

The Subject of Feelings:
Emotion, Kinship, Fiction, and Women's Culture in Korea,
Late 17th—Early 20th Centuries

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Abstract

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This dissertation traces the discourse of emotion embodied in the lineage novel (*kamun sosŏl* 家門小說), a genre that circulated from the late seventeenth until the early twentieth century and was intimately related to the flourishing women's culture of Chosŏn Korea (1392-1910). Sagas in hundreds of manuscript volumes, lineage novels trace the lives of multiple generations of established civil lineages. Comprised of stories of rise and fall of family fortunes, foreign expeditions, court intrigues, and personal confrontations that often reach cataclysmic dimension, the lineage novel is an encyclopedia of human experience and a literary form that developed in parallel to the establishment of Korea's patriarchal lineage structure in the seventeenth century. Just as it valorizes the fundamental premises of the patriarchal lineage, the lineage novel affirms private feelings as inalienable ingredient of authentic personal histories and the fabric of domestic life.

While sharing its origin with other genres of writing lineage, such as genealogies, family histories, and commemorative texts, the material shape of the lineage novel, which circulated exclusively in manuscript form, is embedded in women's practice of vernacular calligraphy: manuscript inscriptions reveal the untiring work of female scribes who reproduced these massive texts. The novels themselves create a

sophisticated conception, in which the patriarchal vision of people's relationships is extended to account for intimacies and passions that are omitted from the Confucian norm. The early-twentieth-century chapter of the lineage novel's history, moreover, tells us of the curious metamorphoses of literary genres and reading audiences of the time, while also providing a comparative hermeneutic angle upon the discourse of emotion in "modern" Korean literature and particularly its harbinger, Yi Kwangsu's 1917 novel *The Heartless* (*Mujǒng*).

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Introduction

The three main themes of this dissertation—the discourse of emotion, kinship, and women’s culture in Korea from the late seventeenth to the early twentieth century—all arise from the massive body of the lineage novel (*kamun sosŏl* 家門小說), a genre unique to premodern Korea, with no parallel in the East Asian canon. It is therefore appropriate to begin with a note on this historical archive.

The Lineage Novel

Massive vernacular sagas that run in tens and even hundreds of manuscript volumes, lineage novels trace the lives of multiple generations of established civil lineages. The main focus of these texts, however, is on the meaning of feelings and relationships in private and social life. The lineage novel arises at the intersection of two historical processes: the establishment of the patriarchal lineage society in Chosŏn Korea (1392-1910) in the seventeenth century, and the consequent relocation of women’s activity to the inner, domestic quarters, where women circulated exquisitely transcribed manuscripts of lineage novels. The patriarchal transformation deeply altered the patterns of social life and people’s relationships, which in turn realigned the contours of people’s emotional experience. The lineage novel traces the most problematic aspects of the new kinship society. Struggle over the succession privilege between first-born and younger sons within the structure of primogeniture, the conflicted allegiance of women to their natal and in-law families in the patrilocal marriage arrangement, and the confrontation between sons- and fathers-in-law that embodies the negotiation of prestige between the

matriline and the patriline—the lineage novel problematizes the role of feelings in the newly transformed society of Chosŏn.

Not a single lineage novel author is known with certainty and the dates of the novels' composition are similarly unknown but the names of women scribes responsible for the creation of lineage novel manuscripts are often recorded on the texts' margins. Too long to be printed in woodblock, as was common for shorter vernacular fiction, lineage novels circulated among elite audiences in manuscripts created by female calligraphers. Beginning in the seventeenth century, calligraphic training and the creation of lineage novel manuscripts became important venues for women's creative expression at the time when they were losing much of their social freedoms, proscribed by the patriarchal norm.

The status of the lineage novel appears to have been quite distinct from that of shorter vernacular fiction. Complex language, massive span of the texts, and even the high cost of paper required for a lengthy manuscript removed the lineage novel from the reach of those who lacked education, leisure, or resources. Palace ladies, credited with the creation of the aestheticized cursive vernacular writing, and elite women, who adapted the rigid writing of the palace women into more relaxed, though thoroughly cultivated form were central to the flourishing of this genre as principal manuscript makers. As material artifacts, lineage novel manuscripts were significant on their own terms: they were mementoes of the deceased female scribes, whose handwriting was transmitted through generations as a sentimental and aesthetic object of private family culture. This unique material form of the lineage novel was situated within the array of

distinctive practices—calligraphic training, manuscript transmission, and literary learning—cultivated in the inner quarters.

Although a massive literary phenomenon in Chosŏn Korea, lineage novels fall into oblivion in the early twentieth century, remaining unknown to the scholars and thinkers who worked to consolidate Korea’s literary canon. The academic history of the lineage novel is itself rich in texture, woven from oral histories gathered first-hand from the original readers of these texts—palace women and members of the royal family—and then transmitted from teacher to disciple in South Korean academia. The lineage novel came to scholars’ attention in a quite unusual manner—it is said that during the Korean War (1950-53), North Korean soldiers stationed in Seoul realized the precious value of lineage novels and attempted to transport a few boxes of manuscripts to the North.¹ Only a decade later, in 1965, owing to the alleged failure of the North Korean military men, Professor Chŏng Pyŏnguk discovers the novels, neatly packed in boxes at the Naksŏnjae pavilion of Seoul’s Ch’angdŏk palace, and makes the first introduction of these texts in his article “Towards an Annotated Catalogue of the Naksŏnjae Repository” (Naksŏnjae mun’go mongnok mit haeje).² Naksŏnjae pavilion appears to have been used as a library by the female residents of the palace, but the exact time of its construction is unknown.³

As Chŏng Pyŏnguk’s catalog intimates, alongside lineage novels, the Naksŏnjae

¹ Kim Chinse, “Naksŏnjae bon sosŏl ūi t’ŭksŏng” [The Distinctive Features of the Novels from the Naksŏnjae Collection], *Chsŏngsin munhwa yŏn’gu* 44 (1991): 4.

² Chŏng Pyŏnguk, “Naksŏnjae mun’go mongnok mit haeje” [Towards an Annotated Catalogue of the Naksŏnjae Repository], *Kug’ŏ kungmunhak* 44 (1969): 2-65.

³ The Academy of Korean Studies, ed., *Changsŏgak ūi yŏksa wa charyo chŏk t’ŭksŏng* [The History of the Changsŏgak Repository and the Character of the Collection] (Songnam: The Academy of Korean Studies Press, 1996), 78.

collection included novels translated from the Chinese, such as the classic *The Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Honglouloumeng* 紅樓夢),⁴ and other Korean novels, such as *The Nine-Cloud Dream* (*Kuunmong* 九雲夢) and *Madame Sa's Conquest of the South* (*Sassinamjŏnggi* 謝氏南征記). Since a large body of lineage novels was discovered at the Naksŏnjae pavilion, some scholars refer to these texts as “Naksŏnjae novels”—in recognition of the fine quality of the manuscripts, made by palace ladies in exquisite vernacular calligraphy, which distinguishes the texts from his repository.⁵ Lineage novels, however, can be found in a number of repositories, all across Korea. A short note on terminology associated with this group of texts will follow shortly below.

Although several references to lineage novels appear before Chŏng Pyŏnguk's publication of his annotated catalog, the nature of this genre remains unknown until the first studies of the lineage novel appear after the 1960s. The earliest known twentieth-century reference to the lineage novel belongs to Ch'oe Namsŏn (1890-1957), who records several lineage novel titles after visiting a rental library in Seoul. For fear of the imminent decline of the rental libraries in the early twentieth century, Ch'oe Namsŏn decides to salvage the library's catalog, which he partially records in his 1938 *Maeil sinbo* article “Domestic Fiction in Chosŏn” (Chosŏn ūi kajŏng munhak).⁶ Ch'oe Namsŏn simply includes the lineage novel into a broad category of vernacular domestic fiction

⁴ The translation of *The Dream of the Red Chamber* found at the Naksŏnjae repository is the first known vernacular Korean translation of this text, dated approximately to the end of the nineteenth century. See Ch'oe Yongch'ŏl, *Hounglouloumeng ūi chŏnp'a wa pŏn'yŏk* [The Circulation and Translation of *The Dream of the Red Chamber* in Korea] (Seoul: Sinsŏwŏn, 2007), 20-35.

⁵ Kim Chinse, “Naksŏnjae bon sosŏl ūi t'ŭksŏng,” 2.

⁶ Ch'oe Namsŏn, “Chosŏn kajŏng munhak” [Domestic Fiction in Chosŏn], in *Yuktang chŏnjip* [The Complete Anthology of Ch'oe Namsŏn], ed. Asea munje yŏn'guso, vol. 9 (Seoul: Hyŏn'amsa, 1976), 441.

that, in his word, narrated familial conflicts and served a more palatable version of Confucian ideology to its, mostly female, readers. Shortly afterwards, Yi Pyŏnggi (1891-1968), the editor of the literary magazine *Munjang*, records the titles of several lineage novels in one of the magazine issues, though mistakenly presuming them to be translations of Chinese texts.⁷ The name of the Naksŏnjae Collection again reappears in the *The Complete History of Korean Literature (Kungmunhak chŏnsa)* that Yi Pyŏnggi, then professor of Korean literature at Seoul National University, publishes together with Paek Ch'ŏl (1908-1985) in 1957. In *The Complete History of Korean Literature* the Naksŏnjae collection is mentioned only in the context of a large-scale translation project of Chinese novels undertaken at the Ch'angdŏk palace library; the textbook does not mention the lineage novel as an original genre.⁸

In addition to these early-twentieth-century references by scholars and intellectuals, several descendants of the royal family, who read lineage novels first-hand, provided some important information about this body of texts. Kim Chinse relates the words of his own graduate advisor, Chŏng Pyŏnguk, regarding a certain Yi Haechŏng,⁹ a direct grandson of Hŭngsŏn Taewŏngun (1820-1898), father and regent to King Kojong (r. 1863-1907). While a student at Seoul National University, Yi Haech'ŏng is said to have introduced lineage novels at his alma mater in 1947. As a result, some of the students of Yi Pyŏnggi, a Seoul National University Professor at the time, have written

⁷ Yi Pyŏnggi, "Chosŏn munhŏn myŏngjak haeje" [Annotated Catalogue of Chosŏn Classics], *Munjang* 8 (1940): 231.

⁸ Yi Pyŏnggi and Paek Ch'ŏl, *Kungmunhak chŏnsa* [The Complete History of Korean Literature] (Seoul: Singu munhwasa, 1957), 182.

⁹ I was unable to find any historical record of this person's life.

studies on lineage novels.¹⁰ Given that Yi Pyŏnggi includes no mention of lineage novels into *The Complete History of Korean Literature*, it appears that even Yi Haechŏng did not consider lineage novels to be original compositions.

The majority of insights into the history of the lineage novel came from Yun Paekyŏng (1888-1986), a fourth-generation descendant of King Sunjo (r. 1800-1834). An avid reader, Yun Paekyŏng was quite knowledgeable about premodern Korean novel and she admitted to have frequented the Naksŏnjae pavilion, reading lineage novels and other texts held there. Several volumes of lineage novels, now deposited at the Changsŏgak archive of the Academy of Korean Studies, contain prefaces written in her hand (see Figure 1). Yun Paekyŏng's figure is also connected to a very curious manuscript of the lineage novel, *The Remarkable Reunion of Pearls and Jade* (*Myŏngju okyŏn kihamnok* 明珠緣奇合錄), contained at the Yŏngnam University in Taegu. This manuscript is written in several different hands, and according to the inscriptions made by Yun Paekyŏng, the scribes were different palace women, whose names she also duly records in her note (Figure 2). This manuscript is written on unusual paper—some of the volumes are written on the reverse side of *mun'an* (問安) or letters of greeting exchanged at the royal palace. The volumes are of smaller size than the majority of traditional volumes, and the binding is rather amateur: instead of a cord, the leaves are bound with an improvised string made of twisted paper. This volume is certainly an extremely valuable token of the leisurely activities of palace women and of their private reading practices.¹¹

¹⁰ Kim Chinse, “Naksŏnjae bon sosŏl ūi t'ŭksŏng,” 3-4.

¹¹ Kim Chinse was the first one to introduce this manuscript and Yun Paekyŏng's insights into its history. See Kim Chinse, “*Myŏngju okyŏn kihamnok ko*” [Overview of *The Remarkable Reunion of Pearls and Jade Ducks*], *Kwanak ōmun yŏn'gu* 12 (1987): 1-19.

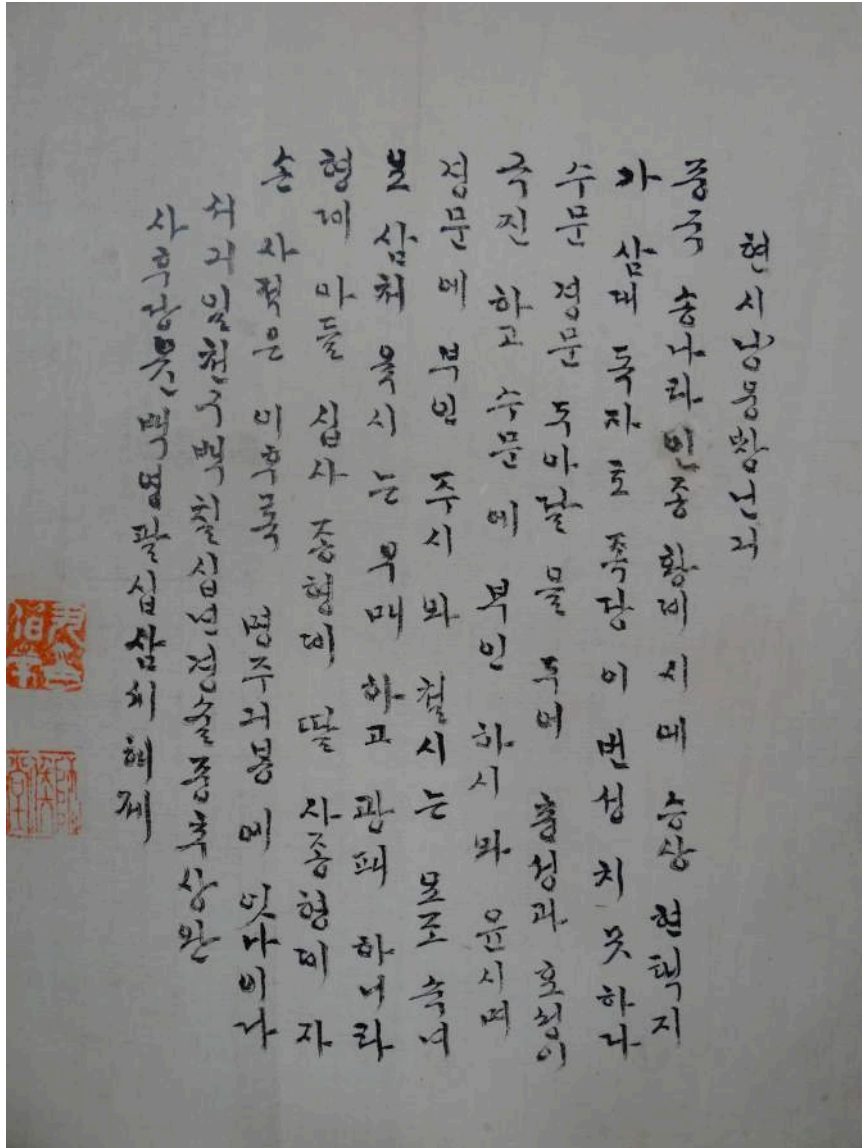


Figure 1. Leaf from *The Record of Two Heroes: Brothers Hyŏn* (*Hyŏnssi yangung ssangnin gi* 玄氏兩雄雙麟記) with Yun Paekyŏng's short summary of the novel. The date recorded in this short preface is 1970, when Yun Paekyŏng was already 83 years old. Although the manuscript of the novel itself is undated, it was likely made in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.¹² Image made by the author, courtesy of the Changsŏgak archive.

¹² *Hyŏnssi yangung ssangnin gi* [The Tale of Two Heroes: Brothers Hyŏn], Changsŏgak Archive, Academy of Korean Studies, Songnam, South Korea, Kwi K4-6862, vol. 1-10.

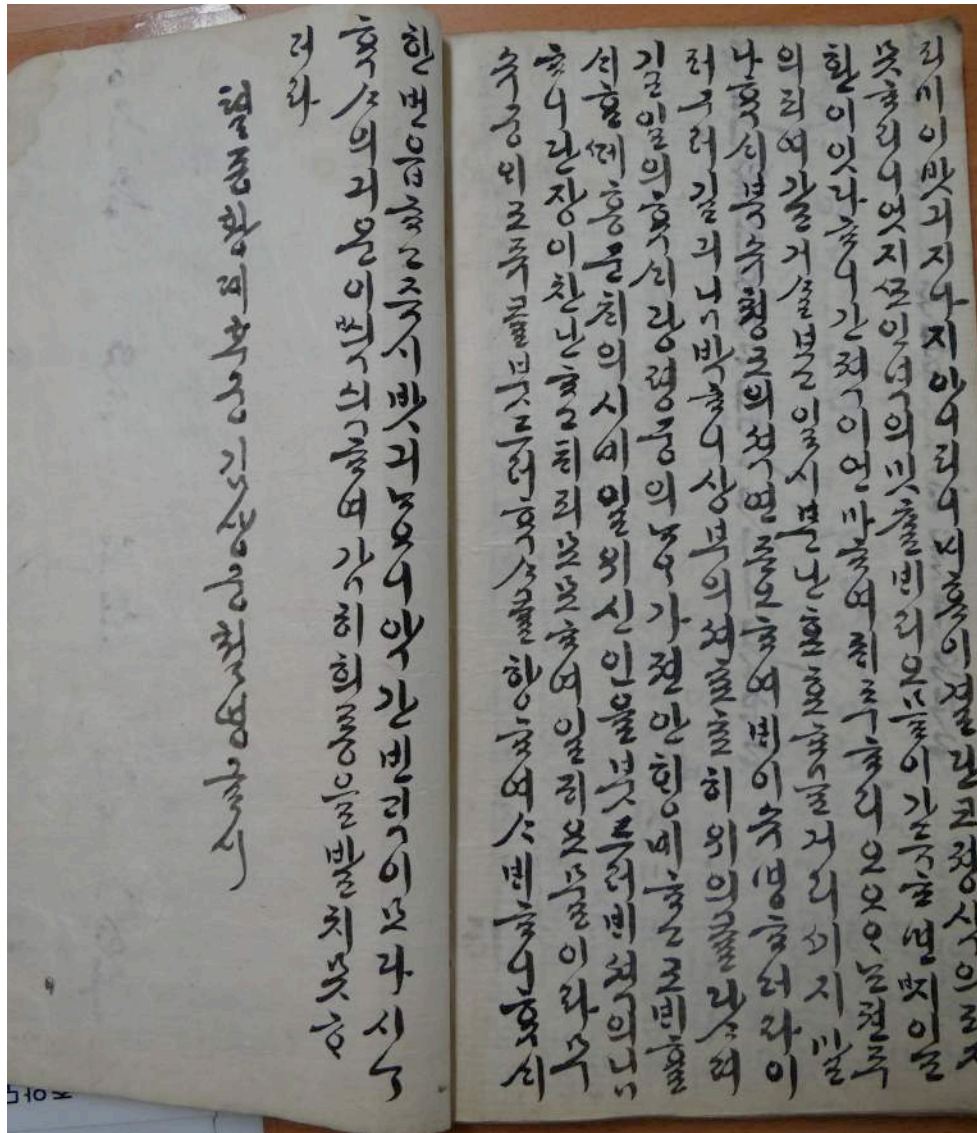


Figure 2. Leaf from *The Remarkable Reunion of Pearls and Jade* (*Myōngju okyōn kihamnok* 明珠玉緣奇合錄). The concluding line to the left is written by Yun Paekyōng, where she states that this volume has been transcribed in the hand of Palace Lady of King Ch’ōljong (r. 1831-1863), Kim Chōlyōng. At a closer look, to the left of the last line, one can discern letters written on the reverse side of the leaf—this text belongs to a letter of greeting upon which this novel is transcribed.¹³ According to the in-text notes, the manuscript was created during the years 1895-1898. Image by the author, courtesy of the Yōngnam University Archive.

¹³ *Myōngju okyōn kihamnok* [The Remarkable Reunion of Pearls and Jade], Yōngnam University Archive, Taegu, South Korea. The manuscript is not listed in the library catalog. For the description of the manuscript, see Park Eun Jeong, “*Myōngju okyōn kihamnok ū ibon kwa Yōngnam taehakkyo bon ūi kach’i*” [A Study of Two Different Versions of *The Remarkable Reunion of Pearls and Jade* and the Value of the Yōngnam University Version], *Minjok munhwa nonch’ong* 51 (2012): 105-133.

A number of factors explain the delayed academic interest in the lineage novel, which came to the fore of academic research only in the 1980s. First of all, the confusion over the place of origin of these texts for some time displaced the lineage novel from the attention of Korean literary scholars. Yi Pyŏnggi, one of the first to discover lineage novels, considered them to be translations from the Chinese—the lineage novels were simply too different from other types of vernacular fiction that circulated in Chosŏn to be immediately recognized as native Korean texts. Closer reading and more detailed studies, however, revealed that although lineage novels are set in Song- and Ming-dynasty China—a gesture common for the majority of the Chosŏn fiction—they address the problematics crucial to the Chosŏn society, in a literary idiom that is unmistakably Korean.¹⁴ This might also be an apt moment to note the position of the lineage novel at the crossroads of literary tropes that connect the lineage novel to larger literary currents of East Asia. The lineage novels' titles, which frequently refer to marriages or marriage tokens, such as pearls or mandarin ducks, frequently evoke the images of scholar-beauty fiction (*caizi jiaren* 才子佳人), popular in Ming and Qing China and also read in Chosŏn. This resemblance, however, proves to be superficial. The stories of marriages between virtuous, if occasionally hot-tempered, protagonists of the lineage novel are always embedded in the larger context of patriarchal lineage structure; they have scarce parallels with the encounters of star-crossed lovers of beauty-scholar romances, who celebrate

¹⁴ Kim Chinse summarizes the debate over the lineage novels' origin. To support the view of their Korean authorship, he notes that the lineage novels' narratives often resort to popular Korean proverbs and legends. See Kim Chinse, "Naksŏnjae bon sosŏl ūi kukchŏk munje" [The Problem of Origin of the Naksŏnjae Novels], in *Han'guk munhaksa ūi chaengjŏm* [Issues in Korean Literary History], ed. Chang Tŏksun et al. (Seoul: Chimmundang, 1986), 561-568.

each other's sensuality and aesthetic tastes.¹⁵ A closer look at the intertextual background of the lineage novel would certainly lend important insights into the traffic of tropes and ideas in East Asia, as well as about literary practices in Chosŏn.

Returning to the relative oblivion in which the lineage novel finds itself at the turn of the twentieth century, we must note its second contributing cause—the exclusive, close-knit networks of its readers. Read mostly by the elites and transmitted in manuscript form in the networks of kin and friendship, the lineage novel has never been openly available to the general reading public. Even when some lineage novels appear in rental libraries or, in several rare cases, become published in modern printed editions at the turn of the twentieth century, they most likely remain associated with a very specific audience due to the texts' rather narrow focus on the patriarchal kinship society and the lives of the elites. Following the demise of Korea's long Chosŏn dynasty and the establishment of Japan's protectorate in 1905, Korean intellectuals sought to redefine the reading tastes of the Korean public, directing the readers' attention to problematics of individual responsibility, building of the new nation, and changed geo-political reality. The lineage novel could hardly contribute to these discussions, while also remaining too complex for readers avid for simple entertaining storylines.

The third possible reason why the lineage novel remained unknown and unstudied until the 1960s is that this genre is uniquely self-enclosed, with very few external references to it. Fiction was generally frowned upon in the society of Chosŏn Korea, consistently retaining its inferior status in relation to the Confucian canon of classics and histories. Fiction, hence, rarely became the subject of erudite men's writing that defined

¹⁵ On scholar-beauty novel, see Keith McMahon, *Misers, Shrews, and Polygamists: Sexuality and Male-Female Relations in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Fiction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 99-139.

the cultural standards of their time. When references to fiction actually appear they almost inevitably present a warning to feeble-minded readers, lest they be easily swept away from their duties into fantastic fictional world. Despite its elevated cultural status, the injunction to silence regarding fiction extended to the lineage novel as well.

The first external reference to the lineage novel belongs to Kwŏn Sŏp (1671-1759), who writes that his mother, Madame Yi of Yongin (1652-1712), has copied a lineage novel, *The Record of So Hyŏnsŏng* (*So Hyŏnsŏng rok* 蘇賢聖錄). After him, Pak Chiwŏn (1737-1805), Yi Yuwŏn (1814-1888), Cho Chaesam (1808-1886), and Nam Yunwŏn (dates unknown, late 19th century) mention several lineage novels' titles. Hong Hŭibok (1794-1859), in the preface to his translation of the Chinese novel *Flowers in the Mirror* (*Jinghua yuan* 鏡花緣), offers perhaps the most detailed description of the lineage novel and other vernacular texts, and I explore his note in Chapters 2 and 3.

Predominantly anonymous and with scant external references, the majority of the lineage novels are impossible to date. Several signposts have been used to broadly periodize the history of this genre. Referenced by Kwŏn Sŏp, *The Record of So Hyŏngsŏng* is considered as the founding text of the lineage novel tradition not only because it is the earliest externally recorded lineage novel, but also because it foregrounds some of the central themes that are explored in later lineage novels. So Hyŏngsŏng, for instance, is not settled into a lineage of his own—the only, hard-begotten son, he has to build his own lineage; scholars have seen this precarious depiction of the patriarchy as an explorative gesture of the lineage novel, in search for its aesthetic

idiom.¹⁶ Further clues regarding the chronology of the lineage novel's development appear in the dated manuscript of *The Remarkable Reunion of Jade Mandarin Ducks* (*Okwŏn chaehap kiyŏn* 玉鴛再合奇緣, *Jade Mandarin Ducks* henceforth) made over the span of five years, in 1786-1791. The novel's fourth manuscript volume contains a short list of other novels—the texts are not introduced, only recorded, and they are likely to be the volumes that were read by, or known to, the person who made this inscription.¹⁷ The novels recorded in the list must necessarily predate the late-eighteenth-century manuscript of *Jade Mandarin Ducks*.

Textual analysis also highlights the transformation of the lineage novel over time. We can, for instance, observe changes in the attitude towards a lineage heir adoption. A practice that became widespread in the latter half of the Chosŏn dynasty, adoption was a remedy to sonless families, who still required a male heir in order to continue the family line. While some novels, like *Jade Mandarin Ducks*, consider this practice problematic from the point of view of emotion, doubting the potential of emotional affinity in the absence of a blood bond, while other novels seem to accept adoption as an established, necessary practice. This divergent attitude can be interpreted as a chronological cue, potentially indicating an earlier composition date of the novels that treat adoption with suspicion, since it took some time for this new practice to take root in the society of

¹⁶ So Sŏnguk. “18 segi changp'yŏn sosŏl ūi chŏnhyŏng chŏk sŏnggyŏk” [The Structural Transformation of the Lineage Novel in the Eighteenth Century]. *Han'guk munhak yŏn'gu* 4 (2003): 5-28.

¹⁷ *Okwŏn chaehap kiyŏn* [The Remarkable Reunion of Jade Mandarin Ducks], The Kyujanggak Archive, Seoul, South Korea, Ko 3350-68.

Chosŏn.¹⁸ In addition, the intriguing text of *The Record of Illustrious Conduct and Righteousness* (*Myŏnghaeng chŏngŭi rok* 明行正義錄) suggests that at some point the lineage novel attempted to revise its position vis-à-vis Confucian ideology. This novel depicts the fall of the Ming Dynasty to Manchus in the mid-seventeenth century, widely perceived in Chosŏn as the collapse of the Confucian civilization in the hands of barbaric invaders. A lineage novel that depicts the fall of the center of Confucian culture is likely to be a late development in this literary tradition that valorizes major Confucian precepts.¹⁹ In short, although the history of the lineage novel is by necessity painted in large strokes, certain milestones allow us to see the dynamics in this massive discourse of kinship and emotion.

Needless to say, the term “lineage novel” itself is a twentieth-century invention. Hong Hŭibok, who elaborates the main features of vernacular fiction in the introduction to his translation of *Flowers in the Mirror*, a bulk term “vernacular novels” (*ŏnmun sosŏl* 諺文小說) to collectively refer to lineage novels and the rest of vernacular fiction. We know that Hong indeed has lineage novels in mind because he records several of their titles. Kwŏn Sŏp, writing about his mother’s copying of *The Record of So Hyŏnsŏng*, calls this text a “great novel” (*taesosŏl* 大小說) referring to the distinctively lengthy span of the text. When compared to the rest of vernacular novels in Chosŏn Korea, lineage novels indeed possess several defining characteristics: these are extremely long

¹⁸ Yi Hyŏnju, “Chosŏn hugi kamun sosŏl ūi kyehu kaldŭng pyŏnŭi yangsang yŏn’gu—*Ŏmssi hyomun ch’ŏnghaeng rok, Sŏnghyŏngong sungnyŏl gi, Wanwŏlhoe maengyŏn ūl chungsim ūro*” [Changes in the Narratives of Lineage Succession: *The Record of the Brilliant Conduct in the Filial Household of the Ŏm Lineage, The Record of the Righteous Im Hŭirin, and The Pledge at the Banquet of Moon-Gazing Pavilion*,” *Hanminjok ŏmunhak* 62 (2012): 451-474.

¹⁹ See Sŏ Chŏngmin, “*Myŏnghaeng chŏngŭi rok yŏn’gu*” [A study of *The Record of Illustrious Conduct and Righteousness*] (Ph.D. diss., Seoul National University, 2006).

vernacular Korean novels, usually comprised of more than ten manuscript volumes; they were copied and circulated within elite families, mostly by women, in exquisitely made manuscripts; lineage novels deal with multiple generations of established lineages, either within the text of one novel, or in the sequels that continue with the lives of the descendants of the parent novel's protagonists. Lineage novels are known in Korean-language scholarship as "Naksŏnjae novels" (Naksŏnjae bon sosŏl 樂善齋本小說), "lineage novels" (kamun sosŏl 家門小說), "long lineage novels" (changp'yŏn kamun sosŏl 長篇家門小說), or "romans de fleuve" (t'aeha sosŏl 太河小說).²⁰ I find the term "lineage novel" to reflect most succinctly the main properties of this genre: the length, which comes together with the complexity of these texts and their circulation among the elite readers who belonged to established lineages, the main problematic which creates a cosmology based in kin relations, and also the distinctive manuscript circulation and inter-generational transmission of these texts within families.

While the lineage novel has intelligible boundaries, as the ones mentioned above, it also represents a certain collage of genres and narrative strategies that embed the lineage novel in the active exchange between contemporaneous literary forms. First of all, lineage novels themselves bring together heterogeneous narrative modes. While multi-generational structure, close-focused descriptions of affective, intimate interactions of the protagonists in the domestic sphere, and dialogic approach to unruly feelings are the hallmarks of the lineage novel, this genre also includes vivid descriptions of the battlefield, often found in war romances (*kundam sosŏl* 軍談小說) or extended reworking of actual historical plots common to historical romances. On the other hand, the multi-

²⁰ For a review of terminology, see Lim Chee-kyun, *Chosŏn sidae taejangp'yŏn sosŏl yŏn'gu* [Study of the Chosŏn Lineage Novel] (Seoul: T'aehaksa, 1996), 39-40.

generational narrative structure, so common to the lineage novel, can also be found in texts that are less invested in the problematic of feelings and domestic intimacy, such, for instance, as *The Record of the Virtuous Lord Ku Rae* (*Ku Rae kong chǒngjungjikch'öl gi* 寇萊公貞忠直節記), a novel of adventure, which covers the three generations that descend from the well-known Song-dynasty official Kou Zhun (961-1023). These cross-currents have two sources. On the one hand, the lineage novel, as the genre of elite literature, represents a powerful centrifugal pull, which seeks to subsume the entire field of popular literature and then rearrange it around the centrality of the lineage narrative.²¹ On the other hand, lineage novel is inspired by the more dispersed narrative structure that takes generation as its building block. As I show in Chapter 1, genealogies, family histories, and lineage novels all share multi-generational narratives, although each genre assigns different meanings to the patriarchal kinship structure it narrates.

The meaning of the war romance changes once it is incorporated into the lineage novel: rather than a struggle of the lone hero, in the lineage novel, the plot of war connects the domestic space with the outer spaces. Lineage descendants, as Confucian gentlemen whose exceptional moral qualities are partly determined by their excellent heredity and partly derived from their upbringing in the thoroughly cultivated household, extend the moral framework of which the lineage is the heart, to outer, uncultured spaces. As I show in Chapter 1, lineage draws legitimacy from its nurturing, transformative power extendable, through its properly cultivated representatives, to the entire world.²² At

²¹ See So Sǒnguk, *Chosǒn sidae taeha sosǒl ūi sǒsa munbop kwa ch'angjak ūisik* [The Narrative Grammar of the Lineage Novel] (Seoul, T'aehaksa, 2003), 122-194.

²² Chǒn Sǒngun goes as far as to suggest that the lineage novel preceded the shorter genre of war romance, which later branched off and transformed into a genre of its own from the more extensive narrative of the lineage novel. This hypothesis is as suggestive as it is open to debate.

the same time, other novels that use the generational principle, such as the novel about the military adventures of Kou Zhun, do not dwell on the problematic of feelings, which is the main focal point of the lineage novel. In this way, the lineage novel is at once the quintessence of literary narratives of kinship, and a literary phenomenon that shares this narrative focus with other genres. While we can still speak of porous, though intelligible boundaries of this genre, we must also acknowledge the breadth of the spectrum of lineage narratives in Chosŏn.

The number of individual extant lineage novel titles is hard to ascertain because of continuous discovery of new texts. Writing in the first half of the nineteenth century, Hong Hŭibok had stated that about thirty lineage novels were known to him, and this can be taken as a rough estimate. Among the known texts, Im Ch'igyun has identified fourteen lineage novel sequel clusters that consist of two, three, or four novels. Based on the in-text catalogue of the sequels, the longest sequel group, centered upon the Hyŏn lineage and discussed in this dissertation, appears to be composed of four novels, although one of the novels of this sequel is still missing.²³ Although over the past years lineage novels became a popular subject for graduate theses in South Korea, a large bulk of these texts still remains unexplored, and we are yet to see how these texts can be conceived as a group and integrated into the history of Chosŏn Korea.

The pioneers of the study of the lineage novel—Kim Chinse, Chŏng Pyŏnguk, and Yi Subong—mostly introduced manuscripts and transcribed the plotlines of lineage

Chŏn Sŏngun, *Chosŏn hugi changp'yŏn kungmun sosŏl ūi chomang* [Overview of the Lineage Novel in Late Chosŏn Dynasty] (Seoul: Pogosa, 2002), 353-360.

²³ Lim Chee-kyun, *Chosŏn sidae taejangp'yŏn sosŏl yŏn'gu*, 53.

novels.²⁴ After this groundwork was completed, scholars' attention turned to the role of women—as readers, manuscript-makers, and, possibly, authors—in the rise of the lineage novel. Im Hyōngt'aek, for instance, outlined the rise of women's culture, defined by the cultivation of vernacular Korean calligraphy and readership of so-called “domestic novels,” such as *The Praise of Goodness and the Admiration of Righteousness* (*Changsŏn kamüirok* 彰善感義錄), which paved the way for the flourishing of the lineage novel in the inner quarters.²⁵ In a similar vein, Ōtani Morishige and Im Ch'igyun emphasized the centrality of women to the development of fiction, which thrived only after the promulgation of vernacular Korean script, which became gradually mastered by female readers; the lineage novel, too, becomes a part of this current of women's engagement in literary culture.²⁶ Continuing with the inquiry into women's role in the literary culture of Chosŏn Korea, Jung Byung-Sul has advanced a daring proposition of female authorship of several lineage novels.²⁷ In addition, Han Kilyŏn and Pak Yōnghŭi revealed the

²⁴ Kim Chinse was especially prolific in introducing various novels and their manuscripts to the Korean academia, and he also edited the publication of *The Pledge at the Banquet of Moon-Gazing Pavilion*, a lineage novel in hundred-eighty chapters that comprise twelve volumes in modern print. Kim Chinse's edition of *The Pledge* is an unglossed rendition of the original text into modern type print, not a translation, and this is the edition that I use in this dissertation.

²⁵ Im Hyōngt'aek, “17 segi kyubang sosŏl ūi sŏngnip kwa *Ch'angsŏnkamüirok*” [*The Praise of Goodness and the Admiration of Righteousness* and the Rise of Female Readership of the Novel], *Tongbang hakchi* 57 (1988): 103-176.

²⁶ Ōtani Morishige, *Chosŏn hugi sosŏl tokcha yŏn'gu* [Study of the Novel Audience in Late Chosŏn] (Seoul: Koryodae minsok munhwa yŏn'guso, 1985); Lim Chee-kyun, “Chosŏn hugi sosŏl ūi chŏn'gae wa yŏsŏng ūi yŏkhal” [The Role of Women in the Rise of the Novel in Late Chosŏn], in *Han'guk sŏsa munhaksa ūi yŏngu* [Studies in the History of Korean Fiction], ed. Sa Chaedong (Seoul, Chunang munhwasa, 1995), 1675-1692.

²⁷ Jung Byung-Sul, “Okwŏn chaehap kiyŏn chakka chaeron: Chosŏn hugi yŏsŏng sosŏlga ūi han kŏn'ye” [Reconsidering the Authorship of *The Remarkable Reunion of Jade Mandarin Ducks: The Case of a Late-Chosŏn Woman Author*], *Kwan'ak ōmunhak yŏn'gu* 22 (1997): 317-332; Jung Byung-Sul, *Wanwŏlhoe maengyŏn yŏn'gu* [A Study of *The Pledge at the Banquet of Moon-Gazing Pavilion*] (Seoul: T'aehaksa, 1998).

collegiate character of women's learning and literacy in the late Chosŏn and the existence of a strong tradition of women's education in some lineages.²⁸ This supports the hypothesis of women's potential authorship of lineage novels, which will be discussed in Chapter 2.²⁹

The above-mentioned studies elucidate the main features of the lineage novel that allow us to view this genre as a concerted cultural phenomenon. While these works lay important foundation for this dissertation, I take a somewhat different line of approach. Namely, while the majority of the extant Korean-language studies analyze the narrative structure and narrative patterns of the lineage novel, I single out the discourse of emotion that unfolds in this genre as a historical event with significance that extends far beyond the realm of literature and instead reveals a hitherto unknown chapter in Chosŏn history. Secondly, while Korean scholars have focused on the aspects of the patriarchal society that are elaborated in the lineage novel, I assert that the key to our understanding of this genre is its focus on the discourse of emotion, which takes the Confucian patriarchy of Chosŏn as its setting, but which rearticulates the meaning of private life and social organization from the perspective of feelings. The lineage novel, I believe, provides a unique vantage point upon the society and culture of premodern and early modern Korea.

²⁸ Han Kilyŏn, "Paek Kye yangmun sŏnhaengnok ūi chakka wa kŭ chubyŏn. Chŏnju Yissi kamun yŏsŏng ūi taehasosŏl ch'angjak kanŭngsŏng ūl chungsim ūro" [The Author and the Social Context of *The Record of the Good Deeds of Two Households: Paek and Kye*. Women of the Chŏnju Yi Lineage as Potential Authors of Lineage Novels]. *Kojŏn munhak yŏn'gu* 27 (2005): 329-361; Pak Yŏnghŭi, "Changp'yŏn kamun sosŏl ūi hyang'yu chiptan yŏn'gu" [Readership of the Lineage Novel], in *Munhak kwa sahoe chipdan* [Literature and Society], ed. Han'guk kojŏn munhakhoe (Seoul: Chimmundang, 1995), 319-361.

²⁹ In addition, there is a catalog of the lineage novels located in the Aston Collection, at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of Russian Academy of Sciences in Saint. Petersburg. This catalogue introduces the history of the Aston Collection and some of the lineage novels' manuscript. See A.F. Trotsevich and A. A. Gurieva, *Opisanie pis'mennykh pamyatnikov traditsionnoi koreiskoi kul'tury* [Catalog of Manuscripts of Traditional Korean Culture], vol. 2 (Saint Petersburg: Saint Petersburg University Press, 2009).

The central features of this genre that I explore in this dissertation—the unique manuscript form, which connects the lineage novel to the aesthetic culture of the inner quarters, the discourse of feelings that the lineage novel advances, attempting to find a balance between normative ideology and private authenticity, and, finally, the major architectural elements of the lineage novel that use the ideas of generation and lineage to construct its narrative time and space—are imbued with meaning that extends far beyond merely literary significance.

Emotions, Literature, and Women's Culture: Korea and Beyond

In the context of Chosŏn Korea, emotions are always embedded in the constellation of people's relationships and derive their meaning from the social. Correct ordering of people's relationships underlay the conception of personal identity, as well as social, political, and moral order in Chosŏn built upon the foundations of Confucian ethics: the hierarchy and affection between father and son was therefore mirrored in the bond of sovereign and subject, while correct hierarchy instead of egalitarian relationship (except, perhaps, in the case of friendship) was conceived as the grounding moral principle for people's interaction. In Confucian understanding, the highest moral value resides in being with others in a harmonious way. People's capacity for being with others is largely based on their capacity for public-mindedness or selflessness (K.: *kong*; Ch. *gong* 公), which implies a person's sincere and spontaneous self-identification with one's social role so that emotions that are potentially subversive of proper relationships are kept at bay by the exercise of the moral will. Loyalty, trust, deference, devotion, and obedience build foundations for productive social relations—these are affective

dispositions that unite feelings and action. In contrast, in the polygamous society of Chosŏn, a woman's jealousy is seen as a fit ground for divorce. Emotions are not conceived in opposition to reason, but rather in the contradistinction between moral and unruly feelings: moral or selfless emotions that agree with the fundamental postulates of sociality are the semantic opposite of selfish (K.: *sa*; Ch.: *si* 私) or unruly emotions that cannot facilitate social relationships. In short, the moral imperative of selflessness imputes a certain emotion transparency to a person, as well as permutability to people's relationships: one is expected to reciprocate in all relationships that benefit the social: the primary wife should not be selfish, or jealous if the husband takes a concubine, stepmother is not to be selfish in her emotional favoring of her own son over the stepson, and even men are to moderate their desires so that their carnal attraction is always united with the appreciation of the moral qualities of their spouse—the lineage novel explores these relationships and affective dispositions.

The patriarchal transformation of the Korean society in the seventeenth century fulfilled the state-sanctioned moral program of instituting correct and clear hierarchies in the totality of people's relationships. The seminal work on the ideological transformation of the Chosŏn society, Martina Deuchler's *The Confucian Transformation of Korea*,³⁰ provides an exhaustive study of the legislative and ritual aspects of the patriarchy: women's loss of legal rights and their primarily domestic lives, as well as primogeniture, patrilineality, and discrimination against consort-born sons. This study, while reflecting the scale of the transformation, tells us very little about the actual experience of the people, whose lives were molded by the new Confucian ideology.

³⁰ Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 1992).

That private, personal emotional experience can tell an equally valid story behind the making of Korea's patriarchy becomes most apparent in the work of JaHyun Kim Haboush. In particular, Haboush notes that although Confucian norms slowly redefined the patterns of sociality in Chosŏn, some indigenous forms of life still persisted. The well-loved *Song of Simch'ong*, for instance, narrates the lasting filial devotion of a daughter to her father, despite the fact that the Confucian norm would prescribe a woman to become a subject of filial devotion to her parents-in-law. In the patrilocal marriage arrangement that replaced the earlier matrilineal practices, it was expected that a woman would move to her husband's household after marriage and sever her ties with the natal family, serving her parents-in-law with utmost devotion. Simch'ong remains devoted to her father even after her marriage and this filial devotion, moreover, is praised far and wide. Haboush suggests that the space of feelings and affections remained private—that is, impenetrable to the Confucian norm and organized according to a person's self-understanding and history.³¹

A most eloquent example of the negotiation between private feelings and the Confucian norm appears in Haboush's work on the memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng (1735-1815), a princess, who narrates the horrifying story of her husband, Prince Sado's (1735-1762) death in a rice chest, commanded by his reigning father, King Yŏngjo (r. 1724-1776).³² Negotiating her complex station, as a member of a royal family but also a widow with a very personal investment in the death of the prince, Lady Hyegyŏng creates a personal idiom, in which she gives voice to her own feelings while narrating the events of

³¹ JaHyun Kim Haboush, "Filial Emotions and Filial Values: Changing Patterns in the Discourse of Filiality in Late Chosŏn Korea," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (1995): 129-177.

³² JaHyun Kim Haboush, *The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng: The Autobiographical Writings of a Crown Princess of Eighteenth Century Korea* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

state significance. Lady Hyegyŏng even daringly suggests that Yŏngjo's strenuous demands and constant disapproval of Sado cause the latter's aggravated mental condition and fits of violence, finally treated with a punishment of unprecedented cruelty. In Lady Hegyŏng's memoirs, the dark event of historical importance turns into a narrative of feelings and relationships in which he tries to stake her own ground. Haboush's attention to private feelings—dimensions of personal experience that remain autonomous even while people's social performances become normatively determined—probes deeper layers within the history of Chosŏn Korea. In short, private feelings, for Haboush, constitute a realm of empowerment for private persons, who actively receive and reconfigure the dictum of ideology and institutions.

It must be noted that in Chosŏn private feelings are not always necessarily conceived in opposition to various systems of order. This is especially the case in the judicial system, where, as Jisoo Kim has shown, the personal feeling of being wronged—grievance (*wŏn* 冤)—constitutes the stuff of the state legal system.³³ In other words, in Chosŏn, people's grievances were seen as a sort of reverse communication from the people to the sovereign, which alerted the king to the injustices his subjects suffered in daily lives. The sovereign, in turn, drew legitimacy from the nurture and protection bestowed upon his subjects. Just as grievances were institutionalized as premises for legal action in the system that allowed everyone, even women, to present petition at the royal court, private emotions appear to have another aspect of public valence in the judiciary sphere. Jungwon Kim has aptly shown how suicide, committed as an expression of a

³³ Jisoo Kim, *The Emotions of Justice: Gender, Status, and Legal Performance in Chosŏn Korea (1392–1910)* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015).

person's disgruntlement at unjust treatment, could possess forensic potency—it could authorize the kin of the deceased to seek posthumous justice for the injured person.³⁴ The feeling of justified indignation that Kim describes arises from concrete life situations of the people—this is not a universally mandated affective disposition, such, for instance, as loyalty and obedience. Channeled back into the system of public moral order, this private feeling of indignation reinforces the foundations of public morality (expressed in the ultimate prosecution of the wrongdoer), and hence this private feeling does not appear subversive. Therefore, within the semantic opposition of public and private, or morally mandated and unruly feelings, feelings of private grievance and injustice tend towards the “public” side of the spectrum.

In contrast, emotions described in the lineage novel are of a truly unruly or “private” kind: these feelings arise at the point when cardinal human relations fail to function according to the prescriptive model. Perhaps the most prominent plot of emotion that I describe in Chapter 3 unfolds when a step-mother, Madame So, is attempting to kill her stepson, adopted as the lineage heir. The crux of the matter lies in the fact that Madame So enters the household with the adopted son already in place, which automatically deprives her own son, born in this marriage, of the succession privilege. In the Confucian ethical view, stepmother should show her stepson the same kind of emotion which she naturally has for her own children. Madame So fails to contain her feeling of being wronged, born of the affection for her own son, whom she sees as unjustly discriminated in favor of an extraneous heir. The story of bloody struggle, in

³⁴Jungwon Kim, “Chaste Suicide, Emotions, and Politics of Honour in Nineteenth-Century Korea,” in *Honour, Violence, and Emotion: Historical Perspectives*, ed. Carolyn Strange et al. (London and New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014), 163-182; Jungwon Kim, “‘You Must Avenge on My Behalf’: Widow Chastity and Honour in Nineteenth-Century Korea,” *Gender & History* 26.1 (2014): 128-146.

which Madame So attempts to displace the unwanted stepson and his family occupies much of the ensuing narrative, in which Madame So is shown as a person of iron will, hot temper, and considerable wit. Nevertheless, Madame So is not ultimately presented as a mere villain—her story, as well as stories of other protagonists who navigate the rift between their unruly feelings and their stance vis-à-vis public values, is told in a manner that commands understanding of their motivations, as well as the recognition of the inner necessity of unruly feelings.

Madame So and other lineage novels' protagonists follow the path from rebellion to moral transformation. Lineage novels describe the long, and difficult process of coming to terms with one's unruly feelings with much attention to the objective causes that produce the feeling of being at odds with one's society. In Madame So's case, it is made very clear that her husband's suspicions played a crucial role in her transformation into a blood-seeking fury: Madame So's husband expects Madame So to resent his adopted son even before Madame So has given thought to the existence of the latter. Through this attention to the external cause of unruly feelings, the lineage novel authorizes private emotions as hermeneutical indices of the incomplete juncture between public values and personal self-perception. The long stories of struggle depicted with the attention to often-opposing perspectives reveal that this junction can never be absolute, and that a balancing of self-perception and a public role takes place as a precarious act afforded with much difficulty. Most of the lineage novels' "villains" are given a chance to explain, in lengthy first-person speeches, the causes and deliberations behind their acts that go against the norm. Madame So, in her turn, speaks convincingly and poignantly about the difficulty of accepting her husband's groundless suspicions and of her final,

disgruntled decision to indeed live up to his expectations, when she turns into a bloodthirsty tormentor to her stepson, just as her husband envisions her to be.

Importantly, unruly feelings are always spoken about in front of an interlocutor—markers of failed relationships, unruly feelings are always related, or narrated to someone else, this act of interlocution signifying the ultimately social ground that stands behind private feelings. In other words, unruly feelings are always exteriorized; they do not constitute a sealed, interior dimension of intense turmoil. Spoken about, acted upon, and ultimately contained—private feelings register the problematic personal autonomy, but a one that always unfolds against a horizon of relationships and relatability, considered a fundamentally unchallenged postulate of sociality. In this way, lineage novels are hardly subversive of the patriarchal order that they describe. These texts create a parallel construction: the patriarchal order that organizes and constrains personal lives is always represented as the unquestionably valuable form of human sociality, at the same time, this patriarchal norm is refracted through the lens of a private life, and of private emotions that figure as valuable instantiated interpretations of the abstract moral norm. To borrow Dorothy Holland's word, the lineage novel presents us with a "history-in-person," in which the singularity of private experience is negotiated against the givenness of the shared culture.³⁵

Dorothy Holland's insightful note on the bipolar construction of identity defined by the given totality of cultural choices on the one hand, and, on the other, by the improvised decision-making that corresponds to the person's position within this field, leads us to another idea, critically important to the internal structure of the lineage novel

³⁵ Dorothy Holland et al., *Identity and Agency in Cultural Worlds* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 19-46.

and its discussion in the present study—Bakhtin’s concept of dialogic imagination or polyphony. Holland suggests that Bakhtin proposes “the idea of plural, even competing sites of the self,”³⁶ so that “subjectivity... is seen to be developing at an interface, within the interplay between the social and embodied sources of the self, what might be called the self-in-practice or, to use a label inspired by Bakhtin, the authoring self.”³⁷ The lineage novel captures the process of authoring, in which its protagonists aspire to a relationship between the multiple sites of their selves—one located in the realm of public norms and relationships, and the other residing within the realm of private feelings that, while representing the inalienable truth about a person’s private circumstances, preclude relatability with others, creating a self that is at odds with the immediate social fabric. Do lineage novels valorize or condemn private feelings—are these texts subversive or affirmative of the patriarchal kinship order? Following Bakhtin and Holland’s cue, we can conclude that these texts are both: while affirming the moral validity of the patriarchal institutions they also authorize the private process of coming to terms with it, and the importance of private feelings as inalienable parts of personal histories. In sum, the lineage novel suggests that private emotional terrain becomes an important site for self-authoring, as it also becomes the site for registering the immense costs required for creating and maintaining the stable system of governance, social institutions, and relationships.

This study of the discourse of emotion in Chosŏn Korea is inspired by the immediate contact that the anthropologist aspires to have with the subject of her study—a proximity that is best described by such terms as “everyday life” or “life worlds.” As

³⁶ Ibid., 19.

³⁷ Ibid., 32.

many theorists have noted, everydayness is that segment of experience, where norms are lived as dispositions and are transformed as strategic interpretations of a person's positionality in the field of a given culture. With anthropological studies of emotion, this work shares a conviction that people dwell in the world in a variety of ways, where expressions of emotion function as concrete elaborations of the immediate circumstances of people's life. Lila Abu-Lughod's study of the emotional expressions in Bedouin poetry unravels the desire to carve out a space for the discourse of vulnerability in a culture that privileges the discourse of honor to such extreme extent as to effectively preclude a possibility for intimacy. Expression of emotion, for Abu-Lughod, is among other "concepts by which Awlad 'Ali understood their social world and acted within it."³⁸ In her study of the life on a coral atoll, Catherine Lutz offers several amendments to the Anglo-American understanding of feelings, noting, for instance, that the indigenous concept of *fago*, or feeling of love and care for another person, is a hierarchical expression of concern that allows a person of greater resources and higher status to exercise power by providing nurturance to the needy. For Lutz, this experience represents an "aspect of variability in the world."³⁹

In her thought-provoking study of love and governance, Elizabeth Povinelli draws attention to the discourse of "socially exfoliating love" or love that occurs between two subjects unmarked by "genealogical" distinctions of kinship and status. Contrasting this discourse to the understanding of the genealogical subject as embedded in various regimes of obligation, Povinelli exposes the state of exception behind modern liberalism

³⁸ Lila Abu-Lughod, *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 22.

³⁹ Catherine Lutz, *Unnatural Emotions. Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll and Their Challenge to Western Theory* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 83.

that exiles all “marked” forms of life to its outskirts. Speaking in particular about the indigenous Australian population, where kinship, ritual and dream-place practices create a thick life alien to the unmarked, autonomous subject of liberalism, Povinelli notes that the difference in emotional experience and understanding of its role in subject formation is not merely a problem of (in)translatability. Instead, it creates an uneven carnal experience where some types of flesh, ostracized from spaces of privilege, deteriorate faster than other types. In the author’s sharp phrase, “the temporality of life for many at the edge of liberal capital’s promise is the temporality of diarrhea—slow, debilitating, and blurred.”⁴⁰ These narratives of concrete, everyday emotions as coordinate systems that makes different life worlds habitable inevitably offer critique of the Universal Subject and foreground the possibility for the otherwise. This, at least to the extent possible, is also a goal of this dissertation.

While proposing an intimate proximity with its subject—the subject of feelings—this study has to account for the paradox of describing the experience that is some three hundred years old, and which is told in a literary idiom. The project of taking literature seriously on historic terms involves the recognition of certain veracity of fiction. In other words, lineage novels are not just narratives with a set of distinctive generic conventions, but they are records of experience contingent upon their time, their authors, and their readers. In the classic expression of Raymond Williams, literature registers the forms of actual, ongoing, inexplicit experience or structures of feelings before it becomes immobilized as “belief-systems, institutions, or explicit general relationships.”⁴¹ In a

⁴⁰ Elizabeth Povinelli, *The Empire of Love: Toward a Theory of Intimacy, Genealogy, and Carnality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 204.

⁴¹ Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 133.

similar vein, Ian Watt, Georg Lukacs, and Erich Auerbach see literature as a “method of comprehending reality,”⁴² and this method is further elucidated in Frederic Jameson’s already aphoristic idiom of “political unconscious.” For Jameson, the political unconscious of literature articulates “imaginary solutions to existing social contradictions”⁴³ in the manner of “diagnostic revelation of terms of nodal points implicit in the ideological system.”⁴⁴ What the story of Madame So reveals is not the prevalence of cruel stepmother in the wake of the patriarchal reform (although this too could have been the case), but that a certain mode of relating was compromised. Madame So’s story relates the voice of the blood—the voice of her unmediated and unabated love for her own son translated into the hate for the adopted son who snatches away all privileges from her own first-born—and this voice is sharply out of sync with the rhythm dictated by ritual propriety. True, Madame So is appeased towards the novel’s end, but she accept the status quo only after she sounds out the matter of inborn maternal affection.

Laurent Berlant has once noted that “affect theory is another stage in the history of ideology theory,”⁴⁵ since experience and transaction of emotion takes place within, or alongside ideological dictum and negotiates the normative context of people’s lives.⁴⁶ In

⁴² Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), 16.

⁴³ Frederic Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 79.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 49.

⁴⁵ Lauren Berlant, *Cruel Optimism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 53.

⁴⁶ It must be noted that as the monograph’s title itself suggests, Lauren Berlant does not consider the exclusively liberatory potential of feelings, emphasized by such classical theorists as Williams and Bakhtin. In *Cruel Optimism*, Berlant writes that transaction of shared feelings by the underprivileged produces structures of comfortable attachment and embeddedness in the immediate present, which in turn precludes the possibility for an open future. In other words, the

this way, studies of emotion and gender certainly intersect in a number of important ways, which inspire this project. At a very concrete level, my dissertation is yet another attempt to break the historical archive dominated by the male culture of Chosŏn Korea in order to illuminate the experiences of the otherwise that male prerogative over writing deemed unessential. In this, I continue the tradition of women studies that, as Natalie Davis' eloquent title *Women on the Margins* suggests, seek to uncover experiences that are silenced and concealed. At the deeper level, the study of gender is motivated by the desire to dismantle the entire system of hierarchical signification. As Luce Irigaray has written, feminist inquiry must interrogate "the conditions under which systematicity itself is possible"⁴⁷ disarticulating the very logic that condemns some discourses and actors to silence. Monique Wittig goes a step further proposing the lesbian as a figure of disruption to the patriarchal heterosexual logic—she calls for an escape from the paradigm chartered by "the straight mind" and for a community of exiles that build their life outside this system, connecting their struggle to all the struggles against oppressive hierarchies.

Concern with women's histories and gender relations in the context of Chosŏn Korea is important, though not central, to this dissertation. The symbolic marking of male and female areas of identity and activity in the sphere of representation becomes important in Chapter 2, where I situate the emergence of the lineage novel in the culture of the inner quarters and the rise of women's calligraphic practice. Before delving into the discourse of feelings that the lineage novel advances, we must understand the conditions of its emergence in the rigid patriarchal society of Chosŏn Korea. Here, I use

present becomes a halting constraint in its own right, and certain social expressions of feelings serve to mire the subject rather than facilitate self-actualization.

⁴⁷ Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which Is not One*, trans. Catherine Porter with Carolyn Burke (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 74. See also Luce Irigaray, *Speculum of the Other Woman*, trans. Gillian C. Gill (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985).

the body as a hermeneutic key to unlock the male-dominated literary space of Chosŏn Korea in order to see the contours of women's cultural practices—calligraphy, readership, and book circulation—that ultimately facilitated the emergence of the lineage novel. The work of China historian Dorothy Ko has been illuminating and inspiring in considering the material aspect of the lineage novel—the manuscript culture—and its connections with nontextual signification. Behind the shoes made for the bound feet Ko, for instance, discerns “craft, extensions of the body-self, focal point of fashion regimes, and integuments of illusion.”⁴⁸ Ko is also able to view the literary cultivation and the refined appearance of the Late Imperial courtesan, epitomized in her bound feet, on par with each other, seeing footbinding as a bodily inscription that constitutes semantic continuum with the overarching desire to create ordered pattern of culture, which is captured in the Chinese concept of *wen* (K. *mun* 文).⁴⁹ For female calligraphers who made and circulated lineage novels' manuscripts, the act of writing was a polysemic event embedded in bodily discipline, affective networks, and a conception of socially productive function of writing. As I show in Chapter 2, lineage novels' manuscripts were products of laborious work of women in the inner quarters, material tokens of families prestige derived from the thorough literary and calligraphic cultivation of their female members, and also objects that drew visceral emotional response when nieces, granddaughters and daughters-in-law encountered the handwriting of elder female kinswomen, now deceased. The connection

⁴⁸ Dorothy Ko, *Cinderella's Sisters: A Revisionist History of Footbinding* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 6.

⁴⁹ Dorothy Ko, “The Written Word and the Bound Foot: A History of the Courtesan's Aura,” in *Writing Women in Late Imperial China*, ed. Ellen Widmer and Kang-i Sun Chang (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 74-100.

of the lineage novel to women's culture allows us to explore the vagaries of representing, performing, and negotiating gender identities in Chosŏn Korea.

The main focus of this study is the discourse of feelings that unfolds in the lineage novel and that is concerned with the experience of men and women alike. In particular, this dissertation unravels the incongruity between bodies—and hence intimacies, emotions, and desires—and texts, problematized in the literary genre of the lineage novel. I am yet unable to offer a through theoretical framework for comprehending embodiment, naturalness of emotions, and the veracity of unruly feelings in Chosŏn Korea, and will reserve it for future study, only drawing the contours of the discourse of emotion in the present work. Confucian ideology, adapted as the moral core of the Chosŏn dynasty upon its inception, attempted to reconfigure the embodied aspect of experience according to the letter of the Confucian precepts. Along these lines, stepmothers were supposed to show the same affection to their adopted and born children, men were encouraged to regulate their erotic desire balancing it with the love of the moral qualities of their spouse, and sexuality became a spectacle incorporated into normative patriarchal family structure—in Chapter 3, I show how these incongruities between bodies and texts are worked out in the lineage novel. I also trace the process in which the ideology of moral restraint taught men and women to derive the sense of self-worth and viable social identity from conforming the various aspects of their corporeal experience to the precepts of Confucian relatability, which calls for a creation of a transparent, selfless person, oriented towards others. Depicting unruly emotions as having objective causes in a person's life circumstances and lending considerable veracity to each protagonist's first-person testimonies on the source and meaning of violent feelings, the lineage novel

underscores the intensity and value of the process of encountering and mastering one's private emotional excess.

The contours of the historical phenomenon of the lineage novel, which fades from Korea's literary field in the early twentieth century, are set into stark relief by the emergence of the so-called "modern Korean literature" distinguished by early-twentieth-century intellectuals against the purportedly didactic Confucian canon. The modern literature that conventionally begins with the publication of Yi Kwangsu's 1917 novel *The Heartless* (*Mujŏng* 無情), professes to foreground the concept of individual emotional autonomy, but at a closer look produces an optimistic conflation of private self and the national subject. The lineage novel directly confronts the idea of selfless relatability with the unruly feelings that need to be worked through prior to achieving a provisional equilibrium between one's private and public selves. If we look beyond the umbrella term of literary exploration of emotions as a watershed moment that divides "modern" and "premodern" Korean literature, we can formulate the question of historical difference in alternative terms. In the discursive articulation of private and public meanings, how large is the space between ideology and practice, and what meanings arise, or can be assigned, to the distance between the two? As I argue in Chapter 4, it is not that Chosŏn Korea was unaware of the problem of private feelings, but that the early-twentieth-century intellectual and literary discourse failed to register the fraught distance between private and public selves, brandishing the notion of "newly discovered" emotions as a point of departure into a truly modern future. The fraught historical moment of Korea's early twentieth century, therefore, was marked not with discovery of feelings, but with an increased disregard of the distance between various spaces of self-

authoring. While I only broach this issue in this dissertation's closing chapter, I believe it would be fruitful to explore this issue at length in the future.

Synopsis

Done in large strokes, this study maps the cultural grammar of premodern and early modern Korea, which shaped the lineage novel, and which, in turn, was reimagined in these texts. While lineage novels and manuscripts comprise the core source material, I frame them with other narratives of kinship and emotion that allow variable angles of view upon these problematics. Commemorative texts that men write in quantity for their deceased kinswomen from the late seventeenth until the early twentieth century reveal the role of emotions in the normative conception of kinships: men express sorrow and longing for their deceased kinswomen, thereby revealing the affective fabric beyond the normative patriarchy that institutes distinctness of areas of identity and activity as the chief principle that coordinates the relationship between men and women. At the same time, these texts describe the texture of women's domestic life better than any other sources and in this eulogies, epitaphs and posthumous biographies allow us to trace the contours of women's calligraphic practice. Women's epistles, written in exquisite vernacular calligraphy speak for themselves as superb aesthetic objects. Finally, early-twentieth-century literary and intellectual writings allow me to trace connections between the closing chapter of the lineage novel's history and the vibrant, if not turbulent, cultural milieu of the time.

With about thirty extant lineage novels, my choice of five texts is necessarily subjective, though guided by the central concerns of this study. I found three issues to be crucial to the history of the lineage novel: its position in women's culture, the exclusive

manuscript form of lineage novels' circulation, and, finally, the existence of sequel clusters, in which new novels continue with the lives of the descendants of the source novel's lineage. *The Pledge at the Banquet of Moon-Gazing Pavilion* (*Wanwŏlhoe maengyŏn* 玩月會盟宴, *The Pledge* henceforth), with its hundred-eighty manuscript volumes, is the longest novel in Korea's vernacular canon.⁵⁰ An intriguing note in a nineteenth-century miscellany also attributes the authorship of this text to a woman—Madame Yi of Chŏnju (1694-1743). Although it is impossible to ascertain if Madame Yi was indeed the author of *The Pledge*, I problematize the notion of women's authorship in Chapter 2. Other than the question of authorship, the sheer size and sophistication of this text without doubt make it the epitome of the lineage novel tradition. The second novel, *The Remarkable Reunion of Jade Mandarin Ducks* (*Okwŏn chaehapkiyŏn* 玉鴛再合奇緣, *Jade Mandarin Ducks* henceforth) exists in a unique manuscript, the marginalia of which records intergenerational audience of this novel comprised of the women in the extended family of Madame Chŏng of Onyang, who produced this manuscript in the years 1786-1791.⁵¹ Madame Chŏng's nieces, daughters-in-law, and even great-granddaughters

⁵⁰ There are three known editions of *The Pledge*, located at the Kyujanggak Archive, the Changsŏgak Archive, and the Yonsei University Archive. The latter manuscript is incomplete and consists of only five manuscript volumes. In my work, I used the published edition by Kim Chinse, which is an unannotated rendition of the original text into modern type print. Kim Chinse's edition is based on the Kyujanggak manuscript. Kim Chinse, ed., *Wanwŏlhoe maengyŏn* [The Pledge at the Banquet of Moon-Gazing Pavilion], vols. 1-12 (Seoul: Seoul University Press, 1986-1994).

⁵¹ There are four known manuscripts of *Jade Mandarin Ducks* located at the Changsŏgak Archive, the Yonsei University Archive, the Ehwa Women's University Archive, and the Kyujanggak Archive. I worked with the Kyujanggak Archive version (Ko 3350-68) reproduced in facsimile in *Kojŏn sosŏl chŏnjip* [Anthology of Manuscript Editions of Classical Korean Novel], vols. 27-30, ed. Kim Kidong et al. (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1980). The Yonsei University Archive manuscript is a much redacted, shorter version, which consists of only ten manuscript volumes, compared to the twenty-five volumes of the Kyujanggak manuscript. In addition, there exists a curious text entitled *Okwŏn chŏnhae* (玉鴛箋解) or *Commentary to Jade Mandarin Ducks*, which simply

transmitted this manuscript in their family, carefully mending it, and recording their appreciation of Madame Chǒng’s work alongside warnings to future readers to exercise utmost care in handling the precious volumes. The manuscript of this novel is the best illustration of the cultural prestige the lineage novel held among elite families of Chosŏn Korea, as well as of the sentimental value calligraphy had among its female makers and connoisseurs.

The three novels of the Hyŏn lineage sequel cluster—*The Record of Two Heroes: Brothers Hyŏn* (*Hyŏn ssi yangung ssangnin gi* 玄氏兩雄雙麟記, *The Record of Two Heroes* henceforth),⁵² *The Remarkable Encounter of Pearls* (*Myŏngju kibong* 明珠奇逢),⁵³ *The Remarkable Reunion of Pearls and Jade* (*Myŏngju okyŏn kihamnok* 明珠玉緣奇合錄, *Pearls and Jade* henceforth)⁵⁴—are also texts with extremely interesting history,

explains the facts that are left out of the main body of the novel, such, for instance, as the provenance of the jade mandarin ducks used in the novel as betrothal gifts. According to the manuscript postscripts, *Commentary to Jade Mandarin Ducks* was also produced in the extended family of Madame Chǒng of Onyang over the years 1790-1796. *Okwŏn chŏnhae* [Commentary to Jade Mandarin Ducks], Seoul, South Korea, The Kyujanggak Archive, Ko 3350-67, vols. 1-5. For the description of the manuscripts, see Jung Byung-Sul, “*Okwŏn chaehapkiyŏn: t’alkamun sosŏl chŏk sigak, tto nŭn sijŏm ŭi maeng’a*” [The Remarkable Reunion of Jade Mandarin Ducks: Origins of a Perspective that Eclipses the Problematic of the Lineage Novel], *Han’guk munhwa* 24 (December 1999): 81-97.

⁵² *The Record of Two Heroes* appears to have been an immensely popular novel, which counts more than seventy editions in manuscript and even type print. I used the facsimile reproduction of the ten-volume manuscript of the Changsŏgak Archive. *Hyŏnssi yangung ssangnin gi* [The Record of Two Heroes: Brothers Hyŏn], ed. Association for the Preservation of the Materials for National Studies, vols. 1-2 (Seoul: Sŏngmunsa, 1979).

⁵³ There are two known manuscripts of *Pearls*, contained at the Yonsei University Archive, and the Changsŏgak Archive and I used the facsimile reproduction of the Changsŏgak version, comprised of twenty-five manuscript volumes. *Myŏngju kibong* [The Remarkable Encounter of Pearls], vols. 1-2 (Seoul: Munhwajae kwalliguk Changsŏgak, 1978).

⁵⁴ The two unpublished manuscripts of *Pearls and Jade* are located at the Sogang University Archive and the Yŏngnam University Archive. I examined both editions, but used the Sogang University version, which consists of twenty-five volumes, and which is of better quality and is

which sheds light not only on the literary imagination beyond the sequel construction, but also lends important insights to our understanding of the lineage novels' circulation. Uniquely popular in Chosŏn Korea, and even counting a type-print adaptation made in the early twentieth century, *The Record of Two Heroes* is the parent texts of the sequel and it is a novel with a captivating manuscript history. Aside from the margin notes that reveal the intergenerational transmission of its nineteenth-century manuscript, the latest manuscript of *The Record of Two Heroes*, dated to the early twentieth century, asserts the lasting relevance of this lineage novel even after the development of modern print technology. The closing novel of this sequel—*Pearls and Jade Mandarin Ducks*—also possesses a curious manuscript that appears to have been made in the late nineteenth century by palace ladies for their private use. While *Pearls* is perhaps less remarkable from the point of view of its narrative or manuscript history, this novel allows us to follow the expansion of the sequel tree that branches out with the life stories of the descendants of parent novel's protagonists. Although daunting, the necessity of including several lineage novels in my study became immediately apparent: with virtually no external references to the lineage novel, only juxtaposition of multiple texts could reveal what is common to the lineage novel as a genre and what is unique to each text.

The structural conceit of this dissertation is a multi-focal overview of the discourse of feelings in the society of Chosŏn Korea and during Korea's early-twentieth-century transition to new geo-political, cultural, and intellectual milieu. Therefore, the four chapters of this dissertation work in conversation with each other. Chapter 1 offers a macro-view of the lineage novel. I situate the lineage novel alongside genealogies that

more easily accessible through the university library services. *Myŏngju okyŏn kihamnok* [The Remarkable Encounter of Pearls and Jade], The Sŏgang University Archive, Seoul, South Korea, vols. 1-25, Kosŏ myŏng 77.

propagated the unproblematic idea of patrilineal patriarchal lineage, and commemorative genres, which centered on female lineage members and articulated affective bonds between generations, and I discuss the narrative conventions of these lineage genres. While sharing the ambition of validating the patriarchal lineage structure, the lineage novel made important adjustments to the hegemonic vision. Using lineage as the basis for its conceptions of time, space, and the body, the lineage novel creates a cosmology based in kinship relations. But while its narrative, akin to genealogical tree, continues with the lives of ever-new generations of lineage descendants, the lineage novel creates an alternative concept of genealogy, in which fathers and sons find their common ground not merely in the duties they fulfill, but in the magnitude of unruly feelings that escape patriarchal norm and constitute autonomous private histories. This chapter, thus, provides a sketch of the macro-concepts central to the architecture of the lineage novel, showing where the discourse of emotion enters this vision.

Chapter 2 approaches the lineage novel from the angle of the material culture, connecting it to the development of the vernacular Korean calligraphy practiced by elite women, who were also the principal makers of the lineage novel manuscripts. Drawing insights from men's references to women's handwriting that appear in the commemorative texts that men wrote for women, along with lineage novel manuscripts and vernacular Korean letters, this chapter outlines the social, aesthetic and corporeal meanings of women's vernacular calligraphy. I show that lineage novel manuscripts are endowed with additional, non-textual significance, as aesthetic objects of calligraphy and as sentimental mementoes of the deceased scribes. This, in turn, leads us to appreciate

the authorship of female scribes, who expanded the semantic range of lineage novels, by turning them into object-artifacts with unique history and texture.

Continuing with the theme of Chapter 2—about the possibility of alternative, nonhegemonic communities in the patriarchal society of Chosŏn, such as the one represented by the aesthetic community of female scribes—Chapter 3 unravels the discourse of emotion that appears in the lineage novel. Lineage novels valorize the stories of those protagonists who feel themselves most violently at odds with their society. It is only after sounding out the matters of feelings and establishing their personal autonomy through all sorts of transgressions and even crimes, that these unruly protagonists, by their own moral choice, assume prescribed social roles. Kinship structure, thus, appears as a value accepted by choice, not an obligation, and feelings—as aspects of authentic personality rather than mere obstacles to social harmony. Feelings also bring into being nonritualized, affective communities that the lineage novel deems essential for the survival of the patriarchy. Feelings enter crucial ritualized relationships: between husband and wife, and between maternal and paternal sides of the lineage. Showing women’s conflicted allegiance to their natal and in-law families, and also the complex relationship between sons- and fathers-in-law, the lineage novel articulates the idea that emotional genealogy, or affective bond, is vital for the lineages’ survival. Fashioned as emotional genealogy, the matriline is grafted upon the patriline as a structure of relationships that recognizes non-patrilineal, lateral affective bonds that connect children to their mothers and, by extension, to their maternal side of the lineage.

The fate of the lineage novel in the twentieth century is discussed in Chapter 4. Early twentieth century was a dramatic historical moment for Korea, which became

Japan's colony in 1910. In this new environment, Korean nationalist intellectuals looked for new formulations of individuality, emotion, family, and nationhood. All the while, lineage novels continued circulating through the 1930s. I first examine the forms of the lineage novel's circulation in the early twentieth century, highlighting discursive continuity that straddles the watershed moment of 1910, commonly accepted in historiography as the marker of Korea's modern era. Secondly, I use the lineage novel as a comparative hermeneutic angle for approaching the first modern literary texts: the so-called "new novel" (*sinsosŏl*), a genre that for the first time attempted to depart from traditional Korean prose, and Korea's first modern novel, Yi Kwangsu's (1892-1950) *The Heartless* (*Mujŏng* 無情, 1917). In a comparison that stretches beyond the realm of merely literary significance, the lineage novel defies the teleological near-sightedness and self-forgetfulness of modernity narrative that claimed to invent a model for private emotional autonomy in a literature that was thereby proclaimed modern.

Chapter 1. The Tree, the Map, and the Body: Family and Lineage in the Lineage Novel

Introduction

Beyond social institutions and practices, kinship is also a set of narratives that allow people to conceive communities and situate individual lives therein.⁵⁵ The purpose of this chapter is to understand the connection the lineage novel has with the developments of family and lineage in the social practice, and explore the architecture of the genre, built upon particular conceptions of time, space, and the body, which are based in the cosmology of kinship relations.

Around the seventeenth century, the society of Chosŏn Korea (1392-1910) became reorganized into strict patriarchal lineage structure with patrilineal succession. This institutional and ideological transformation resulted in the curbing of women's social freedoms and inheritance rights, discrimination against consort-born sons, and rigidly enforced primogeniture. Following the first statutes issued in the fifteenth century, which imposed some lineage-related restrictions upon the Chosŏn elites,⁵⁶ by the

⁵⁵ Numerous studies have elaborated the cultural meaning of kinship narratives and imagination. Lynn Hunt, for instance, provides a compelling overview of family-centered narratives that defined the social imagination after the French Revolution. Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). Edward Said argues that the most important shift in the western culture occurred when the "natural" blood ties were replaced by the nonhierarchical bonds of culture that presume equality between community members. Edward Said, *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 1-30. Claude Levi-Strauss sees the recognition of kinship ties and distinctions as the foundation for human culture at large. See, for instance, Claude Levi-Strauss, "Incest and Myth," in *Twentieth Century Literary Criticism, A Reader*, ed. David Lodge (London: Longman, 1972), 546-552.

⁵⁶ Martina Deuchler writes that the first law that marked the establishment of the patriarchal lineage system was the 1413 restriction of the office-holding elites to having only one legal wife,

seventeenth century practices and ideas of lineage trickled down to the entire society. Lineage as a symbolic form retained its relevance even after the Kabo Reforms of 1894 abolished all social distinctions, such, for instance, as the social discrimination against secondary consorts and their sons. Even in the wake of this reform, genealogies and male literary collections, which, as I explain later, were among the principal genres of articulating the vision of patriarchal lineage, continued to be printed until the 1930s. Moreover, some elements of the patriarchal lineage structure that emerged in Chosŏn Korea are still discernible in the modern times.⁵⁷ This chapter's central concern is to offer a new perspective upon this major historical transformation, by unraveling an alternative vision of kinship relations that unfolds in the lineage novel.

The time span of the lineage novel's circulation coincided with the social practice of lineage in Korea. The first references to the lineage novel appear in the late seventeenth century, while its latest manuscripts date to the 1930s. Massive texts in hundreds of manuscript volumes, lineage novels trace the lives of ever-new descendants of established civil lineages: the texts branch out in a manner of genealogical trees, and novel sequels continue with the life stories of the new descendants. In the East Asian literary canon, there is no parallel to this genre, which so literally mirrors the patriarchal lineage structure in its very form. I will not risk retelling, side by side, the story of the formation of lineage in premodern Korea and that of the lineage novel's development—either of these tasks is much beyond the scope of this study. Instead, I am interested in

who would produce legitimate heirs to her husband. See “‘Heaven Does Not Discriminate’: A Study of Secondary Sons in Chosŏn Korea,” *The Journal of Korean Studies* 6 (1988): 122-123.

⁵⁷ Shin Ki-young, for instance, shows how the male family head system (*hoju chaedo*) legislated gender hierarchy and reified patriarchal lineage until 2005, when it was abolished. Shin Ki-young, “The Politics of the Family Law Reform Movement in Contemporary Korea: A Contentious Space for Gender and the Nation,” *The Journal of Korean Studies* 11. 1 (2006): 93-125.

the multidirectional exchange between social practice and literary imagination, which reveals dynamic processes behind ready-made normative structures. The ways in which the social experience of lineage formation influenced the emergence of the lineage novel as a genre, and how the lineage novel, in turn, reimagined this experience show that multiple voices articulated different versions of lineage alongside each other. This chapter consists of two interrelated thematic parts. First of all, I outline the cultural grammar of premodern Korea that produced multiple lineage narratives with distinctive narrative conventions. Secondly, I unravel the vision of kinship that appears in the lineage novel, which uses kinship imagination to define the fundamental concepts of time, space, and the body.

The lineage novel coexisted with other genres of writing lineage: genealogies and male literary collections (*munjip* 文集), which propagated established male-centered tradition, and commemorative genres, such as eulogies, epitaphs, and family histories, that captured the affective basis of the intergenerational fabric. Despite the differences between these genres, they all have roots in the culture that presupposes the centrality of kinship in the narratives of individual life, society, and polity. A variant of the following phrase appears in a great number of lineage genealogies: “If there are people, there is kinship; if there is kinship, there are genealogies, and genealogies have been made since time immemorial.”⁵⁸ Alongside political, social, and legal transformations that shaped Korea’s lineage structure, this turn of phrase marks the emergence of a narrative pattern that embeds individual life in the structures of kin obligation. Following Lauren Berlant’s

⁵⁸ Hwang Hŭi [1363-1452], “Suwŏn Paek ssi sebo” [Preface to the Genealogy of Suwŏn Paeks], in *Han’guk chokpo kubo sŏjip* [An Anthology of Prefaces from Korean Genealogies], ed. Chŏng Pyŏngwan (Seoul: Asea Munhwasa, 1987), 3.

imaginative definition of genre as “the nameable aspiration for discursive order through which particular life narratives and modes of being become normalized as the real, the taken for granted,”⁵⁹ we can thus evaluate the narrative conventions of genealogies, commemorative writings, and lineage novels side by side. What different visions of kinship did these genres aspire to normalize? And where does the lineage novel vision intersect with, or diverge from, these discursive elaborations of kinship? The argument below attends to these questions.

For the study of Korean history, the lineage novel is a revealing archive, which suggests that Chosŏn Korea, known as a rigidly regulated patriarchy, was also a society that was keenly aware of the emotional underpinning of the lineage making, for which it sought to account. Pondering on the role of this literary archive in the study of premodern Korean history, I turn to Lauren Berlant’s eloquent meditation on the different modes of historical inquiry:

Anyone schooled in the work of genre will know that it is impossible to comprehend the terms of a cultural discussion among those who left traces without encountering what’s affective (a literary convention, a sense held in collective memory about a “time”) about the aesthetics of that translation. But too often we derive a sense of a time, place, and power through historical archives whose job it is to explain something aesthetic without thinking the aesthetic in the sensually affective terms...Thinking about genre historically bridges the historiography of an entextualized moment and the affectivity gathered up in the evidence that points to the animating situation.⁶⁰

What do we learn about structures of kinship in premodern Korea from the aesthetic archive of the lineage novel? Perhaps unsurprisingly, the lineage novel reveals that the rigidly ordered structure that underlay the stability of premodern Korean society was achieved through an immense effort to regulate private feelings. But in addition to this,

⁵⁹ Lauren Berlant, *The Female Complaint: The Unfinished Business of Sentimentality in American Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 259.

⁶⁰ Lauren Berlant, *Cruel Optimism*, 67.

the lineage novel gives us a unique cosmology based in kin relations, and attempts to articulate the place of feelings in this vision.

Since its inception, Korea's Chosŏn dynasty adopted Confucian moral vision founded upon the correct enactment of hierarchies in the society and polity. All human relationships are thus conceived in the form of three fundamental bonds (K.: *samgang*, Ch.: *sangang* 三綱) between father and son, sovereign and subject, and husband and wife, governed by five hierarchized relationships (K.: *oryun*, Ch.: *wulun* 五倫).⁶¹ Inculcated within the family and extended into the totality of the social, these hierarchies rest upon the exercise of the moral will, which allows individuals to regulate their emotions and perform prescribed social roles.⁶² Founded on strict patriarchal succession and generational hierarchy, lineage embodied the practical dimension of correct ordering.⁶³

Primogeniture, patrilineality, and distinction between male and female areas of activity were the most important new social practices instituted by the patriarchal transformation. Scholars have noted that the impact of Korea's patriarchal transformation was greatest upon women: departing from the model of equal inheritance rights and relative freedom women enjoyed during the Koryŏ era (918-1392), in the Chosŏn dynasty

⁶¹ The five relationships that govern the three fundamental bonds are "love between father and son, duty between ruler and subject, distinction between husband and wife, precedence of the old over the young, and faith between friends." D. C. Lau, trans., *Mencius* (New York: Penguin Books, 1970), 102.

⁶² On the relationship between emotion and normativity in Late Imperial China, see Maram Epstein, *Competing Discourses: Orthodoxy, Authenticity and Engendered Meanings in Late Imperial Chinese Fiction* (Boston, Harvard University Press, 2009), 63-65. On the discourse of emotion in Korea, see Michael C. Kalton and Oaksook Chun Kim, eds. *The Four-Seven Debate: An Annotated Translation of the Most Famous Controversy in Korean Neo-Confucian Thought* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1994).

⁶³ On the history of the lineage structure, see Kim Tuhŏn, *Han'guk kajok chedo yŏn'gu* [A study of the Family System in Korea] (Seoul: Seoul University Press, 1969).

women's activity and identity were redefined almost exclusively in terms of the domestic space, which was accompanied by women's loss of their ability to inherit property and ritual roles.⁶⁴ But men, too, met new restrictions to their social functioning. The strict primogeniture, securing the succession privilege with first-born sons, was hard felt upon younger brothers, who aspired to succeed the family line and property.⁶⁵ On the other hand, the provision that allowed elite men to have only one primary wife within the maintained polygamy meant that sons born to secondary consorts could not inherit elite status, were proscribed from taking the prestigious Civil Service Examination that led into the ranks of the civil bureaucracy, and were altogether scorned by their society.⁶⁶ The change into the patriarchal structure was thus much more ambiguous than the stories of patriarchal empowerment and female victimization would admit. Both men and women suffered some losses in the process, and different genres of writing lineage—genealogies, commemorative texts, and lineage novels—conceived lineage differently, focusing on different protagonists or alternative foundation for kinship bonds.

China historian, Michael Szonyi has written that “genealogy is a strategic text, which is intended to produce and does produce certain social effects.”⁶⁷ In Chosŏn Korea, lineage and genealogies were projects of elite self-fashioning, in which powerful lineages secured their cultural prestige in the public memory and preserved their status by

⁶⁴ See Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea*.

⁶⁵ JaHyun Kim Haboush explores the literary rethinking of the conflict between brothers who challenge each other's succession privilege in "Filial Emotions and Filial Values," 144-154.

⁶⁶ See Martina Deuchler, "Heaven Does Not Discriminate." Hŏ Kyun's (1569-1618) novel *The Tale of Hong Kiltong* (*Hong Kiltong jŏn*) also articulates stringent critique of the discrimination that secondary sons faced in the society of Chosŏn.

⁶⁷ Michael Szonyi, *Practicing Kinship: Lineage and Descent in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 27-28.

adhering to patrilineal descent.⁶⁸ While the first known Korean genealogies date to the fifteenth century, it was only around the seventeenth century that genealogy publication became a lineage-wide effort, which sought to establish common identity and a common point of origin of large kin groups.⁶⁹ In the close-knit society of Chosŏn Korea, official confirmation of status was of lesser importance than public memory, and even as purchase of elite status became widespread after the sixteenth century, only lineages that have already established their prominence in the public memory could count on the recognition of their status.⁷⁰ The public memory of lineages centered on the figures of illustrious male members who held office in the civil bureaucracy and distinguished themselves through their writing.⁷¹ Whereas genealogies captured the principle of father-to-son succession of property and ritual roles, literary collections (K.: *munjip*, Ch.: *wenji* 文集) anthologized a man's lifetime writings; published posthumously by descendants or

⁶⁸ Yi Sugŏn has written that Chosŏn elites took every effort to boost the prestige of their lineages and therefore redacted both their lineage genealogies and available documents, disposing of unwanted evidence that would tarnish the lineage reputation. Yi writes, for instance, that lineages attempted to suppress their connection to *hyangni* (鄉吏) or local gentry, considered inferior to the capital elites. In several instances, lineages made spurious connection to the leaders of the righteous armies (*ŭibyŏng* 義兵), who during the Imjin war (1592-97) raised popular resistance to the invading Japanese forces. Yi Sugŏn, "Chosŏn sidae sinbunsa kwallyŏn charyo ūi pip'an: sŏnggwan, kagye, immun kwallyŏn wijo charyo wa wisŏ rŭl chungsim ūro" [Critical Evaluation of the Materials for the History of the Chosŏn Dynasty Class Structure: Fabrications of Ancestral Seats, Genealogies, and Personalia], *Komunso yŏn'gu* 14 (1998): 1-32.

⁶⁹ Song Chunho, *Chosŏn sahoesa yŏn'gu: Chosŏn sahoe ūi kujo wa sŏnggyŏk mit kŭ pyŏnch'ŏn e kwanhan yŏn'gu* [The Social History of Chosŏn: The Social Structure and Its Changes] (Seoul: Ilchŏgak, 1987), 31-32.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 125-126.

⁷¹ As Edward Wagner has written, genealogies composed before the seventeenth century record women as lineage heads. In contrast, starting in the seventeenth century, women no longer succeed to the lineage property or the lineage head title. Edward Wagner, "Two Early Genealogies and Women's Status in Early Yi Dynasty Korea," in *Korean Women: View from the Inner Room*, ed. Laurel Kendall and Mark Peterson (New Haven, CT: East Rock Press, 1983), 23-32.

disciples, literary collections perpetuated the literary legacy of the deceased. Genealogies and literary collections captured the ideal patriarchy, in which excellent social and cultural record was mapped upon the continuity of the patriline. Both men and women were expected to be familiar with the names of central lineages, and their most notable male representatives.⁷²

In the seventeenth century, a large number of commemorative texts—eulogies, posthumous biographies, tomb inscriptions, and family histories that men write for women—emerges, articulating an alternative lineage vision.⁷³ The commemorative genres recognized the contributions of female members to the lineage prestige, and they also conceived kinship as a network of affective bonds between people. Writing about his mother, Madame Sin of Pyŏngsan (?-1763), in *The Biography of My Late Mother* (*Sŏnbuin kajŏn* 先婦人家傳), Hong Nakwŏn (1743-1775) clearly reveals this dual purpose of commemorative writing:

I, Nakwŏn, have already written *Biography of My Deceased Mother* (*Sŏnbi kajŏn* 先妣家傳) and *Separate Record of Speech and Conduct* (*Ŏnhaeng pyŏllok* 言行別錄). I then collected eulogies [written for my mother] by young and old members of our family and compiled all this into one volume.⁷⁴ I translated everything into vernacular⁷⁵ and gave it

⁷² On the encyclopedic compilations of the most powerful lineages' genealogies, see Ch'a Changsŏp, "Chosŏn sidae chokpo ūi yuhyŏng kwa t'ŭkjing" [The Form of Genealogies in the Late Chosŏn Dynasty], *Yŏksa kyoyuk nonjip* 44 (2010): 239-278. Song Chunho also notes that several extant genealogies are written in vernacular Korean script, which suggests that they were possibly used for women's memorization. See Song Chunho, 21-26.

⁷³ Although commemorative genres have a long history in East Asian and Korean context, the seventeenth century sees significant increase in the number of commemorative texts composed in Chosŏn Korea.

⁷⁴ It was common for the writer of a posthumous biography to consult extant written sources, such as letters or other people's diaries, that would describe the deceased. See Yi Subong, "Kamun sosŏl yŏn'gu" [A Study of the Lineage Novel], *Tong'a nonch'ong* (1978): 327.

⁷⁵ Two scripts were used side by side in premodern Korea—vernacular Korean and literary Chinese. With few exceptions, women mostly read and wrote in vernacular Korean, and hence

to my young sisters, so that all women can read this text day and night and be moved [by it]. We, the worthless, follow, admire, and imitate [the wise exemplar], but my body can barely endure the enormous sorrow that is about to break the sky.⁷⁶

In Hong Nakwon's description, Madame Sin is not only a mother who is greatly missed by her devoted son—importantly, she is a paragon of female virtues that, captured in writing, perpetuate central moral paradigms to her younger female kin. In his study of commemorative texts, Yi Subong notes that some lineages had an established tradition of commemorative writing, and texts, written for different generations of female kin, would constitute a sort of private literary culture,⁷⁷ focused on the celebration of female achievements.

Commemorative texts inaugurated a narrative idiom that expressed affective bonds between men and women within the framework of patriarchal kinship. Kim Ch'anghyöp (1651-1708), for instance, writes a eulogy for his deceased daughter that speaks volumes about their emotional connection: "Everyone wishes for fewer daughters and more sons; this perhaps is common sentiment. I had five daughters and one son, but I loved you more than I would love the only daughter. This was because your intelligence, understanding, and knowledge were superior, and you were not an ordinarily talented

the need for Hong Nakwön to translate the original biography of his mother from literary Chinese into vernacular Korean.

⁷⁶ Hong Nakwön, *Sönbuin kajön* [Biography of My Late Mother], The Kyujanggak Archive, Seoul, South Korea, Ko 813.5 Sy28, 22 a-b. Alongside the posthumous biography, this volume contains the account of Madam Sin's life, *Separate Record of Speech and Conduct* (*Önhaeng pyöllök* 言行別錄), and eulogies that Madame Sin's family members composed for her.

⁷⁷ Yi Subong notes, in particular, that the tradition of writing commemorative texts for deceased kinswomen was particularly prominent in the family of a famed Chosön novelist, Kim Manjung. See Yi Subong, 326.

young lady.”⁷⁸ Kim Changhyöp’s younger brother, Kim Ch’anghŭp (1653-1722), writes a similarly poignant eulogy for their sister:

Woe! People are born with emotions, which are pleasure, anger, joy and sorrow. All four emotions have origin in the same nature, and thus there is no difference between them.⁷⁹ However, once sorrow is stirred it spreads quickly, and once it permeates the very bones, even if other emotions take shape, it is difficult for them to prevail over sorrow. At the time when I heard of your death from another person, I almost felt with my very body how my spirit was being torn from me. I was bedazzled then, and with passing time my anguish only grows. Over the past three years heaven stayed still, but the two of us grieve for each other and grow further apart.⁸⁰

This is not to say that men did not express emotions for each other. When Kim Ch’anghyöp dies, Kim Ch’anghŭp composes moving eulogies for his deceased brother as well,⁸¹ but the texts of affective memories that crossed the central Confucian principle of distinction between male and female areas of identity and activity show that premodern Korea’s patriarchal lineage was not an affair between men only, as it was also not a structure coordinated exclusively by ritual and legal norm.

The history of the lineage novel, so far as it appears in dated external sources, begins with a note made by Kwön Söp (1671-1759) who writes that his mother, Madame Yi of Yongin (1652-1712), has copied a lengthy novel, *The Record of So Hyönsöng* (*So*

⁷⁸ Kim Ch’anghyöp, “Eulogy for My Deceased Daughter, Madame O,” in *Episolar Korea: Letters in The Communicative Space of the Choson, 1392-1910*, ed. Jahyun Kim Haboush (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 406.

⁷⁹ For the philosophical debate on the nature of emotions and of their place in the human nature see Michael C. Kalton and Oaksook Chun Kim.

⁸⁰ Kim Ch’anghŭp, “Mangmae saengil chemun” [Eulogy Offered to My Deceased Sister on Her Birthday], in *18 segi yösöng saengwalsa charyojip* [Women’s Lives in the Eighteenth Century: Sources], vol. 1, ed. Hwang Suyön (Seoul: Pogosa, 2010), 132.

⁸¹ Kim Ch’anghyöp’s literary collection, *Nongamjip*, contains one tomb inscription, one epitaph, and two eulogies that his brother, Kim Ch’anghŭp, wrote for him after his death. See *Han’guk munjip ch’onggan* [The Comprehensive Compendium of Korean Literary Collections], vol. 17 (Seoul: Committee on the Promotion of National Culture, 1988).

Hyönsöng nok 蘇賢聖錄).⁸² Kwön Söp’s note dates to the year 1749, and, given the span of his mother’s life, it must refer to the late seventeenth-early eighteenth century. By the nineteenth century the lineage-based imagination appears to have saturated the literary field of premodern Korea, stretching beyond the genre of the lineage novel. A testimony to this pervasive lineage-based imagination appears in Nam Yunwön’s (dates unknown, second half of the nineteenth century) preface to *Record of the Jade Tree* (*Oksugi* 玉樹記): “As to this novel, I think if the stories of the descendants of its four families—Ka, Hwa, Wang, and Chin—were continued, it would make a novel equal to *Master Im and His Three Wives* (*Im Hwa Chöng Yön* 林花鄭延) or *Record of the Illustrious Deeds and Righteousness* (*Myönghaeng chöngüi rok* 明行正義錄).”⁸³ The two novels to which, Nam promises, *Record of the Jade Tree* would be a fit match if its narrative were extended, are lineage novels. This short note reflects both the prestige the lineage novel enjoyed in premodern Korea, and the idea that any text could be turned into a massive genealogical record.

Similar idea that a narrative can expand in a manner of genealogy appears in a manuscript edition of *The Tale of Ch’oe Hyön* (*Ch’oe Hyön jön* 崔賢傳). The copyist’s note suggests that the novel was handwritten in 1891 by a girl from So family, eleven years of age:

If descendants continue in generations and emulate [virtuous deeds] there is no need to worry about loyalty and filial piety. Having copied the entire narrative I am sad and amazed. The narrative is very appealing from the beginning until the end, and it seems to have deep meaning. However, since there are so many fantastic words in the world, no

⁸² Cited in Pak Yöngüi, “Changp’yön kamun sosöl üi hyang’yu chipdan yön’gu” [Readership of the Lineage Novel], in *Munhak kwa sahoe chipdan* [Literature and Society], ed. Han’guk kojön munhakhoe (Seoul: Chimmundang, 1995), 324-325.

⁸³ *Oksugi* [Record of the Jade Tree], in *P’ilsabon kojön sosöl chönjip* [Compendium of Classical Korean Novels in Manuscript], ed. Kim Kidong, vol. 11 (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1982), 747.

one can really know what is true and what is false. If the narrative were to be continued it would make another volume, but I will just stop here.⁸⁴

The similarity of these two references does not appear to be a coincidence—instead, the idea that almost any narrative can continue through life stories of the succeeding generations appears to have been shared by very different personae, attesting to the pervasiveness of lineage imagination, of which, as the first note suggests, the lineage novel was perceived to be the quintessence.

In this much-simplified summary we see different protagonists and different modes of lineage narratives. Genealogies present unproblematic verticality of patrilineal succession, captured in the public memory through the personae of notable male office holders—in the normative genres, lineage appears as a purely masculine endeavor. Commemorative genres, on the other hand, articulate lineage on affective terms and create women-centered line of memory, also elaborating the importance of women's cultivation for lineage prestige. At the same time, in the literary space, lineage lends the mode of its generational expansion to an intriguing narrative pattern, which construes almost any text as infinitely writable through the life stories of its protagonists' descendants. The lineage novel internalizes the lineage imagination by using the idea of kinship relations in constructing its conceptions of time, space, and the body. In embodying some of the fundamental concepts of Korea's lineage society in its very form, the lineage novel certainly appears to naturalize the patriarchy. At the same time, however, the lineage novel rearticulates and expands the normative framework of kinship relations. In the sections below, I illuminate the conceptions of time, space, and the body as they appear in the lineage novel, paying particular attention to the interplay of

⁸⁴ *Ch'oe Hyŏn chŏn* [The Tale of Ch'oe Hyŏn], National Library of Korea, Kojo 48-134 (unpaginated).

hegemonic and nonhegemonic meanings in this aesthetic conception. By way of introducing the literary discourse of lineage, the section that immediately follows selectively discusses the essential traits of lineage narrated across the five lineage novels central to this study.

Reading the Lineage, Reading the Novel

This chapter reads the lineage novel across multifarious formulations of the kinship imagination—genealogies, and commemorative texts—that frame, and intersect with, the aesthetic space of the lineage novel. Such reading strategy necessarily dissects each individual text in order to trace semantic unities that inscribe the lineage novel into the cultural grammar of its time. At the same time, the lineage novel articulates a very concrete vision of lineage, describing various attributes of communal kinship lifestyle and conveying the voices of various lineage members. This section, therefore, will attempt a centrifugal analysis of the way in which lineage is fleshed out in lineage novels’ plotlines. At the heart of this section lie two simple questions: What is lineage in the lineage novel and what was the experience of reading lineage in these texts?

Lineage novels usually focus on one specific lineage—first among equals, surrounded by other lineages—which supplies all the main protagonists for the novel’s plot. At the novel’s inception, this lineage is pictured at the zenith of its fortunes and distinction, and the novel begins with a roster of achievements of the lineage patriarch and his descendants. A typical lineage novel begins with a biographical entry on the lineage patriarch—not unlike genealogical record, the lineage novel considers the pedigree and office holding record of the patriarch to determine the lineage prestige. *The*

Pledge, for instance, also offers a scene of sumptuous banquet that vividly captures the elevated status, material prosperity, and domestic harmony of the Chǒng household.

Referenced in the title of *The Pledge* and described in its first volume, the banquet at the Moon-Gazing Pavilion celebrates the birthday of Chǒng Han, the patriarch of the Chǒng lineage:

On this day, the upper seats are arranged according to the royal decree, and the lower banquet is set up by the two Chǒng brothers, offering prayers for the Patriarch's longevity. Imperial relatives are present, and luminous clouds and auspicious energy permeate the place, while wine fumes cloud the minds. Precious gems are in abundance just like seashore pebbles, and beautifully made-up faces are everywhere, like common sand. There are maidens, tender and pure, and ladies, gentle and delicate. This truly is the congregation of honor, elegance, virtue, and sagacity. Bright jewels dangle over mist-like robes while cloud-like fans waver softly. Matriarch's dignified look is complimented by her daughters-in-law — with Madame Yang's wisdom, Madame Sang's cordiality, and the uprightness of Madame Hwa. All the guests' eyes are riveted upon them. Next enter Patriarch. All women retreat and the guests rise from their seats in greeting. After everyone is seated again, Insǒng is brought in to pay his respects. Insǒng and Chǒng Cham then proceed to perform the father-son rite.... Chǒng Cham and Madame Yang receive Insǒng's bows with such a look that one cannot easily guess if they are his birth parents or adopted parents. The couple's love for Insǒng is so warm, and their affection for him so overwhelming that it can hardly be eclipsed even by his birth parents' feelings. There hardly is a feeling at all that can surpass this profound affection that fills preordained human bonds. Chǒng Cham's bright eyes beam with gentleness of spring breeze and his scarlet lips fail to conceal the dazzling whiteness of his teeth. The tormented expression of Madame Yang, burrowed with years of exacting illness, gives way with a slight tremor; her face glows anew with peaceful warmth that inundates from her eyes and reaches heaven itself. The two faces, like jades shining with morning glory, turn towards each other, issuing fragrance of a plum tree covered with snow. Like a lotus flower that rises on its emerald stalk above the stillness of an autumn pond, smiles ascend the two faces, tender as apricot flowers (I, 1:50).

Chǒng Han is distinguished by the imperial favor, and he presides over a perfectly ordered household that appears ritually arranged, beautifully prosperous and morally satisfying right before his eyes, just as the banquet seats are taken. The banquet scene also contains a promise that the lineage will endure through time: marriage pledges are made between the children of the Chǒng lineage and those of their closest social circle. Adoption of the lineage heir also takes place at the banquet: Chǒng Cham, Chǒng Han's oldest son and heir, fails to produce a son with his wife, Madame Yang, and in order for

the patriline to continue, the couple adopts Chǒng Cham's nephew, Insǒng.⁸⁵ The banquet scene captures the seamless blending of the ritually sanctioned and spontaneously felt emotion, when, to the eyes of the banquet guests, Chǒng Cham and Madame Yang's feelings for Insǒng appear indistinguishable from the natural parents' affection. The ensuing narrative of *The Pledge* will take violent turns that upset the fortunes of the Chǒng lineage, but the novel begins with an image of the Chǒng lineage instated in a most glorious station.

Although central lineages generally prosper, there are few exceptions to this rule. *The Record of So Hyǒnsǒng*, briefly noted in the Introduction and considered the earliest known lineage novel, on the contrary depicts the dire state of the lineage, first unsettled by the continued inability to secure a male descendant (So Hyǒnsǒng is born when his parents already relinquish all hope for a son), and then, in the wake of the patriarch's death, afflicted by dire penury. In *Jade Mandarin Ducks*, the central So lineage also reaches the bottom of its fortunes: falling out of favor with the emperor and targeted in factional struggle, So Hong retires into the countryside and his son, So Segyǒng, is forced to don a woman's garb in order to avoid an assassination plot. Significantly, of the five novels that lie at the heart of this dissertation, only *Jade Mandarin Ducks* does not depict a prosperous, affluent household.

Status, wealth, and social respect mark the outer trappings of a lineage, but, as I show in Chapter 3, the novels are preoccupied with the construction of the domestic space, which hosts the intimate, affective interactions of the lineage novel protagonists.

Leaving to the following chapter the plots of feelings that unfold in the interior of the

⁸⁵ In the absence of a male offspring, the lineage heir was commonly adopted from male descendants of the family's closest kin. See Martina Deuchler, *Confucian Transformation of Korea*, 203-230.

lineage mansion, here, I will offer a brief note on the organization of the domestic time that is quite characteristic for lineage novels. Life in the domestic space in the novels is charted by the central Confucian rituals—capping, marriage, funeral, and mourning (*kwan hon sang che* 冠婚喪祭)—performed with impeccable regularity. Marriage ceremonies are described in particular detail, from the visit the groom pays to the bride’s house (*sŏnghon* 成婚), to the ceremony of taking the bride from her natal home (*ch’in’yŏng* 親迎), and, finally, her appearance before the parents-in-law, and presentation of the dowry (*napp’ye* 納幣). The significance of ritual descriptions is threefold. First of all, within the massive span of lineage novels that trace the lives of their protagonists from birth to maturity, carefully enacted life cycle rituals constitute the rhythm that measures and conforms individual lifetime to the prescribed Confucian pattern. Secondly, this ritually ordered lifestyle of the lineage home is presented in direct juxtaposition to the barbaric spaces that offset the regenerative. As I show later in this chapter, barbaric countries that honor neither ritual propriety nor the very basics of civilized lifestyle envelop the well-ordered lineage space. Placed as a center amidst unordered barbaric places, the lineage is endowed with a regenerative potential, as it is also a showcase for the triumph of ritual propriety. Thirdly and very importantly, in paying keen attention to the elements of daily decorum the lineage novel expresses its aspiration to identify with the culturally valuable, edifying Confucian canon of Classics and Histories. This hypothesis is certainly supported by the lineage novel’s aspiration to claim its proximity with other hegemonic genres—genealogies and literary collections—which I describe in the next section.

The well-ordered households of illustrious lineages, interestingly, emphasize their belonging to the civil elites. The elites, or *yangban* (兩班) of Chosŏn Korea consisted of two branches—civil (*munban* 文班) and military (*muban* 武班). Although Eugene Park notes that the two branches kept close ties with each other through intermarriage and adoption,⁸⁶ members of the civil branch, who occupied major government positions, certainly enjoyed much greater social prestige in the society of Chosŏn. Lineage novels very distinctly mark the superiority of their protagonists, who belong to civil lineages, against members of military branches, expressly uncouth in their behavior and crude in their education. In *The Pledge*, for instance, Chŏng Insŏng saves a certain Sŏk ssi from captivity; too impressed with a young gallant man, Sŏk ssi does not hesitate to profess her love for Insŏng. When Insŏng rebukes her for this indecorous declaration of affection, Sŏk ssi explains that her behavior lacks cultivation since she grew up in a military household (V, 62:52). In a similar manner, in *Pearls and Jade*, one of Hŭimun’s wives, Ko ssi, is a woman of vigorous stature and little reserve. When Hŭimun attempts to counter with force her refusal to comply with one of his requests, Ko ssi quickly responds in kind, and she nearly topples Hŭimun with her strength. The novel comments, suggestively, that Ko ssi comes from a military lineage (Vol. 16).

⁸⁶ Eugene Park suggests that “the status boundary separating the aristocracy from the rest of society was far clearer and more rigid than any of the differentiations between various *yangban* subgroups in terms of their branch affiliation or extent of participation in the central political structure.” Eugene Park, *Between Dreams and Reality: The Military Examination in Late Chosŏn Korea, 1600-1894* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007), 119; also see 117-142. Park suggests that the three branches of aristocracy that were fleshed out in the seventeenth century—central civil official, military official, and local kinship groups—in fact continued to be related to each other through ties of adoption and marriage, which bespoke the fact of the elites’ cohesiveness, especially explicit on the level of economic privileges (shared desire to protect the tax-exempt status). While lineage novels do not necessarily contradict Park’s note on the cohesiveness of the Chosŏn elites, these text certainly propagate the idea of cultural superiority of civil elites over the military ones.

The lineage novel unequivocally posits the superiority of civil lineages over their military counterparts. Curiously, however, male protagonists of the lineage novel always come to successfully master both civil and military prowess. While the lineage novels' texts underscore the cultured achievements of civil lineage, the plotlines usually paint the male protagonists in the most attractive light when these men take charge of the imperial army, quelling various rebellions. Along the same lines, the protagonist of *Pearls and Jade*, Hyön Hüibaek, easily passes both the Civil and the Military Service Examination (Vol. 3), for which he is later scolded at home, his exertion in both fields deemed an act of vanity. There appears a seeming contradiction: while affirming the superiority of the civil lineage, lineage novels endow male representatives of these lineages with military prowess. This double entendre, on the one hand, manifests the desire to entertain the reader: military campaigns, after all, offset the domestic quotidian by offering savory scenes of battlefield and thwarted ambitions. On the other hand, by showing the facility with which members of the civil lineages acquire military prowess, the lineage novel lends uncontested advantage to civil elites—guardians-in-arms and bearers of the exquisite cultural and moral refinement.

Although superior ability and wide social esteem are the necessary attributes for the representatives of the central lineages, lineage novels also pay attention to less distinguished members of densely populated familial mansions: servants, concubines, and secondary sons and daughters. These household dependents offer an intriguing perspective on the social imagination in the lineage novel. Their masters' confidants and faithful aides in times of trouble or internecine feuds, servants make themselves indispensable in the actualization of the lineage novels' narrative plots. Alongside

virtuous maids who share in their mistresses' plights and sorrows, the lineage novel skillfully paints the portraits of conniving and malicious attendants, who most often prove to be complex characters. *The Pledge* provides a compelling example of multifocal observation when it comes to Kyewöl and Nokping, the two maids of Madame So, whose plot of revenge upsets the harmony of the Chǒng household.

Madame So's violent schemes are propelled by her love for the first-born son Injung. The above-quoted banquet scene from *The Pledge* records the moment of Chǒng Insǒng's adoption by the childless couple of Chǒng Cham and Madame Yang. After the death of Madame Yang, Chǒng Cham marries Madame So, but with Chǒng Insǒng already instated as the lineage heir, Madame So's own first-born son, Injung, is from the start unable to claim the title of the lineage heir. Hoping to displace Insǒng from this coveted position, Madame So several times attempts to murder Insǒng and his family. Madame So's two maids, Kyewöl and Nokping, prove indispensable to her designs and the novel carefully shows their own emotional investment in the process. Herself a wet nurse to Injung, Kyewöl cannot help but bewail Injung's pitiful fate, when, for no fault of his own, he loses his father's affections (since his father is in constant apprehension of the possibility of Injung's jealousy towards Insǒng), and the privilege to succeed the family line. Holding Injung in her arms and nursing him, Kyewöl ponders: "There is no shortcoming to the outstanding [qualities] of our master, so why is he denied the dignified station of the lineage heir (*chongjang* 宗長) in favor of his brother?" (III, 31:22). Rather than an unwittingly obedient villain, Kyewöl appears to be a warm and caring nurse to Injung, guided by her affection for the boy.

Kyewöl exerts herself in all the conniving designs of Chǒng Injung and his mother, Madame So, until the servants' participation in the act finally transpires. Until the last moment, Kyewöl withholds a confession that would cast shadow on her mistress, Madame So, but in the end Kyewöl is moved to speak by the thoughts of her aged mother:

I will turn my back on the great favors my Mistress [has shown me] and expose her vices and schemes with my own mouth. Because of my crimes, the fate of my aged mother is now precarious. We [the servants] received innumerable favors from the Mistress, but there is also the boundless benevolence of my mother, who has given birth to me: without repaying [my mother's] effort of bringing me up, I am unable to face the dreadful punishment. Therefore, I will speak in detail about the past misconduct of my Mistress, even as it goes against my loyalty (VII, 94: 85).⁸⁷

Throughout the novel, Kyewöl proves her utmost devotion to Madame So. Hence, when speaking in these lines about her inability to ignore her mother's care, should she choose to remain silent about Madame So's crimes, Kyewöl does not appear as a cowardly detractor. Instead, *The Pledge* extends its characteristic dialogic approach to speak about the inner struggle of even those tangential members of the large patriarchal household whose lives, despite their loyalties, most often fall outside the spectrum of their masters' concern.

Even then, Kyewöl's end is not reassuring. Madame So forgets the sincere devotion and loyalty of Nokping and Kyewöl orders their death for fear of their confession. Knowing that Madame So herself stood behind all crimes, Insǒng substitutes this punishment for the banishment of two unfortunate maids. On their way to exile, Kyewöl and Nokping are robbed and murdered by wayward bandits. The novel offers a

⁸⁷ Kim Chinse, ed. *Wanwǒlhoe maengyǒn* [The Pledge at the Banquet of Moon-Gazing Pavilion] (Seoul: Seoul University Press, 1986-1994), vols. 1-12. In the citation, the Roman numeral refers to the number of printed volume, which is followed by the number of the manuscript volume, and then by the page number in the printed edition. Same citation form applies to all printed editions of lineage novels.

rather ambiguous statement as to its recognition of the lives of the lowly members of elite households. While depicting them as subjects of their own feelings, often complicated by their unfree station, lineage novels consistently do not offer a chance of moral reformation to the lowborn villains, while those of elite status are allowed to err and regain their moral stature by repenting all they have done. Catherine Lutz, in her study of the meaning of emotions in the lives of atoll community of Ifaluk, has suggested that expression of certain emotions, such as compassion, marks a person's higher social status.⁸⁸ In line with Lutz's discussion, I believe we can discern a similar logic in the lineage novel: capacity for unruly feelings and the expression of these feelings that goes against the social norm is reserved only for the elite protagonists. Lineage as quintessence of nobility is, therefore, also the place that unites people with a prominent capacity for unruly self-expression, and in the discussion that follows I revisit this idea when I illuminate the figure of emotional genealogy in the lineage novel that sees the capacity to encounter one's feelings as the common ground between fathers and sons.

Focusing on the densely populated households, where primary wives, concubines and their children share the same premises, lineage novels also pay attention to the much-discriminated secondary sons and daughters. As a seventeenth-century novel by Hō Kyun, *The Tale of Hong Kiltong*, demonstrates, the position of secondary sons caused much resentment, and Hong Kiltong laments the fact that he cannot address his own father as father, despite their blood ties. Curiously, secondary descendants elicit varying characteristics with regard of their station. In *The Pledge*, when the crimes of Madame So become known to her parents, Madame So's mother ponders regretfully on Madame So's evil character, which is much inferior even in comparison to the secondary daughter of

⁸⁸ Catherine Lutz, 119-154.

Lord So, Madame So's father (VII, 92: 44). Here, Madame So's mother interprets the fact of ignoble birth as a marker of unworthy personal qualities. Chǒng Chǒn, a secondary son of the patriarch of the Chǒng lineage, Chǒng Han, is described differently: his personal qualities compensate his humble status. The novel comments that the dwelling of Chǒng Chǒn is so frugal and immaculate that the dignified look of the house defies the lowly station of its owner (I, 11: 356). The two above-mentioned instances pertain to those characters who are not represented in the main narrative of the novel and who are mentioned briefly in *passim*.

When entering the novels' narrative, secondary sons and daughters, although distinguished from their thoroughbred siblings who figure as the leading protagonists, nevertheless appear as full-fledged representatives of their illustrious lineage. Quite differently from *The Tale of Hong Kiltong*, lineage novels depict the affectionate relationship between fathers and their secondary descendants, and the fact that their lives merit narration itself underscores the legitimate and recognized presence of the secondary sons and daughters in their families' lives. *Pearls*, for instance, describes at length the betrothal and marriage of Hǔiyǒm, the spoiled but good-natured daughter of Madame Yuk and Hyǒn Kyǒngmun. Too used to luxury and led astray by her mother's thoughtless protests, Hǔiyǒm goes through considerable difficulties when she marries Ka Yujin, an indigent scholar who only later secures himself a decent living by passing the Civil Service Examination and receiving a government appointment. Hǔiyǒm braces her character, and as a result of all difficulties becomes a fit bride to her virtuous husband. Hǔiyǒm's example shows that lineage novels endow secondary sons and daughters belonging to the central lineages with a degree of inbred nobility. In other words,

although in the contemporary society of Chosŏn secondary sons and daughters would be considered of possessing “not quite the right substance,” the lineage novel extends the unquestionable nobility of the lineage even upon those descendants who cannot claim the highest pedigree. This, in turn, juxtaposes the lineage to the overarching structure of social distinction—in the lineage novel, the lineage happens to form a space of exemption where the pedigree determined by blood supersedes the distinctions imposed by the social system.

That secondary sons and daughters are often endowed with superior qualities, in direct excess of their actual social station, underscores the importance of the patriline in determining heredity. In lineage novels, secondary sons and daughters are not always born to dignified mothers, hence it is the nobility of the father that is passed down and that defies the inferior qualities of the second parent. A particularly colorful sketch of a shrewish, uncouth concubine appears in the figure of Madame Yuk—an ugly, coarse, but also a determined woman that sets her eyes on Hyŏn Kyŏngmun—one of the main protagonists of *The Tale of Two Heroes*. Madame Yuk’s lack of attractive endowments makes marriage in general an unlikely event for her person, but it all changes when she sets her eyes on Hyŏn Kyŏngmun, who first marries Madame Yuk’s cousin. So taken is Madame Yuk with Kyŏngmun that she petitions the emperor to facilitate their marriage, stating that she will never be able to marry anyone else. Much to Kyŏngmun’s chagrin, the emperor concedes to the marriage, and Madame Yuk is happily instated in the Hyŏn mansion as secondary wife. The new wife, however, is far from enjoying this arrangement, since the marriage remains unconsummated for a long time. Madame Yuk most often appears in a comical light, especially in the scene when during Kyŏngmung’s

protracted illness, rather than fearing for her husband's life and attending to his needs, she quietly resents the fact of her much overdue virginity (I, 8: 260). The situation is redressed with the help of Kyōngmun's uncle, Master Chang, who contrives a nocturnal union for the couple—after making Kyōngmun drunk out of his senses and sending Madame Yuk into his chamber late at night. The next day, domestics of the Hyōn mansion witness Madame Yuk's unabated excitement about the events of the night—she does not withhold her sincere gratitude to Master Chang, promising to forever remember the act of his extraordinary kindness, which, it must be added, makes Madame Yuk conceive and duly give birth to Hūiyōm.

Madame Yuk is a lustful, avaricious, and lazy person, always ready for self-pity and jealousy. Despite her surprising lack of moral core, her drunk revelry, and coarse overadornment at family celebrations, Madame Yuk is nevertheless accepted as a legitimate member of the Hyōn family. A curious remark comes from the lips of Madame Yuk, who appears in each of the three known novels of the Hyōn lineage sequel. In *Pearls and Jade*, Madame Yuk says the following phrase: Invariably, people of this house lack human emotion (*injōng* 人情)" (Vol. 22). This remark takes place with no particular trigger—Madame Yuk does not defend herself against the ridicule of which she is the habitual target, and she simply utters this phrase in a scene of bidding farewell to Hyōn males who are dispatched to quell another rebellion. Curiously, a similar statement comes from a speaker who commands much greater respect for his words—Chōng In'ung of *The Pledge*, the son of Madame So and the younger twin brother to Chōng Injung. Chōng In'ung is a counterbalance to his mother and brother, who engage in the protracted struggle against Chōng Insōng. Himself an upright person, In'ung once rebukes Chōng

Insǒng for showing too little affection for his virtuous wife, by noting that Insǒng values ritual much above human emotion (人情) (VII, 95: 99). Insǒng, being a thorough Confucian gentleman, perseveres in his dedication to his vicious step-mother-in-law, Madame So, as filial piety prescribes, but at the same time he often ignores the suffering of his own wife, tormented by his stepmother. In these references to the lack of emotion in the central lineages, the lineage novel calls for the accommodation of human frailty and emotion in the project of moral refinement.

Lineage—a kinship group defined by its belonging to office-holding civil elites, enjoying great prosperity and repute, and populated by noble illustrious members, but also by less distinguished domestics, such as servants, concubines, and secondary descendants—is positioned as a legitimate but constantly challenged center in the lineage novel’s cosmology. Court intrigues, foreign invasions, designs by lustful women, and passions of the protagonists all threaten—though never succeed—to topple the precarious balance achieved in the well-ordered lineage domicile. The lineage novels’ structure, therefore, is a kaleidoscopic arrangement of plots and storylines that are quite independent in nature, but that all converge around the stabilizing presence of the lineage household. To give just a provisional example, a lineage novel might spend several volumes tracing the military success of the lineage males, only to return to a long-lost daughter of another illustrious household, who is accidentally found again. The novel then proceeds at length with the complete story of her disappearance, and withholds the details of the relation of this independent plotline to the affairs of the main lineage for several more volumes. Reading lineage in the lineage novel, therefore, would require the

reader's ability to orient in the vast narrative space that converges upon the centering presence of the main lineage that withstands all trials and calamities.

The Tree: Generational Narrative in the Lineage Novel

The lineage novel enacts the patriarchal kinship principle in its narrative in three revealing ways. First of all, like genealogies, lineage novels and their sequels progress with the new generations of male descendants of the lineages in focus—the temporal construction of the lineage novel is based on the generational time. Secondly, it is common for lineage novels to establish cross-textual filiation between unrelated texts that claim connection through marriage ties between their protagonists. Thirdly, the lineage novel carefully established its affinity with other nonfictional lineage-centered genres, such, for instance, as commemorative texts and male literary collections. The discourse of kinship thus provides a narrative idiom for a variety of genres, including the lineage novel.

The patriarchal generational principle that founds the lineage novel's temporal scheme, together with the lineage novel's desire to claim the cultural prestige of documentary genres of writing lineage, betray the lineage novel's aspiration to join the normative literary canon. The lineage novel, however, also shows its ambivalence by carefully distinguishing its narrative from traditional genealogy and commemorative texts and emphasizing its investment into the discourse of unruly feelings. In this section, I will illuminate these two seemingly contradictory tendencies of the lineage novel: to mirror the patriarchal lineage structure and kinship organization in its very form, and then to

reformulate the patriarchal principles in such a way as to account for the presence of private unruly feelings.

Before the lineage novel had created a picture of established lineages that seek to perpetuate their status, traditional Korean literature only knew families that were incomplete or simply dysfunctional. This becomes apparent on the example of two seventeenth-century texts: Kim Manjung's (1637-1692) immensely popular novel *The Nine-Cloud Dream* (*Kuunmong* 九雲夢), and an anonymous text that is considered to be the first lineage novel, *The Record of So Hyönsöng* (*So Hyönsöngnok* 蘇賢聖錄). *The Nine-Cloud Dream*, which narrates the social advancement and amorous adventures of Yang Soyu, begins with Soyu's own father flying away on a crane in search of immortality. Even without his father's support, Soyu manages to advance greatly in the society and his achievements are fit to make him a patriarch of a prominent lineage. Soyu, however, only harbors a feeling of disillusionment with the fleeting pleasures of earthly existence. The novel resolves with a vision of Buddhist enlightenment and not with the establishment of a lineage. Even *The Record of So Hyönsöng*, the forerunner of the lineage novel, does not instate its protagonist, So Hyönsöng, in a ready-made lineage. So Hyönsöng's father dies at the inception of the narrative, leaving the task of lineage building to his only, hard-begotten son. The fact that So Hyönsöng is a late and long-awaited male offspring itself emphasizes the precariousness of the lineage project. Although *The Record of So Hyönsöng* ends with a genealogy that attests to the successful creation of the lineage, it is only in the eighteenth century that the lineage novels begin to portray lineage as a fully grounded structure.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ So Sönguk, "18 segi changp'yön sosöl ūi chönhyöng chök sönggyök," 5-28.

Like genealogies, lineage novels grow with the new generations of the lineages upon which they center. While even a single lineage novel text covers several generations, there also exist sequel clusters— independent texts that continue with the descendants of the parent novel’s protagonists.⁹⁰ The cross-textual filiation of the three novels centered on the Hyön lineage—*The Record of Two Heroes*, *Pearls*, and *Pearls and Jade*—is captured in the closing paragraph of the last novel in the sequence, *Pearls and Jade*:

Originally the story of Hyön Sumun and Hyön Kyöngmun is recorded in *The Record of Two Heroes: Brothers Hyön*, and that of Hyön Ch’önnin and Hyön Ungnin—in *The Remarkable Encounter of Pearls*. The rest of the history of the Hyön lineage is recorded in *The Record of Eight Hyön Dragons* (*Hyössi pallyong gi* 玄氏八龍記). However, since the story of the remarkable reunion of jade and pearls of Princess Okhwa is so amazing, the stories of Hyön Hüibaek and Hyön Hüimun are recorded here under the title *The Remarkable Union of Pearls and Jade*. May [this text] be transmitted to later generations, illustrating the rewards for good and evil deeds, and may later generations continue the records of the Hyön lineage (Vol. 25).⁹¹

The allegedly four-partite sequence has a missing element: the novel about the eight dragons of the Hyön lineage is still not found to the present day, and we can only wonder if it indeed existed. This passage, however, registers the lineage imagination that underlies the narrative desire behind sequel creation that produces a narrative with perpetually open horizon—an infinitely writeable text.

Importantly, lineage novel sequels are structurally different from novel sequels in China, and, in particular, from China’s most famous sequel cluster centered on Cao Xueqin’s (1724-1764) *Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Honglou meng* 紅樓夢). As Keith McMahon has written, sequels to this novel share the attempt to “better *Dream of the Red Chamber* and to do so by pushing to fruition what was missed or deflected in the original

⁹⁰ Im Ch’igyun finds fourteen lineage novel sequel clusters, some of which contain as many as four novels. See Im Ch’igyun, *Chosön sidae taejangp’yön sosöl yön’gu*, 25.

⁹¹ *Myöngju okyön kihamnok*. Archive of the Sögang University, Seoul, South Korea, vols. 1-25, Kosö myöng 77 (unpaginated).

work.”⁹² In contrast, lineage novel sequels never encroach upon the narrative space of the source novel—not so much redactions, they are extensions that perpetuate the story of the lineage. In the complete anonymity of lineage novels it is impossible to ascertain if the same author composed both the parent and the sequel novels. Popularity of the parent novel could motivate writers to continue with the story of a particular lineage, and *The Record of Two Heroes*, the first novel in the Hyŏn lineage sequel, counts seventy surviving manuscripts that indeed betoken its extensive circulation.⁹³ At the same time, the noncommercial, manuscript circulation of the lineage novel precluded a possibility of economic gain for the sequel authors that commercialized fiction market could allow. Hence, desire for profits fails to explain the rationale behind the creation of sequel novels.

Stylistic differences between the novels of the Hyŏn lineage sequel, moreover, suggest that the texts were written by different people. First of all, the three novels of the Hyŏn lineage sequel appear quite different in tone and narrative manner. Compared to the extremely inventive and brisk narrative of *The Record of Two Heroes*, *Pearls* appears rather polished if also less original. *Pearls and Jade* takes the narrative into a somewhat different direction by portraying numerous assaults upon the Hyŏn lineage and the entire realm made by female magicians, who are enthralled by the beauty of the Hyŏn lineage males. *Pearls and Jade* also evinces a remarkably different degree of historical awareness, of which I would like to offer just several examples. *Pearls and Jade* appears to document the blurring of class boundaries within the increasingly monetized metropolitan

⁹² Keith McMahan, “Eliminating Traumatic Antinomies. Sequels to *Honglou meng*,” in *Snakes’ Legs: Sequels, Continuations, Rewritings, and Chinese Fiction*, ed. Martin Huang (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 111.

⁹³ Cho Hüiung, *Kojŏnsosŏl ibon mongnok* [Catalog of Extant Editions of Traditional Novels] (Seoul: Chimmundang, 1999), 831-839.

economy, as the text notes: “Even metropolitan elites (*kyŏnghwa sadaebu* 京華士大夫) are treated as slaves when they are out of money” (Vol. 13). The text also hints at the development of a commodity market, and a scene of conflict between a man and his concubine resolves in financial settlement, with the concubine receiving “hundred silver coins to be used for adornments” (Vol. 5). The majority of lineage novels center on established and prosperous lineages, and they pay no special attention to money, prosperity of the lineages being a self-evident affair. *Jade Mandarin Ducks* depicts the story of a noble but impoverished lineage that later regains its prominent station; here the lack of money highlights the protagonists’ moral qualities and reconfirms their elevated station. In *Pearls and Jade*, money appears to circulate and possess meaning-making power—it confers status, resolves conflicts, and procures pleasure. Hence, we can surmise that this novel was composed in the nineteenth century—the time when Chosŏn economy was becoming gradually monetized, entailing the emergence of consumption culture.⁹⁴

In the absence of gainful prospect that could motivate writers to compose sequels to already popular novels, could we see sequel composition as a phenomenon of the overarching concern with lineage narratives? I believe this is a plausible working hypothesis, supported by the figure of cross-textual filiation that is also common in the lineage novels. In other words, the composition of sequels is prompted by the aesthetic conception that recognizes the genealogical expandability of a given text. Generational succession within a sequel group is not the only way in which cross-textual filiation operates in lineage novels. *Pearls and Jade*, for instance, establishes its relation not only

⁹⁴ For the monetary policy towards the late Chosŏn dynasty, see James Palais, *Politics and Policy in Traditional Korea* (Boston: Harvard University Asia Center, 1975), 160-176.

with the novels that precede it within its sequel group, but with completely extraneous texts as well. In particular, this novel records marriages between its male protagonists and female heroines of two other novels—*The Record of So Hyönsöng*, believed to be the earliest known lineage novel, and *The Record of Virtuous Lord Ku Rae*, a war romance about the well-known Song-dynasty official Kou Zhun (961-1023) and his descendants. In this way, the lineage novel circumscribes the domain which it shares with other novels—lineage novels or historical romances—applying the logic of kinship, sustained with marriage ties, to the literary space, where novels of similar narrative concern develop affinal ties through their protagonists.

The lineage novel also draws on the prestige of other genres of writing lineage—literary collections and commemorative texts—claiming to share the same literary space with them. In *Jade Mandarin Ducks*, when a scene of poetic composition takes place, the narrative omits the poems, accompanying this omission with a short note, “the poetry is certainly worth recording, but it is already included in the [authors’] literary collections (*munjip* 文集), and thus there is no need to record it here” (XXX, 21: 356).⁹⁵ This note suggests that a reader would make a smooth transition from a lineage novel to a literary collection: the latter picks up just where the former stops. The lineage novel is also wont to refer the readers to allegedly extant family histories, and in *The Pledge* it is stated that another massive family record—*The Record of the Rewarded Filial Piety of the Chöng Lineage* (*Chöng ssi hyohaeng poung nok* 鄭氏孝行報應錄)—is written to document and celebrate in its two hundred volumes all the virtuous deeds of the Chöng lineage

⁹⁵ *Okwön chaehap kiyön* [The Remarkable Reunion of Jade Mandarin Ducks], in *Kojön sosöl chönjip* [Anthology of Manuscript Editions of Classical Korean Novel], , vol. 27-30, ed. Kim Kidong et al. (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1980).

members. Lineage novels' thus attempt to claim the cultural prestige of nonfictional lineage narratives by asserting their shared belonging to the same textual space.

Family histories gained popularity in late Chosŏn, when more and more families sought to capture their history not merely in genealogical trees, but also in narrative form.⁹⁶ Among them, *The Record of the Three Generations of the Yi Lineage from the Eastern Country* (*Haedong Yissi samdaerok* 海東李氏三代錄), a multiple-generation narrative centered on Yi lineage, is most frequently discussed in conjunction with the lineage novel.⁹⁷ Yi Subong has discovered this text in a private home in Togok hamlet, located in Yŏngdŏk county of North Kyŏngsan province. Having discovered two lineage novels, *The Record of the Three Generations of the Yu Lineage* (*Yussi samdaerok* 劉氏三代錄) and *The Record of Three Generations of the So Lineage* (*Sossi samdaerok* 蘇氏三代錄) alongside this family history, Yi Subong finds special significance in the fact that lineage novels were kept together with family history; in particular, he suggests that the

⁹⁶ Jung Byung-Sul quotes a note made by Kim Sangch'ae, who lived some time during the eighteenth century, in which Kim writes the following: "People make household records (*karok* 家錄), in which they record the affairs of their household. All the prominent houses keep diaries (*ilgi* 日記) or household accounts (*kajang* 家藏), all in order to reflect the virtue [of their ancestors] and impress other people with their ancestors' benevolence and longevity." See Jung Byung-Sul, "Changp'yŏn taeha sosŏl kwa kajoksa sosŏl ūi yŏn'gwan mit kŭ ūimi—kojŏn sosŏl ūi ch'angjak sigi wa ch'angjak kwajŏng e taehan kasŏl" [The Generic Connections between the Lineage Novel and Family History Narratives: Some Considerations on the Time and Process of Composition of Traditional Novels], *Kojŏn munhak yŏn'gu* 12 (1997): 221-248. The literary collection of Hong Sŏkchu (1774-1842) also includes miscellaneous notes titled "Family Stories" (*Kaŏn* 家言). Hong Sŏkchu records various stories involving his family members that are passed down in his family; although the narrative lacks coherent organization akin to the one in *The Record of the Three Generations of the Yi Lineage from the Eastern Country*, it evinces a similar desire to create an extended account of the family life. Importantly, this account relates multiple stories involving female members of the family. See Hong Sŏkchu, "Kaŏn sang," "Kaŏn ha," [Family Stories Part One, Family Stories Part Two] in *19 segi 20 segi ch'o yŏsŏng saenghwalsa charyojip* [Women's Lives in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries], vol. 3, ed. Kim Kirim (Seoul: Pogosa, 2013), 156-175.

⁹⁷ Private collection of Professor Yi Subong. I accessed a copy of the text available in the private archive of Professor JaHyun Kim Haboush.

genre of family history, a narrative description of the lives of several generations of a particular lineage, could have paved the way for the emergence of the genre of the lineage novel.⁹⁸ Although we have no evidence that could establish whether lineage imagination arose from factual accounts and traveled into lineage novels, or went in the opposite direction, it is still useful to juxtapose this family history to the narrative desire of the lineage novel.

The Record of the Three Generations of the Yi Lineage from the Eastern Country actually comes closer to genealogies proper as it merely records the success in office of its main male protagonists—there is no plot of feelings that could disarticulate the picture of normative fulfillment, as almost nothing is said about the affective connection between generations.⁹⁹ Although this family history appears as a genealogy that from a tree is transformed into a narrative, it contains several entertaining elements. The narrative creates suspense when the main protagonist travels as incognito inspector general to investigate the activities of a corrupt magistrate. When he enters the famished and disorderly realm, his encounter with the local villains is portrayed in dramatic and picturesque terms common to novels of adventure. With regard to a particular conception of lineage and generation, this family history does not offer any new understanding of lineage that would diverge from the hegemonic view articulated in genealogies: like genealogies, this family history conceives lineage to be defined by strict patrilineal succession and excellent record of civil service possessed by the lineage males.

⁹⁸ Yi Subong, 347-368.

⁹⁹ Yi Subong notes that the characters of this record have no individual traits, and the entire narrative is so invested into portraying the success of the lineage males that the record can hardly be said to display any other imagination than the desire to glorify the lineage. Ibid.

Even while claiming a connection with other genres of writing lineage, such as posthumous biographies or literary collections, the lineage novel nonetheless makes a conscious attempt to distinguish the uniqueness of its own narrative form. The central protagonist of *The Pledge*, Madame So, addresses the following lines to her virtuous son In'ung, who admonishes his mother to be more mindful of her unruly conduct, which continues to bring the affairs of their household into disarray: “Do not tell me of my lofty station—all this murmuring only exasperates me. What hopes are left to a person who relinquished all thoughts of life? Do you want to waste your effort by speaking to my virtue? After I die, in the very first part of my posthumous biography (*heangjang* 行狀) it shall be written that I excelled in tormenting my stepson and beating my daughter-in-law” (IX: 133, 208). In this remark, Madame So declares the limitations of posthumous biography, a genre that is supposed to celebrate the achievements of the deceased that contribute to the lineage's prestige. The story of Madame So's passions, which inflict kidnappings, assassinations, and other forms of bodily mutilation upon the objects of her hate—her stepson Insŏng and his wife Yi Chayŏm—are described in Chapter 3, and here I will only emphasize Madame So's call for the creation of a new narrative—a one that would give voice to the emotional excess that escapes patriarchal normativity. The lineage novel, although contingent upon the hegemonic kinship narratives, is distinguished from them by its attention to feelings.

The Chŏng lineage survives all trials and tribulations, Madame So is ultimately appeased, and *The Pledge* ends with a genealogy, as do most lineage novels. This genealogy, however, is a curious one, as it begins with Injung—the faithful aide to his

mother's violent schemes. Although not a lineage heir *de jure*, Injung is recorded first in the Chǒng genealogy:

The second son of Chǒng Cham is Minister of the Board of War Chǒng Injung. His courtesy name is Yibo, and his pen name is Chok'am. He is the first-born of Madame So and the twin brother of In'ung. During his youth, he gave himself to evil ways for a time, but then changed his course, reformed himself, and fortified his character, emerging in his shining glory. His endowments are outstanding and ten times superior to those of the people who never erred (XII: 180, 305).

Noteworthy is the deliberation, with which Insǒng, who proves his unswerving virtue during multiple confrontations with Madame So, is recorded only third in sequence, after the twin sons of Madame So and Chǒng Cham. *The Pledge* insists that the story of Injung's vice and transformation is infinitely more valuable to its narrative than the life record of his virtuous stepbrother and lineage heir, Chǒng Insǒng. This brings us back to the earlier remark by Madame So in which she notes the impossibility of her life story to be narrated in a posthumous biography circumscribed to the subject of socially productive virtues of its protagonists. The essence of Madame So's life is the violent feelings that she becomes a subject of, and this, she insists, is what makes her story true and interesting. The case is similar with the transformed genealogy headed by Chǒng Injung—in this instance the lineage novel emphasizes its difference from genealogical records that document the unproblematic, idealized succession of generations. In contradistinction to those records, the lineage novel declares itself as a record of subjects with a capacity for emotion, who find themselves at odds with their society, live through violent emotional upheavals, and then again embrace their prescribed social roles.

Just like *The Pledge*, the Hyǒn lineage sequel inaugurates the importance of perpetuating the memory of the plots of feelings that earlier generations live through. The two Masters Chang, brothers-in-law of the Hyǒn lineage patriarch, Hyǒn T'aekchi,

appear in all three novels of the sequel, and they are endowed with a crucial function—to remember the plots of feelings that constitute the autonomy of private experience, exempted from the perfectly fulfilled lineage vision. When Hyōn-fathers upbraid their sons, encouraging them to persevere in virtuous self-cultivation, the two Masters Chang—who always speak in the same voice—refer the suddenly righteous patriarch to his own struggles, inevitable on the path of becoming the lineage head:

The two Masters Chang said with a big smile, “Ungnin can speak like this only because he seems to know nothing at all about his own father and uncle’s behavior in the old days. But we will tell their stories especially for your ears.” Clearing their throats and assuming a pathetic tone, the two Masters Chang told everyone how Sumun first saw Madame Yun and beleaguered her, and how Sumun and Kyōngmun’s secret council [on this matter] was overheard in the backyard, which made their father [Hyōn Taekchi] give both a serious beating. Then they told how Kyōngmun abused Madame Chu and also about his stubborn irreverence towards [his father-in-law] Master Chu, and how Master Chu, securing the support of Hyōn T’aekchi, made sure that Kyōngmun received a flogging. After that the two Masters Chang recounted how Sumun first lost sight of Madame Yun and went everywhere to find her, and after finally finding her, gave way to his rage at the tricks she played on him earlier, so that he commissioned ten servants to create a commotion on the big road [wrecking Madame Yun’s sedan chair on her return journey to the Hyōn mansion]. They also told how Sumun later had to beg his wife [Madame Chu] to forgive him. Recounting all the details and embellishing them, [the two Masters Chang] told a truly entertaining tale.... All the young boys sitting around could not help but be amused by the stories told about their father and uncle, and everyone burst out laughing without restraint. Sumun and Kyōngmun lowered their heads; their faces grim, they did not join in the shared merriment (*Myōngju kibong*, I, 2:37).¹⁰⁰

If genealogy is a tree founded on the seamless blending of generations of fathers and sons into a form of continuity and endurance, the lineage novel insists that the macro-structure of lineage, validated in its social and moral functions, is capacious enough to allow for private, emotional autonomy of its members. What brings fathers and sons together is the experience of negotiating and co-opting their private, emotional selves and their normative social identities. As I show later in the dissertation, the lineage novel

¹⁰⁰ *Myōngju kibong* [The Remarkable Encounter of Pearls] (Seoul: Munhwajae kwalliguk Changsōgak, 1978), vols. 1-2.

grants emotional autonomy is to men and women alike, and this flexible conception of gender identities is another remarkable feature of the lineage novel.

The Map: The Home and/in the World

In *The Atlas of the European Novel*, Franco Moretti notes “the place-bound nature of literary forms.” Each literary form, he writes, has “its peculiar geometry, its boundaries, its spatial taboos and favorite routes. And then, maps bring to light the internal logic of narrative: the semiotic domain around which a plot coalesces and self-organizes.”¹⁰¹ The logic of space in the lineage novel is organized through the juxtaposition of the home space of the lineage—comprised of the domestic space and the royal court, in which lineage members serve as civil officials—to foreign and supernatural spaces that lack the culture and moral cultivation of the home space. Noteworthy is the spatial ambition of the lineage novel: the story of the lineage is enacted not only in the domestic space, but also in the political realm of the royal court, in foreign lands to which lineage males lead armies in order to pacify rebels, and also in the supernatural dimension of encounters with magic and the strange. Lineage, thus, becomes a fundamental axis, around which multiple spaces converge. As I show in this section, lineage becomes a center, responsible for the balancing of these various spaces.

The ambitious spatial logic of the lineage novel can be understood on two interrelated levels. First, it illustrates the way in which the lineage novel subsumes the entire literary field in its form, weaving stories of adventure, but also historical accounts and references to Confucian classics into the narrative. A vernacular Korean genre with great prestige, the lineage novel certainly entertained, but it also sought to educate its

¹⁰¹ Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European novel, 1800-1900* (Lodon, New York: Verso, 1999), 5.

readers, mostly women. Educated women in Chosŏn Korea were expected to have certain knowledge of the Confucian Classics and histories, and the biography of Madame Sin of P'yŏngsan, composed by her son Hong Nakwŏn, mentions that Madame Sin “memorized Classics and Histories and told other people about them.”¹⁰² Like the majority of Premodern Korean fiction, lineage novels are set in China, during the Song (960-1279) or Ming (1368-1644) dynasties,¹⁰³ often containing specific historical references. *The Pledge*, for instance, incorporates the narrative of the 1449 Tumu crisis (K.: *T'omokchibyŏn*, Ch.: *Tumuzhibian* 土木之變) that resulted in the Mongols' capture of Emperor Yingzong (r. 1435-1449, 1457-1565), Yingzong's house arrest during the reign of his reigning brother, Daizong (r. 1449-1457), and Yingzong's final return to power.¹⁰⁴ *Jade Mandarin Ducks*, on the other hand, incorporates the narrative of court conflicts during the reign of Emperor Shenzong of the Northern Song (r. 1067-1085) centered on the struggle between the reformist party of Wang Anshi (1021-1086) against the

¹⁰² Hong Nakwŏn, *Sŏnbuin kajŏn*, 12a.

¹⁰³ In Chosŏn Korea, China's Song and Ming dynasties were perceived as the epitome of Confucian statecraft, while the Mongolian Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) that displaced the Song, and the Manchu Qing rulers (1644-1912) who ousted the Ming, were seen as barbaric powers instated at the heart of civilization. Set in the Song and Ming China, premodern Korean fiction was thus a product of the Confucian culture of the time. The only novels that took their setting in Chosŏn were the so-called *p'ansori* novels, or texts that arose from the tradition of popular oral performances, *p'ansori*, such as *The Tale of Ch'unhyang* and *The Tale of Simch'ŏng*: these texts explore contradictions between the Confucian ideology, espoused by the ruling elites, and indigenous Korean culture. For the analysis of *The Tale of Simch'ŏng*, see JaHyun Kim Haboush, “Filial Emotions and Filial Values.”

¹⁰⁴ For the study of the historical motifs in *The Pledge*, see Yi Hyŏnju, “*Wanwŏlhoe maengyŏn ūi yŏksa suyong t'ŭkjing kwa ūimi*” [Historical Motifs in *The Pledge at the Banquet of Moon-Gazing Pavilion*], *Ōmunhak* 109 (2010): 197-226.

conservatives under the leadership of Sima Guang (1019-1086).¹⁰⁵ Ming and Song China as the spatial and temporal setting of the lineage novel served a dual purpose, educating its female readers, and also asserting the prestige of the lineage novel as a genre that drew upon the historical narratives, considered a necessary learning for erudite men and educated women.

In this section, I want to focus on the second, most important, meaning of the spatial logic of the lineage novel—that, which Moretti calls “semiotic domain” or the internal logic of the lineage novel. For the internal logic of the lineage novel, the distinction between historical account and fiction is immaterial, since incorporation of historical materials functions as yet another manifestation of the lineage novel’s aspiration to belong to a respected literary canon. The most important boundary that organizes the lineage novels’ narrative is that between the home space of the lineage and the outside spaces, anchored to the centering role of the lineage as epitome of culture and moral cultivation. In her study of early European travel romance, Geraldine Heng writes about the ways these texts create a similar juxtaposition of the home-space and outer, uncivilized spaces that are conquered and colonized: “The geocultural model of the world and human relations.... implicitly, if enigmatically, describes those who stay at home as strong, crucially well-positioned, and knowledgeable, by virtue of being sedentary... bringing those distant places and peoples back home in such a way that the very process of retrieval would work to identify and establish ‘home’ as a center.”¹⁰⁶ If Heng writes

¹⁰⁵ On the role of the historical plot in *Jade Mandarin Ducks*, see Chi Yönsuk, “*Okwön chaeapkiyön üi yöksa sosöl chök sönggyök yön’gu*” [*The Remarkable Reunion of Jade Mandarin Ducks as a Historical Novel*], *Kososöl yön’gu* 12 (2001): 155-185.

¹⁰⁶ Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 250.

about the pleasures of sampling distant objects, people, and places in the home space, which affirms its centrality, the lineage novels display a reverse momentum: by transplanting the ideals of the civilized home into distant, uncultivated realms, the home space is assured of its worth as it fulfills the important function of preserving and disseminating the ultimate ideal of Confucian culture. In sum, rather than the ability to amass a curia collection from the outer spaces, it is the possibility of the home space to expand that secures its centrality.

The home space of the lineage is defined in opposition to the spaces that are presented as outrageously monstrous and their inhabitants as entirely oblivious of proper human ways. This is the description of the country of Parhae that appears in *The Pledge*:¹⁰⁷

About five hundred li from the borders of the Eastern Yue, there is a country of Parhae. Among all other barbarians, its appearance is most frightening. [People of Parhae] clothe themselves in grass and leaves and they do not cultivate land. Feeding mostly on wild beasts, herbs and fruits, cows, horses, chickens, and dogs, sometimes they also eat people. In their hideousness they are no different from beasts. Because human skin is tough and thick, they make their armor of human skin. In battle, even when swords and lances are hitting their bodies, their armor withstands the attack. Ferocious like flying birds, these people are tough like stone and metal. The skin of [Parhae people] is strangely oily, as if smeared with grease, so if caught on fire [they] would burn day and night. This seems to be the reason why they especially fear and avoid fire and do not eat cooked food. They are formidable warriors, ferocious in fight, and even when other barbarians fight each other they cannot easily attack Parhae (*The Pledge* X, 141: 139).

This depiction of the barbaric Parhae forms a direct juxtaposition to the Confucian understanding of civilization. The passage, in fact, almost tells the reverse story of the one told by the Chinese legalist philosopher Han Fei (ca. 280-233 BC), who describes the first stages of civilization in which sages provide shelter and fire to the people who fight for their survival among the multitudes of beasts. The realm of Parhae is opposed to the

¹⁰⁷ Parhae (Ch. Bohai 渤海, 698-926) was established in Northern Manchuria after the kingdom of Koguryō (37BCE-668CE) was conquered by Silla (668-935).

cultivated space of the lineage in terms of the very basic communal lifestyle: immersed in constant warfare, Parhae knows no technologies of everyday life, such as cooking and weaving; feeding on beasts and humans alike, people of Parhae seem oblivious to the distinction of people from birds and beasts. It must also be noted that while the country of Parhae, in the crudeness of its inhabitants' lifestyle is clearly distinguished from the civilized realm, the grotesque crassness of this country produces no sense of wonder in the narrative. Parhae is allotted this very short description as a quintessentially alien space, described without travelogue-like fascination. The narrative of *The Pledge* becomes significantly more animated when it comes to another barbaric country—Eastern Yue (K.: Tongwŏl, Ch.: Dongyue 東越) that borders Parhae.¹⁰⁸

Whereas *The Pledge* shows no interest in recording the clime, costume, food, and local custom of Parhae, the plot of feelings that unfolds in the royal family of the Eastern Yue, which is similarly construed as the radical outside of the moral order embodied in the lineage, is relayed in some detail. At the time when the Ming army under the command of Chŏng Insŏng and Chŏng Cham, the most illustrious male representatives of

¹⁰⁸ References to the Warring States country Yue (越) that appear in the sources from the Warring States and Han dynasties (ca. 400-50BCE) do not use this term to designate a homogeneous political, cultural, or ethnical entity, and instead cumulatively designate inhabitants in what would be present-day China's south-east, perceived as barbarians. See Erica Brindley, "Barbarians or Not? Ethnicity and Changing Conceptions of the Ancient Yue (Viet) Peoples ca. 400-50BCE," *Asia Major* 16.1 (2003): 1-32. During the Ming dynasty, "Yue" was one of the names used (although rarely) to refer to Vietnam, which the Ming attempted and failed to incorporate into its empire. Kathlene Baldanza notes that Ming's unsuccessful attempt to re-colonize Vietnam in the early 1400s led to a reconceptualization of the Ming-Vietnam relationship after this point. Although Vietnam was part of the Chinese empire until the tenth century, from the Ming onwards, Vietnam is discursively fashioned as an uncivilized realm. See Kathlene Baldanza, "De-Civilizing Ming China's Southern Border: Vietnam as Lost Province or Barbarian Culture," in *Chinese History in Geographical Perspective*, ed. Jeff Kyong-McClain and Yongtao Du (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2013), 55-70. In geographic terms, Eastern Yue could certainly not border Parhae, located in Northern Manchuria, but *The Pledge* disrupts the geographical fact in favor of cultural geography, which through the alleged geographical proximity of the two states suggests their parity as uncivilized places.

the Chǒng lineage, enters Eastern Yue, the country lives through a succession controversy accompanied by a passionate plot of revenge. King T'apt'algye of the Eastern Yue goes into battle with the Ming army and dies in the hands of the Ming generals. A depraved ruler, King T'apt'algye raises an unjust rebellion against the rightful suzerain, the Ming, and he is equally ill-advised in the administration of the interior affairs of the state. In particular, King T'apt'algye connives to kill his oldest son and heir, Prince T'apt'al'yu, in order to instate a younger and better-loved son as the next king. The death of the inept and unjust king in the encounter with the Ming army could appear as an expected, and even just retaliation—to anyone, but Prince T'apt'al'yu. Moved by filial devotion, Prince T'apt'al'yu decides to avenge the death of a father who just a moment ago was plotting for his own son's death. Prince T'apt'al'yu reveals the purity of his motifs and a truly magnanimous heart when he ponders revenge:

It is not my ambition to go against a great country and plot a rebellion. It is just that I cannot tolerate the pain of knowing that my father's name is tarnished for posterity and that he died to no good purpose. I need to cleanse this offense. As a son, I need to avenge my father's death, and if I fail and die on the battlefield amidst the innumerable enemy army, I will have fulfilled my feelings and intent. Even if heaven does not help me, there is nothing else I can do (X, 142: 138).

The novel confirms the sincerity of T'apt'al'yu's statement with the following characterization: “among the barbarians, T'apt'al'yu is wise and eager to learn; he is loyal and filial, and his conduct extraordinary and without a fault” (X, 142: 141). Prince T'apt'al'yu admits that going against the Ming violates the proper suzerain-vassal relationship, but he emphasizes that as a filial son he has little choice but to challenge the Ming army to battle. Prince T'apt'al'yu's actions, thus, are governed by the moral choice that privileges filial piety, the cardinal Confucian virtue.

Attempting to carry out his revenge plot against the Ming army, Prince T'apt'al'yu fails, and, impressed by the virtue of the Ming army generals, Chǒng Insǒng and Chǒng Cham, he repents his ways and pledges loyalty to the Ming. Chǒng Insǒng and Chǒng Cham are, however, in turn, impressed by the noble qualities of Prince T'apt'al'yu's character and they invest him as the new King of the Eastern Yue. The depiction of the Eastern Yue in *The Pledge* strongly suggests that spatial imagination of the novel operates through the prism of emotion: distance is conceptualized through a charter of morally appropriate feelings, rather than wonderment at the peculiarities of a given land.¹⁰⁹ Properly regulated society and state are defined by the harmony of emotional bonds that string together the domestic, the social, and the political realms. In the Eastern Yue, although Prince T'apt'al'yu is a morally worthy person, the realm is in disarray due to the depravity of his father, who intends to violate the principle of primogeniture, and turns against its suzerain, the Ming. Worthy at heart, Prince T'apt'al'yu finds himself in a place that lacks proper order, but the sincerity of his emotions and uprightness of his character promises to bring Eastern Yue closer to the realm of culture in the imagined geography of *The Pledge*.

The home space and the outside spaces are interlaced in a still more intimate manner in the three novels of the Hyǒn lineage sequel: *The Record of Two Heroes, Pearls*, and *Pearls and Jade*. The pearls that appear in the titles of the two latter novels and that are used as betrothal gifts in the marriages of Hyǒn males come from Yunnan (K.: Unnam 雲南). Hyǒn Kyǒngmun receives the pearls from the King of Yunnan as a token

¹⁰⁹ For various forms of cartographic imagination in Chosǒn Korea, see Gari Ledyard, "Cartography in Korea," in *The History of Cartography*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), vol. 2.2, 226-329.

of gratitude, after the Song army with Hyōn Kyōngmun as its head quells a rebellion there.¹¹⁰ Hyōn Kyōngmun then uses the pearls as betrothal gifts for the wedding of his son, Ch'ōnnin, and nephew, Ungnin. Importantly, the pearls are miniature embodiments of the relationship of the home with the outside world: Hyōn Kyōngmun receives the pearls after Yunnan's subjugation, which asserts the superiority of the Song as suzerain, and of Hyōn Kyōngmun as an army leader, whose unswerving moral character and military prowess bring this victory. The Yunnan pearls, used in marriages that secure the perpetuation of the Hyōn line, insert the awareness of the outside spaces into the very central ritual of lineage renewal—marriage. This highlights the regenerative potential of the lineage: just as within its domestic society the lineage secures the stability of moral and social norm, epitomized in its illustrious descendants, in the outer spaces the lineage is responsible for disseminating the correct moral norm.

If the relationship with neighboring barbarians can be considered as forming the horizontal axis of the lineage novel's spatial imagination, its vertical dimension is constituted by the realm of magic and the strange that also frequently encroaches upon the well-ordered space of the lineage. Confucius is known to have never spoken about supernatural and the strange, choosing to focus his attention on the realm of concrete

¹¹⁰ Yunnan was first conquered by the Yuan dynasty emperor Kubilai Khan in 1253-54. In 1381-82, the Ming dynasty launched a campaign against the remaining army of the Yuan stationed in Yunnan. *The Tale of Two Heroes* is set during the reign of Emperor Renzong of Song (r. 1022-1063), and the depiction of the Song army's expedition into Yunnan undertaken during this reign does not seem to bear on historical fact. For the Yuan and Ming conquests of Yunnan, see Frederick F. Mote, "Chinese Society under Mongol Rule, 1215-1368," in *The Cambridge History of China Volume 6: Alien Regimes and Border States, 710-1368*, ed. Denis C. Twitchett (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 616-664; John D. Langlois, Jr., "The Hung-wu Reign, 1368-1398," in *The Cambridge History of China Volume 7: The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644, Part I*, ed. Frederick W. Mote (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 107-181.

human interactions.¹¹¹ Even as Confucian moral framework settled in the society of Chosŏn Korea, it failed to completely eradicate shamanistic and Buddhist practices that elaborated the relationship between the world of the living with the realm of the dead and the supernatural. Boudewijn Walraven has described the religious culture of Chosŏn Korea through a distinction between orthodoxy and orthopraxy. Orthodox Confucian culture, he notes, ostracized Buddhist and shamanistic practices that sought to communicate with the supernatural realms that were outside of the purview of Confucianism and thereby undermined the prestige of the Confucian moral framework. In practice, however, Buddhist and shamanistic rituals were performed in the domestic space, as they provided emotional solace, especially when it came to the matter of sending off the dead. According to Walraven, as long as Buddhist and shamanistic rituals were not performed in the public space, the realm of doctrinal purity or orthodoxy, they were tolerated and in this way these practices became part of everyday life.¹¹² It is possible that the descriptions of the supernatural realm in the lineage novel echo the non-Confucian religious practices extant in Chosŏn Korea.

While elaborating the lineage structure of Chosŏn Korea rooted in the Confucian paradigm of human relations, the lineage novel, at the same time, achieves a strikingly syncretic figure, accommodating the awareness of forces that fall outside human control. Lineage novels inquire into the workings of forces that are left unaccounted for in the Confucian moral framework. While the depiction of the supernatural forces that often attempt to disrupt the lineage-centered order could be conceived as an intent to entertain

¹¹¹ *The Analects (Lun yü) of Confucius*, D.C. Lau, trans. (New York: Penguin Books, 1979): 7.21.

¹¹² Boudewijn Walraven, "Popular Religion in a Confucianized Society," in *Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea*, ed. Martina Deuchler and JaHyun Kim Haboush (Cambridge: Harvard University East Asia Center), 160-198.

the reader with the stories of the strange, the pervasive presence of the supernatural in the lineage novel suggests that, in its ambition to construct a lineage-centered vision of the world with an exhaustive catalog of experience, the lineage novel actually allows for the presence of the forces that Confucius himself refused to discuss.

Lineage novels are densely populated by the practitioners of dark magic arts who seek to wreak havoc in the affairs of the lineage, and, by extension, in the affairs of the society and polity. Some of them, like the daoist women that appear in *The Pledge*, retire into isolated communities that defy the very foundations of the Confucian social and moral order. Yohwa, the chief priestess of an island daoist community, says the following words to the members of the Chǒng lineage who are washed ashore on her island:

Even a sage like Yao of the Tang had said that having multiple descendants brings multiple worries, while long life engenders a multitude of desires. The sagacious Yao was warning against having multiple descendants. People of the world nowadays are ignorant and bankrupt. Overcome with greed for possessions, they fail to see that we live in a drifting world, just like mayflies. Men bedeck themselves in Confucian caps and robes, professing to be disciples of a certain Master Confucius; women don wedding outfits and rejoice in their virtue of producing multiple descendants. I simply laugh at this” (*The Pledge* I, 5: 180).

With this speech, Yohwa fails in her attempt to entice Chǒng In’gwang and Chǒng Wōl’yōm to join her order: her propositions go against the fundamental Confucian maxims that recognize correct hierarchies and kinship relations as the groundwork of cultured communal lifestyle. The Daoist island resembles the barbaric lands that disregard proper ordering of human relations. However, the distinctly magic character of the place and its inhabitants suggests that the novel attempts to articulate a relationship with the realms that fall directly outside the provenance of the Confucian moral system. But even allowing the existence of the supernatural realm, the lineage novel establishes undeniable superiority of the Confucian system: Chǒng lineage members are left

untouched by the advancements of the daoist women, and the Confucian values withstand all trials.

The power to withstand supernatural forces is in fact an indispensable skill for the members of the central lineages, along with their high moral virtue and supreme military prowess. So Segyǒng, the protagonist of *Jade Mandarin Ducks*, saves the entire county from vicious ghosts by administering potions to the possessed and by writing and distributing charms to the local people. After the effective cure, one of the local dwellers reports to So Segyǒng:

As the ghosts that [stayed] at our pillows were expelled, [we could see] that some of them had twisted legs, and some had cow heads and horse faces. There were ghosts who had no arms. The ghosts hurdled together, as though they were [thrown together] by a storm, and they rode away on red carriages harnessed to some wild beasts like tigers. The ghosts spoke to each other, ‘We can no longer stay in this place. After this strange potion has filled our bellies, it is as though we are chased away with knives and oars.’ With this they climbed into their carriages and scattered in all directions and no one has seen the ghosts ever since. The people could finally have some rest and their spirit rejoiced soaring as high as the blue heaven” (*Jade Mandarin Ducks* XXVIII, 12: 652).

So Segyǒng prevails over the unruly ghosts because of the innate moral superiority, the power of which—shared by the members of all illustrious lineage—provides the most effective remedy to the mischief wrought by supernatural forces. In *Pearls and Jade*, what saves the Hyǒn house from continuous assault of supernatural forces are the charms that lineage members write in their own hand. Pasted on the bodies of constantly metamorphosing magicians who successfully escape all traps, these charms are capable of rendering the spell-casting evildoers completely powerless (Vol. 20).

The spatial conception of the lineage novel enfolds the home space of the lineage in a series of nebulous spaces—of barbaric neighbors and supernatural forces. It is noteworthy that the lineage novel places the story of a lineage against such vast horizon, asserting that patriarchal patrilineal kinship society embodies the kernel of moral order

that is fundamental in maintaining not merely the domestic stability, but that of the entire polity, and human realm. From a form of social practice, the lineage metamorphoses into an iteration of fundamental moral truth.

Lineage Bodies: Marking the Boundary between Inside and Outside

The lineage novel subsumes time and space under the organizing aegis of the lineage, using generation as a figure for the measurement of time, and balancing unstable, uncultivated spaces around the centering presence of the lineage, the embodiment of moral achievement of highest degree. In a similar manner, the bodies of lineage novels' protagonists bear the inscription of lineage—of inbred nobility and superior moral cultivation that sets both male and female members of the central lineages apart from the rest of the protagonists. Sarah Ahmed has eloquently written on the boundary-making capacity of the body, and her insights are useful in understanding the image of the body as it appears in the lineage novel. Ahmed writes, “Not only could we ask a question, ‘which bodies are touched by which bodies?’ but we could also ask about the different ways in which bodies ‘touch’ other bodies, and how those differences are ways of forming the bodies of others [...] I am calling here for a phenomenological analysis of corporeal generosity to be supplemented by an understanding of the *economies of touch*.”¹¹³ Ahmed’s note points to the meaning-making capacity of the body that functions as a script of relationships and relatability. The lineage novel endows the body and skin with polysemic significance and creates a rich economy of touch. Similarly to Ahmed’s suggestion, body in the lineage novel appears in its boundary-making capacity

¹¹³ Sarah Ahmed, *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality* (London; New York: Routledge, 2000), 48, emphasis in the original.

and also in a capacity to create affective spaces through touch and other forms of bodily intimacy. In his section, I will discuss the dual capacity of the bodies in the lineage novel, which, depending on the context, can appear as distant or untouchable bodies or as open bodies-in-touch. Outside home, lineage bodies mark a boundary between the space of the lineage, the epitome of culture and cultivation, and outer, uncultivated spaces. The self-enclosed, distant bodies of lineage members refuse to enter the spaces, deemed inferior to the moral standard that the lineage embodies. In the domestic space, however, the bodies of lineage members appear to be constantly open upon each other, intermingling through touch and gaze. The touch and gaze, which lineage novels depict with remarkable detail, in fact, authorize the attention to the domestic space as a site of minute yet fundamentally important affective interactions. I believe that in this way the lineage novel marks an important shift in the perception of domesticity and individual identity in Chosŏn Korea, authorizing private, intimate contact as an important form of relatability in the patriarchal kinship society.

In his study of the discourse of courtly love, James Schultz has noted that in Middle High Germanic poetry, although love is its central theme, the bodies are not distinguished by gender or endowed with outstandingly vivid descriptions of physical endowments. Superseding all other types of external bodily distinctions is the visible nobility or courtliness: “nobility is an attribute of bodies, [...] it is visible, and [...] it provokes love.”¹¹⁴ James Schulz uses the term nobility to refer to courtliness, which encompasses refined manners and appearance, as well as conformity to the code of courtly behavior, which includes participation in the discourse and practice of courtly

¹¹⁴ James A. Schultz, *Courtly Love, the Love of Courtliness, and the History of Sexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 80.

love. Lineage novels similarly inscribe their protagonists' bodies with visible attributes of nobility, founded foremost upon the superior moral character cultivated in accordance with the Confucian precepts: selflessness, uprightness, and benevolence. Both male and female members of central lineages appear to be visibly distinguished from other protagonists, when viewed from a distance by non-lineage members. And this self-enclosed capacity of the lineage bodies is especially dramatized, when lineage bodies find themselves in spaces of radical alterity, akin to the ones discussed in the section above.

When traversing the spaces that fall outside the cultured geography of the home, lineage bodies act as physical markers of disparity between these two realms. In *The Pledge*, for instance, when Cho Sech'ang, a virtuous civil official, who is sent into exile as a result of court intrigues, arrives at the barbaric land of Mashan, he refuses to take any food there. He sustains himself by licking his own blood that crusts on his clothing after the King of Mashan orders that Sech'ang be punished for refusing to become his servant: "This is the blood that [Sech'ang] received from his parents, so eating [it] to sustain his spirit is ten times better than the delicacies of the uncouth barbarians" (I, 10: 324). Just as Sech'ang, having licked all the blood, finds himself on the verge of starvation, a fortunate parcel arrives bringing some food from the civilized realm.

Chǒng Insǒng, also of *The Pledge*, breaks off from the family procession and in a chain of adventures finds himself in a Mongol country that neighbors Mashan. In a similar situation, Insǒng decides differently from Sech'ang. In order to preserve his body, as filial duty prescribes him, he accepts, even though unwillingly, the food barbarians offer him. However, Insǒng absolutely refuses to follow the request of the Mongol

King's daughter: the princess desires better knowledge of proper womanly ways, and she asks Insōng to write out the main guidelines for womanly cultivation. Instead of writing down the text himself, Insōng dictates it, lest his handwriting, a material extension of his body, marked with superior nobility and morality, remains in the barbaric realm (I, 12: 392). The boundary-making function that inheres in the bodies of the lineage members is extended upon handwriting as well.

Since outwardly manifest nobility of its members embodies the superior status of a given lineage, the lineage novel deliberately constructs occasions for displaying and viewing the bodies of its protagonists. There exists, however, an important gender-based difference in bodily visibility. Along the lines of the important Confucian distinction of inner and outer, domestic and public realms for the activity of men and women, the lineage novel also organizes different occasions for the display of lineage bodies, which are also beheld with different gazes, depending on whether the object in view is a male or a female body. Male bodies can be displayed both in domestic and outer spaces—at court and during their journeys on official business. Female bodies, however, are only open to view on the occasions of domestic celebrations, which are attended by family members and multiple guests. If male bodies often incite desirous gazes of immoral women, the admiration expressed at the beholding of female bodies is directed at the supreme moral qualities of these women.

During Insōng's sojourn in the Mongol lands, his very appearance is endowed with a capacity to exert a transforming working upon those who behold it:

Just a single look [at Insōng] makes a person feel so bedazzled, as to be unable to comprehend his appearance and character [all at once]. With a second looking [at Insōng], one's heart swells and one realizes that one has lived in vain if one could not offer one's life [to Insōng]. Looking [at Insōng] for the third time, a person loses all debauched and

unseemly thoughts and abandons all vicious tricks and inhumane thoughts, being overcome in a single glance (I, 12: 379).

The power of attraction of Insǒng's appearance is not limited to its morally edifying function—Insǒng, and other central lineage males in *The Pledge* and in other novels—provoke intense desire in women. This scene occurs as Insǒng, and his adopted father, Chǒng Cham return home from a military expedition:

Matrons and unmarried girls of several towns struggled with each other as they congregated to gaze at the stateliness of Chǒng Cham and stare at Insǒng's figure. [Women] forgot all shame and broke out of the proper distinctions between the inner and the outer. Powdered faces popped up here and there and slender fingers grew stiff, as purple jackets and colored sleeves were busily pointing [in the direction of Chǒng Cham and Chǒng Insǒng]. Their mouths were dried, their throats were steaming, and their hearts were on fire. These women were like ten thousand monkeys unable to stay calm (V, 61: 23).

In the lineage novel, superior moral character of male protagonists not only warrants the stability and prosperity of their lineages and the society at large, but it becomes incorporated into the structure of desire, turning virtuous males into coveted objects in the eyes of desirous women.

If men attract desirous gazes, virtuous women are viewed from a different angle. Women appear almost exclusively in the home space, where they exude gentleness and dignity. When Yi Chayǒm marries into the Chǒng lineage in *The Pledge*, she makes all guests stare at her with wonder: “[Yi Chayǒm's] exceptional beauty and remarkable appearance grow by day. So bright she appears to the multiple guests that their eyes grow dim and their spirits are raptured; discomfited and frozen in their seats, they forget to pay her compliments” (III, 35: 151). When Princess Wǒlsǒng appears at her own marriage banquet in *The Record of Two Heroes*, she produces a similar effect: “To the eyes of the multiple guests, the Princess appears in her youthful age of nine as a phoenix who hides in a cave, but her composure and dignity are as though she were thirteen years of age.

Her snow-white skin is complimented with her shiny hair. Her delicate eyebrows are sable-black. The light of her eyes that shine like two morning stars reaches far and wide. Her cheeks, like tender blooming flowers, contain all imaginable beauty” (I, 2: 37). Both male and female lineage bodies, when appearing to view of the outsiders, stand as distant bodies that represent the quintessence of nobility.

The events in the lineage novel are distributed between outside spaces and the domestic space, but the domestic space hosts the most important events—it is a place where individuals live through dramatic upheavals of their passions, and it is also the place where affective exchanges weave the multiplicity of lineage bodies into a domestic affective community. If in outer spaces lineage novel protagonists reveal only an impeccable exterior, in the domestic space, gesture and touch reconfigure Confucian hierarchies of human bonds into fleeting, intimate encounters. It must be emphasized that such tactile richness of bodily interaction in the domestic space is not depicted in other works of premodern Korean literary canon. The unique ambition of the lineage novel here reveals itself not merely in the desire to cover vast temporal and spatial horizons, which I explore in the two previous sections, but also in the ability to zoom into the minutest elements of the corporeal register, which creates the rhythm and the texture of private modes of relating. While there are many different types of affective, touching bodies, here I will only give a few examples that pertain to the relationship of mothers with their sons and also to the bond between married spouses. As I show in Chapter 3, matriline becomes important in the lineage novel as a figure of emotional genealogy that is deemed no less vital for the longevity of the lineage, as the ritualized succession of the patriline. Similarly, in Chapter 3, I discuss the discourse of love in the lineage novel, and

the attempt this genre makes in understanding the emotional side of marriage, the central institution that insures the longevity of the lineage.

In the lineage novel, particularly tender scenes take place between mothers and sons, regardless of the children's age. In *The Pledge*, the following episode occurs between the new parents, Yi Chayom and Chǒng Insǒng, and their young son Mongch'ang. The text of the novel is remarkably attentive to the minutest transactions of touch and gaze: Chayōm's unwillingness to breastfeed her child in the presence of her husband, the dense tactile description of Mongch'ang taking his mother's breast, and the delight of the new parents in the shared moment of bodily contact with their child:

Now awake, Mongch'ang happily looked at his parents and wanted his mother's breast. Insǒng could not overcome his joy, and laying next to his wife he encouraged her to feed the baby. Though gently, Chayōm showed an air of uneasiness, so with his strong arms, Insǒng removed her outer garments and put them away, saying: "When feeding the baby, there is no need to be dressed up like this. Mongch'ang is indeed very perceptive by birth, so his mother's excessive decorum can make him feel uncomfortable." Having no choice, Chayōm reclined on a pillow and gave her breast [to Mongch'ang]. Mongch'ang was overjoyed. Taking the breast in his hands and pressing it, he began to nurse (IX, 131: 177).

Mother's breast, interestingly, continues to be a marker of utmost intimacy even after the sons grow up. Chǒng In'gwang, for instance, even after his marriage and numerous adventures in which he proves the strength of his character, nestles in his mother's hands as though he was just a child, "ensconcing his forehead on his mother's lap, putting his hand on her chest, and touching her breast" (*The Pledge* III, 41: 460). In'gwang's mother, Madame Hwa, even has to gently rebuke her son: "Did you just go out to play and come back drunk? Why do you [...] make your mother indulge you as though you were a little boy?" (III, 41: 462). Madame Hwa's soft protestation reveals that In'gwang's behavior verges outside the boundaries of proper decorum, and thereby

finds a space for unmediated transaction of affection. A similar scene takes place between Madame So and her son In'ung:

Lying down on his mother's lap, In'ung was sucking her breast, and, turning his head around while holding on to her nipple, he showed his white teeth. Stroking his shiny hair to arrange a strayed lock and straightening his headband, Madame So spoke, "When will I stop seeing your extraordinary ways? Even for an uncouth [child like you] sucking [your mother's] breast looks utterly silly." In'ung, letting go of the breast, replied, "How much longer can I be doing this? If you see me doing this even after my capping ceremony, then you can be displeased. But now that I am not capped yet, why can I not have my mother's breast?" (IX, 129: 139).¹¹⁵

This tender exchange between Madame So and her son offsets the protracted and violent conflict between Madame So and her stepson, Insŏng, which I discuss in Chapter 3. In the dialogic imagination of *The Pledge*, a tender mother to her twin sons, Injung and In'ung, Madame So becomes a cruel and ruthless offender to Insŏng, the adopted lineage heir who deprives Madame So's own son, Injung, of the succession privilege. This juxtaposition, again, adds to the complexity of Madame So's character and casts the passions she experiences in her conflicted situation in a more objective light.

As Lauren Berlant has written, "intimacy builds worlds; it creates spaces and usurps places meant for other kinds of relation."¹¹⁶ Berlant's concise insight into world-making power of intimacy, leads us to another remarkable relationship that is explored through bodily touch in the lineage novel—the relationship between a son who becomes adopted into a new family and his biological mother. While we know that adoption of an heir was a common practice in Chosŏn Korea, we know very little about the relationship that the adopted sons had with their biological parents. In the following passage, *The*

¹¹⁵ Capping ceremony (K.: *kwallye*, C.: *guanli* 冠禮) for boys took place any time between five and twenty *se*, and it marked the boy's initiation into adulthood. It was common for the capping ceremony to take place right before the wedding. See Martina Deuchler, *Confucian Transformation of Korea*, 244-245.

¹¹⁶ Lauren Berlant, "Intimacy: A Special Issue," *Critical Inquiry* 24, no. 2 (1998): 282.

Pledge offers a glimpse of the relationship between Insǒng and his biological mother, Madame Hwa. Below is the scene in which Insǒng visits Madame Hwa to bid farewell before he sets for a military campaign into foreign lands:

[Insǒng] put his head on the lap of Madame Hwa with these words: “Now that I am leaving your care, I will only return next year. When I imagine that you will think of me and worry for all this long time, my heart aches [...]” With these words, taking his mother’s hand, Insǒng was overcome with tender feelings. Madame Hwa slowly took off her outer garments and went to bed, asking her son to lie down beside her. Stroking his hair, she forced herself to smile, saying, “When I am beside you, ten years pass by as swiftly as one day’s night, and I realize that human life is but one brief moment. Nothing can be better than the two of us lying in the same bed this night” (III, 41: 354).

Lying by each other’s side, the bodies of Insǒng and Madame Hwa reinscribe the emotional bond between mother and son retained even after Insǒng is adopted by his uncle, Chǒng Cham, as the lineage heir. Intimacy here produces a community that is unaccounted for from the perspective of normative kinship, and the lineage novel reformulates the relationship between birth mother and son in terms of a lasting bond fulfilled through bodily intimacy rather than ritual prescription that cancels this relationship.

When it comes to marriage, another crucial institution within the normative kinship structure, the lineage novel again rearticulates it from the perspective of emotion and bodily intimacy. Even while marriage in the lineage novel is necessarily a union based on the emotional parity of the spouses, it becomes a space for intimate and emotional transactions. Among other lineage novels, *Jade Mandarin Ducks* stands out as a sophisticated study of the relationship of its two main protagonists, Segyǒng and Hyǒn’yǒng, husband and wife. While the novel follows the vagaries of the couple’s often-turbulent relationship, it also paints the moments of calm, in which the two spouses come together as private beings. If shorter premodern Korean fiction often paints the

relationship of lovers in tender detail, it is worth note that in the lineage novel similar attention is devoted to the relationship of the married couple, that is, the relationship of the individuals who are already incorporated into normative kinship structure. A tender scene follows the birth of Segyǒng and Hyǒn'yǒng's second child. Segyǒng's gaze scans over the body of his wife, who feels unwell, and this intimate process of looking appropriates Hyǒn'yǒng's body into the privatized space of intimacy:

Because of his restless thoughts, Segyǒng could not fall asleep, and propping himself on his pillow he looked [at Hyǒn'yǒng, his wife]. The light flowed from the crescent moon into the window. Seated close by, Hyǒn'yǒng was stuck in the position, in which the nurse had put her [on the bed]. The elusive fragrance [of her body] excited [Segyǒng's] nostrils, and her posture was not at all like that of an ill person. Hyǒn'yǒng's slender waist, drooping head, and chiseled shoulders were all so exquisite as to make cranes and wild geese rise in a dance. This indeed was a beauty balanced with proper cultivation. Any man lying in the same room would have his good senses excited. Segyǒng thought to himself, "Her appearance is indeed not like that of a sick person, so why does she have so many ailments? *The Book of Rites* mentions five types of women unfit for marriage, and among them is the sickly woman. The only son who must continue his family line, I ended up with this sickly woman only because of her lofty virtue and noble character. Since she has given me her body, I cannot throw her out on the account of her sickness. Although [I] cannot use her body, her eyes and ears are sound, and her speech clever, so with her exquisite beauty and wisdom she was my good companion. How did it happen that she became so ill? Even without thinking of the old days I am saddened and full of pity, but now when I look back I am overcome with regret and grief, as though my own body was ailing" (*The Remarkable Reunion of Jade Mandarin Ducks* XXX, 21: 356).

The last two lines situate the script of desire ("Any man lying in the same room would have his good senses excited") and the script of duty (Segyǒng's pondering on the continuation of his lineage) in the very body of Segyǒng, who feels as though his own body was failing him. By transforming lineage bodies into surfaces of intimacy and unmediated, nonritualized contact, the lineage novel inscribes private feelings into lineage—a structure of kinship and social obligation—valorized in its moral and social value.

Conclusion

The lineage novel was one among several genres that elaborated the meaning of the patriarchal patrilineal kinship structure that took root in Chosŏn Korea during the seventeenth century. Intriguingly, the rise of the lineage novel, also in the seventeenth century, coincides with the emergence of genealogies that organize large agnatic groups around the shared patriline and also with the drastic increase in the composition of commemorative texts that men wrote for the deceased women. These three genres of writing kinship take a different stance with regard to the role of feelings in private and social life at the time that follows the reorganization of the Chosŏn society according to the patriarchal principle. Genealogies propagate an idealized, normative vision of the patriarchy by proposing an unproblematic picture of patrilineal succession.

Commemorative genres, on the other hand, speak of the importance of affective bonds, recording grief, longing, and affection that living men express for the departed women—these feelings, although crossing the line that divided male and female areas of life and experience in Chosŏn Korea, do not really transgress the normative Confucian paradigm of people's relationships. The lineage novel assumes a curious position alongside these modes of lineage narratives: on the one hand, it shares the hegemonic intent of genealogies that aspire to validate the patriarchy, but at the same time the lineage novel discerns ultimate importance of unruly feelings left unassimilated in the normative kinship structure.

The lineage novel offers perhaps a most ambitious vision of kinship, where the idiom of kinship relations underlies the constructions of time and space in the lineage novel. While organizing its cultural cartography around the centering presence of the

lineage that embodies the moral core and the epitome of cultivation and refinement, the lineage novel also uses generation as a building block for its narrative time that progresses with the ever-new descendants of the patriline. In addition, the lineage novel internalizes the patriarchal kinship principle that materializes in the mechanism of cross-textual filiation between different texts' protagonists. These modes of incorporating kinship logic into the core narrative structure of the lineage novel evince unambiguous espousal of the patriarchal tenets. At the same time, the lineage novel proposes a number of adjustments to the hegemonic vision. Genealogy that recognizes violent experience of emotions as the common ground between fathers and sons, and the polysemic bodies of the lineage members that from distant, splendid figures transform into surfaces for intimacy within domestic affective communities betoken the attempt to inscribe the meaning-making capacity of private feelings into the very foundations of the patriarchal lineage structure.

Writing about eighteenth-century Europe, Nancy Armstrong connects the emergence of modern sensibilities and identities to the fleshing of desire in the novelistic language that instead of individuals marked by class, represented men and women as feeling beings. Despite its preoccupation with feelings and intimacy, the lineage novel is certainly very different from the European novel. Armstrong writes that the European novel, "which once represented the history of the individual as well as the history of the state in terms of kinship relations, was dismantled to form the masculine and feminine spheres that characterize modern culture."¹¹⁷ The lineage novel, on the contrary, very clearly situates the narratives of state, society, and individual life in kinship narrative;

¹¹⁷ Nancy Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel* (Oxford University Press, 1987), 14.

feelings and kinship structure are not perceived in opposition, and instead individual autonomy is inscribed as a necessary component of the indisputably valid normative society. What, then, is the nature of the lineage novel's discourse of emotion within the context of the Korean history?

In her comparative essay that appears in a volume devoted to the Late Imperial Chinese fiction, Nancy Armstrong underscores the divergence of the Chinese novel and the European one. *Dream of the Red Chamber*, she suggests, is different from the modern European novel in that it, firstly, does not bring into being the sensibility of the newly emerged middle class that replaces the aristocracy, and, secondly, that it does not posit the supreme importance of the vocabulary of gender difference, above all other types of distinctions, to the articulation of individual identity. In Europe, Armstrong notes, "To the aristocratic manor house dominated by paterfamilias, domestic fiction added an alternative, middle-class household with well-mannered and affectionate woman at its center."¹¹⁸ Like *Dream of the Red Chamber*, the lineage novel hardly effects the substitution Armstrong describes—the domestic space in the lineage novel is, in fact, often centered on a troubled protagonist, whose unruly feelings disrupt the harmony of the domestic space. Moreover, the lineage novel appears to suggest that the experience of unruly feelings as part of a viable social identity remains the elites' prerogative. While the narrow social focus of the lineage novel remains certain, the unprecedented attention to feelings that this genre embodies marks an emergence of a new perspective upon individual life. Namely, the lineage novel reconceives the domestic space of the patriarchal lineage as a site for intimate encounters, affective exchanges, and a turbulent

¹¹⁸ Nancy Armstrong, "Chinese Women in Comparative Perspective," in *Writing Women in Late Imperial China*, ed. Ellen Widmer et al. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 418

process of coming to terms with one's unruly feelings and one's prescribed social role. In this way, the lineage novel wagers a revolutionary proposition that an individual can be judged according to the magnitude of feelings that he or she becomes a subject of.

This chapter inscribes the lineage novel into the social history of Chosŏn Korea, treating it as a genre of thinking and writing about the actual historical event—the establishment of the patriarchal kinship structure in Chosŏn Korea. At the same time, the relationship between this literary elaboration of kinship and the actual historical experience of the time is fraught with ambiguity. We can hardly imagine that the depictions of the tempest of feelings of, for instance, Madame So of *The Pledge*, which I briefly mention in this chapter and elaborate in greater detail in Chapter 3, were either real-life sketches or instructions for action. I believe that one possible nexus between the fiction and the practice of kinship is the pedagogical capacity of the lineage novel. Going back to Lauren Berlant's suggestion that genres of writing create certain expectation in their readers, I venture to suggest that the lineage novel familiarized its readers with kinship idioms much more successfully than, for instance, genealogies. The generational cyclicity of the lineage novel's temporal structure, as well as the centrality of the lineage to the novels' spatial conception would produce the pedagogical effect Berlant describes—lineage as a structure of imagination would become “normalized as the real, the taken for granted.” And while familiarizing its readers with the normative structure of the patriarchy, the lineage novel also taught about the affective content of the domestic life, essential for the system's endurance.

Chapter 2. Precious Volumes: Women, Vernacular Korean Calligraphy, and Literary Production

Introduction

Books printed by woodblock or movable types, scribbles made as pastime on sheets of paper of various size and origin, manuscripts in excellent calligraphy practiced in upper-class households, and the exquisite hand-written volumes produced and circulated in the royal palace—compared to the standardized look of modern printed page, the material form of fiction in Chosŏn dynasty Korea was exceptionally diverse. The differences in the material form of the book certainly betokened different reading experience and social difference. Palace manuscripts, written on solid white paper, with large margins and meticulously executed calligraphy differed starkly from grayish pages of woodblock editions peppered with misprints, or from the rough writing of the manuscripts that could be obtained in rental shops. The latter ones were often copied carelessly, with dense uneven vertical lines of text and virtually no space on the margins. The lack of margins, however, did not stop the clients of rental shops from adding a few lines of their own, and the space between folded manuscript leaves was used to express opinions about the owner of the rental shop, daily rental price of the books, or the books' contents—all of this supplied with illustrations and expressions of critical, if not immodest, kind.

The material form and texture of lineage novels—as book-artifacts—lend as much to reading as the novels' texts: they provide a cue about the pervasive presence of vernacular Korean calligraphy, a material culture and an art form of women's making. A

simple fact calls attention to the lineage novels' material form: whereas not a single author of the texts is known with certainty, the names of the scribes who produced the manuscripts are sometimes mentioned on the novels' margins and in external sources. Needless to say, calligraphy, that required significant leisure time, was the prerogative of the elites, and speaking of the development of vernacular Korean calligraphy I will focus mostly on the elite women, who have cultivated this practice.

References to women's calligraphy that begin appearing in the seventeenth century never name women's handwriting calligraphy, an art form reserved for men's practice. At most the strokes of a woman's brush are said to be orderly and vigorous. While I explore the politics of gender in premodern Korea that warrants this reticence, this chapter also seeks to problematize the reading strategy that allows historians to fathom the stories of women's lives out of predominantly male-authored historical archive. I juxtapose two types of sources: commemorative genres, such as women's eulogies, tomb inscriptions and posthumous biographies written by men, and articles of women's calligraphy—letters and novel manuscripts. Just as women's lives in premodern Korea became increasingly defined by practical tasks performed in the domestic space, women began writing extensively in vernacular Korean script, thus creating important vernacular canon. Letters in exquisite vernacular calligraphy that women exchanged with their kin and acquaintance forged enduring social fabric for the benefit of their families. On the other hand, women's manuscript-making facilitated the emergence of the unique literary genre of the lineage novel that elaborated the major historical transformation of premodern Korean society—establishment of the patriarchal lineage structure that took place around the seventeenth century. Against the taciturn male-authored references to

women's calligraphic practice, surviving articles of women's calligraphy speak to immense cultural and social value of this practice.

Before tracing the contours of the practice of vernacular Korean calligraphy, I will make a recourse to a testimony of the nineteenth-century witness, who read lineage novels and specifically noted their material form. Little is known about Hong Hŭibok (1794-1859) but that he read widely, having abandoned his career aspirations and spending his days with an aged mother. Not an aristocrat by birth, Hong Hŭibok could not obtain a prestigious position in the civil bureaucracy, and served as a translator, which was a position reserved for individuals of commoner origin. Hong Hŭibok leaves a translation of a renowned Chinese novel—Li Ruzhen's (ca. 1763-1830) *Flowers in the Mirror* (*Jing hua yuan* 鏡花緣)—under the title *The Book of Books in Vernacular* (*Cheil kiŏn* 第一奇諺). Hong himself explains that the title emphasizes outstanding qualities of this novel, captivating in its enchanting fantasy but also grounded in the correct interpretation of Classics and Histories. The “vernacular” in the title refers to the fact that Li Ruzhen's novel for the first time appears in a Korean translation. In the preface to his translation, Hong offers an overview of the literary culture of Chosŏn at the time, noting that he has read almost all lineage novels, the number of which he estimates to be between thirty and forty. Hong writes,

All these novels are of massive size, some longer than hundred chapters, other ones a few tens, the shortest being around ten chapters in length. The number of these novels must be thirty or forty. Indeed, there are other, lowly novels—the kind of *The Tale of Sukhyang* (*Sukhyang chŏn* 淑香傳) or *The Tale of Wind and Rain* (*P'ung'u chŏn* 風雨傳). They are written in the common vulgar language, carved in lowly clumsy letters in woodblock and sold at the market. I will not be able to record the titles of all of them.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ Hong Hŭibok, “*Cheilgiŏn sŏ*” [Preface to *Flowers in the Mirror*], *Cheilgiŏn* [*Flowers in the Mirror*], ed. Pak Chaeyŏn and Chŏng Kyubok (Seoul: Kukhak charyowŏn, 2001), 22.

Interestingly, Hong juxtaposes lineage novels, of which he records several titles, to “other, lowly novels” carved in unrefined letters and are sold at the market, both material form and the mode of these texts’ circulation marking their humble status. Although Hong does not explicitly describe the material form and the mode of circulation of lineage novels, from this excerpt we can assume that they are marked by more refined appearance.

Before the proliferation of movable type print in the early twentieth century, woodblock print and handwriting were the two major modes of book production. The earliest novels printed in woodblock come from the eighteenth century, and since that time the angular squared letters of the Chŏnju type and the cursive running script carved in the book-making shops of Seoul are commonly seen in the editions of shorter fiction. Woodblock printing involved handwriting: the novels were first written out on sheets of paper, which were then placed directly on the wooden board and carved out.¹²⁰ A commercial enterprise, woodblock printing produced the best loved and most widely read novels, such as *The Tale of Ch’unhyang* (*Ch’unhyangjŏn* 春香傳) or *The Nine-Cloud Dream* (*Kuunmong* 九雲夢). To maximize profit, publishers would often redact the texts to shorten them and thus save the price of costly paper.¹²¹ Although varied in length, woodblock novels are usually relatively short—about twenty to thirty leaves in Seoul

¹²⁰ Ryu T’ak’il, “Mokp’an ūi sŏngjil” [Characteristics of Woodblock Printing], *Kug’ŏ kungmunhak chi* 12 (1975): 24-26.

¹²¹ For more on woodblock print during the Chosŏn dynasty, see Kim Tonguk, “Han’gŭl sosŏl panggakbon ūi sŏngnip e taehayŏ” [Vernacular Novels in Woodblock Print], in *Hyangt’o Sŏul* [*The City of Seoul: A Historical Review*], ed. Sŏu It’ŭkpyŏlsi sap’yŏnch’an wiwŏnhoe (Seoul: Sŏul t’ŭkpyŏlsi sap’yŏnch’an wiwŏnhoe, 1960), 38-67, and Jung Byung Sul, “Chosŏn hugi han’gŭl sosŏl ūi sŏngjang kwa yut’ong: sech’aek kwa panggakbon chungsim ūro” [The Rise and Circulation of Vernacular Korean Novels in Late Chosŏn: Rental and Woodblock Editions], *Kug’ŏ kungmunhak* 100 (2005): 263-297.

editions, and slightly longer in Chŏnju, a center for paper production, where lower price of paper lessened the commercial burden on printing.

The existence of two distinctive styles of woodblock print—as practiced in Seoul and in Chŏnju—suggests that the evolution of vernacular Korean calligraphy was not solely the enterprise of the elite women, and in fact took place in a variety of media and social contexts. While a study of woodblock novels would add a captivating perspective to the history of vernacular Korean calligraphy, I will have to reserve it for the future. Suffice it to emphasize now that Hong dismisses as entirely insignificant the variety of fiction written in “crude letters” and sold at the marketplace, and this suggests that Hong and his contemporaries were wont to distinguish crude letters from refined handwriting even when writing in vernacular was not considered an artistic practice in its own right.

Lineage novels, spanning tens and even hundreds of manuscript volumes, could not be easily reproduced in woodblock print. The size itself restricted the audience of the lineage novel to people who possessed leisure and education prerequisite for reading texts of such sophistication and length. In addition, with a few exceptions, the narrative of lineage novels could not very well appeal to an audience accustomed to quick-paced adventure narratives or conflicts with uncomplicated resolutions. In short, both their form and content made lineage novels the elites’ prerogative, and their volumes were hand-copied by elite women who made the primary audience of this genre.

In terms of material form, lineage novels exist in three distinctive versions: volumes created in the royal palace, books copied and circulated by women from elite households, and manuscripts that are created for commercial purposes, commissioned

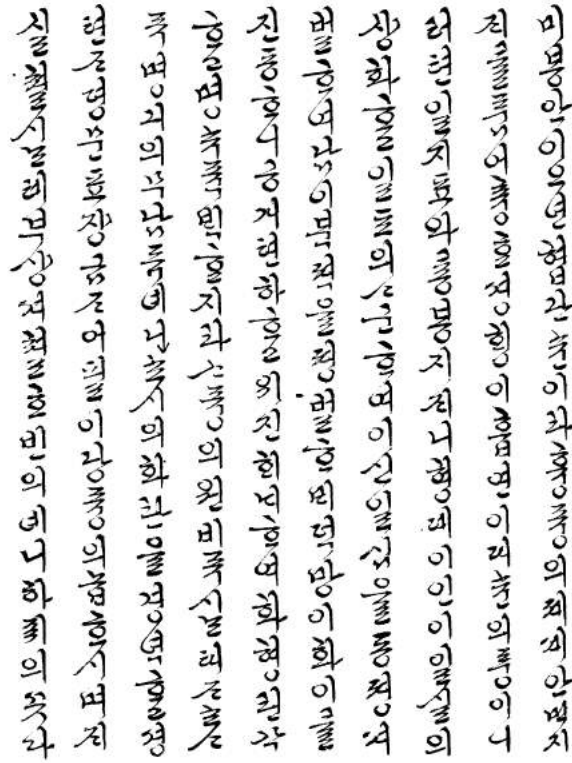


Figure 3. Leaf from *The Remarkable Encounter of Pearls* (*Myōngju kibong* 明珠奇逢), an anonymous and undated lineage novel copied inside the royal palace. Image courtesy of the Changsŏgak archive.

by rental shops. The latter phenomenon is a late historical development, which took place in the late nineteenth century, and I will briefly discuss commercial manuscripts in Chapter 4. Manuscripts of lineage novels produced at the palace are specimens of impeccable vernacular Korean calligraphy, written in the practiced hand of palace ladies, whose names, however, remain anonymous. Palace copies impress with their solid quality at a glance. Bound in oilpaper and stitched with thick red thread, these volumes

have uniformly spacious margins and measured lines of even, beautiful letters. A hallmark of a palace copy would be a sheet of paper, left intentionally blank at the beginning of each volume—a luxury at the time of considerably high price of paper. Although writing mistakes or repetitions can be found in palace copies as well, they are rare.

Lineage novels copied in elite households are not as rigorous in execution or uniform in style as the palace manuscripts. While I will discuss the intrafamilial trajectory of lineage novels' transmission in greater detail later in this chapter, suffice it to note here that lineage novels became treasures, transmitted through generations; they were manuals of vernacular Korean calligraphy, but also artifacts invested with intensely personal significance. Calligraphy of mothers, aunts and mothers-in-law was a material memento of the loved ones, now deceased—a sentimental object that at the same time embodied the family's cultured status. Lineage novels copied in elite households, importantly, sometimes contain margin notes that reveal the names of the scribes and circumstances, under which the manuscripts were produced. Palace manuscripts, on the contrary, are inevitably devoid of any personal traces.

The distinctive material form of the lineage novel—manuscripts endowed with sentimental and aesthetic meaning—certainly warrants attention alongside their textual significance. Manuscripts-as-objects tell a story of texture, where anonymous novels are appropriated into the concreteness of lived experience of women scribes and the corporeality of the work they performed. It is therefore important to understand the meaning of the lineage novel as literary tradition alongside the historical development of vernacular Korean calligraphy—as an art form, as a technology, and as a gendered

practice. It is my goal in this chapter to establish this connection. I will discuss the parameters of cultural visibility and value of vernacular Korean calligraphy and the historical evolution of this practice, but certainly without attempting to offer an art-historical study. Rather than delving into aesthetic details, my interest here is to circumscribe the domain of material culture created by women of traditional Korea, which lent specific meaning to lineage novels.

In this chapter, I use the term “material culture” in three ways: as a means of accessing the domain of nonlinguistic meaning, as a signifier of sensory or embodied type of experience and also as a technology that produces identities and relationships. Firstly, I use the term “material culture” with an intention to augment the exclusive privileging of linguistic textuality. Eve Sedgwick has once noted, “Many kinds of objects and events mean, in many heterogeneous ways and contexts, and I see some value in not reifying or mystifying the linguistic kind of meaning unnecessarily.”¹²² As I will show later on, the material form of the lineage novel had as much significance as the novels’ texts, and modes in which the texts of lineage novels were reproduced and circulated defined the cultural status of this genre and differentiated this genre from other novels that were read in Chosŏn Korea.

In its second meaning, I use the term “material culture” to signify texture, or sensory experience.¹²³ Reading in late Chosŏn was certainly an experience rich in texture, given the variety of material forms in which fiction circulated. A novel, written in elegant

¹²² Eve Kosovsky Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling. Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003), 6.

¹²³ Sedgwick defines texture as a synesthetic experience that involves a variety of senses. Inspired by her suggestion, I use this term to emphasize the multiple textuality involved in the reading of family novels, their material dimension making a textuality of its own kind. See *Ibid*, 17.

letters would evoke an aesthetic response, even before the first words of the novel's opening were read. Palpable immediacy of the hand-written page would contain a rich palette of chromatic cues: the color of the ink, the intensity of brush strokes, the shape of calligraphy, written in slightly uneven, perhaps hurried hand, or, on the contrary, with measured confidence of practiced brush. Given the fact that many lineage novels were transmitted within families, the act of reading would involve a spontaneous sentimental response, in which the novel's page would refer the reader to a memory of the scribe. In short, reading lineage novel was an activity that occurred at a variety of sensory levels, literal meaning of the text being just one part of the communicated information.

Thirdly—and this brings the first two meanings of material culture to a fruitful resolution—I will consider material culture to be an alternative technology of meaning-making. In their work on materiality and writing in Late Imperial China, Lydia Liu and Judith Zeitlin propose to “not only look at how technical modes of production have shaped conventions of writing and reading but, more fundamentally, consider how conventions of writing and reading can themselves be understood as technologies shaping everyday experience and social relations in the material world.”¹²⁴ Circulated within the networks of kin and friendship, lineage novels were book-artifacts that emphasized continuity of personal relations and produced a community of women with shared aesthetic sensibilities in the patriarchal culture of Chosŏn Korea that defined women identity by productive bodily work, such as sewing and cooking.

¹²⁴ Lydia Liu and Judith Zeitlin, “Introduction,” in *Writing and Materiality in China*, ed. Lydia H. Liu and Judith T. Zeitlin (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), 9.

The Politics of Writing: Vernacular Korean Calligraphy, a Womanly Art

Women's practice of writing in vernacular rarely becomes a subject in itself in the contemporary descriptions of women's lives and activities, and it is usually mentioned in conjunction with other tasks and duties at which a woman excelled. Yi Tǒngmu ventures an explanation of this glaring silence regarding women's writing practice. In his short text, "Women Calligraphers of the Eastern Country" (Tongguk pui nǔngsǒ

東國婦人能書), Yi writes,

Before the promulgation of the *Correct Sounds to Instruct the People* (*Hunmin chǒngŭm* 訓民正音), many women were able to write in a good hand, methinks. However, beginning with Sejong's reign,¹²⁵ even if some women are famed for their poetry, hardly any woman is known for her calligraphy.¹²⁶

Yi's understanding of calligraphy is revealingly limited to the practice of writing in literary Chinese, the unspoken but written language of the official sphere in Chosǒn. The script—vernacular Korean—which by the seventeenth century gained strong connection with women's culture, at once excludes women's writing activity from the aesthetic realm. Yi's text thus reveals at a glance the logic of gendered hierarchy that delineated the socio-linguistic sphere in Chosǒn.

In traditional Korea two scripts were used side by side. Unspoken but written literary Chinese was the language of legislation, official histories, and government bureaucracy. Men of letters wrote their philosophical compositions and exchanged letters in literary Chinese. While some novels were composed in literary Chinese, the novel flourished only after the invention of vernacular Korean, which made fiction available to

¹²⁵ Vernacular Korean script was promulgated during the reign of King Sejong (1418-1450).

¹²⁶ Yi Tǒngmu, "Tongguk pui nǔngsǒ" [Women Calligraphers of the Eastern Country], in *Han'guk munjip ch'onggan* [The Comprehensive Compendium of Korean Literary Collections], ed. Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, 2000), vol. 259, 4.

the less educated social strata and also to women, who became the main audience for the novel, its rise taking place around the eighteenth century.¹²⁷ Men resorted to writing in vernacular when exchanging letters with women of their families, and in some cases men composed books of conduct for the benefit of their marrying daughters—also in Korean. Men’s writing in vernacular, however, was never considered much of an achievement, and literary collections compiled posthumously to preserve a learned men’s legacy never included fiction, or any texts in vernacular Korean. Women, on the other hand, used vernacular Korean freely and not without pride, writing letters, poetry and miscellaneous practical tips, and, finally, copying books of fiction in vernacular Korean.

The edict of promulgation of the Korean alphabet is often cited as evidence of an attempt to at once differentiate the culture of Chosŏn Korea from that of China, and also to provide a medium of learning and communication to all those who could not master literary Chinese:

The sounds of our language differ from those of Chinese and are not easily communicated by using Chinese graphs. Many among the ignorant, therefore, though they wish to express their sentiments in writing, have been unable to communicate. Considering this situation with compassion, I have newly devised twenty-eight letters. I wish only that the people will learn them easily and use conveniently in their daily life.¹²⁸

Phonetic in structure, vernacular Korean alphabet might indeed have required fewer resources to master than Chinese ideographs, but this alone cannot explain its inferior cultural status. It is rather the politics of gender adopted by the Chosŏn state that

¹²⁷ See Ōtani Morishige, *Chosŏn hugi sosŏl tokcha yŏn’gu*, 43-74; Im Ch’igyun, “Chosŏn hugi sosŏl ūi chŏn’gae wa yŏsŏng ūi yŏkhal”, 1690.

¹²⁸ “King Sejong: Preface to Correct Sounds to Instruct the People,” trans. Ch’oe Yongho, in *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization*, vol. 1, ed. Peter H. Lee (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 295.

instituted distinct cultural spaces occupied by writings in literary Chinese and vernacular Korean.¹²⁹

Before starting to write exclusively in the Korean script, many women were conversant with literary Chinese. This becomes apparent in occasional eulogies and women's posthumous biographies, which note that some women were wont to compose poetry in literary Chinese, while other women would write to their sons in literary Chinese, for fear that they might not understand vernacular.¹³⁰ Moreover, a few women achieved wide renown as writers and scholars in literary Chinese: the poetry of Hō Nansōrhon (1563-1589) was known in China, and Kim Samūidang (1769-1823) left a number of compositions in literary Chinese, both prose and poetry. References to women's ability to write in literary Chinese disappear after the seventeenth century.

The seventeenth century was the time when Confucian ideology took root in premodern Korean society, which became gradually transformed into patriarchal lineage structure with patrilineal succession. Politics of gender was instrumental in this change, as it secured the distinction between the public/outer and domestic/inner spheres, reserved respectively for men and women. Women lost their ability to inherit property or divorce, and their lives were consigned to the domestic quarters of their husbands'

¹²⁹ Status distinction was also implicated in the stratification of the linguistic field in premodern Korea, and both men and women of lower social strata used vernacular Korean script. Elite women, however, were responsible for the creation of recognized cultural canon in vernacular Korean script, and, focusing on the emergence of vernacular canon, I leave status distinctions out of my discussion.

¹³⁰ Two brothers refer to the writings of their mother, Lady Chang of Andong (1598-1680) in two separate texts. In a eulogy, Yi Hwiil (1619-1672) notes that Lady Chang sent him a letter in literary Chinese. Yi Hwiil, "Sang t'ae Chang chōngpūin" [To Lady Chang], in *17 segi yōsōng saenghwalsa charyojip* [Sources on the Lives of Women in the Seventeenth Century], vol. 4, ed. Kim Kyōngmi et. al (Seoul: Pogosa, 2006), 65. Yi Hyōnil (1627-1704) records two literary Chinese poems by Lady Chang in the chronicle of her life. Yi Hyōnil "Sōnbi chūngchōngpūin Changssi haengsilgi" [The Life of My Late Mother, Lady Chang], in *17 segi*, vol. 4, 123.

families. The newly instituted ideal of female domesticity and gender-marked politics of space was also replicated in the stratification of the linguistic field. Historian of premodern Korea, JaHyun Kim Haboush has noted that the male, public sphere of legislation, historiography, and Confucian philosophy articulated fundamental ideological maxims in literary Chinese, and literary Chinese thus possessed greater cultural prestige than vernacular Korean.¹³¹ The script—literary Chinese as the symbol of the hegemonic sphere and vernacular Korean that gradually gained strong association with women’s culture—functioned as one among other culturally existing symbols that marked gender identities in premodern Korea.¹³² Even the few mavericks of female artists continued to elicit conflicted responses from Confucian men of letters, who either doubted their talent or openly derogated women’s daring to verge into the sphere of male prerogative. Yi Tǒngmu, for instance, has written that Hǒ Nansǒrhǒn has plagiarized her literary Chinese poetry from two Ming poets—Qian Qianyi (1582-1664) and the renowned courtesan Li Rushi (1618-1664).¹³³ Yi Tǒngmu’s refusal to apply the term “calligraphy” to women’s writing in vernacular is yet another testimony of the politics of gender at work.

¹³¹ JaHyun Kim Haboush, “Gender and the Politics of Language in Chosǒn Korea” in *Rethinking Confucianism: Past and Present in China, Korea, Japan and Vietnam*, ed. Benjamin Elman (Los Angeles : UCLA Asian Pacific Monograph Series, 2002), 220-256.

¹³² Among the four elements crucial to Joan Scott’s definition of the politics of gender, script—vernacular Korean or literary Chinese—was one of the culturally existing symbols that marked gender identities in premodern Korea. As Scott has famously written, gender as a “constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived difference between the sexes” and as “primary way of signifying relations of power,” is constituted by four interrelated elements: culturally existing symbols, strategies of their interpretation, social institutions that produce and reproduce the politicized discourse of gender difference, and, finally, the subjective identity as the site of inscription, where the recognition of oneself as a gendered being takes place. Joan Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 42.

¹³³ Yi Tǒngmu, “Un’gang kwa kǔ ũi sosil” [Un’gang and His Concubine], in *18 segi*, vol. 6, 470.

Women's cultivation of their handwriting in vernacular script, however, comes to the attention of other men of letters. Yi Tǒngmu's slightly older contemporary, Yi Ok (1760-1815) in fact accords women's practice of writing vernacular Korean letters a name with particular attention to style. In his literary Chinese poem "Maxims" (Yiǒn 俚諺), among the etudes that describe marriage preparations, women's life after marriage and the relationship between husband and wife, Yi writes the following quatrain:

Having learnt palace style at an early age,
You crown the round letter with a sharp stroke.¹³⁴
Your parents-in-law rejoice seeing your writing;
"It is fit for a woman to learn vernacular letters," they say.¹³⁵

Similarly to Yi Tǒngmu, Yi Ok does not apply the term calligraphy to women's writing in vernacular, and yet women's vernacular writing prowess is rendered as a desirable and reputable achievement from the perspective of her parents-in-law, who embody ultimate authority in the life of a married woman. The poem's use of a specific term—"palace style" (*kungch'e* 宮體)—is, moreover, a rare and intriguing instance of classifying women's writing style so precisely. Other textual references to women's writing in vernacular forego any degree of specificity: at most, the strokes of a woman's brush might be called elegant and measured, at times even rivaling those of a man in their power and precision.

Palace women are believed to be the creators of the so-called palace style of vernacular writing. Entering service at the royal precincts at the age of seven or eight se, palace women received meticulous instruction under the supervision of senior matrons,

¹³⁴ The passage refers to the letter "○" (*iǔng*) of the Korean alphabet. This letter could be written either as a simple circle, or as a circle crowned with a vertical stroke, the latter being a sign of more elaborate writing style.

¹³⁵ Im Hyǒngt'aek, 103-176.

and training in vernacular Korean writing occupied a significant part of it.¹³⁶ Upon completing their training, palace attendants would write letters of greeting that were exchanged between royal family members (*mun'an* 文安), keep account of royal household registries (*palgi* 件記), and copy books for the palace library.¹³⁷ Vernacular translations of travelogues of China-bound envoys, memoirs of King Yǒngjo (1694-1776), and volumes of lineage novels and translations of Chinese novels, such as *Dream of the Red Chamber*—books formerly kept at the palace library bear silent token to the exquisite and pervasive art form of women's creation.¹³⁸ There are virtually no texts that would tell us about the lives and work of the Korean palace women, responsible for the creation of highly aestheticized vernacular writing style, but the latticework of linked cursive letters of their creation quickly spread outside the palace to become a necessary ingredient in the education of girls from respectable families.¹³⁹

Women's use of aestheticized, rounded vernacular Korean calligraphy was an important phase in the history of this writing practice. After the promulgation of vernacular Korean script in 1446, the first specimens of writing in this script date to the fifteenth century; they include woodblock imprints of the first philological studies of the Korean language published under royal auspices: *The Correct Sounds to Instruct the*

¹³⁶ Kim Yongsuk, *Chosǒnjo kungjung p'ungsok yǒn'gu* [Customs of the Chosǒn Court] (Seoul: Ilchisa, 1987), pp. 53-55; JaHyun Kim Haboush, "The Vanished Women of Korea: the Anonymity of Texts and the Historicity of Subjects," in *Servants of the Dynasty*, ed. Ann Walthall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 293-296.

¹³⁷ As I note in the Introduction, it appears that palace women copied lineage novel not only for the royal readers, but for their own pastime as well. This is suggested by the margin notes in the Yǒngnam University manuscript of *Jade Mandarin Ducks*, allegedly transcribed by palace women and bound in a rather informal way, uncharacteristic for palace manuscripts.

¹³⁸ See footnote 3.

¹³⁹ Im Hyǒngt'aek, 125.

People (*Hunmin chōngŭm* 訓民正音) published in 1446, and *The Correct Pronunciations of the Eastern Country* (*Tongguk chōngun* 東國正韻), published in 1448. The first poem composed in vernacular Korean—“The Song of Dragons Flying to Heaven” (Yongbiöch’ōn’ga 龍飛於天歌)—and other Buddhist texts commissioned by the Chosŏn kings Sejong (1397-1450) and Sejo (1455-1468) in the fifteenth century continue the catalog of earliest preserved vernacular Korean editions.¹⁴⁰ Starting from the seventeenth century, vernacular Korean script becomes appropriated into everyday use, and the form of vernacular Korean calligraphy, which departs from the square letters of the state-sponsored woodblock publications, is developed in the writing of women and becomes one of the most aestheticized forms of writing in vernacular Korean.

Although vernacular writing style of elite women was fashioned after the palace ladies’ writing, the two styles differ even as they share the cursive, rounded manner of linking letters. The writing of palace ladies is significantly more formulaic and rigid in execution, while the handwriting of elite women, though elegant, is more relaxed and idiosyncratic. One of the avenues by which the writing of the palace ladies could reach the world outside of the palace walls could have been letters. *Veritable Records* (*Sillok* 實錄) of Chosŏn mention that in the year of 1485 palace women were prohibited from sending epistles written in the Korean script out of the palace.¹⁴¹ This note suggests that

¹⁴⁰ *Chosŏn sidae han’gŭl sŏye* [Vernacular Korean Calligraphy in Chosŏn], ed. Yesul ūi chōndang (Seoul: Mijinsa, 1994), 53.

¹⁴¹ Kim Ilgŭn, *Ŏn’gan ūi yŏn’gu: han’gŭl sŏch’al ūi yŏn’gu wa chipsŏng* [Study of Vernacular Korean Letters: Interpretation and Collection of Sources] (Seoul: Konkuk University Press, 1971), 27. An example of correspondence between a palace woman, Matron Ha, and the wife of Yun Yonggu (1853-1937) can be found in JaHyun Kim Haboush, ed., *Epistolary Korea. Letters in the Communicative Space of the Chosŏn, 1392-1910* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), 223.

epistolary networks that linked the palace to the outside world were well developed already in the late fifteenth century. Epistolary connection between the royal palace and the world outside also existed on a higher level. Royal family was affiliated to other elite families through marriage and royal princesses who left the palace or royal consorts who entered it kept in touch with their natal families, sending gifts and written inquiries. It is known that royal princesses who married into elite families sometimes carried volumes of lineage novels as part of their dowry, while palace copies could also be borrowed by those who possessed the necessary acquaintances.¹⁴²

Apart from the stylistic differences, the calligraphy by palace women and by women of elite households had different functions and different social meaning. Palace attendants were professionalized subjects, who were not allowed to marry and who thus existed outside the network of kin relations—their calligraphy was a task and a skill that secured their earnings. All other women were expected to marry, and kinship networks constituted women’s social space and defined structures of their obligation. In the lives of married women the aesthetic dimension of vernacular calligraphy became implicated with the range of socially productive meanings: letters written in refined hand and exchanged with kin and acquaintance maintained the family’s social circle and constituted the rhythm of everyday relations, while elegantly made volumes of vernacular

¹⁴² Ōtani Morishige traces some of the marriage connections that existed between the royal family and the elite families. See Ōtani Morishige, *Chosŏn hugi sosŏl tokcha yŏn’gu*, 73. On including family novels into the princesses’ dowry, see Kim Tonguk, “Yijo sosŏl ūi chŏja wa tokcha e taehayŏ” [Readership and Authorship of Chosŏn-Dynasty Novels], in *Changam Chi Hŏnyŏng sŏnsaeng hwagap kinyŏm nonch’ong* [Papers Offered to Professor Chi Hŏnyŏng on His Sixtieth Anniversary] (Seoul: Hosŏ munhwasa, 1971), 40. Also, one of the margin marks in the 1880 manuscript of the lineage novel *The Record of Two Heroes: Brothers Hyŏn* states that this copy has been made from a volume produced at the royal palace. See Yi Tawŏn “*Hyŏnssi yangung ssang’ningi yŏn’gu*: Yŏndaebon *Hyŏnssi yangung ssang’ningi chungsimŭro*” [Study of *The Tale of Two Heroes: Brothers Hyŏn*, with a Focus on the Yonsei University Manuscript] (Ph.D. diss., Yonsei University, 2001), 39.

fiction were material objects that proudly asserted the family's cultured status. Suspended between the registers of practical and aesthetic value, women's handwriting was an ambiguous occupation, and in the section below I examine men and women's learning experience and the different meaning handwriting had for them.

Learning to Write: Men and Women

In adulthood men and women were supposed to inhabit distinct areas of premodern Korean society—public and domestic—and the meaning of calligraphy in men and women's lives differed. Disregarding almost entirely the cultivation of their writing in vernacular,¹⁴³ Korean men of letters focused on literary Chinese calligraphy, which was a mechanism for self-cultivation and a form of art with its established canon and connoisseurship practices. If men were free to cultivate their minds, women's primary identity rested in their bodies and in the ways they put these bodies to work. For women, cultivation of refined vernacular handwriting came closer to the form of bodily discipline and was thus connected to other socially productive bodily performances. Even then, in the earlier stages of their education, boys and girls learned writing in environments that were mixed in terms of gender and script. Boys learned their first letters, both literary Chinese and vernacular Korean, from their mothers, while doting

¹⁴³ In the extant collections of vernacular handwriting, I found only one instance of a man writing in refined hand belonging to Sŏnjo (r. 1567-1608). The collections I examined include Kim Ilgŭn *Ŏn'gan ūi yŏn'gu*; Kim Ilgŭn, *Ch'inp'il ŏn'gan ch'onngnam* [The Complete Collection of Royal Vernacular Letters] (unknown publisher, 1974); Kim Ilgŭn, *Yijo ŏp'il ŏn'gan chip* [Royal Vernacular Letters of the Chosŏn Court] (Seoul: Konkuk University Press, 1959); Yi Kwangho, ed., *Chosŏn hugi han'gŭl kanch'al* [Vernacular Letters from Late Chosŏn], vols. 1-10 (Seoul: T'aehaksa, 2005-2009). Men almost exclusively used vernacular in writing epistles to their kinswomen and sometimes to servants.

fathers and grandfathers often taught their daughters and granddaughters literary Chinese and poetry composition.

Madame Yun of Haep'yŏng, the mother of famed Chosŏn novelist Kim Manjung (1637-1692), was a well-known figure during her time. Kim Manjung's *Biography of My Late Mother* (*Sŏnbi jŏnggyŏngpuin haengjang* 先妣貞敬夫人行狀) that celebrated Madame Yun's exceptional virtues and abilities circulated widely outside of Kim Manjung's household. In this posthumous biography Kim Manjung recollects the difficulties his mother had to go through in order to educate her sons after the death of her husband:

Not much time has passed since the disaster [the Manchu Invasions (1623, 1636)], and no matter how hard one tried, books were difficult to come by. My mother exchanged grain for books like *Mencius* and *Doctrine of the Mean*. My elder brother was particularly fond of *The Tale of Chwa ssi* and when he heard that someone was selling this book and saw that it came in many volumes, he agreed to the purchase even before asking the price. Mother then cut a bolt of silk in order to pay for the books—we really had nothing else to offer as payment. If some of our neighbors worked at the Office of Special Counselors, Mother would ask them to borrow the *Four Books* and *Vernacular Commentary to The Book of Songs*, which she would then copy by hand. Her letters were like stringed pearls—exquisite and delicate, with not a single stroke remiss.¹⁴⁴

In this note, the book appears with tactile vividness, described through the bodily performance of transcribing it by hand, the act of cutting a bolt of silk to organize a payment, and the network of connections that allowed the diligent mother to obtain the volumes necessary for her sons' learning. In the vivid matter of book culture, Madame Yun's calligraphy, the first model for her sons' own handwriting, is also given due recognition.

Madame Yun's calligraphy is again brought up in her other posthumous biography, composed this time by her grandson, Kim Chingyu (1658-1716). Kim

¹⁴⁴ Kim Manjung, "Sŏnbi chŏnggyŏng puin haengjang" [The Life of My Late Mother], *17 segi*, vol. 1, 364.

Chingyu recollects the words of his own father and Kim Manjung's brother, Kim Man'gi (1633-1687): "Having lost his own father as a child, my father learned letters directly from my grandmother, and in his late years he would tell his own grandchildren, 'If you had learnt calligraphy from a woman, like I did, would your brushstrokes be the same as mine?'"¹⁴⁵ It is likely that Kim Man'gi refers here to literary Chinese calligraphy, as writing in vernacular Korean was never considered a great accomplishment for a man of letters. The fact that Madame Yun herself was able to develop a fine hand both in literary Chinese and vernacular Korean can be explained through numerous other references that intimate that girls were wont to receive instruction in literary Chinese from elder male members of their families.

Numerous accounts reveal that girls received literary Chinese training from their fathers and grandfathers. Pak Sedang (1629-1703), in the tombstone inscription for his granddaughter, notes that her father, suffering from a protracted illness, taught her literary Chinese calligraphy, and as a result, "her brush was forceful and vigorous, unlike the writing of other women's small and weak hands."¹⁴⁶ O Toil (1645-1743), on the other hand, notes that his mother often prevailed over her brothers and cousins in poetry composition contests; while her brothers refused to teach her letters saying it is an unfit occupation for a woman, she had learned them nonetheless by overhearing her brothers' lessons and reciting texts in secret.¹⁴⁷ Still other girls would be instructed together by

¹⁴⁵ Kim Chin'gyu, "Chobi haengjang sŭp" [The Life of My Late Grandmother], *18 segi*, vol. 1, 446.

¹⁴⁶ Pak Sedang, "Yi Tŏkpu ch'ŏ myojimyŏng" [Tomb Inscription for the Wife of Yi Tŏkpu], in *17 segi*, vol. 3, 99.

¹⁴⁷ O Toil, "Sŏnbi haengjang" [The Posthumous Biography of My Late Mother], in *17 segi*, vol. 4, 242.

senior men—such is the case described by Sin Kyong (1696-1766) in an epitaph for his mother’s close friend, Lady Pak (1671-1731):

Lady Pak lost her parents early, and my late grandfather took pity on her and instructed her. He translated the adages of ancient sages, such as *Explanation of Neo-Confucian Terms by the Master of Beixi* (*Beixi ziyi*), and other beautiful and worthy sayings of ancients, and made my late mother and Lady Pak reread and copy these texts. Then he bound their writings in one book and instructed them to reckon with these words, always keeping them as a model. That book is still preserved and did not disappear.¹⁴⁸

At still other instances, boys and girls would practice writing vernacular Korean by together copying novels—later in the chapter I describe the story of a manuscript of a novel *Three Generations of the Han Lineage* [*Han ssi samdae rok* 韓氏三代錄], copied together by male and female siblings. In short, boys learned literary Chinese and vernacular Korean from the women of their family, while girls often received literary Chinese and Korean instruction from their fathers and grandfathers. When first learning to write, boys and girls of Chosŏn were not separated along the lines of script and gender.

This is not, however, to say that writing had the same meaning for women as it did for men. For men, calligraphy was a crucial means of aesthetic and moral cultivation, while women’s practice of writing in a well-trained hand fell within the spectrum of practical bodily discipline that women were expected to cultivate. As John Hay notes in his study of calligraphy in China, calligraphy was perceived as an embodiment and a material replica of a person’s moral character. The strength and evenness of the strokes of one’s brush was seen as somatic manifestation of a person’s inner nature. Vigorous, unclouded spirit revealed itself in measured, powerful brushstrokes, inscribing the bodily performance of the act of writing at the center of evenly ordered macrocosm, strung together by moral principle being perfectly fulfilled in the balanced self, well-ordered

¹⁴⁸ Sin Gyŏng, “Sugin Pakssi myoji” [Tomb Inscription for Lady Pak] in *18 segi*, vol. 3, 167.

family, and sincerely fulfilled social and public role.¹⁴⁹ Men's literary Chinese calligraphy was considered to be the highest form of art, both in China and in Korea.

Among Korean men of letters, Chinese masters, such as Jin-dynasty calligrapher Wang Xizhi (303-361) and Zhao Mengfu (1254-1322) of the Song dynasty were revered alongside native Korean calligraphers: Prince Anp'yŏng (1418-1453), Han Ho (courtesy name Sŏkpong, 1543-1605), and Kim Chŏnghŭi (courtesy name Ch'usa, 1786-1856).¹⁵⁰ The calligraphy of Han Ho was especially popular, shaping the writing styles of the official royal scribes, members of the royal family, and such prominent Confucian scholars as Song Siyŏl (1607-1689) and Song Chun'gil (1606-1672).¹⁵¹ Han Ho's calligraphy reached widest possible audience when in 1583 King Sŏnjo commissioned him to produce the edition of *The Thousand-Character Classic* (K.: *Ch'ŏnjamun*, Ch.: *Qianziwen* 千字文), which was then published in woodblock in 1587 and disseminated as the official learning manual,¹⁵² from which boys learned their first Chinese characters and practiced their first brushstrokes.

Men's learning of literary Chinese calligraphy relied both on the use of primers and on family instruction and exchange between friends, who shared and appreciated calligraphy in their circles. Yi Tŏngmu (1741-1793), who not only left a most captivating

¹⁴⁹ John Hay, "The Human Body as a Microcosmic Source of Macrocosmic Values in Calligraphy," in *Theory of the Arts in China*, ed. Susan Bush and Christian Murck (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 74-102.

¹⁵⁰ See Ch'oe Wansu, "Chosŏn wangjo sŏhwasa kaesŏl" [Introductory Notes on the History of Calligraphy and Painting during the Chosŏn Dynasty], *Kansong munhwa* 46 (1994): 53-74.

¹⁵¹ Yi Wan'u, "Chosŏn chunggi ūi sŏye" [Calligraphy in the Middle Chosŏn Dynasty], in *Han'guk sŏye yich'ŏnnyŏn t'ŭkkang nonmunjip* [Special Volume to Commemorate Two Thousand Years of Korean Calligraphy] (Seoul: Yesul ūi chŏndang, 2000), 494-495.

¹⁵² Ch'oe Wansu, 66.

account of everyday life in traditional Korea, but was also a prominent scholar of practical learning, and a scholar at the Royal Library responsible for the compilation of important literary collections, recalled fondly how his own father copied *The Thousand-Character Classic* for him and his younger brother, Yi Kongmu.¹⁵³ Yi Tǒngmu then perpetuates his calligraphic knowledge within his own family by constantly commenting on the calligraphy of his nephew. When receiving another of his nephew’s epistles written in grass script, Yi Tǒngmu writes, “the letter I just received is extremely difficult to read, and although [the writing style] is intricate, [looking at it] one feels as if one has fallen into a bush of thorns and one cannot understand anything.” Yi Tǒngmu cautions his nephew against unnecessary display of calligraphic prowess—harmony and simplicity of brushstrokes and not forced artistry, writes Yi, is the most convincing token of one’s skill.¹⁵⁴

Yi Tǒngmu’s calligraphy instructions to his nephew are supplied with a gift of five rolls of Japanese paper, which seem to be a return gift for the ten inkstones that Yi Tǒngmu received from his nephew earlier. Yi’s attention not only to calligraphy, but to its paraphernalia—paper, brushes, inkstones and inkpots—appears to have indeed been keen. Thus, in his manual for daily comportment, *Fine Manners for Gentlemen* [*Sasojǒl* 士小節], Yi strongly discourages men from spitting into their inkpots instead of using water when making ink. Moreover, Yi Tǒngmu would also capture his fascination with writing implements in such poems as “Ode to a Bamboo Brushholder” (*Chukp’ilt’ong*

¹⁵³ Yi Tǒngmu, “Che ajae sohakja kwǒnmi” [Writing at the End of the Book from which My Younger Brother Learned Letters], in *Han’guk munjip ch’onggan* [The Comprehensive Compendium of Korean Literary Collections], ed. Minjok munhwa ch’ujinhoe (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch’ujinhoe, 2000), vol. 258, 135.

¹⁵⁴ Yi Tǒngmu, “Chokchil pokch’o” [To My Newpew Pokch’o], in *Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, vol. 258, 237.

myǒng 竹筆筒銘) or “Ode to an Inkstone Case of Old Wood” (*Humok yǒn’gam myǒng* 朽木硯匣銘). In the latter poem, the worn exterior of an old wooden inkstone case makes it unappealing to vulgar people, but to a knowing person it reveals untiring work of calligraphic training which lasts a lifetime.¹⁵⁵ Thus, for men, calligraphy in literary Chinese was a form of highest art and a process of moral self-cultivation that unfolded in the context of existing canon and intra-familial instruction. Calligraphy was also closely related to connoisseurship of writing paraphernalia—paper, ink and inkstones, which were also exchanged as presents.

In the case of women, learning has never been considered a priority. Frequent praise of women’s calligraphic ability that appears starting from the seventeenth century suggests that women’s cultivation was considered to be a welcome contribution to the family’s cultural capital, but this did not introduce significant change into the conception of women’s social roles and the conception of women’s work. At the dawn of the Chosŏn dynasty, the state took extra care to articulate and propagate the notion of femininity based on the Confucian understanding of gender roles. Numerous books of conduct were composed and printed under state auspices, of which the most influential was *Instruction for Women* (*Naehun* 內訓) commissioned by Queen Sohye (1437-1504), mother of King Sŏngjong (1457-1494). A compilation of important passages selected from Chinese texts of moral instruction, *Instruction for Women* sought to remedy the inherently inferior faculties of women by teaching obedience to the patriarch, diligence in household administration and cultivation of womanly virtues such as proper speech and comportment. The ideal of domesticity propagated in this text was intended to instruct the

¹⁵⁵ Yi Tŏngmu, “Chuk p’ilt’ong Myǒng” [Ode to a Bamboo Brushholder], “Humok yǒn’gam Myǒng” [Ode to the Inkstone Case of Old Wood], in *Han’guk munjip ch’onggan*, vol. 257, 86-87.

girls—future wives, mothers, and daughters-in-law—in the qualities deemed essential in their married life. Women’s ability to read and write does not receive any particular attention in this text.¹⁵⁶

Confucian norm mostly defined womanhood and women’s roles through productive bodily acts—bearing sons and producing items of daily necessity—or acts of bodily discipline, such as proper comportment and restraint in speech. Such physical acts as brewing soy sauce and wine, taking care of the seasonal outfits for the entire family, and preparing elaborate meals for the ancestral service sparing no means and effort, were not merely actions that took care of daily necessities and produced material objects of use value—these were coded acts, legible in terms of the gendered vocabulary of social identity. Francesca Bray explains the term used to refer to this type of work in Korea and China—“womanly work” (K.: *yǒgong*, Ch.: *nügong* 女工)—to be a technology of “shaping and transmitting ideological traditions” through bodily habit that produces objects with social meaning and embodies human relations.¹⁵⁷ Womanly work, thus, becomes a cultural symbol, a code that bespeaks the subject’s position in the social system of intelligibility.

References to women’s vernacular calligraphy in commemorative genres begin appearing in the seventeenth century and increase in the eighteenth. In these texts, writing, bodily discipline, and womanly work constitute semantic continuum. The following lines are written by Yi Chae (1648-1746), a late-Chosŏn civil official, about his aunt, Madame

¹⁵⁶ Martina Deuchler, “Propagating Female Virtues in Chosŏn Korea,” in *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea, and Japan*, ed. Dorothy Ko and JaHyun Kim Haboush (California: University of California Press, 2003), 142-169.

¹⁵⁷ Francesca Bray, *Technology and Gender* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 2.

Yi of Yŏn'an: "[Lady Yi] took pleasure in every kind of womanly work [女工], doing everything with great dexterity, and bringing each task to perfection. Her handwriting, moreover, was elegant. To all the women of the house, a piece of her writing was just like a treasure."¹⁵⁸ Madame Yi's son, Min U'su (1694-1756), writes a eulogy for her in almost the same words as his cousin, Yi Chae, again establishing continuity between womanly work and the calligraphic activities of his mother: "[Mother] was very dexterous with all kinds of womanly work [女工], and her handwriting style was, moreover, extremely beautiful. All other women sought to emulate her hand, but they never succeeded at this."¹⁵⁹ In an epitaph that Song Siyŏl writes for a girl who dies in her youth, he notes, "You learned all the womanly work [女工] by eight se, and there was nothing you could not do. You wrote letters instead of your mother, and she was never dissatisfied [with your writing]."¹⁶⁰ A woman's ability to write is thus listed after other practical competences, collectively termed as womanly work, and therefore it appears as an extension of this gender-marked work repertoire. Interestingly, these passages also reveal that even in the absence of the set aesthetic canon of vernacular calligraphy women admired and emulated each other's writing, thus developing groups of shared aesthetic sensibility and skill.

With no canon of revered masters and hardly much attention bestowed upon writing implements, women practiced their calligraphic skills by learning from each other,

¹⁵⁸ Yi Chae, "Paekkumo chŏnggyŏng puin Yŏn'an Yi ssi haengjang" [The Posthumous Biography of My Aunt, Lady Yi of Yŏn'an] in *18 segi*, vol. 6, 107.

¹⁵⁹ Min Usu, "Sŏnbi chŏnggyŏng puin Yŏn'an Yissi myoji" [Tomb Inscription for My Mother, Lady Yi of Yŏn'an], in *18 segi*, vol. 1, 497.

¹⁶⁰ Song Siyŏl, "Yuin Kimssi myojimyŏng" [Tombstone Inscription for Kim ssi], *17 segi*, vol. 1, 181.

using letters and books of fiction as learning manuals. Sin Kyŏng (1696-1766) writes about his mother:

The strokes of my mother's brush were elegant, firm, and measured, so all women sought to emulate her hand. In her letters, she communicated just the gist without wasting paper for artful verbiage. Everyone who received her letters relished each word and attempted to copy her style, but Mother had not the slightest liking of boasting about it.¹⁶¹

Along with reticent appreciation of his mother's beautiful handwriting and stylish prose, Sin Kyŏng reveals that letters, as artifacts of fine calligraphy, were appreciated in women's circles and used as style guides.

Alongside letter writing, girls developed their calligraphic skills by copying novels. Kyujanggak archive, for instance, contains a volume which appears to be an assorted, even careless collection, including poetry, excerpts from different novels, part of the posthumous biography that Kim Manjung wrote for his mother, Madame Yun, and also some items of practical advice, such as the list of most auspicious times for placenta burial to the effect of infant's greatest longevity.¹⁶² There are also excerpts from Kim Manjung's *Madame Sa's Conquest of the South* (*Sassi namjŏnggi* 謝氏南征記), and *The Tale of Lord Zhuge* (*Zhuge wuhou zhuan* 諸葛武侯傳), a fictional biography of the great strategist from the Three Kingdoms Period, written during the Song dynasty. This volume is written in different hands, and along the lines written in well-trained cursive brush, there are jottings of uncertain, childish letters. The practical advice for placenta disposal points to the activity of female scribes, and the different level of skill displayed in different excerpts supports the paradigm of communal learning, in which multiple

¹⁶¹ Sin Gyŏng, "Sŏnbi yusa" [Memorabilia of My Mother] in *18 segi*, vol. 3, 221.

¹⁶² *Yunssi haengjang* [Posthumous Biography of Madame Yun], Karam ko 920.7-G422y, Kyujanggak Archive, Seoul National University, Seoul, South Korea. This volume lacks any coherent organization, and the title is given after the first copied text, which happens to be Kim Manjung's "Posthumous Biography of My Late Mother" (*Yun ssi haengjang*).

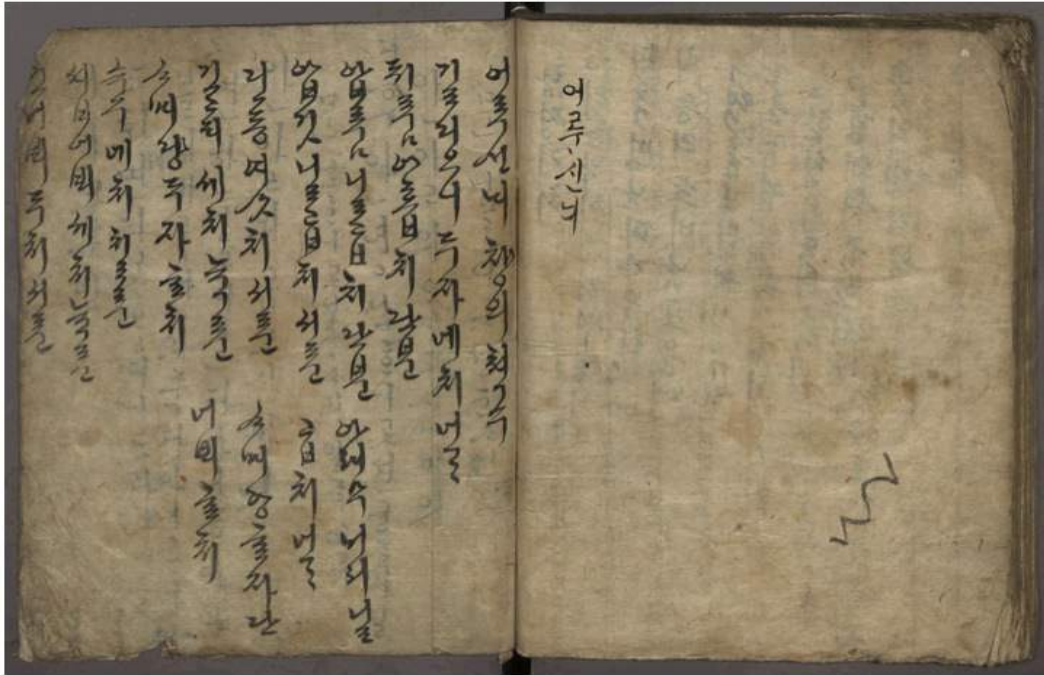


Figure 4. Leaf from an undated sketchbook that shows that novice calligraphers (right) learned by copying more experienced handwriting (left). Photo courtesy of the Kyujanggak archive.

scribers would share one sketchbook. Similarly, an undated manuscript of *The Tale of Ch'oe Hyŏn* (*Ch'oe Hyŏn chŏn* 崔賢傳) includes a margin note that states that the novel was copied by Miss Sin, eleven years of age, and the diligently traced square letters indeed reveal the assiduous application of the young scribe.¹⁶³ Letters and novels thus served as the main manuals for women's calligraphic practice.

Finally, women's writing, as corporeal and consuming activity, could also serve as a tangible token of filial piety. Filial piety, or utmost devotion to one's parents in the case of men and to parents-in-law in women's case, was performed in a variety of ways, among which bodily offerings were about the most convincing. A cup of one's own

¹⁶³ *Ch'oe Hyŏn chŏn* [Tale of Ch'oe Hyŏn], National Library of Korea, Kojo 48-134.

blood offered to a parent was thought to facilitate convalescence.¹⁶⁴ Handwriting, as a laborious corporeal task, endowed literary culture with tangible, bodily significance. Min U'su, in another tomb inscription, written this time for his paternal aunt, Madame Min (1678-1741), wife of Yi Manch'ang, notes her utmost filiality to her mother-in-law, Madame Hwang:

Master Yi [Madame Min's husband], in his late years, retired to the countryside to take care of his elderly parents. [Madame Min's] mother-in-law, Madame Hwang, in her advanced age suffered from insomnia, and thus took to vernacular fiction. Master Yi would not leave her side even for a moment, reading aloud for Madame Hwang. Madame Min took his place a number of times and then completely replaced him at this task. Later, if there were books that were of interest to Madame Hwang, Madame Min would do her best to borrow them. However, since she could not keep the borrowed books too long, Madame Min would spend long nights copying them herself. In the end, her eyes were so worn that a few times she was on the verge of going blind. In this way Madame Min made utmost effort to please Madame Hwang.¹⁶⁵

A laborious corporeal task with social meaning—the semantic range of women's handwriting was certainly distinct from male connoisseurship and self-cultivation achieved through the practice of literary Chinese calligraphy.

Vernacular Korean Calligraphy and Women's Epistolary Practice

Women's epistolary use of vernacular Korean calligraphy was closely related to another type of competence that premodern Korean society expected women to develop alongside other practical skills such as needlework and food preparation. Women were also supposed to remember and their role as rememberers appears to have been taken seriously by the men who wrote women's eulogies and posthumous biographies. When

¹⁶⁴ See Sixiang Wang, "The Filial Daughter of Kwaksan—Finger Severing, Confucian Virtues, and Envoy Poetry in Early Chosŏn," *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 25. 2 (Dec 2012): 175-212.

¹⁶⁵ Min U'su, "Komo yuin Minssi myoji" [Tomb Inscription for My Deceased Aunt, Madame Min], in *18 segi*, vol. 1, 501.

writing about his mother, Lady Ch'ae of P'yönggang (1631-1707), Yi Hŭijo praises her ability to remember:

[Lady Yi] surpassed others in the excellence of her memory, which did not deteriorate even with age. She remembered everything: wise sayings and moral conduct of the ancients, degree of relation and important anniversaries of affines from her natal and in-law families—she never forgot anything that she heard and saw herself.¹⁶⁶

In another posthumous biography, Yi Hŭijo describes his mother-in-law, Madame Yun of Namwön, as being similarly endowed with outstanding memory that allowed her to remember “genealogies, branches, and degrees of relation of [many] families with such precision as though she was counting them with her fingers.”¹⁶⁷ Madame Yi of Töksu (1609-1668), according to the description of her son, Cho Chigyöm (1639-1685), “remembered all anniversaries even on the maternal side of her family.”¹⁶⁸ Even Yi Töngmu, in his conduct manual notes that development of memory function was crucial in women’s education which otherwise did not need to be overly sophisticated:

A woman must have some understanding of Classics and Histories, having read *The Analects*, *The Book of Songs* and *Elementary Learning*. She should know last names of a few families, the ancestors’ genealogies, names of historical countries and names of sages. However, this is all that is required, and it does not befit a woman to actively compose poetry and circulate it outside of home.¹⁶⁹

This passage enumerates the coordinates, essential for individual identity, and the same principle of mnemonic referentiality applies to the encyclopedic catalog of moral primers, and to the social context of one’s life.

¹⁶⁶ Yi Hŭijo, “Chönggyöng puin Ch’aessi haengjang” [The Posthumous Biography of Lady Ch’ae], in *18 segi*, vol. 1, 248.

¹⁶⁷ Yi Hŭijo, “Chönggyöng puin Yunssi haengjang” [The Posthumous Biography of Lady Yun], *18 segi*, vol. 1, 243.

¹⁶⁸ Cho Chigyöm, “Sönbi haengjang” [The Posthumous Biography of My Late Mother], *17 segi*, vol. 4, 217.

¹⁶⁹ Yi Tongmu, “Puüi” [Manners for Women], in *Hanguk munjip ch’onggan*, vol. 257, 516.

Memory was a crucial mechanism that kept the Confucian moral system on its course. Wisdom of the ancient sages, notable moral exemplars of the contemporaries, correct hierarchy in the relationships with the people of one's immediate surrounding—this system of coordinates required knowledge of the ritual and encyclopedic memory that created an episteme of human relations that defined the time and space of one's belonging. In Chapter 1, I discuss in greater detail the cosmology of kin-centered thinking, according to which time is understood as a matter of generational succession and reciprocity, and space is plotted through the motion of the lineage bodies. While genealogical trees captured and perpetuated the idea of lineage as time-enduring entity, the everyday practice of isolated rituals of reciprocity was an important enactment and reconfirmation of fundamental bonds: anniversaries organized the unique timeline of familial temporality, and the circulation of letters and other goods, mostly by female members of family and lineage, constituted the rhythm of everyday relations. As Jakob Eyferth has cogently suggested, “kinship is not primarily a system of rules and representations but something that people do in their daily life.”¹⁷⁰ What women's letter exchange did was producing texture of everyday rituals that engendered the sense of belonging to a particular social space.

Yi Tǒngmu's keen account of everyday proprieties, *Fine Manners for Gentlemen* (*Sasojǒl* 士小節) focuses on the minutest details of daily interaction, from sartorial advice, to bodily habit, to cultivation of fine moral sensibilities for men of letters. Yi also includes a section on women's manners titled “Womanly Comportment” (*Puǐi* 婦儀),

¹⁷⁰ Jan Jacob Karl Eyferth, *Eating Rice from Bamboo Roots: the Social History of a Community of Handicraft Papermakers in Rural Sichuan, 1920-2000* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009), 58.



Figure 5. Letter of greeting sent by Madame Pak of Miryang (1700-1737) to her husband, Song Yohwa (1682-1764), in 1725. The letter is quite unremarkable in content. Madame Pak relays the news of her father-in-law's bad health, talks about her struggles to make the ends meet, and inquires after her husband's health. Madame Pak's calligraphy, however, unmistakably reveals a well-trained hand.¹⁷¹

and a series of suggestions for children's upbringing, called "Precepts for Children" (*Tonggyu* 童規). Together with "Terms" (*Sajŏn* 士典), a part where Yu focuses on major moral precepts, his three-partite book attempts to capture the totality of situations, attitudes and demeanors in everyday life. Yi Tŏngmu was a scholar of practical learning (*sirhak* 實學), who thus was interested in practical issues and problems of the late Chosŏn society. In the introduction to his book, Yi Tŏngmu thus explains that the goal of

¹⁷¹ Little is known about the life of Madame Pak. From the tomb inscription written for her by Song Myŏnghŭm (1705-1768), the nephew of Song Yohwa, Madame Pak's husband, one gets only the general formulaic phrases celebrating her as a wise housemistress. Song Myŏnghŭm does not discuss his aunt's calligraphy. See *Han'guk munjip ch'onggan* [The Comprehensive Compendium of Korean Literary Collections], vol. 221 (Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, 1999), 352.

his conduct manual is also of practical kind. Yi insists on the importance of everyday manners, often scorned by prominent scholars as matters too obvious to be discussed at length. For Yi, however, everyday manners make the core of social stability and, therefore, require no lesser attention than the fundamental precepts elaborated in the Confucian classics. Hence the title of the work, which encourages men and women to cultivate even the most minute aspects of the quotidian manners.¹⁷²

Even while Yi stays faithful to the Confucian understanding of women's identity defined by domestic work, he recognizes women's letter writing as an essential occupation that requires certain cultivation. Thus, alongside practical advice that discourages women against tearing paper off walls and windows in order to start fire, and requires women to refrain from laughing, scratching their heads or breastfeeding at the time of food preparation,¹⁷³ Yi also finds it necessary to offer an advice regarding women's epistolary activity. For Yi, women's epistolary activity is an integral part of the everyday experience that requires cultivation. Yi thus advises, "In composing vernacular epistles, one should be clear and cogent in writing and the handwriting should be orderly. Confusing and unnecessary stories should not be elaborated at wearisome length. This only irritates other people, and therefore should be avoided at all costs."¹⁷⁴ Even despite its matter-of-fact tone, Yi's remark calls attention to the cultivation of epistolary calligraphy, which should at least be "orderly," thus signaling the ambiguous status of women's education, which, although not necessarily being extensive, had to include

¹⁷² Translated literally, *Sasŏjol* means "Small Manners for Gentlemen."

¹⁷³ On the development of manner books in Europe, see Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations* (Oxford and Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2000).

¹⁷⁴ Yi Tongmu, "Puŭi," in *Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, vol. 257, 518.

proper training in epistolary calligraphy, instrumental to women's function as rememberers.

For men who wrote women's posthumous biographies and eulogies in late Chosŏn Korea, women's cultivation of refined hand as part of their epistolary activity appeared not as an exclusively aesthetic practice, but as a task embedded in the repertoire of womanly work. The direct connection between women's epistolary activity and navigation of the family's social context appears in the tomb inscription that Kim Chusin (1661-1721) composes for his aunt, Madame Yi of Hansan:

Lady Yi was extremely diligent and even in her advanced age she never put away her weaving instruments. When exchanging letters or sending food or clothing to someone else, she would always write the notes herself. The strokes of her brush were vigorous and upright, with not a single letter askew. Sometimes she would spend days on end [writing notes], but without ever showing so much as a sign of fatigue.¹⁷⁵

Yi proudly praises the calligraphy of the deceased, but in his list it comes next to weaving, another type of womanly work, at which his aunt showed great prowess. Madame Yi's handwriting, moreover, accompanies the objects sent out to her closest circle, and she appears to devote significant amount of time to this task. Like other women of Chosŏn, Madame Yi excelled in remembering and navigating the social context of her family by cultivating the embodied skill of writing in a beautiful hand.

A final note on women's writing in vernacular should concern the overall status of letters in premodern Korea. It would be true to say that all letters, regardless of their content, authorship, and script were valued as material objects—considerations of filial piety prompted descendants to treasure all relics of the deceased elder family members.

¹⁷⁵ Kim Chusin, "Paengmo sugin Hansan Yissi myoji" [Tomb Inscription for My Aunt, Lady Yi of Hansan], in *18 segi*, vol. 7, 284. Also cited in Yi Kyŏngha, "17 segi sangch'ŭng yŏsŏng kungmunsaenghwale kwanhan munhŏnjŏk ilgoch'al" [Overview of Sources on Women's Use of Vernacular Korean Script in the Seventeenth Century], *Han'guk munhak nonch'ong* (2005): 228. Yi Kyŏngha similarly notes the connection between women's writing practices and the conception of womanly work and women's identities in Chosŏn.

However, the distinctive social identities of men and women defined their epistolary practice in terms of different aspects of value that could be attached to each epistle. The distinction Susan Mann makes between the networks maintained by men and women in Late Imperial Jiangnan illustrates at a glance the different modes of gender-marked sociality. If men were connected by ties of patronage and apprenticeship, women, Mann writes, maintained networks of intellectual companionship and friendship.¹⁷⁶

Men's letters in literary Chinese were valued as material, aesthetic and textual objects at the same time: as somatic extensions of the body that was the object of filial piety, as specimens of fine calligraphy that reflected life-long cultivation of body and mind, and also as textual objects, since letters were the major vehicle for men's intellectual exchange.¹⁷⁷ Men's letters in vernacular Korean, on the other hand, would have little aesthetic and textual value. Communicating matters of daily necessity to female members of their family in hurried brush, men's vernacular Korean letters were mostly unremarkable in form and content. Women's vernacular Korean letters, on the other hand, although possessing little textual value, as they were mostly concerned with matter-of-fact subjects and greetings, were specimens of aesthetic finery. It is curious that from the perspective of its aesthetic appearance, the best-known vernacular Korean letters—the letters of Yi Ŭngt'ae's (1556-1586) wife discovered in his grave in 1998—were not as striking as their content. The grief of Yi's wife expressed in powerful and poignant language—"Where can I rest my heart toward you? How can I live with our

¹⁷⁶ Susan Mann, *Talented Women of the Zhang Family* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 182-183.

¹⁷⁷ Hwisang Cho writes that one of the most influential schools of thought in Confucian Korea was sustained through epistolary networks. See Hwisang Cho, "The Community of Letters: The T'oegye School and the Political Culture of Chosŏn Korea, 1545-1800" (Ph.D. diss, Columbia University, 2010).

children with this wretched heart? Read this letter and come to me in my dreams that we may speak without restraint”¹⁷⁸—made a commotion in English and Korean internet, but the calligraphy of the letter falls far from the filigree cursive script that appears in women’s epistles around the seventeenth century. The ambiguity that surrounded women’s epistolary calligraphy, with its aesthetic dimension and social function blended together, at once reveals the crevices within the politics of gender of the premodern Korean state, and also the inventiveness, with which women were able to carve out a space to exercise their creativity and form aesthetic fellowships.

In their capacity as aesthetic objects and as calligraphy manuals, vernacular letters by women occupied a similar position within the family culture as manuscripts of lineage novels, produced by female scribes, although there was a certain hierarchy of value between the two. Exchange of letters was a routine affair: formal greetings, matters of practical concern or personal affective connections were delivered, addressed and maintained in the epistolary space on daily basis. To copy a lineage novel, however, was an entirely different task that required a certain level of education, necessary to get through the complex literary language, and also a considerable amount of leisure time, as vernacular novels tended to be as long as hundreds of manuscript volumes. If the aesthetics of vernacular Korean calligraphy in the epistolary space was embedded in its socially productive function, production of manuscripts was a luxury, which celebrated the family’s affluence and cultured status.

¹⁷⁸ For the practice of burring letters and the text of the letter of Yi’s wife, see Sun Joo Kim, “A Wife’s Letter to Her Deceased Husband” in *Epistolary Korea*, 393-397.

Vernacular Korean Calligraphy and Literary Production

Although the texts of the lineage novel are hardly limited to women-related problematic, instead reconceiving the entire society and polity through the prism of emotions, the material dimension of these texts was squarely located in the culture of the inner quarters. Women calligraphers were indeed instrumental to the rise and development of this genre, too unwieldy for commercial reproduction in print due to lineage novels' size and textual complexity. The length of the lineage novels alone does not explain the prominence of this genre in women's culture. The content of these novels—which, as I show in Chapter 1, validated the Confucian institution of patriarchal lineage—embodied such values of the elite culture as moral cultivation and heredity of status and moral character. Notably, aside from lineage novels, there was another text with exclusive manuscript circulation—*Praising Goodness and Admiring Righteousness* (*Ch'angsŏn kamŭi rok* 彰善感義錄, *Praising Goodness* henceforth). The history of this text sheds light on the gradual making of the vernacular canon, which reached its prominence in the culture of the inner quarters.

Praising Goodness was immensely popular in Chosŏn Korea. Most likely composed in the seventeenth century,¹⁷⁹ *Praising Goodness* traces the vagaries of fate that upset the fortunes of the Hwa family, and shows how moral virtue of its protagonists helps bring the affairs of the family into good order. Its focus on domestic problematics and on the fate of a specific household, its clearly articulated moral message and somewhat longer size—from two to four volumes in different editions—reveal the

¹⁷⁹ Cho Chaesam's miscellany, *The Journal of Songam*, to which I will turn later in my discussion, attributes *Praising Goodness* to Cho Sŏnggi (1638-1689), but this attribution is still subject to dispute.

affinity that *Praising Goodness* appears to have with the lineage novel. Im Hyōngt'aek has indeed noted that this novel was instrumental in setting the cultural climate of the inner quarters that would later host the massive kinship-centered discourse of the lineage novel and the development of women's calligraphic practice.¹⁸⁰ *Praising Goodness* exists in both literary Chinese and vernacular Korean editions.¹⁸¹ Although at the turn of the twentieth century this novel appears in print editions, before that time it circulated exclusively in manuscript form, and not a single woodblock print edition of *Praising Goodness* is found until this day. *Praising Goodness*, in fact, has the largest number of manuscripts than any other novel in premodern Korea—forty literary Chinese manuscripts, and one hundred and fifty-seven handwritten copies in vernacular Korean.¹⁸² This is a novel with rich manuscript history, and multiple margin notes reveal the status of esteem in which this text was held in various households.¹⁸³

One of the literary Chinese manuscripts of *Praising Goodness* contains an extensive preface appended by the copyist, who ponders on the meaning of fiction and the place of *Praising Goodness* therein:

Indeed, in this novel truth is mixed with invention. However, [the plot] does not impede upon cardinal human ways and proper mores, as it also does not intend to supplant the words of the sages. If one investigates its origins, the gist is close to the Classics. How

¹⁸⁰ See Im Hyōngt'aek.

¹⁸¹ The original language of this novel's composition—vernacular Korean or literary Chinese—is also subject to debate.

¹⁸² Cho Hūiung, 235.

¹⁸³ Yi Chiyōng's rich study traces the history of literary Chinese and vernacular Korean manuscripts of this novel. See Yi Chiyōng, "*Ch'angsōnkamūirok* ibon ūi pyōniyangsang kwa tokchach'ūng ūi sangkwan kwan'gye" [The Relationship Between Readership Audience and Various Editions of *Praising of Justice and Admiring Goodness*] (Ph.D. diss., Seoul National University, 2003).

can you so easily say that the work that continues major teachings is mere fiction and insist on its uselessness?¹⁸⁴

That this preface is appended to a literary Chinese copy of *Praising Goodness* is itself significant since the defense of fiction is taking place in the script most closely associated with elite male culture. *Praising Goodness* is indeed a rather didactic work, which is significantly less entertaining than, for instance, the fanciful narrative of the best-loved novel in premodern Korea—Kim Manjung’s *Nine-Cloud Dream*. The coexistence of literary Chinese and vernacular Korean versions of *Praising Goodness* could be explained by the incomplete stratification of the literary field into vernacular Korean and literary Chinese, coextensive with, but not exhausted by, the conception of gender identities that chartered the cultural and linguistic space of traditional Korea into feminine and masculine domains. On the other hand, the complete absence of woodblock editions, which Hong Hŭibok’s quote in the beginning of this chapter designates as “lowly” genres, suggests that making of elite literary canon was already under way.

Unlike *Praising Goodness*, the lineage novel was an exclusively vernacular genre with an audience comprised of upper-class women. Produced by mothers, aunts, mothers-in-law, or grandmothers, lineage novels were regarded as valuable tokens of the family’s cultivated status. Among the very few extant external references to vernacular lineage novel the earliest one belongs to Kwŏn Sŏp (1671-1759), who writes that both his grandmother, Madame Yi of Sŏngp’yŏng (1622-1663) and mother, Madame Yi of Yongin (1652-1712), hand-copied lineage novels and consigned them to the care of their family members. The novels were distributed to the closest relatives upon the wish of the

¹⁸⁴ Cited in Yi Chiyŏng, “*Changsŏn kamŭirok ibon ũi pyŏniyangsang*,” 22.

deceased.¹⁸⁵ Andong Kwōns were not a family of great means and social prestige, but they were a family of learning, and the tradition of copying and reading lineage novels was continued by generations of women who were born in, or married into, the Kwōn family.

Kwōn Sōp's grandson, Kwōn Chin'ŭng (1711-1775), eloquently records the status of esteem that lineage novels continued to possess in his family. Kwōn Chin'ŭng writes the following about his mother, Madame Song of Onp'il (1676-1737):

At the time when I was six or seven years of age, my sisters and I stayed together with our mother. Dabbling with our brushes we nearly spoiled one book. Snatching the book away, Mother scolded us: "This is *The Record of the Three Generations of the Han Lineage*, an old volume that I hand-copied in my childhood to practice writing. The story is not entirely proper and my handwriting is childish, so there is hardly any worth to this book except that it has the letters of my deceased younger brother, which I cannot let perish." At that point, my sisters and I were prostrate at our mother's knees in fear. We were glad to have come off without punishment and took no note of the sadness that permeated my mother's words. We also had little idea of the value of that volume that has been transmitted through generations. Alas! Twenty years have passed since – how extreme are the changes of human affairs! Heaven! Oh this sadness! In the summer of Kimi year, my wife, Madame O, sent me an old book with a boy servant. She implored, "This is the book that remains after your mother. How could you neglect your filial duty?" After this, I conducted commemorative service twice, and these words forever remained in my heart. In a fit, I reached for the book and opened it to read. Before I even read until the middle, tears were streaming down my face, without me knowing. Alas! There remained letters of greeting written in my mother's hand, which she exchanged with my father, but *The Record of the Three Generations of the Han Lineage* is the single book that survives. Sadly, the book has been damaged by mice and more than half of it was ruined and torn beyond repair. Still, lines after lines of my mother's handwriting survive as mementos of the days now past. Alas! How dare I read this book again? And how could I shamelessly abandon this volume, even for a day, so that it came to this dire state? Finally, after repairing the worn patches, supplementing the missing parts, and refurbishing its binding and cover, I wrote on the title page "Ink of the Deceased" (*Sōnmok* 先墨). Now I am writing down these circumstances to reflect on my own stupidity and to give a warning to young children so that they refrain from repeating my foolishness of ruining a book.¹⁸⁶

Reproaching himself for negligence that caused the ruin of the precious volume, Kwon Chin'ŭng, importantly, establishes the superior prestige of lineage novel manuscripts in

¹⁸⁵ Pak Yōnghŭi, 4.

¹⁸⁶ Cited in Pak Yōnghŭi, 324-325.

comparison to letters, when he notes that while many letters remain after his mother, there is only one surviving manuscript written in her hand, which makes the text ever more precious. Kwŏn Chin'ŭng's text thus highlights the intersection of women's

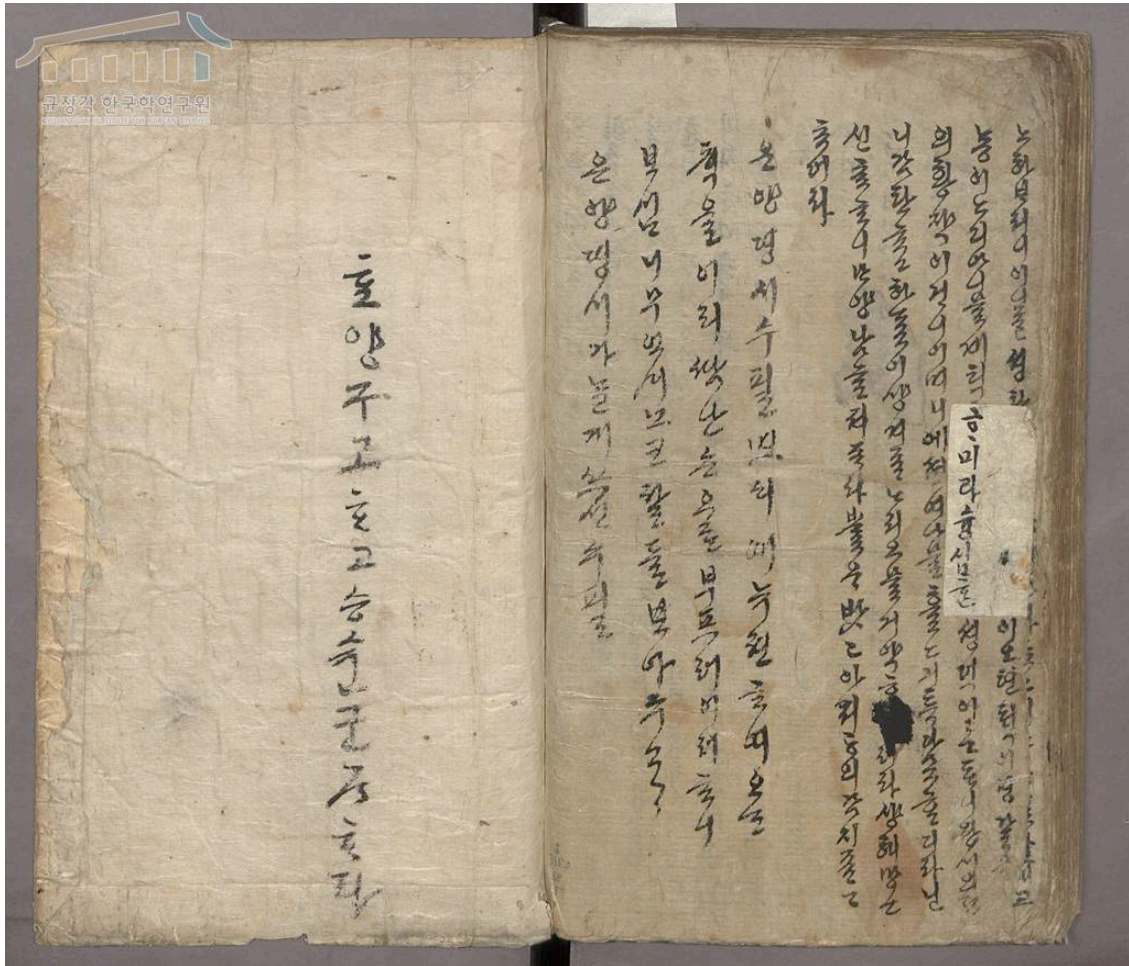


Figure 6. Margin note from *The Remarkable Reunion of Jade Mandarin Ducks*. This manuscript was produced by Madame Chŏng of Onyang (1725-1799) during the years 1786-1796, and later transmitted through generations in her family. Photo courtesy of the Kyujanggak Archive.

vernacular calligraphy, literary production and the mode of private memory-making through intrafamilial preservation of writings.

Within the family, the aesthetic and the sentimental value of the manuscripts of lineage novels frequently coincided. Lineage novels served as manuals for women calligraphers, who cultivated their handwriting while relying on the models produced by

their kinswomen. A unique artifact of intergenerational audience of the lineage novel is the copy of *Jade Mandarin Ducks*, produced in the family of Madame Chǒng of Onyang (1725-1799). Written mostly in the hand of Madame Chǒng herself, the manuscript contains margin marks by other women from her family—sister-in-law, great-granddaughter, and wife of Madame Chǒng’s grandson. These women of Madame Chǒng’s kin express their happiness at beholding the brushstrokes of the now deceased, urge those who borrow the book for copying to treat it with utmost care, and simply admire the beauty of Madame Chǒng’s calligraphy. An anonymous remark on the margin reads: “The handwriting belongs to Madame Chǒng of Onyang. This is a book that has been preserved and transmitted across several generations. If your hands are damp with sweat, do not just thumb through this book, but wrap [your hands] in something before holding it. The exquisite handwriting of Madame Chǒng of Onyang.”¹⁸⁷

Generational intertextuality is also embedded in the undated and anonymous manuscript of *The Record of Two Heroes: Brothers Hyǒn*. A margin note reads: “This book contains writings of an eighty-year-old woman and the pearl and jade letters of nieces, together with the letters of nephews’ wives. Would anyone recognize their writing later? It is unfortunate that the pearl-like letters of the mothers are so scarce.” Another note expresses the happiness felt at the vicarious encounter with familiar people now departed: “These letters seem to belong to my aunt. I rejoice because it is almost as if I

¹⁸⁷ *Okwǒn chaehapkiyǒn*, The Kyujanggak Archive, Seoul National University, South Korea, Ko 3350-68, vol. 5. Also cited in Sim Kyǒngho, “Naksǒnjaebon sosǒl ūi sǒnhaengbon e kwanhan ilkoch’al – Onyang Chǒngssi p’ilsabon *Okwǒn chaehap kiyǒn* kwa naksǒnjaebon *Okwǒn chunghoeyǒn* ūi kwan’gye rŭl chungsim ūro” [A Study of the Manuscripts of Naksǒnjae Novels. The Relationship between *The Remarkable Reunion of Jade Mandarin Ducks* Copied by Madame Chǒng of Onyang and the Naksǒnjae Manuscript], *Chǒngsin munhwa yǒn’gu* 38 (1990): 178.

behold the face that has been so greatly missed by my uncle and cousins.”¹⁸⁸ But there were also exceptions, when the sentimental value of lineage novels was hardly matched by the aesthetic form of the manuscript. A curious remark is found on the margins of another manuscript of *The Remarkable Reunion*, this one made under unknown circumstances. In it, the chagrined copyist, a woman in advanced age, laments the poor quality of the manuscript, from which she is trying to copy. She writes that even with all the ink blotches, mistakes, and overall poor quality of the manuscript, which is some forty years old, the given volume is kept in the owning family as a treasure.¹⁸⁹

Women’s participation in the literary culture of traditional Korea becomes even more intriguing in the light of a remark left by Cho Chaesam (1808-1866) in his encyclopedic miscellany *The Journal of Songnam* (*Songnam chapchi* 松南雜識). Cho writes, “The rumor has it that Kim Ch’unt’aek wrote *Nine-Cloud Dream* and *Madame Sa’s Conquest of the South*, which made palace women peruse them day and night... Also, it is said that *Moon-Gazing* is written by the mother of An Kyömje—she wanted to spread it inside the inner palace to increase her fame.”¹⁹⁰ Such abbreviated reference to the author of a work, massive as *The Pledge*, is controversial. The journal’s misattribution of *Nine-Cloud Dream* and *Madame Sa’s Conquest of the South*, classical works of Korean family novel actually written by Kim Manjung (1637-1692), casts doubt on the credibility of the statement of Madame Yi’s authorship. In addition, as the novel is referred to just by the two starting characters of the title, *Moon-Gazing* (*Wanwöl* 玩月), it

¹⁸⁸ Yi Tawön, 16.

¹⁸⁹ Jung Byung Sul, “*Okwön chaehapkiyön: t’alkamun sosöl chök sigak*,” 84.

¹⁹⁰ Jung Byung-sol, *Wanwölhoe maengyön yön’gu* (A study of *The Pledge at the Banquet of Moon-Gazing Pavilion*) (Söul: T’aeaksa, 1998), 175.

is remotely possible that Cho Chaesam is referring to another novel. Madame Yi of Chŏnju, mother of An Kyŏmjae is indeed a historical person, who grew up in an educated family and married into a somewhat less prominent lineage, which still belonged to the aristocracy. In terms of her class and education, the authorship of Madame Yi of Chŏnju (1694-1743), the mother of An Kyŏmje (1724-?), appears plausible, given her upbringing and marriage into a household of learning,¹⁹¹ but the question of ultimate credibility of Cho Chaesam's note remains unresolved.

But what is an author? In his essay of this title, Michel Foucault defines author function as “characteristic of the mode of existence, circulation, and functioning of certain discourses within the society.”¹⁹² A function of controlling discourse by connecting it to the figure of an intelligible author, modern understanding of authorship as referring to singular imaginative creator of a text is a concrete historical product, a variant among other modes of understanding texts and their social lives. In the realm of fiction, the idea of a single author of a work was nonexistent in traditional Korea: works of fiction were malleable and permeable. A copyist could invade the text, inserting comments into the main body, and narrative itself lived through various transformations

¹⁹¹ Based on the writings that describe the education of the women of Chŏnju Yis, Han Kilyŏn attempts to substantiate the claim that women of this family indeed possessed sufficient knowledge and training to possibly be the collegiate authors of *The Pledge*. See Han Kilyŏn, “*Paek Kye yangmun sŏnhaengnok ūi chakka wa kŭ chubyŏn.*” Jung Byung-Sul, moreover, attributes another novel—*The Remarkable Reunion of Jade Mandarin Ducks*, also discussed in this dissertation—to the authorship of Madame Yi, and, with a possibility of collective authorship in the company of her closest kinswomen. See Jung Byung-Sul, “*Okwŏn chaehap kiyŏn chakka chaeron.*”

¹⁹² Michel Foucault, “What Is an Author,” in *The Essential Foucault: Selections from Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984*, ed. Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose (New York: New Press, 2003), 382.

depending on the audience in which it happened to circulate.¹⁹³ Foucault historicizes the modern notion of authorship, defining it first and foremost as a technology of subject construction. Who can be an author and on what terms? An author of what sort of work? These questions, according to Foucault, illuminate the workings of power that define capacity and attributes of a subject's visibility.

Foucault's understanding of authorship moves beyond the biological entity of a single author and points towards multiple variables of control and empowerment that produce the function of authorship that describes the totality of practices that enable discourses to circulate. This opens another avenue to approach the issue of lineage novels' authorship. In traditional Korea, fiction, with very few exceptions, was circulated anonymously, since Chosŏn society saw little value or prestige in the composition of novels. We do not know a single author of the lineage novel, but we know the names of the female scribes, who produced the manuscripts. Furthermore, the activity of female calligraphers enabled the very circulation of the lineage novel, a lengthy vernacular genre unfit for woodblock printing. I contend that these women calligraphers were indeed authors in their own right, through their calligraphy authoring a dimension of material culture in which the discourse of emotion unfolded. While the question of the possibility of women's authorship of lineage novels' texts merits scholars' further attention, recognizing women calligraphers as authors, I call for the establishment of an alternative viewpoint upon the patriarchal society of traditional Korea. Madame Yi might indeed have been an author of *The Pledge*, but an author of a different kind—she might have been a calligrapher who brought the manuscript she made to the palace. Madame Yi's

¹⁹³ See Yi Chiyŏng, "Han'gŭl p'ilsabon e nat'anhan han'gŭl p'ilsa ūi munhwa chŏk maengnak" [The Cultural Context of Korean Handwriting in the Case of Vernacular Korean Manuscripts], *Han'guk kojŏn yŏsŏng munhak yŏn'gu* 15 (2008): 273-308.

figure, associated with the longest novel in Korea's premodern canon, however, should not detract attention from those numerous other female scribes who were celebrated in their families for leaving calligraphic manuals to their younger kinswomen and for leaving parts of themselves to live on in memory, captured in the finesse of their trained handwriting.

Conclusion

This chapter was an exercise in a reading strategy that allows us to move beyond the lineage novels' texts into the worlds that are populated not merely by ideas, but by bodies—laboring, controlled, and dexterous bodies that conform, rearticulate, and create. In the story of women calligraphers of Chosŏn Korea, we see a complex multi-layered arrangement of hegemonic patriarchal norm, practice of everyday life whose rhythm throbs between the norm and practical invention, and, finally, the creative spirit that makes a way for women's aesthetic sensibilities that are not directly authorized by the patriarchal system of order. Michel de Certeau shows how routes of preference are available to all walkers even in a planned city: where the bird-eye view captures only the fixity of street planning, a view from the ground reveals unauthorized paths and alleyways that adapt normative spatial arrangement to the desires of individual walkers.¹⁹⁴ The story of women calligraphers of premodern Korea similarly embodies the routes that challenge hegemonic arrangements. A vantage point upon the society of premodern and early modern Korea, women's culture opens a dynamic view upon the

¹⁹⁴ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984). 91-111.

interactions between normative ideology, gender politics and individual creativity captured in texts and manuscripts but extending into entire social fabric.

In this chapter, I historicize the logic of representation in the male-authored historical archive, which provides almost the sole material for the study of women's lives in Chosŏn Korea; in particular, I uncover the politics of gender that underwrites these representations. Commemorative genres, such as women's eulogies, tomb inscriptions and posthumous biographies written by men, remain taciturn about women's handwriting, never naming it calligraphy; at the same time, the sheer number of references to women's cultivated handwriting, and the high praise allotted to it, intimate that women's skill of writing in elegant hand was situated within a set of rigorous learning practices and was endowed with aesthetic value and recognized social significance. These three characteristics—meticulous cultivation, refined appearance, and cultural prestige—distinguish the vernacular handwriting that appears in epistles and lengthy novel manuscripts produced by elite women, from the rest of handwritten Korean texts. The term “calligraphy,” applied retroactively to women's refined handwriting, consolidates the contours of women's culture hinted at in the surviving articles of women's calligraphy and in the taciturn acclaim that men spare for women's handwriting. Importantly, in the case of vernacular Korean calligraphy and the emergence of the lineage novel, we can speak not of maverick figures of female artists, writers, or performers,¹⁹⁵ but of the emergence of an entire vernacular canon that was centered on women's quarters and that assumed a status of prestige alongside male culture in literary Chinese.

¹⁹⁵ See, for instance, Young-Key Kim-Renaud, ed., *Creative Women of Korea: the Fifteenth through the Twentieth Centuries* (New York: ME Sharpe, 2004).

Although several studies on the subject have appeared,¹⁹⁶ the story of women calligraphers of premodern Korea still warrants an attentive eye to the historical archive, akin to the one proposed by China art historian Huishu Lee. Beneath the surface of male culture of the Song-dynasty China, Lee discerns, for instance, the activity of palace women acting as ghost scribes for Emperor Gaozong (r. 1127-1162): navigating the patriarchy through creative affiliations with males, these women are able to carve out an idiom for their own artistic presence, even if their work is concealed under Emperor Gaozong's name.¹⁹⁷ Reading women's creative presence beneath the script of patriarchal authority in Chosŏn Korea thus involves recognition of the ways in which constraints of the normative gender system are rearticulated as opportunities. Along the lines of this reading strategy, I show how the aesthetic element of women's vernacular calligraphy was distributed across the normative registers of corporeal discipline and social value, which emphasized the productive dimension of women's brushwork. My desire to read not only the texts of lineage novels, but their margins, covers, ink and paper arises from a belief that material culture, as a hermeneutic and as a site of inscription has an important, if unrecognized, potential for the study of human experience of the distant past.

An example of a historical study that from the position of women offers a critique of the entire system of gender relations is Huishu Lee's *Empresses, Art, and Agency in*

¹⁹⁶ Pak Pyŏngch'ŏn offers an art historical study of various types of vernacular Korean calligraphy but does not consider the social aspect of this practice. See Pak Pyŏngch'ŏn, *Han'gŭl kungch'e yŏn'gu* [A Study of Korean Palace Style Calligraphy] (Seoul: Ilchisa, 1983); Pak Pyŏngch'ŏn, *Chosŏn sidae han'gŭl sŏganch'e yŏn'gu* [A Study of Epistolary Style Korean Calligraphy during the Chosŏn Dynasty] (Seoul: Taunsem, 2007). Yi Kyŏngha was the first to focus on the social aspect of vernacular Korean calligraphy, collecting evidence from commemorative genres that reveal women's engagement with writing in the Korean script.

¹⁹⁷ Huishu Li, *Empresses, Art, & Agency in Song Dynasty China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010).

Song Dynasty China. Writing about the seemingly absent women artists in the patriarchal culture of the Song, Lee tries to understand this absence in terms of gender-bound system of representation of the time. Lee suggests that work of the women in Song China is not so much silenced, as it is legible on a different level within the multidimensional gendered structure of representation. Through a network of affiliations with men, women were able to gain access to aesthetic practice, even if it was not readily open for them. Thus, for instance, the calligraphy that is collectively aggregated under the name of emperor Gaozong (*r.* 1127-1162) in fact contains several articles executed by his ghost scribes—palace women. Overall, Lee succeeds at showing how gender hierarchy in the Song operated not as tension between patriarchal suppression and women’s subversion, but as an intricate web of fellowships and affiliations, decipherable according to their own logic.¹⁹⁸ Lee’s approach has inspired me to discern the aesthetic pursuits of Chosŏn women calligraphers, whose handwriting was certainly more than what educated men allowed it to be: an ability to write in a regular hand that fell into the range of bodily discipline expected of women at the time. Juxtaposing articles of women’s calligraphy to men’s taciturn references to this practice, in Chapter 2, I show that women’s handwriting was a highly aestheticized practice, admired across generations in their families. It was also a practice that convened fellowships of women with similar skills and aesthetic sensibilities.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

Chapter 3. The Subject of Feelings: The Lineage Novel and the Discourse of Emotion

Introduction

In the introduction to his vernacular Korean translation of Li Ruzhen's (ca. 1763-1830) *Flowers in the Mirror* (*Jinghuayuan* 鏡花緣), Hong Hüibok (1794-1859), a court interpreter and an attentive though critical reader of vernacular Korean fiction, offers a detailed observation on vernacular literature in Chosŏn Korea. The passage quoted below captures at a glance not merely the structural characteristics of vernacular novel, but also the ambivalence of these texts that seek to elaborate fundamental moral precepts but at the same time depict unruly passions in their extreme magnitude. Hong writes:

[Vernacular novels] are the amusement for women and the ignorant. The simple stories of their protagonists end with lifetime prosperity that follows after marriages made in the middle. Between these events, the plots depict stories of losing children and then finding them again and marrying them off, social advancements of treacherous subjects, households in disorder, wrought by jealous wives and concubines, with subsequent reconciliation... It is not that [vernacular novels] do not depict virtuous maidens and faithful wives. Their moral virtue and beautiful conduct are indeed powerful enough to move and educate the reader. Apart from this, however, [vernacular novels] depict vile schemes and strife of treacherous subjects, jealous wives, and lustful women. They heap false accusations upon others and concoct disastrous conflicts, and their artifice and ill will, told in words never seen before, are astounding. Truly, even if such behavior actually occurred in real life, one would have to turn a deaf ear and a blind eye to it. Instead, all the fantastic details of married couples' struggles, intimate exchanges at the boudoir, or illicit thoughts of men and women are laid out in great detail, even praised, and overall relayed with such vivid realness—how could all this be appropriate for women's eyes? These stories can be beneficial if the reader appreciates and emulates the wise conduct of the good. However, if one perversely identifies with artful malignance, nothing could be more dangerous than that.¹⁹⁹

Of note is Hong's ambivalent assessment of vernacular fiction, which, he writes, exercises different influence upon mature readers, able to focus on the matters of moral cultivation, and upon those who only read for the plot. While the moral message is there

¹⁹⁹ Hong Hüibok, 22-23.

for those able to discern it, Hong warns that vernacular novels depict the stories of feelings—lust, jealousy, and avarice—with such striking nuance that they have greater power to capture the imagination of inexperienced readers. Does Hong Hüibok have lineage novels in mind? The answer to this question is somewhat uncertain. Describing the unheard-of stories of jealousy, desire, and envy, Hong, in fact, does not use any particular term to define the group of texts to which he refers. In the passage which precedes Hong's description of the narratives of passion, he distinguishes the material form of lineage novels, of which he lists several titles, from that of shorter types of fiction that are sold at the marketplace in uncouth woodblock editions. While emphasizing the different modes of these texts' circulation, Hong notes that in terms of content they have much in common. The passage translated above is thus the enumeration of properties that, Hong presumes, are shared by the majority of vernacular Korean novels (*ŏnmun sosŏl* 諺文小說).

Hong Hüibok stays faithful to the negative view of fiction, prevalent in his time, and this is perhaps the reason why he takes no trouble to distinguish lineage novels from the rest of vernacular fiction. All novels, to him, harbor the potential to mislead the reader. In this chapter, I show that the lineage novel, in fact, develops a uniquely focused and sophisticated understanding of emotion and its place in individual and public life, which has no parallel in the literary canon of premodern Korea. As I show in Chapter 1, the lineage novel offers a remarkably panoramic view of premodern Korean society, organizing the narratives of polity, society, and individual life around the central narrative concern with emotion. Below, I will explore the delicate balance of the lineage novel's aesthetic conception that recognizes emotional autonomy as integral part of

authentic personhood, at the same time inscribing it within the structures of kinship obligation.

The study of feelings in East Asian history is often infused with the problematic of modernity, the connection between feelings and modern society being proposed by historians of Europe. Jürgen Habermas and Nancy Armstrong discern a watershed moment in the history of the Western European society as it becomes reorganized around the recognition of the superior importance of individual personal qualities instead of status and kinship distinctions. Habermas describes the society of salons and coffee shops, whose members fashion themselves as “human beings pure and simple” and juxtapose themselves to authoritarian rule,²⁰⁰ while Armstrong locates the eighteenth-century British novelistic tradition as the starting point for a literary discourse, in which gender and personal qualities of the protagonists matter more than their status.²⁰¹

In the context of China, Eugenia Lean looks at the emergence of the public community of ethical sentiment in 1930s China, where newspapers express public sympathy that calls for an alternative idea of justice than the one offered by the government. Lean, however, is careful to note that feelings in China have their own genealogy, and that the modern understanding of the veracity of feelings is founded upon the Confucian recognition of the foundational value of filial piety and its subsequent interpretations in the modern era.²⁰² Haiyan Lee traces the intimate connection between

²⁰⁰ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1989), 56.

²⁰¹ Nancy Armstrong, *Desire and Domestic Fiction. A Political History of the Novel* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 3-27.

²⁰² Eugenia Lean, *Public Passions: The Trial of Shi Jianqiao and the Rise of Popular Sympathy in Republican China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

the discourse of the nascent Chinese nation and the discourse of romantic love—both called for affective, passionate attachment. Although Lee describes her own work as genealogical, that is, tracing the structural continuity of preoccupation with feelings over the *longue durée* of China's history, she too notes the centrality of the politics of feelings to the enterprise of the modern state building.²⁰³

The significance of emotion to a project of social building comes forth in the discourse of Korean intellectuals at the turn of the twentieth century. Seeking to transform the Korean society according to the model of western Enlightenment, Korean nationalist intellectuals call for the creation of a new culture that would valorize the authenticity of private emotional experience, thereby liberating the individual from the Confucian hierarchies of kinship and status.²⁰⁴ Moreover, after Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, emotion is viewed as a political frontier capable of guarding the Korean nation from colonial advances. Placing the lineage novel upon the trajectory of Korean history allows us to reevaluate the claims of radical renewal promised by these modernity narratives. Did the awareness of private emotional autonomy begin only in the early twentieth century? How do we explain the complete oblivion in which the discourse of emotion in the lineage novel finds itself in the early twentieth century? And what changes if we reject the claim that early-twentieth-century discourse of emotion marks the watershed, "modern" point in Korean literature? I revisit these questions in Chapter 4, which explores the complex historical moment of Korea's early twentieth century, in which the lineage novel coexisted with the first modern works of Korean literature.

²⁰³ Haiyan Lee, *Revolution of the Heart: A Genealogy of Love in China, 1900-1950* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).

²⁰⁴ See Andre Schmid, *Korea Between Empires: 1895-1919* (New York, Columbia University Press, 2002), 1-100.

In the lineage novel, emotion figures as a force that creates a space for individual autonomy within the structure of kinship and status order, although the validity of this order is never questioned. Embodying the self-perception of the Chosŏn elites, captured in the assumption of hereditary transmission of status and inbred moral superiority, the lineage novel creates an idiom for articulating and navigating the profound rift between private emotional experience and status and kinship normativity. My study, thus, presents a little-known dimension of the Korean patriarchy—established, as lineage novels reveal, not on merely normative, but on affective foundations.²⁰⁵

The lineage novel certainly draws its concern over the role of emotions in social life from the Confucian thought that recognizes the socially integrative function of feelings. Much of its philosophical vocabulary Chosŏn Korea shared with China. Throughout this chapter and dissertation, I use “feelings,” “emotions,” and “passions” interchangeably to designate the Korean *chŏng* (Ch. *qing* 情). In the Confucian understanding, The semantic range of *chŏng* extends from references to objective situation (K. *sajŏng*; Ch. *shiqing* 事請) to private response to environment (K. *kamjŏng*; Ch. *ganqing* 感情).²⁰⁶ It is precisely this double-edged potential of feelings—to found communally ethical forms of belonging but also to turn into disruptive selfish urges—that explains the important place feelings hold in the Confucian discourse.²⁰⁷ The Confucian

²⁰⁶ Although Maram Epstein writes about the Chinese concept of *qing*, her insights are relevant to the understanding of emotion in Korea. See *Competing Discourses: Orthodoxy, Authenticity, and Engendered Meanings in Late Imperial Chinese Fiction* (Boston: Harvard University Asia Center, 2001), 45.

²⁰⁷ A massive philosophical discourse on emotion unfolded in Korea in the seventeenth century. See Michael C. Kalton and Oaksook Chun Kim, ed., *The Four-Seven Debate*. For China, see Dorothy Ko, “Thinking about Copulating: An Early-Qing Confucian Thinker's Problem with

project of social ordering therefore attempts to channel emotions into communally ethical forms—as Lee Haiyan notes, emotions “are only altered states of human nature, not alien or unknown forces that must be repressed.”²⁰⁸ While certainly embedded in the Confucian conception of feelings, the concrete vocabulary for the lineage novel’s discourse of emotion comes from the historical experience of Chosŏn Korea—the emergence of the patriarchal lineage structure. Around the seventeenth century, the society of Chosŏn Korea that previously allowed greater freedom for women became reorganized into patriarchal lineage structure with patrilineal succession. This institutional and ideological transformation resulted in the curbing of women’s social freedoms and inheritance rights, discrimination against consort-born sons, and rigidly enforced primogeniture. Lineage novels explore situations and relations, in which private feelings are most violently at odds with the patriarchal order.

In terms of elaborating human relationships and emotions, Confucian classics, Korean domestic novels (K. *kajŏng sosŏl* 家庭小說), and lineage novels form a discursive continuum. Confucian classics describe idealized, abstract relationships that are fundamental for social stability and that emanate from the family to the entire social fabric. These are the bonds of father and son, sovereign and subject, and husband and wife, governed by affection, hierarchy, and distinction. This ideal matrix was often violently at odds with the concrete social practice of Chosŏn Korea, such as polygamy or discrimination against consort-born sons. Domestic novels thus describe conniving concubines that dismiss primary wives from their husbands’ affection, the dysfunctional

Emotion and Words,” in *Remapping China: Fissures in Historical Terrain*, ed. Gail Hershatter (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 59-75.

²⁰⁸ Haiyan Lee, 28.

affective bond between the father and consort-born son, the strain in the relationship between stepmother and stepchildren—and this list can be continued. Whereas Confucian precepts charter abstract, idealized framework for people's relations and feelings, domestic fiction offers condensed emotional solutions to the actual contradictions in kinship experience.

The lineage novel differs from domestic fiction in two important aspects. First of all, each genre belonged to a different cultural register. While certain domestic novels, such as Kim Manjung's (1637-1692) *Nine-Cloud Dream* (*Kuunmong* 九雲夢), were read widely both by lower classes and by the elites, the remaining majority of domestic novels were the provenance of simpler audiences. The lineage novel, on the other hand, was the genre of the elites, which could explain its second distinctive feature embodied in the sophisticated perspective upon the balance between private life and public role. If domestic novels mete out death penalty to their villains or depict them in simplistic, caricature way, in the lineage novel, the juxtaposition of the macro-temporal horizon of enduring lineage to the plots of private feelings that escape patriarchal normativity sets a boundary between abstract moral norm and the concreteness of private emotional experience. Hence, narratives of feelings are consigned to the domain of personal experience and personal history, and the most problematic of the lineage novel's protagonists usually follow a path of moral reformation. Therefore, instead of making a spectacle of righteous punishment of vice, lineage novels articulate several solutions to the most problematic aspects of the patriarchal kinship structure, allowing their protagonists to evolve in the process of encountering and mastering these difficulties.

It is yet unclear what links existed between the lineage novel—a genre that circulated predominantly among women—and the contemporary intellectual culture, the monopoly of educated males. Importantly, the rise of the lineage novel in the seventeenth century is contemporaneous with a heated discourse on the role of private insights and interpretations in classical scholarship. Although not a discourse on the role of feelings per se, the controversy over Confucian orthodoxy, which involved three protagonists, subsequently named “despoilers of the sages”—Yun Hyu (1617-1680), Pak Sedang (1629-1703), and Ch’oe Sökchǒng (1648-1715)—arose from the contestation of the role of private, individual scholar in the tradition of classical exegesis. Did the classics embody an eternal, unchanging truth or are they subject to private interpretations, queries and perhaps even doubts? This was the main point of scholastic and political disagreement, since the boundaries of intellectual affinity were often drawn along the lines of factional tensions. The three dissenters advocated the superiority of personal understanding over the blind following of the Classics as repositories of uncontested truth. The fierce disputations over Pak and Ch’oe’s court cases showed that the constitution of the orthodox Confucian canon and scholarship was a highly sensitive matter for the Chosŏn state.

In her study of the three thinkers’ challenge to Confucian orthodoxy Martina Deuchler notes that Yun, Pak, and Ch’oe, although presaging some of the later scholarly trends, such as evidential scholarship (K.: *kojŭng*; Ch.: *kaozheng* 考證) that searched for later obscured, original meaning of the Classics, were hardly founding a sweeping intellectual trend that would privilege the self as the source of meaning. Deuchler also writes that while it is impossible to rule out the influence of Wang Yangming (1472-

1529) over the three thinkers, all three of them purposefully distanced themselves from the Ming philosopher because of his explicit challenge of Zhu Xi, who systematized the Neo-Confucian learning.²⁰⁹ Wang Yangming's school with its call for introspection and the understanding of feelings as the foundation of humanity and a source of personal authenticity,²¹⁰ was part of the Ming-Qing interest in feelings, which found expression in philosophy, literature, and the arts. The lineage novel was certainly in touch with its intellectual and cultural milieu: as I note in Chapter 4, *The Record of Illustrious Conduct and Righteousness* portrays the fall of the heart of Confucian civilization—the Ming—to the Manchu invaders, thus attempting to see beyond the horizon of the Confucian culture. While this could be a fruitful object for future study, it is as yet unclear if the discourse of emotion in the lineage novel was in any way inspired by the intellectual interest in the private perspective. There is certainly a structural similarity between the lineage novel and the attempt to reinterpret the classical Confucian canon: the lineage novel, too, authorizes the significance of the private journey in which a person encounters one's unruly feelings and overcomes them. Feelings in the lineage novel function as a hermeneutic of the social, since unruly feelings arise at the most problematic junctures of the Confucian ideology and private life.

In particular, the lineage novel rethinks two crucial relationships: between maternal and paternal sides of the lineage and between husband and wife. By exploring the relationship between mothers and their sons, the lineage novel shows the dire

²⁰⁹ Martina Deuchler, "Despoilers of the Way, Insulters of the Sages: Controversies over the Classics in Seventeenth-Century Korea," in *Culture and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea*, ed. JaHyun Kim Haboush and Martina Deuchler (Boston: Harvard University East Asia Center, 1999), 131-133.

²¹⁰ See Haiyan Lee, 33-36.

consequences of women's inability to balance their emotional attachment to their natal family with the fact that in the patrilocal marriage arrangement women had to leave their families behind to join their husbands' households. Lineage novels problematize the conflicted relationship between sons- and fathers-in-law, showing how the discord between these two most important men in a woman's life prevent women from forming emotional bonds with their own sons: several novels present strikingly realistic portraits of children, ignored by their mothers. The relationship of husband and wife becomes similarly rearticulated from the perspective of emotion. Juxtaposing marriage based in moral parity to marriage based in desire, the lineage novel substantiates its preference for the moral bond, depicted as allowing not merely ethical, but also intimate connection between the spouses. The Confucian idea of conjugal harmony, based in husband and wife's faithful adherence to distinct spheres of identity and activity—inner and outer—becomes more palatable in the lineage novel, which turns the stories of arranged marriages into romances, often aggravated by strong personal confrontations, but accommodating of fleeting intimacies and powerful passions, which come surprisingly close to the modern idea of romantic love. In short, the lineage novel rearranges the basic Confucian matrix comprised of three pairs of relationships to include other important relations and alternative modes of relating.

Significantly, the discourse of emotion in the lineage novel is quite distinctive from the cult of *qing* in Late Imperial China. It is also worth note that although Chinese fiction was read widely in Chosŏn Korea, the two works central to China's discourse of emotion or "the cult of *qing*," *The Peony Pavilion* (*Mudanting* 牡丹亭), and *The Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Hongloumeng* 紅樓夢), were little known in Chosŏn. Korean envoy

missions to Beijing brought the first texts of Chinese fiction into Korea in the late sixteenth century. The sixteen-century import included such titles as *Journey to the West* (*Xiyouji* 西遊記), *The Romance of the West Wing* (*Xixiangji* 西廂記), and *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo yanyi* 三國演義).²¹¹ In the seventeenth century, *Water Margin* (*Shuihuzhuan* 水滸傳), *Romance of the Northern Song* (*Beisong yanyi* 北宋演義), and *Romance of Tang and Song* (*Tang Song yanyi* 唐宋演義), among other texts, also became available to Korean readers.²¹² Both men and women read Chinese historical romances, while scholar-beauty novels, also known in Korea, were limited to male readers—such texts were generally considered too frivolous for the female audience.²¹³ We can presume that *The Peony Pavilion* was entirely unknown in Chosŏn since there is no known reference to this text. The first known reference to *Dream of the Red Chamber* is made only in the first half of the nineteenth century, and the Korean translation of this text appears in the late nineteenth century.²¹⁴ It appears that the society of Chosŏn Korea was less accepting of the discourse of feelings that authorized private emotional authenticity above social obligation.²¹⁵

²¹¹ Yun Sesun, “16 segi Chungguk sosŏl ūi kungnae yuip kwa hyangyu yangsang” [Import and Readership of Chinese Novels in Sixteenth-Century Korea], *Minjok munhwasa yŏn’gu* (2004): 134-161.

²¹² Yun Sesun, “17 segi, sosŏlryu ūi yuhaeng yangsang” [Popularization of Fiction in the Seventeenth Century], *Tonbang hanmunhak* 31 (2006): 403-433.

²¹³ On the readership of Chinese novels among the Chosŏn elites, see Yi Chiyŏng, “18 segi Kyŏnghwa sajok ūi sosŏl hyang’yu” [Novel Readership among the Metropolitan Elites], *Kungmunhak yŏn’gu* 21 (2010): 67-95.

²¹⁴ See Ch’oe Yongch’ŏl, 20-35.

²¹⁵ We can hypothesize that the generally more conservative cultural milieu of Chosŏn Korea derived from the perception that after the fall of the Ming, perceived as the epitome of Confucian civilization, Chosŏn Korea was left alone to guard the orthodox Confucian ways. As a result, all potentially subversive ideas that threatened the Confucian moral system were mercilessly

Like the cult of *qing* in China, the lineage novel posed the problem of private emotional autonomy and authenticity, but in the terms that differed greatly from Late Imperial novelistic discourse. In China, the staging of *The Peony Pavilion* in 1589 produced resonant fascination with its female heroine, Du Liniang, a free, self-authoring personality able to persevere in her pursuit of love even unto death.²¹⁶ Although lineage novels offer dramatic depictions of love stories, love for its own sake that leaves no space for kin and social obligation is absolutely unthinkable in these texts. Equally unthinkable for the lineage novel is a figure of the self-enclosed aesthete—Jia Baoyu of Cao Xueqin’s (1715-1763) *Dream of the Red Chamber* that epitomizes sensuous personality devoted exclusively to aesthetic enjoyment.²¹⁷ Pursuing beauty in all its forms, from poetry and nature to carnal beauty and feelings, Baoyu, in the word of Wai-Yee Lee, is engulfed by his “lust of the mind” and “spontaneous responses to passing stimuli.” Relishing the intensity of each enchanting moment, Baoyu becomes a boundless, ebullient personality, unable to settle into any system of meaning.²¹⁸ Even against the view that Late Imperial fiction in China was not entirely subversive in intent, seeking to rearticulate rather than refute major Confucian tenets,²¹⁹ Baoyu’s figure sets into stark relief the protagonists of

prosecuted. On the discourse of Korea’s identity after the demise of the Ming, see JaHyun Kim Haboush, “Constructing the Center: The Ritual Controversy in and the Search for a New Identity in Seventeenth-Century Korea,” in *Society and the State in Late Chosŏn Korea*, 46-90.

²¹⁶ See Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-Century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 68-112.

²¹⁷ On connoisseurship, see Jonathan Hay, *Sensuous Surfaces: the Decorative Object in Early Modern China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2010). On the cult of eccentricity, see Judith Zeitlin, *Historian of the strange: Pu Songling and the Chinese Classical Tale* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

²¹⁸ Wai-Yee Li, *Enchantment and Disenchantment: Love and Illusion in Chinese Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 202-256.

²¹⁹ Epstein, 16.

the lineage novel: no matter where feelings might take them initially, lineage novels' heroes inevitably return to their roles in society and kinship.

While historically and aesthetically the lineage novel is certainly distinct from this European genre, it is impossible to ignore a certain resemblance between the lineage novel and the Bildungsroman. Lineage novels intently follow the process in which an individual, through trial and error, comes to terms with her inner being that is always already embedded into the social.²²⁰ The lineage novel articulates a paradoxical proposition: while affirming the major precepts of Korea's Confucian patriarchy, it also carves out a literary idiom to enunciate the private experience of emotion, which inheres in the perception of oneself as being at odds with the society. In this chapter, I will trace the contours of the subject of feelings that appears in the lineage novel, but without attempting to consign this genre to either hegemonic or counterhegemonic register. The lineage novels' polyphonic structure that allows often-opposing views to be articulated alongside each other is far too complex for such unequivocal resolution. In the discussion that follows, I first explore the lineage novel's dialogic mode of narrating feelings, and then focus on two relationships that are reconceived on the basis of their affective component: the relationship between the matriline and the patriline, and between husband and wife.

²²⁰ Interestingly, Chŏng Pyŏnguk, one of the founders of the study of the lineage novel in Korea, has noted that its objective description of emotions and interiority reveals what he terms "literary modernity" (munhak ũi kŭndaehwa) of the lineage novel. See Chŏng Pyŏnguk, "Yijo malgi sosŏl ũi yuhyŏng chŏk t' ũkjing: Naksŏnjae bon sosŏl ũi myŏt chakp'um ũl chungsim ũro" [Literary Developments in Late Chosŏn Dynasty: The Case of Several Lineage Novels], *Sŏngdae munhak* 16 (1970): 65-67. While I do not wish to contend for an earlier beginning of Korean literary modernity, which academic convention holds to be the beginning of the twentieth century, this remark certainly illuminates one of the central features of the lineage novel. For Bildungsroman, see Franco Moretti, *The Way of the World: The Bildungsroman in European Culture* (London: Verso, 2000), 229-245.

The Lineage Novel and Dialogic Imagination

While lineage novels allow both male and female protagonists to become subjects of unruly emotions, one of the most striking figures in the lineage novel, and perhaps in the entire premodern Korean canon, is So Kyowan or Madame So from *The Pledge at the Banquet of Moon-Gazing Pavilion* (*Wanwŏlhoe maengyŏn* 玩月會盟宴, *The Pledge* henceforth). Given the patriarchal culture of Chosŏn Korea that highly prized women's obedience, it is noteworthy that a female figure becomes central to the story of violent passions. Madame So marries Chŏng Cham, the head of the Chŏng lineage, after the demise of his first wife, Madame Yang. As Madame Yang and Chŏng Cham have already adopted a son, Chŏng Insŏng, to become Chŏng Cham's heir, Madame So's children conceived in this marriage are denied the succession privilege a priori. Madame So spares no means plotting to kill Insŏng, his wife, Yi Chayŏm, and the couple's son to free the heir's place for her own child. At times, however, it seems that rage for its own sake is guiding the hand and thoughts of Madame So. The scene below depicts Madame So's attempt at the life of Yi Chayŏm, Chŏng Insŏng's wife, under the pretext of a false accusation: Madame So forges a letter which Chayŏm allegedly writes to her parents accusing Madame So of all conceivable vices. The following scene unfolds between the mother- and daughter-in-law:

Madame So folded the letter and threw it onto the table. Her clear eyes blazed coldly upon Chayŏm, as though hurling thousand arrows upon the girl. Venomous fire flashed in her gaze, when Madame So opened her lips:

'In your letter, you say that in my inhuman cruelty I am worse than any villain. Indeed, how could I ever measure up to your wisdom and virtue! What do I care if people call me a harpy—I will take your heart out to see what is truly on your mind.'

With these words, Madame So came closer to Yi Chayŏm who lay still on her bed. She straddled the girl, bringing into disarray her cloud-like layered coiffure. No matter how hard Madame So tried, the silk of Chayŏm's hair would slip away from her hands that

ended up grasping only air. Then Madame So grabbed a golden pin and started lashing Yi Chayöm's shoulders. Annoyed that a few layers of clothing still covered the girl's body, Madame So took a knife and cut the outer layers until only a single gauze blouse was left over Chayöm's skin. Then Madame So lashed Chayöm again. With every strike crimson blood welled forth, staining white cloth with bright red flowers. Prostrate on her bed, Chayöm stopped breathing and did not move at all, so who could know if she was dead or alive.

Succumbing to her frenzy, Madame So could not stop and in a moment the girl's shirt turned crimson, with not a single patch of white left. Chayöm herself lost her senses in a swoon. Facing such sight, even one's mortal enemy could hardly forbear pity, but hatred permeated Madame So's very bones and she could not restrain herself. After banging Chayöm's head against the wall, she pulled the body to herself, rolled Chayöm's sleeves, baring the jade hands, and plunged her teeth into Chayöm's hand. The beautiful head was bruised and the blood flowed; jade flesh tore off and was like shreds of lunchmeat in the teeth of Madame So. Madame So quickly reached for the knife and was about to cut Chayöm's legs when a little maid stormed into the room and, risking death, grasped Madame So's knife and, clinging to her, prevented Madame So from going further (V, 68: 217).

In the scene with her daughter-in-law, Madame So appears to be little more than the stock character of wicked stepmother (or, here, stepmother-in-law) that so frequently appears in traditional Korean tales. Directing her rage at her daughter-in-law, Madame So is unable to restrain herself, feasting on the very flesh of Yi Chayöm who lays breathless in her crimson-stained robe. This scene conjures a powerful image of the magnitude of emotions that are produced in Korean patriarchy, pivoted, in this particular instance, on the conflict between Madame So's natural affection for her own children, and her duty to accept the adopted son Insöng as the rightful lineage heir. *The Pledge*, however, permits no univocal judgment—neither on Madame So's character, nor on many other controversial instances that appear in the narrative.

The novel unfolds through extended monologs, sometimes a few pages long, which bear witness to the intense inner turmoil produced in each given conflict. Madame So, too, affords a confession to her son, In'ung. No two people differ more dramatically than Madame So's twin sons, Injung and In'ung. While Injung helps Madame So in all

her schemes, In'ung is genuinely worried about his mother's reckless ways. It is to In'ung that Madame So opens her heart. This happens after another failed scheme of Madame So, when she tries to kidnap and kill the child of Chǒng Insǒng and Yi Chayōm. Madame So appeals to In'ung:

In plentiful words you say that no one could match Injung and me in their atrocities, wondering how people like us could be tolerated by heaven and earth. If someone hears you say that it was so fortunate for a newborn child, tied and thrown outside in violent storm, to survive, they will either think this is empty talk or imagine some crafty spell-casting monster at work. It would be best not to speak of this at all, but you cannot stop, as if the affairs of the world were all entrusted to your care. It is absurd and futile to go around with cries like 'Unbelievable!' and 'Unnatural!' so I did not want to listen to you from the beginning [...]

A while ago, in *chǒngmyo* year, your mother entered the Chǒng family. Although I lack virtue that other people possess, I was properly instructed by my parents and followed wifely ways with no fault, so while I cannot call myself a wise woman and a worthy person, I could be accused of no glaring misconduct. Suppose one is accused of a fault or some inhuman trait that one does not possess—what comes of it? Your father, since the very first day, considered our marriage a misfortune and ceaselessly suspected me, worrying that some trouble might be caused to Insǒng. Although I am not bright by nature how could I not know his heart? Would I not be disturbed? Would I not be furious? My numerous virtues and great wisdom—even if I possessed those—would never be acknowledged or approved by my husband. So I decided that I indeed would live up to his suspicions and spare no effort in tormenting his beloved son. Once I made up my mind, there was no way to turn back. Insǒng is truly outstanding, and in vain could I wish that Injung were his match, but Injung too is his father's son, even if his father's cold-heartedness does not befit this cardinal human bond. And now, when Insǒng has a son of his own, your father is so overjoyed that he gives all his love to Insǒng's family. When I see this, my grief and regret know no measure, so I indeed do not wish any good to Insǒng and his wife. But while my hatred is a matter of a moment, with all my heart I know that Insǒng and his wife are very filial and virtuous, and I admire them for it, so one might indeed find it strange that I can commit all these atrocities and turn into a harpy (V, 54: 258-259).

Madame So speaks here with utmost sincerity about the cause and nature of her feelings. She is also quite objective in her judgment, noting Chǒng Cham's groundless suspicion that springs soon after their marriage. After the death of his first wife, Madame Yang, Chǒng Cham resisted remarrying all he could, for fear of the hostility that his new wife could harbor against Insǒng, his adopted son. Yielding to his parents' repeated requests, and having just married Madame So, Chǒng Cham immediately suspects her of

sedition intent, while she herself has given no thought to Insǒng's existence. On their first night, Chǒng Cham dreams that Madame So turns into a hideous beast and pursues Insǒng, who only barely manages to escape with his life. Madame So also shows herself to be a person of moral dignity, able to acknowledge the exceptional moral qualities of Chǒng Insǒng, her mortal enemy. In every possible way, Madame So's position is pictured with striking nuance and the objective contradictions of her station emphasize the inner necessity of emotion, seen as a matter of concern rather than merely a hindrance to the smooth functioning of the moral Confucian scheme.

The aesthetic conception of *The Pledge*, defined by concurrent articulation of opposing opinions, is best described as polyphonic. Polyphony or dialogism is the term Mikhail Bakhtin proposes in his study of Dostoevsky's works. Bakhtin notes that Dostoevsky creates a new idea of individual, in which there is no possible way to completely comprehend individual life externally, and the absence of the unified vantage point of truth inaugurates the validity of each individual position, which is a world unto itself. Hence, in Dostoevsky's novels, often-opposing viewpoints are voiced side by side, and in a polyphonic manner they are allotted equal ground alongside each other.²²¹

Without attempting to conform the distinctive historical and aesthetic qualities of the lineage novel to the narrative of the European novel's development, I am inspired by Bakhtin's term of polyphony or dialogism as it highlights the most important quality of the lineage novel's narrative: its dialogic openness to multiple perspectives that complicate simple truth claims. Madame So's powerful testimony opens an alternative angle upon her personality and the conflicting emotions that she becomes a subject of.

²²¹ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problemy Poetiki Dostoevskogo* [The Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics] (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaya Literatura, 1972), 53.

Madame So's words are granted additional credence when through the eyes of others she similarly appears as a complex and powerful figure. Her case, thus, prompts an open-ended inquiry into the nature of the rift between private emotional authenticity and social norm.

The following testimony on Madame So's character is given from the mixed perspective of the narrator and of Madame So's parents, Lord So and his wife. In the description below, Madame So appears as a woman of outstanding abilities, matched, unfortunately, with a rather short temper. Such combination of qualities appears fateful when Madame So assumes a decidedly unwanted role, entering a man's house as a successor to his deceased wife:

Lord So and his wife had no worries over their other children, but Kyowan, Madame Chǒng [Madame So],²²² was their late child and youngest daughter. It is true that all people love their youngest the most; Madame Chǒng, moreover, was truly unique and outstanding by nature. In their tender affection, how could her parents help loving and admiring her? Lord So, however, possessed outstanding wisdom, and his astuteness surpassed that of others. He did not rejoice in his daughter's extraordinary qualities, and was concerned over finding her a fit husband. When Chǒng Cham sought marriage after the death of his first wife, Lord So had many concerns when sending his daughter over.

[...] Lord So's wife knew of her husband's concerns, but chose to remain silent, harboring her regret. In this vast, vast world, should they search long enough, would they not find an excellent husband for their young daughter? Should they really commit their youngest girl to the unwanted lot of the second wife? Moreover, they knew all too well that their child's temper prevails over her virtue, and that her rage can never be tempered by her will: she prides herself in her abilities, while her virtue and benevolence are very far from proper wifely ways (VII, 91: 29-30).

Lord So, Madame So's father and a benevolent and wise patriarch, has a prescience of his daughter's future mishap and he confesses his own misgivings about the appropriateness of his daughter's marriage. The silent regret of Madame So's mother, moreover, confirms

²²² In premodern Korea, women legally kept their natal last name after marriage, and Madame So is usually referred to by her natal last name. In rare instances, however, she is called by her husband's last name—Madame Chǒng, as in the given excerpt. The practice of calling married women by their husbands' surnames appears in other lineage novels as well, which suggests that it might have been a common practice.

the validity of this premonition. Is Madame So's evil nature to blame for the disasters that ensue in the Chŏng household after she enters it? Multi-layered perspective on Madame So's person intimates that *The Pledge* does not permit such simple judgment, pointing instead to the inherently conflicted nature of Madame So's position.

Madame So's story is certainly central to *The Pledge* in the complexity and power with which her emotional private being is described; her story, however, is not unique in the structure of the conflict it embodies—other male and female protagonists of *The Pledge* similarly perceive themselves to be at odds with their obligation and they act out the sense of this contradiction. It is therefore impossible to understand the lineage novel as a genre devoted exclusively to the elaboration of female experience in the lineage. JaHyun Kim Haboush has argued for female authorship of an anonymous vernacular Korean novel, *The True Story of Queen Inhyŏn* (*Inhyŏn wanghu chŏn* 仁顯王后傳), because the text bestows symbolism associated with male empowerment upon its female protagonist, an exiled queen. Unlike other abject pictures of cast-out wives that appear in traditional Korean tales, Queen Inhyŏn displays emotional and moral autonomy even outside the patriarchy, and this, Haboush suggests, betokens the position of this novel in the tradition of female, or female-authored literature.²²³ The lineage novel stands out in the traditional Korean canon in its ambition that understands both men and women as subjects of emotional autonomy who live through forceful emotional upheavals. If the compelling portrait of Madame So—a passionate, intelligent, and ambivalent person—betokens the recognition of women as autonomous actors in the Korean patriarchy, *The*

²²³ JaHyun Kim Haboush, "Versions and Subversions: Patriarchy and Polygamy in Korean Narratives," in *Women and Confucian cultures in premodern China, Korea, and Japan*, ed. Dorothy Ko et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 291.

Pledge problematizes male experience in the patriarchal lineage on equally revealing terms.

Chǒng Cham, Madame So's husband, afflicted by the violent temper and conduct of his wife, confesses his own frailty. Towards the end of the novel, Chǒng Cham seeks comfort in the company of his mother, and to her he opens his heart:

To see a son and peacefully enter the grave is the joy of one's late years. When a wise woman serves one's parents with utmost filial devotion and minds proper womanly ways, there is no cause for worry. When the country and the household are in peace, even thirty years fleet swiftly by without one's noticing. I had the great misfortune of losing my late wife, Madame Yang, but if I indulged my great sorrow and confined myself in solitude, this would certainly violate my filial duty to multiply my parents' line and this would go against the wishes of my late wife. My heart was torn apart. It came to pass that I met this unruly woman, Madame So. For fear that she upsets my household and harms my son Insǒng I refused the marriage at first, but as my father insisted I could not dare go against his wishes, and I finally gave my consent. My whole family was taken by Madame So's beauty and encouraged this match. I thought the matter over and saw that the virtue of my future father-in-law shines even in bright daylight, surpassing thousands of obstacles. I saw that my future wife's brothers earned highest repute. I thought to myself, growing up with wise parents and wise siblings, how could one not be virtuous? Thus I did not disobey my parents' orders and made the marriage pledge. Once I saw the real person of Madame So there was hardly any cause for joy (X, 145: 216-217).

Himself a lineage patriarch, Chǒng Cham reveals his doubts and worries that marriage to Madame So brings him. Notably, he is not an ossified paragon of Confucian virtue, who condemns the unruly conduct of his wife. Chǒng Cham himself is deeply affected by the discord that does not abate in his house, and this reveals the unheard-of dimension of Korea's patriarchy—the burden born by males, endowed with seemingly boundless authority.

Unable to preserve order in his family, Chǒng Cham fails in his crucial duty, but he is not the quintessence of failed patriarchy, either. Dignified and thoughtful, Chǒng Cham is distinguished in court service, trusted by the emperor, and held in high esteem in his social circle. He is a loving father and son, generous friend and the last resort in times of difficulty to his family and acquaintance. The frailty that Chǒng Cham confesses does

not take away from his dignity, but instead adds a compelling dimension to his image, which becomes even more poignant when beheld through others' eyes. After the trouble with Madame So becomes known in her natal family as well, Chǒng Cham meets his father-in-law, Lord So, who observes the withered appearance of his son-in-law:

Chǒng Cham arranged his seat in front of Lord So. Lord So asked Chǒng Cham if he is comfortable after his long equestrian journey and after receiving Chǒng Cham's good-natured assurance, Lord So raised his eyes to look at his son-in-law. It has been a long time. Chǒng Cham's skin now appeared saggy, and his once sturdy figure was gaunt, so his entire look changed. Chǒng Cham was not just lean: his once radiant appearance dimmed, and his mighty spirit seemed tempered. Even if the mountain is great, a thin stream of water can slowly carve its way; although this man is mighty, the light frost in his black whiskers betrays the autumn of his days (XII, 173: 157).

Lord So sees what Chǒng Cham himself is unable to confess: he sees the limit of human strength, tested by the domestic discord orchestrated by Madame So. In this subtle gesture, the lineage novel suggests that even if women become protagonists of domestic contradictions, such as the one that Madame So's figure embodies, the effects of the tension between emotion and duty are felt by the entire household, and the lineage head, a person of power and authority, is not immune to the destructive workings of private passions.

The Pledge ends with another banquet that celebrates the prosperity of the Chǒng lineage. Madame So is ultimately appeased by the unfailing filial devotion of Insǒng, who never changes in his equanimity towards his stepmother, even facing the havoc she wreaks. *The Pledge* thus stays faithful to the articulation of major Confucian idea of moral transformation (K. *kyohwa*; Ch. *jiaohua* 教化) achieved by benevolent influence. Moreover, towards the novel's end, it is noted that Madame So and Insǒng have a karmic connection, and Madame So's hostility to her stepson is explained away by predestination. The final banquet is followed by a detailed genealogy that records

continuing generations of the Chǒng lineage. The lineage, as legal structure and guarantee of uninterrupted transmission of Confucian institutions and ethics, is preserved, but the massive span of *The Pledge* shows the devastating workings of passion, and the immense moral effort required for the preservation of moral order. The novel's final lines revisit the discourse of emotion and Madame So's figure:

Even if the wise deeds of Chǒng Insǒng and his great filiality permeated the entire realm, without the moral transformation of Madame So and Chǒng Injung this story would not be possible and the people of the world would know nothing about it. Now that Madame So and Chǒng Injung have been transformed, the life story of Chǒng Insǒng has been recorded in great detail, but without the atrocities of his stepmother and stepbrother, the story of his suffering in the spirit of filiality and brotherly love would not be the same; without the transformation of Madame So and Chǒng Injung, this story would not take shape. In human affairs, the old times and the present differ greatly, but it is pathetic (可笑) that good and evil continue to revolve (XII, 180: 313).

In the last lines, *The Pledge* confesses its own narrative desire: the story of feelings is what makes this novel possible. In a formal gesture, *The Pledge* refers the reader to a biography of Chǒng Insǒng that must have been written, but the story of Insǒng's virtue remains only an unfulfilled promise.²²⁴ Madame So and Injung—not Insǒng—become central to the hundred-eighty volumes of *The Pledge*, and even while Madame So is reinscribed into kinship fabric by the end of the novel, the lengthy and sophisticated portrayal of her character and action monumentalizes the discourse of feelings and inaugurates the autonomy of private emotional experience. And while lineage novels display dialogic approach in dealing with the subject of feelings, it does not mean that any feeling is permitted to exist in absolute freedom. Love, for example, is thinkable only

²²⁴ Lineage novels often claim that the lives of their protagonists are described in external textual sources—posthumous biographies, family histories, etc. This gesture signifies the desire of the lineage novel to claim the prestige of documentary genres, which commemorated the virtues of the deceased and perpetuated their memory, also asserting the cultivated status of the lineage that produced such individuals. I discuss the connection between the lineage novel and documentary genres in Chapter 1.

as a constructive force that produces a conjugal couple and guarantees the lineage's generational continuity. And to the theme of love in the lineage novel I turn next.

Confucian Gentlemen in Love: The Subject of Desire and the Moral Subject

Premodern Korean literary canon has its pair of ardent lovers, whose feelings transgress all social boundaries. The story of Ch'unhyang, born to a courtesan mother, and her marriage to a nobleman, Yi Mongnyong, has secured faithful audiences for several centuries. Ch'unhyang's story is not unique in asserting love as a force that transgresses all imaginable boundaries, revealing the naked truth of feelings beyond exterior distinctions—there is hardly a literature without its own vision of all-surpassing love. The lineage novel, on the contrary, uses love as a force that emphasizes the distinction of the class of people, defined by the nobility of birth and character. While recognizing desire as innate part of the human nature, the lineage novel also devises a set of constraints that capture passions in the larger network of kinship by making a spectacle out of sexualized conjugal bodies that are thus exempted from the exclusive domain of the married couple. Moreover, allowing feelings to enter the central ritualized bond between husband and wife the lineage novel similarly channels desire into socially sanctioned, conjugal form.

In this section, I will speak of gentlemen only—not because lineage novels do not recognize women's ability to experience desire and longing, but because in the lineage novel women cannot become subjects of desire without losing substantively in the score of their social respectability. For male protagonists, the experience of love becomes an important milestone on their way to maturing into masters of their own households.

While the lineage novel equates the nobility of birth with moral rectitude, it also clearly privileges those protagonists who are able to experience passions of the grandest scale. It is therefore no surprise that a good amount of flogging is indispensable for maintaining a harmonious household. Thus, the amorous spirits of the lineage males are measured by the number of sticks that an adventurous lover receives from his father once the secret misconduct transpires. In *The Remarkable Encounter of Pearls* (*Myǒngju kibong* 明珠奇逢, *Pearls* henceforth), the two brothers, Hyǒn Ch'ǒnnin and Hyǒn Myǒngnin, are flogged in turn for their escapades. Whereas Ch'ǒnnin withstands ninety sticks, Myǒngnin can bear only sixty, and this provokes the following comparison: "Although Myǒngnin is certainly strong and sturdy, his strength is still no match to Ch'ǒnnin's youthful and sturdy spirit" (I, 11: 333).²²⁵ Ch'ǒnnin's name becomes a legend on the lips of his brothers and cousins, and his charisma to a large degree stems from his unruly and stubborn nature.

The love-inspired scenes of youthful rebellion against kinship-centered morality foreground a mechanism of reformulating the nature of kinship bonds. In her study of the expression of sentiments in Bedouin poetry, Lila Abu-Lughod notes, "Individuals in Awlad 'Ali society perceive the moral standards less as norms than as values; therefore, it is a matter of self-respect and pride that the individual achieve the standards, not an obligation."²²⁶ As the system of kinship relations embodies the totality of an individual's social world with no conceivable outside, voluntary belonging to the world of kinship

²²⁵ *Myǒngju kibong* [The Remarkable Encounter of Pearls], ed. The Committee on the Administration of National Culture (Seoul: Yangsǒ munhwasa, 1977), vols. 1-2.

²²⁶ Lila Abu-Lughod, 238. Abu-Lughod draws the distinction between value and norm from Ralf Turner, "The Real Self: From Institution to Impulse," *American Journal of Sociology* 81. 5 (1976): 989-1016.

obligation produces the sense of self-worth. And while individuals observe social norms in everyday life, Bedouin poetry, recited in everyday situations, valorizes defiance as a premise for choice juxtaposed to unwitting submissiveness. Along the lines of Abu-Lughod's argument, I believe it is possible to discern a similar narrative strategy in the lineage novel, which, as the previous section shows, is concentrated on the stories of most unruly protagonists who ultimately prevail over their feelings through the exercise of moral will. Moral conduct becomes a choice, not an obligation, since before choosing to abide by the public moral, lineage novel protagonists explore all forms of resistance. In the end, all passionate lovers become upright household heads, but the stories of their youthful adventures form skeins of intrafamilial memory, and they are often recounted for the ears of the domestic audience.²²⁷

Love, lust, and marriage are the central themes in the trilogy centered on the Hyŏn lineage: *The Record of Two Heroes, Pearls*, and *Pearls and Jade*.²²⁸ The parent novel of the sequel, *The Record of Two Heroes*, explores the problem of male desire in the patriarchal kinship structure and the way this novel treats male lust is again dialogic. Of the two brothers, Hyŏn Sumun and Hyŏn Kyŏngmun, who are referenced in the title,

²²⁷ As I note in Chapter 1, the figure of intrafamilial memory creates an alternative conception of genealogy—a one that locates the common ground between fathers and sons not in their inherent moral excellence, but in the magnitude of their emotions, and in the moral effort that achieves mastery over feelings.

²²⁸ It is common for lineage novels to have sequels—separate narratives that continue with the lives of male descendants of the parent novel's protagonists. In Chapter 1, I discuss various forms of what I call "textual filiation"—a network of kinship that lineage novels develop by asserting familial ties between their protagonists. I believe that this approach to narrative, in which sequels do not infringe upon the textual space of the parent novel but instead branch out from it in a manner of genealogical tree, epitomizes the lineage novel's internalization of the idea of patriarchal genealogy.

Sumun is the oldest and most lustful. The story of Sumun's conquest of his concubine, Yun Hyebing, takes up a great portion of the narrative in *The Record of Two Heroes*.

Hyön Sumun notices Yun Hyebing performing some household tasks in the Hyön mansion and with the help of his nurse, who claims Hyebing as her niece, tricks Hyebing into a private chamber and rapes her. Later Hyebing turns out to be a long-lost daughter of an illustrious lineage, and she rejoins her parents. While Hyebing hopes to spend the rest of her life attending to her parents, Sumun adamantly presses her to enter his house claiming that Hyebing has already become his de facto concubine. Hyebing's parents also support this arrangement, seeing it as a confirmation of the already finished act of Hyebing's deflowering and also believing obedience to be a woman's greatest virtue. In this situation, the only thing left for Hyebing is to rely on her own wit. For her wedding night, Hyebing selects a particularly disfigured servant and sends her to share the bed with the drunken groom. It is only in the morning that the unsuspecting groom notices something amiss, spotting surprisingly coarse red hands sticking out from the blanket. When he struggles to extract his bride from the covers Sumun finally sees "a face, plastered with generously applied powder that caked in patches; a broken ulcer right below the nose with the pus flowing all the way down to the mouth—a dirty and unseemly sight that was hard to behold" (I, 3: 267).²²⁹

Leaving bewildered Sumun in the company of her ugly maid, Hyebing escapes to her relatives' house, but Sumun soon finds her. Hyebing again deceives her unwanted husband, sending forth a life-size doll in her own sedan chair. This substitution only transpires once the doll is unable to pay respects to her parents-in-law, sagging on the

²²⁹ *Hyönssi yangung ssangnin'gi* [The Record of Two Heroes: Brothers Hyön], ed. Association for the Preservation of the Materials for National Studies (Seoul: Söngmunsa, 1979), vol. 1-2.

floor instead of standing upright. But the story of Hyebing's triumph ends abruptly and violently. If the tricks she successfully plays on Sumun seem to foreground a position for challenging male desire, this position is ultimately deemed unviable. Sumun again discovers Hyebing after the doll incident and forces her to return to the Hyŏn mansion. On her way back Hyebing is greeted by a brigade of servants who completely wreck her sedan upon Sumun's orders. The novel comments, "Although at first Yun Hyebing succeeded at deceiving Hyŏn Sumun with her little tricks, now, in front of the people of the world Sumun has cleansed his offence" (II, 10: 481). This resolution appears paradoxical given that *The Record of Two Heroes* recognizes the violence of Sumun's rape and validates Hyebing's unwillingness to comply with his demands. The novel's verdict is stern: patriarchy grants the last word to male desire and a woman has no better choice than to comply. Apart from this, however, it is noteworthy that kinship structure itself sets the limit to male desire. Sumun brings Hyebing into his household as a secondary wife, and although this position is inferior to the primary wife's station, it is a legally and socially binding arrangement. As Sumun's case illustrates, while men are free to follow their passions, these passions have to unfold within the normative kinship system.

Pearls continues with the next generations of the Hyŏns—sons of Hyŏn Sumun and Hyŏn Kyŏngmun. This time, Hyŏn Kyŏngmun's son, Hyŏn Ch'ŏnnin, becomes the troubled amorous hero. Ch'ŏnnin marries Sŏl ssi,²³⁰ a beautiful if somewhat calculating woman. Soon, however, an itinerant monk divines that Princess Wolsŏng, the emperor's beloved daughter, would be a more appropriate match for Ch'ŏnnin. Upon the emperor's

²³⁰ Korean "ssi" (Ch. shi 氏) is used to refer to young women. However, unlike the English "Miss," "ssi" can be used for married women as well, marking their young age rather than unmarried status. I hence retain the original Korean in my translation.

insistence, and even in spite of the Hyöns' unwillingness to break the marriage, Ch'önnin is separated from his wife and married to Princess Wölsong. Before this, however, Ch'önnin visits Söl ssi to comfort her, and he is so moved by the piteous sight of her grief that the two happen to consummate their marriage, against the strict prohibition of Ch'önnin's father. Having become husband and wife in deed, Ch'önnin and Söl ssi are inseparable: "Although Ch'önnin was only twelve years of age, he was already knowledgeable about hundreds of affairs, so how would he be ignorant about the joy that happens between man and woman. He harbored the most tender affection in his heart, and Söl ssi's feelings were thrice as strong as Ch'önnin's" (I, 1: 32-33). Ch'önnin naturally neglects Princess Wölsöng using every pretext to visit Söl ssi, which ultimately becomes known to his father and incurs a hefty flogging for Ch'önnin.

Ch'önnin cannot understand why he and Söl ssi, who were legitimately and happily married, had to be separated. Naturally, Ch'önnin blames Princess Wölsöng for his own and Söl ssi's misery; "Who is this Princess Wölsöng to intrude upon the harmony of a married couple?!" he demands (I, 3: 67). Princess Wölsöng has to withstand many violent scenes. At the peak of his rage, Ch'önnin throws a letter case at the Princess severely cutting her forehead. When Princess Wölsöng's maid rises to her defense, Ch'önnin beheads the faithful servant and flings her bloody head to her mistress. Princess Wölsöng maintains equanimity though all these trials, proving her exceptional virtue and with time Ch'önnin recognizes not only the outstanding character of his forced wife, but also notices the delicate beauty of the Princess.

Following Ch'önnin's unruly behavior, the couple becomes separated, but when Princess Wölsöng falls ill and palace doctors prove powerless Ch'önnin stays at her side.

At her sickbed, Ch'önnin admires the modesty of Princess Wölsöng's room, filled only with books and calligraphy, a single court robe hung on the wall. Turning his gaze to his wife, Ch'önnin notices her subtle charm:

Ch'önnin looked [at the Princess] again. Disheveled, her cloud-like hair was covering her jade face. Flushed, her cheeks seemed to possess all imaginable beauty. Her fragrant spirit emanated softly, like an autumn moon that is just about to conceal itself in a misty forest [...] The Princess has just turned eleven years of age and she was extremely becoming. Of course she could not help looking somewhat childish, but even then her dignity permeated the whole world and her stature was radiant as sun and moon. If it was not for someone like Hyön Ch'önnin, one could not easily prevail over her. Although Hyön Ch'önnin has the power to shake the universe and tuck the sky and earth into his sleeve, he too has a body of flesh, and his heart is not made of metal or stone. Seeing this ravishing beauty, how could he help being moved? (I, 5: 151-152).

While Ch'önnin falls in love with the beauty and virtue of Princess Wölsöng, she herself can only think about his past fits of rage: “The Princess could not forget [Ch'önnin's] mad fits and debauchery in the earlier days. When she thought of Ch'önnin beheading her maid, and tossing her blood-stained head, fear filled the entire body of Princess Wölsöng” (I, 5: 152). The lineage novel again breaks the potentially dogmatic point—on the validity of marriage based in moral parity, refashioned into the story of romantic reencounter—into a point of convergence for two diametrically opposed gazes, two views, each endowed with a unique and complex trajectory. Ch'önnin and Princess Wölsöng nonetheless reconcile, while Ch'önnin's original wife, Söl ssi, exposes her evil nature in her continued schemes against the princess. The novel confirms that, although sound on legal terms, the marriage of Ch'önnin and Söl ssi is dissolved for an undisputable reason, since in Princess Wölsöng Ch'önnin finds a fit bride, both in terms of her moral character and her extreme attractiveness. Hence, while desire is recognized as a powerful force that brings together Ch'önnin and his unfit wife Söl ssi, *Pearls* posits marriage based in moral parity as the site where love of moral qualities joins sensual attraction, and where private feelings and the awareness of shared moral code become reconciled.

The third novel in the Hyŏn lineage sequel, *Pearls and Jade*, frames the plot of male lust with an inquiry into women's role in the economy of desire. In this novel the Hyŏn lineage is at its most precarious, as lust becomes the source of major trouble that comes both from within and outside the family. Two households at once are embroiled in the plot of desire—that of the Crown Prince Kwangp'yŏng, brother of Princess Wŏlsŏng, and that of Hyŏn Hŭimun, Hyŏn Ch'ŏnnin's son. While Prince Kwangp'yŏng's concubine, Consort Hwang, tries to displace his virtuous wife from his affections, her faithful aide, palace maid Sŏlmae, longs for Hyŏn Hŭimun. Unable to gain their ways by magic, in which the two women are superbly proficient, Consort Hwang and Sŏlmae gather a rebel army for a strike of revenge. At this point, the power of these women's lust endangers the entire realm, and Hyŏn Hŭimun and Prince Kwangp'yŏng, in charge of the imperial army, are powerless. Just at this moment Hyŏn Hŭimun's wife, Yŏn Hwaok, saves the situation: she learns magic while missing from the Hyŏn mansion after Sŏlmae organizes her kidnapping, and she ultimately defeats the two lustful women. Yŏn Hwaok embodies patience: she is the ideal wife who does not attempt to seduce her husband but instead acts as a guardian to her husband and his family. At the end of the novel, the virtuous wife is recognized and praised at large: "The entire army learned that [...] it was the wife of Hyŏn Hŭimun [who helped them], they clapped with happiness and spoke of it in amazement. The praise [of Yŏn Hwaok] spread far and wide" (XXV).²³¹ The novel here celebrates women's central role in preserving the stability of the family and lineage, perhaps fashioning this prestigious role as compensation for women's inability to become heroines of love plots.

²³¹ *Myŏngju okyŏn kihamnok* [The Remarkable Union of Pearls and Mandarin Ducks], Sogang University Library, Kosŏ Myŏng 77, vols. 1-25. Unpaginated.

The polarity of chaste wife and profligate shrew who seeks to subjugate the man is a familiar trope in Late Imperial Chinese fiction. As Keith McMahon has noted, eighteenth-century Chinese fiction elaborated the polygyny by charting the flows of desire, pivoted on the centrality of the male. The dream of benevolent and vigorous polygamist ensconced amid expendable females is augmented with the representations of dangers that polygyny faces in the figures of shrews, who seek to subjugate the male.²³² The juxtaposition of lustful women and chaste wives that takes place in the lineage novel, significantly, takes place against the macro-horizon of lineage continuity, which casts the question of desire into more fundamental terms. Granted that desire is an integral part of human nature, what forms of desire are permissible so that the patriarchal order is able to endure? Notably, the lust of Sölmae who struggles to win Hūimun’s affection, mirrors Hūimun’s own lust, as he easily falls prey to Sölmae’s schemes and abandons his virtuous wife.

Insisting that attraction between the couple has to be counterbalanced with moral parity, the lineage novel produces a classification of conjugal unions. Chang Serin, a pining lover from *The Pledge*, already married but bed-ridden because of his love-sickness for another woman, muses, “Even if everything is discovered later, how can something that originates in heavenly predestination (*ch’ōn’yōn* 天緣) and remarkable encounter (*kibong* 奇逢) be thought as wantonness (*ūmhaeng* 淫行) and charged as a crime?” (*Wanwōlhoe maengyōn* IV, 51: 161-162). As I show in Chapter 4, the theme of remarkable encounter or remarkable union (*kihap* 奇合) frequently appears in the lineage novels’ titles, where it emphasizes the fundamental importance of conjugal bond.

²³² Keith McMahon, *Misers, Shrews, and Polygamists*, 1-16, 28-54.

Recognizing the centrality of marriage to the endurance of the patriarchal kinship order, the lineage novel consistently asserts the need to counterbalance male desire with a female figure of exceptional virtue.

Alongside spouses' moral parity, lineage novels posit another crucial requirement for the conjugal bond—the transparency of conjugal sexuality. Marriage represents the rite of passage, a threshold from childhood to adulthood reflected in the sexualization of the body. In the lineage novel, bodies sexualized in the rite of marriage become subjected to increased visibility within the space of the family. Sexuality thus escapes the closed relationship of the married couple, and is displayed in front of multiple spectators, and hence tamed within the extended kinship fabric. A scene of very explicit marking of the visibility of the sexualized body occurs in *The Record of Two Heroes*. Hyön Kyöngmun's maternal uncle, Master Chang, plays a trick on Kyöngmun on the day of his marriage by smearing nightingale blood (K. *aenghyöl*; Ch. *yingxue* 鶯血) on Kyöngmun's hand. In China and Korea nightingale blood was believed to be a substance capable of registering a woman's virginity: a mark made with nightingale blood would disappear only after deflowering. Kyöngmun fails to wipe off the red blotch, as he and his wife have been unable to consummate their marriage.²³³

Used exclusively on women's bodies, nightingale blood bears a strong mark of gender. The splotch of nightingale blood on Kyöngmun's hand subjects his body to

²³³ The motif of protracted inability to consummate marriage is ubiquitous in lineage novels. In traditional Korea marriages were arranged, and the first encounter of the bride and bridegroom, still in their early teens, often happened on the day of their marriage. By showing the trying process—often several years in span—of the consummation of marriage, the lineage novel manifests exceptional psychological nuance and attentiveness to actual realities of family life. As a rule, marriages in the lineage novel are not consummated until the point when the spouses come to terms with their relationship. I believe this is another instance in which the lineage novel presents kinship obligation as a choice rather than duty.

carnavalesque resignification.²³⁴ While he himself is a man, the chastity of Kyōngmun's body is marked with a sign reserved for women, and this paradox heightens his body's visibility, augmented with comic aspect. When after seven years Kyōngmun finally succeeds at erasing the mark from his hand, Master Chang supplies a humorous greeting, "This mark was so easy to erase, so why would you carry it on your body for so long, undermining your appearance as a man?" (II, 8: 319). The paradoxical mark that distorts Kyōngmun's gender identity makes his body acutely visible and turns it from a privatized sexualized body to a publicly available body-on-display. The bold sexual jokes of Kyōngmun's uncle serve a similar purpose of publicizing conjugal sexuality. As Elizabeth Povinelli has noted, ribald jokes exchanged between women in the indigenous Australian communities "intensify kinship relations.... constituting social dependencies beyond the conjugal couple."²³⁵ Lineage novels reveal a similar desire to exempt sexuality from the exclusive space of the conjugal couple and distribute it, as a spectacle, in a larger kinship space.

Another mode of augmenting the visibility of sexualized conjugal bodies is achieved through the networks of domestic surveillance. *Pearls and Jade* lays out with particular detail the process of setting up the spectacle of a couple's first night. The scene concerns the two cousins, Hyōn Hūimun and Hyōn Hūibaek, who marry on the same day. Eager to join his beautiful wife at night even against his father's prohibition based on the early age of the newlyweds, Hūimun notes, "Who could hear and report the intimate conversations on the wedding night, when it is so quiet, with not a soul around?" (XII). It

²³⁴ I use Bakhtin's term "carnavalesque" to denote the process of subversive rearticulation of normative structures and their temporary suspension. See Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helen Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 1-58.

²³⁵ Povinelli, 66.

is only later that Hūimun discovers himself acting in front of an audience. Two maids are dispatched to keep vigil under the windows of each newlywed couple. Later, the two domestic spies share a late-night meal, when one maid complains:

“Hoping to hear something interesting I spent half of the night eavesdropping by the back window. Having been on my feet all night, I am all sore and numb; I barely managed to stay awake and I am extremely hungry. Finally I have something to eat now. I do hope that my exploits get rewarded.” [The second maid] replied with a smile, “Even though you say you had trouble for half of the night, you do not have any interesting story to tell, so why do you expect to receive prize wine? I myself have seen the curious act of Hūimun. Tomorrow, I will go to our master and mistress and embellish this tale; if they are amused with this anecdote, would I not receive three cups of wine? When I receive my prize wine, I will be sure to share one cup with you!” (XII).

Hūimun’s decision to break his father’s prohibition against the consummation of marriage supplies an entertaining story to the lucky maid who hopes to receive prize wine after relaying it to her masters. The other maid’s labors are lost, as Hūibaek simply spends the night over his books. This scene reveals the logistics of domestic surveillance, and the mechanism of inscribing larger kinship network, in the form of external watchful presence, into the most intimate realm of a conjugal couple’s relationship.

Elizabeth Povinelli has written that modern liberalism, elaborating the ideal of abstract individual worth, has produced the myth of “socially exfoliating love,” or “true love [that] works against the social.”²³⁶ The lineage novel provides a historicizing vision, in which love and marriage are, on the contrary, instances of elaborating the social in the form of extended kinship networks and of counterbalancing desire with moral code. In other words, love in the lineage novel does not produce an abstract, generalized subject of love, but a socially embedded and morally responsible one. And while the subject of desire can only be male, lineage novel devises multiple mechanisms for containing male desire within the framework of kinship.

²³⁶ Ibid., 177.

A Genealogical Tree Grows Leaves: The Matriline as Emotional Genealogy

JaHyun Kim Haboush has noted that, in the patrilocal marriage structure of Chosŏn Korea, a woman's transition from her natal family into her husband's household was an experience of profound contradiction between natural emotion for one's parents and social obligation to transfer this emotion to the figures of parents-in-law. Shorter vernacular Korean fiction devised imaginative solutions to this familial drama, allowing their female protagonists to become subjects of filial emotion to their own parents even as they became other men's wives. These vernacular novels, Haboush notes, operate on the principle of "the reciprocity and untransferability of filial emotion."²³⁷ The lineage novel, too, explores the problem of women's emotional attachment to their natal families. In particular, the lineage novel probes into the relationship between a woman's father and her husband, a connection that hardly receives much attention elsewhere.

The lineage novel was a genre enjoyed by the elites, and to the members of powerful lineages the relationship between father- and son-in-law was quite significant: if both men held office in the central bureaucracy, they would frequently interact at court and have a network of connections through their bureaucratic ranks, allies, and acquaintances. In her memoir, *Lady Hyegyŏng* (1735-1815), an eighteenth-century princess, gives a glimpse of the connection shared between a woman, her father, and her husband. It must be noted that Lady Hyegyŏng's station was certainly unique: her position as a member of the royal family called for more elaborate ritual governing Princess Hyegyŏng's relationship with her natal family and with her royal family-in-law. Princess Hyegyŏng notes this shift soon after she is selected as the royal bride: her parents change the form of address, calling her by her honorary title. She also describes

²³⁷ JaHyun Kim Haboush, "Filial Emotions and Filial Values," 175.

the precautions taken in correspondence: the letters dispatched from the palace are always written on the reverse side of the letters from home so that all correspondence between the Princess and her family remains in her parent's house. And yet, Princess Hyegyŏng unflinchingly notes the strong emotional bond she continues to sustain with her parents, especially her father, when she writes, "Father favored me so much that, as a young child, I found it difficult to stay away from him even for a short while" (51).²³⁸

Lady Hyegyŏng, moreover, notes the lasting affectionate presence of her father, Hong Ponghan (1713-1778) in her own life and in the life her husband, prince Sado (1735-1765):

Father came to the palace twice monthly [...] When he did come he always visited the Crown Prince, counseling him to study. With great care and patience, Father sought to explain famous writings and well-known historical events in such a way as to be easily understood by a young child. In fact, he spent more time with the Prince than with me. The Prince responded remarkably well and his affection and respect for his father-in-law grew noticeably. One need not go into detail about my father's devotion to the Prince and the extent to which he treasured him (70).

In writing her memoirs, Lady Hyegyŏng is certainly deliberate in emphasizing the emotional bond she shares with her father, and opposing it to the disaffected relationship between Prince Sado and his father, King Yŏngjo (r. 1724-1776), whose exacting demands on the prince, Lady Hyegyŏng suggests, aggravate Prince Sado's mental state and cause his ultimate demise. Still, *Records Written in Silence* emphasize the lasting emotional bond women continued to share with their natal families after marriage, and the consequent importance of the relationship between son- and father-in-law.

²³⁸ JaHyun Kim Haboush, *The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng: The Autobiographical Writings of a Crown Princess of Eighteenth Century Korea* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

In lineage novels, the relationship between father- and son-in-law²³⁹ is nothing like the idyll described by Princess Hyegyŏng. The dramatic and violent confrontation between the two most important men in a woman's life, however, only underscores the problematic juncture of norm and emotion in this relationship and the necessity of its resolution. In *The Pledge*, for instance, the relationship between Chŏng In'gwang and his father-in-law, Chang Hŏn, begins with a dramatic episode, in which In'gwang becomes a concubine to his future father-in-law:

Chang Hŏn looked at In'gwang in wonder. His longing for beauty weighed like a stone upon him, but the jealousy of his wife, Madame Pak, kept Chang Hŏn at bay until this day, when he met such ravishing beauty and as a man was finally able to partake of the joy he so long desired. Chang Hŏn himself could not believe his fortune. With his tilted head and hat askew, Chang Hŏn's figure looked utterly bizarre. Looking at the bizarre and pathetic figure of Chang Hŏn, In'gwang was overcome with surprise and anger and could barely restrain himself from laughing. Moreover, having encountered all kinds of hardships at just nine years of age, the only thing he was wishing for day and night was to rejoin his parents and play around; knowing nothing of the lustful affairs of the bedchamber, how could he understand the joy when the feelings of man and woman coincide. On the contrary, he viewed the whole affair with disgust [...]

In'gwang frowned in dismay, closed his eyes, and lowered his head assuming cold air. Not a reader of people's hearts, Chang Hŏn could see only coyness and inability to tolerate the serious illness that he knew In'gwang had. He therefore immediately left his seat, touched In'gwang's knees and took his hands. Who would know how far he would go in his obscene behavior.

Chang Hŏn said to In'gwang that heaven unites people, and even though the two of them are not bound by ritual, he promised to quickly find a go-in-between and treat In'gwang like a concubine from a good house. Then Chang Hŏn boasted of his wealth [...]

In'gwang paid no attention to these words, remaining still like a stone statue, but Chang Hŏn noticed nothing. His face flushed, Chang Hŏn spoke of indecency and impatiently urged In'gwang to share his bed (II, 18: 77-78).

The bizarre encounter of In'gwang and his desirous father-in-law casts a long shadow over their future relationship. The passage above makes it only too understandable that

²³⁹ Song Sŏnguk was the first one to point out that the relationship between father- and son-in-law is problematized only in the lineage novel. See Song Sŏnguk, *Chosŏn sidae taeha sosŏl ūi sŏsa munbop kwa ch'angjak ūisik*.

after barely escaping from the hands of the lascivious man In'gwang would have trouble accepting Chang Hön's authority as father-in-law.

A chain of misfortunes brings to In'gwang the surprising role of a coy mistress. In'gwang and his sister break off from their family train and later come into the eyes of Chang Hön who, oblivious of their origin, immediately has designs upon In'gwang's beautiful sister. In'gwang is compelled to don female garb and enter Chang Hön's house in order to protect his sister's honor. After In'gwang escapes from Chang Hön's house, he learns that he has been already betrothed to the villain's daughter, and this arrangement has to be honored. In'gwang is tricked into this marriage by being persuaded that the bride is another woman. Although unlike her father Chang Söngwan is a person of unswerving virtue, In'gwang blames his wife for the shame this alliance brings to him. In'gwang repeatedly urges Söngwan to commit suicide so he no longer has to be the son-in-law of Chang Hön, a lustful, petty, treacherous, and profit-seeking person.

The dialogic imagination of *The Pledge*, however, reveals itself again in the treatment of this family drama. Chang Hön is given a chance to reflect on his vices, which lends a degree of complexity to his figure and rescues it from outright ridicule. Chang Hön ponders, "Of course there are people whose lofty uprightness prevails in most extreme circumstances, but ordinary people like me naturally covet profit and calculate gains and losses. People are not all of the same quality. Otherwise, among the seventy disciples of Confucius, why would there be any who failed at becoming just like the sage?" (I, 9: 294). By depicting the first encounter of In'gwang and his father-in-law in comic-grotesque fashion, *The Pledge* asserts the validity of In'gwang's resentment, but all the same requires In'gwang to overcome his feelings. Chang Hön's self-reflective note

underscores In'gwang's obdurate hard-heartedness, which the novel also clearly captures: "Now that [In'gwang] was already married, he could not continue with his abuse [of his wife] because of her parents' faults. [In'gwang] certainly knew this, but even in his dreams he could not imagine reconciling [with Chang Hön] and treating him with respect. [In'gwang] resented the fact that he became a son-in-law to such a scoundrel and he could not suppress his rage" (III, 35: 155). By the end of the novel, In'gwang and Chang Hön reconcile, even though their violent struggle almost rivals the tempestuous relationship of Madame So and her stepson Insöng in the scope of displayed feelings. No particular event leads to Chang Hön and In'gwang's reconciliation, so it appears that time itself works out the question of emotion in favor of the moral choice.

The confrontation of father- and son-in-law in *Jade Mandarin Ducks* is structurally similar to the one depicted in *The Pledge*: Yi Wönüi is a treacherous and greedy official, who turns his back on the marriage pledge he makes for his daughter and So Segyöng, after learning about the downturn in the political fortunes of the So family. Dressing as a maid and entering Yi Wönüi's house to avoid political persecution, So Segyöng also has to repel Yi Wönüi's amorous advances. This family drama is narrated in radically different terms—importantly, a child's perspective is used to comprehend the failure of multiple relationships. A scene that takes place between Segyöng, his wife Yi Hyön'yöng, and their newborn son Ponghüi reveals that the strain in father- and son's-in-law relationship extends upon the entire family:

Just five months after birth, Ponghüi appeared mature and perceptive, already walking and trying to learn the sounds of language. He could recognize his parents and, looking at his father, he would cross his hands and imitate the posture assumed at reading. Sometimes he would even take the brush and pretend to be washing it. At moments, Ponghüi would let go of the breast and look back at his father, clapping hands happily and then embracing his mother again. Then he would go down to the book case and take a book, giving it to his father and lowering and nodding his head imitating the sounds of

reading and urging his father to read. To Hyŏn'yŏng, this was an unwanted child, and she did not rejoice in his outstanding behavior. But Segyŏng, finally seeing this much-awaited son, was astonished and amused. The boy was growing up so fast that Segyŏng often measured his height asking, "When did you grow so?!" Every day Segyŏng played with the boy, feeling that in some mysterious way it was his own body, which just became divided into two. When Segyŏng looked at the amusing things the boy did, his face shone and, embracing Ponghŭi, Segyŏng said, "Now my boy is encouraging me to study, but then he is distracting me, so why don't I make him read instead!"

With these words Segyŏng taught Ponghŭi the six characters for "heaven," "earth," "man," "son," "father," and "mother." Ponghŭi took the book right away and found these characters, one by one. Although he skipped over other characters written in the same way, only finding exactly the ones pinpointed by his father, and although he was still not good at speaking and therefore could not pronounce the sound of these characters, it was clear Ponghŭi knew them. In great surprise, Segyŏng said, "What an able boy!.. Now that my son has already learned letters, what could I possibly worry about?"

With these words, Segyŏng raised his eyes. Hyŏn'yŏng's expression was cold like a crisp plum blossom. Her hands arranged orderly and her gaze lowered, she was not even looking at the tender amusements of father and son. Finding Hyŏn'yŏng so cold-hearted Segyŏng said to her, "To me, the relationship of father and son is the most precious thing in the world. I have a father above me, and a son below me, myself being in between; at the moment my heart is filled with joy. Is it not the same for you?" After pondering it silently, Hyŏn'yŏng said, "Is there anyone unable to appreciate the feelings shared between parents and children? For someone like me, cut off from my own natural essence from above, what can I know of the natural affection that continues below? In the same way, all people have children and raise them, but becoming unworthy of one's parents and thoughtlessly forgetting the boundless grace given by the parents, only caring for one's own progeny, is the way of birds and beasts. Although people are unsteady, they are different from birds and beasts, and seeing a young child fills their hearts with tremor. How can love and affection be altered?" (XXVII, 6: 53).²⁴⁰

A number of things are noteworthy in this passage. First of all, it is the picture of a child, cast not as a miniature adult, but depicted taking his first uncertain steps—pointing at letters and imitating his parents. Such depictions of childhood do not appear anywhere else in premodern Korean literature, but I will return to this later. Next, we see the figure of the affectionate father who delights in the learning progress of his son and teaches him his first characters. The domestic idyll is, however disrupted, by a distant and frigid figure—Yi Hyŏnyŏng is unable to join in the affectionate exchange between father

²⁴⁰ *Okwŏn chaehap kiyŏn* [The Remarkable Reunion of Jade Mandarin Ducks], in *Kojŏn sosŏl chŏnjip* [Anthology of Manuscript Editions of Classical Korean Novel], ed. Kim Kidong et al., vols. 27-30 (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1980).

and son and she remains a distant onlooker, which prompts her husband to question Hyōnyōng's feelings for her son. A mother herself, she is unable to become the subject of feelings that, she knows, a mother should have for her child—all because her husband refuses to pay due respect to her own father. If Hyōn'yōng cannot secure respected status for her father in her new family, emotional bonds that link parents and children are severed, and she becomes alienated from her own son. Having produced a male heir for her husband's family, Hyōn'yōng is perfectly at sync with her position in terms of duty, but as an emotional subject she has no place within this domestic community. Hyōn'yōng's self-distancing is all the more striking as this passage depicts family as a zone of affection and intimacy, fleshed out in the minutest details: Ponghŭi's growth spurts, the child's gestures, and his first attempts to speak.

As time goes by, Hyōn'yōng becomes ever more adamant in her refusal to enter the family on emotional terms. Her last hopes are shattered when Segyōng passes the Civil Service Examination, of which he hastily writes home. The honors that Hyōn'yōng receives as wife of the examination laureate bring her little happiness and she dismays after finding not a single mention of her father in Segyōng's letter. The news of success is transformed into a story of failure: "This was not what Hyōn'yōng hoped for. Longing with all her heart to see the happy event in which her own relationship (*ch'ōnnyun* 天倫) with her father is restored, Hyōn'yōng wished that on the day of his success Segyōng would reconcile with his father-in-law" (XXVIII, 14: 53). In utter disappointment, Hyōn'yōng even announces to her son that she has no desire to live. Hearing the words of his despairing mother, Ponghŭi too confesses his own feelings:

"Ever since I was a baby and until now that I am four years of age, I have barely known my father—my longing grows stronger by day and I am anguished. Although I should be

a careless child, my feelings are so difficult to control when I hear other children call for their fathers. Awaiting the joy of reunion, I gaze into distant future and this yearning becomes a disease. Mother, if now you harbor these strange thoughts how can I go on living? Please put me to death first.” Having spoken thus, Ponghŭi put his head into Hyŏn’yŏng’s lap and could not stop crying until the sleeves of his dress were moist with tears that were falling like rain (XXVII, 14: 54).

A child’s perspective renders the conflict between his parents into tragic terms. Although Ponghŭi reasons like an adult,²⁴¹ earlier reminding his mother of her duty and the affection with which she is treated by her father-in-law, raw emotion permeates his last phrases: Ponghŭi longs for seeing his father so much that a sight of other children together with their fathers pains him. Now that his mother renounces all thoughts of living, Ponghŭi declares that he too is unwilling to continue his life. At this moment, the family, bankrupt on emotional terms, is facing literal extinction, all because the matrilineal emotional genealogy fails to function.

Another example of a child’s perspective upon the collapse of emotional genealogy can be found in *Pearls*. Hyŏn Hŭngnin’s reasons to despise his father-in-law, Hwa Chŏngik, are already well-rehearsed: pettiness, fraudulence, and greed of the former. The emotional collapse in Hŭngnin’s family is, however, even more violent than in the two above-discussed instances. The following scene takes place between Hyŏn Hŭimun, his wife Hwa Oksu, and their son Hŭimong, when Oksu yet again demands that her husband treat her father with respect:

Hŭimong woke up and started crying. Seeing Hŭngnin inside, the nurse went away, and Oksu did not pay any attention, while the crying grew only louder. Composing himself, Hŭngnin spoke, “It is because Hŭimong is of my blood that you hate him so. Did you not kill the baby while he was still inside you only to give birth to him and torment me with this piteous sight?” Oksu only smiled coldly and remained silent. Hŭngnin was already frustrated by the baby’s desolate appearance and now that the crying would not stop, his

²⁴¹ In China, after the Han dynasty, adult-like behavior in children was seen as a sign of outstanding individual. The case was similar in Korea. See Julia K. Murray, “The Childhood of Gods and Sages,” in *Children in Chinese Art*, ed. Ann Elizabeth Barrott Wicks (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 108-132.

anger rose suddenly and he pushed the baby with his hand. Crying, the baby rolled over, fell down, and his nose started to bleed. Hŭngnin only glared at Oksu angrily and did not move, while Hŭimong was crying desperately with red blood flowing profusely and covering his face. Though feigning nonchalance, Oksu was frightened by Hŭngnin's stubbornness and deplored it. Now that Hŭimong was in pain, she finally turned around, took the boy into her hands, put him in her lap, wiped his face, and comforted him. Hŭimong was a bright child, and now that he finally shook off his sleep he realized that it was his own father who pushed him, and this terrified him. This was also the first time he was held by his mother, so he was satisfied and just clung quietly to her. Oksu saw that the boy was hurt and that his blood would not stop, and also that he was so frightened that he could no longer cry. She was too overcome with pity to hold back her own tears, and just held Hŭimong until he fell asleep (II, 24: 352-353).

Hŭimong fares even worse than Ponghŭi: he suffers from his parents' discord not only mentally, but physically. The text vividly captures Hŭimong's utmost surprise as he is pushed and hurt by his father, irritated by the child's continuing cries. The startling admission that it is Hŭimong's first time to be held by his mother, who tries to console the child after his father's violent act, yet again reveal the indispensable role of feelings in kinship organization. Hŭngnin later regrets his outburst against Hŭimong, and the story of this family receives a rather formal resolution. The above scene appears in the last volume of *Pearls* and the genealogy of new descendants with which the novel ends suggests that the lineage weathers all calamities.

What to make of these children, whose figures appear in the lineage novel—and nowhere else in premodern Korean literature—with such vivid realness? Outside lineage novels, children and childhood are most frequently explored in education manuals, which discuss the essentials of appropriate upbringing and early instruction. Yi Tŏngmu, whose primer *Fine Manners for Gentlemen* I discuss in Chapter 2, also includes a section “Precepts for Children” into his extended elaboration on the propriety of daily interactions. Unlike the puritan view of childhood as embodiment of the original sin, or

the English romantic idealization of childhood as a state of original purity,²⁴² Chosŏn educational manuals appear devoid of judgment, and thus do not seem to articulate any fundamental distinction between childhood and adulthood.



Figure 7: Painting by Sin Hanp'yŏng (1726-?) depicting a mother breastfeeding her newborn child in the company of two older children. The National Museum of Korea.

A uniquely meticulous account of a child's life appears in Yi Mun'gŏn's (1497-1567) *Diary of Mukchae* (*Mukchae ilgi* 默齋日記) that traces the early days of his grandson, Yi Subong. Yi Mun'gŏn is a most affectionate grandfather: he records carefully the games Subong enjoys (noting that he most approves of Subong's love for hawks), the progress the child makes in his studies (which, Yi Mun'gŏn notes, requires significant improvement) and even the color of Subong's stool during his several

²⁴² Galia Benziman, *Narratives of Child Neglect in Romantic and Victorian Culture* (Houndmills, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 5. For literary representation of children in English Romantic and Victorian literature, see Benziman and also Judith Plotz, *Romanticism and the Vocation of Childhood* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001). On the image of the child in the French novel at the time of the French Revolution, see Lynn Hunt, *Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 17-53. Ann Waltner discusses figures of children depicted in the biographies of virtuous women during the Ming. See Ann Waltner, "Representations of Children in Three Stories from Biographies of Exemplary Women," in *Children in the Chinese Art*, 84-107.

illnesses.²⁴³ This is a unique case of such detailed attention to a child's figure outside the lineage novel. In several instances, figures of children make their appearance in art. Here, children are depicted mostly as bodies that establish the fact of generational continuity, with hardly a perception of the distinctness of childhood experience. In painting, children of different classes appear in different ways—those of lower origin usually engaged in productive activities alongside their parents, and those of greater social privilege participating in the ritual events at home.²⁴⁴ In both cases, children are inscribed into the symbolic order of the adults.

The lineage novel, on the other hand, marks the distinctiveness of childhood by articulating it in the form of the emotional connection children share with their parents and by authorizing a child's perspective on the families' emotional bankruptcy. Notably, the two children discussed above, Ponghŭi and Hŭimong, appear not as miniature adults, but as young beings, who only know the immediate affective circle created by their parents. The suffering and fear children experience with the failure of this affective fabric, centered on the figures of their mothers, delivers a powerful message, in which the future of lineages—their children—is linked directly to the ability of the patriarchy to accommodate the matriline and thereby secure a consistent emotional climate for the upbringing of the lineage heirs.

Grafting the matriline upon the patriarchal lineage, the lineage novel embodies the point at which patriarchal genealogy tree grows leaves: lineage and family cease to be

²⁴³ See Paek Hyeri, “*Mukchae ilgi*’e nat’anan Chosŏn chunggi adong ŭi saenghwal” [The Life of a Child in mid-Chosŏn, as Recorded in the *Diary of Mukchae*], *Hanguk yu’a kyoyuk hakhoe* 24. 5 (2004): 63-100.

²⁴⁴ Yi Chŏngmi, “Chosŏn sidae hoehwa e nat’anan adong t’ŭksŏng” [Figure of the Child in Chosŏn Painting], *Han’guk yŏngyu’a poyukhak* 21 (2000): 59-87.

defined merely by the verticality of ritual and property succession through the patriline, and instead are acknowledged as entanglements of lateral branches and leaves—of the volatile and dynamic emotional and intimate encounters that prove to be crucial to the stability of lineage as transtemporal abstract structure that unites many generations. Does the problematizing of the place of the matriline in the patriarchal lineage valorize female experience and identity, and thereby subvert the validity of the patriarchal ideology? I am reluctant to take this view, since the lineage novel explores the importance of emotional connection in the lives of both men and women. Rather than rewriting lineage from the perspective of valorized matriline, lineage novel disarticulates the paradigm of exclusively patriarchal kinship, opening it to lateral allegiances, filiations, and affective bonds.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I show how the lineage novel makes a series of important adjustments to the patriarchal kinship ideology by foregrounding the importance of emotional autonomy to personal identity and the centrality of affective bonds to kinship and social organization. The lineage novel makes several discoveries that stand out in the premodern literary canon of Korea: these are the dialogic approach to the narrative of private emotional experience and the discovery of a child's perspective upon the affective climate of the family. This chapter is in direct conversation with Chapter 1, in which I lay out the lineage novel's macrostructure: its conceptions of time, space, and the body, all arising from the cosmology of kinship relations.

As I show in Chapter 1, the lineage novel accepts the ultimate value of the lineage as a normative patriarchal institution. Lineage novels internalize some of the key concepts of the patriarchal society, such as generational continuity of lineages as a premise for moral and social stability: lineage novels themselves follow generational progression, tracing the lives of male descendants of the protagonists from the source novel. But at the same time these texts also underscore the centrality of feelings to authentic personal identity and to kinship bonds. Emotions have double valence in the lineage novel. On the one hand, emotions of attachment and the instances of intimacy create the affective fabric that constitutes the content of the normative kinship structure and that produces the actually felt bonds of kinship. On the other hand, prescribed relational paradigms lead to the upheaval of unruly feelings, which cannot be realized within the social and which indicate the most problematic junctures between private person and social role. In this chapter, I looked at three pairs of relationships: between stepmother and stepson, between husband and wife, and between father- and son-in-law. These relationships appear to be most violently compromised by the Confucian patriarchal ideology, and hence they produce feelings of great strength. The feelings that arise of dysfunctional relationships are perhaps best described as “unruly”—these are feelings of resistance and indignation that bespeak the sense of oneself being at odds with one’s society. Lineage novels provide ample space for their protagonists to survey the depths of their unruly feelings: crimes of passions and contests of wills and wits are indeed abundant and picturesque, being, moreover, relayed with nuanced awareness of the multiplicity of perspectives that surround each given case. After sounding out the matters of feelings, lineage novels’ protagonists settle into their

prescribed social roles: at the end of the plots of feelings there is a sense of closure and completion. The process of the contestation of the norm, however, becomes necessary as it intimates that living according to the Confucian precepts is a matter of choice and a manifestation of value, rather than pure subjection to coercion: noncoincidentally, lineage novels make their most unruly protagonists—Madame So of *The Pledge* or Hyōn Sumun of *The Record of Two Heroes*—to be most attractive, perhaps to show that the magnitude of the conflict they embody commands particular attention. The stories of their passions remain in the internally transmitted family, while yesterday’s rebels become astute patriarchs and matriarchs to the next generation of unruly youths who also go from contestation to acceptance of the kinship order. I return to the discussion of the discourse of feelings in the following chapter where I juxtapose the lineage novel and the first “modern” texts of Korean literature that elaborate the meaning of feelings and social identity in the nascent national state. It becomes apparent that, unlike the lineage novel, the first modern works of Korean literature offer a prescriptive model which immediately precludes the possibility of dissonance between one’s private sense of self and one’s public duty.

The study of the discourse of emotion in the lineage novel also provides an important lesson in historical methodology. In the postface to his work on Dostoevsky, Mikhail Bakhtin writes that Dostoevsky’s aesthetic vision produces a distinctive conception of a human being, which is not a finished and knowable whole, but instead a polyphonic, multilayered construction comprised of opinions, angles of view, and dialogic encounters. Bakhtin then juxtaposes this vision of Dostoevsky’s work to the scholarship that approaches his literature through an exclusively ideological point of view.

This, notes Bakhtin, is an incongruity that goes against the very nature of the material.²⁴⁵

Bakhtin's remark inspires a similar judgment in the context of the study of Korea.

Namely, we can question the assumptions of modern-premodern divide in history that seems to furnish us with a timeless, completed past populated by one-dimensional carton figures. The polyphonic depiction of character in the lineage novel, and its ambivalent act of inscribing emotion into normative kinship reveals to us an entirely unknown and fascinating aspect of Korea's "premodern" era. And to the fate of the lineage novel at the dawn of the twentieth century, as well as to its ambiguous stance in relationship to modernity and tradition I turn in the following chapter.

²⁴⁵ Bakhtin, *Problemy Poetiki*, 253.

Chapter 4. Epilogue: The Lineage Novel, Feelings, and Kinship in Korea's Modern Era

Mise en scene

The history of the lineage novel—a genre with a massive presence in the literary and material culture of Chosŏn-dynasty Korea, but with a scant trail in external references—becomes even more ambiguous, if not spectral, at the beginning of the twentieth century. By the early twentieth century, lineage novels no longer circulate in the exclusive kinship networks and they enter rental libraries, becoming available to a wider and a more variegated audience. At the same time, private manuscripts continue to be created until the 1930s. While losing its traditional readers—elite women—and reaching wider audiences, the lineage novel, curiously, remains unknown to the new Korean intellectuals who seek to cultivate Korea's modern literature and define Korea's premodern literary canon in the situation of acute geo-cultural crisis that unfolds after Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910. In the 1920s and 1930s cultural discourse, tradition becomes conceived as a reflection of the nation's unique essence and historical path, defined in contradistinction to Korea's modern literature that articulates the moral program for the emerging modern nation. And while the new cultural map of modern Korea happens to be chartered with no regard for the lineage novel, the purpose of this chapter is to trace the interplay of absences and presences in the early-twentieth-century history of the lineage novel and propose an intersection between the terms of the cultural analysis of turn-of-the-twentieth-century Korea and the trajectory of the lineage novel's circulation.

In the introduction to this chapter, I set the scene by juxtaposing the civilizational changes that Korea lived through in the early twentieth century to the persisting presence of the lineage novel: while the nationalist intellectuals searched for authentic national identity and worked to define Korea's tradition and modernity, lineage novels continue to circulate in manuscript editions. Lineage novels' manuscripts, and their interaction with other types of contemporary literary forms will be discussed in the following section. Before closing, I will attempt to account for the spectral presence of the lineage novel in the timeline of Korea's cultural history by using the lineage novel as a comparative hermeneutic that sheds new light onto the first modern works of Korean literature.

Vernacular culture, emotion, and the role of family in the life of the emerging nation become central points in Korea's turn-of-the-twentieth-century discourse of identity. The lineage novel, too, spoke precisely to these concerns, but in the context of the patriarchal kinship society, hence the difference in its major formulations. Scholars of other early modern East Asian states have noted the period of hybridity when indigenous socio-political structure transformed under the influence of the newly imported western values and colonial expansion. Harry Harootunian has written of "the cultural unevenness" of Japan's modern era, where the structures of everyday life, organized on the surface level through the experience of capitalism and consumption of western values, would be saturated with "traces that would reveal existence prior to capitalism and modernity."²⁴⁶ While Harootunian takes to task the clear demarcation of modern and premodern eras that blend in the multidirectional zone of encounter, editors of the volume devoted to China's early-twentieth-century clime, revealingly titled *Different Worlds of*

²⁴⁶ Harry Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 31.

Discourse, invert the focus into the recognition of the dynamic structure of culture in the moment of change:

The question... is not the relationship of tradition to modernity nor that of China to the West but rather how ‘open’ the parameters of cultural discourse were and how accommodating the Chinese cultural repertoire was at this crucial historical moment. ... Qing was not simply located ‘between two worlds,’ as it is often portrayed; rather, it was a world unto itself – one of cultural vitality and experimentation that is crucial to our understanding of what preceded and followed it.²⁴⁷

Focusing on the very moment of change, instead of the larger historical formations of modernity and tradition, the authors suggest, yields a more revealing truth about the transitional period in the late Qing culture. While scholars have discussed the various forms of Korea’s hybridity and dynamic cultural transformation, the lineage novel remains a missing piece in the puzzle of Korea’s modernity narrative. What happens to the lineage novel in the early twentieth century? And if the presence of the lineage novel in the culture of turn-of-the-century Korea is to be accounted for, what picture would we receive? This chapter, therefore, is a circumscribed sketch of that segment of Korea’s early-twentieth-century culture that constitutes the most immediate context to the history of the lineage novel: the evolving meanings attributed to tradition and modernity in the early twentieth century, the emergence of commercialized literary production, and the first literary works that mark the beginning of “modern” Korean literature or, to put it in slightly different terms, announce the departure from “traditional” literary forms.

As Korea historian Andre Schmid has eloquently shown, Japan’s colonial expansion into Korea in 1910 was a geo-political, as well as a discursive crisis. Departing from its dynastic past and China-centered cultural order, Korea found itself on the global stage, but as part of the colonial empire. Accounting for the fact that the boundaries of the

²⁴⁷ Nanxiu Qian et al, ed., *Different Worlds of Discourse. Transformation of Gender and Genre in Late Qing and Early Republican China* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2008), 7.

nation did not coincide with the boundaries of the nation state, as was the case with Korea's status as Japan's colony, demanded a unique vocabulary of identity, which was not already arrogated by the Japanese colonial discourse that justified the annexation by the promise of bestowing the boon of civilization, enlightenment, and capitalist modernity upon the ever lagging Korea. In Schmid's word, the dilemma faced by the Korean nationalist intellectuals was "how to extricate themselves from these ideologies that were undermining their goals for independence but on which they rested their own leadership of the nationalist movement and in which they had framed their very definition of the nation."²⁴⁸ The solution to this problem would be to locate national essence in a place, secluded from the notion of civilizational progress, to which both the nation and the colonial empire aspired to lay claim.

The task of defining the spiritual boundaries of the nation fell on "modern" Korean literature, which in the early twentieth century was yet to be defined. What sort of literature would this be? National literature should necessarily be written in vernacular Korean, and it should deal with subject matters of everyday importance, giving expression to people's emotions—Yi Kwangsu (1892-1950), the first Korean novelist and a prolific cultural and literary theorist, articulates these two fundamental criteria for the modern literary canon. While Japan's *genbun itchi* movement that originated in 1866 and sought to approximate written language to oral speech similarly had a goal of dispensing with the use of stiff literary Chinese allusions and creating a fresh idiom for relaying everyday experiences of the people,²⁴⁹ the questions of both vernacular language

²⁴⁸ Andre Schmid, 14; also 23-46.

²⁴⁹ See Karatani Kojin, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, trans. Brett de Bary (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 45-54.

and literary exploration of emotion had heightened political overtones in Korea's context. In the wake of Japan's colonization of Korea, Korea's long-standing reliance on literary Chinese writing signified—to both nationalist Korean intellectuals and colonial ideologues alike—a lack of vitality of the authentic, national culture, which was further compromised with the annexation.

Vernacular language and emotion, for Yi Kwangsu, turned into political frontiers that would formulate and preserve the unique essence of the Korean nation. For Yi, the new, or “modern” Korean literature would give voice to people's emotions and thus articulate the autonomous realm of individual interiority. In his study of Yi Kwangsu, Michael Shin has noted that for Yi Kwangsu interiority represented “identity as unchanging essence” that encompasses “concepts such as psyche, imagination, and emotional life.”²⁵⁰ The crucial properties of endurance, autonomy, and unchangeability turned interiority into a sanctuary, where a nation comprised of what Michael Shin calls “inner people” was shielded from the colonial gaze that asserted the inferiority of the colonial subject.²⁵¹ But where was modern Korean literature to find a model for the articulation of emotion? In the European literature—is the definitive answer of Yi Kwangsu.²⁵² With regard to traditional Korean literature, which Yi Kwangsu accuses of excessive didacticism and overreliance on the literary Chinese script, Korean literature

²⁵⁰ Michael Shin, “Interior Landscapes: Yi Kwangsu's *The Heartless* and the Origins of Modern Literature,” in *Colonial Modernity in Korea*, ed. Michael Robinson and Gi-wook Shin (Boston: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), 252.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 234.

²⁵² Yi Kwangsu, “The Value of Literature,” trans. Jooyeon Rhee, *Azalea* 4 (2011): 288.

“has no past, only a future.”²⁵³ It is, therefore, unsurprising that Yi included even translations into Korean into his concept of literature, since translation molded the Korean language into a new literary idiom that would become available to Korean writers.²⁵⁴

Ch’oe Namsŏn (1890-1957) revises Yi Kwangsu’s concept of future-oriented national identity by introducing the foundations of tradition into this vision. Ch’a Sŭnggi captivately suggests that for Ch’oe Namsŏn tradition embodied a hope of rejuvenation for the national culture that could see only an image of its own inadequacy mirrored against the perpetually advancing future, embodied by the European civilization, and by Japan’s colonial empire that promised to assist Korea in this journey and thereby justified Korea’s colonial status. In Ch’oe Namsŏn’s vision, Korea’s nation is to build its identity not from a zero-point of time with no past, but from the foundations of tradition. Tradition, however, receives a very concrete, even exclusive manifestation in Ch’oe Namsŏn’s thought: he sees *sijo*, an indigenous Korean verse form composed in vernacular Korean and enjoyed by lower and upper classes alike, as a quintessential Korean cultural artifact. By composing *sijo*, new authors would inscribe themselves into the established tradition, and each act of composition would signify both the rejuvenation of the authentic people’s art and an affirmation of the perpetuity of tradition.²⁵⁵

Tradition becomes a much more encompassing term in the 1930s, after Japan’s annexation of Manchuria in 1933, and after the commencement of the second Sino-

²⁵³ Yi Kwangsu, “What is Literature?” trans. Jooyeon Rhee, *Azalea* 4 (2011): 312.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Ch’a Sŭnggi, *Pankŭndae jŏk sangsangryŏk ūi imgyedŭl* [Dialectics of the “Overcoming Modernity” Discourse] (Sŏul: P’urŭn yŏksa, 2009), 51-59.

Japanese war in 1937. Ch'a Sŭnggi writes that at this point the vision of civilization no longer promises a streamlined rational picture of progressive exposure to the boons of modern culture, economy, and consumption. Just as the wars undermine the mission statement of Japan's colonial empire, revealing the military machine behind civilizing pledges, more aggressive assimilationist policies of Japan in Korea, which from the late 1930s encouraged Koreans to adopt Japanese names and mandated increased use of the Japanese language, create a sense of acute identity crisis. Nationalist intellectuals, therefore, begin to endow tradition with an increasingly urgent mission to capture and solidify the essential spirit of the Korean people and various attempts at collecting and preserving Korea's "premodern" past are undertaken.²⁵⁶

At this point, the meaning of tradition is no longer limited to select few genres that reveal the most essential, native qualities of Korea's culture. Ch'oe Namsŏn and Yi Pyŏnggi (1891-1968), then editor of the literary journal *Munjang* (1939-41, 1948) and later Professor of Korean Literature at Kyŏngsŏng University (which is later to become Seoul National University), emerge as foremost collectors of Korea's tradition. Decades later, publishing his influential textbook *The Complete History of National Literature* in 1953, Yi Pyŏnggi would note that he considers Korean literature to be a broad term that encompasses, first of all, texts originally composed in Korean, such as novels and poetry, secondly, broader vernacular, everyday genres like diaries and letters, and, thirdly, literature in literary Chinese.²⁵⁷

Yi Pyŏnggi and Ch'oe Namsŏn's engagement with Korea's literary heritage is specifically worth note because they are both aware of the lineage novel's existence. And

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 78-94.

²⁵⁷ Yi Pyŏnggi and Paek Ch'ŏl, 3.

while I will turn to Ch'oe Namesŏn's references to the lineage novels in the next section, here I will mention only Yi Pyŏnggi's publications. Alongside articles by the most prominent thinkers of the time, in his literary magazine *Munjang*, Yi Pyŏnggi makes a point of serializing several works of Chosŏn literature written in vernacular Korean. Yi Pyŏnggi turns his attention to *The True Story of Queen Inhyŏn*, an anonymous account of Queen Inhyŏn's (1667-1701) exile from court during the reign of King Kwanghae (1608-1623).²⁵⁸ *Munjang* also publishes annotated excerpts of Princess Hyegyŏng's memoirs *Records Written in Silence*, which I mention earlier in the dissertation.²⁵⁹ Yi Pyŏnggi writes the following about Princess Hyegyŏng's memoir: "These heavy, sophisticated, and often bold words come from a woman—this in itself is remarkable."²⁶⁰ Musing on the elegant writing style of the *Records* in another article, Yi Pyŏnggi adds with a nostalgic note: "And there must have been many more of those who could write so elegantly in the language of our country."²⁶¹ Significantly, in preserving and publishing the texts of Korea's tradition, the editor of *Munjang* does not discriminate against the objects of elite literature, such as Princess Hyegyŏng's memoirs and the semi-documentary narrative of Queen Inhyŏn's exile.

²⁵⁸ Yi Pyŏnggi, "Inhyŏn wanghujŏn chuhae" [*The True Story of Queen Inhyŏn*, with a Commentary], *Munjang* 6 (1940).

²⁵⁹ Yi Pyŏnggi, "Hanjungnok yŏkchu" [*Records Written in Silence*, Annotated], *Munjang* 1 (1939); "Hanjungnok chuhae" [*Records Written in Silence*, with a Commentary] *Munjang* 2-6 (1939).

²⁶⁰ Yi Pyŏnggi, "Chŏn'go chinan non" [To the Question of Authenticity of Literary Classics], *Munjang* 4 (1939): 149.

²⁶¹ Yi Pyŏnggi, "Chosŏn munhŏn myŏngjak haeje" [Overview of the Chosŏn-Dynasty Literary Masterpieces], *Munjang* 8 (1940): 230.

Yi Pyŏnggi also catalogs vernacular Korean texts that he finds in private collections, and the following lineage novels' titles can be found in his catalog: *The Pledge at the Banquet of Moon-Gazing Pavilion*, *The Record of the Three Generations of the Yu Lineage* (*Yu ssi samdae rok* 劉氏三代錄), and *The Record of the Good Deeds of Princess Hwajŏng* (*Hwajŏng sŏnhaeng nok* 花鄭善行錄). As Yi himself notes, he compiles the list rather carelessly, only having time to record the texts of which he knows, and not really conducting an extended survey. He notes that *The Pledge* is kept at the Unhyŏn Palace that used to serve as residence for the father of King Kojong, T'aewŏn'gun, and states that the two other novels are translations of the originally Chinese texts that were read at the royal palace.²⁶² As I note in the introduction, after having been perceived as Korean translations of original Chinese novels, lineage novels are recognized as indigenous Korean texts when scholars discern that the vocabulary of the lineage novel is steeped in the vocabulary of legend and proverb native to Korea. Coming close to a genre unique to Korea's literary terrain and unparalleled in the East Asian canon, Yi Pyŏnggi and Ch'oe Namsŏn, while recording several of the lineage novels' titles, are unable to account for the nature of the texts they encounter.

Set against the quest for authentic Korean tradition that unfolds in the first decades of the twentieth century, the spectral presence of the lineage novel in the culture of early modern Korea indeed produces a sense of dramatic irony. The lineage novel offers all that the builders of Korea's traditional canon seek: it is a vernacular genre, unique to Chosŏn Korea and invested into the exploration of private emotional autonomy in the normative hierarchical structure of the patriarchal Confucian society. What caused

²⁶² Ibid.

the oblivion of the lineage novel? And what does this oblivion tell us about the cultural configuration of the early-twentieth century Korea? What happens to the lineage novel in the early-twentieth century? And what alternative view do we gain when we inscribe the history of the lineage novel into discursive formulations of emotion and kinship that emerge in turn-of-the-century Korea? The two sections that follow are devoted to these questions.

The Lineage Novel in the Early Twentieth Century

Among the most curious lineage novel manuscripts is the copy of *The Record of Two Heroes: Brothers Hyŏn* contained at the National Library of Korea in Seoul.²⁶³ The novel's seven volumes are of varied size and paper type. The covers of two volumes are cut out of cheaply made pink paper, and the text is written in crude tightly spaced hand, with numerous scribbles, and even a sketch of a crane done in wobbly brushwork. It is evident that the copyist was short of paper, so even the space between folded leaves is filled with text, which renders it nearly illegible. Two volumes out of seven are written on the paper that contains printed text, which appears to be a land registry. The manuscript is dated with sexagenarian calendar, and this complicates precise dating. Given the use of printed paper, it is, however, plausible that the *kap'in* (甲寅) year marked on the manuscript refers to 1914.²⁶⁴

²⁶³ *Hyŏn ssi yangung ssangnin gi* [The Record of Two Heroes: Brothers Hyŏn], National Library of Korea, Ko 3636-119.

²⁶⁴ See Yi Tawŏn, 10.

Among lineage novels, *The Record of Two Heroes* appears to have circulated remarkably widely, and more than seventy editions of this novel survive at present.²⁶⁵ A number of reasons explain the success this novel had with the readers. Shorter than most lineage novels, the ten-volume narrative of *The Record of Two Heroes* is tight and energetic. The adventures described in the novel are captivating, the confrontations between different protagonists—dramatic and twisted, and the conversations between the different members of the Hyŏn family are brisk, witty, and replete with bold innuendos. In addition, *The Record of Two Heroes* is a novel where love and lust are central themes. Hyŏn Sumun, one of the Hyŏn twins, spends much of his time in amorous conquests, but his relationship with his secondary wife, Yun Hye, remains dramatic and I relay the story of Sumun and Yun Hye’s relationship in Chapter 3. That a lineage novel manuscript is produced at so late a date betokens the continued relevance of this genre, even as the first attempts to define the modern literary canon for the nation are already under way.

The Record of Two Heroes is also one of the very few lineage novels to appear in print in the 1920s, and the novel undergoes a curious transformation as part of its printed life. Not only did *The Record of Two Heroes* appear in its original, though slightly redacted form, but it served as a basis for another novel—*The Tale of Hyŏn Sumun* (*Hyŏn Sumun jŏn*) that appeared in print through the years 1915-1952. Hyŏn Sumun, as well as other characters of *The Record of Two Heroes*, such as Hyŏn T’aekchi, Hyŏn Sumun’s father, make their appearance in *The Tale of Hyŏn Sumun* although this novel is very different from its predecessor. In *The Tale of Hyŏn Sumun*, Hyŏn Sumun figures primarily in the role of a capable general who leads successful campaigns on behalf of the Song emperor, while the eponymous lineage novel distributes the adventurous

²⁶⁵ Cho Hŭiung, 831-839.

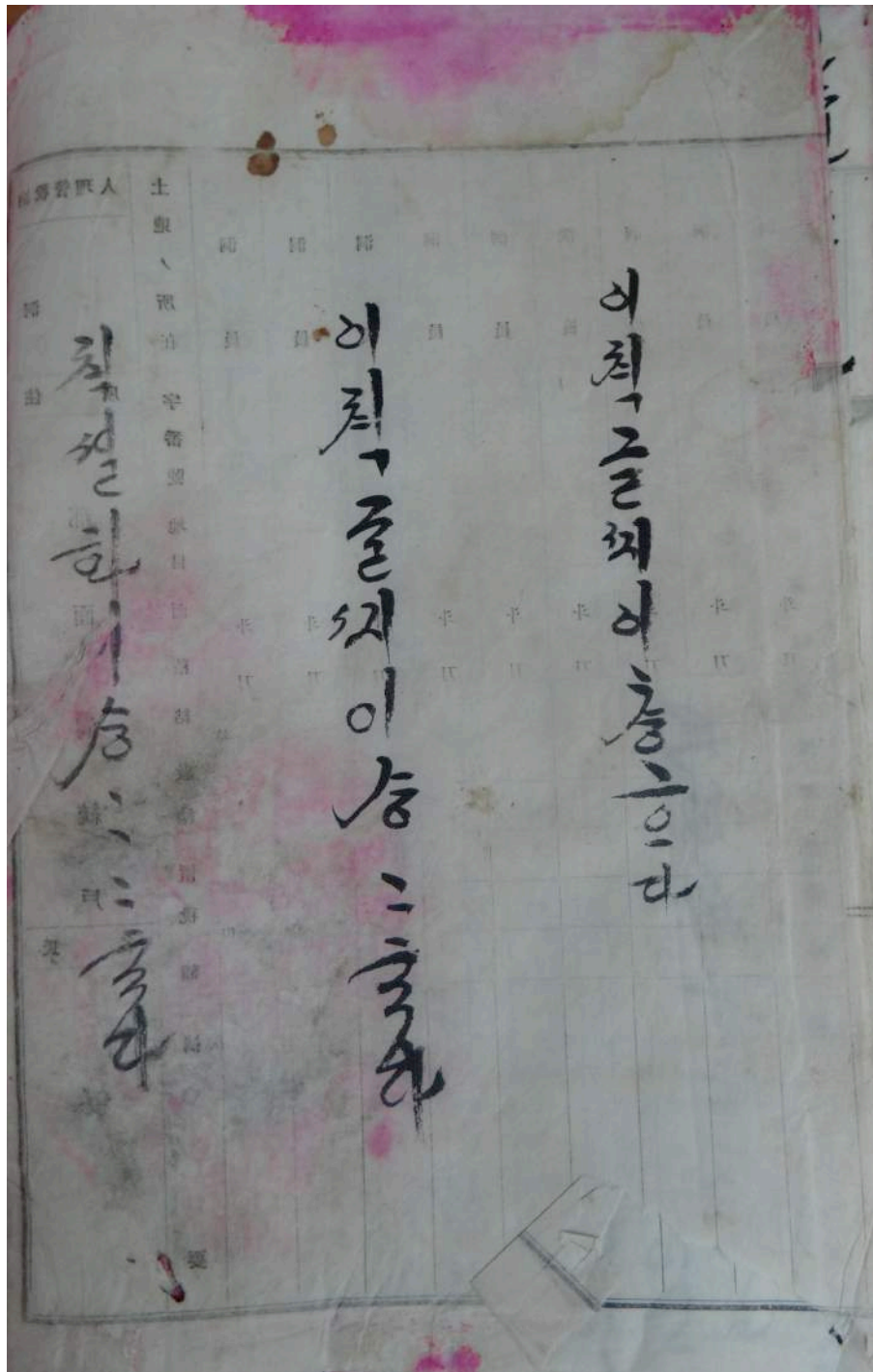


Figure 8. Leaf from the 1914 manuscript of *The Record of Two Heroes: Brothers Hyŏn*. The manuscript appears to be executed on top of a printed text of a land registry. Photograph by author, courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

plotline of military campaign within the narrative that dwells on the protagonists' relationships unfolding in the domestic space of the Hyŏn lineage.

Another crucial difference that distinguishes *The Tale of Hyŏn Sumun* from the lineage novel tradition as a whole is the ending of the tale, which, in some variant editions, portrays the collapse of the Song dynasty and the establishment of the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1271-1368).²⁶⁶ In Chosŏn Korea, Mongol Yuan and Manchu Qing dynasties were perceived as barbaric invasions of the heart of the Confucian civilization, embodied by the Ming and Song courts.²⁶⁷ In the late nineteenth century, however, Chosŏn elites slowly change their views of the Qing, recognizing economic and scientific advancements of their neighbor. Some scholars even call for the emulation of the Qing, advocating development of commerce and practical knowledge.²⁶⁸ *The Tale of Hyŏn Sumun* registers the changed understanding of the geo-political and cultural order in a storyline of warfare and adventure.²⁶⁹ Alongside, *The Tale of Hyŏn Sumun* announces an important, and even curious fact: against the backdrop of the increased commercialization of literary production, when the publishing houses reached to broader audiences with

²⁶⁶ See Chu Sumin, “Hyŏn Sumun jŏn ibon yŏn’gu” [A Study of Different Editions of *The Tale of Hyŏn Sumun*], *Chŏngsin munhwa yŏn’gu* 37.1 (2014): 227-256.

²⁶⁷ As I note just below, there is just one known lineage novel that depicts the ultimate collapse of the Confucian civilization represented by the Ming—*The Record of Illustrious Conduct and Righteousness*. In her dissertation, Sŏ Chŏngmin suggests that the depiction of the Ming’s fall represents an irresolvable contradiction to the internal structure of the lineage novel, which is ultimately invested into the core precepts of the Confucian ideology. She notes that this might be the reason why *The Record of Illustrious Conduct and Righteousness* is the only known lineage novel that attempts to revise its stance vis-à-vis Confucian ideology: these revisions, ultimately, appear fateful for the aesthetic form of this literary genre.

²⁶⁸ See, for instance, Pak Chega, “On Revering China,” in *Sources of the Korean Tradition, Volume Two*, ed. Yŏnggho Ch’oe et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 101-103.

²⁶⁹ Chu Sumin suggests that the changed attitude towards the Qing appears in a number of other novels composed in late Chosŏn. See Chu Sumin, 251-252.

entertaining storylines,²⁷⁰ *The Tale of Hyŏn Sumun* claims the cultural prestige that the lineage novel by appropriating a lineage novel hero. While not a widespread trend, allusions to the lineage novel titles appear in a number of works of purely commercial and entertaining nature in the early twentieth century.

The titles of lineage novels are very distinctive, with the narrative most often designated as “record” (*ki* 記 or *rok* 錄), which is opposed to “tale” (*chon* 傳), frequently used in the titles of shorter fiction.²⁷¹ Apart from that, lineage novel titles emphasize the moral value of the narrative. Often, lineage novels refer to the multigenerational span of the narrative, synonymous with the uninterrupted perpetuation of moral tradition and social system—such is *The Record of the Three Generations of the Yu Lineage* (*Yussi samdae rok* 劉氏三代錄). Another frequent reference is made to the idea of a remarkable encounter that results in marriage, where two outstanding individuals are united in the most fundamental human bond, and this is the case of *The Remarkable Encounter of Pearls* (*Myŏngju kibong* 明珠奇逢). Lineage novel titles also emphasize exceptional moral qualities of their protagonists: titles like *The Record of Loyalty of the Yang Lineage* (*Yangmun ch’ungŭi rok* 楊門忠義錄) convey the idea that moral refinement is determined by heredity. While this list does not exhaust all possibilities, titles of the

²⁷⁰ The fact that traditional Korean tales continued to be printed even in the early modern era is usually explained by the economic straits of the time, as well as the censorship of the Japanese Government General that significantly slowed down the literary output in the first decades of the twentieth century. See Michael Kim, “The Apparition of Rational Public: Reading of Collective Subjectivity” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2004), 164-196.

²⁷¹ A study conducted in the 1960s among female residents of the Kyŏnggi province revealed that, in their youth, women were encouraged to read narratives that were called “record” (*gi* 記) while the titles designated as “tale” were considered unsuitable for the girls of good upbringing. See Yi Wŏnju, “Kojŏn sosŏl tokcha ūi sŏnghyang—Kyŏngbuk pukpu chiyŏk ūl chungsim ūro” [Old Novel Reading Preferences among the Residents of the Northern Kyŏnggi Province], *Han’gukhak nonjip* 1-5 (1975): 557-573.

above-mentioned sort are among the most characteristic and frequently used in lineage novels, communicating very strongly the connection between the stability of the lineage and the moral ordering of the society, which itself imparts an important moral lesson to the readers.

Among the works of commercial fiction that emulate the titles of lineage novels are *The Record of Three Households' Marriages* (*Sammun kyuhamnok* 三門閨合錄), published in 1918 by Sin'gu sŏrim, or *The Record of Kwak Pun'yang's Loyalty* (*Kwak Pun'yang ch'unghaengnok* 郭汾陽忠行錄), printed in 1917 by Sin'gu sŏrim and Hansŏng sŏrim, and also in 1926 by Kyŏngsŏng sŏjŏk chohap.²⁷² *The Record of Three Households' Marriages* very explicitly borrows the narrative structure of the lineage novel: depicting various conflicts that surround the conclusion of marriages, this narrative of domestic trials is set against the backdrop of political turmoil during the Song dynasty. However, with its hundred-and-five printed pages, *The Record of Three Households' Marriages* is certainly much shorter than an average lineage novel, which might explain the abrupt manner in which resolutions to all trials are proposed.²⁷³ Instead of sophisticated study of the personal, emotional dimension of the life in a patriarchy that lineage novels offer, this early-twentieth-century text transforms the plotline of domestic and political history into a fast-paced narrative, designed to attract those readers who read mainly for the plot. *The Record of Kwak Pun'yang's Loyalty*, on the other hand, is a tale of a single hero, based on the historical person of Guo Ziyi (K.: Kwak Chaŭi, 597-781) or

²⁷² For the list of novels printed during the early twentieth century, see U K'waeje, "Kuhwaljabon kososŏl ũi ch'ulp'an mit yŏn'gu hyŏnhwang kŏmt'o" [State of the Field: Studies of Novels in Old Movable Type], *Kojŏn munhak yŏn'gu* (1985): 113-143.

²⁷³ Cho Chaehyŏn, "Sammun kyuhap nok yŏn'gu" [Study of *The Record of Three Households' Marriages*], *Ōmun yŏn'gu* 152 (2011): 217.

Prince Zhongwu of Fenyang (K.: Punyang), the famed Tang-dynasty general who quelled the An Lushan rebellion (755-763). The novel traces the personal path of Guo Ziyi, from the hardships he suffers in his childhood to his military glory that earns him the high title. While mirroring the titles and even borrowing some structural devices from the lineage novel, these two texts certainly do not belong to the lineage novel tradition. We can only speculate about the immediate reasons that prompt the authors of *The Records of Three Housholds' Marriages* and *The Record of Kwak Punyang's Loyalty* to claim a connection to the lineage novel, but it appears that by the early twentieth century lineage novel begins to be perceived as a prestigious, elite genre, coveted by audiences that were hitherto excluded from the domain of elite culture.²⁷⁴

At the turn of the twentieth century the lineage novel no longer circulates in exclusively familial networks. In 1938, Ch'oe Namsŏn—along the lines of his interest in preserving traditional Korean heritage—publishes an article “Domestic Fiction in Chosŏn,” where he offers an overview of vernacular literature, or more precisely of literature both translated into, and originally composed in, vernacular Korean, which was read predominantly by women. Of highest cultural value, according to Ch'oe Namsŏn, were novels translated from the Chinese, such as *Dream of the Red Chamber*, which were read even at the royal palace.²⁷⁵ Ranked lowest are the popular tales, such as *The Tale of Ch'unhyang*, one of the best-loved traditional novels. The space in between is assigned to lineage novels—although Ch'oe Namsŏn is unaware of the distinctive nature of this

²⁷⁴ I am grateful to Professor Lim Chee-kyun of the Academy of Korean Studies for sharing this insight with me.

²⁷⁵ Ch'oe Namsŏn was apparently unaware of the fact that *Dream of the Red Chamber* reached Korean readers rather late, and therefore had a very limited audience. As I mention in Chapter 3, the first known references to Cao Xueqin's novel appear in the early nineteenth century, while the first known Korean translation dates to the late-nineteenth-century palace copy.

group of texts, he lists several lineage novels' titles. Ch'oe Namsŏn notes that all these types of literature delivered a significantly more palatable moral message than the one articulated in the Confucian Classics or primer books for women.

In this article, Ch'oe Namsŏn also catalogs lineage novels located at a rental library in Hyangmoktong, which roughly coincides with the Ŭljiro area of modern-day Seoul. Fearing the imminent extinction of rental libraries, Ch'oe Namsŏn copies the book catalog, in which he finds thirteen novels, many of them in multiple copies. Ch'oe notes that a significant number of these novels are lineage novels, of which he records several titles and their length, which exceeds hundred volumes for each novel. Ch'oe Namsŏn, however, is unaware of the specificity of the lineage novel. He groups such lineage novels as *The Record of the Three Households: Yun, Ha, and Chŏng* (*Yun Ha Chŏng sammun ch'winok* 尹河鄭三門聚錄) and *Master Im and His Three Wives* (*Im Hwa Chŏng Yŏn* 林花鄭延) alongside with *Dream of the Red Chamber, Sequel to Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Xu Honglou meng* 續紅樓夢), and *Augmented Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Bu Honglou meng* 補紅樓夢) into the same category of texts that “more or less center on the domestic life and portray the ups and downs of human fortunes and teach appropriate life attitude.”²⁷⁶ The rental library discovered by Ch'oe Namsŏn turns out to be just one place among several that provided a sizable selection of lineage novels to their patrons. Undated Chosŏn rental library catalog contained at the Oriental Library (Tōyō bunko) in Tokyo similarly records a number of lineage novels' titles, among them the novels studied in this dissertation—*The Record of Two Heroes: Brothers Hyŏn*, *The Remarkable Encounter of Pearls*, and *The Record of So Hyŏnsŏng*. Scholar of Korea's

²⁷⁶ Ch'oe Namsŏn, 441.

rental libraries, Chŏng Myŏnggi suggests that such concentration of lineage novels in one rental library betokens commercial specialization: otherwise, the expenses incurred in producing multiple copies of such lengthy texts could hardly be justified.²⁷⁷

The emergence of a specific reading public for the lineage novels' rental editions is intimated in another rental library catalog recorded within the manuscript of a novel, *Vernacular Record of Master Hu* (*Ŏnmun Husaeng nok* 諺文厚生錄). This catalog is intriguing in that the novels are classified according to their length, into “lengthy” or “multivolume fiction” (*kilch'aek* 帙冊), which judging from the recorded titles refers to the lineage novel, and simply “novels” (*sosŏl* 小說).²⁷⁸ The catalog maker appears to have possessed a good understanding of the Korean literary field: the list classifies as “novel” and not as “multivolume fiction” *The Record of the Three Households' Marriages*, which I mention just above as an example of commercial fiction attempting to emulate the titles of lineage novels. The catalog, however, mistakenly includes *The Tale of Hyŏn Sumun*, another commercialized revenant, into the section that is otherwise exclusively devoted to the lineage novel. That such demarcation of boundaries of literary genres is accompanied by boundary crossing within the space of a page reveals the

²⁷⁷ Chŏng Myŏnggi, “Sech'aekbon sosŏl ūi yut'ong yangsang. Tongyangmun'go sojang sech'aekbon sosŏl e nat'an an sech'aek changbu rūl chungsim ūro” [Circulation of Rental Novels: Rental Catalogs Recorded in Rental Novels of The Oriental Library [Tōyō bunko]], *Kososŏl yŏn'gu* 16 (2003): 83.

²⁷⁸ Chŏng Myŏnggi, “Sech'aekbon sosŏl e taehan se charyo ūi sŏnggyŏk yŏn'gu: Ŏnmun Husaeng nok sojae mongnok ūl chungsim ūro” [New Findings in the Study of Rental Novels: Book Catalog in the Vernacular Korean *Record of Master Hu*], *Kososŏl yŏn'gu* 19 (2005): 227-254.

ongoing metamorphoses happening in Korea's literary field at the turn of the twentieth century.²⁷⁹

Rental libraries appeared in Chosŏn Korea around the late eighteenth century, this being intimated by a record made by Ch'ae Chegong (1722-1799), in which he warns women to stay away from novels, lest they squander all their families' fortunes by pawning their jewelry in order to pay the rental libraries' fees.²⁸⁰ Extant rental library catalogs, dated approximately to the late nineteenth-early twentieth centuries, suggest that the majority of the rental libraries' customers were low-ranking officials, merchants, or commoners,²⁸¹ although patrons of minister's rank sometimes also make a surprising appearance in the catalogs.²⁸² At the same time, there appear a number of regular patrons, who read avidly, and in a variety of genres—from popular tales, to Chinese historical romances, to lineage novels.²⁸³ From intimate objects of families' private culture, hand-written by kinswomen and then transmitted through generations, at the turn of the twentieth century lineage novels metamorphose into publicly available texts that could be

²⁷⁹ The Yonsei University manuscript of *The Pledge at the Banquet of Moon-Gazing Pavilion* also suggests that this novel circulated through rental libraries. Yi Hyŏnju notes that the reverse of the back cover of the second volume contains a list of small household and personal items, such as pot covers and medicine boxes, that could have been used as deposits required to borrow books from rental libraries. See Yi Hyŏnju, “*Wanwŏlhoe maengyŏn ūi ibon hyŏnhwang kwa sŏjjijŏk t'ŭkjing*” [A Study of Different Editions of *The Pledge at the Banquet of Moon-Gazing Pavilion*], *Ōmunhak* 111 (2011): 199.

²⁸⁰ See Ōtani Morishige, “Chosŏn hugi ūi sech'aek chaeron” [Rental Libraries in Late Chosŏn Dynasty], in *Sech'aek kososŏl yŏn'gu* [A Study of Old Novels in Rental Libraries], ed. Yi Yunsŏk, et al. (Seoul: Hyeon, 2003), 22.

²⁸¹ See Chŏng Myŏnggi, “Sech'aekbon sosŏl ūi yut'ong yangsang,” 84-95; Chŏng Sanguk, “Sech'aek taech'ulja ūi t'ŭksŏng e taehan yŏn'gu—Tongyang mungo bon taech'uljangbu rŭl chungsim ūro” [Rental Libraries' Audience: Rental Library Catalogs at The Oriental Library [Tōyō bunko]], *Kososŏl yŏn'gu* 26 (2008): 239-274.

²⁸² Chŏng Myŏnggi, “Sech'aekbon sosŏl ūi yut'ong yangsang,” 85-86.

²⁸³ *Ibid.*, 89-92.

borrowed at a modest fee. While this new way of the lineage novel's circulation outside networks of kin and friendship reflects the demise of the lineage society and blurring of the class boundaries, the prolonged interest that the lineage novel evokes in the rental libraries' customers is a noteworthy fact that warrants further study. We can hypothesize that, having earned highest repute as the genre of the elite, lineage novels begins to attract wider audiences, aspiring to claim belonging to the prestigious elite culture. But even despite the interest that rental library patrons appear to have for the lineage novel, this genre falls into ultimate obscurity in the twentieth century. The lineage novel fades from public attention at the time when Korean society undergoes a most dramatic change.

Metamorphoses occur not only in the mode of the lineage novels' circulation—the content of these texts changes as well. The changes to the lineage novel narrative are captured in *The Record of Illustrious Conduct and Righteousness* (*Myŏnghaeng chŏngŭi rok* 明行正義錄), an undated and anonymous, like other lineage novels, text that exists in two massive editions—in seventy and ninety-four volumes. Tracing the habitual plotline in which moral excellence embodied in the lineage withstands all trials, this novel ends in a rather surprising place that is unthinkable for other lineage novels. The Manchu's defeat of the Ming dynasty in mid-seventeenth century marks the endpoint of the narrative, in which lineage members successfully persevere in their dedication to virtue. The unusual resolution that does not portray regained balance in political and domestic spheres has led scholars to think that this lineage novel must be a late product, possibly dating to the late nineteenth century.²⁸⁴ This text intimates that the lineage novel was a genre that was in touch with its immediate historical context. The fall of the Ming, seen in Chosŏn as the

²⁸⁴ See Sŏ Chŏngmin, “*Myŏnghaeng chŏngŭi rok yŏn'gu*.”

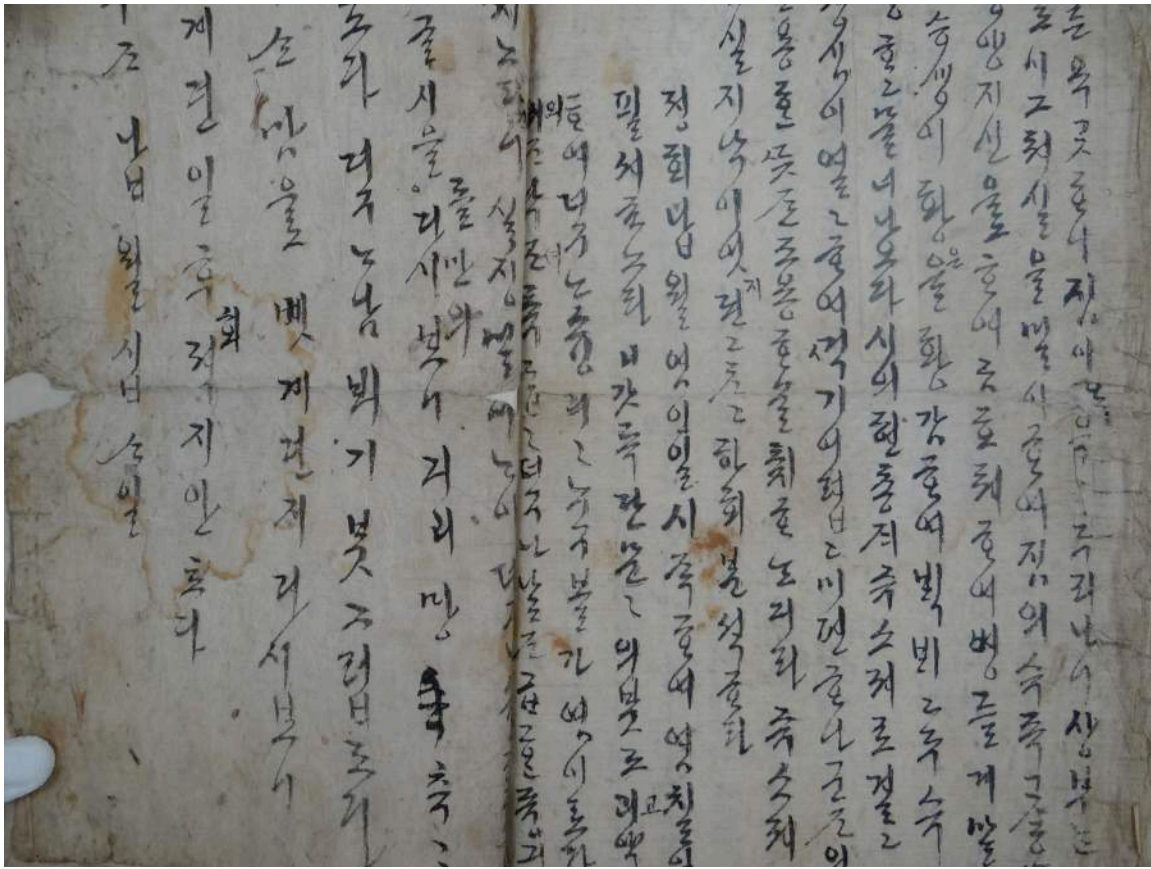


Figure 9. Scribe's postface in the 1914 manuscript of *The Record of Two Heroes: Brothers Hyön*. Photo courtesy of the National Library of Korea.

bulwark of civilization, signified shattered faith in the Confucian culture and a budding sense of uneasiness concerning its future. Potentially one of the latest texts of the lineage novel tradition, *The Record of Illustrious Conduct and Righteousness* tests the aesthetic boundaries of its genre, so tightly interlaced with Confucian values. In other words, without the faith in the validity of the Confucian moral system and that underwrote the patriarchal lineage society of Chosŏn, the lineage novel that situates its inquiry into the meaning and role of private feelings against the backdrop of the lineage society, simply loses the center of its coherence. This novel might indeed be both the unique and the ultimate example of the lineage novel's coming to terms with the changed cultural climate of the late Chosŏn.

The paradox of the lineage novel's twentieth-century history resides precisely in the multidirectional developments that surround this genre. If *The Record of Illustrious Conduct and Righteousness* registers the change of Korea's cultural paradigm, or even cosmology, that departs from the purist Confucian vision towards the recognition of the actual power dynamics in the East Asian region, the scribe's postscript, appended to the 1914 manuscript of *The Record of Two Heroes*, which I mention in this section's introduction, assures the lineage novel of its continued relevance to the early-twentieth-century readers. The postface reads:

In the third month of the *kap'in* year when I finished my work, I copied this book bit by bit in my spare time. In the meanwhile, some parts got lost, and the text was not like it was supposed to be, which upset me a great deal. It is only now that I am awakened to the meaning of this text, after having completed [copying] the entire novel. In awe I behold the elegance of this boudoir (*kyumun* 閨門) novel and the exquisite language that like a treasure remains from the times now past. That this novel went through so many hands as a treasure makes it more valuable than a thousand gold coins. One is carried away with this novel at the very first encounter. Therefore, preserve this book well and appreciate it so it may be transmitted to posterity indefinitely. I made many mistakes and my handwriting is clumsy, but I pray you do not hold this against me.

The copyist does not sign her name, but she unmistakably is a woman, her gender revealed in the praise she confers upon a “boudoir novel”—a book clearly marked by female readership. In addition, apology offered for the time spent producing the manuscript reflects the traditional privileging of practical tasks, such as cooking and sewing, in a woman's daily life.

The anonymous twentieth-century scribe perseveres in her dedication to the traditional meaning of handwriting and handwritten texts, the multilayered significance of which remained relevant to her even after the emergence of modern print technology and the modern changes in women's self-perception and social roles. The copyist issues an injunction that this novel, having traveled through the hands of many generations

before her, be further transmitted to posterity. As if in compliance with the anonymous scribe's request, *The Record of The Two Heroes* appears in another manuscript, created between the years 1928-1930.²⁸⁵ Although no postscript intimates the reasons behind its making, the carefully executed cursive calligraphy of the manuscript suggests that the matter of copying books was taken seriously even in the third decade of the twentieth century.²⁸⁶ The story of the lineage novel's relocation from elite families' private culture to the rental libraries' audience, as well as the continuation of the manuscript-making tradition in the early twentieth century, constitute an alternative trajectory of Korea's early-modern history, narrated most frequently from the perspective of encounter with the western culture and subsequent colonial control of Japan. The lineage novel reveals the persisting relevance of the discourse of emotion and patriarchal kinship even as the first modern literary works propagated the idea of modern education, free love, and voluntary marriage.

The Genealogy of Family and Feelings: Premodern to Early Modern Korean

Literature

The lineage novel is still left out of the trajectory of literary and cultural history of Korea: in the early twentieth century, this genre remained unknown to the new intellectuals who defined Korea's literary canon, and while lineage novels are actively studied now in the Korean academia, much work is left to be done before a definitive view upon this group of texts is possible. In this section, I want to propose a working

²⁸⁵ Yi Tawŏn, 25.

²⁸⁶ The manuscript, part of the private collection of Professor Kim Tonguk, is reprinted in *Nasonbon p'ilsabon kososŏl charyo ch'ongsŏ* (Seoul: Pokyŏng Munhwasa, 1991), vol. 76-77.

hypothesis upon the significance of the lineage novel in Korea's history. In particular, I want to introduce the lineage novel into the flow of Korea's literary and cultural history and note the conceptual changes in this altered chronology. Scholarly consensus fixes the starting point of Korea's literary modernity at the year 1917, the date when Yi Kwangsu's novel *The Heartless* (*Mujǒng* 無情) is first serialized in *Maeil sinbo*. The new novel or *sinsosǒl* is accepted as the predecessor to Yi Kwangsu's modern novel: the new novel is thought to be the first prose genre that attempted to depart from the paradigm of traditional literature. In particular, Yi Injik's text, *Tears of Blood* (*Hyǒl ūi nu*) is often considered as the direct precursor of *The Heartless*.²⁸⁷ Here, therefore, I want to introduce into a conversation the lineage novel and the first "modern" works of Korean literature.

In choosing to consider the lineage novel, the new novel, and Korea's first modern novel alongside each other, I am inspired by the historical approach proposed by Michel Foucault, in which the historian seeks to conceive discourses in their continuity and register the traces of change in these discourses, which mark the changes in power relations.²⁸⁸ Treated as genres, "the lineage novel," "the new novel," and the "modern novel" indeed appear as hermetic categories, each with its own aesthetic conventions. The distinctness of these genres is also underscored by the discourse of modernity that holds its sway in modern scholarship and implicitly proceeds from the assumption that Korea's modern literature began as a radical rupture from the past, prompted by the contact with the European literature and by the socio-political transformation Korea lived through in the 1900s. Such clear-cut distinctions, however, are hardly amount to more

²⁸⁷ Im Hwa, 156-157.

²⁸⁸ See Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended. Lectures at the College de France, 1975-76*, trans. David Macey (New York: Picador, 2003).

than a fiction. Pondering on the relationship between the first “modern” genres and the literary culture that preceded them, Cho Tongil, present-day Korea’s most prolific literary scholar, has written in his study of the new novel that the terms of rupture and continuity do not do good service to the study of this genre. Continuity, he notes, can be conceived as a negative response, which has an intrinsically connective power.²⁸⁹

Im Hwa (1908-1953), a Marxist poet and literary critic and a central figure in the development of Korea’s proletarian literature, has captured the whirlpool of temporalities, contingencies and exchanges that occurred in the moment of Korean literature’s transition to the modern genre.²⁹⁰ Im Hwa writes the following about “transitional literature” (*kwadogi ūi munhak*): “It is quite troubling if we understand the transitional period in terms of established content and readers’ disposition, as though it were the time with a distinctive character when the old era had already collapsed and when the new era had already risen [...] The transition period is not an independent and completed time, but instead a merely natural, temporal link between the two eras caught in mutual encounter.”²⁹¹ Im Hwa designates the time of transition as “empty time” that serves as a natural link between the fading era and the nascent cultural model, still in the process of formulation. That the lineage novel has never been recognized as part of this transitional time, or even part of the national past—traditional or classical literature, depending on

²⁸⁹ Cho Tongil, *Sinsosŏl ūi munhaksa chŏk sŏnggyŏk* [The New Novel in Literary History] (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 1973), 10.

²⁹⁰ For more on Im Hwa’s literary criticism and aesthetic vision, see Sunyoung Park, “The Colonial Origin of Korean Realism and Its Contemporary Manifestation,” *positions* 14.1 (2006): 184-185; Kim Yerim, *1930 nyŏndae huban kŭndae insik ūi t’ŭl kwa miŭisik* [Modern Episteme and Aesthetic Consciousness in the Late 1930s] (Seoul: Somyŏng ch’ulp’an, 2004), 221-240.

²⁹¹ Im Hwa, “Sinmunhaksa” [The New Literary History], *Chosŏn ilbo*, December 5, 1939. Reprinted in Im Kyuch’an and Han Chinil, eds., *Im Hwa ūi sinmunhaksa* [Im Hwa’s New Literary History] (Seoul: Han’gilsa, 1993), 130.

the mode of the present's relationship to the past—is an intriguing opportunity to look for new terms of cultural analysis. Following Foucault's approach, we can see that the lineage novel, the new novel, and the first modern novel share similar narrative concerns: these texts explore the meaning of individual, family, and feelings in the larger structure of socio-political order. Approaching these three genres through the rubric of Foucault's genealogy-archaeology, we see Korea's early modern era in terms of continued centrality of the above-mentioned narrative concerns, which receive a differing articulation; while the discourses of emotion and kinship continue, they also undergo significant changes, of which I will consider just a few.

First seen as an incomplete and therefore faulty transitional figure between the traditional and the modern novel, the new novel gained scholars' attention as a complex genre that for the first time in Korean history attempted to negotiate the meaning of the profound changes Korea lived through at the turn of the twentieth century:²⁹² abolition of status distinctions and women's increased social participation, Korea's exit from China's politico-cultural orb, and the country's dramatic transformation into Japan's colony in the year 1910. Lineage novels, remaining in circulation through the 1930s, shared the cultural space with these new literary visions. It therefore appears important to conceptualize the co-presence of these divergent literatures, or even worldviews that attempted to define the meaning of individuality, feelings, society, and family within the same cultural space.

Serialized in 1906 in *Mansebo* newspaper, Yi Injik's *Tears of Blood* was the first new novel, now recognized as the seminal work of this genre and a major influence for

²⁹² See, for instance, Kwŏn Podŭrae, "Sinsosŏl ūi kŭndae wa chŏnkŭndae: *Kwi ūi song ūl chungsim ūro*" [Modern and Premodern Aspects of the New Novel: *Voice of the Ghost*], *Han'guk munhwa* 28 (2001): 85-105.

subsequent writers. While praising *Tears of Blood* as the first novel that truly engages with the problematic of civilization and enlightenment, Im Hwa decries Yi Injik's subsequent novels—*Mount Ch'iak* (*Ch'iak san*) and *Voice of a Ghost* (*Kwi ūi sŏng*)—as relapse into domestic fiction, an already familiar genre of Chosŏn literature that produces exaggerated spectacle out of dramatic family conflicts.²⁹³ Scholar of Korean new novel, Yoon Sun Yang, counters Im Hwa's statement by suggesting that the domestic character of Yi Injik's novels represents his concern with the domestic space as the heart of the rising modern nation: the modern reform, in Yi Injik's view, was to begin in the domestic sphere and from there to extend to political and social realms.²⁹⁴ Although *Tears of Blood* similarly explores the domestic problematic showing how its protagonist, Kim Ongnyŏn, lives through a series of family-like relationships that precede her own marriage, this novel balances the domestic focus with the depiction of its protagonists' personal journey, in which they gain education and become self-aware modern citizens. In this concise attempt at revised genealogy of Korean literature, I will focus on the *Tears of Blood* and *The Heartless* as the most representative text of Korea's early modern literary tradition.

Because new novels largely center on domestic problematics, scholars have pinpointed their connection with Chosŏn family fiction.²⁹⁵ The lineage novel and the new

²⁹³ Im Hwa, "Sinsosŏl ūi taedu—sok sinmunhaksa" [The Rise of the New Novel—The New Literary History Continued], *Chosŏn ilbo*, February 2, 1940. Quoted in Kwŏn Podŭrae, "Sinsosŏl ūi kŭndae wa chŏnkŭndae," 86.

²⁹⁴ Yoon Sun Yang, "Nation in the Backyard: Yi Injik and the Rise of Korean New Fiction, 1906—1913" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Chicago, 2009), 5-7.

²⁹⁵ Yi Sŏnggwŏn connects the new novel to the Chosŏn family novel in his study that examines nearly four centuries of domestic fiction's circulation, *Han'guk kajŏng sosŏlsa yŏn'gu: 17segi esŏ 20segi ch'o sinsosŏl kkaji ūi yŏksajŏk pyŏnmowa ūimi* [History of the Korean Family Novel From the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century: Historical Significance and Changes] (Seoul: Kukhak charyowŏn, 1998), 214-217.

novel, however, constitute a more suggestive semantic cluster for the archaeological-genealogical inquiry into the discourses of feelings and kinship. As I note in Chapter 3, Chosŏn family novel, describing family conflicts between primary wives and concubines, or stepmothers and stepchildren, offers localized emotional solutions to the most problematic junctures in the patriarchal kinship structure of Chosŏn. By meting out a justified punishment to the villains, domestic fiction conjures an image of ultimate justice delivered by supernatural or human agents, but it merely registers the problem without conceptualizing the occurrence of these conflicts in a productive way. Therefore, I believe that the horizon of the domestic fiction is much more circumscribed than that of either the lineage novel or the new novel. The provenance of the lower-class audiences, Chosŏn domestic fiction articulated a number of redactions of the hegemonic order, although hardly attempting to completely reconceive it.

Rather than mere thematic consanguinity manifest in their investigation of the domestic life, the lineage novel and the new novel share the ambition of defining the cultural parameters of their age; both are the genres of the elites, although the meaning of elites undergoes significant changes by the time of the new novel's emergence. As I show in Chapter 1, lineage novels articulate the socio-cultural program of the Confucian civil elites: these texts equate nobility of birth with nobility of character and construct an entire cosmology based in kinship relations and centered on the domestic space of the patriarchal lineage. The discourse of emotion in the lineage novel illustrates the vagaries of navigating the patriarchal kinship structure, which, on the one hand, embodies status privilege and cultural refinement, but, on the other, is violently at odds with an individual's sense of self. Although new novels are addressing a wider audience than the

closed circle of hereditary elites, these texts intend to propagate the ideology of civilization and enlightenment that were to bring the Korean nation on par with other modern nations on the global stage. Asserting the need for education, extension of women's rights, and social activism, as well as showing the disintegration of the patriarchal kinship system that is being gradually replaced by voluntary marriage unions, established between individuals rather than lineages, new novels present their protagonists as embodiments of the best qualities of their nation: aspiration to reform, intelligence, and education. In this way, the new novel was intending to cultivate the new elites and it was not a genre of mere popular entertainment.²⁹⁶

Like lineage novels, new novels display extensive cartographic imagination, but a one with a different conceptual center. The topography of the lineage novel is hinged on the centralizing power of the moral space, represented by the Confucian culture of China's Song and Ming dynasties, and embodied in the domestic space as the heart of the moral system that inculcates correct moral values. The topography of the new novel changes drastically, marking its distinctness from traditional fiction.²⁹⁷ The new novels are always set in the contemporary historical period—the narrative of *Tears of Blood*, for instance, begins during the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). Likewise, the new novel rearranges its spatial composition. Korea is positioned on the map that spans between the United States and Japan, centers of modern learning, and Russia, home to Tolstoy and Turgenev, also makes a brief appearance in *The Voice of a Ghost*.

²⁹⁶ See Cho Tongil, 116.

²⁹⁷ The new novels' setting, which corresponds to the contemporary historical milieu of the texts has been identified as one of the defining characteristics of this genre, alongside with vernacular Korean as language of the composition, and the novels' investment into the problematic of social reform. See, for instance, Chŏng Kwangyŏng, *Sinsosŏl yŏn'gu* [A Study of the New Novel] (Seoul: Saemunsa, 1986), 17.

The first genre to take up the problematic of the civilizational change in turn-of-the-twentieth-century Korea, the new novel was certainly undertaking a task of massive dimensions, which, arguably, went beyond the scope of its aesthetic form. Literary critics and scholars have noted the new novel's multiple contradictions: while propagating the ideals of civilization and enlightenment, the new novel attempts to lure its audiences with entertaining plots in order to remain commercially viable,²⁹⁸ and while announcing a departure from the didactic Chosŏn literature, the new novel inherits its very didactic stance, depicting stock characters that lack interior dimension, and crowning its narratives with melodramatic deus-ex-machina resolutions.²⁹⁹ These contradictions notwithstanding, the new novel is given credence for ushering Korea's first modern novel—Yi Kwangsu's *The Heartless*, that depicts the complete break with the Confucian patriarchal life and creates new novelistic vernacular prose.³⁰⁰ Without disputing the lags and the achievements of the new novel, here I would like to draw attention to the characteristic emptying of the emotional dimension of family and the domestic space that is inevitably portrayed in the new novel.

Yi Injik's *Tears of Blood* opens with a scene of a family's demise. In the onslaught of the Sino-Japanese war (1894-95) near Pyongyang, Kim Ongnyŏn's family is dispersed—the daughter and her parents lose sight of each other and many years pass before their reunion. Forced out of the broken domestic space, Ongnyŏn finds herself in other family-like communities. The traditional Korean family, a hierarchical kinship

²⁹⁸ Cho Tongil, 145.

²⁹⁹ Yi Pyŏnggi and Paek Ch'ŏl, 256.

³⁰⁰ Ibid., 265-267.

organization,³⁰¹ disintegrates under external pressure, but the ensuing narrative confirms the legitimacy, and even the necessity of this demise. It is, in fact, Ongnyŏn's other families that allow her to gain enough knowledge in order to become a modern, educated woman, herself in charge of her life and person. Ongnyŏn finds her first new family with Major Inoue of the Japanese army who discovers a lone girl in Korea and decides to bring her to his home in Osaka. In Osaka, under the care of Major Inoue's wife, Ongnyŏn learns Japanese language and daily etiquette.³⁰² This family disintegrates when, following Major Inoue's death, his widow finds little reason to keep the foundling in her house and in her affections. After leaving Major Inoue's house, Ongnyŏn takes a train to Tokyo, where she meets Ku Wansŏ, a Korean student in Japan. The two recognize each other as countrymen and their acquaintance grows into lifetime companionship, as the couple later travels to study in the United States and becomes engaged.

Ongnyŏn and Ku Wansŏ's union, based in the shared commitment to education, and betterment of their country and people, is strikingly devoid of affection. In fact, this marriage appears as first and foremost an ideological iteration. Ku Wansŏ tells Ongnyŏn that although his parents attempted to marry him off ever since he was twelve years of age, he persisted in entering a mature union of mutual choice: "I will only marry an educated woman after I myself acquire sufficient education. If people marry in their youth, still wet behind the ears, they are ignorant as beasts and they marry only in order

³⁰¹ Yoon Sun Yang notes that Ongnyŏn's mother is represented as a quintessential Confucian lady, who sets into stark relief the figure of her daughter, who receives modern education and enters into voluntary marriage with a man of her choice. While trying to create the image of the modern woman, Yi Injik also attempts to define the value of the Confucian tradition, embodied in the figure of Ongnyŏn's mother. See Yoon Sun Yang, "Enlightened Daughter, Benighted Mother: Yi Injik's *Tears of Blood* and Early Twentieth-Century Korean Domestic Fiction," *positions* 22.1 (2014), 119-124.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, 114.

to know the joy of uniting with the opposite sex. This is why our countrymen, like beasts, know nothing beyond their own person, their family, and their household, paying no heed to the country's affairs" (74).³⁰³ After their marriage, Ku Wansŏ proposes that he and Ongnyŏn devote their time to learning and education of their countrymen, also requesting that this marriage be concluded without the consultation of Ongnyŏn's father, with whom Ongnyŏn reunites shortly before this proposal. As the novel notes, "Although Ongnyŏn is just a girl from Chosŏn, she has acquired education and possesses a progressive mind; having traveled the East and the West, she is erudite. Therefore, she responded to [Ku Wansŏ's marriage] request without hesitation" (87). Yoon Sun Yang remarks that "the relationship between Ongnyŏn and Ku Wansŏ is curiously lacking in romantic feeling from the beginning."³⁰⁴ Ongnyŏn and Ku Wansŏ display attributes of modern marriage, conducted as a voluntary union of the spouses, but this marriage has little personal meaning, standing as an abstract pledge to the ideology of reform and future betterment of the Korean nation.

In *Tears of Blood*, family provides a conceptual framework for articulating the modes of historical change and consequently altered modes of people's relations. Ken Ito has written that Meiji-era (1868-1912) fiction evinces a similar interest in non-kin alliances that take the place of traditional families. Ito suggests that in the profound change of the Meiji years, "characters in [turn-of-the-twentieth-century Japanese] novels do not live in the same world as their parents—they grope their way toward new values,

³⁰³ Yi Injik, "Hyŏl ūi nu" [Tears of Blood], Seoul: Kim Sangman sŏp'o, 1907. Reprinted in Kim Yunsik, et al., ed., *Han'guk kaehwagi munhak ch'ongsŏ: Sin sosŏl pŏn'an sosŏl* [The Complete Collection of Korean Enlightenment Literature: The New Novel and Translated Novels] (Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1978), vol. 1.

³⁰⁴ Yoon Sun Yang, "Enlightened Daughter, Benighted Mother," 116.

they struggle to assume gender, class, and occupational identities just now coming into being”³⁰⁵ and hence family as a site of patriarchal generational transmission of values becomes a hampering, rather than nurturing, structure.³⁰⁶ *Tears of Blood*, similarly, revises the figure of the family, tailoring it to suit the ideals of civilization and enlightenment, asserting that marriage, rather than being an institution that secures the continuity of status society, should unite people of like personal qualities, of which the most important is the desire to learn and use one’s abilities for the benefit of the nation.

Although lineage novels, as I show in Chapter 3, similarly depict the ideal marriage as uniting two spouses of comparable moral rectitude, and, certainly, of elite status, these texts show the dynamic development of the marital relationship, in which the consummation of marriage takes place only after each of the spouses comes to terms with the new marital role. In this way, lineage novels depict both the normative and the private dimensions of the institution that secures the perpetuation of the lineage society. In the new novel, on the other hand, family becomes entirely emptied of feelings—it is a tentative union that corresponds to the principles of enlightenment, but which is not built on affective foundations: the new novel foregrounds political agenda before it is able to make family habitable on affective, intimate terms.

The hallmark of Korea’s literary modernity, Yi Kwangsu’s *The Heartless*—as the novel’s title intimates—elaborates the meaning of emotion and interiority. The novel’s protagonists live through various stages of awakening to their interior being, which remains a rather elusive concept throughout the novel, but which refers to one’s inner

³⁰⁵ Ken Ito, *An Age of Melodrama. Family, Gender, and Social Hierarchy in the Turn-of-the-Century Japanese Novel* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 10.

³⁰⁶ See *Ibid.*, 10-29.

essence, distinct from all kinds of external manifestations, such as class, occupation, or social norm. The following lines provide a cue to the novel's attempt to explore the innermost dimension of experience:

Human life manifested itself in diverse ways, sometimes as loyalty, sometimes as filial piety, sometimes as chastity, or any of the countless other phenomena of human life. Human life would, of necessity, choose a few of these phenomena from among the myriad human phenomena, depending on ethnicity, conditions in a specific nation, and era, and would make these the center of human activity. These are what are known as belief, morality, law, and ethics. In order for the life of a society to be complete, each of its members must observe the moral rules and the laws of that society. This was not, however, the entirety of life. Human life was more important than any moral rules or laws. Life was absolute, morality and laws were relative (194).³⁰⁷

As I mention in the introduction to this chapter, the idea that a person's and a nation's essence inheres in the dimension of interiority represents a political maneuver that allows Yi Kwangsu to elide the imperial claim of superiority that arrogates the colony's identity, proposing Korea's inadequacy and inability to produce authentic, local meaning. The paths that can lead Yi Kwangsu's protagonists to the sanctuary of their inner being include self-reflection, life's hardships, and extensive reading both of literature and of one's own experience—what Michael Shin calls “a literary journey.”³⁰⁸

The plotline of *The Heartless* revolves around a love triangle between Ri Hyöngsik, a high-school English teacher, Yöngch'ae, daughter of Hyöngsik's early teacher and benefactor, and Sönhyöng, daughter of a wealthy upper-class family and Hyöngsik's ultimate wife. Having grown up together, Hyöngsik and Yöngch'ae are expected to marry, upon the wishes of Yöngch'ae's father. However, in order to procure money to relieve her prisoned father and brothers, Yöngch'ae joins the ranks of female entertainers (*kisaeng*). When she finally finds Hyöngsik, for whom she was keeping her

³⁰⁷ Ann Sung-hi Lee and Yi Kwang-su. *Yi Kwang-su and Modern Korean Literature*, Mujöng (Ithaca: Cornell University East Asia Program, 2005).

³⁰⁸ Michael Shin, 267.

virginity, she sees that he is repulsed by the changes that he feels her occupation has caused to her person. Yǒngch'ae is later raped by one of her clients, and she decides to go back to Pyongyang to commit a suicide. Although Hyǒngsik follows her immediately after receiving her suicide note, having not found Yǒngch'ae's body, he readily agrees to the marriage proposal made by Sǒnhyǒng's father who discerns a man of potential in Hyǒngsik.

Hyǒngsik, Sǒnhyǒng and Yǒngch'ae see each other again in a Busan-bound train. Hyǒngsik and Sǒnhyǒng, already married, are on their way to the United States, and Yǒngch'ae and her newly gained friend Pyǒngguk are proceeding to study in Tokyo—Pyǒngguk meets Yǒngch'ae in a train, when after being raped she is on her way to commit a suicide; Pyǒngguk convinces Yǒngch'ae not to end her life and instead dedicate it to learning. In the train, Hyǒngsik, Sǒnhyǒng and Yǒngch'ae have to face their complex relationship. At some point, Yǒngch'ae resents Hyǒngsik's dereliction of their youthful pledge, Sǒnhyǒng experiences hatred for Hyǒngsik suspecting his greater love for Yǒngch'ae, and Hyǒngsik himself is mortified by guilt to such an extent that he wishes to revoke his marriage and the trip to the United States. While these complex and powerful feelings certainly contribute to the emotional awakening of the three protagonists, compelling them to self-encounter and self-reading, the storyline of *The Heartless* quickly changes its focus from the inner turmoil of its protagonists to the panoramic overview of the national condition.

The train stops at a flood-afflicted area that serves as a metaphor for the country's dire state. Moved by the plight they witness, Hyǒngsik, Sǒnhyǒng, Yǒngch'ae, and Pyǒngguk decide to do what they can to help the affected people. They assist a woman

who is about to give birth, and they also organize a concert to raise relief funds. The personal contradictions, in the end, become resolved within the macro-framework of the political and the social: the private subject of interiority seamlessly blends into the national subject, which represents the highest calling for the modern individual; the love triangle dissolves into an association of people who have realized their inner calling for the betterment of their nation. Positing the nation and the national subject as the ultimate fruition of the individual, *The Heartless* creates a utopic picture that allows no problematic relationship between the private and the public subject. This national idyll is set into stark relief by the stories of the unruly protagonists of the lineage novel, who settle into their prescribed social roles only after living through tumultuous confrontations between their sense of self and their social duty. Juxtaposed to the first “modern” texts, the lineage novel, a “premodern” genre, appears as a powerful and sophisticated articulation of an entire cosmology that unites the exploration of the innermost dimension of experience—private emotions—with a coherent picture of society, polity, and larger world. Moreover, lineage novels admit to the problematic aspects of the patriarchal society, allowing their protagonists to become subjects of unruly feelings that go directly against their prescribed social roles.

The purpose of constructing this genealogy of feelings and family in the early twentieth century is certainly not to deny the achievements of early modern Korean literature or to push the boundaries of modernity earlier into Korea’s traditional past. The new novel and the modern novel indeed created a new vocabulary for conceiving the historical change, posing the questions of the relationship of tradition and modernity, the form of the new family, the roles of national subjects, and the role of women in the new

nation. In addition, these first modern works began molding vernacular Korean, certainly marginalized in the culture of Chosŏn that relied on literary Chinese for most public forms of writing, into an apt literary idiom.

The experience of modernity is habitually told in terms of movement, expansion, and growth, but the lineage novel, juxtaposed to the first works of Korean modern literature, shows that modern experience was also an experience of loss and depletion. Here I do not even refer to the loss in the sense of Dipesh Chakrabarty's use of this concept, when he notes the disappearance of "life worlds" or non-secular forms of experience that elide the categories of modern, rational worldview.³⁰⁹ The lineage novel, by way of contrast, shows that the inception of modern Korean literature coincides with a loss of narrative idiom capable of creating a habitable articulation of the public and private dimensions of experience.

In *Tears of Blood*, family becomes a formal, ideological placeholder that fails to accommodate, or even to problematize, the role of private feelings therein. In *The Heartless*, although the question of interiority becomes central to the entire novel, it is resolved with a naïve vision of coincidence between private and national subjects. The lineage novel, a genre that articulates the social norm and private emotions alongside each other, offers a compelling hermeneutic angle upon the narrative of modernity and modern literature. One is tempted to suggest that at its nascent stage, Korea's early modern literature was still an explorative attempt to articulate a new cultural and political program in the context of Korea's colonial modernity and the national identity crisis it produced, but this consideration again underscores the inadequacy of modern-premodern

³⁰⁹ See Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe. Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007), 3-26.

divide in Korea's context. The lineage novel hardly precedes the "early modern" literature because in a number of ways it simply exceeds the latter.

Conclusion

The history of the lineage novel is incomplete without its early-twentieth-century chapter, but this chapter remains even more nebulous than the little-documented life of the lineage novel in Chosŏn Korea. In the early twentieth century, while remaining outside the field of vision of modern nationalist intellectuals, who defined the cultural parameters of their time, the lineage novel continues to circulate until the 1930s, apparently garnering a certain aura of prestige with rental libraries' audiences, avid to partake in the literary culture of the Chosŏn elites. Omitted from the nascent discourses of the national tradition, the lineage novel disappears until it is rediscovered in the 1960s and so far this cultural phenomenon remains unincorporated into the framework of Korea's cultural history: in its nuanced depiction of private feelings and private experience that arise from the perception of oneself as being at odds with one's society, the lineage novel has no parallel in Korea's premodern canon. At the same time, its elaboration of the discourse of feelings which is always already inscribed into the framework of normative patriarchal kinship society does not prepare the ground for the articulation of emotion and interiority that appears in the early-twentieth-century works of Korean literature founded upon the western literary idiom.

In the elegant and powerful phrase of Dipesh Chakrabarty, "history is precisely the site where the struggle goes on to appropriate, on behalf of the modern, [...] these

other collocations of memory”³¹⁰ by projecting “premodern” experience or “premodern” culture into objectified, timeless past. It must be emphasized, however, that the lineage novel simply does not fit the “premodern” labels proposed by the first nationalist Korean ideologues, such as Yi Kwangsu: excessive didacticism and inability to engage with the questions of private meaning and emotion hardly apply to the sophisticated dialogic conception of the lineage novel. In this way, rather than preceding the modern, the lineage novel certainly exceeds it, exposing the faulty conceptual apparatus of modern discourses when they address the past, and also a striking ignorance about the actual content of that past. The lineage novel is a token of the inability of the self-consciously modern discourse to account for its past, and as the lineage novel becomes neither an object of archaic past nor a building block of the nation’s traditional past. In many ways, the lineage novel still exists beside, not within, the temporal framework of Korea’s cultural history.

Linear approach to history, however, does not work in the case of the lineage novel that does not fit into any of the parameters for modern or premodern eras. As a cultural event, the lineage novel is best described by Jack Goldstone’s term “efflorescence,” which he proposes in an article that elaborates the place of Late Imperial China in world history. Speaking against the even pacing of the globe, which necessarily yields the abstract division into progressive or modern and lagging or premodern cultures and states, Goldstone uses the term “efflorescence” in opposition to “crisis,” distinguished in quantitative rather than qualitative terms. Crisis, then, is a downturn and “efflorescence” a surge in “significant demographic and economic indices, usually accompanied by political expansion, institution-building, cultural synthesis, and

³¹⁰ Chakrabarty, 37.

consolidation.”³¹¹ While Goldstone works primarily with the categories of economic and political history, I would like to transplant his insight onto the plane of cultural history. I certainly do not mean to suggest that the lineage novel is “more modern” than the first “modern” literary works in Korea—the new novels and *The Heartless*, which are unable to account for the inherent contradictions between one’s public duties and private feelings. The inverted chronology that would push the boundaries of Korea’s modern moment into more distant past would hardly expose the suggestiveness of the self-situated moment activated in the non-linear approach to the past. The lineage novel represents an efflorescence of the Confucian culture of Chosŏn Korea, able to articulate a vast horizon for its meaning, united with a nuanced understanding of its inherent contradictions, and augmented with an imaginative solution that allows the individual journey of a subject of feelings to unfold within the normative structures of society and kinship.

³¹¹ Jack Goldstone, “Neither Imperial nor Late Modern: Efflorescences and the Qing formation in World History,” in Lynn A. Struve, ed., *The Qing Formation in World Historical Time* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2004), 252.

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