

# Kim Pu-sik's View of Women and Confucianism: An Analytic Study of the Lives of Women in *Samguksagi*

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## 1. Kim Pu-sik and the Background of His Writing *Samguksagi*

Kim Pu-sik(1075-1151) lived when there was a conflict between writers who, focusing on poetry and proses, accepted Confucianism as a culture, and Confucian scholars who, focusing on Confucian classics, accepted Confucianism as a means of establishing a righteous government. While there were frequent lectures of Confucian classics led by Yejong and Injong, the meetings on poetry and proses where a king and civil ministers of noble birth participated also indicated the peak of aristocratic culture of Koryŏ. Confucianism at that period consisted of Confucianism based on the study of Confucian classics which was handed down from the Three Kingdoms Period, the interest in *Chung'yong* which appeared in Koryŏ, and Learning of the Principle of Northern Sung dynasty. We can find that Kim Pu-sik was more interested in Confucian classics than poetry and proses, since he said himself that, although he studied poetry and proses in his boyhood, he became to like Confucian classics as he grew old and tried to follow the teachings of Confucius<sup>1</sup>. Besides, he taught Yejong 'Sŏlmyong' of *Sŏgyŏng* and *Chuyŏk* and experienced the studies of Sung during his three private visits to Sung. Therefore, he was excellent in classics rather than poetry.

Kim Pu-sik earned his scholarly reputation in the end of Yejong's regime but fell

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1. Kim Pu-sik, Chungnibongbu [仲尼鳳賦], *Tongmunŏn* [東文選], vol 1, Pu

into a serious political conflict after Injong's inauguration. First, Injong suggested twice the honorable treatment of Yi Cha-gyŏm, his grandfather and father-in-law. But Kim Pu-sik was in opposition to that suggestion on the ground that Injong and Yi Cha-gyŏm were publicly in the relation of a king and a subject. After all, his opposition was accepted. Second, he was in opposition to Myoch'ŏng and Chŏng Chi-sang, who persisted in the movement to Western Capital (Sŏgyŏng), arguing to proclaim Ch'ingje-kŏnwon (the Korean king to be an emperor and to use his own year appellation). It was in December of the twelfth year of Injong when the movement to Western Capital was first proposed. Kim Pu-sik was very much opposed to the proposition, became a general of army and conquered Western Capital in the fourteenth year of Injong after the confrontation of one and a half year. It was the accident that stigmatized Kim Pu-sik as an antinational cherisher of China.

*Samguksagi* published in the 23th year of Injong (1145), at his age of 70, seemed to reflect his suffering from those historical matters, his criticism against them and his efforts to overcome them, based upon his Confucian ethics. Although he is estimated as one of the most important elites at the period, it is difficult to know his Confucianism wholly because there remain just *Samguksagi* and some poems as his works. It is controversial that we think all the Confucianism of *Samguksagi* belongs to him since *Samguksagi* described the Three Kingdoms Period and it was written by many historiographers. But we can guess that the history book absolutely reflects his thoughts and consciousness in some arguments proposed in the book and its entire frame, basic point and way of writing, as the book was compiled in his charge.<sup>2</sup>

Especially a series of biographies include a historiographer's intention to some extent more than 'Pon'gi' or 'Chi'.<sup>3</sup> In the series of biographies are included some works different from 'Pon'gi' in the content, and the fallacies and narrative elements which undermine the preciseness of historical facts. In this paper, his view of women will be considered, since the two big cases he experienced were associated with women directly and indirectly, and therefore his Confucian characteristics

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2 Ko Pyŏng-ik, "Historical Description in the Three Kingdoms Period", *Historical Recognition in Korea*, vol 1, ed. by Yi U-sŏng and Kang Man-gil (Seoul: Changjakkwa pip'yŏngsa, 1976), pp. 37-38.

3 I have investigated the intention of the historiographer who wrote 'The Biography of Chang Po-go' different from the biography in 'Pon'gi', in "The Position of Narrative Literature in the Biographies in Silla. Focusing on the Biography of Chang Po-go", *The Theses to Celebrate the 60th Birthday of Dr. Kyongsan Sa Che-dong: The Study of History of Korean Narrative Literature*, (Taechŏn: Chung'ang munwhasa, 1995).

would be apparent through his view of women<sup>4</sup>

The main purpose of this paper is the precise analysis of the series of bibliographies of women, but I will try to compare it with the biographies of chaste women published in the beginning of Chosŏn to make sure the importance of his view of women.

## 2. Women's Thoughts and Roles in the Series of Biographies

There seems to be no doubt that Kim Pu-sik regarded women as secondary, on the ground that he criticized the existence of a queen in Silla, made sure his standpoint that women should respect men<sup>5</sup> and had just two women, Mr Sŏl's daughter and a good daughter Chiŭn, independently entitled in the series of biographies.<sup>6</sup> But it is found that women's roles were considered more important than the standpoint that women should respect men, which he advocated officially, if we see closely the women who was independently entitled or who was recorded to be accompanied to the biographies of men. In this paper are considered the wives of Tomi, Ondal, Sŏk Uno, Sona, Mulgeja, Pipsil and Pak Che-sang, and the mothers of Chiŭn, Ondal and Wonsulrang, in addition to the two women who have independent biographies. Because all of them work at home, they are analyzed in the ways of their thoughts, roles and functions, divided into daughters, wives and mothers, which are their posi-

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4 Yi Cha-gyŏm, the father of Injong's mother, got his third and fourth daughter married to Injong. Kim Pu-sik seemed to consider it unethical that the relationship of sisters were turned into that of a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law, based on the fact that he criticized a marriage between people with the same surnames and a consanguineous marriage in Silla. But he showed his opinion that each country should have its own customs. Thus, it was likely that he was not bothered by the complicated situation caused by the choice of queens in the royal family, but by the situation which made the public relationship of a king and a subject degraded into the private relationship. Later Yi Cha-gyŏm's rebellion resulted in the devastation of Kaegyŏng and Injong's emotional insecurity, which caused Myoch'ŏng to propose the movement to Sŏgyŏng (Western Capital) and Ch'ingje-kŏnwon. During his rebellion, his fourth daughter prevented him from killing Injong. Thus, when the abuse of power by maternal relatives made the country in trouble, Kim Pu-sik would seriously think about women's social function and role. Therefore his view of women could be shown through the series of biographies of women in *Samguksagi*.

5 *Samguksagi*, vol. 5, 'Silla pon'gr', the 5th, King Sŏndŏk [善德王條]

6. There are different opinions about the number of characters appeared in *Samguksagi*. Sin Hyŏng-sik thinks that the total of 69 characters appear in *Samguksagi*, including 50 characters who have independent titles and some characters who have independent titles included in the series of biographies. Sin Hyŏng-sik, *A Study of Samguksagi*, (Seoul Iljogak, 1981), p. 336

tions at home.

### 1) Daughters

The fact that Mr Söl's daughter and a good daughter Chiün is independently entitled in the series of biographies of women assumes that women are very much recognized when they are children. In addition to them, the behavior of Princess P'yöngang as a daughter described in 'the Biography of Ondal' will be considered. Daughters have trouble in the choice of their husband and supporting of their parents. Generally, the problem with the choice of husband is more focused.

Mr. Söl's daughter is described as "a commoner's daughter in Yulli" in the introduction and then as "a fair and righteous woman though she is from a poor and lonely family." Kim Pu-sik uses "though" much in the series of biographies of women. But he does not use the phrase of "though she is a woman" but the phrase of "though she is poor"(Kasil) or "though she is a poor commoner"(Tomı). From this, it is assumed that he is more interested in the contrast between the upper class and the lower class than the relationship between men and women. Although there is class segregation, which ignores common people, it seems that the strong criticism and warning against the upper class are implied in the work. He is certainly conscious of class, but expressing the relationship between poverty and good behaviors and will and spirit by using 'though', he focuses on the warning against the upper class whose behaviors are immoral and whose will and spirit are weak, rather than his surprise at discovering the new aspects of common people. So he focuses on the relationship between class and morality.

Kim Pu-sik specifies the merits of Mr. Söl's daughter by saying "every one who saw her became to admire her but no one dared to approach her." In fact, the youth called Kasil "didn't dare to talk to her" though he adores her. Kim Pu-sik shows that a woman could protect herself, by describing that the daughter of Mr. Söl is strict in her behaviors and no one doesn't dare to flirt with her. But she is different from Mokran, who disguised herself as a man and personally served in the army, and Chaeyöng of Han, who acted herself for her father, on the ground that she said that she couldn't go to the army instead of her father because she is a girl.

The only thing she could do was to marry. But she didn't give Kasil a promise to marry him, although she introduced him to her father, being glad to hear Kasil's suggestion to go to the army instead of her father. Her father wanted to make his daughter marry him in token of his gratitude. We can see it, when she told his father that she was forced to promise Kasil to marry him.

Of course Kasil was glad and asked her to decide the date of wedding. But she

declined saying "marriage is the most important thing among human affairs and cannot be done hastily." Also she said that she would not break her promise and it would not be late to marry when he came back. It is doubtful why she postponed the marriage. She is a very foolish woman, if she postponed it because she was sure about that marriage. In fact, because of the postponement of the marriage, she was almost to leave her father, and almost forced to marry another man betraying Kasil unless he came back timely. It was impossible for her to keep her promise with her own will. Therefore the postponement of the wedding after three years can be said to show her prudence and consciousness of self-existence. Although she was forced to marry Kasil, she needed some time enough to know him suffering for her. Thus she thought that the marriage after three years would not be an unconditional sacrifice for her father, but her own decision.

But Kasil did not come back in six years. Thus her father forced her to marry another man, worrying she became old. But she directly opposed her father. She did so, not because she had to have one husband Kasil by the promise between them, but because she could not betray him risking his life against hunger and cold. She opposed her father because of her reason and sentiment which are common in human mind rather than a code of conduct that a woman ought to be chaste.

From this, it can be said that the ethics to be a good daughter can not surpass the feeling to be a good human. Her leaving her father alone was because she did not want to betray humanity which she thought was the most virtuous thing in life. But she could not run away at last and cried in the stable. It shows that she gave up a violent act such as killing herself to keep her own opinion. Thus there was no way except for marrying another man according to her father's will, unless Kasil did not come back timely. Kim Pu-sik continuously thinks that it is wrong to do an extreme act such as committing suicide in conflict with others.

We can examine the conflict between King P'yönggang and his daughter in a view of obedience to parents. The princess often cried in her childhood. Whenever she cried, her father told her that he would make her marry Ondal. Therefore it is natural that she believed what her father said. Besides, she seemed to recognize strongly the relation between her and her father as a king and a subject, as well as a father and a daughter. She said, "A common man would not make a joke, and how dare do you, a very respectful king, make a joke? So it is said that a king doesn't make a joke. Now you are wrong." Here she called his father 'a king' and contrasted a commoner with a king. It shows that Kim Pu-sik considers that Injong and Yi Cha-gyöng could not distinguish a public life from a private life.

King P'yönggang got very angry with her disobedient remark and got her out of

the palace.<sup>7</sup> The conflict between them occurred when the father thought that obedience to parents was absolute value, while the daughter thought she did not have to obey the father when he was wrong. The father considered the relationship with her as private; and he did not recognize that his daughter was not only his child but also his subject and his remark was public though it was for fun. His daughter left as he told her to do and it does not mean that she went to the society. Therefore, there is no change in Kim Pu-sik's opinion that a woman should be home.

Except for the difficulty in choosing a husband of Mr. Söl's daughter and Princess P'yönggang, supporting parents is the other problem. Although Mr. Söl's daughter supported her father, she did not seem to have a financial problem. But Chiün had to support her blind mother. She had supported her mother since her childhood, and could not get married though she was 32 years old. She begged and worked part-time as a housekeeper to support her mother for a long time. And she felt very tired about it and decided to become a slave for some rice without her mother's permission. She worked all day, got back home, and cooked rice for her

But her mother asked her why the good food was not delicious to her and she felt a severe pain in her heart. So the daughter told her the truth and her mother cried with regret, knowing that her daughter became a slave for her. As a result, the daughter's confession made her mother severely regret. She should not have told her mother the truth not to hurt her mother's feelings, if she was a really good daughter

## 2) Wives

Most of women in the series of biographies appear as wives. It means that the role of wife is very important as a woman's role. It is also what Confucianism emphasized.<sup>8</sup> The deeds of women in the series of biographies can be divided into several types such as a chaste behavior, making a husband something, understanding a husband and avenging a husband's death on an enemy.

The best example of a chaste behavior is that of Tomi's wife. First, it should be considered why the title of the biography is 'The Biography of Tomi' not 'The

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7. Professor Lee Ki-baek thinks that this part includes a narrative element to justify a marriage among classes not allowed in the society of caste. "A Study of the Biography of Ondal- a Study of the Aristocratic Society of Caste in Koryö", *A Selection of Studies on Samguksagi*, (Paeksanhakhoe, 1985), pp 746-748. But I am not concerned about whether the Biography of Ondal includes a narrative element or not. I just consider it as a complete work having an organic function.

8. In *Chung'yong* and 'Yöksögoechön' [易序卦傳], the duty between a husband and a wife is prior to the duty between parents and a child and the duty between a king and a subject.

Biography of Tomi's wife', to see what Kim Pu-sik wants to intend through the biography. Tomy as a main character argued with King Kaeru; his wife was on his side to the end, leading his victory. King Kaeru thought that every woman pretended to be chaste but she was subject to secret seduction. He would not admit the diversities of women's characters, emphasizing every woman is controlled by her feelings. Also Tomi admitted that there were good and bad feelings, and bad feelings could cause lust. But he thought that every human including men as well as women had that kind of nature. On the other hand, he was sure through his wife's usual behaviors that she would not be controlled by her feelings at the risk of her life. It can be known that she had been seduced by many men by the fact that the rumor of her chaste behaviors reached a king. Yet Tomi's trust of his wife was so strong that he was not offended by the fact that the king seduced his wife. Finally, it is noticeable that Tomi showed his high trust of a woman. Here Kim Pu-sik values the trust between a wife and a husband, especially a husband's firm trust on his wife, rather than a wife's chastity. That's because he puts Tomi on the title.

Tomi's wife dared to deceive the king twice and finally ran away from him. It means that she chose to be loyal to her husband as a wife rather than to be loyal to the king as a subject. Also we can see that she was supported by the heaven, from the fact that a ship suddenly appeared when she cried near the river for help from the heaven, and she could run away and meet her husband. Here we should consider that Kim Pu-sik writes in favor of women's wisdom and practices at a critical moment. Chuñ, Mr. Söl's daughter and Ondal's wife are considerate, wise and active in common.

Ondal's wife is the example of making a husband as a virtue of a wife. To do so, the treasure which she got away with from the palace was very helpful. Although the Confucianists in the next generation considered honest poverty as a virtue, she was wise and farsighted as she got away with the treasure. The princess would be very embarrassed, when Ondal regarded her as a fox and Ondal's mother thought that the princess was deceived to look for Ondal. Although she, a princess, stayed outside for the first time in her life, being embarrassed, she positively persuaded Ondal to marry her, insisting that in marriage, cooperation is more important than wealth.

Ondal's success was made by his personality as well as by the help of the princess. He was good-natured and generous, though ugly. He was also patient. Although he did not like to be called 'a foolish Ondal', he did not protest. He discreetly refused her proposal, saying "a young woman should not do it," and hesitated to receive her serious proposal. Since he was careful, he let the princess sleep by

a twig gate. Although he was nice and kind, he did it since he did not want to be haste. Besides, based upon his respect for his mother, he followed her advice and decided to marry the princess.

But Ondal became a general thanks to his wife, after he got married. The princess was very realistic, bringing some treasure from the palace, although she thought that marriage could be done by heart and love rather than by wealth. Maybe she gave up wealth and chose Ondal because she saw some potential in him. Her excellent wisdom was apparent when she bought a horse. We can guess that she advised Ondal to practice military arts riding the horse. So we can imagine the active princess making his husband with her all efforts. Finally, Ondal was recognized as King P'yōnggang's son-in-law through his military arts. Therefore, the king naturally made his promise with his daughter. But, since then, the princess was not mentioned until Ondal's death in the biography. Her role ended as Ondal's wife. After Ondal died in the battle, his coffin did not move and Ondal's wife made the coffin move. It shows his respect and love for her and his sorrow to leave her. Meanwhile, she resolutely said in front of the coffin, "Life or death is decided, now go." In her attitude, we can see her dauntlessness which made her leave her father, criticizing his father's making a joke, and her serene state of mind toward reality.

Although Princess P'yōnggang is an excellent person, she just makes a role of helping Ondal succeed in 'The Biography of Ondal'. And then Ondal is more mentioned than the princess. That is because Kim Pu-sik makes the title 'The Biography of Ondal', not the biography of Ondal's wife. It was said that Ondal held strong power as a king's son-in-law. If Ondal was satisfied with that, the name of the biography would change into 'The Biography of Ondal's wife where the princess was treated as a farsighted and devoted heroine and Ondal as a secondary person. But Ondal decided to take back the land which was deprived of by Silla and tried it without any impact by the princess, after King Yanggang's inauguration.<sup>9</sup> He did not make success on it, but he was described to be a loyal subject in the series of biographies with other loyal subjects such as Ŭlp'aso, Pak Che-sang and Kwisan.

Putting 'The Biography of Ondal' as an independent title with Princess P'yōnggang's saying "A king should not make a joke." Kim Pu-sik emphasizes the relationship between a righteous king and a loyal subject rather than the relationship

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9 In the main part of *Samguksagi*, the successor of King P'yōnggang is not King Yangwon but King Yōng'yang. Professor Lee Ki-baek thinks that it is a mistake in writing. But I think that it is not a mistake, but it is caused by sticking to the story handed down by commoners. It also proves that the historians differentiated the P'ongri from the series of biographies.



between a man and a woman. Thus he describes Princess P'yönggang as a secondary person in the biography. But he also shows his view of women that a loyal subject could be made by a wise wife. The importance of education is emphasized through the change of Ondal. It is also suggested that education could be made by a wife as well as by parents.

Sona's wife, Mulgeja's wife and Pipsil's wife show their virtue of understanding their husband. They only listen to their husband. But different from the women of the next generation who were just obedient to their husband, they understand and accept their husband's righteous conduct and they are their husband's reliable partners to talk with when their husband make a difficult decision. Especially, Sona's wife said to the people mourning for her husband's death for his country, "My husband said that a man should die in the battle and should not die in his bed in front of his family. So he died as he was pleased." Here Sona's righteous mind is represented. At the same time, it is suggested that the resolute attitude of Sona's wife is connected with Sona's loyalty to his country.

In the series of biographies of women, Sök Uno's wife is the only woman who took revenge for her husband. Sök Uno was a brave general beating the enemy and was loved by soldiers for his personal taking care of soldiers in trouble. But he jokingly told an Japanese envoy that he would make Japanese King and Queen his servants; and it caused Japanese soldiers to attack. He thought it was his fault and he went making an apology personally. But he was finally burnt to death. When the Japanese envoy came later, Sök Uno's wife invited him and burnt him to death in her garden.

Kim Pu-sik wrote comment about Sök Uno because he was very impressed by him and his wife.<sup>10</sup> He shows how important the words of people in upper class are by Sök Uno's joking, as in 'The Biography of Ondal'. But he criticized his wife, regarding the action of his wife as "effective but unrighteous," that is, dealing with a difficult situation well but unrighteously. Here she seemed to be criticized that she was unrighteous because she took revenge by a deception, not a confrontation. Yet he was positive to Tomi's wife, when she deceived the king, saying that she would really follow him, and secretly ran away from him. Therefore "effective but unrighteous" is considered to refer to the violent action of Sök Uno's wife. It is assumed that Kim Pu-sik does not like women's violent actions such as taking revenge and committing suicide.

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10 Comments are just added to the biographies of Kim Yu-sin, Üchumundök, Chang Po-go, Chöng Nyön, Sök Uno, Kim Hüm-un, Hyangdök, Songgak, Kaesomun, Namsaeng, Gung'ye and Kyönhwon

We can see it in the case of Pak Che-sang's wife. Although Kim Pu-sik eliminates a lot of legendary factors in the story, his description of Pak Che-sang's wife, when Pak Che-sang leaves for Japan, reflects, regardless of legendary factors, that he likes women's restrained and rational actions. In *Samguk'yusa*, it was described that Pak Che-sang's wife cried lying down when her husband left for Japan, and later she missed her husband so much that she died crying toward Japan.<sup>11</sup> In the meanwhile, in *Samguksagi*, she is described to cry toward the ship and say hello to the husband. And there is no other description about her, except that Misahŭn returned alive and he got married to her second daughter.

### 3) Mothers

There is no independent biography about mothers in *Samguksagi*, but Chiŭn's mother, Ondal's mother, Madame Chiso who is Kim Yu-sin's wife, and Wonsulrang's mother are written about as secondary characters. Chiŭn's mother and Ondal's mother show the examples of women in lower class who have good children, and Madame Chiso shows the example of a woman in upper class who is strict to her children. She did not forgive his son Wonsulrang about his returning alive after the battle with Paekche. She thought that she should follow her son by samjongjido [三從之道], but she could not be his mother because he was not a good son to his father Kim Yu-sin.<sup>12</sup> Thinking that the relationship between a father and a son would be more important than the relationship between a mother and a son, she shows the ethics of upper class that one should focus on a public life rather than a personal life.

The mothers in lower class are more specifically described. They are all the mothers of good daughters and sons. Generally, in the book for instruction, good daughters and sons are emphasized, paradoxically degrading bad parents. King Sun was the best example and there were many parents who gave a severe ordeal to their children such as asking for a carp or a bamboo shoot in winter. The goodness of Mr. Söl's daughter and the fidelity of Princess P'yŏnggang are marked, contrasted with Mr. Söl's breaking faith and King P'yŏnggang's making a joke. But Chiŭn's mother and Ondal's mother are different. Chiŭn's mother is a good mother, concerning about her child so as to notice her child's change in social status by food, and not wanting herself to be a burden to her child.

Chiŭn's mother is benign, while Ondal's mother is clever, wise, rational and con-

11 *Samguk'yusa*, vol. 1, Ki, the 1st

12 *Samguksagi*, vol. 43, Yŏljŏn, the 3rd, 'Kim Yu-sin'

tented with her circumstances. Ondal was such a beggar as to fill his stomach with the bark of an elm tree. But when his mother first met the princess, she guessed the girl to be of noble birth by her instinct as a blind woman and was so considerate to worry that the girl could come by a deception. It becomes clearer that she is rational and satisfied with her life when she refuses her son to marry the girl, saying Ondal is shabby and poor, at the time of his son's hesitation about the marriage.

Although Chiŭn and Ondal are all poor, there is no conflict between them and their mothers. It means that a mother's attitude is more important than a duty to be a good child. Finally, it is alluded that obedient Chiŭn and loyal Ondal depended on how their mother educated them well. Therefore Kim Pu-sik seems to expect the role of mothers greatly.

### **3. Kim Pu-sik's Confucianism Revealed in His View of Women**

As described above, Kim Pu-sik openly understands the ethics such as loyalty to parents, a husband and a country imposed on women. Those moral principles are neither absolute nor ideological. Women caused problems in the society of patriarchy, refusing the ethics that a father or a king demanded, in opposition to their authority. Kim Pu-sik's favorable description about women reflects his criticism on authorities which is characteristic of his Confucianism.

As told about earlier, the conflicts between Mr. Sŏl and his daughter, and between Princess P'yŏnggang and her father were caused by the fact that their fathers did not make a promise. Trust means consistency of speech and action. Here speech can include other people except for the people to be involved. King P'yŏnggang did not promise Ondal to give his daughter while Mr. Sŏl gave a promise to Kasil, and there was no promise between Ondal and Princess P'yŏnggang. That is, trust was more strictly demanded on a ruler. When parents insisted in their promises, Mr. Sŏl's daughter tried to run away and Princess P'yŏnggang left home. It was a way by which they kept their promises. At the same time, they thought that making their fathers keep their promises was a way to be loyal to their parents.

While the stories of Mr. Sŏl's daughter and Princess P'yŏnggang are about the relationship between loyalty to parents and trust, the story of Chiŭn is about the relationship between loyalty to parents and honesty. Chiŭn, who did not get married and became a servant to support her, would temporarily lie to her mother like Simch'ŏng lied to her father that she received 300 bags of rice for being adopted by Minister Chang. If Chiŭn hid the truth from her mother, Chiŭn's mother would not feel that sad and painful, since Chiŭn's mother noticed certain change by food but

was not sure about that. Therefore Chiün would cry for their miserable circumstances and with regret over confessing the truth to her mother. In fact, in *Samguk'yusa* which includes the same story, her regret to make her mother uncomfortable by telling the truth made much part of it. In the meanwhile, in *Samguksagi*, Hyojongryang, who helped Chiün and her mother, almost makes a half of the story. He is described to make good conducts, receive some reward and enhance national prestige abroad by his filial conducts. Therefore we can see that Kim Pu-sik focuses on the social function of filial piety, rather than the relationship between honesty and filial piety.

It is difficult to simplify and define filial piety which is the main concept of Confucianism. Most importantly, children should respect and support their parents and make them comfortable, not regarding their private lives as important. Also while they should not be misled by their parents,<sup>13</sup> they should not take violent actions against their parents.<sup>14</sup> As a faithful follower of Confucianism, Kim Pu-sik also thinks that children should restrain themselves from extreme actions against their parents.<sup>15</sup> But he thinks that filial piety is connected to children's self-realization,<sup>16</sup> focusing on the social function of filial piety and making the concept of filial piety extended and opened. Thus his view of filial piety is different from that of Neo-Confucianism which demands even children's religious sacrifices of their lives

13 Confucius insisted that Sun was a great son to his father, since he ran away and let his father not commit a crime when his father tried to kill him. In the meanwhile, Confucius criticized Chüngja [曾子] for playing the *kömun'go*, not to hurt his father's feeling, after the recovery from a comma due to his father's severe whipping for his small mistake, on the ground that Chüngja could lead his father to commit a crime if he died, not avoiding his father's whipping. *Konggagaŏ*, vol. 4, 'Yukbon' [六本], the 15th.

14 In 'Yün' [里仁] of *Nonŏ* [論語], it says that we should be obedient to our parents although we disagree with them, and we can just politely remonstrate with them. Also, in 'Cheüi' [祭儀] of *Yegi* [禮記], it says that we should disobey our parents when our parents are wrong, but we can give them polite advice.

15 Kim Pu-sik did not like extreme actions made to execute some ethics and did not praise good sons Hyangdök and Sönggak, for their cutting their belly to be loyal to their parents. *Samguksagi*, vol. 48, 'Yölyön', the 8th.

16 Self-realization here does not mean a social accomplishment. But, at that time, a marriage by free will was an important self-realization for a woman. In *Samguksagi*, in marriages of Madame Manmyöng Kim Yu-sin's mother and his sister Munhi and an illicit union of Kangsu and a daughter of a blacksmith, some legends are used to justify marriages among people of other classes. Kim Pu-sik is positive to those marriages including those of Mr. Söl's daughter and Ondal's wife, although the marriages are against their parents' will, since he has a positive opinion about a women's independent choice and thought, and wisdom to accomplish their wishes.

to support parents.<sup>17</sup>

To Kim Pu-sik, neither loyalty to a king nor to parents is absolute ideology. The ethics of loyalty to a king is entirely imposed on a subject, but is realized, based on the righteous attitude of a king.<sup>18</sup> King P'yŏnggang of Koguryŏ represents inconsistency of speech and action, breaking his promises and making a joke and King Kaeru does not reward a woman's loyalty to her husband, rather destroys her peaceful family. Kim Pu-sik emphasizes that King P'yŏnggang is so stupid that he cannot recognize a good subject, telling about the king's selling an excellent horse. About King Kaeru, he emphasizes in *Pon'gi* that the king unrighteously hides a traitor.<sup>19</sup> In two cases, Kim Pu-sik suggests that a king's good attitude would precede a subject's loyalty to a king

But it is considered that Kim Pu-sik's view of heaven is similar to that of Kuyangsu [歐陽脩] of Sung who criticized the view that heaven reprimanded a bad person for his action, based on the fact that there is no reprimand of heaven against King Kaeru's inhumane action while there is a ship appearing over the crying of Tomi's wife. Kim Pu-sik deals with loyalty to a king and filial piety not personally but publicly and does not connect a ruler's political attitude to heaven's will. It is not sure that his attitude is affected by Songhak [宋學], but his historical consciousness is surely rational.

It can be said that trust between a king and a subject is more important than loyalty to a king. But there is a problem in a way to argue with a wrong king. By Confucianism, an argumentative subject is necessary to keep a nation going.<sup>20</sup>

17 In *Sohak* [小學], Chu-tzu is careful about details in serving parents. The first chapter of 'Myŏng'ryunp'yŏn' of *Sohak* begins as follows: "In 'Naech'ik' of Yegi, it says that serving your parents, you should wash your face, brush your teeth, comb your hair, cover it with black silk, stick a Korean traditional pin [pinyŏ] into hair, wear hair in a knot with silk." "

18 Although loyalty to a king is not an absolute ethics, it does not mean that it demands compensation. Kim Pu-sik insists that a country can not be controlled by subjects' one-sided loyalty without an establishment of kingly Way, making sure, in *Chin-Samguksagi-pyo* [進三國史記表], that he wrote *Samguksagi* to give lessons to all ages through the goodness and badness of a king, the loyalty and disloyalty of a subject, the security and insecurity of a country, and the rationality and irrationality of a commoner.

19 *Samguksagi*, vol. 23, 'Paekche pon'gi', the 1st, King Kaeru the 38th year.

20 Confucius said, "If there is an argumentative subject, there is no unrighteous king and administration, and if there is an argumentative child, there is no rude father (*Kongjagŏ*, vol. 2, 'Samsŏ' [三恕]). Also he said, "If a king does not have an argumentative subject, he will be misled ('Charoch'ogyŏn' 子路初見], vol. 5).

Therefore Princess P'yōnggang should not be blamed for her directly advising her father King P'yōnggang. In the meanwhile, Tomi's wife tries to defend herself by a trick rather than she blames a king for his fault. Thus she can be said to be a wise woman, but not a righteous subject. But the critics in the next generation emphasized that Tomi's wife finally did not mislead the king, focusing on the result.<sup>21</sup>

Above, loyalty to parents and a king had problems, related to loyalty between a man and a woman. And in a Confucian area, loyalty for women traditionally was understood as chastity or loyalty to a husband. But as told earlier, Mr Sōl's daughter tried to keep a promise with Kasil because of a general human feeling, not the ethics of chastity. It was the same in the case of Tomi's wife. Although she said, in order to deceive the king, that her husband died so that she could not live alone and besides she was pleased to attend on the king, the chastity she stuck to was not a mere execution of the ethics of loyalty to the only husband. She declined the king's proposal and lived a wretched life abroad, because she had a pity on her husband, who completely believed in her and became unhappy due to her. The people in Koguryō did not consider her righteous because she practiced the ethics of chastity, but they felt sorry for her.

In Chosŏn Dynasty, when chastity was emphasized, loyalty was just a way of self-defence. The women who committed suicide to be chaste facing a seducer's oppression or to follow their husband were considered chaste in the next generation. But Mr. Sōl's daughter did not do anything more after she failed to run away, Ondal's wife did not kill herself after a heroic death of her husband and Tomi's wife deceived the king twice in order to live. Mr. Sōl's daughter, Ondal's wife and Tomi's wife all kept their chastity, but they did so in return for Kasil's devotion, Tomi's fidelity or Ondal's obedience respectively. Thus the effort to be chaste is not a simple self-defence, but a human feeling towards their husband.

A view of chaste women by Kim Pu-sik is different from that by Yuhyang [劉向], who wrote *The Biographies of Women*.<sup>22</sup> In the biographies, Paekhūi, a wife of

21 It was well represented in the poem on Tomi's wife. In the 17th century, in the poem of 'Chech'ongch'o' [再請妻], Sim Kwang-se wrote that Tomi's wife deceived the king and prevented him from being laughed by the next generation. *Haedong'akbu (Hanmunakbu-sa)* vol 1, (Seoul Kyemyōng munwhasa, 1988), p. 348.

22 It is not known when *The Biographies of Women* came into the country. It can be guessed that it could come in the regime of Sōnjong (1084-1094) with Yuhyang's other books. (U K'wae-che, "The Study of Acceptance of the Biographies of Chaste Women as an Instructive book", *A Collection of Theses about Old Novels*, 1988, p. 438.) But since most of the characters in *The Biographies of Women* were already recorded in the old books, Kim Pu-sik seemed to have sufficiently known criticism about

Konggong of Sung, was burnt to death, saying, "I could not betray loyalty to my husband." Also, Ch'onggang, a wife of Sowang of Cho[楚], was drowned to death because the messenger forgot to bring the letter which her husband promised to send to her. From the fact that Paekhüi was the only woman who was praised in *Ch'unch'u*,<sup>23</sup> in the biographies by Yuhang, the ethics to be chaste was narrowly and strictly interpreted, which was not the case in the biographies by Kim Pu-sik.

Besides, Kim Pu-sik changed Confucianism delicately and independently, concentrating on the social function of women. In Confucianism, a man should cultivate himself, govern his family wisely, and then govern a country and a world, while a woman practices a passive and indirect social function through her husband and children. But Kim Pu-sik does not think that a woman is subordinate to a man, emphasizing that a woman can govern her family, serving a society directly and positively. The story of a good daughter Chiün was not written to tell us about a good woman who gave up getting married and rising to a higher social status to support her blind mother. In the most part of the story of a good daughter Chiün, an elite youth, called Hyojöngrang, who enhanced the prestige of Silla by sending a letter to a king of Tang, was written about. That is, Kim Pu-sik is not interested in filial duty itself, but how it affects the society of Silla and the international relations.<sup>24</sup>

Also Kim Pu-sik tries to show how mothers of upper and low class affect a society through Wonsulrang's mother, Chiün's mother and Ondal's mother. In the era of Koryö, a good mother got a prize because her social contribution. For example, the mother with three sons who passed a national exam received 30 bags of grain from the nation. Kim Pu-sik's mother received 40 bags of grain because her four sons passed a national exam. Also his mother was entitled to get some grain from the nation every year since her sons were great scholars, but she was so considerate to refuse the prize.<sup>25</sup>

Kim Pu-sik also recognizes the negative aspect of women on a society. In the biography of Sölch'ong, *Hwawanggye* clearly shows that women could control the country. In the story, when King of Flowers is about to choose Changmi[rose] with

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women in the past, regardless of *The Biographies of Women* by Yuhang

23 *Kokryangjön*, Yanggong May of the 30th year

24 In 'Pinnyöyangmo' [貧女養母] of *Samguk'yusa* (vol. 5, 'Hyosön' [孝善], the 9th) there is no part about sending a letter to a king of Tang and Hyojöngrang's becoming King Höngang's son-in-law, and instead the daughter's regret about not completing her loyalty to parents and the establishment of a temple are added to the story. So we can see the difference between Kim Pu-sik who is interested in the social function of the loyalty to parents and Iryön who tries to sublimate loyalty to parents in religion.

25 *Koryösa*, vol. 97, 'Yöljon', the 10th, Kim Pu-il and Kim Pu-üi

an image of woman, ignoring a man called Paekduong, Paekduong criticizes the king, saying that the king likes a cunning man rather than an honest man. In ‘The Biography of Ondal’, Kim Pu-sik already warned that a king could not recognize a righteous subject. And then, in ‘The biography of Sölch’ong’, he emphasizes that a woman can make a negative influence of a society, describing Changmı as a cunning and unrighteous figure. It proves that he emphasizes the social function of women as in some earlier examples which showed that women made positive influence on a society

#### 4. Conclusion: A Change of a View of Women in the Next Generation

Based on Confucianism, Kim Pu-sik criticized women’s social activities, limiting women to home. Besides, based on it, he was opposed to privileges to Yi Cha-gyöım because the privileges were harmful to the relationship between a king and a subject, and also he was interested in how a character’s social status affected his mind and action in the series of biographies. But he believed in women’s self-realization and concentrated on women’s social power. He did not place restrictions on women with some ethics such as decorum, righteousness and chastity. Rather he praised that women could survive by wisdom. It means that he thought that women could solve their problems by their realistic and rational thoughts.

Also he expected women’s social function very much. So he thought that trust which women should follow as a virtue could be prior to loyalty to parents and a king. He thought that a woman’s life was more important than the ethics of chastity.

This view of women is very different from *Samgang haengsildo*, which was published during the regime of King Sejong of Chosön when Neo-Confucianism, which was accepted in the end of Koryö, was established to some extent.<sup>26</sup> In ‘The Biographies of Chaste Women’ in *Samgang haengsildo* includes chaste women from the Three Kingdoms Period to the beginning of Chosön as well as the characters of *The Biographies of Women* and *Kogüm yollnyö-jon* of China. Tomı’s wife and Mr. Söl’s daughter appear in *Samguksagi* as well as in *Samgang haengsildo*.

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<sup>26</sup> *Samgang haengsildo* consists of three parts of good sons, loyal subjects and chaste wives. The editors of this book are not known, but can be guessed to be Chikchehak Sun and the scholars of Chiphyöıjön. ‘Chin Samgang haengsildo-jön’ and ‘Samgang haengsildo-sö’ were written by Maeng Sa-söng and a scholar of Chiphyon-jon Kwon Ch’ae respectively, who were the high government officials accepting Neo-Confucianism.



There is a difference about describing Tomi's wife between in *Samguksagi* and in *Samgang haengsildo*. Tomi's wife in *Samgang haengsildo* chooses a troublesome life for her husband, eating roots of grass rather than a luxurious life in a palace. Although Tomi is described to be righteous in spite of being poor in *Samguksagi*, that description is omitted in *Samgang haengsildo* where the chaste actions of women are described to be executed regardless of personalities of husbands. Also in *Samgang haengsildo*, the chaste actions of women become unconditionally absolute, the saying of "although human feeling are unintelligible" being omitted from Tomi's saying to the king "a woman like my wife would not follow two husbands even facing a death, although human feelings are unintelligible." in *Samguksagi*. Here the ethics of chastity become ideologic. Also, against the king punishing the innocent Tomi, there is no direct criticism, written as "How aren't we obedient to the power of the king?" But in the end of the biography, in the sudden appearance of a ship over Tomi's wife's crying, being described as "By heaven's help, she met her husband in the kingdom of heavens," it is alluded that the sudden appearance of a ship over Tomi's wife's crying is a kind of heaven's response.

'The Biography of Mr. Söl's daughter' is condensed in the Chapter of 'Good Children' of *Samgang haengsildo* titled 'Sulssi punkyöng' [薛氏分鏡]. Whether the biography is intentionally condensed or not, the condensation results in a crucial change in the content. In *Samguksagi*, when Mr. Söl forced his daughter to marry another man because Kasil did not come back in six years, she refused and tried to run away, but she couldn't. But in *Samgang haengsildo*, the phrase of "she couldn't" is omitted. It means that she refuses obedience to her father to the end. Although being included in the Chapter of 'Good Children', this biography emphasizes the ethics of chastity rather than that of loyalty to parents.

Also there is a change of a view of a wife's retaliatory murder for her husband in 'Yöyöngbogu' [呂榮報仇]<sup>27</sup> of the Chapter of 'Chaste Women' of *Samgang haengsildo*. Yöyöng heads down the thief who killed her husband and offers the head as a sacrifice to her husband. Later she is also killed by another thief, keeping her chastity. But the thieves bury her, being impressed by the storm accompanying thunder and lightning, when she is killed. Here she is positively praised for the retaliation, while in *Samguksagi*, the retaliation of Sök Uno's wife is considered to be unrighteous.

This difference seems to be caused by the change in the period or in the

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<sup>27</sup> This work is not written in *The Biographies of Women*, but in *Kogümyölnyö-jön* as a title of 'Ohösüngch'ö' [吳許升妻]

Confucianism that aristocrats believed in. Aristocrats and a king helped each other. The relationship between aristocrats and a king needed not an order and obedience but faith which was equally demanded on both sides. Kim Pu-sik spoke for the aristocrats, attaching great importance to faith when he emphasized not the ethics of chastity but the faith between a wife and a husband in the series of biographies of women, strongly warning the upper class against breaking faith. He represented the faith in the poem 'Kummak uim' [軍幕偶吟] which he wrote raising an army to conquer Myoch'ong. Getting a lot of criticism conquering Myoch'ong, he only hoped for absolute faith which Wimunhu [魏文侯] gave to Akyangja [樂羊子], returning the critic letters against him in the war to him, not reading them. That faith is also represented in Tomi absolutely believing in his wife's chastity. With a more mature view of a country and a human than in the past, emphasizing reconciliation and cooperation, Kim Pu-sik wrote *Samguksagi* in the end of his life, after the conflicts with Yi Cha-gyom, Myoch'ong, and Chong Chi-sang throughout his life. His Confucianism was not ideal and narrow but practical and rational: it was also original when ancient Confucianism was mixed with the ideas of Northern Sung. He was especially original in his view of a woman. He did not think a woman must keep her chastity at the risk of her life as an inferior being to a man. He thought that a woman ought to be independent of her husband as a human. But he was not interested in the problems of women themselves, but in emphasizing the faith between a king and a subject, fortifying the position of aristocrats.

The chastity was emphasized by new high government officials who newly rose from small and medium-sized landowners in the provinces after military officers revolt, when there were a lot of attacks by Japanese pirates, Mongolia and Hongonjok [紅巾賊] after the fourteenth century. Under the chaotic situation, the officials wrote the biographies about the women who were killed by foreign invaders or committed suicide to keep their chastity. They tried to find new ethics in new Confucianism to overcome the chaos of the country such as the frequent invasions by foreign enemies, the corruption of Buddhism and powerful aristocrats' abuse of power especially on land. They identified themselves, accepting some ethics like the absolute power of a king and the chastity of a woman,<sup>28</sup> through the books on Neo-Confucianism which high government officials brought from Yöngyong [燕京], the capital of Yuan.

Since the high government officials accepting new Confucianism founded

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28 Hu Oe-ro (et al.), *History of Confucianism in Sung and Ming Dynasty 2*, trans. by Pak Wan-sik, (Seoul: Iron'gwa silch'onssa, 1995), p. 63

Chosŏn, the ethics such as loyalty to a king and parents and chastity were more fortified than before. As we see that most women in the Chapter of 'Chaste Women' of *Samgang haengsildo* killed themselves or were killed to keep their chastity,<sup>29</sup> the chastity was highly valued by the high government officials. The chastity was also emphasized in the Chapter of 'Chaste Women' of *Sinjŭng Tongguk'yŏjsŭng'ram* published in the regime of Chungjong. The tendency to impose chastity on a woman rather than to regard a woman as an independent human being was continued until the 17th century and 18th century when radical scholars criticized the imposition of chastity on a woman.

But it is interesting that the chastity was not only emphasized by the men of the period, but it also affected the ethics like loyalty to a king demanded over men. Therefore in the foundation of Chosŏn and the usurpation of King Sejo, many officials showed their absolute loyalty to a king.

(Translated by Hyunsook Huh, Instructor at Ewha Womans University)

## GLOSSARY

chi 志	<i>Kogŭm yŏllyŏ-jon</i> 古今烈女傳
Ch'ingje kŏnwon 稱帝建元	<i>Kongjagaŏ</i> 孔子家語
Chŏng Chi-sang 鄭知商	<i>Myoch'ŏng</i> 妙清
<i>Ch'unch'u</i> 春秋	<i>Pak Che-sang</i> 朴提上
<i>Chung'yong</i> 中庸	<i>Pon'gi</i> 本紀
Chungjong 中宗	<i>Princess P'yŏnggang</i> 平康公主
<i>Chuyŏk</i> 周易	<i>pu</i> 賦
<i>Hwawanggye</i> 花王戒	<i>Samgang haengsildo</i> 三綱行實圖
Injong 仁宗	<i>Samguksagi</i> 三國史記
Kim Pu-sik 金富弼	<i>Samguk'yusa</i> 三國遺事
King P'yŏnggang 平康王	<i>Sinjŭng Tongguk'yŏjsŭng'nam</i>

29 Among 16 episodes of the Chapter of Chaste Women of *Samgang haengsildo* matching *The Biographies of Women* by Yuhang, 9 episodes are about faithful women, 3 episodes about mothers, 2 episodes about chaste women, 1 episode about wise women and 1 episode about adaptable women. Thus this book shows absolute favor for faithful women. As for women's chaste actions, among 110 episodes of the Chapter of 'Chaste women', 74 episodes tell about the women killing themselves (45 episodes) or being killed (29 episodes) to keep their chastity. The number is a lot more than the number of 15 episodes about keeping chastity without death. It means that in Chosŏn, an ideology of chastity was positively fortified.

	新增 東國輿地勝覽	Yejong 睿宗
<i>Sōgyōng</i> 書經		Yi Cha-gyōm 李資謙
<i>The Biographies of Women</i> 列女傳		Yōljōn 列傳