

# Stylistic Diversification in Korean Classical Chinese and its Historical Actions

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The utilization and evolution of classical Chinese writing on the Korean Peninsula exhibit distinctive characteristics within the broader East Asian cultural sphere. In ancient Korea, despite the existence of multiple competing states, a shared cultural civilization emerged wherein Classical Chinese writing played a pivotal role. Subsequently, Korean intellectuals actively assimilated and reinterpreted Classical Chinese texts, significantly contributing to developments in literature, history, law, politics, economics, and various scholarly disciplines. Classical Chinese served not only as a medium for intellectual discourse but also facilitated the dissemination and exchange of shared knowledge. Even after the invention of Han'gŭl in the 15th century, Han'gŭl documents primarily remained restricted to personal correspondence, translations of royal protocols, women's writings, and fictional works.

This paper provides an overview of the historical development of classical Chinese literature on the Korean Peninsula, categorizing its progression into three distinct stages: the formative period of classical Chinese textual conventions, the period of expansion, the era of transformation and diversification. During each period, state authorities rigorously upheld established literary genres and hierarchical writing practices, while simultaneously non-political and popular literary traditions emerged and evolved in opposition to state influence. This complex interplay led to a multilayered literary culture in pre-modern Korea. The classical Chinese literary tradition, forged through the interactions and tensions among state power, non-political literary hierarchies, and popular literary movements, generated an extensive corpus that includes fictional literature reflecting national sentiments or reality, scholarly treatises, historical documentation, and rhetorical documents employed in diplomatic exchanges and both public and private contexts.

**Keywords:** Classical Chinese with Classical Grammar, hybrid Korean-style Chinese, transformation texts, rhymes, civil service examination composition, public literature, private literature, diplomatic documents

## Introduction

Even in the so-called Chinese cultural sphere, the Korean Peninsula (Joseon Peninsula) has occupied a unique position. Although Korea underwent division after the formation of the nation in ancient times, it formed a common culture and independent civilization in competition with China and Japan. In this process, Chinese characters and Classical Chinese played a very important role in the lives of the people.

Since its invention, the function of Han'gŭl has expanded. Still, it was long used in a limited way for letters, translations of royal protocols, women's diaries, and novels. Historically, Korean intellectuals cultivated their literary, historical, and academic traditions by engaging with and reinterpreting Chinese classical works. Classical Chinese served as the medium for disseminating these discourses and shared knowledge.

When examining the long-term changes in customs related to Chinese characters and Classical Chinese in Korean history from the 4th to the 20th centuries, the periods can be divided as follows: formation, expansion, transformation/diversification, and disappearance. In pre-modern Korea, state power firmly maintained the hierarchy of literary genres, while popular and non-political literary hierarchies resisted and developed against it. The rich tradition of writing in Classical Chinese was achieved through the antagonism and negotiation of these opposing hierarchies. In addition, the various layers of literature 文 include fiction that expresses the thoughts and emotions of a nation or reflects reality, records of historical facts, academic essays, and uniquely rhetorical documents on diplomatic relations based on the principle of "serve the strong and be neighborly" or public or private relationships.

From ancient times to the first half of the 15th century, the royal court was central in promoting poetry and prose 詞章 in Korea. The country sought to embody the ideals of literary works focused on glorifying the state 華國文章 and literary works focused on supporting the successful governance of the dynasty 經國文章 in creating official diplomatic documents 詞命文, engaging in poetic letters and responses 唱和 with Chinese envoys, and commissioning literary works produced by royal decree 應製. Korean intellectuals used verse forms that followed the rhyme structure of Classical Chinese grammar to record public facts and produce official documents, as well as to develop their reasoning and express their emotions. Mid-level intellectuals used the state examination as an important gateway to entering the civil service. The writing style required by the examination and used in politics was *komun* 古文 (classical prose) in Classical Chinese grammar. However, public administration, criminal policy, land documents, and living documents used the vocabulary of expressions that borrowed sound or meaning from Chinese words, based on the order of the words in the spoken language, and used the *idu* 吏讀 (clerical reading) script for grammatical segmentation, in what is called *idu*-style Classical Chinese. The central government supervised literature and letters, which took multifaceted forms. Meanwhile, the upper classes mastered and appropriated the principles of tonal prosody 平仄 and rhyme 押韻. It was not until the late Joseon period that lower-level intellectuals began to develop their aesthetic world using non-rhyming literature or variations of examination poems 科詩.

### Classical Chinese with Classical Grammar and Hybrid Korean-style Chinese

According to archaeological excavations, East Asia began using Chinese characters as a common writing system before the common era. The northern Korean Peninsula probably interacted with China from 300 BCE during the Bronze Age, leading to the adoption of Chinese characters. The excavation of knife-money 明刀錢, spade-money 方足布, and Qin spheres 秦戈 from North P'yŏngan province on the Korean Peninsula, along with the use of the appellation of king 王 for the Kojosŏn 古朝鮮 (trad. 2333 BCE-108 BCE) leader, the use of official titles like “grand master” 大夫 and “erudite” 博士, and the adoption of the Chinese-style name Ye 禮 all indicate a connection between the northern Korean Peninsula and Chinese civilization during the Warring States period.<sup>1</sup> Koguryŏ 高句麗 (37 BCE-668 CE) received imperial edicts 詔 from China from 122 CE and sent memorials 書表 to China from 233. In 372, Koguryŏ established T'aehak 太學 (State Academy) to educate the children of aristocrats and recognized the interpretation of the Confucian Five Classics 五經 as advanced knowledge. At the same time, Koguryŏ developed its Buddhist culture by importing Buddhist books in Classical Chinese from China. By the fourth century, the ruling elite would have shared the view that Chinese characters and Classical Chinese were essential for literacy.

Each ancient regional state developed its own school system. Even Silla 新羅 (57 BCE-935 CE), which had the latest state system among the so-called Three Kingdoms, established Kukhak 國學 (National Academy) in 682 and a system of reading examinations in three grades in 788. We can infer from this school system that the upper class was composed of literati with a knowledge of Chinese literature. According to the epigraph materials, hybrid Korean-style Chinese 變格漢文 (i.e., *idu*-style Classical Chinese) using the indigenous grammar and *t'o* 吐 (abbreviated characters) were widely used at first. Still, the custom of writing the epitaph with transformation texts 變文 was gradually established. When the civil service examinations were implemented in the mid-Koryŏ 高麗 (918-1392) period, the *komun* style was recognized as the written format of Standard Classical Chinese 正格漢文. However, official documents utilized *idu*-style Classical Chinese, and under the Yuan 元 dynasty's (1271-1368) influence, *imun* 吏文 (clerical writing) was also adopted.

The relationship between the language and sentence structure of Korea and the stylistic forms of Classical Chinese can be summarized as shown in Table 1.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fujita Ryōsaku, “Chōsen hakken no Meitōsen to sono iseki” in *Chōsen kōkogaku kenkyū* 朝鮮考古學研究 (Kyōto: Kōtō shoin, 1948)

<sup>2</sup> Sim Kyung-Ho and Peter Kornicki, “34. Sino-Korean Literature,” in Wiebke Denecke, Wai-Yee Li, and Xiaofei Tian, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Classical Chinese Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

Table 1. Relationship Between Korean and Classical Chinese Literary Elements

	Writing system	Style of prose	Corresponding form of poetry composition		
Language and writing of Joseon	Classical Chinese Grammar	Tang and Song classical prose 唐宋古文, classical prose based on the Qin and Han models 秦漢古文 (Imitative classical prose 擬古文), essays 小品	poetry 詩 (including song lyrics 詞)		
		* Imitative vernacular Sinitic 擬-白話文			
		parallel prose 駢文			
		exam literature 科文 (examination poems 科詩, examination rhapsodies 科賦, exegetical essays 疑義, examination essays 科策)	examination poems 科詩, poetry 詩		
		Buddhist literature 佛教漢文	unrhymed Korean-style poetry 朝鮮式古風, poetry 詩		
	Hybrid Joseon-style Classical Chinese	<i>hyangch'al</i> 鄉札 (local letters)			
		Early mixed text that used both <i>umdok</i> 音讀 (sound-reading) and <i>hundok</i> 訓讀 (gloss-reading)			
		Public documents, including chang 狀 and kye 啟	poetry 詩	unrhymed Korean-style poetry 朝鮮式古風	
		Practical documents related to everyday life, including <i>komok</i> 告目 (letters to a superior) and <i>iban</i> 立案 (public certificates)	unrhymed Korean-style poetry 朝鮮式古風		
	Texts written in Han'gŭl	<i>onhae</i> 諺解 (Korean translation and adaptations accompanying literary Chinese texts in bilingual editions)			
		Practical documents related to everyday life written in Han'gŭl			
		Han'gŭl <i>sŏch'al</i> 書札 (letters), <i>chemun</i> 祭文 (offerings), <i>haengjang haengnok</i> 行狀行錄 (posthumous biographies), <i>sosŏl</i> 小說 (novels)			

### Classical Chinese with Classical Grammar

Ancient Korea was in contact with Chinese civilization and adopted Classical Chinese, including its grammar. “Epitaph of the Tumulus in Tökhüngni” 德興里古墳墓誌銘 (408) and the “Stele of Great King Kwanggaet’o” 國岡上廣開土境平安好太王碑 (414) are written entirely in Classical Chinese. The latter straightforwardly described the achievements and royal edicts 敕命 of King Kwanggaet’o in Classical Chinese with Classical grammar but did not include a memorial inscription with rhyming verses.

In 869, King Kyöngmun (841-875) of Silla studied *Wenxin diaolong* 文心雕龍 (*Literary Mind and the Carving of the Dragon*) with Monk Nanghye 朗慧<sup>3</sup> (800-888). In the autumn of 881, when Emperor Xi Zong 僖宗 (862-888) of Tang dynasty (618-907) fled westward to escape the riots led by Huang Chao 黃巢 (835-884), King Hön’gang (861-886) sent Monk Nanghye as envoys and had those who had mastered the Six Forms of Poetry in the *Shijing* 六義 compose farewell songs. At this time, Royal Grandson Ögyöng 嶷榮 led the chanting, and others composed poems to create a collection, with Pak Ong 朴邕, a scholar at Hanlin Academy 翰林院, who wrote a preface. After that, Kim Taemun 金大問 authored *Records of the Hwarang* 花郎世紀, *Biographies of Eminent Monks* 高僧傳, *Treatise on Music* 樂本, *Records of Hansan* 漢山記, and *Miscellaneous Records of Gyerim* 雞林雜傳. Ch’oe Ch’iwön 崔致遠 (b. 857) returned from Tang in 885 and in the first month of 886 presented 28 volumes of poetry and prose, including *Collection of Writings from the Garden of Cassia* 桂苑筆耕集 and *Collection of Toppled Baskets of Zhōngshān* 中山覆篋集, and over 100 recent-style poems.

After the mid-11th century, Korean prose in Classical Chinese shifted its focus to classical prose, with the development of miscellaneous writings and biographical narratives. Pak Inryang 朴寅亮 (d. 1096) compiled *Tales of the Unusual* 殊異傳. Monk Gakhun 覺訓, in the early period of the military regime in Koryō, also compiled *Biographies of Eminent Korean Monks* 海東高僧傳. Yi Inro 李仁老 (1152-1220) compiled *Breaking Boredom* 破閑 in 1220, and Choe Ja 崔滋 (1188-1260) compiled the *Continuation of Breaking Boredom* 續破閑, also known as *Bohan jip* 補閑集, in 1254.

Classical Chinese with classical grammar had a wide range of applications. Joseon dynasty (1392-1910) compiled *Tongmun Sŏn* 東文選 (*Eastern Selections of Refined*

<sup>3</sup> In 890, Ch’oe Ch’iwön wrote *Inscription of the monk Nangye* 朗慧和尚碑, also known as “Yut’ang silla kuk ko yangjo kuksasa kyosi taeranghye hwasang paegwöl pogwang chi t’ap pimyöng” 有唐新羅國故兩朝國師教諡大朗慧和尚白月葆光之塔碑銘, by royal order. According to the inscription, in the autumn of 871, the king issued a royal decree summoning Nanghye to the capital and inquired about Buddhism.

*Literature*) in three editions to proclaim the “flourishing of literary arts” 文運 under a stable royal authority. Its original edition, consisting of 133 volumes (including a three-volume index), was compiled in 1478 under the leadership of Sō Kōjōng 徐居正 (1420-1488), assembling poetry and prose from the Three Kingdoms, Koryō, and early Joseon periods. The supplementary edition, comprising 23 volumes (including a two-volume index), was compiled in 1518 by Sin Yonggae 申用溉 (1463-1519), selecting poetry and prose from the early Joseon period, and was combined with the original edition. A separate edition, consisting of 35 volumes (including a two-volume index), was compiled and published in 1713 by Song Sanggi 宋相琦 (1657-1723), selecting from the *Tongmun Sōn* to send to the Qing dynasty (1644-1912) and selecting poetry and prose after the original and supplementary editions. The original edition, consisting of 133 volumes, comprises works by 496 authors and 76 anonymous writers, classifying 1,770 titles and 2,028 poems, as well as 2,534 prose pieces, into 58 literary styles. The supplementary edition, consisting of 21 volumes, classifies 770 titles and 980 poems, as well as 182 prose pieces, into 36 literary styles. The original, supplementary, and separate editions contain only poetry and prose written in Classical Chinese with classical grammar.

Table 2. The 58 Literary Styles and transformation texts 變文,  
Prose, Poetry in *Tongmun Sōn* 東文選

	The literary styles of <i>Tongmun Sōn</i>	The presence and functional characteristics of rhyme
<i>Tongmun</i> <i>01</i>	01. <i>Ci</i> 辭 02. Rhapsody 賦	Rhymed verse and prose content
<i>Tongmun</i> <i>02</i>	03. Five-syllable classical style poetry 五言古詩 04. Seven-syllable classical style poetry 七言古詩 05. Five-syllable regulated poem 五言 律詩 06. Five-syllable extended regulated poem 五言排律 07. Seven-syllable regulated poem 七言 律詩 08. Seven-syllable extended regulated poem 七言排律 09. Five-syllable quatrain 五言絕句 10. Seven-syllable quatrain 七言絕句 11. Six-syllable verse 六言	Rhymed verse, Sinitic poetry style
<i>Tongmun</i> <i>03</i>	12. Edict 詔勅 13. Instruction 教書 14. Commands 制誥	Downward correspondence from the monarch, composed in Classical

	15. Patent of enfeoffment 冊 16. Royal response 批答	Chinese with its literary grammar or transformation texts
<i>Tongmun</i> 04	17. <i>P'yo</i> 表 (Memorial) 18. <i>Chŏn</i> 箋 (Memorandum)	Upward correspondence from a subordinate to the monarch in transformation texts
<i>Tongmun</i> 05	19. <i>Kye</i> 啓 (Communication) 20. <i>Chang</i> 狀 (Statement)	Upward correspondence from a subordinate to the monarch; primarily prose written in Classical Chinese grammar
<i>Tongmun</i> 06	21. Battlefield poster 露布 22. Proclamation 檄書	Proclamation related to combat; primarily prose written in Classical Chinese grammar, but also including works in transformation texts
<i>Tongmun</i> 07	23. Admonition 箴 24. Inscription 銘 25. Eulogy 頌 26. Encomium 贊	Classified as prose in terms of content but in a rhymed format
<i>Tongmun</i> 08	27. Memorial 奏議 28. Abbreviated memorial 筭子	Upward policy-related correspondence from a subordinate to the monarch; primarily prose written in Classical Chinese grammar, but also including works in transformation texts
<i>Tongmun</i> 09	29. Essay 文 30. Biography 書 31. Record 記 32. Preface 序 33. Discourse 說 34. Treatise 論 35. Biography 傳 36. Postface 跋 37. <i>Ch'io</i> 致語 (Banquet offering) 38. <i>Pyŏn</i> 辯 (Debate) 39. <i>Tae</i> 對 (Response) 40. <i>Chi</i> 志 (Historical records) 41. <i>Wŏn</i> 原 (Origin)	A peer communication style among literary intellectuals, primarily prose using Classical Chinese grammar, though occasionally composed in transformation texts. Notably, a lot of prefaces 序 are written in transformation texts. Essays 文 are prose in an allegorical or humorous style, while banquet offerings 致語 are prose expressing sentiments immediately following public events, often employing parallelism.
<i>Tongmun</i> 10	42. Official communication 牒 43. Discussion 議	Official communication is a report from local officials concerning policies or the status of a war, while <i>ŭi</i> is a document in which court officials express their opinions on policy matters. This is mainly prose composed using Classical Chinese

		grammar, with occasional instances of transformation texts.
<i>Tongmun</i> 11	44. Miscellaneous 雜著	Prose written in Classical Chinese grammar, encompassing argumentation, discussion, and proposal styles
<i>Tongmun</i> 12	45. Policy inquiry 策題	A literary style used to solicit advice on current policy matters in the state examination grounds and the royal courtyard, with compositions either authored by the monarch or written on their behalf by court literati; prose written in classical Chinese grammar
<i>Tongmun</i> 13	46. Beam-raising blessing 上梁文	A literary style recited at the beam-raising ceremonies of public buildings, semi-public buildings such as Confucian academies and shrines, and private or temple buildings; composed in transformation texts and song with <i>Six Repetitions of 'Arangwi'</i> 六偉頌
<i>Tongmun</i> 14	47. Offering 祭文 48. Vow for blessing 祝文 49. Buddhist or Daoist vow 疏 50. Buddhist service vow 道場文 51. Buddhist or Daoist service vow 齋詞 52. Daoist sacrificial vow 青詞	A literary style used in rituals and prayers in Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism; primarily rhymed verse with occasional use of transformation texts
<i>Tongmun</i> 15	53. Lament 哀詞 54. Dirge 誄	A poetic form that mourns an individual's passing, with aesa addressing the deceased as the nominal listener and noe addressing the funeral attendees as the audience
<i>Tongmun</i> 16	55. Conduct description 行狀	A style of establishing words 立言 that is used to record the praiseworthy achievements of the deceased for future generations; composed in prose with Classical Chinese grammar
<i>Tongmun</i> 17	56. Inscription 碑銘 57. Grave record 墓誌 58. Epitaph 墓誌銘	A literary style for inscriptions on steles 碑 or grave records 誌, chronicling the deceased's life. While inscription 銘 in verse is central, the proportion of prose prefaces 并序

		written in Classical Chinese grammar or transformation texts gradually increased. In some cases, a inscription was not even written.
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Although the literary styles of the *Continuation of Tongmun sŏn* 續東文選 were reduced to thirty-six categories, its selection of various styles, including transformation texts, prose, and verse, is almost identical to that of the original compilation.

*Sok tongmun 01*: 01. Ci 辭, 02. Rhapsody 賦

*Sok tongmun 02*: 03. Five-syllable classical style poetry 五言古詩, 04: Seven-syllable classical style poetry 七言古詩, 05. Five-syllable regulated poem 五言律詩 06. Seven-syllable regulated poem 七言律詩, 07. Seven-syllable extended regulated poem 七言排律, 08: Five-syllable quatrain 五言絕句, 09: Seven-syllable quatrain 七言絕句, 10. Six-syllable quatrain 六言絕句, 11. Poems of mixed styles

*Sok tongmun 03*: 12. Book of posthumous title 諡冊, 13: Book of condolence 哀冊, 14. Lament 哀詞

*Sok tongmun 04*: 15. Inscription 銘, 16. Encomium 贊

*Sok tongmun 05*: 16. Memorandum 箋, 17. Memorial 表

*Sok tongmun 06*: 18. Memorial to the throne 上疏

*Sok tongmun 07*: 19. Proclamation 檄

*Sok tongmun 08*: 20. Policy inquiry 策題

*Sok tongmun 09*: 21. Record 記, 22. Preface 序, 23. Discourse 說, 24. Treatise 論, 25. Biography 傳, 26. Postface 跋

*Sok tongmun 10*: 27. Song 歌謠

*Sok tongmun 11*: 29. Miscellaneous writings 雜著

*Sok tongmun 12*: 30. Beam-raising blessing 上梁文

*Sok tongmun 13*: 31. Prayer text 祭文

(3) Most of the Joseon monarchs utilized Classical Chinese along with its grammar in their writings. For instance, King Chŏngjo 正祖 (1752-1800)'s poems and prose were compiled in three separate occasions: the 11th year of his reign (1787), the 19th year of his reign (1795), and the 23rd year of his reign (1799). In the 12th month of the year (1801) after King Chŏngjo's death, the table of contents consisting of 184 volumes in 100 books was determined, and the *Complete Works of Hongjae* 弘齋全書 was confirmed. In the 14th year of King Sunjo 純祖 (1790-1834)'s reign (1814), it was published by the Kyujanggak 奎章閣 (Royal library) using the Chŏngnija 整理字 type as a metal type edition. In the same year, 40 volumes in 22 books of the *Complete Works of Hongjae* were included in *Royal Writings of Successive Kings* 列聖御製.

Although King Yǒngjo 英祖 (1694-1776) was the first Joseon monarch to have his literary collection published,<sup>4</sup> King Chǒngjo’s collection surpasses King Yǒngjo’s in both quantity and quality. Most of his literary style is Classical Chinese with its grammar, and his legal verdict 判 is written in *idu*-style.

Furthermore, the monarchs frequently requested literary responses 廣載 and compositions 製述 from their civil officials, both of which literary styles utilized Classical Chinese with its grammar. Furthermore, King Chǒngjo presented *chomun* 條問 (compositions) related to the classics and history to his officials and ordered them to submit *chodae* 條對 (replies) or had civil officials arrange question-and-answer sessions on the classics and history. *Chomun* and *chodae* were all compiled using Classical Chinese with its grammar.

Table 3. Content of the *Complete Works of Hongjae* 弘齋全書

Volume	Subtitle	Content
Volume 1	<i>Record of the Spring Residence</i> 春邸錄	A collection of 154 poems from his time as crown prince. Volume 1 contains poems written from 1765 to 1768.
Volume 2	<i>Record of the Spring Residence</i> 春邸錄	Volume 2 contains poems written from 1769 to 1775.
Volume 3	<i>Record of the Spring Residence</i> 春邸錄	Volumes 3 and 4 include essays written from 1765 to 1775, during the period when he was crown prince. Volume 3 contains 23 letters addressed to <i>kungnyo</i> 宮僚 (court officials), <i>pin'gaek</i> 賓客 (guests), Yi Chinhyōng 李鎭衡, and Hong Ponghan 洪鳳漢.
Volume 4	<i>Record of the Spring Residence</i> 春邸錄	2 letters, 2 prefaces, 3 records, 1 prayer text, 2 treatises), judgments, 5 admonitions, 6 inscriptions, 2 eulogies, 11 miscellaneous writings
Volumes 5–7	Poetry 詩, movement of music 樂章, congratulatory remarks 致詞	Includes 177 poems, two movements of music, and one congratulatory remark. These three were composed for the 60th birthday banquet of his mother, Hyegyōnggung 惠慶宮 (1735-1815), held in Hwasōng 華城 in 1795.
Volumes 8–13	Letter and preface	Includes 47 letters and 9 prefaces. Separate prefaces also exist for “Self-Preface of the Old Man, Lord of

<sup>4</sup> Among the published literary collections of Chosŏn monarchs are King Yǒngjo(1694–1776)’s, *Royal Collection of Chipkyōngdang* 御製集慶堂編輯 and *Royal Continued Collection of Chipkyōngdang* 御製續輯慶堂編輯, and Crown Prince Changhōn’s (1735–1762) *Random Drafts of Nūnghōgwan* 凌虛關漫稿. *Royal Collection of Chipkyōngdang* 御製集慶堂編輯 and *Royal Continued Collection of Chipkyōngdang* 御製續輯慶堂編輯 were published by the Kyosōgwan in 1768 and 1772, respectively, and *Random Drafts of Nūnghōgwan* 凌虛關漫稿 was published in 1814 along with *Hongjae chōnsō*.

		Myriad Streams and Bright Moon” 萬川明月主人翁自序, and for categories of etiquette 典禮類, dismissal and promotion 黜陟類, law and discipline 法紀類, finance and taxation 財賦類, military affairs 軍旅類, and construction and maintenance 營繕類 included in <i>General Discussion on Drafts of Memorials by Lord Ikjeong</i> 翼靖公奏藁 and <i>Drafts of Memorials by Lord Ikjǒng</i> 翼靖公奏藁.
Volume 14	Record 記	Includes seven pieces including “Kongmukhap ki” 恭默閣記 (Record of the Kongmuk Pavilion), “Chedok igong sadang ki” 提督李公祠堂記 (Record of the Shrine for General Li), “Yongyangbongjǒjǒng ki” 龍驤鳳翥亭記 (Record of the Yongyangbongjǒ Pavilion).
Volume 15	Inscription 碑	Includes 24 inscriptions, including inscriptions for Wöllŭng Tomb 元陵, Hongnŭng Tomb 弘陵, Yǒngnŭng Tomb 永陵, Hyǒnllŭngwǒn Tomb 顯隆園 and epitaphs for Song Siyǒl 宋時烈(1607-1689), Pak Myǒngwǒn 朴明源(1725-1790), Yi Sunsin 李舜臣(1545-1598), etc., and the “Stele of Sǒkwangsa Temple at Sǒlbongsan Mountain in Anbyǒn” 安邊雪峯山釋王寺碑.
Volume 16	“Hyǒllyungwǒn record” 顯隆園誌	Grave record for Crown Prince Sado (1735-1762)’s Tomb (built in 1789)
Volume 17	“Biographical Record of Yǒngjong” 英宗行錄	Biographical record of King Yǒngjo written in 1776
Volume 18	“Hyǒllyungwǒn Biographical Record” 顯隆園行狀	Biographical record of Prince Sado written in 1789
Volumes 19–25	Prayer text 祭文	Include 430 <i>chemun</i> , including notification text 告由文, rain-summoning prayer 祈雨祭文, memorial prayer 致祭文 for a Confucian academy, memorial prayer for Yi Yi 李珥 (1536-1584), Yi Sunsin and others, and prayer text for King Chǒngjo’s younger half-brother Yi Chin 李禎 (1755-1771) and paternal aunt Princess Hwap’yǒng 和平翁主 (1727-1748).
Volume 26	Royal edict 綸音	Includes 69 royal edicts. Upon his accession in 1776, King Chǒngjo issued his “First Royal Edict” 卽昨日綸音 to proclaim himself to be “the son of Crown Prince Sado.”

Volumes 30–36	Royal instruction 教	Includes 223 royal instructions including “Royal Instruction to Officials to Eliminate Factionalism” 廷臣祛黨申飭教 and “Royal Instruction to Allow Illegitimate Descendants to Enter Officialdom” 庶流疏通教 in 1777.
Volume 37	Royal exhortation 敦諭	Includes 48 royal exhortations issued to Hong Ponghan 洪鳳漢 (1713-1778), Sō Myōngsōn 徐命善 (1728-1791), Kim Ch’iin 金致仁 (1716-1790), Ch’ae Chegong 蔡濟恭 (1720-1799) and others.
Volume 38	Royal instruction to local officials 諭書	Includes twenty royal instructions to local officials issued to provincial governors, military commissioners, defense commissioners, and magistrates.
Volumes 39–41	Sealed royal letter 封書	Includes twenty-nine sealed royal letters issued to secret royal inspectors and special envoys.
Volumes 42–46	Royal reply 批	Includes 250 royal replies to memorials and abbreviated memorials, including “Reply to a Memorial from the Compilation Office Regarding the Record of Clarifying Righteousness” 纂輯廳進明義錄筭批 in 1776 and “Reply to the Memorial from Ch’oe Hōnjung Discussing Heterodox Learning” 撰崔獻重論邪學疏批 in 1795.
Volume 47	Legal verdict 判	Include twenty-six legal verdicts on cases submitted by various government offices and requests from Confucian scholars, including royal approval of criminal cases.
Volume 48–52	Policy essay question 策問	Include seventy-eight policy essay questions posed to the scholars of Sōnggyunkwan 成均館 (Confucian Academy) and selected civil officials of Kyujanggak.
Volume 53	Discourse 說, Judgment 贊, and Inscription 銘	Includes 5 discourses, 1 judgment, and 13 inscriptions. For example, 3 discourses of “Discussions on Editing the Complete Works of Zhou Gong and Determining the Sayings of Zhu Xi” 編周公全書定朱子語錄說 and 1 inscription of “Inscriptions Written while Preserving Hongjae chōnsō” 弘于一人齋全書櫟銘 in 1800.
Volumes 54–63	Miscellaneous writings 雜著	Include 60 miscellaneous writings, including 10 verses and their commentaries of “Prayer for Blessings Offered to Buddha at Yongjusa Temple in Hwasan” 花山龍珠寺奉佛祈福偈. Volumes 57–58, “Record of the Royal Tomb Relocation” 遷園事實, describe the five items of determining the site 定園, preparing the burial site 裁穴, setting up ceremonial

		objects 象設, choosing the date 諷日, and relocating the royal tomb 遷奉 regarding the relocation of Crown Prince Sado's tomb to Hyeollyungwon in Hwasan in 1789. Volume 59, <i>Guide to Building Bateau Bridges</i> 舟橋指南, describes the construction process of the Noryang 露梁 bateau bridge. Volume 61, <i>General Treatise on Music</i> 樂通, describes the six categories of music: musical temperament 樂律, musical modes 樂調, musical instruments 樂器, musical scores 樂譜, arrangement of musical ensemble 樂縣, and musical dances 樂舞.
Volumes 64–119	Lectures on Classics and History 經史講義	A total of 56 volumes, including 2 on <i>Reflections on Things at Hand</i> 近思錄, 1 on <i>Classic of the Mind</i> 心經, 4 on <i>the Great Learning</i> 大學, 5 on <i>the Analects</i> 論語, 4 on <i>the Mencius</i> 孟子, 4 on <i>the Doctrine of the Mean</i> 中庸, 9 on <i>the Book of Songs</i> 詩, 8 on <i>the Documents</i> 書, 5 on <i>the Book of Changes</i> 易, 4 on <i>General Classics</i> 總經, and 10 on <i>Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government</i> 資治通鑑綱目.
Volume 120–121	<i>Ch'usŏ ch'un'gi</i> 鄒書春記	A record of discussions on Mengzi with a royal librarian from Kyujanggak, Kim Künsun(1772-?), in the spring of 1799, compiled in the 4th month of the following year.
Volume 122	<i>Noronhajŏn</i> 魯論夏箋	A record of discussions on the <i>Analects</i> with a selected civil official, Sŏ Chunbo 徐俊輔 (1770-1856), in the summer of 1799, compiled in the fourth month of the following year.
Volume 126	<i>Chŭngjŏn ch'urok</i> 曾傳秋錄	A record of discussions on Daxue with a royal librarian, Yun Haengim 尹行恁 (1762-1801), in the fall of 1799, compiled in the fourth month of the following year.
Volume 127	<i>Yuŭip'yŏngye</i> 類義評例	This documents the controversies surrounding the editing principles and selection criteria of <i>Categorized Interpretations of the Daxue</i> 大學類義 with Sŏ Yŏngsu 徐滢修 (1749-1824), Yun Kwangŏn 尹光顏 (1757-1815), and others.
Volumes 129–134	<i>Kosik</i> 故寔	A record of discussions and dialogues on <i>the Great Learning</i> 大學, <i>Complete Works of Zhu Xi</i> 朱子大全, and <i>Historical Records of the Dynasty</i> 國朝故事 with selected civil officials.
Volume 135	<i>Simnirok</i> 審理錄	A collection of precedents on court cases within and outside the capital that were handled after the

		regency. It consists of a total of 26 volumes, grouped by provinces and classified by regions.
Volumes 161–178	<i>Itŭngnok</i> 日得錄	A collection of King Chŏngjo’s sayings recorded by royal librarians who participated in royal lectures, categorized into literature, politics, figures, and admonitions.
Volumes 179–184	<i>Kunsŏp’yogi</i> 羣書標記	A chronological arrangement of 155 books designated by the king and compiled by royal order, describing the book title, number of volumes, printing type, and annotations, with a preface and introduction personally written by the King.
End of the book	List of various officials who proofread, supervised, and printed.	

(4) Before the modern era, states exercised their power through the civil service examination 科擧, the method of selecting talented individuals, and the performance evaluation 考課 and endorsement 署經, methods for managing human resources. During the reign of King Kwangjong 光宗 (925-975) of Koryŏ, with the implementation of the civil service examination system, poetry, rhapsodies, odes, and policy proposals 時務策 were assigned across three examination sessions. Upon the establishment of the Joseon Dynasty, classics licentiate examination 生員試 of minor civil service examination 小科 required one essay on questions on the Four Books 四書疑 and one essay on questions on the Five Classics 五經義 (later, *Spring and Autumn Annals* 春秋 was excluded). The literary licentiate examination 進士科 required one rhapsody and one item of classical style poetry, inscriptions, or admonitions. The intermediate stage of the major civil service examination 文科中場 required a rhapsody. According to *Regulations for Literary Officials’ Lectures and Compositions* 文臣講製節目, promulgated in 1781, the compositions of selected civil officials were initially set to include treatise, policy question, memorial, regulated verse, preface, and record. However, soon after, a total of thirty literary forms were added, including regulated poem, proclamation 頒教文, beam-raising blessing, royal reply, and instruction.<sup>5</sup> The categories for the civil service examinations numbered

<sup>5</sup> Examination subjects included treatise 論, policy question 策, preface 序, record 記, discourse 說, debate 辯, topic/theme 題, postface 跋, consultative document 咨文, memorial to the throne 奏文, memorandum 表, memorial 箋, communication 啓, royal edict 詔, proclamation 頒教文, instruction 教書, royal response 批答, battlefield poster 露布, proclamation 檄, beam-raising blessing 上梁文, admonition 箴, inscription 銘, eulogy 頌, regulated verse 排律, seven-character regulated verse 七律, five-character regulated verse 五律, rhapsody 賦. In 1795, King Chŏngjo had *Anthology of Correct Beginnings* 正始文程 published, which compiled the answer sheets of the selected civil officials from

around thirty, and the formats of exam literature spanned classical prose, transformation texts, and poetry. Monthly assessments 月課 and impromptu compositions 應製 of civil officials and Sōnggyun'gwan students 泮儒 were similar. Although there were changes in the examination subjects, the official examination compositions 功令文 assigned in the examinations were all in Classical Chinese with its grammar.

### Hybrid Korean-style Chinese

In the Korean Peninsula, a form of Classical Chinese that does not follow classical grammar developed. Joseon officials used a narrative style centered on four-character phrases known as *imun*, alongside Korean-style Classical Chinese incorporating *hyōnt'o* 懸吐 (reading glosses) and *idu*.

(1) Ulsan Ch'ōnjōn-ri Inscribed Rock 蔚州川前里刻石, presumed to be from the 6th century, and Oath Stone of the Imsin Year 壬申誓記石, excavated from the Kyōngju area and presumed to be from the 7th–8th centuries, represent a form of Korean-style Classical Chinese that does not use *idu*, unlike that of later periods. Numerous *idu*-style Classical Chinese texts have also been discovered in *mokkan* 木簡 (woodblocks) from the 6th to 8th centuries. Since the initial discovery of *mokkan* artifacts from Unified Silla (676-935) in August 1975 at Anapji Pond 安閔池 in Kyōngju, a total of 346 pieces have been unearthed across 16 archaeological sites nationwide as of January 2006, with ink traces 墨痕 and ink writings 墨書 found in 252 of these pieces.<sup>6</sup> On December 19, 2006, an additional 38 pieces were excavated from Sōngsan Sansōng in Haman. On July 19, 2007, 12 more pieces excavated from the Hyōnnae-dŭl and Pukp'o sites in Ssangbuk-ni, Puyō, by the Chungcheong Cultural Heritage Research Institute were made public. In particular, data from the 149th *mokkan* from Wōlseong Haeja 月城垓字 is written in hybrid Korean-style Chinese.<sup>7</sup>

In the *Chronicles of Japan* 日本書紀, volumes 9, 10, 14, 16, 17, and 19, annotations include three types of Paekche documents, including the *Chronicles of Paekche* 百濟記, which feature unique consonant kana. For example, the note in the fourth year of volume 16, *Emperor Buretsu's Records* 武烈紀, quotes the phrase “In Kangna Sea 各羅海, there is Judo Island 主嶋, where the king was born” 今各羅海中有主嶋, 王所產嶋 from *New Selections from Paekche* 百濟新撰. Here, the character *so* 所 is used differently from standard Classical Chinese. The main text of

royal examination 親試 and the answer sheets of Sōnggyun'gwan students, featuring memorial, *fu*, and *paeyul*.

<sup>6</sup> Yun Sun-Tae, “Han'guk kidae mokkan ūi yōn'gu hyōnhwang kwa chōnmang,” in *Mokkan kwa Han'guk kidae ūi munja saenghwal* (Seoul: Han'guk yōksa yōn'guhoe, 2006).

<sup>7</sup> Kwōn Inhan, “Mokkan ūl t'onghae bon kidae Han'guk ūi ōnō wa munja: Tong Asia munja munhwa ūi kyoryu yangsang ūl ch'ajaso,” Korea-Japan International Symposium held by Taedong munhwa yōn'guwōn (2007).

the fourth year in *Emperor Buretsu's Records* relies on the *Paekche Sinch'an* 百濟新撰, which is cited in the corresponding notes. At that time, “The people together removed [the previous king], King Muryōng was enthroned, his taboo name was Shima” 國人共除, 武寧王立, 諱斯麻王 was corrected to “The people then removed [the previous king] and enthroned King Shima, who is King Muryeong” 國人遂除而立嶋王, 是爲武寧王.<sup>8</sup> Considering the document quoted in the *Chronicles of Japan*, it seems that the Paekche Classical Chinese sentences retained *ji* 之 at the end. Furthermore, the 14th volume of the *Chronicles of Japan*, in the entry for the fourth month of the fifth year, includes the expression “my pregnant wife” 我之孕婦 in the utterance of Kaerowang 蓋鹵王 (r. 455-475).<sup>9</sup>

(2) In ancient times, a method developed to use the sound and meaning of Chinese characters to represent the native language. To understand Classical Chinese sentences and localize Chinese, *kugyōl* 口訣 (recitation glosses) and *idu* were utilized. *Kugyōl* retains the original order of the Classical Chinese while using Korean terms for grammatical relations or verbs to ease reading, which only required borrowing 20–30 characters. *idu* is a method of expressing Korean using the sounds and meanings of Chinese characters for special words such as relational words, verbs, and adverbs to localize Classical Chinese. Both *idu* and *kugyōl* are collectively referred to as *idu* in a broad sense. Additionally, the broad sense of *idu* also includes *hyangch'al* 鄉札 (local letters) used in *hyangga* 鄉歌 (local songs). For example, the ink-written paper fragments 墨書紙片 found during the 1966 Sōkkat'ap 釋迦塔 pagoda excavation were separated into 110 individual pieces in 1997. *Records of the Repair of the Pulguksa Mugu Chōnggwangt'ap Pagoda* 佛國寺无垢淨光塔重修記 (1024) which was written during the dismantling of the Sōkkat'ap Pagoda, damaged by an earthquake in 1024, rendered the Chinese sentence “西邊石塔亦欲傾” as “西邊石塔亦傾墮如加賜乙.”<sup>10</sup> *Direct Explanation of the Great Ming Code* 大明律直解 is an *idu* translation of *Great Ming Code* 大明律, written by royal order by Liu Weiqian 劉惟謙.<sup>11</sup> The 1395 original edition is not extant, but the later reprints from the 16th

<sup>8</sup> Mori Hiromichi, trans. by Sim Kyungho, *Nihonshoki no himitsu* 日本書紀の秘密 (Seoul: Hwangsojari, 2006).

<sup>9</sup> In Classical Chinese, when the first-person pronoun is used as a modifier, it is accompanied by *ji* 之. This aspect is also true for the Classical Chinese used in Japan. “In *Nihon shoki*, there are as many as ten examples of the usage ‘我 + 之 + noun,’ where 之 follows immediately after 我, a modifier of a non-inflectable word.” Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> On October 27, 2007, the National Museum of Korea held a seminar on reading the world's oldest woodblock version of *The Great Dharani Sutra of Immaculate and Pure Light* 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經.

<sup>11</sup> In the General Preface to the Penal Code in 1394 *Gyōngguk taejōn* 經國大典, Chōng Tojōn 鄭道傳 (1342-1398) stated that there was a royal order to translate Daemyōngnyul into vernacular language 方言 to make it easier for the public to understand. Subsequently, Cho Chun 趙浚 (1346-1405), Ko Sahyōng 高士襲 and Kim Chi 金祗 oversaw its translation into *idu*, and Chōng Tojōn and Tang Seong 唐誠 (1337-1413) polished the text, resulting in the first draft being published in over 100 copies created

century onwards reflect the original form of the 1395 edition.<sup>12</sup> The writing of the direct explanation exhibit the following characteristics:

(a) The structure of Classical Chinese is rearranged to fit the word order of Korean, changing it to an object-verb structure and attaching *idu*.

(b) Additional characters are supplemented and substituted to clarify the meaning of Classical Chinese.

(3) Nouns or adjectives rooted in Korean culture or customs are often used even in standard Classical Chinese. Among the names for objects 物名 and measure words 單位詞, some derive from original Classical Chinese. In contrast, others are based on phonetic borrowing 音借 or semantic borrowing 訓借, and there are various combinations of phonetic and semantic borrowings. In the *imun* and confessions 供招 and various handbooks for royal rituals and ceremonies 儀軌 such as list of actually entered goods 實入秩 and list of returned or issued goods 還下秩, one can examine the names and units of the goods for royal court use. Furthermore, numerous unique terms are related to administration, such as the land system and taxation. For example, *ŭphwang* 邑況 (*ŭpchŭng* 邑徵 or *kwanhwang* 官況) refers to rice or money collected in addition to the land tax 田稅 under the pretext of various official expenses for the county.<sup>13</sup> Even the *yangban* 兩班 class often used *idu* or borrowed-graphs 借字 for daily terms when in haste. In *New Tales to Ward Off Sleep* 禦睡新話, compiled by Chang Hanjong 張漢宗 (1768-1815), a painter by profession, there is a story called “Requesting to Borrow a Stepmother” 請借庶母 about a certain *yangban* who tried to borrow a sieve for sifting flour from someone he knew, but because he could not recall

with wooden movable type made by the Paekchu governor 白州知事 Sŏ Ch’an 徐贊 in the second month of 1395 in the Institute of Books and Records 書籍院. However, the direct explanation at that time did not encompass the entire code, and the necessity for further translation continued to be raised, along with efforts to correct errors. In the 10th month of 1404, there was a proposal to simplify difficult provisions of the direct explanation, and by the 12th month of 1414, Nam Chae 南在 (1351-1419) and others were appointed as editors of the Office for Detailed Revision 詳定都監 to correct the errors in the *Annotated Translation of Daemyŏngnyul* 明律譯解. In June, Cho Sŏkang 趙瑞康 (?-1444) and Kwŏn Kŭkhwa 權克和 translated the *Daemyŏngnyul* by royal order in the Office for Detailed Revision 詳定所.

<sup>12</sup> An Pyŏnghŭi, “Daemyŏngnyul chikhae idu ŭi yŏn’gu,” *Kyujanggak* 9(1985): 1-22. (see my comment in 참고문헌)

<sup>13</sup> Taxation Laws, Part 2 in Household Administration 戶典 in *Admonitions on Governing the People* 牧民心書; Report on Investigating Fugitives in *Record of the Imsul Year* 壬戌錄; “Letter to Onkyŏng” 與溫卿 in *Hwanjae jip* 璣齋集 Volume 9

the Chinese characters, he sent a letter asking to borrow a stepmother 庶母, which led to him being ridiculed.<sup>14</sup>

(4) In the late Joseon period, the widely circulated manual for writing official documents, *Essential Knowledge for Literati and Clerks* 儒胥必知, identifies one of the three types of Classical Chinese used in Korea as the clerical style 吏胥體.<sup>15</sup> This is called *idu*-style Classical Chinese, Joseon-style Classical Chinese, or hybrid Korean-style Chinese.

(a) literary styles 文章體 created by those engaged in prose studies, such as preface 序, record 記, postface 跋, and miscellaneous writing 雜著

(b) Official examination style 功令體 learned by those studying for civil service exams, such as poetry 詩, rhapsody 賦, memorandum 表, policy questions 策, critical questioning 疑, and classical interpretation 義

(c) clerical style 吏胥體 learned for document processing and administrative tasks

*Essential Knowledge for Literati and Clerks* contains a total of 61 forms of documents, including petitions 上言, oral petitions 擊錚原情, civil petitions 所志, briefs 單子, letter to a superior 告目, exchange agreements 明文 and six other types. Following civil petitions, various disposal inscriptions 題辭, the defendant's confession statements 拷音, and clemency petitions 隻原情 were recorded separately. Following the letters to a superior 告目, the official head's official responses 答牌 was recorded separately.

(5) Diary of the Kyujanggak Royal Library 內閣日曆, which records the daily activities of the royal academic institution Kyujanggak, includes an official document written in *idu*-style to authorize the absence report 懸頓 of the selected civil officials from Kyujanggak.

(6) Hybrid Korean-style Chinese was widely used in government documents, criminal judgments, civil petitions, sales contracts, inheritance documents, intra-household communications, and royal records (such as handbooks for royal rituals and ceremonies 儀軌 and transcribed records 謄錄). The Academy of Korean Studies has classified ancient documents based on their content as shown in the table below,<sup>16</sup> with

<sup>14</sup> Chang Hanjong, trans. by Kim Yŏngjun, “*New Tales to Prevent Drowsiness* 御睡新話,” Chapter 109, “Requesting to Borrow a Stepmother 請借庶母” (Paju: Pogosa, 2010).

<sup>15</sup> General Introduction of *Essential Knowledge for Literati and Clerks* 儒胥必知: “凡文字之體, 各自不同. 爲文章之學者, 尙文章之體. 爲功令之學者, 習功令之體. 爲吏胥之學者, 講吏胥之體. 所謂文章之學者, 序記跋雜著等體也. 所謂功令之學者, 詩賦表策疑義等體也. 所謂吏胥之學者, 非獨文簿而已. 上言所志議送等體, 皆是吏胥之不可不知者. 又非獨吏胥之所可知也. 凡爲吏治者, 亦不可不知者. 然此等文字, 於儒胥最近, 故名之曰儒胥必知.”

<sup>16</sup> Items such as prayer texts and beam-raising blessing, which were most essential for maintaining the community, were not categorized. Furthermore, it is necessary to emphasize materials of poetry genres,

examples of *idu*-style hybrid Korean-style Chinese being 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 11, 16 (partially), and 19 (very few).

Table 4. Classification According to the Content of Old Documents  
(Report by the Academy of Korean Studies)

No.	Content of old documents	Related old documents
01	Population census (household registration)	household registration documents 戶口單子, quasi household registration documents 準戶口, family register 戶籍臺帳, preliminary household register 戶籍中草
02	Economy (financial record-keeping)	daily records 日用記, land registers 田畝案, slave registers 奴婢案, tenancy registers 賭租案, autumn harvest records 秋收記, student registers 衿記, rent collection records 打租記
03	Transactions (exchange agreements)	exchange agreements 明文 record transactions involving slaves, land, houses, horses, fisheries, tribute people 貢人, and rights.
04	Inheritance	will 遺書/遺言), document of partial inheritance 別給文記, document of property distribution 衿給, and document of agreement 和會文記
05	Marriage, funeral, and ancestral rites	records of assistance 扶助記, records of timekeeping 看時記, and records of time of arrival 時到記
06	Villages	village compacts 洞契案, resolutions 完議, and reports 書目
07	Confucian academies and shrines	student rosters 青衿案, teacher roster 校任案, predecessor lists 先生案, official Document guaranteeing administrative actions 完文, admission ledgers 入院錄, academy student rosters 院生錄, property transfer records 傳掌記, and Confucian scholars roster 儒林案
08	Petitions	group petitions 等狀, petitions 白活, appeals 議送, petitions to a superior 上書, and petitions to the king 上疏

which played a crucial role in the interaction of the literate class, even those not included in collected works. Conversely, there would be no need to classify diaries as old documents. Sim, Kyungho. "Komunsō ūi yōksa munhwajōk kach'i wa yōkchu rūl t'onghan ūimi ūi hwakchang," *Jangseogak* 36 (2016): 69–102.

09	State examinations	announcement of successful candidates 紅牌, announcement of unsuccessful candidates 白牌, and examination papers 試券
10	License grant (proclamation)	appointment certificate 告身, royal instruction to local officials 有旨, royal instruction to provincial governors 教書, royal instruction to secret inspectors 諭書, and salary stipend 祿牌
11	Public office (quasi-public office)	official letters 關, report to a higher office 牒呈, official notice 帖, document of office duties and property transfer 解由文書, certificate of passing elementary Confucian studies 照訖帖, list of books 書目, official report 手本, and official directive 甘結
12	Diplomacy	Appointment certificate and official letters
13	Royal residence	
14	Communication	letters 書簡, circular letters 通文, and academy summons/tax collection document 墨牌
15	Clan organization and management	main lineage records 大宗契案 and branch lineage records 小宗契案
16	Buddhist temples	records of temple renovation 重修記, slave registers 奴婢案, land registers 田畝案, and official document 完文
17	Beliefs	
18	Play	
19	Dary (or record) of a government official	village diary 鄉村日記, diary of government service 在官日記, and righteous army diary 義兵日記
20	Commoner's diary	Women's diaries

(7) The State Tribunal 義禁府 and Police Bureau 捕盜廳 documents recording confessions 供招 and judgments 判決 are mostly written in *idu*-style Classical Chinese. The State Tribunal compiled records of criminals' confessions and judgments on major crimes such as rebellions, robbery, treason, inauspicious memorials 凶疏, heterodox learning 邪學, seditious placards 掛書, impersonation of secret inspectors, and arson at the royal tombs. The *Interrogation Reports and Records 1601-1892* 推案及鞫案 are housed at Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, Seoul National University.<sup>17</sup> *Records of the Police Bureau* 捕盜廳謄錄, detailing cases handled by

<sup>17</sup> It was reprinted in 30 volumes by *Asia Munhwasa* in 1978 and is held in the Kyujanggak.

the Police Bureau from 1775 to 1890, provides detailed accounts of criminal interrogations.<sup>18</sup> King Chǒngjo was involved in drafting judgments written in Idu.<sup>19</sup>

The characteristics of hybrid Korean-style Chinese that appear in the various materials above can be summarized as follows:

(a) In line writing, four-character parallel phrases with four characters 四言齊言 are frequently used without regard to the mixed use of prose and verse lines.

(b) Rather than using the verb-object structure of classical Chinese grammar, an object-verb structure similar to Korean word order is mainly used. Hybrid Korean-style Chinese maintains an S-O-V system, not an S-V-O system, and can hold lengthy object phrases in the middle. One characteristic of the Korean language is that auxiliary predicates, such as those indicating modality and sentence mood, are placed at the end of sentences. When combined with classical Chinese grammar, this characteristic gave rise to the usage of sentence-final auxiliary predicates.

(c) These texts do not pay attention to the principle of changing words to avoid duplication 變文避複 or the literary allusion 用典 or parallelism 排比 compositional techniques.

(d) These texts frequently use compound words rather than single words.

(e) The Joseon-style Classical Chinese used by the *yangban*, government accountants 郎廳, and representatives in litigation 外知部, has a grammar that is close to Classical Chinese and uses less *idu* reading glosses. Still, the Joseon-style Classical Chinese used by clerks is considerably different from the grammar of Classical Chinese. Especially in administrative documents, vocabulary familiar to the lower-level functionary 衙前 is used.

(f) They frequently use phrase structures such as 有- (*yu-*), or other phrasal patterns such as -慰 (*-wi*), -宜 (*-i*), -慮 (*-ryō*), and -喜 (*-hŭi*) in the predicate. These phrases structures appear frequently even in letters that are faithful to Classical Chinese grammar. However, from the late 18th century onwards, instances are found of petitions that attempted to revert to the Classical Chinese grammar of ancient prose. Concerning this, it is necessary to pay attention to “changes in pragmatic context.”<sup>20</sup>

During the Joseon Dynasty, scholar-officials 士大夫 had to read and write many Idu documents in their public service. Kim Maesun 金邁淳 (1776–1840), a master of ancient prose, also wrote many official documents while serving as a magistrate,

<sup>18</sup> It was also reprinted in three volumes by *Pokyōng Munhwasa* in 1985.

<sup>19</sup> In 1795, King Chǒngjo, in his verdict 判下 to Honam secret inspector Yi Hūigap’s 李義甲 (b. 1764) written report 書啓, urged officials to read clerical writings.

<sup>20</sup> Sim, Kyungho, “Chosŏn hugi pyŏn’gyōk simun e kwanhan il koch’al,” *Taedong hanmunhak* 53 (2017): 5–36.

compiling a separate book titled *Record of Official Documents* 公移占錄.<sup>21</sup> In addition, while serving as the magistrate of Simyŏng 沁營 from 1834 to 1837, he left behind six reporting documents to the king 狀啓, six reporting documents 報狀, two official documents to other offices 移關, 27 official directives 甘結, 16 orders 傳令, four detailed regulations 節目, and 60 disposal inscriptions 題辭.<sup>22</sup> However, many sadaebu were not proficient in deciphering or writing hybrid Korean-style Chinese. This change can be seen in the fact that *Amplified and Corrected Coroner's Guide for the Elimination of Grievances* 增修無冤錄 and *Amplified and Corrected Coroner's Guide for the Elimination of Grievances in Vernacular Korean* 增修無冤錄諺解 were published during the reign of King Chŏngjo. Originally, during the reign of Sejong, Ch'oe Ch'iun 崔致雲 (1390–1440) and others were tasked with annotating and publishing *Coroner's Guide for the Elimination of Grievances* 無冤錄 by Wang Yu 王與. Additionally, during the reign of Yŏngjo, Ku T'aekkyu 具宅奎 (1693–1754) was commissioned to revise and supplement the old annotations. King Chŏngjo ordered Sŏ Yurin 徐有隣 (1738–1802), minister of the Board of Punishment, to review the corrections again and translate them into Korean, sending them to the Outer Royal Library 外閣 for printing with movable type.<sup>23</sup> In 1795, regarding the petition from 李義甲 Yi Hŭigap (1764–?), a secret inspector in Honam, King Chŏngjo also requested that the *yangban* read *imun*. He attached a royal edict to establish the rules for *Imun* composition as supplementary notes.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Kongi jŏmrok* is housed in Kyujanggak and other collections, while it is transmitted as *Record of Official Documents of Taesan* 臺山公移占錄 in the Japanese Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫. He wrote these documents while serving in various positions: starting as Yonggang County magistrate around age 29, then Yangch'ŏn County magistrate at 50, and later as Anbyŏn Prefecture magistrate, Ch'osan Prefecture magistrate, and Kyŏngju Prefecture magistrate. The collection consists of a total of 103 pieces in 12 categories: 46 announcements 榜, 19 reports 狀, three inspection reports 檢狀, five postscripts to inspection reports 檢狀跋尾, one interrogation record 問目, two detailed regulations 節目, one verbal order 口諭, four judgments 判, one official letter 完文, one official document for another office 關, 16 correspondence between provincial camps 巡營往復書, four separate papers 別紙. Lee Kyupil, "T'aesan kong i chŏmrok haeje" in *Ilbon Tongyang munko Han'gukpon haejejip*, provided by Center for Overseas Resources on Korean Studies, Korea University, 2012–3.

<sup>22</sup> This is found in volumes 8 and 9 of the *Posthumous Works of Taesan* 臺山遺集 held in the Yonsei University Library. Chang Dong-u, "Commentary on *Taesan yujip* 臺山遺集." in *Catalog of Old Books in the Yonsei University Library I*, Yonsei University Institute of Korean Studies, 2004.

<sup>23</sup> *Hongjae chŏnsŏ* 弘齋全書, vol. 184, "Kunsŏ p'yogi" 群書標記 6, Myŏngjŏn 命撰 2, *Chŭngsu muwŏnrok* 增修無冤錄 2, and *Chŭngsu muwŏnrok ŏnhae* 增修無冤錄諺解 2, 1796. Translation is based on the Korean translation by the Institute for the Translation of Korean Classics.

<sup>24</sup> "Judgment on the Report of Secret Royal Inspector Yi Hŭigap 李義甲 in Honam: Including a Royal Instruction Specifying the Regulations for Clerical Writing," in *Hongjae chŏnsŏ* vol. 47, 1795).

*Idu* documentary writing, Buddhist literature, and Imitative Vernacular Sinitic

(1) The *Idu* documentary writing style was also accepted when Yuan legal codes were adopted during the period of Mongol intervention in Koryŏ. To enhance the efficiency of document administration, the Yuan Dynasty under Kublai Khan standardized the direct translation of Mongolian. Subsequently, the regime implemented several key reforms: in the tenth month of 1337 (Zhiyuan 3), the format of imperial decrees 勅牒 was revised; in 1339, document formats for intergovernmental communication, particularly between the Central Secretariat 中書省 and the Censorate 御史臺, were updated; in the second month of 1340, the ‘Phags-pa script was promulgated; and in 1342 (Zhiyuan 8), Mongolian schools were established. The document formats enacted in 1339 were published in encyclopedias such as *Comprehensive Collection of Literary Works* 翰墨全書. In the late Koryŏ and early Chosŏn periods, the posts of officials responsible for studying *idu* documentary writing 吏文習讀官 were established in the Royal Secretariat for Diplomatic Correspondence 承文院 to study clerical writing, referring to works such as *Record of Diplomatic Documents in Clerical Script* 吏文謄錄, *Chi-Chŏng Code* 至正條格, and *Comprehensive Statutes of the Great Yuan* 大元通制. Clerical writing rarely used ending particles, employed specialized vocabulary known as *iŏ* 吏語, and aimed solely to convey meaning in four-character parallel phrases. A representative style of clerical writing can be found in *Great Ming Code*, which became the foundation of Chosŏn law. Yuan clerical writing continued to influence the style of official documents until the late Chosŏn period. It also had an influence on the style of unofficial historical narratives 野談. In 1795, King Chŏngjo decided to have select literary officials simultaneously learn clerical writing used for domestic documents and tributary documents to the Chinese Emperor, despite their differences.<sup>25</sup>

(2) During the Three Kingdoms Period of Korea, as Chinese translations of Buddhist texts were introduced and Buddhism functioned as the state religion, the Sino-Korean style of Buddhist texts translated into Chinese influenced various aspects of religious culture and politics. An examination of the readable parts of the epitaph on the six-sided stone monument erected in 818, 290 years after the martyrdom of Ichadon in 527,<sup>26</sup> shows ancient-style prose primarily using four-character phrases. This style

<sup>25</sup> “Judgment on the Report of Secret Royal Inspector Yi Hŭigap 李羲甲 in Honam: Including a Royal Instruction Specifying the Regulations for Clerical Writing,” in *Hongjae chŏnsŏ* vol. 47, 1795: “事大之吏文，雖異於國中之吏文，制置法意。果何如？其程選冊子，不但用於承文參下之九處講六臘貶坐之政府講而已。臨殿試題也，頭辭結語，渠各誦書，而又於文臣之新出身者，三十以前科，應付漢學殿講，其外并付吏文製述，一如專經殿講春秋製述之規，而十數年來，全然拋置。出身之文臣，不知漢學與吏文之爲何許物事。愛禮之義，固如是乎？令槐院譯院，考例草記，如式抄啓，以爲修明舊典之地事，使之知悉，爲良如教。”

<sup>26</sup> The rubbings held by the National Institute of Korean History have very few legible characters. Recently, I was able to confirm the content of four pages through *Calligraphy of Kim Saeng of Silla*,

uses the dialogue particle *-wal* -曰 or *-wal* - -曰, as the two-character nominative particle, and the ending particle *ho* 乎. The text does not show any signs of variant styles or rhyming, and it is structured in a question-and-answer format with the spirit and soul of Ichadon.

From the mid-Koryŏ period onwards, Zen texts 禪書 developed, encompassing various forms of Buddhist texts by Zen masters: doctrines 宗義, historical biographies 史傳, recorded sayings 語錄, inscriptions 銘, admonitions 箴, hymns 歌頌, public cases of enlightenment 頌古公案, Zen literature 禪文學, and monastic regulations 清規. Buddhist Classical Chinese uses Classical Chinese grammar, while frequently employing consecutive compound predicate verbs and *i* 而 to adjust the tone between the subject and predicate. Additionally, it utilizes phrases such as *ŏ-ha* 於-何 (*-eul* - *hayŏya haneun-ga* : -을 -하여야 하는가), rhetorical questions ending in *pul* 不 or *ho* 乎, short sentences asking for reasons like *soyijaha* 所以者何, *haiku* 何以故, *unha* 云何, and frequent use of second-person pronouns like *yŏ* 汝, *i* 爾, *in* 仁, *inja* 仁者, *indeung* 仁等, and expressions of complete negation such as *topul* 都不 or *tomu* 都無.

(3) In Koryŏ and Chosŏn, influenced by *Zen Cases with Annotations and Verses* 禪門拈頌 and Chan Master Dahui Zonggao's 大慧宗杲 (1089-1163) letters, there are instances of commentaries or passages of prose crafted in imitative vernacular style. A prime illustration is Kim Sisŭp's 金時習 (1435-1493) commentary on *Essential Explanation of the Ten Mysteries Discourse* 十玄談要解. Furthermore, Buddhist Classical Chinese incorporated verses from *Koan* 公案 or Zen poems 禪詩 into its eulogies 贊. Kim Sisŭp's works, such as *Distinctive Eulogies on the Lotus Sutra* 妙法蓮華經別讚, *Essential Explanation of the Ten Profound Discussions* 十玄談要解, and *Commentary and Annotations on the Seal-diagram of the Dharma Realm of the Great Avatamsaka Sutra* 大華嚴法界圖註 exemplify these characteristics. In an example from introduction eulogies 序品贊 in *Distinctive Eulogies on the Lotus Sutra*, the main text of the eulogy frequently employs parallelism. Still, it is unrhymed and does not apply the tonal rules of hybrid Korean-style Chinese.<sup>27</sup> At the end of this eulogy, a passage from monk Shishuang Chuyuan 石霜楚圓(986-1039)'s theory of

formerly owned by Heungningun 興隣君本新羅金生書, a collection owned by the East Asian Library at the University of California, Berkeley. This rubbing consists of a total of six pages, but only four pages (two of which are duplicates) are effectively legible, and there are missing sections. Photographs of the rubbing can be viewed on the database of the Center for Overseas Korean Studies at the Institute of Korean Studies, Korea University.

<sup>27</sup> The “five ranks of the prince” refers to: “birth prince” 誕生王子, symbolizing the essential Buddha-nature 本覺佛性; “morning birth prince” 朝生王子, symbolizing gradual attainment of Buddhahood; “final birth prince” 末生王子, symbolizing entry into oneness through practice; “transformation birth prince” 化生王子, symbolizing the bodhisattva's role in guiding others; and “inner birth prince” 內生王子, symbolizing the profound mystery of the unity of principle and wisdom 理智一如 and inherent Buddhahood 本來成佛. It is also referred to as “five ranks of birth” 誕生五位.

“five ranks of the prince” 王子五位<sup>28</sup> is quoted without attribution. The eulogy with a seven-character quatrain format is omitted.

All sages and saints vanish like lightning, but the Tathāgata is the master of all teachings.

Countless beings attain perfect enlightenment, and the great assembly is the audience that listens.

Echoing masters and disciples convene, both alike and distinct, revered by dragons and devas.

To fully reveal the intrinsic purpose of the serene sanctuary, and to brightly illuminate the exemplary standards of the spiritual peak.

Beneath the black mountain, the earth shakes, and light radiates; and within the dead waters, clouds rise and mists emerge.

The great cause and conditions are profoundly deep, difficult for all sages and mortals to comprehend.

If not for Ānanda’s earnest inquiry, how could the fourfold assembly’s doubts be resolved?

The former and later sages follow the same path, but the Dharma King’s decree must be upheld.

Do you wish to see the Dharma King’s decree?

“The wondrous seal is held in hand, stilling the sands. How could it reveal even the slightest mechanism under the open sun?”

一切聖賢如電拂, 如來是所說之主.

恒沙衆生成正覺, 海會是能聽之伴.

影嚮師資會合, 同異龍天欽仰.

欲暢寂場本懷, 光闡靈峰標格.

黑山下動地放光, 死水裡興雲吐霧.

大事因緣甚深, 一切聖凡難解.

若非逸多發問, 爭決四衆狐疑?

前聖後聖一揆, 法王法令當行.

要見法王法令麼?

“妙印手持沙塞靜, 當陽那肯露纖機?”

<sup>28</sup> Works include 56 chapters in the single-volume *Elucidation of the Avatamsaka Sutra* 華嚴釋題 published at Ssangnyong Temple, housed in Seongbo Museum, Pōmōsa Temple, and Kyujanggak; 23 chapters in the single-volume edition of *Commentaries on the Lotus Sutra* 蓮經別讚 published at Kwijjin Temple, housed in Dongguk University; and a lithograph of the appendix of *Collected Writings of Maewōldang* 梅月堂集, published by the Daedong Institute for Korean Studies, titled *Essential Explanation of the Lotus Sutra* 妙法蓮華經要解; and an 86-chapter handwritten copy of the latter by a Buddhist layman of Namhwa, Ch’ōngnyōn Chang Ugyōng 張遇庚 at Hwaōmsa Temple.

(4) Chosŏn Confucian scholars sometimes used the vernacular Sinitic expressions in *Classified Conversations of Zhu Xi* 朱子語類. In the late Chosŏn period, as vernacular Sinitic novels such as *Water Margin* 水滸志 and *The Western Chamber* 西廂記 became popular, some literary figures imitated their vernacular Sinitic style to compose poetry and prose. Yi Ŏnjin 李彦瑱 (1740–1766) employed vernacular Sinitic in his poetry. No Kŭng 盧兢 (1737–1790) introduced vernacular Sinitic vocabulary and grammar into his prose, among which “unraveling of thoughts” 想解 is the most famous. In the 19th century, plays by anonymous authors such as *The Northern Chamber* 北廂記 and episodic revised novels such as *Revised and Augmented Talented Scholar Edition of the Story of Nine Clouds* 新增才子九雲記 appeared.

Translator: Yoo Jinsook

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