

## The Root-tale of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*

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### I

The debate about the root-tale of *Ch'unhyang chŏn* (the tale of Ch'unhyang) divides into three groups. One group argues that it originated from some national folktales. Another thinks that Ch'unhyang and Yi toryŏng (a bachelor) existed as real beings in history. The third claims that it was generated under the great influence of the Chinese literature. Of these three groups, there has been a lively discussion on the first claim, and many a folktale has been suggested as the root-tale of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*.

The record that *Ch'unhyang chŏn* originated from a national folktale can be traceable to Cho Chae-sam(1). He mentions a folktale from the Honam area which says a) Yi toryŏng, a son of the Pusa of Namwon, loved a young kisaeng Ch'unyang, b) after he left her, she defended her chastity for Yi toryŏng, and c) a newly appointed Pusa, T'ak Chong-rip killed Ch'unyang, d) then some people, hearing this sad story, composed a *t'aryŏng* to console Ch'unyang's ghost and honor her for her chastity a), b) and c) are thought to be root-tales and d), the creation-tale which tells us the process of how *Ch'unhyang chŏn* was created. They are worth noticing in that each one represents the structure of conflicts among Ch'unhyang, Yi toryŏng, and a newly appointed Pusa. They show us the development of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*

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from root-tales to p'ansori Yi Sam-hyŏn(2) proposes the theory that *Ch'unhyang chŏn* was derived from the real story of pyŏgo Yi Shi-pal (1568-1626) and the theory that the folktale of Pak Mun-su is similar to *Ch'unhyang chŏn*. This is the first approach that regards the tale of a secret royal inspector as the root-tale of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*. This point of view has been found repeatedly from Kwon Tŏk-kyu(4), who cites the tale of Kim U-hang in *Kyesŏ yadam*, to Kang Han-yŏng(31) who mentions the tale of Pak Mun-su. On the other side, following (1), P'ung Rurang(3) points out the legend of Paksaeckogae(a hill of an ugly girl). *Ch'unhyang*, a daughter of a kisaeng belonging to a district office of government and an ugly girl, languished because of her love for Yi toryŏng. Due to Wolmae(*Ch'unhyang's* mother)'s trick, they spent a night together. But he left for Seoul and *Ch'unhyang* committed suicide. After then each newly appointed Pusa was shocked to death on seeing the ghost of *Ch'unhyang* who had been buried in Paksaeckogae. Now Yi toryŏng, who won first place in the state examination in Seoul was appointed Pusa of the village. He wrote *Ch'unhyang's* biography, held a memorial service for her, and had a clown sing a song about *Ch'unhyang* to redress her grievance. It means a grievance-redressing tale was added to (1). This approach continued to Chu Kil-sun(25)

Adding the tale of No Chin to (2), Kim T'ae-chun(5) mentions a simple grievance redressing tale and the theory of Yang chinsa's creation, about which there would arise some discussion later. Chŏng No-shik(6) is notable for suggesting the theory that *Ch'unhyang chŏn* originated from salp'uri-kut(a shaman ritual exorcism). *Ch'unhyang*, the ugly daughter of an old ex-kisaeng, fell in love with a Pusa's son, Yi toryŏng, who went to Seoul only to fail, and *Ch'unhyang* was dead. Then the Namwon area was hit by a great natural calamity. People attributed it to the grievance of *Ch'unhyang*. Yibang(a vice-president in the local government) composed *Ch'unhyang-chŏn* and devoted it to the shaman's salp'uri-kut to console the ghost. This version is said to have been fictionalized by writers with some modifications. On the other hand the shaman's salp'uri-kut of *Ch'unhyang chŏn* was very popular in the Namwon area and was set to ch'anggŭkcho(the tune of ch'anggŭk) by clowns. Although the salp'uri-gut origin theory shares a line of connection with the grievance redressing tales of (1),(3),(5), it is a characteristic of this theory to set up a stage of the shaman's salp'uri-gut in the derivation process. This is rejected by Kim Tong-uk(11), while it is agreeably adapted and systemized by Sŏl Sŏng-kyŏng(30). Chu Wang-san(8) agrees

with (5) in supporting the tale of No Chin. However Yi Pyŏng-ki(9) regards the real story of Yi Shi-pal, the tale of greivance redressing for an ugly girl, the theory of Yang chinsa's creation of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*, and the tale of No Chin as nothing but folktales. Rather he points out as root-tales of *Ch'unhyang chŏn* the tale of a lady of Chirisan in the tune of a lady of Chirisan in the Namwon province part in *Tongguk yŏju sŭngnam* and that of Tomi's wife, one of a series of biographies in *Samguksagi*.

A full-scaled, systematic study on the root-tale of *Ch'unhyang chŏn* goes back to Kim Tong-uk(10). Under the base structure that root-tales developed into p'ansori, he divided the folktales related with *Ch'unhyang chŏn* into two groups of root-tales(from which *Ch'unhyang chŏn* is derived) and the creation tales(which show us how *Ch'unhyang chŏn* is created). The former consists of (a) a tale of a faithful wife defending her chastity, (b) a tale of a secret royal inspector, (c) a greivance redressing tale, (d) a tale of a love affair and several sub-plots such as (e) a tale of an exchange of love-tokens between lovers, (f) a tale of a memoranda, (g) a tale of a good dream, and (h) a tale of a Chinese poem. The latter are classified into several classes; (i) *Ch'unhyang chŏn* was created by the development of shaman's song, (j) Yang chinsa created it, (k) it was translated from the song of Yuan, the Chinese Dynasty, (l) it was derived from munjang ch'e novels, (m) it came out in paraphrasing and expanding a novel in chinese character, (n) it begins with the form of p'ansori. Now let us consider the root-tales one by one. In (a), Kim Tong-uk(10) mentions the tale of the lady of Chirisan and the tale of Tomi. Although he admits a jump in logic in directly relating them with the plot of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*, he says that it is also true from the geographical point of view. Furthermore he suggests that the tale of Ch'unhyang's faithfulness to her husband came to a happy ending, different from the other tales of virtuous wives which ended tragically, and this reflects the compromise between the consciousness of the common people and that of the yangban class(the aristocratic class). For (b), he cites such examples as the tale of No Chin, that of Kim U-hang, Pak Mun-su, and Sŏng Yi-sŏng and examines each one under the conditions that for a tale of a secret royal inspector to be the root-tale of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*, it should include not only Yi toryŏng, a typical character symbolizing a secret royal inspector, but also a love triangle of a kisaeng in local government, a president of it, and a secret royal inspector. So it should be a love story in part. Besides the tale must precede the days of King Yŏngjo. He reaches the conclusion that though the tale of Pak

Mun-su bears some resemblance with *Ch'unhyang-chŏn*, all the tales mentioned above don't have a crucial causal relation to it. He merely accepts that a typical tale of a secret royal inspector was incorporated in the formation of *Ch'unhyang chŏn* for an impressive denouement. For (c), he suggests folktales such as the tale of Arang, that tale of Hyangnang, and the tale of Shim Su-kyŏng in addition to the grievance redressing tales mentioned above. He also cites a grievance redressing tale he himself recorded, after Ch'unhyang, an ugly kisaeng from Namwon died in defending her faithfulness to Yi toryŏng, the villagers suffered from famine. Yang chinsa composed the story of Ch'unhyang on three pages of white paper and had a clown sing it praying for rain on Kwanganru. Then it is said to have rained. That three page-long *Ch'unhyang chŏn* has been revised and lengthened to be the *Ch'unhyang chŏn* of today. Kim Tong-uk claims that if the grievance redressing tale were the root-tale of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*, it would include at least three elements, (i)Ch'unhyang was a kisaeng, (ii)she died of love for a good-looking man, (iii)or she was killed refusing to give in to a newly appointed Pusa's proposal so as to defend her chastity. To these three elements, the episode of a secret royal inspector's appearance for Ch'unhyang's revenge on the local governor was added to result in a pansori, which completes the root-tale of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*. In other words, though a grievance redressing tale could be a motive for the development of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*, it would be difficult to consider it as a complete root-tale and prove that all of *Ch'unhyang chŏn* came from it. For (D), he gives his opinion that the love story of a man from the yangban class and a kisaeng might be recognized as a germ of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*, considering the relative importance given to the love affair of Ch'unhyang and Yi toryŏng in the story. Conclusively Kim Tong-uk admits that he cannot determine which one of the tales mentioned above is the very root-tale. Rather he settles on the conclusion that in the process of the development of a folktale to a p'ansori, which in turn developed to modernized a variety of a novel, the central story of the love affair of Ch'unhyang and Yi toryŏng had been embellished with various folktales. When the p'ansori was formed, the flavor of the tale of a secret royal inspector and that of a virtuous woman was added. Here the debate about the root-tales of *Ch'unhyang chŏn* has been anchored for the time being and generally accepted by Mun Sŏn-kyu(12), Park Sŏng-ŭi(13), Kim Ki-tong(14), Park No-ch'un(15), Shin Ki-hyŏng(16), and Yi Chae-su(23). Adding the tale of Cho Shik and the tale in the

Andong area to Kim Tong-uk, Yi Chae-su agrees with him in that he also could not find the crucial evidence for deciding what the root-tale is. However, he accepts only the tales of love-tokens, the tale of a good dream and the tale of the Chinese poem as being added to *Ch'unhyang chŏn*.

Kim Ki-tong(22) argues that the main body of *Ch'unhyang chŏn* is the tale of love affair and that of a secret royal inspector. The original tale of a love affair between the son of the local governor and a kisaeng, which has been transmitted orally in the Namwon area, ends tragically. However *Ch'unhyang chŏn* has a happy ending and Kim Ki-tong says this is because of the introduction of the tale of a secret royal inspector which has been spread all over the country. This claim is similar to that of Kim Tong-uk(10) in motive which assumes *Ch'unhyang chŏn* was created by merging a tale of a grievance redressing with the tale of a secret royal inspector. This position is notable for it points out which one is dominant among many tales. However it is also not clear whether the two tales were compounded with equal status or whether one is more dominant than the other. Kim Tong-uk(27,29) says that *Ch'unhyang chŏn* is divided into two parts, the first half of which is Chunhyang's story and the other half is Yi ŏsa chŏn(the story of Mr. Yi, a secret royal inspector), and these two tales are the root-tales of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*. Here, of course, Yi ŏsa chŏn is the tale of a secret royal inspector, but it is unclear if Ch'unhyang's story of the first half falls on the tale of a love affair or on that of a virtuous woman, or is a grievance redressing tale. Furthermore he introduces the concept of ur-*Ch'unhyang chŏn* in (10). But this is also vague whether this is different from the root-tale of *Ch'unhyang chŏn* or whether it refers to the first version of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*, as was pointed out by Lee Sang-taek(28). At the same time, contrary to Kim Tong-uk's claim that ur-*Ch'unhyang chŏn* ended in Ch'unhyang's death in prison and that the scene of Yi ŏsa's appearance was added artificially in later ages, Lee Sang-taek argues that it is difficult to believe that the appearance scene is an artificial addition, for every version of *Ch'unhyang chŏn* includes it. Here a controversy has arisen; whether *Ch'unhyang chŏn* is a combination of the part of Ch'unhyang's tragedy and the latter part of the tale of a secret royal inspector.

On the other hand, Sŏl Sŏng-kyŏng(30) claims that *Ch'unhyang chŏn* has been developed through the intermediate stages of *Ch'unhyang-kut*, *Ch'unhyang sori-kut*, and *Ch'unhyang-sori*. The first stage, that of *Ch'unhyang-kut*, is related to a grievance redressing tale whose nuclear elements are Chunhyang's ugliness and her unjust death. He says that by re-

placing dead Ch'unhyang with Ch'unhyang narrowly escaping an unjust death, the modernized Ch'unhyang-ka was formed. Saying that the form and sasöl(narration of p'ansori) of Ch'unhyang-ka has been developed through the stages of kut and sori-kut, Söl Söng-kyöng reconfirms the claim that Ch'unhyang-ka was generated from salp'uri-kut. At the same time, he strengthens the argument of Kim Tong-uk(27, 29) by claiming that the tale of a grievance redressing comes to a happy ending by introducing the tale of a secret royal inspector at the stage of Ch'unhyang sori.

The debate about the root-tales of *Ch'unhyang chön* took a turning point in Ch'oi Rae-ok(32). Ch'oi reinterprets the tale of Tomi's wife, which was thought to be one of root-tales of *Ch'unhyang chön* and classified in the category of a virtuous wife tale, as a kwant'alminnyö tale(a tale of an official governor's oppressing woman from the common people). At the same time, he suggests that *Ch'unhyang chön* is also a result of the fictionalization of a kwant'alminnyö tale. What makes this claim meaningful is the fact that he focuses on the conflicts among Ch'unhyang, Yi toryöng and Pyön hakto, the local governor, which were caused by the governmental official's exploitation of the people. In this respect, he is different from his predecessors who only paid attention to Ch'unhyang's unfair death or to the secret royal inspector's role to end the story happily in the course of tracing the root-tale of *Ch'unhyang chön*.

The second group claiming that Ch'unhyang and Yi toryöng were real beings in history arose when *Pusa Sönggong An-üi sönyöng pi*(a kind of memorial) was discovered in Namwon in 1964. Owing to the memorial, a new opinion arose in Namwon. It says that Mr. Söng An-üi was Ch'unhyang's father. Wolmae, a kisaeng, had attended him at night and given birth to Ch'unhyang. Contrary to this, Yi Ka-won(19, 20) proposes Yi Ch'unhyang and Söng toryöng instead of Söng Ch'unhyang and Yi toryöng, and suggests that Söng toryöng be Söng Yi-söng, the son of Mr. Söng An-üi. He says that a certain Mr. Kwon of Andong composed Ch'unhyang-ka and changed their surnames into Söng Ch'unhyang and Yi toryöng. He also argues that Söng Yi-söng was 16 years old before Mr. Söng An-üi left Namwon and that later, Söng Yi-söng was sent to Namwon as a royal inspector. The claim that Ch'unhyang and Yi toryöng existed in history is also suggested by Park Sön-chöng(33). He points out the record of the scene of a royal inspector, Song Yi-söng's appearance in the Honam area in *P'ihwonsanö* written by Söng Söp, a descendant of Mr. Söng An-üi. He suggests

that this real story be inserted to the secret royal inspector scene in *Ch'unhyang chŏn*. However, as Kim Tong-uk(19) criticized, it is impossible to see Ch'unhyang as a real being in history. Above all, the fact that Ch'unhyang who had been described as a kisaeng in *Ch'unhyang-ka* of Manwha's version, replaced with an illegitimate daughter of Sŏng ch'amp'an in Wanp'an version(a version published in Chŏnju), reflects the changes in the social class system in the 19th century. The theory of Sŏng toryŏng and Yi Ch'un-hyang is not convincing enough unless their love affair proves to be true. Although the tale of Sŏng Yi-sŏng, a secret royal inspector could be adapted in some limited sense, it is nothing but a secret royal inspector tale, since it lacks the crucial relation to Ch'unhyang. Under the discussion above, Yang Chu-ik's *Ch'unmong rok* came to the front though the original has not been found yet. However as long as it was written later than Yu Chin-han's *Ch'unhyang-ka* of Manwha's version, it deserves no more than the status of a variant.

The third group claiming *Ch'unhyang chŏn* was generated under the influence of Chinese literature began with Min Yŏng-kyu(7) followed by Chu Wang-san(8), Min Yŏng-kyu(17), Chŏng Rae-tong(18), Yi Ka-won(21), Yi Chae-su(23), and Yi Pyŏng-hyŏk(24). As sources, Min Yŏng-kyu cites the plays of a wit and a beauty in the Yuan Dynasty such as Ka Chung-myŏng's *Taeokso*, and Chu Wang-san points out *Towhasŏn*, Chŏng Rae-tong and Yi Chae-su, *Sŏsanggi*, Yi Ka-won, *Samwongi* and *Hwanhonggi*, and Yi Pyŏng-hyŏk the tale of *Ch'ulsŏk · Kwanghanjŏn*. But the theory of the Chinese literature influence was rejected by the criticisms in Kim Tong-uk(11,26)

## II

As we have seen, there are three phases in the course of the development of the debate on the root-tale of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*. The first phase is that of Kim Tong-uk(10), at which it was claimed that the following four tales were convincing root-tales ;the tale of a virtuous wife, the tale of a secret royal inspector, the tale of a love affair, and a grievance redressing tale. Despite the indeterminacy of an exact root-tale, he said that *Ch'unhyang chŏn* had been completed by other subsidiary folktales' addition to the above four tales. However, this is nothing but a reduction of *Ch'unhyang chŏn* to several folktales, literally, they tried to cite the folktales one by one corresponding to each part of the work, without either investigating the interrelationship be-

tween several tales or discussing the generation process of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*. As a result *Ch'unhyang chŏn* was reduced to several folktales.

It is Kim Ki-tong(22), Kim Tong-uk(27, 29), and Sŏl Sŏng-kyŏng(30) who entered upon the second, more advanced phase of the discussion. They say that *Ch'unhyang chŏn* is a compound of two tales, i. e., a grievance redressing tale(or a tragic love story) and a tale of a secret royal inspector. They made progress in the discussion by giving priority to two tales of the four. But the question of which one of the two is dominant has not yet been answered, either. Provided that the tale of a secret royal inspector had been introduced to console Ch'unhyang's ghost and replace a tragic ending with a happy ending, it would naturally follow that the grievance redressing tale is a root-tale of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*, that is to say, the original tale from which *Ch'unhyang chŏn* was derived. Nevertheless they treat the tale of a secret royal inspector on an equal status with the grievance redressing tale. This is the opinion that *Ch'unhyang chŏn* is divided into two parts and that each part adapted a different folktale. This resulted from not analysing the work with a unified view, namely, they failed to find a unique folktale corresponding to the core structure of the work.

In comparison, the kwant'alminnyŏ tale of Ch'oi Rae-ok(32) looked at the whole discussion from a new perspective. Yet it is too superficial to say that the reason *Ch'unhyang chŏn* comes to a happy ending, different from other kwant'alminnyŏ tales' tragic ending, is that Yi toryŏng is higher in status than the local government official, a wrong-doer. Such a point of view is related to the opinion that considers Yi toryŏng as a central character of *Ch'unhyang chŏn* and eventually to the view-point which emphasizes the tale of a secret royal inspector. Though the kwant'alminnyŏ tale is more persuasive as the root-tale than any other folktales in revealing the conflict structure between Ch'unhyang, Yi toryŏng, and Pyŏn hakto, it only emphasizes the conflict caused by Pyŏn hakto and the resolution of it by Yi toryŏng. Consequently the resistance of the heroine, Ch'unhyang has faded. Since the central character of *Ch'unhyang chŏn* is Ch'unhyang and the conflicts in the work are developed and resolved centering on her, the debate about the root-tale of *Ch'unhyang chŏn* should focus on this.

Thus the following necessary conditions should be satisfied for a tale to be the root-tale of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*;

- (1) Ch'unhyang is a central character in the folktale,
- (2) The conflict in the tale comes from the frustration of Ch'unhyang's



love because of the social class system,

(3) There is a triangular conflict structure among Ch'unhyang, Yi toryŏng, and Pyŏn Hak-to,

(4) It is a core tale arranging other tales in subsidiary positions around it.

On the first condition, the tale of a secret royal inspector is excluded. Considering the fact that *Ch'unhyang chŏn* was orally narrated and the basic world-view(or Weltanschauung) behind it is that of the people's, the final resolution of the conflict by the secret royal inspector Yi toryŏng could at best be regarded as a motive leading to the decisive victory of Ch'unhyang's resistance. If, on the contrary, the tale of a secret royal inspector and Yi toryŏng's role in the work are overwhelmingly emphasized, Ch'unhyang can be evaluated at most as a kisaeng who tried to defend her chastity and her resistance is reduced to an unbecoming attitude to a kisaeng. Such an interpretation does not agree with the popular world-view of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*. Consequently the tale of a secret royal inspector is not the root-tale, though it could be integrated into *Ch'unhyang chŏn* as a subsidiary tale. Due to the second condition, a simple love story is excluded. The central conflict in *Ch'unhyang chŏn* is the one between Ch'unhyang, whose desire to obtain her love is doomed to fail because of the difference in social standing with Yi toryŏng, and the oppressive social system which frustrates her. It is Ch'unhyang's resistance to overcome the difference in social classes and obtain her love that received the full applause and the tremendous love of the people of Namwon. This, considered in connection with current of the times, gains a large social meaning. So the romance of a kisaeng and a yangban or the tale of her personal ascent in social position to the wife or the concubine of a yangban should be rejected. Under the third condition, we also reject the grievance redressing tale without a character like Pyŏn hakto. Since without such a character, there remains only Ch'unhyang's one-sided love and its failure. Moreover the revenge of her fails to be a typical event beyond a personal one. Finally under the fourth condition, we reject the opinion that *Ch'unhyang chŏn* consists of various folktales or it is originated from the compound of a grievance redressing tale and the tale of a secret royal inspector. The claim that the root-tale can be this or that is, as criticized above, the reduction of *Ch'unhyang chŏn* to folktales. It results from the lack of the unified interpretation. When we suppose a root-tale to be a core tale subordinating various tales to it, organizing and integrating them, we can overcome the limitations of regarding root-tales as original

tales, which would fall into the trap of the reduction to folktales or the indeterminacy. With this approach, we can also take an advantage of directly relating the study on root-tales to the study on the structure of the work. It would be especially useful in cases such as *Ch'unhyang chŏn*, where a single root-tale is difficult to abstract, and where various folktales take part, which are difficult to arrange in temporal sequence. Thus the root-tale as a core tale is not simply the original form to which other folk-tales would be added. Rather it is such a tale as would react actively in the development from a folk-tale into a p'ansori, and reflect the current ages and social phenomena honestly.

Following this argument, Ch'oi Rae-ok's kwant'alminnyŏ tale and Cho Chae-sam's grievance redressing tale are the most promising root-tales. And the latter belongs to a typical kwant'alminnyŏ tale category. Of course the latter did not proceed beyond a grievance redressing tale in that it ended in a tragedy and because some curious people composed t'aryŏng to console the ghost of an unfair death. At the same time, however, it had already had the possibility to incorporate the tale of a secret royal inspector as a subsidiary tale into it, seeing that the relationship among Ch'unhyang, Yi toryŏng, and Tak Chong-rip had already been established. Moreover the tale of a secret royal inspector was not incorporated only to convert a tragic ending to a happy ending or redress Ch'unhyang's grievance and unfair death. Rather it would be reflection of the historical situation in which the frustration of the Ch'unhyang's love by the shackles of social class system is cancelled by the increasing power of the people to overcome it. Thus the tale of a secret royal inspector is a subsidiary one incorporated into the kwant'alminnyŏ tale. To summarize, *Ch'unhyang chŏn* was generated from the kwan-tal-minnye tale which was based on the triangular relationship between Ch'unhyang, throwing off the shackles of the social class system and finally obtaining her love, and the two men, Yi toryŏng and Pyŏn hakto, a typical local government official. Then the tale of a secret royal inspector was incorporated as the secondary tale. And other subsidiary tales such as a tale of the exchange love-tokens and that of a memoranda etc. were added to dissolve the social class distinction between Ch'unhyang and Yi toryŏng. The above arguments draws us to the conclusion that the kwant'alminnyŏ tale is the most promising root-tale of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*. Of course the root-tale has the characteristic of the core tale of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*.

## Appendix

After this article was presented, new studies concerning the root-tale of *Ch'unhyang chŏn* have been written and several criticisms of the article were made.

Seo Dae-seok(34) proposes a narrative shaman song *Sŏngju p'uri* as a root-material of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*. First, both *Ch'unhyang-ka* and *Sŏngju p'uri* are stories of the eternal triangle between a woman and two men. They share the common content. While the lovers are separated, a negative man intrudes, forces her to marry him and oppresses her. She resists him and defends her chastity. Then her lover returns, gets rid of the negative man and rejoins her. Secondly in view of the characters' personalities, we can find similarities and correspondence respectively between Hwang U-yang's wife in *Sŏngju p'uri* and *Ch'unhyang*, and between Hwang U-yang and Yi toryŏng. Thirdly both works belong to oral narratives from the same folk-cultural area and the performers share the same origin. His article deserves much attention since he confirms again the opinion that pansori originated from the oral narrative shaman song. At the same time he presents a new point of view at the origin of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*. To begin with, the significance of his study lies in his attempt to integrate the investigation of the root-material of a p'ansori with the study on the origin of the genre. Moreover while the preceding studies on the root-tales of *Ch'unhyang-ka*(or *chŏn*) only managed to identify several folk-tales corresponding to each part of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*, Seo Dae-seok goes a step forward proposing the root-material corresponding to the whole work. His study would be thought to enter upon a new phase for further studies in investigating the source of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*. He criticizes the four necessary conditions, I mentioned above, are too concrete for the root-tale of *Ch'unhyang chŏn* to satisfy. Instead he says that they could be conditions for the variants of *Ch'unhyang chŏn* at most. He suggests that the following conditions himself for the root-material of *Ch'unhyang-ka* to satisfy; (1) the story develops from the feminine point of view, (2) there is an eternal triangle between two men and a woman, (3) the negative man is got rid of by a positive man and the story comes to a happy ending. Yet there are something arguable. To begin with, the criticism that my conditions are only satisfiable by variants of *Ch'unhyang chŏn* is also applicable to Seo Dae-seok's conditions. And even though I admit my conditions are somewhat concrete, the concreteness is only confined to referring the

definite names like, h'unhyang, Yi toryŏng and Pyŏn hakto etc. Seo Dae-seok's first and second conditions are the abstraction of my first and third ones, and they are not so much different as they are similar. Seo Dae-seok excludes the problem of social classes from the conditions for root-tales claiming that it was a product of current thought in the later part of the Chosŏn Dynasty. However it is difficult for a simple love triangle to be the root-tale of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*. Because the eternal triangle in *Ch'unhyang chŏn* is made by a negative man's interruption which results from the difference in social classes, different from the typical love triangle whose characteristic is a conflict between two men and a woman of their own free will. The problem of social classes would be a distinctive feature of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*. In *Sŏngju p'uri*, So Chin-rang also oppressed Hwang U-yang's wife violently. Furthermore the contradiction among different social classes had been a continuing social conflict from the establishment of ancient nations until the feudal age, and this conflict had been described in various literary forms. Consequently a tale containing an eternal triangle with the conflict caused by the contradiction among social classes can be the root-tale. By the way, the third condition proposed by Seo Dae-seok is worth noting. With the condition which guarantees the dissolution of conflicts and a happy ending, we can hopefully avoid the clumsy argument that we have to integrate the tale of a love affair with that of a secret royal inspector for that effect. The strength of *Sŏngju p'uri* lies in this merit above as well as the fact that it is an oral narrative shaman song.

Seo Dae-seok's arguments are considerably convincing. Nevertheless they do not nullify the kwant'alminnyŏ tale which I suggested. While *Sŏngju p'uri* is worthwhile as a root element in that it is an oral narrative and that it corresponds to the overall structure of *Ch'unhyang chŏn*, the kwant'alminnyŏ tale could possibly be directly related to *Ch'unhyang chŏn* in the concreteness of the conflicts shared by them.

Kim Kwang-sun(35) criticizes my opinion that the kwant'alminnyŏ tale is the root-tale, claiming that it is a consequence of my laying stress only on the first half of the novel and so it is difficult to explain all the work with it. He argues that the essence of the root-tale is the redressing of the grievance. So, he thinks the tale of a love affair and the tale of a secret royal inspector with the element of grievance redressing are the central tales. The argument is similar to Seo Dae-seok's third condition in that he looks for the tale that would correspond to the two halves of the work, namely the tale with the

structure in which hardship and suffering turn to happiness. However he returned to the conclusion that the tale of love affair has integrated with the tale of a secret royal inspector. I have already criticized this claim above. One thing remarkable in Kim Kwang-sun's arguments is that the root-tale of *Ch'unhyang chŏn* should include the internal orientation, that is the internal development from hardship and suffering toward happiness.

So far I have approached the root-tale considering it a core tale, since the true root-tale of *Ch'unhyang chŏn* which reflects and described the typical current social situation of the later Chosŏn Dynasty would be the folktale which has an inherent, explosive power or a possibility to develop into *Ch'unhyang chŏn* by incorporating other various subsidiary folktales.

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## GLOSSARY

Andong 安東

Arang 阿娘

Ch'ang gŭk cho 唱劇調

Ch'ilsŏk · Kwanghanjŏn 七夕 · 廣寒殿

Chirisan 智異山

Ch'junyang 春陽

Cho Chae-sam 趙在三

Cho Shik 曹植

Ch'oi Rae-ok 崔來沃

Chŏng No-shik 鄭魯湜

Chŏng Rae-tong 丁來東

Chŏnju 全州

- Chu Kil-sun 朱吉淳  
 Chu Wang-san 周王山  
 Ch'un hyang ka 春香哥  
 Ch'unhyang 春香  
 Ch'unhyang chŏn 春香傳  
 Chunhyang sori-kut 춘향 소리극  
 Ch'unmon rok 春夢錄  
 Honam 湖南  
 Hwang U-yang 황우양  
 Hyangnang 香娘  
 Ka Chung-myŏng 賈仲名  
 Kang Han-yŏng 姜漢永  
 Kim Ki-tong 金起東  
 Kim Kwang-sun 金光淳  
 Kim T'ae-chun 金泰俊  
 Kim T'ae-chun 金台俊  
 Kim Tong-uk 金東旭  
 Kim U-hang 金宇杭  
 Kisaeng 妓生  
 Kwanghanru 광한루  
 Kwant'al minnyŏ 官奪民女  
 Kwon Tŏk-kyu 權德奎  
 Kyesŏ yadam 溪西野譚  
 Lee Sang-taek 李相澤  
 Manhwa 晚華  
 Min Yŏng-kyu 閔泳珪  
 Mun Sŏn-kyu 文璇奎  
 Munjang ch'e 文章體  
 Namwon 南原  
 No Chin 盧稹  
 Paek Ch'ŏl 白鐵  
 Pak Mun-su 朴文秀  
 P'ansori 판소리  
 Park No-ch'un 朴魯春  
 Park Sŏn-chŏng 朴善楨  
 Park Sŏng-ŭi 朴晟義  
 P'ilwonsanŏ 筆苑散語  
 P'ung Ryu-rang 風流浪  
 Pusa 府使  
 Pusa sŏnggong An-ŭi sŏnjŏng pi  
 府使成公安義善政碑  
 Pyŏgo 碧梧  
 Pyŏn hakto 卞學道  
 salp'uri-kut 살풀이 극  
 Samwongi 三元記  
 sasŏl 辭說  
 Seo Dae-seok 徐大錫  
 Shim Su-Kyŏng 沈守慶  
 Shin Ki-hyŏng 申基亨  
 Sŏl Sŏng-kyŏng 蘇盛璟  
 Sŏng An-ŭi 成安義  
 Sŏng Yi-sŏng 成以性  
 Sŏng ch'amp'an 成參判  
 Sŏng toryŏng 成道令  
 Sŏngju p'uri 성주पुर리  
 Sŏsanggi 西相記  
 Tacokso 對玉梳  
 T'ak Chong-rip 卓宗立  
 Tohwasŏn 桃花扇  
 Tomi 都彌  
 Tongguk yŏji sŏngnam 東國輿地勝  
 覽  
 Wanp'an 完板  
 Whanhongi 還魂記  
 Wolmae 月梅  
 yangban 兩班  
 Yang Cha-ik 梁周翊  
 Yang chinsa 梁進士  
 Yi Chae-su 李在秀  
 Yi Chun-hyang 李春香  
 Yi Ka-won 李家源  
 Yi Pyŏng-hyŏk 李炳赫  
 Yi Pyŏng-ki 李秉岐  
 Yi Sam-hyŏn 李參鉉



Yi ǒsa chŏn 李御使傳

Yi shi-pal 李時發

Yi toryŏng 李道令

Yŏngjo 英祖

Yu Chin-han 柳振漢

Yuan 元