

Special Feature

The Fundamental Studies Concerning
Classical Chinese Literature
and the Associated Compilation of Texts
with Collected Commentaries
during the Reign of Sejong

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Introduction

King Sejong did not leave *shi* poetry (Chinese classical poetry) although he wrote Korean-language poems. The first volume of the *Sejo sillok* includes one piece of the “Mongjungjak” (Writing in a Dream 夢中作) and it is also included in the “Sejong eoje” 世宗御製 of the *Yeolseong eoje* 列聖御製, but I regard this piece as a forgery.

King Sejong read the *Ou Su shoujian* (*Letters between Ouyang Xiu and Su Shi* 歐蘇手簡) thoroughly (Sim 2016a), but he did not study how to write *shi* poetry and hence he did not write and leave *shi* poetry actively through his entire life. However, he established fundamental studies of classical Chinese literature such as phonologies and the manner of compiling literature. He also determined the scope of Classics and compiled texts with collected commentaries of major Classics. In addition, he put an emphasis on patterns of speculation in parallelism originated from the way of thinking of classical Chinese literature and made use of parallelism in writing in a large measure. Thus he founded the base of the Joseon culture and established patterns of speculation. This study explores abovementioned points.

In mid- to late Goryeo, the most influential monographs on Korean phonology and classical Chinese literature were the *Libu yunlüe* (*Concise Rhymes of the Ministry of Rites* 禮部韻略) and the *Gujin yunhui juyao* (*Condensed Version of the Ancient and Modern Collection of Rhymes* 古今韻會舉要). The Joseon court was deeply interested in the publication and compilation of rhyme books from the very beginning. On the 16th day of the second month of 1444 (the 16th year of Sejong’s reign) Sejong commanded Jiphyeonjeon editor Choe Hang and others to translate the *Gujin yunhui juyao* by substituting the Hunmin jeongeum (the Korean alphabet—the literal meaning of this term is “proper sounds to instruct the people” 訓民正音) for *fanqie* 反切 marks in the text. However, it would appear that this project was interrupted. The project of translating the *Gujin yunhui juyao* was substituted with that of the compilation of the *Hongmu jeongun yeokhun* (*Interpretations and Instructions Regarding the Hongwu zhengyun* 洪武正韻譯訓) and at the same time, the compilation of the *Dongguk jeongun* (*Standard Rhymes of the Eastern State* 東國正韻) was prioritized (Jeong 2002, 68-70). What seems to have happened was that, on the 16th day of the second month of 1444, Sejong commanded Jiphyeonjeon editor Choe Hang and Jiphyeonjeon subeditor Bak Paengnyeon to translate the *Gujin yunhui juyao* into *hangeul*,

and this project then led to the compilation of the *Dongguk jeongun*. Prince Anpyeong was put in charge of this latter project along with the crown prince (or Munjong) and Prince Jinyang (or Prince Suyang). In 1447, the *Dongguk jeongun* was completed, and in the following year it was published in six volumes. The Konkuk University Library preserves the entire Volumes and the Gansong Art Museum has Volumes one and six. Around that time the *Samun tonggo* was completed by an unknown person.

In the seventh month of 1448 (30th year of Sejong’s reign), Sejong wanted to establish a Buddhist shrine in the vicinity of the palace for Queen Soheon and in the back yard of the secondary Royal Shrine. On the 5th day of the eighth month, Prince Suyang and Prince Anpyeong began to construct a Buddhist shrine next to the palace. On the 5th day of the twelfth month, the Buddhist shrine was constructed and there was a feast for five days. Gim Suon’s 金守溫 *Sari yeongeunggi* records what happened at that time. Sejong commanded Sinmi, the chief Buddhist monk of the Daeja Buddhist shrine and his brother Gim Suon to compose the *Sambul yechammun* (*Eulogy for Three Buddhas* 三佛禮讚文) and he himself created seven new songs of “Ang hongja-gok” (Song of Deep Kindness 仰鴻慈曲), “Bal daewon-gok” (Song of Praying for a Great Wish 發大願曲), “Yung seondo-gok” (Song of Promoting the Proper Way 隆善道曲), “Myo inyeon-gok” (Song of Strange Karmic Relationships 妙因緣曲), “Po beopun-gok” (Song of Bestowing Buddha’s Clouds 布法雲曲), “Yeon gamrogok” (Song of Spreading Sweet Dew 演甘露曲), and “Ui jeonghye-gok” (Song of Concentrated Meditation and Wisdom 依定慧曲). Concurrently he decided the following nine cantos: “Gui sambo” (Devoting to Three Treasures 歸三寶), “Chan beopsin” (Hymn for Darmakaya 贊法身), “Chan bosin” (Hymn for Samboga-kaya 贊報身), “Chan hwasin” (Hymn for Incarnation 贊化身), “Chan Yaksa” (Hymn for Bhaisajyaguru 贊藥師), “Chan Mita” (Hymn for Amita Buddha 贊彌陀), “Chan samseung” (Hymn for Trini-yanani 贊三乘), “Chan palbu” (Hymn for the Eight Regions 贊八部), and “Hui myeongja” (Wishes over Joss Paper 希冥資).¹ I suspect that he himself composed as many as nine

1. Deputy commander Bak Yeon 朴堧, fifth secretary Im Dong 林童, Palace Music Bureau officers Gim Yunsan 金允山, Hwang Gwijon 黃貴存, assistant secretary of Eunuch Bureau An Chungwon 安忠彦 were commanded to make palace musicians practice these songs. Prince Suyang received the new score and was in charge of this task. 45 men played musical instruments and two blew bamboo pipes. Ten people sung and ten children danced holding blue, yellow, red, and white lotus flowers; yellow and white king peony; and yellow, red, and white peony (*Sigujip* 拭堧集, “Sari yeongeung-gi” 舍利靈應記, Chapter 2, Giryu 記類).

pieces of pentasyllabic poems of six lines in 1448. I suggest that Gim Suon presumably translated what Sejong dictated or wrote in *hangeul* into *shi* poem.

Besides in order to promote his civil officials' scholarship and literature Sejong reprinted separate collections or selected collections of Chinese Classics or commanded Jiphyeonjeon scholars to arrange commentaries to make compilations that suggest "correct meanings." At the time he published books using movable types of the Gyeongja font, the Gabin font, and the Byeongjin font. He bestowed these books to his retainers and commanded that provincial government offices recompose fonts and publish those books. Among editions compiled by the central government, important ones were the *Jumungonggyo Changryeo seonsaengjip* (*Han Yu's Collection Edited by Zhu Xi* 朱文公校昌黎先生集) and the *Chanjubunryu Dusi* (*Annotated and Categorized Du Fu's Poems* 纂註分類杜詩). The Joseon court regarded Han Yu's writings as models of classical Chinese literature. It reprinted Han Yu's collected works or compiled them to publish in provincial areas as well as in the capital. In 1419 (the first year of Sejong's reign) Wei Zhongju's 魏仲舉 *Wubaijia zhu yinbian Changli ji* (*Han Yu's Collection Annotated by Five Hundred Masters* 五百家註音辯昌黎集) was published in Jinju. In 1438 (the 20th year of Sejong's reign) following the royal command, Choe Manri 崔萬理, Gim Bin 金鑣, Yi Yeong-seo 李永瑞, and Jo Su 趙須 published the newly compiled *Jumungonggyo Changryeo seonsaengjip* using a movable type. This newly compiled *Jumungonggyo Changryeo seonsaengjip* was a book that referred to commentaries from Zhu Xi's *Hanwen kaoyi* (*Examining Han Yu's Writing* 韓文考異), Wei Zhongju's *Wubaijia zhu yinbian Changli ji*, and Han Chun's 韓醇 *Xinkan xungu Tang Changli xianshen wenji* (*Newly Published Annotated Collection of Master Han Yu of Tang* 新刊訓詁唐昌黎先生文集) and selected those commentaries (Sim 1999b). It contains most of the commentaries of the *Hanwen kaoyi* and *Wubaijia zhu yinbian Changli ji* (Gim 2002, 143-210). It was printed in the mixed-and-restored Gabin font, which was recomposed later during Myeongjong's and Seonjo's reign periods. After that it was again published with the Gyeongjin font (recast Gyeongjin font) and was republished with Hunryeondogam 訓鍊都監 font (Gyeonggo font) during the reign of Prince Gwanghae.

In addition, to promote poetics Sejong distributed the *Xuanshi yanyi* (*Selected Poems with Interesting Interpretations* 選詩演義) that was printed in the Gyeongja font in the 10th month of 1422 (the 4th year of Sejong's reign),

and in 1434 (the 16th year of Sejong's reign) he bestowed the same book to his retainers. In 1435 (the 17th year of Sejong's reign) he published the *Bunryuboju Yi Tae-baek si* (*Categorized Poems of Li Po with Annotation* 分類補註李太白詩), and the *Dang Ryu seonsaeng jip* (*Collection of Master Liu of Tang* 唐柳先生集) in 1440 (the 22nd year of Sejong's reign) with the Gabin font. Moreover, he published the *Tang shi guchui* (*Advocation of Tang Poems* 詩鼓吹) and the *Xu guchui* (Sequel to *Advocation of Tang Poems* 續鼓吹) with the Gabin font. Before that in 1439 (the 21st year of Sejong's reign) he made the *Shiren yuxie* (*Poets and Exquisite Writings* 詩人玉屑) published with a woodblock. In the fourth month of 1443 (the 25th year of Sejong's reign) Sejong commanded that commentaries to Du Fu's poems should be put together. Prince Anpyeong was in charge of this project and six men including Sin Seokjo 辛碩祖 and Gang Seokdeok 姜碩德 were responsible for practical tasks.² On the 27th day of the fourth month in 1443, Sejong commanded the chief Buddhist monk of Yangju Hoeam Buddhist temple 檜巖寺 Cheonbong 千峯 (his sobriquet was Manu 卍雨), who was well-versed in Du Fu's poems, to move to the Heungcheon Buddhist temple 興天寺 as a chief Buddhist monk. Around this time Prince Anpyeong led six Jiphyeonjeon scholars to collect previous commentaries to Du Fu's poems, and as a result the *Chanjubunryu Du si* was completed in 25 volumes with one volume of the table of content. Incomplete volumes of the *Chanjubunryu Du si* printed in woodblock are preserved in the Mansong Library at Korea University. This edition was carved with the character style of the first-cast Gabin font. Its feature include the type page of triple-petal-flower-pattern fishtails and large black mouths. It is likely that this edition was achieved after recomposing the first-cast Gabin font. Later in 1481 (the 12th year of Seongjong's reign) Yu Yun-gyeom 柳允謙 and several retainers began to compile the *Bunryu Du Gongfu si eonhae*, which is so-called *Du si eonhae*.³

This study explores the level of *sobak* (minor learning) and philology, or fundamental studies, related to classical Chinese literature which was prevalent

2. See Bak Paengnyeom's 朴彭年 "Preface to the 'Samjeol si'" 三絶詩序 in *Bak seonsaeng yugo* 朴先生遺稿: "正統八年夏四月, 上命會粹子美詩註. 于時, 鷲山辛公以下凡六人爲屬官. 匪懈堂實摠裁焉."

3. According to Jo Sin's 曹伸 *Somun soerok* and Seong Hyeon's 成顯 *Yongjae chonghwa*, Yu Yungyeom was a nephew of Yu Bangseon who studied Du Fu's poems under Buddhist monk Uichim's 義碯 guide. Yu Yungyeom's understanding of Du's poems was based on Uichim's teaching.

during the Sejong period, and examines how this level was reflected in the nature of annotated editions (of the Classics), and the way in which works became classified as Classics via the publication of collected commentaries. It also looks at the fact that the parallel structure 對偶 was considered an important factor when compiling classical Chinese literature, which led to this parallel structure being adopted in Korean verses too.

Phonology of Sejong's Reign Period

In 1375 or the eighth rein year of Ming Taizu, the *Hongwu zhengyun* (*Correct Rhymes of Hongwu* 洪武正韻) was published. This rhyme book was influential on phonology and the Hunmin jeongeum scholarship of early Joseon. The *Hongwu zhengyun*, what was also called *Hongwu tongyun* 洪武通韻, arranged 206 rhymes into 76 rhymes.⁴ Compilers of the *Hongwu zhengyun* thought that they should begin dividing human voice into seven sounds and establish phonetic value clearly in order to harmonize sounds, so they began the first paragraph of the preface to the *Hongwu zhengyun* as follows:

After men are created, there are sound. The sound appears then seven voices come into existence. What is called seven voices are velar, coronal, labial, dental, guttural, as well as “semi-coronal” and “semi-dental” sounds. Wise men examine and understand such points, divide them into categories of clear and muddy sounds, and determine them as *jue*, *zhi*, *gong*, *shang*, *yu*, as well as half-*shang* and half-*zhi*. Thereupon sounds of the world are completely included here. Therefore sounds are the beginning of rhyme books.⁵

The *Hongwu zhengyun* was influential on Joseon phonology by suggesting consonants and vowels.⁶ The compilers of the *Hongwu zhengyun* said that they

compiled it to rectify difference of dialects and phonetic confusion of different eras. However, the *Hongwu zhengyun* reflected sounds of Nanjing, which was the capital of Ming, China; it divided entering tone (or checked tone); it did not divide level tone into upper level and lower level. In its initial system, unlike 20 initials in the northern Chinese languages, it takes 31 initials like the Wu dialect system, and it preserved wholly-muddy sounds. In other words, the compilers of the *Hongwu zhengyun* said in the preface that they categorized Chinese sounds into 76 rhyme headings of 22 tones each for level tone, rising tone, and departing tone, and 10 tones for entering tone, and that they referred to the *Chongxiu fu shiwen Libu yunlüe* (*Revised Concise Rhymes of the Ministry of Rites with Interpretation* 重修附釋文禮部韻略, 1223) for commentaries.⁷ The northern Chinese languages, practically speaking, had four-tone system of upper level tone, lower level tone, rising tone, and departing tone: wholly muddy sounds and codas of entering tones were lost; level tone was divided into upper level and lower level tones. Therefore the *Hongwu zhengyun* was based not on real phonetic value but on the *dushu yin* 讀書音 (literary pronunciation). At first the *Hongwu zhengyun* had 76 rhymes, but later a new text with 80 rhymes appeared. The original text with 76 rhymes had wholly muddy initials in all the 22 rising tone rhyme groups, but in the new text with 80 rhymes placed all the wholly muddy rising tone characters under the departing tone rhyme and completely changed name of rhyme groups (Ning 2003). Later in Ming dynasty, Zhang Fu's 章黼 *Yunxue jicheng* (*Collection of Phonology* 韻學集成) divided level tones into 30 groups and entering tones into 17 groups based on “literary pronunciation.” He assigned 17 groups of entering tones to 30 groups of level tones, but 13 rhymes of *zhi* 支, *wei* 微, *qi* 齊, *jia* 佳, *hui* 灰, *yu* 魚, *yu* 虞, *xiao* 蕭, *yao* 肴, *hao* 豪, *ge* 歌, *ma* 麻, and *you* 尤 did not include entering tones.

In this rhyme chart, four characters of *jian* 見, *ji* 溪, *jun* 群, and *yi* 疑 are velars 牙音; *duan* 端, *tou* 透, *ding* 定, and *ni* 泥 are alveola stops 舌頭音; *zhi* 知, *che* 徹, *cheng* 澄, and *niang* 娘 are retroflex stops 舌上音; *bang* 幫, *pang* 滂, *bing* 並, and *ming* 明 are bilabials 重唇音; *fei* 非, *fu* 敷, *peng* 奉, and *wei* 微 are labial-dentals 輕唇音; *jing* 精, *xin* 心, *qing* 清, *cong* 從, and *xie* 斜 are alveolar affricates and fricatives 齒頭音; *zhao* 照, *shen* 審, *chuan* 穿, *chuang* 牀, and *shan* 禪 are retroflex affricates and fricatives 正齒音; and *ying* 影, *xiao* 曉, *xia* 匣, and *yu* 喻 are glottals. Later phonology tried to assign seven sounds 七音 within the scope of the *dengyunxue* 等韻學. The seven sounds refer to five sounds 五音 of *gong* 宮, *shang* 商, *jue* 角, *zheng* 徵, *yu* 羽, and *banshangyin* 半商音 plus *banzhengyin*. In the *dengyunxue* these refer to labial 唇音, coronal 舌音, velar 牙音, dental 齒音, glottal 喉音, semi-coronal 半舌音, and semi-dental 半齒音.

7. The original text is as follows: “其音譜韻協者併入之, 否則析之, 義同字同而兩見者合之, 舊避宋諱而不收者補之, 注釋則一依毛晃父子之舊, 勒成一十六卷, 計七十六韻, 共若干萬言書奏, 賜名曰洪武正韻, 勅臣濂爲之序。”

4. *Siku quanshu zongmu tiyao* 四庫全書總目提要, Jingbu 經部, Xiaoxue lei 小學類.

5. The original text is as follows: “人之生也. 則有聲, 聲出, 而七音具焉. 所謂七音者, 牙舌唇齒喉及舌齒各半是也. 智者察知之, 分其清濁之倫, 定爲角徵宮商羽, 以至於半商半徵, 而天下之音, 盡在是矣. 然則音者, 其韻書之權輿乎?”

6. At first initials 字母 were originated from Tang Buddhist monk Shouwen 守溫 who brought the theory of 36 initials 三十六字母說. Another Tang Buddhist monk Shengong 神珙 and Sima Guang 司馬光 and Zheng Qiao 鄭樵 of Song also claimed this theory. Sima Guang's *Qieyun zhizhangtu* 切韻指掌圖 categorizes initials into five sound of labial 唇音, coronal 舌音, velar 牙音, dental 齒音, and glottal 喉音.

In the fourth month of 1416 (the 16th year of Taejong's reign) there was a royal command to publish *Dongguk yagun* which was compiled by Ha Ryun.⁸ A column of 15th day of the fourth month of the 16th reign year of Taejong says, "His Highness commanded to print the *Dongguk yagun* (*Abridged Rhymes of Korea* 東國略韻) compiled by Second State Councilor Ha Ryun and to distribute it to the court and other people." It seems that the *Dongguk yagun* was printed in the Gyemi font. This book is still lost. Later Sejong mulled over the problem of determining ideal pronunciations for Sino-Korean characters.

Dongguk jeongun, Compiled under Royal Command of Sejong

The *Dongguk jeongun* was a rhyme book completed in 1448 (the 30th year of Sejong's reign).⁹ It includes a preface by Sin Sukju 申叔舟, a table of content for 26 rhyme categories and 91 rhyme headings, and a main body. According to the preface, nine people of Choe Hang 崔恒, Seong Sammun 成三問, Bak Paengnyeon 朴彭年, Yi Gae 李塏, Gang Huian 姜希顔, Yi Hyeonro 李賢老, Jo Byeonan 曹變安, and Gim Jeung 金曾 including Sin Sukju himself was involved in the compilation. The *Dongguk jeongun* was published after the Hunmin jeongeum was created, but it is likely that its compilation began before the compilation of the *Hunmin jeongeum*. The compilers of the *Dongguk jeongun* were the same six people, who participated in translating the *Gujin yunhui juyao*, and Seong Sammun, Jo Byeonan, and Gim Jeung were also added. Chinese characters included in the *Dongguk jeongun* were 18,775 (the number is reduced to 14,243 after excluding repetitive characters) and it does not include interpretations of characters. It does not give *fanqie* but hangeul for pronunciation. The rhyme heading chart of the *Dongguk jeongun* corresponds to the table of content of the rhymes of the *Gujin yunhui juyao*,

8. An entry of 15th day of the fourth month of the 16th year of Taejong in *gwon* 31 of *Taejong sillok* reads: "命印左議政河崙撰進東國略韻頒諸中外."

9. Gansong Art Museum and Konkuk University Library hold this book. The edition preserved in the former museum are Chapters 1 and 6 that were discovered in Andong in 1940. *Hangeul* and large-size Chinese characters of the main body are printed in woodblock. The small-size characters of the main body and large characters in the preface are printed in the first-cast Gabin font. The edition preserved in Konkuk University Library is printed in the same font of the first edition. It is a complete edition of 6 chapters in 6 fascicles. It was discovered in Gangreung in 1972.

not only groups characters into rhymes 韻 and homophone groups 小韻, but explicitly labels the homophone groups with the name of one of the 36 initials. In other words, the internal structure of dividing up rhymes 內部分韻 explicitly includes both a set of rhymes and a set of initials, collectively called *zimu yun* 字母韻 (Jo 1999). The *Gujin yunhui juyao* followed the tradition 107 rhymes of the *Renzi xinkan Libu yunlüe* (*Newly Compiled Concise Rhymes of the Ministry of Rites in Renzi Year* 壬子新刊禮部韻略), but actually it represents actual pronunciation of Yuan by a set of rhymes and a set of initials. For instance, under the rhyme *dong* 東, there are three sets of rhymes and initials of *gong* 公, *gong* 弓, and *xiong* 雄. Its order is different from ordinary Chinese rhyme books including the *Hongwu zhengyun*. In other words, it classifies Chinese characters: first depending on codas and vowels; next according to 23 initials of the characters that belong to the same rhyme; finally based on tones (Nam 1964, 1966; Yu 1966, 1968; Yi 1968; Seong 1971; Jeong and Seong 1973; Han 1985; Gwon 1985; Gang 1988, 2000; Jeong 2002; Jang et al. 2003).

Table 1.

Coda 韻尾	Rhyme Group 韻類	Rhyme Headings 韻目				
		level 平聲	rising 上	departing 去	checked 入	
Yang Coda 陽韻尾	-o[n]	扼, 觥, 肱, 公, 江, 弓, 京	1. 扼	肯	亘	亟
			2. 觥	礦	橫	號
			3. 肱			國
			4. 公	拱	貢	穀
			5. 江	講	降	覺
			6. 弓	重	穹	匆
			7. 京	景	敬	隔
	-l[n]	根, 昆, 干, 君, 韃	8. 根	懇	艮	訖
			9. 昆	袞	論	骨
			10. 干	筭	旰	葛
			11. 君	麴	據	屈
			12. 韃	蹇	建	訐
	-o[m]	簪, 甘, 箝	13. 簪	瘁	譖	戢
			14. 甘	感	紺	閤
			15. 箝	檢	劍	劫

Coda 韻尾		Rhyme Group 韻類	Rhyme Headings 韻目			
			level 平聲	rising 上	departing 去	checked 入
Yin Coda 陰韻尾	- ㅁ [w]	高, 鳩	16.高	杲	誥	
			17.鳩	九	救	
	- ㅅ [o]	賁, 傀, 佳, 媯, 雞, 孤, 歌, 拘, 居	18.賁	紫	恣	
			19.傀	隗	僎	
			20.佳	解	蓋	
			21.媯	軌	媿	
			22.雞	啓	鬪	
			23.孤	古	顧	
			24.歌	哥	箇	
			25.拘	矩	屨	
		26.居	舉	據		

Chinese rhyme books put emphases on three principles of dividing four tones, rhyme headings, and initials, but the *Dongguk jeongun* takes 91 rhyme headings as the principal criteria of classification, divides characters into 26 rhyme categories after combining rhyme headings of four tones into one, and takes tones as final criteria. Its principle of containing Chinese characters is as follows: 1) rhyme categories 韻類: 26 rhyme categories; 2) nucleus: 11 vowels; 3) initials: 23 initials; and 4) tones: 4 tones.

The preface written by Sin Sukju suggests the following principles: 1) it takes the most popularly used pronunciation for polyphones; 2) it is not against the traditional rule of *xieyun* (to amend the pronunciation of a character in a rhyming couplet that is perceived as not rhyming). The former is related to define a main pronunciation of polyphones and the latter indicates that it deals with other pronunciations of polyphones truthfully based on the *xieyun* theory.

The phonetic system of the *Dongguk jeongun* was adjusted based on the *Gujin yunhui juyao*, but the former has 23 initial systems while the latter has 36 initial system. The initial system of the former has seven sounds and clear-muddy distinction, but it does not divide seven sounds in detail. The initial system of the former follows that of the latter, but it further divides initials of *ji* 知, *cheol* 徹, and *jing* 澄 into coronals 舌音 and dentals 齒音. In addition the rhyme system of the *Dongguk jeongun* was based on actual pronunciation, but adjusted *kaihe* (the open- and closed-mouth distinction 開合), *yunwei* (usually

refers to final consonants or final vowels [semi vowels] 韻尾), and some special characters only. Unlike Middle Chinese, a phonological system from Sui to early Song, the *Dongguk jeongun* unites most of division I rhymes and division II rhymes and does not distinguish division IV rhymes from division III rhymes.

In addition, Sin Sukju mentions features of the Sino-Korean pronunciation as follows in the same preface (Jo 2011):

- (a) No distinction between alveolar stops and retroflex stop sounds
- (b) No distinction between bilabial and labial-dental sounds
- (c) No distinction between alveolar affricates/fricatives and retroflex affricates/fricatives
- (d) No wholly muddy sounds
- (e) Chinese wholly muddy initials are pronounced as wholly clear in Sino-Korean pronunciation, but in some cases they are pronounced as second clear h-. In native Korean we have many second clear kh-initials, but in Sino-Korean pronunciation we have only *kwae*.
- (f) Glottal coda in entering tone -t is pronounced as -l.

According to his description, initials of Sino-Korean pronunciation of the time was as follows:

ㅂ	ㅅ	ㅈ	ㅊ	ㅌ	
ㅃ	ㅆ	ㅉ	ㅑ	ㅕ	ㅎ
ㅍ	ㅍ		ㅇ		
	ㄷ	ㄷ			

The compilers of the *Dongguk jeongun* added a system of wholly muddy sounds to initials that reflected actual pronunciation and composed a 23-initial-system. They also created a mark of ㅍ, which is a mark that adds 影 initial ㅍ to 來 initial ㄷ 以影補來式 in order to restore glottal coda in entering tone.

ㅂ	ㅅ	ㅈ	ㅊ	ㅌ	ㅎ
ㅃ	ㅆ	ㅉ	ㅑ	ㅕ	ㅎ
ㅍ	ㅍ		ㅇ	ㅇ	
	ㄷ	ㄷ			

of Northern Chinese languages. Regarding this problem, he consulted Chinese scholars for several times. During Munjong’s reign period, besides Sin Sukju, No Sam 魯參, Gwon In 權引, and Im Wonjun 任元濬 took the responsibility of its revision (Yi 1968; Jeong 1972; Bak 1983; Gang 1989; Gim 1999; Gang 2000).

Originally the *Hongwu zhengyun* gives a period (a punctuation mark), where initials change. But the *Hongmu jeongun yeokhun* of Joseon prints initials with a white character like 明, 滂. In addition, the *Hongmu jeongun yeokhun* does not follow the distinction of initials of the *Hongwu zhengyun*, but the *Hongmu jeongun yeokhun* (*Interpretation and Instruction of the Hongwu zhengyun* 洪武正韻譯訓) sometimes revised the distinction of initials after examining and approving it. For example, in the woodblock printing edition of the *Hongwu zhengyun* of 1567 (a Chinese edition preserved in the Hwasan Collection 華山文庫 of Korea University), the beginning part of the 15th rhyme of *ma* 禡, a rising-tone character, is arranged like “禡[莫駕切]·貉·罵·偽 ○伯[反切 注音 韻音] ○怕[普駕切]...” But the woodblock printing edition of the *Hongmu jeongun yeokhae* of 1455 (preserved in the Hwasan Collection of Korea University) deleted a period before *bai* “伯.” The compilers of the *Hongmu jeongun yeokhae* regarded that this character belongs to the next initial *ming* “明,” because there is no *fanqie* transcription in *bai* “伯,” and they thought that the initial does not change there.

Table 2.¹⁰

洪武正韻	洪武正韻譯訓
十五禡 禡[莫駕切。師旅所止地祭名。『詩』：“是類是禡。”『禮記』：“禡於所征之地。”亦作貉。] 貉[『周禮』「肆師」：“祭表貉則爲位。”注：“貉，師祭也。”釋文：“貉，莫駕切。鄭音陌。又藥陌二韻。”] 罵[惡言詈也。上从𠂔，音罔。俗作罵。] 偽[『詩』「吉日」：“既伯既禡。”注：“祭馬祖也。”] ○伯[『詩』「吉日」：“既伯既禡。”注：“祭馬祖也。”] ○怕[普駕切，畏懼也。又藥韻]	十五禡 明[禡[莫駕切。師旅所止地祭名。『詩』：“是類是禡。”『禮記』：“禡於所征之地。”亦作貉。] 貉[『周禮』「肆師」：“祭表貉則爲位。”注：“貉，師祭也。”釋文：“貉，莫駕切。鄭音陌。又藥陌二韻。”] 罵[惡言詈也。上从𠂔，音罔。俗作罵。] 偽[『詩』「吉日」：“既伯既禡。”注：“祭馬祖也。”] 滂[『詩』「吉日」：“既伯既禡。”注：“祭馬祖也。”] 怕[普駕切，畏懼也。又藥韻]

10. I compared the woodblock printing edition the *Hongwu zhengyun* of 1567 (a Chinese edition preserved in the Hwasan Collection 華山文庫 of Korea University) and the woodblock printing edition of the *Hongmu jeongun yeokhae* of 1455 (preserved in the Hwasan Collection of Korea University). I have not had a chance of looking through the earlier editions of the *Hongwu zhengyun* yet.

When the compilers of the *Hongmu jeongun yeokhae* transcribed Sino-Korean pronunciation with *hangeul*, they referred to the *Gujin yunhui juyao* as well as the *Hongwu zhengyun*. The *Hongmu jeongun yeokhae* analyzed *fanqie* sound of the *Hongwu zhengyun* and figured out 31 initials. It also indicates “popular pronunciation” 俗音 after researching Chinese northern dialects of the time.

When we look through the entire structure of the *Hongmu jeongun yeokhae*, it classifies rhymes into 22 rhyme categories and 76 rhyme headings according to four tones and rhyme headings. In the beginning of a minor rhyme, it marks an initial with a white character in a square, transcribes title characters of homophone groups 小韻代表字 with *hangeul*, and indicates the title characters of homophone group. Then it copies *fanqie* from the original book with interlinear commentaries, and when necessary, it gives popular pronunciation, commentaries to pronunciation, and commentaries for meaning of characters.

Commentaries to pronunciation are marked in the medial of “ㄷ, ㅈ, ㅊ” as is shown in “差 ㄷ, 刪 산, 蕭 설, 包 방, 歌 거, 芳 방, 覃 ㄷ.” For example, *cha* 差 is followed by “其聲稍深, 宜以ㄷ之間讀之,” and *ga* 歌 is followed by “若直讀以ㅈ, 則不合時音, 特以口不變, 而讀如ㅈ一之間, 故其聲近於ㄷ,” which is identical to the of the *Saseong tonggo*.

The *Hongmu jeongun yeokhae* reduces the original 36 initials to 31 by deleting “知, 徹, 澄, 泥, 敷.” Compared with 23 initials of the *Dongguk jeongun*, it has 3 more initials of “light lip sounds” 脣輕音 of “非 ㅈ, 奉 ㅍ, 微 ㅍ,” and 5 more initials of dental sounds, which can be divided into retroflex affricates and fricatives 正齒音 “ㄱ, ㅋ, ㆁ, ㆁ, ㆁ,” and alveolar affricates and fricatives 齒頭音 “ㄷ, ㅌ, ㄴ, ㄴ, ㄴ.” Among 22 rhyme categories, 13 have coda such as “ㄱ, ㄴ, ㄷ, ㄹ, ㅁ, ㅂ, ㅅ, ㅆ.” Among them, for those characters with entering tone coda of “ㄱ, ㄴ, ㄷ” the *Hongmu jeongun yeokhae* marks popular pronunciation with final “ㅅ” and it indicates the reality that entering tones disappeared in Chinese northern dialects.

The *hangeul* initials of the time were 23, but the *Hongmu jeongun yeokhae* made out more *hangeul* initials to mark 31 initials of the *Hongwu zhengyun*.

In terms of structure and content, there is no difference in the *Saseong tongghae* and the *Saseong tonggo*. However, in indicating initials, the former records all the Sino-Korean pronunciation with *hangeul* and marks tones with side dots 傍點, while the latter records pronunciation only for level tone, and for rising tone and departing tone it does not give side dots (Jeong 2002, 180).

The *Saseong tonggo* included in Choe Sejin's *Saseong tongghae* contains the following explanatory notes of 10 items:

- (a) We set up initials (initials from the *Hongmu jeongun yeokhun*) and indicate actual Chinese pronunciation that are not accordant with the rhyme chart and rhyme books under *fanqie* with the mark of “popular pronunciation.”
- (b) Rising tone, departing tone, and entering tone characters with wholly-muddy initials are close to clear sound, but they can be distinguished. Initials of level tone characters are close to second-clear sound, but their sound ends straight and low. Muddy sound that changed to wholly-clear sound ends a bit strong.
- (c) Retroflex stop sounds become identical with retroflex affricates and fricatives.
- (d) Among “light lip sounds” initial *bi* 非 and *bu* 敷 are undistinguishable, and they are merged into initial *bi*.
- (e) Our dental sounds are in the middle of alveolar affricates/fricatives and retroflex affricates/fricatives. The *Hunmin jeongeum* does not distinguish them. But now we distinguish them as follows: alveolar affricates/fricatives are “ㄸ, ㅌ, ㅍ”; and retroflex affricates/fricatives are “ㄲ, ㅋ, ㆁ.”
- (f) Initial *yu* 喻 is “ㅇ,” while initial *ui* 疑 is “ㅇ.”
- (g) Korean pronunciation is “light and shallow,” while Chinese pronunciation is “heavy and deep.” “Wide mouth” 張口 sounds such as “ㅏ, ㅑ, ㅓ, ㅕ” and “narrow mouth” 蹙口 sounds “ㅗ, ㅛ, ㅜ, ㅠ” are different from those of Chinese pronunciation. Their “ㅏ” is a sound between “ㅏ” and “ㅑ.”
- (h) Initials in entering tones are different between northern Chinese dialects and southern Chinese dialects. In addition, they are different in each rhyme book. But finals are identical: we take “ㄱ, ㄷ, ㅌ” as final. In popular sounds, we use wholly clear guttural sound “ㅇ” as a

final for all rhymes, while we use wholly clear “light lip sound” “빙” as a final for rhyme “藥.”

- (i) Every Sino-Korean pronunciation is supposed to have a final but guttural sound “ㅇ” is not clear. Without it, a character still completes its sound naturally, so we do not use it.
- (j) Every Sino-Korean pronunciation has not a dot for level tones; two dots for rising tones; one dot for departing tones and entering tones.

In the first item, *tu* means the rhyme charts and *yun* means rhyme books. Just like Choe Sejin's *Saeong tongghae* did, it is likely that the *Saseong tonggo* referred to the *Guang yun* (*Expanded Rhymes* 廣韻), the *Wuyin jiyun* (*Five Sounds and Collected Rhymes* 五音集韻), the *Gujin yunhui juyao*, the *Menggu yunlüe* (*Abridged Rhymes of Mongolia* 蒙古韻略), the *Zhongyuan yinyun* (*Sounds and Rhymes of the Central Plain* 中原音韻), and the *Zhongyuan yayin* (*Elegant Sounds of the Central Plain* 中原雅音).

Choe Sejin's Sokcheom Hongmu jeongun

Choe Sejin's 崔世珍 *Sokcheom Hongmu jeongun* (*Revised and Expanded Hongwu zhengyun* 續添洪武正韻) supplements the *Hongmu jeongun yeokhun* so that readers can understand Chinese pronunciation logically. It also intends to help understanding of Chinese by adding “contemporary popular pronunciation” 今俗音 (Gim 1966). It was printed in woodblock in two volumes. Now the first page of Chapter 105 of the first volume is extant, which covers Chapter 9 of the *Hongwu zhengyun*.

The second article of the explanatory notes of Choe Sejin's *Saseong tongghae* reads that “The *Saseong tongghae* is entirely based on the *Hongwu zhengyun* in its selection of characters and correct/popular pronunciation. But there are many characters popularly used but their correct rhymes are missing or erroneous, therefore now we add some referring to other rhyme books” 字之取捨, 音之正俗, 專以洪武正韻爲準. 但以俗所常之字而正韻遺闕者多矣, 故今並增添或以他韻參補之. So it can be inferred that this article indicates the motive of the compilation of *Sokcheom Hongmu jeongun*. Choe Sejin compiled the *Saseong tongghae* to supplement the *Saseong tonggo* and the scale of the *Hongmu jeongun*.

Punctuation and Tone Mark of Sejong's Reign Period

According to the entry of the 29th day, 9th month, 28th reign year of Sejong (*jiawu* 甲午 day) in Chapter 113 of the *Sejong sillok*, what is often called chapter *yeui* 例義 in the *Hunmin jeongeum haerye* edition was written by King Sejong himself. In addition, in this entry of the *Sejong sillok* there is no *haerye* (interpretation and examples 解例), and right after the *yeui* chapter Jeong Inji's writing is attached, which is called the preface. It is likely that Jeong Inji's preface includes the *yeui* and the *haerye*. In other words, his preface seems to be a preface to the entire *Hunmin jeongeum haerye* edition.

The *Hunmin jeongeum haerye* edition well explains the fact that based on phonology *hangeul* was created to transcribe the structure of Korean phoneme clearly. In addition, it analyzes each phoneme within a structure of consonant-vowel-(final) consonant. It borrows its theories from the *Zhou yi* and the "theory of three powers" (heaven, earth, and man 三才論) and it also emphasizes the role of *ji* 地, or vowels. In so doing, it includes a humanistic perspective as well as a phonological perspective. In this paper, we will not discuss principles of making letters of the *Hunmin jeongeum*, but the structure of the *Hunmin jeongeum haerye* edition for its content.

The *Hunmin jeongeum haerye* edition is printed in the Xiexing calligraphy style 偕行體 that is similar to that of Zhao Mengfu's 趙孟頫 Songxue calligraphy style 松雪體. It is allegedly written by Prince Anpyeong. Some characters are variant forms of Chinese characters.

The format of *Sejong eoje* is 7 lines per each page and 11 letters per each line. The *haerye* is 8 lines per each page and 13 letters per each line. Jeong Inji's preface is 8 lines per each page and 14 letters per each line (*jeoilgeok* 低一格, or indented by one letter-space, which means there is actually 13 letters per a line). It skips a line 跳行 to indicate honorific 尊待格. It has one case (before the title of fourth mentor to Crown Prince 世子右賓客) for *gonggyeok* (to leave space before a respectable person or words related to that person 空格), where it skips a line, and outdents 出格; it does not skip a line and outdent by one or two-letter space at the same time 擡頭, but makes the beginning of a line parallel with other lines 平出. *Gyeol* 訣, or verse is printed in 7 letters per a line. In the *haerye*, there is *gyeol* of verse. This *gyeol* does not use the form of *wonang ssangdaegyeok* (writing two lines parallel 鴛鴦雙對格), but the manner of *di sange* (to indent by three letter-space 低三格), which makes 7 letters of a line 句 (half-line 半句 by

Korean terminology). In so doing, it locates this *gyeol* right in the middle of a line, which is supposed to contain 13 letters.

Table 5.

<i>Sejong eoje</i> 世宗御製	Half of the outer square of the printed text has 7 lines. One line has 11 characters.	Skipping a line 跳行. Writing one or two letters ahead compared to the first letter of other lines 平出. For each initial, it skips a line; it writes the next line after indenting one-letter-space 低一格.
<i>Haerye</i> 解例	Half of the outer square of the printed text has 8 lines. One line has 13 characters.	Skipping a line. Writing one or two letters ahead compared to the first letter of other lines. Gyeol 訣 is written after indenting three-letter-space 低三格. It locates seven characters in the middle of a line for 13 characters.
Jeong Inji's Preface 鄭麟趾序	Half of the outer square of the printed text has 8 lines. One line has 14 characters. It writes the next line after indenting one-letter-space 低一格, so actually there are 13 characters in a line.	Skipping a line. Writing one or two letters ahead compared to the first letter of other lines. It leaves space before a respectable person or words related to that person 空格. One place in this preface: above the title fourth mentor to Crown Prince 世子右賓客.

The content of the *Hunmin jeongeum haerye* edition is different in its use of punctuations of semi-stop 讀點/逗點, full-stop 句點, and tonal-note 聲調點 (the scholarly term is *gwonbal* 圈發) as follows:

“Sejong eoje” (Sejong's Own Writing 世宗御製)

“Eoje bareo” (Introductory Speech of the *Eoje* 御製發語): Originally semi-stop and full-stop were used separately and it is likely that it included tonal-note. But the extant edition of the Gansong Art Museum is missing front two pages, which were supplemented by future generations, so it does not have distinction between semi-stop and full-stop but uses “white-circles” 白圈點. In addition, it does not indicate tonal-note.

“Eoje bonmun” (Main Body of the *Eoje* 御製本文): distinction of semi-stop and full-stop, indication of tonal-note.

“Haerye” (Interpretation and Examples 解例)

“Jejaha” (Interpretation of Creating Letters 制字解), “Choseonghae” (Interpretation and Onset 初聲解), “Jungseonghae” (Interpretation of Nucleus 中聲解), “Jongseonghae” (Interpretation of Coda 終聲解)

“Hapjahae” (Interpretation of Compound 合字解): distinction of semi-stop and full-stop, indication of tonal-note.

“Yongjarye” (Examples of Wording 用字例): distinction of semi-stop and full-stop, no indication of tonal-note because there is no case of split reading 破讀.

“Jeong Inji’s Preface” 鄭麟趾序: distinction of semi-stop and full-stop, indication of tonal-note.

The *Hunmin jeongeum haerye* edition is the first book that is distinct with principles of punctuation and indication of tonal note for split reading. After the creation of the *Hunmin jeongeum*, they compiled the *Yongbi eocheon ga* 龍飛御天歌, which clearly displayed punctuation with phonetic transcription 注音.

- (a) It established principles of punctuation and uses full-stop and semi-stop accurately not only in the main body but in the intercalated notes with smaller characters in double-line 雙行小注.
- (b) It gives tonal notes or *fanqie* phonetic value in annotation 註解 for characters with difficult pronunciation 難讀 or special meaning. It also gives tonal notes 圈發 with white circle for characters of split reading 破讀 one by one in the main body and the intercalated notes with smaller characters.

Gwon Je 權躔, Jeong Inji 鄭麟趾, and An Ji 安止 compiled songs and verses of the *Yongbi eocheon ga*, and presented the “Memorandum of the *Yongbi eocheon ga*” 進龍飛御天歌箋 to Sejong along with the *Yongbi eocheon ga*. This commentary, along with the “Preface to the *Yongbi eocheon ga*” that was written by Jeong Inji alone, illuminates that the *Yongbi eocheon ga* songs were created in Korean first and then they were interpreted to tetra-syllabic poetry in Chinese. The “Commentary to the *Yongbi eocheon ga*” begins with: compilers’ names with their titles and the phrase *-deungeon* ([after enumerating people’s names] and so forth say 等言). When it was included in Volume 44, the section of petition and memorandum 表箋 of the *Dongmunseon* 東文選, its ending remark (“what have been compiled are 125 chapters of songs and verses altogether... repeatedly kowtowing we make understatement”), was deleted too. Below is the “Commentary to the *Yongbi eocheon ga*” in which the beginning is the phrase

sindeungeon ([after enumerating retainers’ names] and so forth say 臣等言). Punctuations of the commentary look as follows (In vertical writing full-stop is attached at the lower right corner, while I horizontally write the original text attaching “.” at the lower right corner instead of full-stop here):

臣等言。伏以積德累仁蔚啓洪祚。撰功紀實宜播歌章。肆慕蕪詞。庸徹睿鑑。竊惟。根深者未必茂。源遠則流益長。周詠縣瓜推本其所自出。商歌玄鳥追敘其所由生。是知王者之作興。必賴先世之締造。惟我本朝。司空始顯於羅代奕葉相承。穆王初起於朔方景命已兆。聯翼度而毓慶。及聖桓而發祥。恩信素孚人之歸付者非一二世。禎符屢現天之眷顧者殆數百年。太祖康獻大王。挺上聖之資。應千齡之運。揮神戈而奮威武迅掃夷戎。受寶籙而布寬仁輯綏黎庶。太宗恭定大王。英明邁古。勇智絕倫。炳幾先而建邦家功高億載。戡禍亂而定社稷德冠百王。偉累世之鴻休。與前聖而駢美。盍形歌詠。昭示來今。恭惟主上殿下。惟一惟精。善繼善述。道洽政治霽然德澤之旁霑。禮備樂和煥乎文物之極著。念惟歌詩之作。屬茲隆泰之期。臣等。俱以雕篆之才。濫叨文翰之任。謹採民俗之稱頌。敢擬朝廟之樂歌。爰自穆祖肇基之時。逮至太宗潛邸之日。凡諸事蹟之奇偉搜撫無遺。與夫王業之艱難敷陳悉備。證諸古事。歌用國言。仍繫之詩。以解其語。畫天地摹日月雖未極其形容。勒金石被管絃少有揚於光烈。儻加省納。遂許頒行。傳諸子傳諸孫知大業之不易。用之鄉用之國至永世而難忘。所撰歌詩總一百二十五章。謹繕寫裝潢隨箋以聞。上塵睿覽。下情無任慚懼戰汗屏營之至。頓首頓首謹言¹¹

11. Translation of this passage is as follows:

Allow your subjects to speak: “In our humble thoughts, because [forefathers of our dynasty] strove after virtue and benevolence, they were guided to take the grand royal throne as heaven-bestowed fortunes; we should write their achievements and record their actual contributions to spread these by song. So now we collected our coarse lyrics so that Your Highness thoroughly discerns them. As we mull over, when roots are deep then branches inevitably become prosperous; when the origin is far then streams become longer and longer. Zhou chanted the “Mianguo” 縣瓜 to infer the root that it was originated from. Shang sung the “Xuanniao” 玄鳥 to trace the beginning where it was born. Thus we know that the rise of royal sovereigns is inevitably dependent on earlier generations’ foundation. As we examine our dynasties, Ministry of Work, Yi Han 李翰 (the progenitor of Joseon royal clan) first appeared in Silla dynasty. Mokjo rose in the north and the great heaven’s mandate was already indicated. Ilkjo and Dojo cultivated favors associated with Heaven in succession, which manifested during sagacious Hwanjo’s age. They were inherently kind and faithful and people turned to them generation after generation. Auspicious tokens indicative of Heaven’s favor appeared many times; Heaven cared for them for several hundred years. Taejo, the Great Gangheon King, his personal faculties as a sovereign were outstanding and worthy of thousand year’s cycle. Wielding the divine

The punctuation system of the *Yongbi eocheon ga* can be explained as follows:

- (a) Full-stop is inserted after the subject. For example, when subjects are respectable persons like “太祖康獻大王,” “太宗恭定大王,” and “恭惟主上殿下,” or they are honorific such as “臣等” then they insert full-stop at the lower right corner of the final character.
- (b) In the sentence, which is composed of a subject part and an acting part, they insert semi-stop at the middle-right corner of the final character, then they insert full-stop at the lower right corner of the final character.
- example) 是知王者之作興。必賴先世之締造。
俱以雕篆之才。濫叨文翰之任。

glave he raised military prestige and swept other peoples in the north. He received a prestigious sign presaging a founding emperor's accession to the throne. He was magnanimous and benevolent and made all the people be amiable and at ease. The Gongjeong Great King, Taejong was more sagacious than people of antiquity; his courage and wisdom was peerless. He was bright enough to discern omen and obtained achievements of establishing a state. His accomplishments will last for one hundred thousand years. His innate power was superior to hundreds of other kings: he recovered from disasters and put down rebellions; he stabilized the state. His achievements through many kings' reigns can be comparable to previous sage kings in their beauty. How do we not represent them in songs and verses to let current and future people know about them? As we mull over, Your Highness are exclusively constant and sincere, good at carrying on kingcraft from earlier generations and identifying yourself with the royal cause. The way is ample and political affairs are well governed. Your Highness' copious kindness and charity extended to people. Rites are prepared and music is harmonized, which manifests extremely great cultural achievements. As we bear in mind, composing songs and verses belongs to this prosperous and peaceful era. With all due respect your subjects have some trifling skills of writing and have been holding positions of composing official documents. Reverently we collect paeans and eulogies popular among common people, and dare to compare them to music and song of the Royal Ancestral Shrine. Thereupon we have searched through great and wonderful accomplishments without remnants and explained in details about difficulties of founding a dynasty and continuing the royal statesmanship from the time when Mokjo founded the base to the time before Taejong ascending the throne. We were based on things of antiquity and used our language for songs. Thereupon we attached *shi* poems and gave interpretations to them. We were unable to accomplish ultimate descriptions in drawing heaven and earth and imitating sun and moon, but if we carve them in metal or stone and accompany musical instruments, then that will praise splendid glories a little. By any chance if Your Highness look into them and accept them to allow us to publish and distribute them, then they will inform sons and grandsons of difficulties of founding and keeping thrones; if they would be used in the court and provincial areas then they will be unforgettable for eternally. What we have compiled are altogether 125 chapters of songs and verses. Reverently we copied and combined them with durable bind and present them with this memorandum. Your Highness might be uncomfortable with reading them. Thinking of this your subjects are much obliged with feeling ashamed, terrified and with sweating in horror. Keep kowtowing we reverently present our words.

- (c) When evenly arranged 齊言 two lines make one unit in terms of meaning, then they insert semi-stop at the middle-right corner of the final character in the former line. They insert full-stop at the lower right corner of the final character in the latter line.

example) 偉累世之鴻休。與前聖而駢美。

盍形歌詠。昭示來今。

念惟歌詩之作。屬茲隆泰之期。

證諸古事。歌用國言。

仍繫之詩。以解其語。

儻加省納。遂許頒行。

- (d) When two lines make a rhyming couplet of a single sentence, they put semi-stop in the middle of the space after the final character of the former line 出句, 前句, and they put full-stop at the right corner of the space after the final character of the latter line 對句, 後句.

example 1) tetra-syllabic + tetra-syllabic

肆纂蕪詞。庸徹睿鑑。

英明邁古。勇智絕倫。

惟一惟精。善繼善述。

example 2) penta-syllabic (1+4) + penta-syllabic (1+4)

挺上聖之資。應千齡之運。

example 3) hexa-syllabic (2+4) + hexa-syllabic (2+4)

謹採民俗之稱頌。敢擬朝廟之樂歌。

example 4) octo-syllabic (2+6) + octo-syllabic (2+6)

爰自穆祖肇基之時。逮至太宗潛邸之日。

example 5) sentence of condition and consequence (~則~)

+ sentence of condition and consequence (~則~)

根深者未必茂。源遠則流益長。

example 6) phrase of connective 而 + phrase of connective 而

聯翼度而毓慶。及聖桓而發祥。

揮神戈而奮威武。迅掃夷戎。受寶籙而布寬仁。輯綏黎庶。

example 7) bisyllabic+hexasyllabic+tetrasyllabic

|| bisyllabic+hexasyllabic+tetrasyllabic

凡諸事蹟之奇偉。搜撫無遺。與夫王業之艱難。數陳悉備。

example 8) tetrasyllabic+tetrasyllabic || tetrasyllabic+tetrasyllabic

積德累仁。蔚啓洪祚。撰功紀實。宜播歌章。

example 9) tetrasyllabic+hexasyllabic || tetrasyllabic+hexasyllabic

周詠絲瓜推本其所自出。商歌玄鳥追敘其所由生。

example 10) heptasyllabic+tetrasyllabic || heptasyllabic+tetrasyllabic

司空始顯於羅代奕葉相承。穆王初起於朔方景命已兆。

example 11) heptasyllabic (3+而+3)+tetrasyllabic

|| heptasyllabic (3+而+3)+tetrasyllabic

炳幾先而建邦家功高億載。戡禍亂而定社稷德冠百王。

example 12) tetrasyllabic+heptasyllabic || tetrasyllabic+heptasyllabic

道洽政治霏然德澤之旁霑。禮備樂和煥乎文物之極著。

example 13) heptasyllabic (3+3)+heptasyllabic

|| heptasyllabic (3+3)+heptasyllabic

傳諸子傳諸孫知大業之不易。用之鄉用之國至永世而難忘。

example 14) nonasyllabic (4+5)+tetrasyllabic

|| nonasyllabic (4+5)+tetrasyllabic

恩信素孚人之歸付者非一二世。禎符屢現天之眷顧者殆數百年。

(e) When the structure is “hexasyllabic (3+3)+hexasyllabic (3+3)” and when two lines do not make a rhyming couplet, they do not put semi-stop in between two lines.

example 1) 畫天地摹日月雖未極其形容。

勒金石被管絃少有揚於光烈。

傳諸子傳諸孫知大業之不易。用之鄉用之國至永世而難忘。

(f) In the ending remark including the cliché in the commentary, they use semi-stop only.

example 1) 所撰歌詩總一百二十五章。謹繕寫裝潢隨箋以聞。上塵睿

覽。下情無任慚懼戰汗屏營之至。頓首頓首謹言

The use of semi-stop and full-stop in the *Hunmin jeongeum haerye* edition and the *Yongbi eocheon ga* is development of the punctuation editions that were compiled in early Joseon.

The followings are important examples of punctuation editions that were compiled in early Joseon:

(a) The *Sishu daquan* (*Complete Commentaries to the Four Books* 四書大全) and the *Wujing daquan* (*Complete Commentaries to the Five Classics* 五經大全) of Sejong and *Sishu jishi zhangtu tongyi dacheng* (*Great Completion of Collected Interpretation and Illustration in*

Principle on the Four Books 四書輯釋章圖通義大成) after Myeongjong were printed based on Ming edition with punctuation of semi-stop and full-stop as well as sectional circle mark 圈點 in white circle. After mid-Joseon, they did not use the punctuation of sectional circle mark in the *Sishu daquan* and the *Wujing daquan*. For example, the *Daxue zhangju daquan* (*Complete Commentaries to Chapters and Phrases of the Great Learning* 大學章句大全) and the *Zhongyong zhangju daquan* (*Complete Commentaries to Chapters and Phrases of the Doctrine of the Mean* 中庸章句大全) reprinted in the Eulhae wooden plate 乙亥字版 preserved in the Hōsa Library 蓬左文庫 do not have the punctuation of sectional circle mark.

(b) The *Ouyang lun fan* (*Examples of Disquisition by Ouyang* 歐陽論範), study materials for composition of *lun* (disquisition 論) compiled by Ouyang Qiming 歐陽起鳴, of two volumes in two fascicles printed in the Gapjin font preserved in the Cabinet Archive 內閣文庫 of the National Archives of Japan 國立公文書館, includes the punctuation of sectional circle mark.

(c) Books for moral teaching of early Joseon in *hangeul* editions include the punctuation of sectional circle mark for readers' convenience. The *Samgang haengsildo* (*Illustrated Guide to the Three Relations* 三綱行實圖) printed in 1481 (the 12th year of Seongjong's reign) and the *Iryun haengsildo* (*Illustrated Guide to the Two Relations*) of the Oksan Academy of classical learning 玉山書院 edition that was first printed in 1518 include sectional circle marks at the place of either semi-stop or full-stop.¹² When the *Zhuzi zengsun Lü shi xiangyue* (*Mr. Lü's Local Rules and Regulations edited by Zhu zi* 朱子增損呂氏鄉約), which was annotated with *hangeul* by Kim Anguk 金安國, was published in 1518 (13th year of Jungjong's reign) with the Eulhae font 乙亥字, the sectional circle mark became as big as the size of letter in the main body.¹³ However, in 1727 (3rd year

12. The first edition (Oksan Seowon edition) of the *Iryun haengsil do* (published in 1518) and the reprinted edition (Gyujanggak edition) of the same book (published in 1727) are photo-printed in the following publication: “Gyeongmin pyeon” 警民編 of *Iryun haengsil do*, Vol. 6 of *Dongyanghak chongseo* 東洋學叢書 (Danguk University Press, 1978).

13. An edition bestowed to retainers in the second month of 1574 (the second year of Manli 萬曆 reign period) is extant. It is likely that another Eulhae font edition preserved in the Cabinet Library of

of Yeongjo), when Pyeongan Provincial Office reprinted the *Iryun haengsildo*, they deleted the sectional circle mark. In 1730 (6th year of Yeongjo), Yeongnam Provincial Office and Gangwon Provincial Office also removed the sectional circle mark when they printed the *Iryun haengsildo*. The *Samgang haengsildo* and the *Iryun haengsildo* include *hangeul* sentences above the border in illustration, but from the first edition of 1518, they had not put sectional circle marks. It is likely that there had been differences in creating *hangeul* and literary Chinese sentences.

- (d) There is the *Jia li da quanshu* (*Book of Complete Commentary to the Family Rites*) that was reprinted in Gokseong, Jeolla province in 1563 (18th year of Myeongjong's reign). When we see the edition of 4 chapters in one fascicle preserved in the Hōsa Library of Japan, it exquisitely prints the punctuation of sectional circle mark and the tonal note for split reading 破讀.
- (e) The *Xiaoxue jishuo* (*Collected Annotation to the Elementary Learning* 小學集說), compiled by Cheng Yu 程愈, Li Jian 李鑑, and Li Chengzu 李承祖 was reprinted in 1485 (the 17th year of Seongjong's reign). There is no punctuation of sectional circle mark here. The book published with the Gyeyu movable font 癸酉活字 during the Seonjo's reign period printed punctuation of sectional circle mark.¹⁴
- (f) During the reign period of Myeongjong, the *Seojeon daemun* (*Great Text of Commentary to the Shu jing* 書傳大文) and the *Sijeon daemun* (*Great Passage of Commentary to the Shi jing* 詩傳大文) was printed in woodblock. When we see the *Seojeon daemun* edition allegedly preserved by Min Yeoim 閔汝任 (1559-1627),¹⁵ points of punctuation are printed in the text and *idu* is printed above the border. This book includes the main body of the *Seojeon daejeon*, or classic text, main

commentaries including Cai Shen's 蔡沈 commentaries but excludes minor commentaries in double-line. This can be the beginning of the *baekmun* (literally it is "white text," which means including lesser commentaries) editions 白文本 printed in Joseon. There are points for punctuation, which is unusual.

- (g) In Yi Sungin's 李崇仁 *Doeun Collection* 陶隱集—a reprinted edition after around 1406, preserved in the Mansong Library of Korea University—verse is arranged two phrases of one couplet in one line. It attracts attention because it is a precedent for the *wonang ssangdae* form 鴛鴦雙對格, which arranged two lines of *shi* parallel in late Joseon.
- (h) Yi Hwang's 李滉 *Seonghak sipdo* (*Saged Learning in Ten Illustrations* 聖學十圖) combined each chapter of the *Seonghakdo* 聖學圖 and the *Toegye bongsa* (*Yi Hwang's Announcement to the Throne* 退溪封事). It was printed in woodblock in 1572 (the 5th year of Seonjo's reign), and it included sectional circle mark punctuations.¹⁶ It was quite unusual to have punctuation of sectional circle mark for an individual's writing.

Re-engraving of Minutely Annotated Editions of Chinese Classic Text and Compilation of Editions with Collected Annotations in Sejong's Reign Period

Sejong favored minutely annotated edition of Chinese classic texts. After ascending the throne, he commanded several minutely annotated editions of Chinese classic text to be republished. He also made several of his civil retainers compile and publish editions with collected annotations. He particularly favored a manner of selecting a minutely annotated edition and giving collected annotations to it. Representative editions are the *Sajeongjeon hunui* 思政殿訓義, the *Zizhi tongjian* (*Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government* 資治通鑑), the *Zizhi tongjian gangmu* 資治通鑑綱目, and the *Zuanzhu fenlei Du shi* (*Annotated and Categorized Du Fu's Poems* 纂註分類杜詩). The latter two were compiled

Japan was published around the same period. See Sim 1988, 222-24.

14. A *Xiaoxue jishuo* 小學集說 edition (6 chapters in 2 fascicles) reprinted in woodblock 1485 (the 17th year of Seongjong's reign) is preserved in Archives and Mausolea Department 書陵部. A Gyeyu font edition published in Seonjo's reign is preserved in the Cabinet Library of the National Archives of Japan 國立公文書館內閣文庫. Sim (1988, 222-24) introduces another edition (丙 9379.4. 298-230) preserved in the same library in Japan. This separate Gyeyu font edition is not punctuated. It is unusual to print the same edition but one with punctuation and the other without punctuation in the same era, so we need to study more about bibliographies of these publication.

15. It is preserved in the Hōsa Library in Japan. See Cheon 2003, 60-62.

16. We can make a guess about the original aspects of this edition because the Cabinet Library in National Archives of Japan holds an edition that was printed in the same font of 1572 after 1572.

under royal command. When they published Chinese classical books in Sejong's reign, they did not make efforts in extending their opinions, but paid attention to editing existent commentaries. The content of the *hunui* attached to the *Zizhi tongjian* also was not created for new information but was just simple phrases to help to understand context.

Re-engraving of Minutely Annotated Editions 詳註本

The *Sishu daquan* and the *Wujing daquan*

The *Sishu daquan* 四書大全 and the *Wujing daquan* 五經大全 were compiled during Ming emperor Chengzu's 成祖 (r. 1402-1424, also known as Emperor Yongle 永樂帝) reign under royal command. In 1418 (the first year of Sejong's reign) along with the *Xingli daquan* 性理大全, complete copies of 229 fascicles were imported. In 1424 Sejong commanded that they reprint 50 sets of the *Sishu daquan* with the Gyeongja font 庚子字; he bestowed them to his civil retainers. In the following year, he commanded that they import texts for reprinting from Ming again and re-engage them in three provinces of Gyeongsang, Jeolla, and Gangwon from 1426 (the 8th year of Sejong's reign). Later in the seventh month of 1427 (the 9th year, 1427) Choe Bu 崔府, governor of Gyeongsang province, presented the *Xingli daquan* after printing it with woodblock. In 1429 (the 11th year of Sejong's reign) Jo Jongsang 趙從生, governor of Gangwon province, engraved the *Sishu daquan*, the *Zhou yi zhuan yi daquan* (*Great Passage of Complete Commentary to the Zhou yi* 周易傳義大全), and *Shu zhuan daquan* (*Great Passage of Commentary to the Shu jing* 書傳大全), and hence presented them to the throne. Gyeongsang province governor Choe Bu engraved part of the *Chunqiu jizhuan daquan* (*Great Passage of Complete Commentary to the Chunqiu* 春秋集傳大全) and presented it to the throne. Sim Dowon 沈道源, governor of Jeolla province, engraved the *Shi zhuan daquan* 詩傳大全, part of the *Chunqiu juzhuan daquan*, and the *Li ji jishuo daquan* (*Great Passage of Complete Commentary to the Li ji* 禮記集說大全), and then presented them to the throne. In 1435, Sejong commanded all of the governors of provinces that they present paper for publication of the *daquan* edition after collecting them from those who wanted the *daquan* edition to be printed for their possession (Sim 1999b). During Sejo's reign period, they reprinted the *Sishu daquan* with the Eulhae font and after that woodblock edition that arranged the Eulhae font edition.

The Zhuang zi yanzhai kouyi

In 1425 (the 7th year of Sejong's reign) the *Zhuang zi kouyi* 莊子口義 and *Lao zi kouyi* 老子口義 were printed in the Gyeongja font.¹⁷ These two books are those that Lin Xiyi 林希逸 (1193-1271), who belonged to the Aixuan School 艾軒學派 of Southern Song whose sobriquet was yanzhai 齋齋, gave easy interpretations on the Zhuang zi and the Lao zi based on a perspective of the Zen sect Buddhism 禪宗. Along with the *Lie zi kou yi* compiled by Lin Xiyi, people call them *San zi yanzhai kouyi* 三子齋齋口議 (Zhou 2003; Wang 2003; Choe 2003). The *kouyi* 口義 is a relative concept against the *moyi* 墨義. It originated from the tradition of the oral test 口試 for the Clarifying Classic Civil Service Examination 明經科 of Tang, where candidates answered orally to meaning of phrases from the Classics 經義. Later it was used in the meaning of secrets 秘訣 that were orally transmitted, which was a synonym to *gugyeol* 口訣 or *gujeon* 口傳. The *Zhuang zi yanzhai kouyi's* (*Yanzhai's Interpretation on the Zhuang zi* 莊子齋齋口義) 10 chapters are composed of Guo Xiang's 郭象 commentary, Lu Deming's 陸德明 explanation on pronunciation, and Lin Xiyi's interpretation. This book became a standard for Joseon intellectuals to understand the Zhuang zi.

Xiaoxue jicheng

Sejong commanded Heo Seong 許誠 (1382-1442) to compile the *Xiaoxue jicheng* (*Collected Commentaries to the Xiao xue* 小學集成) in 1429 (the 11th year of Sejong's reign). In the same year, Jeong Inji wrote a footnote to it. The original title of this book is the *Zhuru biaoti zhushu Xiaoxue jicheng* (*Collected Commentaries with Various Confucian Scholars' Annotation to the Xiao xue*

17. According to Seo Geojong's 徐居正 footnote 跋 to the *Singan noyeol iseo* 新刊老列二書, written in 1492 (5th year of Sejong's reign), it is likely that Gangwon province governor Yi Bong 李封 printed the *Lao zi kou yi* and the *Lie zi kou yi* with woodblock in Wonju. In the same year, Gyeongsang province governor Kim Yeongyu 金永濡 commanded that each prefect cooperate in engraving woodblocks of the *Zhuang zi kouyi* and collect them in Gyeongju. Hamyang county magistrate Kim Jongjik 金宗直 wrote a footnote to it. During the reign period of Myeongjong and Seonjo, the Eulhae font edition of the *Nanhua zhenjing* 南華真經 that reorganized the *Zhuang zi kouyi* and the woodblock edition of the *Zhuang zi kouyi* were printed. Currently 6 fascicles (Chapters 3, 6, 7, and 9) of the Eulhae font edition are preserved in the Mansong Collection of Korea University, and 8 fascicles (Chapters 3-5 are missing) of the woodblock edition are preserved in Japan.

諸儒標題註疏小學集成). In 1436 (the 18th year of Sejong's reign) Sejong commanded Kim Mun 金汶 to edit the *Xiaoxue jicheng* and publish it with the first-cast Gabin font 初鑄甲寅字.¹⁸ In 1518 (the 13th year of Jungjong's reign) according to the announcement 啓 from the Tongmungwan 通文館, Kim Jeon 金詮, Choe Suksaeng 崔淑生, and others compiled the *Beonyeok sohak* 繙譯小學 under the royal command. In 1587 the Gyojeongcheong 校正廳 published the *Sohak eonhae* 小學諺解, which was based on the *Xiaoxue jishuo* 小學集說, into 6 chapters of 45 fascicles¹⁹—this edition was bestowed to retainers 內賜本 in 1588.

Fenlei buzhu Li Taibo ji

Li Bo's *shi* collection that was widely read in Joseon was the *Fenlei buzhu Li Taibo ji* (*Categorized and Annotated Collection of Li Bo* 分類補註李太白集), 27 chapters of 13 fascicles. It was annotated by Yang Qixian 楊齊賢 of Southern Song and was re-annotated by Xiao Shuyun 蕭士贊 of Yuan. In the ninth month of 1435 (the 17th year of Sejong's reign) the *Fenlei buzhu Li Taibo ji* was printed in the typefoundry 鑄字所 and on the 19th day of the first month, 1436 (the 18th year of Sejong's reign) it was bestowed to civil retainers. This edition was printed in the Gabin font. The Ilsan Collection 一山文庫 of the National Library of Korea and in Sonkeikaku Library 尊經閣文庫 in Japan hold the 1435 edition 內賜本. The Hōsa Library 蓬左文庫 of Japan preserves the first-cast

Gabin font (with supplemented characters) edition 初鑄甲寅字混補字本.²⁰

Chu ci jizhu

Around 1429 (the 11th year of Sejong's reign), the *Chu ci jizhu* (*Collected Commentaries to the Chu ci* 楚辭集註) 8 chapters with Zhu Xi's annotation was printed in the Gyeongjo font.²¹ Later in 1454 (the second year of Danjong's reign) the printed edition came out in Miryang 密陽, Gyeongsang province.

Wen xuan

Among the *Wen xuan* (*Selections of Refined Literature* 文選) commentaries of Tang, Li Shan's 李善 commentary, and the Wuchen's commentaries (the collected commentaries of Lü Yanji 呂延濟, Liu Lang 劉良, Zhang Xian 張銑, Lü Xiang 呂向, and Li Zhouhan 李周翰) are famous. In Song dynasty, the Liuchen zhu edition 六臣注本 appeared. This edition arranges the Wuchen's commentaries first and adds Li Shan's commentary or vice versa. This edition with combined commentaries 合注本 is based on the Xiuzhou 秀州 (current Jiaying city 嘉興市, Zhejiang province 浙江省) and zhouxue 州學 edition was published in 1094 (the 4th year of Yuanyou's 元祐 reign). The Xiuzhou edition is missing in China. We infer that the edition of 60 chapters of 60 fascicles preserved in the Kyujanggak 奎章閣 of Seoul National University is based on the edition of the Liuchen's commentaries published in Xiuzhou. It arranges the Wuchen's commentaries first and adds Li Shan's commentaries. It also includes a footnote written in 1094 (the 9th year of Yuanyou's reign) (Yoshimura 2007).

In the seventh month of 1434 (the 16th year of Sejong's reign) the *Xuanshi yanyi* 選詩演義, annotated excerpts from the *Wen xuan*, was printed in Gyeongja font. It selected 300 poems from the *Wen xuan* and Tao Qian's 陶潛 poems separately (Yoshimura and Jin 2009). It gives annotations after studying various sources. It is based on the edition published on the fifth day, fifth month of

18. In 1569 (the 2nd year of Seonjo's reign), it was printed in the Gyoseogwan 校書館 with the second-cast Gabin font 改鑄甲寅字—the edition that includes supplementary characters are preserved in the National Assembly Library in Japan. In 1864 (the first year of Gojong's reign) it was printed in woodblock in Jeolla Provincial Office. In the beginning of the book there are the *Xiaoxue shuti* 小學書題 (written by Zhu Xi 朱熹 in 1187), the *Xiaoxue shumulu* 小學書目錄, the *Xiaoxue shutumu* 小學書圖目, the *Tushuo* 圖說 (compiled by He Shixin 何士信), the *Xiaoxue zhi shugang ling* 小學之書綱領, and the *Xiaoxue zhi shu* 小學之書 (written by Zhu Xi 題辭, annotated by Rao Lu 饒魯). The *Tushuo* arranges 43 kinds of illustrations including the "Dizi shouye tu" 弟子受業圖 divided into categories such as *lijiao* 立教, *minglun* 明倫, and *jingshen* 敬身. In the main body, it adds the main commentary 本註, the old commentary 古註, the title 標題, 纂疏, the appendix 附錄, and so forth. In 1658 (the first year of manzhi reign 萬治 元年) the Joseon edition of the *Biaoti zhushu xiaoxue jicheng* 標題註疏小學集成 was re-engraved in Japan—this edition includes Jeong Inji's footnote.

19. In late Joseon, the Hongmungwan 弘文館 received the royal command to publish the *Sohak eonhae* after reviewing the original edition in 1744 (the 20th year of Yeongjo's reign). This is called the *Eoje Sohak eonhae* 御製小學諺解. In *Yeongjo sillok*, it was called the *Hunui Sohak* 訓義小學 (or *Seonjeongjeon hunui Sohak* 宣政殿訓義小學).

20. In the latter part of Jungjong's reign period, this book was printed to the second-cast Gabin font edition (the Gyeongjin font). During Prince Gwanghae's reign period, the Hulleon dogam font edition of 14 fascicles with Yi Icheom's 李爾瞻 footnote was published in 1616 (the 8th year of Prince Gwanghae).

21. This is a second edition of the reprinted Jian'an Yuxinhengzhai edition 建安虞信亨宅重刊本 that was published in 1321 (the first year of Zhizhi's 至治 reign).

1256 (the 4th year of Baoyou's 寶祐 reign).²² The *Wen xuan* categorizes themes of poems, but the *Xuanshi yanyi* arranged them in a chronological order. It arranges authors in a chronological order and adds their poems from Han 漢 to Liang 梁. In the main body, the *Xuanshi yanyi* records each poet's short biography indenting it by two letter-space 低二格 and attaches annotations with indenting lines by three letter-space 低三格. The annotations include Zeng Yuanyi's opinion, excerpts from Li Shan's commentaries and the Wuchen's commentaries, and opinions from Chen Zongdao 陳宗道, Lin Shifu 林實夫, Zeng Chun 曾醇, Huang Wenlei 黃文雷, Le Deng 利登, Huang Yinglong 黃應龍, Ao Taosun 敖陶孫, and Xie Ziyun 謝子允.

In the sixth month of 1442 (the 24th year of Sejong's reign) Liu Lü's 劉履 *Xuanshi buzhu* 選詩補註 (from late Yuan to early Ming) was printed in the Gabin font. The *Xuanshi buzhu* is a part of Chapter 14 of the *Feng ya yi* 風雅翼, which is composed of the *Xuanshi buzhu*, the *Xuanshi buyi* 選詩補遺, and the *Xuanshi xubian* 選詩續編. 8 chapters of the *Xuanshi buzhu* include selected poems from the *Wen xuan* and annotation to them. The *Xuanshi buyi* two chapters select 42 poems and songs 古歌謠詞 scattered in other books and add poems from the *Wen xuan*. The *Xuanshi Xubian* 4 chapters select 159 poems by various authors since Tang and Song. They choose those poems close to ancient style poetry and regard them as posterity 嗣音 of the *Wen xuan* poems.²³

Minutely Annotated Editions Printed in Woodblock in Provincial Areas

We need to pay attention to the woodblock print of provincial areas during Sejong's reign. Printing of provincial areas was projected either by provincial

governments or the central government. Printing of the *Sishu daquan* and the *Wujing daquan* are representative examples of the latter. In addition, there were printing projects designed by the central government as follows:

- Gang Hoebaek 姜淮伯 printed Lin Zhen's 林楨 *Shanben dazi zhuru jianxie Guwen zhenbao* 善本大字諸儒箋解古文真寶 in Okcheon in 1420 (the 2nd year of Sejong's reign).
- In 1431 (the 13th year of Sejong's reign) the *Du gongfu caotang shi jian* 杜工部草堂詩箋 40 chapters and the *Huang shi ji qianjia zhu Du gongfu shishi buyi* 黃氏集千家註杜工部詩史補遺 11 chapters were printed in Miryang.
- In 1431 (the 13th year of Sejong's reign) under the arrangement of Gyeongsang province governor Jo Chi 曹致 and assistant governor An Jil 安質, Cheongdo magistrate Ju So 朱邵 printed the *Chunqiu jing Zuo shi zhuan koujie* 春秋經左氏傳句解 in Cheongdo 淸道.

Minutely Annotated Edition by Royal Command

The *Jachi tonggam sajeongjeon hunui* and the foundation of the *Tongjian* scholarship 通鑑學

In the 3rd month of 1421 (the 3rd year of Sejong's reign) Sejong commanded the typefoundry 鑄字所 to publish the *Zizhi tongjian gangmu* 資治通鑑綱目. In winter of the following year, the Jiphyeonjeon finished editing and in the eighth month of 1423, he bestowed them to his civil retainers. In the sixth month of 1434 (the 16th year of Sejong's reign), Sejong commanded that they compile the *Jachi tonggam hunui* 資治通鑑訓義. On the 8th day of the sixth month of 1435 (the 17th year of Sejong's reign), he gave a feast to compilers of the *Jachi tonggam hunui* at the Royal Banquet Hall 慶會樓. He made 47 participants compose pentasyllabic or heptasyllabic *shi* to modify the great accomplishment of the compilation of the *hunui* letting Royal secretary-transmitter Gwon Chae 權採 write a preface to the scrolled poems written under royal command 應製詩軸. In the second month of 1436 (18th year of Sejong's reign) Sejong distributed the *Jachi tonggam sajeongjeon hunui* 資治通鑑思政殿訓義. When his retainers were printing it in the typefoundry, An Ji 安止 (1377-1464) wrote the preface to the *Jachi tonggam hunui* under the royal command. The *Jachi tonggam sajeongjeon hunui* adds the *Sajeongjeon hunui* to the *Zizhi tongjian*, and it was printed in

22. Huang Chongshi's Preface 黃崇實 says, "I engrave and publish this on the fifth day of the fifth month, 4th year of Baoyou to give it to those who have kindred spirits" 刊梓, 與同志者共之. 寶祐第四端陽.

23. The *Xuanshi buzhu* edition printed in Gabin font is left in the Hōsa Library. This edition is the one bestowed to An Banggyeong 安方慶 in the 10th month of 1553. It is composed of 15 chapters in 10 fascicles. It is based on the Jinren edition 金仁本 to which Liu Lü's annotation was added. The Jinren edition was edited by Jin Dexuan 金德瑛 of Ming. The *Xuanshi buzhu* printed in the Gabin font was recomposed later. The Mansong Library of Korea University preserves complete 9 fascicles: the *Xuanshi buzhu* 8 chapters, the *Xuanshi buyi* two chapters, and the *Xuanshi xubian* 5 chapters. Their physical details are: upper and lower black mouths 上下黑口 and inward tripple-petal flower-pattern fishtails 內向三葉花紋魚尾, by which we can infer that it is a recomposed edition before the Japanese invasions of Korea (1592-1598).

the Gabin font. In the second month of 1436 (18th year of Sejong's reign) they completed the compilation of the *Jachi tonggam sajeongjeon hunui*. After publishing the *Jachi tonggam sajeongjeon hunui* in the Gabin font, in the seventh month of the same year, Sejong again commanded junior fifth advisers Yi Gyejeon 李季甸 and Gim Mun 金汶 to add the *hunui* to the *Tongjian gangmu* 通鑑綱目. After Yi Sacheol 李思哲 and Choe Hang 崔恒 edited it, Prince Jinyang (later Sejo) published 139 chapters of the *Zizhi tongjian gangmu* 資治通鑑綱目. In this publication, he used large-size character Byeongjin font 丙辰字 to print the “ropes” 綱 and middle-small-size character Gabin font 甲寅字 to print “meshes” 目. This edition is also called the *Jachi tonggam gangmok sajeongjeon hunui* 資治通鑑綱目思政殿訓義.

In the eleventh month of 1438 (20th year of Sejong's reign) Jiphyeonjeon Second Councilor Yu Uison 柳義孫 (1398-1450) wrote the “Preface to the *Jachi tonggam sajeongjeon hunui*” 資治通鑑綱目訓義序.²⁴ The *Jachi tonggam gangmok sajeongjeon hunui* was also printed in woodblock. According to An Ji's “Preface to the *Jachi tonggam hunui*” the compilers referred to the *Yuanwei* 源委, the *Huzhu* 胡註, the *Jilan* 集覽, and the *Shiwen* 釋文. The followings are full titles of these books:

Yuanwei 源委: Zhao Wanbi 趙完璧, *Tongjian yuanwei* 通鑑源委 (or *Zizhi tongjian yuanwei* 資治通鑑源委)

Huzhu 胡註: Hu Sanxing 胡三省, *Zizhi tongjian yinzhu* 資治通鑑音注 294 chapters (Ozaki 1988)—various editions from Yuan and Ming are extant including the Xiyuan jingshe 西園精舍本 edition (preserved in the National Archives of Japan 日本國立公文書館) compiled in Zhixun 至順 reign period.

Jilan 集覽: Wang Youxue 王幼學 of Yuan, *Zizhi tongjian gangmu jilan* 資治通鑑綱目集覽 59 chapters. Published by Renshi shutang 仁實書堂 of Wei clan 魏氏 in 1450 (the first year of Ming Jingtai reign period 景泰).

24. The Byeongjin font edition (its small and middle-size characters are printed in the Gabin font), composed of 59 chapters in 110 fascicles and preserved in the Cabinet Library 內閣文庫 of the National Archives of Japan 國立公文書館, seems to be an earlier edition. The Eulhae font edition (two fascicles printed in Jungjong or Myeongjong's reign period) of Ju You's 瞿佑 *Zizhi tongjian gangmu jilan juanwu* 資治通鑑綱目集覽鐫誤 three chapters (*Gangmu kaoyi bianyi*'s 綱目考異辨疑 one chapter is included) is also preserved in the Cabinet Library.

Shiwen 釋文: Compiled by Shi Zhao 史炤, *Zizhi tongjian shiwen* 資治通鑑釋文 30 chapters (preserved in Seikadō Bunko of Japan 日本靜嘉堂文庫); Edited by Qing Lou Xinyuan 陸心源, *Shiwan juan lou congshu* 十萬卷樓叢書, fascicles 7-10.

The compilers of the *Jachi tonggam sajeongjeon hunui* mostly referred to the *Zizhi tongjian yinzhu* 資治通鑑音注 compiled by Hu Sanxing 胡三省 (1230-1287) in 1286. When they gave annotation on pronunciation or a simple explanation for a phrase, they cite from Shi Zhao's 史炤 *Zizhi tongjian xiwen* 資治通鑑釋文 or Wang Youxue's 王幼學 *Zizhi tongjian gangmu jilan* 資治通鑑綱目集覽. Besides they referred to dictionaries such as the *Gujin yunhui juyao* 古今韻會舉要, commentaries of standard histories 正史, and quotes goodly amount of information from encyclopedias 類書 (O 1998, 2007; Sim 2012).

Shi Zhao of Southern Song completed the *Tongjian xiwen* 30 chapters after making efforts for 30 years. But it was after Hu Sanxing's *Zizhi tongjian yinzhu* and the *Tongjian xiwen bianwu* 通鑑釋文辨誤 12 chapters were published, so it is not likely that the compilers of the *Jachi tonggam sajeongjeon hunui* highly appreciated the *Tongjian xiwen*. Later they abbreviated the *Jachi tonggam sajeongjeon hunui* and completed the *Jachi tonggam gangmok sajeongjeon hunui* 資治通鑑綱目思政殿訓義.

Zhu Wengong jiao Changli xiansheng ji (Han Yu's collection edited by Zhu Xi)

In Jinju in 1419 the supplement to the collected works 外集 of Wei Zhongju's 魏仲舉 *Wubaijia zhu yinbian Changli ji* was published. Later in 1438 (20th year of Sejong's reign), the *Zhu Wengong jiao Changli xiansheng ji* 朱文公校昌黎先生集, compiled by Choe Manri 崔萬理, Kim Bin 金鑣, Yi Yeongseo 李永瑞, and Jo Su 趙須 under the royal command, was printed in movable type. This newly compiled *Zhu Wengong jiao Changli xiansheng ji* referred to Zhu Xi's *Hanwen kaoyi*, Wei Zhongju's 魏仲舉 *Wubaijia zhu yinbian Changli ji* 五百家註音辯昌黎集, and Han Chun's 韓醇 *Xinkan xungu Tang Changli xiansheng wenji* 新刊訓詁唐昌黎先生文集 and gives selected annotation (Sim 1999b). It includes almost all of the annotations of the *Hanwen kaoyi* and *Wubaijia zhu yinbian Changli ji* (Gim 2002). During the reign period of Myeongjong and Seonjo, it was published in mixed-and-restored Gabin font

甲寅字混補字 and later it was published in the Gyeongjin font (recast-Gabin font 改鑄甲寅字). During Prince Gwanghae's reign period, it was reprinted in Hunryeondogam font (Gyeong font).

Zuanzhu fenlei Du shi

In Miyang of Gyeongsang province in 1431 (13th year of Sejong's reign) the *Du gongfu caotang shi jian* 杜工部草堂詩箋 (40 chapters) and the *Huang shi ji qianjia zhu Du gongfu shishi buyi* 黃氏集千家註杜工部詩史補遺 (11 chapters) were published. In Haeju of Hwanghae province, in the same year, the *Du shi Fan Deji pi xuan* 杜詩范德機批選 (6 chapters, currently missing). In the fourth month of 1443 (25th year of Sejong's reign), following the royal command of putting together annotations to Du Fu's poems, Prince Anpyeong was in charge of the project and six others including Sin Seokjo 辛碩祖 were in charge of actual work.²⁵

It is likely that the *Zuanzhu fenlei Du shi* 纂註分類杜詩 25 chapters (including one chapter of catalogue) was completed in late years of Sejong's reign. In 1481 (12th year of Sejong's reign) Sejong commanded to prepare an edition that gives Korean interpretation to this edition, and as a result the *Du gongbu si eonhae* 杜工部詩諺解 was compiled. It was mainly based on the *Zuanzhu fenlei Du shi* compiled by Xu Zhai 徐宅 (whose style name was Juren 居仁) of Song, the *Ji qianjia zhu fenlei Du gongfu shi* 集千家註分類杜工部詩 25 chapters—Song edition was printed in 1231 and early Yuan edition was printed in 1312—compiled by Huang He 黃鶴, and the *Ji qianjia zhu pidian fenlei Du gongfu shi* 集千家註批點分類杜工部詩集 20 chapters (originally printed in 1303) compiled by Gao Chonglan 高崇蘭 (whose style name was Chufang 楚芳). Xu Zhai's edition follows a taxonomic system while Gao Chonglan's edition was compiled in a chronological system. Gao Chonglan's edition adds Liu Zhenweng's 劉辰翁 (a person from Song; his sobriquet was Xuji 須溪) annotation 批 and punctuation 點.²⁶

25. Bak Paengnyeong's preface says “驚山辛公以下凡六人爲屬官。匪懈堂實摠裁焉。” See “Preface to the ‘Samjeol si’” 三絕詩序, *Bak seonsaeng yugo* 朴先生遺稿.

26. If we compare the *Chanju bunryu Du si* edition (the Gabin font edition) preserved in the Literature Department of Kyōto University 京都大學 文學部, the *Zuanzhu fenlei Du shi*—it is a photographic edition, edited by Huang Yongwu 黃永武, Taiwan Dotong shuju 臺灣大通書局, 1974; originally it was compiled by Xu Zhai and published at the Qinyoutang of Jian'an Xu clan 建安余氏勤有堂刊 in

Annotation of the *Qian zi wen* in the *Samju*

My current thought is that the annotation of the *Qian zi wen* 千字文 in the Gabin font edition of the *Singan daeja bu eumseokmun samju* 新刊大字附音釋文三註, or the *Samju* could have been compiled by royal command during Sejong's reign period. It is called *Samju* 三註 because it collected annotation from the *Qian zi wen* 千字文, Li Han's 李瀚 *Meng qiu* 蒙求, and Tang Hu Zeng's 胡曾 *Yong shi shi* 詠史詩. The annotation of the *Meng qiu* was prepared by Xu Ziguang 徐子光 of Song, and the annotation of the *Yong shi shi* by Hu Yuanzhi 胡元質 of Yuan. We are unaware of the person who gave annotation to the *Qian zi wen* 千字文. It is not by Li Xian 李暹 of Liang 梁. The Gyujanggak Library in Seoul National University preserves the first-cast Gabin font edition 初鑄甲寅字本 of this book (the first volume of one fascicle). The catalogue of this library suggests that it was published in between 1494-1544 (from Prince Yeonsan's reign period to early Jungjong's reign period).²⁷

A complete edition is preserved at Shidō Library 斯道文庫 in Keiō University 慶應大學, Japan. The *Sinkan Cheonja juseok* 新刊千字註釋 preserved in the Harvard-Yenching Library was compiled by a Muryang Buddhist Temple 無量寺 monk, and it is an edition that recomposed the *Cheonjamun* part from the *Samju*. A footnote written by Choe Jun 崔峻 in 1566 (the 21st year of Myeongjong's reign period) is in the end of the chapter. On the cover page it is written that the book is an upper chapter 卷之上, but it actually is a non-separate single chapter 不分卷 單券. It does not include tonal notes and in its annotation cited references are printed in debossed types 墨蓋字. The annotation to the *Cheonjamun* gathered citations from various books such as the *Tai shi* 泰誓, the *Han shi waizhuan* 韓詩外傳, the *Shi jing* 詩, the *Xiao jing* 孝經, the *Lun yu* 論語,

1312; it is included in the *Du shi congkan* 杜詩叢刊—and the edition—it is published by Qingjiang Department 靖江府; it is included in the *Du shi congkan*—compiled by Gao Chonglan in 1529 (the 8th year of Jiaqing's 嘉靖 reign of Ming), we understand that the *Chanju bunryu Du si* made a structure based on the edition compiled by Xu Zhai. It brought most of the annotation from Xu Zhai's edition and adds Liu Zhenweng's annotation and punctuation based on the Gao Chonglan edition. The edition printed in Gapjin font in Sejong's reign (preserved in the Mansong Library, Korea University) keeps Liu Zhenweng's punctuation 批 but deleted his annotation 評點.

27. One fascicle 1 冊 (some chapters are missing 零本): single-lined borders on all four sides 四周單邊. Half of the outer square of the printed text 半郭 is 26.5 × 16.5 cm. 10 lines 行 and each line has 18 characters 字. The annotation is written in double-line 註雙行. Black mouths 黑口. Upper and lower downward black fishtail patterns 上下下向黑魚尾 (not identical 不同): 29.1 × 19.8 cm.

the *Huai Nan zi* 淮南子, the *Zhou yi* 易, the *Li ji* 禮記, the *Jin Tao Kan zhuan* 晉陶侃傳, the *Hou Han* 後漢, the *Mengzi* 孟子, the *Diwang shiji* 帝王世紀, the *Bai Hu Tong* 白虎通, the *Jiayu* 家語, the *Xishan ji* 西山記, the *Shui jing* 水經, the *Shanhai jing* 山海經, the *Xi ming* 釋名, the *Wen xuan* 文選, the *Zhou li qiuguan* 周禮秋官, the *Shu jing* 書, the *Han shu* 漢書, the *Yang zi* 楊子, the *Shi ji* 史記, the *Qian Han shu* 前漢書, the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書, the *Gu shi* 古詩, the *Shuo wen* 說文, the *Zhuang zi* 莊子, the *Meng qiu* 蒙求, and the *Xue ji* 學記.

The *Yongbi eocheon ga*

On the first day of the third month in 1442 (the 24th year of Sejong's reign) Sejong commanded that the *Yongbi eocheon ga* should be compiled. In two days, he went to Icheon hot spring in Gangwon province along with his queen and crown prince. Concurrently he held the Great Hunting Ceremony of spring 春等講武.²⁸

In the first ten days of the ninth month (in the first ten days of October by solar calendar) in 1446 (the 28th year of Sejong's reign) Sejong proclaimed the *Hunmin jeongeum*. We infer that he had tested the *Hunmin jeongeum* for three years after its completion in 1443: he evaluated its practical value by composing verses of the *Yongbi eocheon ga* (*Songs of the Dragons Flying to Heaven* 龍飛御天歌); he made the Jiphyeonjeon scholars compile the "Haerye" chapter that gave interpretations and examples about the main text of the *Hunmin jeongeum*. The compilation of the *Yongbi eocheon ga* began before the proclamation of the *Hunmin jeongeum*. Its compilation began from the first day of the third month in 1442, and on the fifth day of the fourth month Gwon Je, Jeong Inji, and An Ji presented manuscripts to the throne.²⁹

Later Jiphyeonjeon scholars such as Choe Hang, Bak Paengnyeon, Gang Huian, Sin Sukji, Yi Seonro (Yi Hyeonro), Seong Sammun, Yi Gae, and Sin Yeongson added annotations to the book. In the second month in 1447 (the

28. See *Sejong sillok*, Chapter 95, Entry in the third day of the third month, 1442 (the 24th year of Sejong's reign).

29. On *jiayu* 甲戌 day of the eleventh month in 1445 (the 27th year of Sejong's reign) the *Sejong sillok* records the "Yongbi" ("Dragons Fly" 龍飛) as a *shi* poem only. Based on this record, in the past in an article I inferred that only *shi* poems were completed in the eleventh month in 1445 and songs in *hangeul* were added later. However, this speculation was wrong because of the statements in the preface to the *Yongbi eocheon ga* and the "Jin *Yongbi eocheon ga* jeon." It is not clear why the *Sejong sillok* did not mention about songs in *hangeul* directly. For this, see Sim 1999a.

29th year of Sejong's reign) it was compiled into 10 chapters in 5 fascicles and was published in the tenth month in the same year. Prince Anpyeong was in charge of making the "Yongbisi" 龍飛詩 along with Seong Sammun and Im Wonye 任元濬.³⁰

The *Yongbi eocheon ga* is indicated with annotation 註解, phonological commentary 音注, punctuational marks 小圈, and tonal notes 圈發, which reflects a high standard of scholarship of this period. In fact, among publications of Joseon, the *Yongbi eocheon ga* was the best book in giving full punctuation and phonological commentary³¹ as follows:

- (a) It established principles of punctuation and used full-stop and semi-stop correctly.
- (b) It gives tonal notes or *fanqie* indication for difficult characters or characters with unusual meanings in the annotation. It gives *gwonbal* (special notes on pronunciation in white circles 圈發) one by one to characters with split reading 破讀 (read differently with its meaning and syntax changed) in the main body or in the annotation.

Patterns of Speculation in Parallelism and the Development of Parallel Style in Sejong's Reign Period

In Joseon they decided ancient styles of prose as the main style of writing and used them in various ceremonies and literary activities. In early Joseon, in the study materials of Chinese characters for children 童蒙課本, they already made much of tetrasyllabic phrases and used the method of completing a sentence with a stanza of tetrasyllabic phrases in two lines, which must have been influential on intellectuals' literary activities. The structure of tetrasyllabic

30. It is mentioned when Im Sahong, former Chief Royal Secretary, wrote a letter to the throne to complain of an injustice. See *Seongjong sillok*, Entry of the second day of the tenth month in 1488 (the 19th year of Seongjong's reign). Also see Sim 2018.

31. In late Joseon Yi Gwangsa 李匡師 compared culture of Sejong's reign with that of Seonjo's in the "Non Dongguk eonhae to" 論東國諺解吐 focusing on philology. By underestimating *eonhae* 諺解 editions based on the Ming *Daquan ben* 大全本 (complete commentary edition) from the Gyojeongcheong during Seonjo's reign, he indirectly criticized the neo-Confucian 性理學 system on which those editions were based.

phrases in two lines sometimes made a parallel structure. It is likely that this parallel structure gave motivations to use the reasoning system based on a parallel structure.

The *Tongzi xi* 童子習 was a book composed of two chapters in one fascicle. It was compiled by Zhu Fengji of Ming to educate novices. In early Joseon Yi Byeon 李邊 and others compiled it into the *Jikhae Dongjaseup* 直解童子習 for Chinese education.³² Later in early nineteenth century, commercial editions 坊刻本 of this book printed in woodblock by Jeon Ichae 田以采 and Bak Chiyou 朴致維 in Jeolla province were circulated.³³ This book categorizes 17 themes of “shiqin” 事親, “xiaogan” 孝感, “shichang” 事長, “youai” 友愛, “lisao” 灑掃, “yanyu” 言語, “yinshi” 飲食, “yifu” 衣服, “weiyi” 威儀, “zelei” 擇類, “xiangxue” 向學, “zhijie” 知戒, “libin” 禮賓, “guanli” 觀禮, “longshi” 隆師, “jiaoyou” 交友, and “shijun” 事君 that children should know. The main body is composed of two rhymed stanzas, each of which has two lines of tetrasyllabic phrases. The preface written by Zhou Ziyue 周子治 in 1404 describes effects of using rhymed words to educate children.³⁴ According to the commercial edition prepared by Jeon Ichae and Bak Chiyou, after the Zhou Ziyue’s preface is the catalogue of 17 themes. The following is the 1st chapter. The main text had the main body of two rhymed stanzas, each of which has two lines of tetrasyllabic phrases. The annotation to thema in body begins in the following line making it indented by one-letter space. Both of the main body and the annotation include *gugyeol*. The *gugyeol* in *hangeul* is written in double-line. The beginning of Chapter 1 is as follows:

父母之尊이 恩同天地호야 子之報之는 孝養을 須至니라

大抵於人애 父母 | 最大호니 生我長我호여 愛我教我호시니 恩德이
與天地로 同호니 爲人子 | 須 當十分孝順호며 十分孝養호야
無一毫不盡處 | 라사 方是報答父母之道 | 나라

The main body is composed of stanzas of tetrasyllabic phrases and each stanza is rhymed. *Di* 地 and *zhi* 至 belong to the rhyme *zhi* 寘 of the fourth *pingshui* rhyme in departing tone 去聲. In its structure, the *Tongzi xi* connects tetrasyllabic lines making them “harmonized with rhymed words” 諧以韻, which is identical to that of the *Qianzi wen* 千字文 and the *Mengqiu* 蒙求 of China and the *Hunmong jahoe* 訓蒙字會 and the *Sok Monggu* 續蒙求 of Joseon. In the *Tongzi xi* tetrasyllabic lines of two lines do not make a parallel structure unlike those of the *Qianzi wen*, the *Mengqiu*, the *Hunmong jahoe*, and the *Sok Monggu*. It is likely that this kind of study materials of Chinese characters for children 童蒙課本 eventually made Joseon intellectuals be familiar with tetrasyllabic phrases and tetrasyllabic pitch since one’s childhood. Due to the limitation of sources, we are exactly sure, but it is likely that this kind of cultural tradition was already created in Goryeo. We can also infer that this tradition became an important part in everyday language and literary activities in Sejong’s reign period.

In Sejong’s reign period, they thought highly of a parallel structure in narrative literary styles. In 1434 (the 16th year of Sejong’s reign), Sejong commanded Yun Hoe 尹淮 and Gwon Je make chronological tables that compare histories of China and Joseon. Accordingly they compiled the *Yeokdae senyeon ga* in the form of *yongsbi* 詠史 (chanting history) poetry.³⁵ In 1436 (the 18th year of Sejong’s reign) Sejong commanded it to be published in a movable type (could be the Gabin font cast in 1434) and bestowed books to his retainers.³⁶

Like Yi Seunghyu’s 李承休 *Jewang un gi* 帝王韻紀, the *Yeokdae senyeon ga* is divided into two parts. The first part is about Chinese history. It was compiled

32. Seong Sammun, “Preface to the *Jikhae Dongjaseup*” 直解童子習序, *Seong Geunbo jip* 成謹甫集, Chapter 2, 序跋引.

33. This commercial edition prepared by Jeon Ichae and Bak Chiyou is composed of two chapters, Zhou Ziyue’s 周子治 preface, catalogue, and the “Quanxue wen” 勸學文—authors are Emperors Zhengzong 眞宗 and Renzong 仁宗 of Song, Han Yu 韓愈, Sima Guang 司馬光, Liu Duntian 柳屯田 (Liu Yong 柳永), Wang Anshi 王安石, Bo Juyi 白居易, and Zhu zi 朱子—as appendix.

34. Preface to the *Tongzi xi* 童子習序 reads: “易曰: ‘蒙以養正, 聖功也.’ 蓋孩提之童, 無不知愛其親, 及其長也, 無不知敬其兄, 此孟子所謂 ‘人性皆善而可達諸天下’ 者也. 故聖人之教, 常因其本然者, 使盡其所當然, 則所謂孝弟之至, 無所不通者, 不假可他求矣. 然世降風移, 民不興行, 職政教者, 鮮克開迪正學, 以培導其本原於幼稚之時, 此道之所以不明不行, 而盛治之不古若也. 故文公朱子, 編次『小學』, 以爲『大學』之基本, 其歷選正公, 程子之言有曰: ‘教人未見意趣, 必不樂學, 別欲作詩, 略言教童子灑掃應對事長之節, 令朝夕歌之, 似當有助.’ 迄今數百年, 揣李朱君逢吉, 乃著『童子習』一編, 諧以韻語, 發其旨趣. 中書舍人鮑君麟以爲深得正公之遺意, 而足爲『小學』之基本. 於是建安郡守宣城芮公麟, 屬之建陽令吳興潘公睿, 錢梓以行, 而俾子爲序. 嗚呼! 若數公者, 又可謂『恐闕知字』致治之先務矣. 幼學之士, 實用力於其間, 以躋夫聖賢之闕奧, 則固數公之所望也. 遂不敢讓而爲之序云. 永樂二年, 歲在甲申, 至前三日, 安成周子治序.”

35. “Preface” of the *Yeokdae senyeon ga* 歷代世年歌 reads: “天下國家, 治亂興亡, 實帝王之龜鑑, 而學者之所當講也. 恭惟我主上殿下, 概念學者, 昧於史籍, 渙起宸斷, 編修自治通鑑訓義, 以傳于世, 且慮初學, 未能遍觀, 表章廬陵曾先之歷代歲年歌, 命藝文館大提學臣尹淮, 參考注釋, 獨元朝關言, 補以臨江張美和之詩, 至於東國年代, 亦不可不知也. 命吏曹判書臣權蹈撰次, 仍爲注解, 親加睿裁, 極爲明備. 遂以中國爲上篇, 東國爲下篇, 俾鑄字所, 模印廣布.”

36. See the “Inchulgi” 印出記 of the woodblock, made in the 16th year of Sejong’s reign period, preserved in the Garam Collection in Seoul National University.

by Youn Hoe, and is composed of heptasyllabic 127 lines, which takes the main body of Zeng Xianzhi's 曾先之 *Lidai shinian ge* 歷代世年歌 of Yuan and Zhang Jiushao's 張九韶 (1314-1396)³⁷ *yongshi* poems for history of Yuan dynasty. The second part is the “Dongguk senyeonga” 東國世年歌 87 lines composed of Gwon Je's *yongshi* poems that chant history of Korean people. The “Dongguk senyeonga” is composed of 87 lines of which every line is rhymed shifting rhymes after every stanza of two lines. Its stanza of two lines does not follow the parallel structure 對偶法, but it stacks two lines that are semantically related to each other closely.

Later Sejong created the Hunmin jeongeum and commanded his retainers to compile the *Yongbi eocheon ga*. Unlike the *Yeokdae senyeon ga* that is divided into two parts comparing Chinese history and Korean history respectively in each part, the *Yongbi eocheon ga* compares history of China and Korea in each song 歌. Gwon Je, who created the “Dongguk senyeonga” of the *Yeokdae senyeon ga*, took part in the compilation of the *Yongbi eocheon ga* in 1445.

Later Sejong composed the *Worin cheongang jigok* 月印千江之曲, which is composed of hymns for Buddha 佛讚歌. Arranging Buddha's records chronologically continued the tradition that originated from “Songs of Successive Dynasties” 歷代歌, which was created after mid-Goryeo and which dealt with historical records of Korea in verses such as *shi* poetry:

- (a) O Semun's 吳世文 “Yeokdaega” (Songs of Successive Dynasties 歷代歌): 302 rhymes. It chanted changes of successive dynasties of China from the prehistoric age of Pangu 盤古 in a narrative form.
- (b) Yi Gyubo's 李奎報 “Dongmyeong wang pyeon” (Chapter on King Dongmyeong 東明王篇): It is a long verse composed of 282 pentasyllabic lines, or around 4,000 characters. Every other line is

37. His style name is meihe and was popularly known by this name. He was a man from Qingjiang 清江, Jiangxi province, and was good at *fu* (rhapsody 詞賦). He passed the civil service examination in late Yuan, but he did not hold official posts. In the third year of the Hongwu's 洪武 reign period, he was recommended to become an instructor in a county academy 縣學教諭. After that he held positions of the instructor of the Directorate of Education 國子監助教, and the junior compiler of the Hanlin Academy 翰林院編修. Later he resigned from his position, but after receiving Ming Emperor Taizu's (Zhu Yuanzhang 朱元璋) command he held an office again. Along with Qian Zai 錢宰 he compiled the *Shu jizhuan* 書集傳.

rhymed. Rhymed characters are the fourth rising tone character *zhi* 上聲四紙, the fourth departing tone *zhi* 去聲四寘, and the fifth rising tone *wei* 上聲五尾. *Shi* 禪 belonging to the fourth upper-level tone *zhi* 上平聲四支, *wei* 衛 belonging to the eighth departing tone *ji* 去聲八霽, *wei* 喟 belonging to the tenth departing tone *gua* 去聲十卦, *gui* 貴, *wei* 謂, *fei* 沸, *fu* 髡, and *wei* 蔚 belonging to the fifth departing tone *wei* 去聲五未, and *wei* 嵬 belonging to the tenth rising tone *hui* 上聲十賄 are used in mixture.

- (c) Yi Seunghyu's 李承休 *Jewang ungi* (*Sovereigns and Kings in Rhymed Records* 帝王韻紀): The upper chapter 上卷 is composed of 340 heptasyllabic lines of which 170 lines are rhymed. The last song of the upper chapter is “Jeongtongxiangjeon song” 正統相傳頌, which is 8 heptasyllabic lines, or 56 characters, of which four lines are rhymed. The “Dongguk gunwang gaeguk nyeondae” 東國君王開國年代 of the lower chapter 下卷 is 240 heptasyllabic lines, or 1,681 characters—one exceptional line is 8 characters. The “Bonjo gunwang segye nyeondae” 本朝君王世系年代 is 162 pentasyllabic lines, or 830 characters, of which 81 lines are rhymed.
- (d) Youn Hoe's 尹淮 and Gwon Je's 權躡 *Yeokdae senyeon ga* (*Songs of Years and Generations over Successive Dynasties* 歷代世年歌): The first part is about Chinese history. It was compiled by Youn Hoe, and is composed of heptasyllabic 127 lines, which takes the main body of Zeng Xianzhi's *Lidai shinian ge* of Yuan and Zhang Jiushao's *yongshi* poems for history of Yuan dynasty. The second part is the “Dongguk senyeonga” 東國世年歌 87 lines composed of Gwon Je's *yongshi* poems that chant history of Korean people. Every line is rhymed with shifting rhymes after every stanza of two lines.
- (e) Gwon Je's annotation to the “Dongguk senyeonga” (Songs of Years and Generations in Korea 東國世年歌).
- (f) *Yongbi eocheon ga* 龍飛御天歌: 125 chapters. *Hangeul* poems are two lines in parallel structures. Tetrasyllabic *shi* poems are in parallel structure too.
- (g) *Worin cheongang jigok* (*Songs of the Moon's Reflection on a Thousand Rivers* 月印千江之曲): 583 cantos. *Hangeul* poems are two lines in parallel structures.

In 1446 (the 28th year of Sejong's reign) when Queen Soheon passed away on the 24th day of the third month, Sejong commanded Prince Suyang and Prince Anpyeong to copy and recite Buddhist sutras between the 25th day of the third month and the 15th day of the tenth month. And on the second day of the twelfth month, he commanded Gim Suon to make an enlargement of the *Seokka bo* (*Genealogy of Buddha* 釋迦譜) and Prince Suyang was in charge of this project. They combined Sengyou's 僧祐 *Shijia pu* 釋迦譜 and Doseon's *Seokka ssi bo* (*Genealogy of Buddha's Clan* 道宣 釋迦氏譜). In addition they referred to the *Sutra of the Lotus* 法華經, the *Ksitigarbha Bodhisattva Sutra* 地藏經, the *Amitabha Sutra* 阿彌陀經, and the *Bhaisajyaguru Sutra* 藥師經 and compiled the *Seokbo sangjeol* in *hangeul* and in the following year (1447, the 29th year of Sejong's reign) they presented the publication to the throne. On the 25th day of the seventh month, Prince Suyang wrote a preface to the book. Based on this book, Sejong created 583 songs of the *Worin cheongang ji gok*.³⁸

The canto 曲 of the *Worin cheongang ji gok* has a structure of two lines—the first and last cantos are exceptional: the former line and the latter line make a pair that is semantically related to each other. Unlike songs of the *Yongbi eochen ga*, which compare Chinese examples with Korean ones in every single song, cantos of the *Worin cheongang ji gok* also take the parallel structure as songs of the *Yongbi eochen ga* do. For example, in Canto 27, the former line is about the time of birth of Buddha: around King Zhao of Zhou's 周昭王

38. The existence of the *Worin cheongang ji gok* edition was revealed when fragmented pages with titles of the “Upper Volume of the *Worin cheongang ji gok*” 月印千江之曲上 and the “Middle Volume of the *Worin cheongang ji gok*” 月印千江之曲中 in the middle of the block-center were discovered in the first edition of the *Seokbo sangjeol* (Chapters 6, 9, 13, and 19) in four fascicles in 1935 in Hwanghae province. Among those fragmented chapters, in the inner part of the third cover page of the third chapter of the *Seokbo sangjeol*, a passage “正統拾肆年貳月初肆日嘉善大夫黃海道觀察黜陟使兵馬都節制使兼海州牧使申” is written in calligraphy. Based on this record, we can infer that the book was published before the fourth day of the second month in 1449 (31st year of Sejong's reign) and that it had been compiled before that. Among three chapters of the *Worin cheongang ji gok*, the upper chapter only is preserved in the Jangseogak Library of the Academy of Korean Studies (Korea's National Treasure number 320; discovered in 1960; donated by the Mirae en 미래엔 company). The *Worin cheongang ji gok* also refers to the *Worin cheongang ji gok* that was combined along with the *Seokbo sangjeol* in the *Worin seokbo* which was published in 1459 (the 5th year of Sejo's reign) (hereafter, the *Worinbu*). There are several editions (the first edition and later editions) of the *Seokbo sangjeol*, but only 10 chapters are existent (Chapters 3, 5, 9, 11, 13, 19, 20, 21, 23, and 24), and part of the existent chapters are fragmented. The content of the *Seokbo sangjeol* can be checked through the *Worin seokbo*. In 1998 the last one of 25 chapters was reported to the academy and the last song “Canto 583” was revealed too (Gang 1998).

reign. The content of the latter line is about the fact that Kasyapa Matanga 攝摩騰 and Dharmaratna 竺法蘭 transmitted Buddhist sutras to China, which is not related to Buddha's life but suggests two earlier affairs through which China was associated with the Buddha in a parallel structure. Canto 95 chants devotions of dragons 歸依 and the Heavenly man 天人 setting two lines semantically related to each other. It was based on the *Seokka ssi bo* 釋迦氏譜.³⁹

四千里 감은 龍이 道士 | 드와야 三歸依를 受호스 刹尼
八萬那由天이 四諦를 들슴고 法眼을 得호스 刹尼

Canto 111 divides Buddha's sermon at the Bamboo Garden 竹園 in a parallel structure. Two lines of this canto are different in their structure of sentences: the former line is a statement and the latter line is a conversation. But two lines of the “竹園에 瓶沙 | 드리” and the “竹園에 부테 드르샤,” and other two lines of the “내 몸애 欲心 업거늘” and the “衆生이 欲心 업슴 들” complete parallel structures. The content was based on the *Seokka bo* 釋迦譜.⁴⁰

竹園에 瓶沙 | 드리 내 몸애 欲心 업거늘 世尊이 아라 오시니
竹園에 부테 드르샤 衆生이 欲心 업슴 들 阿難이 드려 니르시니

Canto 112 is a song related to Sariputta's 舍利弗 and Maudgalyayana's 目連 entering Buddhist priesthood. The content of the *Seokbo sangjeol* corresponding to this occasion is not extant. Entry 5 of Chapter 4 in the *Seokka*

39. See *Shijia shipu* 釋迦氏譜, “說法開化迹, 乘機投法相” (*Taishō Sinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, Chapter 50): ㉔ “行至文鱗盲龍水邊, 坐定七日. 風雨大至, 佛不喘息, 光照水中, 龍目得開, 即識如來, 如前三佛, 具香水出. 前遠七匝, 身離佛所, 圍四千里, 龍有七頭, 羅覆佛上. 而以障蔽七日, 一心不患飢渴. 雨止, 化爲年少道人, 衣服鮮好, 稽首問訊, 便受三歸”; ㉕ “即復往波羅奈五人所, 遙見佛來, 謂未成道, 各相約言, 不須起敬, 佛既至止, 不覺起禮, 互爲執事, 既違本誓, 深生自愧, 以昔微難. 佛具爲解說, 五陰輪迴, 三有諸苦, 陳如[橋陳如]最初, 悟解四諦, 得法眼生, 八萬那由空天, 亦法眼淨.”

40. The original text is as follows: ㉔ “摩竭王瓶沙作如是念, 世尊若初來所入處, 便當布施作僧伽藍. 時王舍城有迦蘭陀竹園最高第一, 時佛知王心念, 即往竹園” (*Shijia pu* 釋迦譜, “Shijia zhuyuanjingshe yuanji,” Entry 19 釋迦竹園精舍緣記 [*Taishō Sinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, Chapter 50]); ㉕ “阿難, 所有貪欲瞋恚愚癡衆生, 入此竹園, 不發貪欲瞋恚愚癡. 阿難, 如來雖住諸餘精舍, 而皆無有如是功德, 何以故. 阿難, 今此迦蘭陀竹林, 畜生入者不發淫欲, 衆鳥入者非時不鳴” (*Shijia pu* 釋迦譜, “Shijia zhuyuanjingshe yuanji,” Entry 19 釋迦竹園精舍緣記 [*Taishō Sinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, Chapter 50]).

bo includes a similar content, but the name Assaji 馬勝 in the former line of Canto 112 does not appear in the *Seokka bo*. Referring to other sources, the compilers figured out the name of Assaji to make a pair with Maudgalyaayana.

馬勝이舍利弗 보아 혼 偈를 닐어 들여 제 스승을 곧 닛기 하니
目連이舍利弗 혼 偈를 아라드러 새 스승기 곧 모다 오니.

The *Seokka bo* includes two episodes from the *Past and Present Cause and Effect Sutra* 過去現在因果經 and the *Portable Sutra* 普曜經. In these episodes, people who converted Sariputta 舍利弗 and Maudgalyaayana were described as Assaji 阿捨婆耆 and Anlu 安陸. The former was one of the five Buddhist priests to whom Buddha first bestowed his teachings after attaining Buddhahood. His name was transcribed as Masheng 馬勝, Mashi 馬師, Maxing 馬星, Masu 馬宿, and Wusheng 無勝. In Canto 112 of the *Worin cheongang ji gok* Assaji was transcribed as Masheng 馬勝, which was to make a pair with Maudgalyaayana 目連 in the latter line. Cantos 130-132 are songs concerning Devadatta 調達 who went to hell. Canto 130 compares two contradictory characters. Canto 131 is composed of two parts which describe the same figure. Canto 132 juxtaposes Ananda's 阿難 statements. They are based on the *Seokka ssi bo* 釋迦氏譜 and the *Zongmen liandeng huiyao* 宗門聯燈會要.⁴¹

調達인 곳갈을 밧고 五逆 只 슴을 계와 阿鼻地獄에 드러가니
和離는 象이 몬 견고 舍利弗 欺弄하야 蓮花地獄에 드러가니 (Canto 130)
調達이 慰勞를 目連이 니거늘 地獄에 잇부미 업다 하니
調達이 安否를 世尊이 물여시닐 三禪天에 즐거봄 준다 하니 (Canto 131)

나고져 식브녀 阿難일 브리산대 오샤사 내 나리이다
엇데 오시리오 阿難이 對答하대 아니 오시면 내 이쇼리라 (Canto 132)

41. The original text is as follows: ㉔ “觀者盈路，欲來佛所，調達冠墮，和離象伏，占者不祥，俱請出家。佛言，夫爲沙門，實爲不易，汝宜在家，分檀惠施。……後犯五逆，生入地獄，口稱南無，乃至佛記。……目連解六十四音，往地獄慰之答言，我臥阿鼻，苦而無倦。……和離謗舍利弗，故終入蓮花地獄” (*Shijia shipu* 釋迦氏譜，聖凡後胤，從兄調達生滅相 [Taishō Sinshū Daizōkyō 大正新修大藏經，Chapter 50]); ㉕ “世尊因調達謗佛，生身陷地獄。佛勅阿難傳問云，汝在地獄中安否。達云，我雖在地獄，如三禪天樂。佛又勸問，汝還求出否。達云，我待世尊來即出。阿難云，佛是三界大師，豈有入地獄分。達云，佛既無入地獄分，我豈有出地獄分” (*Zongmen liandenghui yao* 宗門聯燈會要，Chapter 1 [Shinsan Dai Nihon Daizōkyō 新纂大日本大藏經，Chapter 79]).

Original sources 所依本 of each canto in the *Worin cheongang ji gok* can be inferred after comparing contents of the *Worin cheongang ji gok* with the *Worin seokbo*. Chapter 23 of the *Worin Seokbo* does not include content of the *Worin cheongang ji gok* after Canto 524. Through the content of Cantos 522 to 524, we understand the corresponding lines of the *Seokbo sangjeol* and its source material is the 27th record of the “Shijia shuanshu bannieban ji” 釋迦雙樹般涅槃記 in the *Seokka bo* 釋迦譜 (Gim 2006). Canto 522 gives notice of Buddha's nirvana. Cantos 523 and 524 chant the scene of the sermon from the *Mahaparinirvana Sutra* 涅槃經. These cantos belong to the latter part of the *Worin cheongang ji gok*, but the former line and the latter line consolidate the nature of the parallel structure by keeping subject-verb agreement.⁴² Original sources are as follows:

正法이 流布하야 北方에 오라실씩 平床座를 北首하라 하시니
人生이 셨로되 佛性은 오라릴씩 跋提河에 滅度호려 하시니 (Canto 522)

衆生을 爲하샤 큰소릴 내샤 色界天에 니르시니
衆生을 조츠실씩 큰소릴 아스바 大涅槃經을 들즈븨니 (Canto 523)

娑羅雙樹에 光明을 피샤 大千世界 될 ㄴ니이다
六趣衆生이 光明을 맞나스바 惡趣와 煩惱 ㅅ 업스니이다 (Canto 524)

Canto 137 of the *Worin cheongang ji gok* deals with an episode in which Rahula was revealed as Buddha's son. In this canto, the compilers arrange two episodes, whose motives are same, in the former line and the latter line

42. Cited editions are as follows: ㉔ “爾時世尊，入拘尸城，向本生處，末羅雙樹間，告阿難曰，汝爲如來，於雙樹間，敷置床座，使頭北首，面向西方。所以然者，吾法流布，當久住北方。……有法無常，要歸磨滅，唯得聖諦道，爾乃知之。我自憶念，曾於此處，六反作轉輪聖王，終磨骨於此。今我成無上正覺，復捨性命，磨身於此。自今以後，生死永終，無有方土，磨吾身處，此最後邊，更不受有” (*Shijiapu* 釋迦譜, “Shijia shuangshu bannieban ji” 釋迦雙樹般涅槃記, Entry 27 [Taishō Sinshū Daizōkyō 大正新修大藏經, Chapter 50]); ㉕ “佛在拘尸那城，力士生地阿夷羅跋提河邊娑羅雙樹間，與大比丘八十億百千人俱，前後圍繞。二月十五日，臨涅槃時，以佛神力，出大音聲，乃至有頂，隨其類音，普告衆生。今日如來，應供正遍知，憐愍衆生，如羅睺羅，爲作歸依，大覺世尊，將欲涅槃。一切衆生，若有所疑，今悉可問，爲最後問” (*Shijiapu*, “Shijia shuangshu bannieban ji,” Entry 27 [Taishō Sinshū Daizōkyō, Chapter 50]); ㉖ “爾時世尊，於晨朝時，從其面門，放種種光，遍照三千大千佛之世界，乃至十方六趣衆生，遇斯光者，罪垢煩惱，一切消除。是諸衆生，見聞是已，心大憂惱，同時舉聲，悲號啼哭” (*Shijiapu*, “Shijia shuangshu bannieban ji,” Entry 27 [Taishō Sinshū Daizōkyō, Chapter 50]).

respectively, even though they are not temporally related to each other. In this way the compilers make this canto a parallel structure. The compilers even abbreviate some details of the episodes to give unity to two sentences.

한宗親스 알피 蓮스고지 안자 보실씨 國人스 疑心이 ㅎ마 업서니와
한부텨 서리에 아바님 아라 보실씨 國人스 疑心이 더욱 업스니이다
(Canto 137)

『석보상절』 권3 36-1~37-16의 내용 “太子 | 出家 ㅎ신 여섯 히예
耶輸陁羅 | 아들 나하시닐 釋種 들히 怒 ㅎ야 주구려타니 耶輸 | 불
퀴운 구들 디레셔 盟誓 ㅎ샤디 나옴 외면 아기와 나와 ㅎ뻘 죽고 올 ㅎ면
하늘히 문주을 ㅎ시라라 ㅎ시고 아기 안고 뛰여 드르시니 그 구디 蓮모시
드외야 蓮스고지 모를 바다닐 ㅍ이시며 나랏 사르미 그제사 疑心
아니 ㅎ나라.”

(*Sutra of Miscellaneous Jewels* 雜寶藏經, *gwon* 10, “Relation with Rahula”
羅睺羅因緣, Entry 107)

The former line of Canto 137 is not an episode about Buddha's returning home, but about the time when Rahula was born. The latter line is about an episode in which Rahula recognized the real body of Buddha among many Buddhas after Buddha returned home. Consequently the former line and the latter line of Canto 137 are not temporally related, but they make a parallel structure in the sense that the subject of the two lines were identical. The latter line of this canto cites the story of the Sakiya's 釋迦族 entering Buddhist priesthood from the fifth entry of Chapter 4 in the *Seokka bo*.⁴³ After this episode, the *Seokka bo* originally records that Rahula recognized the real body of Buddha among many Buddhas and gave Buddha a ring. But the latter line of Canto 137 abbreviates this episode and reads, “아바님 아라 보실씨” to make a parallel structure with “蓮스고지 안자 보실씨” in the former line.

43. *Shijiapu* 釋迦譜, Chapters 4-5 (*Taishō Sinshū Daizōkyō*, Chapter 50) reads: “於時世尊, 化諸衆僧, 皆使如佛, 相好光明, 等無差異. 於時羅雲, 厥年七歲. 瞿夷即以指印信環, 與羅云言, 是汝父者, 以此與焉. 羅云應時, 直前詣佛, 以印信環, 而授世尊.”

In Place of a Conclusion: About Future Project

We need to examine detailed contexts and principles of various publications that were compiled in Sejong's reign period. In addition, the main agent of each publication and roles of compilers are not too well known.

For example, the compilation of the *Dongguk jeongun* took place after Sejong's decision, but the actual compilation was carried out by Prince Anpyeong. In the *Dowon gi* 桃源記, or the scroll of poem and painting of the “Mongyu Dowon do,” Prince Anpyeong said that he himself went to the peach blossom land along with Bak Paengnyeon. He continued to say that he realized that Choe Hang and Sin Sukju were next to him. He indicated them as those who compiled rhymes together 同撰韻者 (Sim 2017). Previously people translated this line as follows: “We occasionally composed rhymed shi poetry.” However, the correct meaning of this line is that who were “the people compiled together” and what was compiled was the *Dongguk jeongun*.

The compilation of the *Dongguk jeongun* began on the 16th day of the second month in 1444 (the 26th year of Sejong's reign), when Sejong commanded Jiphyeonjeon Subeditors Choe Hang, Junior Fifth Advisor Bak Paengnyeon, Junior Sixth Counselor Sin Sukju, and Yi Gae to translate the *Yunhui* 韻會. In 1448 (the 30th year of Sejong's reign) the *Dongguk jeongun* was compiled.

In addition, publication of Sejong's period pursued constant principles of compilation, but there were differences among them, and we need to examine these closely. For instance, the *Seokbo sangjeol*, the *Worin cheongang ji gok*, and the *Worin seokbo* were different in their principles of compilation compared with those of the *Yongbi eocheon ga*.

(a) The *Hunmin jeongeum haeryebon* and the *Yongbi eocheon ga* are punctuated editions 斷句本 that add semi-stop 讀點 (逗點) and full-stop 句點 punctuations. If we read Gwon Je, Jeong Inji, and An Ji's “Jin *Yongbi eocheon ga jeon*” 進龍飛御天歌箋 that is included in the first chapter of the *Yongbi eocheon ga*, we notice that they established detailed principles of using semi-stop and full-stop for parallel prose styles. On the contrary, the *Seokbo sangjeol*, the *Worin cheongang ji gok*, and the *Worin seokbo* did not add punctuational marks. It is likely that they established a principle that they should punctuate classical Chinese publication only.

(b) The *Hunmin jeongeum haerye* and the *Yongbi eocheon ga* use tonal notes, or *gwonbal* (also called *gwonseong* 圈聲 or *saseong gwonbal* 四聲圈發) precisely. The *Hunmin jeongeum haerye* and the *Yongbi eocheon ga* add tonal notes, or *gwonbal* to characters when we need to read the characters differently because of split reading and when meaning of characters are different from the original meanings. It is likely that the *Hunmin jeongeum haerye* and the *Yongbi eocheon ga* use both punctuation marks and tonal notes because they imitated the system of the *Sisbu Wujing daquan* 四書五經大全 and the *Xingli daquan* 性理大全 that were compiled in 1415 under royal command in Emperor Yongle's reign. On the contrary, the *Seokbo sangjeol* and the *Worin cheongang ji gok* indicate tonal notes, but they do not use *gwonbal* in Chinese characters.

Such differences might have been caused by the fact that the former three books are Buddhist publications, and it is possible that this informed the choices made by their compilers; on the other hand, these differences might have arisen simply because of the individual preferences of the compilers. An additional factor is that it seems that many of the compilers of the latter two books were associated with the compiling of the *Dongguk jeongun* as well: it is likely that they paid special attention to elements of Sino-Korean pronunciation.

In early Joseon along with the fact that fundamental studies on classical Chinese were developed, the following should be also considered: the study materials of Chinese characters for children were popularly circulated. They are composed of two tetrasyllabic lines in a parallel structure and such a structure must have been influential on intellectuals' literary activities. In addition, as Koreans adopted the parallel structure as an important way of thinking in writing in classical Chinese, we can infer that parallel systems of thought were greatly influential on Koreans' describing and recording incidents.

When we read the *Worin cheongang ji gok*, it seems that compilers used some dictionaries suggesting semantic translation for Sanskrit and Chinese. In other words, in the *Worin cheongang ji gok*, each canto makes a set of the former line and the latter line based on several editions of sources, and unlike original texts people's names are not from phonetic transcription 音借表記 but from semantic transcription 意譯表記, which makes it helpful to complete a parallel structure of the former line and the latter line. Without the abovementioned

dictionaries, such changes would not have been possible. Concerning this matter, we need to search through what kind of dictionaries or source materials were published.

Translated by Wook-Jin JEONG

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Abstract

This study explores the level of *sobak* (minor learning) and philology, or fundamental studies, related to classical Chinese literature which was prevalent during the Sejong period, and examines how this level was reflected in the nature of annotated editions (of the Classics) and the way in which works became classified as Classics via the publication of collected commentaries. It also looks at the fact that the parallel structure was considered an important factor when compiling classical Chinese literature, which led to this parallel structure being adopted in Korean verses too. In terms of compilation methodology, the books published during Sejong's reign were all based on a number of specific principles, but we can find a variety of different features in the compilation of the different books. This study closely examines such differences by investigating a number of methodologies used in compilation of the *Seokbo sangjeol*, the *Worin cheongang ji gok*, the *Worin seokbo*, *Hunmi jeongeum haeryebon*, *Yongbi eocheon ga*, and so many publications during the Sejong's reign.

Keywords: King Sejong, fundamental studies of classical Chinese literature, phonology, punctuation, tone mark, parallel style, compilation of classic texts in Sejong's reign