

***Miam ilgi*: Select Translations with Introduction**

Edited by Sun Joo Kim and Kwon Oh-Young

Acknowledgments and Note to the Reader

Sun Joo Kim

The following select translations from the *Miam ilgi* 眉巖日記 (Yu Hŭi-ch'un's Diary) are the result of the First International Summer *Hanmun* Workshop, sponsored by the Academy of Korean Studies (AKS, Han'gughak Chungang Yŏn'guwŏn), Korea, and the Korea Institute, Harvard University, held June 29 to July 24, 2009 at the AKS. The workshop was directed by Sun Joo Kim, Professor of Korean History, Harvard University. Daily instruction on reading the diary in modern Korean was provided by Professor Kwon Oh-Young of AKS. Ten participants from North American universities (see the list below) daily produced Korean as well as English translations of the diary after the morning reading session. Sun Joo Kim edited the Korean and English translations while Kwon Oh-Young proofread the Korean version. Kim Joung-mi, a teaching assistant for the workshop, also provided substantial support.

The diary is very extensive, as described below, and we were able to read only a very small fraction of the whole text. Readers should be aware that what is translated and represented in this collection was determined by the interests of the participants. For example, a large portion of the diary deals with court affairs, including Confucian discourses discussed during the royal lectures (*kyŏngyŏn* 經筵) while Yu Hŭi-ch'un 柳希春 (1513–77) served as a royal lecturer. In fact the sections concerning royal lectures were edited and separately compiled as the *Kyŏngyŏn ilgi* 經筵日記 (Records of Royal Lectures), which makes up five volumes of the *Miam chip* (Collected Works of Yu Hŭi-ch'un), published in woodblock prints in 1869 (in 1897 for the supplementary edition).¹ And whereas our own interests, as well as most of the existing secondary literature on the diary and Yu Hŭi-ch'un, are heavily inspired and thus skewed by rich information concerning quotidian matters, scholars of Chosŏn intellectual history need to pay closer attention to Yu's philosophical propensities as a Neo-Confucian scholar at this particular time in the latter part of the sixteenth century, when his contemporaries—such as Yi Hwang 李滉 (1501–70), Yi I 李珥 (1536–84), and Cho Sik 曹植 (1501–72), the most prominent Neo-Confucian scholars of Chosŏn Korea—were formulating their own interpretation of Neo-Confucian philosophy. Readers will find a hint of Yu's role in the royal lectures and his Neo-Confucian scholarship in the translations that follow in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

Another caveat for the translations is that they were the product of four weeks (although my editing took another month)—a very short period of intensive work that

¹ *Kyŏngyŏn ilgi* is in volumes 15 to 19 of the *Miam chip*, which is reprinted in *Han'guk munjip ch'onggan*, vol. 34 (Kyŏngin munhwasa, 1989). The woodblocks of the *Miam chip* are still preserved in Mohyŏn'gwan, a depository of Yu Hŭi-ch'un's diary and other documents in Tamyang, South Chŏlla Province.

cannot help but be incomplete. Although it would be ideal to spend much more time to polish the translations and to provide more thorough annotations and contextualization, that was not the original intention of the workshop. To make this translated text available to a wider audience, we take the risk of producing a rather unfinished work here. When you find gross mistakes in our translations, please inform me at: sjkim@fas.harvard.edu. I will do my best to correct and update them.

A few words are in order about the format of the text and the reference materials we used:

Each entry, marked by a broken line, is composed of the original *hanmun* text, followed by the modern Korean translation and then the English translation.

On-line reference materials and databases were very useful for locating required information quickly. For character dictionary and encyclopedic information, we often used such on-line databases as NATE *sajŏn* (NATE dictionary) at: <http://alldic.nate.com/> and NAVER *sajŏn* (NAVER dictionary) at: <http://dic.naver.com/>. For biographical information, NATE *han'gughak* (NATE Korean studies) at: <http://koreandb.nate.com/> was useful. To verify personal information and the records of civil service examination passers, we mostly relied on the *Han'guk yŏktae inmul chonghap chŏngbo sisŭt'em* (Integrated Information System for Historical Persons of Korea) at: <http://people.aks.ac.kr/index.jsp>, and Wagner & Song Munkwa Roster of the Chosŏn Dynasty through Korea A2Z at: <http://www.dbmedia.co.kr/>. We did not insert an individual footnote when the information was taken from these popular databases.

It must also be noted that the comprehensive dictionaries provide much richer definition and usage of characters and phrases, whereas on-line dictionaries sometimes list only a well-known set of definitions for a character.

With great gratitude, I would like to acknowledge the full support of the AKS and its President Kim Jung-bae, Professor Han Hyong-Jo (Director), as well as Professor Choi Jin-Duk (former Director), Dr. Yi Ch'ang-il (Researcher), and Song Sang-hyŏng (Research Assistant) of the Kojŏnhak Yŏn'guso (Research Institute of Korean Classics) at the AKS, which housed the workshop. I would also like to thank Harvard's Korea Institute for partial financial support. I am grateful to general members of the Committee for Korean Studies (CKS) at the Association for Asian Studies (AAS), who showed enthusiastic support when I presented the idea of establishing a summer *hanmun* workshop at its general meeting in 2008.

In case anyone quotes these translated materials or uses any part of them for classes or other purposes, I cordially request that they be acknowledged as follows: "Sun Joo Kim and Kwon Oh-Young, editors. *Miam ilgi: Select Translations with Introduction*. Translated by the participants of the First International Summer *Hanmun* Workshop,

sponsored by the Academy of Korean Studies and Harvard's Korea Institute (June 29 to July 24, 2009).”

Finally, here is the list of the extremely motivated, hard-working participants of the workshop:

Peter Wayne de Fremery (Harvard University)
Helen Hwang (University of California–Los Angeles)
Yeogeun Yonsue Kim (University of Toronto)
Kyong-Mi Kwon (Harvard University)
John Song Lee (Harvard University)
Si Nae Park (University of British Columbia)
Aeri Shin (Harvard University)
Maya Stiller (University of California–Los Angeles)
Sixiang Wang (Columbia University)
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1. Introduction: Yu Hŭi-ch'un and the *Miam ilgi*

Sun Joo Kim

Yu Hŭi-ch'un was a man of the Sŏnsan 善山柳 Yu descent group, which claimed to be an offshoot of the larger Muhwa Yu 文化柳 lineage after Yu Hŭi-ch'un's remote ancestor Yu Po 柳甫 took Sŏnsan, his stipend village (*sigŭp* 食邑), as his clanseat during the Koryŏ period.² His courtesy name (*cha* 字) was Injung 仁仲 and pen name was Miam (Eyebrow Rock), after a rock that resembled an eyebrow on a hill behind his house. It is claimed that Yu's immediate ancestors held minor government posts³ and passed the lower civil service examinations (*samasi* 司馬試),⁴ but these claims could not be corroborated with other records. Yu's father Yu Kye-rin 柳桂隣 (1478–1528),⁵ as a disciple of Kim Koeing-p'il 金宏弼 (1454–1504) and Ch'oe Po (or Ch'oe Pu) 崔溥 (1454–1504),⁶ was well versed in Neo-Confucian scholarship. Yet he apparently secluded himself from worldly affairs (maybe after seeing both his teachers as well as his own son become victims of the literati purges and court politics) and only involved himself in teaching local children. Until Yu Kye-rin's generation, therefore, the Yu family was one of those unknown, local elite families in southern Chŏlla Province.

Marriage ties with more prominent regional elite families seem to have played an important role in the success of Yu Hŭi-ch'un and subsequent rise of the Yu family. Yu Kye-rin married a daughter of his teacher Ch'oe Po and also moved from Sunch'ŏn to Haenam, his wife's hometown, because uxori-local marriage was a popular practice at the time.⁷ Ch'oe Po of the T'amjin (present-day Kangjin) Ch'oe descent group⁸ passed the

² For this introduction, I relied heavily on Song Chae-yong, *Miam ilgi yŏn'gu* [Study of Yu Hŭi-ch'un's diary], (Seoul: Chei aen ssi, 2008), 53–67 and 81–104. Unless otherwise noted, all factual information is from Song's book.

³ According to the family genealogy published in 1930, Yu's great-great-grandfather Yu Mun-ho 柳文浩 had been sub-area commander of Kamp'o (Kamp'o Manho 甘浦萬戶).

⁴ According to the family genealogy, Yu's great-grandfather Yu Yang-su 柳陽秀 (1405–82) as well as his grandfather Yu Kong-jun 柳公濬 (1448–1500) were literary licentiate degree-holders (*chinsa* 進士). Their names are not found in the on-line *sama pangmok* (lower civil service examinations roster).

⁵ More information on Yu Kye-rin is found in Chapter 3, in the *Sŏngŭn sŏnsaeng kalŭm* (Tomb inscription on back of Master Sŏngŭn's headstone), which appears in *Miam ilgi ch'o*, 3: 224–25. All entries of *Miam ilgi* in this manuscript are from Yu Hŭi-ch'un, *Miam ilgi ch'o* [Yu Hŭi-ch'un's Diary], 5 vols., edited by Chosŏnsa p'yŏnsuhoe (Keijō: Chōsen sōdokufu, 1936–38).

⁶ More information on Yu's mother, Madam Ch'oe, is in Chapter 3, in the *Chŏng puin Ch'oe ssi kalŭm* (Tomb inscription on the back of Lady of Virtue Ch'oe's headstone), which appears in *Miam ilgi ch'o*, 3: 226.

⁷ For uxori-local marriage practices in the Chosŏn dynasty at least until the late seventeenth century, see Mark A. Peterson, *Korean Adoption and Inheritance: Case Studies in the Creation of a Classic Confucian Society* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996); Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of*

higher civil service examination (*munkwa* 文科) in 1482 and was appointed to numerous important posts in the central court. He was demoted because of his memorial criticizing wrongdoing of King Yǒngsan-gun (r. 1494–1506), and banished to Tanch'ŏn at the time of the 1498 literati purge (*muo sahwa* 戊午士禍) because he had a copy of the collected works of Kim Chǒng-jik 金宗直 (1431–92), whose essay criticizing King Sejo's usurpation had led to the 1498 purge itself. Eventually, he was forced to take his own life by drinking poison during the 1504 literati purge (*kapcha sahwa* 甲子士禍).⁹ This rather tragic career, and the fact that he was one of the disciples of Kim Chong-jik, along with his own scholarship ironically brought Ch'oe recognition as a leading scholar and official from Chǒlla Province. Ch'oe is best known for his *P'yohaerok* 漂海錄 (Record of Drifting across the Sea), which recorded what he saw and learned in China after being shipwrecked there in 1487. Later, in 1569, Yu Hŭi-ch'un facilitated the publication of the *P'yohaerok* and wrote its postscript.¹⁰ Ch'oe Po himself did not have a son, but two daughters. The first daughter married Na Chil 羅晔 of the Naju Na 羅州羅 family, whose son Na Sa-sŏn 羅士愼 passed the *munkwa* in 1534 and whose two brothers, Na Ch'ang 羅昶 and Na Yo 羅曜, had passed the *munkwa* in 1510 and 1513, respectively. Two grandsons from his second daughter, Yu Sǒng-ch'un 柳成春 (1495–1522) and Yu Hŭi-ch'un, also passed the *munkwa*, though long after his death. Ch'oe was apparently wealthy, and his land and slaves, the two most important forms of wealth at the time, must have been inherited by his two daughters.¹¹ It may not too much to say that his scholarly as well as material resources sowed seeds for the success of his grandchildren.

Yu's older and only brother, Yu Sǒng-ch'un, also found a marriage partner from a rising regional elite family, the daughter of Kim Sung-jo 金崇祖 of the Kwangsan Kim 光山金 descent group residing in Naju, a *munkwa* graduate of 1495. Kim's son Kim Ki 金紀 (1500–63) passed the *munkwa* in 1519, a few years after Yu Sǒng-ch'un did in 1514. Yu Sǒng-ch'un held a number of prestigious posts at court, yet he was implicated in the

Society and Ideology (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992); and Yi Sugŏn, *Yǒngnam hakp'a ūi hyǒngsǒng kwa chǒn'gae* [The Formation and Development of the Yǒngnam School], (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1995).

⁸ Members of the T'amjin Ch'oe descent group resided in Kangjin, Chǒlla Province, for generations. Ch'oe Po's father Ch'oe T'aek 崔澤, however, moved to Naju after getting married to the family of Yǒyang Chin 驪陽陳. The family moved again to Haenam because Ch'oe Po married a daughter of Chǒng Kwi-gam 鄭貴城 of Haenam Chǒng 海南鄭 in 1470.

⁹ For the four literati purges in the early Chosŏn period, see Edward Willet Wagner, *The Literati Purges: Political Conflict in Early Yi Korea* (Cambridge, MA: East Asian Research Center and Harvard University Press, 1974).

¹⁰ See Chapter 3 for a translation of the postscript to the *P'yohaerok*.

¹¹ For the equal inheritance practice among siblings in the Chosŏn dynasty until the seventeenth century, see Mark A. Peterson, *Korean Adoption and Inheritance*; Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea*; and Yi Sugŏn, *Yǒngnam hakp'a ūi hyǒngsǒng kwa chǒn'gae*.

purge of 1519 (*kimyo sahwa* 己卯土禍) and banished to Kūmnūng. He was soon freed from exile but died in 1521, at the age of twenty-eight, while living in Haenam.

In 1536 Yu Hūi-ch'un himself married a daughter of Song Chun 宋駿 of the Hongju Song 洪州宋 descent group from Tamyang, Chōlla Province. Song Chun, supposedly a classics licentiate (*saengwōn* 生員), was distinguished neither in scholarship nor in terms of an official career. Yet his wife's father—thus Yu's wife's maternal grandfather, Yi In-hyōng 李仁亨 (1436–1504) of Haman Yi 咸安李—who held the post of inspector-general of the Office of Inspector-General (Taesahōn 大司憲), was one of the most influential, upright scholar-officials of the time. During the 1498 literati purge, Yi was posthumously punished because he had been one of Kim Chong-jik's disciples. In conclusion, Yu's paternal and maternal as well as his wife's larger families were locally based yet inherited the scholarly and moral legacy of righteous Confucian scholar-officials, who were persecuted during those tumultuous years of literati purges during the reigns of King Yōnsan-gun (r. 1494–1506) and Chungjong (r. 1506–44).

Yu Hūi-ch'un was born in Haenam, Chōlla Province, in 1513. He was apparently very brilliant from a young age. He first studied under his own father, who, however, passed away when he was sixteen years old. He learned poems by Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824) from Chōng Cha-hwa 鄭自和.¹² He then studied under Ch'oe San-du 崔山斗 (1483–1536) and under Kim An-guk 金安國 (1478–1543).¹³ Both Ch'oe San-du and Kim An-guk (victims of the 1519 purge), as well as Yu's father Yu Kye-rin, were disciples of Kim Koeng-p'il, who had learned from Kim Chong-jik. Because Yu's maternal grandfather Ch'oe Po was also a disciple of Kim Chong-jik, Yu succeeded to the scholarship of Kim Chong-jik and Kim Koeng-p'il through his father as well as his maternal grandfather.¹⁴

Yu became a *saengwōn* in 1537 and earned the *munkwa* degree in 1538. In 1542, he taught King Injong (r. 1544–45) when he was the Crown Prince, as fifth tutor of the Crown Prince Tutorial Office (Sigangwōn Sōlsō 侍講院 設書), serving with his own teacher, Kim An-guk. In 1544, while he was serving as sixth counselor of the Office of the Special Counselors (Such'an 修撰), he submitted his resignation to return home to take care of his aged mother. The king then appointed him magistrate of Mujang, near his home district. In 1545, he received the central court appointment of fourth censor of the Office of Censor-General (Chōngōn 正言).

¹² See the entry for 1567/12/17 (*Miam ilgi ch'o*, 1:73–74). All lunar calendar dates in this work appear as year/month/day, and thus 1567/12/17 is the seventeenth day of the twelfth lunar month in 1567.

¹³ There are many entries concerning Kim An-guk in Yu's diary. For examples, see 1567/10/26 (*Miam ilgi ch'o*, 1:27–28), 1573/9/12 (4:99–100), 1574/1/14 (4:231–32), 1574/6/9 (4: 400–402), and 1574/6/24 (4:425–26).

¹⁴ For more discussion on Yu's scholarship, see Chōng Chae-hun, "Miam Yu Hūi-ch'un's saengae wa hangmun" [Life and scholarship of Yu Hūi-ch'un], *Nammyōnghak yōn'gu* 3 (1993): 69–77; Song Chae-yong, *Miam ilgi yōn'gu*, 171–233; and Chōng Ho-hun, "Miam Yu Hūi-ch'un ūi hangmun hwaltong kwa 'chihyōn suji'" [Yu Hūi-ch'un's scholarship and 'Administrative manual for magistrates'], *Han'guk sasangsa hak* 29 (2007): 39–71.

After King Injong's very short reign, a young king Myōngjong (r. 1545–67) ascended to the throne, which opened up the rule by Queen Munjōng (King Chungjong's primary wife and King Myōngjong's mother) behind the screen for eight years and the rise of the Little Yun (Soyun 小尹) group led by Yun Wōn-hyōng 尹元衡 (?–1565), Queen Munjōng's brother. On the secret order of Queen Munjōng, Yun Wōn-hyōng and his group initiated the literati purge of 1545 (*ŭlsa sahwa* 乙巳士禍) in order to persecute their opponents in the Great Yun (Taeyun 大尹) group led by Yun Im 尹任 (1477–1545), the former king Injong's maternal uncle. As a censorial official, Yu was critical of the purge. In the ninth lunar month of 1547, the Little Yun group concocted the incident of hanging seditious letters at Yangjae Post Station (*Yangjae-yōk pyōksō sagōn* 良才驛壁書事件), which condemned Queen Munjōng and her associates, in order to wipe out officials sympathetic to those who had been purged in 1545. Yu was one of the victims and was thus banished, first to Cheju Island and then to Chongsōng in Hamgyōng Province.

There is not much information on Yu's life during his nineteen years of exile in Chongsōng. He seems to have immersed himself in studying Neo-Confucianism and also taught local students and composed many poems, most of which have unfortunately been lost. Kim In-hu 金麟厚 (1510–60), a Neo-Confucian scholar from Chongsōng, Chōlla Province, who was also a disciple of Kim An-guk, and a close friend and an in-law of Yu, since Yu's son Yu Kyōng-ryōm 柳景濂 took a daughter of Kim as his wife, sent letters and poems to Yu during Yu's exile. In 1565, Queen Munjōng passed away, discussions about reinstating those purged in 1545 and 1547 took place at court, and Yu was removed to Ŭnjin in Ch'ungch'ōng Province, closer to Seoul as well as to his home in Chōlla Province. When King Sōnjo (r. 1567–1608) was enthroned, Yu was finally freed, on the twelfth day of the tenth lunar month of 1567.

Yu then was immediately appointed lecturer of the Royal Academy (*Chikkang* 直講), followed by fourth counselor of the Office of Special Counselors (*Ŭnggyo* 應教), fifth counselor of the Office of Special Counselors (*Kyori* 校理), third inspector of the Office of the Inspector-General (*Changnyōng* 掌令), second inspector of the Office of the Inspector-General (*Chibūi* 執義), headmaster of the Royal Academy (*Taesasōng* 大司成), first counselor of the Office of Special Counselors (*Pujehak* 副提學), and provincial governor (*Kwanch'alsa* 觀察使) of Chōlla Province. In 1575, he served as second minister of (*Ch'amp'an* 參判) of the Ministry of Rites (*Yejo* 禮曹) and the Ministry of Works (*Kongjo* 工曹). When he finally resigned his post, he was second minister of the Ministry of Personnel (*Yijo* 吏曹).¹⁵

In the early years of King Sōnjo's reign, Yu lectured on the Confucian classics and history as a lecturer at the royal lecture (*Kyōngyōn'gwan* 經筵官), along with other famous scholar-officials of the time, such as Yi I, Yu Sōng-ryong 柳成龍 (1542–1607), Yi San-hae 李山海 (1539–1609), Ki Tae-sūng 奇大升 (1527–72), and No Su-sin 盧守愼

¹⁵ For a thorough examination of Yu's official career, see Yi Sōng-im, "16 segi Chosōn yangban kwallyo ūi sahwan kwa kŭe ttarŭn suip—Yu Hŭi-ch'un ūi Miam ilgi rŭl chungsimŭro" [Official career of a yangban bureaucrat in sixteenth-century Chosōn and his income—focused on Yu Hŭi-ch'un's *Miam ilgi*], *Yōksa hakpo* 145 (1995): 91–146.

(1515–90). Yu was also well acquainted with Yi Hwang and showed great respect for Yi’s scholarship.¹⁶ Yu was broadly informed and well versed in the Confucian classics and histories.¹⁷ In particular, he honored Zhu Xi as a “sage” (*sōngin* 聖人), and put great efforts into interpreting and disseminating the Learning of Zhu Xi (Chujahak 朱子學).¹⁸ He was also concerned about various state affairs, including local administration, and offered his views on instituting the community compact (*hyangyak* 鄉約), reforming the tribute tax system, and other topics.¹⁹ Yu was also a linguist and philologist and showed a particular interest in editing a vernacular version of Confucian classics.²⁰ On King Sōnjo’s order, he was in charge of supplying vernacular particles and verb endings as well as vernacular annotations to the Confucian classics. In fact, in 1576 he submitted his resignation in order to devote his time to this editing work. Although he was permitted to return home after the third such resignation, he was called back to the court and promoted to the senior second rank in 1577, at the age of sixty-five. He traveled to Seoul to show his profound gratitude to the king and to resign from the post. The travel turned out to be fatal to his frail health, and he died of fever caused by fatigue several days after he arrived in Seoul.²¹ After his death, his post was upgraded to fourth state councilor (Chwach’ansōng 左贊成). He was enshrined in Ŭiam Private Academy in Tamyang, Ch’unghyōn Shrine in Mujang, and Chongsan Private Academy in Chongsōng. His posthumous title (*siho* 諡號) is Munjōl 文節 (Letters and Loyalty).

In 1536 Yu married Song Chong-gae 宋鍾介 (1521–78), better known by her penname Tōkpong 德峰, which was the name of a peak near her home in Tamyang.²²

¹⁶ There are many entries concerning Yi Hwang. For example, see entries on 1568/7/19–23 (*Miam ilgi ch’o*, 1:292–96), 1568/7/23 (1:295–96), 1568/8/14 (1:318–19), 1570/11/17 (2:435–36), 1570/12/24 (2:453–44), 1571/6/18 (3:112–13), and 1573/11/27–30 (4:180–86).

¹⁷ The high officials at the court defined him as such when they discussed Yu’s release from exile. See Chapter 2.

¹⁸ See entries on 1567/10/9 and 1567/10/12 in Chapter 2 for Yu’s thoughts on elevating Zhu Xi as a sage. On 1568/8/14, Yu asked Yi Hwang whether Yi thought of Zhu Xi as the “great wisdom” (*taehyōn* 大賢) or the “great sage” (*taesōng* 大聖). Yu felt disappointed that Yi regarded Zhu Xi as the great wisdom. For this particular point, Professor Kwon Oh-Young opined that Yu’s contribution to the development of Neo-Confucianism in Chosōn Korea needs to be revisited. See also Song Chae-yong, *Miam ilgi yōn’gu*, 180–83.

¹⁹ For one discussion of the community compact, see Chapter 4. For Yu’s discussion on the problem of the tribute tax, see the entry on 1568/6/2 (*Miam ilgi ch’o*, 1:244–45).

²⁰ Song Chae-yong, *Miam ilgi yōn’gu*, 210–19.

²¹ See Chapter 6 for the last few days of Yu’s life.

²² Madam Song’s first name is engraved on a tiny slip inside her wooden ritual tablet preserved in Yu’s shrine in Tamyang. We discovered this when we visited the shrine during the workshop, July 17, 2009. We would like to thank Professor Yu Wōn-jōk, a direct descendant of Yu Hūi-ch’un, graciously opened up the Mohyōn’gwan depository as well as Yu’s shrine when we visited there. In this manuscript, we will use her penname rather than her given name.

Only a very few names of Chosŏn women and their writings are known to us, and Song Tŏkpong is one of them. Song was educated and indeed very well versed in the Confucian classics, as her extant letters and poems, as well as Yu's entries on Song in the *Miam ilgi*, testify.²³ There are a number of studies that discuss not only Song's talent but also the conjugal relationship between Yu and Song, because both many entries in the *Miam ilgi* and Song's extant writings permit readers the rare opportunity to understand the intimate yet collegial aspects of their marital relationship.²⁴ To Yu, Song was an affectionate and caring wife, a friend, and an advisor in many matters. To Song, Yu was a loving husband and a respectful scholar whom she exchanged poems with, offered counsel to, and even discussed scholarly matters with. In one of the diary entries for 1572/10/20, Yu confesses that he enjoys a peaceful and joyous life together with his wife and that their conjugal relationship is getting better and better as they get older.²⁵ Song was a capable manager of the Yu household, especially during those years when Yu was in exile and when he was in Seoul to serve at the court. In fact, during their married life, Yu was away much more than he was at home. Although Yu regarded Haenam as his home and even built a new home there in 1569, Song usually stayed in Tamyang, which ultimately became Yu's home in his last years and after death, for his and his wife's graves and also their shrine are located there. Song died on the first day of the first lunar month of 1578, only a few months after Yu's death. Yu and Song had one son, Yu Kyŏng-ryŏm, and a daughter who married Yun Kwan-jung 尹寬中 of the Haenam Yun.

Although Yu seems to have had a happy marriage and a more than deserving wife, he had at least one concubine and had intimate relationships with a number of professional female entertainers (*kisaeng* 妓生), about whom he wrote candidly in his diary.²⁶ Yu and Song were married for more than forty years, but they lived together for less than half that time. Therefore, his concubine as well as other women provided for his

²³ For Song's two letters to Yu, which display Song's level of knowledge, see Chapter 3.

²⁴ Song Chae-yong, "Yŏryu munin Song Tŏkpong ūi saengae wa munhak" [Life of and writings by the female writer Song Tŏkpong], *Kungmunhak nonjip* 15 (1997): 215–38; Chŏng Ch'ang-gwŏn, "Miam ilgi e nat'an-an Song Tŏkpong ūi ilsang saenghwal kwa ch'angjak hwaltong" [Daily life and creative writings of Song Tŏkpong as shown in the *Miam ilgi*], *Ŏmunhak* 78 (2002): 543–62; Pak Mihae, "16 segi pugwŏn kwa pugwŏn ūi chonjae yangsik" [Conjugal power of husband and wife in the sixteenth century], *Han'guk yŏsŏnghak* 18.1 (2002): 5–36; Chŏng Ch'ang-gwŏn, *Hollo pyŏsŭl hamyŏ kŭdae rŭl saenggak hanora* [Thinking of you while serving alone for the central court], (Seoul: Sagyejŏl, 2003); Song Chae-yong, "Song Tŏkpong ūi saengae wa si segye" [Life and poetic views of Song Tŏkpong], *T'oegyehak yŏn'gu* 17 (2003); Paek Sŭng-jong, "16 segi Chosŏn sahoe ūi gender munje wa sŏngnihak—Song Tŏkpong iran yŏsŏng ūi ipchang esŏ salp'im" [The gender problem and the Learning of Nature and Principle in sixteenth century Chosŏn society—from the perspective of a woman named Song Tŏkpong], *Yŏksa hakpo* 197 (2008.3): 1–30.

²⁵ *Miam ilgi ch'o*, 3: 284.

²⁶ See Chapter 3 for Yu's *kisaeng* lovers. Also see the following article: Yi Sŏng-im, "16 segi yangban kwallyo ūi oejŏng—Yu Hŭi-ch'un ūi Miam ilgi rŭl chungsimŭro" [Extramarital affairs by yangban bureaucrats in the sixteenth century—focused on Yu Hŭi-ch'un's *Miam ilgi*], *Komunsŏ yŏn'gu* 23 (2003): 21–58.

miscellaneous needs, including his sexual desire. During his exile in Chongsŏng, a woman named Pang Kuttök 防仇叱德 (1528–?), originally a female slave of Yi Ku 李懼, became Yu’s concubine and took care of Yu’s daily life there. After Yu was pardoned, Kuttök lived in Heanam and served Yu whenever Yu came to Haenam. She owned some land as well as her own slaves, all probably bestowed on her by Yu. Together, they produced four daughters, who were in practice slaves of Yi Ku. Yu paid Kuttök’s as well as her daughters’ annual tribute payment (*singong* 身貢) to their owner, and eventually made administrative and financial arrangements to manumit them.²⁷

Miam ilgi

Yu Hŭi-ch’un probably wrote a diary for most of his adult life. However, the extant diary covers only the last eleven years of his life, from the first day of the tenth lunar month of 1567, the month he was released from his twenty-one years of banishment, which thus brought a momentous change in his life, to the thirteenth day of the fifth lunar month in 1577, two days before his death. There are a number of different editions of Yu’s diary.²⁸ The extant handwritten diary by Yu consists of ten volumes (*ch’aek* 冊), each different in size. The eleventh volume is a collection of various documents, including Song Tökpong’s letters and poems, Yu’s essays, and legal papers, all of which was probably collected and collated by a later person. All eleven volumes were designated as Treasure (Pomul) number 260 and preserved inside a safe in the Mohyŏn’gwan depository in Tamyang. Yu’s handwritten diary has some missing entries and ends on the twenty-ninth day of the seventh lunar month of 1576. Other editions include a manuscript copy preserved in the Mohyŏn’gwan together with the Yu’s handwritten copy, a manuscript copy at the Kuksa P’yŏnch’an Wiwŏnhoe (National Institute of Korean History), a manuscript copy at the Kyujanggak Library, and a printed version inserted in the *Miam chip*. In 1936–38, the Chosŏnsa P’yŏnsuhoe (Chosŏn History Compilation Committee) published the *Miam ilgi ch’o* (Yu Hŭi-ch’un’s Diary) as a five-volume set, based on Yu’s handwritten edition. Yet editors filled in many of the missing entries, including those from the eighth lunar month of 1576 to the last entry, from other copies, and also added head-notes and editor’s notes. Although the Chosŏnsa P’yŏnsuhoe edition is thorough in editing and most convenient for users—and thus we used this edition during the workshop—it should be noted that the editors had to rely on their own expertise to decipher Yu Hŭi-ch’un’s cursive writing and thus apparently introduced errors to the diary. Therefore, the reader should consult the original manuscript if any questions arise while reading the printed edition. Unfortunately, neither Yu’s handwritten edition preserved in Tamyang nor any digital image of the manuscript is easily accessible at this point.

²⁷ Ku Wang-hoe, “Chosŏn chungyŏp sajok ōlchanyŏ ūi songnyang kwa honin—Miam ilgi rŭl t’onghan sarye kŏmt’o” [Manumission and marriage of children by yangban concubine in the mid-Chosŏn period—examination of cases from the *Miam ilgi*], *Kyŏngbuk sahak* 8 (1985): 41–79.

²⁸ For the discussion of various editions of *Miam ilgi*, see Song Chae-yong, *Miam ilgi yŏn’gu*, 81–104.

The digitalized text of the diary is available through the Korean Studies Information Center, Academy of Korean Studies (Wangsil Tosŏgwān Changsŏgak Tijit'al Akaibŭ 왕실도서관 장서각 디지털 아카이브) at: http://yoksa.aks.ac.kr/jsp/aa/VolumeList.jsp?mode=&page=1&fcs=&fcsd=&cf=&cd=&gb=&aa10up=kh2_je_a_vsu_55024_000&rowcount=10&listsort=%EC%84%9C%EB%A A%85. Although it is very useful to retrieve computerized texts from this website, a word of caution is required for users of this on-line resource, first because there are numerous missing entries and also because there are a number of typographical errors. The digital version of the *Miam chip* (and thus for the *Miam ilgi* and *Kyŏngyŏn ilgi* contained therein) is available through the Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics (Han'guk Kojŏn Pŏnyŏgwŏn) at:

http://www.minchu.or.kr/index.jsp?bizName=MM&url=/MM/MM_BOOKLIST.jsp%3Fdbname=MM%26set_id=%26start=%26count=%26disp_cnt=%26tot_cnt=%26qry=%26keyword=%26b_cd=%26selnavi=%26sortsection=BOOKNAME%26order=ASC%26type=ALL%26seojiid=kc_mm_a157%26gunchaid=%26muncheid=%26stype=%26sectionname=ALL%26nPage=1%26thecount=. Tamyang Hyangt'o Munhwa Yŏn'guwŏn, a local cultural research society of Tamyang, translated the *Miam ilgi* of the Chosŏn P'yŏnsuhoe edition into modern Korean and published its translation in five volumes in 1992–96.

The diary is exceptional source material not only because it is rare to have firsthand information from this period but also because it deals with all sorts of official, personal, and quotidian matters such as royal lectures, politics and policies; Neo-Confucianism; literature; affairs related to friends, teachers, and disciples; economic matters and taxation; social mores; folk customs; linguistics; rituals and rites; clothing; weather; geomancy; illness and medicine; food; family relations; and miscellaneous private matters. It provides a unique window into one person's life and thoughts, helping us to understand the time and space that he inhabited and had an influence upon, and to imagine a little bit more realistically the culture and society of four hundred years ago. Long before us, the compilers of the *Veritable Record of King Sŏnjo* (r. 1567–1608) (*Sŏnjo sillok* 宣祖實錄) recognized the value of Yu's diary as a primary source for their reconstruction of King Sŏnjo's reign, not only because of its rich details on court affairs, including royal lectures left by Yu, but also because basic court records such as the *Records of the Royal Secretariat* (*Sŏnjŏngwŏn ilgi* 承政院日記), *Records of the Office for Annals Compilation* (*Ch'unch'ugwan ilgi* 春秋館日記), and *Comprehensive Reports of Each Government Office* (*Kaksa tŭngnok* 各司騰錄), which usually became main sources for the compilation of a king's annals, had been lost during the Japanese invasions of 1592–98.

The following five chapters of translation are very limited samples from the diary, which we hope will provide readers with glimpses of the richness of the diary and with sources via which to further imagine people and their lives in late sixteenth-century Korea.