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The Texts of the
Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng:
The Problem of Authenticity

JAHYUN KIM HABOUSH

The *Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng* consists of four autobiographical narratives left by Lady Hyegyŏng (1735–1815), an eighteenth-century Korean noblewoman. She was the wife of Crown Prince Sado (1735–1762) who was ordered by his father, King Yŏngjo (r. 1724–1776), to enter a rice chest in which he was confined to die of suffocation and starvation eight days later. Lady Hyegyŏng wrote the memoirs over a span of ten years, the first in 1795, the second in 1801, the third in 1802, and the last in 1805. These memoirs are extremely unusual examples of autobiographical writing. That they are written in the Korean script, *han'gŭl*, that they are of feminine authorship, and that they are first-person narratives of self and the events of the author's life make them unique in traditional Korean literature.

True, once the Korean script was devised in the mid-fifteenth century, women, that is a certain class of women, including court ladies, aristocratic *yangban* women, and some courtesans, became active participants in written culture. Unlike men who, aside from certain genres of poetry and letters to women, continued to write in literary Chinese, women wrote exclusively in Korean. Their writings included poetry, occasional essays, and manuals on manners and housekeeping for other women. The most common kind of writing seems to have been letters, usually social obligations to kin such as letters of greeting and condolence. Sometimes these letters were quite revealing of emotional life.¹ These epistolary habits, which pre-

vailed in upper-class society in late Chosŏn Korea (1392–1910), definitely contributed to certain literary works. The *Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng*, after all, starts out as a letter addressed to her nephew. Nonetheless, unlike Heian Japanese ladies, Korean women seldom wrote about their lives, and left their lives to be told by men, if at all.²

The uniqueness of this work goes beyond the language it is written in or the gender of its author. The first memoir begins as a self-narration. In subsequent memoirs, the narration gradually moves to events of a public nature until the fourth memoir describes the act of filicide by the reigning king. The depiction of the conflict between father and son, which culminates in filicide by a most gruesome method, is at once fascinating and terrifying. That it is a woman who narrates this most public of incidents, an event that can be described as belonging exclusively to the domain of male power, makes these memoirs truly unique. Scholars working on women's autobiographies in the West have pointed out that the majority of them tend to focus on the private and domestic sphere of life.³ In this context, it is all the more striking that Lady Hyegyŏng, breaking centuries of Korean feminine silence, ventures where few have tread.

In contemporary Korea, the memoirs are deservedly regarded as a literary classic and an invaluable historical document. Prince Sado, known as the king of the Rice Chest, has long since entered into the realm of popular legend. The incident continues to be a subject for both popular entertainment and serious drama. The *Memoirs* seems to serve both as an inspiration and as an authoritative source for these endeavors. There are competing accounts of the event, including those in official historiographies, various “*yasa*” (wild history) — anonymous accounts consisting of “rumors” — and short biographies and remembrances of Prince Sado written by officials or family. Not only are these accounts written in literary Chinese and therefore not as accessible, but none offers such a compelling and coherent picture as the *Memoirs*. The popularity or, more appropriately, the wide dissemination of the *Memoirs* is a relatively recent phenomenon, however. For a long time, the memoirs seem to have circulated within the narrow confines of the royal family and its close relatives. The first time any portion of the memoirs was introduced to the public was in 1939 when portions of the first and fourth memoirs were serialized in the short-lived monthly magazine *Munjang* (Literary style). The excerpts ran from the first issue, in February 1939, until the issue of January 1940.⁴ During the eigh-

teenth and nineteenth centuries, most works that circulated seem to have been printed in woodblock editions. That there was no woodblock edition of any of the memoirs suggests that they must have remained inaccessible. This is not surprising given their exclusive nature. The first memoir was addressed to and even given to the heir of her natal family, and the remaining three were addressed to her grandson, King Sunjo (r. 1800–1834), and were probably given to some other members of the royal family.

The exclusivity, however, does not mean that the original remained intact or that the textual history is known or easily traceable. With the possible exception of the first memoir, the original manuscript is lost. There are altogether fourteen handwritten manuscript copies (*p'ilsabon*) of different varieties; they fall into several categories. The first consists of the manuscripts of all four memoirs collected into a complete series. There are eight of these, six in Korean, two in a mixture of Korean and Chinese. The second category consists of manuscripts of the first memoir. There are three in Korean and one in a mixture of Korean and Chinese. Then there is a manuscript of the first half of the first memoir in Korean. All manuscripts of the first memoir, however, came to the notice of scholars after 1979. The third category consists of Chinese translations of the second and third memoirs. This version, or for that matter, those in a mixture of Korean and Chinese are believed to have been made for the benefit of male readers. Because literary Chinese was the main medium of communication for educated Korean men until the late nineteenth century, it was not uncommon for works written in Korean to be translated into Chinese. That various individual memoirs by Lady Hyegyöng were translated not only into literary Chinese but also into Korean with much Chinese has interesting cultural significations. Textually, however, these versions are of less import.

For a long time, it was thought that the important manuscripts were those in the complete series of the memoirs. Of these, three in particular deserve our attention. One is known as the Karam manuscript, after the nom de plume of the late Professor Yi Pyönggi, who discovered it. It is believed to date from 1919. The second is the Ilsa manuscript, named after the late Professor Pang Chonghyön. This manuscript is believed to date from around the turn of this century. They are both housed at the Kyujanggak Library at the Seoul National University. These two manuscripts have been the basis for the dissemination of the memoirs. What was serialized in *Munjang* is based on the Karam manuscript. The Minjung Sögwän

edition of 1961 edited by Kim Tonguk, which is still regarded as the standard modern edition, is based on the Ilsa manuscript. The other extant manuscripts of a complete series of the memoirs are also traced to one or the other of these two manuscripts. The one at Korea University is the same as the Karam manuscript, and the Nason manuscript is believed to be a later copy from the same source. The Maenghyŏn manuscript is related to the Ilsa manuscript.⁵

The third, and as it turns out, the most important, is the one at the Asami Collection at the University of California, Berkeley. For the purpose of identification, I call this the Asami comp-A (complete A) manuscript. The first time I encountered this manuscript was in 1972 when I spent a week at the Berkeley library. I was impressed by the neat and regular calligraphic hand of the manuscript. In the same year, I also had opportunities to examine the Ilsa, the Karam, and the Korea University manuscripts in Seoul. I also discussed various editions with the late Professors Kim Tonguk and Chŏng Pyŏnguk. I obtained a copy of the Ilsa manuscript and used it as source material for my dissertation. It was not until 1978 when I decided to do a study and to translate the memoirs and acquired a photocopy of the Karam and the Asami comp-A manuscripts that I was able to make a systematic comparison of these texts.

The first thing one notices about all three of these manuscripts is that they do not follow the sequence in which Lady Hyegyŏng wrote them. Lady Hyegyŏng did not write them as a planned series, and thus the progression from one memoir to the next is psychological rather than temporally sequential. The first memoir is a narration of her life and, to a lesser extent, of the lives of members of her natal family. It is also an apologia for herself and her father, defending their decision to live on after Prince Sado's death as the only possible moral and political course available to them. The second memoir is a defense of her younger brother, Hong Nagim (1741–1801), and her paternal uncle, Hong Inhan (1722–1776), both of whom were executed. The third memoir covers the same ground as the second, but it also recounts the unrequited obsession of her son, King Chŏngjo (r. 1776–1800), to restore honor to his father. The fourth memoir describes the conflict between King Yŏngjo and Prince Sado, the deteriorating father-son relationship, the son's mental illness, and the final filicide.

It is also readily noticeable that the way in which these manuscripts are rearranged is similar. In fact, structurally the Karam and the Asami comp-

A manuscripts are identical. Each consists of six volumes. The first volume contains the first half of the first memoir, the second contains the first half of the fourth memoir, the third contains the second half of the fourth memoir, the fourth the second half of the first memoir, the fifth consists of the second memoir, and the sixth consists of the third memoir. In both texts, the six volumes are numbered as *ye* (rites), *ak* (music), *sa* (archery), *ō* (chariot driving), *sō* (learning), and *su* (mathematics). Somehow, these manuscripts acquired titles, and in this, the Karam and the Asami comp-A differ. The Karam has the title *Hanjungnok* (Records in bitterness), whereas the Asami has the title *Hanjung mallok* (Records in leisure). The Ilsa manuscript, which also has the title *Hanjung mallok*, is structurally the same but with a twist. Instead of six volumes, it has three. The first consists of the first half of the first memoir which is followed without interruption by the first half of the fourth memoir. The second volume begins with the second half of the fourth memoir, and then, under a separate heading *Hanjung mallok, sa* (the fourth), moves to the second half of the first memoir. The third begins with the second memoir and continues to the third memoir with no break. The three volumes are numbered more prosaically as one, two, three. One may puzzle over how to interpret the break before continuing with the second half of the first memoir in the second volume, but the sequence still remains the same as in the other two manuscripts.

Appearances are of course deceptive. A closer and more thorough examination of wording and internal consistencies led me to conclude that the Asami comp-A manuscript has the same wording and logic as the Ilsa manuscript, but is in a more pristine state, having suffered far less corruption than the Ilsa manuscript, which has some badly corrupted parts. One of the most obvious is the opening of the third volume: "Because a number of pages have been destroyed, I will roughly render the gist of the story." The text then cuts into the middle of a sentence that ordinarily appears on the third page of the second memoir. The previous two pages are not there. All evidence indicates that the Asami comp-A and the Ilsa manuscripts derived from the same source but that the Asami was copied much earlier and probably from an earlier copy as well. I took the Asami comp-A manuscript as the basis for my translation. On one occasion, I spent a few days comparing the Asami comp-A to another complete manuscript, one rendered in a mixture of Korean and Chinese, which I call the Asami comp-B. I concluded that the Asami comp-B was a rendering based on the Asami comp-A, and thus felt no need to investigate that version much further.

In examining these manuscripts, I often wondered about the relationship between individual memoirs and the complete series. How were these different memoirs collected into a series? What was the principle behind the reordering of the memoirs and its implications? Identifying the principle was easy; it was chronological by event. This is why the last memoir, which describes the filicide in 1762, is put between the first half and the last half of the first memoir. In Lady Hyegyöng's sequence, in the first three memoirs, this event is referred to only cryptically while she dwells at length on the emotional turmoil or political repercussions caused by it. Thus, coming at the end as it does, this description of her husband's death is like a solution to a puzzle posed by the many questions that arise in the course of reading the three memoirs. It is analogous to a detective story in which tension builds until a clue is supplied in the end. Rearrangement also eliminates the psychological force that impels the author to write each memoir, especially her reluctance and final resolve to write about the filicide.

Why did the editor(s) rearrange the memoirs chronologically?⁶ It is probably because, either in terms of genre or in terms of narratorial method, there was no precedent for such narratives as the memoirs. The only non-fiction narratives of any length were historical narratives and biographies. Both historical narratives and biographies respect chronology, except for occasional brief and explanatory parenthetical insertions. Confusion concerning the genre can be seen in the fact that, until very recently, *Hanjungnok* has been classified as a "court novel" along with *Kyech'uk ilgi* (Diary of the year 1613) and *Inhyön wanghu chön* (The true history of Queen Inhyön), both *romans à clef*. If modern scholars have had problems in classifying the memoirs, it is easy to imagine how confusing they must have been for nineteenth-century editors.

The second question naturally arising was whether and to what extent the contents of each memoir had been rearranged and edited. There was, however, no clue. The three complete manuscripts were, though different in small, mostly linguistic details, remarkably similar in internal organization and narrative line. There were no substantial additions or deletions or rearrangements in any of the manuscripts. One could not conjecture that the texts have been substantially altered. This, however, was to change in 1989.

My project of translating the memoirs took much longer than I had anticipated. It was quite laborious and time consuming to compare the hand-

written manuscripts in old court-style Korean, especially when two of them are in a rather free cursive hand, although in time I did become used to them. The texts also required many historical notes, and there were many interruptions and distractions. I finally finished the translation and completed the notes late in the spring of 1989. I decided that, before I sent my manuscript off to a press, I should do two things. The first was to check all the known manuscript versions. I was able to satisfy myself about the manuscripts in Korea, and I knew the complete manuscripts from the Asami intimately. But there were several partial manuscripts at the Asami that I had not examined. I had taken a brief and cursory look at them in 1972, but they did not seem to be very significant. At one point, I had inquired about getting a copy of them from Berkeley, but I was told that I had to pay for the cost of microfilm, and so I did not pursue the matter. The truth of the matter was that, because they were listed as “abridged” manuscripts in the catalogue,⁷ I somehow assumed they were corrupt copies and did not pay much attention to them. Moreover, none of the Korean scholars to whom I spoke mentioned anything about partial or abridged manuscripts. But, now that I had to discuss the textual history of the memoirs for my book, I wanted to know exactly what kind of partial manuscripts they were and how “abridged” these copies were, and so I ordered the microfilm of these manuscripts. I did this for the sake of thoroughness, but I assumed that several lines would be enough to describe them.

The other task was to survey secondary scholarship on the subject. In 1978, I took a thorough inventory of the secondary scholarship. I was rather unimpressed by what I found. During the 1980s, because I felt that I had all the manuscripts I needed and because I did not wish to be distracted, I did not pay much attention to secondary scholarship on the memoirs. In the early spring of 1989 I took a research trip to Seoul, and systematically acquired whatever I could find of the secondary scholarship on the memoirs. I also acquired a lot of material on the new project I was launching into. I had no time to read any of it, and mailed home several tens of boxes. One of the things I retrieved from this pile was Kim Yongsuk’s *Hanjungnok yŏn’gu* (A study of *Hanjungnok*).

The first thing I read was her discussion of the Asami comp-A manuscript. It turned out that she had independently acquired a copy of the Asami comp-A manuscript in 1979, and in this book, which was published in 1983, she comes to the same conclusion I had. She even dates the Asami

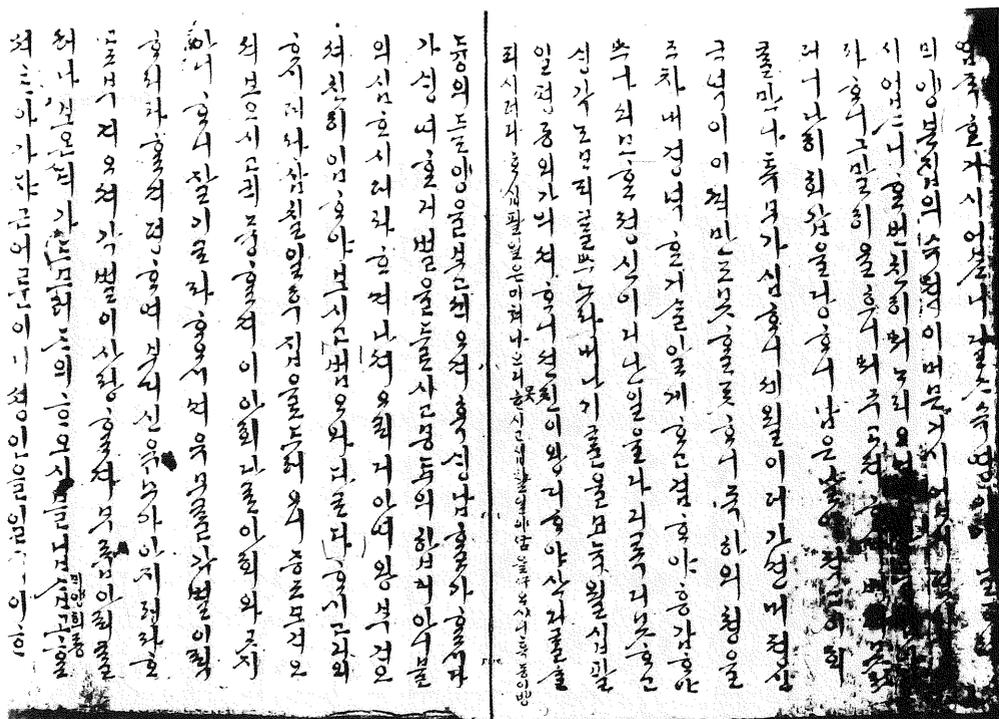
comp-A manuscript at about 1880. She bases this dating on the fact that the calligraphic hand closely resembles that of Lady Yi, a lady-in-waiting who served the Queen Dowager Cho in the last decades of the nineteenth century. It was good to have this confirmation.⁸

What came next, however, was a shock. In the same chapter, she talks about a manuscript she believes to be the original of the first memoir. This was one of the “abridged” manuscripts at the Asami collection that I had just ordered on microfilm. After a month, the microfilm arrived. It contained two very interesting manuscripts. One was the manuscript of the first memoir in Korean which I call the Asami M 1 (Memoir One)-A; the second was the rendering of this into a mixture of Korean and Chinese, which I call the Asami M 1-B. I could see why when I took a cursory look at the Asami M 1-A in 1972, it appeared to be just an insignificant partial manuscript. It begins in more or less the same way as the first memoir in the complete manuscript. The memoir, however, is followed by a Korean rendition of the memorial that the author’s younger brother submitted to King Sunjo in 1809. This memorial, Hong Nagyun’s impassioned defense of his father and older brother,⁹ discusses some of the same events that Lady Hyegyŏng does in her first, second, and third memoirs. Probably because of the inclusion of this memorial and its similarity to Lady Hyegyŏng’s memoirs, this manuscript is listed as an “abridged” manuscript of the entire series rather than as the manuscript of the first memoir. At least this was why it appeared to me as such in 1972 when I had no intimate knowledge of the contents of these manuscripts. The Asami M 1-B does not have Hong Nagyun’s memorial.

At this point I realized that the Asami M 1-A and M 1-B manuscripts deserved careful investigation and had them printed. Close examination led me to question seriously the claim that the Asami M 1-A manuscript was the original. First of all, the memoir and the memorial were in the same calligraphic hand,¹⁰ and they were both punctuated by corrections, ranging from a line to several pages, in another calligraphic hand. What does all this mean? Lady Hyegyŏng wrote the first memoir in 1795 and presumably gave the original to her nephew, and Hong Nagyun wrote the memorial in Chinese in 1809. Who translated this memorial into Korean and when was this done? For the Asami M 1-A to be original, the following must have occurred: Lady Hyegyŏng kept a copy of her first memoir, someone translated her brother’s memorial into Korean for her, she then copied this trans-

유시익의 드려와 처칠왕^왕아도정^정의 이시나지
의수원기이만리이시글기시로직이교필^필기^기성^성치
정^정의^의일^일의^의가^가성^성의^의기^기의^의기^기의^의기^기의^의기^기
시^시의^의기^기의^의기^기의^의기^기의^의기^기의^의기^기
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5. First page from first memoir of Hyegyönggung Hong Ssi (1735–1815), written in 1795. Referred to as the Asami M 1-A in the article. Some consider this the original. In Korean. Eleven cols. of 18–19 syllables; block 20 x 14 cm. Asami Library, University of California, Berkeley.



6. Second and third pages from first memoir of Hyegyönggung Hong Ssi (1735–1815), written in 1795. Referred to as the Asami M 1-A in the article. Some consider this the original. In Korean. Shows corrections in small letters. Eleven and 12 cols. of 18–19 syllables; block 20 x 27.8 cm. Asami Library, University of California, Berkeley.

lation and appended it to her copy of the first memoir — all of this fourteen years after she wrote the first memoir. Unfortunately, there is no known example of Lady Hyegyöng’s calligraphy. She died in 1815, and so it was not impossible that she copied her brother’s memorial at some point after 1809. According to the *Sillok* (Veritable records), however, she is reported to have been in very poor health by this time.

Then what can we learn from the corrected portion? The corrected portion contains a description of Lady Hyegyöng’s parents’ virtues and, in one section, a description of her exemplary conduct. These portions offer a glimpse of the memoir in the process of becoming more formal and laudatory of Lady Hyegyöng and her family. Professor Kim takes primarily a textual approach. She notes that after she found the Asami manuscripts, two more manuscripts of the first memoir came to her notice, one in 1981 and the second in 1983. One was housed at the National Library, the other

寶藏一

幼時以入玄水書札往覆以朝夕以有之
多日當於家以手蹟以多在互引入閣後
先君警戒玄上外間書辭之不當入於
宮中而流布上門候之外以多辭緣亮
當如何於茶敬之道乎以朝夕以封書是
為之玄川是知家酒息之意互背書于其
紙而送之玄斗玄川才告她거上以朝夕
承候之書簡以每書於紙頭而送之玄皆
且先親書簡互未如是書之玄皆且同生

7. First page from first memoir of Hyegyönggung Hong Ssi (1735–1815), rendered into a mixture of Chinese and Korean. Date of compilation unknown. Referred to as the Asami M 1-B in the article. Nine cols.; block 15 x 10.8 cm. Asami Library, University of California, Berkeley.

privately owned. She believes that these two manuscripts are virtually the same and that, although there is more verbiage and longer descriptions than in the Asami M 1-A, they are later copies.¹¹ She concludes that, because of the presence of uncorrupted old court language and the absence of any taboo in speaking of the royal family (there is a taboo unless the speaker is a member of the royal family), the Asami M 1-A is either an original or at least a copy of the original.¹² Asami M 1-A is clearly the least edited version among all the known manuscripts of the first memoir, but it is not unedited. I remain unconvinced that it is the original. It appears to me that it is most likely a manuscript at least once removed from the one Lady Hyegyŏng wrote.

But having concluded that the Asami M 1-A is a more authentic version of the first memoir than the one included in the Asami comp-A, I had no choice but to translate this one for my book. The comparison between the Asami M 1-A and the first memoir in the Asami comp-A proved quite revealing. The difference between them is considerable. Professor Kim takes a thorough inventory of what is included and what is deleted from Asami M 1-A.¹³ I feel that more significant differences lie in the narrative voice and the author's sense of public and private than in the contents and that this is primarily expressed by the different arrangements of material. The Asami M 1-A begins with Lady Hyegyŏng's birth, a description of her parents and grandparents, and the memory of her childhood at home. Once she leaves her family and enters the palace as the crown princess, however, the narration clearly distinguishes between her life at court and her natal family. Her account of her life at court sometimes includes her family, but only in those activities that are directly related to her court life. Otherwise, she reserves a separate space for her family at the end. She discusses each member of her family in a certain order, beginning with her generation, men first then women, and moving to one generation earlier keeping the same order along the gender line, and includes a special discussion of the family of her oldest brother and the servants whom she brought with her to the palace.¹⁴

The first memoir in the Asami comp-A contains more or less the same descriptions, but they are interspersed throughout the memoir. Typically, when a member of her family is mentioned in connection with her court life, then those portions of this person's life that have nothing to do with Lady Hyegyŏng follow. Thus, the separation between her court life and her

family, which clearly marks the narration in the Asami M 1-A, is replaced by a parallel or mixed representation of her court life and her family in the Asami comp-A.

The narrative voice also changes from a more personal one in Asami M 1-A to a more formal and neutral one in Asami comp-A. In Asami M 1-A, Lady Hyegyŏng's anguished interjections, repeated almost like a refrain, that she wishes to end her life mark the structure. The first time she says this is after her mother dies. The reader, however, knows that this is an expression of grief at the loss of a parent, and also an expression of anxiety over her husband's condition. She renounces this desire to die only when her son, King Chŏngjo, acquires a son, the heir to the throne. This cycle, her expression and renunciation of her desire to die, clearly represents the intensity of conflict between her private and public roles and its resolution. In Asami M 1-A, the perspective of the narrative is consistently that of the author, and there is a coincidence between the voice of the narrator and that of the protagonist.

The Asami comp-A, on the other hand, introduces a neutral perspective through an almost third-person voice. It contains much longer laudatory descriptions of the Hong family and, to a lesser extent, the Yi family, Lady Hyegyŏng's maternal family, than does the Asami M 1-A. This is narrated from a completely neutral perspective, similar to a biography in an official historiography. The neutrality is also achieved through deletion. In Asami comp-A, portions thought to be less than perfect representations of any member of the Hong family are excised. For example, a prolonged quarrel between Lady Hyegyŏng's parents is omitted. It also deletes Lady Hyegyŏng's occasional references to Prince Sado's illness and the heartaches it causes her and her parents. The most conspicuous attempt at a neutral perspective is the way the narrative is ended in this version. It ends with a long description of a feast for Lady Hyegyŏng's sixtieth-birthday celebration to which all of her relatives were invited. The use of a banquet to bring all the characters together is a common device in Chinese and Korean fiction. *Shui-hu chuan* (Water margin) is a famous example of this.¹⁵ The Korean novel *Kuunmong* (A nine-cloud dream) also has a scene in which all nine protagonists come together and resolve to seek the path of enlightenment.¹⁶ Lady Hyegyŏng's birthday feast enables the narrator to speak of female relatives who were absent as well as those who were present. The voice that introduces the scene speaks in the first person, but with a third-person per-

spective. “I read in history of that celebrated event in which the Emperor Ming-ti of the Han dynasty visited the tomb of Kuang-wu-ti with Queen Dowager Yin and subsequently held a banquet at Queen Dowager Yin’s family home. This birthday feast was very similar to that which the Emperor Ming-ti held, and I would like to transmit it as an exemplary anecdote to later generations.” This voice is that of an omniscient or at least impersonal narrator. No longer is there an identification between the voice of the protagonist and that of the narrator.

Although the editorial changes in the first memoir between the Asami M 1-A and the Asami comp-A are in themselves of great interest, they are equally important in terms of what they imply for the remaining memoirs. If the first memoir went through such changes, it is not unreasonable to conjecture that the rest were changed considerably as well. At the moment, however, this remains conjecture. We know of no manuscripts of the individual second, third, and fourth memoirs. At least this was still the case in the summer of 1990 when I visited Seoul and spoke to Professor Kim Yongsuk who, though retired by then, nevertheless maintained a keen interest in the subject. One takes comfort, however, in the fact that, despite probable changes, Lady Hyegyöng’s voice remains vivid.

NOTES

1. Kim Ilgün, *Ön'gan üi yön'gü* (Seoul: Kõn'guk taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu, 1986).
2. Official historiographies reserved space for biographies of women of exceptional social virtue. Female ancestors were also commemorated by male members of the family who wrote various necrologies that were included in collected works of individual scholars.
3. Estelle C. Jelinek, *The Tradition of Women's Autobiography: From Antiquity to the Present* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1986). For discussions of women autobiographers' difficulty in self-assertion, see Patricia Meyers Spacks, “Selves in Hiding”; and Elizabeth Winston, “The Autobiographer and Her Readers: From Apology to Affirmation”; in *Women's Autobiography*, ed. Estelle C. Jelinek (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), pp. 112–132 and 93–111.
4. See *Munjang* 1.1, pp. 102–114; 1.2, pp. 177–186; 1.3, pp. 180–186; 1.4, pp. 182–187; 1.5, pp. 189–198; 1.6, pp. 197–201; 1.7, pp. 189–195; 1.8, pp. 195–202; 1.9, pp. 266–277; 1.10, pp. 203–213; 1.11, pp. 179–188; 2.1, pp. 208–219.
5. See Kim Yongsuk, *Hanjungnok yön'gu*

- (Seoul: Han'guk yŏn'guwŏn, 1983), pp. 26–30.
6. For discussions of the relationship between temporality and narrative structure, see David Carr, *Time, Narrative and History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991); and Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, trans. K. McLaughlin and D. Pellauer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), vol. 1.
 7. Chaoying Fang, *The Asami Library: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 193–195.
 8. Kim Yongsuk, *Hanjungnok*, pp. 30–41.
 9. *Sunjo sillok*, in *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* (Seoul: Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏonhoe, 1955–1963), vol. 12, pp. 3a–9a.
 10. Toward the end of the memoir, the calligraphic hand changes, and Kim notes this too. Kim Yongsuk, *Hanjungnok*, p. 108.
 11. *Ibid.*, pp. 69–96.
 12. *Ibid.*, pp. 96–130.
 13. *Ibid.*, pp. 41–69.
 14. See “The Memoirs of Lady Hye-gyŏng,” forthcoming.
 15. H. C. Chang, *Chinese Literature: Popular Fiction and Drama* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1974), p. 19. Also Shuen-fu Lin, “Ritual and Narrative Structure in *Ju-lin wai-shih*,” in *Chinese Narrative*, ed. Andrew Plaks (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 261.
 16. See Kim Manjung, *A Nine Cloud Dream*, in *Virtuous Women*, trans. Richard Rutt and Kim Chong-un (Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch, 1974), pp. 172–176.

GLOSSARY

(Queen Dowager) Cho 趙 (大妃)	Kim Tonguk 金東旭
Chŏng Pyŏnguk 鄭秉旭	Kim Yongsuk 金用淑
Chŏngjo 正祖	Kuang-wu-ti 光武帝
han'gŭl 한글	<i>Kuunmong</i> 九雲夢
<i>Hanjung mallok</i> 閑中漫錄	<i>Kyech'uk ilgi</i> 癸丑日記
<i>Hanjungnok</i> 閑中錄 / 恨中錄	Kyujanggak 奎章閣
<i>Hanjungnok yŏn'gu</i> 閑中錄研究	Maenghyŏn 孟峴
Hong Inhan 洪麟漢	Ming-ti 明帝
Hong Nagim 洪樂任	Minjung Sŏgwan 民衆書館
Hong Nagyun 洪樂倫	<i>Munjang</i> 文章
Hye-gyŏng 惠慶 (宮)	nak 樂
Ilsa 일사	Nason 나손
<i>Inhyŏn wanghu chŏn</i> 仁顯王后傳	ŏ 御
Karam 가람	Pang Chonghyŏn 方鍾鉉

p'ilsabon 筆寫本

sa 射

Sado 思悼

Shui-hu chuan 水滸傳

Sillok 實錄

sŏ 書

su 數

Sunjo 純祖

yangban 兩班

yasa 野史

ye 禮

(Lady) Yi 李 (內人)

Yi Pyŏnggi 李秉岐

(Queen Dowager) Yin 陰 (皇后)

Yŏngjo 英祖