

Artikel: Exile through the lens of harmony. How Sin Hŭm used *hè*-Tao poetry to cope with political exile

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Abstract: Song dynasty scholar Su Shi (1036-1101) inspired many through space and time with his poetry. One of his most famous genres is *hè*-Tao poetry or ‘harmony poetry’, harmonising in this case with poet Tao Yuanming (365-427). Among those he inspired was a celebrated Korean scholar called Sin Hŭm (1566-1628), a scholar rarely discussed outside of Korean-language research who found solace in Su’s poems during his political exile.

Composing his own works in the *hè*-Tao genre, Sin sought ways to cope with the increasingly complicated circumstances of his banishment. This article seeks to compare the themes in Sin Hŭm’s *hè*-Tao collection of *Twenty poems on drinking wine* to the themes found in Tao Yuanming’s original by the same name. The aim is to offer an entry point for the exploration of Sin’s life and art, and, in so doing, gain a new perspective on the politics in Korea during his time.

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EXILE THROUGH THE LENS OF HARMONY

HOW SIN HŪM USED HÈ-TAO POETRY TO COPE WITH POLITICAL EXILE

Ellie van Eijk

Throughout history, poetry has been used as a vehicle for dealing with great personal emotional turmoil. Inspired by the greats of his time, Korean poet Sin Hŭm (1566-1628) did just that with his ‘harmonisation’ of Tao Yuanming’s *Twenty poems on drinking wine*. Through a thematic analysis of these poems, this article provides a perspective on Sin’s experience of life in exile, comparing his poems to the works of the scholars who inspired him.

This story begins with the Song dynasty (960-1279) scholar Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036-1101),¹ who was not just famous in mainland China but also in Korea during the Koryŏ dynasty 高麗 (918-1392). His works became so popular there that scholars refer to the phenomenon as 東坡熱 ‘Dongpo fever’, referring to Su Shi’s style name. At the height of his popularity, Korean scholar-officials – inspired by Su Shi’s *hè-Tao* poetry 和陶詩 – started composing *hè-Su* poetry 和蘇詩. Allow me to explain what kinds of genres these are.

Hè-Tao poetry is a particular genre whereby the author composes new poems while using the same structure as a poem written by another poet, usually one of a past age. More specifically, the author uses the same line length, number of lines, and rhyming words as in the original poem. The content need not be similar to the original. In *hè-Tao* poetry, the poet whose poems are ‘harmonised with’ (*hè* 和)² is Tao Yuanming 陶淵明 (365-427).³ In *hè-Su* poetry, it is Su Shi. The latter’s popularity decreased under the Chosŏn dynasty 朝鮮 (1392-1910), the dynasty that ruled Korea after Koryŏ. One of the reasons was that the influences of Daoism and Buddhism in Su’s work did not sit well with the orthodox neo-Confucian elites who ruled Chosŏn and who condemned all forms of heterodoxy. Nonetheless Su Shi’s work kept resonating with various scholars, who, by composing new *hè-Su* and *hè-Tao* poems, gradually repopularised both genres. Among those scholars was Sin Hŭm 申欽.⁴

Sin Hŭm, a celebrated statesman and poet, greatly admired Su Shi. He started reading Su’s work when he was exiled in 1613. Particularly the works Su had written during his exile to Huizhou (1094-1097) moved Sin Hŭm, as did his collection of *hè-Tao* poetry. Sin set out to do the same and composed his own *hè-Tao* and *hè-Su* poems.⁵ One of his more famous compositions is a set of poems

harmonizing with Tao Yuanming's *Twenty poems on drinking wine* 飲酒二十首 with the same title, written between 1617 and 1621.

Considering any overt critiques of the government were rigorously censored and strictly punished, poetry and the euphemistic conventions used in poetry were a suitable tool to express one's frustrations with the current state of affairs. This makes poetry a good source to find out how political exiles fared during their banishment. In this article, I examine the central themes in Sin Hŭm's poetry collection and how they correspond with the themes in Tao's original, to better understand Sin's inspirations, his literary practices, and how he experienced his exile and the political climate during that time. To accomplish this, I translated a number of poems from Sin's rendition of *Twenty poems on drinking wine* (hereafter: *Twenty poems*) and compared those to the themes recurrent in Tao Yuanming's originals, as well as those in Su Shi's exile poetry. I start out by situating each author in their historical context. In so doing, I hope to open up a larger space for Sin Hŭm and his works outside of Korean scholarship.



Page 40-41 from the handwritten manuscript of *The Collected hè-Tao poems of Master Hyŏnhŏn* 玄軒先生和陶詩 玄軒先生和陶詩, Hŭm Sin 申欽, Asami Collection & Korean Rare Books Collection, Korea, 17th century

The Sin Hŭm origin story

Sin Hŭm was born in 1566 and died in 1628. In his lifetime he saw four different kings, two foreign invasions, one *coup d'état*, and one insurrection, on top of which he even got exiled. He had an illustrious political and scholarly career and held many different high-ranking offices. He is also considered one of the four grandmasters of Classical Chinese writing '漢文四大家' of the mid-Chosŏn period.⁶

Sin Hŭm came into service during the reign of King Sŏnjo (r. 1567-1608), a period marked by an extreme increase in factional strife at court.⁷ The destructive and destabilising character of mid-Chosŏn factionalism was shaped by the familial and regional nature of its politics: factional allegiances were tied to the doctrines of the regional Confucian schools and carried on through the generations of families studying at those schools. Simply put, if your father belonged to a certain faction, so did you. Because few officials came from the capital, factional ties caused the entire country to get caught up in the political intrigues of the court. The government ended up being so preoccupied with its internal troubles that it was ill-prepared for the invasion launched by Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1537-1598), the Japanese warlord who had set his sights on conquering Ming China 明 (1368-1644) after unifying Japan. When King Sŏnjo refused to grant the Japanese passage through Chosŏn, the Japanese made their way onto the peninsula by force in 1592. With the help of the Ming forces, the Japanese forces were expelled in 1596. Shortly after, in 1597, the Japanese invaded again. The war finally ended in 1598. Without the relief forces of the Ming, Chosŏn would not have won the war. As such, Sŏnjo was greatly indebted to the Chinese.⁸

Soon after the Ming came to Chosŏn's aid for the second time, they came under threat from the upcoming Jurchen state, the would-be Qing empire. The Qing 清 (1644-1912) knew of the tributary relationship between Ming China and Chosŏn and made it clear to King Sŏnjo that they expected Chosŏn to abandon the Ming and acknowledge them as the new hegemon in the region.⁹ Before Sŏnjo could make any decisions on how to deal with this new contender, however, he passed away. His passing presented the government with a whole new problem: one of succession.¹⁰

For a long time Sŏnjo had no rightful heir, meaning he had no sons with his primary wife, who, according to the Chosŏn neo-Confucian moral code, were the only children with a rightful claim to their father's inheritance. Sŏnjo did have two adult sons with one of his concubines: the Princes Imhae 臨海君 (1572-1609) and Kwanghae 光海君 (1575-1641). During the Japanese invasions, the two princes were deeply involved in the military while their father fled for safety with his court in the northern garrison-city of Ŭiju. In 1592, Imhae was arrested and incarcerated on the charges of committing multiple war crimes. Sŏnjo thereafter judged him unfit to rule due to his violent nature and named Kwanghae as his successor instead. Kwanghae was appointed regent and later formally named crown prince. Then in 1606, Sŏnjo's primary wife Queen Inmok 仁穆王后 bore the king a son: Grand Prince Yŏngch'ang 永昌大君. Before he could officially appoint him as his successor, however, Sŏnjo died. This technically meant Kwanghae was the official successor as per the king's decree, but not all factions agreed with this. Some (mostly pro-Qing) factions insisted Kwanghae be king, wanting to respect the late king's orders and avoid having a child-king rule the war-ravaged and divided court, but other (firmly pro-Ming) factions demanded Yŏngch'ang

be made king with Queen Inmok as regent, so as to obey neo-Confucian moral code. The factions backing Kwanghae got the upper hand, and thus Kwanghae was enthroned. Kwanghae and his supporters nevertheless were afraid both that Imhae and Yŏngch'ang would pose a threat later down the line. They therefore made three radical decisions: in 1609 Imhae, who had been in exile on Kanghwa Island, was ordered to commit suicide; in 1613 Yŏngch'ang was imprisoned on Kanghwa Island and sentenced to death a year later; and finally in 1616 the Queen Mother Inmok was imprisoned in a palace in Seoul.¹¹

With the incarceration of Prince Yŏngch'ang, his supporters were all ousted from court and punished. Among them was Sin Hŭm. Aside from belonging to the faction that supported Yŏngch'ang, Sin had actually been appointed as one the 'Seven Caretakers' 遺教七臣 who were responsible for the Grand Prince's education. For this reason, in 1613 Sin was banished to the city of Kimp'o, not far from the capital. When the queen mother was incarcerated in 1616, Sin was exiled even further away to the Ch'unch'ŏn region. In 1621 he was pardoned and came back into office.¹²

Two years later in 1623, King Kwanghae was deposed in a violent coup d'état which put his firmly pro-Ming cousin Injo 仁祖 (r. 1623-1649) on the throne and the opposing faction back into power.¹³ Kwanghae's expulsion from the capital was followed by the brief insurrection of army general Yi Kwal 李适, which was quickly quelled.¹⁴ Kwanghae was captured and banished to Kanghwa Island and later to Cheju Island, where he died in 1641.¹⁵ This political turmoil formed the backdrop against which Sin Hŭm's political life unfolded.

Coping through harmony – politics and exile

As previously explained, Sin Hŭm developed an interest in Su Shi's writings during his exile. More specifically, 1616 marked the moment Sin became enamoured with Su Shi's works, and started writing *hè*-Tao and *hè*-Su poems to give vent to his feelings and show appreciation for Su Shi and Tao Yuanming.

In the preface to his collection of *hè*-Tao poems, Sin expresses that he felt touched and that he felt connected to Tao and Su because of the similar hardships the three of them faced.¹⁶ This does not mean that each of them struggled with the exact same things. Dissatisfaction with the current political climate was the common denominator across all three of their oeuvres. Their frustration with their banishment is another prominent theme that brought together Sin Hŭm and Su Shi, excepting only Tao Yuanming.¹⁷ The latter had voluntarily retired from officialdom.¹⁸

In Sin Hŭm's case, we read in his *Twenty poems* how he struggled with coming to terms with his status as an exile. Before getting expelled from the court, he had – like many other officials serving in times of extreme political unrest – considered voluntarily withdrawing to the countryside.¹⁹ Once this vision became reality, however, he found himself struggling to cope. Most likely because his 'withdrawal' was not voluntary but forced.²⁰ Sin nonetheless seems to have made peace with his lot in poem VIII:

Under the southern eaves I lay down unclothed. I idle – there is nothing for me to do. [As] I momentarily retire here, I wish to never [live my life] tied up by others again.²¹

Interestingly, Sin here stresses that his repose is only temporary and that he is not planning to actually retire. That this thought of returning to office is on Sin's mind we can clearly see in poem XIV:

I don't enjoy being a traveller / to constantly change my abode, what's the use in that? / I have already gotten [myself] a hermit's robe / [so] don't speak of me as an esteemed official / the [turmoil at] court truly worries me / [yet] this community [still] really appeals to me.²²

On a psychological and philosophical level, too, Sin tries to come to terms with his situation. In the first poem of his collection, he writes:

Where do I come from and where do I go, now that I've departed already?
One moment I am heading toward... and the next I am leaving from...
[Just like how the cycle of] life and death is constant and unchanging,
things have been this way since the beginning of time.²³

We can interpret this as a rationalization of Sin's sudden change in luck: it is a natural process, like how life and death follow each other constantly.²⁴

Sin Hūm's attitude we see reflected in his poems is similar to Su Shi's as discussed by historian Jiyān Qiao. She argues that Su Shi's admiration for Tao Yuanming was not so much on a literary level but on a more personal level. She explains this as the principle of 'doing what is right in one's own situation'.²⁵ In Tao's case, this was to withdraw from office, but in Su's and Sin's cases, it was to temporarily withdraw within the system to come back into office when the situation allowed it – to wait for one's luck to change. Influenced by the Confucian belief that one should always be subservient to society (or, improving society by serving in the government), they did not so much admire Tao's decision as admire the rationale behind his decision.²⁶ *Hè-Tao* poetry for the both of them functioned as a source of inspiration, as a vehicle to help process and accept their status as political exiles, and as way to find comfort and acknowledgement in the experiences of others who came before them.

Coping through harmony – longing and loneliness

Sin Hūm did not pour himself into composing *Twenty poems on drinking wine* only to vent about the political climate or his exile. Rather, the direct catalyst was the unexpected death of Sin's dearest friend and contemporary Hwang Sin 黃慎 in 1617. Hwang (born in 1560) had also been living in exile as a consequence of the events of 1613.²⁷ In the brief dedication to his *Twenty poems*, Sin reveals that 'these poems are for coping with Ch'up'o's [Hwang Sin's] passing, which grieves me more than I can bear'.²⁸ It should come to no surprise, therefore, that several of the poems explore themes of loss, loneliness, and longing. Let us look at poems I to III.²⁹

I

初來自何所 Where do I come from and
 既去亦何之 where do I go, now that I've departed already?
 來也亦一時 One moment I am heading toward...
 去也亦一時 and the next I am leaving from...
 死生固有常 [Just like how the cycle of] life and death is constant and
 曠古皆若茲 unchanging –
 things have been this way since the beginning of time.
 我昔觀實際 I became aware of this reality long ago,
 胸中了滯疑 [and in my mind] I focus on calm, quiet thoughts.
 如何此翁歿 [Yet] how come your death, dear old friend, [still]
 深哀苦難持 aggrieves me so, makes me struggle so?

II

傳聞秋浦翁 I heard people say that you, old codger,
 旅櫬歸故山 returned to your hometown in a casket.
 吾質既已亡 [Now that] my body has started to fail me,
 有口誰與言 even if I [should still] have a voice, with whom would I speak?
 却憶別離時 This reminds me of the time we were parted
 蒼黃癸丑年 in the wretched *kyech'uk* year [1613].
 清裁萬仞高 [Because] even if [the other] is immeasurably insightful and
 discerning,
 耿耿誰復傳 I worry [could he ever] replace [you, dear friend]?

(亦為秋浦作) (This one I composed for you)

與君有交道 We had our way of getting in touch,
 且復有交情 and then developed a long-standing friendship.
 內植各自勉 We both made an effort to keep it amongst ourselves,
 那肯噉空名 [because] why should we wish to call [it something] meaningless?
 會合若不恒 [But why must we] meet so irregularly,
 離索過平生 spending our entire lives apart?
 畢竟觀化早 [Now] you must leave [me] before your time,
 使我心骨驚 striking me with feelings of great alarm.
 顧影轉踽踽 Now that my shadow is getting lonelier and lonelier,
 生世獨奚成 what [is there] I [can still] accomplish on my own?

The feelings of loneliness and longing are unmistakably clear in these first three poems. It is also clear that these concern Hwang Sin (referred to by his pen name, Ch'up'o 秋浦). The verses are marked by an existential grief, laced with a hint of surprise on Sin Hŭm's part, as if he had not expected the loss to affect him so strongly. As the reality of the situation sets in, it seems Sin increasingly struggles with the sudden awareness of his loneliness and the prospect of having to move on on his own, something he openly doubts he is capable of.

Historian Jung Sook-in points out in his discussion of *Twenty poems* that at the beginning of poem I, Sin starts out with trying to come to terms with his banishment by comparing his change in luck to the transiency of life and death, but that in the last two lines the rationalisation crumbles to reveal what Jung calls a 'quivering, humane aspect of himself [Sin]'.³⁰ Sin's attempted rationalisation of his exiled existence is thus torn down by his unexpected incapability of coping with grief, with a fundamental aspect of the circle of life he used as a comparison.

From the second poem to the third, Sin's tone becomes more emotional and vulnerable, revealing deep despair and an overwhelming sense of loss. Despite this, Sin Hŭm does take the opportunity to jab at the current political situation and political elite. From poem IV onward, there are no more mentions of Hwang Sin, and the content of the poems is directed more at the other themes I mentioned in the previous section. Although Hwang is not openly mentioned anymore, it does not mean Sin ceases to explore feelings of loneliness and emotional misery in the remaining poems. For example, poem VII reads as follows.³¹

枳棘何蓁蓁	The thorny trees, how [have they grown] so rank? ³²
蘭芷何英英	And the fragrant flowers, how [have they grown] so beautiful? ³³
芳臭溷一途	It is a jumble of fragrant scents and malodorous smells –
如何傷我情	how come it wounds me so?
謫余鬱侘傺	Ah, [how] melancholy and frustrated I feel!
有懷誰與傾	Is there anyone with whom I [could] share [these] deep-held sentiments?
睨彼園中鳥	Begrudgingly I look on as the birds in the garden
求友相和鳴	[each] find a mate to sing in harmony with.
豈無知音人	How can it be there is no one who actually understands how I feel?
湖海隔此生	[This] exile [truly] bounds my existence. ³⁴

Here Sin Hǔm expresses how not even the flourishing trees, the lovely flowers, or the happily fluttering songbirds spark any joy within him. Instead, he is envious of the birds that sing songs together, grieving the loss of the one person that truly understood him. The trees and flowers – like the wordplay (explained in notes 33-35) implies – serve as a reminder of the life at court and the intellectual circles that Sin had to leave behind. Additionally, the wording implies that Sin fundamentally disagrees with the current dominant faction and their policies. In this poem, then, all three themes I discussed are contained: dissatisfaction with the current political climate, frustration with one's banishment, and loneliness.

Thematic analysis

Let us return to the question with which I started this article: how do the themes found in Sin Hǔm's *Twenty poems on drinking wine* compare to the themes in the original by Tao Yuanming? In Tao's *Twenty poems*, what stands out is his critique on officialdom and his dismissal of government service, the fleetingness of life, and the desire to live life the way one wants. These messages are captured in plain language, using imagery from nature, of seclusion, hunger and cold, and self-deprecation. Throughout there is a pervasive sense of anxiety that lingers near the surface.

Although the title is 'On drinking wine', drinking is not actually what stands at the heart of this collection. Imagery of alcohol and drinking is frequently referred to but is featured as a desperate man's solution to all problems, rather than as the source of a joyous evening's entertainment, as one might perhaps expect. A.R. Davis summarizes his content analysis of Tao Yuanming's original *Twenty poems* as follows: '*Drinking Wine* (...) serves as a title for the poet's anguished brooding on the true course for the Confucian scholar-official in an age where the Way has been lost.'³⁵ 'Drinking Wine', then, is a metaphor for

one's attempted reconciliation with one's troubling circumstances and/or for the solution to one's own problems, whatever those may be.

What stands out in Sin Hŭm's harmonisation is a fierce critique on the current political climate and the current scholar-official elite, a deeply conflicted frustration with his exile, and, most prominently, his way of dealing with the loss of Hwang Sin. The focal point of Sin's political critique was the enthronement of Prince Kwanghae and the murder of Grand Prince Yŏngch'ang, which ultimately resulted in Sin's faction falling out of power, his getting stripped from his rank, and his getting banished to the countryside.

When it comes to Sin's struggle to make peace with this exile, his attitude appears similar to Su Shi's, whom Sin greatly admired. Both desired to retire to countryside but once in exile there felt they could not forsake their Confucian duty to serve in the government. Hence, there is a stress on the impermanence of their exile in both their works, as well as on feeling conflicted with its impermanence. In Sin's *Twenty poems*, for example, we read that on the one hand he had made peace with his banishment, but that on the other he felt the life he had left behind tug on him.

The third and very prominent theme was of course friendship, and Sin Hŭm's struggle with the intense grief and loneliness he experienced after the death of Hwang Sin. Similar to how Tao Yuanming's poetry is marked by anxiety, Sin's is marked by lingering but overwhelming feelings of melancholy and loneliness. Even though Sin employs philosophical rhetoric and carries a predominantly rational tone, a lot of raw emotion, too, is captured in his *Twenty poems*. Absent are any significant references to drinking.³⁶ Where Tao resorted to alcohol to drown out his worries, Sin chooses to explore his feelings and to reflect on philosophical and metaphysical ideas that can help him reconcile with his circumstances – that is his 'drinking wine'.

The thematic differences between Tao Yuanming's and Sin Hŭm's *Twenty poems* outlined above are the result of different factors, including time, space, and ideology. Additionally, when composing *hè*-Tao poetry, one is not obliged to also harmonize with the content matter of the original author, making it the perfect vehicle for self-expression while also expressing one's admiration for a much-venerated scholar.

Conclusion

In this paper, I analysed the thematic semblances and differences between Sin Hŭm's harmonisation of Tao Yuanming's *Twenty poems on drinking wine* and Tao's original, also including a comparison to Su Shi's harmonisations of Tao. In doing so, I shed light on Sin Hŭm's inspirations, literary practices, and his perceptions of the political landscape of the period he spent in exile. Considering Sin Hŭm is a historical figure thus far gone undiscussed in English-language scholarship, I hope to have provided an impetus for further explorations of his political career through the lens of his literary compositions.

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- 1 For a brief but concise discussion on Su Shi, his political career, and his literary career, I refer to: Jiyan Qiao, 'What was Su Shi 蘇軾 doing in "hè-Tao" 和陶?' (Paper presented at the Second Conference on Middle Period Chinese Humanities, Leiden University, Leiden, 14-17 September 2017), 11.
- 2 The diacritic mark is to indicate the character 和 is read as *hè*, denoting the meaning 'to harmonise with', as opposed to the reading *hé* which denotes – among other things – the meanings 'harmonious, congruent, agreeable'.
- 3 For an elaborate discussion on Tao Yuanming, I refer to: Xiaofei Tian, *Tao Yuanming and Manuscript culture: the record of a dusty table* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005): 3-22. EBSCOhost.
- 4 Sojin Liu 류소진, 'Hè-Su poetry by Mid-Chosŏn Neo-Confucian Scholar Sin Hŭm' 조선 중기 성리학자申欽의 和蘇詩, *Chinese literature*, no. 73 (2016): 183-186. KISS.
- 5 Sook-in Jung 정숙인 'A study on 20 drinking poems among Shin Hum's Hwadosi' 象村 申欽의 《和陶詩》 중 《飲酒》 20 首 연구, *The studies of Korean literature*, no. 35 (2012): 97-99. Dbpia.
- 6 Liu, 'Hè-Su Poetry', 196.
- 7 The development of factionalism in Chosŏn at this point in time is incredibly complex and would be too much to discuss here. Therefore, I refer to Ki-baik Lee, *A new history of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner & Edward J. Schultz (Seoul: Ilchogak Publishers, 1984), 204-209; Jae-eun Kang, *The land of scholars: two thousand years of Korean Confucianism*, trans. Suzanne Lee (Homa and Sekey Books, 2006), 255-271 & 274-304.
- 8 Lee, *A new history*, 206-215; Kang, *Land of scholars*, 309-314.
- 9 The history and the historical development of Chosŏn's ties with the Ming dynasty and the Qing empire is much too complicated to discuss adequately here. I refer instead to: Hyewon Cha, 'Was Joseon a model or an exception? Reconsidering the tributary relations during Ming China,' *Korea journal* 51:4 (2011): 33-58; Donald N. Clark, 'Sino-Korean tributary relations under the Ming,' in *The Cambridge history of China – volume 8, part 2: The Ming dynasty, 1368-1644, part 2*, eds. Denis C. Twitchett, and Frederick W. Mote (Cambridge University Press, 2008): 272-300; Jongtae Lim, 'Tributary relations between the Chosŏn and the Ch'ing courts to 1800,' in *The Cambridge history of China – volume 9, part 2: The Ch'ing Dynasty to 1800*, ed. Willard J. Peterson (Cambridge University Press, 2016): 146-196.
- 10 Lee, *A new history*, 215-217.
- 11 Kang, *Land of scholars*, 310-311, 318-319, 323-325; 'Prince Imhae' 임해군, *Encyclopedia of Korean culture*, The Academy of Korean Studies, accessed 20 December, 2022, <http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Item/EO047742>; 'Prince Kwanghae' 광해군, *Encyclopedia of Korean culture*, The Academy of Korean Studies, accessed 20 December, 2022, <http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Item/EO005335>.
- 12 Kang, *Land of scholars*, 324-325; Jung, 'A study on 20 drinking poems', 95-96; Liu, 'Hè-Su poetry', 196-197.
- 13 The reasons for this coup are manifold, which is why I will not include them here. Instead, I refer to Kang, *Land of Scholars*, pp. 318-328.
- 14 Yi Kwal was one of the meritorious military generals who had supported King Injo during the coup. Afterward, however, Yi felt he his reward was less than he believed he deserved. Hence, he started a military uprising, even occupying the capital at some point. There, he was defeated by government forces.
- 15 Kang, *Land of scholars*, 325.
- 16 It is beyond the scope of this paper to include the entire preface plus its translation here, so I refer to Jung's 2012 paper, where the preface is discussed in (Korean) translation on page 96. The Classical Chinese is featured in footnote no. 8 on the same page.
- 17 In Su Shi's case, frustration with his exile was not expressed so much in his *hè-Tao* of *Twenty poems on drinking wine* 和陶飲酒二十首, as he wrote those before his second exile. This statement is more generalizing, and refers in particular to Su's works that inspired Sin Hŭm to write *hè-Tao* poetry. In Sin's case, he expresses his dissatisfaction clearly in poems no. 14, 15, 16, 19, and 20 of *Twenty poems on drinking wine*.
- 18 Tao's decision to leave office is expressed in poems nine and ten of *On drinking wine*, as A.R. Davis (1983) translates them: 'In the clear dawn I heard a knocking at the door; [t]umbling into my clothes I went myself to open. I asked: Who, sir, are you? It was a peasant with kindly feelings. With a jar of wine he had come far to visit me, [w]ondering if I were at odds with the times. (...) "I am deeply grateful for your words, old man, [b]ut my innate spirit is little in tune with them. To curb one's rein truly might be learned; [y]et false to oneself, one surely goes astray. Let's enjoy drinking this [wine] together, [b]ut my carriage cannot be turned back. // (...) On this journeying what sent me? I seemed to be driven by hunger. I exerted all my strength for a full belly, [a]nd a little was in fact to me a surplus. I feared that this was no honourable plan, [a]nd stopped my carriage and returned to retirement.'" (pp. 97-98)
- 19 Retiring from court was an extreme form of protest. It showed the official's discontent with the current political climate and his refusal to serve in a government deemed unworthy of his devotion. It indicated that his malcontent was such that he would rather squander all the years of effort he had spent incessantly studying to pass the state examinations than serve in the government in its current state.
- 20 Jung, 'A study on 20 drinking poems', 99.

- 21 裸體臥南榮/ 悠悠無所為/ 於茲聊息影/ 永願辭人羈. Hŭm Sin申欽, The Collected *hè*-Tao poems of Master Hyŏnhŏn 玄軒先生和陶詩 (From the Internet Archive, Asami Collection & Korean Rare Books Collection, manuscript, Korea, 17th century), accessed 20 December, 2022, <https://archive.org/search.php?query=external-identifier%3A%22urn%3Aoclc%3Arecord%3A1046511674%22>. Translation and emphasis by the author.
- 22 羈人少歡適/ 旅泊何遷次/ 菱荷已緝衣/ 莫道纓簪貴/ 朝市信悠悠/ 此會真有味. Sin, *Master Hyŏnhŏn*, 46-47. Translation and emphasis by the author.
- 23 初來自何所/ 既去亦何之/ 來也亦一時/ 去也亦一時/ 死生固有常. Sin, *Master Hyŏnhŏn*, 40. Translation by the author.
- 24 Jung, 'A study on 20 drinking poems', 105-106.
- 25 Qiao, 'What was Su Shi doing?' 9-10.
- 26 Idem, 9-10, 12, 15.
- 27 'Hwang Sin' 향신, *Encyclopedia of Korean culture*, the Academy of Korean Studies, accessed 20 December, 2022, <http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Item/E0065230>.
- 28 秋浦之亡，悲不自持，詩以自持. Translation by the author. It should be noted that this is the text as found in a handwritten manuscript of The Collected *hè*-Tao poems of Master Hyŏnhŏn 《玄軒先生和陶詩》，which differs from the text found in a block print manuscript of The Collected Works of Master Sangch'on 《象村先生集》. The text in the latter version is as follows: 'These poems are to give vent to my feelings about Ch'up'o's passing, which grieves me more than I can bear' (秋浦之亡，悲不自持，詩以遣興). Upon comparison, I decided to go with the handwritten manuscript, as the block print seems to contain some inaccuracies. The punctuation in the Chinese phrases cited is my own.
- 29 Sin, *Master Hyŏnhŏn*, 40-41.
- 30 Jung, 'A study on 20 drinking poems', 108.
- 31 Sin, *Master Hyŏnhŏn*, 43.
- 32 枳棘 'thorny trees' is a metaphor for base and/or evil people, as well as precarious circumstances.
- 33 蘭芷 (sometimes written 蘭芝) 'fragrant flowers' can refer to one's refined character, or to one's good students.
- 34 湖海 'exile' can refer to the place to where one is banished, or the fact that one is no (longer) involved with the government.
- 35 A.R. Davis, *T'ao Yüan-ming (AD 365-427): his works and their meaning – volume 1: translation and commentary* (Cambridge University Press, 1983), 105.
- 36 Overindulgence in alcohol was considered inappropriate and immodest according to neo-Confucian moral standards.