

A Study on the Hangeul Manuscript of *Koyeolnyeojeon* (古列女傳)

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1. Introduction

This paper is an attempt to introduce Hangeul (Korean) manuscripts of *Koyeolnyeojeon* (古列女傳) (KY) to the academic world, and to examine the relationship among different versions based on Korean linguistic characteristics.¹

KY is composed of *Yeolnyeojeon* (列女傳) consisting of 7 chapters written by philosopher Liu Xiang(劉向) of pre-Han and anonymous 「*SokYeolnyeojeon* (續列女傳)」 consisting of 1 chapter.² This book has

¹ Cf. Ko(古): old; *Yeolnyeojeon*(列女傳) : Biographies of Exemplary Women

² Having been decal many times, the old version(古本) of *Yeolnyeojeon* (列女傳) of Liu Xiang disappeared and was re-edited in Song dynasty. 8-volume of

been studied in various fields from early periods, being discussed motive for compilation, dissemination and acceptance, characteristic as moral manual(김경미, 2007: 54). On the other hand, it is difficult to find the study on Hangeul version (Korean manuscript) of KY except 이혜순(1986) and 우쾌재(1988).³

Firstly, 이혜순(1986) introduced a Hangeul manuscript owned by The National Library of Korea (『널녀전』; 乾, 坤 2 volumes; NLa) and an old-print version(『렬녀전』; published by 태화서관 in 1918) and discussed on the characteristic of that translation. Secondly, 우쾌재(1988) introduced and described each characteristic of 3 versions of Hangeul manuscript and 2 versions of old-print version. Hangeul manuscript dealt in 우쾌재(1988) is NLa, and one owned by The National Library of Korea (『고널녀전』; 1 chapter; NL), and a private collection (owned by Lee, Soo-Bong, emeritus professor of Chungbuk National University).

In this paper, only NL will be examined among all Hangeul manuscripts dealt in the preceding researches. Except NL, all the rest ones contain other contents in addition to the one of 『고열녀전』 or include only a summary of 『고열녀전』. As it is difficult to see them as Hangeul

Koyeolnyeojeon (古列女傳) became made out of 7-volume of *Yeolnyeojeon* (列女傳) and 「SokYeolnyeojeon(續列女傳)」 (sok(續): a sequel) which has a similar structure and narration to the former one. This version has been the basis of extant various manuscripts, and *Yeolnyeojeon* (列女傳) of Liu Xiang became a synonym of *Koyeolnyeojeon* (古列女傳) (이숙인, 2013: 13-14).

³ An annotated manuscript in Korean of 4th chapter of *Koyeolnyeojeon* (古列女傳) became known recently, and is now owned by National Hangeul Museum.

manuscripts, those are excluded from this discussion.

I have confirmed two versions of manuscripts as Hangeul manuscripts of KY in addition to NL dealt in the preceding researches. Those are a manuscript owned by The National Assembly Library of the R.O.K.(『고녘녀전』 ; 4 volumes 8 chapters (8 卷 4 冊); NAL) and one owned by Harvard-Yenching Library(『고녘녀전』 ; 1 volume 3 chapters (3 卷 1 冊); HY).⁴ Accordingly, I will discuss on these 3 versions, NL dealt in the preceding researches and newly confirmed NAL & HY.

2. Bibliographical Study

All NAL, NL, and HY do not have preface (序文), postscript (跋文), table of contents (目次) and picture (圖)⁵. Prior to arranging bibliographies of these

⁴ While I was researching on Hangeul manuscript of KY, I could confirm 2 versions of more Hangeul manuscripts 『열녀전』 as well as these 3 versions examined here. Those are a book owned by the National Library of Korea (a title placed at the head of the contents (首題;THC): 열녀전, 2 volumes (2 冊[天, 人]); NLb) and one owned by Yuldang library at Korea University Library(THC: 열녀전, 1 volume 1 chapter, application mark 육당 C15A27; KUL). The First book, NLb seems to be re-edited as a teaching material for educating women. This contains part of KY, most contents are emphasizing ethics of Confucianism such as 『小學諺解』. The characteristic of this book seems to be similar of that of NLa dealt in the preceding researches. From the Second book, KUL, 12 episodes out of 15 coincide with KY. 2 episodes are from unknown source, and 1 episode is the story of ‘예중매탁’ of ‘열녀편(the episode of a virtuous woman) in 『三綱行實圖』.

⁵ There are no prefaces in NL and HY; however, there is a small preface(小序) on

3 versions, I will examine the list of each book (title of each story).

[Table 1] Comparison among the list of Hangeul Manuscripts of KY

	KY ⁶	NAL	NL	HY
Chapter 1 母義傳	① 有虞二妃 ② 棄母姜嫄 ③ 契母簡狄 ④ 啟母塗山 ⑤ 湯妃有娵 ⑥ 周室三母 ⑦ 衛姑定姜 ⑧ 齊女傅母 ⑨ 鄒孟軻母 ⑩ 魯季敬姜 ⑪ 楚子發母 ⑫ 魯之母師 ⑬ 衛芒慈母 ⑭ 齊田稷母	① 유우이비 ② 기모강원 ③ 설모간적 ④ 계모도산 ⑤ 탕비유신 ⑥ 주실삼모 ⑦ 위고정강 ⑧ 제녀부모 ⑨ 추밍가모 ⑩ 노계경강 ⑪ 초즈발모 ⑫ 노지모스 ⑬ 위망즈모 ⑭ 제전직모	① 유우이비 ② 기모강원 ③ 설모간덕 ④ 계모도산 ⑤ 탕비유신 ⑥ 듀실삼모 ⑦ 위고정강 ⑧ 제녀부모 ⑨ 추밍가모 ⑩ 노계경강 ⑪ 초즈발모 ⑫ 노지모스 ⑬ 위망즈모 ⑭ 제전직모	
Chapter 2 賢明傳	① 周宣姜后 ② 齊桓衛姬 ③ 晉文齊姜 ④ 秦穆公姬 ⑤ 楚莊樊姬 ⑥ 周南之妻 ⑦ 宋鮑女宗 ⑧ 晉趙衰妻 ⑨ 陶荅子妻	① 주선강후 ② 제한위희 ③ 진문제강 ④ 진목공희 ⑤ 초장번희 ⑥ 주남지처 ⑦ 송표녀종 ⑧ 딘도취처 ⑨ 도답즈처	① 듀선강후 ② 제한위희 ③ 진문제강 ④ 진목공희 ⑤ 초장번희 ⑥ 듀남지처 ⑦ 송표녀종 ⑧ 딘도취처 ⑨ 도답즈처	

the top side of each chapter.

A Proposal for a Nanai Writing System with Korean Script

	⑩ 柳下惠妻 ⑪ 魯黔婁妻 ⑫ 齊相御妻 ⑬ 楚接輿妻 ⑭ 楚老萊妻 ⑮ 楚於陵妻	⑩ 뉴하혜처 ⑪ 노검누처 ⑫ 제상어처 ⑬ 초접여처 ⑭ 초노리처 ⑮ 초오릉처	⑩ 뉴하혜처 ⑪ 노검누처 ⑫ 제상어처 ⑬ 초접여처 ⑭ 초노리처 ⑮ 초오능처	
Chapter 3 仁智傳	① 密康公母 ② 楚武鄧曼 ③ 許穆夫人 ④ 曹僖氏妻 ⑤ 孫叔敖母 ⑥ 晉伯宗妻 ⑦ 衛靈夫人 ⑧ 齊靈仲子 ⑨ 魯臧孫母 ⑩ 晉羊叔姬 ⑪ 晉范氏母 ⑫ 魯公乘嬖 ⑬ 魯漆室女 ⑭ 魏曲沃負 ⑮ 趙將括母	① 밀강공모 ② 초무등만 ③ 허목부인 ④ 조희시처 ⑤ 손숙오모 ⑥ 딴빅중처 ⑦ 위령부인 ⑧ 제령등즈 ⑨ 노장손모 ⑩ 딴양숙희 ⑪ 딴범시모 ⑫ 노공승스 ⑬ 노칠실녀 ⑭ 위곡옥부 ⑮ 도당괄모	① 밀강공모 ② 초무등만 ③ 허목부인 ④ 조희시처 ⑤ 손숙오모 ⑥ 딴빅중처 ⑦ 위령부인 ⑧ 제령등즈 ⑨ 노장손모 ⑩ 딴양숙희 ⑪ 딴범시모 ⑫ 노공승스 ⑬ 노칠실녀 ⑭ 위곡옥부 ⑮ 도당괄모	
Chapter 4 貞順傳	① 召南申女 ② 宋恭伯姬 ③ 衛寡夫人 ⁷ ④ 蔡人之妻 ⑤ 黎莊夫人 ⑥ 齊孝孟姬 ⑦ 息君夫人 ⑧ 齊杞梁妻 ⑨ 楚平伯嬴 ⑩ 楚昭貞姜	① 쇼남신녀 ② 송공빅희 ③ 위선부인 ④ 채인지처 ⑤ 녀장부인 ⑥ 제효밍희 ⑦ 식군부인 ⁸ ⑨ 초평빅영 ⑩ 초쇼정강	① 쇼남신녀 ② 송공빅희 ③ 위선부인 ④ 채인지처 ⑤ 녀장부인 ⑥ 제효밍희 ⑦ 식군부인	⑧ 제기낭처 ⑨ 초평빅영 ⑩ 초쇼정강

	⑪ 楚白貞姬 ⑫ 衛宗二順 ⑬ 魯寡陶嬰 ⑭ 梁寡高行 ⑮ 陳寡孝婦	⑪ 초백정희 ⑫ 위종이순 ⑬ 노과도영 ⑭ 낭과고형 ⑮ 진과효부		⑪ 초백정희 ⑫ 위종이순 ⑬ 노과도영 ⑭ 낭과고형 ⑮ 진과효부
Chapter 5 節義傳	① 魯孝義保 ② 楚成鄭瞽 ③ 晉圉懷嬴 ④ 楚昭越姬 ⑤ 蓋將之妻 ⑥ 魯義姑姊 ⑦ 代趙夫人 ⑧ 齊義繼母 ⑨ 魯秋潔婦 ⑩ 周主忠妾 ⑪ 魏節乳母 ⑫ 梁節姑姊 ⑬ 珠崖二義 ⑭ 郤陽友娣 ⁹⁾ ⑮ 京師節女	① 노효의보 ② 초성명무 ③ 진어회영 ④ 초소월희 ⑤ 개장지처 ⑥ 노의고주 ⑦ 디도부인 ⑧ 제의계모 ⑨ 노추결부 ⑩ 주두통첩 ⑪ 위절유모 ⑫ 낭절고주 ⑬ 주애이의 ⑭ <u>틱양녀데</u> ⑮ 경스절녀		① 노효의보 ② 초성명무 ③ 단어회영 ④ 초소월희 ⑤ 개장지처 ⑥ 노의고주 ⑦ 디도부인 ⑧ 제의계모 ⑨ 노추결부 ⑩ 주두통첩 ⑪ 위절유모 ⑫ 낭절고주 ⑬ 주애이의 ⑭ <u>틱양녀데</u> ⑮ 경스절녀
Chapter 6 辯通傳	① 齊管妾媵 ② 楚江乙母 ③ 晉弓工妻 ④ 齊傷槐女 ⑤ 楚野辨女 ⑥ 阿谷處女 ⑦ 趙津女媵 ⑧ 趙佛昃母 ⑨ 齊威虞姬 ⑩ 齊鍾離春 ⑪ 齊宿瘤女	① 제관첩청 ② 초강을모 ③ 단궁공처 ④ 제상괴녀 ⑤ 초야변녀 ⑥ 아곡처녀 ⑦ 도진녀연 ⑧ 도필힐모 ⑨ 제위우희 ⑩ 제종니춘 ⑪ 제숙뉴녀		① 제관첩청 ¹⁰⁾

A Proposal for a Nanai Writing System with Korean Script

	⑫ 齊孤逐女 ⑬ 楚處莊姪 ⑭ 齊女徐吾 ⑮ 齊太倉女	⑫ 제고축녀 ⑬ 초처장질 ⑭ 제녀서오 ⑮ 제타창녀		
Chapter 7 孽嬖傳	① <u>夏桀末喜</u> ¹¹ ② 殷紂妲己 ③ 周幽褒姒 ④ 衛宣公姜 ⑤ 魯桓文姜 ⑥ 魯莊哀姜 ⑦ 晉獻驪姬 ⑧ 魯宣繆姜 ⑨ 陳女夏姬 ⑩ 齊靈聲姬 ⑪ 齊東郭姜 ⑫ 衛二亂女 ⑬ 趙靈吳女 ⑭ 楚考李后 ⑮ 趙悼倡后	① <u>하갈미희</u> ② 은주달기 ③ 주유포스 ④ 위선공강 ⑤ 노환문강 ⑥ 노장이강 ⑦ 딘헌녀희 ⑧ 노선목강 ⑨ 진녀하희 ⑩ 제령성희 ⑪ 제동곽강 ⑫ 위이난녀 ⑬ 도녕오녀 ⑭ 초고니후 ⑮ 도도창후		
Chapter 8 續列女傳	① 周郊婦人 ② 陳國辯女 ③ 聶政姊 ④ 王孫氏母 ⑤ 陳嬰母 ⑥ 王陵母 ⑦ 張湯母 ⑧ 雋不疑母 ⑨ 楊夫人 ⑩ 霍夫人顯 ⑪ 嚴延年母 ⑫ 漢馮昭儀	① 듀교부인 ② 진변녀 변통 ③ 셉정즈 절의 ④ 왕손시모 절의 ⑤ 진영모 현명 ⑥ 왕능모 절의 ⑦ 당탕모 인지 ⑧ 준불의모 모의 ⑨ 양부인 현명 ⑩ 곽부인현 얼페 ⑪ 엄연년모 인지 ⑫ 한풍소의 절의		

⑬ 王章妻女	⑬ 왕장처녀 인지		
⑭ 班婕妤	⑭ 반첩여 변통		
⑮ 趙飛燕姊妹	⑮ 도비연즈데 열페		
⑯ 漢孝平王后	⑯ 한효평왕후 명순		
⑰ 更始韓夫人	⑰ 경시한부인 열페		
⑱ 梁鴻妻	⑱ 낭홍처 현명		
⑲ 明德馬后	⑲ 명덕마후 모의		
⑳ 梁夫人媵	⑳ 낭부인특 변통		

[Table 1] is a comparison of list (title of each episode) among KY and Hangeul manuscripts of KY. Comparing with KY, NAL consists of 8 chapters with 123 episodes except only 1 episode. This is a valuable version which can confirm most of the contents of KY in Korean annotation in this point the original Korean annotation of KY has not been found as a

6 Regarding table of contents of KY, I referred to 이숙인(2013). 이숙인(2013) was written based on Hangeul manuscripts of unknown writers, 四部叢刊本 『古列女傳』 and chapter 6 「열녀전보주」 (臺灣商務印書館, 1968).

7 우쾌재(1988:62-68) presents table of contents of 萬曆本 of KY (1606 A.D.) and 道光本 of KY (1825 A.D.). In 萬曆本 and 道光本, it is shown as ‘衛宣夫人’, not ‘衛寡夫人’, so it’s same as the titles of manuscripts.

8 Though the title of episode is written as ‘식군부인’, it contains the content of ‘제기량처 (齊杞梁妻)’. So only the content of ‘식군부인’ cannot be confirmed in NAL.

9 In 萬曆本, it is written as ‘邵陽友姊’, but in 道光本, as ‘邵陽友姊’. In manuscripts, it is written as ‘덕양녀데; but ‘邵 (합)’ could have been confused as ‘邵 (태)’

10 In ‘제관첩청’ HY, only 4 lines are included.

11 It is shown as ‘夏桀末喜’ both in 萬曆本(本:version) and 道光本.

A Proposal for a Nanai Writing System with Korean Script

whole until now. On the other hand, NL contains only from the 1st episode of chapter 1 to the 7th episode of chapter 4, and HY includes only from the 8th episode of chapter 4 to part of the 1st episode of chapter 6. I will examine bibliographic data of each version. Firstly, I will see NAL.

[Table 2] Bibliographic Data of NAL

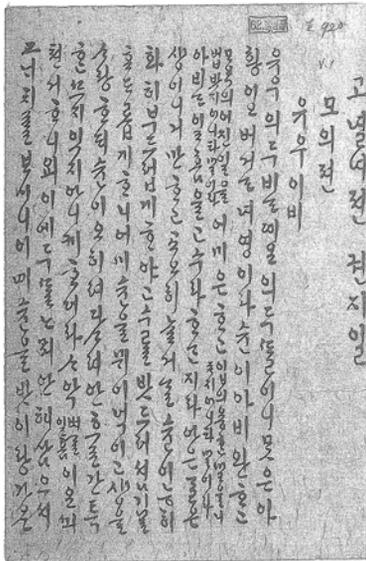
Title (表題)	古列女傳
THC (首題)	고닐녀전
Quantity of Volume & Chapter	4 volumes 8 chapters (春, 夏, 秋, 冬) ¹²
Characteristic	Hangeul Manuscript
Size of the Book	26.3 × 22 cm
Line*Letter	14~15 lines 16~22 letters
Application Mark	OD 920 ㄷ 336
Other Features	No Preface, Postscript, and Table of Contents. Double lines of Annotation(註雙行) There is a transcriber's note in the last page of chapter 1 (春).

This book is transcribed all the contents and comment (頌, 贊) altogether. As roughly 3-4 styles of handwriting are shown, it is hard to see

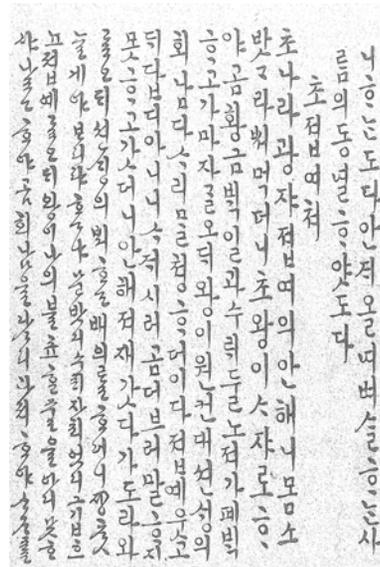
¹² Each volume is made of 2 chapters. ‘春(*Chun*)’(Chapter 1, 2), ‘夏(*Ha*)’(Chapter 3, 4), ‘秋(*추*)’(Chapter 5, 6), ‘冬(*동*)’(Chapter 7, 8).

it written by one person. Rather, it seems to be written by some people out of an original Korean manuscript. In this book we can see a transcriber's note as follows:

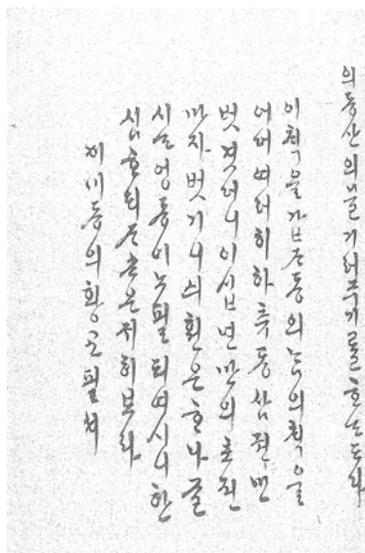
[Fig. 1] NAL 모의전, 1a



[Fig. 2] NAL 현명전, 18a



[Fig. 3] NAL 현명전, The Last Page



In this book we can also see the transcriber's note as follows.

이 책을 갑자동의 놈의 책을 어더 여러히 하 추 동 삼 권만 벗것더니
이십년만의 춘권 마자 벗기니 식훤은 하나 글시논 영동이 노필
되여시니 한심하되 조손은 직히 보라 계미동의 황곤 필셔
(Having acquired another's book in Gabja year and transcribed Ha, Chu,
Dong, 3 volumes, I'm feeling better as I transcribe volume Chun after 20
years from then, but I wrote with my awful handwriting. Though it is
pathetic, my descendants, look at this carefully. Hwang Gon of Gye-mi
dong.)

From this we can assume characteristic, transcribed period, purpose of compiling, transcriber of this book. The first thing is that we can confirm this book as having transcribed from an unknown original manuscript. Nevertheless, we do not know the concrete information on that unknown original manuscript, from the transcriber's note mentioning he transcribed it from another's book, it is certain that the unknown original manuscript of this book had existed. The next thing is that we can see the transcriber of this book finished transcription after 20 years had passed since he started transcribing in *Gabja* year.¹³ Also, we can see that this book was compiled for the education of descendants and this had been transcribed by 'Hwang Gon' in 'Gye-mi dong'.¹⁴

¹³ Seeing the language rules applied to this book, this book is assumed by the data transcribed later than the last half of the 18th century. Therefore, Gabja year seems to be 1804 or 1864. As it is presumed to be transcribed much later period, comparing with NAL, *Gabja* year written in the transcriber's note is most likely to be 1864(See Chapter 3.2 for further details).

¹⁴ I could not find the information on 'Hwang Gon' who can be an important evidence for the

Now I will examine NL.

[Table 3] Bibliographic Data of NL

Cover Title (表題)	고널녀던
THC (首題)	고널녀던
Quantity of Volume & Chapter	1 volume 4 chapters
Characteristic	Hangeul manuscript
Size of the book	30.4 x 20.6 cm
Line & Letter	10~12 lines 17~20 letters
Application Mark	한古朝 57-가 951
Other features	No small preface(序文), epilogue(跋文), and table of contents(目次). Double-line of annotation(註雙行)

This version contains only from the 1st episode of volume 1 ‘유우이비’ to the 7th episode of volume 4, ‘식군부인’. Not only when it starts a new episode, but also when the chapter changes, it was transcribed only by changing lines without starting from a new page.¹⁵ Type of handwriting

assumption of transcription period of this book.

(書體) is *Jungja* style (正字體) which is similar to Gothic type.¹⁶

The unique feature of this version is, as seeing [Fig. 5], a writing in small letters of phonetic reading of Chinese characters(音讀) of small preface(小序) of each chapter with Korean endings(토; these are added to classical Chinese phrases) and its translation on the top side of the book.

(1) ㄱ. 유약모의자는 현성유디로다 힝위의표하고 언즉등의라 ... 모의
곳뜰니는 현성하고 디혜 잇도다 힝실이 의표되고 말슴은 곳 의맛는도다
<NL 모의던, 1a-1b>

ㄴ. 惟若母儀 賢聖有智 行爲儀表 言則中義¹⁷

(1 ㄱ) is the phonetic reading of the Chinese small preface of ‘모의던’ in chapter 1 with Korean endings and its translation, (1 ㄴ) is small preface of Chinese version of ‘모의던’, ‘母儀傳’. This way is also seen in ‘현명전’ in

¹⁵ The transcriber left the rest part as blank after transcribing all the contents of ‘식군부인’, the 7th episode of chapter 4 which is the last of this book. Maybe the transcriber had planned to compile into a book after transcribing only by ‘식군부인’. As now the reason of abandoning transcribing in the middle is uncertain while he was transcribing KY consisting of 8 chapters even though the stopping point was not a part of changing chapters.

¹⁶ The style of handwriting of this book is close to *Gung* style (궁체). According to 홍윤표(2012) classifying the *Gung* style into ‘*Jungja* style, *Yesahullim* style, *Ajuhullim* style’, the handwriting style of this book belongs to *Jungja* style. *Gung* style is widely used handwriting style in old novels as well as Korean letters since the 19th century.

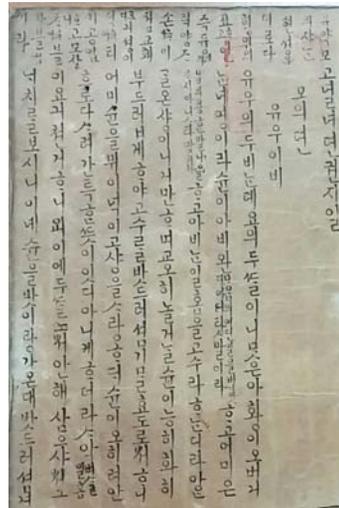
¹⁷ Small Preface(小序) of *Moewijeon*(母儀傳) in chapter 1 of KY(Dokwang version)(道光本) (우쾌재, 1988: 102)

chapter 2 of this book. However, ‘인지던’ of chapter 3 and ‘정순던’ of chapter 4 contain only the translation of small preface of each chapter without phonetic reading of Chinese characters with Korean endings.

[Fig. 4] Cover of NL



[Fig. 5] NL, 모의던, 1a



On the top side of this book, remarks(‘頌, 贊’) which should be placed at the last of each episode are written in the same way as a small preface as well as a small preface of each chapter.

- (2) ㄱ. 송알 원시이비논 데요지네로다 ... 송에 곶오디 처엄 비릇논 이비논 데요의 썸이로다 <NL 모의던, 1b-2a>

ㄴ. 頌曰 元始二妃 帝堯之女

(2 ㄱ) is a phonetic reading of Chinese characters of Song(a poetic remark;

A Proposal for a Nanai Writing System with Korean Script

頌) of ‘유우이비’ with Korean endings and a translation of it. (2 ㄴ) is *Song* part of the Chinese version ‘有虞二妃 (유우이비)’. This way is seen until ‘듀실삼모’, the 6th episode of ‘모의던’; from the 7th episode ‘위고정강’, it includes only the translation of *Song* without phonetic reading of Chinese characters with Korean endings.

Finally, I will examine HY.

[Table 4] Bibliographic Data of HY

Cover Title(表題)	.
THC(首題)	고닐녀던
Quantity of Volume & Chapter	1 volume 3 chapters
Characteristic	Hangeul manuscript
Size of the book	30.3 x 21.0 cm
Line & letter	12 lines 18~22 letters
Application Mark	TK5973.52-4142
Other features	No small preface(序文), epilogue(跋文), and table of contents(目次). Double-line of annotation(註雙行)

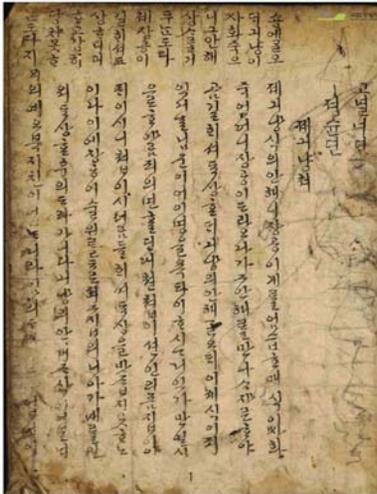
This book includes from the 8th episode of chapter 4, ‘제기낭처’ to the part of the 1st episode of chapter 6, ‘제관첩청’.¹⁸ Examining in the former

¹⁸ Regarding the 1st episode of chapter 6, ‘제관첩청’, we cannot confirm the whole contents as it includes only 4 line. It seems to have bound this book due to the

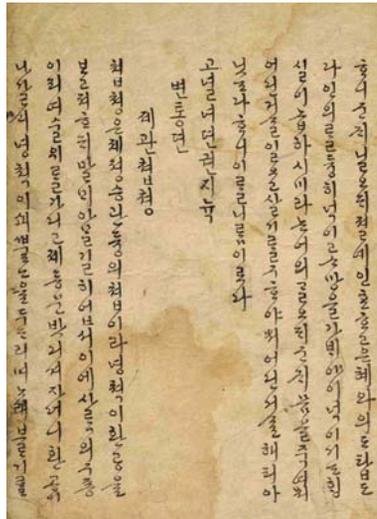
part that NL contains from the 1st episode of chapter 1 to the 7th episode of chapter 4, HY starts from the 8th episode of chapter 4 which is the following episode to that of NL.¹⁹

Generally two styles of handwriting are used in this book. Only the 15th episode of chapter 4, ‘진과효부’ and the 1st episode of chapter 5, ‘노효의보’ are written in *Jungja* style out of the whole 24 episodes of this book; the rest parts are written in *Hullim* style(홀림체).²⁰

[Fig. 6] HY, 정순던 1a



[Fig. 7] HY, the last page



missing pages in later period.

¹⁹ HY and NL have the same features such as transcribing by changing lines even in changing chapters, placing the translations of small preface(小序) and remark(頌) on the top side of the book. So these can be subordinate books consisting of the whole. Just it is hard to see these were transcribed by the same person as these are showing absolutely different handwritings.

²⁰ The handwriting of all *Song* parts written on the top side of the books belong to *Jungja* style.

This book has the same forms as NL. Above all, it is transcribed by changing only lines without changing pages in changing chapters. In addition, as seeing [Fig. 6], it is same as NL that it contains translation of a remark, *Song*(頌) on the top side of the book though it is known to be placed at the last of each episode. Also it is transcribed the translation of small preface on the top side of the book when we see the starting part of ‘결의전’ of chapter 5.²¹

2. Comparison among Hangeul manuscripts of KY

3.1. Aspect of Translation

The aspect of these books belongs to literal translation(直譯) which is generally close to word-to-word verbal translation(축자역). So each version shows the following examples.

- (3) ㄱ. 부인이 되여시니 가히 뻘 샤희흔 힝실을 둘 거시 아니니라 <NAL 모의던, 13b>
 ㄴ. 군지 혹문을 하야 뻘 일흠을 세우고 슬그를 널니논지라 <NL 모의던, 14b>
 ㄷ. 첩이 음난흔 힝실이 이신즉 뻘 세상의 사라실 길히 업스니 <HY 정순던, 3a>

²¹ On the other hand there is no phonetic reading of small preface and remark *Song* with Korean ending.

- (4) ㄱ. 그 교화를 날위니 밋 계 즈라매 그 덕의 화하고 <NAL 모의던, 5b>
- ㄴ. 은혜 베프기를 즐기더니 밋 설이 즈라매 <NL 모의던, 4b>
- ㄷ. 위종이슌은 위종 실녕왕의 부인과 밋 그 부첩이라 <HY 정순던, 5b>

(3), (4) are the examples adding unnecessary words such as ‘씨’, ‘밋’ as a result of verbal translation of ‘以’, ‘及’ in the original text.²²

Here are the parts which show the difference in translated contents according to the different versions.

- (5) ㄱ. 그 즈손이 덕 〰로 박의셔 사더니 은 탕의 니르러 니러나 턴직 되니 균지 니르되 간적이 어질고 네 잇도다 <NAL 모의던, 5a>
- ㄴ. 그 즈손이 덕 〰로 박의셔 사더니 은 탕의 니르러 나 턴직 니르되 간적이 어덜고 네 잇도다 <NL 모의던, 5a>
- ㄷ. 其後世世居亳 至殷湯興爲天子 君子謂 簡狄仁而有禮²³

- (6) ㄱ. 안기를 치우쳐 아니흐며 셔기를 치드되지 아니흐며 샄특흔 마슬 먹지 아니흐며 베히 거시 베히지 아니흐면 먹지 아니흐며 <NAL 모의던, 8a>
- ㄴ. 안기를 치오쳐 아니흐며 베히 거시 바로디 아니커든 먹디 아니흐며 <NL 모의던, 7b>
- ㄷ. 坐不邊 立不蹕 不食邪味 割不正不食

- (7) ㄱ. 그 고든 거술 일윗다 햏야 이에 일흠햏야 곶오디 정강이 부절이 잇도다 <NAL 정순던, 10b>
- ㄴ. 그 고든 거술 일윗다 햏야 이에 일흠햏야 곶오디 정강이라 햏니 균지 곶오디 정강이 부절이 잇도다 <HY 정순던, 4a>
- ㄷ. 以成其貞 乃號之曰 貞姜 君子謂 貞姜有婦節

²² In each version, there are seen ‘햏여곰’, ‘시러곰’ frequently which are the translated words of ‘使’ and ‘得’ in addition to ‘씨’, ‘밋’.

²³ The chinese original texts are quoted from 이숙인(2013).

A Proposal for a Nanai Writing System with Korean Script

- (8) ㄱ. 한번 도라보면 어들디 도라보지 아니믄 엇지오 <NAL 절의던, 2a>
 ㄴ. 한번 도라보면 가히 어드리니 가히 어들디 도라보디 아니헝믄
 엇지오 <HY 절의던, 12a>
 ㄷ. 一顧可以得之 而遂不顧 何也

(5) and (6) are all comparisons between NAL and NL, and (7) and (8) are comparisons between NAL and HY. All three versions seem to be a literal translation basically, but there are some differences. Seeing (5) and (6), NAL is seen to be nearer translation than NL. The missing part in NL is translated in NAL. Meanwhile, seeing (7) and (8), HY is seen to be nearer translation than NAL.

The following is on the part which is translations of the same original text into different expressions.

- (9) ㄱ. 또 종묘의 죄 업스믄 고희라 험대 <NAL 모의던, 12a>
 ㄴ. 죄 업슨 줄을 종묘의 고희라 험대 <NL 모의던, 12a>
 ㄷ. 且告無罪於廟
- (10) ㄱ. 지아비 과연 죽고 도라 오지 못헝니 뷔 식어미 봉양을 게얼니
 아니헝야 <NAL, 정순던, 15a>
 ㄴ. 집아비 과연 죽고 못 도라 오니 뷔 식어미 봉양헝믄 게얼니
 아니헝야 <HY, 정순던, 9a>
 ㄷ. 夫果死不還 婦養姑不衰

(9) is a comparison between NAL and NL, and (10) is a comparison between NAL and HY. The same original text is translated into different expressions. (9) shows a difference in making embedded clause; in (9 ㄱ), a

noun ending was used, and in (9 ㄴ), an adnominal suffix and bound noun ‘줄’ were used. In (10), the Chinese original text ‘死不還’ was translated into long negation in (10 ㄱ), and into short negation in (10 ㄴ).

3.2. Korean Linguistic Characteristics

In this part, I will consider several Korean linguistic characteristics shown in each version approximately. From this I would estimate the transcribed period of each version and the time order of these versions.

First of all, I would estimate the transcription period of these versions from several words.

- (11) ㄱ. 게어르고 <NAL, 모의던 1b>, 게어르며 <13a>
ㄴ. 게어르고 <NL, 모의던 1b>, 게어으르며²⁴ <13a>
ㄷ. 게어른 <HY 정순던, 6a>

- (12) ㄱ. 쓴허지디 <NAL, 모의던 18a>, 쓴처지지 <모의던 19a>
ㄴ. 쓴허디디 <NL, 모의던 18a>, 쓴처디:: <모의던 19a>
ㄷ. 쓴허 브리고 <HY 정순던, 2b>

(11) shows an example of using ‘게어르-’, and (12) is an example of using ‘쓴-’, ‘쓴-’ (斷). These words are seen from the literature in the mid of the 17th for the first time. a word form of ‘게어르-’ in the medieval language period is ‘게으르-’ which is same today, and a word form of ‘쓴-’, ‘쓴-’ in

²⁴ NL contains examples marking more vowels of preceding or following syllable such as ‘마시오고’, ‘노호오물’, and ‘저여비’ in addition to ‘게어으르며’.

the medieval language period is ‘꺄-’.²⁵

- (13) ㄱ. 일즉이 과거ᄃᆞᆫ 몰 어엿비 녀이노라 <NAL 정순년, 15b>
- ㄴ. 아ᄃᆞᆫ 죽식 둔 과거ᄃᆞᆫ ᄃᆞᆫ미니 <NL 모의년 25b>
- ㄷ. 부인은 죽식이 업고 과거ᄃᆞᆫ 지라 <HY 정순년, 5b>

(13) shows the examples of using ‘과거ᄃᆞᆫ-’ (寡居). All of these are matched to ‘寡’ of Chinese original text. ‘과거ᄃᆞᆫ-’, meaning roughly “live in widowhood” firstly appears in the literature of the mid of the 18th century, and it is rarely used today.

- (14) ㄱ. 문ᄃᆞᆫ은 어른인 체ᄃᆞᆫ 양을 보고 <NAL 모의년, 18a>
- ㄴ. 문ᄃᆞᆫ은 스ᄃᆞᆫ로 어른인 체ᄃᆞᆫ 양을 보고 <NL 모의년, 18a>
- (15) ㄱ. 그림자쳐로 붓조출 줄을 알미러라 <NAL 모의년, 7a>
- ㄴ. 그림자쳐로 붓조출 줄을 알미러라 <NL 모의년, 7a>

(14) shows examples of using a formal word ‘체’, and (15) shows examples of using a postposition ‘쳐로’. Both ‘체’ and ‘쳐로’ are derived from a noun ‘테(體)’. ‘쳐로’ of (15) was formed from ‘體로’ and ‘테로’ which are combined with a postposition ‘로’ is a palatalized word form of ‘테로(<테로)’. ‘쳐로’ appears firstly from the literature of the mid of the 17th until the late 19th.

²⁵ ‘꺄-’ of a medieval word includes the meaning of ‘그치-’ and ‘꺄-’ of modern word. In the medieval word period, ‘그치-’ which is combined ‘꺄-’ with an affix ‘-이-’ was also used.

- (16) ㄱ. 이제 네 나히 점고 벼술이 녹조므로써 더브러 노논 재 다 위하야
신부림하니 네 느지 못하미 또한 붉도다 <NAL 모의던, 18b>
ㄴ. 이제 너의 나히 점 벼술이 녹조므로써 더브러 노논 재 다 위하야
신브림하니 네 느디 못하미 또한 붉도다 <NL 모의던, 18b>
ㄷ. 今以子年之少 而位之卑 所與遊者 皆爲服役 子之不益 亦以明矣

(16 ㄱ) is an example of using ‘신부림하-’, and (16 ㄴ) is an example of using ‘신브림하-’. These correspond to the Chinese original text ‘服役’, and these are continued by a modern word ‘심부름(하-)’. ‘신부림(신브림)’ can be firstly seen in a literature of the 18th century 『을병연행록』.

- (17) ㄱ. 그릇 삼켓더니 드드여 설을 나흐니라 <NAL 모의던, 4b>
ㄴ. 그릇 싱켓더니 드::여 설 나흐니라 <NL 모의던, 4b>

(17 ㄱ) is an example of using ‘삼키-’, and (17 ㄴ) is an example of using ‘싱키-’. ‘삼키-(<습키-)’ is a word form which had appeared as ‘습끼-/습기-’ in medieval language, and it has been seen from the literature of late 18th. ‘싱키-’ of (17 ㄴ) is a word form in which umlaut and place assimilation are reflected.

From the above examples, three versions can be estimated to be transcribed later than the late 18th. Then NAL which has a record that a transcriber started to transcribe it in *Gabja* year can be estimated to be transcribed between 1804 and 1864.

The next thing is to examine the time order among these versions based on the aspect of realization of labialization and palatalization. Firstly,

I will study the aspect of realization of labialization.

There is no example of labialization at the boundary between morphemes all in three versions, but the example of labialization inside of the morpheme is confirmed.

- (18) ㄱ. 무어스로써 <NAL 모의던, 14b> 불너 <18a>, 물이 <19a>
 ㄴ. 무어스로써 <NL 모의던, 14b> 불너 <18a>, 물이 <19a>
 ㄷ. 무어시 <HY 정순던, 3a> 물이 <4a>
- (19) ㄱ. 신부림ㅎ니 <NAL 모의던, 18b>, 머물면 <12b>, 허물 <15b>, 더부러 <속널녀던, 1a>
 ㄴ. 신부림ㅎ니 <NL 모의던, 18b>, 머물면 <12b>, 허물 <15b>, 더브러 <20b>
 ㄷ. 머뜨르고 <HY 정순던, 3b>, 강물 <3b>, 더브러 <10b>

(18 ㄱ, 19 ㄱ) are the examples of NAL, (18 ㄴ, 19 ㄴ) are the examples of NL, and (18 ㄷ, 19 ㄷ) are the examples of HY. The same word forms had been reflected labialization in different ways according to versions.²⁶ NAL and HY are showing the example of labialization in both anlaut syllable and non-anlaut syllable; however, there is no example that the labialization was reflected in non-anlaut syllable. Comparing HY with NAL, labialization is reflected to a similar degree.

Next, I will examine the aspect of realization of palatalization through some word forms as follows.²⁷

²⁶ Even though it's the same word form, libialization was not reflected in all cases. In case of NAL, '물이' as well as '물이' are used altogether, and in case of '더부러', it is only confirmed in chapter 8 '속널녀던'.

[Table 5] Aspect of Realization of Palatalization ①

Former Word Form	Word Form	NAL	NL
디나-	디나-	1 time (33%)	2 times (66%)
	지나-	2 times (66%)	1 time (33%)
엇디	엇디	0 time (0%)	8 times (100%)
	엇지	8 times (100%)	0 time (0%)
-디 ²⁸	-디	2 times (2.9%)	59 times (89.3%)
	-지	68 times (97.1%)	7 times (10.7%)

[Table 6] Aspect of Realization of Palatalization ②

Former Word Form	Word Form	NAL	HY
디나-	디나-	0 time (0%)	1 time(100%)
	지나-	1 time (100%)	0 time (0%)
엇디	엇디	0 time (0%)	0 time (0%)
	엇지	7 times (100%)	7 times (100%)
-디	-디	13 times (30.9%)	13 times (32.5%)
	-지	29 times (69.1%)	27times (67.5%)

Through [Table 5] and [Table 6], it is confirmed that reflection rate of palatalization is the lowest in NL, and the highest in NAL. In addition, the

²⁷ [Table 5] is an examination of the same 13 episodes of NAL and NL, and [Table 6] is an examination of the same 9 episodes of NAL and HY.

²⁸ I examined only ‘-디’ which is used for ‘-디 아니(ㅎ)-’ and ‘-디 못(ㅎ)-’.

gap of reflection rate between NAL and NL is big, but it is not that big between NAL and HY.²⁹

From the above discussion, it can be estimated that NL had been transcribed in the earliest period, and though NAL and HY had been transcribed in similar period, NAL was transcribed in a little bit later period.

All the above discussions can be summarized as follows:

At first, I saw that NAL began to be transcribed in 1804 or 1864. After examining the time order with other versions, I estimated that NAL was transcribed in the latest period. By the way, all three versions are considered to be transcribed after the late 18th, *Gabja* year shown in the transcriber's note of NAL has a higher opportunity to be 1864 rather than 1804.

4. Conclusion

Until now I examined Hangeul manuscripts of KY in this paper. The Hangeul manuscripts examined in this paper are total 3 versions: the manuscript owned by The National Assembly Library of the R.O.K.(

²⁹ The reflection rate of palatalization of ‘-ㄷ’ which is used in consisting ‘-ㄷ 아니(ㅎ)-’ and ‘-ㄷ 못 ㅎ-’ in NAL was 97.1% in [Table 5], but there is a big difference to be 69.1% in [Table 6]. [Table 5] examined the episodes of chapter 1 and chapter 2, and [Table 6] examined the episodes of chapter 4 and chapter 5. The language rule reflected in each chapter seems to be a little bit different.

Proceedings of the SCRIPTA 2015, Seoul, Oct. 10~12, 2015

『고녘녀전』 ; 4 volumes 8 chapters(8 卷 4 冊); NAL); the manuscript owned by The National Library of Korea(『고녘녀전』 ; 1 volume 4 chapters; NL); the manuscript owned by Harvard-Yenching Library(『고녘녀전』 ; 1 volume 3 chapters(3 卷 1 冊); HY).

I studied bibliographic data of each version, comparison of list, and aspects of translation, and based on Korean linguistic characters, I estimated the transcribed period of each version and time order among them. All 3 versions were estimated to be transcribed after the late 18th; regarding the time order among them, NL was estimated to be transcribed in the earliest period, though NAL and HY had been transcribed in a similar period, NAL was estimated to be transcribed in a little bit later period.

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Proceedings of the SCRIPTA 2015, Seoul, Oct. 10~12, 2015

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