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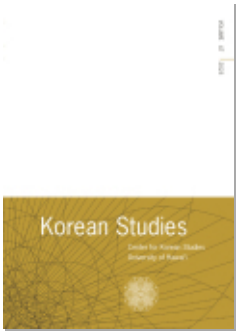

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Cultural Networks of the *Chungin*: Chosŏn Interpreters' Participation in Poetry Societies

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This paper illuminates the cultural performance of Chosŏn (1392–1910) interpreters in the nineteenth century, with a particular focus on interpreters' participation in poetry societies (*sisa* 詩社). The study aims to explore the cultural status of interpreters by examining the networks they built within poetry societies and to investigate whether engagement in cultural activities contributed to their social mobility in the late nineteenth century. Existing scholarship on the social mobility of the *chungin* (中人, "middle people") heavily relies on the influence of demographic expansion and position monopoly, at the expense of other indicators reflecting the *chungin*'s social position such as economic, cultural, and political standing. To bridge this research gap, this research uses the cultural life of Chosŏn interpreters as a lens to examine how the *chungin* interacted with other groups. I use Kang Wi's (姜瑋 1820–1884) *Kohwandang such'o* (古歡堂收艸, "Collected Works of Kang Wi") as the primary source to extract social connections between the Poetry Society of the Sixth Bridge (Yukkyo sisa 六橋詩社), of which most members were official interpreters and medical doctors living in Hanyang, and the South Poetry Society, which was a poetry community organized by the *yangban*. Through analyzing clusters and patterns based on the concurrence of the participants, this study concludes that the cultural status of the *chungin* did not fully align with their categorization in the social hierarchy, and the social gap between the *yangban* and the *chungin* did not cease because of cultural exchanges.

Keywords: poetry societies, Chosŏn interpreters, cultural status, social mobility

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Research Background: The Social Status of the Chungin

Despite the delineation of legal statuses within the *Great Code of National Governance* (*Kyŏngguk Taejŏn* 經國大典), which distinguished only between the good (*yang* 良) and the base (*ch'ŏn* 賤), the social structure of the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392–1910) was notably more diverse. The social landscape of Chosŏn consisted of various social strata that extended beyond the simplified binary classification proposed by the official code. When considering the complexity of these social distinctions, Korean social historians typically divide the social stations into four categories – the *yangban* (兩班), the *chungin* (中人), the commoners (*sangmin* 常民; *p'yŏngmin* 平民) and the lowborn (*ch'ŏnmin* 賤民). Unlike other social categories, the *chungin* began to gain recognition only around the middle of the seventeenth century.

As an analytical category, the scope of the *chungin* has been interpreted differently. In its broadest sense, the *chungin* refers to all ambiguous stations positioned between the *yangban* and commoners. Social groups occupying hereditary, endogamous tiers of government and society between the aristocracy and commoners, such as the technical specialists, clerks, local administrative functionaries, secondary sons of *yangban* fathers, local elites from the northern provinces, and petty military officers, are referred to as the *chungin*.[1] In a narrow sense, the term *chungin* refers to technical specialists encompassing interpreters, medical doctors, lawyers, astrologers and accountants.[2] Existing scholarship in the field of *chungin* studies provides much insight into the origin of the *chungin*. For instance, by tracing the family background of successful candidates who attended translation and accountancy subjects through *the Record of Surname Origins* (*Sŏngwŏllok*, 姓源錄), Kim Doohun argues that the prominent *chungin* families originated from secondary sons who branched out from *yangban* families.[3] Through investigating the qualification and social status of candidates for miscellaneous exams, Lee Nam Hee points out that persons with lower social status can realize a higher hierarchy through taking miscellaneous examinations.[4] In the same vein, Baek Okyeong's suggests that petty officials (*hyangni* 鄕吏), who served as local clerks at the bottom of the bureaucratic system, realized upward mobility by attending exams for interpreters.[5] However, compared to the intense debate on *chungin*'s origins, little attention has been given to the development of the group in the late Chosŏn dynasty.[6] Consequently, our comprehension of the *chungin*'s social status largely remains rooted in the mid-17th context, a period during which the *chungin* emerged and developed, leaving us with an unclear picture of their subsequent evolution and influence.

On the other hand, the late Chosŏn dynasty was a period of radical social transformation accompanied by institutional, political, economic and cultural changes. Scholars have offered in-depth insights into the reasons explaining those social changes. For instance, Hiroshi Shikata concludes that the decline in privileges of the *yangban* in the late Chosŏn dynasty enabled individuals to find a "middle ground" to amplify or eliminate the influence brought by social status, implying that the social status system in the late Chosŏn dynasty had become less stagnant.[7] In a similar vein, Javier Cha claims that the intensifying downward mobility in the nineteenth century was a consequence of the increasing dominance of capital oligarchs.[8] From the perspective of economic development, Yi Yun'gap demonstrates that the social hierarchy was weakened under the rapid development of the commodity economy among peasants in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[9] Eugene Park indicates that the expansion of handcraft productions in the nineteenth century created a conducive environment for upward socioeconomic mobility, and therefore influenced the development of the *chungin*.[10] In light of changes in the bureaucratical system, Kim Changsu points out that the implementation of *kongmyŏngch'ŏp* (空名帖, "blank office warrant") and *napsok* (納粟, "grain contribution"), which are policies of selling official titles and ranks to overcome financial difficulties of the state, greatly shook the social hierarchies of the late Chosŏn.[11] Martina Deuchler focuses on the impact from foreign countries and states that the changing political climate under the impact of foreign encroachment and with the advent of "enlightened" reformist thought shocked the status system in the late Chosŏn.[12]

Scholars' discussions confirm the fact that the rigid Chosŏn society became softened in the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, questions such as to what extent the social system was shaken, whether there had been increased opportunities for mobility between different social strata at all levels, and the direction of social mobility deserve further investigation. To be more germane to our focus—official interpreters, how should their status be understood when social changes shadowed the status system? When commoners and slaves were seizing on various opportunities for upward mobility, what kind of endeavor did interpreters make in order to break through the social barrier? Did the social boundary between the *yangban* and the *chungin* become blurred at that time?

In order to answer the aforementioned questions, we need to establish a framework for measuring social status within Chosŏn society. This undertaking often involves identifying and defining specific criteria that determine an individual's social status. For example, Han Ugŭn suggests

that in Chosŏn, an individual's social standing depended on the distinguishment of lineage, occupation, region, and land property.[13] Chi Sŭngchong asserts that a person's social status was a composite result of legal status, social esteem, heredity of positions or status, and lifestyle. Han Yongwoo claims that the social status of the Chosŏn dynasty was established on both a person's birth and vocation. This approach, however, must remain grounded in a specific historical context, since determinants of social status can change over time with shifting circumstances. In addition to seeking determinants that influence one's social status, sociologists have also attempted to clarify connections between status and social networks in which the individual is placed. In Bourdieu's account of social positions, he uses the concept of "field" as a metaphor for how individuals are arranged in society, where fields are essentially networks in which people compete for resources.[14] In his study of how social structures are formed from the turbulence of social life, Harrison White argues that identity can only emerge through efforts to control, namely the attempt to find a position that entails a stance in social interactions.[15] By examining how Florentines sought upward mobility through patronage, Paul D. McLean also emphasizes that networking is a strategic activity that is self-consciously constitutive of identities. In order words, networks convey identities.[16] Recent scholarship in Korean social history also highlights the connections between networks and identities. For instance, Javier Cha indicates that the *yangban* was a social group that existed in networks: "*yangban*'s qualification was determined by membership in prestigious organizations, association with respected intellectual figures."[17] Concentrating on the identity of local Confucian scholars, Hwisang Cho proposes that the development of *sŏwŏn* (書院, "nonstate local academies") networks invoked local Confucian scholars to perceive themselves as members of a new community.[18] And by demonstrating how clerks and military officers functioned in administrative networks, John Lee groups clerks and local military officers as administrative brokers between the central government and the provinces.[19]

Researchers' examination of the communities and associations behind a particular social group reinforces the concept that individuals' social identities are embedded within the networks in which they are positioned. Therefore, networks can serve as an indicator of their status in a sphere. Compared to identifying criteria for social status at a microscopic level, analyzing an individual's position within social networks is less dependent on precise and exhaustive determinants, as it focuses on the relative position among individuals. Furthermore, visualized networks provides a macro-level perspective on social structures—visualizing network

connections is not only a powerful tool for analyzing social networks, but also a valuable perspective facilitating our understanding of societies as a whole. As pointed out by Timothy Tangherlini, network graphs have proven to be not only visually engaging but also to be powerful conceptual tools for understanding the structure of data at very large scales.[20]

In this study, my approach aims to produce a parameter that measures the social status of Chosŏn interpreters by exanimating their positions within networks. Upon investigating participants of poetry societies organized by the *chungin* in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,[21] I use the network analysis tool Gephi[22] to visualize and investigate cultural networks formed by poetry society participants. When creating the network data, I pay particular attention to the interaction between participants of the Poetry Society of the Sixth Bridge (*Yukkyo sisa* 六橋詩社, hereinafter referred as "the Sixth Bridge"), which was primarily comprised of official interpreters and medical doctors (*ŭiyŏk chungin* 醫譯中人) living in Hanyang, and participants of the South Society (*Namsa* 南社), which was one of the most active poetry communities by the *yangban* in the late nineteenth century. I use *Kohwandang such'o* (古歡堂收艸, "Collected Works of Kang Wi") to extract information about interactions between participants of the two poetry societies and examine the positions of interpreters within the networks. To avoid a single perspective based on Kang Wi's cultural life, who was the chief organizer of the Poetry Society of the Sixth Bridge, I also expand the data by adding relational data provided by the DB of Korean Classics (https://db.itkc.or.kr/people/).[23] This additional data provides insight into relations based on family, school, and cultural interactions of *sisa* participants. The final dataset utilized in this research includes 426 nodes and 1096 relations. By visualizing networks formed by cultural interactions among participants of the poetry societies, this study provides a parameter for measuring the social status of the *chungin*, as well as mapping the social boundary between the *yangban* and the *chungin*. By examining clusters and patterns based on the concurrence of the poetry participants, my research aims to answer the following questions: what was the cultural status of interpreters was in the late nineteenth century? How were the relationships between interpreters and other groups? How did the cultural status of the *chungin* differ from their social status? And did interpreters achieve upward mobility within the cultural realm in the late nineteenth century?

The Rationale: Chosŏn Interpreters and their Cultural Networks

This study investigates the cultural performance of Chosŏn interpreters as the lens to observe the *chungin*'s social status. Sociologists have

demonstrated that cultural practices are associated with an individual's position in the social structure.[24] In Max Weber's notion of status, cultural practices may be considered as a style of life (De: *Lebensstil*), which are rooted in specific class relations that shape a way of life and form the bases of status judgments.[25] In Bourdieu's view, cultural practices are habitus shaped by interactions within social networks of homogeneous status groups.[26] Contrary to the traditional view that culture is a passive process determined by social class or status, Ann Swidler suggests that culture is also a "tool kit" of symbols, stories, rituals, and world views, which actors can use to develop chains of action in order to reach life goals.[27]

On the basis of these theories, we can conclude that cultural engagement, such as *chungin*'s participation in poetry societies, is indicative of an individual's status, as cultural exchanges ultimately form social networks. I chose interpreters as the object group for the investigation into *chungin*'s social status through cultural participation. This selection is not only because of the fact that interpreters made up the largest share in the population of technical officials in the Chosŏn dynasty,[28] but also because their profession placed them advantageously in terms of access to economic and cultural capital.

In accordance with Bourdieu, capital is the driver of social mobility. Ascension to a new social position often results from the accumulation of economic, cultural, and social capital. Individuals endowed with the highest levels of these forms of capital are often the first to ascend to new positions.[29] Compared to other social groups, Chosŏn interpreters held an advanced position in earning economic capital.[30] Many interpreters amassed significant wealth due to their roles as official traders on tribute missions, which provided lucrative trading opportunities. Chosŏn scholar Kim Kan (金榦 1646–1732) witnessed that "interpreters were so rich that they all wore clothes made in splendid fabrics."[31] When the scholar-official Song Sanggi (宋相琦 1657–1723) served as the document officer (Sŏjanggwan 書狀官) in the mission of presenting memorials (Chu-ch'ŏngsa 奏請使) in 1697, he noticed that "most interpreters [in the delegation] are wearing jade hairpins."[32] Also, the tycoon Mr. Pyŏn in "*the Tale of Master Hŏ*" (*Hŏsaeng Chŏn* 許生傳) by Pak Chiwŏn's (朴趾源 1737–1805) was modeled after the wealthy interpreter Pyŏn Sŭngŏp (卞承業 1623–1709), which was an epitome of Chosŏn interpreters. All these observations affirm that Chosŏn interpreters amassed significant wealth, thus possessing a substantial amount of economic capital. In light of that economic capital is the condition for all the forms of accumulation of all the other possible species of capital,[33] Chosŏn interpreters actually

acquired a privileged status in terms of their upward social mobility. Meanwhile, Chosŏn interpreters possessed relatively rich cultural capital, a term that refers to resources in one's cultural life, either in tangible forms like books, instruments, libraries, etc. or intangible forms like knowledge, skills, ideas, tastes, and preferences.[34] In the Chosŏn dynasty, one's cultural sophistication was embodied by literary ability, in particular, a comprehensive understanding of Chinese classics and cultivating writing skills in classical Chinese (*hanmun* 漢文). Through the training for foreign languages, interpreters were equipped with practical literacy in reading and writing classical Chinese. Chinese interpreters, for example, were required to study Chinese classics like *Four Books* (Ch. *sishu* 四書), *Elementary Learning* (Ch. *xiaoxue* 小學), *Vernacular Explication of the Complete Five Morals* (Ch. *wulun quanbei* 伍倫全備), etc. Apart from training in government sections for professional skills, some interpreters studied under famed literati and made great achievements in literature. For instance, Yi Sangjŏk (李尙迪, 1804–1865), the student of the celebrated scholar Kim Chŏnghŭi (金正喜, 1804–1865) in the nineteenth century, published his anthology *Collection from the Studio of Oratory for Favors* (*Ŭnsongdangjip* 恩誦堂集) in Qing China. Their competence in classical Chinese allowed interpreters to build networks with the *yangban* through various cultural interactions such as collecting writings for anthologies, collaborating on printing and publication projects, as well as participating in social gatherings for composing poems.

Given that the combination of financial assets and cultural sophistication already positioned interpreters in an advantageous place in their social movement to the upper society,[35] it is also worthy of questioning whether the social capital interpreters accumulated stimulated their social mobility further. Gaining social capital is the way in which people use to "get ahead,"[36] and "networking" is a common strategy for accumulating social capital.[37] Interpreters' social capital, however, has received less exploration thus far. Our understanding of the social capital of Chosŏn interpreters remains stagnant in the dimension of their lineage and marriage networks. Many scholars believe that the aristocracy-dominated social order in late Chosŏn reached its limit in terms of ability to contain the pressures of upwardly mobile nonelites.[38] Or, to put it another way, due to the exclusivity of the *yangban* society, the *chungin* group were unable to achieve social mobility by building networks through marriage. Meanwhile, scholars sharing insights into *chungin*'s cultural activities, such as Chŏng Okcha, Ch'a Yongju, and Chŏng Husu, concentrate only on their contributions to the development of *hanmun* (漢文) literature,[39] without

taking into account the social networks embedded in their cultural exchanges. The *chungin*, including interpreters, also sought social capital by engaging in cultural activities and built networks with various status groups—in theory, these networks all offered potential opportunities for upward mobility to the *chungin*. Thus, investigating interpreters' position in cultural networks also provides us with a measure of their social capital outside of their family sphere.

An Overview of the Development of Chungin's Poetry Societies

The practice of organizing social gatherings for composing poems has a rich history in Korea, dating back to the late twelfth century. A number of literary communities, such as the Noble Gathering of the Bamboo Grove (*Chungnim gohoe* 竹林高會),[40] the Society of Elderly Men in East of the Sea (*Haedong kiro hoe* 海東耆老會)[41] and the Society of Elderly Talents (*Kiyŏng hoe* 耆英會),[42] are documented in *the History of Koryŏ*. The famed Koryŏ literatus Yi Illo (李仁老 1152–1220) was an enthusiastic participant in these gatherings. At the age of 29 when Illo achieved the first place in the imperial examination, he joined the Society of the Dragon Head (*Yongdu hoe* 龍頭會), a cultural community comprised of principal graduates (*changwŏn* 狀元); while he was serving at the court as an official, Illo organized the Noble Gathering of the Bamboo Grove; upon his retirement, Illo became a member of the Society of Elderly People in East of the Sea and enjoyed exchanging poems with other retired bureaucrats.[43] In the early Chosŏn dynasty, gatherings for exchanging poems continued to be popular among the *yangban*. A heptasyllabic poem by Kwŏn Ch'ae (權採 1399–1438), the rector of the National Confucian Academy in the early Chosŏn dynasty, depicts the scene that scholars and literati composed poems under the Green Pine Pavilion (*Pyŏksong chŏng* 碧松亭) on the Third Day of the Third Lunar Month (*Samjinnal* 三짇날).[44] Poetry gatherings were even used by some political figures to plot coups. Grand Prince Anp'yŏng (*Anp'yŏng taegun* 安平大君) Yi Yong (李瑢 1418–1453), for example, ganged up bureaucrats and literati by organizing a poetry society, in which he was cracked up to be the chief under a new hierarchy created by himself.[45]

Starting from the late seventeenth century, participating in poetry societies became a cultural norm for Chosŏn literati. Poetry societies like the Poetry Society of the Chamber of Repetitive Chanting (*Naksongnu sisa* 洛誦樓詩社) led by the scholar Kim Ch'anghŭp (金昌翕 1653–1722), the Society of Far South (*Chungnam sa* 終南社) organized by the scholar and

politician Ch'ae Chegong (蔡濟恭 1720–1799) and the Poetry Society of Bamboo and Orchid (*Chongnam sa* 竹蘭詩社) headed by the philosopher Chŏng Yagyong (丁若鏞 1762–1836) were influential poetry societies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For Chosŏn *yangban*, organizing or participating in poetry societies was not only a means to derive pleasure from literary communication, but also an act of strengthening cohesion of the social group by sharing cultural values and ideas. Membership in poetry societies was a noble lifestyle, where literary sophistication was a standard to distinguish elites from nonelites.[46]

The *yangban*'s cultural norms associated with poetry societies permeated the cultural life of other social groups. Educated non-*yangban* individuals, particularly those whose professions required knowledge of classical Chinese like official interpreters, medical doctors, and functionaries, also showcased their poetic abilities by taking part in poetry societies. The interpreter Hong Set'ae (洪世泰 1653–1725), for example, was a member in the Poetry Society of the Chamber of Repetitive Chanting. In accordance with Chŏng Husu, the emergence of poetry societies among the non-*yangban* (*wihang sisa* 委巷詩社) were attributed to three factors, including professional characteristics of technical officials, the increasing wealth of members in the secondary group, as well as the waning perception of social status in cultural exchange in the eighteenth century.[47] In addition, Ch'ŏn Pyŏngsik indicates that self-consciousness about the social status of the non-*yangban* individuals also played a crucial role in their participation in poetry societies[48]—having been restricted from pursuing a career in the bureaucratic sphere, the non-*yangban* people often resorted to poetry as a means of expressing their frustrations and depression.

Alongside the rapid development of the *chungin* in the middle of the seventeenth century, the organization of poetry societies within this group began to thrive. Chŏn Pyŏngsik argues that the appearance of poetry societies among the *chungin* was accompanied by the group's consciousness of identity,[49] while Chŏng Husu emphasizes that organizing poetry societies was a means for *chungin* to emulate the *yangban*'s lifestyle, thereby enabling them to achieve upward mobility.[50] One of the earliest poetry societies in the seventeenth century was the *Samch'ŏng* Poetry Society (三淸詩社), comprised of the functionary Ch'oe Kinam (崔奇男 1586–?), the medical doctor Chŏng Namsu (鄭枏壽 d.u.), the medical doctor Nam Ŭngch'im (南應琛 1596–?), the medical doctor Chŏng Yenam (鄭禮男 d.u.), the clepsydra warden (*kŭmnugwan* 禁漏官) Kim Hyoil (金孝一 d.u.), and the interpreter Ch'oe Taerip (崔大立 d.u.). Under the aegis of the *yangban* Yi Kyŏngsŏk (李景奭 1595–1671), their poetry anthology

Miscellaneous Chants by Six Masters (*Yukka chabyŏng* 六家雜詠) was published in 1668, which collects 261 poems by the six members.[51] The development of the *chungin*'s poetry societies reached its heyday in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some of the most renowned poetry societies by the *chungin* were the Society of Jade Stream (*Okkye sa* 玉溪社), the Society of Splendid West (*Kŭmsŏ sa* 錦西社), the Poetry Society of Brilliance (*Piyŏn sisa* 斐然詩社), the Poetry Society of West Garden (*Sŏwŏn sisa* 西園詩社), the Poetry Society of Shrine Quarter (*Chikha sisa* 稷下詩社), the Poetry Society of Seven Pines Pavilion (*Ch'ilsongjŏng sisa* 七松亭詩社), and the Poetry Society of the Sixth Bridge.

It is worth noting that the above-mentioned poetry societies by the *chungin* were connected to each other, with the Society of Jade Stream serving as the point of departure. The Society of Jade Stream approximately existed between 1786 and 1810, of which the host was Chang Hon (張混 1759–1828), a collator serving at the Bureau of Publication (*Kyosŏgwan* 校書館). After Chang Hon died, his descendants, students and key members of the poetry club continued their tradition and

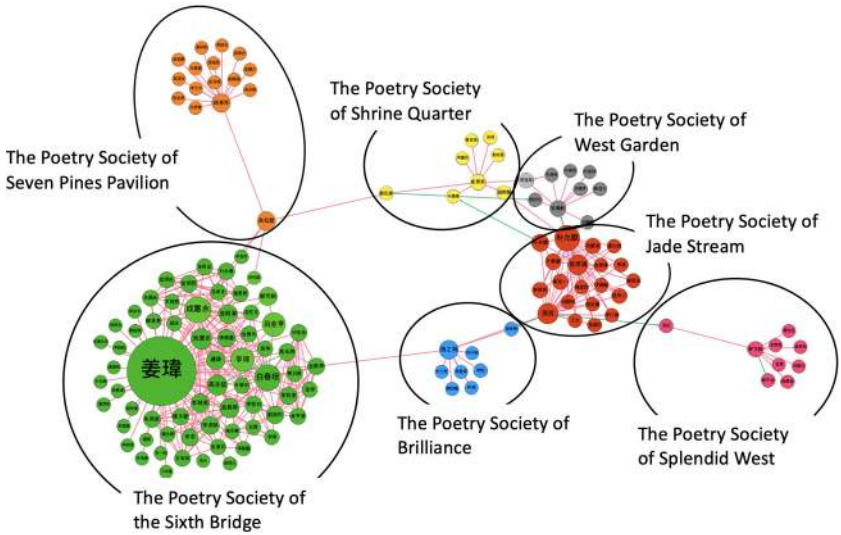

Fig. 1. Networks of poetry societies organized by the *chungin* in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The size of the node reflects the betweenness centrality (a value reflecting the impact of a node as a bridge) of each node. A pink edge between two nodes indicates a cultural relationship between two nodes, such as fellows in the same poetry society, the teacher and the student, collaborators in publishing, etc.; a green edge indicates a kinship relationship between two nodes. The layout of the networks uses the Yifan Hu Multilevel layout algorithm.[52]

established other poetry societies. Therein, Chang Hon's son Chang Uk (張旭 1778–?) was the leader of the Society of Splendid West; Chang Hon's grandson Chang Hyomu (張孝懋 1807–1842) and Chang Hon's student Chang Chiwan (張之琬 1806–?) were organizers of the Poetry Society of Brilliance; Kim Ŭiryŏng (金義齡 d.u.), the son of the member at the Society of Jade Stream Kim Naksŏ (金洛瑞 d.u.), hosted the Poetry Society of West Garden.[53] In accordance with relations among members at the above-mentioned poetry societies,[54] the networks of poetry societies organized by the *chungin* in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are demonstrated as Figure 1.

Cultural Interactions between the *Yangban* and the *Chungin*

Poetry societies in the eighteenth and nineteenth century were also characterized by the interaction between the *chungin* and the *yangban*. As previously indicated, some *yangban* scholars, such as Yi Kyŏngsŏk, sponsored poetry anthology publications. When Yu Chaegŏn (劉在建 1793–1880) and Ch'oe Kyŏnghŭm (崔景欽 d.u.), leading members of the Poetry Society of Shrine Quarter, compiled the *P'ungyo samsŏn* (風謠三選, "the Third Selection of Poems of the People"), they invited three official-scholars to write the preface.[55] In the meantime, Pak Hyogwan (朴孝寬 1803–?) and An Minyŏng (安玟英 1816–?), two members of the Poetry Society of Seven Pines Pavilion, were favored by Grand Internal Prince Hŭngsŏn (*Hŭngsŏn Taewŏn'gun* 興宣大院君; 1821–1898) because of their musical talent.

Aside from private connections with the *yangban*, *chungin* societies also had direct poetry exchanges with the *yangban*, as exemplified by the interactions between members of the Sixth Bridge and the South Society (*Namsa* 南社). The Sixth Bridge was organized by Kang Wi (姜瑋 1820–1884). Born into a declining military family, Kang Wi grew up in Kongju where his father served as a garrison commander. At fifteen, he relocated to Hanyang to study literacy under scholar Min Nohaeng (閔魯行 1777–ca. 1845). During his stay in Hanyang, Kang Wi resided at the residence of the Chief State Councilor Chŏng Wŏnyong (鄭元容 1783–1873). There, he developed a close friendship with Wŏnyong's grandson Chŏng Kŏnjo (鄭健朝 1823–1882), as well as other scholars from the Tongnae Chŏng Clan (東萊鄭氏). After his teacher Min Nohaeong died, Kang Wi followed Kim Chŏnghŭi, who was exiled to Jeju island at the time, to study Confucianism. Despite abandoning his

bureaucratic career at an early age, Kang Wi, through his teachers' connections, met numerous *yangban* scholars including Yi Kŏnch'ang (李建昌 1852–1898), Hwang Hyŏn (黃玹 1855–1910), and Kim T'aegyŏng (金澤榮 1850–1927).[56] Therein, Yi Kŏnch'ang and Chŏng Wŏnyong's son Chŏng Kiu (鄭基雨 d.u.) were founders of the South Society, which was mainly composed of *yangban* scholars. Kang Wi was introduced to their poetry club and exchanged poems with other members.

Kang Wi served as a literacy teacher in Hanyang, and in late 1870s, he was hired by an interpreter Pyŏn Chinhwan (邊晉桓 1832–?) to tutor his nephew Pyŏn Wi (邊煒 1857–?). On the winter solstice of 1877, Pyŏn

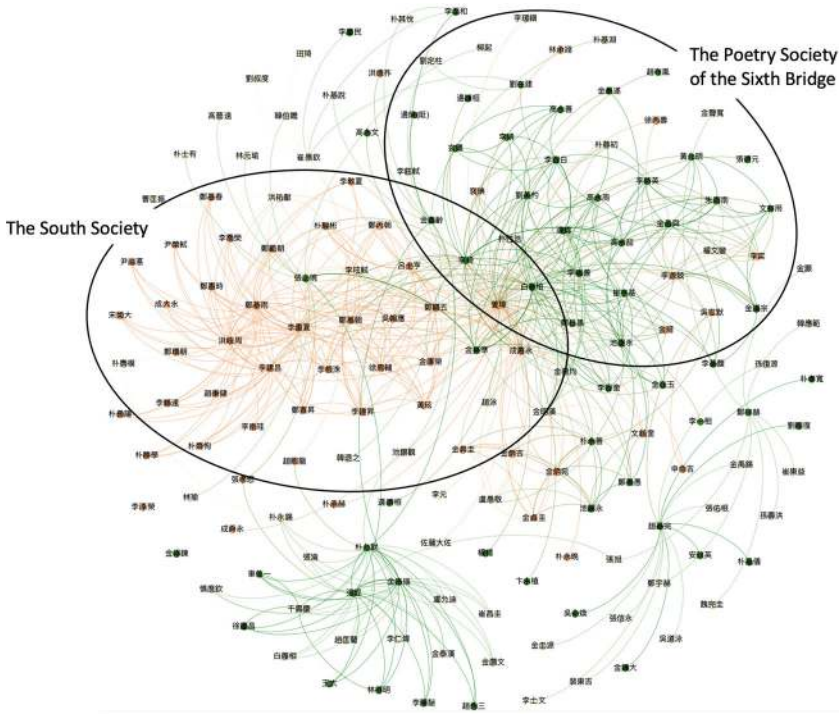

Fig. 2. Interactions between the *yangban* and the *chungin* based on relations of members in poetry societies. The color of the node reflects the social status of the individual (node): orange indicates the status of the individual was the *chungin*; green indicates the status of the individual was the *yangban*; light yellow implies the status of the individual is known.[57] The color of the edge is the same as the source node. The layout of the networks uses the Fruchterman-Reingold algorithm.[58]

Chinhwan invited his neighbors, most of whom were interpreters and medical doctors, to his residence the Chamber of Begonia (*Haedangnu* 海棠樓) for a poetry composition session. As Pyŏn Wi's teacher, Kang Wi also joined the gathering and got acquainted with those technical officials. Their gathering on the winter solstice marked the beginning of their poetry community, ultimately leading to the establishment of the Sixth Bridge. Figure 2 illustrates the cultural interaction between the *yangban* and the *chungin* on the basis of activities within poetry societies. As shown in the figure, the cultural interaction between the *yangban* and the *chungin* was primarily carried out between the Sixth Bridge and the South Society, with Kang Wi serving as the core broker. While a small number of *yangban* had connections with the *chungin* in other poetry societies, these connections were very limited.

Closer Observations: Interpreters' Cultural Status

External Relations

Examining the social status of Chosŏn interpreters centers around the relationships they formed with other status groups through poetry exchanges. At the heart of this approach is observing interpreters' positions in networks of poetry societies. My first investigation focuses on the relationship between interpreters and *yangban* scholars, particularly highlighting their role as intermediaries between the Sixth Bridge and the South Society.

As the Sixth Bridge grew in influence, other students of Kang Wi and younger scholars in Hanyang joined their poetry society. Occasionally, *yangban* scholars also participated in their gatherings. I zoomed in on the scope of the Sixth Bridge and the South Society and examined how participants built connections across the boundary of social status. The networks shown in Figure 3 represent the interactions between members of the two poetry societies. The plot is based on the social status of each individual: orange indicates *chungin* status; green indicates *yangban* status; and yellow implies the status of the individual is unknown. I used the ForceAtlas2 algorithm,[59] a force-directed graph drawing algorithm based on the relative position of the nodes, to layout the networks. In this way, ForceAtlas2 enabled me to examine the relative relation between two nodes and thereby identify key brokers between the poetry societies.

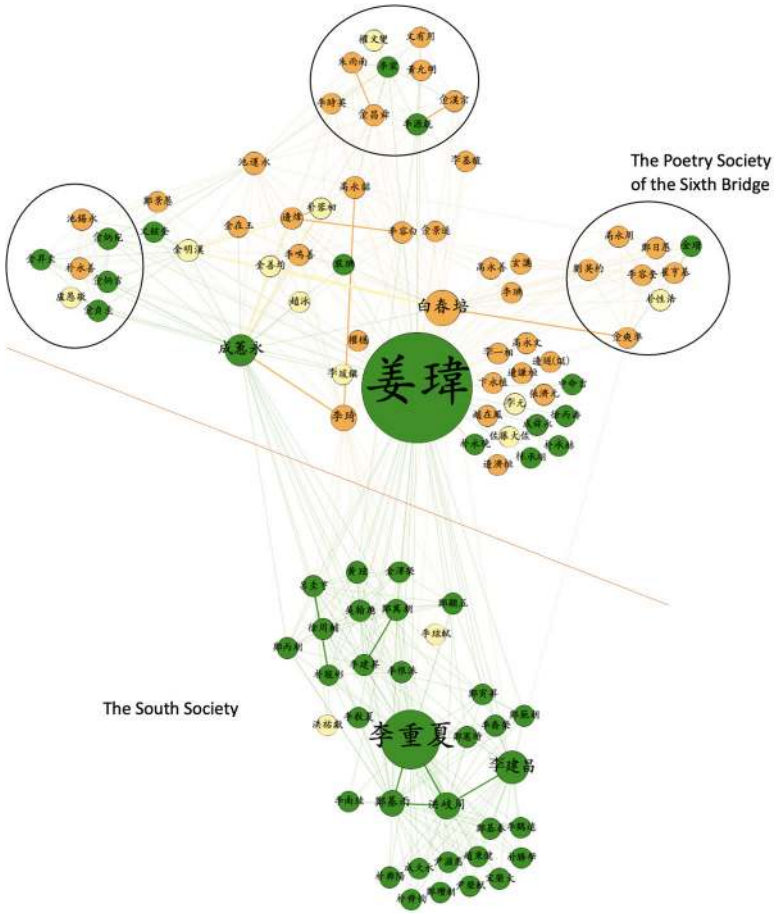

Fig. 3. Interactions between members of the Sixth Bridge and the South Society. The color of the node reflects the social status of the individual and the size of the node reflects the degree of each node. The nodes above the orange line are members of the Sixth Bridge and the nodes under the line are members of the South Society.

In conjunction with the betweenness centrality shown in Table 1, it suggests that the four nodes positioned between the Sixth Bridge and the South Society, namely Kang Wi, Sŏng Hyeyŏng (成蕙永 1844–1911), Yi Ki (李琦 1857–1935), and Paek Ch'unbae (白春培 1857–1935), played significant roles in mediating between the two communities. Based on the positions of their nodes in the networks, Yi Ki had closer ties with the South Society; Paek Ch'unbae was connected to the Sixth Bridge more

Table 1. The Ten Participants in the Poetry Society of the Sixth Bridge with the Highest Value of Betweenness Centrality

Node	Betweenness Centrality
Kang Wi (姜瑋)	1968.07
Paek Ch'unbae (白春培)	320.30
Sŏng Hyeyŏng (成蕙永)	227.17
Yi Ki (李琦)	108.56
Chi Unyŏng (池運永 1852–1935)	36.05
Ko Yŏngch'ŏl (高永喆 1853–?)	27.51
Kim Myŏnghan (金明漢 d.u.)	23.94
Pyŏn Wi (邊煒 1857–?)	18.15
Yu Yŏmgp'yo (劉英杓 1852–?)	17.27
Kim Ch'angsun (金昌舜 1854–?)	15.35

closely; Sŏng hyeyŏng and Kang Wi had relatively equal connections with both poetry societies.

Sŏng Hyeyŏng, Yi Ki, and Paek Ch'unbae's were all students of Kang Wi. As mentioned above, Kang Wi introduced his students to poetry gatherings. In accordance with Bae Ki-pyo's calculation of Kang Wi's *Collections of Joint Chant by the Sixth Bridge* (*Yukkyoyŏnŭmjip* 六橋聯吟集), Sŏng Hyeyŏng attended the poetry gathering organized by the Sixth Bridge twenty-one times, Yi Ki eleven times, and Paek Ch'unbae ten times.[60] As a consequence of their frequent participation, Sŏng Hyeyŏng, Yi Ki, and Paek Ch'unbae had more opportunities to meet *yangban* scholars from the South Society thanks to Kang Wi's introduction. On the other hand, other active members such as Kim Chaeok (金在玉 1859–?), Yi Yongbae (李容白 1859–?) and Pak Sŭngyŏk (朴承赫 1861–?), who also attended poetry activities frequently, did not have much contacts with the South Society.[61] In other words, regular participation in the Sixth Bridge did not necessarily ensure connections with the *yangban* society. Why were members like Sŏng Hyeyŏng, Yi Ki, and Paek Ch'unbae particularly attractive to *yangban* scholars? What was the *yangban*'s preference underneath their poetry exchanges?

Limited writings on Sŏng Hyeyŏng leave us with scant information about his background, beyond that he descended from a local *yangban* family (*hyangban* 鄕班) in South Kyŏngsang province.[62] In light of his close communication with Kang Wi and other *chungin* members in the Sixth Bridge, it is likely that his family had declined in status. Another noteworthy fact is that both Yi Ki and Paek Ch'unbae were official interpreters.[63] Yi Ki

was born into a typical interpreter family, with his father, grandfather, maternal grandfather and father-in-law all serving as interpreters. After passing the imperial examinations in 1880, Yi Ki became an official interpreter of Chinese responsible for delivering tributes. The poem *Farewell before Yi Nant'a Leave for Beijing* (*Song Yi nant'a puyŏn* 送李蘭坨赴燕) in Kang Wi's *Collections of Joint Chant by the Sixth Bridge*[64] provides a clue that Yi Ki was dispatched to Qing China at least once between 1880 and 1884.[65] In 1897, to celebrate Queen Victoria's (1819~1901) sixtieth birthday, Yi Ki accompanied the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary Min Yŏnghwan (閔泳煥 1861–1905) to Britain as the document officer (*sŏjanggwan* 書狀官), where he assisted the envoy in documenting their experiences and observations on the journey.[66] Yi Ki was also the editor of the *Collected Poems of Court and Country* (*Choyasisŏn* 朝野詩選, 1922), which contains 1130 poems written by 233 poets ranged from middle eighteenth century to early twentieth century. The *Collected Poems of Court and Country* represents the last poetry collection from the non-*yangban* group of the Chosŏn dynasty, with a significant portion contributed by poets who were interpreters and medical doctors from the Sixth Bridge.[67]

Paek Ch'unbae also hailed from a family of technical officials. His ancestors served in various technical roles, including interpreters, physicians, and painters. Paek Ch'unbae's eldest brother Yŏngbae (英培 1824–1879) was a painter and his second eldest brother Yongbae (容培 1837–1860) was an interpreter of Chinese.[68] In the absence of Paek Ch'unbae's name appearing on any roster of imperial examinations, it seems that he did not attend examinations. Paek Ch'unbae was among Kang Wi's closest students; in fact, Kang Wi even referred to Ch'unbae as a friend.[69] Meanwhile, Paek Ch'unbae studied under Yu Honggi (劉鴻基 1831–1884). This connection provided him access to Yu Honggi's networks, acquainting him with several politicians of the Enlightenment School (*Kaehwap'a* 開化派), including Kim Okkyun (金玉均 1851–1894). In 1882, in order to ascertain whether Russia would invade Chosŏn, Paek Ch'unbae was assigned as the investigator (*Ch'aet'amsa* 採探使) and dispatched to Vladivostok. In 1883, as Kim Okkyun served as the inspector of the exploitation of sea islands in the Southeast (*Namdong Chedo Kaech'ŏksa* 南東諸道開拓使), Paek Ch'unbae, appointed as the administrative officer, joined Kim Okkyun on a trip to Japan to negotiate funding issues.

The investigation of the two interpreters' biographies reveals that Yi Ki and Paek Ch'unbae both had extensive experience abroad. In the aftermath of the first and the second Opium Wars, the Qing government

was forced to open ports to Western countries, resulting in significant changes in the political, economic and social climate in East Asia. Scholars in Chosŏn were keenly interested in the tensions between the Qing dynasty and other nations, the evolution of domestic rebellions, and the Qing's defensive policies. Under these circumstances, interpreters became a valuable source of information and social gatherings, such as poetry exchanges, became ideal locations for Chosŏn *yangban* to seek relevant information from interpreters. As a consequence, the Chosŏn *yangban*'s perception of interpreters gradually evolved, as indicated in their poems written to the interpreters. In the poem *Farewell before Yi Nant'a Leave for Beijing*, the fellow members praised Yi Ki that "Talking about poems in Korea is merely an insignificant skill [for Mr. Yi]; indifferent to his reputation, he uses his excellent talent for current affairs (海内譚詩眞小技，高才當務笑浮名)." Following this, the fellow members pointed out: "[Mr. Yi] has always been concerned about the affairs of the state; this time, he will be the pioneer in collecting information from other countries (時憂總屬諸公事，此去先通萬國情)."[70] The *yangban*'s preference for establishing connections with individuals who had international travel experience is also clear in their relationships with Kang Wi. Kang Wi visited Beijing in 1873 and 1874, Tokyo in 1880 and 1882, and Shanghai in 1882. *Yangban* scholars greatly appreciated Kang Wi's poetry talent as well as his insights into the external world. As expressed in Hwang Hyŏn's memorial poem to Kang Wi, "he possessed extensive knowledge about foreign countries, and his ability to comprehend books enabled him to engage in vigorous debates with learned individuals (局外雙瞳通萬國，書中寸舌戰群儒)."[71]

Internal Relations

As shown in Figure 3, three clusters can be identified at varying distances from the core of the Sixth Bridge networks. This suggests that some members of the Sixth Bridge had a tendency to engage within a limited circle of associates. Several reasons may account for this, including the fact that some members' participation in the poetry gathering was ad hoc, and that some members only made appearances at gatherings organized by their acquittances. As per Hŏ Kyŏngjin's analysis, these poetry gatherings were hosted by different individuals each time, who potentially invited new participants through their personal networks.[72] How was the internal structure of the Sixth Bridge? What role did interpreters perform within the *chungin* society? To answer these questions, my second investigation

sheds light on the internal relations between interpreters and other members.

As shown in Figure 4, I divided the occupations of the members into five categories and represent them with different colors: green refers to the *yangban* who served as a bureaucrat at the court; blue refers to the *yangban* who only obtained a degree from examinations but did not obtain a position at the court; a pink node is a member who served as a lower-ranking official, such as medical doctors, accountants and palace eunuchs; yellow nodes represent ordinary literati without degrees or official positions, similar to Kang Wi; red nodes underscore the interpreters in the networks; and purple nodes denote artists. The networks indicates that all degree holders (the green and blue nodes) were not core members in the Sixth Bridge; rather, interpreters and ordinary literati were pivots of the poetry society. If we combine the green nodes potted in Figure 3, we find that most *yangban* participants in the Six Bridge either did not secure an official position or served merely as lower-ranking officials at the court.

As suggested by the degree centrality of each node (Table 2), the number of connections an individual built within the poetry society, we are

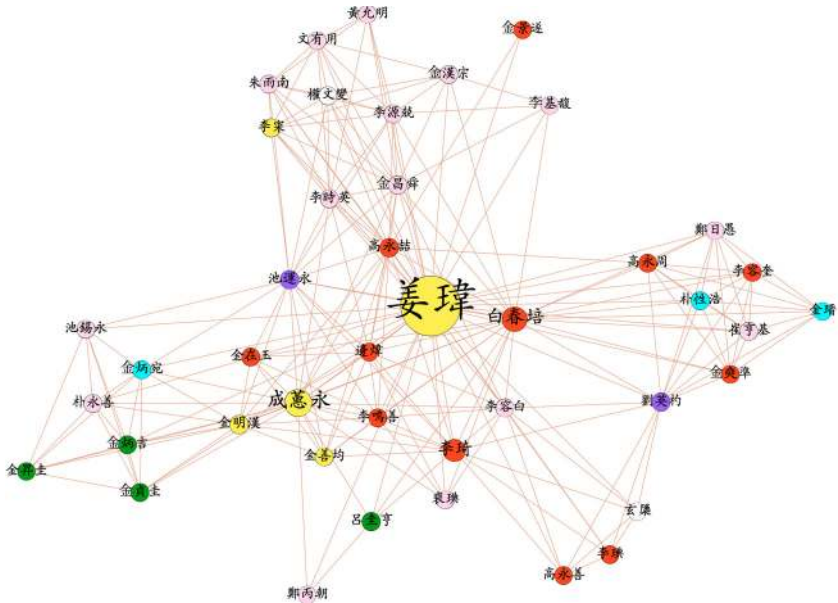

Fig. 4. The networks of members in the Sixth Bridge, colored by professions. Members who only have one connection with Kang Wi and whose occupation is unknown are omitted from the networks. The layout of the networks uses the Yifan Hu algorithm.

Table 2. The Ten Participants in the Poetry Society of the Sixth Bridge with the Highest Value of Degree Centrality

Node	Degree Centrality	Position
Kang Wi (姜瑋)	77	Literacy teacher
Paek Ch'unbae (白春培)	37	Interpreter
Sŏng Hyeyŏng (成蕙永)	35	Student, declined *yangban*
Yi Ki (李琦)	27	Interpreter
Chi Unyŏng (池運永)	21	Photographer
Kim Myŏnghan (金明漢)	19	Student
Pyŏn Wi (邊煒)	19	Interpreter
Ko Yŏngch'ŏl (高永喆)	19	Interpreter
Yŏ Kyuhyŏng (呂圭亨, 1848–1912)	18	Scholar-official
Kim Ch'angsun (金昌舜)	15	Palace eunuch

able to identify core members of the Sixth Bridge. Several interpreters, such as Yi Ki, Paek Ch'unbae, Pyŏn Wi, and Ko Yŏngch'ŏl, were the most core members of the Sixth Bridge. There are no obvious patterns in the distribution of interpreters' positions within the networks—the connections of interpreters were diverse since they were able to establish networks with a wide variety of participants. For instance, as indicated on the right of the networks, the small circle was formed among interpreters including Ko Yŏngju (高永周 1839–?), Kim Sŏkchun (金奭準 1831–1915), and Yi Yŏnggyu (李容奎 1825–?), in addition to two lower officials, a *yangban* scholar without a court position, and an artist. The harmony among various professionals within these networks suggests a comparable cultural status between interpreters and other participants. These participants range from literacy teachers, descendants from declined *yangban* families, students, petty officials, unsuccessful scholars, palace eunuchs, and artists.

On the other hand, interpreters' connections with bureaucrats were notably limited. Within the Sixth Bridge networks, bureaucrats and other members interacted in the following ways: the Andong Kim clan (安東金氏) officials, including Kim Pyŏnggil (金炳吉 1859–?), Kim Pyŏngwan (金炳宛 1858–?), Kim Sŭnggyu (金昇圭 1861–?), and Kim Chŏnggyu (金貞圭 d.u.), established a small cohort around the physician Pak Yŏngsŏn (朴永善 d.u.), who was recognized for first introducing the variolation method from Japan to Chosŏn; the scholar-official Yŏ Kyuhyŏng (呂圭亨 1848–1921), also a member of the South Poetry, exclusively established connections with members who were also part of

the South Poetry, including Kang Wi, Sŏng Hyeyŏng, Paek Ch'unbae and Chŏng Pyŏngjo (鄭丙朝 1863–1945; Chŏng Kŏnjo's brother). This discovery reinforces the idea that *yangban*'s participation in the Sixth Bridge was motivated by a profound purpose. The social gap between the *yangban* and the *chungin* did not diminish despite their shared participation in the same cultural activity. It is fair to conclude that these *yangban* members sought to glean information about foreign countries from *chungin*'s poetry gatherings, especially since they mainly formed connections with individuals with overseas experience. This echoes Cho Hwisang's observation that *yangban* elites' partnership with the *chungin* dissolved under the circumstance that the *yangban* were no longer depended on the *chungin* for the technological aid for printing and publishing.[73] In the same vein, the cultural ties established in poetry societies could cease to exist as soon as the *yangban* no longer relied on the *chungin* for foreign information.

Conclusion

This study investigated the social status of Chosŏn interpreters through cultural performance, with a particular focus on their involvement in poetry societies. At the heart of this study's approach lies the utilization of networks to assess interpreters' status. By employing methods for network visualization and analysis, I probed into issues like how the status of Chosŏn interpreters was in the cultural realm, how relations were between interpreters and other groups within poetry societies, and whether interpreters achieved upward mobility through participating in cultural activities.

Overall, the networks of the poetry societies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries exhibit limited interaction between the *yangban* and the *chungin*, indicating a clear social divide between the two groups. The cultural exchanges between the *yangban* and the *chungin* in the nineteenth century was concentrated on the interaction between the Sixth Bridge and the South Society, with Kang Wi acting as the principal intermediary. By studying interpreters' external relations with the South Society, I found that Kang Wi, Sŏng Hyeyŏng, Yi Ki, and Paek Ch'unbae played a crucial role as cultural brokers between the poetry societies. Therein, Kang Wi and Sŏng Hyeyŏng were members from declined *yangban*, and Yi Ki and Paek Ch'unbae were interpreters, who were both characterized by having extensive experience of traveling abroad. By examining the internal structure of the Sixth Bridge, I discovered interpreters had connections

with a wide range of professionals, indicating a similar cultural status between interpreters and other participants. However, the *yangban* members in the Sixth Bridge tended to interact within a tight-knit group and with individuals having experience in overseas travel. This suggests that, in the late nineteenth century, the cultural interaction between the *yangban* and the *chungin* was motived by the *yangban*'s curiosity about the external world was a primary motivator for cultural interactions with the *chungin*, and cultural activities like poetry gatherings offered ideal platforms for the *yangban* to forge connections with the *chungin*. The external and internal perspectives of interpreters' cultural status suggest that in the nineteenth century, the cultural status of the *chungin* was not fully the same as how they were categorized in the social hierarchy. In the cultural realm of the nineteenth century, the "*chungin*" include a broader group of people—rather than technical officials, secondary sons, petty officials, etc., unsuccessful scholars, lower officials, students and artists were all intertwined in the same networks. Meanwhile, the fact that some *chungin* conducted cultural exchange with the *yangban* does not necessarily indicate their upward social mobility. As we investigated, the *yangban*'s participation in the Sixth Bridge was rather limited, and the social gap between the *yangban* and the *chungin* did not cease because of cultural exchanges.

Furthermore, this study also incorporated Bourdieu's theory of social capital and social mobility to the context of Chosŏn Korea. By focusing on the cultural performance of Chosŏn interpreters, the result of this study reveals interpreters' limitations in the transformation of forms of capital: although Chosŏn interpreters had acquired a privileged status in accumulating economic capital and cultural capital, they failed to improve their social status through participating in poetry societies. The *chungin* were unable to overcome the social gap between themselves and the *yangban* by enhancing economic conditions or cultural sophistication. This substantiates the notion that, in Chosŏn society, upward mobility was restricted to the strata beneath the *yangban*; the *yangban* experienced only downward mobility and could not accommodate new members rising from lower-status groups.

Notes

1. The concept of the secondary status groups is proposed by Kyung Moon Hwang. Correspondingly, Kyung Moon Hwang uses the primary groups to refer to the aristocracy in the Chosŏn dynasty. Kyung Moon Hwang, *Beyond Birth: Social Status in the*

Emergence of Modern Korea (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004), distributed by Harvard University Press, 1–2.

2. The broad concept of the "*chungin*," also known as "the secondary status," refers to all social groups who occupied hereditary, endogamous tiers of government and society between the aristocracy and commoners, such as the technical specialists, clerks, local administrative functionaries, secondary sons of yangban fathers, local elites from the northern provinces, and petty military officers. The *chungin* I concentrate on in this study takes the narrow meaning of the term.

3. Kim, Doohun [Kim Tuhŏn], *Chosŏnsidae kisulchungin sinbun yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Kyungin Publishing, 2013).

4. Lee Nam Hee [Yi Namhŭi], "Chapkwajunginŭi t'agwa chinch'ul saye punsŏk-chosŏnhugiŭi sinbun yudongsŏnggwa kwallyŏnhaesŏ" [A Case Study of Chapkwa-Chungin's Pass of Another Examination—In Relations with Mobility of Social Status in the Late Choson Dynasty], *Yŏllinjŏngsin inmunhak yŏn'gu* 15, no. 2 (2014): 231.

5. Baek Ok-kyeong [Paek Okkyŏng], "Chosŏn chŏn'gi yŏkkwanŭi ch'ungwŏne taehan koch'al" [A Study on the Recruitment of Translators in the Earlier Chosŏn Dynasty], *The Chosŏn Dynasty History Association* 26, no. 0 (2003): 77–114.

6. With regard to the social performance of the *chungin* in the nineteenth century, a few scholars like Kyung Moon Hwang and Eugene Y. Park tend to associate the development of the *chungin* with the rise of modernity in Korea. Sun Joo Kim casts light onto the social inequality confronted by the *chungin* and offers insights into the rebellion of northerners and the T'ongch'ŏng Movements (通淸運動, "movements that opened up for prestigious posts"). See: Kyung Moon Hwang, *Beyond Birth: Social Status in the Emergence of Modern Korea* (Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004); Eugene Y. Park, *Between Dreams and Reality: The Military Examination in Late Choson Korea, 1600–1894* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007); Sun Joo Kim, *Marginality and Subversion in Korea: The Hong Kyongnae Rebellion of 1812* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2009); and Sun Joo Kim, "Fragmented: The T'ongch'ŏng Movements by Marginalized Status Groups in Late Chosŏn Korea," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 68, no. 1 (2008): 135–68.

7. Hiroshi Shikata, "Ri cho jinko nikansuru mibun kaikyu betsu teki kansatsu" [Observations on the Social Status of Chosŏn People], *Chosen keizai no kenkyu* 3 (1938): 481.

8. Javier Cha, "Bridging Korea Old and New: Guest Editor's Introduction," *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 32, no. 1 (2019): 7.

9. Yi Yun'gap, "Chosŏnhugiŭi sahoebyŏndonggwa chibaech'ŭngŭi tonghyang" [Social Changes in the Late Chosŏn Dynasty and the Development of Ruling Class], *Han'gukhangnonjip* 18, no (1991): 50.

10. Eugene Y. Park, *A Family of No Prominence: The Descendants of Pak Tokhwa and the Birth of modern Korea* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014), 29.

11. Changsu Kim, "Chosŏnhugi ŭi sahoebyŏndong" [Social Changes in the Late Chosŏn Dynasty], *Kosisa* 25, no. 1 (1979): 122.

12. M. Deuchler, *Under the Ancestors' Eye: Kinship, Status, and Locality in Premodern Korea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), 395.

13. Han Ugŭn, "Han'guk sahoe kyech'ŭng ŭi kŭndaehwa kwajŏng" [The Modernization of Korean Social Class], *Sasanggye* 8, no. (1960): 229.

14. Asquith Linda, *Rebuilding Lives After Genocide: Migration Adaptation and Acculturation* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), 40.

15. Harrison C. White, *Identity and Control* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 1.

16. P.D. McLean, *The Art of the Network: Strategic Interaction and Patronage in Renaissance Florence* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 226.

17. Javier Cha, "To Build a Centralizing Regime: *Yangban* Aristocracy and Medieval Patrimonialism," *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 32, no. 1 (2019): 37.

18. Hwisang Cho, "The Community of Letters: The T'oegye School and the Political Culture of Choso˘n Korea, 1545–1800" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2010), 1.

19. John S. Lee, "The Rise of the Brokered State: Situating Administrative Expansion in Chosŏn Korea," *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 32, no. 1 (2019): 81–108.

20. Timothy R. Tangherlini, "Big Folklore: A Special Issue on Computational Folkloristics," *The Journal of American Folklore* 129, no. 511 (2016): 8.

21. The names of *sisa* participants used in this research are based on Kyŏngjin Hŏ's investigation. See: Kyŏngjin Hŏ, *Chosŏn wihang munhaksa* (Seoul: T'aehaksa, 1997).

22. Gephi: https://gephi.org/, developed by Netbeans. Gephi is an interactive graph and network analysis and visualization tool that allows users to study different types of networks, including complex networks, hierarchical networks, dynamic networks, and temporal networks. It has a lot of ready-to-use features that allow users to create visualizations and conduct statistical analysis. See Devangana Khokhar, *Gephi Cookbook: Over 90 Hands-on Recipes to Master the Art of Network Analysis and Visualization with Gephi* (Birmingham & Mumbai: Packt Publishing, 2015), 1.

23. *Han'gukkojŏn chŏnghap DB inmulgwan'gye chŏngbo* [Relational Information of People in Korean Classics], developed by the Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics, https://db.itkc.or.kr/people/.

24. Stijn Daenekindt and Henk Roose. "Cultural Chameleons: Social Mobility and Cultural Practices in the Private and the Public Sphere," *Acta Sociologica* 56, no. 4 (2013): 309–10.

25. John Scott, "Social Class and Stratification in Late Modernity," *Acta Sociologica* 45, no. 1 (2002): 33.

26. Michael James Grenfell, ed., *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*, vol. 2nd ed. (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2014), 91.

27. A. Swidler, "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies," *American Sociological Review* 51, no. 2 (1986): 273, 277.

28. In accordance with the calculation based on rosters of miscellaneous examination from 1498 to 1894 (in 177 rounds), there were 2976 passers of translation subjects, 1548 passers of medicine, 865 passers of astronomy, and 726 passers of law. The passers of translation subjects occupied 48.7% of the total examination passers. See: Lee Nam Hee, Chapkwa ŭi chŏn'gaewa chunginch'ŭngŭi tongyang, *Han'guksa simin'gangjwa* [The Development of Miscellaneous Examinations and the Movement of the *Chungin*], vol. 46 (2010): 160.

29. P. Bourdieu and S. Emanuel, *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996).

30. According to Bourdieu, economic capital refers to "material assets which are immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights." See: P. Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by J.G. Richardson, translated by R. Nice (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 241.

31. "象胥之家, 皆衣錦繡." See *Hujaesŏnsaengjip* 厚齋先生集, vol. 3, available at the Database of Korean Classics, accessed June 18, 2021, http://db.itkc.or.kr/inLink?DCI=ITKC_MO_0426A_0030_010_0090_2003_A155_XML.

32. "象胥多簪玉 褊裨摠履珠." See *Ogojaejip* 玉吾齋集, vol. 2, 270. Available at the Database of Korean Classics, accessed June 18, 2021, http://db.itkc.or.kr/inLink?DCI=ITKC_MO_0447A_0020_010_1310_2004_A171_XML.

33. P. Bourdieu, P. Champagne, J. Duval, F. Poupeu, Reviere, and P. Collier, *Forms of Capital* (Cambridge, UK; Medford, MA: Polity Press, 2021), 161.

34. Michael James Grenfell, ed., *Pierre Bourdieu*, 102.

35. Hwisang Cho, "Literary Powerhouse from the Social Margins: Poetry Societies of Secondary Status Groups in Late Chosŏn Korea," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 140, no. 4 (2021): 826.

36. Ray-May Hsung, Nan Lin, and Ronald L. Breiger, *Contexts of Social Capital: Social Networks in Markets, Communities and Families* (Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge: 2009), preface.

37. P.D. McLean, *The Art of the Network*, 226.

38. Eugene Y. Park, *A Family of No Prominence*, 48.

39. See Chŏng Okcha, *Chosŏn hugi chungin munhwa yŏn'gu* [A Study of *Chungin* Culture in the Late Chosŏn Dynasty] (Seoul: Ilchisa, 2014); Cha Yongju, *Han'guk wihang munhak chakga yŏn'gu* [A Study of Korean Civilian Writers] (Paju: Kyungin Publishing, 2003); Chŏng Husu, *Chosŏnhugi chunginmunhak yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Kipŭnsaem, 1990).

40. The Noble Gathering of the Bamboo Grove consists of seven distinguished literati, who were also known as the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove (*Chungnimch'irhyŏn* 竹林七賢). In addition to Yi Illo, the other six literati were O Sejae (吳世才 1133–?), Im

Ch'un (林椿 d.u.), Cho T'ong (趙通 1143–?), Hwangbo hang (皇甫抗 d.u.), Ham Sun (咸淳 ?–1204), and Yi Tamji (李湛之 d.u.). See: "時李仁老·吳世才·林椿·趙通·皇甫抗·咸淳·李湛之等, 自以爲一時豪俊, 結爲友, 稱七賢." Chŏng Inji (1451), *Koryŏsa*, kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe, ed., vol. 102, yŏlchŏn 列傳 15, accessed July 20, 2022, http://db.history.go.kr/id/kr_102_0010_0020_0010.

41. The Society of Elderly Men in East of the Sea, existed in the early thirteenth century, was a literary community comprised of retired bureaucrats. The Koryŏ civil vassal Ch'oe Tang (崔讜 1135–1211) was the leader of the community. See: "讜, 少聰悟, 善屬文 . . . 與弟守太傅詵, 及太僕卿致仕張自牧·東宮侍讀學士高瑩中·判秘書省致仕白光臣·守司空致仕李俊昌·戶部尙書致仕玄德秀·守司空致仕李世長·國子監大司成致仕趙通等, 爲耆老會, 逍遙自適." Chŏng Inji (1451), *Koryŏsa*, kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe, ed., vol. 99, yŏlchŏn 列傳 12, accessed July 20, 2022, http://db.history.go.kr/id/kr_099_0010_0020_0100.

42. The Society of Elderly Talents was a literary community comprised of retired bureaucrats in the early fourteenth century. The principle members include the civil official Ch'ae Hongch'ŏl (蔡洪哲 1262–1340) and the scholar Kw ŏn Bu (權溥 1262–1346). See: "蔡洪哲 . . . 時邀永嘉君權溥以下國老八人, 爲耆英會." Chŏng Inji (1451), *Koryŏsa*, kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe, ed., vol. 108, yŏlchŏn 列傳 21, accessed July 20, 2022, http://db.history.go.kr/id/kr_108_0010_0060.

43. Hyung Soo Lim, "Munjibŭl t'ongae pon iilloŭi kyoyu kwan'gye" [Yi Ii-Lo's Social Interchange seen through Anthologies], *Sa Chong* [The Historical Journal] 83, no. 0 (2014): 72–4.

44. "碧松亭下華山陲, 雲淡風輕日正遲。宛似羲之脩禊處, 還如點也詠歸時。斜陽影裏傳觴急, 長笛聲中舞袖垂。嗟我不才參席末, 斯文高會共論詩。" Pyŏksongjŏng kyeŭm [Drinks under the Green Pine Pavilion on the Third Day of the Third Lunar Month] by Kwŏn Ch'ae in *Tongmunsŏn* 東文選, vol. 17, accessed July 20, 2022, http://db.itkc.or.kr/inLink?DCI=ITKC_GO_1365A_0200_010_0810_2007_001_XML.

45. *Tanjong sillok* (1453/05/19).

46. Cho, "Literary Powerhouse," 822.

47. Chŏng Husu, *Chosŏnhugi chunginmunhak yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Kipŭnsaem, 1990), 249–51.

48. Chŏn Pyŏngsik, *Chosŏnhugi chunginsisa yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Kukhakcharyowŏn, 1991), 32–3.

49. Chŏn Pyŏngsik, *Chosŏnhugi chunginsisa yŏn'gu*, 32.

50. Chŏng Husu, *Chosŏnhugi chunginmunhak yŏn'gu*, 252.

51. Hŏ, *Wihang munhaksa*, 78–9.

52. H. Yifan, "Efficient and High Quality Force-directed Graph Drawing," *The Mathematica Journal*, 10, no. 1 (2005): 37–71.

53. Ibid., 257.

54. Ibid., 168–367.

55. The three official scholars were Chŏng Wŏnyong (鄭元容 1783–1873), Cho Tusun (趙斗淳 1796–1870), and Yun Chŏngyŏn (尹定鉉 1793–1874). See *P'ungyo samsŏn*, preface.

56. Bae, Ki-pyo [Bae Kip'yo], "Yukkyosisaŭi kyŏlsŏnggwa sisegye – kangwiŭi yukkyoyŏnŭmjibŭl chungsimŭro" [The Composition and Word of Sixth Bridge Sisa – Based on Kang wi's Yukgyoyeoneumgip], *Hanmun hakpo* 27, no. 1 (2012): 193.

57. In this paper, I mainly the Biographical Information System of Korean Historical Figures [Yŏktaeinmul chongapchŏngbo sisŭt'em] (http://people.aks.ac.kr/index.aks) as the reference to determine the social status of individuals: if an individual had record attending miscellaneous examinations (*chapkwa* 雜科), his status is marked as the *chungin*; if an individual was an protected appointee (*ŭmgwan* 蔭官), his status is marked as the *yangban*; for successful candidates from civil service examinations (*mungwa* 文科), military examinations (*mugwa* 武科), and licentiate examinations (*samasi* 司馬試) before the nineteenth century, they are recognized as the *yangban*; individuals born into declining military families like Kang Wi is marked as the *muban* (武班).

58. Thomas M.J. Fruchterman and Edward M. Reingold, "Graph Drawing by Force-Directed Placement," *Software, Practice & Experience* 21, no. 11 (1991): 1129–64. https://doi.org/10.1002/spe.4380211102.

59. Mathieu Jacomy, Tommaso Venturini, Sebastien Heymann, and Mathieu Bastian, "ForceAtlas2, a Continuous Graph Layout Algorithm for Handy Network Visualization Designed for the Gephi Software," *PloS One* 9, no. 6 (2014): e98679, https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0098679. Stephen G. Kobourov, "Force-Directed Drawing Algorithms," in *Handbook of Graph Drawing and Visualization*, ed. Roberto Tamassia (Boca Raton, Florida: CRC Press, 2013), 383–408.

60. Bae, Ki-pyo [Pae Kip'yo], "Yukkyosisa," 201.

61. According to Bae Ki-pyo, Kim Chaeok attended in the poetry gathering of the Sixth Bridge twelve times, and both Yi Yongbae and Pak Sŭngyŏk attended ten times. Bae, Ki-pyo [Pae Kip'yo], "Yukkyosisa," 199–200.

62. Bae, Ki-pyo [Pae Kip'yo], "Yukkyosisa," 199.

63. According to Bae, Ki-pyo, Sŏng Hyeyŏng was from a local yangban family (*hyangban* 鄕班) in South Kyŏngsang province. [Pae Kip'yo], "Yukkyosisa," 199.

64. Bae, Ki-pyo [Pae Kip'yo], "Ch'ugŭm kangŭiŭi haeoegihaengsi yŏn'gu 秋琴 姜瑋 海外紀行詩 研究" [(A) Study on Poems on Trip Abroad of Kang Wi] (Ph.D. diss., Sungkyunkwan University, 2008), 46.

65. *The Collection of Joint Chant by the Sixth Bridge* is a compilation of poems from gatherings of the Poetry Society of the Sixth Bridge, which existed between 1874 and 1884. See: Bae, "Yukkyosisaŭi kyŏlsŏngg," 195.

66. The travelogue about their journey is titled *Sayŏngdŏgaŭibŏboilgi* (使英德俄義法墺日記 "Travels to Britain, Germany, Russia, Italy, France and the Austro-Hungarian Empire"). However, the embassy did not continue the journey after they visited Britain, and the travelogue ends at the record about journey to Britain. See: Min Yŏnghwan,

Sayŏngdŏgaŭibŏboilgi (1897), Jangsoekgak Archive (document No. K2-3478). The embassy's boat departed from Incheon on March 24th, passing through Shanghai, Nagasaki, Tokyo, Singapore, India, North Africa via the Red Sea, arriving in Turkey and crossing the Suez Canal. The Embassy entered Russia on May 14th through the port of Odessa, and then took a train to Saint Petersburg. Afterwards, the embassy visited Berlin, the Netherlands and finally arrived in London on June 5th. For more information on their travel, see: Kim, Won-Mo, "Han'gugŭi yŏngguk ch'ukhasajŏltan p'agyŏn'gwa han·yŏng oegyogwan'gye" [Korean Congratulatory Mission to the Great Britain and Korea-British Relations, 1883–1905], *Tongyangsa* 32 (2002): 96–103.

67. Younggyu Han, "Choyasisŏnŭi p'yŏnjewa t'ŭksŏng" [The Style and Characteristics of Joyashiseon], *Han'gukhansiyŏn'gu* 24 (xxxx): 274–75.

68. Noh, Dae-Hwan, "Paekch'unbae (1844~1887) ŭi ch'aet'amsa hwaltonggwa taerŏsia insik" [Baek Chunbae's Activities as an Inspector Envoy and His Perception of Russia], *Yŏksamunhwayŏn'gu* 46 (2013): 141.

69. Han, "Choyasisŏn," 253.

70. Song Yi nant'a puyŏn 送李蘭坨赴燕 in *the Collection of Joint Chant by the Sixth Bridge*, kimbŏpsik p'ilsabon version. See: Bae, Ki-pyo [Pae Kip'yo], "Ch'ugŭmgangwi," 46.

71. Hwang Hyŏn, *Maech'ŏnjp* [Collected Works of Hwang Hyŏn], 1864–1910, vol. 1, accessed July 20, 2022, http://db.itkc.or.kr/inLink?DCI=ITKC_BT_0660A_0030_080_0010_2011_001_XML.

72. Hŏ, *Wihang munhaksa*, 322–7.

73. Cho, "Literary Powerhouse," 838.

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