

# *Hunmin jeongeum Haeryae* (Sangjubon) and its Brush-written Notes\*

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This article aims to present a critical bibliography of a particular copy of *Hunmin jeongeum haerye* (訓民正音解例, *Explanations and examples of the correct sounds for the instruction of the people*), the existence of which was made known to the public on July 30th, 2008. It is called *Hunmin jeongeum haerye Sangjubon* (hereafter “Sangjubon”) following the city name where the book came to light.

The purpose of this article is two-fold. It first provides a general bibliographic description of the book. Then, it further investigates when and why the brush-written notes inside the book were made through an examination of their content. We have reached the following conclusions:

1. Printed using the same woodblocks, Sangjubon belongs to the same edition as Gansongbon. Unlike Gansongbon which has truncated top and bottom margins, Sangjubon seems to be preserved in its original size.
2. The brush-written notes were written in the top and bottom margins of the pages containing the poetic summary of the “Explanation of the design of the letters.” Included in the notes are (i) a list of the 23 letters for “initial sounds” (consonants), each with an example and additional pieces of classificatory information regarding the Five Sounds, the Five Notes, and the laryngeal features (*cheongtak* 清濁), (ii) a list of the 11 letters for “medials” (vowels), and (iii) a discussion on the correspondence between the Five Sounds and the Five Notes.
3. Regarding (iii) above, we show that the particular text the note writer referred to was the “Sishēng wǔyīn jiǔnòng fānniǔtú xù” (四聲五音九弄反紐圖序), written by the Buddhist monk Shéngōng (神珙) and contained in the *Enlarged and expanded jade chapters* (*Dàguǎng yìhuì yùpiān* 大廣益會玉篇, published in 1013 in the Northern Song).

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4. Taking into consideration the Sino-Korean readings transcribed in the Korean alphabet next to the Chinese characters, we argue that the notes reflect Southeastern (Gyeongsang) dialect. We also date the notes to the 18th century or later.

**Keywords:** *Hunmin jeongeum haerye* 訓民正音解例, Sangjubon, Gansongbon, brush-written notes, *Dàguǎng yìhuì yùpiān* 大廣益會玉篇, *seolchuk* 舌縮

This article aims to present a critical bibliography<sup>1</sup> of a particular copy of *Hunmin jeongeum haerye* (訓民正音解例, *Explanations and examples of the correct sounds for the instruction of the people*), the existence of which was made known to the public on July 30th, 2008 through newspaper articles and broadcast news. It was reported that the book came to light in Sangju,<sup>2</sup> North Gyeongsang province, and was immediately identified by a researcher at the Korean Studies Advancement Center as a version of the same edition as that housed in Gansong Art Museum and known as Gansongbon. The Andong MBC (Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation) news team videotaped this book, but whether they recorded all or part of the book is currently unknown. Based on an examination of their video, one of us (Nam Kwonhui) also judged the book to be an original copy of the edition printed during the 15th-century reign of King Sejong.

Unfortunately embroiled in a lawsuit over its legal ownership, the book has been concealed from the public since its brief appearance at that time. After many twists and turns, the person who was recognized by the court as the legal owner declared that he was donating the book to the nation as of May 3, 2012. However, since he was not yet in physical possession of the book, the donation was made in name only. Thus, the conditions have been established under which the book, when it is eventually recovered,

<sup>1</sup> The phrase *critical bibliography* is used here as a translation of the Korean term *seojihak* 서지학(書誌學), which refers to the academic field concerned with the study of the classification, printing and publication of books and manuscripts. This field has no exact equivalent in Western academia.

<sup>2</sup> This book was found in an antique shop in Sangju. According to the shopowner Mr. Cho Yonghun, however, it had been originally brought from Andong. Therefore, it might be misleading to call it “Sangjubon.” Nevertheless, the authors will use the widely-known name “Sangjubon” throughout the paper in order to avoid any potential confusion that would be brought about by calling it “Andongbon.” The earlier-discovered Gansongbon was also from Andong and, thus, has equal claim to be called “Andongbon.”

will be designated as a cultural treasure and researchers will finally gain free access to it.

The purpose of this article is two-fold. It first provides a general bibliographic description of the book based on the video taken by Andong MBC. Then, it further investigates when and why the brush-written notes inside the book were made through an examination of their content.

## 1. Bibliographical information<sup>3</sup>

### 1.1. Format

#### 1) Paper

Made of typical *dak* (Korean mulberry) paper of the Early Joseon Dynasty, Sangjubon has deteriorated through exposure to ambient moisture. The bottom one-third of the first extant page is stained with oil or some other contaminant and is torn.

#### 2) State of printing

The undamaged part of the book is in good printing condition. There are no traces of retouching or intentional fabrication.

#### 3) Cover

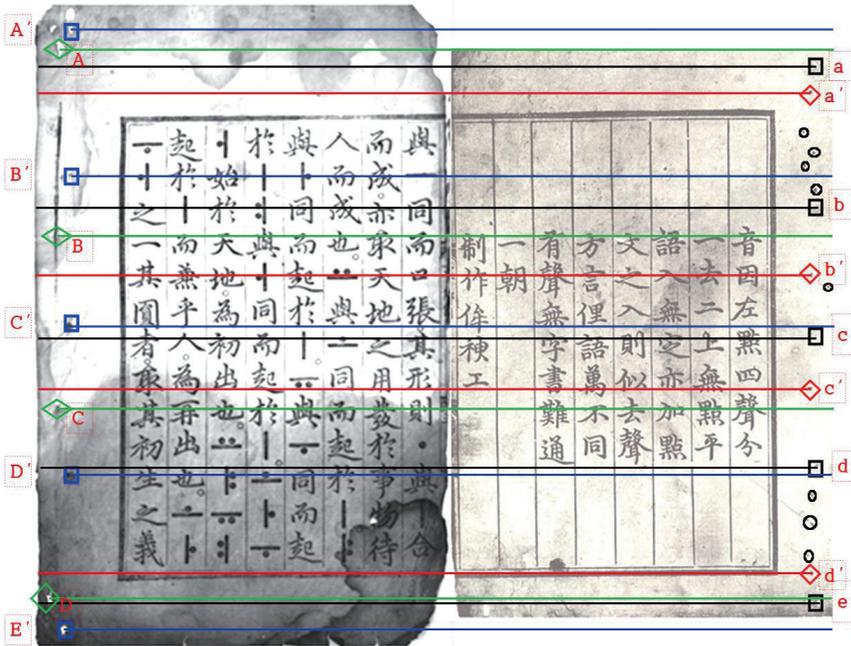
The *neunghwapan* pattern printed on the cover is a mixture of lotus and floral medallion motifs of the 16th and 17th centuries. The book is bound in a wrapped-back binding style in which the folios are folded in half so that both side edges of the folios are inserted into the spine. Because the cover does not contain the same damage and contamination as the first pages of the main text, it can be concluded that the extant cover is not original, but is a later addition made after the first pages were damaged and subsequently repaired. The book also has the traces of 5-hole stitching on the cover.

#### 4) Binding

The book binding is broken up, with some binding threads partially still

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<sup>3</sup> The front part of Section 1 is a revision of the relevant part of Nam Kwonhui (2009).



**Figure 1.** Comparison of the binding of Sangjubon (left) and Gansongbon (right). The symbols  $\square$  and  $\blacksquare$  mark the positions of 5-hole stitching and  $\diamond$  and  $\blacklozenge$  mark the positions of 4-hole stitching.

in place. An examination of the inside margin of each page reveals that there are traces of both 4-hole and 5-hole stitching. Since the extant cover has traces of 5-hole stitching, we conjecture that the book was originally bound with 4-hole stitching when first printed. As is clear from Figure 1, the binding of Sangjubon and Gansongbon is not same. This indicates that two books were bound under different circumstances.

### 5) Title

The title of the book, which is brush-written on the extant cover, is “Oseongjejago (五聲制字攷, “Investigation of the five classes of sounds and the design of the letters”).” This must have been written by the owner of the book at the time of rebinding, who presumably had no way to identify the original title due to the loss of the first pages. The title may be an incorrect conjecture on the owner’s part.

### 1.2. A comparison with Gansongbon

The captured images of Sangjubon give examiners the strong impression that it was printed using the same woodblocks as Gansongbon. However, this impression does not constitute sufficient proof in the absence of concrete evidence. There are two possible ways to verify this impression: One is to demonstrate that there is no difference at all in every respect, whereas the other is to reveal identical aberrances and irregularities that cannot be simply regarded as a coincidence. The former approach is impossible to adopt because Sangjubon is currently inaccessible. Thus, we take the latter approach in this paper and show one such matching irregularity.

If it is true that these two books were indeed printed using the same



Figure 2. Matching severed divider lines



Figure 3. Matching disconnection of the horizontal inner page border line



Figure 4. Size comparison of the two copies. Sangjubon <Jeongeum haerye 5b> is shown on the left and the same page from Gansongbon on the right.

woodblocks, excluding the possibility that one of the two copies was printed using a newly engraved woodblock replicating the original format, then we would expect that even the shape of the printed lines should be identical, not to mention the details of the shape of every single letter. This expectation is borne out when we scrutinize, for example, the divider lines called *gyeseon* (界線). The divider lines in both books are in general intact and clearly visible. However, it is not impossible to find certain cases where the divider lines are severed or disconnected. Figure 1 shows that the same divider lines are found severed exactly at the same position in both books. Figure 2 shows an identical disconnection of the horizontal inner border line called *gwanggwak* (匡郭) found on the same page of the two copies. These coincidences of irregularities indicate that the two copies were printed using exactly the same set of woodblocks.

When it comes to the size of the book, Kim Juwon (2005) claims, based on his examination of the brush writing on the hidden reverse side of the

pages, that the top and bottom margins of Gansongbon were partially cut away. This is now supported by the appearance of Sangjubon. When we juxtapose the image of a page of Sangjubon<sup>4</sup> and that of Gansongbon as in Figure 4, it is immediately noticed that Sangjubon remains in its original size and is thus much larger than the extant Gansongbon. As for why Gansongbon might have been cut down in size, see Kim 2005 for further discussion.

## 2. The extant remains of the body of the book and the brush-written notes

The currently available data suggest that the remaining part of Sangjubon only starts with the 9th page, i.e., page number 5 of *Jeongeum haerye*.<sup>5</sup> More than one-third of the page is contaminated with oil stains mostly on the bottom, which can be viewed as the result of the page's exposure to the source of oil contamination as the first page of the extant remains of the book. The authors were able to identify the following 11 pages from the video recordings:<sup>6</sup>

*Jeongeum haerye* pages 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 26, 27, and 28.

In contrast, all four *Jeongeum* pages 1 to 4 (consisting of King Sejong's preface and the subsequent "Examples and meaning" [例義]), *Jeongeum haerye* pages 15 through 25, and *Jeongeum haerye* page 29—the last page of *Jeongeum haerye* that consists of Jeong Inji's colophon—are all missing.<sup>7</sup>

What is one of the most interesting facts about Sangjubon *Haerye* is

<sup>4</sup> The source of the Sangjubon image can be found at [http://www.koreatimes.net/Kt\\_Article\\_new/122668/page/300](http://www.koreatimes.net/Kt_Article_new/122668/page/300) (August 10, 2014).

<sup>5</sup> The *Haerye* consists of two parts: a four-page introduction by King Sejong, with the *banxin* (板心) title *Jeongeum* 正音, and a twenty-nine-page section of explanations and examples, with the *banxin* title *Jeongeum haerye* 正音解例. Page numbering in each part starts at one. See Kim Zong-Su (1990) for further details.

<sup>6</sup> In addition to these, Lee Sang-gyu (2012) reports two more pages, i.e., pages 6 and 7 of *Jeongeum haerye*, which makes in total 13 pages.

<sup>7</sup> In Gansongbon, there are four instances of the expression "Hunmin jeongeum 訓民正音" in the pages *Jeongeum* 1a and *Jeongeum haerye* 1a, 27b, and 29b. However, in Sangjubon, so far as is known to date, there is only one instance in *Jeongeum haerye* 27b.

that it contains brush-written notes in the margins of some of the pages. So far, these notes have been discovered in the top and bottom margins of *Jeongeum haerye* 10b as well as in the top margin of 11a, 11b, 12a, and 12b. Hybrid images of these pages, produced by superimposing the transcribed notes onto the available images of the corresponding pages of Gansongbon, are provided in the Appendix.

### 2.1. The brush-written notes on pages 11 and 12

The notes in the top margins of all the pages but 10b are simply summations of the main content of the relevant pages as shown below. The notes in the top margin of 10b will be introduced in 2.2, along with the notes in the bottom margin of the same page.

#### *Jeongeum haerye* 11a top brush-written marginal notes

Line 2	二十三字母	
Line 3	君 君	} 全清
Line 4	斗 斗	
Line 5	驚 別 卽 卒	
Line 6	戊 舍 挹 音	
Line 7	快 斗 吞 呑	} 次清
Line 8	漂 斗 侵  침 虛  허	

#### *Jeongeum haerye* 11b top brush-written marginal notes

Line 1	虬 斤 覃 覃	} 全濁
Line 2	步 步 慈 忒	
Line 3	邪 ㅅ 洪 亨	
Line 4	業 業 那 ㄴ	} 不清 不濁
Line 5	彌 ㅁ 欲 ㅅ	
Line 6	閻 ㄹ 穰 ㅅ	

Line 7                    中聲十一  
 Line 8                    · | 一  
                              卜 卩 卩

*Jeongeum haerye* 12a top brush-written marginal notes

Line 1                    卩 卩 卩  
                              卩 卩  
 Line 3                    一  
 Line 5                    |  
 Line 7                    卩

*Jeongeum haerye* 12b top brush-written marginal notes

Line 1                    卩  
 Line 5                    卩  
                              卩  
 Line 7                    卩                    卩  
                              卩                    卩

2.2. *The brush-written notes on page 10b*

The notes written in the top and bottom margins of *Jeongeum haerye* 10b are as follows:

*Jeongeum haerye* 10b brush-written marginal notes

Top Line 4              ㄱ ㅋ ㆁ ㅇ 牙 角  
                              ㄷ ㅌ ㅍ ㅌ 舌 微  
 Top Line 5              ㅂ ㅃ ㅍ ㅍ 唇 羽  
                              ㅈ ㅉ ㅊ ㅊ 齒 商  
 Top Line 6              ㅎ ㅎ ㅎ ㅇ 喉 宮  
                              ㄷ 半舌 半微  
 Top Line 7              ㅌ 半齒 半商  
  
 Bottom Line 3          元和韻譜及神珙  
                              喉音爲宮土  
 Bottom Line 7          韻譜及沈約神珙  
                              皆以唇爲羽音

In the top margin the consonant letters are grouped and labeled with the designations for the Seven Sounds (*qī shēng* 七聲) of the Chinese phonological tradition—molars (*yá* 牙), linguals (*shé* 舌), labials (*chún* 唇), incisors (*chǐ* 齒), laryngeals (*hóu* 喉), semi-linguals (*bàn shé* 半舌), and semi-

incisors (*bàn chǐ* 半齒)—and the corresponding Seven Notes (*qī yīn* 七音) of the Chinese musical tradition—*mi* (*jué* 角), *sol* (*zhǐ* 徵), *la* (*yǔ* 羽), *re* (*shāng* 商), *do* (*gōng* 宮), and semi-tones *bànzhǐ* (半徵) and *bànshāng* (半商).<sup>8</sup> Notably, the order in which these seven sounds and seven notes are presented in the marginal notes is different from that found in the “Explanation of the design of the letters” (制字解) section of the main text. The rationale behind the changed order is provided in the notes written in the bottom margin of the same page, according to which the correspondences between labials (脣) and *do* (宮) and between laryngeals (喉) and *la* (羽) in the “Explanation of the design of the letters” seem to be regarded as incorrect. Instead, the notes state that laryngeals (喉) should be associated with *do* (宮) (“元和韻譜及神珙 喉音爲宮土 *Yuánhé yùnpǔ* and Shéngǒng associate laryngeals with *do* and earth”) and labials (脣) with *la* (羽) (“韻譜及沈約神珙 皆以脣爲羽音 [*Yuánhé*] *yùnpǔ* and Shěn Yuē, Shéngǒng all associate labials with *la*”).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Chinese terms are romanized using Hànyǔ Pinyin. They can be distinguished from romanized Korean terms by the presence of tone mark diacritics. The terms “聲” and “音” have multiple meanings and are not always used consistently. For example, when King Sejong said, “Also, do you know rhyme books (*yùnsū* 韻書)? Do you know what the ‘四聲七音’ are and how many consonants and vowels there are?” <*Sejong sillok* 26/02/20, 1444>, he means by “四聲” the Four Tones of medieval Chinese phonology—level (*píng* 平), rising (*shǎng* 上), departing (*qù* 去), and entering or checked (*rù* 入) tones—and by “七音” he means the Seven Sounds, namely the seven places of articulation listed above. The *Book of rites* (*Lǐjì* 禮記) explains that a blend of the five musical notes 宮商角徵羽 is called “音,” whereas an isolated sound is called “聲” (as cited in Kang Sinhng 2003:25). As this shows, the precise meaning of these terms varies depending on the text and subject matter. In the present article, we use the term “sound” (聲) to refer to places of articulation, except when it obviously means linguistic tone, and we use the term “note” (音) to refer to a musical note. This is consistent with the dominant usage of these two terms in the “Explanation of the Design of the Letters” (制字解) section.

<sup>9</sup> The proper correspondence between the Five Sounds and the Five Notes was a matter of great importance among the scholars of the age, because it was believed that proper knowledge of sounds 聲 and notes 音 was an essential prerequisite of proper governance. This view is exemplified in the following statement by Sin Sukju based on the 19th chapter (the “Record of Music” *Yuèjì* 樂記) of the *Book of Rites* (*Lǐjì* 禮記): “Ah! Knowledge of sounds (聲) begets knowledge of notes (音), which begets knowledge of music (樂), which begets knowledge of governance (政治) (...) (‘吁 審聲以知音 審音以知樂 審樂以知政’)” (from the preface of *Dongguk jeongun* 東國正韻, as cited in Kang Sinhng 2003:27, translation provided by the authors). (But, it should be noted that the notions 聲 and 音 in 禮記 may not be absolutely identical to those in our discussion.) Therefore, when the Joseon scholars noticed the discrepancy of the Sound-Note correspondence between the two most important rime books of their era, *Gūjīn yùnhuì jǔyào* 古今韻會舉要 and *Hóngwǔ zhèngyùn* 洪武正韻, they must have suffered seriously from lack of confidence regarding which to follow.

The first question we would like to address is what specific texts and traditions might have been available to the author of the brush-written notes that served as the source for these statements justifying the changed ordering. The following table shows schematic correspondences between the basic Five Sounds (excluding the two semi-sounds of the Seven Sounds) and the basic Five Notes (excluding the two semi-notes of the Seven Notes) presented in the “Explanation of the design of the letters” (制字解), along with the basic letters at each place of articulation and the five associated Agents.

Five sounds	牙 molars	舌 linguals	脣 labials	齒 incisors	喉 laryngeals
Basic letters	ㄱ	ㄴ	口	入	ㅇ
Five agents	木 Wood	火 Fire	土 Earth	金 Metal	水 Water
Five notes	角 mi	徵 sol	宮 do	商 re	羽 la

Before we turn to discuss *Yuánhé yùnpǔ* (元和韻譜), *Shéngǒng* (神珙), and *Shěn Yuē* (沈約) that are mentioned in the notes written in the bottom margin, let us point out that within the learned circle of Korean linguistics the reversed Sound-Note correspondences in *Hunmin jeongeum haerye* have been noted several times.<sup>10</sup> For example, Choe Hyeon-Bae (1941:36) states “The pairing-up of labials (脣音) with *do* (宮) and laryngeals (喉音) with *la* (羽) is reversed from what we find in other books; the reason for this is unclear” [translated by the authors].<sup>11</sup> Seong Won-Kyung (1970) delves deeper into this issue.

The two competing views on the Sound-Note correspondence can be

<sup>10</sup> This means that the criticism expressed in the brush-written notes in Sangjubon is not the first of its kind. Rather, the issue had been discussed in depth long before the contents of the notes were known to the public. Nevertheless, the notes can still be viewed to carry such significance that they are the oldest documented record on the issue and that they give us a clue to what books the Joseon scholars referred to.

<sup>11</sup> Choe Hyeon-Bae (1941:332) discusses the problem more concretely as follows: “The pairing of labials (脣音) with *do* (宮) and Earth (土) and of laryngeals (喉音) with *la* (羽) and Water (水) is the opposite of that found in *Hóngwǔ zhèngyùn* (洪武正韻). Rather, they conform with those of *Yùnhuì* (韻會) and look clumsy. However, I cannot clearly determine yet which is correct” [translated by the authors]. See also *ibid.*, p.394.

summarized as in the following table, where more rime books are added to the above-mentioned ones by the authors.<sup>12</sup>

Sound (聲)-Note (音) correspondence	Source	Note
labials 唇 - <i>do</i> 宮 laryngeals 喉 - <i>la</i> 羽	“Wǔyīn wǔshēng biàn zìmǔ cìdì lì” (五音五聲 辨字母次第例) in <i>Qiēyùn zhǐzhǎngtú</i> (切韻指掌圖), <i>Sishēng děngzǐ</i> (四聲等子), <i>Mèngxī bǐtán</i> (夢溪筆談), <i>Gùjīn yùnhuì jǔyāo</i> (古今韻會舉要)	“Explanation of the design of the detters” ( <i>Hunmin jeongeum</i> “ <i>jejahae</i> ” 訓民正音 制字解)
laryngeals 喉 - <i>do</i> 宮 labials 唇 - <i>la</i> 羽	“Biàn wǔyīn lì” (辨五音例) in <i>Qiēyùn zhǐzhǎngtú</i> (切韻指掌圖), “Guǎngyùn zhǐnán” (廣韻指南) in <i>Yù Piān</i> (玉篇), <i>Hóngwǔ zhèngyùn</i> (洪武正韻)	

### 2.2.1. Shěn Yuē (沈約, 441–513)

Shěn Yuē (沈約) was a scholar of the Liang Dynasty and is known as the author of *Sishēngpǔ* (四聲譜, also known as *Sishēngyùnpǔ* 四聲韻譜). He is regarded as one of the most prominent figures in the history of traditional Chinese phonology especially he was the first to identify the four tones of Chinese. Therefore, his name was also well-known to scholars of the Joseon Dynasty.

The name Shěn Yuē is first found in the description of traditional Chinese phonology in the Preface of the *Correct rhymes of the Eastern Country* (*Dongguk jeongun* 東國正韻, 1448, edited by Sin Sukju *et al.*).<sup>13</sup>

The name also appears in the preface of *Hóngwǔ zhèngyùn* (洪武正韻, 1375) and, subsequently, in the preface of *Hongmu jeongun yeokhun* (洪武正韻譯訓, 1455), where Shěn Yuē is introduced as a person who has often been accused of corrupting his rhyme book with Southern accents by scholars in later generations.

In the late Joseon Dynasty, the name appears in the *Annals of Jeongjo* (*Jeongjo sillok*) <*Jeongjo sillok* 02/11/29, 1778>. It is also mentioned several times in the *Unseo byeonjeungseol* (韻書辨證說) of the *Oju yeonmun*

<sup>12</sup> See Lee Donju (1992:534–535) for a comprehensive study of the correspondence between the Five Sounds and the Five Notes.

<sup>13</sup> There is a similar record in the *Annals of Sejong* (*Sejong sillok*) <*Sejong sillok* 29/09/29, 1447>.

*jangeon sango* (五洲衍文長箋散稿) written by Yi Gyu-Gyeong (李圭景, 1788–?) in the mid-19th century.<sup>14</sup>

### 2.2.2. *Yuánhé yùnpǔ* (元和韻譜) and *Shéngǒng* (神珙)

*Yuánhé* (元和) is the era name of Emperor Xiànzōng (憲宗, r. 806–820) of the Táng Dynasty. The book *Yuánhé yùnpǔ* (元和韻譜), written by Chù Zhōng (處忠), is no longer extant and only its title and accompanying quotation have been transmitted through other texts, namely, the *Enlarged and expanded jade chapters* (*Dàguǎng yìhuì yùpiān* 大廣益會玉篇, 1013). The *Enlarged and expanded jade chapters* is an expanded and revised edition of the original *Jade chapters* (*Yùpiān* 玉篇), which was first published in 543 by Gù Yěwáng (顧野王) of the Liáng (梁) Dynasty (502–227), later supplemented in 674 by Sūn Qiáng (孫強) of the Táng Dynasty, and finally revised with substantial expansion of the vocabulary by Chén Péngnián (陳彭年), Wú Ruì (吳銳), and Qiū Yōng (邱雍) under the reign of Emperor Zhēnzōng (真宗) of Northern Sòng (北宋). This book is what is often referred to by the abbreviated name “*Yùpiān* (玉篇).” It was also published several times in Joseon, including the re-engraved edition printed in 1414.<sup>15</sup> *Yùpiān* soon became a Korean byword for any Chinese character dictionary arranged by radical and stroke count and has had an influence on later publications of other “*Yùpiān*’s” such as *Quányùn yùpiān* (全韻玉篇, 1819).

Appended at the front of the *Enlarged and expanded jade chapters* is “*Yùpiān guǎngyùn zhǐnán*” (玉篇廣韻指南)<sup>16</sup> One part of this is the “*Sìshēng*

<sup>14</sup> For these texts, a searchable database is provided online by the DB of Korean classics: <http://db.itkc.or.kr/>.

<sup>15</sup> See 小倉進平 (1964:530) and 岡井愷吾 (1933:341) for further detail. Besides this (re-engraved) wood-block edition, there is also a metal type edition printed using the bronze metal movable type called Ulhaeja. This edition is currently housed in the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies at Seoul National University (Garam 貴 495.13 J563d, Vol. 5–10).

<sup>16</sup> According to 小倉進平 (1964:529), the original Ming edition and the re-engraved Joseon edition (1414) contain “*Yùpiān guǎngyùn zhǐnán*” (玉篇廣韻指南) in the front part of the volume, with the “*Sìshēng wǔyīn jiǔnòng fǎnniǔtú*” (四聲五音九弄反紐圖) included as a subsection inside it (namely, in the order of Preface - Table of Contents - *Yùpiān guǎngyùn zhǐnán* - Body (序文-大廣益會玉篇總目-玉篇廣韻指南-本文)). The woodblock edition housed in Kyujanggak (Ilsa 495.13 D13g, of unknown publication date) displays the same organization. By contrast, Song editions have the plates at the end of the book (岡井愷吾 1933:230). The Song edition (澤存堂本, en-graved in 1704) housed in the Seoul National University Library (*Dàguǎng yìhuì yùpiān* 大廣益會玉篇, classification number 3914 77) contains much less contents than the later Ming edition, but also includes

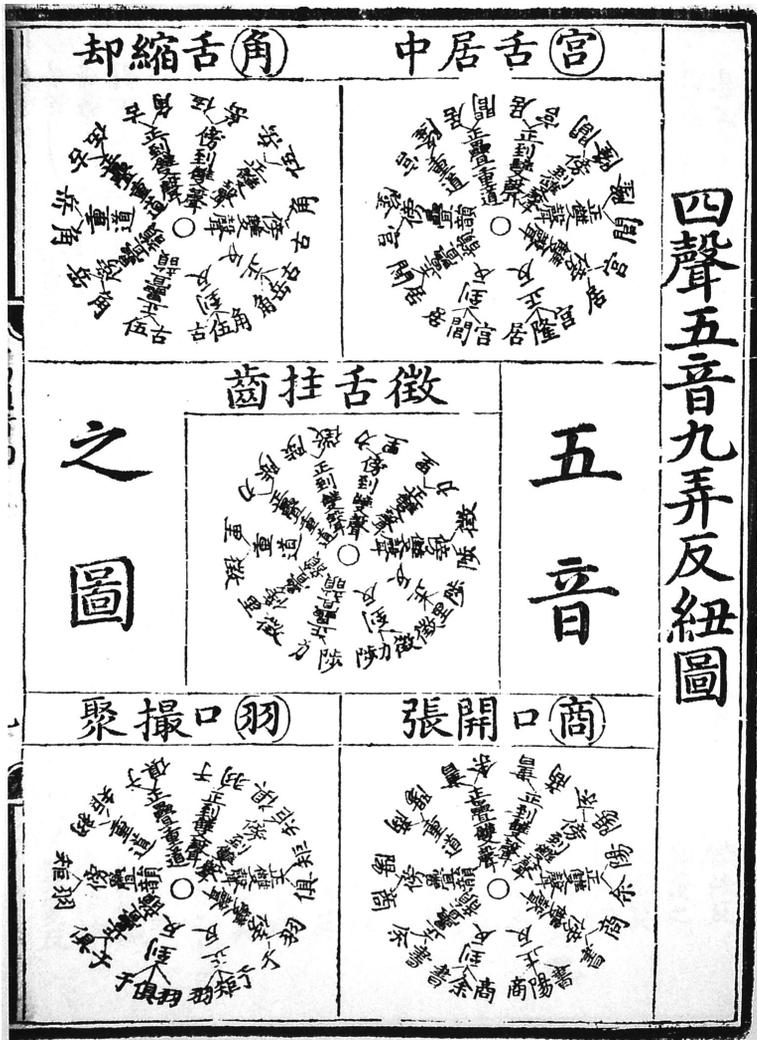


Figure 5. Ming edition of “Wǔyīnzhitú” (五音之圖)

wǔyīn jiǔnòng fǎnniǔtú xù” (四聲五音九弄反紐圖序) written by Shéngǒng (神珙), a Buddhist monk (shāmén 沙門) of the Táng Dynasty. It contains the following statement:

“Wǔyīnshēnglùn” (五音聲論), “Sìshēng wǔyīn jiǔnòng fǎnniǔtú” (四聲五音九弄反紐圖), and “Wǔyīnzhitú (五音之圖), which are of particular interest to us.

“Formerly there was Shěn Yuē of the Liáng who established charts of initial sounds ... and in the Táng, Yáng Nínggōng and Shì Chùzhōng together compiled the *Yuánhé yùnpǔ* ... It says that the level tone is plaintive and steady, the rising tone is strident and ascending, the departing tone is clear and distant, and the entering tone is straight and abrupt.” (...)昔有梁朝沈約創立紐字之圖(....)唐又有陽南公南陽釋處忠此二公者又撰元和韻譜(...)譜曰平聲者哀而安上聲者厲而舉去聲者清而遠入聲者直而促(...)”<sup>17</sup>

In the above quotation, Shéngōng (神珙) introduces Shěn Yuē (沈約) and *Yuánhé yùnpǔ* (元和韻譜) and mentions the characteristics of the four tones (四聲). Also included are the two plates of “Sìshēng wǔyīn jiǔnòng fǎnniǔtú” (四聲五音九弄反紐圖) known to be Shéngōng’s work. “Wǔyīnzhītú” (五音之圖), one of the two plates, contains notable contents that will be further discussed in 2.2.3.

Judging from the above discussion, it may be concluded that we have identified the source of the statements “元和韻譜及神珙 喉音爲宮土 *Yuánhé yùnpǔ* and Shéngōng associate laryngeals with *do* and earth” and “韻譜及沈約神珙 皆以脣爲羽音 [*Yuánhé*] *yùnpǔ* and Shěn Yuē, Shéngōng all associate labials with *la*” in the brush-written notes of the *Sangjubon Haerye*. To recapitulate, in the front part of the *Enlarged and expanded jade chapters* (大廣益會玉篇) is “Yùpiān guǎngyùn zhǐnán” (玉篇廣韻指南), where Shěn Yuē (沈約) and *Yuánhé yùnpǔ* (元和韻譜), along with the name of the writer Shéngōng (神珙), are all mentioned in one place. The subsequent part includes “Wǔyīnzhītú” (五音之圖) which describes the characteristics of the Five Sounds as follows: 宮 舌居中 (喉音),<sup>18</sup> 角 舌縮却 (牙音), 徵 舌拄齒 (舌頭, 舌上), 商 口開張 (齒頭, 正齒), 羽 口撮聚 (脣重, 脣輕).<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, in the same book (*Yùpiān* 玉篇) there is also a plate called the “Sānshílìuèzìmǔ wǔyīn wǔxíng qīngzhuó bàngtōng cuōyào tú”

<sup>17</sup> This statement about the characteristics of the four tones is cited in the *Collection of characters for training the unenlightened* (*Hunmong jahoe* 訓蒙字會, Legend 4a) by Choe Sejin. It is reported that the terms used in this book are slightly different from those used in the “Explanation of the combination of the letters in Hunmin jeongeum” (*Hapjahae*) (Nam Kwang-Woo 1953:109, Huh Woong 1955:59, Lee Ki-Moon 1972:145).

<sup>18</sup> See Seong Won-Kyung (1970:133) for discussion on the interpretations in the parentheses.

<sup>19</sup> Similar phrases are found in the extant portion of *Yūnxué* (韻學) by Shǒuwēn (守溫), a Buddhist monk of Táng, discovered in Dūnhuáng (“欲知宮 舌居中, 欲知商 舌開張, 欲知徵 舌拄齒, 欲知羽 撮口聚, 欲知角 舌縮却,” as cited in 黃易青 2007:68), as well as in the “Biàn wǔyīn lì” (辨五音例) in the *Qiēyīn zhǐzhǎngtú* (切韻指掌圖) (Seong Won-Kyung 1970:135).

(三十六字母五音五行清濁傍通撮要圖)—generally known as “Sānshǒu lìu zì mǔ tú” (三十六字母圖)—, which includes 角木牙, 徵火舌 (舌頭, 舌上), 羽水脣 (脣音重, 脣音輕), 商金齒 (齒頭, 正齒), and 宮土喉. Then, it is more likely than not that what the notetaker of the Sangjubon *Haerye* might have referred to was the *Enlarged and expanded jade chapters* (大廣益會玉篇) since all the notions in the phrases “喉音爲宮土 associate laryngeals with *do* and earth” and “脣爲羽音 associate labials with *la*” of the notes are indeed found there. As a matter of related fact, the title *Dàguǎng yìhuì yùpiān* (大廣益會玉篇), or its short name *Yùpiān* (玉篇) appears many times in the royal annals—<*Taejong sillok* 12/08/07, 1412>, <*Sejong sillok* 21/10/17, 1439>, <*Sejong sillok* 23/10/20, 1441> <*Sejo sillok* 02/11/04, 1456>, <*Jungjong sillok* 32/12/15, 1537>, <*Sukjong sillok* 16/05/28, 1690>, and <*Gojong sillok* 01/02/29, 1864>—,<sup>20</sup> which implies that the scholars of Joseon were familiar with it.

### 2.2.3. Tongue retraction (舌縮) and tongue root (舌根)

Before attempting an estimation of the date of the notes in 2.2.4, let us briefly discuss the terms *seolchuk* (舌縮 ‘lit. tongue retraction’) used in the aforementioned “Wǔyīnzhītú” (五音之圖).

When King Sejong invented the Korean alphabet, he and the scholars of the Hall of Worthies (Jiphyeonjeon 集賢殿) had already mastered traditional Chinese phonology, which is apparent from the fact that the conventional views are deeply ingrained within most descriptions and explanations in *Hunmin jeongeum*. The influence of traditional Chinese phonology has been pointed out in a great number of previous studies and thus requires no further discussion here. However, it is also well known that the inventors of the Korean alphabet created innovative new theories beyond this tradition. One such example is their tripartite division of syllables into initials (初聲), medials (中聲), and finals (終聲), which is an important development in syllabic analysis that goes beyond the conventional bipartite division (initial + final) of traditional Chinese phonology.

The term and concept of *seolchuk* 舌縮, found in “Explanation of the

<sup>20</sup> In Lee Jinhwan’s *Gungmun jikhae* (國文直解, 1923), or its revised version *Joseonmun jikhae* (朝鮮文直解, 1926), the same descriptive notion *seolchuk* 舌縮 was used for the molar sounds (“ㄱ 牙音舌縮之牙[...]”) as in “Wǔyīnzhītú” (五音之圖). This reveals how influential “Wǔyīnzhītú” (五音之圖), or other related documents, actually was. See Ha Dongho (1978) and Lee Hyeon-hui (1991) for more details about these books.

design of the letters,” has also been considered to be a Korean innovation not found in traditional Chinese phonology. For example, Lee Ki-Moon (1998:141-142) states, “But the terms used in the ‘Explanation’ are something very unique as in the cases of ‘*seolchuk* 舌縮, *seolsochuk* 舌小縮, *seolbulchuk* 舌不縮’ with respect to the tongue and ‘*gujang* 口張, *guchuk* 口蹙’ with respect to the mouth” [translated by the authors].<sup>21</sup> But our investigation of the sources behind the brush-written notes has revealed something significant. As opposed to the prevalent view that these terms were created by Koreans and thus cannot be traced back to the Chinese phonological literature, at least some of them, i.e., *seolchuk* 舌縮 and *gujang* 口張, are indeed found in the aforementioned *Jade chapters* (*Yùpiān* 玉篇).

It is a wonder that we encounter the term *shésuōquè* (舌縮却) “tongue retracted back” in *Yùpiān* that is being used to describe word-initial molar consonants (牙音) corresponding to the note *mi* (角). This description in the *Yùpiān* is obviously about the movement of the articulator, but lacks concreteness. Compare this with the description in *Hunmin jeongeum haerye*, where the molars are characterized with the articulatory configuration of “the tongue root blocking the throat (舌根閉喉之形).” From the perspective of the articulatory phonetics, this is an excellent description of both the active and the passive articulators involved in the production of the molar sounds, albeit not flawless.<sup>22</sup>

Note that the term *seolchuk* 舌縮, which was originally in the Chinese tradition, as seen in *Yùpiān*, used for the description of a specific class of consonants (i.e., molars), is in *Hunmin jeongeum haerye* instead used for the description of a specific class of vowels, as we can see in the following excerpt from the “Explanation of the design of the letters” (制字解): “[When pronouncing] · the tongue is retracted and the voice is deep ...; ㅓ is (pronounced) the same as · but the mouth is rounded ...; ㅜ is (pronounced) the same as · but the mouth is spread. (· 舌縮而聲深 ... ㅓ與· 同而口蹙 ... ㅜ與· 同而口張.)” In this excerpt, we also find the term *gujang* 口張 ‘mouth is spread’, which was originally used to describe consonants (i.e., incisors 齒音 corresponding to the note *re* 商). This adaptation is quite understandable, since these articulatory gestures are involved with the

<sup>21</sup> Lee & Ramsey (2011:156) also regard these terms as a “unique description.”

<sup>22</sup> The literal meaning would be more suitable for pharyngeals (咽頭音). However, since there was no opposition between velars and pharyngeals in the consonantism of Middle Korean, it will raise no problem.

production of vowels just as they are with consonants.

Recall that in traditional Chinese phonology we see no evidence of any recognition of vowels as independent medial elements of syllables. Therefore, it must have been necessary for Korean scholars to either devise completely new terms to describe their characteristics or to adapt existing terms describing consonants for use with vowels. Of course it is possible that the terms *seolchuk* 舌縮 and *gujang* 口張 as descriptions of vowel qualities are an independent creation of Korean scholars that happen to coincide exactly with terms for consonants in the Chinese tradition. However, it is much more plausible to assume that the inventors of *Hunmin jeongeum* borrowed the terms from the Chinese tradition, considering such facts that the *Jade chapters* (*Yùpiān* 玉篇) was one of the most widely read among the Joseon scholars and that a considerable amount of other phonetic and phonological terminology in *Hunmin jeongeum* were inarguably borrowed from traditional Chinese phonology.

It should be noted here that we do not intend to denigrate the achievements of the inventors of the Korean alphabet. Rather, we highly value Joseon scholars' creative adaptation and innovative interpretation of the terminology provided by the traditional Chinese phonology. Surely, it is the tripartite analysis of a syllable that has been considered, both domestically and internationally, to be the greatest theoretical achievement of the phonology in *Hunmin jeongeum*. From the authors' viewpoint, however, what is even more surprising in its sophistication is the three-way classification of vowels based on the degree of "tongue retraction" and its application to the explanation of Middle Korean vowel harmony.<sup>23</sup> Note that it was not until in the late 1950s—half a millenium after *Hunmin jeongeum*—that the feature [Advanced or Retracted Tongue Root], the Western equivalent to the term "tongue retraction" (舌縮) started to gain root in general phonetics and phonology.<sup>24</sup> In this sense, the notion of tongue retraction (舌縮) should be viewed as one of the most sparkling achievements in the description of *Hunmin jeongeum haerye*. We hope to be able to expand on the issue of the notion "tongue root" (舌根) and tongue retraction (舌縮) in future research.

<sup>23</sup> See Kim Juwon (1988) for further discussion.

<sup>24</sup> Whether or not what Korean scholars meant by *seolchuk* is precisely equivalent to the modern feature [Advanced or Retracted Tongue Root] is of course impossible to judge, but certainly the basic concept is similar.

2.2.4. *The date of the notes*

In the above sections, we have examined the contents of the brush-written notes and traced the origin of the notetaker’s view. Now, in this section, we attempt a rough estimation of the date of the notes. The following examples, which compare the spelling of a selection of the brush-written notes with earlier attested spellings of the same words, will help us determine when and where the notes were written.

<i>Jeongeum haerye</i> 11a		(Cf. orthographic form found in <i>Hunmin jeongeum eonhae</i> )
Line 5	戊 唵	唵
Line 6	快 𪛗	𪛗
Line 7	漂 𪛗	𪛗
<i>Jeongeum haerye</i> 11b		
Line 2	慈 𪛗	𪛗
Line 3	邪 𪛗	𪛗

The above important examples can be divided and rearranged into the following four groups, with historical spelling changes indicated by “>.” (The zero-coda letter ◦, found in the older written forms, has been omitted for convenience of comparison.)

- (a) 慈 𪛗 > 𪛗 (no change)
- (b) 戊 唵 (or 唵) > 唵 (or 唵)
- 邪 𪛗 > 𪛗
- (c) 漂 𪛗 > 𪛗
- (d) 快 𪛗 > 𪛗

First of all, the example in (a) shows that the vowel /··/ was still retained at the time the notes were written. Therefore, the notes must have been written before the 19th century when the loss of /··/ was completed. On the other hand, the examples in (b) display the loss of [j] after [s], a change that took place after the mid-18th century in all regional varieties. Putting these two facts together, we can considerably narrow the time window: the notes must date to the mid- to late-18th century.

The next two examples give us a clue to the regional variety of Korean spoken by the note-taker. The example in (c) shows that the loss of [j] was

not limited to the post-[s] environment (as in standard Korean) but took place more generally in a post-consonantal environment. This is a typical characteristic of Southeastern (Gyeongsang) Korean. The example in (d) also reveals a notable feature of Southeastern Korean: the deletion of off-glide [j], e.g., [kwaj] > [kwa] (Paek Doo Hyun 1992:175).<sup>25</sup>

In sum, it can be concluded that the notes were probably recorded in the mid-18th century, probably by a speaker of a southeastern variety of Korean. No doubt it cannot trace back to an earlier date than the 18th century.<sup>26</sup>

### 3. Conclusion

So far we have examined the copy of *Hunmin jeongeum haerye* that first came to light in Sangju in 2008 and have discussed its bibliographic details and the contents of the brush-written notes. Although the examination was made only through an incomplete set of still images captured from a video recording, we have reached the following conclusions:

1. The missing pages include the first eight pages (including the introductory four), the last page, and quite a number of pages in the middle.
2. The extant cover, entitled “Oseongjejago 五聲制字攷,” is not original but a later addition.
3. Printed using the same woodblocks, Sangjubon belongs to the same edition as Gansongbon. Unlike Gansongbon which has truncated top and bottom margins, Sangjubon seems to be preserved in its original size.
4. The brush-written notes were written in the top and bottom margins of the pages containing the poetic summary of the “Explanation of the design of the letters.” Included in the notes are (i) a list of the 23 letters for “initial sounds” (consonants), each with an example and additional pieces of classificatory information regarding the Five Sounds, the Five Notes, and the laryngeal features (*cheongtak* 清濁), (ii) a list of the 11 letters for “medials” (vowels), and (iii) a discussion on the

<sup>25</sup> Kim Juwon (1984:155) points out that <yeychen> (예천 醴泉) is written as <yechen> (여천 呂泉) in *Bogwonyeombulmun* (普勸念佛文, 1704), which is considered to reflect the North Gyeongsang dialect.

<sup>26</sup> Lee Sang-gyu (2012:41-2) argues that the notes are based on the vernacular pronunciation of Northern Gyeongsang in the late Joseon.

correspondence between the Five Sounds and the Five Notes. 5. Regarding (iii), the correspondences in the Sangjubon notes, and in the Haerye in general, are different from what was normally assumed in previous literature. We have shown that the particular text the note writer referred to was the “Sìshēng wǔyīn jiǔnòng fǎnniǔtú xù” (四聲五音九弄反紐圖序), written by the Buddhist monk Shéngǒng (神珙) and contained in the *Enlarged and expanded jade chapters* (*Dàguǎng yìhuì yùpiān* 大廣益會玉篇, published in 1013 in the Northern Song). 6. The notes reflect Southeastern (Gyeongsang) dialect and date to the 18th century or later.

We provide in Appendix 1 some additional images of Sangjubon captured from Andong MBC news and in Appendix 2 a set of composite pictures with the transcribed brush-written notes of Sangjubon superimposed on the pages of Gansongbon for the benefit of those scholars who are interested in carrying out research on Sangjubon but have no direct access to the text.

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Appendices

1. Some additional images of Sangjubon captured from Andong MBC news.

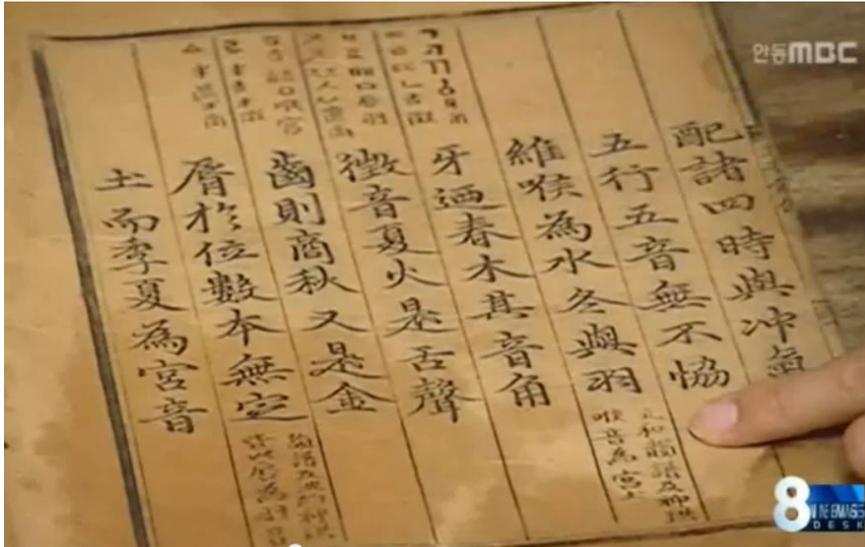


Figure 1. Jeongeum haerye 10b

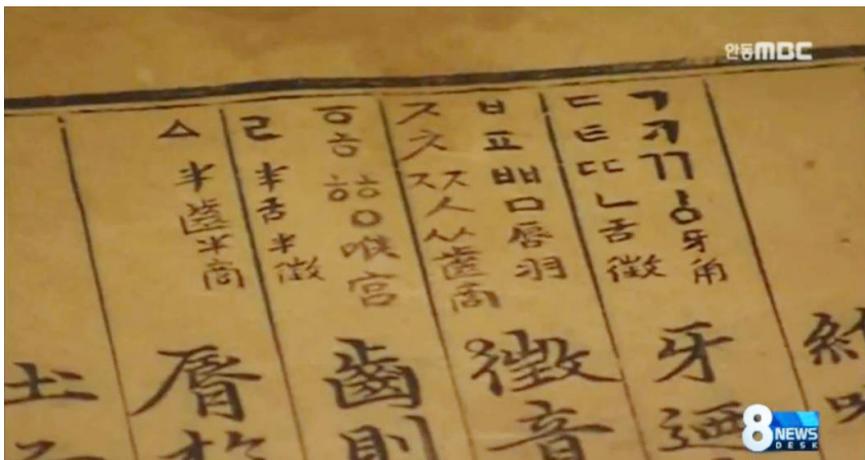


Figure 2. Jeongeum haerye 10b (upper part)

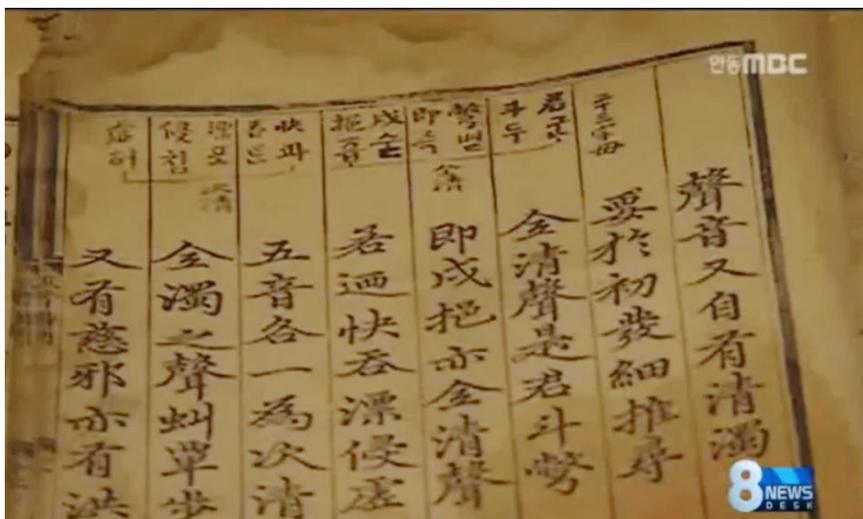


Figure 3. Jeongeum haerye 11a

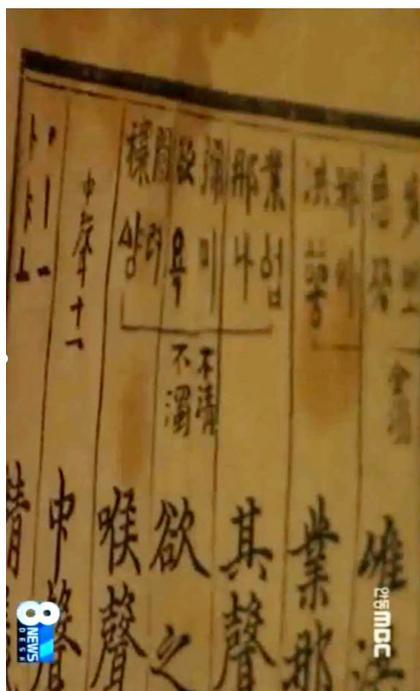


Figure 4. Jeongeum haerye 11b

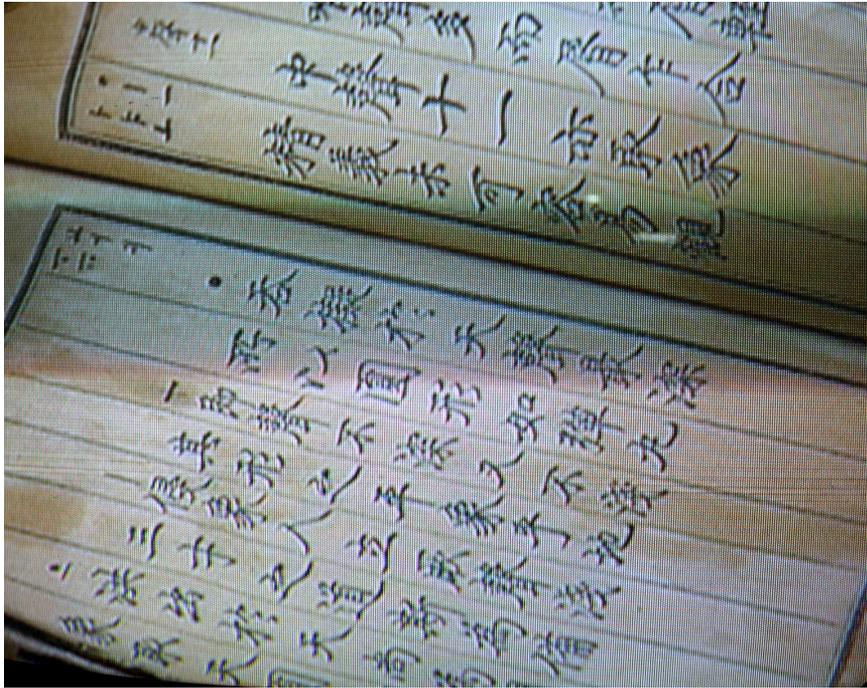


Figure 5. Jeongeum haerye 12a

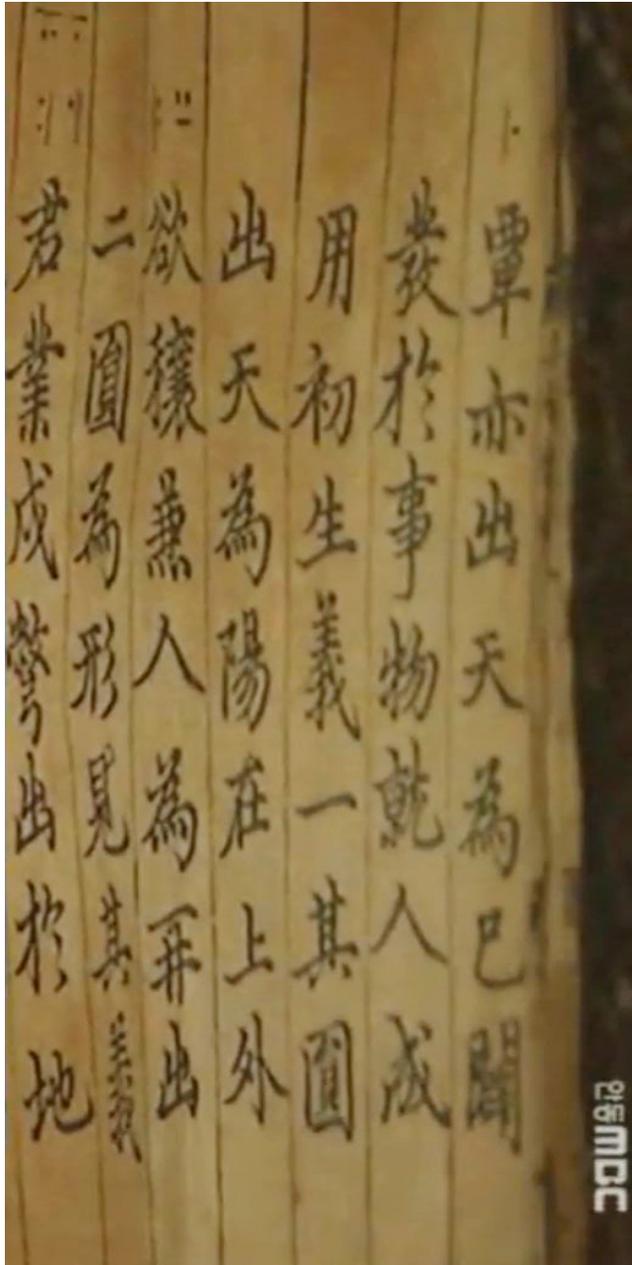


Figure 6. Jeongeum haerye 12b

2. The contents of the brush-written notes in Sangjubon, superimposed onto the images of Gansongbon.

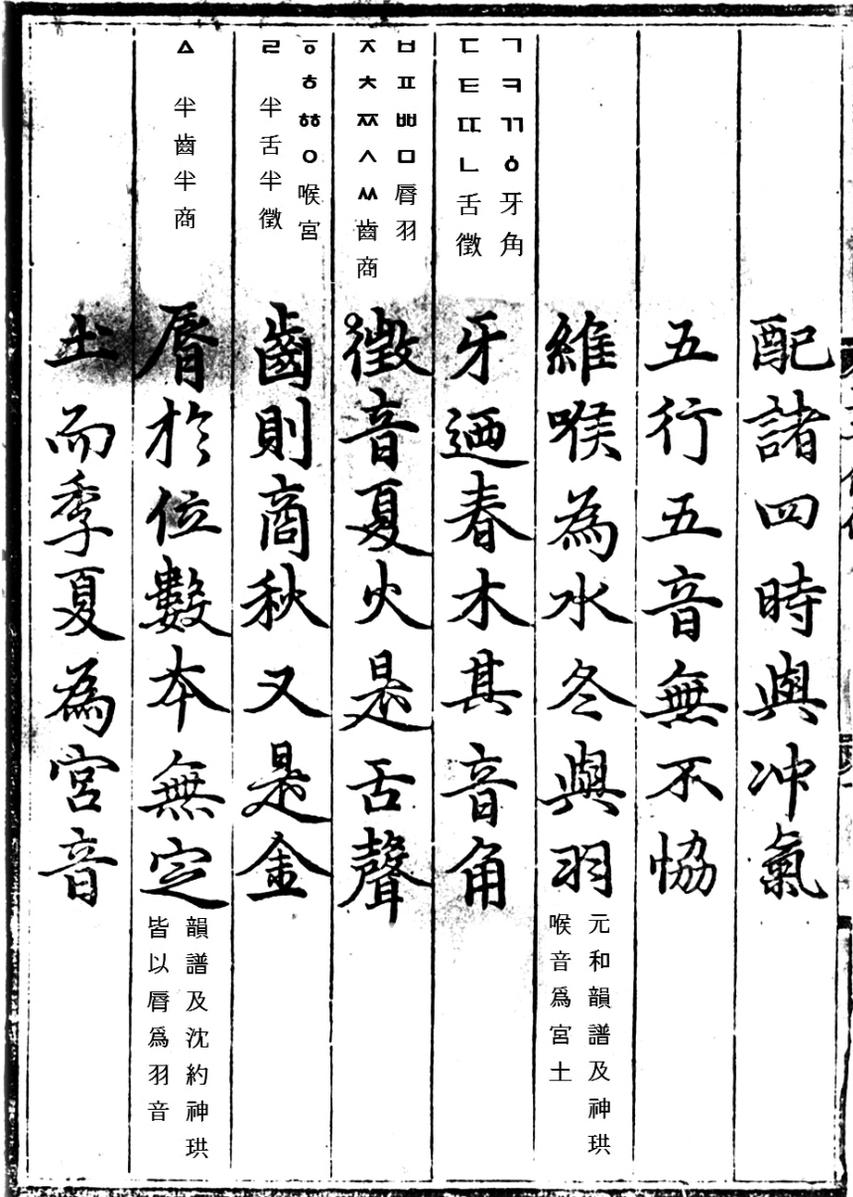


Figure 7. Sangjubon Jeongeum haerye 10b

虛 히	侵 침	漂 포	吞 툰	快 과	挹 음	戍 순	卽 즉	警 변	斗 두	君 군	
							全清				
							全清				
									二十三字母		
<p>聲音又自有清濁          要於初發細推尋          全清聲是君斗警          卽戍挹亦全清聲          若迺快吞漂侵虛          五音各一為次清          全濁之聲虯單步          又有慈邪亦有洪</p>											

Figure 8. Sangjubon Jeongeum haerye 11a

<p>上 下</p>	<p>中聲十一</p>	<p>穰 閏 欲 彌 상 려 욱 미</p>	<p>那 業 나 업</p>	<p>洪 邪 홍 사</p>	<p>慈 步 자 보</p>	<p>覃 卮 담 지</p>	
		<p>不 不 濁 清</p>				<p>全 濁</p>	
		<p>欲之連書為脣輕 喉聲多而脣乍合</p>		<p>其聲不清又不濁 業邪彌欲及閏穰</p>		<p>全清並書為全濁 唯洪自虛是不同</p>	
<p>中聲十一亦取象 精義未可容易觀</p>							

Figure 9. Sangjubon Jeongeum haerye 11b



<p>卜 單亦出天為已闢</p>	<p>發於事物就入成</p>	<p>用初生義一其圓</p>	<p>出天為陽在上外</p>	<p>欲穰兼入為再出</p>	<p>二圓為形見其義</p>	<p>君業成譬出於地</p>	<p>據例自知何須評</p>
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Figure 11. Sangjubon Jeongeum haerye 12b