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-nip 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 Kyŏsŏ yadam, to Kang Han-yŏng(31) who mentions the tale of Pak Mun-su. On the other side, following (1), P’ung Ryurang(3) points out the legend of Paksaekkogae(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 Paksaekkogae. 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 chhna’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 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 grievance 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 yŏn sŏngnam and that of Tomi’s wife, one of a series of biographies in Samguk saga.

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 grievance 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 folktale such as the tale of Arang, that tale of Hyangnang, and the tale of Shum 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 Kwanghanru. 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 pansori, 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 pansori 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 Chunhyang'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 Chunhyang's death in prison and that the scene of Yi ŏsa's appearence was added artificially in later ages, Lee Sang-taek argues that it is difficult to believe that the appearence scene is an artificial addition, for every version of Ch'unhyang chŏn includes it. Here a controversy has arised; whether Ch'unhyang chŏn is a combination of the part of Chunhyang'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 Chunhyang-kut, Ch'unhyang soni-kut, and Ch'unhyang-sori. The first stage, that of Chunhyang-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 sasŏl(narration of p‘ansori) of Ch‘unhyang-ka has been developed
through the stages of kut and sorri-kut, Sŏl Sŏng-kyŏng 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 chŏn 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 chŏn and classified in the
category of a virtuous wife tale, as a kwant‘alminnyŏ tale(a tale of an official
governor’s oppressing woman from the common people). At the same time,
he suggests that Ch‘unhyang chŏn is also a result of the fictionalization of a
kwant‘alminnyŏ tale. What makes this claim meaningful is the fact that he
focuses on the conflicts among Ch‘unhyang, Yi toryŏng and Pyŏn 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 chŏn.

The second group claiming that Ch‘unhyang and Yi toryŏng were real
beings in history arose when Pusa Sŏnggong An-ŭi sŏnŏng pu(a kind of mem-
ornal) was discovered in Namwon in 1964. Owing to the memorial, a new
opinion arose in Namwŏn. It says that Mr. Sŏng An-ŭi 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 Sŏng toryŏng instead of Sŏng Ch‘un-hyang and Yi toryŏng, and
suggests that Sŏng toryŏng be Sŏng Yi-sŏng, the son of Mr. Sŏng An-ŭi. He
says that a certain Mr. Kwon of Andong composed Ch‘un-hyang-ka and
changed their surnames into Sŏng Ch‘unhyang and Yi toryŏng. He also
argues that Sŏng Yi-sŏng was 16 years old before Mr. Sŏng An-ŭi left
Namwon and that later, Sŏng Yi-sŏng was sent to Namwon as a royal inspec-
tor. The claim that Ch‘unhyang and Yi toryŏng existed in history is also
suggested by Park Sŏn-chŏng(33). He points out the record of the scene of a
royal inspector, Song Yi-sŏng’s appearance in the Honam area in P‘
thwonsanŏ written by Sŏng Sŏp, a descendant of Mr. Sŏng An-ŭi. 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'ún-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 Chun-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 Hwanhongi, and Yi Pyŏng-hyŏk the tale of Ch'ilŏk · Kwanghanhŏn 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 folktale 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 viewpoint 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 Weltanshauung) 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'ünhyang 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'ünhyang, 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'ünhyang's grievance and unfair death. Rather it would be reflection of the historical situation in which the frustration of the Ch'ünhyang'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 tale incorporated into the kwant'alminnyŏ tale. To summarize, Ch'ünhyang chŏn was generated from the kwan-tal-minnye tale which was based on the triangular relationship between Ch'ünhyang, 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'ünhyang and Yi toryŏng. The above arguments draws us to the conclusion that the kwant'alminnyŏ tale is the most promising root-tale of Ch'ünhyang chŏn. Of course the root-tale has the characteristic of the core tale of Ch'ünhyang 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 Sŏngu 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 Sŏngu 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 Sŏngu 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'il'sŏk·Kwanghanjŏn 七夕·廣寒殿
Chirisan 智異山
Ch'junyang 春陽

Cho Chae-sam 趙在三
Cho Shik 蔡植
Ch'o'ŏl 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 春香傳奇
Ch’unmon rok 春夢錄
Honam 澎湖
Hwang U-yang 黃宇揚
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’aechun 金泰俊
Kim T’aechun 金台俊
Kim Tong-uk 金東旭
Kim U-hang 金宇杭
Kisaeng 妓生
Kwanghanru 幡韓孺
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 晩華
Min Yŏng-kyu 閔泳珪
Mun Sŏn-kyu 文璇奎
Munjang ch’e 文章體
Namwon 南原
No Chin 盧樵
Paek Ch’ŏl 白鐵
Pak Mun-su 朴文秀
P’ansori 伴善里
Park No-ch’un 朴魯春
Park Sŏn-ch’ŏng 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 府使成安義善政碑
Pyŏgo 碧梧
Pyŏn hakto 半學道
salp’uri-kut 消磨之谷
Samwongi 三元記
sasŏl 詞說
Seo Dae-seok 徐大錫
Shim Su-Kyŏng 沈守慶
Shin Ki-hyang 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 成昌判
Sŏng toryŏng 成道令
Sŏngju p’uri 成ジュリ
Sŏsanggi 西相記
Taeokso 對玉梳
T’ak Chong-rip 卓宗立
Tohwason 桃花扇
Tomi 都彌
Tongguk yŏju sŏngnam 東國地域勝覽

Wanp’an 完板
Whanhong 還魂記
Wolmae 月梅
yangban 兩班
Yang Cha-ik 梁周翊
Yang chunsa 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 ŏsa 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