

READING *SÖKTOK KUGYŎL* MATERIALS BASED ON *ŎNHAE* MATERIALS

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Abstract

In this paper, we discussed some advantages of and points of attempt to research how to read Hancha (漢字) with Kugyŏl (口訣) markings based on the premise, that the tradition of Hanmun Hundok (漢文訓讀) in Söktok Kugyŏl (釋讀口訣) materials has been succeeded to Ŏnhae (諺解) materials since the mid-15th century, the promulgation of Hunmin Chyŏngŭm (訓民正音), and based on Ŏnhae (諺解) system in these Ŏnhae (諺解) materials. As a result, Hundok (訓讀) systems of Söktok Kugyŏl (釋讀口訣) materials had much resemblance to the Non-Buddhist (Confucian) Ŏnhae (諺解) materials since the end of 15th century. Therefore, Non-Buddhist (Confucian) Ŏnhae (諺解) materials occupy an important position to consider the reading methods of Söktok Kugyŏl (釋讀口訣) materials.

Keywords: reading method; Söktok Kugyŏl (釋讀口訣) materials; Ŏnhae (諺解) materials; Hanmun Hundok (漢文訓讀); Kakikudashibun (書き下し文); Non-Buddhist (Confucian) group; Korean language

Povzetek

In this paper, we discussed some advantages of and points of attempt to research how to read Hancha (漢字) with Kugyŏl (口訣) markings based on the premise, that the tradition of Hanmun Hundok (漢文訓讀) in Söktok Kugyŏl (釋讀口訣) materials has been succeeded to Ŏnhae (諺解) materials since the mid-15th century, the promulgation of Hunmin Chyŏngŭm (訓民正音), and based on Ŏnhae (諺解) system in these Ŏnhae (諺解) materials. As a result, Hundok (訓讀) systems of Söktok Kugyŏl (釋讀口訣) materials had much resemblance to the Non-Buddhist (Confucian) Ŏnhae (諺解) materials since the end of 15th century. Therefore, Non-Buddhist (Confucian) Ŏnhae (諺解) materials occupy an important position to consider the reading methods of Söktok Kugyŏl (釋讀口訣) materials.

Ključne besede: metode branja; Söktok Kugyŏl (釋讀口訣) gradiva; Ŏnhae (諺解) gradiva; Hanmun Hundok (漢文訓讀); Kakikudashibun (書き下し文); ne-budistična (konfucijanska) group; korejski jezik

1. Introduction

There are a lot of various researches to define how to read individual Chinese characters, *Hancha* (漢字) with *Kugyŏl* (口訣) markings in *Koryŏ*-era (高麗時代) *Sŏktok Kugyŏl* (釋讀口訣) materials, that is, to refer to other materials (e.g. ① *Ch'acha P'yogi* (借字表記) materials such as *Hyangga* (鄉歌), *Idu* (吏讀), ② *Hancha* (漢字) dictionaries published since the 16th century, ③ Interpretation of *Hancha* (漢字) which is written in the additional annotation of *Ŏnhae* (諺解) texts, etc.). However, it seems that these researches tend to treat these multifarious materials arbitrarily, and only few researches treat the materials systematically on the consistent policy.

In this paper, we will discuss some advantages and points of attempt to research how to read *Hancha* (漢字) with *Kugyŏl* (口訣) markings based on the premise, that the tradition of *Hanmun Hundok* (漢文訓讀) in *Sŏktok Kugyŏl* (釋讀口訣) materials has been succeeded to *Ŏnhae* (諺解) materials since the mid-15th century, the promulgation of *Hunmin Chyŏngŭm* (訓民正音), and based on *Ŏnhae* (諺解) system in these *Ŏnhae* (諺解) materials.

2. Procedure for discussions

In this chapter, we will discuss the following points as the procedure for discussions.

- ① *Hanmun Hundok* (漢文訓讀) is a linguistic activity in wide East Asian region where Chinese characters are used.
- ② Both *Ŭmdok* (音讀) and *Hundok* (訓讀) had been used to read *Hanmun* (漢文) texts since ancient times in Korea
- ③ In Korea, both *Ŭmdok* (音讀) and *Hundok* (訓讀) were prerequisites to learn *Hanmun*(漢文) texts.
- ④ The order of reading was always consistent, that is to read *Ŭmdok* (音讀) first, and after that to read *Hundok* (訓讀).
- ⑤ *Han'gŭl Kugyŏlmun* (한글 口訣文) and *Ŏnhaemun* (諺解文) of *Ŏnhae* (諺解) materials are respectably projections from the *Ŭmdok* (音讀) and *Hundok* (訓讀) of *Hanmun* (漢文) texts' readings since ancient times.
- ⑥ *Ŏnhaemun* (諺解文) of *Ŏnhae* (諺解) materials can be regarded as *Kakikudashibun* (書き下し文), as the results of *Hanmun Hundok* (漢文訓讀).

2.1

There is no need to dwell on the subject no longer¹ that *Hanmun Hundok* (漢文訓讀) is a linguistic psychology not only in Japan but also in wide East Asian region

¹ Kosukegawa [小助川貞次] (2009, 2010) named *Hanmun Hundok*(漢文訓讀) in wide East Asian region where Chinese characters are used, 'East asian version of globalization'.

where Chinese characters are used. Korea is not an exception, and it has been cleared both in name and in reality. The fact that Hanmun Hundok (漢文訓讀) had once existed in Korea is proved by both the historical sources and existing Söktok Kugyöl (釋讀口訣) materials such as Jiùyì Rénwángjīng (舊譯仁王經).

- (1) 薛聰 字聰智 祖談捺奈麻 父元曉 初爲桑門 淹該佛書 既而返本 自號小性居士 聰性明銳 生知道術 以方言讀九經 訓導後生 至今學者宗之 又能屬文 而世無傳者 但今南地 或有聰所製碑銘 文字缺落不可讀 竟不知其何如也 (*Samguk Sagi* [三國史記] 卷46 列傳 薛聰)
- (2) 公主果有娠 生薛聰 聰生而睿敏 博通經史 新羅十賢中一也 以方音通會華夷方俗物名 訓解六經文學 至今海東業明經者 傳受不絕 (*Samguk Yusa* [三國遺事] 卷4 義解 元曉不羈)

These sources of *Samguk Sagi* (三國史記)[1145] and *Samguk Yusa* (三國遺事) [late 13th century] were quite often referred to in the discussions about the development of *Ch'acha P'yogipöpp* (借字表記法) in Korea.²

It is, therefore, that both *Ŭmdok* (音讀) and *Hundok* (訓讀) had been used to read *Hanmun* (漢文) texts in the past, but afterward “*Hundok* (訓讀) was renounced” (Yoshida [吉田金彦], Tsukisima [築島 裕], Ishizuka [石塚晴通], & Tsukimoto [月本雅幸] (eds.), 2001, p. 2) in Korea.

2.2

About *Ŭmdok* (音讀) and *Hundok* (訓讀) of *Hanmun*(漢文) texts reading, Nam [南豐鉉] (1988/1999, p. 26) pointed out that *Söktok Kugyöl* (釋讀口訣) arose first and after that *Ŭmdok Kugyöl* (音讀口訣) advanced in *Koryŏ*-era (高麗時代). It means that only *Ŭmdok* (音讀) existed in the past, and *Hundok* (訓讀) arose in *Koryŏ*-era (高麗時代). But both *Ŭmdok* (音讀) and *Hundok* (訓讀) had been used since ancient times.

In this context, Ogura [小倉進平] (1934/1975, pp. 363-369) once pointed out about the reading of *Hanmun* (漢文) texts initiated to Japan by *Ajikki* (阿直岐) and *Wangin* (王仁), as below.

(3)

- ① *Ajikki* (阿直岐) and *Wangin* (王仁) would have read *Hanmun* (漢文) as *Chiktok Hyŏnt'o* (直讀懸吐), in *Paekche* pronunciation (百濟音) or *Wú* pronunciation (吳音) of Chinese characters.
- ② After *Chiktok Hyŏnt'o* (直讀懸吐), *Ajikki* (阿直岐) and *Wangin* (王仁)

² For example, Ogura [小倉進平] (1934/1975, p. 364), Chŏng [鄭寅承] (1957/1997, pp. 120-122), Nakamura [中村 完] (1976/1995, pp. 38-39), Nam [南豐鉉] (1997/1999, p. 40), An [安秉禧] (2001a/2009b, pp. 21-22, 2001b/2009b, pp. 47-48), and so forth.

would have translated into Korean sentences, with original Korean words and Korean pronunciation of Chinese characters.

- ③ Japanese could not have handed down the method of *Chiktok Hyōnt'o* (直讀懸吐).
- ④ Japanese would have invented Japanese *Kundoku* method (訓讀法), on the model of Korean *Hundok* method (訓讀法).

Of these, it is important that both *Ŭmdok* (音讀) and *Hundok* (訓讀) had been used in *Paekche* (百濟). Also, it seems important points that he equated the form of *Ōnhaemun* (諺解文) in *Ōnhae* (諺解) materials with *Hanmun Hundok* (漢文訓讀), and that “We have to consider that the step *Chiktok Hyōnt'o* (直讀懸吐) is mandatory, at least once to reach the step of *Hunsōk* (訓釋)” (Ogura [小倉進平], 1934/1975, p. 364). It is, therefore, the order that *Ŭmdok* (音讀) arose first and after that *Hundok* (訓讀) advanced, such as Nam [南豐鉉] (1988/1999, p. 26) is not correct, but the opposite order is correct. Ogura's viewpoint was quite appropriate in his days in spite of the lack of existing materials,³ because *Sōktok Kugyōl* (釋讀口訣) materials had not been found in those days.

2.3

It is said that both *Ŭmdok* (音讀) and *Hundok* (訓讀) were requisites to learn *Hanmun* (漢文) texts. About this, An [安秉禧] (1976/1992a, pp. 299-230) pointed out in detail the learning method of *Hanmun* (漢文) texts in the educational institution for the King[Here, King *Sōnjo*(宣祖)] called *Kyōngyōn*(經筵), with *Yu Hŭich'un* (柳希春) [1513~1577]'s diaries as below. (An [安秉禧], 1976/1992a, p. 299, Referred with some expressions changed.)

- (4) 上讀前受一次 玉音琅琅 臣以經筵上番 進講大學正心章 自所謂修身在正其心 至或不能不失其正矣 音讀二度 釋一度 上即音讀一度 釋一度畢 (*Miam Sōnsaengjip* [眉巖先生集] 卷15 經筵日記 丁卯[1567年]11月5日)
- (5) 晝講 希春與柳濤入侍 右承旨朴承任 特進官南應雲 柳景深同入 希春講大學或問格物致知章 上讀音一遍 臣誤說補亡章之義 上曰時未釋 姑停之 臣即伏地 俟御釋畢 (*Miam Sōnsaengjip* [眉巖先生集] 卷16 經筵日記 庚午)

³ However, it does not mean that no foundation is found in his argument that Japanese were initiated into the reading of *Hanmun* (漢文) texts by *Ajikki* (阿直岐) and *Wangin* (王仁) as the order (3). Ogura [小倉進平] (1934/1975, pp. 366-367) gives two kinds of indirect evidences, one is a custom of *Onkun Heisho* (音訓並唱) called *Monzen Yomi* (文選読み), and the other is a characteristic of *Okuriji* (送り字) in *Senmyo* (宣命) and *Norito* (祝詞) called *Senmyo Gaki* (宣命書き). Incidentally, Nakada [中田祝夫] (1954/1979, pp. 5-40) argues that *Ŭmdok* (音讀) reading of *Hanmun* (漢文) texts also would have existed in Japan, based on the various sources.

[1570年]7月17日)

This applies to the educational institution for the princes called *Söyŏn* (書筵).

- (6) 卯時 入書筵講心經 東宮具法服 西向坐 賓客北向坐 春坊上下番及余俱東向南上 俯伏各展所講章以聽 東宮講前受音 [前日課讀 謂之前受音] 不遠復章畢 上番講新受音 [當日所講謂之新受音] 子絕四 [止] 固如此也 讀畢 東宮又讀一遍 上番遂解釋文義以奏 [講事皆上番主張] 下番又畧奏 (*Sunam Sönsaeng Munjip* [順菴先生文集] 卷16 雜著 壬辰桂坊日記[1772年] 5月28日)

The order of reading that to read *Ŭmdok* (音讀) at first, and after that to read *Hundok* (訓讀) in these sources, is common to Ogura's viewpoint that “the step *Chiktok Hyönt'o*(直讀懸吐) is mandatory, at least once to reach the step of *Hunsöck* (訓釋)”. (Ogura [小倉進平], 1934/1975, p. 368)

The learning style of *Hanmun* (漢文) texts can be seen from the *Kugyŏl I*(口訣) materials in early *Chosŏn*-era (朝鮮時代). (Nam [南豐鉉], & Sim [沈在箕], 1976/1999, p. 78).

Of these, (b)~(d) have two kinds of *Kugyŏl* (口訣) markings, *Ŭmdok Kugyŏl* (音讀口訣) and as a kind of *Söktok Kugyŏl* (釋讀口訣). It is important that *Ŭmdok Kugyŏl* (音讀口訣) markings are always on the right side without exception. *Söktok Kugyŏl* (釋讀口訣) markings are basically on the left side, but exceptionally on the right side if there is any space. And when the both coincide, *Kugyŏl* (口訣) markings are only on the right side, because *Ŭmdok Kugyŏl* (音讀口訣) marked previously also serves as two kinds of *Kugyŏl* (口訣) markings. This is the result of the order that is to read *Ŭmdok* (音讀) first, and after that to read *Hundok* (訓讀), Nam [南豐鉉], & Sim [沈在箕] (1976/1999, p. 78) noted, and this is consistent with the order of *Hanmun* (漢文) texts learning as mentioned above.⁴

⁴ Incidentally, in example (a), of *Wŏn'gakkyŏng Kugyŏl* (圓覺經口訣), there are a lot of *Söktok Kugyŏl* (釋讀口訣) marking on the right side. But we will have to pay attention to that this material have different aspects from another (b)~(d) materials. In this material, *Han'gŭl Kugyŏl* (한글 口訣), that corresponded to *Ŭmdok* (音讀), is already printed in the texts. And according to this, it had been possible to read *Ŭmdok* (音讀). In other words, it have not necessary to dare to mark *Ŭmdok Kugyŏl* (音讀口訣), and so there are any spaces both on the right side and the left side. Then, there are a lot of *Söktok Kugyŏl* (釋讀口訣) markings on the right side. Thus, it seems that this example of *Wŏn'gakkyŏng Kugyŏl* (圓覺經口訣), is also the result of the order that is to read *Ŭmdok* (音讀) at first, and after that to read *Hundok* (訓讀), and is the example to support the order of *Hanmun* (漢文) texts learning as mentioned above.

(7)

(a) 後^一一^二問^三答^四道場加行^五下根修證^六得^七道^八之^九處^{一〇}

名曰道場^一

(乙酉字本圓覺經三之二・1a)

(b) 事^一周^二義^三盡^四須^五建^六五^七名^八簡^九要^{一〇}標^{一一}題^{一二}且^{一三}存^{一四}兩^{一五}号^{一六}

(漢文本圓覺經三卷・1b)

(c) 義^一學^二之^三徒^四虛^五驕^六多^七聞^八不^九全^{一〇}道^{一一}力^{一二}奇^{一三}才^{一四}茂^{一五}器^{一六}皆^{一七}流^{一八}

為^一蒸^二砂^三迷^四客^五說^六食^七飢^八夫^九

(建文三年版楞嚴經一・1a)

(d) 不^一願^二而^三為^四隱^五然^六若^七有^八驅^九策^{一〇}而^{一一}不^{一二}能^{一三}自^{一四}已^{一五}者^{一六}宿^{一七}習^{一八}

之^一使^二也^三

(高麗板楞嚴經七・1b)

2.4

On the other hand, the typical structure of *Ōnhae*(諺解) materials since the mid-15th century, the promulgation of *Hunmin Chyōngŭm*(訓民正音), at first used *Kugyōlmun*(口訣文), *Hanmun*(漢文) with *Han'gŭl Kugyōl*(한글 口訣) and after that used *Ōnhaemun*(諺解文).

- (8) a. 阿難이 見性□고 未能證入호미 譬遇華屋□야 不得其門□□야
遂請修行方便□□오니 前에 示眞基□ 則華屋之址也 | 오 此에
示眞要□ 則華屋之門也 | 니
- b. 阿難이 性을 보고 能히 證□야 드디 몬호미 가□비건댄 빗난 지블
맞나 그 門□ 得디 몬□□야 修行□□ 方便을 請□□오니 알□ 眞實入
터흘 뵈샤□ 빗난 지빋 터히오 이□ 眞實入 조□□윈 거슬 뵈샤□ 빗난
지빋 門이니 (*Nūngōngyōng Ōnhae* [楞嚴經諺解] 5:1a-1b_解)



Picture 1: Relevant parts in (8) (Owned by Tongguk University (東國大學校))

In these materials, *Kugyŏlmun* (口訣文), *Hanmun* (漢文) attached with *Han'gŭl Kugyŏl* (한글 口訣), corresponds to *Ŭmdok Kugyŏl* (音讀口訣) which is used before the promulgation of *Hunmin Chyŏngŭm* (訓民正音). On the other hand, it seems that *Ŏnhaemun* (諺解文) also correspond to the result of *Hundok* (訓讀) reading, so to say, it resembles to *Kundokubun* (訓讀文), *Yomikudashibun* (読み下し文), or *Kakikudashibun* (書き下し文) of Japanese *Kanbun Kundoku* (漢文訓讀). Therefore, it seems that *Kugyŏlmun* (口訣文) and *Ŏnhaemun* (諺解文) of *Ŏnhae* (諺解) materials are each projections from the *Ŭmdok* (音讀) and *Hundok* (訓讀) of *Hanmun* (漢文) texts reading. It is thought that the order that *Kugyŏlmun* (口訣文) were written at first and after that *Ŏnhaemun* (諺解文) were written, was not unrelated to the order of *Hanmun* (漢文) text's reading since ancient times.⁵

In addition, the order of *Hanmun* (漢文) texts reading corresponds with the process of completing *Ŏnhaemun* (諺解文) as follows.

- (9) a. 恭惟我主上殿下 天從聖學崇信是經緬思遺囑之重篤念繼述之考 萬機之暇 特徵乙覽 親加口訣 正其句讀 命工曹參判臣韓繼禧及臣守溫 悉以國語依文而譯 於是親定讎校 質諸信眉等名僧 旋下校書館 隨即模印 始於是年六月至冬十月而事已成矣 (*Nŭngŏmgŭyŏng Ŏnhae* [楞嚴經諺解] 御製跋)
- b. 辛巳夏 如來舍利分身於檜巖 於大內者現有百餘枚 祥光異端振古所無 一國臣民皆生希有心 上亦欣然 發大誓願 乃於六月十一日 命臣反譯楞嚴經 召前尚州牧事金守溫 於服中 開局於忠順堂之廡下 賜以親定溫陵

⁵ Kin [金文京] (2010:99-105) pointed out that *Kugyŏcha* (口訣字) marked in *Nŭngŏmgŭyŏng* (楞嚴經) (Owned by *Tan'guk University* (檀國大學校), *Tongyanghak Yŏn'guso* (東洋學研究所)) matches the relevant part of *Nŭngŏmgŭyŏng Ŏnhae* (楞嚴經諺解), and that it would be the result of either that *Ŏnhae* (諺解) was created based on *Hundok* (訓讀), or that *Hundok* (訓讀) reading was done based on *Ŏnhae* (諺解). In this case the possibility of latter is higher, he said. However, he added, "Considering the fact that *Hundok* (訓讀) reading had existed prior to the promulgation of *Hunmin Chyŏngŭm* (訓民正音), it seems that *Han'gŭl Ŏnhae* (한글 諺解) was, as a whole, created based on *Hundok* (訓讀) reading which had existed since before." (pp. 104-105). On the other hand, Hong [洪允杓] (1994/in press, pp. 171-175) mentioned the manuscript *Lǐ Tàibái* (李太白)'s poetry collection, seems to be written by posterity, in his possession. It consists of the following three volumes, ①Original *Hanmun* (漢文) text of *Lǐ Tàibái* (李太白)'s poetry, ②*Hanmun* (漢文) text with *Kugyŏl* (口訣) and interpretation markings with thin brush, ③*Ŏnhae* (諺解) text. He said that these materials are in the same person's handwriting, and purchased at the same store. Of the three volumes, *Kugyŏl* (口訣) and interpretation markings of ② are similar to the *Kugyŏl* (口訣) markings of (7). Hong [洪允杓] (1994/in press, pp. 171-175) insisted that the volume of ② shows the preliminary stage of completing *Ŏnhae* (諺解) text such as ③ volume. Even if these materials are in the same person's handwriting, it is not certain that these are copied in the order of ①→②→③. If it is true, it would be one of the materials supporting the insistence of this paper, that *Ŏnhaemun* (諺解文) can be regarded as *Kakikudashibun* (書き下し文), the results of *Hanmun Hundok* (漢文訓讀) reading.

要解口訣 臣等謹依口訣譯之 至八月二十二日蒿成 以進
(*Nūngŏmgŷŏng Ōnhae* [楞嚴經諺解] 御製跋)

- c. 上이 입겨□ □□샤 慧覺尊者□ 마□와시□ 貞嬪 韓氏等이 唱準□야□
工曹參判 臣 韓繼禧 前尚州牧事 臣 金守溫□ 翻譯□고 議政府 檢詳 臣
朴槿 護軍 臣 尹弼商 世子文學 臣 盧思慎 吏曹佐郎 臣 鄭孝常은
相考□고 永順君 臣 溥□ 例 一定□고 司贍寺尹 臣 曹變安 監察 臣
趙祉□ 國韻 쓰고 慧覺尊者 信眉 入選思智 學悅 學祖□ 翻譯 正□온
後에 御覽□샤 一定커시□ 典言 曹氏 豆大□ 御前에 翻譯 님□오니라
(*Nūngŏmgŷŏng Ōnhae* [楞嚴經諺解] 御製跋)

These sources, referred to frequently (Kim [金完鎭], 1960, pp. 73-74), Shibu [志部昭平], 1983, pp. 7-9, An [安秉禧], 1997/2009, pp. 272-276, etc.), show the process of the completing metal movable-type prints *Nūngŏmgŷŏng Ōnhae* (楞嚴經諺解) [1461] published by *Kyosŏgwan* (校書館), in advance of the wood block prints *Nūngŏmgŷŏng Ōnhae* (楞嚴經諺解) [1462] publishing. In short, it means that “King *Sejo* (世祖) punctuated sentences with *Kugyŏl* (口訣) markings at first, and after that, it was translated to Korean along these *Kugyŏl* (口訣) markings ” (An [安秉禧], 1985/2009, p. 39).⁶

⁶ As for the process of completing Ōnhaemun (諺解文), there are similar mentions in another Buddhist Ōnhae (諺解) materials published by Kan'gyŏngdogam (刊經都監). Following are some examples. (An [安秉禧], 1976/1992a, p. 289, Referred with some expressions changed.)

(1) 今我聖上이 以天從辯慧로 力垂善誘□샤 萬幾之暇에 將使聾瞽로 開明케□샤 於此禪經에 親印口訣□시고 乃命儒臣□시며 招集緇流□샤 詳加諺釋□야 刊板流通□시니 (Sŏnjong Yŏnggajip [禪宗永嘉集] 信眉 跋)

(2) 今我聖上이 夙植勝因□샤 爲世導師□샤 續佛慧明□시며 萬幾之暇에 敦信是經□샤 深契妙理□샤 親定口訣□시고 命儒臣韓繼禧□샤 譯以國語□시고 (Kūmganggyŏng Ōnhae [金剛經諺解] 孝寧大君 跋)

(3) 恭惟主上承天體道烈文英武殿下 握符御極 託蒞臨朝 丕闡微猷 欽崇至教既 博綜於群籍獨 深達於竺墳 思廣甘露之門更 布慈雲之廡 煥日新之盛德 發天從之多能 楷定口訣於契經 發揮心法於了義 (Wŏn'gakkyŏng Ōnhae [圓覺經諺解] 黃守臣 箋文)

Furthermore, in Kūmganggyŏng Ōnhae (金剛經諺解), there are also mentions in Han Kyeŏi (韓繼禧)'s afterword (跋文) and in the additional annotation, that is similar to the process of completing *Nūngŏmgŷŏng Ōnhae* (楞嚴經諺解) and the participants.

(4) 予欲反譯廣布 爾其勉之 於是親定口訣 [貞嬪韓氏 御前書口訣 社堂慧瓊道然戒淵 信志道成覺珠淑儀朴氏書 口訣 兼唱準 永順君臣溥承傳出納] 臣敬依 口訣宣譯孝寧與僧海超等 更加研究 [禮曹參議臣曹變安書國韻 工曹判書臣金守溫 工曹參判臣姜希孟 承政院都承旨臣盧思慎 參校議政府舍人臣朴槿 工曹正郎臣崔灝 行仁順府判官臣趙祉 考諸經 典言曹氏 行同判內侍府事臣安忠彥 護軍臣張末同 書翻譯 行司勇臣張治孫 臣金今音 同承供校尉臣朴成林 唱準] 凡五日告成 即命刊經都監 鏤板印布 (Kūmganggyŏng Ōnhae [金剛經諺解] 韓繼禧 跋)

Shibu [志部昭平] (1983, p. 22) pointed out that the process of completing Kūmganggyŏng Ōnhae(金剛經諺解) in this source is remarkably similar to *Nūngŏmgŷŏng Ōnhae* (楞嚴經諺

As stated above, we discussed in detail that *Ōnhaemun* (諺解文) of *Ōnhae* (諺解) materials can be regarded as *Kakikudashibun* (書き下し文), the results of *Hanmun Hundok* (漢文訓讀) reading,⁷ and these can be regarded as a kind of *Hanmun Hundok* (漢文訓讀) materials.⁸

In this paper, we will discuss some of the advantages and points of the attempt to research how to read *Sōktok Kugyōl* (釋讀口訣) materials based on the *Ōnhae* (諺解) system of *Hanmun* (漢文) texts in *Ōnhae* (諺解) materials.

解), and that the difference from *Nūngōmgryōng Ōnhae* (楞嚴經諺解) is only in the printing office, *Kyosōgwan* (校書館) and *Kan'gyōngdogam* (刊經都監).

⁷ Kosukegawa [小助川貞次] (2009:42) pointed out, that such as *Shomono* (抄物) in Japan, *Ōnhae* (諺解) in Korea, and *Kunten* (訓点) materials in Vietnam, the method to write the results of *Hundok* (訓讀) reading in various languages exists, instead of the marking to original *Hanmun* (漢文) texts. That is to say, that *Ōnhaemun* (諺解文) is the results of *Hanmun Hundok* (漢文訓讀). However, he also pointed out that these have been often transmitted with original *Hanmun* (漢文) texts together.

In addition, there have been a few mentions that *Ōnhaemun* (諺解文) of *Ōnhae* (諺解) materials “corresponds to Japanese *Kanbun Yomikudashibun* (漢文読下し文)” (Kanno [菅野裕臣], 1996, p. 108), “has a similar characteristics with *Kakikudashibun* (書き下し文)” (O [呉美寧], 2004, p. 33), and so forth. However, we can not find the researches to reconstruct the systems of *Hanmun Hundok* (漢文訓讀) in these days from such perspectives.

⁸ Tsukishima [築島 裕] (1963:101-102) gave the five materials to research the language use reality and situation of *Hanmun Hundok* (漢文訓讀) in Heian-era (平安時代).

Kunten (訓点) materials.

Kakikudashibun (書き下し文), the results of *Hanmun Hundok* (漢文訓讀).

The sentences that would be written in the order of *Hanmun Hundok* (漢文訓讀), even though original *Hanmun* (漢文) texts are unknown. The kinds of *Wakan Konkobun* (和漢混淆文) in a broad sense, the sentence written in a mixture of Japanese and Chinese.

The kinds of *Ongi* (音義), dictionary.

The materials to show the social background of *Hundok* (訓讀).

Of these, he pointed out, that there are various materials of ② *Kakikudashibun* (書き下し文), the results of *Hanmun Hundok* (漢文訓讀), such as *Kanagaki Hokekyo* (仮名書法華經), *Bussetsu Amidakyo* (仏説阿弥陀經), *Kan Muryojukyo* (観無量寿經), *Kanagaki Rongo* (かながきろんご) (These are *Hiragana* (平仮名) books), and *Shakanyorai Nenjunō Shidai* (釈迦如来念誦之次第 (This is *Katakana* (片仮名) book owned by Tenri Library (天理図書館)), and so forth, and that “we can use these materials usefully if only the way of the usage is valid.” (p. 102)

It seems that *Ōnhaemun* (諺解文) in Korea nearly corresponds to ② materials, and so, these would be valuable materials to research the systems of *Hanmun Hundok* (漢文訓讀) in these days.

3. The relation of *Söktok Kugyöl* materials and *Ōnhae* materials

This chapter will deal some examples, and we will discuss some advantages and points. In this paper, incidentally, *Ōnhae* (諺解) materials of the 15th century, such as *Nūngōmgyōng Ōnhae* (楞嚴經諺解)[1462], *Pōphwagyōng Ōnhae* (法華經諺解)[1463], *Naehun* (內訓)[1475], *Tusi Ōnhae* (杜詩諺解)[1481], and so forth, will be treated as main sources. We will refer to *Hancha* (漢字) dictionaries published in the 16th century or other materials when necessary.

3.1 ‘況’

‘況’ is written as “廣韻云，「矧也。」愚案義轉而益進，則云況也。” in *Zhùzì Biànlue* (助字辨略). And “As ‘況’ is originally 匹擬也 (*Guǎngyùn*(廣韻)), the sentences including ‘況’ have the structure that is comparing the sentence above with the sentence below” (Kasuga [春日政治], 1938/1984, p. 346). It is also said that ‘況’ in auxiliary word usage, is used as conjunction (連詞) or adverb.⁹

The examples of *Söktok Kugyöl* (釋讀口訣) materials are as follows.

- (1) 彼□{之} 功德□ 邊際 無□□□ 稱量□□□□可□□□ 不□□ 與□□□□ 等
□□□□ 無□□□ 何□□ 況□ 量 無□ 邊 無 劫□□ 具□ 地度□ 修□□□ 諸
□ 功德□□□□ (*Xīnyì Huáyánjīng* [新譯華嚴經] 14:9_5-6>

(1) is marked ‘況□’. It seems to transcribe ‘□□며’ in the 15th century, because ‘□’ is probably *Marŭm Ch’ōmgi* (末音添記) of *Hun* (訓) of character ‘況’. In this example, the other hand, original *Hanmun* (漢文) text is ‘何況’, and *Kugyöl* (口訣) marking there is ‘何□□ 況□’. There are various theories about the reading ‘何□□’, but that correspond to ‘엇데 □□며’ of the 15th century, in any way.¹⁰

In *Ōnhae* (諺解) materials from the 15th century, it is common read as adverb ‘
• 며’ among the materials, except verbal reading ‘가 • 미다’.

- (2) a. 當知虛空이 生汝心内호미 猶如片雲이 點太清裏□니 況諸世界 |
在虛空耶 | □너
b. 반□기 알라 虛空이 네 □□ 안해 나미 片雲이 太清 안해 點혼 □□니
□□며 한 世界 虛空애 이쇼미□너 (*Nūngōmgyōng Ōnhae* [楞嚴經諺解]
9:44a-44b_本)

⁹ However, it is difficult to distinguish between these two. In addition, Kasuga [春日政治] (1938/1984) called ‘イハムヤ’, of Japanese *Kanbun Kundoku* (漢文訓讀) materials, ‘conjunctive adverb (接続的副詞)’.

¹⁰ However, ‘何況’ in original *Hanmun* (漢文) texts was not always read as ‘엇데 □□며’, but there are a lot of examples to be read as ‘□□며’ alone. See (5)~(6). Incidentally, ‘何況’ was written as ‘用反問的語氣表達更進一層的意思.’ in *Hànyǔ Dàcídiǎn* (漢語大詞典).

- (3) a. 炎宵惡明燭 況乃懷舊丘
b. 더운 바□ □□ 燭入 브를 아천노니 □□며 넷 □□ □□호미□녀 (*Tusi Ōnhae* [杜詩諺解] 10:21b)
- (4) a. 至於犬馬□야도 盡然이어니 而況於人乎
b. 가히 □□게 니르러도 다 그리 홀디어니 □□며 사□미□녀 (*Naehun* [內訓] 1:44b)
- (5) a. 若是施主 | 但施衆生의게 一切樂具□야도 功德이 無量커□
何況令得阿羅漢果 | □니□가
b. □다가 이 施主 | 오직 衆生의게 一切 즐거운 거슬 주어도 功德이
그지업거늘 □□며 阿羅漢果□ 得게 호미□니□가 (*Pōphwagyōng Ōnhae* [法華經諺解] 6:9a_本)
- (6) a. 舍利弗아 十方世界中에 尚無二乘커니 何況有三이리오
b. 舍利弗아 十方世界中에 오히려 두 乘이 업거니 엇데 □□며 세히
이시리오 (*Pōphwagyōng Ōnhae* [法華經諺解] 1:186b_本)

‘況’ did not exist in *Hancha* (漢字) dictionaries of the 16th century, but ‘□□며’ is common in *Sōktok Kugyōl* (釋讀口訣) materials in *Koryŏ*-era (高麗時代) and *Ōnhae* (諺解) materials of the 15th century. Accordingly, it seems that ‘□□며’ had been fixed as *Hun* (訓) of character ‘況’.

3.2 ‘當’

‘當’ have two kinds of tones, even tone (平聲) and going tone (去聲), but we will treat even tone (平聲) here. Two kinds also appear in *Zhùzì Biànlue* (助字辨略), but there are a lot of mentions, such as “應也, 合也”, “語助, 猶云將也”, “猶云方也”, and so forth, for even tone (平聲), while only one mention “當日, 即日也” for going tone (去聲).

In *Sōktok Kugyōl* (釋讀口訣) materials, ‘當’ is marked ‘□’ without exception.

- (1) 大王□ 當□ 知□□□□ (*Xīnyì Huáyánjīngshū* [新譯華嚴經疏] 35:10_17-18)
- (2) 廣□ 說□□□ 當□ 知□□ 二十種 有□□□ 菩薩地□□ 當□ 說□□□ 如□□□□□ (*Yúqiéshīdìlùn* [瑜伽師地論] 20:4_9-10)
- (3) 今□□ 我□ 亦□□ 當□ {於} 往昔□□ 同□□□ 而□ 其 命□ 捨□□□□□□ (*Xīnyì Huáyánjīngshū* [新譯華嚴經疏] 35:10_10-11>)
- (4) 謂□ 我□ 當□ {於} 无戲論涅槃□□ 心□□ 退轉□□ 无□ (*Yúqiéshīdìlùn* [瑜伽師地論] 20:8_17-18>)

In these examples, ‘當’ was treated as adverb, and marking ‘□’ was probably *Marŭm Ch’ŏmgi* (末音添記) of *Hun* (訓) of character ‘當’. Thus it seems to transcribe ‘반□기’ or ‘반□’.

In *Ōnhae* (諺解) materials of the 15th century, most of ‘當’ characters are also read as ‘반□기’, except verbal reading ‘當□다’.

- (5) a. 如是等人이□ 則能信解□리니 汝當爲說 妙法華經□라
b. 이리□ □ 사□미□ 能히 信解□리니 네 반□기 妙法華經을 爲□야 니□라 (*Pōphwagyōng Ōnhae* [法華經諺解] 2:173b_本)
- (6) a. 阿難이 白佛言호□ 世尊하 當於結心에 解□면 即分散□리□다
b. 阿難이 부터□ □오□ 世尊하 반□기 □가온□ 그르면 곧 갈아디리□다 (*Nūngōmgyōng Ōnhae* [楞嚴經諺解] 5:24b_本)
- (7) a. 人이 無父母 | | 어든 生日에 當倍悲痛이니 更安忍置酒張樂□야 以爲樂이리오
b. 사□미 父母 | 업거든 난 나래 반□기 倍히 슬허 홀디니 가□야 엇디 술 버리고 音樂□야 □ 즐교□ □리오 (*Naehun* [內訓] 1:58b)
- (8) a. 明明領處分 一一當剖析
b. □기 기결호□ 아라셔 一一히 반□기 剖析호라 (*Tusi Ōnhae* [杜詩諺解] 17:14a)¹¹

Furthermore, the examples of *Hancha* (漢字) dictionaries in the 16th century are as follows.

- (9) 當 반□ 당 (*Kwangju Ch'ōnjamun* [光州千字文] 11b)
- (10) 반□ 당 當 (*Paengnyōn Ch'ohae* [百聯抄解] 12b)
- (11) 반□ 당 當 (*Paengnyōn Ch'ohae* [百聯抄解] 13b)
- (12) 當 맛당 당 又 平聲 (*Sinjūng Yuhap* [新增類合] 下:9b)¹²
- (13) 當 맛□ 당 (*Sōkpong Ch'ōnjamun* [石峯千字文] 11b)

There are two different kinds of *Hun* (訓), one is ‘반□’ as (9)~(11), and the other is

¹¹ Incidentally, it is well known that, in *Tusi Ōnhae* (杜詩諺解), not only ‘반□기’ as adverb but also ‘반□시’, the ‘ㄱ~ㅅ’ changed form, appears for the first time, and actually, four examples were found. However, all of those are the examples of ‘必’ character's reading such as follows, so that there were no example of ‘當’ character's reading.

- (1) a. 負米晚爲身 每食臉必泫
b. □ 줍을 늘겨셔 모□ 爲□니 □□ 밥 머글 제 □□ 반□시 □므를 흘리더라 (*Tusi Ōnhae* [杜詩諺解] 24:32a)
- (2) a. 文彩承殊渥 流傳必絕倫
b. 빛□ □조로 님□ 殊異□ 恩渥□ 님□오니 流傳□야 가□ 반□시 等倫에 그즈리로다 (*Tusi Ōnhae* [杜詩諺解] 16:5a-5b)

¹² In this example, a circle(圈點) is added to the upper right hand side of ‘當’ character, meaning the character going tone(去聲), and it is written as ‘又 平聲’ under the *Hun*(訓) ‘맛당 당’.

‘맛당(맛□)’ as (12)~(13). In there, ‘반□’ appears in *Kwangju Ch’ŏnjamun* (光州千字文) which is said to have included the old *Hun* (古訓) especially, and it is the common to *Ōnhae* (諺解) materials of the 15th century and *Sōktok Kugyōl* (釋讀口訣) materials.

Thus, it seems to have some difficulties, but at least, ‘반□기(반□)’ had been fixed as *Hun* (訓) of character ‘當’, until the end of the 15th century.

3.3 ‘亦’

In *Zhùzì Biànlue* (助字辨略), ‘亦’ is written as “總也” quoted from *Guǎngyùn* (廣韻). And ‘亦’ of auxiliary word usage, is used as adverb in general, as with several meanings such as “(1)也;也是。(2)又。(3)尚;猶。(4)已;已經。(5)僅僅;只是。(6)皆。” in *Hànyǔ Dàcídiǎn* (漢語大詞典).¹³

In *Sōktok Kugyōl* (釋讀口訣) materials, there were two kinds of *Kugyōl* (口訣) markings in character ‘亦’.

- (1) 衆生□ 形相□ 各□ 不□ 同□□ 行業□ 音聲□□□ 亦□ 量□ 無□□ (*Xīnyì Huáyánjīng* [新譯華嚴經] 14:15_1)
- (2) 滅□□ 無□ 增□□ 無□ 亦□□ 盡□ 無□ 如□ 菩薩□ 功德聚 亦□ 然□□□□ (*Xīnyì Huáyánjīng* [新譯華嚴經] 14:14_14)

(1) is marked ‘□’. Nam [南豐鉉] (2007) treated it with *Chōnhuncha*(全訓字) of particle ‘-도’, but it is also possible to treat with *Marŭm Ch’ŏmgi*(末音添記) of adverb ‘□’. Example (2), ‘亦’ of the earlier part, was marked ‘□□’, and it seems that ‘亦□□’ was read as ‘□□’. In any way, there is no doubt that ‘□’ had been considered *Hun*(訓) of character ‘亦’.

The examples of *Ōnhae* (諺解) materials in the 15th century are as follows.

- (3) a. 諸菩薩衆이 亦得是三昧와 及陀羅尼□시니라
b. 諸菩薩衆이 □ 이 三昧와 陀羅尼□ 得□시니라 (*Pōphwagyōng Ōnhae* [法華經諺解] 6:184a_解)
- (4) a. 佛亦如是□야 出現於世호미 譬如大雲이 普覆一切□□니라
b. 부터도 이 □□야 世間에 나 現호미 가□비건댄 큰 구루미 一切에 너비
둡□□니라 (*Pōphwagyōng Ōnhae* [法華經諺解] 3:37b-38a_本)
- (5) a. 我等도 亦佛子 | 라
b. 우리도 □ 佛子 | 라 (*Pōphwagyōng Ōnhae* [法華經諺解] 2:11b_本)

¹³ However, in *Hànyǔ Dàcídiǎn*(漢語大詞典), character ‘亦’ in auxiliary word usage was written as ‘連詞。假如, 如果。’, ‘助詞, 無義。’, besides the various meanings of adverb.

(3)~(4) were read as adverb ‘□’ and particle ‘-도’ each other. And in (5), both two forms were read in concord as ‘-도 □’, which is similar to ‘Momata (モ亦)’ of Japanese Kanbun Kundoku (漢文訓読).¹⁴ However, it is more often to be read as only adverb ‘□’ such as (3) without particle ‘-도’.

The examples of Hancha (漢字) dictionaries in the 16th century are as follows.

- (6) 亦 □ 역 (*Kwangju Ch'ŏnjamun* [光州千字文] 21a)
- (7) 亦 □ 역 (*Sŏkpong Ch'ŏnjamun* [石峯千字文] 21a)
- (8) 亦 도 역 (*Sinjŭng Yuhap* [新增類合] 上:14b)

Example (8), of *Sinjŭng Yuhap* (新增類合), is written as ‘도 역’, and so, particle ‘-도’ might be treated as Hun (訓) of character ‘亦’, unless it is misspelling. Otherwise, adverb ‘□’ is treated as Hun (訓) of it. Anyway, there is no doubt that Hun (訓) of character ‘亦’ was primarily adverb ‘·’.

Thus, ‘亦’ is also the example that the reading method was common to Söktok Kugyŏl (釋讀口訣) materials, Ŏnhae (諺解) materials, and Hancha (漢字) dictionaries in the 16th century.

The above three characters are that the reading method was common to Söktok Kugyŏl (釋讀口訣) materials, Ŏnhae (諺解) materials, and Hancha (漢字) dictionaries in the 16th century. [‘況’ as ‘□□며’, ‘當’ as ‘반□기(반□)’, and ‘亦’ as ‘□’.] Therefore, we can verify that Hun (訓) of these characters had been fixed and persisted.

In other words, these are good examples that we can research how to read Söktok Kugyŏl (釋讀口訣) materials based on Ŏnhae (諺解) system of Hanmun (漢文) texts in these Ŏnhae (諺解) materials.

However, we have to pay attention to the situations that the persistences mentioned above are not always verified with all characters. Below are the examples.

3.4 ‘與’

‘與’ have some kinds of tones. Even tone (平聲) is used to the end of a sentence in auxiliary word usage, that means a question, a rhetorical question, or an exclamation. However, we will treat rising tone (上聲) here. Auxiliary word ‘與’ as rising tone (上聲) can be largely divided into two types, preposition (介詞) or conjunction (連詞). The meaning of ‘與’ is similar to ‘亦’ or ‘及’, and in *Zhùzì Biànlue* (助字辨略), ‘與’ is written as “與, 及也” quoted from *Lùnyǔ* (論語).

¹⁴ See Kasuga [春日政治] (1942/1985, p. 279).

The examples of Sōktok Kugyōl (釋讀口訣) materials are as follows.

- (1) 唯□佛□與□佛□□□□乃□{斯}□事□知□□□□ (*Jiùyì Rénwángjīng* [舊譯仁王經] 上:11_24)

In (1), ‘與’ was read as adverb, and ‘□’ was probably Marūm Ch’ōmgi (末音添記) of the word. Thus, it seems to transcribe ‘다□’ of Chōngūm (正音) materials in later ages.

In Ōnhae (諺解) materials, on the other hand, the reading method of character ‘與’ shows different trend by each materials.

- (2) a. 此諸物象과 與此見精이 元是何物이완□
b. 이 모□ 物象과 이 見精이 本來 이 었던 物이완□ ((*Nūngōmgyōng Ōnhae* [楞嚴經諺解] 2:56a-56b_本)
- (3) a. 爾時예 釋提桓因이 與其眷屬二萬天子와 俱□며
b. 그 □ 釋提桓因이 眷屬二萬天子와 □□ 와시며 (*Pōphwagyōng Ōnhae* [法華經諺解] 1:45a_本)
- (4) a. 及退□야 而自 讎枯日之所行과 與凡所言□니
b. 물러나 날로 行흘 마와 다□ 들잇 닐온 바□ 讎枯□야 보니 (*Naehun* [內訓] 1:16b)
- (5) a. 可憐忠與孝 兩美畫麒麟
b. 可히 □온 忠과 다□ 孝□ 두 아□다오□ 麒麟閣에 그리리로다 (*Tusi Ōnhae* [杜詩諺解] 24:4b)

(2)~(3) were read as particle ‘-와/과’, but (2) was read as connective particle, and (3) as adverbial particle. Most of ‘與’ characters were read as particle ‘-와/과’ in the Buddhist Ōnhae (諺解) materials in the mid-15th century.

Meanwhile, (4)~(5) were read as adverb ‘다□’, like (1) of Sōktok Kugyōl (釋讀口訣) materials. The word ‘다□’ as the reading of ‘與’ increases rapidly since the end of the 15th century, more precisely, since *Naehun* (內訓)[1475], *Tusi Ōnhae* (杜詩諺解)[1481].

The examples of *Hancha* (漢字) dictionaries in the 16th century are as follows.

- (6) 與 다□ 여 (*Kwangju Ch’ōnjamun* [光州千字文] 11a)
(7) 與 다□ 여 (*Sinjūng Yuhap* [新增類合] 下:63a)
(8) 與 더블 여 (*Sōkpong Ch’ōnjamun* [石峯千字文] 11a)

(6)~(7) were written adverb ‘다□’, that is common to ‘與□’ of Sōktok Kugyōl (釋讀口訣) materials or Naehun (內訓)[1475], Tusi Ōnhae (杜詩諺解), except verb ‘더블다’ such as (8) of Sōkpong Ch’ōnjamun (石峯千字文).

Thus, character ‘與’ was read as particle ‘-와/과’ in Ōnhae (諺解) materials in the mid-15th century. However around the period adverb ‘다□’ had been fixed as Hun (訓) of the character firmly. Furthermore, ‘다□’ itself is not appear at all in the Chōngŭm (正音) materials since the mid-15th century, the promulgation of Hunmin Chyōngŭm (訓民正音), to Naehun (內訓)[1475].

3.5 ‘及’

‘及’ is used as verb that means ‘reach, arrive’, and in auxiliary word usage, it is used as preposition (介詞) or conjunction (連詞). It seems that the former is written as ‘至也, 逮也’, and the latter as ‘連及之辭也’ in Zhùzì Biànlue (助字辨略), quoted from Guǎngyùn (廣韻).

However, we will treat only conjunction (連詞) usage here, because it is difficult to distinguish between verbal usage and preposition (介詞) usage.¹⁵

The examples of Sōktok Kugyōl (釋讀口訣) materials are as follows.

- (1) 謂□ 有餘依涅槃界□ 及□ 無餘依涅槃界□□ 依止□□□□ (Yúqiéshīdílùn [瑜伽師地論] 20:4_20-21)
- (2) 五欲□ 及□ 王位□ 富饒□ 自樂□ 大名稱□□□□ 求□□□□□□ 不□□ (Xīnyì Huáyánjīng [新譯華嚴經] 14:9_12)
- (3) 佛□ 及□ 衆生□□□□ 一□□ 而□ 二 無□□□ (Jiùyì Rénwángjīng [舊譯仁王經] 上:15_12)
- (4) 五者 一切 諸佛□ 不共法 等□□□□ 及□ 一切 智智□□□□ 灌頂智 能 具足 □□□□□□□□ (Hébù Jīnguāngmíngjīng [合部金光明經] 3:5_6-7)

These examples show different trend by each materials. That is, one is marked ‘□’ such as (1)~(2) of Yúqiéshīdílùn (瑜伽師地論) and Xīnyì Huáyánjīng (新譯華嚴經), and the other is marked ‘□’ such as (3)~(4) of Jiùyì Rénwángjīng (舊譯仁王經) and

¹⁵ For example, example (1) can be judged as verbal usage, however, example (2) is difficult to judge whether it is verbal usage or preposition (介詞) usage.

- (1) a. 相及□야□ 乃有畔□□니 畔義不成□니 非非和也 } 로다
b. 서르 미쳐□ □□ 잇□니 □ □디 이디 아니□니 아니 和 혼 디 아니로다 (Nūngōmgyōng Ōnhae [楞嚴經諺解] 2:102b_解)
- (2) a. 從其室門□야 後及庭際□리니
b. 그 집 門□ 조차 後에 □ □□ 미즈리니 (Nūngōmgyōng Ōnhae [楞嚴經諺解] 1:53a_本)

Hébù Jīnguāngmíngjīng (合部金光明經). The reading method of the latter examples is unknown, but the former examples marked ‘□’ are probably Marŭm Ch’ŏmgi (末音添記) of character ‘及’. Thus, it seems to transcribe adverb ‘및’, Hun (訓) of character ‘及’.

In Ōnhae (諺解) materials, it is also extremely complicated.

- (5) a. 諸天龍夜叉와 及阿修羅等이 皆以恭敬心으로 而共來聽法□리니
b. 諸天龍夜叉와 □ 阿修羅□히 다 恭敬 □□□로 모다 와 法 드르리니
(*Pŏphwagyŏng Ōnhae* [法華經諺解] 6:56a_本)
- (6) a. 若本戒師 | 어나 及同會中에 一不清淨□면 如是道場이 終不成就라□시니라
b. □다가 밋 戒師 | 어나 □ □ 會中에 □나히나 清淨 몬□면 이 □티 道場이 내□내 이디 몬□□니라 □시니라 (*Pŏphwagyŏng Ōnhae* [法華經諺解] 7:173a_解)
- (7) a. 身心이 滅盡者□ 無色蘊과 及 龜識也 | 라
b. 身心이 滅□야 다오□ 色蘊과 龜□ 識이 업수미라 ((*Nūngŏmgyŏng Ōnhae* [楞嚴經諺解] 9:32a_解)
- (8) a. 阿難아 若此比丘의 本受戒師 | 어나 及同會中十比丘等이 其中에 有一不清淨者 | 면 如是道場이 多不成就□리라
b. 阿難아 □다가 이 比丘의 本來 受戒□ 스스□어나 同會中엿 열 比丘□히 그 中에 □나히나 清淨티 아니□니 이시면 이 □티 道場이 해 이디 몬 □리라 (*Nūngŏmgyŏng Ōnhae* [楞嚴經諺解] 7:25a_本)

In (5)~(6), ‘及’ was read as adverb ‘□’ which is in concord with the preceding auxiliary word such as particle ‘-와/과’, conjunctive ending ‘-거나’, and so forth. However, in (7)~(8) were read as only these auxiliary word without adverb ‘□’ appearing. In *Nūngŏmgyŏng Ōnhae* (楞嚴經諺解), there are many examples to read ‘及’ as both adverb ‘□’ and the auxiliary words equally, while in *Pŏphwagyŏng Ōnhae* (法華經諺解), most of examples are read as these auxiliary words alone, except only one exception that is read as adverb ‘□’. This suggests that there are differences of Ōnhae (諺解) system between *Nūngŏmgyŏng Ōnhae* (楞嚴經諺解) and *Pŏphwagyŏng Ōnhae* (法華經諺解).¹⁶

¹⁶ As for the details of completing *Ōnhae* (諺解) of each materials, in *Nūngŏmgyŏng Ōnhae* (楞嚴經諺解), there are some descriptions in the afterword (跋文) that King *Sejo* (世祖) marked *Kugyŏl* (口訣) directly at first, and after that *Kim Suon* (金守溫) and *Han Kyehŭi* (韓繼禧) translated. However, in *Pŏphwagyŏng Ōnhae* (法華經諺解), there are no description as described above, so that it is estimated from several situations, that the same persons would have involved in compiling the materials (An [安秉禧], 1998/2009a, pp. 68-69), etc.). And this has been generally accepted. But considering to the subtle difference of *Ōnhae* (諺解) system between two materials mentioned above, it might be necessary to re-consider the estimate of the persons compiling *Pŏphwagyŏng Ōnhae* (法華經諺解) more carefully.

- (9) a. 又如舊舉將과 及嘗爲舊任按察官者를 後에 己官이 雖在上이나
前輩 | 皆辭避 □야 坐下坐 □더니
b. □ 네 천거 □던 사 □과 밋 일즉 네 검찰 □□ 벼슬 □엿던 관원을 후에 내
벼슬이 비록 우 □ 이시나 넷 사 □미 다 □□□며 피 □야 아래 좌에
안 □니 (*Pönyök Sohak* [翻譯小學] 7:46b-47a)
- (10) a. 慶及諸子 | 入里門 □야 趨至家 □더라
b. 慶과 밋 모 □ 아 □이 里門의 들어 □조 걸어 집의 닐으더라 (*Sohak Ōnhae* [小學諺解] 6:80b)

(9)~(10), on the other hand, are examples of *Pönyök Sohak* (翻譯小學) [1518] and *Sohak Ōnhae* (小學諺解) [1588]. These are read as ‘밋’, that is common to *Söktok Kugyöl* (釋讀口訣) materials. The word ‘밋’ itself is very few in the 15th century, but in the 16th century, it increase significantly as reading ‘及’ character. In this respect, it is similar to ‘與’ character above.

The examples of *Hancha* (漢字) dictionaries in the 16th century are as follows.

- (11) 及 밋 급 (*Kwangju Ch'önjamun* [光州千字文] 7a)
(12) 及 미 □ 급 (*Sökpōng Ch'önjamun* [石峯千字文] 7a)
(13) 及 미출 급 (*Sinjūng Yuhap* [新增類合] 下:42a)

(11) of *Kwangju Ch'önjamun* (光州千字文), was written ‘밋’, that is common to *Söktok Kugyöl* (釋讀口訣) materials or *Ōnhae* (諺解) materials in the 16th century such as (9)~(10). In other respects, (12) of *Sökpōng Ch'önjamun* (石峯千字文), and (13) of *Sinjūng Yuhap* (新增類合), was written as verb ‘밋다’.

As shown above, reading method of character ‘及’ was extremely complicated. There are examples to be read as adverb ‘밋’ in *Söktok Kugyöl* (釋讀口訣) materials, *Ōnhae* (諺解) materials in the 16th century, and *Hancha* (漢字) dictionaries in the 16th century, so that, it seems that ‘밋’ had been fixed as *Hun* (訓) of character ‘及’. However, of *Ōnhae* (諺解) materials in the mid-15th century, it was read as adverb ‘·’ or auxiliary word such as particle ‘-와/과’, conjunctive ending ‘-거나’, and so forth. Not only that, the word ‘밋’ itself is very few in the 15th century.¹⁷

As discussed above, there is a similarity between ‘與’ and ‘及’ each other. That is, the reading methods of these characters are common between *Söktok Kugyöl* (釋讀口訣) materials and *Ōnhae* (諺解) materials since the end of 15th century or the 16th

¹⁷ Incidentally, the word ‘밋’ as adverb is very few in the 15th century, however, the same form in verbal usage ‘밋다’ appears frequently, and it had also been used as the reading of character ‘及’ in verbal usage. Then, we may not be able to assert that ‘밋’ have disappeared at all in the 15th century.

century[與 as 다□, and ‘及’ as ‘밋’]. While the other reading method existed in Ōnhae (諺解) materials in the mid-15th century.

It is not easy to provide an explanation for this, but one thing that we would like to stress that, most of materials in the mid-15th century were Buddhist materials, while Non-Buddhist (Confucian) materials had increased since the end of 15th century. In other words, variations in language use, in more detail, the variations in Hanmun Hundok (漢文訓讀) traditions among Buddhist and Non-Buddhist group, appeared in different periods.¹⁸

From the above, we will reach a strange conclusion, that the tradition of Hanmun Hundok (漢文訓讀) in Sōktok Kugyōl (釋讀口訣) materials had been succeeded to Non-Buddhist(Confucian) group, and another tradition had existed separately among Buddhist group in the mid-15th century. Or it might be better to consider that the tradition of Hanmun Hundok (漢文訓讀) in Korea was basically consistent. However, the tradition among Buddhist group in the mid-15th century were quite peculiar.

Certainly, there are also examples such as ‘況’, ‘當’, ‘亦’, mentioned above, that the reading methods are common to Buddhist Ōnhae (諺解) materials in the mid-15th century. However we cannot overlook the fact that the reading methods of these characters were common among Buddhist Ōnhae (諺解) materials and Non-Buddhist (Confucian) Ōnhae (諺解) materials. Moreover, from a preliminary study, it seems that there are more examples such as ‘與’ or ‘及’.¹⁹ I would like to continue considering these examples.

In any case, it should be stressed that Non-Buddhist (Confucian) Ōnhae (諺解) materials occupy an important position to consider the reading methods of Sōktok Kugyōl (釋讀口訣) materials.

¹⁸ For the various forms in the materials written in different days, there is a research such as Ch’oe [崔明玉] (2002) treating past tense suffix formation. He did not regard these forms as the historical chronically successive, but paid attention to the characteristics of the materials, and concluded that these distinct forms have been used in different regional and social dialects, and have been reflected in written text separately. However, there are few detailed research on his argument, that language use among the groups (Buddhist and Non-Buddhist group) had been different each other, except a verbal evidence by Kwōn Odon (權五惇)[A Chinese scholar, 1901~1984] that language use were different for each alley in P’alp’an-dong (八判洞), Chongno-gu (鐘路區), Seoul, in the early 1940s. It seems that there is a gap in his argument, however, for future research about the history of Korean language, such viewpoints might be necessary, in any case.

¹⁹ For example, ‘各□□, 各□□, 各□□□’(제여곰, 제곰), ‘更□’(가□야, 가□여), ‘共□’(다□), 「并□」(아오로), and so forth.

4. Closing Remarks

As stated above, we have discussed some of the advantages and points of the attempt to research how to read *Sōktok Kugyōl* (釋讀口訣) materials based on *Ōnhae* (諺解) materials, with each examples. As a result, *Hundok* (訓讀) systems of *Sōktok Kugyōl* (釋讀口訣) materials had much resemblance to the Non-Buddhist (Confucian) *Ōnhae* (諺解) materials since the end of 15th century.

Recently, as studies of *Sōktok Kugyōl* (釋讀口訣) materials advanced, it has been often pointed out that it is important to classify the group of the materials, such as *Huáyánjīng* (華嚴經) group, *Yúqíshīdìlùn* (瑜伽師地論) group, and so forth. Furthermore, these classifications have been positively applied to the deciphering of Cypher (角筆) materials.

However, as for the groups, it seems that the relation with *Ōnhae* (諺解) materials should be also considered. In that respect, it seems that *Sōktok Kugyōl* (釋讀口訣) materials and Non-Buddhist (Confucian) *Ōnhae* (諺解) materials have deep connection. In future study, various examples should be treated in detail. This paper, which treated a few examples, is nothing more than a preface of the future research.

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