p. 96.

135) *Honam Ŭpji, Naju* (湖南邑誌, 羅州): “官職: (...) 衙前八十人, 妓生二十名.....”. *Honam Ŭpji, Chŏnju* (湖南邑誌, 全州): “官職: (...) 官奴四十四 妓生三十四 官婢二十八(...)”. (*Han'guk chiriji ch'ongsŏ*, Seoul: 1986).

136) *Honam Ŭpji, Muju* (湖南邑誌, 茂朱): “一 戶長 官奴十三人 妓生二十六名 (...)”. (*Han'guk chiriji ch'ongsŏ*, Seoul: 1986).

- b) the data were omitted,
- c) the data were recorded in separate rosters¹³⁷⁾ that are lost.

The third hypothesis seems to be the most plausible, as demonstrated by a *kisaeng* roster (*Kisaeng kwanan*) compiled in 1894, presumably in the capital area.¹³⁸⁾ Unfortunately it is the only document of its kind available, and it refers to a late period, almost at the end of the Chosŏn dynasty. But it is certainly a confirmation of the existence of separate rosters for official *ki* employed at government offices.

The regional distribution of *ki* according to the information contained in the Annals, supported by the figures in the local histories, confirms that the most significant examples of *ki* registration are in the P'yŏngan region.

4.3.3 The P'yŏngan Province case

Based on textual evidence in the Annals, as previously stated, it has been possible to deduce a significant presence of official *ki* (*kwan'gi*) in the P'yŏngan region, at the northern border with China.

Since the Koguryŏ period, the P'yŏngan region had foremost importance in the governing of state affairs, both in regard to border defence and for official and unofficial political and commercial contacts with China. During the Chosŏn period P'yŏngyang, a major provincial town, became also the main center of all commercial and recreational activities, and was the major resting point for Korean and Chinese envoys on route to and from both countries, a fact which explains the high number of *kisaeng* recorded in the 1590 local history compilation, if

137) Prof. Kim Tong-uk refers to the existence of *ki* rosters, called *kian* (妓案) or *kijŏk* (妓籍). An example of such rosters, even though of a later period, is given in Appendix B.

138) The document is presented in Appendix B of the present work. Please refer also to previous note.

compared with the number of officially assigned *kisaeng* in other areas of the country. The importance of P'yŏngyang and of the entire northern area is often stressed in the Annals. Amidst numerous attempts by staunch protectors of the national morality code to put an end to the *kwan'gi* (or *yŏak* or *kinyŏ* system) during the entire duration of the dynasty, the northern region – sometimes identified as the *Yanggye*¹³⁹⁾ region, sometimes as *Pungno* region (the Northern Route which crossed P'yŏngyang directed towards China) – remained always excluded from such proposals. As early as 1430, court historians reported a very lively discussion between King Sejong and his officials, among whom was Kim Chong-sŏ.¹⁴⁰⁾ The gist of the discussion was the abolishment of female court musicians (*yŏak*) and the proposal of substituting it with male singing children (*namak*). Kim Chong-sŏ was in favour of abolishing the system, while the king was against the use of male singing children (*namak*). During the discussion the king was reminded how important *ki* were for the military – thus reiterating the principle that *ki* were created to “console and serve” military officers (*kunsa*) stationed without their wives in border areas in the far away northern provinces. “Our land being surrounded on three sides by the sea and bordering barbarians in the north, we need to defend ourselves from constant attacks. How can we abruptly abolish the female musicians? *Ki* are needed.”¹⁴¹⁾

The same debate continued during the entire dynasty, without ever coming to a permanent solution.

4.3.4 The *kwan'gi* and their descendants

139) The reader may refer to note no. 315 at p. 114 for an explanation on the concept of *Yanggye* region.

140) Biographical data on Kim Chong-sŏ have already been provided in footnote no. 215 at p. 81.

141) Sejong 049 12/07/28 (pyŏngin), kwŏn 49; p. 8 a:2- p. 9, a:8.

The status of *ki* and of their children born from unions with commoners represented a very serious matter of concern during court sessions and abundant legislation on the matter confirms it.

In this respect, several instances were raised at court regarding the destiny of illegitimate children, almost never successfully concluded in favour of granting them *yangin* status. For their mothers, enjoying the protection of high officials meant by no means an easy climb in the social hierarchy. The names of these women had been registered in special rosters kept at local government offices. This meant that registered *ki* had the obligation to be present whenever necessary. Attendance at music and dance rehearsals was one of their main duties, in order to be always prepared for upcoming performances. The costs involved in taking care of these women must have been very high. So much that at certain moments of the dynasty, the smallest provincial offices saw themselves obliged to close down the system because they did not have enough slaves who could work in their stead.¹⁴²⁾ As a consequence the office could not afford to shoulder the expenses incurred by maintaining the group of *ki* active in small cities¹⁴³⁾. *Kinyŏ* were considered "public property" (*kongmul*), and, as such, the utilization of such resources had to be restricted to official purposes.¹⁴⁴⁾ Endless are the instances at court where punishment was requested for "transgressors", i.e., men who had openly taken *kwan'gi* as their concubines and prevented them from attending music rehearsals and

142) This element suggests that a *poin* equivalent figure as in the case of *aksaeng* and *akkong* might have existed also for *ki*. For explanations on the *poin/pongjok* figure the reader is referred to note no. 256 at p. 96, while for the terms *aksaeng* and *akkong* to notes no. 173 and no. 174 respectively.

143) One of these cases has been recorded in the *Sejong sillok* 003 01/03/04 (musin), kwŏn 3; p. 17/b: 3-4 "刑曹啓.廣州近京部.事劇而官妓婢數少.乞罷官妓.從之". As indicated in the text, the town referred to is Kwangju, in Kyŏnggi province, close to the capital.

144) For a discussion on the *kongmul* concept, the reader should refer to the opening section of this chapter.

performances. The "transgressors" were also asked to let these women return to their "duties". The hot debate on the restitution of these "official women" to their original duties, especially in the second half of the Chosŏn dynasty, is a sign that the central control system had long reached an impasse. Losing women who were considered "public property", to a single individual with whom the women chose to live, became too costly for local offices: to replace an official *ki* the government had to employ another public female slave, taking her away from her original assignment, or forcing her to perform both the functions of public slave and of a *ki*. Generally, the *ki* who disappeared first from the offices where they had been registered were the most beautiful and finest performing women. This meant that the local office had to rely on lower quality performances by the remaining ones. The higher the grade of their protectors was, the easier it was for a *ki* to have her *ch'ŏnmin* status changed to that of *yangin*, to have her name cancelled from the *ki* rosters or, at least, to obtain official exemption from her duties (*myŏnyŏk*). The cases of two *kwan'gi*, Maehwa and Ch'ichŏmsŏn, are a good example of how positive things could turn out for *ki* who had met the right person, but such cases represent an extremely low percentage, if compared with the majority of rejected cases. The former became the concubine of the *Ŭian Taegun*¹⁴⁵⁾ Yi Hwa 李和¹⁴⁶⁾

She was a *kwan'gi*, whose name was recorded in the music rosters. She was removed from her *ch'ŏnmin* status and from her work assignment, and then received the title of princess (*ongju*).¹⁴⁷⁾ There was no distinction between primary wife and

145) The title of *Taegun* (大君) was given to the king's direct lineal heir, or it could also be an honorific title for members of the royal family who did not have a rank. Sons by secondary wives were given the title *kun*.

146) *Ŭian Taegun* Yi Hwa was T'aejo's half-brother. Dynastic Foundation Merit Subject (*Kaeguk kongsin* 開國功臣) of the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty. He received the title of *Taegun* (大君) (see previous note) in 1407. In the same year he was also nominated Minister of State (*yŏngŭjŏng* 領議政).

concubine.¹⁴⁸⁾

Ch'ilchömsön was a *kwan'gi* from Kimhae¹⁴⁹⁾ who became a palace woman of the abdicated king and received the title *Hwaŭi ongju*.¹⁵⁰⁾ Apart from these two occasions, however, the Annals do not refer to any further cases of *ki* who received the title *ongju*. On the other hand, numerous are the cases of *ki* who became concubines of government officials. In these cases, there was always a discussion at court concerning the destiny and social status of the offspring born of these relationships. In the majority of cases, officials were opposed to allowing a change of status, but on some occasions permission was granted, not only to the mother but also to her children. It must be stressed, however, that a certain flexibility in giving *yangin* status to people of *ch'önmin* origin¹⁵¹⁾ was registered in the source only during the first half of the dynasty. The last status change in the Annals with relation to the *ki* category is recorded in 1458.¹⁵²⁾ Such flexibility was shown in the cases of *kwan'gi* who had become concubines of high-ranking officials in the central government and the royal palace, belonging to rank 2 and above.¹⁵³⁾ Without doubt the administration dealt carefully with cases of status change, since it wanted to avoid the

147) During the Chosŏn dynasty the title of *ongju* was conferred upon the daughters of royal concubines. Daughters by the primary wife had the title *kongju*. (Yu, H.Y: *Encyclopedia of Korean History*, p. 888).

148) T'aejong 006 03/11/18 (imjin), kwŏn 6; p. 26b: 3-4 " 今者義安大君和妾梅花.本以官妓.名隸樂籍.幸免賤役.又受翁主之.已失嫡妾之分."

149) Kimhae, a city in Southern Kyŏngsang province.

150) T'aejong 014 07/11/02 (imja), kwŏn 14; p. 38 b: 4-5 "金海官妓七點仙爲 太上宮人.封和義翁主."

151) The process of status change from *ch'önmin* to *yangin* was called *chongyang* (從良).

152) Sejong 113 28/07/29 (ülmi), kwŏn 113; p. 23, b:6-12.

153) During the Chosŏn dynasty, official titles were organized into two main groups: the *mun'gwan* (文官 literati) and *mu'gwan* (武官 military), representing the *yangban* (兩班 "the two orders"), the highest social status group in traditional Korean society. Each class consisted of nine ranks (*p'um* 品), each divided into two hierarchical subdivisions: *chŏng* (正), higher or senior, and *chong* (從), lower or junior. The officials included here are those belonging to rank two and above, i.e. those belonging to the *Tangsang* (堂上), the highest ranking officials in Chosŏn Korea.

possibility that precedents could lead to the exceptions becoming the norm. Due to the high number of *ki* deployed nationwide, the danger of such cases becoming the norm was high.¹⁵⁴⁾ This reality could pose a formidable challenge to the social order advocated by Neo-Confucian legislators. Thus, if on the one hand Chosŏn dynasty legislators were confronted with cases of government officials who were asking *yangin* status for their children and for their mothers, on the other hand they were faced with the desire to restrict as much as possible social mobility.

Apart from the two above-mentioned cases of *kwan'gi* who were granted the title *ongju*, only few requests for *yangmin* status for *kwan'gi* were recorded in the Annals, two during the reign of King Sejong (r.1418-1450) and one during the reign of King Sejo. In the first instance dated 1439, it is not possible to clearly specify whether the request is related to the children and their mothers or only to their children. However, the reference to the term "all" in the text might suggest that the entire group (mothers and children) was affected by the decision. A few years later, in 1446, another order specifies that children born from a relationship between a *ki* (*ch'ŏnmin* status) and a husband of commoner (*yangin*) status follow the mother's status and "be assigned to the *Yŏnhwadae*, if girls, or to the local government office, in the case of boys."¹⁵⁵⁾ The text of the first instance of King Sejong's period (1439) reads as follows:

Petition to the King from the Director of the Privy Council
(*Chungch'uwŏn chisa*)¹⁵⁶⁾ Sŏng Tal-saeng, of the former

154) As to the number of *ki* deployed nationwide, Kim Tong-uk - quoting unspecified local histories (*ŭpji*) - calculated it to be around 20,000, a good 0.5% of the total population. (Kim Tong-uk, *Yijo Kinyŏsa sŏsŏl*, p. 7).

155) T'aejong 035 18/03/27 (chŏngch'uk), kwŏn 35; p.27 b:15 - p.28:1 "禮曹.據慣習都鑑 牒呈.女妓嫁良夫所生女.屬蓮花臺.男屬都廳"

Vice-Director (*Chungch'uwōnsa*)¹⁵⁷ Cho Pi-hyōng and of the Director of the Privy Council (*Chungch'uwōn chisa*)¹⁵⁸ Yi Chung-ji: [we] your subjects, have been working for several years in garrisons (*ch'in*) outside the capital. We lived together with *kwan'gi* and had children with them. According to the instructions of the year 1414 they obtained the status of *yangin*, and raised them at home. But the Ministry of Punishments sent us an order in 1437, according to which the document proving their *yangin* status (*yangan*) be returned, that they be registered again in the *ch'ōnmin* rosters and perform their assignments. According to the law of King T'aejong, [we request to] grant them again permission to become *yangin*. If this is not possible, then allow us to buy them back according to the price of slaves.

It was ordered to the Ministry of Punishments to grant them all *yangin* status by buying them out as slaves.¹⁵⁹

The second instance does not refer to a specific case, but rather sets the guidelines for future decisions on the matter of descendants from "mixed marriages" between *ch'onmin* women and *yangin* husbands in general:

From now on the children of female *ki* from outside the capital who have married high ranking officials, will, in the case of male or female slaves of applicable age and if the father so wishes, be redeemed for money and removed from *ch'ōnmin* status.¹⁶⁰

In this case, the legislators were, once again, not granting a final solution of the issue, but just allowing the fathers to have the last say on whether or not to recognize the new borns as their children, and

156) The *Chijungch'uwōnsa*, (abbr. *chisa*) was a position of senior rank 2 in the Privy Council (*Chungch'uwōn*).

157) Position of junior rank 2 in the Privy Council (*Chungch'uwōn*).

158) Please refer to note no. 354.

159) Sejong 084 21/02/13 kwōn 84; p.24 a: 9-13 "知中樞院事成達生.前中樞院事曹備衡.知中樞院事李中至上言.臣等累年出鎮于外.各畜官妓于營中生子.依甲午教旨從良畜養于家.今刑曹據丁巳年受教.並收良案.還錄賤案.令從役.乞依太宗成憲.復許爲良.不爾則願以奴如贖身.命刑曹並令贖身".

160) Sejong 113 28/07/29 (ülmi) kwōn 112; p.23 b:11-12 自今京外女妓.有品朝士交嫁所生.以年歲相准奴婢.從父願贖身免賤. The expression 年歲相准 seems to mean that the slaves to be redeemed must not have been born before this law was decreed. Since the law dates from 1446, they would have to be born after that.

saving them from a life in slavery, or letting them live the life their mothers' status.

However, though rarely, such cases appear only at the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty, indicating relative flexibility not only in the legislative apparatus but also in the minds of rulers and high functionaries. This is a sign that the application and adoption of Confucian principles had not yet put deep roots in the newly proclaimed "Confucian state" which the Yi family and its supporters were determined to establish.

CHAPTER FIVE

A Tentative classification of *kinyŏ*'s roles in Chosŏn society

In this chapter I propose a tentative classification of roles the *kinyŏ* had in Chosŏn society, based on data collected during the research for this work. In several instances the historical sources seemed to suggest the existence of different hierarchical and functional levels of *ki*, which varied according to the roles assigned to them: in this chapter I have tried to identify such differences in level, connecting the textual evidence to different pictorial images considered to be reproductions of various moments in the official and private life of a *kinyŏ*.

5.1. The official and unofficial roles of *ki* in Chosŏn society

In the Introduction some portraits of these women have already been presented: portraits painted by men, depicting female beauty at its utmost, portraits of women conscious of their beauty and of their being at the top of fashion and trend. Sin Yun-bok's "Courtesan" (Plate no. 1)¹⁾, reproduced in the inside-cover page, is one of the most famous portraits of *ki*: the woman is depicted in a walking position, a fan in her right hand, her dress raised and wrapped around her waist. Her stepping forward creates a certain balance in the lower part of the picture, compared to the upper section mostly occupied by her large hat, too big for her minute face, almost too big and unbalancing for her tiny small feet wearing incredibly small shoes. She appears walking as if she were dancing. The inscription on the right hand of the painting says: "Predecessors have not expressed themselves like this. It can be said it

1) Sin Yun-bok "A Courtesan", album leaf, ink and colour on silk, 28,4 x 19.0 cm., National Museum of Korea. The painting is also known by the title: "A Woman Wearing a Large Hat (*Chŏnmo*)".

is [really] strange!” Written by the author, the inscription perhaps wants to underline the originality of the author’s painting style and genre. The signature reads “Hyewŏn”, pseudonym of Sin Yun-bok.²⁾

There were two types of royal banquets during the Chosŏn dynasty: *chinyŏn* and *chinch’an*. The former was in honour of foreign dignitaries, while the latter was simpler, for national events. Men and women celebrated these events separately: the men in a *woeyŏn* (outside banquet) and the women in a *naeyŏn* (inside banquet). Only the king and the *kinyŏ* were allowed to participate in both celebrations. The first illustration shown in Plate no. 6 depicts a banquet open to male participants only. It is part of an eight-panel screen painted by an anonymous artist probably around the end of the 18th century or the beginning of the 19th century. The painter may have been a court painter. The title of the screen is “Procession to Suwŏn Mausoleum” (*Suwŏnnŭng haenghaeng* 水原陵行幸) and the panels are presently preserved separately. Some are in the Ch’angdŏk Palace Collection, some in the Hoam Art Museum. The panel selected here is entitled “Illustration of a Banquet for Government Officials” and is part of the Ch’angdŏk Palace Collection. The painting can be divided into two parts, but dances occur in the upper part of the panel. The upper scene depicts a banquet at court, in the presence of both civil and military officials. Here the *kinyŏ* (most probably *yŏak*, as they dance in the presence of royal family members) are performing for an audience sitting on both sides of the room. The detail, Plate no. 7, shows that the *kinyŏ* wear yellow *chŏgori*³⁾ over blue skirts (*ch’ima*) with precious ornaments on their heads.

2) “前人未發可謂奇。”

3) So it is called the upper part of the Korean traditional dress, *hanbok*, while the lower part, the wide skirt, is called *ch’ima*.

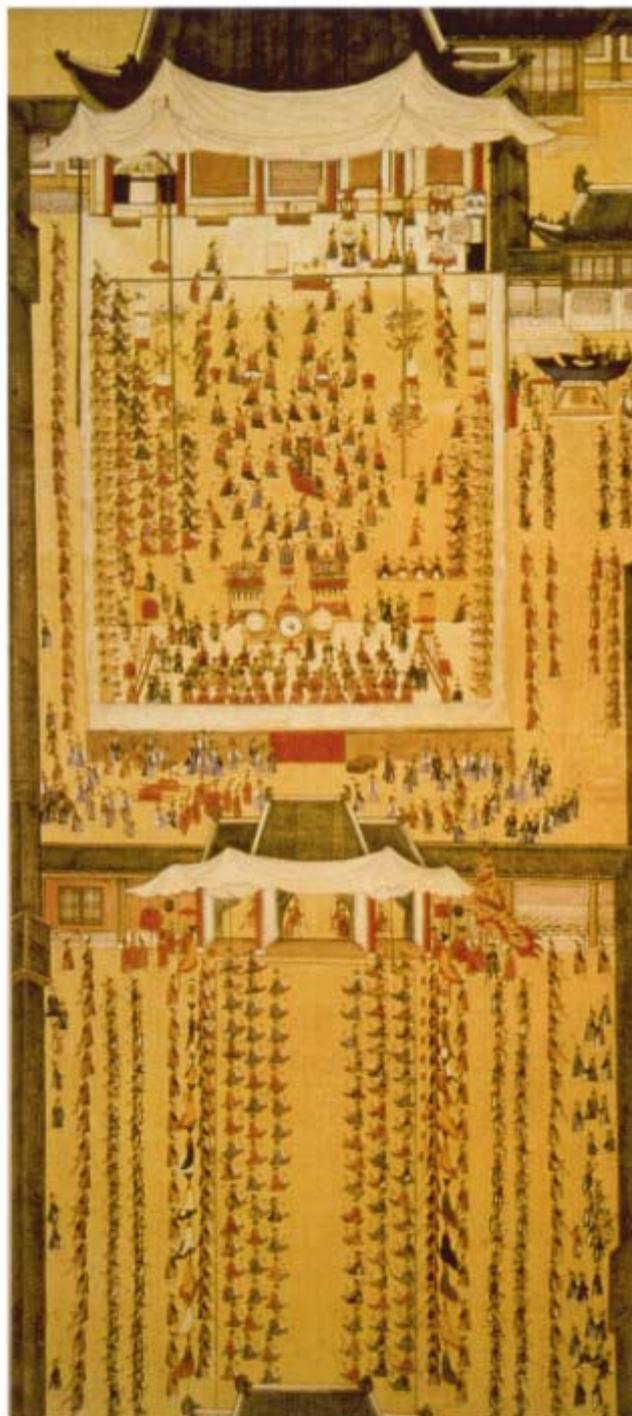


Plate no. 6 - Anonymous "Illustration of a Banquet for Government Officials"
eight-panel screen, colour on silk, 149.8 x 64.5 cm
Ch'angdók Palace Collection, Seoul



Plate no. 7- Anonymous "Illustration of a Banquet for Government Officials" (detail)
eight-panel screen, colour on silk, 149.8 x 64.5 cm
Ch'angdök Palace Collection, Seoul

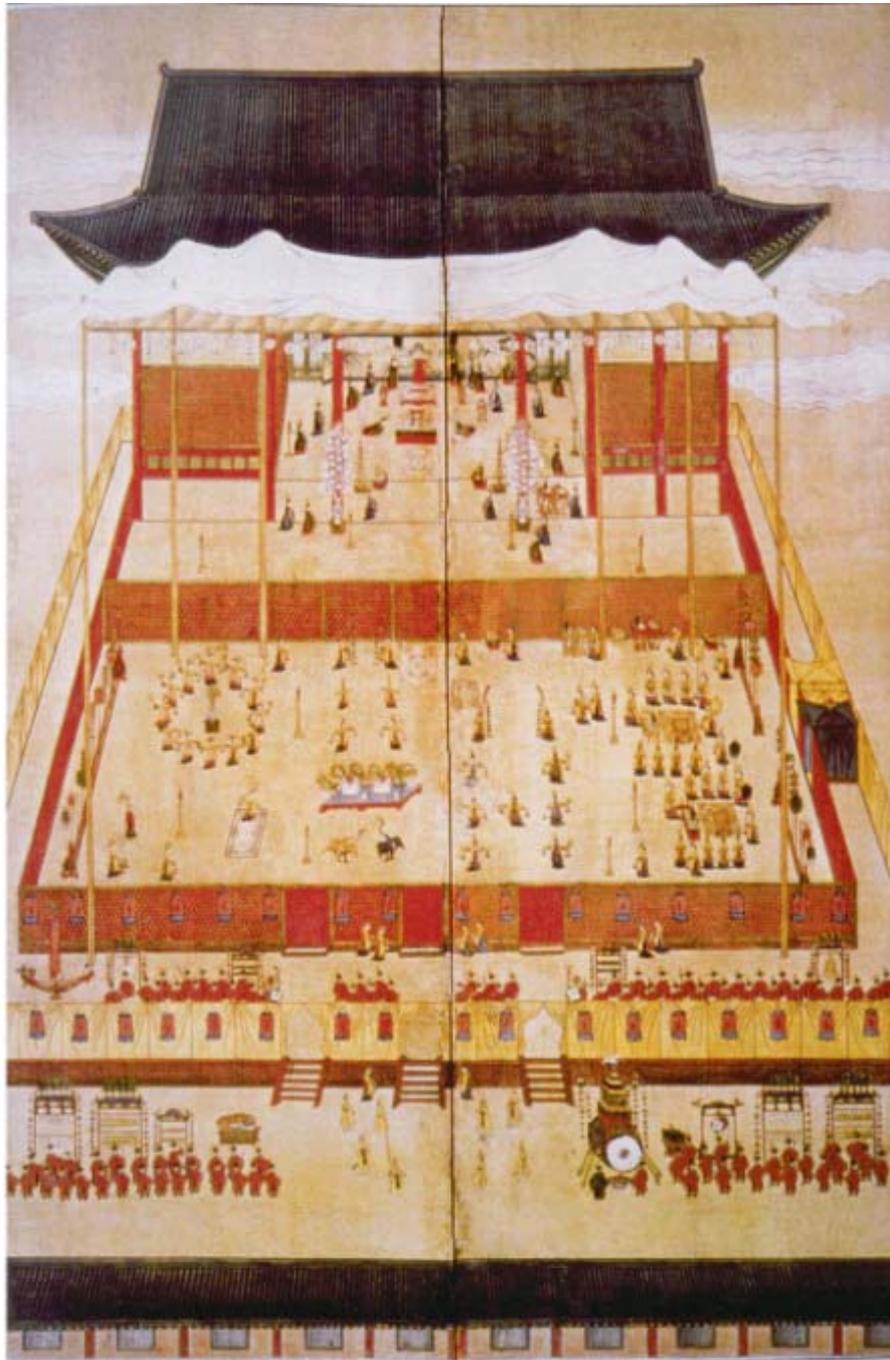


Plate no. 8 - Anonymous "Royal Banquet for the Celebration of the 80th Birthday (1887) of the Queen Mother Cho (Queen Sinjong, 1808-1890)"
Ten-panel screen, ink and colour on silk, mounted on brocade.
Image 146.7 x 504.2 cm, screen 182.9 x 511.2 cm, Private collection

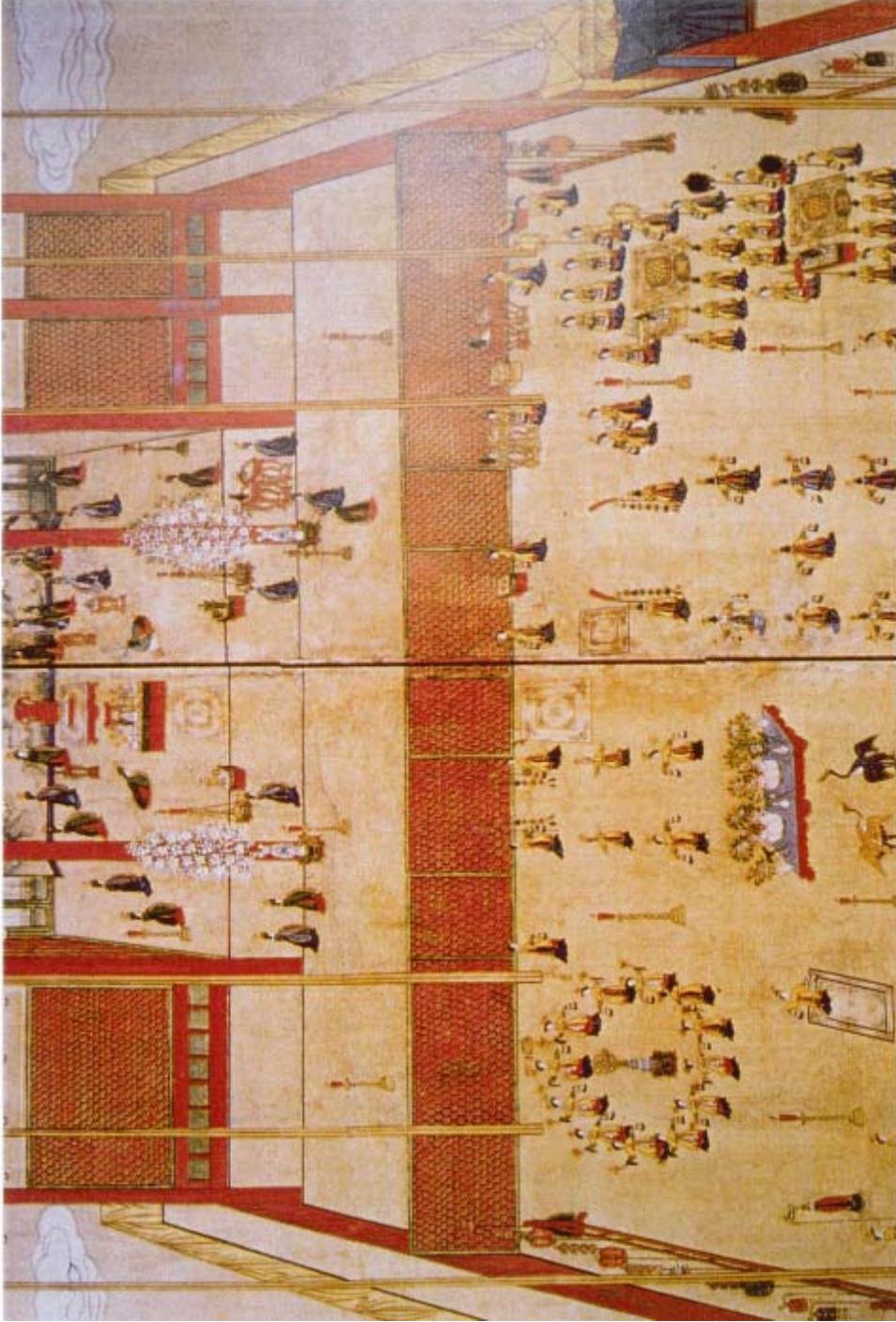


Plate no. 9 - Anonymous "Royal Banquet for the Celebration of the 80th Birthday of the Queen Mother Cho (Queen Sinjong, 1808-1890)" (detail)
Ten-panel screen, ink and colour on silk, mounted on brocade. Image 146.7 x 504.2 cm, screen 182.9 x 511.2 cm, Private collection

As they dance for their audience, the long white sleeves of their dresses accentuate the graciousness of their movements. In the foreground all kinds of traditional musical instruments, such as the *chwago* (座鼓 a "medium-sized Korean barrel drum suspended either horizontally on a four legged-frame or vertically on a square frame"⁴⁾ and two other instruments apparently resembling the *p'yŏnjong*, an instrument native to China, made of "sixteen bronze bells hung in two ranks of eight from a decorated wooden frame approximately 150 cms tall and 190 cms in length"⁵⁾ and the *p'yŏn'gyŏng* (stone chimes), also from China, made of "sixteen stones hung in two ranks of eight on a decorated wooden frame approximately 150 cms tall and 190 cms in length."⁶⁾

Another occasion when female court musicians (*yŏak*) were employed at the royal court was the *naeyŏn*, a banquet for the queen and the queen mother. One well-known example is the ten-panel screen of the "Royal banquet for the celebration of the 80th birthday (1887) of Queen Mother Cho (Queen Sinjong, 1808-1890), corresponding to Plates no. 8 and no. 9 (detail). This kind of banquet, like the *woeyŏn* in the presence of men, was held over a period of several days. The first day preceeding the date of the event was always reserved for celebrations in honour of the king. On the proper day, the banquet was held for the king, the queen and the queen mother and went on through the night. The last day was dedicated to the crown prince. Such banquets were never organized only for entertaining purposes, but were rituals imbued with Confucian ideology conferring legitimacy to the king.

In the light of the information on *yŏak* provided in chapter four, it

4) K. Pratt, *Korean Music, its History and its Performance*, Seoul: 1987, p. 84

5) K. Pratt, *ibid.* p. 67.

6) K. Pratt, *ibid.* p. 69.

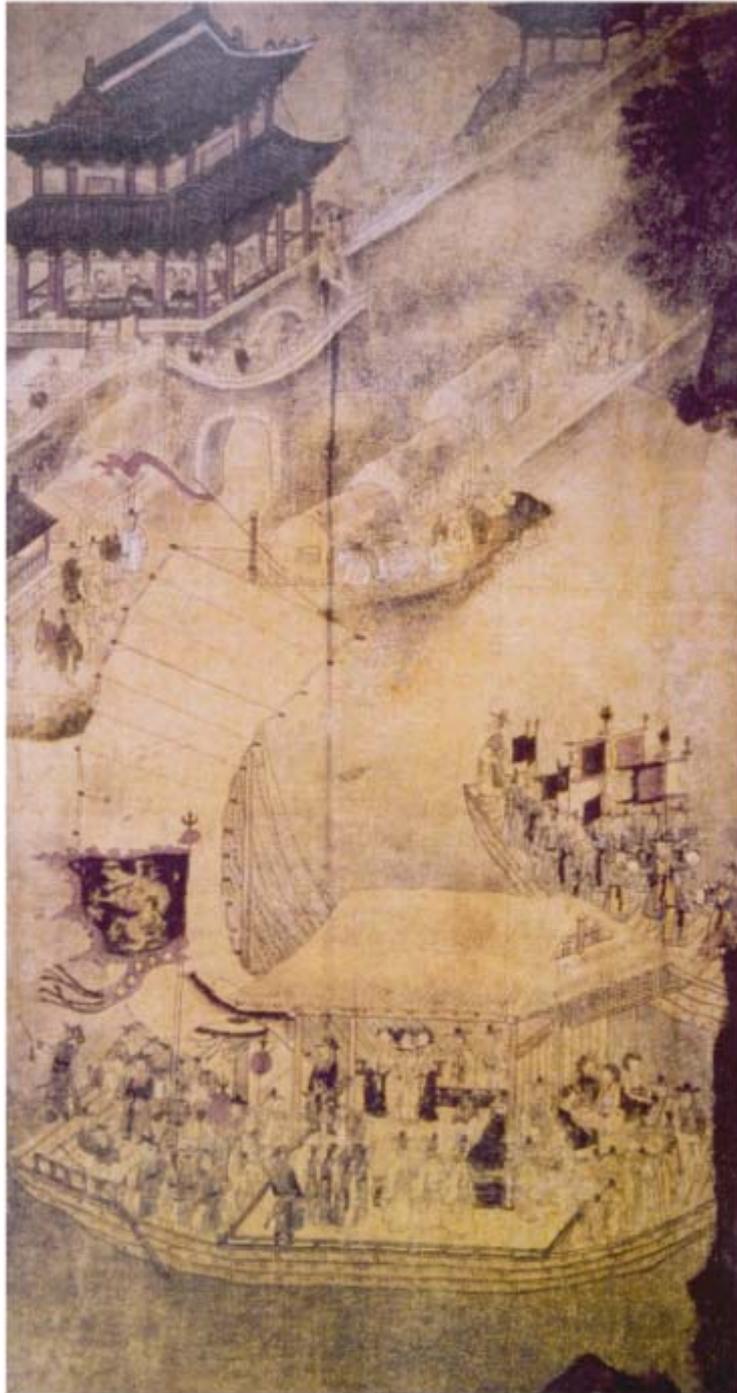


Plate no. 10 - Kim Hong-do "The Governor of P'yong'an Takes Office" 18th cent.
one of a six-panel screen, light colour on silk, 76.7 x 37.9 cm
National Museum of Korea

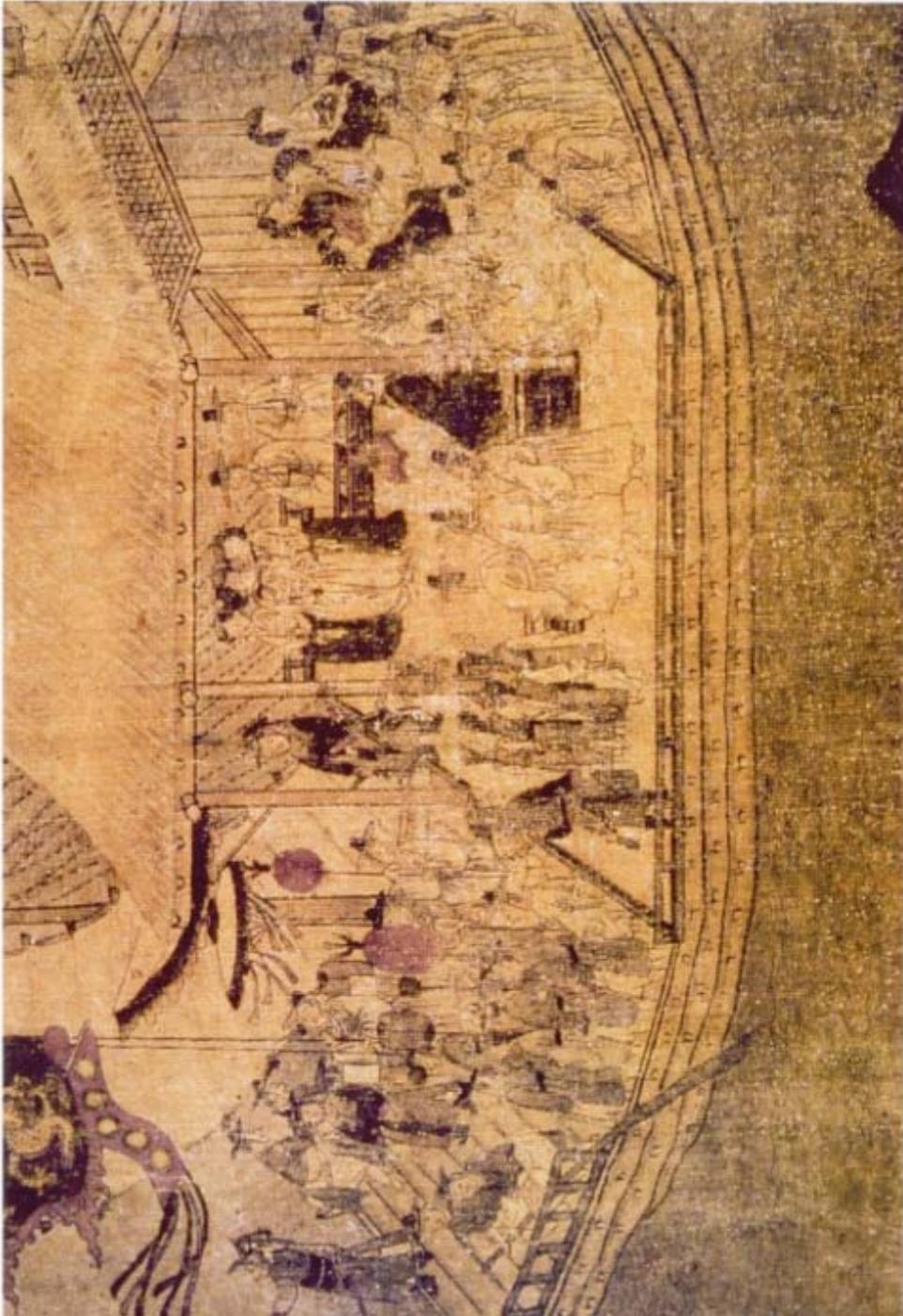


Plate no. 11 - Kim Hong-do "The Governor of P'yŏng an Takes Office" (detail) 18th cent., one of a six-panel screen, light colour on silk, 76.7 x 37.9 cm
National Museum of Korea

would seem appropriate to identify as female court musicians (*yŏak*) the women dancing in Plate no. 6 as well as in Plate no. 8. But the list of official ceremonies which required the participation of *ki* was a long one, and did not include only banquets at the royal court.

Plates no. 10 and 11 (previous pages) and the plates which follow (Plate no. 12 and 13 – detail) introduce us to the world of official occasions which took place outside the capital area. In these paintings, the dancing or singing women belong most probably to the *kwan'gi* (officially registered *ki*) group. Examples of non-royal official events are numerous, as shown in the Plates no. 10 and 11 entitled "The Governor of P'yŏng'an Takes Office". These paintings and the one illustrated in Plate 12 depicting the "Celebrations at the Inauguration of the Governor of P'yŏng'an" are both attributed to the famous late eighteenth-early nineteenth century court-painter Kim Hong-do.

The first example (Plates 10 and 11) is one of a six-panel screen depicting the life of Hong Kye-hŭi⁷⁾ and illustrates the arrival of a boat, probably navigating the River Taedong. On board the boat were *ki* who accompanied the celebrating group. The second illustration (Plate 12) shows celebrations on the occasion of the taking of office of the new governor of P'yŏngan province. The illustration has a different painting style from the previous screen (Plates 10 and 11), but the attribution to Kim Hong-do remains. Moreover, both paintings refer to a new nomination for governor of the P'yŏngan province. However, the probabilities that the paintings may relate to the same person are scanty. Appointments to the position of governor were made every four to five

7) Hong Kye-hŭi 洪啓禧 (1703-1771), famous Confucian scholar of the 18th century. Passed the *munkwa* examination in 1737 and held important positions in the Chosŏn administration. Among them the position of Minister of Rites and Governor of Hansŏng (present-day Seoul). He spent a long period of time in the P'yŏngan province and was sent to Japan as a diplomatic envoy. (Yu Hong-nyŏl, *Han'guksa Taesajŏn*, p. 1584).

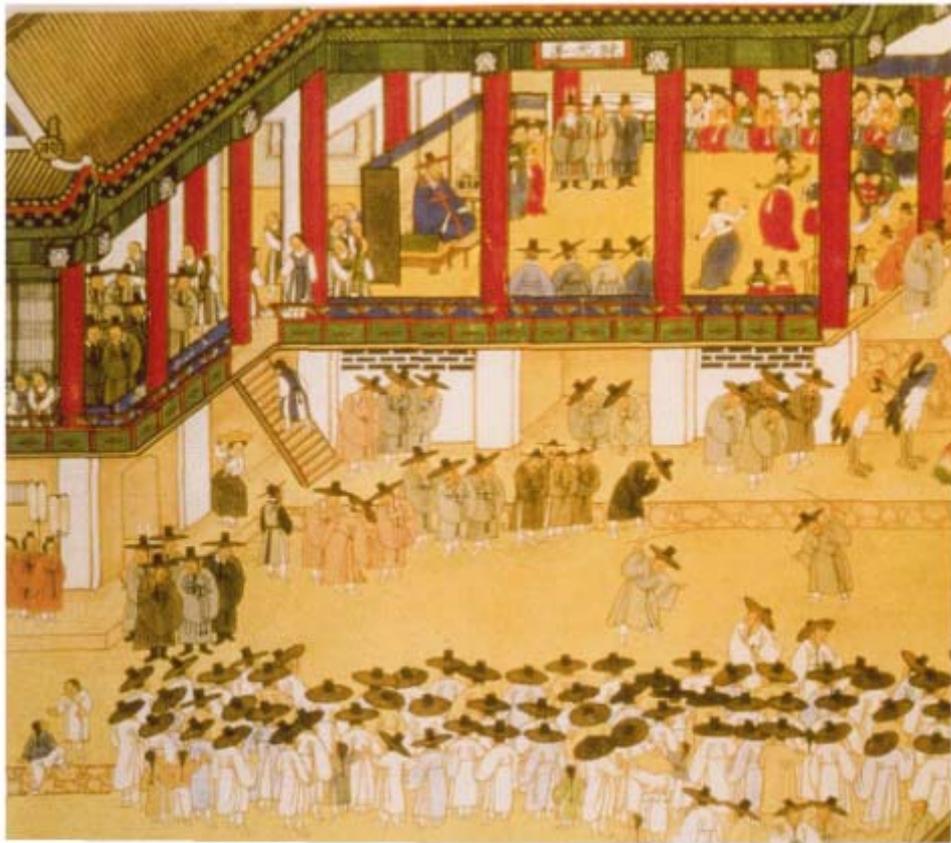


Plate no. 12 - Kim Hong-dō "Celebrations at the Inauguration of the Governor of P'yŏng'an"
18th-19th cent., colour on paper, 71.2 x 196.9
National Museum of Korea

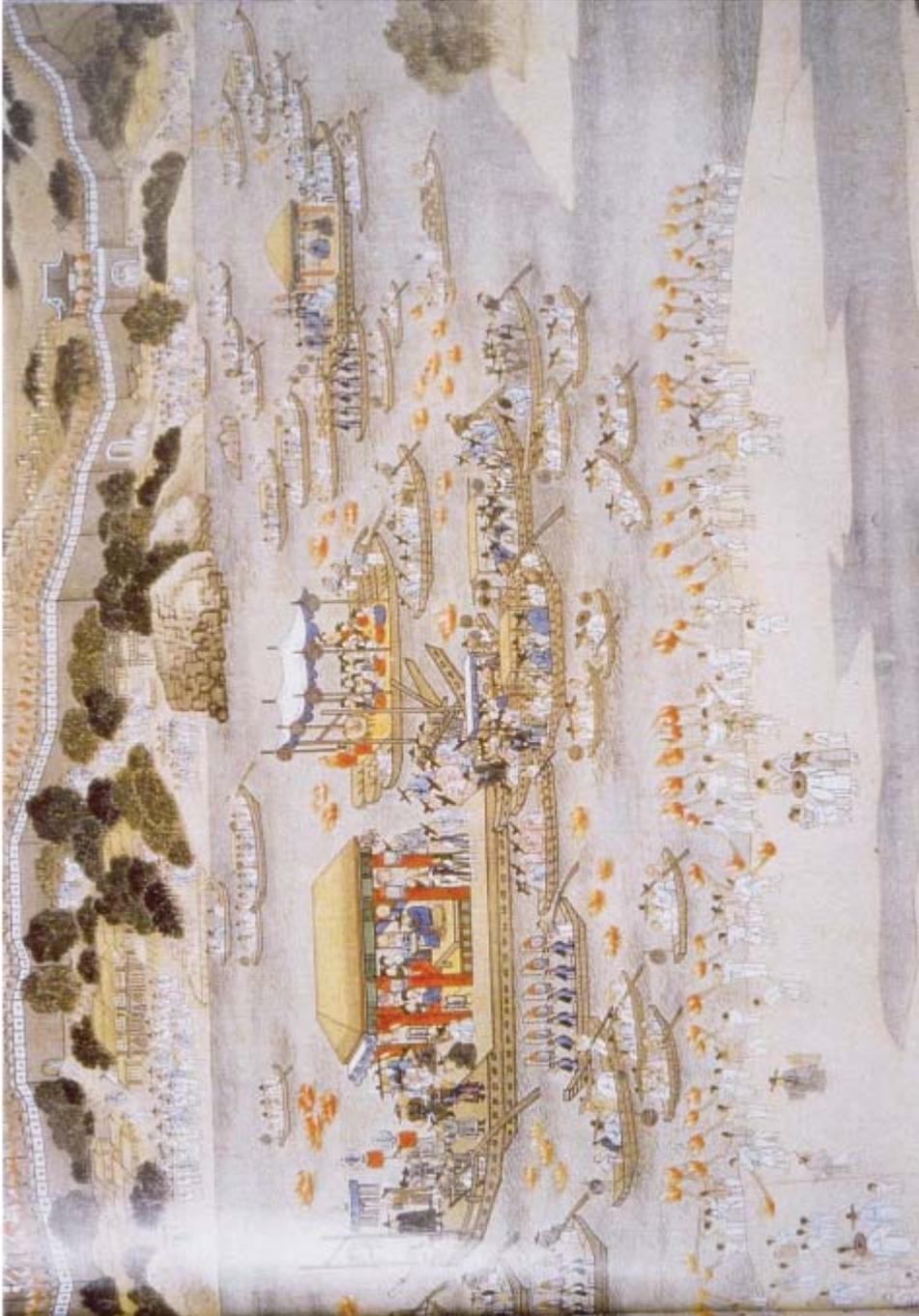


Plate no. 13 - Kim Hong-do (attr.) "Amusement on the River of the Governor of P'yong'an", colour on paper, 71.2 x 196.6 cm
National Museum of Korea

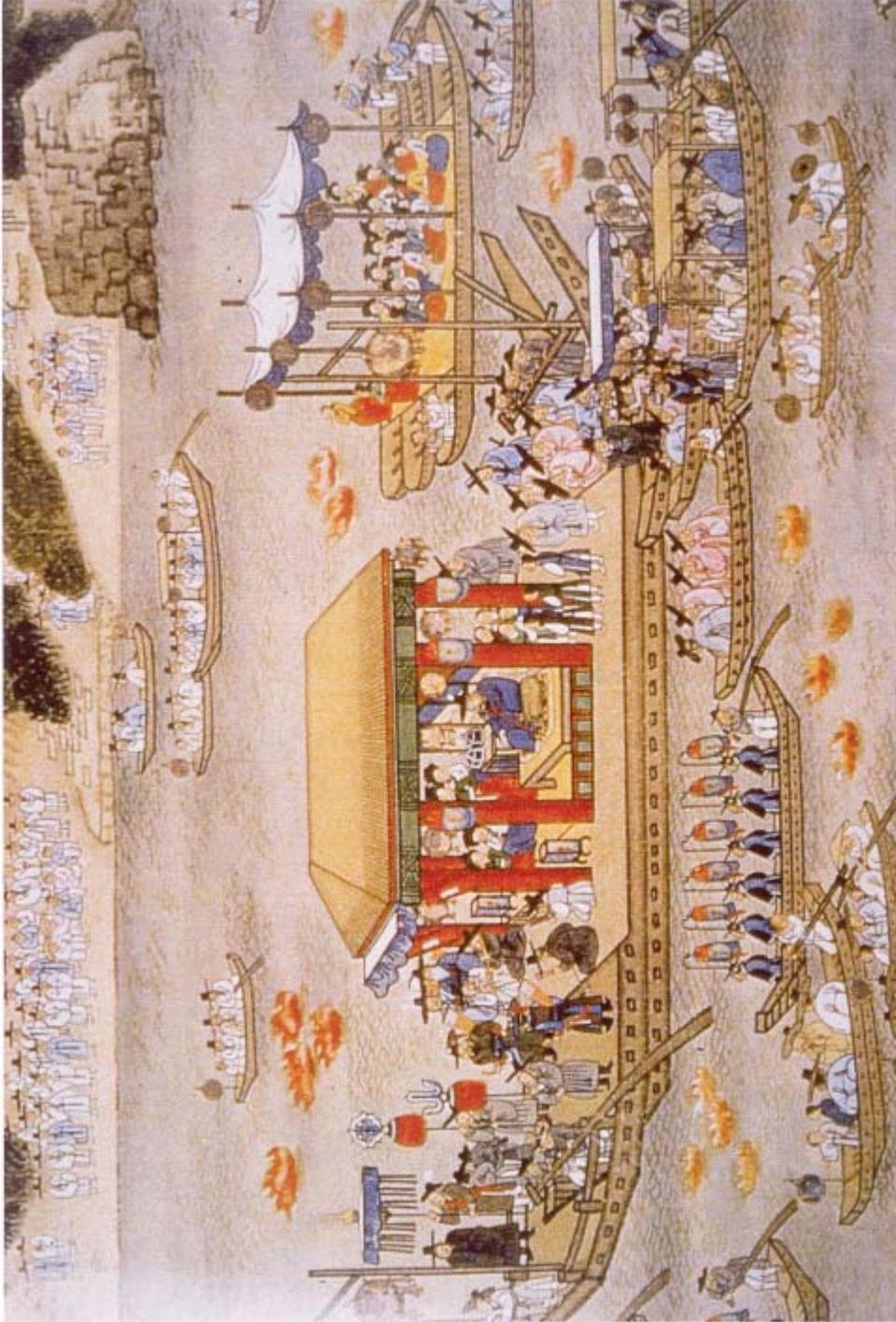


Plate no. 14 - Kim Hong-do (attr.) "Amusement on the River of the Governor of P'yong'an" (detail), colour on paper, 71.2 x 196.6 cm
National Museum of Korea

years, sometimes even less. Both paintings show the presence of *ki*, this time perhaps in their *kwan'gi* role.

The P'yŏngan region was geopolitically, commercially and culturally important for Chosŏn Korea. In the section dedicated to *kwan'gi* (section 4.3) it was also possible to demonstrate significant *kwan'gi* presence in the area, due to its geographical position as a connection between the Chosŏn capital and China. All traffic, political, diplomatic and commercial, passed through this province, and P'yŏngyang became almost naturally an important centre of cultural development. Situated on the banks of the Taedong River, this town was an important stopover for all travellers to and from China. Descriptions of amusement scenes in P'yŏngyang or along the banks of the Taedong River abound also in *kinyŏ* poetry, a sign of the importance the entire area had achieved during the Chosŏn period and also a sign of a noteworthy *ki* presence in the region. The "Amusement on the River of the Governor of P'yŏngan" attributed to Kim Hong-do as well and corresponding to Plates no. 13 and 14 (detail) is just another example of P'yŏngyang's cultural and political importance.

The "Amusement on the River of the Governor of P'yŏngan" takes place at night, as people can be seen carrying torches along the river banks. The governor sits on the main boat, guarded by a military escort and surrounded by high-ranking officials. In front of him, musicians sitting on the floor play while on his right some *ki*, most probably his favourites, are standing. On another smaller boat in the foreground, perhaps a supply boat, some women prepare food to be delivered to the governor's boat. On yet another boat, sailing slightly behind the main one, a group of women forms most probably the accompanying choir for

the two singing *ki* standing in front of the boat. This is probably the most interesting section of the painting for the purposes of this study, and certainly the reason for the inclusion of the "Amusement on the river of the governor of P'yŏng'an" in the list of illustrations presented. It was not unusual during these outings that the accompanying *ki* would sing praise to the governor. The style of this painting reminds the viewer of the "Celebrations at the inauguration of the governor of P'yŏng'an" by Kim Hong-do (Plate no. 12), and it might as well be one of the celebrations organized in honour of the newly nominated governor.

The next illustration takes us a step further down in the hierarchical structure in which *kinyŏ* participated. This is actually the only 'non-official' involvement of *kinyŏ* "officially accepted or tolerated" by the central authorities: the use of *ki* at *hwan'gap* celebrations. The *hwan'gap* celebration⁸⁾ was a "private happening" and also the most important occasion in a person's life. The presence of *ki* at such celebrations gave them a more official and formal appearance, adding at the same time a pleasant note of "professional entertainment" to the complicated procedure of ritual greetings and long-life wishes. By officially allowing *ki* to be employed in private celebrations such as the sixtieth birthday, the Chosŏn government seemed to show a lax attitude towards the regulations concerning the "*kongmul*" quality of such women. Restrictions on the use of "public property" for private purposes were repeatedly mentioned in the Annals.

Plates no. 15 and no. 16 are part of the six-screen panel "Scenes from the Life of Hong Kye-hŭi"⁹⁾, which depicts Hong Kye-hŭi's *hwan'gap* celebration, confirming the presence of a group of *ki* at such an

8) Please refer to note no. 109 at p. 43.

9) The screen was originally in eight panels, but only six are now left. (*Han'guk-ŭi Mi*, p. 227).



Plate no. 15 - Kim Hong-do "Scenes from the Life of Hong Kye-hui"
six-screen panel, light colour on silk, 76.7 x 37.9 cm
National Museum of Korea

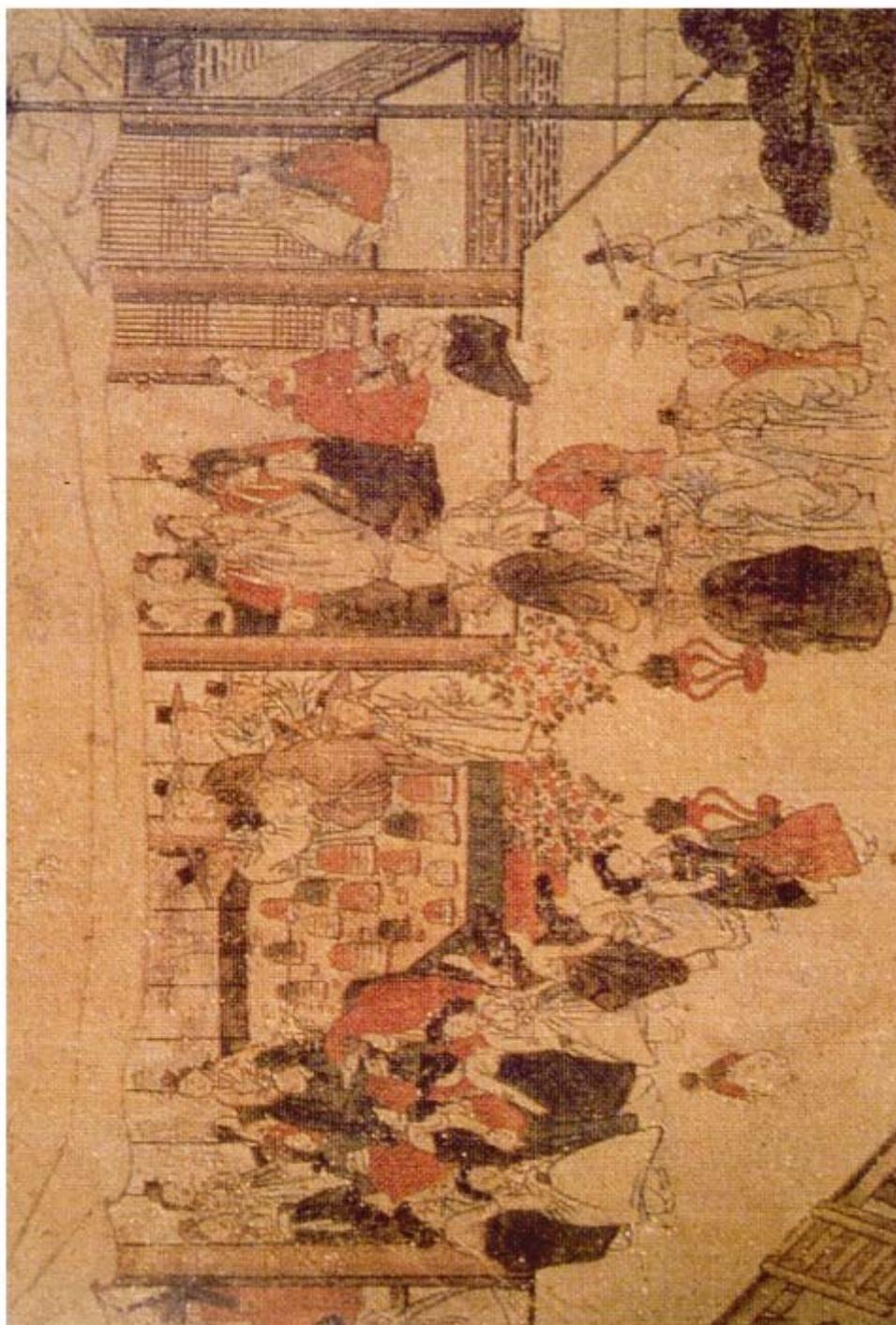


Plate no. 16 - Kim Hong-do "Scenes from the Life of Hong Kye-hui" (detail), six-screen panel, light colour on silk, 76.7 x 37.9 cm
National Museum of Korea

important event. The six-screen panel by Kim Hong-do corresponds to the tradition of commissioning, after the death of a high-ranking official, a screen with the major events of that official's life. The last panel (illustrated in Plate 15 and in a detail in Plate no. 16) is the one depicting his sixtieth birthday. Plate no. 15 shows a temporary structure built in the courtyard of a large house, most probably the house of Hong Kye-hŭi. Looking at the detail (Fig. no. 16), the painting almost seems to be divided into two centres of action located around the table where food has already been prepared. The women standing on the right side (of the painting) appear to be different from those standing on the left side. The former seem to be members of the family as they keep a certain distance from the men in the foreground. They also stand immediately behind the table. In contrast, the second group of women may be *ki*, judging from their hair and dress styles. They do not seem to be shy, as some of them are very close to the men in the foreground.

The use of *ki* in the private sphere was much opposed by the central authorities - most of the times with words, rarely with deeds. But the representation of *ki* depicted in company of few literati at a private gathering represents nevertheless the most frequent subject of the existing iconography on *ki* during the late Chosŏn period. Private casual encounters on the road, spring or autumn outings of elegantly dressed *kinyŏ* in company of young Confucian scholars still studying for their *munkwa* examinations represent common themes of genre paintings. Sin Yun-bok's paintings provide us with abundant evidence of the *kinyŏ*'s presence and involvement in the private life of officials-bureaucrats in late Chosŏn dynasty Korea. The illustrations presented in Plates no. 17, 18, 19 and 20 are only a modest example of a much broader collection of

extant iconographical material on the presence of the *kinyŏ* in the private sphere of official-bureaucrats' lives in the second half of the dynasty. Unfortunately, due to the lack of pictorial data produced during the first half of the dynasty, demonstrating through paintings the presence of *ki* in official and private spheres of life during the first half of the Chosŏn dynasty has not been possible.

A tentative classification of the paintings according to their degree of 'officiality' has revealed the existence of a dual distinction, i.e., official vs. private. The degree of social importance intrinsic to each situation not only corresponded to a change in the degree of 'officiality' of *kinyŏ*'s participation in society, but it also determined the hierarchical level of the *ki* involved. Whereas official banquets offered at the royal palace would have the highest level of importance and 'officiality', and requested therefore the presence of *yŏak* or of *kwan'gi*, in the case of private gatherings the paintings would reveal absence of officiality. Such paintings would rather offer a better glimpse into the private life of the *ki* and of the men accompanying them.

To a certain extent, the iconographical material presented here has supported the hypothesis of the existence of a hierarchical structure within the *ki* system, the same hierarchical structure already suggested in the consulted sources. Further research into different sources will be needed in order to provide a much better description of the *ki*'s system and of its hierarchical subdivision.



Plate no. 17 - Kim Hui-gyom "Sok Ch'on's Amusements", early 18th century
light colour on paper, 119.5 x 87.5 cm
(Private collection), Yesan, South Ch'ungch'ong Province



Plate no. 18 - Kim Hûi-gyôm "Sôk Ch'ôn's Amusements" (detail), early 18th century
light colour on paper, 119.5 x 87.5 cm
(Private collection), Yesan, South Ch'ungch'ông Province



Plate no. 19- Anonymous "Amusement in the Backyard" late 18th century,
Colour on silk, 52.8 x 33.1 cm
National Museum of Korea



Plate no. 20 - Anonymous "Amusement in the Backyard" (detail), late 18th century,
Colour on silk, 52.8 x 33.1 cm
National Museum of Korea

CONCLUSIONS

The main purpose of this work was trying to identify and describe the *kinyŏ* institution in Chosŏn dynasty Korea, based mainly on the textual evidence provided by the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*, the official history of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910). Access to the source was mediated through the identification of proper key terminology, which allowed an analysis of the contents. The relevant terms were selected according to the criteria indicated in chapter four on p. 70. They had to satisfy 1) the gender requirement, i.e., all terms had to refer to women professionally active in Chosŏn society; 2) the above condition had to be satisfied through a process of more or less formal education in the relevant discipline; and 3) the occurrence rate of each term in the source had to be considered relevant in order for the term to be chosen for further analysis.

As shown in Table no. 1 at p. 70, a tentative selection of terminology was made using the appearance rate of each term in the Annals. The count was facilitated by the availability of a CD-ROM version of the Annals. Whereas some terms appeared to have a quite generic connotation such as *ki*, *kisaeng*, *kinyŏ*, *yoryŏng* and *yŏgi*, others seemed to be connected to specific aspects related to their functional diversification or geographical distribution. I am referring to the terms *yŏak* (female court musicians) and *ŭinyŏ* (medical women) which seemed to indicate a functional diversification within the category, and to the term *kwan'gi* (officially registered *ki*) which, on the other hand, seemed to be referred to *ki* moving within the boundaries of provincial government structures. Based on their individual characteristics, these

three terms were further analysed in chapter four, in an attempt to describe their major developments over the historical period under analysis. This, however, was not always possible due to limitations imposed by the intrinsic nature of the primary source.

The Annals seem to be a much better source of information for the first half of the dynasty than for the second. A quick reference to Table no. 1 at p. 70 will make that clear. Not only do the number of entries decrease sharply after the reign of King Sukchong (1674-1720), but the entries recorded in the second half of the dynasty do not seem to contain information of particular significance. In the majority of cases the terms are mentioned without any further elaboration. A possible explanation for this could be that legislative activities were usually needed and implemented at the beginning of a new dynasty, to be taken up only for revisional purposes in the following years. Applying the same principle to the entries related to the terms *yŏak* (female court musicians) and *ŭinyŏ* (medical women) it is possible to see that major issues such as the admission of women at court (a major point of discussion when the *yŏak* question was brought up at court sessions) or the education and preparation of women in the medical profession represented the most relevant and urgent issues during the first period, at the very onset of the *yŏak* (female court musicians) and *ŭinyŏ* (medical women) systems. The same is true for the term *kwan'gi* (officially registered *ki*). Instructions regarding change of status or exemption from job assignments are more frequent in the first half of the dynasty.

The nationwide *kwan'gi* system, which was based on the regular registration of women selected among public slaves in the provinces, had been established with the purpose of guaranteeing a constant female

presence at official government institutions. *Kwan'gi* were supposed to be employed for entertaining resident as well as travelling high ranking officials, and their presence at rehearsals and official occasions was expected. Most probably all the *ki* registered in the *Kisaeng* roaster (*Kisaeng kwanan*)¹⁾ of 1894 were in fact *kwan'gi*. It is very unfortunate that the document in question refers to the end of the Chosŏn dynasty and that no similar documents could be found for previous periods. Nevertheless, the document retains its own historical importance. Apart from providing us with information on the various prices paid by the *ki* in exchange for their exemption from any *ki* obligation the document also demonstrates the existence of a hierarchy within the *ki* category. As a matter of fact, it proves that whereas the majority of the absentees sent a slave as a substitute, in some other cases this was not enough. A few *ki* had to pay a much higher price in order to be exempted from duty. Most probably they were more important to the local office than the rest of the *ki*, as they must have possessed outstanding artistic talents or, perhaps, were simply considered more beautiful. But the historical importance of the *Kisaeng* roaster of 1894 is even greater because it proves that, in the end, the very strength of the *ki* system during its founding period turned out to be also its greatest weakness: the system had become too dependent on central recruitment and registration procedures. Once the Reforms of 1894 (*Kabo kyŏngjang*) sanctioned the abolition of slavery nationwide the *ki* system dissolved.

As previously mentioned no other source better than the Annals could provide information leading to the identification of the *kinyŏ* system from its institutional point of view. Information included in the Annals was also supported by data contained in the National Code (*Kyŏngguk*

1) Reproduced in Appendix B of the present work.

taejŏn), in local histories (*ŭpji*), and in personal accounts of individual curious episodes by *yangban* literati such as Sŏng Hyŏn and Yi Yuk with their Assorted Writings of Yongjae (*Yongjae ch'onghwa*) and the Pleasant Chats of Ch'ŏngp'a (*Ch'ŏngp'a kŭktam*) respectively. But the Annals have revealed a scarcity of data for the period relevant to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the occurrences regarding *ki* become more scanty and, eventually, disappear. The records on *ki* during this period are scanty, irregular and mostly without any significant particulars. However, this does not mean that *yŏak*, *ŭinyŏ* or *kwan'gi* disappeared. It could rather be an indication that perhaps more detailed information should be researched and collected in primary sources of a different nature such as other official compilations like the *ŭigwe* (court ceremonials), local gazetteers, and histories or *munjip* (collected works) written by individual *yangban* literati. Another very important source of information on the social history of the *ki* during the Chosŏn period is represented by the rich literary production mainly in the form of poetry left by these women. A socio-historical analysis of this material could shed new light on the life of the *ki* during the Chosŏn dynasty. Another possible direction of further study is the connection and comparison with analogous Chinese and Japanese systems. The Japanese *geisha* has often been compared to the Korean *kisaeng*, but Korea never had pleasure districts such the Ward of Heavenly Peace of Tang China, or the Yoshiwara of Japan. It might be interesting to understand why.

The last chapter of this work has been an attempt to verify in pictorial images the hierarchical patterns identified in the written source. In contrast with the Annals which have revealed a lack of data on private aspects of the life of the *ki*, paintings are quite illuminating in

this respect. Side by side with the officially sanctioned roles which ordered participation of *ki* in official ceremonies – and only in them – paintings are a visual testimony of the widespread presence of *ki* at the private level. Here only a few examples have been presented but only a glance at the genre paintings by the mid-late eighteenth century painter Sin Yun-bok is sufficient to reveal the extent to which the *ki*'s presence in the scholar-literati society had spread.

If the Annals have proven to be a good source of information with relation to the official aspects of being a *kinyŏ*, especially in the first half of the Chosŏn dynasty, they turned out to be a less valuable source of information on the *kinyŏ* as a whole and their contributions to and roles played within traditional Chosŏn society. The limits of the source were anticipated in the Introduction where the purpose of this study was limited to identifying the main institutional aspects of the *ki* system and its underlying hierarchy. Therefore this study does not pretend to be a general introduction to the life of the *kinyŏ*. It rather hopes to be a small door opening into the complex world of professional and educated women in traditional Korea. It has not taken into consideration the enormous amount of broadly scattered and additional documentary material relevant to an understanding of the *kinyŏ* issue in a broader perspective – the life of these women in its completeness. The amount of sources available is so large that the reading of such material could easily become a lifetime undertaking. Many questions still remain to be answered: who provided for *ki*'s housing and living? Was it the government or rather individuals of whom *ki* had become concubines? And what was exactly the role played by the *kibu*? Was he only a sort of manager of the *ki*'s artistic talent or did he rather ask for sexual services in payment for his

assistance? In addition the role of the *ki* in the private sphere of life should also be tackled in greater depth and analysed within the broader structure of women's life in general during the Chosŏn dynasty.

I presented in the first chapter how many restrictions women of the upper class endured in Chosŏn Korea and more so in the case of women of lowborn status. Whereas upper-class women, even though subjected to the "Thrice Following",²⁾ enjoyed limited freedom of action in their own living environments, in the case of *kinyŏ* this was not supposed to happen.

Upper-class women's lives were in large part determined by the men in their lives, i.e. fathers, husbands and sons. Slaves were considered public property (*kongmul*) and had no rights whatsoever. Whereas family represented for *yangban* women limitation as well as protection, female slaves had no family to protect them. A public slave's family did not exist as such – it could be dismembered at any time with the mother assigned to one office and her children selected and assigned to government offices in different areas. The same happened in the case of private slave families which could be divided according to inheritance shares decided by the slave owner. Hence the complete uselessness of men's presence around slave women who found themselves completely vulnerable. Becoming a *ki* in contrast, represented for women slaves and for their families as well, a step towards a better life. The doors of education in music, dance, singing and literary composition opened suddenly for these women together with the possibility of becoming concubines of high-ranking officials. Compared to their previous

2) The term "Thrice Following" (Chin.: *sancong*, Kor.: *samjong*) has been adopted from Ko, Dorothy *Teachers of the Inner Chambers*, pp. 6-7 where she refers to a quote from the Book of Rites in a translation by James Legge: "The woman follows (and obeys) the man: – in her youth, she follows her father and elder brother; when married, she follows her husband; when her husband is dead, she follows her son."

conditions as simple slaves, becoming a *ki* represented for these women a promotion, a substantial social advancement. In the case of medical women (*ũinyõ*), who were involved in an activity judged 'socially useful and productive', so much more so. The distance from their previous low status was even more extreme.

An eloquent example of the upward mobility pattern in the lives of these women is represented by the case of Kyõngbi, also reported in the *Sõngjong sillok* under the name of T'angmuna.³⁾ She started as a *kwan'bi*, a government slave, most probably in the provinces, then was chosen to be a *ch'angnyõ* (same as *ch'anggi*) and later must have moved to the capital as we see that her title changed to *kyõnggi* (*ki* registered in the capital). She ended her "career" as concubine. Quite a success, when compared with her humble origins.

The short poem which follows has been attributed to a *ki* named Songi.⁴⁾ It is an expression of the pride *ki* had in their profession. The poem is built on a literary pun,⁵⁾ very effective in the original language but which, unfortunately, is muted in the translation.⁶⁾

Pine, pine tree you call me
but do you know what kind of pine I am?
I am a pine tree strong and majestic on a thumbling escarpment
that's what I am
Do you think you could reach me
you silly woodcutters down there with your useless tools?...⁷⁾

3) Sõngjong 291 25/06/11

4) The name means "pine tree" in Sino-Korean. Nothing is known about Songi's life. As in the majority of cases, even her real name is unknown, as *ki* authors were handed down to posterity only by their artistic names.

5) In Sino-Korean the word 'song' means pine tree, corresponding to the Korean term 'sol', contained in the original version of the poem. 'Song' is also the name of the author. Hence the word-game played by Songi in her short composition.

6) The translation provided here has been done by the author and presents all the limits and difficulties encountered in translating in a language other than the mother tongue. It wishes to convey the message of self-esteem contained in its lines.

7) The poem, a short verse composition (*sijo*), is listed under the number 2395 in Pak Ŭl-su *Han'guk*

It is dedicated to women like T'angmuna, Changdök and many, many nameless others...

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die folgende Arbeit untersucht die Institution der sogenannten *kisaeng* (lit: talentierte Frauen) während der Chosŏn-Dynastie (1392–1910). Das Leben der sogenannten *kisaeng* ist von der modernen Geschichtsschreibung über einen langen Zeitraum hinweg vernachlässigt worden. Die Figur der *ki* wurde bis in die jüngste Zeit allzusehr mit Kurtisanen aus den höheren sozialen Schichten gleichgesetzt, die von einer Aura des Geheimnisvollen umgeben waren. Der Beitrag, der die *ki* zu Entwicklung und Vermittlung traditioneller koreanischer Literatur und Musik geleistet haben, wird heute zwar weitestgehend anerkannt, aber die Beschreibung des *ki*-Systems als eine feststehende Institution ist bis heute ein fehlendes Element jeglicher Forschungsarbeit zu diesem Thema. Das Ziel der hier vorliegenden Arbeit ist es, die institutionellen Aspekte des *ki*-Systems herauszustrichen.

Während *ki* normalerweise aus der untersten sozialen Schicht rekrutiert worden sind, brachte ihre Arbeit sie in Kontakt mit koreanischen Beamten und ausländischen Gesandten aus den oberen sozialen Schichten. Vor diesem Hintergrund versucht die vorliegende Arbeit außerdem, den wechselnden Status der *ki* in der Gesellschaft der Chosŏn-Dynastie zu definieren.

Die primäre Quelle, die der Analyse zugrunde liegt, sind die gesammelten Annalen der Chosŏn Dynastie (*Chosŏn wangjo sillok*). Obwohl es weitere Quellen gibt, die *kisaeng* erwähnen oder ihre Anwesenheit bei bestimmten Ereignissen beschreiben (z.B. gesammelte Schriften konfuzianischer Gelehrter) ist *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* die einzige historische Quelle, die durch Einträge über *ki* zu verschiedenen Zeitpunkten eine chronologische Entwicklung darstellt. Nach der Veröffentlichung der modernen koreanischen Übersetzung der gesamten Quelle auf CD-Rom ist mit der computerisierten Datensuche ein detaillierter Überblick über die verschiedenen Einträge möglich. Auflistung allerdings kann kein Selbstzweck sein, die Menge der Informationen erfordert eine Struktur. Aus der Fülle der Daten sind deshalb einzelne Komplexe ausgewählt worden, an denen sich funktionale und räumliche Aufteilung der Institution des *ki*-Systems exemplarisch verdeutlichen lassen. Vorerst geht es dabei weniger um 'Erklärungen' bestimmter Verschiebungen, denn um ein 'Konstatieren', um das Erstellen von Wegweisern für weitere Forschungen.

Die Quellengrundlage des fünften Kapitels ist im wesentlichen nicht die schriftliche Quelle, sondern eine Serie von Bildern, die verschiedene Künstler während der späten Chosŏn-Dynastie gemalt haben. Auf diesen Bildern sind zum Teil offizielle und inoffizielle Anlässe dargestellt, bei denen *ki* anwesend gewesen sind.

Die gesamte Arbeit ist in fünf verschiedene Kapitel gegliedert. Das erste Kapitel beschreibt die Situation von Frauen während der

Chosŏn-Dynastie, vor deren Hintergrund im folgenden die besondere Rolle der *kisaeng* dargestellt werden soll. Im zweiten Kapitel wird versucht, sich den Ursprüngen des *ki*-Systems zu nähern. Darauf basierend rekonstruiert das dritte Kapitel die verschiedenen Aufgabenbereiche der *ki* und versucht, Einblicke in das Alltagsleben der Frauen zu geben. Im vierten Kapitel werden drei exemplarische Fallbeispiele dargestellt: die Beschreibungen von *yŏak* (Hofmusikerinnen) und *ŭinyŏ* (Medizinerinnen) sind aufgrund ihrer funktionalen Aufteilungen gewählt worden, während das Fallbeispiel der *kwan'gi* (der offiziell registrierten *ki*) auf der Basis räumlicher Aufteilung ausgesucht worden ist. Das fünfte und letzte Kapitel versucht Ansätze aufgrund visueller Beschreibungen, indem es verschiedene Funktionen, die die *ki* während der Chosŏn-Dynastie gespielt haben, anhand von Bildern zeitgenössischer Maler identifiziert.

Das *ki*-System endete mit der Abschaffung der Sklaverei in Korea nach den Reformen von 1894. Im kulturellen Gedächtnis hat die Figur der *ki* ihre Funktion als 'kulturelle Vermittlerin' von diesem Zeitpunkt an verloren, um immer mehr mit der Rolle einer besser gestellten Prostituierten identifiziert zu werden.

APPENDICES

- A. Lists of *ki* Names Appearing in the Annals
- B. *Kisaeng* Roaster (*Kisaeng kwanan* 妓生官案 (1894))
- C. Complete *ki*-related *Chosŏn Wangjo Sillok* (*Annals*) Indices

APPENDIX A: List of *ki* Names Appearing in the Annals

The dates given in each list correspond to those given in the CD-ROM version of the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*. The first number after the king's name represents the volume number followed by year, month and day.

Ch'anggi (娼妓)

Name in Korean	Name in Sino-korean	Qualification	Date
일점홍 (Iljŏmhong)	一點紅	ch'anggi	Sejong 020 05/05/11
금강매 (Kŭngangmae)	錦江梅	ch'anggi	Sejong 085 21/05/03
영가 (Yŏngga)	永加	ch'anggi	Sejong 085 21/06/18
옥루아 (Ongnua)	玉樓兒	ch'anggi	Sejong 086 21/09/09
경비 (Kyŏngbi)	鏡婢	ch'anggi	Sejong 090 22/07/17
생아 (Saenga)	生兒	ch'anggi	Tanjong 014 03/06/10
어을우동(ŏrūdong)	於乙字同	ch'anggi	Sŏngjong 146 13/09/28
금생 (Kŭmsaeng)	今生	ch'anggi	Sŏngjong 169 15/08/15
소춘풍 (Soch'unp'ung)	笑春風	ch'anggi	Sŏngjong 185 16/11/16
연경비 (Yŏn'gyŏngbi)	燕輕飛	ch'anggi	Sŏngjong 198 17/12/22
탁문아 (T'angmuna)	卓文兒	ch'anggi	Sŏngjong 198 17/12/22
위군래 (Wigunnae)	爲君來	ch'anggi	Sŏngjong 207 18/09/05
홍행 (Honghaeng)	紅杏	ch'anggi/yŏgi	Sŏngjong 209 18/11/13
동질금 (Tongjilgŭm)	同叱今	ch'anggi	Sŏngjong 225 20/02/15
청루월 (Ch'ŏngnuwŏl)	靑樓月	ch'anggi	Sŏngjong 263 23/03/02
경이 () Kyŏngi (T'angmuna)	景伊 卓文兒	Kwan'bi ↓ ch'angnyŏ ↓ kyŏnggi ↓ concubine	Sŏngjong 291 25/06/11
다물사리 (Tamulsari)	多勿沙里	ch'anggi	Sŏngjong 296 25/11/14
장록수 (Changnoksu)	張綠水	ch'anggi	Yŏnsan'gun 047 08/11/25
석일소 (Sŏkilso)	惜一笑	ch'anggi	Yŏnsan'gun 057 11/01/13
조춘매 (Choch'unmae)	早春梅	ch'anggi	Yŏnsan'gun 057 11/01/13

Medical women (Ŭinyŏ 醫女)

Name in Korean	Name in Sino-korean	Qualification	Date
소비 (Sobi)	召泌	ŭinyŏ	Sejong 089 22/04/10
백이 (Paegi)	栢伊	ŭinyŏ	Sejong 121 30/08/24
귀금 (Kwigŭm)	貴今	ŭinyŏ	Sŏngjong 044 05/06/01
장덕 (Changdŏk)	長德	ŭinyŏ	Sŏngjong 220 19/09/28
영로 (Yŏngno)	永老	ŭinyŏ	Sŏngjong 246 21/10/13
사랑 (Sarang)	思郎	ŭinyŏ	Yŏnsan'gun 009 01/09/04
개금 (Kaegŭm)	介今	ŭinyŏ	Yŏnsan'gun 054 10/07/20
덕금 (Tŏkkŭm)	德今	ŭinyŏ	Yŏnsan'gun 054 10/07/20
고온지 (Koonji)	古溫知	ŭinyŏ	Yŏnsan'gun 054 10/07/20
강금 (Kanggŭm)	姜今	ŭinyŏ	Yŏnsan'gun 062 12/06/20
장금 (Changgŭm)	長今	ŭinyŏ	Chungjong 021 10/03/21
부희덕 (Puhŭidŏk)	夫喜德	ŭinyŏ	Chungjong 024 11/04/07
대장금 (Taejanggŭm)	大長今	ŭinyŏ	Chungjong 052 19/12/15
철비 (Ch'ŏlbi)	鐵非	ŭinyŏ	Chungjong 053 20/03/19
진금 (Chin'gŭm)	眞今	ŭinyŏ	Chungjong 055 20/11/16
열이 (Yŏri)	烈伊	ŭinyŏ	Chungjong 080 30/10/15
금장이 (Kŭmjangi)	今莊伊	ŭinyŏ	Chungjong 080 30/10/18
은비 (Ŭnbi)	銀非	ŭinyŏ	Myŏngjong 009 04/09/25
선복 (Sŏnbok)	善福	ŭinyŏ	Sŏnjo 008 07/12/13
애종 (Aejong)	愛鐘	ŭinyŏ	Sŏnjo 126 33/06/25
자근 (Cha'gŭn)	者斤	ŭinyŏ	Sŏnjo 134 34/02/20
연생 (Yŏnsaeng)	連生	ŭinyŏ	Injo 046 23/10/09

Kinyŏ (妓女)

Name in Korean	Name in Sino-Korean	Qualification	Date
삼월 (Samwŏl)	三月	nogi (old ki)	T'aejong 024 12/11/30
소비 (Sobi)	小婢	kinyŏ	Sejong 041 10/09/01
금강 (Kūmgang)	金剛	kinyŏ	Sejong 064 16/05/04
옥영향 (Okyŏnggyang)	玉英香	kinyŏ	Sejong 105 26/07/22
옥부향 (Okbuhyang)	玉膚香	kinyŏ (4 ki)	Sejo 031 09/07/04
자동선 (Chadongsŏn)	紫洞仙	kinyŏ (4 ki)	Sejo 031 09/07/04
양대 (Yangdae)	陽臺	kinyŏ (4 ki)	Sejo 031 09/07/04
초요갱 (Ch'oyogaeng)	楚腰更	kinyŏ (4 ki)	Sejo 031 09/07/04 Yejong 007 01/08/16
함로화 (Hamnohwa)	含露花	kinyŏ	Yejong 007 01/08/16
홍행 (Honghaeng)	紅杏	kinyŏ	Sŏngjong 139 13/03/26
자운아 (Chauna)	紫云兒	kinyŏ/kich'ŏp (kinyŏ/concubine)	Sŏngjong 203 18/05/26 Sŏngjong 203 18/05/27 Sŏngjong 203 18/06/11
백옥아 (Paegoga)	白玉兒	kinyŏ	Sŏngjong 209 18/11/10
승천금 (Sūngch'ŏngŭm)	勝千金	kinyŏ	Sŏngjong 236 21/01/24
영감당 (Yŏnggamdang)	詠甘棠	kinyŏ	Myŏngjong 012 02/01/01

Official *ki* (*Kwan'gi* 官妓)

Name in Korean	Name in Sino-Korean	Qualification	Date
매화 (Maehwa)	梅花	kwan'gi/ongju	T'aejong 006 03/11/18
칠점선 (Ch'iljŏmsŏn)	七點仙	Kimhae kwan'gi/ongju	T'aejong 014 07/11/02
소매향 (Somaehyang)	小梅香	Kangnŭng kwan'gi	T'aejong 017 09/05/27
명화 (Myŏnghwa)	明花	Naju kwan'gi	T'aejong 019 10/06/25
한선연 (Hansŏnyŏn)	漢嬋娟	kich'ŏp	T'aejong 020 10/11/29
칠점선 (Ch'iljŏmsŏn)	七點仙	ki → primary wife	Sejong 028 07/05/26
유감동 (Yugamdong)	兪甘同	kwan'gi ← daughter of a noble family	Sejong 037 09/09/14
경비 (Kyŏngbi)	鏡婢	Daughter of Kang Hyo-sung → kwan'gi	→ Sejong 090 22/07/17
일지화 (Iljihwa)	一枝花	kwan'gi	Sejong 108 27/05/06
대관풍 (Taegwanp'ung)	待觀風	kwan'gi in Kyŏngsang province	Sŏngjong 050 05/12/23
재춘 (Chaech'un)	再春	kwan'gi in Kongju	Sŏngjong 200 18/02/02
적선아 (Chŏksŏna)	謫仙兒	kwan'gi	Chungjong 016 07/07/07
no name given		P'yŏngyang kwan'gi	Chungjong 055 20/11/22
곤생 (Konsaeng)	昆生	Cheju kwan'gi	Sukjong 042 31/09/06
월중매 (Wŏljungmae)	月中梅	kwan'gi ← Daughter of Kang Ik-ju	Yŏngjo 102 39/09/29

Ch'anggi (倡妓)

Name in Korean	Name in Sino-Korean	Qualification	Date
삼월 (Samwŏl)	三月	ch'anggi/nogi	T'aejong 024 12/10/28
가희아 *Kanghŭia)	可喜兒	ch'anggi/nogi	T'aejong 024 12/10/28
옥동선 (Okdongsŏn)	玉洞仙	ch'anggi of Kimhae/nogi	T'aejong 024 12/10/28
유감동 (Yugamdong)	兪甘同	Wife of the P'yŏngan County Magistrate → ch'anggi	Sejong 037 09/08/18 Sejong 037 09/09/16 Sejong 037 09/09/29
no name given		Daughter of the <i>akkong</i> Yi Saeng → ch'anggi * Concubine of Im Yŏng Taegun	Sejong 081 20/04/23
패강아 (P'aeganga)	貝江兒	ch'anggi	Sejong 091 22/10/30
적선아 (Chŏksŏna)	謫仙兒	ch'anggi	Sejong 095 24/02/26
금강아 (Kŭmganga)	錦江兒	ch'anggi/ Concubine of Kwŏn P'aeng	Sŏngjong 081 08/06/05
어을우동 (ŏŭrudong)	於乙宇同	Wife of a member of the royal family → ch'anggi	Sŏngjong 159 14/10/11
홍행 (Honghaeng)	紅杏	ch'anggi	Sŏngjong 209 18/11/13
no name given		ch'anggi of Ch'ŏnan → concubine of Sim Chi-ŏ	Kwanghaegun 108 08/10/11

APPENDIX B: *Kisaeng* Roster (*Kisaeng kwanan* 妓生官案 (1894)

(Yönsei University, Central Library, Rare Books Section, 111 1/1)

PAGE 1

開國五百三年九月 日妓生官案
妓菊香
呈頌秩
妓春心
妓梅紅
妓菊月
妓玉仙
妓紅蓮
妓梅香
妓秋仙

PAGE 2

妓秋玉
妓雪云
妓月桂
妓錦仙
妓八月
妓蘭蕙
妓雪梅
妓梅仙
妓蓮花
妓錦紅
妓菊香
妓雪月
妓玉仙
老除秩
妓於仁蓮
妓錦蓮

PAGE 3

逃亡秩	
妓鳳錦	
妓月禮	
妓分玉	
妓錦鳳	
妓碧桃	
妓錦鶯	
妓錦心	
妓桃紅	
妓荊玉	
妓春梅	
妓桂紅	
妓小紅	
免役秩	
妓春香	代立官奴千金
妓英暹	納贖三十兩式頃下

PAGE 4

妓玉今	
妓錦紅	代立官奴良金
妓七月	代立官奴者斤尙
妓月中蟾	
妓藥月	納贖三十兩式改建官廳
妓順玉	
妓錦香	
妓月梅	納贖三十兩式記付官奴廳
妓暹玉	
妓八月	
妓藥春	納贖三十兩式頃下
妓順香	
妓小紅	
妓蘭玉	
妓雪玉	代立官奴赤
妓雪月	代立官奴七尙

PAGE 5

妓菊香	代立官奴興隆
妓弄玉	代立官奴甲周
妓桃紅	代立官奴芑石
妓錦娘	代立官奴卜孫
妓閏月	代立官奴春尙
妓春興	代立官奴尙孫
妓春紅	代立官奴判宗
妓菊仙	代立官奴尙官
妓玉香	納贖五十兩大也一座東軒留物件
妓蓮香	納贖一白兩式之官奴廳
妓蓮葩	納贖一白兩頃下
妓桐月	納贖一白兩頃下
妓雙玉	納贖一白兩頃下

APPENDIX C: Complete *Chosŏn Wangjo Sillok (Annals)* Indices

All entries are recorded according to the *Chosŏn Wangjo Sillok* CD-ROM listing method, i.e. the first three-digit number indicates the volume number during each king's reign, followed by the year of reign, month and day, and (in brackets) by the name of the day according to the oriental calendar, which indicates dates based on the combination of the Ten Celestial Stems (天干) and the Twelve Earthly Branches (十二支).

- *kwan'gi* (官妓)

T'aejo	001 ch'ongsŏ
T'aejong	006 03/11/18 (imjin)
	014 07/11/02 (imja)
	017 09/05/27 (musul)
	019 10/05/02 (mujin)
	019 10/06/25 (kyŏngsin)
	020 10/11/29 (sinmyo)
	028 14/08/04 (kapjin)
	035 18/03/27 (chŏngch'uk)
Sejong	003 01/03/04 (musin)
	003 01/04/14 (muja)
	004 01/06/18 (sinmyo)
	011 03/04/27 (kimi)
	015 04/02/29 (pyŏngjin)
	016 04/07/22 (chŏngch'uk)
	028 07/05/26 (ŭlmi)
	029 07/08/25 (sinmyo)
	032 08/04/19 (imo)
	037 09/09/14 (kihae)
	047 12/03/26 (pyŏngin)
	047 12/03/26 (pyŏngin)
	049 12/07/28 (pyŏngin)
	049 12/08/19 (chŏnghae)
	051 13/03/05 (kisa)
	052 13/06/03 (ŭlmi)

	054	13/11/06	(chǒngmyo)
	077	19/05/09	(musul)
	084	21/02/13	(sinmyo)
	086	21/09/10	(ŭlmyo)
	086	21/09/12	(chǒngsa)
	086	21/09/13	(muo)
	090	22/07/17	(chǒngsa)
	098	24/10/26	(kyech'uk)
	108	27/05/06	(kimyo)
	109	27/07/03	(ŭlhae)
	109	27/08/09	(kyǒngsul)
	112	28/05/04	(sinmi)
	113	28/07/29	(ŭlmi)
	113	28/09/22	(chǒnghae)
	124	31/06/09	(chǒngsa)
Munjong	005	01/01/26	(pyǒngin)
Tanjong	005	01/01/17	(ŭlhae)
	013	03/01/26	(imsin)
Sejo	007	03/04/13	(pyǒngo)
	007	03/05/22	(kapsin)
	011	04/02/11	(kisa)
	034	10/12/25	(kapjin)
	035	11/01/16	(kapja)
Yejong	007	01/09/15	(ŭlmi)
Sǒngjong	006	01/06/19	(pyǒngin)
	033	04/08/24	(kyemi)
	033	04/08/26	(ŭlyu)
	033	04/08/27	(pyǒngsul)
	041	05/04/28	(imo)
	047	05/09/11	(kyehae)
	050	05/12/23	(kapjin)
	070	07/08/29	(kihae)
	079	08/04/06	(kyemyo)
	097	09/10/08	(pyǒngsin)
	200	18/02/02	(imsin)
	211	19/01/06	(sinch'uk)
	211	19/01/14	(kiyu)

	256	22/08/17	(sinyu)
	261	23/01/22	(kyesa)
	281	24/08/11	(kyeyu)
	283	24/10/23	(kapsin)
	292	25/07/23	(kiyu)
Yönsan'gun	003	01/02/24	(muin)
	003	01/02/25	(kimyo)
	005	01/05/05	(chönghae)
	006	01/06/06	(chöngsa)
	007	01/07/13	(kabo)
	009	01/10/19	(mujin)
	030	04/07/12	(pyöngo)
	046	08/10/05	(kapjin)
	053	10/05/05	(kabo)
Chungjong	006	03/07/27	(kyehae)
	016	07/07/07	(muin)
	018	08/03/16	(ülyu)
	032	13/02/06	(ülhae)
	035	13/12/07	(imsin)
	040	15/08/12	(chöngyu)
	055	20/11/22	(chöngch'uk)
	057	21/11/02	(sinsa)
	058	22/03/08	(ülyu)
	071	26/10/05	(ülyu)
	077	29/04/20	(pyöngjin)
	085	32/07/05	(imo)
Myöngjong	007	03/03/26	(sinch'uk)
	010	05/06/05	(musul)
	010	05/08/23	(kapsin)
	014	08/03/11	(chönghae)
	015	08/12/12	(kapsin)
	017	09/12/17	(kyemi)
	026	15/06/25	(kyöngsin)
	031	20/11/30	(kyehae)
	033	21/10/05	(imsul)
Sönjo	007	06/08/24	(sinmi)
	062	28/04/24	(pyöngin)

	083	29/12/26	(muja)
	132	33/12/15	(kapsin)
	154	35/09/30	(kich'uk)
	202	39/08/23	(kimi)
	202	39/08/24	(kyöngsin)
	202	39/08/27	(kyehae)
Sönjo sujöng	040	39/09/01	(chöngmyo)
Kwanghaegun	120	09/10/08	(kihae)
	174	14/02/21	(chönghae)
Injo	038	17/06/14	(kyöngja)
	047	24/04/10	(pyöngsul)
Hyönjong sujöng	002	01/03/17	(imsin)
	009	04/10/17	(sinhae)
Sukchong	010	06/08/19	(ül'sa)
	010	06/08/23	(kiyu)
	010	06/08/29	(ülmyo)
	013	08/04/03	(kyöngjin)
	017	12/02/16	(kyöngja)
	017	12/05/01	(kapsin)
	021	15/10/05	(mujin)
	032	24/01/22	(musul)
	038	29/02/14	(kich'uk)
	039	30/04/28	(chöngyu)
	039	30/05/14	(imja)
	039	30/05/17	(ülmyo)
	040	30/11/11	(chöngmi)
	040	30/11/16	(imja)
	041	31/01/16	(sinhae)
	041	31/04/13	(pyöngja)
	042	31/09/06	(chöngmyo)
	061	44/03/25	(kapsul)
	062	44/12/10	(kyech'uk)
	062	44/12/14	(chöngja)
Kyöngjong	010	02/10/20	(imsin)
Yöngjo	022	05/05/10	(kabin)
	023	05/07/02	(kapsul)
	048	15/01/06	(kyech'uk)

	089	33/05/12	(imin)
	102	39/09/29	(kyemi)
	119	48/11/09	(kyöngja)
- <i>kinyö</i> (妓女)			
T'aejong	013	07/02/24	(kiyu)
	023	12/01/16	(sinch'uk)
	024	12/11/30	(sinhae)
Sejong	005	01/09/15	(chöngsa)
	041	10/09/01	(kyöngsul)
	056	14/04/25	(kyech'uk)
	064	16/05/04	(kyöngjin)
	081	20/04/23	(pyöngja)
	085	21/04/05	(imo)
	087	21/11/12	(pyöngjin)
	093	23/06/08	(kyeyu)
	105	26/07/22	(kisa)
	119	30/01/18	(ül'sa)
Munjong	005	00/12/29	(kihae)
Tanjong	004	00/11/16	(kapsul)
	005	01/03/05	(imsul)
	010	02/02/18	(kihae)
	011	02/07/07	(pyöngjin)
	012	02/10/04	(imo)
Sejo	003	02/03/28	(chöngyu)
	019	06/01/26	(kapjin)
	019	06/03/05	(imo)
	026	07/12/17	(kyemi)
	028	08/05/13	(chöngmi)
	029	08/12/13	(kyeyu)
	031	09/07/04	(sinyu)
	031	09/09/08	(kapja)
	032	10/01/01	(kabin)
	032	10/02/24	(chöngmi)
	034	10/09/21	(sinmi)
	036	11/07/04	(kiyu)
	045	14/02/26	(chöngsa)

Yejong	007 01/08/16 (chǒngmyo)
	007 01/08/23 (kapsul)
	007 01/08/24 (ülhae)
Sǒngjong	008 01/12/16 (kimi)
	010 02/04/19 (sinyu)
	014 03/01/12 (kiyu)
	022 03/09/01 (kabo)
	028 04/03/27 (chǒngsa)
	033 04/08/28 (chǒnghae)
	050 05/12/23 (kapjin)
	059 06/09/12 (muo)
	062 06/12/29 (kapjin)
	063 07/01/10 (ülmyo)
	103 10/04/26 (imja)
	139 13/03/26 (kabo)
	140 13/04/11 (kiyu)
	186 16/12/10 (chǒnghae)
	186 16/12/10 (chǒnghae)
	200 18/02/01 (sinmi)
	202 18/04/04 (kyeyu)
	203 18/05/23 (imsul)
	203 18/05/26 (ülch'uk)
	203 18/05/27 (pyǒngin)
	204 18/06/11 (kimyo)
	204 18/06/17 (ülyu)
	204 18/06/18 (pyǒngsul)
209 18/11/10 (ül'sa)	
209 18/11/13 (musin)	
212 19/01/14 (kimyo)	
214 19/03/11 (ülhae)	
218 19/07/24 (ülyu)	
219 19/08/16 (chǒngmi)	
233 20/10/21 (ül'sa)	
233 20/10/26 (kyǒngsul)	
233 20/10/26 (kyǒngsul)	
234 20/11/01 (ülmyo)	
235 20/12/01 (kapsin)	

	236	21/01/24	(chǒngch'uk)
	269	23/09/21	(kich'uk)
	277	24/05/24	(chǒnghae)
Yǒnsan'gun	006	01/06/12	(kyehae)
	012	02/01/01	(kyǒngjin)
	040	07/07/28	(ǔlhae)
	041	07/08/28	(kyeyu)
	041	07/09/07	(imo)
	041	07/12/19	(kyehae)
	046	08/10/28	(chǒngmo)
	050	09/06/13	(musin)
	054	10/07/07	(ǔlmi)
	054	10/07/15	(kyemyo)
	055	10/08/27	(kapsin)
	058	11/05/19	(kyemyo)
Chungjong	004	02/11/08	(chǒngmi)
	004	02/11/15	(kabin)
	004	02/11/20	(imsin)
	012	05/08/10	(kyesa)
	012	05/10/13	(pyǒngsin)
	012	05/11/20	(imsin)
	014	06/11/01	(chǒngmi)
	017	08/02/06	(ǔlsa)
	022	10/06/12	(chǒngmyo)
	022	10/06/17	(imsin)
	026	11/11/02	(kimyo)
	034	13/07/11	(musin)
	035	14/02/10	(kapsul)
	035	14/03/01	(kabo)
	036	14/08/15	(pyǒngja)
	036	14/09/19	(kyǒngsul)
	037	14/10/10	(kyǒngo)
	037	14/10/10	(kyǒngo)
	038	15/03/08	(chǒngyu)
	039	15/04/17	(kapsul)
	043	16/12/11	(kich'uk)
	053	20/03/11	(kyǒngo)

	054	20/04/08	(chǒngyu)
	061	23/04/09	(kyǒngsul)
	061	23/06/21	(sinyu)
	062	23/08/03	(imin)
	062	23/08/18	(chǒngsa)
	064	23/10/25	(kyesa)
	073	27/10/16	(kyǒngin)
	076	28/10/09	(muin)
	077	29/05/28	(kabo)
	084	32/03/04	(kyemi)
	084	32/03/11	(kyǒngin)
	084	32/03/13	(imjin)
	084	32/03/14	(kyesa)
	084	32/03/20	(kihae)
	084	32/04/03	(sinhae)
	084	32/04/10	(muo)
	085	32/10/27	(kyeyu)
	089	33/11/10	(kyǒngjin)
	104	39/08/05	(sinmi)
Myǒngjong	014	08/05/04	(kiyu)
	020	11/01/10	(kyǒngo)
	023	12/06/09	(kyǒngin)
Sǒnjo	028	25/07/29	(pyǒngsul)
	149	35/04/17	(musin)
	202	39/08/23	(kimi)
Kwanghaegun	032	02/08/09	(sinsa)
	032	02/08/11	(kyemi)
	032	02/08/14	(pyǒngsul)
	035	02/11/18	(kimi)
	066	05/05/14	(sinmi)
	080	06/07/13	(kyehae)
	096	07/10/04	(chǒngmi)
Injo	006	02/05/12	(ŭlch'uk)
Hyojong	019	08/10/05	(kapsul)
Hyǒnjong	007	04/10/17	(sinhae)
	011	06/10/19	(sinmi)
	011	07/01/04	(ŭlyu)

Hyŏnjong sujŏng	014 06/10/19 (sinmi)
Sukchong	004 01/05/12 (kihae)
	006 03/12/04 (pyŏngo)
	007 04/02/05 (pyŏngo)
	024 18/11/16 (sinyu)
	027 20/08/19 (kabin)
	041 31/02/30 (kabo)
	041 31/04/13 (pyŏngja)
	042 31/08/03 (kabo)
	046 34/06/20 (ŭlch'uk)
	046 34/12/13 (ŭlmyo)
	046 34/12/14 (pyŏngjin)
	046 34/12/27 (kisa)
	058 42/11/19 (ŭlhae)
Yŏngjo	006 01/06/12 (muin)
	018 04/05/08 (muo)
	019 04/09/12 (kimi)
	019 04/10/03 (kyŏngjin)
	020 04/12/11 (chŏnghae)
	023 05/07/04 (pyŏngja)
	037 10/01/20 (chŏngyu)
	037 10/03/26 (imin)
	039 10/12/25 (pyŏngin)
	050 15/09/09 (kyech'uk)
	074 27/12/09 (sinch'uk)
	099 38/05/13 (ŭlhae)
	100 38/07/11 (sinmi)
	102 39/09/11 (ŭlch'uk)
	102 39/09/29 (kyemi)
Chŏngjo	005 02/06/13 (sinmi)
	005 02/06/16 (kapsul)
	008 03/10/16 (pyŏngin)
	017 08/01/19 (ŭlsa)
	026 12/10/03 (sinmyo)
	042 19/03/18 (kisa)
Sunjo	025 22/07/09 (sinch'uk)
	030 29/10/29 (kyŏngin)

- *ch'anggi* (倡妓)

T'aejong	002	01/11/23	(chǒngmi)
	018	09/07/05	(ülhae)
	020	10/10/13	(pyǒngo)
	024	12/10/28	(kyǒngjin)
	024	12/11/30	(sinhae)
	027	14/01/02	(chǒngch'uk)
	033	17/05/14	(kihae)
	035	18/03/21	(sinmi)
	035	18/05/30	(kimyo)
	036	18/07/06	(kabin)
Sejong	037	09/08/18	(kyeyu)
	037	09/09/16	(sinch'uk)
	037	09/09/29	(kabin)
	049	12/08/26	(kabo)
	049	12/08/30	(musul)
	057	14/07/26	(imo)
	081	20/04/23	(pyǒngja)
	089	22/04/06	(chǒngch'uk)
	091	22/10/23	(imjin)
	091	22/10/30	(kihae)
	094	23/12/30	(imsul)
	095	24/02/08	(kihae)
	095	24/02/26	(chǒngsa)
	110	27/12/09	(musin)
	116	29/04/09	(kyǒngja)
	116	29/05/05	(ülmi)
	125	31/07/29	(chǒngmi)
Munjong	004	00/10/17	(chǒnghae)
	004	00/10/21	(sinmyo)
	005	00/12/14	(kapsin)
	008	01/07/12	(musin)
Tanjong	012	02/10/04	(imo)
Sejo	003	02/02/27	(pyǒngin)
	003	02/03/17	(pyǒngsul)

	008	03/07/17	(muin)
	030	09/05/04	(imjin)
	032	10/03/21	(kapsul)
	035	11/04/04	(kyöngjin)
	037	11/09/13	(chöngsa)
Söngjong	008	01/10/23	(chöngmyo)
	056	06/06/09	(pyöngsul)
	057	06/07/17	(kapja)
	081	08/06/05	(kyöngja)
	159	14/10/11	(kyöngo)
	183	16/09/08	(pyöngjin)
	209	18/11/13	(musin)
	269	23/09/21	(kich'uk)
Yönsan'gun	056	10/10/13	(kyöngo)
Chungjong	014	06/12/29	(ül'sa)
	041	16/01/24	(chöngch'uk)
	064	23/11/08	(pyöngo)
	080	30/10/28	(pyöngjin)
Myöngjong	033	21/10/05	(imsul)
Sönjo	132	33/12/06	(ül'hae)
Kwanghaegun	108	08/10/11	(musin)
Injo	001	01/03/23	(kyech'uk)
Sukchong	013	08/04/23	(kyöngja)
- <i>ch'anggi</i> (娼妓)			
T'aejo	009	05/01/24	(kyemi)
	009	05/06/26	(imja)
Chöngjong	001	01/06/01	(kyöngja)
T'aejong	001	01/04/04	(imsul)
	005	03/06/29	(ül'hae)
	019	10/04/02	(musul)
	022	11/09/14	(imsin)
	026	13/08/17	(kyehae)
	026	13/12/28	(kyeyu)
	031	16/01/30	(kyehae)
	036	18/07/06	(kabin)
Sejong	003	01/01/08	(kyech'uk)

005 01/08/19 (sinmyo)
019 05/02/16 (chǒngmyo)
020 05/05/11 (kyǒngin)
037 09/09/16 (sinch'uk)
042 10/10/20 (musul)
042 10/12/02 (kimyo)
051 13/01/10 (kyeyu)
056 14/04/25 (kyech'uk)
065 16/08/02 (pyǒngo)
068 17/02/10 (pyǒngsin)
068 17/05/25 (pyǒngsin)
075 18/12/17 (muin)
085 21/05/03 (kyǒngsul)
085 21/06/08 (kapsin)
085 21/06/18 (kabo)
086 21/09/09 (kabin)
086 21/09/11 (pyǒngjin)
086 21/09/14 (kimi)
087 21/11/12 (pyǒngjin)
088 22/03/18 (kyǒngsin)
088 22/03/28 (chǒngo)
090 22/07/17 (chǒngsa)
094 23/11/18 (sinhae)
098 24/10/15 (imin)
098 24/10/26 (kyech'uk)
100 25/04/19 (kapjin)
101 25/07/29 (imo)
111 28/01/03 (sinmi)
111 28/01/30 (musul)
111 28/02/03 (sinch'uk)
112 28/05/26 (kyesa)
001 00/02/23 (chǒngyu)
004 00/11/08 (musin)
005 00/12/18 (muja)
005 00/12/22 (imjin)
005 01/01/05 (ŭlsa)
005 01/01/17 (chǒngsa)

Munjong

	005 01/01/20 (kyöngsin)
	012 02/03/08 (sinch'uk)
Tanjong	002 00/08/02 (imsul)
	005 01/01/16 (kapsul)
	006 01/05/24 (kyöngjin)
	012 02/10/29 (chöngmi)
	014 03/06/10 (kabin)
	014 03/06/10 (kabin)
Sejo	003 02/04/24 (kyehae)
	018 05/12/17 (ülch'uk)
	025 07/08/15 (imo)
	032 10/02/23 (pyöngo)
	037 11/09/19 (kyehae)
Yejong	006 01/07/03 (kapsin)
Söngjong	009 02/01/22 (ülmi)
	018 03/05/19 (ülmyo)
	032 04/07/30 (kimi)
	032 04/07/30 (kimi)
	038 05/01/23 (kiyu)
	048 05/10/08 (kyöngin)
	075 08/01/13 (imja)
	098 09/11/06 (kyehae)
	098 09/11/21 (muin)
	098 09/11/23 (kyöngjin)
	121 11/09/02 (kimyo)
	138 13/02/03 (imin)
	144 13/08/22 (muo)
	146 13/09/28 (kyehae)
	147 13/10/01 (pyöngin)
	148 13/11/23 (chöngsa)
	150 14/01/18 (sinhae)
	150 14/01/19 (imja)
	154 14/05/03 (kabo)
	169 15/08/15 (kisa)
	169 15/08/17 (sinmi)
	185 16/11/16 (kyehae)
	196 17/10/27 (musul)

197 17/11/17 (muo)
197 17/11/19 (kyöngsin)
198 17/12/11 (imo)
198 17/12/22 (kyesa)
199 18/01/09 (kyöngsul)
203 18/05/14 (kyech'uk)
203 18/05/26 (ülch'uk)
203 18/05/29 (mujin)
204 18/06/01 (kisa)
204 18/06/17 (ülyu)
207 18/09/05 (sinch'uk)
207 18/09/20 (pyöngjin)
209 18/11/13 (musin)
212 19/01/14 (kimyo)
218 19/07/03 (kapja)
225 20/02/15 (kyemyo)
225 20/02/30 (muo)
226 20/03/04 (imsul)
226 20/03/29 (chönghae)
227 20/04/02 (kyöngin)
260 22/12/26 (mujin)
260 22/12/29 (sinmi)
263 23/03/02 (imsin)
273 24/01/11 (chöngch'uk)
291 25/06/11 (mujin)
291 25/06/12 (kisa)
296 25/11/07 (imjin)
296 25/11/14 (kihae)
296 25/11/15 (kyöngja)
296 25/11/16 (sinch'uk)
296 25/11/17 (imin)
296 25/11/19 (kapjin)
Yönsan'gun 007 01/07/03 (kapsin)
007 01/07/13 (kabo)
007 01/07/14 (ülmi)
007 01/07/20 (sinch'uk)
007 01/07/21 (imin)

013 02/03/04 (imo)
013 02/03/25 (kyemyo)
014 02/04/06 (kyemi)
021 03/01/08 (kyöngsul)
031 04/09/04 (kihae)
031 04/09/15 (kyöngsul)
038 06/06/12 (kabo)
038 06/08/29 (sinhae)
039 06/09/12 (kyehae)
039 06/09/14 (ülch'uk)
039 06/09/18 (kisa)
040 07/07/28 (ülhae)
044 08/06/09 (kiyu)
047 08/11/15 (kapsin)
047 08/11/16 (ülyu)
047 08/11/25 (kabo)
049 09/05/08 (kyeyu)
050 09/06/13 (musin)
051 09/12/25 (muo)
056 10/11/24 (kyöngsul)
057 11/01/13 (kihae)
057 11/04/04 (kimi)
062 12/05/14 (kyesa)
062 12/06/13 (sinyu)
063 12/08/08 (ülmyo)
Chungjong 001 01/09/02 (muin)
001 01/09/04 (kyöngjin)
001 01/11/05 (kyöngjin)
010 05/02/01 (chönghae)
010 05/02/01 (chönghae)
016 07/06/14 (pyöngjin)
020 09/06/28 (kimi)
027 11/12/06 (imja)
028 12/07/22 (pyöngsin)
029 12/08/23 (pyöngin)
029 12/08/25 (mujin)
029 12/08/30 (kyeyu)

- 034 13/07/11 (musin)
035 14/01/14 (kiyu)
038 15/01/14 (kyesa)
040 15/08/12 (chǒngyu)
043 16/10/23 (sinch'uk)
052 19/11/08 (mujin)
057 21/10/28 (muin)
057 21/11/03 (imo)
057 21/11/29 (musin)
058 21/12/19 (chǒngmyo)
058 21/12/28 (pyǒngja)
058 21/12/29 (chǒngch'uk)
066 24/10/15 (chǒngch'uk)
086 33/01/11 (pyǒngsul)
087 33/02/11 (ŭlmyo)
091 34/08/28 (imjin)
092 34/11/19 (imja)
093 35/03/26 (muo)
093 35/06/01 (sinyu)
- Myǒngjong 003 01/04/21 (chǒngmi)
004 01/07/19 (kyeyu)
007 03/01/22 (kihae)
012 06/09/23 (musin)
013 07/04/23 (ŭlhae)
016 09/01/19 (kyǒngsin)
022 12/05/21 (kyeyu)
023 12/10/19 (musul)
024 13/06/27 (kyemyo)
029 18/07/22 (musul)
033 21/06/04 (kyehae)
- Sǒnjo 017 16/02/19 (imin)
019 18/04/17 (muo)
034 26/01/17 (imsin)
037 26/04/21 (ŭlsa)
040 26/07/21 (kyeyu)
046 26/12/06 (ŭlmyo)
053 27/07/08 (kapsin)

	056	27/10/29	(kyeyu)
	064	28/06/26	(chǒngmyo)
	081	29/10/21	(kapsin)
	085	30/02/16	(chǒngch'uk)
	101	31/06/29	(imo)
	103	31/08/14	(chǒngmyo)
	120	32/12/17	(imjin)
	148	35/03/18	(kyǒngjin)
	154	35/09/13	(imsin)
	171	37/02/22	(kyemyo)
	180	37/10/10	(pyǒngjin)
	204	39/10/14	(kiyu)
	220	41/01/29	(chǒngsa)
Sǒnjo sujǒng	002	01/12/01	(ŭlhae)
	033	32/03/01	(kyǒngjin)
Kwanghaegun	035	02/11/16	(chǒngsa)
	052	04/04/05	(kisa)
	066	05/05/17	(kapsul)
	069	05/08/30	(ŭlmyo)
	075	06/02/24	(pyǒngo)
	143	11/08/05	(ŭlmyo)
	152	12/05/12	(kich'uk)
Injo	007	02/10/14	(ŭlmi)
	026	10/01/24	(imsul)
	031	13/12/08	(kapsin)
Hyojong	005	01/10/17	(chǒngyu)
	019	08/12/21	(kich'uk)
Hyǒnjong	007	04/10/27	(sinyu)
	018	11/07/17	(sinmi)
Hyǒnjong sujǒng	012	06/02/29	(pyǒngsul)
	022	11/07/17	(sinmi)
	023	11/08/16	(kyǒngja)
Sukchong	009	06/05/13	(sinch'uk)
	010	06/10/02	(chǒnghae)
	013	08/02/25	(kyemyo)
	015	10/01/07	(kyeyu)
	023	17/06/09	(kyehae)

025 19/08/04 (ülhae)
039 30/05/30 (mujin)
042 31/08/03 (kabo)
Yöngjo 034 09/05/28 (musin)
042 12/11/21 (kyöngsul)
058 19/05/26 (musin)
105 41/05/05 (kimyo)
Sunjo 033 33/10/02 (kihae)

- *yöak* (女樂)

T'aejo 007 04/04/25 (muja)
008 04/10/05 (ülmi)
008 04/10/07 (chöngyu)
T'aejong 001 01/06/12 (kisa)
001 01/06/13 (kyöngo)
002 01/08/23 (kimyo)
022 11/07/15 (kapsul)
024 12/11/05 (pyöngsul)
024 12/11/29 (kyöngsul)
024 12/11/30 (sinhae)
025 13/02/28 (chöngch'uk)
027 14/02/17 (sinyu)
027 14/02/27 (sinmi)
027 14/03/06 (kimyo)
027 14/03/28 (sinch'uk)
027 14/04/11 (kabin)
027 14/04/20 (kyehae)
029 15/06/12 (chöngch'uk)
Sejong 049 12/07/28 (pyöngin)
053 13/08/02 (kabo)
056 14/04/25 (kyech'uk)
059 15/01/01 (ülmyo)
060 15/05/11 (kyehae)
067 17/03/07 (kimyo)
095 24/02/18 (kiyu)
095 24/03/10 (sinmi)

	099	25/01/25	(sinsa)
	100	25/04/17	(imin)
	115	29/03/18	(kyöngjin)
	116	29/04/22	(kyemi)
	119	30/01/18	(ŭlsa)
Munjong	002	00/06/10	(imo)
	004	00/10/23	(kyesa)
	004	00/10/26	(pyöngsin)
	004	00/11/22	(imsul)
	012	02/03/08	(sinch'uk)
	012	02/03/08	(sinch'uk)
	012	02/03/12	(ŭlsa)
	013	02/04/14	(muin)
Tanjong	012	02/10/05	(kyemi)
	012	02/10/14	(imjin)
Sejo	003	02/03/28	(chöngyu)
	013	04/08/13	(mujin)
	016	05/06/16	(pyöngin)
	019	06/03/02	(kimyo)
	025	07/07/19	(chöngsa)
	028	08/03/09	(kapjin)
	037	11/11/15	(kimi)
	045	14/02/26	(chöngsa)
	045	14/03/27	(chönghae)
	046	14/04/01	(kyöngin)
Yejong	006	01/06/29	(sinsa)
Söngjong	009	02/01/10	(kyemi)
	009	02/02/18	(sinyu)
	010	02/06/10	(sinhae)
	014	03/01/15	(imja)
	026	04/01/09	(kyöngja)
	036	04/11/01	(muja)
	047	05/09/21	(kyeyu)
	064	07/02/18	(imjin)
	064	07/02/20	(kabo)
	075	08/01/13	(imja)
	075	08/01/13	(imja)

075 08/01/21 (kyöngsin)
075 08/01/22 (sinyu)
086 08/11/26 (kich'uk)
103 10/04/26 (imja)
107 10/08/02 (ŭlyu)
107 10/08/03 (pyöngsul)
107 10/08/03 (pyöngsul)
108 10/09/05 (muo)
112 10/12/24 (ŭlhae)
118 11/06/23 (imsin)
118 11/06/29 (muin)
125 12/01/05 (kyöngjin)
138 13/02/13 (imja)
187 17/01/10 (chöngsa)
197 17/11/17 (muo)
197 17/11/19 (kyöngsin)
199 18/01/29 (kyöngo)
200 18/02/14 (kapsin)
212 19/01/14 (kimyo)
214 19/03/03 (chöngmyo)
214 19/03/07 (sinmi)
214 19/03/09 (kyeyu)
214 19/03/11 (ŭlhae)
227 20/04/06 (kabo)
248 21/12/08 (ŭlmyo)
251 22/03/11 (chönghae)
260 22/12/25 (chöngmyo)
260 22/12/26 (mujin)
260 22/12/29 (sinmi)
261 23/01/04 (ŭlhae)
265 23/05/27 (pyöngsin)
265 23/05/28 (chöngyu)
270 23/10/26 (kyehae)
272 23/12/19 (ŭlmyo)
031 04/09/03 (musul)
031 04/09/23 (muo)
040 07/07/28 (ŭlhae)

Yönsan'gun

Chungjong

043 08/03/06 (muin)
046 08/10/28 (chǒngmyo)
047 08/11/04 (kyeyu)
050 09/09/22 (ŭlyu)
053 10/05/06 (ŭlmi)
056 10/10/08 (ŭlch'uk)
058 11/07/03 (pyǒngsul)
059 11/09/16 (chǒngyu)
001 01/11/21 (pyǒngsin)
001 01/12/17 (sinyu)
004 02/11/30 (kisa)
008 04/04/07 (mujin)
008 04/04/08 (kisa)
008 04/04/11 (imsin)
009 04/09/03 (imjin)
009 04/09/29 (muo)
010 04/11/11 (kisa)
010 04/11/17 (ŭlhae)
010 04/12/22 (kiyu)
012 05/10/12 (ŭlmi)
012 05/10/20 (kyemyo)
012 05/10/29 (imja)
012 05/11/05 (chǒngsa)
012 05/11/20 (imsin)
012 05/12/19 (sinch'uk)
027 12/01/11 (chǒnghae)
027 12/01/14 (kyǒngin)
029 12/08/25 (mujin)
029 12/08/29 (imsin)
029 12/08/29 (imsin)
029 12/08/30 (kyeyu)
034 13/07/12 (kiyu)
035 14/01/14 (kiyu)
035 14/01/15 (kyǒngsul)
035 14/02/02 (pyǒngin)
035 14/02/06 (kyǒngo)
035 14/02/08 (imsin)

035 14/02/10 (kapsul)
035 14/02/27 (sinmyo)
035 14/03/01 (kabo)
035 14/03/13 (pyŏngo)
035 14/03/14 (chŏngmi)
035 14/03/15 (musin)
035 14/03/18 (sinhae)
035 14/03/21 (kabin)
035 14/03/27 (kyŏngsin)
035 14/04/02 (ŭlch'uk)
035 14/04/06 (kisa)
035 14/04/07 (kyŏngo)
035 14/04/08 (sinmi)
035 14/04/17 (kyŏngjin)
035 14/04/17 (kyŏngjin)
035 14/04/24 (chŏnghae)
036 14/05/19 (sinhae)
036 14/07/07 (musul)
036 14/08/11 (imsin)
036 14/09/18 (kiyu)
038 15/03/08 (chŏngyu)
038 15/03/08 (chŏngyu)
039 15/04/12 (kisa)
040 15/07/26 (imja)
040 15/08/05 (kyŏngsin)
040 15/08/07 (imsul)
040 15/08/11 (pyŏngin)
040 15/08/15 (kyŏngo)
040 15/08/20 (ŭlhae)
040 15/08/23 (muin)
040 15/08/25 (kyŏngjin)
040 15/08/30 (ŭlyu)
040 15/08/01 (pyŏngsul)
040 15/08/04 (kich'uk)
040 15/08/10 (ŭlmi)
040 15/08/12 (chŏngyu)
040 15/08/18 (kyemyo)

040 15/09/10 (kapja)
040 15/09/30 (kapsin)
041 15/12/14 (musul)
043 16/12/02 (kyöngjin)
049 18/08/01 (musul)
052 19/12/08 (musul)
052 19/12/09 (kihae)
052 19/12/11 (sinch'uk)
083 31/12/12 (kyesa)
083 31/12/17 (musul)
083 31/12/30 (sinhae)
083 32/08/08 (chöngsa)
084 32/03/02 (sinsa)
084 32/03/10 (kich'uk)
084 32/03/17 (pyöngsin)
084 32/03/17 (pyöngsin)
084 32/03/20 (kihae)
090 34/04/10 (chöngmi)
097 37/03/16 (pyöngsin)
Myöngjong 005 02/01/23 (pyöngja)
006 02/09/21 (kihae)
009 04/07/14 (sinsa)
014 08/03/12 (muja)
024 13/02/17 (ülmi)
026 15/04/12 (chöngmi)
029 18/04/11 (muo)
034 22/06/24 (chöngmi)
034 22/06/25 (musin)
Sönjo 006 05/10/06 (kimi)
006 05/11/01 (kyemi)
015 14/03/06 (kisa)
023 22/08/19 (kabo)
023 22/08/20 (ülmi)
023 22/08/23 (musul)
023 22/08/25 (kyöngja)
039 26/06/02 (ülyu)
069 28/11/20 (muja)

	090	30/07/21	(kyöngsul)
	174	37/05/16	(pyöngin)
	195	39/01/23	(imjin)
	200	39/06/11	(musin)
Sönjo sujöng	015	14/03/01	(kapja)
	025	24/04/01	(pyöngsin)
Kwanghaegun	026	02/03/04	(kyöngjin)
	026	02/03/08	(kapsin)
	026	02/03/09	(ŭlyu)
	026	02/03/10	(pyöngsul)
	026	02/03/16	(imjin)
	026	02/03/17	(kyesa)
	026	02/03/18	(kabo)
	026	02/03/19	(ŭlmi)
	026	02/03/20	(pyöngsin)
	026	02/03/21	(chöngyu)
	026	02/03/21	(chöngyu)
	026	02/03/22	(musul)
	026	02/03/22	(musul)
	026	02/03/23	(kihae)
	026	02/03/25	(sinch'uk)
	026	02/03/26	(imin)
	026	02/03/26	(imin)
	026	02/03/27	(kyemyo)
	027	02/03/27	(imsin)
	033	02/09/06	(musin)
Kwanghaegun	045	03/09/18	(kabin)
	049	04/01/15	(kyöngsul)
	057	04/09/18	(kiyu)
	070	05/09/25	(kyöngjin)
	108	08/10/11	(musin)
	119	09/09/08	(kyöngo)
	119	09/09/17	(kimyo)
	119	09/09/17	(kimyo)
	119	09/09/21	(kyemi)
	119	09/09/23	(ŭlyu)
	132	10/09/27	(imja)

	132	10/09/30	(ŭlmyo)
	133	10/10/14	(kisa)
	133	10/10/18	(kyeyu)
	144	11/09/17	(pyŏngsin)
	158	12/11/09	(imo)
Injo	001	01/03/23	(kyech'uk)
	006	02/08/09	(sinmyo)
	007	02/10/06	(chŏnghae)
	012	04/03/16	(kimi)
	030	12/09/09	(imsul)
Hyŏnjong	005	03/04/25	(mujin)
	013	07/11/03	(kimyo)
Hyŏnjong sujŏng	007	03/04/25	(mujin)
	016	07/10/25	(imsin)
	016	07/11/03	(kimyo)
Sukchong	041	31/02/30	(kabo)
	042	31/08/03	(kabo)
	042	31/08/29	(kyŏngsin)
	043	32/07/24	(kimyo)
	048	36/05/11	(ŭlhae)
	055	40/08/03	(imsin)
	065	Appendix: King Sukchong's Biography	
Yŏngjo	019	04/10/03	(kyŏngjin)
	064	22/12/16	(chŏngch'uk)
Chŏngjo	034	16/04/18	(pyŏngjin)
	034	16/04/29	(chŏngmyo)
	034	16/04/30	(mujin)
	034	16/04/30	(mujin)
	034	16/04/03	(sinmi)
	034	16/04/03	(sinmi)
	034	16/04/04	(imsin)
	034	16/04/10	(muin)
	035	16/05/05	(imin)
	042	19/02/13	(ŭlmi)
Sunjo	011	08/11/19	(kyŏngjin)
	030	29/02/04	(mujin)
	030	29/02/21	(ŭlyu)

Hŏnjong	015 14/03/09 (kyemi)
- <i>ũinyŏ</i> (醫女)	
T'aejong	025 13/04/19 (chŏngmyo) 035 18/06/21 (kyŏngja)
Sejong	017 04/08/09 (kyesa) 018 04/11/14 (chŏngmyo) 019 05/03/17 (musul) 019 05/12/04 (sinhae) 022 05/12/27 (kapsul) 050 12/12/15 (sinsa) 059 15/03/13 (pyŏngin) 065 16/07/25 (kyŏngja) 076 19/02/23 (kyemi) 089 22/04/10 (sinsa) 104 26/06/09 (chŏnghae) 121 30/08/24 (chŏngch'uk) 124 31/04/14 (kyehae)
Munjong	003 00/09/18 (kimi) 003 00/09/25 (pyŏngin) 007 01/04/12 (kyŏngjin)
Sejo	008 03/06/18 (kyŏngsul) 030 09/05/22 (kyŏngsul) 036 11/06/24 (kyŏngja) 036 11/07/04 (kiyu)
Sŏngjong	010 02/05/25 (chŏngyu) 044 05/06/01 (kapsin) 076 08/02/29 (musul) 077 08/02/25 (kyehae) 089 09/02/16 (kiyu) 098 09/11/25 (imo) 128 12/04/25 (kisa) 166 15/05/28 (kabin) 175 16/02/15 (chŏngmyo) 188 17/02/02 (muin) 212 19/01/14 (kimyo)

	220	19/09/28	(muja)
	226	20/03/17	(ülhae)
	226	20/03/22	(kyöngjin)
	246	21/10/12	(kyöngsin)
	246	21/10/13	(sinyu)
	266	23/06/14	(kyech'uk)
	291	25/06/19	(pyöngja)
Yönsan'gun	009	01/09/04	(kapsin)
	009	01/09/16	(pyöngsin)
	038	06/08/29	(sinhae)
	042	08/01/28	(sinch'uk)
	044	08/05/28	(kihae)
	044	08/06/08	(musin)
	054	10/06/13	(imsin)
	054	10/06/25	(kapsin)
	054	10/07/19	(chöngmi)
	054	10/07/20	(musin)
	055	10/08/17	(kapsul)
	055	10/09/01	(muja)
	056	10/10/08	(ülch'uk)
	056	10/11/04	(kyöngin)
	056	10/11/12	(musul)
	056	10/12/10	(pyöngin)
	056	10/12/22	(muin)
	059	11/08/17	(kisa)
	059	11/09/15	(pyöngsin)
	062	12/06/20	(mujin)
	062	12/06/22	(kyöngo)
	062	12/06/24	(imsin)
	063	12/07/27	(kapjin)
Chungjong	004	02/09/30	(kyöngo)
	004	02/10/01	(sinmi)
	004	02/11/11	(kyöngsul)
	010	05/02/01	(chönghae)
	010	05/02/01	(chönghae)
	018	08/04/03	(sinch'uk)
	021	09/10/09	(musul)

021 10/03/08 (ülch'uk)
021 10/03/21 (muin)
024 11/04/07 (muo)
026 11/11/02 (kimyo)
026 11/11/14 (sinmyo)
028 12/05/08 (imo)
029 12/08/25 (mujin)
032 13/04/28 (chöngyu)
035 14/02/12 (pyöngja)
038 15/03/08 (chöngyu)
041 16/03/14 (pyöngin)
045 17/08/15 (muja)
045 17/08/23 (pyöngsin)
047 18/02/26 (chöngyu)
052 19/12/15 (ül'sa)
053 20/03/17 (pyöngja)
053 20/03/17 (pyöngja)
053 20/03/19 (muin)
053 20/03/19 (muin)
055 20/10/12 (chöngyu)
055 20/11/16 (sinmi)
056 21/02/15 (mujin)
056 21/02/18 (sinmi)
057 21/06/09 (kyöngsin)
058 22/04/07 (kyech'uk)
058 22/04/07 (kyech'uk)
060 23/03/02 (kyeyu)
064 23/10/25 (kyesa)
064 23/12/16 (kyemi)
066 24/12/20 (imo)
067 25/01/19 (kyöngsul)
068 25/06/27 (ülyu)
069 25/08/18 (ülhae)
073 27/10/21 (ülmi)
073 27/10/21 (ülmi)
073 27/10/30 (kapjin)
073 28/01/09 (imja)

	073 28/02/11 (kapsin)
	073 28/02/11 (kapsin)
	074 28/05/23 (ülch'uk)
	074 28/05/23 (ülch'uk)
	080 30/10/15 (kyemyo)
	080 30/10/18 (pyöngo)
	080 30/10/27 (ülmyo)
	087 33/02/11 (ülmyo)
	097 36/12/29 (kyöngjin)
	100 38/02/10 (kapsin)
	102 39/02/19 (muja)
	105 39/10/24 (kich'uk)
	105 39/11/18 (kyech'uk)
Myöngjong	001 00/08/01 (sinmyo)
	001 00/08/19 (kiyu)
	003 01/01/10 (mujin)
	003 01/04/21 (chöngmi)
	009 04/09/25 (sinmyo)
	011 06/06/04 (sinyu)
	030 19/04/14 (ülyu)
	031 20/04/12 (muin)
Sönjo	008 07/12/13 (kyemi)
	009 08/01/07 (chöngmi)
	011 10/11/28 (kyöngjin)
	020 19/10/07 (mujin)
	022 21/01/05 (kich'uk)
	064 28/06/02 (kyemyo)
	126 33/06/25 (pyöngsin)
	126 33/06/27 (musul)
	126 33/06/30 (sinch'uk)
	127 33/07/27 (mujin)
	134 34/02/20 (kich'uk)
	186 38/04/10 (kabin)
Sönjo sujöng	034 33/06/27 (musul)
Kwanghaegun	006 00/07/10 (kabo)
	010 00/11/11 (kabo)
	014 01/03/10 (sinmyo)

	067 05/06/13 (kyǒngja)
	077 06/04/25 (chǒngmi)
	080 06/07/27 (chǒngch'uk)
	147 11/12/13 (imsul)
	150 12/03/12 (kyǒngin)
	150 12/03/16 (kabo)
	150 15/02/26 (pyǒngsul)
Injo	010 03/11/19 (kapja)
	046 23/10/09 (chǒnghae)
Hyǒnjong sujǒng	026 13/10/26 (chǒngmyo)
	027 15/02/21 (ǔlmyo)
Sukchong	003 01/05/10 (mujin)
	019 14/07/13 (kyemi)
	034 26/01/06 (kyǒngja)
	038 29/04/21 (pyǒngsin)
	050 37/11/15 (kyǒngja)
	050 37/11/16 (sinch'uk)
Kyǒngjong	014 04/03/02 (pyǒngja)
Yǒngjo	035 09/07/13 (imjin)
	042 12/07/29 (sinyu)
	042 12/08/09 (kyǒngo)
	047 14/12/21 (kihae)
	076 28/03/24 (ǔlyu)
	108 43/01/24 (kich'uk)
	109 43/07/29 (sinmyo)
	112 45/04/16 (mujin)
Chǒngjo	004 01/12/21 (kyech'uk)
	008 03/09/26 (chǒngmi)
Sunjo	032 32/04/03 (kimyo)

GLOSSARY

(in alphabetical order)

aak	雅樂
Aaksǒ	雅樂署
akpo	樂譜
Akhak	樂學
<i>Akhak kwebǒm</i>	樂學軌範
<i>Akhak togam</i>	樂學都監
<i>Akchang tǔngnok</i>	樂掌謄錄
akkong	樂工
aksaeng	樂生
<i>Beishi</i>	北史
chaega	再嫁
Ch'aehongjunsǎ	採紅駿使
chaeye	才藝
Changaksǒ	掌樂署
Changagwǒn	掌樂院
Chang Ch'un	張春
Changdǒk	長德 張德
Ch'angdǒkkung	昌德宮
ch'anggi	娼妓
ch'anggi	倡妓
Ch'anggyǒnggung	昌慶宮
ch'angnyǒ	娼女
chanyǒ	恣女
chapkwa	雜科
chejo	提調
Cheju	濟州
Chesaengwǒn	濟生院
chibang	地方
chibang ki	地方妓

ch'imsŏnbi	針線婢
chinch'an	進饌
ch'injam	親蠶
chinmaek	診脈
chinyŏn	進宴
ch'ohagŭi	初學醫
chokpo	族譜
Cho Kwang-jo	趙光祖
Chŏlla	全羅
chŏmhyŏl	點穴
chŏnak	典樂
Chŏnaksŏ	典樂署
Ch'ŏn'gwan	天官
Chŏng Kwang-p'il	鄭光弼
Chŏng Ok-kyŏng	鄭玉京
<i>Ch'ŏngpa kŭktam</i>	青坡劇談
<i>Chŏngsokp'yŏn</i>	正俗篇
chŏngt'alchil	呈頌秩
chongyang	從良
<i>Ch'ŏnjamun</i>	千字文
ch'ŏnmin	賤民
Chŏnŭigam	典醫監
<i>Chosŏn wangjo sillok</i>	朝鮮王朝實錄
Ch'ŏyong	處容
chu	州
ch'udŭng	秋等
ch'undŭng	春等
Ch'ungch'ŏng	忠淸
Ch'unch'ugwan	春秋館
Chungch'uwŏn	中樞院
chungin	中人
Chungjong	中宗
chwago	座鼓
chwasā	左史

dao [Kor.: to]	道
Duan Muli	端木禮
hagŏp	學業
hakmu	鶴舞
hallim pyŏlgok	翰林別曲
Hamgyŏngdo (Hamgilto)	咸鏡道 咸吉道
Hammun	閤門
Hŏ Chŏk	許積
Hŏ Chun	許浚
hojang	戶長
Hojo	戶曹
Hŏ Mok	許穆
<i>Honam ŭpji</i>	湖南邑誌
Hong Kye-hŭi	洪啓禧
hŏnsu	獻壽
<i>Hou Hanshu</i>	後漢書
<i>Hunmong chahoe</i>	訓蒙字會
hwan'gap	還甲
hwarang	花郎
Hwaŭi ongju	和義 翁主
hyangak	鄉樂
hyangyak	鄉約
<i>Hyangyak chipsŏngpang</i>	鄉藥集成方
<i>Hyangyak kugŭppang</i>	鄉藥救急方
Hyemin'guk	惠民局
Hyeminsŏ	惠民署
<i>Hyogyŏng</i>	孝經
Hyojong	孝宗
hyŏn	縣
ilgi	日記
Injo	仁祖
Jin Wenyuan	謹文淵
junzi [Kor.: kunjja]	君子
kadong	歌童

kagi	歌妓
kahun	家訓
kamgunŭn	感君恩
Kamsa	監司
kanbyŏngŭi	看病醫
kap'ŏ	價布
<i>Karye togam ŭigwe</i>	嘉禮都監儀軌
ki	妓
kiak	妓樂
kian	妓案
kibu	妓夫
kich'uk	妓畜
kijŏk	妓籍
Kim Hong-do	金弘道
Kim Pok	金福
Kim Pu-sik	金富軾
Kim Tae-chŏng	金大丁
kinyŏ	妓女
kisaeng	妓生
<i>Kisaeng kwanan</i>	妓生官案
Koguryŏ	高句麗
Kojong	高宗
komu	鼓舞
kongmul	公物
kongsin	功臣
<i>Koryŏsa</i>	高麗史
<i>Kugŭp yihaebang</i>	救急易解方
<i>Kŭmhap chabo</i>	琴合字譜
kun	郡
kun	君
kwagŏ	科舉
Kwanch'alsa	觀察使
kwangdae	廣大
kwan'gi	官妓

Kwanghwamun	光化門
kwanhyŏn maengin	管絃盲人
kwanjik	官職
kwanno	官奴
kwansa	官司
kwansŏ pyŏlgok	關西別曲
<i>Kwansŏ ūpji</i>	關西邑誌
<i>Kwansŭp togam</i>	慣習都鑑
Kwigŭm	貴今
Kwŏn Mi	權美
Kyobang/kyobang	教坊
<i>Kyobang kayo</i>	教坊歌謠
Kyobang ki	教坊妓
kyŏnggi	京妓
<i>Kyŏngguk taejŏn</i>	經國大典
Kyŏngsang	慶尙
<i>Kyŏngyŏn ilgi</i>	經筵日記
Kyujanggak	奎章閣
liang	兩
<i>Liangshu</i>	梁書
<i>Maekkyŏng</i>	脈經
moksa	牧使
mudang	巫堂
mudong	舞童
munjip	文集
munkwa	文科
munyŏ	巫女
myŏngyak	命藥
myŏnyŏkchil	免役秩
<i>Naehun</i>	內訓
naeŭi	內醫
naeŭinyŏjŏk	內醫女籍
naeyŏn	內宴
namak	男樂

namgi	男妓
<i>Nanshi</i>	南史
nojejl	老除秩
ongju	翁主
õnmun	諺文
<i>P'ahanjip</i>	破閑集
Pak Kyõng	朴經
p'alto	八道
pangsõ	方書
p'ansõ	判書
<i>Pibyõnsa tǔngnok</i>	備邊司謄錄
pip'a	琵琶
poin	保人
pongjok	奉足
Pongsangsi	奉常寺
ponyõk	本役
pu	府
pugi	府妓
Pungno	北路
Puwõn'gun	府院君
P'yõngando	平安道
<i>Pyõngjõn</i>	兵典
p'yõnjong	編鐘
<i>P'yõngyang sok-il</i>	平壤續一
p'yõn'gyõng	編磬
sach'i	奢侈
sach'o	史草
sadae	事大
sadaebu	士大夫
sagi	私妓
sago	史庫
Sahõnbu	司憲府
sahwa	士禍
<i>Samgang haengsilto</i>	三綱行實圖

samjong	三從
<i>Sanguozhi</i>	三國志
<i>Sarye p'yöllum</i>	四禮便覽
sasin	使臣
sasöin	士庶人
Sejo	世祖
Sejong	世宗
<i>Sohak</i>	小學
sijönggi	時政記
sillok	實錄
Sillokch'öng	實錄廳
Sin Yun-bok	申潤福
sirhak	實學
Siyakch'öng	侍藥廳
sogak	俗樂
sökyöng pyölgok	西京別曲
Song In-myöng	宋寅明
Sönggyun'gwan	成均館
<i>Söngho sasöl</i>	星湖僮設
Söng Hyön	成俔
Söngjong	成宗
Sönjo	宣祖
söri	書吏
So Se-yang	蘇世讓
Ssanghwajömm	雙花店
<i>Suishu</i>	隋書
<i>Suri</i>	述而
Süngjöngwön	承政院
<i>Süngjöngwön ilgi</i>	承政院
Süngmunwön	承文院
taegun	大君
<i>Taedong yasüng</i>	大東野乘
T'aejo	太祖
T'aejong	太宗

<i>Tae Myōngnyul chikhae</i>	大明律直解
Taesahŏn	大司憲
taewang	大王
tamo	茶母
tangak	唐樂
tomangjil	逃亡秩
<i>Tongguk yōji sūngnam</i>	東國輿地勝覽
<i>Tongmong sŏnsŭp</i>	童蒙先習
T'ongnyemun	通禮門
T'ongnyewŏn	通禮院
<i>Tongŭi pogam</i>	東醫寶鑑
<i>Ŭibang yuch'wi</i>	醫方類聚
ŭigihwa	醫妓化
Ŭigŭmbu	義禁府
ŭigwe	儀軌
ŭihaksaengdo	醫學生徒
Ŭijŏngbu	議政府
ŭinyŏ	醫女
ŭisul	醫術
ŭiwŏn	醫員
ŭiyak	醫藥
ŭmnyul	音律
ŭpji	邑誌
usa	右史
Usang	右相
<i>Weishu</i>	魏書
woebang	外方
woeyŏn	外宴
wŏnhwa	源花
yangan	良案
yangban	兩班
<i>Yanggŭm sinbo</i>	梁琴新譜
Yanggye	兩界
yangmin	良民

yangsuch'ök	揚水尺
yasa	野史
yeak	禮樂
Yebinsi	禮賓寺
Yejo	禮曹
Yejön	禮典
Yemun'gwan	藝文館
Yi Chae	李緯
Yi Hwa	李和
Yijo	吏曹
Yi Yuk	李陸
yöak	女樂
Yöböm	女範
Yögye	女誠
yögi	女妓
yöllyö	烈女
Yöllyösil kisul	燃藜室記述
yönggi	營妓
yöngin	伶人
Yongjae ch'onghwa	慵齋叢話
Yöngjo	英祖
Yongle	永樂
Yöngüijöng	領議政
yönhwadae	蓮花臺
Yönonö	女論語
Yönsan'gun (Prince Yönsan)	燕山君
yöryöng	女伶
Yösasö	女四書
yöüi	女醫
Yueji	樂記
yugijang	柳器匠
Yun Tu-su	尹斗壽
yunyö	遊女
Zhoushu	周書

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Hamburg, den 21. Januar 1997

Vincenza D'Urso